

The Stono Rebellion
Evaluating the Push and Pull Factors of a Colonial Slave Revolt

Nathan B. Gilson
HIUS 510 B01: Liberty University

In a popular, modern historiographical context, slave revolts are typically viewed as being one-dimensionally related to the inherent racism and brutal treatment of the slaves. Especially in the Lowcountry of South Carolina and West Indies, slave codes and slave treatment were strict due to the numerical majority that slaves held over the white population. In turn, the white population lived in perpetual fear of slave uprisings, fully cognizant of their minority status and the difficulty they would have in repressing a widespread rebellion. The typical narrative is that the slaves, tired of the poor treatment by cruel masters and the inherent racism of the society, arose to throw off the shackles of slavery. What is seldom discussed in these narratives is the role that the rebellion had in actually creating the repressive culture to which it is assumed to have been responding. What is often missed is push and pull factors that influenced the slave rebellions, which were at least as influential as the push away from the repressive bonds of slavery, if not even more influential. In other words, slaves were not simply seeking to escape slavery to a place of “not-slavery,” they had specific hopes and ambitions which compelled them to seek that liberty. It is thus critical to understanding the broader context of slave rebellions that one must consider these oft-ignored push and pull factors.

The Stono Rebellion was one such slave revolt of the colonial period, and certainly the most significant slave uprising prior to the Revolutionary War. The facts of the Stono Rebellion are relatively simple and straightforward. On a Sunday, twenty slaves, led by a man known as Jemmy, stole weapons from a local store, murdering the white shopkeepers outside of Charleston, South Carolina.¹ After killing the shopkeepers, the slaves then began to head

¹ Sutherland, "Stono Rebellion (1739): The Black Past: Remembered and Reclaimed."

roughly in the direction of Spanish Florida, which had made an official policy of encouraging slave escapes in order to bolster their own defenses against British encroachment.² The escape proceeded slowly, the slaves created a flag for themselves and began to chant “Liberty!” while they recruited additional numbers to their cause, and burned several plantations.³ Two days later, the slaves were overtaken by mounted South Carolina militia, routed, and many were brutally executed and decapitated, in order to make an example to any who might dare to attempt a similar revolt.⁴ All told, twenty-some whites and over forty slaves had been killed in the rebellion.⁵ Exact numbers and facts about the rebellion itself are sparse, and the exact motive can never be determined because no primary source documentation from the slave perspective exists to provide such a motive.⁶

In a very short summary of the events of the Stono rebellion by Claudia Sutherland, one can easily see the vague narrative often assembled about slave revolts. Sutherland claims that the causes of the revolt were uncertain, neglecting to even mention that the slaves had been heading for Spanish-held Florida.⁷ She attributes the rebellion to the possibility of a malaria epidemic, or perhaps new laws requiring whites to carry firearms to church, emphasizing an opportunistic motivation as a potential cause.⁸ In this regard, the narrative fails to even suggest a pull factor for the slaves who participated in the rebellion. Sutherland does accurately identify the correct sequence regarding slave codes, as she points out that the legislature of

² Taylor, *American Colonies: the Settling of North America*, 233.

³ Ibid, 240.

⁴ Ibid, 240.

⁵ Smith, “Remembering Mary, Shaping Revolt: Remembering the Stono Rebellion”, 513

⁶ Ibid, 513.

⁷ Taylor, *American Colonies: the Settling of North America*, 240.

⁸ Sutherland, "Stono Rebellion (1739): The Black Past: Remembered and Reclaimed."

South Carolina responded proactively to the slave revolt by passing a series of laws placing greater restrictions on the slave population. Her brief historiographical treatment of the Stono Rebellion gives almost no context for the revolt itself. In the place of context, Sutherland's narrative vaguely suggests that slaves, longing for liberty and desiring justice, waited for the opportune moment and seized the day. It is this context which must be explored in much greater detail in order to construct a more adequate narrative of the Stono Rebellion.

The South Carolinian enforcement of slavery was especially brutal when compared to the other North American colonies. When he had visited the colony, evangelist George Whitefield went so far as to say directly to the South Carolina planters in a letter, that he believed the entire colony was the focus of God's judgement due to their draconian methods.⁹ Slaves were literally worked to death in South Carolina, and their population could only be sustained by the constant importation of new slaves.¹⁰ In contrast, by the 1730's, the Chesapeake colonies' slave populations were self-sustaining or even growing.

Many South Carolina planters had good cause to be concerned about the slaves they kept. In the Lowcountry especially, there were almost double the number of slaves as whites.¹¹ In order to manage this dangerous numerical split, planters sought to keep their slaves especially isolated and ill-informed. They also worked closely with Indian groups to help manage the return of runaway slaves.¹² In 1724, a law was passed requiring all whites to carry

⁹ Smith, *A Cautious Enthusiasm: Mystical Piety and Evangelicalism in Colonial South Carolina*, 113

¹⁰ Taylor, *American Colonies: the Settling of North America*, 335.

¹¹ *Ibid*, 335.

¹² *Ibid*, 223.

firearms to church, in order to prevent slaves from organizing a successful revolt on their day off work.¹³

In the time before the Stono Rebellion, the slaves had managed to force certain concessions from the slave owners. Rather than adopting the gang system of the West Indies sugar plantations, the slaves managed to force the planters to allow them to employ the task system, whereby they had a daily production quota.¹⁴ The task system was the slave equivalent of a salaried position, whereby the slaves had autonomy in choosing how and when the daily tasks were achieved. This allowed them to avoid working in the heat of the day, and to manage small gardens and livestock that they could use to supplement their own rations from the slave owner, or to earn a little extra money.¹⁵ A slave who had helped to save his master from Stono rebels actually received his freedom in 1739¹⁶, demonstrating that even in South Carolina, freedom was possible, and freed slaves were not automatically assumed to be dangerous. Many slave owners did not observe the existing slave codes of South Carolina law very closely in the 1730's, although at the time of the Stono Rebellion, greater enforcement efforts were beginning to be put into effect.

The South Carolinian reaction to the Stono Rebellion was immediate. The many systems of repression that they had carefully put into place had failed to stop the very event that they laws had been devised to prevent. The militia that captured the rebel slaves immediately decapitated their bodies, and displayed them on the road to Charleston.¹⁷ After the massive

¹³ Ibid, 239.

¹⁴ Taylor, *American Colonies: the Settling of North America*, 335-336.

¹⁵ Ibid, 335-336.

¹⁶ PBS, "A Commons House of Assembly Committee Report", Section 1

¹⁷ Taylor, *American Colonies: the Settling of North America*, 240.

manhunt which caught most of the remaining slaves, the legislature went to work immediately to produce a new set of laws which, they hoped, would prevent future rebellions from taking place.

The Act for the Better Ordering and Governing Negroes and Other Slaves in This Province went into effect in 1740. The Negro Act, as it was more commonly called, automatically assumed that any “Negro, Indian, mulatto, and mestizo” was a slave.¹⁸ Several particular articles of the law which was enacted seem to have been directly related to the Stono Rebellion. Slaves who were discovered to be off of their plantation grounds without a ticket issued by the slave owner were whipped up to twenty times.¹⁹ It was lawful for any white citizen to physically reprimand a slave, but if the slave tried to defend themselves, they could receive the death penalty.²⁰ Anyone injured in the pursuit of a runaway slave would receive a pension from the state.²¹ Felonies received the death penalty.²² The slave law explicitly states the purpose of the harsh penalties for all such crimes in Section 17, where it stated that “slaves who are convicted of the crimes or offenses. . .shall be executed for example, to deter others.”²³ While the shift may seem subtle, the slave codes demonstrated that in response to the Stono Rebellion, the South Carolina planters sought to codify their mistreatment of the slaves to prevent future rebellions. It is certain that these slave codes greatly enhanced the

¹⁸ Duhaime, “1740 Slave Code of South Carolina”, Section 1.

¹⁹ Ibid, Section 3.

²⁰ Ibid, Section 5.

²¹ Ibid, Section 8.

²² Ibid, Section 15.

²³ Ibid, Section 17.

misery of all of the enslaved people living in South Carolina. J. Hector St. John Crevecoeur summarized the plight of the South Carolinian slaves around Charleston thus:

...they neither see, hear, nor feel for the woes of their poor slaves, from whose painful labours all their wealth proceeds. Here the horrors of slavery, the hardship of incessant toils, are unseen; and no one thinks with compassion of those showers of sweat and of tears which from the bodies of Africans, daily drop, and moisten the ground they till. The cracks of the whip urging these miserable beings to excessive labour, are far too distance from the gay Capital to be heard.²⁴

That the South Carolina slave laws were brutal is without question. That they were intolerable is most definitely not in question, since most slaves in the region remained slaves, and uprisings were incredibly rare. The slaves executed a subtle but effective method of resistance and negotiation that did improve their lot to some degree. It is impossible to think that the conditions of Gemmy and the other slaves were favorable, but there is also no documented evidence of their treatment being exceptionally cruel for a South Carolinian slave. The conditions that were imposed on slaves throughout the colony after the rebellion would have been much more likely to produce a powerful enough push to create a slave revolt, yet one of historical note did not materialize until the Denmark Vesey Plot of 1822. From a historiographical sense then, it seems most reasonable to assume that the conditions of their slavery were a push factor for Gemmy and his compatriots, but additional motives should be explored to explain why they took action, while most others did not.

In order to more fully understand what may have motivated the Stono uprising, one must first attempt to understand the cultural heritage of the participants. A complicated exchange of European and African ideas took place centuries before British ships brought slaves

²⁴ Crevecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer*, 1782, 206.

to South Carolina. One of the major aspects of this cultural exchange involved the assimilation of Portuguese Catholic beliefs into the indigenous tribal beliefs of the African tribes that came in frequent contact with Portuguese traders. There is a compelling reason to believe that many of the slaves involved in the Stono Rebellion were of Kongoles descent, rather than Angolan. Planters who wrote about the events after the fact referred to Gemmy and his compatriots as "Angolans," but it is unlikely that they were intimately aware of the origins of their slaves.²⁵ In all likelihood, they used Angolan in a regional, rather than national sense.

The evidence for Kongoles descent is based in the slaves' apparent familiarity with firearms use, a rudimentary command of tactics, and the use of banners and drums in military organization.²⁶ The early 18th century was an especially active time of military campaigns in Kongol, which would have produced a high number of slaves, but also would have given the Stono rebels military experience, which was displayed at various times throughout the rebellion.²⁷ Additionally, Angolan slaves were typically taken to Brazil, not North America.²⁸

If it is true that the Stono slaves were Kongoles, they were familiar with, and may have even been practicing Catholics. The Kongoles nation had significant documented contact with Catholic clerics, and had adopted it into their culture.²⁹ Many Catholic Churches had been built in Kongoles land during the 15th and 16th centuries.³⁰ So significant was Kongol's relationship with Catholicism that the government had direct negotiations with the Vatican at one point.³¹

²⁵ Thornton, "African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion", 1103.

²⁶ Smith, "Remembering Mary, Shaping Revolt: Remembering the Stono Rebellion", 518.

²⁷ Gray, "The Legacy of the Stono Rebellion."

²⁸ Thornton, "African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion", 1103

²⁹ Smith, "Remembering Mary, Shaping Revolt: Remembering the Stono Rebellion", 521.

³⁰ Gray, "The Legacy of the Stono Rebellion."

³¹ Ibid.

A Spanish governor complained about the English importing black Christians to use as slaves, which lends additional credibility to the idea that Gemmy and the other Stono rebels may have been heavily influenced by Catholicism.³² The version of Catholicism that the Kongoleses practices was somewhat unorthodox, but their sincerity and commitment appears to have been genuine, and most importantly to the discussion of the Stono Rebellion, the Kongoleses people thought of themselves as Catholics.³³

The accounts that exist from this period of colonial history are from an almost exclusively colonist perspective,³⁴ and slaves were remarkably good at hiding much of their true intentions and knowledge of what was going on from their masters.³⁵ It should not be considered implausible that the South Carolina planters were unaware of their slaves' religious inclinations, for the slaves deliberately fostered an image of being "lazy, stupid, and dishonest."³⁶ Many of the planters saw exactly what the slaves wanted them to see, and had succeeded in convincing the slave owners that they were incapable of orchestrating grand schemes or having a culture which was all-together separate and hidden. It is therefore not all together surprising that no mention is directly made of a Catholic connection of Gemmy or his fellow revolutionaries.

All of the circumstantial evidence connecting the Stono rebels to Catholicism introduces a very intriguing pull factor into the potential narrative for the Stono Rebellion. Spain, a Catholic nation, actively recruited escaped slaves to attempt to come to Florida. Most of the written

³² Thornton, "African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion", 1106.

³³ Ibid, 1106-1107.

³⁴ Smith, "Remembering Mary, Shaping Revolt: Remembering the Stono Rebellion", 517.

³⁵ Taylor, *American Colonies: the Settling of North America*, 332

³⁶ Ibid, 332.

accounts of the rebellion incorporate the Spanish influence in a major degree, proving that at least, the white Carolinians assumed that they were a major political influence on slaves' decision to run away.³⁷ In 1728, the President of the South Carolina assembly bemoaned the Spanish propaganda tactics employed to convince slaves to forsake their masters for Florida: "Wee formerly complained of their receiving and harbouring all our runaway negroes, but since that they have found out a new way of sending our own slaves against us, to rob and plunder us."³⁸ What the colonists of the time appear to have missed is that Spanish Florida was not only a political pull, but also a religious one.

The Spanish had created a town especially for the escaped slaves they hoped to attract, called Fort Mose.³⁹ Spain intended for the runaways to be a buffer between St. Augustine and the British colonies to the North, just as the British began the colony of Georgia for the same reason.⁴⁰ That Georgia was to serve as that buffer colony so close to the tempting Spanish offer for freedom was a major reason why slavery was initially prohibited in the region.⁴¹

The need for such a buffer was due to regular raiding and warfare between the Spanish and British empires and their colonies. British official Edward Randolph reported in 1699 that:

"one hundred Spaniards, with Negroes and Indians, landed at Edistoe...and broke open the house of Mr. Joseph Moreton, then Governor of the Province, and carried away Mr. Bowell, his Brother-in-law, prisoner, who was found murdered 2 or 3 days after..."⁴²

³⁷ Swanson, Review of *Stono: Documenting and Interpreting a Southern Slave Revolt*, 42.

³⁸ Johnhorse, "Spanish Influence, Story Panel 3 of 5 - Background - Rebellion."

³⁹ National Park Service, "Civil Rights in Colonial St. Augustine (U.S. National Park Service)."

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Smith, *A Cautious Enthusiasm*, 116.

⁴² Randolph, *Reports to the Board of Trade on Economic Prospects and the Spanish Threat in South Carolina, 1699*, 194

According to Randolph, the Spanish also carried off some of Moreton's slaves, and when the British attempted to reclaim them later, they were rebuffed by the Spaniards.⁴³ The Spanish frequently made use of blacks in their militia and fighting⁴⁴, as Randolph's account makes clear. The Spanish were themselves involved in a vigorous slave trade, and distinctions were often made between slaves who had escaped from their British masters and arrived "self-liberators" and slaves who had been captured as slaves.⁴⁵

In her summary of the history of blacks in Florida, Landers describes how slaves, with the cooperation of the Yamasee Indians, were able to successfully escape to Florida.⁴⁶ In 1724, ten escaped slaves from Carolina arrived in Spanish Florida, stating that before they had run away, they were aware of the Spanish King's offer of freedom if they were willing to accept Catholicism as their religion.⁴⁷ Some of the Kongolese slaves may have been at least partially literate in the Spanish language, which also may help to explain why these particular slaves were responsive to the Spanish offer of freedom.⁴⁸ Therefore, the Stono Rebellion slaves were likely aware of Florida's offer of freedom, and given their religious beliefs, may additionally have seen the offer to become officially connected to Spanish Catholicism as an added benefit.

The number of slaves present in Spanish-controlled Florida never exceeded a few hundred,⁴⁹ demonstrating that relatively few slaves successfully escaped to Florida. This was

⁴³ Ibid, 194.

⁴⁴ Landers, "Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose: A Free Black Town in Spanish Colonial Florida" 13.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 13.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 15.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 15.

⁴⁸ Smith, "Remembering Mary, Shaping Revolt: Remembering the Stono Rebellion", 517.

⁴⁹ Florida Memory

likely due to the vigor with which Southern Planters sought to capture and make examples of their escaped slaves, as was the case with the Stono slaves. It is also likely that many of the Indian groups, who were rewarded for the return of runaways, did their jobs quite well, and prevented many of the runaway slaves from reaching Florida. The manhunt to find the remainder of the Stono rebels who had fled was remarkably effective, with almost none of them escaping, despite dozens running from the battlefield.⁵⁰

As is typical in historical migrations, it is common for a pull to be accompanied by a corresponding push. The attitude generally in South Carolina toward Catholicism could easily provide such a push. South Carolina had been founded upon general principles of religious toleration, but that toleration was still limited to mostly Protestant denominations. When George Whitefield had run afoul of the Anglican minister Alexander Garden in Charleston, Garden accused Whitefield of being an agent of Rome.⁵¹ The Anti-Catholic sentiments in South Carolina were not unique just to that colony, but rather were mirrored in all of the British colonies of the New World, making Florida the only practical refuge for any Catholic wishing to practice their religion unmolested.

If one is to assess the probable motives of the Stono slaves, one last aspect of the rebellion must be evaluated. It is clear that the slaves were not seeking a rapid escape, as they were not making any attempts to hide their location, or to move quickly. When they were discovered, they had flags and drums, and seemed ready to fight. The first place the original slaves had gone was a store to steal firearms, rather than putting as much distance between

⁵⁰ Taylor, *American Colonies: the Settling of North America*, 240.

⁵¹ Smith, *A Cautious Enthusiasm*, 56.

their former plantation and themselves as they could. There are several possible reasons which may help to explain why the Stono rebels made this choice.

The first possibility is that they were not trying to leave Carolina at all, and hoped to inspire a grassroots rebellion. This image as a liberator and champion of human rights is the stated position of Gemmy's family, as retold by his great-great grandson in 1937.⁵² This explanation would fit with the presumed militaristic background of the Kongolese slaves, although they also should have been savvy enough to recognize that other slaves of different nationalities, who were unfamiliar with their fighting style would be a liability in an actual battle. The act of mercy that they showed to one slave owner who was considered a benevolent master⁵³ would have also been a critical, tactical error.

Another potential explanation is that Gemmy wished to assemble a large enough fighting force in Florida to return and more effectively wage war against the Carolinians. Florida employed slaves in their militia, and bringing a large contingent of warriors with him would certainly have warranted special considerations from the Spanish government in 1739. Eight decades later, when Denmark Vesay planned his failed revolt in the same region, he had planned to head for Haiti and regroup before returning to lay waste to the establishment plantation system in Charleston.

The large contingent of slaves would also have offered significant protection from Indian bounty hunters and small groups of Carolinians. Upon his assessment of the results of the battle with the rebels, William Bull immediately requested the use of Indian bounty hunters,

⁵² Gray, "The Legacy of the Stono Rebellion."

⁵³ Taylor, *American Colonies: the Settling of North America*, 240.

and sent word to the Chickasaws and Catawba Indians to be looking out for the escaped slaves.⁵⁴ Multiple Indians were rewarded by the South Carolina assembly for the capture of the remaining slaves involved in the rebellion who were not captured by the militia.⁵⁵ It is entirely feasible that the Stono slaves did not anticipate how proactive and urgent the planter response would be, and figured they were safer to remain in the outskirts of Charleston rather than take their chances with the Indians.

Another possibility was that the Stono rebels sought to establish a maroon colony. Around the time of the rebellion, the colonial newspapers were reporting the Crown's official sanctioning of a maroon colony in Jamaica.⁵⁶ The same weekend of the rebellion, the Charleston newspapers were reporting that a war was being announced between Spain and England.⁵⁷

A final explanation would be ineptitude. It is possible that the rebels had planned to slip quietly away from their South Carolina plantation and vanish into Florida. After procuring the guns they needed for self-defense, perhaps a bloodlust seized the rebels, and they were no longer able to contain their enthusiasm for killing and exacting retribution on their white oppressors. In attacking plantations with slaves, the group quickly became too large to make escape feasible, and was discovered and defeated by a quick and motivated South Carolinian militia.

⁵⁴ Bull, "Report Regarding the Stono Rebellion."

⁵⁵ PBS, "South Carolina Commons House of Assembly"

⁵⁶ Bergen, "How the Stono Rebels Learned of Britain's War with Spain", 55-56.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 57.

The innkeeper again presents a minor problem for this interpretation, as it seems logical that a bloodthirsty mob of escaped slaves would make no distinction between which white people to kill, and which to spare. Not all slaves joined Gemmy, but a great number did, which speaks to his leadership ability; at least as perceived by his fellow rebels. Therefore, there is no reason to believe that the rebellion at the time immediately prior to the rebellion was proceeding in manner other than how the leaders had envisioned it.

It is in this broader context, considering slavery as a push factor, religion as both a pull and push, and the nature of the political conflict with Spain that a plausible narrative for the causes of the Stono Rebellion can be conjectured. Gemmy and the other Stono rebels were employed in a brutal system of slavery that demanded much from them. However, given the planter habit of making examples of all of the captured runaway slaves, they were also aware of the grave risk that Indian bounty hunters or failure posed to their long-term pursuit of freedom. They were also aware that in order to achieve this freedom, Spanish Florida was the best and most realistic opportunity. They certainly would have seen Spanish rule as being favorable, not only to their individual liberties, but also to their religious expression, which as Kongolese, they took quite seriously. The weekend of the revolt, they also may have heard reports that Spain and England would soon be involved in another war.

A coming war with Spain would have given the Stono rebels several very important opportunities. The first is a distraction, as Charleston was the closest major English settlement to Spanish-held lands, and had been attacked and raided by the Spanish several times. The Stono rebels may have hoped that the Charleston planters would be busy worrying about a major invasion by Spain, rather than a small slave uprising. They also may have been

attempting to establish a temporary maroon community to the south of Charleston, where they could then join the Spanish invaders at their first opportunity. In the meantime, they only needed a sizable enough contingent of warriors to be seen as a danger to the Carolinians, and an asset to the Spanish, and to establish a base of operations far enough away from Charleston to be seen as no immediate threat. As a fallback position, they may have figured that even if the Spanish never got around to actually invading Charleston itself, the British Crown may officially sanction their new position as a maroon colony, as it recently had in Jamaica.

In the process of recruiting enough escapees for the establishment of such a colony, the Stono rebels exercised control and careful consideration of the process. They raided plantations of those who were known as cruel masters, but did not desire the broad retribution of a race war, evidenced in sparing the innkeeper. They likely saw their success as ultimately being defined as a peaceful coexistence with a larger white culture, not domination over it. They were recruiting a large enough force to be reckoned with and to discourage attack, and therefore were not trying to keep their whereabouts a secret. Nor were they attempting to totally escape their former owners quickly.

It was in the midst of this recruiting effort that the former slaves made their fatal miscalculation. They underestimated the urgency with which the Charleston planters would respond to their rebellion. They were caught in the middle of their recruitment efforts and without sufficient time to prepare their defenses. They would have known that they were already dead men for their actions to that point, so the options at that point were to fight to the death or to flee. About equal numbers chose both, and the rebellion was over.

What has become more clear as research has continued to be conducted on the origin of the slaves is the role that their Catholic beliefs very likely played in their decision to revolt, and how they chose to do it. These complicated push and pull factors related to religion add an additional dimension which better helps explain the complicated and nuanced motivations of a slave revolt.

Bibliography

"1740 Slave Code of South Carolina." Duhaime.org - Learn Law. Accessed September 23, 2017. <http://www.duhaime.org/LawMuseum/LawArticle-1494/1740-Slave-Code-of-South-Carolina.aspx>.

Berson, Joel S. "How the Stono Rebels Learned of Britain's War with Spain." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 110.1, no. 2 (Spring 2009), 53-68. <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.liberty.edu/docview/205027485?pq-origsite=summon&accountid=12085>.

Bull, William. "Report Regarding the Stono Rebellion." PBS: Public Broadcasting Service. September, 1739. Accessed October 8, 2017. <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part1/1h311t.html>.

Gray, Heather. "The Legacy of the Stono Rebellion." [Www.counterpunch.org](http://www.counterpunch.org). Last modified September 9, 2014. <https://www.counterpunch.org/2014/09/09/the-legacy-of-the-stono-rebellion/>.

Crevecoeur, J. Hector St. John *Letters from an American Farmer, 1782* reprinted in Kupperman, Karen Ordahl, *Major Problems in American Colonial History: Documents and Essays*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 2013. (205-206)

Florida Memory. "Florida Memory - Civil War." Florida Memory. Accessed October 7, 2017. <https://www.floridamemory.com/exhibits/civilwar/before1861/>.

Landers, Jane. "Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose: A Free Black Town in Spanish Colonial Florida." *The American Historical Review* 95, no. 1 (1990), 9. doi:10.2307/2162952.

National Parks Service. "Civil Rights in Colonial St. Augustine (U.S. National Park Service)." NPS.gov Homepage (U.S. National Park Service). Accessed September 23, 2017. <https://www.nps.gov/articles/staugustinecivilrights.htm>.

Randolf, Edward. *Reports to the Board of Trade on Economic Prospects and the Spanish Threat in South Carolina, 1699* reprinted in Kupperman, Karen Ordahl, *Major Problems in American Colonial History: Documents and Essays*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 2013. (194-196)

Smith, Mark M. "Remembering Mary, Shaping Revolt: Reconsidering the Stono Rebellion." *The Journal of Southern History* 67, no. 3 (2001): 513-34. doi:10.2307/3070016.

Smith, Samuel C. "Part II. Everly Evangelical Contact: Paranoia and Hegemony." *A Cautious Enthusiasm: Mystical Piety and Evangelicalism in Colonial South Carolina*, 33-68. Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2013.

"Spanish Influence, Story Panel 3 of 5 - Background - Rebellion." Rebellion: John Horse and the Black Seminoles, First Black Rebels to Beat American Slavery. Accessed September 23, 2017. <http://www.johnhorse.com/trail/00/bg/07.htm>.

South Carolina Commons House of Assembly. "Message to the Governor's Council." PBS: Public Broadcasting Service. November 29, 1739. Accessed October 8, 2017
<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part1/1h312t.html>.

Sutherland, Claudia E. "Stono Rebellion (1739): The Black Past: Remembered and Reclaimed." | The Black Past: Remembered and Reclaimed. Accessed October 7, 2017.
<http://www.blackpast.org/aah/stono-rebellion-1739>.

Swanson, Carl E. Review of *Stono: Documenting and Interpreting a Southern Slave Revolt*, ed. *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 107, no. 1 (2006): 42-44.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/27570788>.

Taylor, Alan. *American Colonies: the Settling of North America*. New York: Penguin Books, 2010.

Thornton, John K. "African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion." *The American Historical Review* 96, no. 4 (1991): 1101-113. doi:10.2307/2164997.