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The Institution of Slavery in British Colonial America

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Historians have debated, analyzed, and recognized critical debates within the study of slavery. [1] Historians such as Peter H. Wood, Lorena Walsh, and Ira Berlin contributed significantly to understanding slavery in Colonial America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. [2] Historians previously possessed the belief that slaves did not have a history, which led to the notion that the slave experience did not change from one generation to the next.[3] The historical debates regarding slavery changed from discussing the submissive role of slaves to debates involving their personal lives and the changing of status. Peter Wood's research in the Low Country led other historians to acknowledge that the institution of slavery changed throughout time. Lorena Walsh argues that slaves established communities, and their culture evolved from an African to an African-Anglo-European identity. Ira Berlin's work suggests that throughout the two centuries of slavery in the Americas, in all the colonies, blacks and whites negotiated within the institution of slavery. Berlin also identified and differentiated the slave regions in the Americas. Through their works, historians understand that the establishment of slavery changed and holds a long and altering history. The work of Carole Shammas, Jennifer Morgan, Catherine Lewis, and Richard Lewis contributes a narrow and focused in-depth lens to the field of study, explicitly looking at slave women's role in British colonial America.

This essay will focus on two central research questions. The first question sets the groundwork for understanding the development of slavery in Colonial America, asking how the British mainland colonies developed from a "society with slaves" to "slave societies?" The section addresses the demographics, economy, and political system to answer the transition. The second question analyzes Carole Shammas's research on the utilization of female slave labor in the Chesapeake and examines if her model applies to the Low Country. As each slave region differed

in characteristics, I aim to find comparisons in the utilization of female slave labor in the two slave regions which contributes to the overall understanding of slaves' roles. Because of the nature of studying slaves' lives and the lack of evidence left behind, there is a need to rely on other sources. Additionally, an analysis of mainland British colonial America and the emergence of a slave society and the elements brought along will rely heavily on the historical statistics. To answer my research questions, I have also incorporated the use of newspapers to create quantitative data and legal codes to understand the essence of a slave society. Using the available sources explains the transition to a slave society in the Low Country and Chesapeake through the demography, economy, and the legal systems. By looking at the demography of the two distinct slave regions, one can compare and find similarities in the utilization of the enslaved women.

Societies With Slaves to "Slave Societies"

A fundamental change of British colonial America is transitioning from a society with slaves to a slave society. This transition affected all aspects of colonial life in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Leading historians have debated the reasons behind the shift and how it progressed. However, according to the staple crop thesis, only one crop would be planted, creating a staple crop. Once a colony found its staple crop, colonial life centered around the staple crop, to which demand for labor developed. The changes in society due to the shift in the labor population is most apparent in the dominant slave societies, The Chesapeake and the Low Country. The demand for labor signaled to the need for a shift from indentured servitude to African slaves. Despite the ongoing debates, to answer how the transformation took place, looking at the

demographics, economy, and legal system of the different regions will show how this shift occurred.

Demographics

Examining demographics shows how the two slave regions looked at the beginning of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is essential to analyze the demographics because it broadens our understanding of colonial life, and not only that, it sets up the framework to understand what caused the change. In the two slave regions, the demographics differed throughout the two centuries. The Chesapeake consisted of high sex ratios and relied on indentured servitude until the late seventeenth century. The Low Country's population consisted of a large population of slaves living together on plantations away from their white masters.[4] As Philip Morgan identified, the Chesapeake developed into a slave society by the beginning of the eighteenth century. The Low Country did not fully emerge into a slave society but became a more productive slave society.[5] Historians have settled that the main feature of a slave society is a large population of enslaved Africans. Once we have a full understanding of how the demographics appeared and shifted in the two regions, further questions about the colonial economy and politics can be addressed.

Figure 1 shows the population of Virginia in the seventeenth century, which consisted of indentured servants, free whites, and blacks. Indentured servants made up a higher total of the population compared to free white males. The demographic analysis holds importance in studying slave societies because it exemplifies population shifts throughout the centuries. To understand the change in the population, one must understand how the population started. The indentured servants

totaled 441; free males equaled 443 and blacks 23. The total black population had more equal sex ratios; 1.1:1, compared to the white population. As Figure 1 shows, indentured servants made up most of the population in the Chesapeake in the seventeenth century. The demographics of the Chesapeake in the seventeenth century are predominantly white but specifically white indentured servants. A distinct element of society with slaves showed a high population of indentured servants with a low population of slaves.

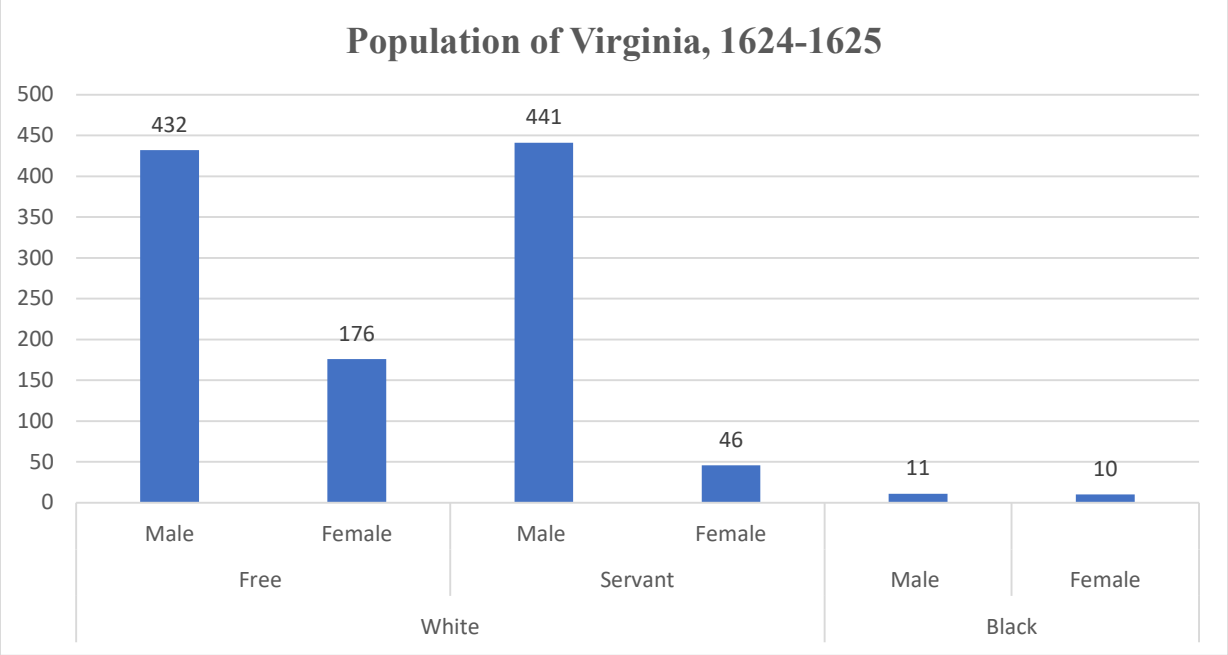

Figure 1 - Source: John J. McCusker, "Population of Virginia, by age, sex, race, and free status: 1624–1701." Table Eg182-193 in *Historical Statistics of the United States, Earliest Times to the Present: Millennial Edition,* edited by Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch, and Gavin Wright. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/ISBN-9780511132971.Eg1-19310.1017/ISBN-9780511132971.

Figure 2 shows that by the eighteenth century, the African slave population increased in the Chesapeake. From the first recorded slave importation to the highest importations from 1731 to 1774, the slave population increased by 456%. As the figure portrays, in the Chesapeake from 1698 to 1774, Virginia's slave importations outnumbered Maryland's slave imports. Leading historians have identified the shift from the usage of indentured servants to African slaves became firmly established by the mid-eighteenth century. Carol Shammas identified the year in Virginia to be 1720.[6] Berlin identified that in a society with slaves, the master class' demand for labor transformed the society, which caused a "slave society." [7] Analyzing the two data tables show that the only significant increase in population occurred with the black population throughout the two centuries. Historians agreed that a critical feature in a slave society is a large population of slaves. The figures are evidence that showcases the transformation of society with slaves to a slave society.

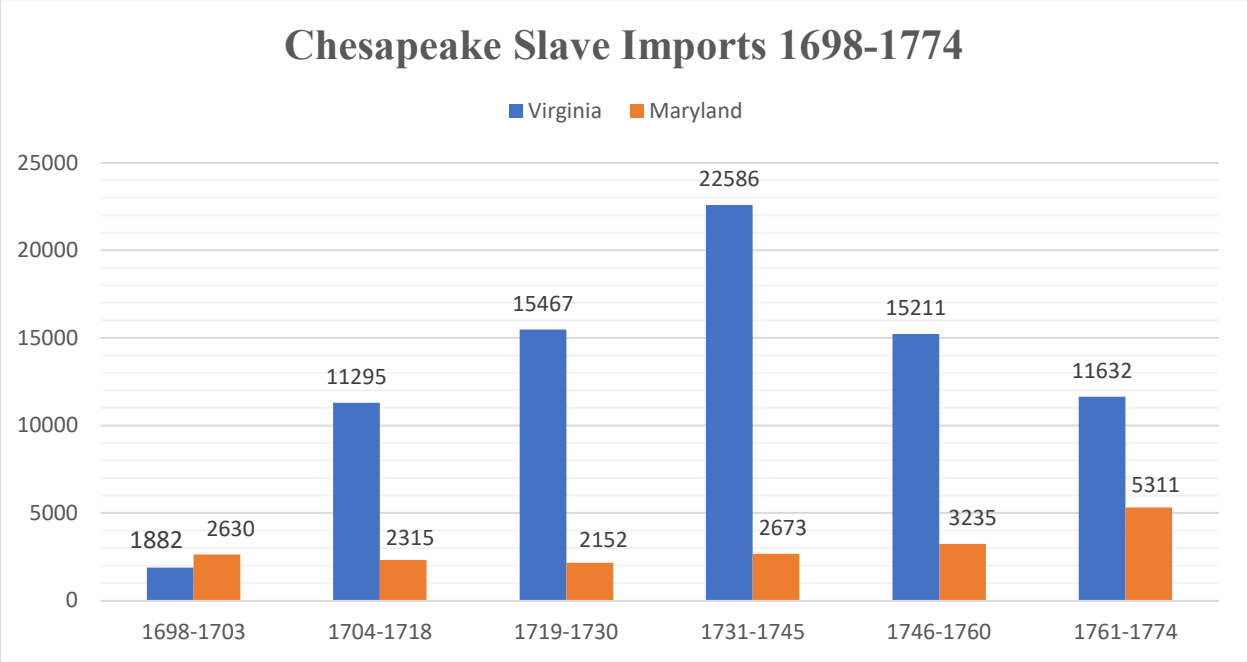

Figure 2 - Source: John J. McCusker, "Slaves imported into Virginia and Maryland: 1698-1774." Table Eg214-216 in Historical Statistics of the United States, Earliest Times to the Present: Millennial Edition, edited by Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch, and Gavin Wright. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/ISBN-9780511132971.Eg194-216.

Many historians have categorized the demographics of the Low Country, as a "black majority."[8] Figures 3 and 4 show the emergence of a black majority in the population from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century. Evidence from Figure 4 shows that the only noteworthy increase consisted of the black population in the Low Country. African slaves significantly outnumbered the white population throughout the centuries. The data supports Philip Morgan's claim that the Low Country's colonies did not emerge from a society with slaves to a slave society. Nonetheless, it did become a more productive slave society.[9] Both figures depict a continual increase in the slave population. The evidence further proves the varying process between the two slave regions, in the transition to a slave society.

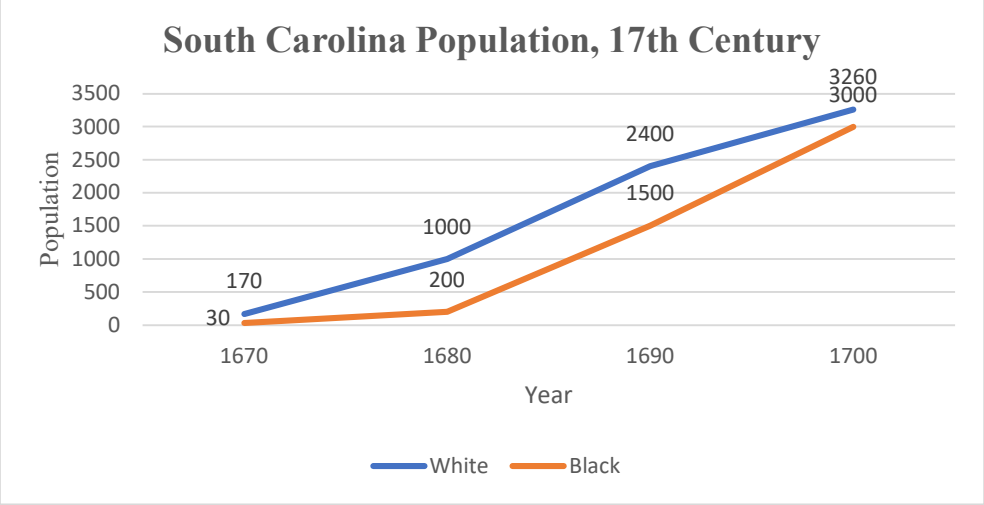

Figure 3 - Source: John J. McCusker, "Population, by race and by colony or locality: 1610-1780." Table Eg1-59 in Historical Statistics of the United States, Earliest Times to the Present: Millennial Edition, edited by Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch, and Gavin Wright. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/ISBN-9780511132971.Eg1-193.

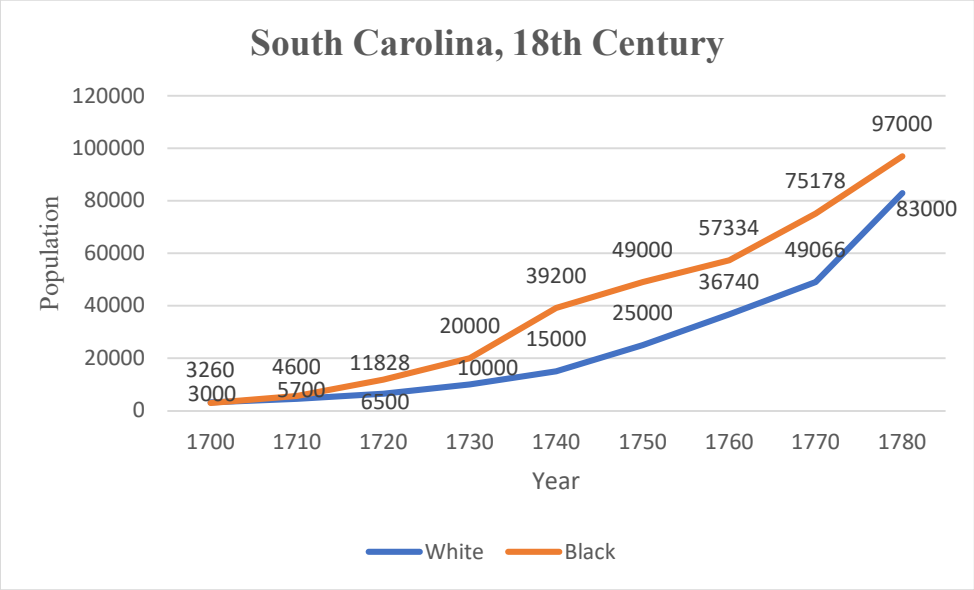

Figure 4 - Source: John J. McCusker, "Population, by race and by colony or locality: 1610-1780." Table Eg1-59 in Historical Statistics of the United States, Earliest Times to the Present: Millennial Edition, edited by Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch, and Gavin Wright. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/ISBN-9780511132971.Eg1-193.

Due to the economic demand, the slave population multiplied from importations. Eventually, the population self-reproduced at rapid rates, like in the Chesapeake.[10] A large population of Africans entering British colonies to meet the colony's economic demands showed the "emergence" of a slave society.[11] From the work of historians, we can understand the regional differences of each emerging slave society. Peter Wood's work in the Low Country exemplifies the constant wave of African slave imports and how the slave population became the majority.[12] During the seventeenth-century slave importations, planters preferred men over women, which created unbalanced sex ratios in the early years of the seventeenth century.[13] Berlin explains the correlation of balanced sex ratios of the slave population with the slave trade in the seventeenth century. In a slave society, the slave traders prioritized the Caribbean sugar plantations' demand for male slaves, forcing Chesapeake planters not to be selective of their slave purchases.[14] As

Morgan notes, the end of the seventeenth century had high sex ratios and an increase in slave imports.[15] During the seventeenth century in a society with slaves, indentured servants and slaves worked alongside each other.[16] Morgan identified gang labor in the Chesapeake, in which white overseers supervised the slaves.[17] Morgan asserts that the Low Country since the beginning of settlement was a slave society.[18] He also states that the black population lived on more extensive plantations surrounded by other blacks away from their white masters.[19] The slave population overtime increasingly grew, and black made up the majority of the population of the colony in the Low Country.[20]

The data sets show that the two colonies showed the progression of the population over time. The evidence shows the Chesapeake demographic changes, a higher population of indentured servants, and a low total of blacksBy the eighteenth century, there is a substantial increase in the slave population in both colonies. As argued by Morgan, the Low Country by the eighteenth century became a more productive slave society and had always been a slave society.[21] As Russell Menard argues, the changes in the labor supply population contribute to a shift to a slave society.[22] Identifying the staple crop thesis of the two slave regions will illustrate the shift from an indentured labor population to a slave labor population.

Economics

In a plantation economy, the priority became to produce more of the staple crop to benefit the colonies' economy. As shown in seventeenth century Chesapeake, European servants made up the labor population. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, the labor demand shifted from servants to African slaves. Bacon's Rebellion showed the flaws in using servants due to their

demands for status, land, and better living conditions.[23] Historians have researched the economics of different British and provide an analysis of each colony's staple crop to understand the shift from a society with slaves to a slave society. The economic demands are among one of the main reasons why the shift from indentured servants to slave labor happened in the mainland British American colonies.

Tobacco was the staple crop of the Chesapeake, while rice and indigo were the Low Country's staple crop. For the plantation economy to work in the colony, the staple crop had to be the only crop planted. The crop cycle determined all aspects of life for the colony. Demographics of the Chesapeake and Low Country correlated with the cultivation of the staple crop. In Figure 5, the dataset shows the tobacco prices from the Chesapeake in the seventeenth century. Overall the prices of tobacco increased in the Chesapeake once the labor population shifted to African slaves. From the seventeenth century to the eighteenth century, the prices increased 128.3%. According to Figure 5, in the seventeenth century, the prices of tobacco decreased. In the York River Basin in the years 1648 to 1697, there is a 57% decrease in prices. In Rappahannock River Basin from the years 1670 to 1700, there is a 25.4% decrease. Then in the eighteenth century in Virginia in the York River Basin had a 115% increase. In the Rappahannock River Basin, the prices increased from 1700 to 1800, 11.2%. Figure 5 depicts an emerging slave society and that the demand for the staple crop created a demand for labor to continue the cultivation of the staple crop.

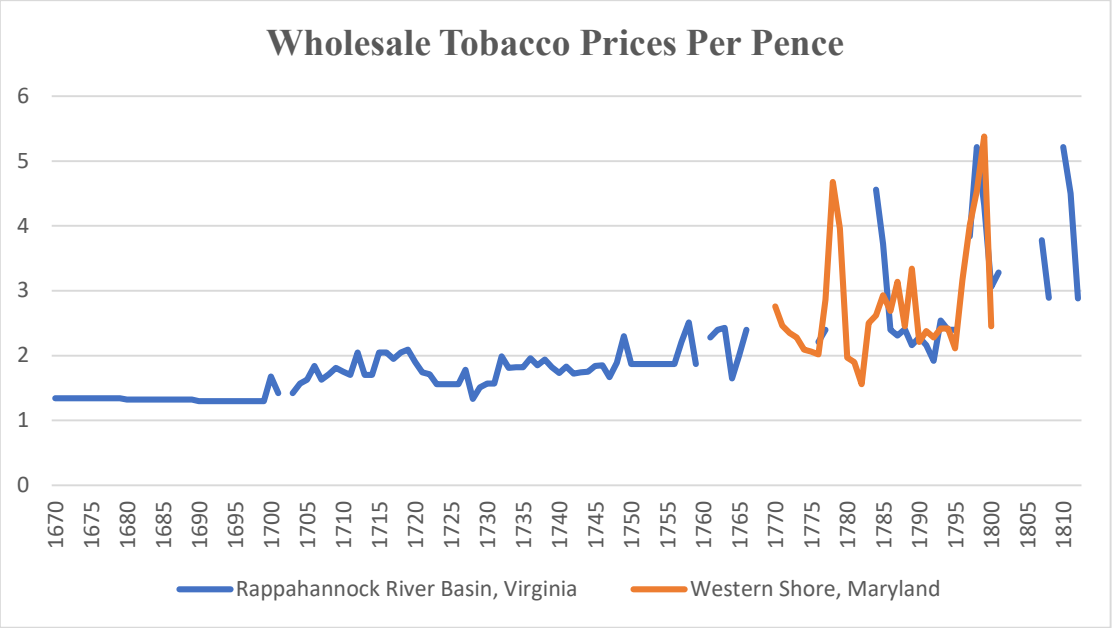

Figure 5 - Source: John J. McCusker, "Wholesale tobacco prices in Virginia and Maryland, by region: 1647-1820." Table Eg275-284 in Historical Statistics of the United States, Earliest Times to the Present: Millennial Edition, edited by Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch, and Gavin Wright. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/ISBN-9780511132971.Eg247-301.

As Morgan and Nichollas examined, the European demand for certain goods around 1720 caused a demand increase in prices.[24] The master class's demand for labor transformed society and created a "slave society."[25] Allan Kulikoff studied the correlation between the emergence of a slave labor force with the economy of the southern colonies. Kulikoff argues that tobacco productivity increased by the mid-seventeenth century, and the master class saw a need for more laborers to speed up and increase tobacco production.[26] Indentured servants from England met the demands of the planters. However, the demands for labor increased due to labor contracts ending or servants dying from the harsh conditions.[27] Despite the need, the planter class hesitated to utilize the African slave population. However, with the diminishing of servant trade and conflict among

the white population by the 1690s, the planter class purchased large numbers of African slaves.[28] By the end of the seventeenth century in the Chesapeake, possession of black slaves determined the white population's status. [29] The white population's dependence on the enslaved showed an element of the shift to a slave society.

When examining the Low Country's staple economy, the data differs from that of Chesapeake. Table 1 shows the total rice, indigo, and silk exports in South Carolina and Georgia from 1698 to 1788. From the late seventeenth century to eighteenth-century South Carolina produced more rice than any other crop. To understand the plantation economy, one must understand the essence of the staple crop. For the plantation economy to efficiently work in the colony, there can only be one staple crop planted, as seen in the Chesapeake. The table shows the dominance of a crop over the cultivation of other crops. Thus, the table pin-points the staple crop.

Low Country Exports, 1698-1788		
Staple Crop Per Thousand Pounds	**South Carolina**	**Georgia**
Silk Total Weight	977	9,831
Indigo Total Weight	15,988.20	218.5
Rice Total Weight	3,911,601	251,425

Table 1 - Source: John J. McCusker, "Rice exported from South Carolina and Georgia: 1698-1790." Table Eg1160-1165 in Historical Statistics of the United States, Earliest Times to the Present: Millennial Edition, edited by Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch, and Gavin Wright. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/ISBN-9780511132971.Eg429-1179.
John J. McCusker, "Indigo and silk exported from South Carolina and Georgia: 1747-1788." Table Eg1027-1032 in Historical Statistics of the United States, Earliest Times to the Present: Millennial Edition, edited by Susan B. Carter,

Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch, and Gavin Wright. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/ISBN-9780511132971.Eg429-1179.

The demographics dramatically changed in the Chesapeake region, and in the Low Country as the importations of African slaves increased. During the seventeenth century in a society with slaves, indentured servants and slaves worked alongside each other.[30] Berlin notes that in a society with slaves, both indentured and slaves had the opportunity for short-term independent economic activities.[31] With those opportunities came the ability to buy their freedom from their earned wages.[32] The British colonies developed a dependence on African slave labor since it benefited and met the colony's labor and economic demands. Because of the large population of African slaves, the plantation owners needed a system to control the growing population.

Politics

Historians now understand that due to the increased population of slaves, the master class needed new forms to control the slave population; through this need came significant restrictions. Through the legal system, the planter class hardened the status of the slave population to limit their freedom. Through the legal system, the planter class hardened the slave population's status limiting their freedom. Throughout the two centuries, the colonists in the Chesapeake and Low Country implemented strict legal codes to separate the black slaves and the white servants. Due to the need for control, the legal system reestablished the white master class' control over their African slaves, creating a racial hierarchy with the emergence of a slave society. In the seventeenth century, a society with slaves, authority, and discipline came through the court systems.[33] A slave society showed that the master's authority permutated to the public and private sector, as did violent

discipline from either "unspoken or written laws."[34] The legal codes reflect the shift from the usage of indentured servitude to slave labor.

The legal codes attempted to separate the white population from blacks. For example, the Virginian legal code of 1691 punished white women from intermarrying a “negroe, mulatto or Indian.”[35] The act also punished the white women by banishing her from the dominion, and if she would to bare a child, she would need to pay a fee. Another example is the legal code XIV of 1656, a law punishing servants from marrying without the consent of their master.[36] The law charged the couple with an additional year of service, and it would add more years of service if the couple conceived a child.[37] An additional legal code that separated whites and blacks showed that the court fined the minster for marrying interracial couples. Act XX of 1705 fined the minster 10,000 pounds of tobacco for marrying either a “white man and a negroe woman” or a “negro man to a white woman.”[38] These laws not only depict the consequences of the intermarrying of the two races but also signal the planter class's attempt to separate the two populations.

In a slave society, indentured servants made up the labor population. However, for the master class, they were an issue. They ran away, ending their labor contract, and that became a primary factor of the shift to an enslaved labor population. Virginia enacted legal codes controlling the hiring of indentured servants. Other whites could not hire indentured servants without consent or a certificate proving from their master.[39] The forced the court to produced legal codes to address the runaway servants, as seen advertised in the colonies’ newspapers. Due to the frequent occurrence in both regions, the labor force turned to an enslaved African population by the eighteenth century.

A Virginian act shows a solidified status of the slave as masters who possessed legitimacy under the law to fully control their slaves. As seen in Act XXXIII, it would not charge a white person for killing a slave in an attempt to capture the slave for running away.[40] The act put out a reward for finding the runaway slave by paying them 1,000 pounds of tobacco. The legal code also allowed killing a slave if they ran away while an indentured servant would have more time added to their contract. Virginia and South Carolina had similar legal codes as the Chesapeake for dealing with runaway slaves and indentured servants; this is apparent in both colonies' statutes.

The legal system reflected the planter's attitude in showing that they needed to keep and control their emerging labor force. In 1702, the legal code VI showed that any freeman in South Carolina had full control over their slave.[41] Another difference of status between the indentured servants and slaves was that the legal system put some restrictions on the master when enacting punishments. The Virginian Act of 1705, when punishing a Christian servant, the master needed a justification for such punishment, or the court would charge the master a fee of thirty pounds of tobacco.[42] Being baptized as a Christian did not free, indentured servants. It did, however, give some protection as evidence shown in the legal codes.

In contrast, when dealing with slaves, the laws clearly defined their inferiority. Though religion indentured servants were protected, that protection did not extend to black slaves. Another unique application and enforcement of power from the master class is the application of status on children. The master class applied a matriarchal status system to the slave population. As the code XXXVI of Virginia stated, baptism did not release slaves from their status, and the child of the slave mother would take the status of their mother and not the father.[43]

The two slave regions, as noted by Morgan, have similar slave codes. The similarities are apparent in Virginia, and South Carolina acts when dealing with indentured servants and slaves. Analyzing the southern colonies, Wilbur Moore found that the legal system reinforced the control over slaves happening throughout the two centuries.[44] He maintains that once legally recognized, the advantages of using slavery over indentured servants increased.[45] Hast finds in researching eighteenth-century Virginia that slave labor became a crucial part of Virginia's staple economy.[46] He also argues that the laws mirrored the planter class' attitudes toward their slaves.[47] The legal codes regulated and reinforced the institution of slavery.[48] Once the master class found a more productive labor force, they needed to control their newfound labor population. The attempts to separate indentured servants from slaves created and reinforced a racial hierarchy in the Colonial Americas. The master class reinforced the established status quo they created in a slave society.[49] As many historians have identified, the legal system became more restrictive over time to control the growing population.[50]

The Utilization of Slave Women

The transition from a society with slaves to slave society affected colonial life, and this is especially true for the regions where slaves made up most of the population. However, the explanation of the shift lacks how the plantation system affected the labor of slave women. As Lorena Walsh states, in a slave society, once the economy became established, the skilled labor exclusive to indentured servants and free whites passed on to slaves.[51] As Brenda Stevenson points out in her study of slave women in the slave communities, women played a critical role in slave societies.[52] Carol Shammas argues that the utilization of female slaves in British Colonial America

is unique to New World plantations.[53] This following of the essay will study Shammas's model and reveal if it applies to all of the Chesapeake and Low Country. Additionally, it will answer if her model is unique exclusively to Virginian plantations. To analyze the utilization of slave women's labor, demographics, skilled labor, and labor outside of the plantation of the two slave regions will be in focus.

Shammas' Model

Carole Shammas' focus is on Virginian plantations and how the master class used female slave labor. Shammas notes that the utilization of female slave labor diverged from traditional Anglo-American views on female labor in New World plantations.[54] She argues that the type of labor conducted affected the living standards because it dictated the production of household products.[55] Throughout the two centuries, the plantation system's changes correlated to the changes in labor for women slaves. The contemporary historiography of this topic has focused on nineteenth-century slave women's labor.[56] Shammas's argument diverges from other historians. She analyzes the changes in the labor of slave women in the slave plantations of colonial Virginia. She begins by highlighting the shift from traditional female labor roles to a labor system similar to Anglo-American societies' view on women's work. Shammas compares European women's labor roles and differentiates them into two categories, domestics, and housewifery.[57] She explains that domestic labor dealt with personal services contributing to the household and housewifery produced goods for the family or the market.[58] Female slaves labored on plantations and dominated in numbers for most of the colonial period. However, Shammas points to evidence that illustrates changes in female slave labor by the mid-eighteenth century. Despite the low population of young

female slaves, by the mid-eighteenth-century female slaves left fieldwork and worked in the household. When female slaves left field labor, they conducted household labor, such as cooking, laundry, and servant duties.[59] Also, Shammas mentions that the household slaves were younger and not the "mammy" figure often associated with house slaves.[60] The only form noted of housewifery labor female slaves conducted would be selling chickens to white families.[61] For Chesapeake, planters would buy household commodities, instead of having slaves or household produce the commodities.[62] This section will analyze the Low Country's utilization of female slave labor and compare and contrast slave women's labor to Shammas's model.

Demography of Female Slavery in the Chesapeake and Low Country

As previously stated, both slave societies obtained more equal sex ratios in the slave population than the free and indentured white population. Historians have looked to the newspapers to shed light on the lives of the slaves. Analyzing newspaper runaway advertisements to find evidence of skilled labor showed that slave men significantly outnumbered female slaves.

To find evidence of skilled labor from slaves, historians have found studying newspapers of the time, such as the *South Carolina Gazette* and *Maryland Gazette.* These periodicals provide a significant amount of data. Table 2 shows the population of slave runaways, the ages, the sex, and the percentage of the female total. The evidence reflects slave runaways of Charlestown in South Carolina from 1733 to 1755 and shows that men outnumbered women. Looking at a sample size of 200 runaway slaves according to their ages, the majority of runaways were young men and ranged on average to 24 years old. In comparison, when the advertisements mentioned women, they usually did not include age or skill like male runaways. The evidence does show that female

runaways made up 29.7 % of the runaways from 1732 to 1755. The majority of fugitive slave women ranged in 21 to 50 age group, and the average female runaway was 20 years old. In the Low Country, skilled slave men outnumbered slave women, meaning slave women would be bound to field labor. A traditional view of female labor did not include fieldwork. In a letter describing South Carolina's settlement, the author did not recommend bringing white women and children to the colonies due to their lack of labor advantage.[63] However, the letter stated that slaves of both sexes would benefit the labor population of the colony. The letter portrays the ideology of using slaves, specifically female slaves. The dogma that slave women were equal to slave men in terms of physical labor and set them apart from white women.

Male and Female Slave Runaways, South Carolina 1732-1755					
	Male Ages		Female Ages		Female %
Year	10 to 20	21 to 50	10 to 20	21 to 50	
1732	3	1	3	2	55.55556
1733	2	1	3	1	57.14286
1734	6	5	-	-	0
1735	4	5	4	1	35.71429
1736	7	2	-	2	18.18182
1737	6	3	2	2	30.76923
1738	4	5	-	1	10
1741	3	2	1	1	28.57143
1742	5	1	1	7	87.5
1743	-	3	-	1	25

1744	2	2	-	1	25
1745	1	3	-	2	33.33333
1746	4	1	-	-	0
1747	3	-	1	1	40
1748	1	2	-	-	0
1750	-	-	1	-	100
1751	3	9	1	1	14.28571
1752	3	1	4	1	55.55556
1753	3	5	2	2	33.33333
1755	4	8	1	2	20

Table 2 - Source: Adapted from *South-Carolina Gazette. Charlestown, S.C. 1732-1755*. Columbia, South Carolina: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 2015-12-07. http://e-archives.sc.gov/file/sdb%3AdigitalFile%7Ca0843534-3207-4ae3-badc-0b919d6342db/.

In the Chesapeake, the slave runaways produced similar results as the Low Country. Of the available data, the total amount of runaways in Maryland from 1730 to 1740. The data would not count all slaves since many runaways went unclaimed by masters for various reasons. For example, most often, the master put up an advertisement for their runways as a last resort.[64] The total amount of women runaways with ages mentioned totaled to 7 out of the 54. Figure 6 shows that most of the runaways from the sample size consisted of men aging from 21 to 50 years of age. The average age for the total amount of runaways ranged to 37.4 years. Female slave runaways in Maryland from 1730 to 1740 and made 12.96% of total slave runaways.

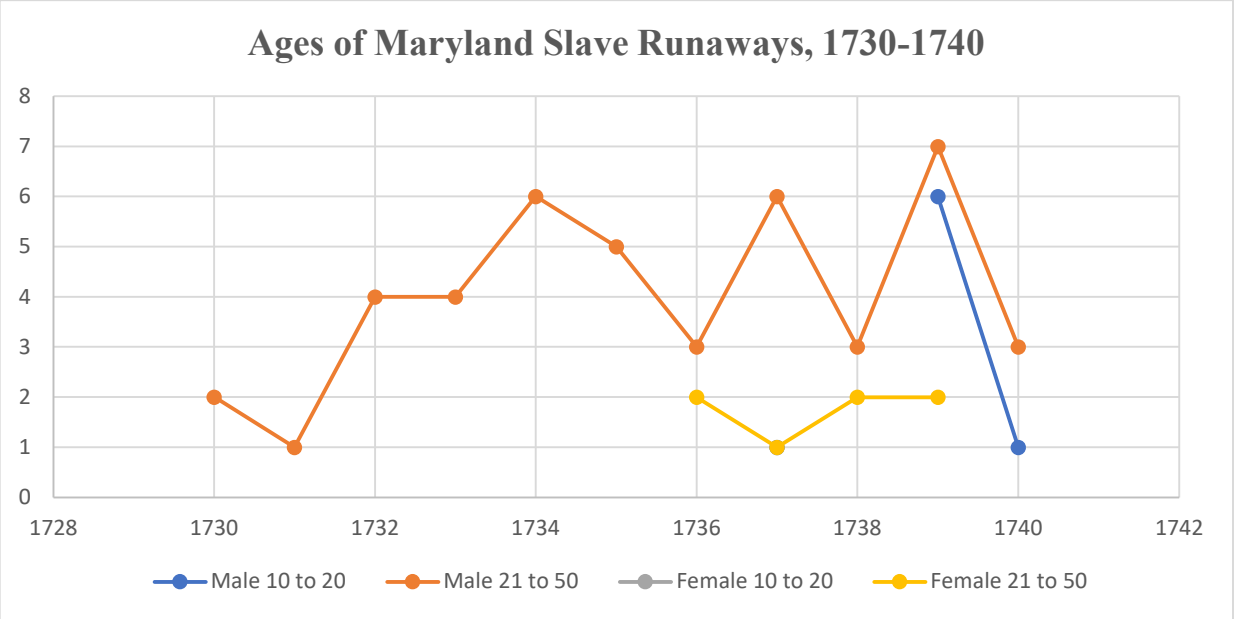

Figure 6 - Source: Adapted from *Runaway Ads*, 1730-1740. Annapolis, Maryland: The Maryland State Archives Presents: Legacy of Slavery in Maryland, An Archives of Maryland Electronic Publication. http://slavery2.msa.maryland.gov/pages/Search.aspx.

To give more background on how the demographics looked in the Chesapeake, the Census conducted will aide in understanding the population. When Maryland conducted its first census 1701, the population totaled 32,238.[65] The population grew, on average, 2.7% from 1704 to 1762, when the African population began to increase dramatically.[66] The Census also concluded that the black population added 96 per every 1000 white person.[67] By 1762 the black population made up 30.3% of the overall total population.[68] Virginia had a similar population as Maryland. When Virginia first conducted its census in 1624, the total population consisted of 1,275 people.[69] The black population accounted for 1.7% of the total population, and by 1703 it increased to 13%.[70] Understanding the demographics gives historians a foundation to comprehend the organization of colonial life. Knowing the sex-ratios will also aide in understanding the utilization of female slaves since males prominently conducted skilled labor.[71] The slave population had more balanced sex

ratios than whites. However, it did not apply to the demographics of the slave runaways. For the runaways of North Carolina, female slave totaled to 17.32% of runaways.[72] Of the female runaways, only 5.7% conducted non-field labor.[73] The tables and figures based on the evidence from the newspaper advertisements showed, both slave regions, slave runaways consisted of slave men outnumbering female slaves also in terms of skilled labor.

Specialized Work of Female Slaves

To reiterate, according to the staple crop thesis, all life, including the economy in a plantation society revolved around the staple crop. According to Philip Morgan, slave societies did not promote domesticity.[74] The plantation system revolving around the staple crop dictated colonial life and its priorities. Changes in the colony's economy meant changes in labor for the slave population. Despite the differences between the two slave regions, we can replicate the Shammas model in the Low Country by examining runaway slave advertisements of the Low Country. One can see the same utilization of female salves as Shammas claimed in the Chesapeake.

In analyzing newspaper advertisements of slave runaways, the findings replicate Shammas's conclusions with the Virginian plantations. Though newspapers rarely mentioned the age of female runaway slaves, when the advertisements mentioned female ages, they tended to be younger. Of the data obtained, the average age of runway skilled females ranged to 26 years old. The evidence showed from Table 3 and Table 4 shows that the Low Country plantations utilized slave women similarly to slave women in the Chesapeake, for domestic and housewifery labor. However, the Low Country's utilization of women diverges from the Shammas model in housewifery.

Skilled Female Slaves, 1733- 1753			
Year	**Name**	**Age**	**Skill**
1733	-	-	Houseworker, Cook, Laundress
1733	-	20	House-servant, Spinning, Seamstress
1734	Frankie	-	House-servant
1735	Hannah	-	Seamstress
1736	Doll	old set	Milk-woman
1741	Nanny	-	Houseworker, Cook, Laundress
1746	Bella	-	Market-woman, Sells diverse things
1748	Ruth	-	Laundress, good washer
1751	Hannah	-	Cake-seller, well known in market
1753	-	-	To be sold, good cook, washer, Understands house-work
1753	Moll	n/a	Washer-women, Laundress

Table 3 - Source: Adapted from *South-Carolina Gazette. Charlestown, S.C. 1732-1755*. Columbia, South Carolina: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 2015-12-07. http://e-archives.sc.gov/file/sdb%3AdigitalFile%7Ca0843534-3207-4ae3-badc-0b919d6342db/.

Skilled Female Slave Labor, 1777-1784		
Year	**Skill**	Age
1777	Seamstress, laundress, needle-work, ironing, washing	27
1777	Seamstress	17
1779	Housemaid, Spinster	18
1780	Wash, Cook	-
1784	Market-woman	36

Table 4 - Source: Adapted from *Gazette of the State of South-Carolina, Charlestown, South Carolina, 12 May 1777 to 9 February 1780*. Columbia, South Carolina: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 2015-12-07. http://e-archives.sc.gov/file/sdb%3AdigitalFile%7Cb6b38792-5900-4376-8bf0-13f0032f8b3a/.

Shammas' model does not account for the market labor to which female slaves contributed. Shammas only mentioned female slaves selling to other white families and not in a market setting. Both Peter Wood and Morgan illustrate that the Low Country's urban centers differentiate from the Chesapeake labor model. Morgan claims that South Carolina in the Low Country had the most apparent rate of skilled labor.[75] Also, the rate of skilled labor for women grew slowly, even in larger estates.[76] Morgan's analysis explains the significant amount of skilled laborers found in the runway advertisements, with men outnumbering women in both total runways and terms of skills. He, too mentions, the slave women in Low Country surpassed Chesapeake housewifery in marketing due to the large urban centers.[77]

Judith Carney offers her study of South Carolina's plantation, arguing that there is a connection between female slave labor and the African division of labor. Carney emphasizes the rice cultivation that slave women brought from Africa. In South Carolina, female slaves sold at higher prices compared to other slave regions.[78] The labor of women was equal to slave men because, in West Africa, rice cultivation was a women's job.[79] The utilization of female slave labor in the Low Country differs from the traditional Anglo-American view of female labor roles. The master class in the Low Country mirrored African labor and cultivation practices in their utilization of female slave labor. As Shammas' model explains, throughout the two centuries, the utilization of female slave labor is one of the New World's unique features. In the case of Low Country, the planter class replicated African practices of cultivation for their staple crop in the New World.

Brenda Stevenson's research on colonial Chesapeake makes the connection of African cultivation practices to the utilization of female slave labor on colonial plantations. Stevenson claims that African women had the capability of physically intense labor because of their labor in African crop cultivation.[80] Stevenson also mentions that the master class found that their knowledge of outside field-labor was useful.[81] African women had diverse skills that they brought from Africa, including spinning, midwifery, healing, and cooking.[82] Colonial Maryland showed similar evidence as to Shammas' findings in Virginia. In Nancy Woloch's study of Maryland slave runways from 1748 to 1763, she describes skilled female laborers. Evidence from the *Maryland Gazette* showed the skilled female slaves doing domestic labor. The newspapers advertised a total of eleven slave women with listed skills of spinning, knitting, washing, and cooking from 1748 to 176, according to their masters.[83] The advertisements also reveal that all the house slaves ranged between the ages of 16 to 27 years.[84]

Female Slaves as Supplementary Labor, Beyond the plantation

Despite available data on what skills or labor that female slaves conducted, the figure above shows an alternative form of utilization. Figure 7 shows the rental of the labor of Maryland female slaves. From the available data, the total amount of slaves rented totaled to 142 during this period. Of the total amount of rented slaves, female slaves accounted for 35.91% of the total. The months that masters rented out their female slaves averaged to 10.9 months out of the year. The data does not report any skilled labor from the slaves; however, the data shows that at least in Maryland, the utilization of female slaves outside their master's plantation. The female slaves contributed to the master's household and did not work on their master's plantation during their rental period.

Masters advertised their female house slaves in the *Maryland Gazette to provide* service in both field and house. According to the *Maryland Gazette, 1748-1763*, the predominant utility of female slaves was as field labor with only one in 20 female slaves working as a house servant.[85] As Shammas' categorizes female house slaves in Virginia as young girls, the same can be said for Maryland.[86]

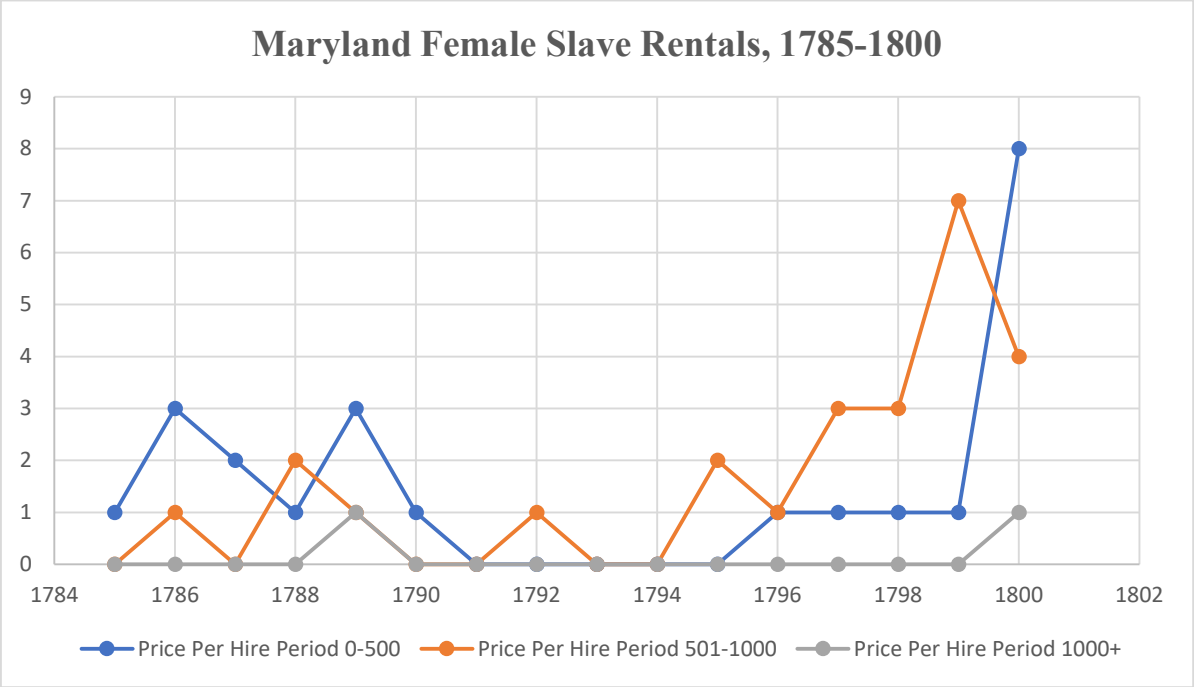

Figure 7 - Source: Adapted from Robert W. Fogel, and Stanley L. Engerman, *Slave Hires, 1775-1865*. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2006-10-11. https://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR07422.v3.

The master class ensured that they kept their control over the slave population even if their slaves would be out of their plantation and supervision. Low Country masters allowed their slaves to be used elsewhere as long as the slave gave a portion of their wages to their masters.[87] To eliminate competition between other whites, skilled slaves could not teach other slaves a trade.[88]

Legal codes also made it illegal to hire a slave without the permission of their master.[89] According to the Slave Code XXX, Charleston slaves could buy and sell goods in the market as long as they had permission from their masters.[90] Evidence reveals that despite slaves obtaining "freedom" from the fieldwork and out of their masters' supervision, the master class still reinforced their control over the slave population.

Joan Rezner Gunderson's work analyzes the experiences of slave women in Virginian plantations in the eighteenth century. Gunderson suggests that the white patriarchal society separated and "burdened" slave women for being both a slave and females.[91] Slave rentals provided the master class with extra income and created an adaptable labor supply for the colony.[92] Gunderson claims that wealthier planters tended to hire out female slaves more often than their male slaves.[93] Sarah S. Huges contributes her analysis of the black labor force in Virginia from 1782 to 1810. She states that slaves before the end of their childhood spent at least one year as a hired laborer in the late eighteenth century.[94]

The master class typically controlled all activities to serve the white economy.[95] Despite any forms of "freedoms" slaves obtained working outside the fields or away from the supervision of an overseer, slaves remained in complete control of the master class. Like Shammas' analysis Jennifer Morgan also argues that the utilization of slave women diverges from traditional female labor roles. As the cultural meaning of labor that English society established, the master class did not continue in the Americas to slave women's labor.[96] Once the slave population met equal sex-ratios, the master class applied the gender ideology of labor they had for white women's work to their female slaves.[97] The master class reinforced their control and put female slaves to work in the fields and hesitated to be skilled laborers.[98] Despite the majority of female slaves working in

the fields, a minority worked outside the field. Evidence shows female slaves working in both domestics and housewifery labor in both slave regions. Slave women dominated the markets in the Low Country to the point of worry by the white population.[99] In Georgia, the white population felt worried about the reliance on the slaves' women marketing skills.[100] The master class attempted to regulate and keep control over the market; however, as Morgan states in her work, the attempts were not effective.[101] Morgan notes that an owner sold his "hard-working" market female slave for disobeying him.[102] The example illustrates that despite the female slave bringing extra income to the masters' if the master felt he could not keep his control, he would sell them.

In the Chesapeake, Gunderson argues that the legal system recognized and reinforced slave women's labor.[103] Gunderson examined Virginian tithe laws of 1769 that coined black female slave women as a foundational part of the "agricultural labor force."[104] The Virginian tithe laws counted black females but did not count white women.[105]Another aspect of control the master had on the slave population was the regulation of their work schedule. Lorena Walsh suggests that the master class throughout the two centuries imposed and strengthened their control over the slave population.[106] The master class would change the work schedule so that it became more rigorous for their slaves throughout the years.[107] Slave women also obtained fewer opportunities for skilled labor as opposed to enslaved men.[108] Despite the restrictions and control the master class imposed on female slaves' labor, female slaves managed to leave the plantations in methods of running away, as market women or in domestic labor.

Conclusion

To show the emergence of a slave society from the seventeenth century to the eighteenth century, focusing on the demographics, economy, and legal system assists in understanding the change. The two slave regions obtained different demographics and that affected other aspects of colonial life. The most prominent characteristic of the transition is the growth of the African population, which caused shifts in colonial society. The different plantation economies showed a diverse progression from indentured servants to slave labor in the two colonies. When the shift from indentured servitude to slaves occurred, control over the slave population followed. The legal codes also showed the establishment of the race-based labor force. Among elements of a slave society, the utilization of female slave labor also changed throughout colonial history Due to Carole Shammas' analysis of the utilization of female slave labor in the Chesapeake, we can compare and apply her model to other regions in colonial America. Evidence from the Low Country showed the utilization of female slaves coincided with the findings of Shammas on the utilization of female slaves in Virginian plantations. A similarity of both colonial regions showed that female slaves also worked in domestic and housewifery labor. A significant difference in labor between the two slave regions was that slave women dominated colonial markets in the Low Country. Evidence from the Low Country not found in Shammas' work shows that masters leased their female slaves, allowing for work outside their master's plantation. Slavery, as an institution, holds significance in history and adds to historians' understanding of British Colonial America. The experience of enslaved women is comparable throughout the colonies and the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when analyzing the exploitation in their labor. The institution of slavery has dramatically transformed within the two centuries of British Colonial America and further changed well into the establishment of the United States.

Notes

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[2] Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion*. New York: Norton & Company, 1975.; Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*: *The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1998). The four main slave regions; the North, Chesapeake, Low Country and Lower Mississippi Valley, each had their own geographies, demographics, economies and societies. Pg.7.; Carole Shammas, mainly focused on the household government authority, her work of utilization shaped the second part of my essay.; Jennifer Morgan, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).; Catherine Lewis and Richard Lewis, *Women and Slavery in America: A Documentary History* (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 2011). Documented sources focused and gave the historiography on black and white women in the Americas. For more historiography on women in colonial America, read: Cynthia A. Kierner, "Women, Gender, Families, and Households in the Southern Colonies." *The Journal of Southern History* 73, no. 3 (2007): 643-58.
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[11] Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 150.
[12] Wood, *Black Majority*, 150.
[13] Ibid.*,* 154.
[14] Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 40.
[15] Ibid.*,* 2.
[16] Ibid.*,* 31.
[17] Ibid.*,* 31.
[18] Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 8.
[19] Ibid.*,* 8.
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[27] Ibid.,33.
[28] Ibid.,40.
[29] Ibid., 44.
[30] Ibid., 31.
[31] Ibid., 31.
[32] Ibid., 33.
[33] Ibid., 32.
[34] Ibid., 97.
[35] Act II., *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year* (1691) vol. 3.
[36] Act XI., *The Statutes at Large of Virginia* (1656). Again, in Act VI, *The Statutes at Large* (1705) vol.3, 444.
[37] Ibid., 444.
[38] Act XX., *The Statutes at Large of Virginia* (1705) vol.*3*, 454.
[39] Act XV., *The Statutes at Large of Virginia (1705) vol.3,*451.
[40] Act XXXII, *The Statutes at Large of Virginia* (1705) vol.3, 459.
[41] Act VI., *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina* (1702) vol.1, 55.
[42] Act VII., *The Statutes at Large of Virginia* (1705) vol.3, 448.
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[57] Ibid., 10.
[58] Ibid., 11.
[59] Ibid., 16.
[60] Ibid., 25.
[61] Ibid., 16.
[62] Ibid., 24.
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[68] Ibid., 149.
[69] Ibid., 153.
[70] Ibid., 161.
[71] Kay and Cary, "Slaves Runaways," .
[72] Ibid., 16.
[73] Ibid., 16.
[74] Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 252.
[75] Ibid., 206.
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[77] Ibid., 250.
[78] Judith Ann Carney, *Black Rice: the African Origins of Rice Cultivation In the Americas.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2001. https://hdl-handle-net.libproxy.csudh.edu/2027/heb.09263.
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[84] Ibid., 56-57.
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[95] Wood, *Black Majority*, 205.
[96] Jennifer L. Morgan, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004. See esp. chap. 5, ""Women's Sweat" Gender and Agriculture Labor in the Atlantic Work."
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[98] Ibid., 145.
[99] Ibid., 160.
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[104] Ibid., 367.
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[106] Walsh, "Slaves and Tobacco," 177.
[107] Ibid., 177.
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