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GODIN & CO.: CHARLESTON MERCHANTS AND THE INDIAN TRADE, 1674–1715

DENISE I. BOSSY*

ON THE EVE OF HIS DEATH IN 1715, JOHN WRIGHT THREATENED to crush and enslave the Yamasees and Coweta Creeks with whom he was ostensibly negotiating on behalf of the colony of Carolina. In a written message to the colonial governor, the Huspah mico (chief) angrily reported the outrage: “Mr. Wright said that the white men would come and . . . [fetch] the Yamasees in one night, and that they would hang four of their headmen and take all the rest of them for Slaves, and that he would send them all off the Country.”¹ Why would Wright, who had been sent to stop the Yamasees and Coweta Creeks from warring against the colony, threaten the assembled leaders? Wright personally knew many of them from years of work as a private trader and through service as the colony’s former Indian agent. He must have understood that at the very least, the Indians would respond with wrath to his threats of murder and enslavement. Indeed, the Yamasees executed Wright and others at Pocotaligo Town on April 15, 1715, and waged war on Carolina. Some months later, the Huspah mico directly attributed their decision for war to the threats Wright had made against them.

What his widow did in 1716 offers clues about Wright’s state of mind before his unexpected death and, more importantly, his plans for his family’s financial future. Eight months after her husband was killed, Eleana Wright opened a store. Her partner in this new business was Huguenot merchant Francis Le Brasseur, out of whose Charleston location they ran their venture. The evidence strongly suggests that John Wright had been preparing for a similar transition, building on his connections in the Indian trade to become a professional, city-based merchant.² Certainly, in the year before his death, Wright made some revealing economic decisions. He rented out and mortgaged his home, moved his family to the commercial district in Charleston, and took out over three thousand pounds in loans

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¹ Huspah King to Charles Craven, 1715, quoted in William L. Ramsey, *The Yamasee War: A Study of Culture, Economy, and Conflict in the Colonial South* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 228.

² *Eleana Wright v. Francis Le Brasseur*, filed September 23, 1717, in Anne King Gregorie, ed., *The Records of the Court of Chancery of South Carolina, 1671–1779* (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1950), 208–229. The case record is incomplete, even as to the outcome. When the partnership fell apart, Eleana Wright called on two “friends,” Thomas Barton and John Barnwell, both of whom were prominent in the Indian trade, for assistance.

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from several Charleston merchant firms. The largest loan was from Godin & Co. After years of trying to use the Indian trade as a springboard for financial success, Wright had come to understand that the real money was in merchant work. Burdened by the weight of his worrisome debts and facing the likelihood that the trading season would end disastrously for him, thereby derailing his plans, Wright lashed out at the Yamasees in a fit of frustration and desperation.

Wright's disastrous emotional outburst did not signify a lack of commercial sophistication on his part regarding the Indian trade. In fact, he and other aspiring traders and merchants had a level-headed grasp of the trade in slaves and animal pelts that fueled the young colony's fragile economy. Although this Indian trade enriched many Carolinians, its profits were not shared equally. Wright, for one, struggled. As he was painfully aware, Godin & Co. and other Charleston merchants who sold Indian trade goods for cash and credit leveraged their dealings in the Indian trade into increasingly intricate and profitable enterprises. While Charleston merchants bequeathed their children estates of considerable wealth, Indian traders—even some of the more prominent ones like John Wright—often left debt-ridden legacies.

Wright's main creditor, Godin & Co., illustrates the importance of merchants to Carolina's early Indian trade. They were a Huguenot firm that included Benjamin Godin, his partner Benjamin de La Conseillère, and their copartner Jean Guérard, the company's founder and namesake until his death in 1714. Godin & Co. was one of the two most prosperous Charleston merchant firms in the early eighteenth century, and its success was due in no small measure to its deep involvement in the Indian trade. During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Charleston's budding merchant community built up a network of exchange that connected South Carolinians with the Atlantic world economy. This was the conduit for importing goods needed in the Indian trade, raising credit with which to fund Indian traders, and exporting the tens of thousands of Indian slaves and hundreds of thousands of deerskins that Indian traders brought to Charleston between 1674 and 1715.

It is now widely accepted that the trade in Indian slaves and animal pelts was crucial to South Carolina's economy through the 1710s, providing a much-needed domestic source of labor and goods. This trade in slaves and pelts was even more significant to the survival and growth of early Carolina than the export of forest products, livestock and provisions, and rice. While scholarship on South Carolina's early Indian trade, particularly the Indian slave trade, has blossomed since the early 2000s, the importance of merchants to that trade has received scant consideration. Focusing on the British traders who traveled to Indian communities, historians of the Indian trade have studied the complex political, social, and economic

relationships involved in that aspect of the commerce.³ Less understood are the roles that specific merchants played in constructing the networks of credit and exchange upon which the Indian trade depended. Economic historians have looked carefully at Charleston merchants, to be sure, but even these scholars largely treat the Indian slave trade as incidental to the development of Charleston's merchant community, devoting more attention to the rice, livestock, and forest trades. Moreover, when considering what the Indian deerskin trade meant for Charleston's mercantile interests, they tend to skip forward to the period after the Yamasee War ended in 1717. As a result, we still have much to learn about how individual merchants underwrote the early Indian trade in slaves and pelts and how that trade, in turn, promoted South Carolina's growing merchant community prior to the Yamasee War.⁴

³ Both Alan Galloway and William Ramsey appreciate the importance of the early Indian trade to South Carolina's economy and recognize that merchants supplied the credit and trade goods that made it possible, but neither devotes much attention to merchants. See Galloway, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670–1717* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2002), 49, 246–247; Ramsey, *Yamasee War*, 68–73. Verner W. Crane and Philip M. Brown linked merchants and the Indian trade in their earlier studies, paving a path that scholars have yet to pursue. See Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670–1732* (1928; repr., New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1981), 108–125; Brown, "Early Indian Trade in the Development of South Carolina: Politics, Economics, and Social Mobility during the Proprietary Period, 1670–1719," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 76 (July 1975): 118–128. For an astute analysis of how Indians contributed to the South Carolina economy, see Peter C. Mancall, Joshua L. Rosenbloom, and Thomas Weiss, "Indians and the Economy of Eighteenth-Century Carolina," in *The Atlantic Economy during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Organization, Operation, Practice, and Personnel*, ed. Peter A. Coclanis (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005), 297–322. On how the South Carolina Indian deerskin trade functioned after the Yamasee War, see Eirlys M. Barker, "Indian Traders, Charles Town, and London's Vital Links to the Interior of North America, 1717–1755," in *Money, Trade, and Power: The Evolution of Colonial South Carolina's Plantation Economy*, ed. Jack P. Greene, Rosemary Brana-Shute, and Randy J. Sparks (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001), 141–165. On the responses of southeastern Indians to commercial trading, see Joseph M. Hall Jr., *Zamumo's Gifts: Indian-European Exchange in the Colonial Southeast* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009); Christina Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010); Robbie Ethridge, *From Chicaza to Chickasaw: The European Invasion and the Transformation of the Mississippian World, 1540–1715* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

⁴ Guérard and his associates receive a fair share of attention in these studies, notably those by Stuart Owen Stumpf and R. C. Nash, but not for their involvement in the Indian trade. Stumpf, for example, argues that the Indian slave trade inhibited rather than promoted the development of Charleston's early merchant community. See Stumpf, "The Merchants of Colonial Charleston, 1680–1756" (Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 1971), 19; Nash, "Huguenot Merchants and the

The gap in our collective understanding of merchants' involvement in Carolina's early Indian trade has its reason: not a single account register or letterbook from a Charleston-based merchant who operated prior to the 1730s is known to have survived.⁵ The lone account register that exists for the period under study here was from a visiting merchant company and records sales of goods from aboard a ship briefly docked in Charleston Harbor during the spring of 1712.⁶ Similar accounts for Godin, Le Brasseur, and other early Charleston merchants are simply not to be found. Documentation is a bit better for the mid eighteenth century, but even in this later period, we find only three merchants with records substantial enough to have at-

Development of South Carolina's Slave-Plantation and Atlantic Trading Economy, 1680–1775," in *Memory and Identity: The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora*, ed. Bertrand Van Ruymbeke and Randy J. Sparks (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), 208–240; Nash, "The Organization of Trade and Finance in the Atlantic Economy: Britain and South Carolina, 1670–1775," in Greene, Brana-Shute, and Sparks, *Money, Trade, and Power*, 74–107; Nash, "South Carolina and the Atlantic Economy in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Economic Review* 45 (November 1992): 677–702. Other important studies of South Carolina's early economy include Converse D. Clowse, *Economic Beginnings in Colonial South Carolina, 1670–1730* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971), and Peter A. Coclanis, *The Shadow of a Dream: Economic Life and Death in the South Carolina Low Country, 1670–1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

⁵ This has forced scholars interested in understanding the Indian slave trade to rely heavily on the colony's political records, official correspondence, and surviving narrative accounts and letters of several prominent traders, leading to the relative marginalization of merchants. Regular records of the port of Charleston and the Naval Office shipping lists only begin in 1717. See Port of Charles Town, Record of Clearings, 1717–1720, series S195001, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia (SCDAH); Naval Office Shipping Lists, South Carolina, 1717–1767, CO 5/508–511, National Archives, London (NAL). A single port record noting the number of Indian slaves exported from Charleston has survived. See "An Exact Account of the Goods Imported into and Export out of the Province from the Sixth Day of June 1712 to the 6th Day of June 1713," CO 5/1265: 29, NAL. The first and second items on the list of exports are 73,790 deerskins and seventy-five Indians. On the limits of tracking Indian slaves shipped to Caribbean ports through their import records, see Gally, *Indian Slave Trade*, 299–300. There are London import records for deerskin and other animal pelts, but they offer no information on which merchants were exporting and importing these pelts. See Colonial Office, America and the West Indies, Virginia: Original Correspondence, Board of Trade, 1715–1717, CO 5/1317, p. 178, NAL. Also useful for later studies are the ledgers of the public treasurer at the SCDAH.

⁶ "Ledger of a Partnership of Merchants and Shippers, Nathaniel Lewis and Alexander Bayly, of Charleston, South Carolina, 1711–1712," MS 11096, London Metropolitan Archives. They sold Indian trade goods to a number of prominent merchants, including Isaac Mazyck. R. C. Nash thinks they were sitting in port at the time. Nash pers. comm. to the author, August 2011.

tracted the notice of scholars.⁷ Given these source limitations, a number of important questions are impossible to answer definitely. For instance, we cannot statistically assess how profitable the Indian trade was for Charleston merchants or Indian traders. Nor can we properly determine the value of the Indian slave and pelt trades to Charleston's merchant sector—or more broadly, to the colonial economy—between 1674 and 1715.

There is another body of sources, however, that heretofore has been largely overlooked. Court records shed light on the relationships merchants created with Indian traders through their selling and lending practices. Charleston merchants frequently filed lawsuits against their debtors in the Court of Common Pleas, the judicial arena responsible for debt litigation in the colony.⁸ Merchants were the most active litigants in the court during the early eighteenth century, and the most litigious merchant company in the 1710s and 1720s was the one comprised of Jean Guérard, Benjamin Godin, and Benjamin de La Conseillère.⁹ Guérard was the plaintiff in nine cases before the Court of Common Pleas.¹⁰ After his death, Guérard's business partners, Godin and La Conseillère (often referred to as Godin & Co.), were plaintiffs in no less than thirty-seven cases between 1714 and 1724. These lawsuit records, along with business accounts preserved in South Carolina's Miscellaneous Records of the Secretary of the Province Series, allow us to trace the connections between Godin, his partners, and the Indian traders who were their clients. These suits also include details about the goods that the company bought and sold for the Indian trade, the terms of their loans, and their acquisition of animal pelts and Indian slaves.

Since there is insufficient data for statistical analysis of Godin & Co., we must rely on a socio-cultural examination of the company's links to the Indian trade, particularly their financial and, at times, personal relationships

⁷ Most notable are the letterbooks of Robert Pringle and Jean Guérard Jr. along with the Henry Laurens Papers. See *The Letterbook of Robert Pringle, 1737–1745*, ed. Walter Edgar, 2 vols. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1972); John (Jean) Guérard Letterbook, 1752–1754, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston; *The Papers of Henry Laurens (1746–1792)*, ed. George C. Rogers Jr., David R. Chesnut, and C. James Taylor, 16 vols. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1968–2003).

⁸ The court began to keep regular records in 1703, when Nicholas Trott was appointed chief justice.

⁹ Michael Woods, "The Culture of Credit in Colonial Charleston," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 99 (October 1998): 360–362. Woods found that Joseph and Samuel Wragg appeared as plaintiffs in the most cases over the period of his study (twenty-four cases between 1704 and 1769), but he did not include cases from Guérard, Godin, or La Conseillère in his sampling. On the importance of Godin & Co., see Nash, "Huguenot Merchants," 217.

¹⁰ Guérard filed seven of these cases jointly with his business partners: four with his first partner, Louis Pasquereau, and three with Godin and La Conseillère.

with Indian traders and other merchants.¹¹ We will begin by investigating the trade networks that Godin and his business partners established in Carolina. In so doing, we will argue that their economic success arose from three circumstances: the ties they forged with each other, their prominence in Charleston politics, and their local business associations with Indian traders. Next, we will analyze the company's hand in the Indian trade through their import and export of Indian trade goods, their supplying of credit to traders and merchants, and their acquisition of animal pelts and Indian slaves for sale domestically and abroad. Through their lending, selling, and buying practices, Godin & Co. capitalized on the Indian trade and expanded their business network. Charleston merchants were the main beneficiaries of the Indian trade, and their success, as we shall see, was based above all on the entangled web of financial and interpersonal relationships that connected them to numerous individuals engaged in every level of the trade.

BUILDING NETWORKS

The far-flung network of trade connections that Charleston merchants carefully constructed and cultivated was essential to the success of their businesses. Encompassing Indian traders, South Carolina planters, and London financiers in addition to markets and producers across the Southeast and the Atlantic Ocean, this network greatly expanded the abilities of merchants to move goods, provide credit, and earn profit. In the early eighteenth century, merchants increasingly arrived in Carolina with some of their Atlantic connections already in place. The more prominent merchants acted as factors or agents for companies in London or Bristol, selling goods for a small percentage of the proceeds. Jean Guérard served as agent for the London-based Company of Merchants Trading to Pennsylvania at the start of his partnership with Louis Pasquereau in 1700.¹² As the company grew, even after Pasquereau's death when Benjamin Godin and Benjamin de La Conseillère came aboard, these English connections remained pivotal

¹¹ For a valuable consideration of how to reconstruct social and financial networks, see Darrett B. Rutman with Anita H. Rutman, *Small Worlds, Large Questions: Explorations in Early American Social History, 1600–1850* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1994), 34–56, 209–230. For an enlightening application of this model, see Bradford J. Wood, *This Remote Part of the World: Regional Formation in Lower Cape Fear, North Carolina, 1725–1775* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004).

¹² January 16 and February 8, 1700, Miscellaneous Records of the Secretary of the Province, 1694–1705, ST 0458, microfilm, pp. 269–272, 365–367, SCDAH. Walter B. Edgar and N. Louise Bailey believe that Pasquereau & Co. started in 1703 or 1706. Edgar and Bailey, *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives*, vol. 2, *The Commons House of Assembly, 1692–1775* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1977), 296–297, 510–511. But Guérard and Pasquereau begin to appear jointly in the Miscellaneous Records several years earlier. In 1700 London

to the partnership. In 1718 Godin and La Conseillère described themselves as “factors and Agents To and for diverse Merchants resideing [*sic*] in Great Britain.”¹³ But Godin & Co. was not simply the representative of larger British merchant firms. Rather, the partners complemented their work for British interests by building their own networks in Carolina.

Relatively little scholarly attention has been paid to relationships between Charleston merchants and their colonial clients, yet it is only by examining these connections that we can more fully understand the roles of merchants in Carolina’s early Indian trade. Charleston merchants pursued three main strategies to foster their local connections. First, they established partnerships with other merchants in Charleston, which were frequently cemented through real and fictive forms of kinship. These partnerships enabled them to engage in independent trading, thereby expanding their businesses and increasing profit margins.¹⁴ For example, few merchants or shippers were able to purchase, maintain, and outfit ships. By partnering, though, merchants could together purchase shares in a ship. A month before the Yamasee War, Godin and La Conseillère jointly purchased seven-sixteenths of the thirty-ton sloop *Recovery*.¹⁵ Secondly, Charleston merchants assumed public office, shrewdly selecting political positions that furthered their economic ambitions. Finally, they forged relationships with Indian traders and planters, hiring or financing traders to work on their account in Indian towns and supplying their clients with the goods and credit they needed

merchant Peter Renew and Catherine DuBois, the widow of Barbadian merchant Thomas DuBois, empowered Guérard and Pasquereau to recover the contents of Renew’s ship in case Isaac Mazyck was unable to fulfill his obligations. January 13, 1700, Miscellaneous Records, 1694–1705, ST 0458, microfilm, pp. 243–244, SCDAH. For more on this particular case, see May 17, 1700, *ibid.*, pp. 359–360. For additional London connections, see *ibid.*, p. 361. In 1700 Pasquereau was the clerk for the governor and lived in his house. This situation undoubtedly helped to facilitate some of these early connections. Charles H. Lesser, *South Carolina Begins: The Records of a Proprietary Colony, 1663–1721* (Columbia: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1995), 180.

¹³ *Benjamin Godin et al. v. Elena Wright*, filed January 31, 1717, in Gregorie, *Records of the Court of Chancery*, 245.

¹⁴ In his study of Charleston’s successful early merchants—that is, those involved in the trade for at least ten years between 1700 and 1730—Stumpf identified seven key characteristics. Many merchants did not display all of these characteristics, but Godin & Co. did: working with partners, involvement in the Indian trade, owning stock in ships, connections to Atlantic merchants, owning land outside of Charleston, lending money, and involvement in the African slave trade. See Stumpf, “Merchants of Colonial Charleston,” 73–75.

¹⁵ The ship was registered in Charleston in 1715, and the company sold its shares twenty months later. November 3, 1716, Miscellaneous Records, 1709–1721, ST 0459, microfilm, pp. 431–432, SCDAH.

to expand their own enterprises. Through this local network, merchants also acquired domestic goods to sell in Carolina or export.

Because they were particularly adept at creating both local and transatlantic networks, Huguenot merchants like Godin & Co. played a leading role in the growth of Charleston's first professional merchant class, which emerged at the dawn of the eighteenth century. Huguenot merchants turned their religious diaspora into an economic asset by taking advantage of the expansion of the British Empire and incorporating new Atlantic ports into their trading networks. Between 1680 and 1700, a wave of four to five hundred French Huguenots came to Carolina during the formative stage of Charleston's development as a major port. Among the immigrants were Jean Guérard and his first partner, Louis Pasquereau.¹⁶ In the late 1670s, the Lords Proprietors of Carolina had launched a program aimed at recruiting Huguenot refugees living in London or on the Continent to their colony. This occurred during a period when the French Crown was intensifying efforts to eradicate Protestantism that culminated in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1680.¹⁷ By 1700 Huguenots constituted 30 percent of Charleston's merchant community, which was a significant proportion since French exiles were only 15 percent of Carolina's European population at the time.¹⁸ Having already fled their homeland, Charleston's early Huguenot merchants were far more committed than their British counterparts to staying in the colony permanently. While the majority of Charleston merchants worked with business partners at some point in their careers, Godin and his partners surpassed most others through their longevity as well as the exclusivity of their company. The evidence demonstrates that they pursued all of their merchant interests collectively, together investing in ships, selling merchandise, extending credit, making loans, and suing debtors. Few other merchants in early Charleston could say the same.

The history of Godin & Co. began with the arrival of young Jean Guérard in 1680 aboard the ship bearing the first group of French Huguenot refugees to Carolina. Accompanying Guérard were his parents and five siblings.¹⁹ Guérard's father, in fact, had been one of the two organizers of the voyage. Many of the passengers came as members of groups of families and friends in search of not only religious freedom and personal safety but also economic and political opportunity. When they disembarked from the

¹⁶ Nash, "Huguenot Merchants," 208–212.

¹⁷ Bertrand Van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden: The Huguenots and Their Migration to Colonial South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 25–49.

¹⁸ The total white population of the colony was 3,250 in 1700. Nash, "Huguenot Merchants," 208–212.

¹⁹ Van Ruymbeke, *New Babylon*, 85. St. Julien R. Childs, "The Petit-Guérard Colony," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 43 (January 1942): 1–17.

Richmond, however, the Huguenot passengers discovered that the ten-year-old colony was embroiled in a war with the Westo Indians. Only six years earlier, the Westos had initiated a trade alliance with Carolina colonists, exchanging their animal pelts and Indian slaves for colonial imports including guns and ammunition.²⁰ Carolinians started the war with the Westos in 1680, quickly won it, and sold their Westo captives as slaves. Through this decisive action, they effectively removed or neutralized two of the main impediments to the Indian trade: the Westos, who had controlled the interior trading routes, and the Lords Proprietors, who had a monopoly on the Indian trade beyond the colonial settlements.²¹ The Westo War initiated several decades of expansive and largely unregulated trading by Carolinians in Indian slaves and animal pelts. Guérard was a youth when this new era in the Indian trade was born, and he came of age along with it.

As a minor, Guérard witnessed merchants and traders exploiting the enslavement of Westos and other southeastern Indians for personal gain. Huguenot immigrants had expected that slavery would form an essential component of their economic enterprises in Carolina, but they initially anticipated that those slaves would be African, not Indian.²² However, the large-scale enslavement of Indians in Carolina and the importance of Indian bodies, knowledge, and skill to the colony's economic growth changed Huguenot constructions of both slavery and Indians. This shift in understanding is reflected in one of the pamphlets intended to promote Huguenot immigration to Carolina: in 1685 the author of *Nouvelle Relation de la Caroline* described Indian servants as a valuable resource for prospective settlers.²³

When Guérard went into business with Pasquereau in 1700, he found strength in partnering with another Huguenot. This is a pattern he would follow throughout his career as a merchant. Pasquereau was in Carolina by 1690, and like Guérard, he came with family—his father, mother, and brother. Initially, both Guérard and Pasquereau followed in the footsteps

²⁰ Henry Woodward, "A Faithfull Relation of My Westoe Voiage, 1674," in *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650–1708*, ed. A. S. Salley Jr. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911), 132.

²¹ Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*, 56–60.

²² In his list of recommendations for forming a successful Huguenot community in Carolina, the author of one pamphlet called for immigrants to purchase enslaved African men and women "en commun": "3. L'Achat de tous les Negres & Negresse qu'on jugera necessaires pour le service de la confederation." *Plan pour Former un Etablissement en Caroline* (The Hague: Meindert Uytwerf, 1686).

²³ A 1680s account of Carolina included a description of Indians as "servant fort fidelement, dans toutes les occasions ou on les employe." *Nouvelle Relation de la Caroline par un Gentil-Homme François Arrivé, depuis Deux Mois, de ce Nouveau Pais* (The Hague: Meyndert Uytwerf, 1685?).

of their fathers: Guérard became a weaver and Pasquereau, a merchant.²⁴ But Guérard's career as a weaver was short-lived. By Pasquereau's death in 1711, Guérard had been a merchant for over a decade. When his partner passed away, Guérard established a second company, this time with two fellow natives of Normandy, Godin and La Conseillère.²⁵ Godin and La Conseillère were part of a second wave of Huguenot immigrants to Carolina who were attracted to the colony in the early eighteenth century by the rapid expansion of its trade economy. Many of these new immigrants were experienced merchants with well-developed connections to England and the West Indies.²⁶ Godin's father had sent him to serve as the Charleston factor for the family's London-based company, so he was especially well positioned in this regard.²⁷

The bond between Guérard and Godin proved to be the cornerstone of the company and was expressed through business as well as a deep, lasting tie of friendship—and ultimately, kinship.²⁸ La Conseillère also was an important figure in Guérard's life; he served as one of the witnesses to the will that Guérard penned on his sick bed. Guérard further entrusted both of his "Copartners" with appraising his estate after his passing. But his bond with Godin was even stronger. He was one of the three executors of the will, responsible for ensuring that all of Guérard's financial plans were implemented. As an additional testament to the abiding link between the

²⁴ Pasquereau was born in Tours, France, in 1674 and naturalized in Carolina in 1697. His father had been a merchant in Tours. June 1, 1702, Miscellaneous Records, 1694–1705, ST 0458, microfilm, pp. 421–422, SCDAAH; Van Ruymbeke, *New Babylon*, 36–37, 84–85. Like most merchants, Pasquereau had a lot in Charleston as well as plantation land in Goose Creek. *Ibid.*, 72, 78–79, 128–129; Edgar and Bailey, *Biographical Directory*, 2: 510–511. Nash found that 75 percent of the sons of Huguenot merchants who arrived between 1680 and 1720 became merchants in Charleston as well. Nash, "Huguenot Merchants," 225. Artisans numbered highest in this first generation, but merchants were a close second. There were fifty-three artisans (28.3 percent) and thirty-nine merchants (20.8 percent) in the first generation of Carolina Huguenots. Bertrand Van Ruymbeke, "The Huguenots of Proprietary South Carolina: Patterns of Migration and Integration," in Greene, Brana-Shute, and Sparks, *Money, Trade, and Power*, 34.

²⁵ July 25, 1708, Miscellaneous Records, 1704–1709, ST 0361, microfilm, pp. 203–204, SCDAAH; Van Ruymbeke, *New Babylon*, 128–130, 238.

²⁶ Godin and La Conseillère were both from Normandy. Godin was born in 1674 in Le Havre, and La Conseillère was baptized in Quevilly in 1684. Van Ruymbeke, *New Babylon*, 291, n. 57.

²⁷ Nash, "Huguenot Merchants," 210–211, 217–218. Benjamin Godin's father, David Godin, was a wealthy merchant from Rouen who relocated his family to London in the early 1690s. David and his other son Stephen remained in London, while Benjamin went to Charleston.

²⁸ Van Ruymbeke also makes this point about Godin and La Conseillère, though he discusses only the marriage of Marianne Godin to Jean Guérard Jr. and their naming of one of their sons Godin. Van Ruymbeke, *New Babylon*, 215.

Guérards and Godins, Guérard gave mourning rings to Benjamin Godin's father, mother, and brother in London.²⁹ When Guérard's eldest son and namesake became a merchant in 1732, he started a company with none other than Benjamin Godin.³⁰ Twelve years later, Jean Guérard Jr. married one of Godin's daughters, Marianne. So close was their relationship that Benjamin Godin described Guérard Jr. as his "son" in his will and appointed him as one of the executors.³¹ After marrying Marianne, Guérard also started a partnership with his new brother-in-law, David Godin, that lasted into the 1750s.

These marital bonds extended from the Godins to other Huguenot and British merchant families with dealings in the Indian trade. Benjamin Godin himself was married to Marianne Mazyck, daughter of Huguenot merchant Isaac Mazyck and Marianne Le Serurier (whose own father was a prominent Huguenot merchant). Another of Godin's daughters, Elizabeth, married Richard Woodward, the grandson of Henry Woodward. Henry Woodward was the preeminent Indian trader and linguist of the late seventeenth century, having carried on the very first trade in Indian slaves and animal pelts in 1674 with the Westos. In the 1680s, Woodward opened the trade with the Apalachicola Creeks. His grandson Richard Woodward married Elizabeth Godin after the death of his first wife, Susanne Mazyck, another daughter of Isaac and Marianne Mazyck.³² This was indeed a closely

²⁹ The other executors were Guérard's wife and Peter de St. Julien. Will of Jean Guérard, June 21, 1714, Wills, Charleston County, 1711–1718, ST 0510, microfilm, pp. 65–69, SCDAH.

³⁰ Jean Guérard Jr. was twenty-eight at the time, and their partnership lasted at least two years. From 1735 to roughly 1746, he partnered with Richard Hill, the son of merchant Charles Hill and the brother of his first wife, Elizabeth Hill. Hill & Guérard was one of the largest exporters of deerskins and importers of enslaved Africans in the 1730s and 1740s. Guérard Jr. also exported deerskins independent of Hill during this period, and between 1752 and 1761, he brought in fourteen cargoes of enslaved Africans. W. O. Moore Jr., "The Largest Exporters of Deerskins from Charles Town, 1735–1775," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 74 (July 1973): 147–149; W. Robert Higgins, "Charles Town Merchants and Factors Dealing in the External Slave Trade, 1733–1775," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 65 (October 1964): 206–207; R. C. Nash, "Trade and Business in Eighteenth-Century South Carolina: The Career of John Guérard, Merchant and Planter," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 96 (January 1995): 9. For more on the activities of Godin and La Conseilère in the intervening years, see Arthur H. Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina* (1928; repr., Columbia: University of South Carolina, Press, 1999), 145–146.

³¹ His other executors were his wife and his son David Godin. Will of Benjamin Godin, December 26, 1747, South Carolina Wills Book, vol. 6, 1747–1752, p. 65, SCDAH. Jean Guérard Jr. also served as one of the executors to David Godin's will. Will of David Godin, October 26, 1754, in Caroline T. Moore, ed., *Abstracts of the Wills of the State of South Carolina, 1740–1760* (Columbia, S.C.: R. L. Bryan Company, 1964), 192.

³² Richard Woodward was born in 1709. He married Susanne Mazyck in 1734, but she died a year later. He then married Elizabeth Godin in 1736. They had one

interwoven group. Benjamin Godin acted as a father figure to Jean Guérard's children after the latter's death, and the marriages of Jean Guérard Jr. to Marianne Godin and Richard Woodward to Elizabeth Godin ensured that these kinship connections would extend through the next generation.³³ Benjamin Godin and his son David, also a Charleston merchant, served as the executors of Richard Woodward's will.³⁴ The names given to two of the grandsons from the Guérard-Godin marriage, Godin and Isaac, commemorated two generations of merchant marriages.³⁵ Business blurred into kinship in early Charleston, bringing siblings and cousins together in an extensive web of family.³⁶

Like other important merchants, Guérard and his partners expanded their colonial connections not only through marriage and kinship but also by holding a number of different political offices, particularly on the Board of Commissioners of the Indian Trade. The board was established by a 1707 act of the Commons House of Assembly to regulate the Indian trade. Selected from among the sitting assemblymen, the nine commissioners were officially responsible for granting licenses to and crafting instructions for Indian traders.³⁷ In addition, the board functioned in a judicial capacity by hearing and settling grievances among traders and between Indians and traders. Although the act stipulated that the commissioners could not "be any way, directly or indirectly, concerned in the Indian trade," this provision was disregarded in a few cases. Pasquereau was one of the nine original Indian trade commissioners in 1707, and Guérard served on the

daughter, Elizabeth. Theresa Hicks, *Carolina Connections in the Colonial Period* (Columbia: South Carolina Genealogical Society, 2005), 45.

³³ Jean Guérard Sr.'s son David had two executors of his will, Benjamin Godin and Benjamin de La Conseillère. Will of David Guérard, January 23, 1725, in Caroline T. Moore, ed., *Abstracts of the Wills of the State of South Carolina, 1760–1784* (Columbia, S.C.: R. L. Bryan Company, 1969), 1.

³⁴ The third executor was Robert Brisbane. Will of Richard Woodward, in Moore, *Abstracts of the Wills of the State of South Carolina, 1740–1760*, 34.

³⁵ Will of Marianne Godin, in *ibid.*, 195–196.

³⁶ In this sense, the Godins and their in-laws fit into a more general pattern exhibited in South Carolina. See Lori Glover, *All Our Relations: Blood Ties and Emotional Bonds among the Early South Carolina Gentry* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 23–58, 87–112. For another study of intragenerational familial relationships, see C. Dallet Hemphill, *Siblings: Brothers and Sisters in American History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

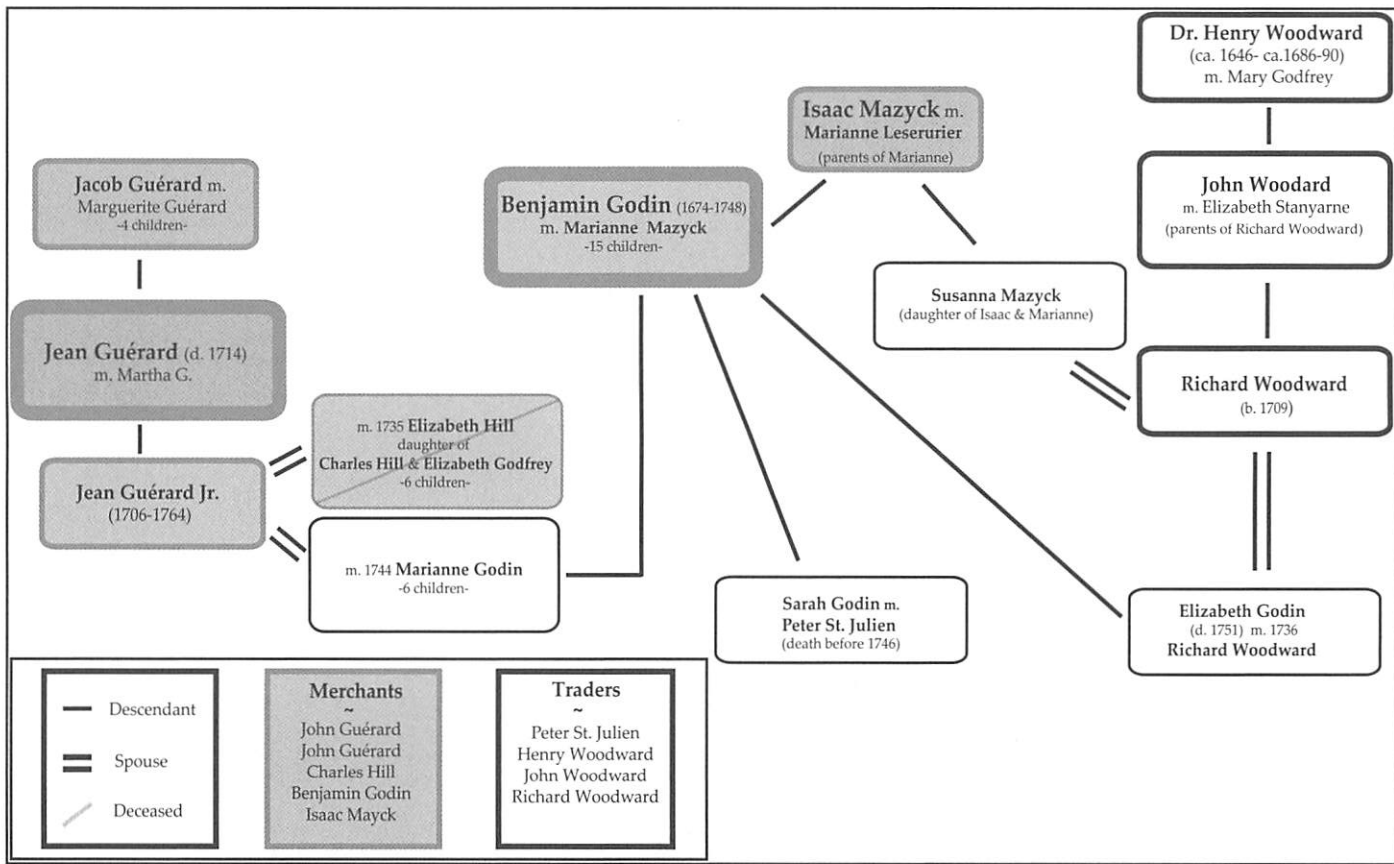
³⁷ Pasquereau was named in the act as one of the first commissioners, though it seems from the extant records that the commissioners did not begin to meet regularly until 1710. "An Act for Regulating the Indian Trade and Making It Safe to the Publick," in Thomas Cooper and David J. McCord, eds., *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina* (Columbia, S.C.: Printed by A. S. Johnson, 1836–1841), 2: 309–316 (1707).

board between 1710 and 1714, when Yamasee, Apalachicola, Apalachee, and Savannah Indians voiced increasingly angry complaints about trader abuses, including illegal enslavement practices. As commissioners, the partners promoted the company's financial endeavors, fostering connections to traders and affecting the Indian trade from the inside. The appointments of Guérard and his partners as commissioners indicate that their peers recognized them as specialists in the Indian trade—or perhaps, that they were connected well enough politically to merit such appointments.³⁸ In fact, only four merchants active in the Indian trade were selected as commissioners between 1710 and 1715: Pasquereau, Guérard, Godin, and Samuel Eveleigh.³⁹ When Guérard died in 1714, the board decided to appoint his partner Benjamin Godin in his stead. However, Godin refused the office in November of that year, most likely because of the restriction that commissioners not engage in the Indian trade.⁴⁰ Pasquereau and Guérard had served in spite of the conflict of interest, but since Godin joined the firm, its involvement in the Indian trade had escalated considerably. The singular appointment of three different partners from the same merchant

³⁸Ibid., 315. Pasquereau was elected to the assembly in 1706–1707 and 1708–1709, and Guérard in 1710–1711 and 1713–1715. Pasquereau also served in a number of official economic positions, including tax assessor (1702, 1703), commissioner for payment of debt and continuing bills of credit (1706), and examiner of the receiver's books (1707). For Pasquereau, see Edgar and Bailey, *Biographical Directory*, 2: 510–511. The authors misidentify Pasquereau's year of death as 1714; he was dead by 1711. See May 30, 1711, Miscellaneous Records, 1709–1725, ST 0353, microfilm, pp. 136–138, SCDAH. See also Lesser, *South Carolina Begins*, 369. For Guérard's political career, see Edgar and Bailey, *Biographical Directory*, 2: 296–297; W. L. McDowell, ed., *Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade, September 20, 1710–August 29, 1718* (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1955), 3, 59–60.

³⁹Samuel Eveleigh was appointed in 1712. Other key merchants who were not appointed between 1707 and 1715 include Alexander Parris, Samuel and Joseph Wragg, Jacob Satur, William Gibbon, Andrew Allen, and Charles Hill. Hill was appointed in 1716 under a new Indian trade act that sought to redress some of the problems that precipitated the Yamasee War. This list of merchants was compiled using McDowell's *Journals of the Commissioners* and the Records of the Secretary of the Province and the Judgment Rolls at the SCDAH.

⁴⁰June 18 and November 11, 1714, McDowell, *Journals of the Commissioners*, 59–60. When Benjamin Godin refused to serve as a commissioner of Indian affairs, Arthur Middleton took the position. November 18, 1714, *ibid.*, 60. Middleton would later serve as president of the Royal Council (1721–1737) and acting governor of



company to the board reveals the interest and influence Guérard and his partners had in the Indian trade.

By means of their business associations and political positions, Guérard and his partners became personally connected to many of the foremost traders and planters involved in the Indian trade. In 1709 Guérard and Pasquereau joined with Thomas Broughton to acquire the estate of one of the most infamous Indian slave traders of the eighteenth century, the recently deceased James Moore Sr. The narrative behind this acquisition illustrates the scope of the company's connections within the Indian trade. Soon after his arrival in Carolina, James Moore launched a career as an Indian trader and planter. During the 1680s, the Lords Proprietors repeatedly (and unsuccessfully) tried to dismiss Moore from their council for enslaving Indians in direct contradiction to their orders.⁴¹ In both private and official capacities, Moore encouraged the rapid expansion of the Indian trade, particularly with respect to slaves. In 1690 he led an unauthorized expedition to the Cherokees that resulted in his being briefly prohibited from the Indian trade.⁴² In 1702 and 1703–1704, Moore coordinated two separate English invasions of Spanish Florida with the express intention of enslaving Indians in Spanish mission communities.⁴³ Florida governor Francisco de Córcoles y Martínez described the devastating impact of these and other slave wars on the Indian mission populations, claiming that ten to twelve thousand Christian Indians were enslaved in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Historian Alan Gallay estimates that by 1715 English and Indian forces had enslaved as many as thirty thousand mission and non-mission Indians from the Florida region.⁴⁴

South Carolina (1725–1729). Edgar and Bailey, *Biographical Directory*, 2: 454–455. He was the son of Sarah Howe, whose slaves and estate Godin had purchased in 1708. See note 95 below.

⁴¹ Between 1671 and 1693, the Lords Proprietors issued many restrictions on Indian enslavement, either banning it altogether or imposing geographical and political limitations to protect Indians living near and allied with the colony. Lords Proprietors of Carolina to Governor Sothell, November 6, 1683, in J. W. Fortescue, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1681–1685* (London: Printed by Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1898), 539; Lords Proprietors of Carolina to Joseph Moreton, September 10, 1685, in J. W. Fortescue, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1685–1688* (London: Printed by the Norfolk Chronicle Company, 1899), 92.

⁴² Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*, 135–161.

⁴³ Moore's contention that he led this expedition (or the one before it, for that matter) is dubious at best. As Steven C. Hahn amply illustrates, Moore essentially tagged along with the Lower Creeks and Yamasees. Hahn, *The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670–1763* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 48–65. See also Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*, 294–299.

⁴⁴ Francisco Córcoles y Martínez to the King, January 14, 1708, in Mark F. Boyd, Hale G. Smith, and John W. Griffin, eds., *Here They Once Stood: The Tragic End of*

Moore leveraged his considerable successes in Indian slaving into impressive property holdings. When he died during a yellow fever epidemic in 1706, his estate was valued at over £1,860.⁴⁵ Yet his debts were so great that his eldest son and executor, James Moore Jr., was forced to petition the assembly to transfer the estate, including sixty-four Indian and African slaves, to Guérard, Pasquereau, and Broughton.⁴⁶ Moore Sr.'s debts totaled more than forty-one hundred pounds at his death, with his two largest obligations being to the Lords Proprietors and Guérard and Pasquereau. He owed the merchants seven hundred pounds.⁴⁷

When Moore Jr. asked Pasquereau, Guérard, and Broughton to alleviate the family's financial burden, he tapped into a powerful trading network. These were men that he knew well through his father. Moore Sr., Broughton, and Pasquereau had all gotten their start in Carolina by working for Andrew Percival, who managed the colony's first plantation-based Indian trading post, the Earl of Shaftesbury's Saint Giles Cussoe Plantation, between 1674 and 1683. In the late seventeenth century, planters played an important role in the Indian trade, running stores from their plantations and hiring field traders to travel to Indian communities.⁴⁸ Henry Woodward, whom

the Apalachee Missions (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1951), 90; Gally, *Indian Slave Trade*, 288–299.

⁴⁵ On Moore's estate, see Mabel L. Webber, comp., "The First Governor Moore and His Children," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 37 (January 1936): 4–5. On the yellow fever epidemic, see Paul Kelton, *Epidemics and Enslavement: Biological Catastrophe in the Native Southeast, 1492–1715* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 162–165.

⁴⁶ The assembly passed an act to allow the transfer on November 5, 1709. Caroline T. Moore, ed., *Abstracts of the Records of the Secretary of the Province, 1692–1721* (Columbia, S.C.: R. L. Bryan Company, 1978), 415. Moore Jr. mortgaged the estate to Thomas Broughton, Jean Guérard, and Louis Pasquereau. March 17, 1709, Miscellaneous Records, 1709–1725, ST 0353, microfilm, pp. 74–77, SCDAH. Moore's will has not survived, but his descendants preserved small selections of the document. See Webber, "First Governor Moore," 1–23.

⁴⁷ March 21, 1709, Conveyances Book G, 1709–1712, ST 0360, microfilm, p. 104, SCDAH. His debt to the Lords Proprietors was for payments owed on land purchases and quit rents.

⁴⁸ Scholars have developed a number of different labels to describe the types of people involved in the Indian trade. Gally divides Indian traders into two categories: subsistence traders, men whose income derived primarily from the Indian trade, and gentlemen traders, who used profits from the Indian slave trade to create plantation enterprises. See Gally, *Indian Slave Trade*, 208–219. Eirllys M. Barker examines the full range of the Indian trade hierarchy after the Yamasee War, from slaves and packhorsemen to lesser, middling, and master traders. See Barker, "Indian Traders, Charles Town, and London's Vital Links," 141–165. I employ the term "field trader" to connote traders who lived in Indian communities for at least part of the year and seem to have made their living primarily from the Indian trade. I have borrowed the term "planter-trader" from Stumpf to refer

we have already met, was the Indian trade agent for Shaftesbury's Saint Giles plantation until 1678 and worked under Percival in this capacity.⁴⁹ It was at the Saint Giles plantation that a party of Westo Indians arrived in the fall of 1674 to request that Woodward open a trade in "deare skins, furs and younge slaves."⁵⁰ When Percival subsequently founded his own plantations, he hired James Moore Sr. as the Indian trade agent, Thomas Broughton as the plantation manager, and Louis Pasquereau as the accountant. Broughton managed Percival's plantations and stock at Weston Hall and Black Robin (also known as Brickhill), and Moore traded with Indians on Percival's account in the 1690s.⁵¹ For example, in 1695 Moore signed a bond to supply Percival with "800 good & merchantable dressed deerskins." After the turn of the eighteenth century, Moore left Percival's employment. Pasquereau became the cashier for the Percival estate, while Broughton continued on as the plantation manager.⁵²

Like Percival before them, Broughton, Moore, and Pasquereau started out as plantation employees before developing their own businesses. By 1706, Pasquereau and Guérard had been in partnership for six years. Broughton and Moore, on the other hand, had become successful planter-traders, using the profits, connections, and skills they made through the Indian trade and other economic activities to establish plantation complexes worked by enslaved Indians and Africans. Broughton and Moore had much in common. Both married into politically powerful families, and both remained deeply involved in the Indian slave trade, hiring field traders—including some of the very same individuals—to work for them in Indian country.⁵³

to traders who derived only part of their income from the Indian trade, owned plantations, and either traded with Indians from their plantations or hired other traders to work in the field on their account. Some of these planter-traders worked in the field themselves. See Stumpf, "Merchants of Colonial Charleston," 18–19, 40–41.

⁴⁹ Daniel W. Fagg Jr., "St. Giles' Seigniory: The Earl of Shaftesbury's Carolina Plantation," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 71 (April 1970): 117–123.

⁵⁰ Woodward, "Faithfull Relation," 132.

⁵¹ May 4, 1695, Miscellaneous Records, 1694–1705, ST 0458, microfilm, pp. 91–93, SCDAH. Broughton also managed the plantation for Percival's widow, Essex. September 9, 1697, *ibid.*, pp. 98–99.

⁵² May 8, 1701, *ibid.*, pp. 390–392; August 25, 1703, *ibid.*, pp. 507–508.

⁵³ Around 1675 Moore married Margaret Berringer, stepdaughter of Sir John Yeamans, governor of Carolina from 1672 to 1674, and Broughton became the son-in-law of Nathaniel Johnson, who was governor of the colony from 1703 to 1708, through his marriage to Anne Johnson, which took place about 1683. Webber, "First Governor Moore," 3; Edgar and Bailey, *Biographical Directory*, 2: 103–105, 466. While Moore was governor, Broughton had brought forward a proposal to run an exclusive Indian trade monopoly in exchange for paying an annual fee of eight hundred pounds and maintaining a small ranger unit of twenty men. The proposal was rejected, but Broughton remained active in the trade, with several

Among their employees was the controversial Indian trader James Child, who was repeatedly accused of abusing and illegally enslaving Indians. Moore died owing Child £120.⁵⁴

Moore's success in the Indian slave trade along with his valuable property had made him a good credit risk for Charleston merchants. But the profits from the Indian slave trade proved fleeting, and he died heavily in debt. Upon gaining control of Moore's estate in 1709, Pasquereau, Guérard, and Broughton came into possession of "all and Singular the Negro and Indian Slaves young & old Men women & children. . . with their and every of their Increase."⁵⁵ They also acquired Moore's sizeable landholdings, including his plantation at Edisto Bluff, which lay on the main path from Charleston to Savannah Town, the gateway to the interior trade with the Creeks and the Cherokees. In 1712 Pasquereau, Guérard, and Broughton sold Moore's Edisto Bluff plantation to another ambitious Indian trader, James Rawlings.⁵⁶

Moore was by no means the only leading Indian trader to leave behind a legacy of debt. As discussed earlier, such also was the case for John Wright. But why were these men so heavily indebted? A closer look at the role of merchants in the Indian trade provides answers.

MERCHANTS AND THE INDIAN TRADE

Charleston merchants imported the goods necessary to the Indian trade, catering to their Indian customers' tastes by supplying guns, powder, shot, flints, knives, hatchets, rum, a variety of cloth, sewing items, dye, paint, coats, shirts, hats, blankets, stockings, kettles, and bells.⁵⁷ They sold some of these goods to Indians directly from their storehouses in Charleston or their

Indian traders working for him including James Child, John Dickson, and Edward Griffin (the father of Coosaponakeesa, or Mary Musgrove). Broughton served as an Indian commissioner under the public monopoly that was established in 1718. "An Act to Settle and Regulate the Indian Trade," in Cooper and McCord, *Statutes at Large*, 3: 86–96 (1718/9). On James Child, particularly his clash with Thomas Nairne, see Gally, *Indian Slave Trade*, 219–221. On Mary Musgrove, see Steven C. Hahn, *The Life and Times of Mary Musgrove* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012).

⁵⁴ March 21, 1709, Conveyances Book G, 1709–1712, ST 0360, microfilm, p. 104, SCDAH.

⁵⁵ March 21, 1709, Miscellaneous Records, 1709–1725, ST 0353, microfilm, pp. 74–77, SCDAH.

⁵⁶ Nash, "Organization of Trade and Finance," 74–107. By the 1710s, Savannah Town also was home to roughly one thousand Indians from a number of different groups including the Savannahs, Apalachees, and Yuchis. Gally, *Indian Slave Trade*, 144–149; Ramsey, *Yamasee War*, 111–113.

⁵⁷ This list was compiled using the itemized account lists from the Judgment Rolls at the SCDAH and the published Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian

plantations in the country. But Indian traders who worked in the field were more commonly the ones to have face-to-face contact with Indians. They traveled to Indian towns at least twice a year, once in the fall to distribute goods (often on credit) and again in the spring to collect debts in slaves and skins. The work of an Indian field trader was dangerous, arduous, and a difficult way to make much revenue. Merchants supplied and financed the Indian trade, and they were the ones who reaped the most profit from it.

When Godin and La Conseillère joined Guérard & Co. as partners in the 1710s, the firm expanded in two identifiable ways. First, the men increased their Atlantic connections, most notably serving as factors for one of the biggest British tobacco import firms located in London. Carleton & Co. consigned Guérard & Co. hundreds of pounds worth of goods at the standard commission rate of 5 percent.⁵⁸ Arden Carleton's choice of Guérard & Co. as his factor in Charleston reflects the Huguenot company's growing reputation among merchants in London and their prominence in South Carolina. Simultaneously, Guérard & Co. continued to expand their involvement in South Carolina's Indian trade. The value of their lawsuits against delinquent creditors increased substantially in the 1710s, as did the percentage of their delinquent debtors who were Indian traders. These changes can be partly attributed to a decline in the availability of Indian slaves and white-tailed deer. Facing a supply crunch, Indian traders began falling behind on their loans and squeezing their Indian suppliers and customers in an attempt to bring in enough slaves and skins to repay their debts to Charleston merchants.⁵⁹ Compounding this difficulty was a new issue of colonial paper currency in 1712, which abruptly depreciated, leaving merchants facing severe financial losses and likely prompting them to use the courts to recoup what debts they could.⁶⁰

Trade. See, for example, the table of rates established by the commissioners (each item's value is listed in deerskins) on p. 269 of McDowell, *Journals of the Commissioners*.

⁵⁸ Carleton & Co. went bankrupt in the 1710s along with many of the other large Chesapeake tobacco firms in London. Likely because of this, in 1713 Arden sold the remainder of the goods he had initially consigned to Guérard, Godin, and La Conseillère to Henry Chamber, a Charleston merchant. When Chamber purchased the consignment, he figured that the firm owed Carleton £289 4s. 9¼d., which they paid in 1714. Jacob M. Price and Paul G. E. Clemens, "A Revolution of Scale in the Overseas Trade: British Firms in the Chesapeake Trade, 1675-1775," *Journal of Economic History* 47 (March 1987): 1-43; January 3, 1714, Miscellaneous Records, 1709-1721, ST 0459, microfilm, pp. 63-64, 66-69, SCDAH.

⁵⁹ Ramsey, *Yamasee War*, 68-77; Richard L. Haan, "The 'Trade Do's Not Flourish as Formerly': The Ecological Origins of the Yamasee War of 1715," *Ethnohistory* 28 (Fall 1981): 341-358.

⁶⁰ La Conseillère vehemently opposed the use of paper currency, leading the hard-money faction in the colony with the assistance of Benjamin Godin. They were

Still, even as supplies of Indian slaves and deerskins dwindled and the value of local currency became depressed, Guérard and his partners kept on offering large loans to Indian traders. Between 1712 and 1717, Godin & Co. filed thirteen lawsuits for debts contracted between 1711 and 1715 that totaled £3,204 3s. 6¼d. In seven of these suits, the debts were contracted for Indian trade goods, to be repaid in deerskins acquired from the Indian trade, or both. These seven suits also were the largest undertaken by Godin & Co. and had a combined value of £2,589 7s. 7¼d., or 86 percent of the firm's outstanding debts.⁶¹

There are limitations to what we can discern from these suits. Most importantly, it is not possible to determine whether they are representative of Godin & Co.'s portfolio. We simply do not have even one year of complete financial records for the firm. However, analysis of these unpaid debts does suggest that the Indian trade was central to Godin & Co.'s economic enterprises in Carolina, perhaps even the most important component of their business in the years leading up to the Yamasee War. Certainly, the size of the loans and credit lines that Godin & Co. was willing to extend to Indian traders is quite revealing. The loans and credit they offered to people not tied to the Indian trade were generally small, ranging from £20 15s. to £271 8d. and averaging £88 7s. 1¾d. per loan. By contrast, their loans and credit to traders and merchants involved in the Indian trade were much larger, ranging from £143 17s. 6d. to £1,068 14s. 3¾d. and averaging over £431 11s. per loan. In his study of merchant lending during this same period, historian Russell Menard states that £141 4s. was the average amount of larger loans made by merchants who required mortgages as security.⁶² Godin & Co.'s average loan to their Indian-trade clientele was three times this much, suggesting that they considered the trade to be a venture worth the investment and the risk.

Credit was the main factor in creating and maintaining links between Indian traders and merchants in early Carolina. In fact, the Indian trade in the Southeast was conducted virtually without cash. While relying almost exclusively on credit or merchandise exchange made the Indian slave and pelt trade a risky business, it fostered the development of social bonds between creditors and borrowers. Although the geographic scope of the Indian trade was vast, its colonial side depended on personal interactions

represented in London by Godin's brother Stephen. Edgar and Bailey, *Biographical Directory*, 2: 163–164, 283–284; Hirsch, *Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina*, 138–152.

⁶¹ Indian trade lawsuits are here defined as those where either the original debt repayment was expected in deerskins or the debtor was a known Indian trader. The original amount of the debt has been used, rather than the amount for which Godin & Co. sued.

⁶² Russell R. Menard, "Financing the Lowcountry Export Boom: Capital and Growth in Early South Carolina," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd. ser., 51 (October

between just a few hundred merchants, traders, and planters. Credit was not one-sided, and debt relationships in the trading community were far more complex, reciprocal, and diffuse than scholars generally depict.

Lawsuits filed in the Court of Common Pleas by merchants and Indians traders between 1712 and 1717 were not merely the outcome of severe credit stress or political factionalism, as some historians argue.⁶³ Colonial merchants and traders did not regularly extend loans to their enemies. Rather, they mitigated the economic risks of the Indian trade by developing a culture of trading practices that included making loans to and borrowing from their trusted associates, clients, friends, and kin. Through their lawsuits, Godin and his partners helped to shape what one scholar calls Carolina's "culture of credit," establishing and reinforcing the practices of lending and repayment in the colony.⁶⁴

Since the 1990s, a number of scholars of the early modern economy have examined the social dimensions of trade in English industries, demonstrating that credit often reinforced—or indeed, fashioned—social connections between creditors, debtors, and trading associates.⁶⁵ In the process, they have challenged the prevailing economic theory that the rise of markets in early modern England led to a decline in community ethics of cooperation as participants prioritized their own rational self-interest to the detriment of others. Calling for economic historians to embrace the methodology of social history, these scholars have elucidated how the rise of markets did not lead to a breakdown in social relationships. Instead, because most people participated in the new markets and credit was indispensable there, trust and cooperation proved essential, even for those who placed a high priority on their own profit.⁶⁶

The trust and cooperation that existed between creditors and debtors was not destroyed when the former took the latter to court. Godin and other

1994): 668. Menard sampled thirty-three loans in the 1710s, all of which included mortgages.

⁶³ Both Gally and Ramsey make some use of Common Pleas records in their research, arguing that these suits demonstrate how political factionalism divided colonial traders involved in the Indian slave trade. These records also figure in Ramsey's study of the credit stress that traders experienced in the early eighteenth century. See Gally, *Indian Slave Trade*, 245–256; Ramsey, *Yamasee War*, 68–70, 90–94.

⁶⁴ Woods, "Culture of Credit," 360–361.

⁶⁵ See Richard Grassby, *The Business Community of Seventeenth-Century England* (1995; repr., New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, Eng.: Macmillan, 1998).

⁶⁶ For an excellent summary and critique of how historians of early modern England have applied Adam Smith's theory of rational self-interest to their own studies, see Craig Muldrew, "Interpreting the Market: The Ethics of Credit and Community Relations in Early Modern England," *Social History* 18 (May 1993): 163–170.

merchants continued to make loans to, sell to, and buy from clients they had sued in the past, and those same clients still sought out the merchants for such services. This shows that both parties understood these types of lawsuits as part of normal trading practices.

From court records, we can reconstruct a partial map of Godin & Co.'s business relationships and commercial activities. They imported Indian trade goods and extended credit and loans to Indian traders (and other merchants who hired Indian traders). Lending enabled the company to acquire marketable deerskins and Indian slaves. It is to those objects of trade that we now turn.

Indian consumption of imported goods contributed substantially to South Carolina's early economy. In 1715 the governor estimated that Indians spent ten thousand pounds sterling on trade goods each year (the equivalent of thirty thousand pounds in Carolina currency).⁶⁷ Godin & Co.'s lawsuits show that they imported many Indian trade goods, including raw cloth and manufactured clothing, rum, guns and ammunition, and an assortment of household items. When Jean Guérard died in 1714, the company was in the midst of a lawsuit against Thomas Barton, a planter who also traded with Indians. The year prior, Barton had purchased 325 gallons of rum and other goods for £143 from Guérard & Co. on credit.⁶⁸ Barton and Guérard were well acquainted through their work on the Board of Commissioners of the Indian Trade. From 1710 until the outbreak of the Yamasee War, Barton was the board's secretary, and after the war, he served as the storekeeper when the board assumed control over the Indian trade under a public monopoly.⁶⁹ Although Barton knew that trading rum to Indians was illegal, strong evidence suggests that he, like so many other traders, intended to flout the prohibition. His purchase from Guérard & Co. came at the time of year when Indian traders were restocking their pack trains with rum and other Indian trade goods.⁷⁰ After the court case against him was temporarily abated (because of Guérard's death), Barton took out an Indian trading license.⁷¹

⁶⁷ Governor Johnson to the Council of Trade and Plantations, January 12, 1720, in Cecil Headlam, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, January, 1719–February, 1720* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1933), 301; John J. McCusker, *Money and Exchange in Europe and America, 1600–1775: A Handbook* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 222.

⁶⁸ *Guérard, Godin, and La Conseillère v. Thomas Barton*, April 10, 1714, Judgment Rolls, box 6A, item 701, SCDAH. See also *Godin and La Conseillère v. Barton*, 1715, *ibid.*

⁶⁹ September 20, 1710, McDowell, *Journals of the Commissioners*, 1. As explained above, Guérard was one of the commissioners from his election in 1710 until his death.

⁷⁰ On the alcohol trade, see Peter C. Mancall, *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997).

⁷¹ For Barton's trading license, see November 24, 1714, McDowell, *Journals of the Commissioners*, 63. Godin and La Conseillère ultimately won the lawsuit. *Guérard*,

The most lucrative goods that Charleston merchants purchased and exported in the early eighteenth century came from the Indian trade, most notably animal pelts and Indian slaves. Evidence of Pasquereau and Guérard's dealings in the Indian trade begins in 1705, when they sold forty-three pounds of beaver fur on credit to a local hatter named Thomas Axe.⁷² They had undoubtedly acquired the beaver furs from Indian field traders who brought in the pelts of not only deer but also beavers, foxes, otters, bobcats, and raccoons. Within the matter of a single trading season (1702–1703), however, the export trade in this diversified animal-pelt market collapsed completely and was replaced by an intensive trade in two commodities, deerskins and Indian slaves. In all likelihood, Axe suffered from the rapid decline of demand for beaver and became aware a little late that his clientele only wanted the increasingly popular deerskin "Carolina hat." This sudden change in fashion apparently left Axe with a glut of undesirable beaver furs, which explains why he struggled to repay his debts to Pasquereau and Guérard.⁷³

To secure a reliable and plentiful supply of deerskins, Godin & Co. offered sizeable loans to Indian traders. In August and September 1714, the firm loaned £1,516 16s. 9¼d. to Indian traders who were contracted to bring in an estimated 13,156 pounds of high-value "dressed" deerskins. Since these figures come from just three court cases concerning delinquent loans, we can surmise that they represented only a portion of the company's business in deerskins for a single trading season.⁷⁴ Godin & Co. intended to

Godin, and La Conseillère v. Barton, April 10, 1714, Judgment Rolls, box 6A, item 701, SCDAH. Also see *Godin and La Conseillère v. Barton*, 1715, *ibid.*

⁷² *Godin and La Conseillère v. Thomas Axe*, February 12, 1706, Judgment Rolls, box 1B, item 569, SCDAH. One of the fourteen jurors was Alexander Parris.

⁷³ For the collapse of the beaver and other animal fur trades in 1703, see Ramsey, *Yamasee War*, 62–66.

⁷⁴ *Benjamin Godin and Benjamin de La Conseillère v. Alexander Parris*, April 3, 1717, Judgment Rolls, box 9A, item 1268, SCDAH; *Benjamin Godin and Benjamin de La Conseillère v. Eleana Wright*, August 9, 1715, *ibid.*, box 11A, item 163A, SCDAH; *Benjamin Godin and Benjamin de La Conseillère v. Eleana Wright*, October 7, 1715, *ibid.*, box 6A, item 1A, SCDAH. Deerskins came in several forms, from undressed or raw to half-dressed (free of flesh) to fully dressed. The latter were the most valuable because they were less prone to rotting. The dressing process could take a week of labor by Indian women who washed the hide, scraped the interior free of flesh, dried it, soaked and scraped it a second time to clean the exterior of hair, treated it with a mixture made from deer brains, and pounded the hide before finally stretching and smoking it. Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 68–69; Heather A. Lapham, "Their Complement of Deer-skins and Furs: Changing Patterns of White-Tailed Deer Exploitation in the Seventeenth-Century Southern Chesapeake and Virginia Hinterlands," in *Indian and European Contact in Context: The Mid-Atlantic*

purchase the dressed deerskins at a rate of 2s. 4d. for each one that weighed at least a pound. This was comparable to the rates that other Charleston merchants paid at the time.⁷⁵ Assuming that each deerskin weighed about one and a half pounds, they expected to take in approximately 8,771 skins. This would have constituted nearly 16 percent of the total 55,806 deerskins exported from Charleston to England in 1714 and 1715.⁷⁶

In the early eighteenth century, few Indian field traders had the hundreds of pounds of credit needed to purchase goods for the Indian trade, so many entered into the employment of merchants and planter-traders who could secure large loans. Field traders earned a small percentage of the profit from the sale of their cargoes (generally 5 to 10 percent). John Stewart described his frustrating attempts to make money through the Indian trade while working as the head factor for Governor James Colleton in the 1690s. For his labor, Stewart was to have 5 percent of the profit he made from selling the goods within his own caravan and 2 percent of the profit from the other two caravans led by traders under his supervision. Stewart thought that such a long, precarious voyage into Indian country hardly merited this small sum, but he had little choice in the matter because he lacked his own "stock" and "credit."⁷⁷

Although Godin & Co. extended Indian trade goods on credit to field traders, their 1714 lawsuits were for loans to another merchant company (Parris and Eveleigh) and a planter-trader (John Wright). Both had field traders working for them in Indian towns. Two Indian traders who worked for Parris and Eveleigh also were named in the lawsuit. Charleston merchants Alexander Parris and Samuel Eveleigh borrowed over £242 in goods from Godin & Co. in 1714 for the Indian trade.⁷⁸ Like Guérard, Godin, and La

Region, ed. Dennis B. Blanton and Julia A. King (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004), 174–178.

⁷⁵ February 27, 1718, McDowell, *Journals of the Commissioners*, 258. In 1718 the Board of Commissioners of the Indian Trade signed a bond to repay their merchandise loan from merchants Samuel Eveleigh and Charles Hill in deerskins. This bond contained virtually the same conditions as those that Godin & Co. had their clients sign in 1714 with the important exception that if the board did not repay the loan in deerskins within one year, they agreed to pay in bills of credit.

⁷⁶ "Appendix A: Exports of Peltry, 1698–1765," in Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 327. Prior to the Yamasee War, merchants exported an average of fifty-four thousand deerskins to England each year. London tanners transformed deerskins into hats, gloves, shoes, breeches, bookbindings, saddles, and harnesses. Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 112; Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*, 88.

⁷⁷ John Stewart to William Dunlop, June 23, 1690, in J. G. Dunlop and Mabel L. Webber, eds., "Letters from John Stewart to William Dunlop," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 32 (April 1931): 92–94.

⁷⁸ Those traders were Thomas Smith and Price Hughes. *Benjamin Godin and Benjamin de La Conseillère v. Alexander Parris*, April 10, 1717, Judgment Rolls, box 9A, item 1268, SCDAAH.

Conseillère, Parris and Eveleigh were elite Charleston merchants with direct involvement in the Indian trade and strong connections across the Atlantic. Parris was a factor for London merchant William Sussex, and he entered intermittently into a number of different partnerships with other Charleston merchants—not only Eveleigh, one of the most successful deerskin traders of the eighteenth century, but also Samuel Wragg and Jacob Satur.⁷⁹ The fact that such prominent merchants as Parris and Eveleigh purchased trade goods from Godin & Co. suggests that the latter was a significant importer of Indian trade goods which the former could not acquire on their own.

Yet Eveleigh and Parris defaulted on their loan to Godin & Co. Most likely what triggered the default was the death of one of the field traders named in the suit, Price Hughes, who was slain several months before the Yamasee War. Hughes was particularly active in the long-distance trade with Indians near the Mississippi River and operated a trading post among the Choctaws.⁸⁰ More than just a field trader, Hughes had ambitions to establish a Welsh colony in French territory to promote British imperialism. He was briefly arrested by the French and killed shortly after being released from their custody—perhaps by Indians allied with the French. During Hughes's imprisonment, the Choctaws apparently killed the traders working for him as well and seized the goods in his storehouse.⁸¹ Hughes's death and the loss of all of his animal pelts, Indian slaves, and trade goods were a significant blow for Eveleigh and Parris. This setback was compounded by the start of the Yamasee War just a few months later, during which southeastern

⁷⁹ For William Sussex, see *Alexander Parris v. George Hearne*, May 5, 1704, Judgment Rolls, box 1A, item 267, SCDH. Parris, Wragg, and Satur owned the sloop *Mary* together. *Alexander Parris, Samuel Wragg, and Jacob Satur v. Thomas Woodman*, November 29, 1712, *ibid.*, box 5A, item 306, SCDH. Parris held numerous government positions, including a post as the public treasurer (1712–1735) and the public receiver responsible for raising funds during the Yamasee War. While serving as the public treasurer, Parris appropriated public funds for his own private enterprises and died owing the government close to £27,200. Mabel L. Webber, "Colonel Alexander Parris, and Parris Island," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 26 (July 1925): 141; Edgar and Bailey, *Biographical Directory*, 2: 505–507. On Eveleigh, see Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 121–123; Moore, "Largest Exporters of Deerskins," 144–150.

⁸⁰ Although Hughes claimed he had come to trade for animal pelts, the French suspected he also intended to trade with the Natchezes for slaves. Richebourg Gaillard McWilliams, trans. and ed., *Fleurs de Lys and Calumet: Being the Pénicault Narrative of French Adventure in Louisiana* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1953), 159–163.

⁸¹ Eirlys M. Barker, "Pryce Hughes, Colony Planner, and Explorer, of Charles Town and Wales," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 95 (October 1994): 302–313. Hughes was a friend of Thomas Nairne and associate of Thomas Welch.

Indians killed an estimated ninety of the one hundred traders working in their towns.⁸² Parris and Eveleigh's reversal of fortune left them struggling to repay Godin & Co.

While merchants supplied the major sources of credit that fueled the Indian trade, Indian traders joined in lending even as they took out loans and acquired merchandise credit themselves. The broad, simultaneous, and multilateral participation of traders, merchants, and planters in both lending and borrowing led to the rapid development of complicated relationships—economic as well as interpersonal—in the colonial Indian trade. The same year that Alexander Parris took out a merchandise loan from Godin & Co. with his occasional partner in the Indian trade Samuel Eveleigh, he also brought suit against field trader Richard Gower and Gower's employer, John Woodward (the father of Richard Woodward, who later married Elizabeth Godin). A planter-trader, John Woodward owned a house in Charleston, thirty-two slaves, and a plantation on Port Royal Island in addition to other significant landholdings in several different counties. In the 1710s, Woodward employed a number of Indian field traders. Court records described Gower as "one of the Indian traders of the said John, & in his employment." Parris sued Woodward for one thousand pounds in 1714, claiming that Woodward had signed on as a guarantor for Gower's debts, which consisted of "considerable sums of money for sundry Indian trading goods & merchandizes formerly sold & delivered to the said Richard."⁸³ A trader who aspired to work on his own account, Gower had tried pursuing several lines of credit and employment at once to maximize his earnings. By 1714 he had already defaulted on loans from merchants Samuel Eveleigh and Andrew Allen, for whom he worked as a factor in the Indian trade.⁸⁴ Should any of his creditors try to recoup the loans by filing suit in the Court of Common Pleas, the marshal would arrest Gower and bring him back to Charleston. But Gower was not the only one at risk. With Gower out of the field, all of his employers stood to lose revenue. Woodward therefore signed on as guarantor of Gower's loan with Parris in order to prevent the arrest. Then, when Gower defaulted, Woodward tried to deny his own accountability in order to protect his assets. Since Parris pressed on with the case, Woodward subsequently had to settle his debts with both Parris

⁸² "An Account of the Breaking Out of the Yamassee War, in South Carolina," in B. R. Carroll, ed., *Historical Collections of South Carolina* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1836), 2: 572.

⁸³ *Parris v. John Woodward*, October 27, 1714, Judgment Rolls, box 11A, item 160A, SCDAH. In August, Parris had asked the Board of Commissioners of the Indian Trade to recoup a debt of £89 15s. 9d. that Gower and Abraham Pearce owed him. August 31, 1714, McDowell, *Journals of the Commissioners*, 59.

⁸⁴ June 28, 1712, McDowell, *Journals of the Commissioners*, 30.

and Gower "for all such sums of money skins & other effects."⁸⁵ In spite of that settlement, Parris still defaulted on his initial loan with Godin & Co.

Through this web of lending, Godin & Co. was able to keep deerskins coming into their storehouse. Even more valuable than deerskins, though, were Indian slaves. Estimates place the number of Indians enslaved in the Southeast from 1670 to 1715 at thirty to fifty-one thousand. This equates to an average of roughly 1,170 individuals per year, though far more Indians were enslaved during the first decade of the eighteenth century than at any other time.⁸⁶ Field traders probably paid Indians between five and ten pounds sterling for each slave (the equivalent of forty-three to eighty-six pounds of dressed deerskins), and Indian slaves retailed in Charleston at seventeen to twenty pounds sterling (141 to 171 pounds of dressed deerskins).⁸⁷ While the majority of Indian slaves were exported to the Caribbean and mainland North American ports, a significant number were retained in South Carolina. By 1708 Indians constituted one-quarter of the colony's slave population, and between 1710 and 1714, approximately the same percentage of colonial households owned at least one Indian slave.⁸⁸ Most enslaved Indians in South Carolina worked on plantations. Indian women, like their African counterparts, were largely confined to field labor, with only a small number engaged in domestic duties. Skilled labor was reserved for Indian and African men, who were trained to work as coopers, carpenters, shoemakers, and a host other of other artisanal occupations.⁸⁹ Some traders also used enslaved Indians to promote their business endeavors on the frontier, where Indian slaves served as burdeners, guides, interpreters, and

⁸⁵ *Parris v. Woodward*, October 27, 1714, Judgment Rolls, box 11A, item 160A, SCDAH.

⁸⁶ Ethridge, *From Chicaza to Chickasaw*, 236–238.

⁸⁷ John Norris, "Profitable Advice for Rich and Poor," in *Selling a New World: Two Colonial South Carolina Promotional Pamphlets*, ed. Jack P. Greene (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989), 132; Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*, 311–312.

⁸⁸ Governor and Council of Carolina to the Council of Trade and Plantations, September 17, 1709, in Cecil Headlam, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, June 1708–1709* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1922), 466; Ramsey, *Yamasee War*, 36–37.

⁸⁹ While a number of scholars argue that far more Indian women than men were enslaved, evidence seems to indicate that this estimate is slightly exaggerated. In 1708 women constituted 43 percent of the Indian slave population, while men were 36 percent and children, 21 percent. Women and children outnumbered men in both the Indian and the African slave populations. Governor and Council of Carolina to the Council of Trade and Plantations, September 17, 1709, in Headlam, *Calendar of State Papers, June 1708–1709*, 466. As Jennifer L. Morgan demonstrates, enslaved women occupied the lowest rungs of the labor ladder in larger proportions than enslaved men. Morgan, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 144–165.

negotiators. Enslaved Africans worked in the Indian trade as well, though this seems to have been less common.

We can infer that merchants, including Godin & Co., not only purchased enslaved Indians directly from Indian traders, as they did deerskins, but also figured prominently in the exportation of Indian slaves. Successful merchants such as Godin and La Conseillère owned shares in local ships that regularly traded with the Caribbean, New York, and New England, the major export destinations for enslaved Indians.⁹⁰ Still, there is no direct evidence of merchants exporting Indian slaves in their own ships. Concurrent Charleston shipping and export tax records do not survive. Moreover, in 1707 the assembly enacted restrictions on Indian enslavement that made it illegal for traders to enslave “free” Indians. Free Indians being held as slaves were to be liberated, and the offending traders were subject to criminal charges and held liable for any civil suits brought against them by persons to whom they tried to sell the Indians.⁹¹ It is unlikely that this act prevented merchants from purchasing Indian slaves from traders, but it may have discouraged them from keeping records of the transactions since traders’ enslavement practices were coming under greater scrutiny by the assembly.

The best evidence of merchant involvement in the Indian slave trade actually comes from South Carolina’s early mortgage system. To secure large loans, merchants allowed their debtors to mortgage property, particularly land and slaves. Such loans had fairly standard terms: the life of the loan was generally one year, interest was charged at the rate of 10 percent, and there was a 100 percent penalty charge.⁹² When a debtor defaulted, Indian and African slaves used to secure the loan became the property of the lender. In 1707, for example, John Wright mortgaged twelve African slaves to obtain a £290 loan from merchant Alexander Parris.⁹³ Interestingly,

⁹⁰ November 3, 1716, Miscellaneous Records, 1709–1721, ST 0459, microfilm, pp. 431–432, SCDAH. On merchants who owned shares in ships, see Stumpf, “Merchants of Colonial Charleston,” 73–76. Also see Carl E. Swanson, “‘To Procure a Good Freight’: Charles Town Merchants in the Eighteenth Century,” *International Journal of Maritime History* 20 (December 2008): 111–141.

⁹¹ “Act for Regulating the Indian Trade,” in Cooper and McCord, *Statutes at Large*, 2: 311. As Gallay points out, this was a fairly weak commitment to ending the enslavement of free Indians, since the penalty for selling a free Indian was less than that for trading without a license. Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*, 217.

⁹² Menard, “Financing the Lowcountry Export Boom,” 659–676.

⁹³ Wright mortgaged six of the nine “Negro” men and all six of the “Negro” women but none of the three Indian slaves he had purchased from Thomas Cary less than a year earlier. Parris had already acquired some of Cary’s Indian and African slaves in 1700 when he became a guarantor for Cary’s debts, and in return, Cary mortgaged land, one-third of a ship, and his “Negroes & Indians Young & Old.” March 19, 1700, Miscellaneous Records, 1694–1705, ST 0458, microfilm, pp. 227–231, SCDAH; Edgar and Bailey, *Biographical Directory*, 2: 143.

Wright chose not to mortgage any of his Indian slaves. At that stage, he probably considered them too valuable to his work as an Indian trader. But there were many other instances in which merchants did acquire Indian slaves through mortgages. One example involved Thomas Welch, a leading Indian trader in the long-distance Chickasaw trade, who mortgaged six Indian slaves—three women, two men, and one child—for a £224 loan from Parris in 1709.⁹⁴

Mortgages to secure loans illuminate the trade in Indian slaves captured during raids on Spanish Florida as well. Through two mortgages, Guérard and Godin gained possession of twelve Indian slaves from two people who would come to have kinship ties to James Moore Sr. Before partnering with Guérard, Godin already was a moneylender. In 1706 he loaned £112 to Sarah Howe (also spelled Howes), whose son married Moore's daughter Mary. Two years later, Sarah Howe paid off her debt to Godin by signing her plantation over to him, including the livestock and twenty-three slaves, two of whom were Indian.⁹⁵ Around the same time, another member of Moore's extended family took an advance from Pasquereau and Guérard, mortgaging Indian slaves to guarantee the loan. When Pasquereau died in 1711, his executors Jean Guérard and Benjamin Godin, along with Peter de St. Julien and Henry Noble, were entrusted with the responsibility of settling outstanding debts due to the estate.⁹⁶ Guérard and Godin allowed one of

⁹⁴ The Indian slaves were "one Indian man called Francisco, one Indian woman Mary, & her son called Gevernor[?], one Indian man called Hector, one old Indian woman called Maria & one other Indian women called Cleopatra together with all & every their Increase." February 9, 1710, Miscellaneous Records, 1709–1725, ST 0353, p. 54, SCD AH.

⁹⁵ November 12, 1706, Miscellaneous Records, 1704–1709, ST 0361, microfilm, p. 329, SCD AH. The Indian woman was named Catharina, and her son's name appears to have been Wannalr. Peter and Hannah Guérard were witnesses to the debt bond. In 1708 Godin purchased Sarah Howe's slaves and jointly purchased the rest of the estate with her son Robert. Benjamin Godin and Robert Howe paid £1,099 13s. 6d. for the estate. June 29, 1706, Miscellaneous Records, 1704–1709, ST 0361, microfilm, pp. 325–326, SCD AH. Robert also purchased another twenty-three "Negro" slaves from his mother in 1708 for the same amount that Godin had paid, £536. October 18, 1708, *ibid*, pp. 343–344. Sarah had been married to Robert Fowell in Barbados, then she married Edward Middleton in 1680, two years after he came to South Carolina. Finally, she married Job Howes, who died in 1706. Edgar and Bailey, *Biographical Directory*, 2: 335–336, 357; Webber, "First Governor Moore," 20. Sarah had one son with Edward Middleton, Arthur Middleton, and Edward had a son from his first marriage in England, Henry Middleton, who lived in London and was a merchant. Langdon Cheves, "Middleton of South Carolina," in *South Carolina Genealogies: Articles from the South Carolina Historical (and Genealogical) Magazine* (Spartanburg, S.C.: Published in association with the South Carolina Historical Society by the Reprint Company, 1983), 3: 124–125.

⁹⁶ The first business transaction I have been able to uncover was in 1710, when Guérard and Godin loaned £199 to Rachel Callebeuf, widow of Isaac Callebeuf, a

the debtors, David Davis, to roll his debt over into a new loan. Davis was married to Anne Moore, another of Moore's daughters. He borrowed £1,945 from Guérard and Godin under the standard terms.⁹⁷ Because it was such a sizeable amount, Davis secured the bond by mortgaging ninety-five slaves, ten of whom were Indians (four men, three women, and three girls).⁹⁸ This loan, in fact, seems to have been the first act of the new company established by Guérard and Godin.

By virtue of their role in paying off James Moore Sr.'s posthumous debts and their loans to two of his in-laws, Sarah Howe and David Davis, merchants Jean Guérard and Benjamin Godin acquired sixty-four of Moore's slaves plus (at least temporarily) another 118 slaves from his in-laws.⁹⁹ Twelve of the slaves transferred from Howe and Davis to Guérard and Godin were described as Indian (10 percent), and a few of these Indian slaves had names that are identifiably Spanish—Catharina, Philiciano, and Diego—suggesting that Moore's in-laws, like many other colonists, acquired Indian slaves as a result of engagements against Indian missions in Florida during the first decade of the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁰

But by far the largest set of lawsuits that Godin and La Conseillère pursued before the end of the Yamasee War was against Eleana Wright in her capacity as the sole administrator of the estate of her recently deceased husband, John. John Wright had taken out significant loans from Godin & Co. in 1714, contracting to repay the majority in "good & merchantable Indian drest deer skins weighing one pound on upwards at two shillings

merchant who was dead by 1701. She mortgaged six "Negro" slaves. June 8, 1710, Miscellaneous Records, 1709–1725, ST 0353, microfilm, pp. 77–80, SCDAAH. There is no mention of La Conseillère. Instead, the loan was from "Jean Guérard, Benjamin Godin & Company." It seems likely that La Conseillère joined the company later. On Isaac Callebeuf, see Lesser, *South Carolina Begins*, 261.

⁹⁷ Edgar and Bailey, *Biographical Directory*, 2: 467–468.

⁹⁸ For David Davis's connection to Moore, see *ibid.*, 186–187. The Indian women Godin purchased were Betty, Nancy, and Bess; the girls were Mariah, Katty, and Phillis; and the men were Anthony, John, Philiciano, and Diego. May 30, 1711, Miscellaneous Records, 1709–1725, ST 0353, microfilm, pp. 136–138, SCDAAH.

⁹⁹ It is not clear whether Davis and Howe defaulted on their loans or paid them off and then regained property rights to their slaves.

¹⁰⁰ In 1708 Sarah Howe sold two Indian slaves, twenty-one African slaves, and her plantation to Benjamin Godin, partly to repay a pre-existing loan. October 18, 1708, Miscellaneous Records, 1704–1709, ST 0361, microfilm, pp. 343–344, SCDAAH. In 1711 David Davis, who was James Moore Sr.'s son-in-law, borrowed £1,945 from Guérard and Godin and secured the bond by mortgaging ten Indian and eighty-five African slaves. May 30, 1711, Miscellaneous Records, 1709–1725, ST 0353, microfilm, pp. 136–138, SCDAAH. For the connections between Sarah Howe, David Davis, and James Moore Sr., see Edgar and Bailey, *Biographical Directory*, 2: 335–336, 186–187.

& four pence per pound."¹⁰¹ The Indian trade was Wright's main source of revenue, and Godin & Co. extended these loans to him partly to secure deerskins for their own export. In the event that he defaulted, they also would acquire Indian and African slaves through Wright's mortgages to secure his loans.

Most traders remained relatively impoverished throughout their lifetimes, but as in the case of James Moore Sr., John Wright had mobilized his profits from the Indian trade to hire other Indian traders and develop a plantation complex. Wright also served as the colony's Indian agent from 1708 to 1712, a position established to enforce new trading regulations passed by the assembly in 1707. Described as a "gentleman" in court documents, he was a complicated and controversial political figure. His selection as Indian agent was "frought with difficulties" not only due to larger religious and political issues that were beyond his control, but also because "his self-interest and abrasive personality alienated many," according to Alan Gally.¹⁰² Thomas Nairne had served as the first Indian Agent in 1707. He was followed by Wright, who was removed from office after four years and replaced by Nairne once again. William L. Ramsey characterizes Nairne and Wright's feelings for each other as so antagonistic that they "helped precipitate the complete disintegration of South Carolina's diplomacy with all American Indian Nations in late 1714."¹⁰³

As we have seen, Wright played no small part in the disintegration of colonial diplomacy with the Indians. He and Nairne were both killed at Pocotaligo Town in the opening act of the Yamasee War after Wright threatened to execute the Yamasee headmen and enslave their people. Apparently undeterred by the war or Wright's death, Godin and La Conseillère started legal proceedings against Eleana as administrator and inheritor of her husband's estate in October 1715, a mere five months after his death. The lawsuits do not appear to have been personally motivated since the partners purchased rice from Eleana Wright while they were suing her.¹⁰⁴ Around the same time, they also sued a local planter who, on account of

¹⁰¹ *Godin and La Conseillère v. Wright*, August 9, 1715, Judgment Rolls, box 11A, item 163A, SCDAH; *Godin and La Conseillère v. Wright*, October 7, 1715, *ibid.*, box 6A, item 1A, SCDAH. The earliest date on this last case is the response Eleana Wright filed November 7, 1715. But it is likely that Godin and La Conseillère filed the warrant on August 5, 1715, as they did for the other suits.

¹⁰² Gally, *Indian Slave Trade*, 245.

¹⁰³ Ramsey, *Yamasee War*, 90.

¹⁰⁴ Testimony of Eleana Wright, February 16, 1717, in Gregorie, *Records of the Court of Chancery*, 183.

the Yamasee War, was unable to produce his contracted six hundred barrels of pitch.¹⁰⁵

John Wright's debts to the company originally totaled £2,202, but since the loans were in default, Godin and La Conseillère sued for double that amount, a common practice.¹⁰⁶ Wright had amassed the debt in a very short time. In June 1714, he took out a loan for £687 11s. 10d. with standard terms.¹⁰⁷ The following September, as he was readying himself and his traders for their trek to the Indian towns, Wright purchased goods on credit totaling £1,291 15s. 8d. Unfortunately, an accounting of what he bought with this credit line is not in the suit, but the sums borrowed were to be repaid in dressed deerskins. Less than two weeks later, Wright took out another credit line for £223 8s. 5d., again to be repaid in deerskins. Finally, between September 1714 and April 1715, Wright purchased goods from Godin & Co. on credit in the amount of £226 1s. 6d. These particular goods were for both the Indian trade and his plantation, including materials for carpentry work he was having done on his house, which was in need of repairs. Dated April 12, three days before his death, the last charge on his merchant account was for nails. The long itemized list of his purchases offers a glimpse into Wright's activities as well as the goods sold by Godin and La Conseillère: silk handkerchiefs, broad blue cloth, thread, buttons, stockings, shoes, pewter spoons and dishes, lumber, and nails.¹⁰⁸

It clear that John Wright was financially overextended when he died. He was indebted not only to Godin & Co. but also to at least two other groups of Charleston merchants. At the most conservative estimation, Wright's debts to these three merchant companies in 1715 totaled over thirty-four hundred pounds. He owed more than twenty-two hundred pounds to Godin & Co., three hundred pounds to Samuel Eveleigh, and

¹⁰⁵ *Godin and La Conseillère v. John Moore*, February 1716, Judgment Rolls, box 7A, item 758, SCDAAH. Moore was to produce the pitch before December 30, 1715. This was not likely James Moore Sr.'s son John, who was only seventeen years old in 1715, but rather an unrelated John Moore. Gregorie, *Records of the Court of Chancery*, 136, n. 39. Moore asked the Chancery Court to throw out the case, arguing not only that it was far too dangerous for him to attempt to return to his plantation but also that the Yamasee War had driven the price of pitch and import goods up so significantly that he would effectively lose several hundred pounds if forced to abide by the financial terms of the prewar contract. *Moore v. Godin and La Conseillère*, filed February 18, 1716, in Gregorie, *Records of the Court of Chancery*, 136–137. Since the case ended before court, we can assume the Chancery Court agreed with Moore.

¹⁰⁶ For a summary of the debts, see *Godin et al. v. Wright*, January 31, 1717, in Gregorie, *Records of the Court of Chancery*, 245–247.

¹⁰⁷ August 5, 1715, Judgment Rolls, box 11A, item 161A, SCDAAH.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, item 162A, SCDAAH. For a description of Wright's house, see Gregorie, *Records of the Court of Chancery*, 178–201.

K NOW all Men by these Presents, That *John Wright of Charles*
County in the Province of South Carolina
 am held and firmly Bound unto *Godin & Co.*
the Executors of the Estate of the deceased
 Pounds of good and lawful Money of Carolina, to be paid to the said
 certain Attorney, Executors, Administrators or Assigns: To which
 Payment well and truly to be made *bind*
 Heirs, Executors and Administrators firmly by these
 Presents. Sealed with *my* Seals. Dated the *3rd* day
 of *September* In the Year of Our Lord, One Thousand Seven
 Hundred and *Seventeen*

THE CONDITION of this Obligation is such, That if the above Bound
 Heirs, Executors or Administrators, shall and do well and truly pay or cause to be paid
 unto the above-named *Godin & Co.*
 Executors, Administrators or Assigns, the full Sum of *One Thousand Sixty Eight*
 of good and lawful Money of Carolina *as an Arrear due to the said*
 Without fraud or further Delay: Then this Present Obligation to be Void and of none
 Effect; or else to Be and Remain in full Force and Virtue.

Sealed and Delivered
 in presence of
James Godin
John Wright

John Wright's bond to Godin & Co., September 3, 1714. Courtesy of the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.

one thousand pounds to Wragg & Satur.¹⁰⁹ The debt to Eveleigh resulted from a partnership between the two men, undoubtedly in the Indian trade, given their prominence in that economic sphere. "Fearing least He Should be otherwise disappointed," Eveleigh had managed to recoup one-third of the original three-hundred-pound debt by sending one of his boats to Wright's plantation to fetch rice. Thus, Wright still owed Eveleigh close to two hundred pounds when he died.¹¹⁰ In addition to his debts to Godin &

¹⁰⁹ Testimony of Eleana Wright, February 16, 1717, in Gregorie, *Records of the Court of Chancery*, 183.

¹¹⁰ Examination of Samuel Eveleigh, August 2, 1717, in *ibid.*, 190.

Co. and Eveleigh, in 1714 Wright had taken out a one-thousand-pound loan with the Charleston merchant group of Samuel Wragg, Jacob Satur, and Joseph Wragg. The loan was due June 15, 1715, exactly two months after Wright's death. To secure it, Wright mortgaged his most valuable possessions and main source of collateral: his slaves and 896-acre plantation in Goose Creek, where one of his two immediate neighbors was none other than Benjamin Godin.¹¹¹ This was the first time that Wright used his Indian as well as African slaves as security for a loan.¹¹²

Wright was now putting into play a decisive financial strategy to earn as much as possible from one last trading season before becoming a full-time Charleston merchant. Eighteen of the forty-four slaves that he mortgaged to Wragg & Satur were Indian (24 percent), including thirteen women (Moll, Flora, Mannella, Judith, Sarah, Kate, Antonia, Jenny, Betty, Tuscarora Betty, Teeyon, Betty, and Angela), three men (Shem, Enasie, and Apalattia), and two girls (Whanna and Maria Yamasee). The names of several of these enslaved Indians signify their ethnic identity—Tuscarora, Yamasee, and Apalachee—and reflect the larger pattern of Indian slave wars waged against the Spanish mission Indians (1651–1710), the Tuscarora Indians of North Carolina (1711–1712), and the newer trend of Yamasee and Apalachee enslavement by traders for debt recovery. This change in Wright's mortgage practices, the sudden increase in his loans, his decision to rent out his plantation and relocate his family to Charleston, and his widow's partnership with Charleston merchant Francis Le Brasseur all point to Wright's intentions to move into the merchant realm.¹¹³ This plan would have enabled him to capitalize on his valuable connections in the field and finally turn a substantial profit from the Indian trade.

¹¹¹ June 15, 1714, Miscellaneous Records, 1715–1717, ST0459, microfilm, pp. 19–21, 42–44, SCDAH. The first group of "Negro" slaves included two boys—Robin and Tony—and four girls—Phillis, Nancy Carry, Nanny Ingola, and Maya. The ethnic identification of one of his African female slaves as Angolan also is interesting. The second group included fifteen "Negro" men—Dick, Apea, Sampson, Tony, Mingoe, Cudgoe, Jack, Will, Patrick, Quash, Peter, Jack, Roger, Samboe, and Phillipee—and four "negro" women—Maria, Betty, Sarah, and Rose. *Ibid.*, pp. 45–47.

¹¹² In his previous loan with Parris, Wright mortgaged only his African slaves. August 9, 1707, Miscellaneous Records, 1704–1709, ST 0361, microfilm, p. 115, SCDAH. The six men included Jack. Since he was not designated as "Indian Jack," I presume that he was African. The others were Harry, Roger, Jo, Sambo, and Mingo. Wright later sued Alexander Parris in his official capacity as public receiver for arrears of his salary as Indian agent. *John Wright v. Alexander Parris*, January 22, 1713, Judgment Rolls, box 4A, item 8, SCDAH.

¹¹³ As early as 1704, Wright had identified himself as a "merchant" in a lawsuit against a mariner who probably imported or exported goods on his behalf. And like Godin & Co., Wright was an active—if mostly small-scale—lender.

CONCLUSION

What became of the Godin and La Conseillère suits against Eleana Wright? The widow refused to settle the debts of her departed husband, claiming that she had been left penniless. The cases bounced from one court session to the next. Then, in January 1718, Godin and La Conseillère requested that the Court of Chancery subpoena Eleana Wright to provide a full accounting of her husband's estate. The merchants expected that she still had "ready Mony Debts Negro and Indian Slaves Great parcells of merchandize Indian Trading Goods Deer Skins household goods and other effects of her husbands of a Considerable Value over and besides what was destroyed by the Indians." But the outcome of these suits remains a mystery.¹¹⁴

Even if Eleana Wright was not, as her husband's creditors suspected, left utterly destitute, the contrast between John Wright's debts and Benjamin Godin's wealth was marked, as were the circumstances of their deaths. Wright died violently in an Indian town, having tried to leverage as much capital as he could in order to leave behind the world of Indian field trading and join the merchant ranks. Godin, on the other hand, survived Wright by thirty-three years and bequeathed to his wife and children an estate appraised at £39,244 15d., which included three plantations, his Charleston house, and 344 slaves.¹¹⁵ He had remained partners with La Conseillère through 1724, weathering a short period in which the Indian trade was put under a government monopoly (1716–1718).¹¹⁶ The commissioners of the Indian trade refused to purchase trade goods from the company, claiming that Godin and La Conseillère charged exorbitant prices. Nonetheless, Godin & Co. managed to circumvent the commissioners and remain active in the Indian trade by simply supplying other merchants—a practice they had engaged in prior to the war—from whom the commissioners did purchase Indian trade goods.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ *Godin et al v. Wright*, January 31, 1717, in Gregorie, *Records of the Court of Chancery*, 246–247.

¹¹⁵ Inventory of Benjamin Godin, June 24, 1749, South Carolina Inventories B, 1748–1751, pp. 107–123, SCDAH. Jean Guérard Jr. would die with an even larger estate than Godin. His was valued at £103,700 11s. 7d. and included 194 slaves as well as £41,170 7s. 5d. in debts due to him. John (Jean) Guérard Jr. Inventory, May 30, 1764, Charleston County Wills and Miscellaneous Records, vol. 88A, pp. 194–210, SCDAH.

¹¹⁶ Their last joint lawsuit was in 1724. *Guérard and La Conseillère v. Jonathan Skrine*, March 23, 1724, Judgment Rolls, box 21A, item 54A, SCDAH.

¹¹⁷ In July 1716, the commissioners rejected a bill from Godin & Co. for £148 10s. worth of Indian trade goods because the rates were too high: "Resolved, that this Board cannot agree to the Bill of Parcels . . . of Messrs. Godin and DelaConseillère, for supplying us with Goods for the Trade, by Reason of the high Demands they

Godin continued to work as a merchant without La Conseillère into the 1730s. When the Indian slave trade decreased sharply after 1715, many merchants compensated by increasing their procurement of deerskins. Some also turned to the African slave trade. Godin did both. In addition to exporting deerskins, he imported enslaved Africans, and he briefly partnered with Jean Guérard Jr. in the transatlantic slave trade.¹¹⁸ At some point before his death in 1748, Godin retired to the Spring, his large plantation in Goose Creek. Having built one of the most successful merchant companies of the early eighteenth century through his involvement in the Indian trade, Godin died the patriarch of an extensive and affluent merchant family.

By carefully developing complex local trading networks, situating themselves in key political offices, and using credit to bind field traders and other merchants to their business, the partners of Godin & Co. demonstrated how to derive substantial profits from the Indian trade. They endured the tumultuous economic swings of the Indian trade market—even the collapse of the Indian slave trade—because of their access to superior trade goods and long-term, deeply indebted clients who continued to supply them with goods for export. Many traders aspired to become wealthy Charleston merchants, yet even the more prosperous ones found the path steep and tricky. In the end, Wright's outburst in the presence of the Yamasees and Coweta Creeks laid bare the aspiration and desperation that motivated him to attempt the ascent.

insist on." July 6 and July 14, 1716, McDowell, *Journals of the Commissioners*, 71, 79. In February 1717, when the commissioners received a schedule of Godin and La Conseillère's prices for Indian trade goods they "deferred treating with them for the same . . . in order toe [*sic*] consider of the Terms of their Demands." *Ibid.*, 166; *Benjamin Godin and Benjamin de La Conseillère v. Samuel Eveleigh*, March 31, 1718, Judgment Rolls, box 11B, item 58A, SCDAH.

¹¹⁸ Nash, "Career of John Guerard," 9. For more on the activities of Godin and La Conseillère in the intervening years, see Hirsch, *Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina*, 145–146.

THE REGULATION RECONSIDERED: SHARED GRIEVANCES IN THE COLONIAL CAROLINAS

D. ANDREW JOHNSON*

HERMAN HUSBAND AND CHARLES WOODMASON HAVE captivated historians since the eighteenth century. Both were charismatic, dynamic religious leaders. Both were, for their time and place, prolific writers. Both became the media through which inland agrarian uprisings in the Carolina colonies, whose followers dubbed themselves "Regulators," found their voice. Beyond these similarities, though, it is hard to imagine the two men being any more different. Historians have spent more time studying Husband because not only was he an outspoken anti-slavery, egalitarian, democratic pacifist but he also spoke his mind freely against oppression during two of the great crises of the late colonial and early Republic periods (first, the North Carolina Regulation, and later, the Whiskey Rebellion of western Pennsylvania). He was raised by an Anglican family in Maryland, but his spiritual drive led him away from the established church, towards the Presbyterians, and eventually to the Society of Friends. Husband turned out to be too radical for the Quakers, so he went in search of his own millennially inspired inner light. He took up residence in Orange County, North Carolina, in the 1750s, and by the late 1760s, his incendiary writings had made him a major menace in the eyes of the eastern provincial elite during the Regulator crisis in that colony.

As far as Husband was, in our parlance, "radical," Charles Woodmason was "conservative." A native of England (where he probably descended from the gentry), Woodmason migrated to the South Carolina low country in the early 1750s and took up planting. In 1766 he was ordained as an Anglican minister and began a preaching itinerancy in the backcountry of the province. Believing the ordered, hierarchical Anglican Church to be the path to heaven, Woodmason wrote in disgust of the evangelicals then pouring into the western Carolinas. According to Woodmason, Presbyterians were "a Sett of the most lowest vilest Crew breathing." Social order of the proper eighteenth-century English style, structured around deference towards one's betters, was one of Woodmason's ultimate goals during his years in the backcountry. "Rogues," "whores," and "filth" were everywhere he traveled, along with irreverence to authority, which Woodmason thought himself due as a cleric of the established church and member of the landed

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