

UNCOVERING THE ROOTS OF ANAKAH:  
BRIDGING THE GAP BETWEEN AMERICA AND WEST AFRICA

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## ABSTRACT

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#### UNCOVERING THE ROOTS OF ANAKAH: BRIDGING THE GAP BETWEEN AMERICA AND WEST AFRICA

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This research explores the history of an enslaved African-American family who descend from an eighteenth-century ancestor named Anakah, through archival records in order to uncover any inconspicuous clues and a preponderance of evidence positively linking her family to its West African origins. This research also unearthed the Africanisms that prevailed within her family during slavery.

Anakah's family was linked to two possible regions in West Africa, but no concrete evidence was found to definitively link the origins of her family to one of those regions. Additionally, familial customs and practices that mirrored West African customs were found among four generations of her enslaved descendants in South Carolina and Mississippi.

This research displayed how definitive links to specific West African regions can be plausibly asserted in some families through an in-depth, historical analysis. Although certain Africanisms can not serve as conclusive evidence to adequately identify the West African origins of this family or any African-American family, the documentation of the West African cultural retentions served as an integral part of successfully bridging the gap between Anakah and her family in America and West Africa.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

B	In the U.S. Federal Census records, “B” means “Black” in the “color” column.
DAR	Daughters of the American Revolution
DNA	Deoxyribonucleic acid
M or Mu	In the U.S. Federal Census records, “M” means “male” in the “sex” column, “mother” in the “relationship” column, “married” in the marital status column, or “mulatto” in the “color” column.
m	In the U.S. Federal Census records, “m” means “months” in the “age” column.
MDAH	Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi
MS or Miss.	Mississippi
S.C.	South Carolina
SCDAH	South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, South Carolina
SCHS	South Carolina Historical Society, Columbia, South Carolina
WPA	Works Progress Administration
Va	In the U.S. Federal Census records, “Va” means “Virginia” in the “place of birth” column.

## DEFINITION OF TERMS

**Africanisms** – A characteristic feature that can be traced back to African cultures. Also a characteristic feature of an African language occurring in a non-African language.

**Conceptual incarceration** – The highest and most sophisticated level of scientific colonialism. It is the process in which alien ideas or concepts are utilized to explain the reality of a particular people.<sup>1</sup>

**Consanguineous** – Related by blood; descended from a common ancestor.

**Cross cousins** – The children of a brother and of a sister.

**Culture** – A process which gives a people a general design for living and patterns for interpreting their reality.<sup>2</sup>

**Custom** – A repeated, common, and long-established practice to many or to a particular place or class.

**DNA** – Deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) is the chemical inside the nucleus of a cell that carries the genetic instructions for making living organisms.<sup>3</sup>

**Ethnic group** – A group of people who identify with each other, typically on the basis of a common genealogy or ancestry, or by common cultural traits.<sup>4</sup>

**Extended family** – Refers to family members who are cousins, aunts, uncles, grandparents, foster children, nieces, nephew, etc. - people who are outside of the parent/children

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<sup>1</sup> Wade W. Nobles, *Africanity and the Black Family: The Development of a Theoretical Model* (Oakland, CA: The Institute for the Advanced Study of Black Family Life and Culture, Inc., 1985), 102.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> National Human Genome Research Institute, “Deoxyribonucleic Acid (DNA)”, available from <http://www.genome.gov/>; accessed 17 September 2007.

<sup>4</sup> African Ancestry, Inc., *African Ancestry Guide to West and Central Africa* (Washington, DC: African Ancestry, Inc., 2005), 5. This researcher has avoided using the word *tribe* and have chosen *ethnic group* to refer to a group of people of the same ethnicity. This researcher posits that the term *tribe* carries a social meaning (or lack of value) placed on groups of people, especially in Africa, by European thought and practice.

group. They sometimes contain people who are unrelated, especially among African Americans. In African cultures, the extended family is the basic family unit.

**Genealogy** – The study and tracing of family lineages. This study entails the building of a cohesive family tree by collecting the names of living and deceased family members and establishing the family relationships based on primary and secondary records and also circumstantial evidence.

**Gullah or Geechee** – A distinctive group of African-Americans from the low-country areas of South Carolina and Georgia who have been able to preserve more of their African cultural heritage than any other group of African-Americans.

**Linguistics** – The scientific study of a language.

**Lots** – Lots refer to the family grouping of slaves, typically listed in slave inventories. Lots often contain a mother and her children, sometimes the father if he was on the same plantation, who are bequeathed or sold to another.

**Onomastics** – The study of proper names and the study of the origins of names.

**Parallel cousins** – The children of two brothers or two sisters.

**Slave ancestral genealogy** – The study of tracing pre-Civil War ancestors who were held in slavery. This is a complex process that involves more than affixing a collection of names to a family tree. This method includes identifying the name of the slave-owner in order to find records that document an enslaved ancestor(s).

**Testate** – If the deceased died having left a will, he is said to have died testate.

**World-view** – A people's picture of the way things in sheer actuality are, their concept of nature, of self, and of society.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Nobles, 109.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this research is to extract the history of Anakah's family through archival records in order to uncover any inconspicuous clues and a preponderance of evidence that can positively link her family to its West African origins. This thesis focuses on this researcher's maternal grandmother's family, a northern Mississippi family whose roots have been traced back to Anakah, an eighteenth-century ancestor who was enslaved in South Carolina; she was the great-great-great-great-great-grandmother of the researcher. Genealogical research, which incorporated oral histories from elder family members and federal, state, and local records including census, birth and death, marriage, land, military, school, and other miscellaneous records, was imperative for this in-depth study. Research methods for slave ancestral genealogy were also employed, enabling this researcher to locate pertinent records identifying Anakah's enslaved descendants and the names of the slave-owners.

Consequently, it was discovered that from the 1780s in Fairfield County, South Carolina, to 1865 in Panola County, Mississippi, four generations of Anakah's family were enslaved by four generations of one slave-owning family. Born circa 1760, she was enslaved in the piedmont region of South Carolina by Captain John Turner, a native of Northern Ireland who was a captain in the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783). Additionally, her name has initially been traced to the Vai language of West Africa. No

documentation or clues have been found that revealed the surname she claimed; therefore, she will be identified only by her first name.

For this research, the West African retentions that were prevalent among Anakah and her enslaved descendants in South Carolina and Mississippi were unearthed from a number of primary sources. These cultural retentions include, but were not limited to names, naming patterns, family structures, and other West African connections. This research aimed to connect Anakah's family roots to the Vai, Gola, and Mende region of West Africa. The Vai country was primarily situated along the present-day borders of northwestern Liberia and contiguous parts of eastern Sierra Leone and was inhabited by people of the Vai ethnic group who spoke the Vai language.<sup>1</sup> This language was also comprehended by many of the Mende ethnic group whose territory encompassed an area adjacent to the Vai country.<sup>2</sup> Additionally, the Gola people, whose territory adjoined the Vai and Mende country, also shared many indistinguishable cultural and linguistic traits with the Vai people.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, this research proposed to connect and contrast the West African retentions that were found in Anakah's family to those particular groups of people who inhabited eastern Sierra Leone and northwestern Liberia.

### **The Significance of the Study**

The significance of this research is the bridging of a significant gap between the history of an African-American family and its ties to a specific region of West Africa.

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<sup>1</sup> George W. Ellis, *Negro Culture in West Africa* (New York: The Neale Publishing Company, 1914), 73.

<sup>2</sup> Dee Parmer Woodtor, *Finding a Place Called Home: A Guide to African-American Genealogy and Historical Identity* (New York: Random House, 1999), 340-341.

<sup>3</sup> Adam Jones, "Who Were the Vai?," *The Journal of African History* 22, no. 2 (1981): 160-162.

The dehumanizing aspects of chattel slavery allowed for the destruction of cultural traits brought by Africans to North America. In America's attempt to erase the vestiges of Africa from enslaved Africans and their offspring, this nation systematically refused to document many important details concerning enslaved people of African descent who were born into chattel slavery. The continuity of African social and cultural patterns was greatly discouraged, and its disruption was often authorized by American slave codes. One such code included a comprehensive "Negro Act" that was passed by the South Carolina legislature, in 1740, proscribing Africans from "freedom of movement, freedom of assembly, freedom to raise food, to earn money, and to learn to read English."<sup>4</sup> As a result, this caused a considerable gap between people of African descent in America and their specific West African origins. Most African-American families will find it nearly impossible to pinpoint the villages in West Africa their ancestors hailed from, the names of specific slave ships that contained their enslaved ancestors, and the actual dates and places of arrival in America. Very few records give enough detailed information to obtain specificity. Additionally, very few African-American families possess rich oral histories that connect them to a village in West Africa. Despite the difficulties created by the odious institution of chattel slavery, research of this nature promotes a search for African identities and opens the gateway to hidden African pasts.

This research is also important because it endeavors to serve as a model for other scholars in their attempt to bridge the gap between America and West Africa. Dr. Dee Parmer Woodtor contends, "if you have been able to trace your ancestry to the 1700s, the period in which most slaves arrived in the United States, you may want to 'thrash around'

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<sup>4</sup> Dorothy Schneider and Carl J. Schneider, *An Eyewitness History of Slavery in America from Colonial Times to the Civil War* (New York: Checkmark Books, 2001), 98.

in the records and documentation that have survived” to determine African origins.<sup>5</sup> This research is, indeed, what she considers a “thrashing around” in its focus on uncovering the West African origins of Anakah’s family. This thesis demonstrates how analytical research can lead to hidden clues and a preponderance of evidence to connect people of African descent during the eighteenth century to their West African origins. Although specificity is often difficult to obtain, African Americans can indeed find their place in West Africa, and this research is conducive to understanding how it can be done.

### **Statement of the Problem**

Many past historians and sociologists have concluded that Africans were fragmented along many ethnic groups in West Africa. Their conclusions were largely influenced by citations from European observers at various times and places in Africa and in the Americas who presumed that slave revolts could be kept to a minimum if communication among new Africans was effectively suppressed. This strategic suppression was proposed by separating and fractionalizing the various African ethnicities during their transport to America and immediately after their discharge onto American ports.<sup>6</sup> As a result, there is a lingering, widespread belief among many historians that cultural characteristics among enslaved Africans and their offspring can not be traced back to specific ethnic groups. Recent scholarship has uncovered conclusive evidence proving that a large majority of Africans brought to America came from relatively few ethnic groups. Many slave ships drew their entire cargo from only

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<sup>5</sup> Woodtor, 342.

<sup>6</sup> Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas: Restoring the Links* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 55.

one or perhaps two ports in Africa and unloaded them in large lots of as many as 200 to 1000 in western Atlantic ports.<sup>7</sup> These facts give scholars and family historians a better chance of connecting family customs and generational continuities to specific ethnic groups and regions in West Africa.

Scholars have also found that South Carolina slave-owners, especially in the eighteenth century, not only knew the ethnic backgrounds of the Africans they imported into Charleston, but they sought those Africans who fit their needs.<sup>8</sup> Although plantation owners purchased Africans who hailed from various parts of West and West-Central Africa, many South Carolina planters preferred Africans from a large region of West Africa that mariners called the “Rice Coast.” This traditional rice-growing region encompassed the present-day nations of Senegal, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, Sierra Leone, and Liberia.<sup>9</sup> Africans in this region had grown and cultivated rice many centuries prior to the transatlantic slave trade. Consequently, they were preferred in South Carolina because of their astute rice-growing abilities. Joseph Opala, an anthropologist who has spent over twenty years studying the connections between the Rice Coast and the United States, posits that South Carolina planters realized the advantage of importing Africans from the traditional rice-growing region of West Africa, and they generally showed far greater interest in the geographical origins of Africans than

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<sup>7</sup> John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800*, Second Edition (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 195-197.

<sup>8</sup> Daniel C. Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 116.

<sup>9</sup> Joseph A. Opala, *Rice, Slavery, and the Sierra Leone-American Connection* (US Park Service, Fort Sumter National Monument, Sullivan’s Island, South Carolina, 2000), i.



did other American planters.<sup>10</sup> Importation figures on the transatlantic slave trade into South Carolina support his claim. This data also supports the linking of Anakah's family and many enslaved people in South Carolina to the rice-growing region of West Africa.

Based on importation data published by Philip D. Curtin, in 1969, Africans from Sierra Leone and the Windward Coast region, which comprised the present-day nations of Liberia and the Ivory Coast, were the second largest group imported into Charleston, South Carolina during the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>11</sup> Since 1969, more research has been conducted on the transatlantic slave trade with updated importation figures. In 1997, scholars at the W. E. B. Dubois Institute for African and American Research in Cambridge, Massachusetts, collaboratively completed a comprehensive database containing detailed information of over 27,000 slave-trading voyages that occurred between 1650 and 1867. *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database* comprises of nearly seventy percent of the slaving voyages that ever sailed. The database includes the ships' owners, the captains, the number of enslaved Africans embarked and disembarked, the number of deaths, the dates and ports of departure and arrival, and the slave vessels that had insurrections.<sup>12</sup> In analyzing this large database, historian Gwendolyn Midlo Hall has found that 50.4 percent of all Atlantic slave voyages into South Carolina arrived between 1751 and 1775, a time period when Anakah was born.

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<sup>10</sup> Opala, 1-2.

<sup>11</sup> Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 157.

<sup>12</sup> Woodtor, 343-344.

Of those voyages, she also found that voyages bringing Africans from the Sierra Leone region ranked second to the Senegambia region (Senegal and the Gambia).<sup>13</sup>

Not only did Hall discover a significant presence of Africans from the Sierra Leone and surrounding regions in South Carolina, but also recent scholarship by Joseph Opala and Edward Ball has led to undeniable links between the Sierra Leone region, South Carolina, and Georgia. These links are vitally important, as it provided a solid basis for logically connecting Anakah's family origins to the Sierra Leone and Liberia region. The first of three groundbreaking links was Opala's discovery of the major slave trading operations between Bance Island (now Bunce) in Sierra Leone and Charleston, South Carolina. A small, three-mile-long island located in the Sierra Leone River, Bance Island supplied numerous enslaved Africans from Sierra Leone, Liberia, and the surrounding regions to the Charleston market during the last half of the eighteenth century. In 1750, the London firm of Grant, Sargent, and Oswald took control of Bance Island. In partnership with Henry Laurens, one of the wealthiest rice planters and slave dealers in South Carolina, Richard Oswald concentrated heavily on supplying Africans to Charleston, exporting between 250 and 350 Africans per year.<sup>14</sup> The discovery of this slave-trading operation, supported by importation figures of the transatlantic slave trade for South Carolina, suggests that the likelihood that many African-American families of South Carolinian origins descend from at least one African from the Sierra Leone and Liberia region is very good.

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<sup>13</sup> Hall, 94.

<sup>14</sup> Opala, 4-5.

Edward Ball's discovery of an ancestral tie between a South Carolina family and the Sierra Leone region constituted the second groundbreaking connection between the two regions. Ball discovered that his ancestors kept meticulous records of their rice plantations in low-country South Carolina. Using those records, he chronicled the history of the slaves his family had owned in *Slaves in the Family* (1998). His research unearthed six enslaved Africans his ancestor, Elias Ball, had purchased from the *Hare*, the slave ship that arrived in Charleston, South Carolina in 1756 from Bance Island, Sierra Leone.<sup>15</sup> One of those six Africans was a ten-year-old girl who was given the name *Priscilla*. Ball found sufficient information to construct a detailed family tree of Priscilla, linking seven generations of her family to her descendants living in South Carolina today. During a research project on Bance Island, Joseph Opala uncovered the records of the *Hare*.<sup>16</sup> Like the purpose of this research, this monumental connection bridges hundreds of years and thousands of miles from an African-American family in present-day South Carolina back to eighteenth century Sierra Leone.

The third groundbreaking tie to the Sierra Leone region was made through a song passed down within a Geechee<sup>17</sup> family of Harris Neck, Georgia. Although this thesis and the aforementioned connections have been confined to the state of South Carolina, this final groundbreaking connection to Sierra Leone is of equal importance. Many Africans from the Sierra Leone and Liberia region who were transported to Charleston,

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<sup>15</sup> Edward Ball, *Slaves in the Family* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1998), 193.

<sup>16</sup> Yale University, "Priscilla's Homecoming"; available from <http://www.yale.edu/glc/priscilla/>; Internet; accessed 05 May 2007.

<sup>17</sup> The Geechee people are direct descendants of Africans who were transported to Sea Islands plantations along the Georgia coast. They preserved more of their African linguistic and cultural heritage than any other African-American community in the United States. These same groups of people who live in low-country South Carolina are known as the Gullah people.

South Carolina ended up on low-country plantations in neighboring Georgia. During the entire colonial period, of the approximately 7,000 Africans taken from Charleston, South Carolina to the adjacent colonies, a significant 50 percent of them were sent to the Georgia ports of Savannah and Sunbury.<sup>18</sup> Additionally, the Gullah people of South Carolina are often considered the Geechee people in Georgia, with both groups possessing indistinguishable cultures. Margaret Washington Creel contends that the term *Geechee* derived from the Kissi (Gizzi or Kizzi) people of Sierra Leone.<sup>19</sup> Some scholars have associated the derivation of the term *Gullah* to the Gola people of western Liberia.<sup>20</sup>

During his extensive study of the Gullah/Geechee dialect in South Carolina and Georgia in 1931, linguistics expert Dr. Lorenzo Dow Turner, the first African-American scholar to specialize in African languages, discovered a five-line song recited in an African language by fifty-year-old Amelia Dawley, a woman living in Harris Neck, a remote Georgia fishing village. Turner later published the song in his publication *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (1949).<sup>21</sup> Unaware of its origins, Amelia Dawley's grandmother had taught her the song. Turner recorded the song and played it for numerous Africans studying in the United States, hoping to identify the language. Solomon Caulker, a Mende from Sierra Leone, immediately identified it as a song in his

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<sup>18</sup> W. Robert Higgins, "Charleston: Terminus and Entrepot of the Colonial Slave Trade," in *The African Diaspora: Interpretative Essays*, ed. Martin L. Kilson and Robert I. Rotberg (Cambridge, Mass., 1976), 129-130.

<sup>19</sup> Margaret Washington Creel, *A Peculiar People: Slave Religion and Community Culture Among the Gullahs* (New York: New York University Press, 1981), 15-19.

<sup>20</sup> Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 102.

<sup>21</sup> Lorenzo Dow Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949), 256.

native tongue. Turner's recording of the song is housed in the Archives of Traditional Music at Indiana University.<sup>22</sup>

Nearly sixty years later, anthropologist Joseph Opala, ethnomusicologist Cynthia Schmidt, and Sierra Leonean linguist Tazieff Koroma conducted an arduous search to determine if Amelia Dawley's song was still remembered in the Mende country of Sierra Leone. Schmidt discovered a woman, Baindu Jabati, residing in the remote interior village of Senehum Ngola, who recalled a song with strikingly similar lyrics, a dirge performed during a graveside ceremony called Tenjami or "crossing the river." Jabati's grandmother taught her the song since death rites were the responsibilities of Mende women. Amazingly, her grandmother had shared that the song would be the mechanism to identify lost kinsman. This remarkable connection was filmed in 1998, as part of the documentary *The Language You Cry In* that captures the poignant reunion in Sierra Leone between Dawley's daughter Mary Moran and Baindu Jabati.<sup>23</sup> This film dramatically demonstrates how contemporary scholarship can yield indisputable links between South Carolina, Georgia, and the West African nation of Sierra Leone.

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<sup>22</sup> Alvaro Toepke and Angel Serrano, prod. *The Language You Cry In* (San Francisco: California Newreel, 1998).

<sup>23</sup> Toepke and Serrano, prod.

## Theoretical Framework

Two theoretical frameworks served as the foundation for this research. The first and most important theory entails the transmission of West African cultural elements into African-American culture. Beginning in the 1930s, many scholars began to study the African-American family quite extensively. In doing so, these scholars formulated their own theories or presented what they deemed as scientific “evidence” to explain their perceived “ills” within African-American families. Perpetuating an apparent European superiority ideology, these scholars have unfortunately characterized the African-American family based on a Eurocentric paradigm that heavily focused on the nuclear family structure. These scholars have also painstakingly argued that as a consequence of slavery, people of African descent in America had been enormously stripped of their traditional social and cultural heritages maintained by their African forebears.

One of the most famous scholars who supported these claims was African-American sociologist E. Franklin Frazier in his well-known publication, *The Negro Family in the United States* (1939). The book is an analysis of the history of the African-American family since the eighteenth century, expounding on the impact of slavery, segregation, racial discrimination, and migration on the family. Frazier ignored the works of Carter G. Woodson who delineated African carryovers in arts, folklore, music, dance, and spirituality in *The African Background Outlined* (1936). Frazier accepted the removal of the vestiges of Africa from its children in America as the central focus for his psychoanalysis of the African-American family. He wrote:

Probably never before in history has a people been so nearly completely stripped of its social heritage as the Negroes who were brought to America. Other conquered races have continued to worship their household gods within the intimate circle of their kinsmen. But American slavery destroyed household gods

and dissolved the bonds of sympathy and affection between men of the same blood and household. Old men and women might have brooded over memories of their African homeland, but they could not change the world about them. . .the habits and customs as well as the hopes and fears that characterized the life of their forebears in Africa, nothing remains.<sup>24</sup>

Since Frazier's work in the field of African-American family life, more obvious links between African and African-American families have been brought to the forefront. Looking through an African lens, more scholars have refuted the studies of Frazier and others, incorporating their cross-cultural analysis into a more proper understanding of the African-American family. Melville Herskovits pioneered further study of African retentions in African-American culture in *The Myth of the Negro Past* (1941). Herskovits's affirmation of Africanisms in the New World was the basis for later studies on African survivals in African-American culture. Additional contemporary scholarship by Herbert Gutman, Niara Sudarkasa, Michael Gomez, and Wade Nobles has shown that African social and cultural patterns were undeniably transplanted into African-American society, debunking Frazier's theories. Sudarkasa has properly theorized that just as diverse European peoples in the twentieth century can still acknowledge cultural survivals from the lands of their ancestry, so too would Africans, removed only a few generations from their homelands, show evidence of their cultural heritage.<sup>25</sup>

Correspondingly, Wade Nobles argues that the theoretical framework for defining African-American social reality must be based on African cultural residuals as reflected

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<sup>24</sup> E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), 15.

<sup>25</sup> Niara Sudarkasa, "African and Afro-American Family Structure: A Comparison," *Black Scholar* 11, no. 8 (1980): 51-52.

in the world-view, normative assumptions and frame of reference of African people.<sup>26</sup>

His theory emphatically posits that African retentions were very prevalent and profound in African-American culture; therefore, interpreting the African-American family definitely requires an African-based model. Nobles regards the works of E. Franklin Frazier as “conceptual incarceration” that assumed a cultural commonality between African Americans and Whites.<sup>27</sup> Supported by Nobles, Sudarkasa’s theory constitutes the first of two theoretical frameworks for this research that extracts the Africanisms in Anakah’s family and unearths hidden clues and a preponderance of evidence linking her family origins to a specific region of West Africa.

The second theoretical framework for this research was drawn from the recent scholarship on the transatlantic slave trade by John Thornton, Michael Gomez, and Gwendolyn Midlo Hall. Past scholars have argued that associating certain aspects of African-American culture with specific ethnic groups in West Africa is a daunting task. However, this research illustrates the manageability of this task by considering that enslaved Africans from the same regions and ethnicities were often clustered at specific locations in the Americas. Thornton contends that the slave trade did little to break up cultural groupings, and many enslaved Africans were able to live among and communicate with others from their own nation.<sup>28</sup> In *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas*, Hall indicates that Africans from the same regions and ethnicities were transported into South Carolina in waves. This researcher contends that these factors

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<sup>26</sup> Wade W. Nobles, *Africanity and the Black Family: The Development of a Theoretical Model* (Oakland, CA: The Institute for the Advanced Study of Black Family Life and Culture, Inc., 1985), 72.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 65.

<sup>28</sup> Thornton, 195-197.



lessen the difficulty of pinpointing the West African origins of enslaved families, especially in South Carolina. Planters from that state greatly desired and acquired Africans from specific regions such as the Sierra Leone and Liberia area, the Angola-Congo area, and the Senegambia region; therefore, this researcher posits that linking the family origins of Anakah to a specific West African region, namely the eastern Sierra Leone and northwestern Liberia region, is indeed an achievable task.

### **Methodology**

This research entailed a qualitative data analysis through an amalgamation of genealogical research and a historiography; historical data and evidence was gathered from primary sources and analyzed in order to connect Anakah's family origins to a specific West African region. The institution of chattel slavery in America deemed enslaved people of African descent as property; therefore, slaves are named in a plethora of primary records. In fact, Phillip D. Morgan's study on slavery in South Carolina revealed that nearly 80,000 slaves were named in probated estate records in the low-country area of South Carolina between 1760 and 1799 alone. That number constituted over 80 percent of the slave population in that state during that time.<sup>29</sup> For African-American families whose roots stem back to South Carolina, there is a great chance that most of their enslaved ancestors were reported by a first name in a number of primary records.

The primary records for this research were civil court records and probate (estate) records of the slave-owners of Anakah and her enslaved offspring. The probate records

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<sup>29</sup> Woodtor, 208.

included wills, inventories, annual accountings, and final settlement or decree of distribution. Slave ancestral research is not remotely possible without uncovering the names of the slave-owners. Previous research revealed that Anakah's enslaver was Captain John Turner of Fairfield County, South Carolina. Turner's will written on July 27, 1807, three days before his demise, stipulated that Anakah, her children, and his remaining slaves be distributed among his four daughters, one son, and a grandson.<sup>30</sup> Analyses of their primary records, as well as post-Civil War records, were imperative in order to reconstruct the family tree. The post-Civil War records included census records, marriage records, birth and death records, school records, and other federal, state, and local records. Oral histories also assisted in this endeavor. This family tree reconstruction was necessary to determine the names, naming patterns, and family structures that were prevalent among Anakah and her enslaved descendants in South Carolina and Mississippi.

This research also involved onomastic research on the name *Anakah* – the way it was spelled in both John Turner's will and his estate inventory – in order to positively determine its origins in West Africa. Variant phonetic spellings include *Anika*, *Anica*, *Annika*, and *Anacky*. This name has, not only been initially linked to the Sierra Leone and Liberia region, but also its usage has been found among the Gullah people of low-country South Carolina. This name is found in the Vai language which was spoken by the Vai people and often understood by many of the Mende and Gola ethnic groups.<sup>31</sup> Onomastic research was also conducted on names that exist among Anakah's

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<sup>30</sup> John Turner, will, 1807, Fairfield County Probate Court Estate Papers, File 32, Pkg. 509, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, South Carolina.

<sup>31</sup> Lorenzo Dow Turner, 52.

descendants that are phonetically similar to or derived from *Anakah* and other names of past family members living during the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century. This was necessary to denote a distinct naming pattern in the family that mirrored West African customs.

Additionally, a historical-comparative analysis was conducted on Africanisms found in Anakah's family in Mississippi and South Carolina and the pre-colonial customs of several West African ethnic groups, including the Vai, Gola, and Mende peoples of Sierra Leone and Liberia. Their traditional customs were drawn from secondary sources by historians who have engaged in studying West African cultures. The similarities between the cultural elements found among Anakah and her enslaved descendants and the traditional practices of specific West African ethnic groups added to the body of circumstantial evidence linking the family's origins to a specific ethnic group and region. However, these familial traits alone could not serve as definitive links to a specific West African group or absolute proof of direct ancestry since many practices were universal throughout West Africa.

In order to unearth additional clues to determine any West African connections, it was necessary to determine how Anakah became enslaved by the Turner family in his analyses of the aforementioned primary sources. It was initially determined that John Turner and Henry Laurens may have been very well-acquainted with each other, as both were high-ranking officials from South Carolina in the Revolutionary War and both served in the South Carolina Legislature. Turner was elected to a seat in the South Carolina state legislature for fourteen years in succession, representing the Fairfield District since 1775. This district, situated between the Broad and Catawba Rivers,

elected him to the Second South Carolina Provincial Congress (1775-1776) and the First General Assembly (1776).<sup>32</sup> Henry Laurens was also elected a member of the Second South Carolina Provincial Congress, serving from November 1775 to March 1776, the same time frame of Turner's service. Laurens also served as the president of the second council of safety and was elected Vice President of South Carolina, serving from March 1776 to June 27, 1777.<sup>33</sup>

Moreover, Henry Laurens was also among America's most illustrious names in the slave trading industry of Charleston, South Carolina, including Thomas Middleton and the Butler family.<sup>34</sup> Since Laurens may have had ties with Turner, the Henry Laurens papers that have been preserved by the South Carolina Historical Society were examined to uncover evidence of slave-trading between Laurens and the Turner family of Fairfield County. Planters who occupied land near the major ports often served as traders for planters and farmers living upriver. Their activities are frequently reported in their plantation and business records.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> The Daughters of the American Revolution – University of South Carolina Chapter, "John Turner: Ancestor of Mary Wylie Cely," available from <http://home.sc.rr.com/uscdar/Turner.htm>; accessed 03 May 2007.

<sup>33</sup> Evisum, Inc., "Henry Laurens;" available from <http://henrylaurens.com>; Internet; accessed 03 May 2007.

<sup>34</sup> Woodtor, 343.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

## **Research Questions**

The following are the research questions under investigation for this thesis:

1. What are the cultural elements linking Anakah's family origins to the eastern Sierra Leone and northwestern Liberia region, and can these familial findings be linked to other regions and groups in West Africa?
2. How did Anakah and her enslaved descendants in South Carolina and Mississippi preserve their West African customs? In what ways were the families able to preserve these Africanisms?

## **Chapter Organization**

Chapter two is the literature review which analyzes crucial texts that focus on the three following subject areas that are essential for the historical analysis and genealogical study of enslaved African-American families: African-American genealogy, the transatlantic slave trade, and the transmission of West African cultural elements into American society.

Chapter three is the historical chapter which provides the reader with background information about Anakah, her descendants, and the slave-owning Turner family of Fairfield County, South Carolina. Anakah's enslavement on the Turner plantation during the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century is also placed into historical context with the evolution of chattel slavery in South Carolina, which is vital in unearthing a comprehensive history of enslaved African-American families in that state.

Chapter four presents the research findings and the body of evidence that constitute definitive links to specific West African cultures found from the historical analysis of primary sources on Anakah and her enslaved descendants in South Carolina and Mississippi.

Chapter five details the Africanisms that were found within Anakah's family through the analysis of primary sources; those African retentions were compared to the traditional, pre-colonial practices of the ethnic groups within the West African regions where circumstantial evidence has placed the family's origins, as well as other regions of West Africa.

Chapter six is the conclusion that provides the reader with an overview of the research findings connecting Anakah's family to a specific West African group and region and the Africanisms uncovered within the family.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

For three quarters of a century, contemporary scholarship on African-American history by Carter G. Woodson (1936), Melville Herskovits (1941), Herbert G. Gutman (1976), John Blassingame (1979), Niara Sudarkasa (1980), Michael Gomez (1998), and other scholars has uncovered numerous Africanisms in the African-American community. Their research consistently illustrates the continuity of West African social and cultural patterns despite the inhumanities of American chattel slavery. Africans acclimated to the horrific life situations forced upon them by incorporating their traditional customs into their new and difficult environments. Many customs and cultural characteristics in African-American families can be traced directly or indirectly back to West Africa; however, very few scholars and historians have attempted to link individual family lineages to their West African origins. Since this research connects a Mississippi family of South Carolina origins to West Africa, the literature review constitutes secondary sources that address the following three subject areas: African-American genealogy, the transatlantic slave trade in South Carolina, and the transmission of West African cultural elements into American society.

## African-American Genealogy

From his famed novel *Roots: The Saga of an American Family* (1976), Alex Haley became renowned for connecting his Tennessee family seven generations back to its Mandinka roots in the Gambia, the ancestral home of his ancestor, Kunta Kinte. Although several scholars have challenged the validity of Haley's historical accounts, *Roots* spurred a great interest in African-American genealogy. African Americans, in an unprecedented movement, desired to open the gateway to their family's past. Consequently, the first publication to provide a comprehensive approach to tracing African-American ancestry was Charles L. Blockson's 1977 publication, *Black Genealogy*. Since this first publication, other well-known, African-American genealogy books have been written. Those publications include Alice Eichholz and James Rose's *Black Genesis* (1978), Dee Parmer Woodtor's *Finding a Place Called Home* (1999), Tony Burroughs's *Black Roots* (2001), Franklin Carter and Emily Croom's *Discovering Your African-American Ancestors* (2003), and Henry Louis Gates's *Finding Oprah's Roots: Finding Your Own* (2007).

However, Woodtor's *Finding a Place Called Home* was conducive to this research, as she provides a comprehensive overview on how African Americans can, indeed, determine their West African origins. Although most African-American families will find it very difficult to pinpoint their ancestral West African villages, the names of specific slave ships that contained their enslaved ancestors, the African names those ancestors carried, and the actual dates and places of arrival in America, Woodtor strongly encourages a search for African identities based on hidden clues, including the retention of African names and understanding the dynamics of the transatlantic slave trade. No



other publication effectively tackles the challenge of linking African-American families to the West African regions their ancestors hailed from.

In *Black Genealogy*, Blockson briefly visits the challenge by offering three steps that place emphasis on the replication of Alex Haley's research. Because of this, his publication lacks comprehensive steps on how to get to the point of identifying the most probable points of entrance of the first African ancestors into America. *Black Genealogy* was undoubtedly sparked by *Roots* which had recently been converted into a television mini-series seen by over a hundred million viewers several months prior to its publication. In his book, Blockson states:

The final leap from America back to the tribes of ancient Africa is actually a three-step research process, each step progressively more distant and hard to take: First, find the specific point-of-entry to the United States – the actual harbor where the slave ship docked. Second, find the slave ship itself and what other stops it made between African and America. Third, find the specific area the ship sailed from and the tribe from which your ancestor was kidnapped.<sup>1</sup>

Although Blockson offers very generic guidelines to determine the West African origins of African Americans, his book and the publications by Eichholz and Rose, Carter and Croom, and Burroughs solely focus on locating ancestors of African descent who were born in America during and after slavery. However, in *Finding Oprah's Roots*, Gates takes African-American genealogy a little further by bridging the gap between Oprah Winfrey's Mississippi roots to its West African homeland using DNA technology. Corroborating with renowned geneticist Dr. Rick Kittles of African Ancestry Inc., Gates and Kittles linked Winfrey's matrilineal family to the Kpelle people of present-day Liberia. Nonetheless, Gates and his team of genealogists failed to document Oprah's direct ancestors in pre-1870 records and during the time of the transatlantic slave trade.

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<sup>1</sup> Charles L. Blockson, *Black Genealogy* (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1977), 128.

They also failed to extract possible African cultural and linguistic retentions in her family, as well as other inconspicuous clues that could possibly link Oprah's family to other regions of West Africa. Gates relied on genealogist Johni Cerny who asserted that "it is virtually impossible to trace an African-American family back to its first ancestor, the person who was somehow dragged onto a slave ship in Africa, to identify them by name and tribe."<sup>2</sup>

Certainly, chances are slim that many African Americans will be able to document most of their first ancestors and the names of the West African villages where they were born. However, uncovering an African ancestor who was brought to America during the Middle Passage is very possible for a number of families, and a number of genealogists have recently been successful at this formidable task. They have also been able to uncover that ancestor's African nation of origin, as well as their African ethnicity. Genealogist Stephen Hanks's ten-year research uncovered an early eighteenth-century African ancestor named Akey who was enslaved by the Eskridge family of Westmoreland County, Virginia. He linked Akey to the Kru people of present-day Liberia.<sup>3</sup> Utilizing the records of the Catholic Church of southwest Louisiana, genealogist Cherryl Forbes was able to uncover an African ancestor, her great-great-great-great grandfather Jean Louis, who was reported as being from the Congo nation of West-Central Africa in a church notification of his demise in 1834 at the age of seventy

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<sup>2</sup> Henry Louis Gates Jr., *Finding Oprah's Roots Finding Your Own* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2007), 154.

<sup>3</sup> Stephen Hanks, *Akee Tree: A Descendant's Search for his Ancestors on the Eskridge Plantations* (Portland: PepperBird Books, 2005), 275-300.

years.<sup>4</sup> Further, a forty-one volume book set called *Southwest Louisiana Records* by Father Donald Hebert contains numerous and detailed notations from church records identifying the African ethnicities and nations of origins of many Africans enslaved by the many members of the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches in thirteen parishes in Louisiana. In *Finding Oprah's Roots*, Gates overlooked the fact that African Americans, with deep roots in southwest Louisiana, undoubtedly have a better chance of uncovering at least one African ancestor who was dragged onto a slave ship in Africa and transported to the Americas because of the meticulous record-keeping of the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches that dominated that area.

Published a year after *Black Genealogy*, *Black Genesis* was the first book to furnish genealogy researchers with a research methodology for African-American genealogical research, providing information on basic resources. These publications are important because most African Americans must trace their lineages back to the time of the transatlantic slave trade in order to commence bridging the gap between America and West Africa. For family lineages that began in the Upper South, specifically the colonies of Virginia and Maryland, the mid-seventeenth century through the first quarter of the eighteenth century is the pivotal time frame. The Virginia legislature formally institutionalized slavery by 1690; but in 1778, the Virginia legislature passed an act forbidding the further importation of Africans into that state.<sup>5</sup> However, for family lineages of South Carolina origins, the eighteenth century is paramount. Many South

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<sup>4</sup> Donald J. Hebert, *Southwest Louisiana Records* Vol. 5 (Eunice, LA: Herbert Publications, 1974), 38.

<sup>5</sup> Dorothy Schneider and Carl J. Schneider, *An Eyewitness History of Slavery in America from Colonial Times to the Civil War* (New York: Checkmark Books, 2001), 264.

Carolina planters began to import Africans into Charleston in great numbers during the beginning of the eighteenth century. Scholars now estimate that well over eighty percent of all Africans brought to North America came directly from Africa.<sup>6</sup> The transatlantic slave trade was officially abolished in America on January 1, 1808.<sup>7</sup>

On the contrary, Woodtor's chapter *The Last African and the First American* takes African-American genealogy into an area largely untouched by many genealogy books. After taking her readers through the necessary steps to identifying the enslavers and the records they left behind, Woodtor provides a road map to finding eighteenth century ancestors, which is particularly important for African-American families with South Carolina roots; their eighteenth century ancestors were likely just one or two generations from the first African transported into Charleston, South Carolina if they were not born in Africa themselves. Woodtor properly places the transatlantic slave trade and the history of American colonies into historical context to help African Americans identify which West African regions their ancestors came from. She contends, "...not knowing the history of a colonial settlement will seriously hamper your research."<sup>8</sup>

For instance, Woodtor posits that African Americans who are able to trace their lineage back to tidewater Virginia should be aware of the fact that statistically they probably descend from Africans from the Bight of Biafra region. A significant thirty-eight percent of Africans imported into Virginia ports along the Chesapeake Bay were taken from that region which is comprised of contemporary southeastern Nigeria,

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<sup>6</sup> Dee Parmer Woodtor, *Finding a Place Called Home: A Guide to African-American Genealogy and Historical Identity* (New York: Random House, 1999), 342.

<sup>7</sup> Schneider and Schneider, 352.

<sup>8</sup> Woodtor, 331.

Cameroon, and Gabon.<sup>9</sup> Interestingly, a majority of the Bight of Biafra Africans who were transported into Virginia were indeed from the Igbo ethnic group of Nigeria.<sup>10</sup>

Woodtor also introduces the reader to several primary resources, such as ship manifests housed at the National Archives and the *Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*, to assist African Americans in finding the first African ancestors to touch American soil.

Woodtor's *Finding a Place Called Home* is crucial for bridging the gap between America and West Africa, not only for this research, but for all who desire to connect their families to West Africa.

### **The Transatlantic Slave Trade in South Carolina**

Family researchers must grasp a clear knowledge of the American colonies where their ancestors lived. In contrast, Woodtor contends that good researchers should be aware of how slavery and settlement evolved in a particular colony, when slaves were formally introduced, and where they came from.<sup>11</sup> Representative of the family history of this researcher, the roots of many African-American families from the lower southern states of Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, North Carolina, Alabama, and Georgia will stem back to South Carolina. As the first American settlement seen by nearly half of the Africans brought to North America, Charleston, South Carolina was the largest city and port in the Lower South throughout the eighteenth century and was the fourth largest city

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<sup>9</sup> Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 27.

<sup>10</sup> Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas: Restoring the Links* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 138.

<sup>11</sup> Woodtor, 331.

in British North America.<sup>12</sup> Many Africans who were imported into Charleston not only occupied that state itself, but many of their offspring were transported to farms and plantations in neighboring states, especially during the first half of the nineteenth century. Understanding the history of the slave trade in South Carolina was crucial to this research and will be for many who aspire to connect their early American ancestors of the seventeenth and eighteenth century to their West African family origins.

For this purpose, several sources were earmarked to properly place this research into historical context with the development of South Carolina during the transatlantic slave trade. These texts were also instrumental in providing the general background of most Africans brought to Charleston. In Peter Wood's *Black Majority* (1974), he presents a scholarly study on slave life in South Carolina from the founding of the colony, in 1670, through the end of the Stono Rebellion of 1739. As the title of his book implicates, South Carolina boasted a majority African population by 1710, and this racial demographic continued throughout much of the eighteenth century. With the rapid development of rice as a profitable commodity during the 1730s and the Africans' expertise in rice cultivation, the heavy importation of Africans followed.<sup>13</sup> Wood argues and demonstrates how West Africans played a pivotal role in the evolution of the colony and the development of the colony's economy, expounding on their skills in rice cultivation, raising livestock, boating, fishing, and husbandry.

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<sup>12</sup> Kenneth Morgan, "Slave Sales in Colonial Charleston," *The English Historical Review* 113, no. 453 (1998): 908.

<sup>13</sup> Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina From 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1974), 150.

Additionally, Daniel Littlefield's *Rice and Slaves* (1981) provides the reader with a thorough study of the African heritage of rice cultivation in colonial South Carolina. He shows comprehensively how white South Carolinians possessed a precise preference for Africans from certain regions of West and West-Central Africa. Littlefield collectively assesses the thoughts of slave traders, planters, and merchants towards various African ethnic groups, highlighting their awareness of ethnic differences among the newly imported Africans. South Carolinians intricately noted the ethnic backgrounds of Africans they preferred, and he reveals how their ethnic perception of the African labor force persisted in the state throughout the eighteenth century.<sup>14</sup> Their ethnic preferences directly affected the transatlantic slave trade into Charleston and inevitably played a vital role in the African ethnic make-up of African-American families of South Carolina origins.

Unlike the aforementioned sources, Gwendolyn Midlo Hall's *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas* (2005) focuses on the transatlantic slave trade into America as a whole, placing emphasis on specific slave-trading regions including South Carolina. Utilizing slave importation data, Hall reveals how Africans from the same regions and ethnicities were transported to various places in the Americas in waves. This process resulted in what she refers to as "clustering" – enslaved Africans from the same regions and ethnicities clustered at specific locations in the Americas.<sup>15</sup> Hall devotes her entire third chapter to this process of "clustering" in which different waves of slaves arrived over time, debunking the belief that Africans of the same ethnicity were separated and

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<sup>14</sup> Daniel C. Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 8-32.

<sup>15</sup> Hall, 55.

scattered. She argues that Africans were not as diverse, culturally and linguistically, as generally believed by past historians.

In her subsequent chapters, Hall links African regions and ethnicities with regions in North America over time. In her chapter *Greater Senegambia/Upper Guinea*, Hall presents facts and numerical figures showing the clustering of Africans from the Sierra Leone region in South Carolina. She expounds on the cultural and linguistic ties shared by large numbers of enslaved Africans from the same region, showing how these ethnic groups cohesively retained and transmitted elements of their shared cultures. This was crucial to this research in which the Sierra Leone and Liberian cultural practices were contrasted to the cultural traits found within Anakah's family.

### **The Transmission of West African Cultural Elements**

In *Africanity and the Black Family: the Development of a Theoretical Model*, Wade Nobles contends that in order to comprehend the African-American family, one must consider the structure and cultural characteristics of West African families. In this publication, he became one of very few sociologists who have addressed the traditional belief systems of Africans as the foundation for interpreting African-American family life. Many past scholars such as E. Franklin Frazier have traditionally accepted the same assumptions and frameworks of white researchers; thus, readers have been given the same general conclusions concerning African-American family life. In *Africanity and the Black Family*, Nobles expressively refers to this phenomenon as "conceptual incarceration."

A comprehension of the source cultures of West Africa was imperative in order to understand the transmission of West African cultural elements in the Africanized



communities of South Carolina. Specifically, this research required knowledge of the traditional African cultures prior to European intrusion and how those cultures became transformed into enslaved African-American communities. In *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World 1400-1800* (1998), John Thornton breaks down the barrier walls built by scholars who theorized that there was little to no transmission of African cultures into the Americas. However, he devotes much of his analyses to Afro-Caribbean or Afro-Jamaican societies. On the other hand, Margaret Washington Creel comprehensively contrasts some of the cultural characteristics of the Gullah people with those of West African nations in *Peculiar People: Slave Religion and Community-Culture among the Gullahs* (1988). She excludes the Geechee people of southern Georgia from her study, but focuses on the Gullah people of South Carolina. She argues that an early cultural dominance of Bakongo people of the Angola-Congo region prevailed in South Carolina, followed by Africans from the Senegambia (Senegal and Gambia) and the Windward Coast, which includes the Sierra Leone and Liberia region.<sup>16</sup>

However, after introducing the reader with a historiography of the African backgrounds of the Gullah people, Creel takes on the formidable task of analyzing the Gullah religion with respect to its African background. Containing little about the Africanized cultural traits and customs of the Gullah people, *Peculiar People* is still an impressive and powerful piece of research that will be quite useful to those interested in the evolution of the Gullah religion in South Carolina. However, for this research, her approach in contrasting elements of Gullah culture and religion to West African religions was an important source for this thesis as this researcher aspired to contrast the African

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<sup>16</sup> Margaret Washington Creel, *Peculiar People: Slave Religion and Community-Culture among the Gullahs* (New York: New York University Press, 1988), 43-44.

retentions within Anakah's family with West African cultures. More importantly, Creel's study was exemplary because she also constructs a solid case for asserting a definitive link between the Gullah people's concept of community organization and some aspects of their spirituality to the Poro and Sande secret societies of the Sierra Leone and Liberia region.

Like Thornton and Creel, Michael Gomez successfully tackles the challenge of asserting West African cultural transfer into enslaved societies in America as he defines the evolution of the African-American identity in his insightful *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (1998). He forges a careful parsing of Africans from certain regions in West and West-Central Africa who were forcibly transported to North America. Significant to this research, Gomez emphasizes the shaping of slave life in America by a concentration of "heterogeneous Sierra Leoneans" in his chapter, "Societies and Tools: Sierra Leone and the Akan."<sup>17</sup> Although he contrasts the unique transference of traits from the Sierra Leonean and Akan cultures of two different regions – the Akan who have inhabited the Gold Coast region of present-day Ghana for centuries – his and Creel's attention to Africans from the Sierra Leone and Liberia regions attests their obvious and significant presence in South Carolina. Gomez's impressive study of the histories and traditional cultures of Sierra Leoneans who were forcibly transported to North America definitely adds to the body of knowledge about the development of African-American culture and the African-transferred traits, especially in religion and language.

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<sup>17</sup> Gomez, 88.

While Creel and Gomez provide their readers with an ample knowledge base of Sierra Leonean and Liberian cultures, a comprehension of the history of the ethnic groups and the time frame of their existence in these West African nations was important for this thesis. Walter Rodney's well-researched publication, *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast 1545 to 1800*, will effectively satisfy this purpose. Extensively examining archival material in Portugal, Spain, and Italy, Rodney embraced the challenge of uncovering the history of the Upper Guinea region before European intrusion began in the sixteenth century. This region stretches from the present-day nations of Senegal and the Gambia to the Cape Mount region of Liberia and contains more than two dozen rivers that reach the Atlantic Ocean independently.<sup>18</sup> In conjunction with Rodney's text, Kenneth Little's *The Mende of Sierra Leone* and George W. Ellis's *Negro Culture in West Africa* provided more information about the pre-colonial cultures of the Mende and Vai people of Sierra Leone and Liberia. These sources were essential in producing a unique body of work that uncovered the West African connections of an African-American family and extracted the Africanisms that prevailed down through the generations during slavery.

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<sup>18</sup> Walter Rodney, *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast 1545 to 1800* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 2.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE HISTORY OF ANAKAH AND THE TURNER FAMILY

Anakah had long been forgotten in the twenty-first century among her descendants in Mississippi. Oral history failed to identify her existence; over two hundred years had passed since her enslavement in South Carolina. Nevertheless, clues were, indeed, prevalent in the family that implicated her existence and signaled an indisputable ancestral descension from her. Acculturating a West African name with an Anglo-American name, numerous family members were named *Annie* or *Anna*, which phonetically derived from *Anakah*. Slave-owners often imposed a new set of names upon newly arrived Africans; however, the first and subsequent generations often reduced this set to a somewhat smaller and more standardized collection of names while adding to them names and naming patterns from their West African heritages.<sup>1</sup> Several family members were also given the name *Turner* as a first name, with many carrying the surnames Bobo, Boyce, Danner, Ramsey, and Williams after Emancipation. They recorded their history in the names they gave to their children.

The surnames Bobo and Boyce were those of the last enslavers of Anakah's descendants in northern Mississippi. One of those enslavers has been identified as Alexander Kerr Bobo, the son of Dr. William Bobo and his wife, Margaret Boyce. The other last enslaver was Barham F. Bobo, the son of William's brother and Margaret's

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<sup>1</sup> John C. Inscoe, "Carolina Slave Names: An Index to Acculturation," *The Journal of Southern History* 49, no. 4 (1983): 527.

sister, Barham and Mary Boyce Bobo, who managed his mother's plantation in Panola County, Mississippi, up until the end of the Civil War.<sup>2</sup> The ancestral pedigree of Margaret Boyce Bobo and Mary Boyce Bobo revealed that they were the granddaughters of Captain John Turner of Fairfield County, South Carolina.<sup>3</sup> This fact, in conjunction with the aforementioned clues found within the family, inevitably led to the discovery of Anakah and to primary sources documenting her life and the transference of her enslaved children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren through four generations of Turner's family. Anakah was undoubtedly one of the earliest ancestors in America.

At the age of sixteen, Turner immigrated to South Carolina from Northern Ireland prior to the American Revolution. He, his brothers, and their parents, William and Margaret Turner, arrived in the harbor of Charlestown (Charleston), South Carolina on December 31, 1767 on the ship "James and Mary" that carried 183 passengers from the port of Larne in County Antrim, Ireland.<sup>4</sup> They were among many Presbyterian immigrants who sailed directly to South Carolina from Ireland after being enticed to move to the province through promises of free land by the 1761 Bounty Act of the South Carolina General Assembly. A war with the Cherokee Indians in the province had ended in a treaty that opened the upcountry region of South Carolina for settlement.<sup>5</sup> William

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<sup>2</sup> See Appendix E: Panola County, Mississippi Deed Records, Deed & Bill and Sale of Slaves, Mary M. Boyce Bobo to Barham Bobo; Barham F. Bobo, application, Sept. 17, 1872, Southern Claims Commission, claim no. 16710, National Archives Department, Washington, D.C.

<sup>3</sup> Edwin J. Mullens, "Bobo Family Tree," pedigree chart supplied 02 May 1999 by Mullens, Memphis, Tennessee. Edwin J. Mullens is the great-great-grandson of Dr. William and Margaret Boyce Bobo.

<sup>4</sup> B.J. Kennedy, *William Turner of County Antrim, Ireland and Fairfield County, South Carolina – His Family and Descendants*, The Turner File, Fairfield County Archives, Winnsboro, South Carolina, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Robert L. Meriwether, *The Expansion of South Carolina, 1729-1765* (Kingsport, Tennessee: Southern Publishers, Inc., 1940), 257.

Turner petitioned for free land under the act, and on January 9, 1768, he was granted two hundred acres in the Camden District, a provincial district that included present-day Fairfield County. All children in his household over fifteen years of age, including John Turner, received one hundred acres of land.<sup>6</sup> Since their land fees were paid for them, they and the other bounty settlers of the eighteenth century swore to their head rights before the governor and council of South Carolina and secured their land warrants immediately.<sup>7</sup> By the time of the American Revolution of 1776, the upcountry of South Carolina boasted a population of nearly 80,000 with the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians being the largest group of Europeans.<sup>8</sup>

During the time of the Turners' immigration to South Carolina, Anakah was approximately five to ten years of age, and South Carolina contained many enslaved West Africans and first-generation Americans of African parentage. The only source that indicated Anakah's birthplace was the 1880 U.S. Federal Census, the first census to record the parents' birthplace for everyone reported in that census. That census year, only one of Anakah's children, Isaac McCrorey, was alive and still residing in Fairfield County, South Carolina with his wife and their children. Anakah's youngest son had been held in slavery by John Turner's son-in-law and daughter, John and Molly Turner McCrorey, after Turner's demise. Isaac was reported as being eighty years old. The census enumerator also reported that his father and mother were both born in South

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<sup>6</sup> Kennedy, 1.

<sup>7</sup> Meriwether, 163.

<sup>8</sup> Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Harper Perennial, 2002), 144.

Carolina.<sup>9</sup> However, modest confidence is placed on the accuracy of some census information, especially ages and birthplaces, without other censuses and documented sources to draw definitive conclusions.

Nevertheless, by the end of the 1760-1770 decade, a majority African population had prevailed in South Carolina for several decades. Africans had been outnumbering whites in the colony at a ratio of at least two to one.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, nearly 19,000 Africans were transported into the province during the 1760s alone, and in the five years between 1771 and 1775, over 19,000 more Africans were transported into South Carolina (see table 1). Therefore, upon their immigration to South Carolina, the Turners indeed encountered a province described by a Swiss settler in 1737 as a place that “looks more like a negro country than like a country settled by white people.”<sup>11</sup> Throughout most of the eighteenth century, the colony had a higher density of Blacks and a lower percentage of whites than any other part of the North American mainland.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> 1880 U.S. Federal Census, population schedule, Fairfield County, South Carolina, Enumeration District 69, sheet 36, family 287, Ike McCrorey household; National Archives microfilm publication T9, roll 1229; digital image, Ancestry.com, <http://www.ancestry.com>, accessed 12 January 2007.

<sup>10</sup> Daniel C. Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 116.

<sup>11</sup> Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975), 132.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 179.

TABLE 1. IMPORTATION FIGURES FOR SOUTH CAROLINA  
FROM 1735 TO 1775

Time Period	Number of Africans Imported to Charleston, South Carolina
1735 – 1740	12,589
1741 – 1750	1,562
1751 – 1760	18,889
1761 – 1770	18,687
1771 – 1775	19,215
Total	70,942

*Source:* W. Robert Higgins, “The Geographical Origins of Negro Slaves in Colonial South Carolina,” *South Atlantic Quarterly* LXX (1971): 40-45.

After the Turners’ immigration to South Carolina, John Turner eventually desired slave labor and additional lands for his new plantation in Fairfield County. His father’s sojourn in South Carolina was momentary, as the elder Turner’s death occurred circa 1778.<sup>13</sup> No documentation was found that indicated if William Turner had also acquired slave labor before his demise. Nevertheless, his son John became a slave-owner; he is reported in the 1790 U.S. Federal Census, the first census taken in America, as owning ten slaves in the Camden District.<sup>14</sup> Those ten people undoubtedly included Anakah and several children. Also by 1790, Turner amassed over 400 acres of additional land in Fairfield County. Land records show him purchasing 142 acres in 1786 and 290 acres in

<sup>13</sup> Mary Turner Blair, *A Sketch History of the Turners of Fairfield County, South Carolina*, The Turner File, Fairfield County Archives, Winnsboro, South Carolina, 1.

<sup>14</sup> 1790 U.S. Federal Census, population schedule, Camden District, South Carolina, sheet 157, John Turner household, National Archives microfilm publication M637, roll 11; digital image, Ancestry.com, <http://ancestry.com>, accessed 12 January 2007.



1789.<sup>15</sup> Prior to his land purchases, Turner served as a captain in the Revolutionary War (1775-1783). Following the war, the citizens of his district elected him to the South Carolina state legislature for fourteen years. He was first a member of the House of Representatives, and then he became a state senator representing the Fairfield, Chester, and Richland districts. He also served as a justice of the peace for Fairfield County.<sup>16</sup>

Throughout his political career, Turner maintained a plantation in Fairfield County where Anakah was enslaved for at least thirty years. She birthed a number of children during her forced tenure on his plantation. Because enslaved Africans were considered property, Anakah and her children were recorded by name and value in Turner's estate file with the first documentation being made by Turner himself. On July 27, 1807, three days prior to his demise, the fate of his twenty-three slaves was decided when he wrote his will, bequeathing them to his wife, only son, four married daughters, and two grandsons. He wrote:

I, John Turner, of the State and District aforesaid, being in a sick and low condition of body, but of perfect and disposing mind and memory, calling to mind the uncertainty of life and the certainty of death, do make and ordain this my last will and testament. . .

I give and bequeath unto my beloved wife Jean Turner five negroes viz. **Biddy** a wench, **Roddy**, **Joe**, **Amos**, **Boys**, and **Synthe** a girl, the four last mentioned being children of the first mentioned wench **Biddy** with the future increase of the said wench and girl. . .

I give and bequeath to my beloved son, William Alexander Turner. . . three Negroes **Henry** a fellow, **Lydia** a Wench and **Bob**, the son of Lydia, with the future increase of said wench. . . I give and bequeath unto my beloved daughter and son-in-law Molly Peggy and John McCrory. . . one Negro wench named **Phillis**

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<sup>15</sup> South Carolina State Plat Books, Charleston Series, 1784-1860, vols. 3 & 13, pages 206 & 160; Carolina State Plat Books, Charleston Series, 1784-1860, vol. 27, page 183; South Carolina Department of History and Archives, Columbia, South Carolina.

<sup>16</sup> Kennedy, 4.

and prefect and future issue, to be for their use during their lives and at their death to descend to the Heirs lawfully begotten of my said daughter. I give and bequeath to my other grandson John Turner Alexander Hughs and to my other grandson Josiah William Hughs, one Negro girl **Doll** with her increase to be their right, and the said wench with her increase to be divided between the two said grandchildren, and such divided Negroes, as allotted shares, to be the property of my two grandsons last mentioned forever. . .I give and bequeath unto my beloved daughter and son in law, Marjory and Samuel Law, one Negroe boy named **Davy**, to be considered in the Room of Land, and one Negroe girl named **Mary** with the future increase of said girl, to be for their use during their lives and at their death to descend to the Heirs lawfully begotten of my said daughter Marjory. . .I give and bequeath unto my beloved daughter and son in law, Martha and James Law. . .also one Negroe girl named **Easter** and her issue to be for their use during their lives, and at their deaths to descend to the Heirs lawfully begotten of my said daughter Martha. . .I give and bequeath to my beloved daughter and son in law Agnes and David Boyce. . .one Negroe girl named **Bess** with her issue, to be for their use during their lives, and at their deaths, to descend to the Heirs lawfully begotten of my said daughter Agnes. . .

It is my will that the following eight Negroes; **Leander** a fellow, **Jack** a fellow, **Anakah** a wench, **Dick** a fellow, **Jimm** a boy, **Mariah** a girl, **Jack** a boy, and **Isaac** a boy be equally divided between my aforesaid four daughters, Molley Peggy McCrory, Marjory Law, Martha Law, and Agnes Boyce, in proportion to their values by allotment under the direction of my Executors, and that the said several Negroes shall be for the use of those said several daughters and their Husbands, during their lives to whom they may fall by Lott, and at their deaths, fevvially shall descend to the Heirs lawfully begotten of said several daughters.<sup>17</sup>

John Turner used in his will the term “fellow” for enslaved males who had reached adulthood and the term “boy” for the younger males. “Wench” was a term used for enslaved adult females and “girl” was used for the young female slaves. There was no rule of thumb to determine the age when a “girl” was classified as a “wench” and when a “boy” was classified as a “fellow”. Most of the time, their classification was at the discretion or opinion of the recorder. Nevertheless, these classifications assisted in

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<sup>17</sup> John Turner, will, 1807, Fairfield County Probate Court Estate Papers, file 32, package 509, microfilm, pp. 204-226, 0011, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, South Carolina.

determining the approximate age ranges of Anakah's children who were all born between 1780 and 1806 on the Turner plantation.

Also in his will, Turner grouped Anakah and seven slaves in one allotment. Being placed in one allotment suggested that all or most of them represented a family unit. Slave-owners and estate appraisers often grouped slaves by families in lots.<sup>18</sup> An indication of a family unit was further evident by the presence of an adult *Jack* and a boy *Jack*. Enslaved people of African descent often named one of their sons for their fathers. Enslaved children were more prone to be named for their fathers since fathers were often forcibly separated from their children than mothers.<sup>19</sup> Later findings confirmed that Jack, Anakah, Dick, Jim, Mariah, Jack, and Isaac were a family unit that was dismantled by Turner's will. Jack and Anakah were mates, but the provisions of his will permitted a separation much beyond their control.

The second documentation of the Turner plantation's enslaved inhabitants was made after Turner's death and just months prior to the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade in America. Because he died testate, his property was appraised and distributed to his heirs according to his will. The appraisements were recorded in an inventory of his estate that was taken on September 9, 1807, which listed Jack, Anakah, their children, and the remaining slaves on his plantation with a monetary value. To ascertain their value, Anakah and her children probably endured an inhumane physical examination in order to be assigned a monetary value. The appraisal was necessary to determine the

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<sup>18</sup> Dee Parmer Woodtor, *Finding a Place Called Home: A Guide to African-American Genealogy and Historical Identity* (New York: Random House, 1999), 290.

<sup>19</sup> Herbert J. Foster, "African Patterns in the Afro-American Family," *Journal of Black Studies* 14, no. 2 (1983): 218.

value of each slave on the plantation so that a value could be placed on the inheritances of Turner's children. Anakah, her children, and the remaining slaves were the major part of Turner's wealth, totaling \$6,020 at appraisalment – nearly \$105,000 in 2005 money.<sup>20</sup> During his nearly forty years in South Carolina, he had also amassed many tracts of land and a 250-acre residential plantation that contained a grist mill, a cotton machine, a carriage, and a large stock of cows, horses, sheep, and hogs.<sup>21</sup>

In any event, the inventory was additional evidence of the family unit Jack and Anakah had constructed on the Turner plantation since the third quarter of the eighteenth century. Small children born to one mother are often grouped together in estate inventories.<sup>22</sup> In his will, Turner identified Roddy, Joe, Amos, and Cynthia (Synthe) as the children of Biddy. On the inventory, they were grouped together in descending order by value at the bottom of the list after Biddy. Roddy was the oldest of the four; Joe was the second oldest followed by Amos and Cynthia, respectively. In contrast, Easter, Doll, Dave, Mary, Bess, Jim, Mariah, Jack, and Isaac were all grouped together in descending order by value as well. Bess and Jim, as well as Dave and Mary, were given the same values.<sup>23</sup> Appraisers often valued boys higher than girls. A healthy eight-year-old enslaved girl may have a value lower than a healthy eight-year-old enslaved boy. A healthy eight-year-old enslaved girl may have an equal value to a healthy six-year-old

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<sup>20</sup> John J. McCusker, "How Much Is That," *Economic History Services*; available from <http://eh.net/hmit/>; Internet; accessed 09 June 2007.

<sup>21</sup> John Turner, estate papers, 1807, Fairfield County Probate Court Estate Papers, file 32, package 509, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, South Carolina.

<sup>22</sup> Woodtor, 283.

<sup>23</sup> John Turner, estate papers, 1807, Fairfield County Probate Court Estate Papers, file 32, package 509, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, South Carolina.

enslaved boy. Therefore, Bess and Jim were very close in age, likely only two years apart, with Bess being the older. This same case applied to Dave and Mary. As shown in table 2, the sequential order the appraiser grouped those nine children, as he had done with Bidley's four children, combined with the allotment of slaves Turner assigned in his will, clearly indicated that Anakah had given birth to at least ten children. Further evidence indicates that Henry was probably Anakah's son as well.

After enduring a dehumanizing value assessment, Anakah had to face the hardship of yet another family separation. Having been forcibly separated from her own parents when Turner acquired slave labor, her own children were taken away from her after his demise. Research findings confirmed that her children were transported to different farms in South Carolina, Alabama, and Mississippi. Those plantations were owned by Turner's sons-in-law and his grandsons. He had bequeathed to them and his daughters all of Anakah's children.<sup>24</sup> Therefore, they became the legal chattel property of the sons-in-law and grandsons.

The state of Alabama became the home to at least three of Anakah's children. Anakah's daughter, Doll, who was bequeathed to Turner's grandsons, John Turner Hughs and Josiah Hughs, was taken to Calhoun County, Alabama. John, Josiah, and the people they held in slavery moved there circa 1835.<sup>25</sup> Marjory Turner had settled in Newberry County, South Carolina with her husband Samuel Law, and consequently, Anakah's

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<sup>24</sup> John Turner, will, 1807, Fairfield County Probate Court Estate Papers, file 32, package 509, microfilm, pp. 204-226, 0011, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, South Carolina.

<sup>25</sup> 1850 U.S. Federal Census, population schedule, Benton County, Alabama, sheet 353, family 347, John Turner Hughs household, National Archives microfilm publication M432, roll 1, digital image, Ancestry.com, <http://www.ancestry.com>, accessed 16 January 2007.

children, Davy and Mary, were transported there.<sup>26</sup> However, Marjory Turner Law subsequently remarried to James Dunklin before her demise in 1817.<sup>27</sup> Dunklin moved to Lowndes County, Alabama with their young sons, William Turner Dunklin and James Law Dunklin, circa 1819, taking a number of enslaved people, including Davy and Mary, with them to the west.<sup>28</sup>

At least two of Anakah's children lived the duration of their long lives in South Carolina and were able to enjoy some years of freedom. Anakah's daughter, Easter, was taken to Newberry County, South Carolina, where Martha Turner had also settled with her husband, James Law. Easter birthed a number of children on the Law farm.<sup>29</sup> She and her family remained in Newberry County following Emancipation, after being held in slavery by Dr. James Madison Epps and his wife, Elizabeth Law, the granddaughter of John Turner.<sup>30</sup> Anakah's youngest son Isaac was able to remain in Fairfield County; his new enslavers, John and Molly Turner McCrorey, opted to remain in the area and built a plantation near Turner.<sup>31</sup> As previously stated, Isaac McCrorey had also survived slavery and was still alive in 1880.

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<sup>26</sup> Samuel Law, estate papers, 1808, Newberry County Probate Court Estate Papers, box 32, estate 9, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, South Carolina.

<sup>27</sup> Marjory Turner Law Dunklin, estate papers, 1817, Newberry County Probate Court Estate Papers, box 39, estate 31, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, South Carolina.

<sup>28</sup> 1850 U.S. Federal Census, slave schedule, Lowndes County, Alabama, sheets 579-581, W.A.T. Dunklin and J.L. Dunklin, National Archives microfilm publication M432, roll 336, digital image, Ancestry.com, <http://www.ancestry.com>, accessed 16 January 2007.

<sup>29</sup> James Law, estate papers, 1836, Newberry County Probate Court Estate Papers, box 47, estate 8, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, South Carolina.

<sup>30</sup> 1870 U.S. Federal Census, population schedule, Cromers, Newberry County, South Carolina, sheet 524, family 97, Robert Quiller household, National Archives microfilm publication M593, roll 1504, digital image, Ancestry.com, <http://www.ancestry.com>, accessed 16 January 2007.

<sup>31</sup> Kennedy, 6.

TABLE 2. THE SLAVE INVENTORY OF JOHN TURNER'S ESTATE, FAIRFIELD COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA, TAKEN SEPTEMBER 9, 1807

Names	Appraised Value
<b>Leander</b> , fellow	\$60
<b>Jack</b> , fellow	\$120
<b>Lydia</b> , wench	\$300
<b>Anakah</b> , wench	\$300
<b>Dick</b> , fellow	\$500
<b>Henry</b> , fellow	\$575
<b>Bob</b> , boy	\$450
<b>Phillis</b> , wench	\$350
<b>Easter</b> , wench	\$400
<b>Doll</b> , wench	\$350
<b>Dave</b> , boy	\$300
<b>Mary</b> , girl	\$300
<b>Bess</b> , girl	\$250
<b>Jim</b> , boy	\$250
<b>Mariah</b> , girl	\$225
<b>Jack</b> , boy	\$150
<b>Isaac</b> , boy	\$120
<b>Biddy</b> , wench	\$350
<b>Roddy</b> , boy	\$350
<b>Joe</b> , boy	\$150
<b>Amos</b> , boy	\$120
<b>Cynthia</b> , girl	\$50
Total	\$6,020

*Source:* John Turner, estate papers, 1807, Fairfield County Probate Court Estate Papers, file 32, package 509, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, South Carolina.

Anakah's son, Dick,<sup>32</sup> was part of the eight-slave allotment that John Turner instructed to be divided equally between his four married daughters. Research findings

<sup>32</sup> Dick is this researcher's great-great-great-great-grandfather, the father of Mattie Clarissa Bobo.

confirmed that Agnes Turner inherited both Dick and young Jack from that allotment.<sup>33</sup> <sup>45</sup>

Per the instructions of her father's will, Agnes also inherited Anakah's daughter, Bess.

Dick, Bess, and young Jack were all transported to Union County, South Carolina, where Agnes resided with her husband, David Boyce. She had married him in 1804, three years prior to her father's death.<sup>34</sup> Although Union County was Fairfield County's neighbor to the northwest, a distance of approximately forty miles separated the Boyce and Turner plantations. During the eighteenth century, the mode of transportation was primarily by wagons pulled by horses and mules; therefore, travel to and from those plantations took an entire day or more. Overland travel was mostly relegated to whites, free people of African descent, and the few enslaved people who were permitted passes for travel. Hence, Dick, Bess, and young Jack probably did not obtain an opportunity to visit Fairfield County.

Further, Turner's estate file indicated that Anakah's mate, the elder Jack, was in the possession of William Alexander Turner when his property was appraised. One of John Turner's daughters inherited Anakah, but documentation has not been found to date that indicated her destiny after his death. Nevertheless, in the West African tradition of honoring the ancestors, her existence was undoubtedly made known down through the generations and inevitably transplanted in Mississippi. Nearly thirteen years following her husband's death, fifty-six-year-old Agnes Boyce moved to Panola County in that

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<sup>33</sup> David Boyce, estate papers, 1831, Union County Probate Court Estate Papers, file 20, package 1, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, South Carolina. This record lists Dick, Bess, and young Jack as part of the Boyce estate.

<sup>34</sup> Edwin J. Mullens, "Bobo Family Tree," pedigree chart supplied 02 May 1999 by Mullens, Memphis, Tennessee. Edwin J. Mullens is the great-great-grandson of Dr. William & Margaret Boyce Bobo.



state with her children in 1844.<sup>35</sup> They took over forty enslaved people with them, including Dick, Bess, and young Jack, who were adult parents by that time.<sup>36</sup> Thirty-six years had passed since they were uprooted from the Turner plantation in Fairfield County and from their parents and other siblings, but the harsh aspects of slavery called for a readjustment to this odious institution in their new surroundings in Mississippi.

Following the 1829 marriage of David and Agnes Boyce's oldest daughter Margaret to Dr. William J. Bobo of Union County, Dick's daughter, Mattie Clarissa, came into their ownership. Dr. Bobo and his wife remained in South Carolina for fourteen additional years after the Boyces' exodus to the west. During the winter of 1858, they too migrated to Panola County, Mississippi and settled near the Boyces.<sup>37</sup> Like the Boyces' migration had done, the Bobos' move to the west uprooted nearly thirty enslaved people from South Carolina. Mattie Clarissa Bobo and her children, including her daughter Louisa,<sup>38</sup> endured the 600-mile journey to their new home. Although this move forever separated Louisa from her first husband Mack, who was enslaved by the neighboring Ray Family, Mattie Clarissa was reunited with her family members.<sup>39</sup> They

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<sup>35</sup> Frances Bobo Strickland, "The Story of My Life," *Panola Story* 8, no. 1 (1979): 3.

<sup>36</sup> 1850 U.S. Federal Census, slave schedule, Panola County, Mississippi, sheet 157, Alexander Kerr Boyce and Agnes Turner Boyce, National Archives microfilm publication M432, roll 388, digital image, Ancestry.com, <http://www.ancestry.com>, accessed 21 April 2007. This slave schedule reports the Boyces with a total of 49 slaves in 1850. Most had been transported to northern Mississippi from Union County, South Carolina.

<sup>37</sup> Ben Bobo, widow's pension file, deposition E, in the case of Lue Danner alias Bobo, claim no. 452154, The National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Eliza Bobo, widow's pension file, deposition F, in the case of Lue Danner alias Bobo, claim no. 452154, The National Archives, Washington, D.C. Eliza Bobo stated in her deposition that Dr. William Bobo and the Boyces were neighbors.

<sup>38</sup> Louisa (Lue) Bobo Danner was this researcher's great-great-grandmother, the maternal grandmother of his maternal grandmother.

<sup>39</sup> Lue Danner, widow's pension file, deposition A, in the case of Lue Danner alias Bobo, claim no. 452154, The National Archives, Washington, D.C.

all remained in Panola County, Mississippi after Emancipation. Nearly two years later, in December 1867, she gave birth to her youngest daughter who was named *Annie*, which was undoubtedly derived from her paternal grandmother's name *Anakah*.<sup>40</sup>

As Mattie Clarissa Bobo subconsciously provided a clue that reflected a link to *Anakah*, many enslaved African Americans left behind extractable clues that reflected a cognizance of their West African heritage. Further research of *Anakah* and her family sought to uncover these clues and provide a preponderance of evidence connecting them to their West African origins. Additionally, this researcher aspired to unearth more Africanisms that prevailed in the family, from Jack and *Anakah* to their great-great-great-granddaughter, the late Minnie Davis Reed of Senatobia, Mississippi, his maternal grandmother. The research findings are presented in chapter four, which details the direct links to West Africa, and in chapter five, which presents the Africanisms that were extracted from an historical analysis of the primary sources.

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<sup>40</sup> 1900 U.S. Federal Census, population schedule, Beat 1, Panola County, Mississippi, Enumeration District 74, sheet 11A, family 189, John Holliway household; National Archives microfilm publication T623, roll 823; digital image, Ancestry.com, <http://www.ancestry.com>, accessed 28 May 2007. Annie Bobo Holliway reported that she was born in December 1867.

## CHAPTER 4

### BACK TO THE MOTHERLAND: DIRECT LINKS TO WEST AFRICA

Anakah was born circa 1760, during a time period when the transatlantic slave trade in South Carolina was at its peak. From 1750 to 1775, more than 56,000 African captives were imported into the colony.<sup>1</sup> In an effort to find clues linking her to West Africa, this researcher aimed to first document how, where, and from whom John Turner acquired Anakah after his family's emigration from Ireland to Charleston, South Carolina in 1767. Considered the richest repositories of primary data concerning enslaved people of African descent in America, county deed books were sought for any information regarding the acquisition of Anakah. Deed records at the Fairfield County Archives in Winnsboro, South Carolina recorded five transactions involving John Turner from 1785 to 1796; however, none of those extant records contained information about Anakah. Interestingly, one deed record reports the transference of an enslaved girl named Sue from Jane Turner to John Turner on July 1, 1785 in a deed of gift.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to county deed records, wills and estate records are very valuable resources in tracing enslaved people in America. These probated records are county

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<sup>1</sup> W. Robert Higgins, "The Geographical Origins of Negro Slaves in Colonial South Carolina," *South Atlantic Quarterly* LXX (1971): 40.

<sup>2</sup> Jane Turner to John Turner Deed, Fairfield County, South Carolina Deed Book A, 1785, Page 5, Fairfield County, South Carolina Archives, Winnsboro, South Carolina.

documents on the slave-owners that often contain the names of slaves. Their names are frequently listed in the estate inventories and wills of these probated records which were recorded shortly after the slave-owners' demise. Turner's estate record was instrumental in documenting the existence of Anakah and her children; however, this researcher sought to locate an estate record for Turner's father in order to determine if Anakah had been previously enslaved by William Turner. As demonstrated in John Turner's will in chapter three, enslaved people are often willed or legally transferred to the enslaver's children and grandchildren.

John Turner was reported in the 1790 U.S. Federal Census for the Camden District, which encompassed present-day Fairfield County, but William Turner was not reported in that record.<sup>3</sup> This suggests that William's demise presumably occurred prior to 1790. A search in microfilmed county court records at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History did not yield an estate record for William. Estate records specifically for Fairfield County did not predate 1787; therefore, an absence of an estate record for William indicates that he probably died prior to 1787. Indeed, the Turner family speculated that William's death occurred circa 1778.<sup>4</sup> Equity court records, which involve lawsuits, mortgages, deeds, and bills of sale that often report enslaved people by name, were also researched at the SCDAH. Those records did not predate 1800 for Fairfield County and were not useful in determining Anakah's enslavement trail.

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<sup>3</sup> 1790 U.S. Federal Census, population schedule, Camden District, South Carolina, sheet 157, John Turner household, National Archives microfilm publication M637, roll 11; digital image, Ancestry.com, <http://ancestry.com> (accessed 12 January 2007).

<sup>4</sup> Mary Turner Blair, *A Sketch History of the Turners of Fairfield County, South Carolina*, The Turner File, Fairfield County Archives, Winnsboro, South Carolina, 1.

This researcher had initially determined that Turner and Henry Laurens, who was one of the biggest slave dealers in Charleston, South Carolina, may have been well-acquainted with each other. Turner and Laurens were both high-ranking South Carolina officials in the Revolutionary War, and they both also served in the South Carolina Legislature. This researcher sought to investigate the Henry Laurens papers that have been preserved by the SCHS to find evidence of slave-trading between Laurens and the Turner family. Planters who occupied land near the major ports often served as traders for planters and farmers living upriver. Their activities are frequently reported in their plantation and business records.<sup>5</sup> The time frame of importance was from circa 1765 to around 1780. This would have been the approximate time frame of Anakah's capture and importation if she was actually born in West Africa. However, research of the Henry Laurens papers for that time period yielded no evidence of slave-trading between Laurens and John or William Turner.

Although a paper trail of Anakah's enslavement prior to John Turner was not uncovered in archived South Carolina records, several discoveries from this research of Anakah and her children established definitive links to West Africa. As introduced in chapter one, the first significant finding was the discovery of her name having West African origins. Linguistics expert Dr. Lorenzo Dow Turner identified *Anika* as an African female name used among the Gullah people of coastal South Carolina and Georgia. *Anakah*, *Annika*, *Annica*, and *Anacky* are other variant spellings. West African retentions among the Gullah people were stronger than anywhere else in the United

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<sup>5</sup> Dee Parmer Woodtor, *Finding a Place Called Home: A Guide to African-American Genealogy and Historical Identity* (New York: Random House, 1999), 343.

States, and concrete links to West Africa were very prevalent in their names. After nearly two decades analyzing the Gullah language, Turner successfully identified more than four thousand words and personal names of West African origins, with the help of twenty-seven informants who knew over sixteen African languages. He also identified the African ethnic groups who use the same words and names and the West African languages they derive from. Turner linked the name *Anika* to the Vai language spoken by the Vai ethnic group of Sierra Leone and Liberia. In Vai, *Anika* means “she is very beautiful.”<sup>6</sup> This language was also comprehended by many of the Gola and Mende ethnic groups whose territory is adjacent to the Vai country.<sup>7</sup> These three groups shared many indistinguishable cultural and linguistic traits.<sup>8</sup>

Because of this monumental finding, this researcher initially aspired to link Anakah’s family origins to the Vai, Gola, and Mende region of West Africa, an area primarily situated along the present-day border of northwestern Liberia and contiguous parts of eastern Sierra Leone. However, further research has revealed that the name *Anika* is also linked to ethnic groups in Nigeria. In *Names of American Negro Slaves*, anthropologist Dr. M.D.W. Jeffreys, professor at the University of Witwatersrand of Johannesburg, South Africa, listed *Annika/Anika* as an African name that originated from the Efik ethnic group of southern Nigeria.<sup>9</sup> Jeffreys also presents in a table the ethnic

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<sup>6</sup> Lorenzo Dow Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1949), 52.

<sup>7</sup> Woodtor, 340-341.

<sup>8</sup> Adam Jones, “Who Were the Vai?,” *The Journal of African History* 22, no. 2 (1981): 160-162.

<sup>9</sup> M.D.W. Jeffreys, “Names of American Negro Slaves,” *American Anthropologists* 50, no. 3 (1948): 571-573.

origins of twenty-six other West African names that he extracted from *Names of American Negro Slaves*, a chapter written by Newbell Niles Puckett and included in the publication, *Studies in the Science of Society*, presented to A.J. Keller. Unlike Lorenzo Dow Turner's thorough *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*, Jeffreys's *Names of American Negro Slaves*, entitled the same as Puckett's chapter, failed to expound on the source of his West African identifications. This does not lessen or negate the probability that the name *Anika/Anakah* also indicates possible Nigerian ties. Furthermore, Nigerian ties were also made evident by sources that link this name to the Hausa people of Nigeria. *Anika* and its variant spellings are referenced as a derivation of the female name *Annakiya*, which means "sweet face" in the Hausa language.<sup>10</sup> Because of these additional onomastic findings, Nigeria must be taken into consideration as the second possible origin of Anakah's family.

Another significant and noteworthy finding was uncovered from the research of Anakah's daughter, Easter. The retention of a regionally uncommon and potentially West African surname by Easter and her family was discovered from tracking her trail in Newberry County, South Carolina. Per the instructions of John Turner's will dated July 27, 1807, Easter was bequeathed to his son-in-law and daughter, James and Martha Turner Law.<sup>11</sup> Easter was then transferred to Newberry County where the Laws resided. The slave inventory of Turner's estate indicated that Easter was one of Anakah's older children based on the monetary values the estate appraiser assigned to her and the rest of

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<sup>10</sup> Julia Stewart, *African Names: Names from the African Continent for Children and Adults* (New York: Carol Publishing Group, 1993), 8.

<sup>11</sup> John Turner, will, 1807, Fairfield County, South Carolina Probate Court Estate Papers, file 32, package 509, microfilm, pp. 204-226, 0011, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, South Carolina.

Anakah's children.<sup>12</sup> For the next twenty-nine years, Easter was the legal "property" of James Law. Newberry County cemetery records show that he died at the age of fifty-nine in 1836.<sup>13</sup> As table 3 illustrates, Law's estate inventory listed a total of thirty-six slaves in lots, including Easter, her children, and a number of her grandchildren. His will stipulated that those thirty-six enslaved people be equally disbursed in lots to his wife and daughters; consequently, some of Anakah's descendants through Easter were legally transferred to Turner's granddaughters and their husbands. On June 14, 1836, James Law wrote:

First, to my beloved wife Martha Law I give and bequeath. . .one third part of the value of all the negroes of which I may be in possession of at my death to be taken by her at valuations, in negroes, subject to her own special selection or choice. . .Thirdly, to my beloved daughter Elizabeth H. Law I give and bequeath another third part of my real estate. . .also one lot of negroes to be of equal value or as near of equal value as possible to a parcel of negroes which I have to my beloved daughter Margaret Brown in her life time. In other words, the parcel of negroes which I now bequeath to me beloved daughter Elizabeth H. Law shall be considered worth as much as the time of my decease as the parcel of negroes which I give to my beloved daughter Margaret Brown. . .Fourthly, to my beloved daughter Martha M. Law I give and bequeath all the remaining third part of the real estate of which I may be legally in possession of at my death also one lot of negroes to be of equal value or as near of equal value as possible to the negroes given to at my decease to my beloved daughter Elizabeth H. Law together with their future increase also one hundred and fifty dollars in cast to her and her heirs forever. Fifthly, all the remainder of the negroes of which I may be in possession at the time of my decease and which will not come into any of the devises above made, I will to be sold at auction and the net proceed arising there from shall be divided into four equal shares.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> John Turner, estate papers, 1807, Fairfield County Probate Court Estate Papers, file 32, package 509, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, South Carolina.

<sup>13</sup> U.S. GenWeb, "The Law Family Cemetery – Newberry County, South Carolina", available from <http://ftp.rootsweb.com/pub/usgenweb/sc/newberry/cemeteries/law.txt>; accessed 06 August 2007.

<sup>14</sup> James Law, estate papers, 1836, Newberry County, South Carolina Probate Court Estate Papers, box 47, estate 8, microfilm, pp. 393-439, N214, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, South Carolina.



James Law's estate file indicated that Easter and some of her children, including her daughter whose name was recorded as *Anacky*, obviously named after her grandmother Anakah, were allotted to his widow, Martha Turner Law.<sup>15</sup> In all probability, this particular allotment to Martha occurred as a result of her father stipulating in his will that "Negroe girl named Easter and her issue to be for their (James & Martha Law) use during their lives, and at their deaths to descend to the heirs lawfully begotten of my said daughter Martha."<sup>16</sup> Martha later died in 1848 in Newberry County;<sup>17</sup> consequently, Easter, her children, and her grandchildren became the legal "property" of Martha's heirs – her three married daughters, Elizabeth Law Epps, Margaret Law Brown, and Martha Law Ray, who all remained in the Whitmire area of Newberry County, as indicated by the U.S. Federal Census.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> John Turner, will, 1807, Fairfield County Probate Court Estate Papers, file 32, package 509, microfilm, pp. 204-226, 0011, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, South Carolina.

<sup>17</sup> U.S. GenWeb, "The Law Family Cemetery – Newberry County, South Carolina", available from <http://ftp.rootsweb.com/pub/usgenweb/sc/newberry/cemeteries/law.txt>; accessed 06 August 2007.

<sup>18</sup> 1850 U.S. Federal Census, population schedule, Newberry County, South Carolina, sheet 253, family 1179, Dr. James M. Epps household; National Archives microfilm publication M432, roll 856; digital image, Ancestry.com, <http://www.ancestry.com> (accessed 01 September 2007); 1850 U.S. Federal Census, population schedule, Newberry County, South Carolina, sheet 252, family 1153, William Ray household; National Archives microfilm publication M432, roll 856; digital image, Ancestry.com, <http://www.ancestry.com> (accessed 01 September 2007); 1850 U.S. Federal Census, Union County, South Carolina, sheet 69, family 1023, Richard Brown household; National Archives microfilm publication M432, roll 859; digital image, Ancestry.com, <http://www.ancestry.com> (accessed 01 September 2007).

TABLE 3. THE SLAVE INVENTORY OF JAMES LAW'S ESTATE, NEWBERRY COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA, TAKEN SEPTEMBER 13, 1836

Names	Appraised Values	Comment
<b>Lot #1 allotted to daughter, Martha Law Ray</b>		
One Negro man, <b>Jack</b>	1000	<i>Easter's son, <b>Jack Brown</b></i>
" " woman, <b>Milly</b>	500	
" " girl, <b>Martha</b>	700	
" " girl, <b>Polly</b>	550	
" " boy, <b>Thomas</b>	600	
" " boy, <b>Martin</b>	500	
" " boy, <b>Henry</b>	325	
" " girl, <b>Jencey</b>	175	
<b>Lot #2 allotted to wife, Martha Turner Law</b>		
One Negro man, <b>Bob</b>	1000	<i>Easter's son, <b>Robert Quiller</b></i>
" " woman, <b>Rose</b>	800	
" " boy, <b>Ross</b>	450	
" " boy, <b>Robert</b>	300	
" " girl, <b>Edney</b>	125	
<b>Lot #3 allotted to daughter, Elizabeth Law Epps</b>		
One Negro woman, <b>Mary</b>	800	<i>Easter's daughter, <b>Molly Epps</b></i>
" " boy, <b>Fletcher</b>	675	
" " boy, <b>Hezekiah</b>	375	
" " girl, <b>Palina</b>	150	
<b>Lot #4 allotted to wife, Martha Turner Law</b>		
One Negro man, <b>Isaac</b>	1000	<i>Easter's son, <b>Isaac Quilla</b>, sold to John Law</i>
" " woman, <b>Easter</b>	300	<i>Anakah's daughter, <b>Easter Quiller</b></i>
" " man, <b>Aaron</b>	1300	<i>Easter's son</i>
" " girl, <b>Liza</b>	900	<i>Easter's daughter sold to Martha Ray</i>
" " boy, <b>Washington</b>	1000	<i>Easter's son, <b>Washington Law</b>, to E.L. Epps</i>
" " girl, <b>Mariah</b>	750	<i>Easter's daughter</i>
" " boy, <b>Ross</b>	600	<i>Easter's son</i>
<b>Lot #5 allotted to wife, Martha Turner Law</b>		
One Negro woman, <b>Anacky</b>	800	<i>Easter's daughter, <b>Anna Reid</b></i>
" " girl, <b>Margaret</b>	475	
" " boy, <b>Asberry</b>	550	
" " girl, <b>Francis</b>	200	
" " boy, <b>Reed</b>	125	
<b>Lot #6 allotted to daughter, Elizabeth Law Epps</b>		
One Negro woman, <b>Hannah</b>	500	
" " man, <b>Frank</b>	1000	<i>Sold to R. L. Brown</i>
" " girl, <b>Harriet</b>	900	
" " boy, <b>Jackson</b>	800	
" " boy, <b>Alexander</b>	650	
" " boy, <b>Sims</b>	425	
" " girl, <b>Nancy</b>	200	

*Source:* James Law, estate papers, 1836, Newberry County, South Carolina Probate Court Estate Papers, box 47, estate 8, microfilm, pp. 393-439, N214, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, South Carolina. The names on this inventory were compared to the 1870 and 1880 U.S. Federal Census to verify family relationships.

Approximately fifteen years later on January 1, 1863, President Abraham Lincoln reluctantly made a historic move that inevitably changed the lives of Anakah's descendants and all enslaved people of African descent in America. Mostly concerned with creating hardships for the South and preserving the Union, Lincoln finally issued the Emancipation Proclamation, which proposed to free all slaves in the southern Confederate states. Most enslaved African Americans in the South were technically freed upon the close of the Civil War. However, it was not until December 18, 1865, eight months after the end of the Civil War, when the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution officially abolished slavery.<sup>19</sup> After slavery, the elderly Easter and most of her formerly enslaved descendants remained in Newberry County, as indicated by the 1870 U.S. Federal Census.<sup>20</sup>

The 1870 U.S. Federal Census was very often the first official record that reported formerly enslaved African Americans by their first names and the surnames they opted to retain. One of the most common and often erroneous presumptions is that when African Americans were emancipated, they took the surnames of the persons who last enslaved them. A number of newly emancipated African Americans retained the surname of the last slave-owner, but research has revealed that many of them did not. In historian Herbert Gutman's study of the WPA slave narratives of South Carolina, he found that 73 percent of the 181 African Americans interviewed in South Carolina in the 1930s did not retain their last enslaver's surname. This fact was also indicated by Eliza Frances

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<sup>19</sup> Dorothy Schneider and Carl J. Schneider, *An Eyewitness History of Slavery in America from Colonial Times to the Civil War* (New York: Checkmark Books, 2001), 328.

<sup>20</sup> See Appendix A: Easter Quiller and her descendants reported in the 1870 U.S. Federal Census of Newberry County, South Carolina and Dallas County, Alabama.

Andrews, a slave-owner's daughter in Georgia in 1865. In her diary, she noted, "I notice that the negroes seldom or never take the names of the present owners in adopting their 'entitles' as they call their own surnames, but always that of some former master, and they go back as far as possible".<sup>21</sup>

However, as indicated by the 1870 U.S. Federal Census, Easter's descendants retained the surnames Epps, Law, and Brown after slavery. It was also discovered that Easter and at least two of her children, her sons Robert and Isaac, chose *Quilla* as their surname. The census enumerator for the Cromers District of Newberry County, where Easter and some of her descendants resided, spelled the name two ways: *Quilla* and *Quiller*.<sup>22</sup> Regardless of the two variant spellings, this surname was very uncommon to Newberry County and also to the state of South Carolina. The 1870 U.S. Federal Census shows that Easter and her descendants were the only persons in the entire state carrying this surname. *Quilla* was also the spelling utilized by the Selma, Alabama census enumerator in the 1870 U.S. Federal Census of Dallas County, Alabama.<sup>23</sup> Isaac Quilla had apparently relocated to Selma or had been taken there prior to 1870.

Further, evidence was found that suggests that *Quilla* was the name most probably chosen by Easter to be her surname. Her other sons, Jack and Washington,

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<sup>21</sup> Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1976) quoting from *War-Time Journal of a Georgia Girl, 1864-1865* (published 1908), 256.

<sup>22</sup> 1870 U.S. Federal Census, population schedule, Cromers, Newberry County, South Carolina, sheet 524, family 95-97, Robert Quiller and President Quilla households, National Archives microfilm publication M593, roll 1504, digital image, Ancestry.com, <http://www.ancestry.com> (accessed 16 January 2007).

<sup>23</sup> 1870 U.S. Federal Census, population schedule, Selma, Dallas County, Alabama, sheet 697, family 358, Isaac Quilla household, National Archives microfilm publication M593, roll 14, digital image, Ancestry.com, <http://www.ancestry.com> (accessed 16 January 2007).

were also found in the 1870 U.S. Federal Census for Newberry County. They lived near her, and their names were reported as Washington Law and Jack Brown.<sup>24</sup> In the 1880 U.S. Federal Census, Jack Brown indicated that his father was born in South Carolina; however, the father's birthplace for Washington Law and Robert Quiller was not reported. However, the mother's birthplace was correctly reported as South Carolina.<sup>25</sup> A blank entry on the census sheet typically indicates that the information was unknown, suggesting that Washington and Robert had scant to no knowledge of their father. Isaac Quilla was not found in the 1880 U.S. Federal Census.

Generally, the father of an enslaved child was not recognized by law. American laws dictated that the legal status of a slave was based on the status of the mother; therefore, the father had no rights and responsibilities for an offspring. Although many enslaved African-American families were indeed headed by fathers and husbands, while under the ever-present threat of family separation, the differences in surname selection among Easter and her children, as well as the aforementioned census findings, suggest that a father and husband had not been present. Thus, this researcher asserts that the *Quilla* name was most probably affiliated with her family history and had also been used during slavery. Gutman expounds on the reality that many enslaved people carried surnames during slavery and displayed a reticence in revealing their surnames to their

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<sup>24</sup> See Appendix A: Easter Quiller and her descendants reported in the 1870 U.S. Federal Census of Newberry County, South Carolina and Dallas County, Alabama.

<sup>25</sup> 1880 U.S. Federal Census, population schedule, Cromers, Newberry County, South Carolina, Enumeration District 112, sheet 86, family 122, Washington Law household, National Archives microfilm publication T9, roll 1236; digital image, Ancestry.com, <http://www.ancestry.com> (accessed 18 August 2007); 1870 U.S. Federal Census, population schedule, Cromers, Newberry County, South Carolina, sheet 524, family 97, Robert Quiller household, National Archives microfilm publication M593, roll 1504, digital image, Ancestry.com, <http://www.ancestry.com> (accessed 18 August 2007).

enslavers and other whites.<sup>26</sup> Correspondingly, the absence of a father, who may have quietly carried a surname during slavery, was perhaps a contributing factor in Robert and Isaac Quilla's decision to retain the surname Easter chose and in Jack Brown and Washington Law's decision to take the surnames of their last and previous enslavers, respectively.

Evidence supporting this researcher's assertion that *Quilla* was of West African origins is twofold. First, research has found that *Quilla*, which is phonetically close to the French surname *Quiller*, is not affiliated with a slave-holding family in America during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. U.S. Federal Census records indicate that no Quiller slave-owners ever resided in South Carolina. Further research of the census found that no white families with the Quiller surname or close variations resided anywhere in America in 1790 and 1800, a time frame when Easter was enslaved with her parents and siblings on John Turner's farm in Fairfield County. Further ruling out the possibility that *Quilla* derived from a slave-owning French Quiller family, the House of Names Company, which specializes in family crests, noted the earliest settler bearing this surname was Peter Quiller who arrived in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in 1809.<sup>27</sup> Also, the first Quiller who appeared in the U.S. Federal Census was an 1820 New Orleans resident, Bernard Quiller, who most probably settled in Louisiana shortly before 1820, as

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<sup>26</sup> Gutman, 230-237.

<sup>27</sup> House of Names, "Quiller Family Crest", available from <http://www.houseofnames.com/>; accessed 08 August 2007.

many French settlers had done. This census report also indicates that he did not own any slaves in 1820.<sup>28</sup>

Secondly, the time frame of Easter's birth and her immediacy to both of her parents, Jack and Anakah, further supports this researcher's claim of a West African origin. Unlike many enslaved people, Easter was with her parents up until her late teens or her early twenties. The 1870 U.S. Federal Census reports that she was eighty-nine years old that year, placing her birth year in approximately 1781. However, in July 1807, John Turner noted Easter in his will as a "girl"; the slave inventory of his estate, taken shortly thereafter in September 1807, noted her as a "wench" – a descriptive term, often considered demeaning in nature, applied to enslaved adult females. This varying classification indicates that Easter was actually younger than twenty-six, most probably between seventeen and twenty-one years old, when she was separated from her family. Hence, she was indeed more susceptible to retaining knowledge of her family's West African origins from her father and/or from her African name-bearing mother than her younger siblings, who were separated from Jack and Anakah at younger ages. In contrast, the mother of the famed Robert Smalls, who bravely commandeered a Confederate warship from Charleston, South Carolina harbor and delivered it to Union forces, recollected to Smalls how her mother had been transported to America from the Guinea coast of West Africa.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> 1820 U.S. Federal Census, population schedule, New Orleans, New Orleans Parish, Louisiana, sheet 74, Bernard Quiller household, National Archives microfilm publication M33, roll 32; digital image, Ancestry.com, <http://www.ancestry.com> (accessed 13 August 2007).

<sup>29</sup> Andrew Billingsley, *Yearning to Breathe Free: Robert Smalls of South Carolina and His Families* (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2007), 10.

This assertion of a West African origin for *Quilla* is supported by social psychologist Wade Nobles's position on analyzing and understanding the history of the African-American family. Nobles posits that the African cultural spectrum is at the base of the Black cultural sphere, while the Anglo-American spectrum serves as the medium in which the Black cultural sphere must operate.<sup>30</sup> This reality, in conjunction with the aforementioned evidence, nullifies the likelihood that *Quilla* derived from the European Quiller surname. Similarly, the Quander family of Prince George's County, Maryland, known as one of America's oldest and well-documented African-American families, successfully traced their surname to a West African ancestor from Ghana who carried the name Amkwandoh.<sup>31</sup>

Moreover, *Quilla* has been found to phonetically resemble several names in West Africa. The English *Qu* pronunciation is identical to the African *Kw* pronunciation found in Nigerian and Ghanaian languages. More specifically, the Akan people of Ghana speak a language called Twi which is mutually intelligible to the languages of the Yoruba, Edo, Nupe, and Igbo people of Nigeria; these languages contain a number of *Kw* words and names. These particular languages have been placed in the Kwa branch of the Niger-Congo language family.<sup>32</sup> Of the *Kw* names and words examined in the Kwa sub-family, *Quilla* bears some phonetic resemblance to *Kwale*, the name of a region in southwest Nigeria inhabited by the Kwale Igbo people, a branch of the larger Igbo ethnic group.

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<sup>30</sup> Wade W. Nobles, *Africanity and the Black Family: The Development of a Theoretical Model* (Oakland, CA: The Institute for the Advanced Study of Black Family Life and Culture, Inc., 1985), 82.

<sup>31</sup> The Quander Family, "Family History", available from <http://www.quanderfamily.org/>; accessed 15 September 2007.

<sup>32</sup> Michael Crowder, *A Short History of Nigeria* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publisher, 1962), 23.



The Efik people of southwest Nigeria, where the name *Annika* was also linked, is a branch of the Ibibio ethnic group who share many customs with the Igbo people, their western neighbors.<sup>33</sup>

However, *Quilla* has been found to possess a more striking resemblance to the Kongo name *Kouilou*, which is also spelled *Kwilu* or *Kwile*. It is the name of a river that runs from northern Angola into the Kwile and Bandundu region of the present-day, southern Democratic of the Congo (formerly Zaire), a region largely inhabited since the fourteenth century by the Kikongo-speaking group known as the Bakongo or Kongo people.<sup>34</sup> Transatlantic slave trade figures show that Africans from the Angola-Congo region of West-Central Africa were the preponderant group transported into South Carolina during the early part of the eighteenth century. Nearly 70 percent of the African-based population of 39,000 in South Carolina by 1739 was derived from West-Central Africa.<sup>35</sup> Gwendolyn Midlo Hall further asserts that Kongo captives, collected along the Congo Loango coast by British slave traders, comprised of the majority of the West-Central Africans who were transported into South Carolina during the eighteenth century.<sup>36</sup> This clustering of West-Central Africans in South Carolina was also evident from a runaway slave advertisement placed by Isaac Porcher, who owned a plantation in

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<sup>33</sup> P. Amaury Talbot, "Some Ibibio Customs and Beliefs," *Journal of the Royal African Society* 13, no. 51 (1914): 242.

<sup>34</sup> Tshilemalema Mukenge, *Culture and Customs of the Congo* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002), 19.

<sup>35</sup> Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 136.

<sup>36</sup> Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas: Restoring the Links* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 160.

present-day Berkeley County. In his written request for the return of a “new Angola Negro man named Clawss” in 1737, Porcher noted, “As there is an abundance of Negroes in this province of that nation, he may chance to be harbour’d among some of them. . .”<sup>37</sup> Despite the significant presence of enslaved Angolan-Congolese Africans in South Carolina, no evidence has been found to indicate if possible Angola-Congo origins and the name *Quilla* were associated with Easter’s paternal family history or her mother Anakah’s family history. Nevertheless, in determining Anakah’s family origins, these findings introduce Nigeria and the Sierra Leone/Liberia region as the two strongest possibilities, with the origin of the name *Anakah/Anika* being the most significant factor.

Historian John C. Inscoe proclaims that the names and naming patterns of slaves alone are not sufficient information to substantiate a cognizance of their West African roots. He conjectures, “Just as slaves perpetuated classical and foreign names with little to no sense of either of their original significance or the attitude or intent of those who first bestowed them, it seems probable that this was true of African names as well.”<sup>38</sup> However, modern DNA technology has confirmed definitive links between enslaved people bearing African names to the regions of West Africa where their names were prevalent. Researching the Wessyngton Plantation of Robertson County, Tennessee, the largest tobacco plantation in America, John F. Baker discovered that many of the slaves

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<sup>37</sup> Nathan A. Windley, *Runaway Slave Advertisements: A Documentary History from the 1730s to 1790 Vol. 3* (London: Greenwood Press, 1983), 29.

<sup>38</sup> John C. Inscoe, “Carolina Slave Names: An Index to Acculturation,” *The Journal of Southern History* 49, no. 4 (1983): 537.

with African names on that plantation indeed descended from the West African groups and regions where their names originated.<sup>39</sup>

Hence, many enslaved people who carried West African personal or place names, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, may have either been born in those regions where the names were prevalent, or a parent or grandparent hailed from that region. If the latter, the names of their offspring obviously reflected a consciousness of their West African roots. This supports this researcher's claim that a branch of Anakah's family originated from either the eastern Sierra Leone/northwestern Liberia region or from Nigeria. No conclusive evidence was found to indicate if Anakah was actually born in West Africa. The only source that noted her birthplace was the 1880 U.S. Federal Census. The Fairfield County, South Carolina census enumerator reported that the parents of eighty-year-old Isaac McCrorey, Anakah's last surviving child, were both born in South Carolina.<sup>40</sup> With the absence of other sources, a definitive conclusion concerning Anakah's actual birthplace could not be drawn. Nevertheless, if Anakah was indeed born in South Carolina circa 1760, this researcher posits that one or both of her parents were native Africans, and a parent was transported to North America from the eastern Sierra Leone/northwestern Liberia region or from Nigeria. Philip D. Morgan

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<sup>39</sup> John F. Baker, *The Washingtons of Wessyngton Plantation: An African-American's Story*, to be published by Simon & Schuster, Inc. and released in early 2009; information available from <http://www.wessyngton.com>; accessed 09 May 2007. The direct descendants of those particular slaves were tested by African Ancestry, Inc. Their test results matched the West African origins of their ancestors' names. For example, DNA testing was performed on a direct descendant of a slave named Axim, who was named for a kingdom in Ghana. Test results revealed that Axim descended from the Akan people of Ghana. A direct descendant of a slave named Olayinka, whose name was Yoruba, was tested. Her DNA perfectly matches the Yoruba people of Nigeria.

<sup>40</sup> 1880 U.S. Federal Census, population schedule, Fairfield County, South Carolina, Enumeration District 69, sheet 36, family 287, Ike McCrorey household; National Archives microfilm publication T9, roll 1229; digital image, Ancestry.com, <http://www.ancestry.com> (accessed 12 January 2007).

estimates that from 1730 to 1740, perhaps the decade when at least one of her parents was born, South Carolina's slave population consisted of two-thirds Africans.<sup>41</sup> Michael Gomez also asserts that from 1740 to 1760, during which time the American-born came to account for 60 percent of the slave population, many of these first-generation Americans fell under the enculturative provenance of African parentage.<sup>42</sup>

Past and contemporary scholarship on the transatlantic slave trade consistently supports a much higher probability of a eastern Sierra Leone/northwestern Liberia origin than a Nigerian origin. As mentioned in chapter one, South Carolina planters preferred Africans from specific regions of West and West-Central Africa. Many Africans from the Sierra Leone region and the Windward Coast region (Liberia and Ivory Coast) were transported into Charleston, South Carolina. The captives from these two regions combined constituted the second largest group of Africans transported into South Carolina.<sup>43</sup> Transatlantic slave trade figures also show that South Carolina imported very few Africans from the Bight of Biafra; this region comprised contemporary southeastern Nigeria, Cameroon, and Gabon. The remaining parts of Nigeria, as well as the present-day nations of Togo and Benin, comprised the Bight of Benin (see figure 1).<sup>44</sup> From 1733 to 1807, importation figures show that South Carolina, which received nearly 50 percent of the entire African trade into North America, only imported two percent of its

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<sup>41</sup> Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Low-Country* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 60-61.

<sup>42</sup> Gomez, 194.

<sup>43</sup> Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 157.

<sup>44</sup> Gomez, 27.

African captives from the Bight of Biafra.<sup>45</sup> As figure 1 shows, historian Philip Curtin's estimates for a later time period were identical for the Bight of Biafra and slightly lower for the Bight of Benin.

Daniel Littlefield further explains that Africans who were “small, slender, weak, and tended towards a yellowish color, were less desirable” in South Carolina. He asserted that Bight of Biafra Africans, sometimes called Calabar or Igbo slaves, epitomized those qualities and also possessed a propensity to commit suicide.<sup>46</sup> Most scholars of the transatlantic slave trade conclude that most of the Africans exported from the Bight of Biafra were Igbo, who were stereotypically perceived by South Carolinians as “melancholy and suicidal, sickly, unattractive, and superstitious.”<sup>47</sup> These facts simply suggest that since Anakah was enslaved in South Carolina, with the high probability that one or both of her parents or even a grandparent were native Africans transported into South Carolina, the chance that a branch of her family originated from Nigeria is statistically much slimmer compared to eastern Sierra Leone/northwestern Liberia origins.

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<sup>45</sup> James A. Rawley, *The Transatlantic Slave Trade: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1981), 335.

<sup>46</sup> Daniel C. Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 10.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

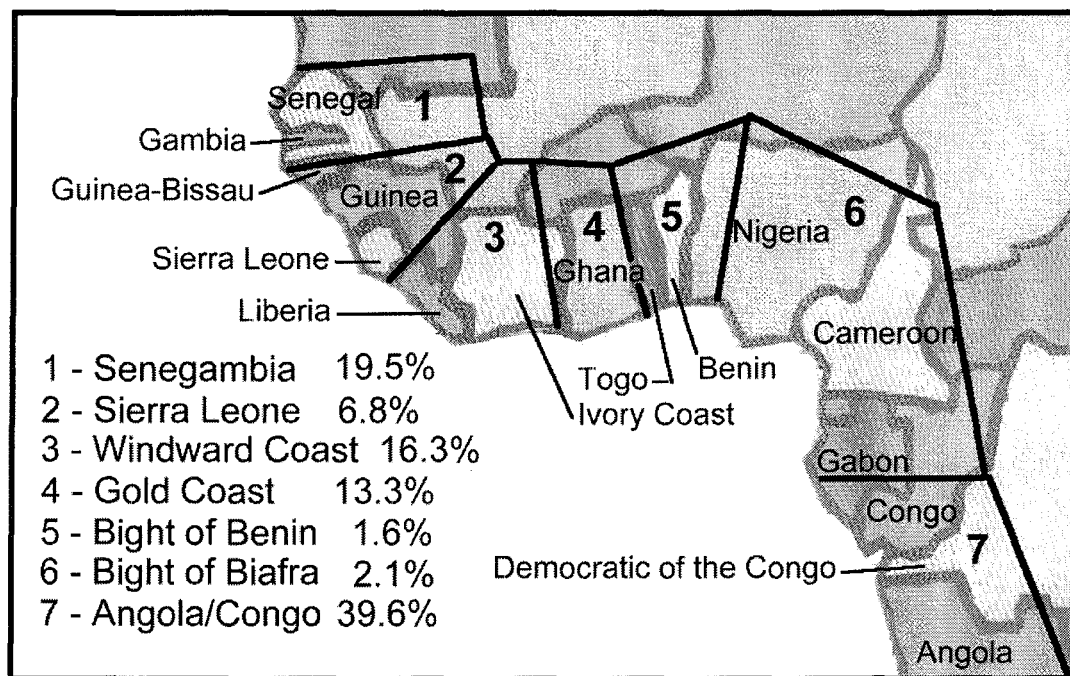


FIGURE 1. Percentage of Africans imported into South Carolina from identifiable West African regions, 1763 – 1807. Not shown on this figure is the Mozambique/Madagascar area which had a percentage of 0.7%. *Source:* Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 157; William S. Pollitzer, *The Gullah People and Their African Heritage* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999), 46.

## CHAPTER 5

### AFRICANISMS IN ANAKAH'S FAMILY: MORE LINKS TO WEST AFRICA

When Africans were abducted from Africa and transported to America, the laws of the land and the many harsh aspects of chattel slavery sought to deculturate them by attempting to eradicate their African heritages. However, this attempt by American colonies was not a phenomenal success, contrary to the beliefs of many sociologists who asserted that there was little to no transmission of African culture into slave societies. Contemporary research has repeatedly shown that Africans' mode of conduct, their moral and aesthetic values, and their sense of psychosocial integrity were not completely extinguished.<sup>1</sup> Many of their customs and cultural elements can be traced directly or indirectly back to Africa.

African continuity of social and cultural patterns was quite evident in family structures constructed on plantations and farms in North America. This continuity was signified by the names and naming patterns of many African-American families. Naming children for blood kin hints that enslaved people incorporated elements of the traditional lineal orientation of their West African forebears into their new belief systems.<sup>2</sup> These naming practices, combined with other beliefs, show an obvious awareness among

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<sup>1</sup> Mary A. Twining and Keith E. Baird, *Sea Island Roots: African Presence in the Carolinas & Georgia* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 1991), 3.

<sup>2</sup> Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1976), 197-198.

enslaved African Americans of the importance of kinship which was prominent throughout Africa. Research has found that Anakah and her descendants in South Carolina and Mississippi adopted fundamental ideas and beliefs about kinship that are rooted in West Africa. Not only were African names found in the family, but naming patterns, familial customs, and several cultural traits were discernible through research that revealed definitive links to West Africa.

As explained in chapter three, Anakah's children who were listed on Captain John Turner's estate inventory were Dick, Henry, Easter, Doll, Dave, Mary, Bess, Jim, Mariah, Jack, and Isaac. Turner's demise, in 1807, and the dispersal of his estate resulted in the dismantling of this solid family structure that had been maintained on his farm since the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Anakah and her family were involuntarily separated and inevitably displaced throughout other parts of South Carolina, Alabama, and Mississippi. Due to the archaic modes of transportation and communication and the grave lack of freedom granted to slaves, they most probably never saw or heard from each other again. This disruption of the family unit was undoubtedly the impetus for the naming patterns that remarkably mirrored customs in West Africa. Names and naming patterns assured the historical continuity of the family.

The first of several naming patterns found within Anakah's family was the naming of children after family members. Anakah's children kept the memory of their displaced siblings alive by giving their siblings' names to their own children. This represented an extension of West African customs rather than an imitation of Euro-American systems. Among ethnic groups in Nigeria, one of the possible origins of Anakah's family roots, names were commonly chosen by the divinatory method. Among



the Igara people, a seer decides whether the child is a reincarnated family member. If a child cries excessively, a seer declares that if that child is given the name of the relative who is re-embodying himself through the child, the crying will cease.<sup>3</sup> The Vai people of eastern Sierra Leone and western Liberia also carry a tradition of naming children after relatives. A few days after a child's birth, the family elders take the child from the room of its birth and name it for a family member or some object in nature.<sup>4</sup> In the Mende culture of Sierra Leone, when a boy goes to the Poro-bush to be educated, he is given his new name called his Poro name; this name is typically the same as that of a near relative.<sup>5</sup>

Naming patterns were deciphered from census records, deed records, and the slave inventories of John Turner, James Law, and David Boyce's estates. These local, state, and federal records were conducive to reconstructing the family tree. Turner's son-in-law and daughter, David and Agnes Boyce, inherited Dick and two of his younger siblings, Bess and Jack, per the instructions of his probated will that was dated July 7, 1807.<sup>6</sup> Twenty-three years later, David Boyce died in November 1830 in Union County, South Carolina. As shown in table 4, at least eighteen children were born on his farm mostly to Dick and to Bess between 1807 and 1831, and they were listed in his estate inventory by name and monetary value in February 1831.

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<sup>3</sup> Lorenzo Dow Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1949), 38.

<sup>4</sup> George W. Ellis, *Negro Culture in West Africa* (New York: The Neale Publishing Company, 1914), 67.

<sup>5</sup> Kenneth Lindsay Little, *The Mende of Sierra Leone: A West African People in Transition* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1951), 114.

<sup>6</sup> John Turner, will, 1807, Fairfield County, South Carolina Probate Court Estate Papers, file 32, package 509, microfilm, pp. 204-226, 0011, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, South Carolina.

TABLE 4. THE SLAVE INVENTORY OF DAVID BOYCE'S ESTATE, UNION COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA, TAKEN FEBRUARY 23, 1831

Names	Appraised Value
Negro boy <b>Phillip</b>	\$450
Negro girl <b>Patsy</b>	\$300
Negro boy <b>Peter</b>	\$325
Negro man <b>Jack</b>	\$455
Negro woman <b>Bess</b> & child <b>Scot</b>	\$400
Negro boy <b>Henry</b>	\$500
Negro boy <b>Isaac</b>	\$350
Negro girl <b>Easter</b>	\$275
Negro boy <b>Washington</b>	\$275
Negro boy <b>Martin</b>	\$200
Negro girl <b>Sarah</b>	\$150
Negro woman <b>Nancy</b> and child <b>Becky</b>	\$500
Negro woman <b>Milly</b> and child <b>Mariah</b>	\$575
Negro woman young <b>Caroline</b>	\$450
Negro woman <b>Jenny</b> old	\$25
Negro man <b>Abram</b>	\$450
Negro boy <b>Jefferson</b>	\$500
Negro man <b>Julius</b>	\$525
Negro man <b>Dick</b>	\$200
Negro woman <b>Matilday</b> and child <b>Anny</b>	\$350
Negro boy <b>Richard</b>	\$375
Negro boy <b>Tony</b>	\$350
Negro girl <b>Jenny</b>	\$325
Negro girl <b>Prisy</b>	\$275
Negro boy <b>Charles</b>	\$225
Negro boy <b>Albert</b>	\$150

*Source:* David Boyce, estate papers, 1831, Union County, South Carolina Probate Court Estate Papers, file 20, package 1, microfilm, pp. 534-606, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, South Carolina.

Estate appraisers typically assigned one value to an enslaved female and her infant child, as the case with “Negro woman Matilday and child Anny” who were appraised at \$350. Additional children born to the same mother are often listed afterwards in sequential order by age and/or monetary value. Young children born to one mother were often grouped together on estate inventories with or without the mother’s name preceding the list. Through a meticulous analysis, family relationships can often be

determined with much certainty from slave inventories, facilitating the necessary reconstruction of the family tree.<sup>7</sup>

Correspondingly, David Boyce's estate inventory produced two separate groups of young children listed in descending order by value. The first group included Henry (\$500), Isaac (\$350), Easter (\$275), Washington (\$275), Martin (\$200), and Sarah (\$150), who were recorded immediately following "Bess and her child Scot." Those six children were Bess's children. A preponderance of evidence from genealogical research and oral history identified an additional child named Mariah who was born to Bess after February 23, 1831; therefore, four of Bess's eight children, Henry, Isaac, Easter, and Mariah, were the namesakes of her siblings. James Law's estate inventory and the 1870 U.S. Federal Census of Newberry County, South Carolina verified Easter Quiller's ten children; at least four of them, Isaac, Mariah, Liza, and Mary, were the namesakes of her siblings. Liza, Lizzie, Eliza, Bess, Bessie, and Bettie were all common nicknames for Elizabeth.

The second group of children listed on the Boyce estate inventory included Richard (\$375), Tony (\$350), Jenny (\$325), Prisy (\$275), Charles (\$225), and Albert (\$150), who were listed immediately after "Matilday and her child Anny." This group was the family of Dick, predicated by the presence of an enslaved boy named Richard. Fathers often had sons named after them. A preponderance of evidence from genealogical research and oral history identified Dick as the father of Caroline and Mattie Clarissa. Frank, Palina, and Thomas were the names of additional children fathered by Dick after February 23, 1831.

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<sup>7</sup> Dee Parmer Woodtor, *Finding a Place Called Home: A Guide to African-American Genealogy and Historical Identity* (New York: Random House, 1999), 299-300.

Although Dick's known children did not carry the names of his siblings, the 1870 U.S. Federal Census of Fairfield County, South Carolina shows that his younger brother, Isaac McCrorey, utilized this West African naming custom like their sisters, Easter and Bess. Isaac's children, Dolly & Henry McCrorey, lived near him and were presumably named after his siblings, Doll and Henry.<sup>8</sup> His grandson, Richard McCrorey, and two of his granddaughters who were both named Elizabeth may have been named after his siblings, Dick and Bess.<sup>9</sup> Interestingly, Easter, Bess, and Isaac all named a son Washington. This was probably not a coincidental occurrence; this indicates that they may have had a brother named Washington who was not listed on John Turner's estate inventory for various reasons but whose name was passed down in the family.

Mimicking this naming pattern, eight of Dick's children named their own children after each other (see figure 2). Mattie Clarissa Bobo greatly emulated this West African naming custom in her own family. Five of her fifteen children, Annie, Caroline, Charles, Frank, and Palina, were the namesakes of her siblings. Additionally, family names are discernible among the enslaved family members named in the 1857 bill of sale showing the transference of Agnes Boyce's slaves to her daughter, Mary M. Bobo, and to Mary's only son Barham F. Bobo.<sup>10</sup> This naming custom was also prevalent in the family of Mattie Clarissa Bobo's oldest daughter, Louisa Bobo Danner. Most of Louisa's ten

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<sup>8</sup> Henry McCrorey was the father of the late Dr. Henry Lawrence McCrorey, the second African-American President of Johnson C. Smith University in Charlotte, North Carolina.

<sup>9</sup> See Appendix C: Isaac McCrorey and some of his descendants reported in the 1870 U.S. Federal Census of Fairfield County, South Carolina.

<sup>10</sup> See Appendix D: Panola County, Mississippi Deed Records, Deed & Bill of Sale of Slaves, Mary M. Boyce Bobo to Barham Bobo.

children carried family names and even her grandchildren possessed the first names of aunts, uncles, great-aunts, great-uncles, and cousins (see figure 3).

<b>The children of Dick</b> <i>(born 1808 to 1840)</i> + Matilday	<b>Dick's grandchildren with shared family names</b>	<b>The children of Bess</b> <i>(born 1810 to 1835)</i> + Unknown	<b>Bess's grandchildren with shared family names</b>
<b>Milly Mayes<sup>11</sup></b>	<i>Alfred, Andrew, Mariah, Mary, Miles</i>	<b>Henry ---</b>	
<b>Caroline Ramsey</b>	<i>Albert, Frank, Jeff, <b>Richard</b></i>	<b>Isaac Boyce</b>	<i>Bettie, Caroline, Isaac, Kate, Thomas, Richard</i>
<b>Mattie Clarissa Bobo</b>	<i>Annie, Caroline, Charles, <b>Dick</b>, Dock, Frank, Jenny, Louisa, Palina, Sallie</i>	<b>Easter Campbell</b>	<i>Annie, Dock, Frances, Kate, Mariah, Washington</i>
<b>Richard Boyce</b>	<i>James</i>	<b>Washington Bobo</b>	<i>Fannie, Mattie, Richard, Sallie</i>
<b>Tony Boyce</b>	<i>Tony, Frances, Mack, Mattie, Robert</i>	<b>Martin ---</b>	
<b>Prissy Williams</b>	<i>Doll, Jenny, Julia, Louisa, Thomas, Turner</i>	<b>Sarah ---</b>	
<b>Jenny Boyce</b>	<i>Mary, Miles, Thomas</i>	<b>Scott ---</b>	
<b>Charles ---</b>		<b>Robert Campbell</b>	<i>Easter, Julia, Kate, Mary, Mattie, Mildred, Phillip, Thomas</i>
<b>Albert ---</b>		<b>Mariah Wilson</b>	<i>Ann, Henry, James</i>
<b>Annie ---</b>			
<b>Frank Boyce</b>			
<b>Palina Boyce</b>	<i>Albert, James, Mattie, Frances, Katie</i>		
<b>Thomas Boyce</b>	<i>Annie, Jeff</i>		

FIGURE 2. The children of Dick and his sister, Bess, and their children who were named after family members (generations one and two).

<sup>11</sup> Based on oral history accounts, it is believed that Milly Mayes was Dick's stepdaughter.

<b>The children of Mattie Clarissa Bobo (born 1842 to 1868) + George Bobo</b>	<b>Mattie's grandchildren with shared family names</b>	<b>The children of Louisa Bobo Danner (born 1858 to 1876) + Edward Danner</b>	<b>Louisa's grandchildren with shared family names</b>
<b>Louisa Bobo Danner</b>	<i>Alex, Alfred, Ed, Frances, James, Mack, <b>Mattie</b>, Mary, Phillip</i>	<b>James Robert Danner</b>	<i>Mack, Sarah/Sallie</i>
<b>Eli Bobo</b>	<i>Andrew, Barham, Beatrice, Charles, Julia, <b>Martha</b>, George</i>	<b>Mack Danner</b>	<i>Alex, Annie, Edward, George, Laura, <b>Lou</b>, Samuel</i>
<b>Giles Bobo</b>	<i>Alex, Barham, Eli, James, Turner, Willie</i>	<b>Alfred Danner</b>	<i>Annie, Beatrice, Eddie, Georgia, Hezekiah, Mattie, Sallie, Robert</i>
<b>Jenny Bobo</b>	<i><b>Mattie</b>, James, William</i>	<b>Alexander "Alex" Danner</b>	<i><b>Louise</b>, Mack, Samuel, William</i>
<b>Sally Bobo Vaughn</b>	<i>James</i>	<b>Mary Danner Davis</b>	<i>Fred Douglas, James, Mary, Minnie, Rainey</i>
<b>Caroline Bobo</b>	<i>Thomas</i>	<b>Frances Danner Howard</b>	<i>Eddie Beatrice, Fred Douglas</i>
<b>Frank Bobo</b>	<i><b>Mattie</b></i>	<b>Laura Danner Reid</b>	<i>Charles Phillip, Beatrice, Isaac, <b>Lou</b>, Mary, Mattie, Robert Edward</i>
<b>Hezekiah Bobo</b>	<i>Alex, Alfred, Georgia, Hezekiah, Mary, William</i>	<b>Mattie Ella Danner Hockenhull</b>	<i>Isaac</i>
<b>Palina Bobo Partee</b>	<i>Hezekiah, Mary, Sarah/Sallie</i>	<b>Phillip Danner</b>	<i>Alfred, Laura, <b>Louise</b></i>
<b>William "Dock" Bobo</b>	<i>Georgia, James, Julia, Sallie, Willie</i>	<b>Edward Danner, Jr.</b>	<i>Eddie, Rainey</i>
<b>Alice Bobo</b>	<i>Mack, Minnie, James, <b>Pattie</b></i>		
<b>Richard "Dick" Bobo</b>	<i><b>Mattie</b></i>		
<b>Annie Bobo Holloway</b>			
<b>Charles Bobo</b>	<i>Barham</i>		
<b>George Bobo</b>	<i>Alberta, Georgia, Ed, Eli, Julia, Louise, Sallie</i>		

FIGURE 3. The children of Dick's daughter, Mattie Clarissa Bobo, and their children who were named after family members; The children of Mattie Clarissa's daughter, Louisa Bobo Danner, and their children who were named after family members (generations three, four, and five). *Source:* The names of children were extracted from census records and oral history. Mary Danner Davis is this researcher's great-grandmother.

Research findings also indicate that the Biblical name, Hezekiah, and the female name, Palina, prevailed in Dick's family and in Easter Quiller's family. Dick fathered a daughter who was named Palina, and one of Easter's granddaughters was also given this uncommon name. Dick and Easter both had grandsons named Hezekiah; Hezekiah Bobo was the son of Mattie Clarissa, and Hezekiah Epps was the son of Easter's daughter, Molly (Mary) Epps. The occurrence of these names in two consanguineous families who were enslaved in different counties indicates that the names may have been affiliated with the families' progenitors, Jack and Anakah, in some way.

Herbert Gutman contends that social patterns and beliefs rooted in West African cultures caused enslaved people to transfer the names of their parents unto their own children.<sup>12</sup> Among several ethnic groups in Nigeria, if a male child appears that he is the father's father re-embodied, he will be given the name of his paternal grandfather and treated with the utmost respect by his father.<sup>13</sup> Ethnic groups from the Angola-Congo region, including the Bakongo and the Mbundu people, also practiced a tradition of naming a child after one of its grandparents. Interestingly, Angolans were the preponderant group among enslaved Africans in South Carolina in the eighteenth century. This fact suggests that they not only possessed a culture separate from their enslavers, but many of them may have adopted Kongo and Angolan cultural models for naming.<sup>14</sup>

As Figures 2 and 3 illustrate, Jack and Anakah's descendants were consistent in naming children after their grandparents or great-grandparents, duplicating the customs

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<sup>12</sup> Gutman, 198.

<sup>13</sup> Turner, 38.

<sup>14</sup> John Thornton, "Central African Names and African-American Naming Patterns," *The William & Mary Quarterly* 50, no. 4 (1993): 742.





daughter, Mattie Clarissa, selected the names Jenny and Richard for two of her children, naming them after their great-grandmother and grandfather. Since at least seven of her fifteen children were the namesakes of her family members, Mattie was clearly adamant in preserving her familial ties like her African forebears. A fourteen-year, 600-mile separation from her family perhaps bolstered her consistency in naming her children after her family members. Dick also had another grandson, Richard Ramsey, who was named after him. His sister, Easter Quiller, had at least two grandchildren named after her; her sons, Jack Brown and Washington Law, both named a daughter Easter.<sup>16</sup> Additionally, Bess's son, Isaac Boyce, selected the name Bettie for one of his daughters, in all likelihood naming her after his mother.<sup>17</sup>

Continuing the tradition, six of Mattie Clarissa's granddaughters were named after her, as shown in figure 3. Mattie's daughter, Louisa Bobo Danner, named her youngest daughter Mattie Ella.<sup>18</sup> Remarkably, the generational continuity of this ancestral naming pattern was uninterrupted; figure 3 also shows that four of Louisa Danner's grandchildren were named after her. Likewise, Dick's granddaughter, Louisa Williams Stewart, named her youngest child in 1870 after her maternal grandmother, Matilday.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> See Appendix A: Easter Quiller and her descendants reported in the 1870 U.S. Federal Census of Newberry County, South Carolina and Dallas County, Alabama; 1880 U.S. Federal Census, population schedule, Cromers, Newberry County, South Carolina, Enumeration District 112, sheet 86, family 122, Washington Law household, National Archives microfilm publication T9, roll 1236; digital image, Ancestry.com, <http://www.ancestry.com> (accessed 18 August 2007).

<sup>17</sup> Bessie, Bess, Bettie, and others were common nicknames for Elizabeth.

<sup>18</sup> Mattie Ella Danner Hockenhull became the mother-in-law of the great gospel singer, the late Mahalia Jackson, when Mahalia married her son, Isaac Hockenhull, in 1936 in Chicago, Illinois.

<sup>19</sup> See Appendix B: Some of the descendants of Dick and Bess reported in the 1870 and 1880 U.S. Federal Census of Panola and Tate County, Mississippi.

In many West African cultures, children are given names that reflect the day, month or season, and even the holiday for when they were born. This custom is prevalent among the Mandinka people of the Senegambia region, the Ibibio people of Nigeria, and the Akan people of present-day Ghana.<sup>20</sup> In the Akan culture, many children are given names called “day names.” The day of the week on which a child is born determines what name is given to the child. *Kwasi* is a day name given to a male child who was born on a Sunday. *Abena* is the name given to a female child born on a Tuesday. Each day of the week has a specific female and male name.<sup>21</sup> This West African naming custom was reciprocated throughout many slave communities, with many enslaved African Americans bearing names like Tuesday, Thursday, and Sunday. Even in Zora Neale Hurston’s *The Sanctified Church*, she introduces readers to the extraordinary character, Uncle Monday.

No evidence of actual day names was found among Anakah’s descendants, but research has found that this type of West African naming custom may have still been utilized at least once. One of Anakah’s daughters was named *Easter*. No records have been found to indicate the month when Easter Quiller was born. Nevertheless, her name suggests that she may have been born on or around the Easter holiday in the late 1780s in Fairfield County, signifying the family’s adaptation of a West African naming custom with the name being from a Christian religious holiday. Cheryll Ann Cody’s analysis of slave naming patterns on Comingtee Plantation in Berkeley County, South Carolina

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<sup>20</sup> Daryll Forde and G.I. Jones, *The Ibo and Ibibio-Speaking Peoples of Southeastern Nigeria* (London: International African Institute, 1962), 77; F.W.H. Migeod, “Personal Names among Some West African Tribes,” *Journal of the Royal African Society* 17, no. 65 (1917): 39-40; William S. Pollitzer, *The Gullah People and Their African Heritage* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999), 111.

<sup>21</sup> Migeod, 39.

found that a child named Easter was born to African parents, Windsor and Angola Amy, on the day before Easter Sunday in 1746.<sup>22</sup>

Further, research findings indicate that Anakah engaged another naming custom that also epitomized a traditional practice of the Akan people of Ghana. Ghanaian children were often named for prominent individuals. Dr. Keith Baird asserts that a belief of the Akan people is that to be named after a distinguished person invests the individual with the responsibility to emulate in his own life the character of the individual whose name he bears.<sup>23</sup> Although the name Washington did not appear on Turner's estate inventory, naming patterns among Anakah's children strongly indicate that she perhaps had a son who was named after President George Washington. From 1789 to 1797, Washington served as America's first president during a time when Anakah was enslaved on Turner's farm and was bearing children. Also, Turner was one of President Washington's escorts during his famous tour of South Carolina in 1791.<sup>24</sup> Hence, the presence of the new nation's first president in South Carolina, and quite possibly in Fairfield County, was the impetus for Anakah selecting the name Washington for her son who was perhaps born during Washington's tenure as president.

Research has also found that tight-knit bonds were formed among many of Anakah's descendants in Mississippi that transcended beyond cousinship, replicating many West African societies. In those African cultures, children in the same generation

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<sup>22</sup> Cheryll Ann Cody, "There Was No 'Absalom' on the Ball Plantations: Slave-Naming Practices in the South Carolina Low Country, 1720-1865," *The American Historical Review* 92, no. 3 (1987): 573.

<sup>23</sup> Ogonna Chuks-orji, *Names from Africa: Their Origin, Meanings, and Pronunciation*, ed. Keith E. Baird (Chicago: Johnson Publishing, 1972), 83.

<sup>24</sup> Emily Bellinger Reynolds and Joan Reynolds Faunt, *Biographical Directory of the Senate of the State of South Carolina, 1776-1964* (Columbia: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1964): 165.

grew up more or less like sisters and brothers, rather than strictly separating themselves into siblings versus cousins.<sup>25</sup> This ancestral cultural trait was evident in the names of Dick's grandchildren and Bess's grandchildren. As indicated earlier, at least eighteen children were born on the Boyce farm, mostly to Dick and his mate Matilday and to his sister, Bess, between 1808 and 1831. Therefore, most of the children listed on David Boyce's estate inventory were siblings and first cousins. Many of them selected the same names for their children, exemplifying the West African custom of sibling-relationships among first cousins or children born in the same generation. In some West African cultures, like the Yoruba of Nigeria, no word in their languages is synonymous to the English word *cousin*.<sup>26</sup> In contrast, among the Gola people of western Liberia, aunts are diminutively referred to as "little mother", and nieces and nephews are referred to as "my child"; cross and parallel cousins are not distinguished from siblings.<sup>27</sup> Likewise, within the Mandinka culture of the Senegambia, cross and parallel male cousins are classified as "brothers" (*baringke*).<sup>28</sup>

As shown in figure 2, Fannie/Frances, Kate/Katie, Martha/Mattie, and Tom/Thomas were names that were shared among Dick's grandchildren and Bess's grandchildren. Also, three of Bess's sons named their children after Dick's children. Bess's son, Isaac Boyce, named a daughter after his first cousin, Caroline. He also

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<sup>25</sup> Niara Sudarkasa, "African American Families and Family Values," in *Black Families 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition*, ed. Harriette Pipes McAdoo (Beverly Hills: SAGE, 1981), 18.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>27</sup> Warren L. D'Azevedo, "Common Principles of Variant Kinship Structures among the Gola of Western Liberia," *American Anthropologist* 64, no. 3 (1962): 507.

<sup>28</sup> Matt Schaffer and Christine Cooper, *Mandinko: The Ethnography of a West African Holy Land* (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1980), 89.

named a son Richard, either after his uncle Dick or after Dick's son, Richard. Mattie Clarissa Bobo's first name was bestowed upon the daughters of her first cousins, Washington Bobo and Robert Campbell. Both Robert Campbell and Isaac Boyce named a son after their first cousin, Thomas Boyce. A sibling-relationship between cousins was also substantiated through oral history. Bess's daughter, Easter Campbell, was known as an aunt to the children of Dick's daughter, Mattie Clarissa.<sup>29</sup> However, research findings indicate conclusively that Easter and Mattie were first cousins. Family relationships among the enslaved on David and Agnes Boyce's farm, as well as many slave communities, incorporated close bonds between extended family members rather than the perceived Euro-American nuclear family paradigm that many sociologists have erroneously applied to the analyses of African-American family life.

Further research shows that Anakah's descendants considered the names of their children a matter of great importance. This cultural feature can be traced back to West African cultures where names reflected a profound acknowledgement of the individual identity of each child. Evidence of the high importance that Anakah's descendants attached to the individuality of children was a delayed naming practice found in the 1870 U.S. Federal Census of Panola County. Six of ten young children in the family were reported as being "unnamed." Those nameless children were born to Jeff and Jane Ramsey, Dave and Lizzie Renick, Edward and Louisa (Bobo) Danner, Simpson and Nancy (Boyce) Rice, Dick and Dorcas Boyce, and Thomas Boyce. Their ages ranged

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<sup>29</sup> This oral history was obtained in 1998 from Robert Danner of Memphis, Tennessee, who is decrepit as of October 2007. Robert Danner, who was born on April 8, 1906 in Panola County, Mississippi, is the great-grandson of Mattie Clarissa Bobo. He remembered Easter Campbell's family.

from one month to one year.<sup>30</sup> The Danners' one-month-old daughter was eventually named Frances. Nicknamed "Sane," Frances died in 1951 in Memphis, Tennessee at the old age of 81.<sup>31</sup>

Understandably, the high mortality rate among infants, particularly in their first month of life, was indeed a great concern for many African-American families during and after slavery. However, Herbert Gutman's *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom 1750-1925* presents evidence that this delayed naming practice was often influenced by West African cultural beliefs.<sup>32</sup> An ex-slave in Mississippi proclaimed that a child will die if he is named before he is a month old.<sup>33</sup> In contrast, a newly emancipated resident of Edisto Island, South Carolina relayed in 1865 that "it is considered bad luck to give a name to a child before it is a month old."<sup>34</sup> Keith Baird explains that in cultures throughout Africa, a child is not considered a person until he has been named, and a name is not given until it has been agreed that the child has come to stay.<sup>35</sup> The ancestors of African Americans resided in communities in West Africa where high infant mortality rates were common. Consequently, their delayed naming beliefs were transplanted into communities in America where high infant mortality rates also prevailed during and after slavery.

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<sup>30</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>31</sup> Shelby County, Tennessee/City of Memphis Board of Health, Office of Vital Records, death certificate, Frances Danner Howard, year 1951, file number 1357. Her date of death was April 15, 1951.

<sup>32</sup> Gutman, 193.

<sup>33</sup> Melville J. Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1941), 190.

<sup>34</sup> Gutman, 193.

<sup>35</sup> Chuks-orji, 76.

Traditional African societies were very diverse, but a cultural feature shared by nearly all of them was the centrality of the family. The African family unit was often an extensive kinship network that integrated all who descended from a common ancestor. The multigenerational, extended family was the foundation for the survival and growth of the village, taking precedence over the conjugal family unit. The survival mechanisms of the extended family against the destabilizing societal impacts were found to have been employed by Anakah's descendants through the conglomeration of consanguineous kin nestled within a small area of northeast Panola County, Mississippi. This was the same area where they had been held in slavery by the Boyce and Bobo families (see figure 5). The 1870 Panola County Census enumerator recorded on sheets 121 to 134 the names of over one hundred descendants of Anakah living in this area.<sup>36</sup> Just as the family was the means of survival in Africa, this cluster of Anakah's descendants near Como, Mississippi just five years after slavery enabled them to acclimate to their arduous environment. Many of its members opted to remain in the area following Emancipation, indicating that the extended family of Anakah's descendants continuously provided moral, emotional, psychological, and economical support to its member and to the community during Reconstruction (1865-1877).

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<sup>36</sup> See Appendix B.

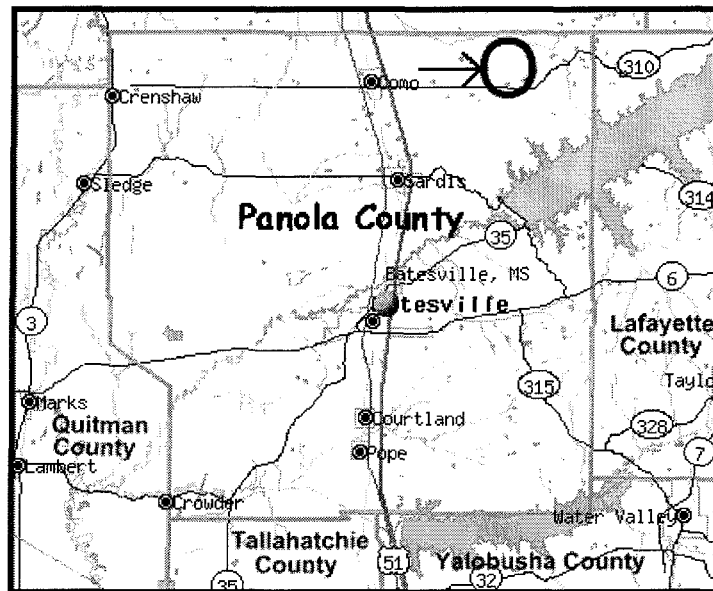


FIGURE 5. A map of Panola County, Mississippi denoting the area in the northeast part of the county where over one hundred direct descendants of Anakah resided during and after slavery. *Source:* Map by Tigger Mapping Service.

As previously emphasized, names and naming patterns were clear and common indications of the transference of West African cultural elements into the African-American community. They also revealed the high value placed on the extended family. However, those cultural traits were two of many other native customs that were transplanted into American society. An additional cultural trait found in the research of Dick's granddaughter, Louisa Bobo Danner, and her family included the practice of delaying the funeral of the deceased. This ritual was found to be rooted in West Africa. In reference to the burial of her husband, Louisa indicated this burial custom in her sworn deposition for a widow's pension from the federal government in 1898. She stated, "Giles Partee made his coffin. Mr. James Singleton, a neighbor, furnished the shroud.



Bro. Noah Caldwell preached the funeral the next spring.”<sup>37</sup> Edward Danner had died on September 15, 1876 from an illness he contracted during his Civil War service with the 59<sup>th</sup> Regiment Infantry of the United States Colored Troops. His family waited until the spring of 1877 to schedule his funeral. Conclusive evidence was not found to ascertain their reason for the nearly six-month delay. Nevertheless, Melville Herskovits contrasts the delayed funeral custom among enslaved African Americans with the funeral rituals of people throughout West Africa, particularly the people of the Dahomey region, an area that encompassed the present-day nation of Benin. He posits:

On the Southern plantations, the feelings of the slaves that proper attention be paid the requirements of the dead was in some measure respected. . . This, however, meant keeping alive the African tradition that the principal ritual take place some time after the actual interment, separating this, so to speak, from the funeral as such. The practice was encouraged by economic and social conditions under slavery; but it must be remembered that here, as in other forms of behavior previously considered, this situation merely tended to rework a tradition which, in such a manifestation as the Dahomean partial and definitive burials, is found widely spread throughout West Africa. . .<sup>38</sup>

From oral history, another West African cultural element found within the community of Anakah’s descendants in Mississippi was the custom of using plants, tree roots, and herbs as medicine by one of its members. Louisa Danner’s oldest son, James Danner, was known to be a root doctor. He made special concoctions using roots, herbs, and the bark obtained from the north side of a red oak tree that earned him the title of “The Doctor” in Panola County, Mississippi. Danner was especially known for producing a special salve that many family members and other community members obtained for their children during the fall and winter months to combat their colds. Not

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<sup>37</sup> Lue Danner, widow’s pension file, deposition A, in the case of Lue Danner alias Bobo, claim no. 452154, The National Archives, Washington, D.C.

<sup>38</sup> Herskovits, 201.

only were his concoctions desired by many African Americans in the Como, Sardis, and Senatobia, Mississippi areas, but whites would also secretly visit him for his remedies.<sup>39</sup>

When Africans were forcibly extracted from Africa, they brought with them their experience working with roots and herbs as healing agents. Principally due to slavery and the unavailability of some traditional African plants, the remedies of root doctors, who were also called conjurers, root workers, and herb doctors, were a combination of some Native American and European folk remedies and the extensive African knowledge of medicinal root use. Nevertheless, the art and practice of conjuring has remained African in its philosophy, purpose, techniques, and lore.<sup>40</sup> Africans with vast knowledge of the medicinal plants of their homeland learned by trial applications which plants in North America were functional for treating ailments such as cramps, colds, smallpox, wounds, worms, and many more.

A plethora of medicinal plants grows in Africa, and at least fourteen of them were in use in South Carolina and said to have some healing properties. Two of those plants, the jimson weed and the basil, were used by the Gullah people as a cold medicine and salve in low-country South Carolina. In the Fulani culture of West Africa, jimson weed was taken as a narcotic to spur courageous actions. Medicine produced from the basil plant was best known for antihelminthics.<sup>41</sup> Since both jimson weed and basil grow in most areas of the United States, including Mississippi, quite possibly James Danner used

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<sup>39</sup> This oral history was obtained in 1998 from elderly relatives, Isaac Deberry of Senatobia, Mississippi and Robert Danner of Memphis, Tennessee, who are decrepit as of October 2007. These accounts about James Danner were extracted from the notes of this researcher made during visits and numerous telephone conversations with these elderly relatives.

<sup>40</sup> Natalie Lewis, *Root Doctor*, in *Encyclopedia of Black Studies* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 2004), 422.

<sup>41</sup> Pollitzer, 102-103.

these plants to make his famous salve. Nonetheless, his knowledge and use of medicinal plants, roots, and herbs to produce a concoction when illness arose reflect an undeniable link between Africa and America.

Born into slavery in 1858 in Union County, South Carolina and separated the same year from his biological father Mack Ray,<sup>42</sup> James Danner was in all probability enculturated with the skills of herbal medicinary by his maternal family – second and third generation descendants of Anakah who heavily populated the Bobo and Boyce farms. Midwives were often the root doctors of the slave communities; therefore, Danner may have received his training from his maternal grandmother Mattie Clarissa Bobo, who was a midwife in the community before and after Emancipation.<sup>43</sup> Like root work, African-American midwifery was also deeply rooted in West Africa. African women transplanted their extensive knowledge of birth and medicinal botanical roots into American society. In many African cultures, one woman was commonly known as the midwife of the village.

The fact that many Africans in America retained some of their native customs and beliefs throughout the adversity of chattel slavery attests to the spiritual strength and vitality of West African belief systems – cultural elements passed down to the subsequent generations as demonstrated from the research of Anakah's family. Enslaved Africans in America unquestionably inculcated in their children some aspects of their West African cultures which prevailed down through the generations. American culture did not

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<sup>42</sup> Lue Danner, widow's pension file, deposition A, in the case of Lue Danner alias Bobo, claim no. 452154, The National Archives, Washington, D.C.

<sup>43</sup> Lue Danner, widow's pension file, deposition A, in the case of Lue Danner alias Bobo, claim no. 452154, The National Archives, Washington, D.C. Lue Danner stated in her deposition that her mother was the midwife who delivered all of her ten children who were born from 1858, during slavery, to 1876.

entirely annihilate West African customs. This fact was made evident by the West African influence in African-American customs practiced on farms and plantations throughout the South. Although American colonists attempted to dehumanize Africans by erasing the vestiges of Africa, the strength of the West African customs and the incredible resilience of the people simply would not allow a complete annihilation to prevail.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

An accepted presumption that continuously prevails in America is that connecting African American family lineages to specific regions in West and West-Central Africa outside of DNA technology is an incomprehensible task. As recent as February 2007, this misconception was reemphasized in Henry Louis Gates's *Finding Oprah's Roots*. Although Gates takes African-American genealogy further by bridging the gap between Oprah Winfrey's Mississippi roots to its West African homeland using DNA, he premised his latest publication on genealogist Johni Cerny's assertion that "it is virtually impossible to trace an African-American family back to its first ancestor, the person who was somehow dragged onto a slave ship in Africa, to identify them by name and tribe."<sup>1</sup> This thesis aimed to challenge the presumptions by linking a Mississippi family of South Carolina origins to specific regions of West Africa and its familial customs and belief systems maintained during slavery to West African practices.

Undoubtedly, many African-American families can not be traced back to their first African ancestors in America and the names of the African villages they were born. However, uncovering an African ancestor who was brought to America during the

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<sup>1</sup> Henry Louis Gates Jr., *Finding Oprah's Roots Finding Your Own* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2007), 154.

Middle Passage is very possible for a number of families, and a number of genealogists have recently been successful at this formidable task. From his famed novel *Roots: The Saga of an American Family* (1976), Alex Haley became well-renowned for connecting his West Tennessee family seven generations back to its Mandinka roots in the Gambia, the ancestral home of his ancestor, Kunta Kinte. Because of *Roots*, more African Americans desired to open the gateway to their family's past in an unprecedented movement. More recently, the records of the Catholic Church of southwest Louisiana enabled genealogist Cherryl Forbes to uncover an African ancestor, her fourth-great-grandfather Jean Louis, who was reported as being from the Congo nation of West-Central Africa in a 1834 notification of his demise at the age of seventy.<sup>2</sup>

The focus of this thesis was centered on a Mississippi family whose roots have been traced back to Anakah, an ancestor whose name hailed from West Africa. Anakah's actual birthplace, be it South Carolina or Africa, was not conclusively determined. The only source that noted her birthplace was the 1880 U.S. Federal Census. In that record, the Fairfield County, South Carolina census enumerator reported that the parents of eighty-year-old Isaac McCrorey, Anakah's last surviving child, were both born in South Carolina.<sup>3</sup> The absence of other sources prevented a definitive conclusion concerning Anakah's actual birthplace from being drawn. However, connecting her family origins to two regions of West Africa was indeed accomplishable despite the plethora of obstacles set forth by slavery.

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<sup>2</sup> Donald J. Hebert, *Southwest Louisiana Records* Vol. 5 (Eunice, LA: Herbert Publications, 1974), 38.

<sup>3</sup> 1880 U.S. Federal Census, population schedule, Fairfield County, South Carolina, Enumeration District 69, sheet 36, family 287, Ike McCrorey household; National Archives microfilm publication T9, roll 1229; digital image, Ancestry.com, <http://www.ancestry.com>, accessed 12 January 2007.

American chattel slavery greatly altered the lives of enslaved Africans and inevitably transformed the lives of their offspring in many damaging ways. The dehumanizing aspects of slavery permitted a destruction of most ancestral customs brought by Africans to the New World. American slave codes were passed by state legislatures that discouraged the continuity of African social and cultural patterns. Shaped by Europeans who deemed Africans as culturally inferior, the comprehensive South Carolina Negro Act of 1740 prohibited Africans from receiving an education; this consequently prevented most enslaved people from leaving their own written accounts of their history. These slave codes also prohibited Africans from gathering with other Africans, especially of similar ethnic backgrounds.

These South Carolina laws were proposed in the aftermath of the Stono Rebellion of 1739, when a group of twenty South Carolinian Africans, mostly comprised of Angolans, staged the largest slave uprising during the colonial period. These stringently enforced codes remained largely unaltered until emancipation in 1865. Section XXXVI of the South Carolina Negro Act, which further prevented the use of ancestral musical instruments by enslaved Africans to discourage communication, stated the following:

And for that as it is absolutely necessary to the safety of this Province, that all due care be taken to restrain the wanderings and meetings of negroes and other slaves, at all times, and more especially on Saturday nights, Sundays and other holidays, and the using and carrying wooden swords, and other mischievous and dangerous weapons, or using and keeping of drums, horns, or other loud instruments, which may call together or give sign or notice to one another of their wicked designs and purposes. . .<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Law Library - American Law and Legal Information, "South Carolina Slave Code," available from <http://law.jrank.org/pages/11669/South-Carolina-Slave-Code-South-Carolina-Slave-Code.html>; Internet; accessed 24 November 2007.

Even more devastating, the institution of chattel slavery often dismantled enslaved family structures that were formed on plantations and farms throughout the South. Many enslaved children were sold to other owners at young ages, forever separating them from parents and grandparents who could have passed on some knowledge of their African ancestral backgrounds. Additionally, America systematically failed to record great details concerning imported Africans into the country; this deliberate failure continued throughout the many decades chattel slavery prevailed and left minimal records concerning African Americans and their African roots. Western societal ideologies, which characterized Africa as an uncivilized continent and African people as savages, further facilitated the obliteration of many African ancestral customs and further suppressed knowledge of the African roots for many African-American families.

Consequently, this created a significant gap between people of African descent in America and their African origins. For most African-American families, identifying the specific villages in Africa where their ancestors were born, the names of specific slave ships that contained their African ancestors, and the actual dates and places of arrival in America is not achievable in many cases. Few records give ample detailed information to obtain specificity. Additionally, very few African-American families possess rich oral histories that connect them to a village in Africa. Despite the difficulties created by chattel slavery, this research promoted a search for African identities, combating the presumptions of connecting African-American families to West Africa. Through the utilization of available records, this research demonstrated how analytical research can



lead to hidden clues and a preponderance of evidence to still connect people of African descent during the eighteenth century to their African homelands.

This thesis entailed an African-American family whose ancestors were enslaved in South Carolina. Genealogical research methods enabled this researcher to trace this family through oral histories and in-depth analysis of federal, state, and local records. Pertinent records were located that identified enslaved family members and their enslavers back into the eighteenth century. Uncovering these genealogical findings was imperative in order to further facilitate this research. The eighteenth century time frame is also of paramount importance for families with South Carolinian ancestors, as many families were just one to three generations from the first Africans transported into Charleston, South Carolina during this time frame. Many South Carolina planters began to import Africans into the state in significant numbers from the beginning of the eighteenth century.<sup>5</sup> Scholars currently estimate that over eighty percent of all Africans brought to North America came directly from Africa.<sup>6</sup>

Genealogist and historian Dr. Dee Parmer Woodtor contends that the use of African names serves as a hidden clue of the continuance of African practices and was one of the most obvious links to Africa. She further asserts that the name itself may not indicate the African ethnic origins of an enslaved person of African descent.<sup>7</sup> However, recent scholarship by John Baker, who researched the origins of the people enslaved on Wessyngton Plantation in Robertson County, Tennessee, has found that a number of

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<sup>5</sup> Kenneth Morgan, "Slave Sales in Colonial Charleston," *The English Historical Review* 113, no. 453 (1998): 905-906.

<sup>6</sup> Dee Parmer Woodtor, *Finding a Place Called Home: A Guide to African-American Genealogy and Historical Identity* (New York: Random House, 1999), 342.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

enslaved people bearing African names that are traced to a specific ethnic group may actually descend from that group. This revelation was uncovered through modern DNA technology that confirmed definitive links between those African name-bearing people on Wessyngton Plantation to the West African regions where their names originated and the ethnic groups who commonly used those names.

Upon the discovery of Anakah as a direct ancestor who was enslaved in Fairfield County, South Carolina, this researcher initially discovered that a variant of her name was found in the Vai language commonly spoken by the Vai, Mende, and Gola peoples of northwestern Liberia and contiguous parts of eastern Sierra Leone. Linguistics expert Dr. Lorenzo Dow Turner identified *Anika* as an African female name that means “she is beautiful” in the Vai language and was used among the Gullah people of South Carolina.<sup>8</sup> However, further investigation of this name for this thesis revealed that the name *Anakah* (*Anika*, *Annika*, *Annica*) was also used among the Efik and Hausa ethnic groups of Nigeria. In addition, the research of Anakah’s descendants in Newberry County, South Carolina also uncovered the use of a regionally uncommon surname that was found to be phonetically similar to another Nigerian ethnic group. Anakah’s oldest daughter, Easter, and some of her offspring chose the name *Quilla* for their surname – a name not affiliated with any slave-owners in South Carolina and surrounding states. *Quilla* bears a phonetic resemblance to *Kwale*, a region in southern Nigeria inhabited by the Kwale Igbo people,

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<sup>8</sup> Lorenzo Dow Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1949), 52.

a branch of the larger Igbo ethnic group. The Efik people of southern Nigeria are a branch of the Ibibio group who share many customs with their western Igbo neighbors.<sup>9</sup>

As a result, these later onomastic findings suggest that Anakah's paternal or maternal family origins probably stem from one of two regions, the eastern Sierra Leone/northwestern Liberia area or southern Nigeria. No additional information was found to definitively identify one region; however, because so few Africans from the Bight of Biafra region – which encompassed southern Nigeria – were transported into South Carolina, slave trade importation statistics suggest that the chances that her family originated from the eastern Sierra Leone/northwestern Liberia region is statistically much higher compared to Nigerian origins. South Carolina planters preferred Africans from the Sierra Leone and Windward Coast region, which encompassed present-day Liberia and Ivory Coast, and they constituted the second largest group of Africans transported into that state during the eighteenth century.<sup>10</sup> Although this research yielded two possible regions for the West African origins of Anakah's family, it nonetheless displayed how definitive links to specific West African regions can be plausibly asserted in some families through in-depth, historical analysis.

Contemporary scholarship on enslaved families by several sociologists and historians has consistently shown that many of their familial customs can be traced to West African cultures. Melville Herskovits pioneered the study of African retentions in African-American culture in *The Myth of the Negro Past* (1941). Herskovits's

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<sup>9</sup> P. Amaury Talbot, "Some Ibibio Customs and Beliefs," *Journal of the Royal African Society* 13, no. 51 (1914): 242.

<sup>10</sup> Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 157.

affirmation of Africanisms in the New World was the basis for later studies on African survivals in African-American culture. For this research, the documentation of African retentions among Anakah and her enslaved descendants in South Carolina and Mississippi was the second primary goal. An analysis of primary sources that included wills, estate records, census records, and other federal, state, and local records not only uncovered obvious naming patterns that mirrored West African customs, but the research of these primary sources also revealed a number of cultural traits that are African in origins.

While the research findings undoubtedly reflected a persistence of African cultural elements within Anakah's family, these African retentions could not be traced to just one African ethnic group and region. Therefore, they can not serve as conclusive evidence to adequately identify the West African origins of Anakah's family or any African-American family. As shown in chapter five, many familial customs and practices that were transplanted into slave communities were universal throughout West Africa. Nevertheless, documenting these Africanisms served as an integral part of successfully bridging the gap between Anakah and her family in America to West Africa.

## Appendix A

Easter Quiller and some of her descendants reported in the 1870 U.S. Federal Census of Newberry County, South Carolina and Dallas County, Alabama

## 1870 Census: Newberry County, South Carolina

Sheet #	Households	Age	Sex	Color	Occupation	Place of birth
509	Brown, Jack	50	M	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	" Amelia	53	F	B	Keeping house	South Carolina
	" Jack	13	M	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	" Nider	11	F	B	At home	South Carolina
	" Betty	7	F	B		South Carolina
	" Philip	4	M	B		South Carolina
	" Easter	7m	F	B		South Carolina
	Moon, Lucey	85	F	B		Virginia
	Mayes, David	17	M	B		South Carolina
524	Epps, Mack	25	M	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	" Martha (Quiller)	20	F	B	Domestic servant	South Carolina
	" Ross	2	M	B	-	South Carolina
	" Illa	3m	F	B	-	South Carolina
524	Quilla, President	25	M	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	" Nancy	23	F	Mu	-	South Carolina
	" Jimmy	4m	M	B	-	South Carolina
524	Quiller, Robert	70	M	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	" Rose	65	M	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	Epps, Susan	21	F	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	" Sarah	3	F	B	-	South Carolina
	Quiller, Joseph	18	M	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	" Squire	15	M	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	" EASTER	89	F	B	-	South Carolina
524	Alexander, Eliza	53	F	B	Domestic servant	South Carolina
528	Quiller, Anthony	29	M	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	" Malinda	26	F	B	" "	South Carolina
	" Martha J.	12	F	B		South Carolina
	" Susie	9	F	B		South Carolina
	" Palina	5	F	B		South Carolina
	" Jess	2	M	B		South Carolina
532	Reid, Pinckney	50	M	B		South Carolina
	" Anna ("Anacky")	50	F	B	Keeping house	South Carolina
	" Mary	22	F	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	" Martha	21	F	B	" "	South Carolina
	" Gamewell	19	M	B	" "	South Carolina
	" Levi	13	M	B	" "	South Carolina
	" Emma	9	F	B		South Carolina

	" Lizzy	1	F	B		South Carolina
537	Eppes, Alfred	38	M	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	" Palina	30	F	B	Keeping house	South Carolina
	" Evaline	14	F	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	" Nathan	5	M	B		South Carolina
	" Ida	4	F	B		South Carolina
	" Will	1	M	B		South Carolina
	" Finger	2	M	B		South Carolina
537	Law, Washington	49	M	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	" Aggie	27	F	B		South Carolina
	" President	10	M	B		South Carolina
	" Perry	8	M	B		South Carolina
	" Aaron	6	M	B		South Carolina
	" Patsey	4	F	B		South Carolina
	" Munroe	2	F	B		South Carolina
537	Eppes, Sim	40	M	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	" Silla	28	F	B		South Carolina
	" Carrie	12	F	M		South Carolina
	" Fletcher	14	M	B		South Carolina
	" Richard	6	M	B		South Carolina
	" Sarah	4	F	B		South Carolina
	" Lilla	2	F	B		South Carolina
	" Hannah	75	F	B		South Carolina
	" George	14	M	B		South Carolina
	" Caroline	5	F	B		South Carolina
538	Eppes, Coleman	25	M	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
538	Eppes, Molly ("Mary")	65	F	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	" Gamewell	17	M	B	" "	South Carolina
	" Milton	13	M	B	" "	South Carolina
	" Rosa	13	F	B	" "	South Carolina
538	Eppes, Hesakiah	35	M	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	" Laura A.	37	F	B	Keeping house	South Carolina
	" Ike	18	M	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	" Charlotte	16	F	B		South Carolina
	" Job	11	M	B		South Carolina
** 76	Quillar, Robert	30	M	B	Farmer	South Carolina
	" Mandany	26	F	B		South Carolina
	" Jessey	10	M	B		South Carolina
	" Jefferson D.	8	M	B		South Carolina

Note: Robert Quillar was reported in Laurens County, which was less than ten miles from the Cromers District of Newberry County.

## 1870 Census: Dallas County, Alabama, City of Selma

Sheet #	Households	Age	Sex	Color	Occupation	Place of birth
449	Quilla, Isaac	63	M	B	Laborer	South Carolina
	" Cora	38	F	B	Laundress	Alabama

*Source:* 1870 U.S. Federal Census, population schedule, Cromers, Newberry County, South Carolina, sheets 509-538, National Archives microfilm publication M593, roll 1504, digital image, Ancestry.com, <http://www.ancestry.com> (accessed 16 January 2007); 1870 U.S. Federal Census, population schedule, Selma, Dallas County, Alabama, sheet 697, family 358, Isaac Quilla household, National Archives microfilm publication M593, roll 14, digital image, Ancestry.com, <http://www.ancestry.com> (accessed 16 January 2007); 1870 U.S. Federal Census, population schedule, Jacks, Laurens County, South Carolina, sheet 76, family 72, Robert Quillar household, National Archives microfilm publication M593, roll 1501, digital image, Ancestry.com, <http://www.ancestry.com> (accessed 16 January 2007).

Note: There were probably more descendants of Easter Quiller in Newberry and Laurens County, South Carolina in 1870 with other surnames unknown to this researcher.

## Appendix B

Some of the descendants of Dick and Bess reported in the 1870 and 1880 U.S. Federal Censuses of Panola and Tate County, Mississippi

## 1870 U.S. Federal Census: Panola County, Mississippi, Como District

Sheet #	Households	Age	Sex	Color	Occupation	Place of birth
121	Ramsey, Albert	35	M	M	Farmer	South Carolina
	" Lucindy	40	F	B	Farm laborer	Mississippi
	" Lewis	12	M	M	-	Mississippi
	" Haywood	14	M	M	-	Mississippi
121	Boice, Benjamin	38	M	B	Farmer	South Carolina
	" Maria	25	F	B	Farm laborer	Mississippi
	" July	7	F	B	-	Mississippi
	" Charles	6	M	B	-	Mississippi
	" Joseph	1	M	B	-	Mississippi
	" Mary	24	F	B	-	Mississippi
121	Ramsey, Richard	24	M	B	Farmer	South Carolina
	" Lydia	23	F	B	-	Mississippi
	" Sarah	4	F	B	-	Mississippi
	" Jeff	24	M	B	-	Mississippi
	" Jane	25	F	B	-	Mississippi
	" Frank	3	M	B	-	Mississippi
	" <i>unnamed</i>	3m	F	B	-	Mississippi
121	Boice, Caroline	50	M	B	-	South Carolina
	" Jennie	46	F	B	-	South Carolina
	" Miles	21	M	B	-	Mississippi
	" Frank	38	M	B	-	Mississippi
	" Thomas	16	M	B	-	Mississippi
	" Fannie	6	F	B	-	Mississippi
122	Boice, Levi	24	M	B	Farming	Mississippi
	" Anna	24	F	B	Farm laborer	Mississippi
	" Jesie	6	F	B	-	Mississippi
	" John	3	M	B	-	Mississippi
	" Samuel	1	M	B	-	Mississippi
125	Locket, Wash	29	M	B	Farmer	Georgia
	" Kate	22	F	M	Keep house	Mississippi
	" Annie	3	F	M	-	Mississippi
	" Henry	2	M	M	-	Mississippi
	Campbell, Easter	50	F	M	-	South Carolina
	" Ellen	15	F	M	-	Mississippi
	" Dock	12	M	M	-	Mississippi
	" Armstead	5	M	B	-	Mississippi
	" Washington	3	M	B	-	Mississippi
125	Campbell, Robert	42	M	B	Farmer	South Carolina



	" Flora	34	F	B	Keep house	Tennessee
	" Mildred	22	F	B	Farm laborer	Mississippi
	" Mary	15	F	B	-	Mississippi
	" Phillip	8	M	B	-	Mississippi
	" Julia	6	F	B	-	Mississippi
	" Easter	3	F	B	-	Mississippi
	" Robert	2m	M	B	-	Mississippi
127	Bobo, Alick	35	M	B	Farmer	Mississippi
	" Martha	26	F	B	Farm laborer	Mississippi
	" Henry	1	M	B	-	Mississippi
127	Bobo, Burel	30	M	B	Farmer	Mississippi
	" Molly	25	F	B	Farm laborer	Mississippi
128	Bobo, Clarisa	55	F	B	Farm labor	South Carolina
	" Caroline	18	F	B	Farm labor	Mississippi
	" Dock	15	M	B	Farm labor	Mississippi
	" Frank	16	M	B	Farm labor	Mississippi
	" Allice	8	F	B	-	Mississippi
	" Dick	3	M	B	-	Mississippi
	" Annie	1	F	B	-	Mississippi
128	Bobo, Ben	25	M	B	Farmer	South Carolina
	" Eliza	25	F	M	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	" Jimmie	8	M	M	-	Mississippi
	" Lucy	5	F	M	-	Mississippi
	" Hannah	2	F	B	-	Mississippi
	" Sally	5m	F	B	-	Mississippi
128	Boice, Isaac	54	M	B	Farmer	South Carolina
	" Ann	45	F	B	-	South Carolina
	" Isaac Jr.	25	M	B	-	Mississippi
	" Caroline	17	F	B	-	Mississippi
	" Shed	10	M	B	-	Mississippi
	" Kate	12	F	B	-	Mississippi
	" Thomas	7	M	B	-	Mississippi
	" Bettie	3	F	B	-	Mississippi
128	Bobo, Washington	45	M	B	Farmer	Mississippi
	" Annie	45	M	B	-	Mississippi
	" Richard	18	M	B	-	Mississippi
	" Sally	16	F	B	-	Mississippi
	" Glen	13	M	B	-	Mississippi
	" Amandy	12	F	B	-	Mississippi
	" Rosa	8	F	B	-	Mississippi
	" Martha	3	F	B	-	Mississippi
129	Boice, Richard	30	M	B	Farm labor	South Carolina
	" Tenn	30	F	B	-	South Carolina
	" Joseph	14	M	B	-	Mississippi
	" James	5	M	B	-	Mississippi
131	Rice, Simson	28	M	B	Farmer	South Carolina
	" Nancy (Boyce)	25	F	B	Farm labor	Mississippi
	" Annie	2	F	B	-	Mississippi
	" Dora	1	F	B	-	Mississippi
	" <i>unnamed</i>	6m	M	B	-	Mississippi
131	Wilson, John	38	M	M	Farmer	South Carolina
	" Mariah	39	F	M	Farm labor	South Carolina
	" Ann	19	F	M	At home	Mississippi

	" Addie	15	F	M	-	Mississippi
	" Gibson	14	M	M	-	Mississippi
	" Hudson	12	M	M	-	Mississippi
	" Yinsey	6	M	M	-	Mississippi
	" Malindy	3	F	M	-	Mississippi
132	Rennick, Dave	35	M	M	Farmer	South Carolina
	" Lizzie	20	F	M	Farm laborer	Mississippi
	" Silas	12	M	M	" "	Mississippi
	" Mary	6	F	M	" "	Mississippi
	" Mariah	3	F	M	" "	Mississippi
	" Charlotte	2	F	M	" "	Mississippi
	" Glen	5	M	M	" "	Mississippi
	" <i>unnamed</i>	4m	F	M	" "	Mississippi
132	Danner, Edward	35	M	B	Farmer	South Carolina
	" Louisa	29	F	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	" James	15	M	B	" "	Mississippi
	" Mack	14	M	B	" "	Mississippi
	" Mary	4	F	B		Mississippi
	" Martha	2	F	B		Mississippi
	" Alfred	11	M	B	At school	Mississippi
	" <i>unnamed</i>	1m	F	B	-	Mississippi
133	Maize, Julius	60	M	B	Farmer	South Carolina
	" Millie	80	F	B	Keeping house	Virginia
	Boice, Palina	35	F	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	" Albert	18	M	B	Not employed	Mississippi
	" Wiley	15	M	B	Farm labor	Mississippi
	" James	13	M	B	Farm labor	Mississippi
	" Joella	8	F	B		Mississippi
	" Mattie	7	F	B		Mississippi
	" Frances	6	F	B		Mississippi
133	Abrams, Gus	30	M	M	Farmer	Mississippi
	" Harriet (Williams)	25	F	M	Farm laborer	Mississippi
	" William	3	M	B		Mississippi
	" Emma	2	F	B		Mississippi
	" Molly	1m	F	M		Mississippi
133	Stewart, Ben	32	M	M	Farmer	South Carolina
	" Louisa (Williams)	32	F	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	" Lewis	15	M	M	Farm laborer	Mississippi
	" Rosanna	13	F	B	Farm laborer	Mississippi
	" Molly	12	F	B	Farm laborer	Mississippi
	" Lizzie	5	F	B	-	Mississippi
	" Prisie	3	F	B	-	Mississippi
	" Matildy	5m	F	B	-	Mississippi
133	Williams, Jeff	60	M	B	Farmer	South Carolina
	" Prisa	47	F	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	" Thomas	29	M	B	-	Mississippi
	" Molly	25	F	M	-	Mississippi
	" Gus	3m	M	M	-	Mississippi
	" Turner	16	M	B	-	Mississippi
	" Arnold	17	M	B	-	Mississippi
	" Julia	25	F	B	-	Mississippi
	" Dolly	19	F	B	-	Mississippi
	" Lewis	10	M	B	-	Mississippi

	" Archie	5	M	B	-	Mississippi
	" Willis	6	M	B	-	Mississippi
	" Jane	24	F	M	-	Mississippi
133	Boice, Thomas	35	M	B	Farmer	Mississippi
	" Annie	6	F	B	-	Mississippi
	" Jeff	3	M	B	-	Mississippi
	" <i>unnamed</i>	1	F	B	-	Mississippi
134	Boice, Dick	35	M	B	-	South Carolina
	" Dorcas	30	F	B	-	South Carolina
	" Phillis	9	F	B	-	Mississippi
	" Leonard	6	M	B	-	Mississippi
	" <i>unnamed</i>	7m	F	B	-	Mississippi

1880 U.S. Federal Census: Tate County, Mississippi  
(Additional descendants not found in the 1870 Census)

Sheet #	Households	Color	Sex	Age	Relation	Occupation	Birth
169	Boyce, Mack	B	M	35	Head	Farmer	Miss.
	" Creasa	B	F	25	Wife	Keeping house	Miss.
	" John	B	M	8	Son	-	Miss.
	" Ben	B	M	5	Son	-	Miss.
	" Sallie	B	F	4	Daughter	-	Miss.
	" Allie	B	F	2	Daughter	-	Miss.
169	Boyce, Tony	B	M	64	Head	Farmer	S.C.
	" Lucy	B	F	40	Wife	Keeping house	Va.
	" Frances	B	F	11	Daughter	-	Miss.
	" Martha	B	F	9	Granddaughter	-	Miss.
169	Rice, Simpson	B	M	59	Head	Farmer	S.C.
	" Nancy (Boyce)	B	F	38	Wife	Keep house	S.C.
	" Anna	B	F	14	Daughter	-	Miss.
	" Dora	B	F	12	Daughter	-	Miss.
	" Tony	B	M	10	Son	-	Miss.
	" Louisa	B	F	8	Daughter	-	Miss.
	" Alice	B	F	6	Daughter	-	Miss.
	" Rosalle	B	F	3	Daughter	-	Miss.
294	Boyce, Harvey	B	M	34	Head	Farmer	S.C.
	" Patsey	B	F	36	Wife	Housekeeper	S.C.
	" Thomas	B	M	17	Son	-	Miss.
	" Ada	B	F	8	Daughter	-	Miss.
	" Richard	B	M	6	Son	-	Miss.
	" John	B	M	3	Son	-	Miss.
	" Carrie	B	F	7m	Daughter	-	Miss.
313	Bobo, Clarissa	B	F	55	Head	Keep house	S.C.
	" William	B	M	24	Son	-	Miss.
	" Lucy	B	F	20	Daughter	-	Miss.
	" Georgia	B	F	5	Daughter	-	Miss.
	" Richard	B	M	17	Son	Farmer	Miss.
	" Ann	B	F	15	Daughter	Farm laborer	Miss.
	" Charles	B	M	12	Son	" "	Miss.
	" Viney	B	F	3	Daughter	-	Miss.
	Stewart, Clabe	M	M	19	Servant	-	Miss.
314	Bobo, Eli	M	M	35	Head	Farmer	S.C.
	" Lettie	M	F	22	Wife	Keep house	Va.
	" Barham	M	M	9	Son	-	Miss.
	" Julia	M	F	7	Daughter	-	Miss.
	" Martha	M	F	5	Daughter	-	Miss.
	Willis, Julia	M	F	60	Mother-in-law	-	Va.
314	Bobo, Giles	M	M	33	Head	Farmer	S.C.
	" Lizzie	M	F	28	Wife	Keep house	S.C.
	" Turner	M	M	11	Son	At school	Miss.
	" Willie	M	M	9	Son	At school	Miss.
	" James	M	M	7	Son	-	Miss.
	" Giles	M	M	2	Son	-	Miss.
	" Alex	M	M	6m	Son	-	Miss.

1880 U.S. Federal Census: Panola County, Mississippi  
(Additional descendants not found in the 1870 Census)

Sheet #		Color	Sex	Age	Relationship	Occupation	Birth
50	Taylor, Hillus	B	M	30	Head	Farmer	Miss.
	" Mariah	B	F	28	Wife	Farm labor	Miss.
	" Cora	B	F	9	Daughter	-	Miss.
	" Elvira	B	F	7	Daughter	-	Miss.
	" Isaiah	B	M	4	Son	-	Miss.
	" Eddie	B	M	2	Son	-	Miss.
	" John	B	M	3m	Son	-	Miss.
64	Bobo, Alice	B	F	23	Head	Farm labor	Miss.
	" Eugenia	B	F	4	Daughter	-	Miss.
	" Mack	B	M	2	Son	-	Miss.
64	Bobo, Jennie	B	F	32	Head	Farm labor	S.C.
	" Margaret	B	F	14	Daughter	Farm labor	Miss.
	" Jimmie	B	M	8	Son	-	Miss.
	" Mattie	B	F	4	Daughter	-	Miss.
	" William	B	M	1	Son	-	Miss.
67	Bobo, Hezekiah	B	M	27	Head	Farmer	S.C.
	" Mariah	B	F	22	Wife	-	Miss.
	" Alick	B	M	11m	Son	-	Miss.

*Sources:* 1870 U.S. Federal Census, population schedule, Como, Panola County, Mississippi, sheets 121-134, National Archives microfilm publication M593, roll 747; digital image, Ancestry.com, <http://www.ancestry.com> (accessed 28 July 2006); 1880 U.S. Federal Census, population schedule, Senatobia and Looxahoma, Tate County, Mississippi, sheets 169-314, National Archives microfilm publication T9, roll 665; digital image, Ancestry.com, <http://www.ancestry.com> (accessed 28 July 2006). Eli and Giles Bobo are the sons of Mattie Clarissa Bobo; 1880 U.S. Federal Census, population schedule, Como, Panola County, Mississippi, sheets 64-67, National Archives microfilm publication T9, roll 661; digital image, Ancestry.com, <http://www.ancestry.com> (accessed 28 July 2006). Alice, Jennie, and Hezekiah Bobo are children of Mattie Clarissa Bobo.

## Appendix C

Isaac McCrorey and some of his descendants reported in the 1870 U.S. Federal Census of Fairfield County, South Carolina

## 1870 U.S. Federal Census: Fairfield County, South Carolina

Sheet #		Age	Sex	Color	Occupation	Place of birth
63	McCrary, Dolly	20	F	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	“ Edward	6	M	B	-	South Carolina
	“ Peggy	4	F	B	-	South Carolina
63	McCrary, Isaac	65	M	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	“ Louise	60	F	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	“ Jane	22	F	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	“ John	1	M	B	-	South Carolina
	“ Dock	20	M	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
63	McCrary, Sarah	45	F	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	“ Alfred	17	M	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	“ Washington	15	M	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	“ John	13	M	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	“ Mary	11	F	B	-	South Carolina
	“ Elizabeth	9	F	B	-	South Carolina
	“ Richard	4	M	B	-	South Carolina
63	McCrary, Washington	22	M	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	“ Louisa	18	F	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	“ Elizabeth	2	F	B	-	South Carolina
65	McCrary, Henry	30	M	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	“ Nancy	30	F	B	Farm laborer	South Carolina
	“ Mary	10	F	B	-	South Carolina
	“ Henry	8	M	B	-	South Carolina
	“ Jane	6	F	B	-	South Carolina
	“ Robert	1	F	B	-	South Carolina

*Source:* 1870 U.S. Federal Census, population schedule, Township 3, Fairfield County, South Carolina, sheets 63-65, National Archives microfilm publication M593, roll 1496; digital image, Ancestry.com, <http://www.ancestry.com> (accessed 12 January 2007). There were probably more descendants of Isaac McCrorey in Fairfield County, South Carolina in 1870 with other surnames unknown to this researcher.

1880 U.S. Federal Census: Fairfield County, South Carolina  
(Additional descendants not found in the 1870 Census)

Sheet #	Households	Color	Sex	Age	Relation	Occupation	Birth
101	McCrorey, Robert	B	M	30	Head	Farmer	S.C.
	" Elizia	B	F	27	Wife	Field hand	S.C.
	" Lou	B	F	14	Daughter	-	S.C.
	" Frank	B	M	10	Son	Field hand	S.C.
	" Mary	B	M	8	Daughter	At home	S.C.
	" Paul	B	M	29	Brother	Field hand	S.C.
	" Edward	B	M	16	Nephew	Field hand	S.C.

*Source:* 1880 U.S. Federal Census, population schedule, Fairfield County, South Carolina, Enumeration District 69, sheet 101, family 273, Robert McCrorey household; National Archives microfilm publication T9, roll 1229; digital image, Ancestry.com, <http://www.ancestry.com> (accessed 12 January 2007).

## Appendix D

Bills of sale showing the transference of Agnes Turner Boyce's slaves from her daughter, Mrs. Mary M. Boyce Bobo, to and from Mary's son, Barham F. Bobo, Panola County, Mississippi, December 31, 1857

**Barham F. Bobo to M. M. Bobo**

This indenture made the thirty first day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty seven between Barham F. Bobo of the State of Mississippi and Panola County of the first part and Mrs. M. M. Bobo of the same state and county of the second part witnesseth. That whereas the parties to these presents did on the 2<sup>nd</sup> day of May A.D. 1855 purchase of **Agnes Boyce** certain lands, negroes as will more fully appear by reference to the deed of conveyance of the above dates. Now therefore I, Barham F. Bobo, in consideration of certain negroes and lands to me conveyed on this day by the said M. M. Bobo do hereby sell deed release and convey unto my mother the said M. M. Bobo the following named negroes to wit: **Jeff, Prissy, Arnold, Lou, Jane, Judy, Harriet, Tom, Dolly, Jennie, Charles, Ben, Esther, Charlotte, Eugina and Eudora, Philip, Sam, Frank, Andrew, Alfred, Julius, Milly, Miles, Mary & Paulina** and children, **Ker, Jim, and Albert** to have and to hold the above named negroes to her the party of the second part her heirs and assigns forever.

In testimony where of I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal the day and date first above written.

B.F. Bobo (seal)

**Mrs. M. M. Bobo to B. F. Bobo**

This indenture made the thirty first day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty seven between Mrs. M. M. Bobo of Panola County and State of Mississippi of the first part and Barham F. Bobo her son of the same county and state of the second part witnesseth. That whereas on the 2<sup>nd</sup> day of May A.D. 1855 the parties to there presents did purchase of **Mrs. Agnes Boyce** in their joint name the east half of section thirty three (33) and all of section thirty four (34) in Township No. 6 of Range no. six (6) west of the Chickasaw Meridian and all the slaves except **Eliza and Mariah** and **her children Ann and Add** together with the mules horses plantation tools and as will more fully appear by reference to the deed bearing date as above now therefore I, M.M. Bobo, in consideration of certain negroes and other property set forth and described in a deed of conveyance of this date made by the said Barham F. Bobo to me, do hereby sell deed and convey unto my son Barham F. Bobo the following described negroes to wit: **Toney, Patsey, William, Nancy, John, Mack, Eliza, Anthony, Martha, Isaac, Wat, Anna** and child, **Robert, Lizzie, Richard, Henry, Sally, Burwell, Elick, and Joe** to have and to hold the above described and above named negroes to his own proper use....

In testimony where of I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal the day and date first above written.

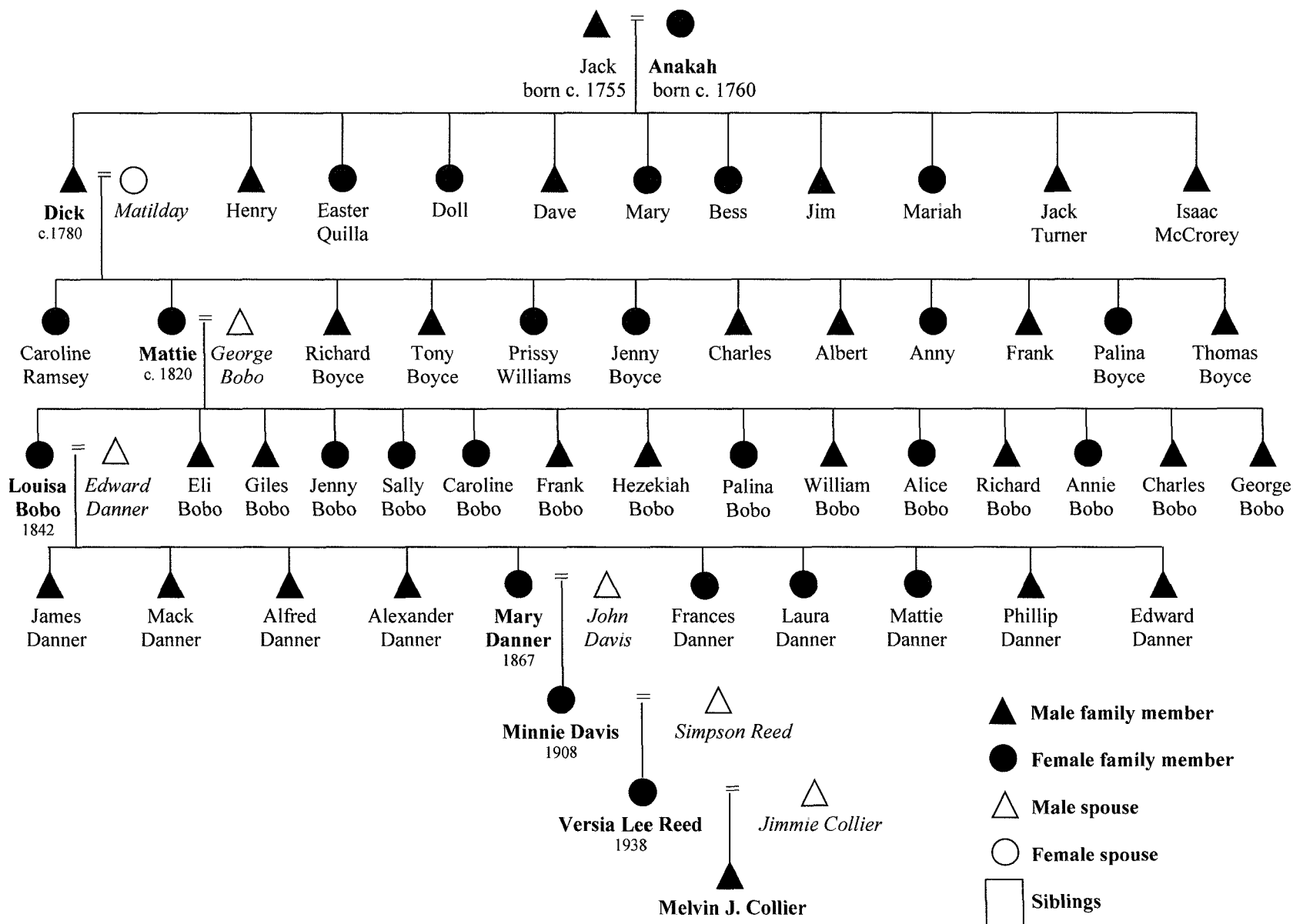
Mary M. Bobo (seal)

*Source:* Panola County, Mississippi Deed Records, Deed & Bill and Sale of Slaves, Mary M. Boyce Bobo to Barham Bobo, December 31, 1857, Deed Book L, page 524-544, microfilm, no. 14337, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi.



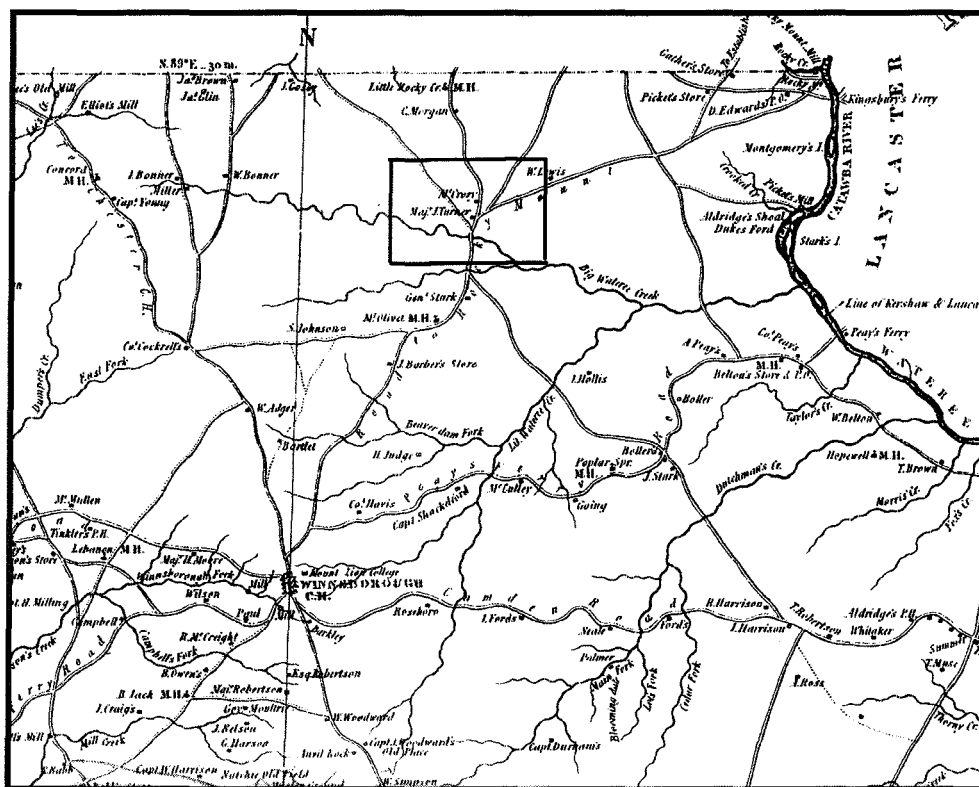
# Appendix E

## Descendancy Diagram of Anakah's Family



## Appendix F

## 1820 Map of Fairfield County, South Carolina



Source: Fairfield County Archives, Winnsboro, South Carolina.

Note: Captain John Turner had been such a known figure throughout Fairfield County, that his residence was noted on an 1820 Fairfield County map, thirteen years after his demise. Anakah and her family were enslaved on his plantation, which was located eight miles northeast of present-day Winnsboro, South Carolina.

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