

INDIGO CULTURE IN SOUTH CAROLINA, 1740 – 1800

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South Carolina is one of the states of United States of America. Its frontiers were North Carolina in the north, Atlantic Ocean in the east, Georgia in the South and south west.¹ The state situated in the south eastern side of the country. It was triangular in shape and the area of the state is 31,113 square miles. As per area it is the smallest of the Deep South States. In sixteenth century European accounts, South Carolina was recorded as Chicora. From north to south it has 225 miles and 285 from east to west. Geographically the state has five divisions which were coastal zone, coastal plain, sand hills, piedmont, and Blue Ridge.²

The principal rivers of the state are Savannah, Congaree, Santee, Wateree, Catawba, Saluda, Pee Dee, Edisto and Waccamaw. Among these rivers Savannah divides the South Carolina from Georgia.³ The state has subtropical climate its average temperature between 80° to 44° Fahrenheit. The coastal has number of natural harbours among these Winyah Bay, Charleston Harbour, and Port Royal Sound were important ports. The second one is the primary port since seventeenth century.⁴

I. Importance of Indigo and its Early Cultivation in South Carolina: -

In the beginning the European cloth manufacturers used domestic woad (*Isatis Tinctoria*) for colouring the cloths. Since sixteenth century they sought for the plant *indigofera* or indigo. It was also the colonial ambition of the European powers.⁵ Eventually they got indigo in seventeenth century which replaced ineffective woad.⁶ Hereafter indigo became the principal blue dye to the

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¹ William Gilmore Simms, *The Geography of the State of South Carolina* (Charleston: Babcock & Co, 1843), p. 9.

² Walter Edgar, *South Carolina – A History* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), pp. 1-10.

³ William Gilmore Simms, *The Geography of the State of South Carolina*, p. 12.

⁴ Walter Edgar, *South Carolina – A History*, pp. 2-5.

⁵ David L. Coon, "Eliza Lucas Pinckney and the Reintroduction of Indigo Culture in South Carolina", *The Journal of Southern History* vol. 42, no. 1 (1976), p. 61.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

European textile manufacturers. Consequently commercial indigo production began in the new World colonies. It was grown in many parts of the world such as French colonies in Haiti, the Spanish Colonials in Guatemala, etc.⁷

West Indies, Central and South American regions were existed suitable for indigo cultivation. In eighteenth century two million pounds of indigo was imported by the European nations from the Western Hemisphere.⁸ From this century British exploited the indigo for dyeing purpose.⁹

South Carolina's high river swamp, oak and hickory land's soil are suitable for the growth of indigo plants.¹⁰ The first group of English settlers arrived in South Carolina in 1670. They experimentally cultivated indigo on 1670s. The French Protestants also called as Huguenots also produced indigo in South Carolina by the imported seeds of Barbados and Jamaica. They marketed it but the West Indian indigo planters imported better quality dye than South Carolina.¹¹ The initial cultivation of indigo in South Carolina failed due to hard frosts, the Yemasee War, etc.¹² The demand of indigo had increased thoroughly in 1720s and 1730s. In spite of British support Jamaica and other West Indian colonies' English planters turned their plantations from indigo to sugarcane. Inevitably the English relied on French and Spanish colonial indigo. To overcome this crisis they sought new imperial sources and implemented free trade policy.¹³

In 1734 the Parliament of British Empire gave a green signal to all its friendly nations to import indigo from their countries.¹⁴ But enforcing the free trade policy was in trouble by the series of colonial wars and crisis. The War of Jenkins' Ear 1739 disrupted the colony's normal trade.¹⁵ During this time the British brought high tariff against the fine Spanish dyes because the

⁷Lawrence S. Rowland, Alexander Moore and George C. Rogers, Jr. *The History of Beaufort Country, South Carolina, 1514-1861* vol. 1 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), p. 161.

⁸David L. Coon, "Eliza Lucas Pinckney and the Reintroduction of Indigo Culture in South Carolina", p. 62.

⁹Kenneth H. Beeson, Jr., "Indigo Production in the Eighteenth Century", *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 44, no. 2 (1964), pp. 214-218.

¹⁰Willam Gilmore Simms, *The Geography of the State of South Carolina*, p. 9.

¹¹David L. Coon, "Eliza Lucas Pinckney and the Reintroduction of Indigo Culture in South Carolina", pp. 63-64.

¹²Lawrence S. Rowland, Alexander Moore and George C. Rogers, Jr. *The History of Beaufort Country*, p. 161.

¹³David L. Coon, "Eliza Lucas Pinckney and the Reintroduction of Indigo Culture in South Carolina", pp. 70-71.

¹⁴G. Terry Sharrer, "The Indigo Bonanza in South Carolina, 1740-90", *Technology and Culture* vol. 12, no. 3 (1971), pp. 454-455.

¹⁵Walter Edgar, *South Carolina – A History*, p. 144.

war was fought between Spanish and British Empire.¹⁶ Further the Austrian Succession War 1740-48, closed the British ports to French. Eventually Spanish and French sources of indigo to the textile manufacturers of England were cut off due to these wars.¹⁷

II. Re-introduction of Indigo Culture in South Carolina: -

From the fourth decade of the eighteenth century several factors such as colonial wars and enterprising individual planters assisted to the reintroduction of indigo cultivation in South Carolina.¹⁸ Moreover the rice became very dull commodity in South Carolina and all over Europe. As a result the planters of South Carolina seriously searching for another crop and they realized that the processed indigo would be worth full and it had ten times lower weight than rice.¹⁹

Eliza Lucas Pinckney successfully re-introduced indigo cultivation in South Carolina.²⁰ Her home country was West Indies, in 1738 her family transferred from Antigua to South Carolina. A year later her father Captain George Lucas returned to Antigua for military service. Eliza was caring her father's plantations in Carolina near Charleston. Even in the young age of sixteen she had the capability to do this.²¹ From Antigua, George Lucas had sent indigo seeds to his daughter in 1739. She preserved the seeds carefully and begins the indigo cultivation in South Carolina on the same year.²²

During Eliza's experiments Andre De Veaux a Huguenot immensely assisted her in processing the indigo because he had got technical knowledge from French and West Indies.²³ After five years of experimentation Eliza was able to produce seventeen pounds of dye.²⁴ Several

¹⁶G. Terry Sharrer, "The Indigo Bonanza in South Carolina", pp. 454-455.

¹⁷G. Terry Sharrer, "Indigo in Carolina, 1671-1796", *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* vol. 72, no.2 (1971) p. 95.

¹⁸ John J. Winberry, "Reputation of Carolina Indigo", *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* vol. 80, no.3 (1979), p. 243.

¹⁹Walter Edgar, *South Carolina – A History*, pp. 144-145.

²⁰Lawrence S. Rowland, Alexander Moore and George C. Rogers, Jr. *The History of Beaufort Country*, pp. 161-162.

²¹David L. Coon, "Eliza Lucas Pinckney and the Reintroduction of Indigo Culture in South Carolina", pp. 61-66.

²²G. Terry Sharrer, "Indigo in Carolina, 1671-1796", p. 95.

²³Lawrence S. Rowland, Alexander Moore and George C. Rogers, Jr. *The History of Beaufort Country*, pp. 161-162.

²⁴Walter Edgar, *South Carolina – A History*, p. 146.

individual enterprising indigo planters of South Carolina also tried to re-establish the commercial indigo production.²⁵ After Eliza's success they copied the same method.²⁶

During this period the British government encouraged the planters by issuing bounty to grow the indigo crops.²⁷ At this time Carolina planters secured a virtual monopoly on the market and rapidly increased their indigo production. In 1744, the legislature of South Carolina recognized the opportunity and tried to stimulate the indigo industry. The colony offered a bounty of one shilling per pound of indigo, or about 63 sterling, payable directly to the planter. Two years later the assembly repealed the bounty because the subsidy imposed a tax burden on those who did not raise indigo.²⁸

Due to this overall effort South Carolina can export 138,000 pounds of indigo in 1747.²⁹ But in the next year it dropped to 62,200 pounds because the Britain restored its free trade policy in October 1748 after the end of the King George's War with the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Provincial planters quickly realized that their product brought great profits only under conditions of restricted trade. Without a protected market, Carolina indigo could not successfully compete with superior foreign dyes.³⁰ At this situation James Crockatt a South Carolina agent in London urged British imperial officials to reduce indigo imports from rival empires. Moreover he argued in the British Parliament for the welfare of Carolina indigo trade.³¹ As per his advice the British parliament passed a bounty of 63 premiums to South Carolina's indigo importation on 25th March 1749.³² The bounty boosted prices artificially about 20 percent, as per the London merchants had to pay reasonable price to South Carolina indigo.³³ In 1749 a committee of the Commons House of Assembly noted that the indigo was an excellent colleague commodity with Rice.³⁴ Even though the indigo trade in South Carolina was in slow moving up to the French Indian War.³⁵

²⁵David L. Coon, "Eliza Lucas Pinckney and the Reintroduction of Indigo Culture in South Carolina", p. 68.

²⁶G. Terry Sharrer, "The Indigo Bonanza in South Carolina", pp. 448-449.

²⁷John J. Winberry, "Reputation of Carolina Indigo", p. 243.

²⁸G. Terry Sharrer, "Indigo in Carolina, 1671-1796", p. 95.

²⁹Walter Edgar, *South Carolina – A History*, p. 146.

³⁰G. Terry Sharrer, "Indigo in Carolina, 1671-1796", pp. 95-96.

³¹Walter Edgar, *South Carolina – A History*, p. 146.

³²G. Terry Sharrer, "Indigo in Carolina", pp. 96-97.

³³Walter Edgar, *South Carolina – A History*, p. 146.

³⁴David L. Coon, "Eliza Lucas Pinckney and the Reintroduction of Indigo Culture in South Carolina", p. 64.

³⁵G. Terry Sharrer, "The Indigo Bonanza in South Carolina", pp. 454-455.

III. Processing Indigo: -Processing indigo in the eighteenth century was based on hard physical work.³⁶ It is an indispensable step in indigo management moreover the quality of the dye is based upon this chemical process.³⁷ It has series of stages which were harvesting, steeping, beating, churning, drying and storing.³⁸ The vats are serially connected with piping which was steeper and battery vat. The process begins in the first vat where the harvested indigo plants were covered with fresh water. After that the plants were broken into pieces by beating with the help of wooden sticks. It makes the fermentation easily between eight to twenty hours according to the climate conditions. The bubbles were the sign of chemical change moreover the water becomes thickened and purplish blue in colour.³⁹ Indigofera plants naturally contain *glucoside indicant* by this process the latter transformed into *indoxyl and glucose* by the enzymic hydrolysis.⁴⁰ Then *indoxyl and glucose* solution was drained to the next battery vat where this liquid stirred violently.⁴¹ A mechanical apparatus was placed in the battery or settler vat which has two handles with one stirring rod. These handles were stretched from the vat which was rotating by the men power sometimes horses also used in the large plants.⁴² The purpose of churning is to separate the *indigotin* from the *indoxyl*.⁴³ Indigotin or indigo is insoluble in water due to this character it settled at the bottom of the vat at the end of the churning.⁴⁴ The waste liquid drained from the settler vat through the upper vent. Then the settled mud like indigo was scooped out from the vat. Then a horsehair filter and inverted conical shaped filter or *Oznaburg* sacks were used to remove the remaining liquid from the substance.⁴⁵ After drying it indigo was cut into small squares and placed in to the shallow boxes under the bamboo drying sheds. Eventually it was packed into casks for shipment.⁴⁶ This entire hard work was usually done by the Negro slaves. As per their work they were called by the pseudonym as beater, churner etc.⁴⁷

³⁶Kenneth H. Beeson, Jr., "Indigo Production in the Eighteenth Century", pp.216-217.

³⁷David L. Coon, "Eliza Lucas Pinckney and the Reintroduction of Indigo Culture in South Carolina", pp. 62-63.

³⁸Walter Edgar, *South Carolina – A History*, p. 149.

³⁹Kenneth H. Beeson, Jr., "Indigo Production in the Eighteenth Century", pp. 214-218.

⁴⁰P.C.M. Jansen and D. Cardon (Ed.), *Plant Resources of Tropical Africa 3: Dyes and Tannis* (Netherlands: Backhuys Publishers, 2005), p. 92.

⁴¹David L. Coon, "Eliza Lucas Pinckney and the Reintroduction of Indigo Culture in South Carolina", pp. 62-63.

⁴²Kenneth H. Beeson, Jr., "Indigo Production in the Eighteenth Century", pp. 216-217.

⁴³David L. Coon, "Eliza Lucas Pinckney and the Reintroduction of Indigo Culture in South Carolina", pp. 62-63.

⁴⁴Walter Edgar, *South Carolina – A History*, p. 149.

⁴⁵Kenneth H. Beeson, Jr., "Indigo Production in the Eighteenth Century", p. 218.

⁴⁶David L. Coon, "Eliza Lucas Pinckney and the Reintroduction of Indigo Culture in South Carolina", pp. 62-63.

⁴⁷Kenneth H. Beeson, Jr., "Indigo Production in the Eighteenth Century", pp. 216-217.

South Carolinians used lime water to separate the *indigotin* quickly from the *indoxyl* but the Spanish, Dutch, and French used only pure water in the whole process.⁴⁸ The indigo product of South Carolina was generally poor in quality. It might be some mistakes in the processing method.⁴⁹

There were four varieties of indigo seeds widely prevalent in South Carolina which was *Indigofera Lespotsepala*, *I. Anil* and *I. Tinctoria*. The latter also called as Bahama which was mostly used in South Carolina because it was a stronger plant than other species.⁵⁰ The blossoms usually appeared about ten weeks after the seeds were planted. The ideal time for harvesting the plant is generally done in rainy season.⁵¹

IV. Impact of French Indian War and American Revolutionary War in Indigo Trade: -

The French Indian War aroused between the British and the New France for the boundary lands in North America on 1754 to 1755. The British Thirteen Colonies of America with Nova Scotia and the New France comprising Louisiana, the Ohio River Valley, Quebec, Cape Breton and St. Jean Islands were the two major opponents of this war.⁵²

Due to this war once again the British textile manufacturers was in difficult to get the West Indian indigo. Consequently the episode of higher demand for South Carolina indigo had begun. This time the low country planters and the backcountry's small farmers of South Carolina turned their attention to indigo cultivation. It was grown commercially in the lands of Orangeburg, Camden, and Ninety Six. The market for South Carolina indigo was growing despite its reputed poor quality.⁵³ In 1763 Great Britain won in this war and retains its undisputed control over North America east of the Mississippi River.⁵⁴

During this period the indigo production increasing and its cultivation spread along the Santee, Pee Dee, Black, and Savannah Rivers into the interior of South Carolina. The British Parliament

⁴⁸Walter Edgar, *South Carolina – A History*, p. 149.

⁴⁹John J. Winberry, "Reputation of Carolina Indigo", pp. 244-245.

⁵⁰ G. Terry Sharrer, "The Indigo Bonanza in South Carolina", pp. 448-449.

⁵¹Kenneth H. Beeson, Jr., "Indigo Production in the Eighteenth Century", p. 216.

⁵²Charles E. Pederson, *The French & Indian War* (United States: ABDO Publishing Company, 2010), p...

⁵³Walter Edgar, *South Carolina – A History*, p. 146.

⁵⁴Charles E. Pederson, *The French & Indian War*, p...

tried to increase indigo production in South Carolina. The six pence duty on foreign indigo imports and free entry of the South Carolina dye into London market facilitated the crop's passage.⁵⁵

One year before the American Revolutionary War George Grenville the Chancellor of the Exchequer initiated the American Revenue Act. As per this Act 6d duty per pound was fixed on foreign indigo imported into the British Empire. This tax plan directly favoured the American planters.⁵⁶The indirect bounty, protective tariff, market monopoly in wartime, protection of the Royal British Navy and trading ties with British agents were the advantages of indigo industry in South Carolina.⁵⁷ The beginning of American Revolutionary War in 1765 further hiked the demand of indigo consequently the indigo production and market prices increased gently.⁵⁸South Carolina dye shipments maintained a high and steady level, averaging nearly 500,000 pounds annually ever the six year period from 1764 to 1770.⁵⁹Further the demand of South Carolina continued up to 1774. The indigo cultivation spreads from Charles Town to the low regions of Winyah and Beafort up to the middle and back country.⁶⁰

In 1774, the Continental Congress met at Philadelphia which passed a resolution on 30th September 1774. According to this the export of the major crops from South Carolina to England and British West Indies was banned. In spite of opposition from several entrepreneurs the Congress refused to export indigo and other crops except rice to European countries.⁶¹ Even after this ban South Carolina exported 1,122,220 pounds of dye in 1775.⁶²

Drafting the South Carolina state constitution begins in March 1776. It was the first southern colony and the second of the thirteen to draft a constitution. It was clearly a temporary document

⁵⁵John J. Winberry, "Reputation of Carolina Indigo", pp. 243-244.

⁵⁶G. Terry Sharrer, "Indigo in Carolina", pp. 97-98.

⁵⁷G. Terry Sharrer, "The Indigo Bonanza in South Carolina", p. 453.

⁵⁸David L. Coon, "Eliza Lucas Pinckney and the Reintroduction of Indigo Culture in South Carolina", p. 61.

⁵⁹G. Terry Sharrer, "Indigo in Carolina", pp. 97-98.

⁶⁰David L. Coon, "Eliza Lucas Pinckney and the Reintroduction of Indigo Culture in South Carolina", p. 64.

⁶¹G. Terry Sharrer, "Indigo in Carolina", pp. 98-99.

⁶²Walter Edgar, *South Carolina – A History*, p. 149.

designed to provide a governmental framework.⁶³In 1777 the Continental Congress of Philadelphia implemented strict embargo on exports to Britain including rice.⁶⁴

Even after this prohibition the indigo trade was continued in several ways. The navy of South Carolina officially continued the indigo trade with France and Holland for the purchase of ammunition and war supplies. During this period France, Spain and Holland continued their trade with England as per the Navigation Acts however it was stopped after 1780. The British captured Charleston on 17th may 1780 under the generalship of Henry Clinton then they occupied Beaufort District which was the richest indigo land of the state.⁶⁵In spite of severe war on the one side the British continued its indigo shipment to its home country. Moreover smuggling trade also continued during this war period.⁶⁶ After nine years back from the end of the revolution in 1792 alone the British had imported 1,867,754 pounds of indigo from all sources. In 1794 Charleston exported some 715,000 pounds of the dye.⁶⁷

V. Decline of Indigo in South Carolina: - Rice and indigo had been the propelling force of South Carolina's economy for more than a generation especially in the low country.⁶⁸ The decline of the indigo cultivation in South Carolina was not a sudden or unexpected incident. Natural disasters such as droughts, frosts, floods, too much rain, infestations of insects were already existed threats to the indigo plantations.⁶⁹

During the American Revolutionary War the backcountry of South Carolina suffered a lot and the damage was more apparent in the low country. Homes, farm buildings, and mills had been burned.⁷⁰ The British soldiers attacked the plantations and confiscated the property including live stocks. Peter Sinkler an indigo planter of South Carolina whose plantation was burned by the British Soldiers. It contained 20,000 pounds of prepared indigo valued about \$ 30,000.⁷¹

⁶³Ibid., pp. 226-227.

⁶⁴G. Terry Sharrer, "Indigo in Carolina, 1671-1796", p. 100.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶David L. Coon, "Eliza Lucas Pinckney and the Reintroduction of Indigo Culture in South Carolina", p. 64.

⁶⁷John J. Winberry, "Reputation of Carolina Indigo", p. 249.

⁶⁸David L. Coon, "Eliza Lucas Pinckney and the Reintroduction of Indigo Culture in South Carolina", p. 61.

⁶⁹John J. Winberry, "Reputation of Carolina Indigo", pp. 249-250.

⁷⁰Walter Edgar, *South Carolina – A History*, pp. 243-244.

⁷¹G. Terry Sharrer, "Indigo in Carolina", p. 98.

Due to this Revolutionary War the farmers of America lost their markets in the British islands. Prices increased, and all governmental regulatory efforts failed.⁷² The colonial bounty, the protective tariff and the British market disappeared suddenly. Adversely they used the system of bounties and tariffs against the Americans and French.⁷³

Indigo plantations of South Carolina required vast amount of slave labourers. The State comprised thirty percent of the slaves in its population. After capturing Charleston in 1780 numerous slaves escaped from South Carolina.⁷⁴ Moreover the British tried to weaken the American agricultural economy by offering freedom to any slave and turned them against their previous masters. When the British withdrew their forces from Charleston and Savannah they evacuated many slaves with them.⁷⁵

After the war the British parliament shifted the imperial preference of indigo to other crown colonies especially India and the East Indies. Already East India Company had got success in the Bengal indigo experiments. The British-Indian planters produced good quality indigo in lower price than the American product. As a result English and European textile manufactures eagerly sought the Indian dyes for their purpose and their orders fulfilled by the East India Company.⁷⁶ In Colonial period French and Spanish was a major rivalries to the Carolina's indigo trade now the East Indian planters also joined with the previous competitors.⁷⁷ In 1786 more than 250,000 pounds of Asian indigo was dumped on the London market by the East India Company.⁷⁸ From this year the East India Company annually produced 250,000 pounds of indigo in India.⁷⁹

Even after of these drawbacks such as loss of bounties, East India Company's imports, poor quality of South Carolina indigo, American Revolutionary War and insufficient slave labour the

⁷²Douglas Hurt, *American Agriculture – A Brief History* Rev. Ed (Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2002), pp. 84-85.

⁷³G. Terry Sharrer, "Indigo in Carolina", pp. 97-103.

⁷⁴Charles H. Lesser comp., *Sources for the American Revolution at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History* (N.P.: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 2000), p. 3.

⁷⁵Douglas Hurt, *American Agriculture – A Brief History*, pp.84-85.

⁷⁶G. Terry Sharrer, "Indigo in Carolina", p. 102.

⁷⁷G. Terry Sharrer, "The Indigo Bonanza in South Carolina, 1740-90", p. 455.

⁷⁸Kenneth H. Beeson, Jr., "Indigo Production in the Eighteenth Century", pp. 214-218.

⁷⁹John J. Winberry, "Reputation of Carolina Indigo", pp. 249-250.

South Carolina's indigo survived. In 1794 South Carolina exported 715,000 pounds of indigo, most of it to Great Britain.⁸⁰

The United States of America had looking for the co-operation of Britain for their uninterrupted trade with other countries even after end of the war with Treaty of Paris.⁸¹ The Treaty of Jay signed between America and Britain in 1794 it fulfilled the ambitions of the former. This remarkable treaty is also called as Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation. Through this treaty the Americans enabled uninterrupted trade with other countries. Further it regulated the commerce and navigation between their respective countries, territories and people.⁸² Utilization of this agreement was probably nil to indigo trade because in 1796 almost no indigo was exported from South Carolina.⁸³ In the same year the planters began their experiments with alternative crops such as cotton.⁸⁴

Short staple cotton farming expanded rapidly across the South after the acquisition of New Orleans in the Louisiana Purchase. New Orleans provided an international export market for cotton. During this period the textile industry of Great Britain had expanding rapidly.⁸⁵ Consequently Carolina planters had taken up cotton as their cash crop and abandoned indigo. Eli Whitney's invention and improvement of cotton gin considered as an agricultural revolution which stimulated the cotton industry of America from 1797. In 1800 six million pounds of cotton exported from Carolina.⁸⁶ Eventually South Carolina indigo was driven from the market because of these combined components. After the decline of indigo the planters of South Carolina in low country concentrated on rice and the back country turned to cotton.⁸⁷ The indigo culture began to disappear from South Carolina around 1800.⁸⁸

⁸⁰David L. Coon, "Eliza Lucas Pinckney and the Reintroduction of Indigo Culture in South Carolina", p. 61.

⁸¹Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System III: The Second Era of Great Expansion of the Capitalist World Economy, 1730-1840s* (London: University of California Press, 1989), p. 247.

⁸²*Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, Between His Britannic Majesty and the United States of America* (London: n.p., 1795), pp. 3-4.

⁸³David L. Coon, "Eliza Lucas Pinckney and the Reintroduction of Indigo Culture in South Carolina", p. 61.

⁸⁴John J. Winberry, "Reputation of Carolina Indigo", pp. 249-250.

⁸⁵Douglas Hurt, *American Agriculture – A Brief History*, pp. 94-95.

⁸⁶G. Terry Sharrer, "The Indigo Bonanza in South Carolina", p. 455.

⁸⁷Walter Edgar, *South Carolina – A History*, p. 266.

⁸⁸David L. Coon, "Eliza Lucas Pinckney and the Reintroduction of Indigo Culture in South Carolina", p. 61.

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