

**ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF
PRIMARY AND SECONDARY REFERENCES
TO THE
TRANS-ATLANTIC HUMAN TRADE
ON
DARIEN/SAPELO, GEORGIA**

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for the Middle Passage Ceremonies and Port Markers Project 2024.

SELECTED SECONDARY SOURCES:

Brockell, Gillian. "The Washington Post." September 7, 2019. Accessed January 30, 2024.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/history/2019/09/07/before-there-was-mystery-first-enslaved-africans-what-became-us/>.

Chronicles that Spanish explorers brought 100 (*# unconfirmed historically, but the author states*) enslaved Africans to a doomed settlement in what is now South Carolina or Georgia in 1526, where the enslaved quickly revolted within weeks of their arrival before ultimately vanishing. This event predates the more widely recognized arrival of enslaved Africans to the English colony of Jamestown in 1619, marking an earlier instance of slavery in what would become the United States. After encountering setbacks, including a shipwreck and loss of food supplies, the colonists established the settlement of San Miguel de Gualdape, where they tasked enslaved Africans with clearing land and building. Facing starvation, disease, and conflicts with indigenous neighbors, the settlement quickly deteriorated, with many settlers dying, including Ayllón. Enslaved Africans revolted, setting fire to a leader's house and escaping into the forest, never to be seen again, leaving their fate uncertain amidst speculation about whether they found refuge with indigenous groups or traveled south for survival. The possibility that some of these groups' ancestors were among the first runaways remains uncertain, highlighting the complex and understudied history of relations between African Americans and Native Americans in the United States.

Cameron, Guy, and Stephen Vermette. "The Role of Extreme Cold in the Failure of the San Miguel de Gualdape Colony." *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 96, no. 3 (Fall 2012): 291-307. Accessed February 9, 2024.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/23622193>. They discuss how, in 1526, Lucas Vasquez de Ayllón established the colony of San Miguel de Gualdape along the southeast coast of the United States, marking several historical firsts, including the continent's first slave rebellion and the construction of the first ship within present-day US limits, yet the colony's abrupt abandonment after a few weeks, accompanied by the loss of 350 lives, remains a perplexing mystery. They further detail that Ayllón was only able to obtain this contract due to the enslaved indigenous guide, "Chicora," who was captured in an expedition early in 1521 and brought to Spain in 1523 by Ayllón to meet King Charles I. Years later, Oviedo recorded the stories of the surviving colonists, and his history provides much of what scholars know about San Miguel de Gualdape. The involuntary "guide" Chicora escaped, which began Ayllón's downfall. Despite efforts to build a settlement, including enslaved African labor, starvation, disease, and internal strife plagued San Miguel de Gualdape, resulting in Ayllón's death (October 18, 1526) and the settlers' eventual abandonment of the settlement. While we may never know the exact location of Ayllón's 1526 settlement San Miguel de Gualdape (name likely referencing local Guale), the evidence points possibly along the Georgia coast, particularly Sapelo Sound (near Altamaha). Other possible locations include Tybee Roads/Savannah River (Peck); Port Royal Sound/Santa Elena; and Winyah Bay/Pee Dee River (present-day South Carolina); the Chesapeake Bay or the James River (present-day Virginia). Article contains a useful map on p. 296 of potential locations. ([Peck](#), [Hoffman](#), [Cameron & Vermette](#)).

Daniels, Gary C. "The Testimony of Francisco de Chicora." *The New World*. July 5, 2012. Accessed February 9, 2024.

<https://thenewworld.us/the-testimony-of-francisco-de-chicora/>. The article delves into "The Testimony of Francisco de Chicora " from Petyr Martyr's *De Orbe Novo* in 1530, providing invaluable insights into Native American life in the Southeastern United States. Drawing from analysis by ethnographer John R. Swanton, who believed Chicora hailed from a Catawban group, the author sheds light on Chicora's capture by Spanish slavers in 1521, his experiences in Hispaniola, and his interactions with Lucas Vasquez de Ayllón. Additionally, it examines discrepancies in historical accounts, such as Ayllón's expedition and the presence of a settlement in South Carolina, raising intriguing questions about early American history and cultural exchanges.

Haring, Clarence Henry. *The Spanish Empire in America*. Vol. 1. New York, Oxford University Press, 1947. Originally published: 1947. Haring cites a 1906 Spanish source that discusses Spanish asientos (licenses) to acquire enslaved Africans for the Middle Passage/colonization legally, p 219:

In 1518 the first license to transport Negroes in quantity directly from Africa to America was granted by the young king Charles to a Flemish favorite, Laurent de Gouvenot, Master of the Royal Household. It involved the sole privilege for eight years of introducing blacks into the Indies, to a maximum of 4,000, free of all fiscal obligations.²² Gouvenot immediately sold the privilege to some Genoese in Andalusia for 25,000 ducats. The first *asiento*, or formal contract with an individual or company for the exclusive right of furnishing Negroes to the colonies overseas, was concluded with two Germans connected with the Spanish court in 1528. They were obligated to ship 4,000 to America, to be sold at not more than 45 ducats apiece. They were to pay immediately into the royal treasury 20,000 ducats, in return for which the crown promised to issue no more licenses for four years.²³

²² Georges Scelle, *La traite négrière aux Indes de Castille*, 2 vols., Paris, 1906, 1, 139 ff.

²³ *Ibid.* 169 ff.

Herzog, Carl. "The Entwined History of Slavery and the U.S. Navy." November 30, 2022. Accessed from <https://ussconstitutionmuseum.org/2022/11/30/the-entwined-history-of-slavery-and-the-u-s-navy/> While the 1526 San Miguel de Gualdape African arrivals may not be directly related, historical evidence suggests that tasks such as rice cultivation, ship-building, naval stores harvesting, and seafood gathering were often assigned to people of African descent over the centuries. In the late 1700s and 1800s, Sapelo Island and Blackbeard Island served as vital natural resources for the U.S. Navy, utilizing enslaved African Americans for live oak harvesting to build warships like the U.S.S. Constitution. This cleared land for antebellum plantations, including those cultivating Sea Island cotton with enslaved laborers, such as Chocolate Plantation ([Honerkamp](#)), owned by Thomas Spalding ([Clan Spalding](#)). This article goes much more in depth with a man named Richard Leake's journals. He provided enslaved people as one of the primary landowners from whose property the live oak was being harvested.

Hoffman, Paul E. *A New Andalusia and a Way to the Orient: The American Southeast During the Sixteenth Century*. 2015. Hoffman's book in Part I explores The Chicora Legend, detailing Ayllón's acquisition of the contract through Chicora, the events of Ayllón's 1526 expedition, and the gradual fading of the legend's allure in subsequent years. Additionally, Part I includes maps depicting the region from 1521 to 1590.

Honerkamp, Nicholas, and Ray Crook. "Archaeology in a Geechee Graveyard." *Southeastern Archaeology* 31, no. 1 (Summer 2012): 103-114. Accessed February 25, 2024. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41620314>. Since the City of Darien and McIntosh County, GA,

Middle Passage Ceremonies and Port Markers Project Sapelo Sound/Darien, Georgia marker addresses “The legacy of the Middle Passage in Darien and McIntosh County is reflected in its Gullah Geechee culture,” this article delves deeply into the collaboration between archaeologists and the (Hog Hammock Sapelo Island, GA’s Gullah Geechee) community. Archaeological investigations were conducted in May 2010 at Behavior Cemetery, a historic African American graveyard utilized for over 120 years by the Gullah-Geechee communities of Sapelo Island, Georgia. The research, conducted in collaboration with residents, addressed concerns about disturbing unmarked graves during new burials. The paper outlines the historical background of the cemetery and details the research methods, findings, and outcomes of the fieldwork. It highlights the success of the Behavior Cemetery Project as a model of community-oriented archaeology, showcasing a partnership that benefits public, academic research, and cultural resource management simultaneously.

Howard, Tommy. "Chicoras Host Local Tribes to Celebrate Heritage." Post and Courier. Last modified October 31, 2018. Updated December 21, 2020. URL: https://www.postandcourier.com/georgetown/community/chicoras-host-local-tribes-to-celebrate-heritage/article_d92bf21c-dcb5-5d59-b530-45bc0903b07e.html This article is provided for extra context since “Francisco de Chicora, accompanied Ayllón to Spain, where he relayed to the king embellished stories of a land called La Chicora, named after the Shakori Indian tribe.” In the article, it discusses at an Inter-Tribal Gathering hosted by the Chicoran Shakori, Vice Chief Dexter Sharp presented a drumstick to Chief Vernon Thompkins, symbolizing unity and heritage among Indian tribes. The event, attended by about 50 people, including Tribal Elder Patty Anderson Marcello and Chief Buster Hatcher of the Waccamaw Indian People, aimed to celebrate indigenous culture. Despite their dispersion across various states, the Chicoran Shakori maintain a focus on counties in South Carolina, where they hold historical significance.

Landers, Jane. "Slavery in the Lower South." OAH Magazine of History, vol. 17, no. 3, 2003, pp. 23-27. Accessed February 25, 2024. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25163596>. On pages 23-24, Landers discusses how, in 1526, Lucas Vazquez de Ayllón brought a significant group of African slaves to what is now the United States, landing near Sapelo Sound in Georgia. However, the settlement faced challenges like disease and malnutrition, leading to Ayllón’s death and subsequent mutiny among the colonists. This event marked the first known collaboration between Native Americans and Africans against European colonizers in the future United States. Surviving Spaniards returned to Hispaniola, while some African fugitives integrated with the Guale Indians, becoming the region's earliest maroons. Despite the rebellion, subsequent Spanish expeditions to the Lower South still included black slaves, some of whom continued to flee and seek refuge among indigenous communities.

Dixon, Euell. "San Miguel de Gualdape Slave Rebellion (1526)." BlackPast.org. January 7, 2022. Accessed February 9, 2024. URL: <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/events-african-american-history/san-miguel-de-gualdape-slave-rebellion-1526/> In 1526, Lucas Vazquez de Ayllón founded San Miguel de Gualdape, the third North American settlement north of Mexico, with a fleet of 600-700 people, including enslaved Africans. Despite initial plans, the settlement faced numerous challenges, including disease, hunger, and Indian attacks. After Ayllon's death, leadership disputes arose, leading to a rebellion orchestrated by enslaved Africans who set fire to their captors' homes and fled to join Native American communities, marking the first mainland North American slave rebellion. By July 1527, only a fraction of the settlers survived and returned home to Hispaniola.

National Park Service. "The Gullah Geechee: Shaping the Future of the Atlantic World." Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2010. Accessed February 9, 2024. https://www.nps.gov/ethnography/research/docs/ggsrs_book.pdf. Since the City of Darien and McIntosh County, GA, Middle Passage Ceremonies and Port Markers Project Sapelo Sound/Darien, Georgia marker addresses “The legacy of the Middle Passage in Darien and McIntosh

County is reflected in its Gullah Geechee culture. This special resource study by the National Park Service provides a comprehensive overview of Gullah Geechee culture, covering topics such as the historical background, development of the plantation economy, quest for freedom, and the impact of Gullah Geechee's ancestors on the coastal landscape. The counties chosen for this part of the research were Glynn and McIntosh counties in Georgia, and Beaufort, Charleston, and Georgetown counties in South Carolina. McIntosh County, particularly notable for Darien/Sapelo Sound and Sapelo Island, is part of this selection. The study explores demographic history, language, traditions, crafts, arts, and the influence of African culture on Gullah Geechee communities. Additionally, it examines the impact of coastal development and offers case studies, including the Phillips Community, to illustrate Gullah Geechee's revitalization efforts.

Peck, Douglas T. "Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón's Doomed Colony of San Miguel de Gualdape." *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 85, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 183-198. Accessed February 9, 2024. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40584407>. Douglas T. Peck's article delves into Ayllón's attempts to establish a colony in La Florida following Juan Ponce de León's earlier expeditions. Ayllón's efforts, inspired by reports of a promising land and its giant inhabitants, led to exploration voyages and subsequent conflicts over territorial rights, culminating in the doomed colony of San Miguel de Gualdape in 1526. Pedro de Quejo, following orders to explore the eastern seaboard of La Florida, successfully charted the coastline and erected stone markers in the name of King Charles V and Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón. Quejo's expedition, marked by discoveries of various landmarks and interactions with indigenous populations, laid the groundwork for Ayllón's subsequent colonization efforts in the region despite Chicora and the Jordan River falling short of expectations. The ill-fated settlement of San Miguel de Gualdape, established by Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón in 1526 on the eastern seaboard of La Florida, faced numerous challenges, including unfavorable living conditions, scarcity of food, and Ayllón's own demise. Despite its failure, Ayllón's extensive exploration efforts laid the groundwork for subsequent European interest and colonization along the Atlantic coast, as evidenced by later expeditions and settlements, such as those led by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the French at Port Royal and Fort Caroline.

Stone, Erin Woodruff. "Chapter 4: The Search for Slaves Inspires New World Exploration." In *Captives of Conquest: Slavery in the Early Modern Spanish Caribbean*, 76-100. 2021. doi:10.2307/j.ctv18dvw1v.7. Accessed February 25, 2024. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv18dvw1v.7>, pgs 77-81. Francisco de Chicora, originally known as Chicorano, played a pivotal role in Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón's attempted colonization of Florida. Chicorano, after becoming Ayllón's personal servant, journeyed with him to Spain where he was baptized and regaled the king with tales of Florida's bounty. Ayllón, inspired by Chicorano's descriptions, obtained the governorship of La Chicora and returned to the Caribbean in 1525 with plans to establish a settlement in the region. However, Ayllón's colonization efforts faced challenges, including conflicts with indigenous populations and the eventual failure of the settlement.

Vučković, Aleksa. "To the Shores of Distant Death: The Failed Colony of San Miguel De Gualdape." *Ancient Origins*. Updated September 15, 2019, 14:02. Accessed from <https://www.ancient-origins.net/ancient-places-americas/san-miguel-de-gualdape-0012580> Vučković discusses in 1526, Spanish explorer Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón attempted to establish a settlement in present-day Georgia, hoping to exploit the land's resources and enslave its indigenous population. Despite initial optimism, the venture quickly turned disastrous as disease, hunger, and hostility from native tribes ravaged the settlers. Ayllón's death in 1526 marked the collapse of San Miguel de Gualdape, illustrating the perils of European colonization in the Americas.