

A Microhistory of the Riverland Terrace Area Landowners and Developments

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Elliott's Cut

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Preface

After purchasing a home in Riverland Terrace in 2011, I discovered bits of colonial pottery, glassware, white pipe stem parts, and iron nails each time I dug holes to plant shrubs and prepare my vegetable garden. Curious about the origins of these items, my research about the former owners of my property began. The more information I uncovered, the richer the layers became and my investigation expanded to the area in, and around, Riverland Terrace. I came to learn that the pre-suburban use of the northwest corner of James Island had never been documented consistently nor had most of the landowners been profiled, so my hunt for this information began. Likewise, the evolvement of Wappoo Creek into its current form drew my interest since it played such an important role in the community and the area's commerce.

James Island, the first sea island to the south of Charleston, has its share of notable historical events and family names well known to lowcountry residents. What follows is a microhistory of the individuals who owned, or later developed, land in the northwest corner of James Island. Until the 20th century, this land changed hands infrequently. While most of the owners are footnotes in history, their influence occasionally rose to the state and national level so their achievements and motivations merit investigation.

Prior to its development in the 20th century, the land that comprises Riverland Terrace was agricultural, taking advantage of its proximity to Charleston's population and trading via its harbor. The area's plantations and farms ebbed and flowed in size under various owners. As with all boundaries prior to the modern age, exact locations of property borders are approximate. Note that throughout this document an abbreviation **JINWC** for "James Island Northwest Corner", the subject area, will be used due to its constant reference.

In portraying each JINWC landowner, I endeavored to include the historical backdrop that molded their actions in shaping our government, religious life, and the economy. You will also see how a few serendipitous interactions, many not known previously, later shaped people and significant events.

Examples of areas explored are:

- a. Impact of the first Great Awakening and George Whitefield's James Island visit in 1740 on the Revolutionary War and the roles of our current government.
- b. Extent of Hutson and Peronneau family connections, influence, and use of James Island.
- c. Degree to which Wappoo Creek has been reshaped via numerous cuts.
- d. How a northern transplant who owned over 1,000 acres on James Island for 31 years helped free women from the tyranny of hand sewing, provided shelter for Confederate forces, and sold ice cream in Charleston during the summer.
- e. An Englishman with the last name of Lee who became one of the first black judges in the country, and his start was on James Island.
- f. A grand party at a plantation house next to Fort Pemberton.



Preface Figure 1. Outline of Riverland Terrace on the James Island north west corner (JINWC) from Map Data copyright 2001 Google

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1. Chronological Ownership of James Island Northwest Corner (JINWC)

This section contains a summary list and description of the owners of the land now comprising Riverland Terrace. Dates indicate the years they owned the land.

Native Americans

Shell mounds, pottery fragments, and stone tools all indicate extensive inhabitation of Native Americans. During the early colonial period the two primary groups of Native Americans were the Kiawah and Coosaw.¹ Once the colonists arrived on James Island it did not take long for the Native Americans to disappear from the island due to disease, enslavement, and re-settlement for colonists' safety.

Initial Grants

Captain David Davis in 1703 received a significant grant to the northern end of James Island in 1703; in turn it was bequeathed to William Wilkens, a family relation, in 1706. During their ownership, no records indicate that they farmed or lived on the land. In 1741 Wilkens sold his land claim to Samuel Peronneau, a merchant in Charleston, who established a working plantation.

Peronneau Family

Samuel Peronneau (senior) – 1741 to 1756

Samuel Peronneau (junior) – 1756 to 1769

The Peronneaus were part of the colonial Huguenot community. Their success as merchants enabled them to purchase the plantation on James Island where they primarily raised animals for sale locally and to export markets. The family helped found the Independent (Circular) Church in Charleston and were strong advocates for the separation of church and state.

Upon the junior Samuel Peronneau's death, the James Island estate was divided between his two sisters. The northeast corner was left to Samuel's sister Elizabeth, wife of Edward Lightwood; it would evolve into what is now the McLeod Plantation.

The northwest corner, which encompassed what is presently Riverland Terrace, was acquired by Richard Hutson from Samuel's other sister, Sarah. Incidentally, Richard was also part of the extended Peronneau family.

Richard Hutson – circa 1770 to 1800

The Hutson family was related through marriage to the Peronneaus, and like them, staunch supporters of the Independent Church in Charleston. In addition to the JINWC plantation, Richard also owned an adjacent plantation which he had inherited from his father, William, who had been a minister of the Independent Church. Richard Hutson was heavily involved in supporting the Revolution against the British and he helped write the governing documents of both the newly formed United States and for South Carolina. He signed the Articles of

¹ Ronald W. Anthony, *Dill Sanctuary Archeology...*, p. 10.

Confederation and served as lieutenant governor of South Carolina. Later he became the first mayor (intendent) of Charleston.

Wilson Family

Hugh Wilson – 1800 to 1820

Abraham Wilson – 1820 to 1836

The Wilson family had numerous large plantations on the sea islands. The James Island plantation was acquired by Hugh Wilson in the settlement of Richard Hutson's estate via an auction. Hugh Wilson made his James Island plantation his primary residence, raising cattle and cotton. Hugh's son Abraham Wilson grew up on this plantation and inherited it from his father. During their ownership, maps indicate a large plantation house was built which lasted until the Civil War. Elliott's Cut was constructed during Abraham's ownership.

Ephraim Mikel Clark – 1836 to 1859

Ephraim Clark purchased the property from Abraham Wilson and cotton was his primary crop. He was a strong advocate for secession from the United States and signed the Ordinance of Succession in 1860 for St. Andrews Parish which included James Island. Upon selling his plantation he bought another one on James Island's southern end, closer to the ocean. Clark Sound was named for him.

James M. Lawton – 1859 to 1863

James Lawton was a member of one of the oldest planter families on James Island. He obtained the plantation in 1859 in a purchase/exchange with Ephraim Clark. His first couple of years on the site were very successful until 1862, when the Confederate military ordered all civilians to evacuate James Island to secure the island from Union forces, virtually stopping all agricultural activities. Fort Pemberton was built in 1862 near Lawton's home and plantation structures. Per orders, James Lawton left James Island and moved to Summerville. He sold the plantation in November 1863.

Henry W. Kinsman and family - 1863 to 1898

Henry Kinsman moved from Vermont to Charleston in the late 1840s when he was a young man. Until the Civil War he was a merchant on the peninsula selling housewares, such as wall paper, curtains, and sewing machines. During the war he turned to manufacturing and sold tents, stretchers, waterproof rain gear, and other items to the Confederate army. He also did well selling goods he managed to get through the blockade. With his substantial profits he bought numerous plantations around Charleston for prices discounted during war time.

On James Island Kinsman purchased the following adjacent plantations on the JINWC:

1863 – James Lawton plantation, 599 acres

1864 – T. Savage Heyward plantation, 234 acres

1864 – Constant Rivers plantation, 430 acres

1867 – Robert R. Bee, 109 acres

Kinsman owned 1,372 acres, or about 16%, of the land comprising James Island. The land was bounded on the north by Wappoo Creek, on the west by the Stono River, on the south near what is now Central Park Road, and on the east near what is now Fleming Road.

Kinsman made his main residence on the peninsula. He initially tried to oversee agricultural production on his James Island land, yet ended up leasing portions of it to others or hired superintendents to manage the farm operations. Plats during the time of his ownership show his plantation was called “Wappoo Hall”.

While Henry Kinsman died in 1892, his James Island land was not sold until 1898. This means Kinsman, or his family, owned a significant portion of James Island for well over 30 years, yet the Kinsman name is not well known despite his many retail, manufacturing, and money lending activities that kept the local economy afloat. He was civic-minded and very industrious with numerous inventions to his credit. Prior to the Civil War he was president of the Hope Fire Engine Company on the peninsula and after the war he became very involved in the Democratic Party.

John and Henry Fickens – 1898 to 1917

John and Henry Fickens were a father/son team who often engaged in business transactions together. They purchased Wappoo Hall from the estate of Henry Kinsman. John Fickens had been a mayor of Charleston for one term and a representative in the state legislature for many years. Both lived on the peninsula. Henry Fickens oversaw the management of Wappoo Hall with the assistance of a farm manager. Cotton continued to be a major cash crop. It was during their ownership that the allee of live oaks on what is now Wappoo Drive from Riverland Drive west to the Stono River was planted by the farm manager, Priestly Coker.

Unlike Henry Kinsman who retained ownership of property for many years, the Fickens began selling off portions of Wappoo Hall as opportunities arose. One of the major sales was to Thomas Welch in 1917. The land in this sale was to ultimately become Riverland Terrace.

Welch Family

Thomas Welch – 1917 to 1918

Aubrey Welch – 1918 to various sale dates

Thomas and Aubrey Welch and their half-brother Priestly Coker grew up in Mt. Pleasant. Priestly found work on the Ficken’s Wappoo Hall farm and was soon joined by Aubrey. Thomas purchased a large portion of Wappoo Hall, yet sold it within a year to Aubrey on April 23, 1918. Aubrey farmed vegetables and raised cattle, as the boll weevil stopped significant plantings of cotton shortly after he purchased the land. Aubrey turned from agriculture to selling off his land to developers over time starting in June of 1924. Often, he would partner with the developers, or serve as a developer himself, in the building and selling of lots and houses.

Developers Take Over

The following developers expanded what is now considered Riverland Terrace on land purchased from Aubrey Welch or his heirs and extended family:

<u>Area</u>	<u>Developer</u>	<u>Number of Lots</u>	<u>Start of Sales</u>	<u>Boundaries/Comments</u>
Wappoo Hall	Wappoo Development Company	115	1925	Borders: Wappoo Creek, Riverland Drive, Coker Ave., Old Point Road. By mid-1925 some houses complete. Most lots sold by winter of 1925.
Riverland Terrace	Edisto Realty Company	229	1925	Borders: Coker Ave., Wappoo Drive, Riverland Drive, Lakeshore Drive and Grimball Ave. Lot sales started in late 1925 before roads and landscape design was complete.
West Riverland Terrace	Welch Development Company	34	1931	Borders: Stono Drive, Riverland Drive, Wappoo Drive.
Riverland Golfview	Edisto Realty Company	294	1934	Borders: Maybank Highway, Wappoo Drive, Riverland Drive.
Fort Pemberton Heights	G. E. Moore	22	1941	Borders: Golf course (two sides), Ragos Lane, Seroy Street, Riverland Drive.
Kings Highway	Modern Homes Development Corporation	17	1953	Borders: Yates Ave., Aubrey Drive, Emerson Street

Table 1-1. List of Riverland Terrace Developments and Developers.

Riverland Terrace

Initially, the name “Riverland Terrace” designated the 229 lots developed by the Edisto Realty Company led by J. Bissel Jenkins. Jenkins envisioned his project as an upscale resort-like neighborhood with amenities such as a hotel, yacht club, church, library, and bridle paths². Riverland Terrace is now an informal neighborhood name for the all the lots listed above.

Jenkins’ plans were significantly reduced by the Great Depression. Also, it turned out to be very difficult to attract wealthy families to James Island; the peninsula retained its appeal.

² From promotional literature published by C. Bissell Jenkins & Sons, Inc. Charleston, SC. Copy held by author.

Development took place, yet it simply took much longer with fewer amenities. Over time, lot and house sizes were reduced, along with their prices, to attract a larger clientele.

C. Bissel Jenkins, along with his family, and Aubrey Welch spearheaded many efforts to make Riverland Terrace a viable and successful place to live. The school was a focal point for community activity while the golf course was, and continues to be, popular with the entire Charleston area.

2. First Inhabitants and Grants

Native Americans Pre-European Arrival

Evidence of Native American material culture on the JINWC consists primarily of pottery shards, stone projectile points (arrowheads), stone scrapers, and chert which is the material from which arrowheads, scrapers, and other tools can be formed. The closest chert site is near the Savannah River which indicates important trading activities taking place among the native Americans. Archeological studies performed on the McLeod Plantation site on the northeastern corner of James Island and the Dill Plantation site to the south of Riverland Terrace provide details of archeological finds.³ From these sites, specifics on how the native Americans lived have been derived and are defined. Any shell rings⁴ which existed on the JINWC have been removed or destroyed.

Spanish and English explorers in 1609 and 1666 note the Stono tribe occupying the sea islands. Early Charles Town residents in 1670 also noted the Stono and Kusoe (aka Coosaw) tribes in the James Island vicinity.⁵ Recent research indicates the two main Native American groups in the area were the Kiawah and the Coosaw.⁶ By 1670 the native Americans had already been decimated by European diseases and their way of life altered to a more sedentary one. It did not take long for the Stono tribe to essentially disappear as a cohesive group by their last referenced date in 1707⁷ due to disease, conflicts with settlers, and capture into slavery by settlers and other tribes. John Lawson, a visitor to Charleston in the early 1700s, notes in a letter the large extent of drunkenness among the Native Americans and the severity of its results.⁸

Colonial Period - Initial Grants

With the initial settlement of Charles Towne in 1670 at Albemarle Point, it was not long before another settlement was attempted on James Island in 1671. The settlement was to be called James Towne. Current thought is that James Towne was south of the northwestern corner of James Island along what is now James Island Creek (also known as Ellis Creek and New Town Creek). James Towne did not survive very long and its residents simply moved on to other locations.

Maps from the late 17th century show the names of individuals along Wappoo Creek and along the Stono River in the northwestern corner. No traceable records of these initial farmsteads and what happened to them could be found. Low country archeologists have noted “though grants and maps

³ Ronald W. Anthony, Martha Zierden, and Lynn Harris. *Archeological Survey and Testing..McLeod* (Charleston: The Charleston Museum, 2008), page 35. Ronald W. Anthony, *Historic Aboriginal Pottery at Stono Plantation*, August 24, 2012, South Eastern Conference on Historic Site Archeology (SECHSA), 2012.

⁴ Circular mounds of shells found throughout the low country resulting from tribal rituals or living patterns and associated disposition of used shells.

⁵ Douglas W. Bostick, *A Brief History of James Island*, page 15.

⁶ Ronald W. Anthony, *Dill Sanctuary Archeology: The Catherine Parker Site*, p. 10.

⁷ *Ibid.*, page 16

⁸ John Lawson, *The Travelers' Charleston – Accounts of Charleston and Lowcountry, South Carolina 1666-1861*. The University of South Carolina Press, Columbia. 2016.

suggest extensive occupation of the low country in the early years of European settlement, documented 17th century sites are rare.”⁹

One of the first grants for the northwest corner which could be followed in subsequent sales of significance was to Captain David Davis in 1703 which was passed to William Wilkins in 1706.¹⁰ The important aspect of William Wilkins’ ownership is that in 1741 Wilkins sold 617 acres on the northern end of James Island to Samuel Peronneau. Samuel is the first person who can be verified as working the land in an organized manner which left definitive traceable elements of his ownership and use. Previous owners may have had small farms or let cattle roam, yet they either moved on or passed into undocumented history.

In 1756 a complicating grant was memorialized. It was made in 1717 to Charles Armstrong for 379 acres in the middle of Wilkins grant on James Island.¹¹ Perhaps this granted land was not used for some time for there is no evidence of a land dispute. This additional grant is covered in more detail in a subsequent section.

⁹ Martha Zierden and Lynn Harris. *Archeology Survey and Testing of Select Locations, Mcleod Plantation, James Island. 2007 Archeology Field School College of Charleston/Charleston Museum. Archeology Contributions, The Charleston Museum, September 2008.*

¹⁰ Martha Zierden and Lynn Harris, *Archeology Survey and Testing of Select Locations, Mcleod Plantation, James Island. 2007 Archeology Field School College of Charleston/Charleston Museum. Archeology Contributions, The Charleston Museum, September 2008.* p. 12.

¹¹ South Carolina Department of Archives and History. Memorials S111001 Vol. 7 pages 129-130. 236E01

3. Peronneau Family

Purchaser: Samuel Peronneau

Purchase Date: April 14, 1741

Area: The initial Peronneau purchase covered most of the land area south of Wappoo Creek down to the vicinity of New Town Creek (now James Island Creek); a partial carve out to Richard Simpson is noted. Also, the conflicting grants previously depicted in Chapter 1 were somehow worked around to mutual satisfaction of the parties involved.

The 1741 Samuel Peronneau purchase from William Wilkins and his wife Sarah covered 617 acres and was obtained for 5,110 pounds in South Carolina currency¹². The land purchased in essence contained the entire northern portion of James Island. A general description of the boundaries is defined in the deed as:

North – Wappoo Creek and the Ashley River (Wappoo Creek defined the northern boundary of James Island).

East – the Ashley River and marsh of New Town Creek (New Town Creek cuts across James Island about one-third the way down)

West – Land laid out to Robert Gibbes (Gibbes had died by 1741, yet a map of his land shows its southerly border starting at the west end Wappoo Creek. Effectively, the west boundary for Samuel Peronneau was the Stono River).

South – Partly on New Town Creek and partly on land laid out to Richard Simpson, now owned by Gregory Simpson.

¹² Charleston County, SC Register of Deeds. Book V, pp 323-325.

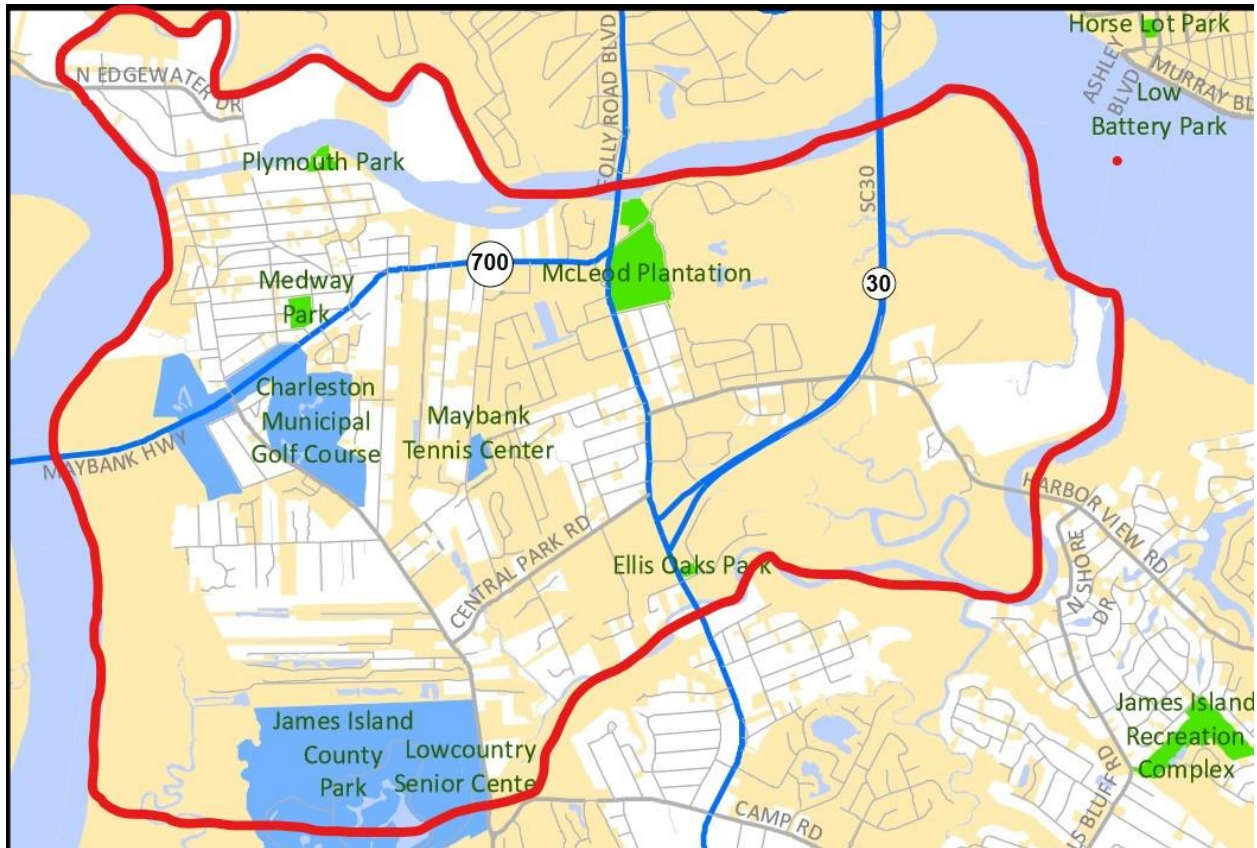


Figure 3-1. Samuel Peronneau's Purchase. Red circled area indicates the approximate area of Samuel Peronneau's purchase in 1741. Base map from City of Charleston web site.

The Peronneau Family – Why A French Family Is In Charleston

While Samuel was born in South Carolina, his father was born in France. Reviewing the reasons the Peronneaus came to the new world as Huguenot refugees provides a more nuanced understanding of their value system and motivations. The values instilled in Samuel growing up clearly influenced the direction and activities he pursued in life. In a similar manner, the institutions which the Peronneau family helped form and support contributed to shaping the lives of others with James Island connections, who in turn also helped shape Charleston, South Carolina and ultimately the country.

Samuel's father, Henry(i) Peronneau, was born in LaRoche, a city on the south-west coast of France. The timing of his departure from France coincides with the Edict of Fontainebleau issued in 1685 by the French ruler Louis XIV during the Catholic Reformation. This edict effectively made French Protestants invisible within their own county; their religious rights to worship as Protestants and all legal standings were removed. As a Huguenot, Henry faced the option of Protestants who could either convert to Catholicism, face execution if they did not, or flee.

The Edict of Nantes had been in effect from 1598 to 1685. Its origins are with Henry IV, a Huguenot, who converted, at least symbolically, to Catholicism in order to help unite the warring religious factions within France. This facilitated his rise as ruler over a more cohesive France. Not forgetting his Huguenot background, under his rule the Edict of Nantes was issued which provided Protestants a degree of religious freedom and the ability to hold official government offices. Non official biases continued to

exist. When Louis XIV, a Catholic, came into sole power in 1661, Huguenot rights began to erode and this erosion accelerated as Louis XIV's reign progressed.

The extent of the discomfort felt by the Protestants varied across France; 1681 marked an escalation in the persecution of Protestants. The French policy of "Dragoonades" started in 1681 where French troops were housed in Huguenot households with implied consent to steal from and intimidate their hosts. This upped the direct pressure on Huguenot families. A germane observation of Protestant persecution in the spring of 1681 can be found in the following quote by a ship's captain who had just completed the journey from La Rochelle France to Weymouth, England:

"the Protestants in those parts lie under hard Circumstances, and fear, that it will be daily worse and worse with them; it being said they will be forced to abjure their Religion, or to depart the Kingdom, and that without their Estates."¹³

Henri Peronneau may have started to feel the pinch that the captain of the quote refers to. In 1685 he was 18 years old and at a point where his career needed a foundation to build on. The unfavorable environment for Protestants chipped away at their numbers in France. By 1685 less than 4% of the French population was Huguenot (down from 10% in the 1560s), with a large number settled along the coast where they engaged in traditional roles of trading and banking¹⁴.

Fortunately for the Huguenots a window was opening in the new world for refugees where belonging to a specific religion was not a qualifying factor. As a British colony, the Protestant Church of England came with the English settlers to the Carolinas. Charles II restoring the monarchy in 1660 in England coincided with the formative years of the South Carolina colony. South Carolina land, titles, and governing positions were often the reward for those who had remained loyal to the monarchy during the English Civil War. The establishment of the Lords Proprietors is an example of this "reward"; the Lord Proprietors were given stewardship rights on March 24, 1663¹⁵ over the South Carolina colony. Expansion of the empire was important for the monarchy, yet producing a profit was paramount for the Lord Proprietors. The Lord Proprietors set up a framework to encourage settlement and religious toleration was a key component. New immigrants only had to believe in God. In this manner, religious toleration came along with those pursuing capitalistic activities resulting in a variety of immigrants.¹⁶

Henry Peronneau's exact economic status in France is not known, perhaps until the time he left in 1686/1687 he was part of the powerful merchant class in La Rochelle which was allowed to prosper under Louis the XIV.¹⁷ Henri must have arrived in the South Carolina colony in 1687 with the knowledge

¹³ John M. Hintermaier, "The First Modern Refugees? Charity, Entitlement, and Persuasion in the Huguenot Immigration of the 1680s," *Abion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* Vol. 32, No. 3 (Autumn 2000): p.439.

¹⁴ Bertrand Van Ruymbeke and Randy J. Sparks, "Minority Survival", *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina*, by Arthur H. Hirsch and introduction by Bertrand Van Ruymbeke. Columbia, SC. 2003. pp xix - xxii and pp. 3-5.

¹⁵ Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*. p. 39.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 39-46.

¹⁷ Owen Stanwood, *Between Eden and Empire*, p. 1326.

or capital or both to start trading in wines and goods in Charleston. Henri did have compatriots in South Carolina. Approximately 500 to 600 Huguenots arrived in South Carolina prior to 1700.¹⁸

As with any immigrant group, Huguenot skills varied; in France, the Huguenots were more urban oriented and literate than the general population.¹⁹ While some Huguenots to South Carolina moved inland to form their own communities, Henri Peronneau was one of many who settled in Charleston to pursue professions. As a group, they were considered to be industrious, yet in their original communities they often kept their old customs and spoke French which slowed their initial integration into a society based on English rules and traditions. The Huguenots never surpassed 15% of the general population.²⁰ Even at only 15% they had a large influence on the political and economic conditions unfolding in Charleston and South Carolina.

The Huguenots who settled in Charleston were significantly influential and successful as merchants. From 1680 to 1720 they made up 30% of the merchant class of Charleston.²¹ Their particular skills in this area are attributable to family connections, prior experience with international trading partners, and their level of education.²² To put the South Carolina population of various denominations in proportion, "in 1710 Calvinists (Presbyterians, Huguenots, and Congregationalists) were the largest group (45 percent), followed by Anglicans (42.5 percent), regular Baptists (10 percent), Quakers (2.5 percent)."²³

In 1700, Henri married fellow Huguenot, Desiree (last name unknown), in Charleston. They had at least seven children survive into adulthood and six were alive in 1743 and listed in his will: Henry, Alexander, Samuel, Elizabeth, Sarah, and Martha. In his will he also provided money for the poor at the Congregational and French churches in Charleston along with a particular minister, Josiah Smith.

Henri's brief biography and the Huguenot background provide the political, economic, and religious environment which influenced him and the next generation of Peronneau's born in South Carolina. Reliance on family, other Huguenots, and support for the religious "Dissenters" were initially paramount. The Huguenot religion slowly receded in importance and for most Huguenots by the 1750s they were simply South Carolinians²⁴. Key personal characteristics Henri managed to instill in his children include:

¹⁸ Arthur Henry Hirsch, *The Huguenots of South Carolina*, page xxvii.

¹⁹ Bertrand Van Ruymbeke and Randy J. Sparks, *Minority Survival*, p. 3.

²⁰ Arthur Henry Hirsch, *The Huguenots of South Carolina*, pxxx.

²¹ R. C. Nash, "Huguenot Merchants and the Development of South Carolina's Slave-Plantation and Atlantic Trading Economy, 1680-1775", *Memory and Identity The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora*. 14 essays edited by Bertrand Van Ruymbeke and Randy J. Sparks. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, SC. 2003. pp 210-211.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 210.

²³ Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, p 182.

²⁴ R. C. Nash, "Huguenot Merchants and the Development of South Carolina's Slave-Plantation and Atlantic Trading Economy, 1680-1775", *Memory and Identity The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic*

- a. Creation of Wealth - Individual initiative to achieve economic success – how to make money from training in the law, trading, merchandising, owning productive land and housing along with agricultural land. Capitalistic entrepreneurs at heart.
- b. Sustaining an Independent Religious Environment - After the initial rough patch at the time of Henri's arrival, a dedication to the Protestant Dissenter movement is clear as we will see; this religious stream was distinct from the Anglican church which in 1706 became the official state sanctioned religion in South Carolina.
- c. Political Engagement - provide an environment for economic success, religious and individual freedom.

How these characteristics played out by family members varied. The early 1700s provided enough stability for fortunate industrious people, not taken by disease, to be a part of dynamic economic events in Charleston. The early settlers wanted wealth, the Lords Proprietors needed to see profits and the end result was a great number of entrepreneurial experiments. In particular, agricultural products of all types were pushed through various production trials to determine which grew well and the techniques needed to make them economically viable. Once profits began to accrue, supporting elements in business also grew, including the merchant class, to fill the materialistic needs of colonists to emulate the English elite. While the Peronneaus' expertise was trading and merchandising, agricultural endeavors were soon incorporated into their economic sphere.

By the second and third Peronneau generations in Charleston, the pursuit of wealth played a more important role in relationships than ethnicity²⁵; however, family and religious connections continued to be instrumental. As previously noted, being Huguenot was the primary reason they left France. Why did their Huguenot religion fade from primary importance? One possibility is that assimilation into other Protestant denominations, of which there were many in Charleston, was not contradictory to their beliefs. Perhaps the Anglican Church of England met the anti-Catholic criteria at a sufficient level, along with providing a way to join in with the general alignment with English culture which engrossed colonial Charleston.

The Peronneau unfortunate experience with mixing religion and politics in France did set a basic philosophical tenet for the family of opposing such an association. How this tenet influences later events will be emphasized subsequently.

Diaspora. 14 essays edited by Bertrand Van Ruymbeke and Randy J. Sparks. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, SC. 2003. p. 209.

²⁵ R. C. Nash, "Huguenot Merchants and the Development of South Carolina's Slave-Plantation and Atlantic Trading Economy, 1680-1775", *Memory and Identity The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora*. 14 essays edited by Bertrand Van Ruymbeke and Randy J. Sparks. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, SC. 2003. pp 228-229.

Samuel Peronneau's Church Prior to 1740 – His Early Years; Dissenters Set Up in Charleston

Samuel Peronneau was born around 1711. His family's religious persecution forcing their coming to South Carolina as refugees set the stage for endeavors to establish their religion in their new home. This religious framework of his youth set a cornerstone for his life and requires some examination, for it plays into events of future generations. "Dissenters" (generally consisting of Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Quakers²⁶ and Huguenots) from the Catholic and Anglican churches were a significant portion of the colony, about 57%.²⁷ The Huguenot population reached about 500, around 15% of the population by 1700.²⁸ By the end of the 17th century the Anglican Church was feeling its dominant position threatened. To ensure the position of the Church of England in the new colony, a law was passed by the Assembly in 1706 making the Church of England the officially sanctioned church²⁹. From 1706 to 1778, South Carolina had one official church, the Church of England.³⁰ While other religions were allowed, and their members were accepted in government positions, only the Church of England received public support.

This did not stop the Dissenters from pursuing their own religious endeavors. One of the earliest non-Anglican churches founded in Charleston is now known as the Circular Church. At its founding, between 1680 and 1690³¹ it was known by a few names reflecting the variety of original denominations of its early members and it will be referred to as the Independent Church.³² It was not affiliated with any particular denomination; members did not want to be bogged down with foreign institutional dogma. Henry Peronneau is on the first known list members of this church in 1724³³.

The original Independent Church was small, forty feet square. During the 1710s, 1720s, and 1730s, the Independent Church grew substantially. The Peronneaus were part of that growth. One early recorded event is Henry Peronneau taking part of a group requesting a new minister in 1724³⁴. By 1729 the wood church building was suffering from decay and in that year, funds began to be collected for a new church. The new church was completed by 1732 and expanded the footprint of the first one by 22 feet and included a base for the steeple³⁵. Containing 47 pews, individual families were assigned pews by row

²⁶ Walter J. Fraser, Jr. *Charleston! Charleston!* p. 19.

²⁷ Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, p. 182.

²⁸ R. C. Nash, "Huguenot Merchants and the Development of South Carolina's Slave-Plantation and Atlantic Trading Economy, 1680-1775", *Memory and Identity The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora*. 14 essays edited by Bertrand Van Ruymbeke and Randy J. Sparks. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, SC. 2003. p. 208.

²⁹ Walter J. Fraser, Jr. *Charleston! Charleston!*, p. 27.

³⁰ Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, p. 96.

³¹ David Ramsay, *The History of the Independent or Congregational Church in Charleston, South Carolina From Its Origin Till the Year 1814*, Introduction section.

³² After its founding by Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Huguenots, and other Protestant independents it was known variously as the Independent Church, the Congregational Church, and the Presbyterian Church. The early church structures were not circular. The Robert Mills church replacement building of 1804 provided the "circular" title. This paper will refer to the church as the Independent Church. This early Meeting House gave name to Meeting House Street, later shortened to Meeting Street.

³³ David Ramsay, , *The History of the Independent or Congregational Church in Charleston, South Carolina From Its Origin Till the Year 1814*, page 5.

³⁴ David Ramsay, , *The History of the Independent or Congregational Church in Charleston, South Carolina From Its Origin Till the Year 1814*, p 4.

³⁵ While now known as the Circular Church, it was obviously rectangular at this time.

number based on contribution amounts. Henry Peronneau senior and junior occupied pews 16 and 17, while Alexander Peronneau had pew 34 assigned³⁶.

Such an involvement in the Independent Church by Samuel's father and brothers obviously must have had a large influence on him growing up. Evidence of this appears later in his life. Religious ties within a minority religion were important for cohesion and survival. This cohesion also spilled over into business, as trusted connections and acquaintances to engage with and assist each other.

Ministers were selected from Presbyterian and Congregational training programs. Other than being Protestant, the church was independent of any denomination and foreign influence³⁷. "Religious Freedom" had a specific meaning to which Samuel could relate. On a broader level, this religious discipline based on independent individual views on governance and oversight provided a mental framework for other institutions regulating life. Its influence for future generations could not have been anticipated by Samuel.

The Independent Church was a leader in the colonial period in two important areas. First, the church and its ministers were firmly opposed to the establishment of an official government supported church in the colony and very vocal that government did not belong in the business of religion. Archibald Stobo the fourth minister (1700- 1704) has been noted as one of the "Church of England's most outspoken critics"³⁸. This stance is easily understood given the Dissenter-based membership and their desire for religious freedom as one of the primary reasons for their coming to the colony.

Secondly, the church played a large part in the build-up to, and activities in the First Great Awakening (1740-1741). The First Great Awakening turns out to have brought together individuals who greatly influenced James Island and the low country. Receptiveness of the Independent Church to the revivals of the First Great Awakening were established when John Cotton Jr. the third pastor of the Independent Church (December 1698 to the autumn of 1699 when he died of yellow fever) in March of 1699 led a covenant renewal ceremony for parishioners. This activity which would be a typical part of activities associated with the Great Awakening.³⁹

The Colony – Government, Politics, and Other Outside Forces on the Peronneaus Prior to 1741

Continuous transitions and political upheaval marked the dynamic colonial period in Charleston challenging the Peronneaus' business. Reviewing key aspects of this fluid environment also helps to understand what the young Samuel and his family had to deal with.

From 1702 to 1712, Queen Anne's War between the French and English caused some uncomfortable associations of Huguenots in the colonies with French war efforts. Such times would have caused the Peronneaus to associate and engage in more business with fellow Huguenots or church members who knew them well.

³⁶ David Ramsay, , *The History of the Independent or Congregational Church in Charleston, South Carolina From Its Origin Till the Year 1814*

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Thomas Little, *The Origins of Southern Evangelicalism*. p. 75.

³⁹ Thomas Little, *Origins of Southern Evangelicalism*, pp 40-42. Cotton was a 1657 graduate of Harvard College. Covenant renewals were common in New England where he previously ministered.

After the end of Queen Anne's War, the English bounty on naval stores (tar and pitch in particular) enabled these subsidized products to become leading exports and helped produce a trade surplus for the colony.⁴⁰ This meant colonists had money to spend on other items benefitting Charleston merchants. These benefits were offset by the Yamassee War from 1715 to 1717 which caused significant disruptions in the deerskin trade the merchants engaged in and in agricultural production. Compounding this was the ongoing dispute between issuing paper currency vs hard currency. Paper currency issued in 1707 and 1710 had significantly depreciated by 1716.⁴¹ This set a historical precedent in the minds of the colonists for the proper management of its issuance.

Colonists soon perceived they had little representation with the Lords Proprietors, and that the colonists' issues were not being addressed. By 1719 the merchants in Charleston had lost faith in the Lord Proprietors⁴² to manage the colony. In 1720 the Lord Proprietors effectively lost local control. The 1720s continued to be economically difficult for South Carolina including merchants. The British bounty on naval stores was removed causing a precipitous decline in their exportation⁴³. Circulating money was in short supply causing basic difficulties in trading goods and providing services. Disputes continued on how much paper currency, if any, to issue. Generally, merchants were not in favor of paper currency due to its likelihood to depreciate. Droughts caused periodic rice crop failures during the 1720s, further escalating economic issues.⁴⁴ Riots in areas of the countryside took place in 1727⁴⁵ due to the general economic downturn.

Finally, in 1730, after many requests by the colonists to the King of England to officially remove the Lord Proprietors, action was taken in London and South Carolina officially became a royal colony.⁴⁶ While administration of the colony by the Lord Proprietors had its problems, the values they instilled of profits first and tolerance, for the most part, of differences in religion and nationality were deeply ingrained and were to survive.

As a royal colony, King George II appointed governors who worked with the Council and House of Commons. The Council members were appointed (wealth seems to have been a primary criteria), while the House of Commons was elected. Serving in the Council or the House of Commons was a stepping-stone to more political power; each was dominated by men who controlled large resources in terms of land, slaves, and money. By 1730, growth and aggregation of these three items were accelerating at a quick pace.

Rice production and profits were growing rapidly from the 1720s to early 1740s and about to plateau for a decade due to oversupply and competition from other countries. Slave importation had been increasing rapidly to support rice production until 1739 when the Stono Rebellion resulted in additional import duties on slaves which greatly restricted their importation for a decade.

⁴⁰ Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, p. 139

⁴¹ Stuart Owen Stumpf, *The Merchants of Colonial Charleston 1680-1756*. Thesis submitted to Michigan State University, for Doctor of Philosophy, Dept. of History. p. 115.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁴³ Converse D. Clowse, *Economic Beginnings in Colonial South Carolina 1670-1730*. pp. 232-238.

⁴⁴ Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, pp. 112-113

⁴⁵ Stuart Owen Stumpf, *The Merchants of Colonial Charleston 1680-1756* p. 138

⁴⁶ Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, p115,

Beginning in the 1730s, one very important item which benefitted South Carolina and its merchants was that currency issued by the colony held a relatively stable value; from the mid-1730's until the mid-1770s South Carolina currency maintained a value at approximately seven pounds currency to one pound of British sterling.⁴⁷ Stability in the value of South Carolina issued currency helped facilitate the huge increase in economic activity in the colonial period for Charleston. The importance of this stability needs to be emphasized, especially for the increasingly powerful merchant class in Charleston. Many other colonies during this time experienced cycles of inflation which impeded transactions and overall economic activity.

One final, yet important point is that during the first half of the 18th century Charleston was a very unhealthy place to live. Between 1722 and 1732 Peter Coclanis estimates that the death rate in Charleston was about two times as high as large European cities.⁴⁸ Life for the vast majority was hard and short in this semi-tropical environment. The value of religious salvation and the need for an expeditious pursuit of business goals were tangible concepts.

The Peronneau Business Model Prior to 1741

Samuel was about 30 years old when he purchased the large tract of land on James Island. His father, Henry, had already made a small fortune as a merchant importing and exporting various goods needed by a growing colony, while dealing with the political and economic variations outlined. Samuel's brothers, Henry and Alexander, were on track to become some of the richest men in South Carolina. Samuel received good training in his father's business skills and the business culture of the family.

As successful merchants and entrepreneurs in Charles Town, the Peronneaus were always looking for ways to expand their income opportunities. In 1741 the techniques to grow indigo plants and the process to derive dye was just reaching a critical mass to make it economically viable and large profits would soon follow; it was an example of how new opportunities were always nearby. Investing in land seemed a natural complement to the merchandising business on the peninsula which saw more and more competition.⁴⁹ It was also a status symbol for wealthy individuals on the peninsula of Charleston to own plantations.

Samuel Peronneau's Journey

The early life of Samuel is a bit of a mystery and must often be inferred. Perhaps this is the result of some of Samuel's critical young adult life events taking place on sea islands to the south of James Island in Colleton County. Regrettably, Colleton County lost many official records in the Civil War. Samuel was born around 1711 based on his gravestone in the Independent Church cemetery. Besides attending either the Independent or the Huguenot Church on Sundays and holy days, there was probably much time devoted to assisting his father and two older brothers in their merchandising efforts. Being the third boy in the family probably meant a little less specific attention from parents and more emulation

⁴⁷ Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, p. 114.

⁴⁸ Peter Coclanis, "Death in Early Charleston: An Estimate of the Crude Death Rate for the White Population of Charleston, 1722 to 1732", *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, pp. 280 – 291.

⁴⁹ R. C. Nash, "Huguenot Merchants and the Development of South Carolina's Slave-Plantation and Atlantic Trading Economy, 1680-1775", *In Memory and Identity The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora*. pp. 210-211.

of the activities of his older brothers. One of the first public records for Samuel show that in 1735 he received a grant for 118 acres in Colleton County in conjunction with his brother Henry⁵⁰; the seeds of capitalism and entrepreneurship.

As noted earlier, in 1741 Samuel purchased the large tract of land on the northern end of James Island; at the time he is around 30 years old. Samuel's purchase of the land on James Island marked a general point in time when events in his life could be followed with more documented certainty.

The land purchased on James Island by Samuel was not suitable for rice production on any large scale; there was not enough fresh water and land would require substantial modification to build retaining ponds, among other rice growing requirements.⁵¹ The easiest product was cattle which could range freely with minimal oversight provided by slaves with an overseer. The cattle were rounded up periodically, slaughtered and marketed in Charleston or salted for export to hungry islanders in the Caribbean. Related dairy production also took place.⁵² Jumping into indigo production may have occurred, although this took more oversight, slaves, and capital to build the necessary equipment to process the crop into the finished product; indigo could have been grown and then processed on other plantations. The production of vegetables was pursued at least to the extent of helping to feed the slaves on the plantation. The large amount of arable land on JINWC near an expanding and hungry population must have been viewed as an investment which could not fail to become more valuable.

Following the path of assimilation, by 1743 Samuel was married to Elizabeth Cochran, who was not a Huguenot.⁵³ In early 1743 they had a son per St. Philips Church records, Samuel Jr (Junior was not part of his given name, yet the Jr. designation will be used for convenience of identification of the son in this document). Either a problem in childbirth or another calamity struck his first wife, Elizabeth, for on June 30, 1743 Samuel is remarried. His new wife was Elizabeth Daniel; they married in St. Philips in Charleston. Samuel subsequently has two daughters with his new wife; one daughter was also named Elizabeth and the other Sarah.

A major event occurred the month after his second marriage in July 1743 when Samuel's father, Henry, dies. He leaves Samuel 7,000 pounds. This inheritance was large for the time and would have made Samuel's life much easier. At this point, Samuel had his primary home and store on the peninsula. In the 1740s and 1750s, Samuel was an entrepreneurial merchant, not specializing in any particular product. He also owned houses on the peninsula which he rented for additional income. By adding his dairy and slaughterhouse operations on James Island, he possessed a well-rounded set of income sources. Dairy and meat products were sold in the market on the peninsula. At this time there was a well-established meat market on the peninsula where the current City Hall of Charleston is located.⁵⁴

Posts in the South Carolina Gazette are one of the primary sources which provide insight into how Samuel's life, along with his son's, unfolds. By 1748 it is clear that Samuel is heavily engaged in selling

⁵⁰ South Carolina Archives, Columbia, SC. Serial: S213019, Volume: 0001, Page: 00548.

⁵¹ Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, p. 140

⁵² For more on early cattle production in South Carolina see: The Origins of Cattle-Ranching in Colonial South Carolina, 1670-1715. John S. Otto. *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, Vol. 87, No. 2 (April 1982), pp. 117-124.

⁵³ Samuel Peronneau may have lived on Edisto Island at some point as a young man, however the scant records for Edisto Island could not confirm this fact. The exact date of their marriage is yet to be found.

⁵⁴ Martha A. Zierden and Elizabeth J. Reitz, "Animal Use and the Urban Landscape in Colonial Charleston, South Carolina, USA.

imported English general goods from a store on Broad Street. Advertisements of his business in the South Carolina Gazette are found starting in 1748 and periodically show up until his death. The advertisements in the Gazette in the 1740s and 1750s associated with Samuel portray a range of goods supporting the diversity of consumer goods desired; the sheer number of items supporting a wealthy lifestyle is evidence of the documented growing prosperity in the colony. As an English colony, emulation of contemporary styles in England was foremost in the minds of its residents.

The formats of the advertisements generally announced the arrival of a ship which is named from a given departure point, the captain of the ship, followed by a list of the types of goods available for sale. While the range of goods for sale ebbs and flows, they are predominantly in the categories of:

- Cloth and Sewing Supplies
- Finished Clothing
- Kitchen and Cooking Related
- Food and drink (tea)
- Hardware including Farming Tools

Examples of items Samuel sold and posts in the Gazette at various times include:

1. In November of 1748 sales from an English ship included all sorts of dry goods from fabric, spices, blankets, and hats. In October on 1749 miscellaneous fabrics and jewelry were being sold from his home on White Point. In April 1750 an ad featured items just imported from London including various fabrics, fine Irish linens, clothes for children, and various types of tea.

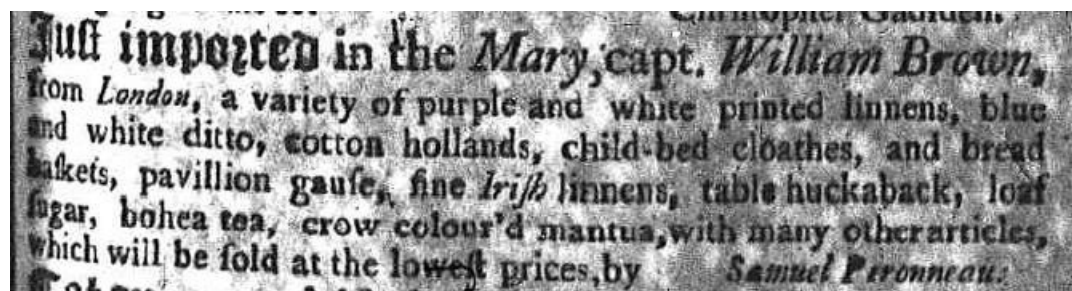


Figure 3-2. April 15, 1750 advertisement in Gazette for various goods from the ship Mary, captained by William Brown; advertisement was placed by Samuel Peronneau.

2. In June of 1750, Samuel either needed some cash or was testing to see what he can get for his 600 acre plantation on James Island. Listed features of the property included a two-story dwelling structure⁵⁵ and out buildings, along with 70 head of cattle, a flock of sheep, hogs, and several horses to also be sold. The advertisement indicated the size of operations on his James Island plantation and the emphasis on livestock production. There is no mention of any capital investment of the various vats, tanks, and structures needed to process indigo, nor is tillable

⁵⁵ The exact location of the dwelling structure remains subject to speculation. Maps and diaries produced during the Revolutionary War provide more details which would be 5 to 10 years after Samuel Peronneau Jr.'s estate was settled and will be reviewed in that time period. Structures associated with raising and processing cattle could have been more on the eastern side of his property which had a more direct route to the Charleston markets.

acreage mentioned. In any event, the land was not sold at this time. This was the first description of the dwelling structure on his James Island plantation.

3. In October 1751, advertisements detailed items just off a ship from London for various fabrics and clothing and listed to be sold from a store on Broad Street by “Peronneau and Moody” and also by “Holmes and Peronneau”. Perhaps he was sharing upfront costs or needing additional help to partner with someone. For “Holmes and Peronneau” there was a family connection in that Samuel’s sister, Elizabeth, married Isaac Holmes; Isaac Holmes Jr. was a merchant in Charleston at this time.
4. Samuel had trouble with a horse or two he owned running away or being repetitively stolen from the “green” on the peninsula, a public pasture, and he placed ads in the South Carolina Gazette for a reward up the return of the horse. These ads appeared in 1746, 1749, and 1751.

The six-page inventory taken shortly after Samuel’s death lists items you would find in a well-stocked general merchandise store in addition to typical items found in a household. A separate inventory of the plantation on James Island includes a large number of items associated with animal husbandry, particularly cattle. Two small boats, a pettiauger and a canoe, were also listed in the inventory. These two types of boats as used during colonial times would be substantial vessels for carrying cargo with a shallow draft. They were not designed for the open waters of the ocean. Both types were used extensively in the lowcountry.⁵⁶ With a plantation across the Ashley River, boats to move people, supplies, animals, and products were essential.

The emphasis on cattle and the boats provide evidence that the Charles Town Beef Market, which was located where City Hall and Washington Park now exist, was a probable outlet for his plantation animals. Plantations on James Island were primary suppliers to this market.⁵⁷

The variety of goods in inventory at the downtown shop and residence at the time of Samuel’s death is so large it is included in Appendix 1 for further study or research. General categories of items include many different types of cloth and finished clothing items along with other items found in a general merchandise store.

Most of Samuel’s merchandise came from London. He traded on his own account, meaning that he took all the risks as opposed to having a third party financing the purchase and shipping costs.⁵⁸ From 1748 to 1755 Samuel advertised the arrival of six ships with goods to sell. Given the time needed to relay purchase instructions, secure transportation, cross the Atlantic, and exchange payments, a shipload every 14 months or so was all one person could handle.

⁵⁶ For more information on pettiaugers see Harris, Lynn B. “Patroons and Periaguas: Enslaved Watermen and Watercraft of the Lowcountry” The University of South Carolina Press, 2014.

⁵⁷ See Animal Use and the Urban Landscape in Colonial Charleston, South Carolina, USA. Martha A. Zierden and Elizabeth J. Reitz. *International Journal of Historical Archeology* (2009), pp. 327-365.

⁵⁸ R. C. Nash. “Huguenot Merchants and the Development of South Carolina’s Slave-Plantation and Atlantic Trading Economy, 1680-1775”, *Memory and Identity The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora*. 14 essays edited by Bertrand Van Ruymbekke and Randy J. Sparks. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, SC. 2003.

Political and Economic Impacts on Samuel Peronneau the Businessman

The years 1739 to 1758 were marked with a number of events, most of which limited economic activity. As a merchant, Samuel could not control these items yet they affected his business, some more than others. Broadly impacts can be grouped into causes related to “wars and rebellions” and “natural weather, fire, and disease”.

Politics, Wars, and Rebellions - In 1739 the slave uprising, called the Stono Rebellion in which 25 colonists were killed, caused widespread panic and fear. As a result, new laws and restrictions on slaves were enacted; also, a new tax on slave importation of 100 pounds per slave had the desired effect of shutting off all most all new slave entries into South Carolina. The tax lasted until 1751. Labor intensive agriculture, such as rice production, was limited in its expansion during this time due to labor constraints.

The War of Jenkins’ Ear (1739 to 1748) caused disruption of the world’s rice markets, lowering its price. Spain was able to significantly impede the triangular trade routes between Britain, the West Indies, and the colonies in America which caused the cost of shipping insurance for merchants like Samuel to rise significantly.

One bright spot during this time was indigo and the cash it brought to Charles Town. Indigo became more important as a cash crop with the political help of a 20% bounty enacted by Britain in 1749. The bounty was designed to cut off French and other international competition. Eliza Lucas (later Pinckney) is well known in her role of establishing planting and processing techniques to make indigo a viable crop. Eliza lived on the mainland side of Wappoo Creek from 1738 to 1744 when she married Charles Pinckney. Indigo was a valuable crop on James Island until the end of the Revolution; at that time, cotton was in the early stages of ascent as the plant of destiny for Charleston. No evidence exists that Samuel processed indigo. However, it may have been a crop he grew and then sold to processors given the expertise which existed across Wappoo Creek from his plantation.

Weather, Fire, and Disease - The great fire of 1740 destroyed about 300 houses, a number of stores, wharves, and many goods waiting for transportation.⁵⁹ Yellow fever showed up in 1745 and plagued the city for a few years. Followed in the late 1740s by mumps, measles, dysentery, “hooping cough”, and possibly typhoid and pernicious malaria reached epidemic proportions”.⁶⁰ The hurricane of 1752 caused huge losses. In 1758, yellow fever, smallpox and ever-present malaria were especially bad and in 1760 a virulent form of smallpox caused much suffering.⁶¹

In summary, during the early 1740s the South Carolina economy was basically depressed. Rice prices were down and rice production declined. Indigo was one bright spot in the economy.

Finally, even with the hardships, from the late 1740s until 1756 the economy improved dramatically. Rice prices finally rose and production increased. The slave tariff was removed in 1751, and slave importation resumed. Indigo reached high levels of production. Through it all, the merchant class’

⁵⁹ Walter J. Fraser, *Charleston! Charleston!*, p. 69

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p. 79

⁶¹ Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, pp. 157-158.

influence and wealth continued to rise. Samuel's merchant brother, Alexander Peronneau, is a good example as he became one of the 10 richest men in north America.⁶²

Important Independent Church Events for Samuel Peronneau as an Adult

As previously noted, the Peronneaus were strong supporters of the Independent Church from its inception. The extent to which the Peronneaus supported the church can be found in the wills of Henry Peronneau, Sr,⁶³ and Samuel Peronneau (senior),⁶⁴ where money is left to the welfare of Josiah Smith (the Independent Church pastor) who, due to a stroke, was severely incapacitated in speech by 1750; they all must have felt a strong attachment to the man and his message.

When Samuel Peronneau made his purchase of land on James Island in 1741, the First Great Awakening was in full swing; the largest impact in South Carolina of this movement was in the late 1730s and the early 1740s. Hallmarks of the First Great Awakening were the revivals which "were religious movements that involved emotional preaching and mass conversions".⁶⁵ The Independent Church was heavily involved in the First Great Awakening and by association, Samuel's life must have had been influenced. Josiah Smith, the minister of the Independent Church and greatly admired by the Peronneaus, from 1734 (as associate pastor), and lead pastor in 1738 until 1750⁶⁶, provided leadership in the Great Awakening and specific support for George Whitefield, the acknowledged charismatic leader of the movement.

Whitefield was the English firebrand whose writings and sermons emphasized the need for redemption. George Whitefield converted many people during his numerous travels within the colonies from 1738 to 1770 to spread the message of the need to lead a more pious life, to reject sin, and the shallowness of greed and vanity. Charleston was so important to Whitefield that he visited it six times from 1740 to 1741⁶⁷ On one visit Whitefield spoke to an overflowing crowd at the Independent Church of 4,000 people.⁶⁸ Whitefield had a running verbal and written conflict with the head of the Charleston Anglican Church about its failings.

The First Great Awakening, with the help of Whitefield's revivals and writings, changed the religious scene in the colonies and established an evangelical option which would endure⁶⁹. One of his converts, William Hutson, influenced events not only on James Island, yet also for Charleston and all of South Carolina. As a contemporary of Samuel Sr and Samuel Jr, William Hutson's life is reviewed below to understand how his views on religion were formed, and establish a foundation to understand how and why he and his children were influential for the Peronneaus, James Island history, and areas beyond.

⁶² Alice Hanson Jones, *Wealth of a Nation to Be*, pp. 170-171.

⁶³ Will Book of Charleston 1740-1747, page 109.

⁶⁴ Will Book of Charleston 1752-1756, vol 081. Will dated February 21, 1753.

⁶⁵ Kenneth P. Minkema, "The Spiritual Meanings of Illness in Eighteenth-Century New England", *Religions of the United States in Practice*, p. 277.

⁶⁶ Resigned officially in 1752 after a series of strokes of Palsy in 1749/1750 rendered him virtually unable to speak.

⁶⁷ Thomas Little, *Origins of Southern Evangelism*, p. 116.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

⁶⁹ Gideon Mailer, *John Witherspoon's American Revolution*.

William Hutson – A Concurrent Journey to Intersect with the Peronneaus

William Hutson⁷⁰ was an Englishman trained in the legal profession. He became disillusioned with his occupation while in England and traveled to the colonies as an actor in 1740. Hearing one of George Whitefield's revival sermons in New York, he became a devoted follower. Through a family of Whitefield's converted and passionate followers in South Carolina, the Bryan family, William moved to the low country. There he was employed as a tutor for the Bryan children and also taught in their newly formed plantation slave school. The slave school came under question in 1742 since the concept of blacks aggregating and being educated was thought to be asking for trouble by government officials given the recent events of the Stono Rebellion in 1739. Hutson left Bryan employment and was hired by Whitefield to teach at the Bethesda orphanage (originated by Whitefield) near Savannah. His stay at the orphanage was rather short as he accepted an offer to become the first pastor at the Stony Creek Independent (Presbyterian) Church near Pocoligo, South Carolina; a new church founded by the Bryans.⁷¹

Circumstantial evidence strongly suggests that Whitefield, via his preaching, had a hand in William Hutson meeting his first wife. Their progeny's influence was significant. During the summer of 1740, Whitefield was preaching throughout Charleston. Whitefield's Journal entry⁷² of July 19, 1740 indicates that on July 17th he was asked to preach at a gathering on James Island at the home of the widow Madame Woodard (probably Woodward⁷³); Whitefield notes that Madame Woodward, her daughter, and another gentlewomen were moved by his sermons. Whitefield goes on to say in his journal that the event on James Island was attended by a large number, many local inhabitants along with townspeople from Charles Town. The event was held in a barn 'properly' prepared on the Woodward property and a large amount of food was prepared. Whitefield stayed at the Woodward home that evening, allowing time to provide in more detail his religious message to them.

The connection to William Hutson is that his first wife was the widow Mary Woodward Chardon, the daughter of Madame Sarah Stanyarne Woodward who hosted Whitefield's gathering on James Island off Wappoo Creek and where he stayed. The widow Mary Woodward Chardon also owned a plantation on James Island off Wappoo Creek⁷⁴. Her mother, Sarah Woodward, was a neighbor of Eliza Pinckney. Incidentally, Eliza Pinckney indicates in her letterbook her fondness for Sarah Woodward and of the frequent visits with her daughter, Mary Woodward Chardon, who was close in age.⁷⁵ Since Eliza

⁷⁰ The biography of William Hutson is based on *The Hutson Family of South Carolina* by William Maine Hutson and *The Origins of Southern Evangelism* primarily pp 165-167.

⁷¹ William was ordained by Josiah Smith of the Independent Church in Charleston and John Osgood in 1743.

⁷² Reverend Mr. Whitefield, *A Continuation of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's Journal, from few Days after his Arrival at Savannah, June the 4th to His Leaving Stanford, the last town in New England, October 29, 1740.* Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by B Franklin, 1741. Page 16. (Note who printed and sold this journal.)

⁷³ Whitefield uses the last name Woodard. In the low country, Woodward is pronounced as Woodard so he is probably writing what he hears. Later in life William Hutson writes of his plantation on James Island.

⁷⁴ Isaac Chardon and Mary Woodward married on November 6, 1735. She was 18 and he was 21. Mary Chardon's husband, Isaac Chardon, died in 1736 after less than one year of marriage and she had one daughter with him.

⁷⁵ Eliza Lucas Pinckney, *The Letterbook of Eliza Lucas Pinckney 1739-1762*, University of South Carolina Press, 1997 Pp. 33, 34, 46, 51, and 68. Eliza married in 1744 and soon after writes of a visit at her plantation Belmont of Sarah Woodward and her now married daughter Mary Woodward Chardon Hutson found in: Harriot Horry Ravenel's *Eliza Pinckney*, p. 101.

Pinckney was a neighbor of Sarah Woodward at the time, it would seem logical that Eliza would have attended such a prominent local event as Whitefield speaking at a nearby plantation.

In 1743, three years after Whitefield spoke at the Woodward's gathering, Whitefield's close follower and associate, William Hutson, married the widow Mary Woodward Chardon. While William Hutson was not with Whitefield on his visit to James Island, Hutson would see Whitefield during the summer of 1740 and this is the prominent connection. Whitefield must have made introductions in some form between William Hutson and the widow Mary Chardon of James Island. William Hutson would have had little chance of running into the widow on James Island while living in Georgia. The children of the Hutson/Chardon marriage will have a significant influence on James Island, Charleston, and beyond as we will see. One son, Richard, will become involved extensively with the Peronneaus. Whitefield would probably attribute his chance meeting of the widow Mary Woodward Chardon on James Island and her subsequent marriage with William Hutson to something other than serendipity.

William Hutson remained at Stoney Creek Independent Church after his 1743 marriage, spreading Whitefield's teachings there until 1756. At that time, he moved to fill a position at the Independent Church in Charleston, accompanied by his wife and six children. William and Mary Hutson had a house in Charleston in addition to the plantation in the north-central portion of James Island, in the middle of the Peronneau tract. Mary Woodward Chardon Hutson's time in Charleston was short, as she died shortly after their arrival in 1757.⁷⁶ Per his diary, William Hutson was devastated by her illness, which lasted a month or so, and her ultimate death.⁷⁷

The following year, 1758, William married Mary Prioleau Bryan, the wealthy widow of his previous employer Hugh Bryan. Combined with his first wife's fortune, William was now the head of a very wealthy family. During a particularly virulent smallpox epidemic running through Charleston in 1760, William took his family to his James Island plantation off Wappoo Creek where exposure to the disease would be more limited. His wife, Mary, was pregnant with their first child. While at the James Island plantation, Mary died in childbirth in 1760.⁷⁸

While dealing with these personal tragedies, William was energetically administering his duties at the Independent Church in Charleston, and spreading the gospel to nearby churches of the Dissenter movement. William often crossed denominational lines in this effort. In particular, he made numerous visits to preach at the Presbyterian Church on James Island and also the fledgling Baptist Church on James Island⁷⁹. The Baptist church seems to have faded away sometime after 1767. William Hutson was

⁷⁶ Per headstone of William Hutson in Independent Church graveyard.

⁷⁷ William Hutson and Daniel J. Tortora. *"A Faithful Ambassador": The Diary of Rev. William Hutson.*

After his wife's death he published a group of her letters and some diary extracts along with some of Hugh Bryan's memoirs in "Living Christianity, Delineated" (London, 1760). The publication was popular with the public.

⁷⁸ Per headstone of William Hutson in Independent Church graveyard.

⁷⁹ On April 1, 1760 Hutson preaches at Dr. Samuel Stillman's newly organized Baptist Church on James Island. Samuel Stillman moved to Charleston with his parents when he was 11. He was tutored by Rev. Oliver Hart until a young man. This is Dr. Stillman's first church after being ordained on February 26, 1759. After 18 months his health deteriorates and he moves north where he has a distinguished career, including assisting in the founding of what is now Brown University. For more on Samuel Stillman see his biography in "Select Sermons on Doctrinal and Practical Subjects" by Samuel Stillman, Manning & Loring, Boston, Mass., January 1808. Only a couple of references to the Baptist Church on James Island

minister of the Independent church until 1761 when he died of a stroke at the age of 41.⁸⁰ The significant wealth William had acquired through marriage was passed on to his children. One son, Richard, later used his inheritance to the benefit of South Carolina. William Hutson's evolution from a lawyer to struggling actor, to minister at one of the most influential non-Anglican churches in colonial America certainly influenced his children's future.

As members of the Independent Church, the Peronneau family would have been well versed in the events and power of the Great Awakening and of the ministry and life of William Hutson. The influence of the Independent Church is not only spiritual, it is multi-dimensional. Church members had always placed importance on breaking linkages and stodgy influences of institutional established religions of Europe. Also, the need to stop government support of any church, including the Anglican Church, was a paramount theme they would have repetitively heard. These themes would later manifest themselves in the governing documents of the new American country.

The Peronneau/Hutson interactions first established at the Independent Church had an influence on the course of the American Revolution and the American Revolution had a strong influence on the two family groups. To lay the groundwork for future reference⁸¹:

- William Hutson's children by his first wife Mary (Woodward) Chardon, the widow of Isaac Chardon; they married in 1743.
 - daughter Mary (born 1744) marries Arthur Peronneau in June 1762
 - daughter Elizabeth (born 1746) marries Isaac Hayne in July 1765
 - son Richard (born 1748) never marries
 - son Thomas (born 1750) marries Esther Maine in 1773
 - daughter Esther (born 1753) marries Major William Hazaard Wigg
 - daughter Anne (born 1755) marries General John Barnwell

First Samuel Peronneau Dies

Samuel did not have a long life, he died on January 15, 1756 at the age of 45.⁸² Samuel was buried in the graveyard of the Independent Church where the engraving on his elaborate headstone indicates he died of a "tedious and painful illness which he bore with the greatest constancy and resignation".

In his will, Samuel makes every effort to provide for his family. His wife, Elizabeth, is provided her dower rights. Her 1/3 of the estate is to include a house on the west side of the new Church Street near White Point which was currently rented out. Elizabeth also gets four slaves and 7,000 pounds which the executors were to administer so she receives the interest on that amount annually. The three children,

were found, one was Stillman's tenure and then Rev. Nicholas Bedgegood worked there as the preacher there from 1765 to 1767. Perhaps the James Island Baptist congregation dissolved after Bedgegood left it in 1767 under scandalous accusations. See the footnote on page 77 in *"A Faithful Ambassador": The Diary of Rev. William Hutson, Pastor of the Independent Meeting in Charleston, 1757-1761 continued*, Author(s): William Hutson and Daniel J. Tortora

Source: The South Carolina Historical Magazine, Vol. 108, No. 1 (Jan., 2007), pp. 32-100.

Published by: South Carolina Historical Society

⁸⁰ David Ramsay M.D. *The History of the Independent or Congregational Church in Charleston, SC.*

⁸¹ William Maine Hutson, *The Hutson Family of South Carolina*

⁸² Per headstone in graveyard of Independent Church in Charleston.

Samuel Jr⁸³, Elizabeth, and Sarah, were to be provided for in the following manner. The executors and executrix were to purchase 12 slaves to run the plantation on James Island until the youngest reached 21 or was married. The property should then be sold and divided among the children. Samuel Jr. also received two other landholdings, on Edisto Island and in Colleton County.

Items of note in the inventory taken at Samuel's death demonstrate his wealth and provide insight on the James Island plantation's activities via its separate listing. Items from the plantation on James Island are given below to assist in assessing the scale of operations and provide a sample of the agricultural products produced on the northern end of the island. Items in the plantation dwellings are also listed. From the advertisement listing Samuel's plantation for sale, we know the house was a two-story structure. We cannot tell if the plantation was well run or not for its time, yet it does indicate that sufficient capital was present for a manager to put it to productive, and hopefully profitable use, until his children became of age or were married as stipulated in his will.

Item	Amount	Value (pounds, shillings, pence)
Cattle	92 head	368-0-0
Sheep	37 head	55-10-0
Horses	6	60-0-0
Ox cart and furniture	1	15-0-0
Horse cart	1	5-0-0
Chair Horse	1	30-0-0
Hogs and Pigs	58	43-10-0
Plantation Tools		5-0-0
Grinding Stones	2	2-0-0
Kitchen and Dairy Furniture		11-0-0
Rough Rice		5-0-0
Corn	1,200 bushels	450-0-0
Pettiauger and Canoe	1 each	100-0-0
Chairs	6	3-0-0
Desk	1	4-0-0
Furniture of a Buffet		3-0-0
Table	1	2-0-0
2 Bed Steads and 1 elbow chair		5-0-0
Rum Case	1	2-0-0
3 Dishes, 12 plates, 1 tea kettle, and other articles		2-0-0
Wearing apparel of deceased		60-0-0
Watch	1	100-0-0
Shoe buttons, knee buckles, neck buckle		5-0-0
Blunder buss, pair pistols, and powder horn		10-0-0

Table 3.3. Plantation on James Island Inventory at Death of Samuel Peronneau (senior). From Charleston County Register of Deeds.

⁸³ Jr is added to Samuel's son, also named Samuel to differentiate them.

Nineteen slaves worked and lived on the plantation.

- 6 couples with 2 children between them
- 2 single women
- 1 single man
- 2 boys

<u>Slave Names on James Island Plantation</u>	<u>Value (pounds, shillings, pence)</u>
Family – Scipio, Hagar, and son Scipio	600-0-0
Family – Prince and Dinah	450-0-0
Family – Cuffee and Meliah	450-0-0
Family – London and Sarah	450-0-0
Family - Hampshire and Hannah	400-0-0
Family – Dick Cumber and young child	450-0-0
Wench - Sue	170-0-0
Man - Carolina	250-0-0
Boy – Isaac	230-0-0
Boy – Sharper	230-0-0
Wench - Phillis	240-0-0

Table 3.4 Samuel Peronneau Slave List on James Island. From Charleston County Register of Deeds.

Looking at the number of animals being raised, it is clear that the emphasis of the plantation was livestock farming to produce meat for Charleston and exportation. The amount of corn is extremely large and must have been used as feed for the animals and human consumption.

The furniture in the plantation house seems relatively modest with the value of individual pieces low, totaling 21 pounds, compared to the value of furnishings found on the main house on the peninsula being just under 2,000 pounds. The inventory was taken in March 1756 two months after Samuel’s death; more valuable items could already have been removed.

Despite the well-meaning nature of the will, execution of its intent proved problematic.

Samuel Jr: New Beginnings

Samuel Jr takes little time to begin his own journey. On January 19, 1758 in Beaufort, SC he married Sarah Ann Tattall (born 1742-died 1812). Sarah brought with her a dowry of 3,000 pounds provincial currency and several slaves. Keep in mind that Samuel was born in 1743. What prompted this marriage at such a young age for Sarah and for Samuel Jr (around 15), is not known. Perhaps being married gave Samuel Jr more control over the property his father left, maybe the two families sought to start a larger more profitable franchise, or maybe the two young people simply wanted to get married. In any event, after marriage the next three years find Samuel Jr engaged in his merchandising efforts on the peninsula.

In 1759, four advertisements appeared in the Gazette all indicating a significant number of items, mostly cloth and clothing, imported from England. The advertisements confirm that his store was at the corner of Broad and Union St. (Union Street’s name was changed to State Street around the time of the Civil War). This is the same location his father occupied.

Four advertisements in the Gazette in 1760 continue to indicate his store location and items for sale. In addition, we learn he has closed his store on Edisto Island and remaining goods have been brought to his store at Broad and Union and the goods are free of disease. A terrible smallpox epidemic was taking place in 1760 as corroborated from William Hutson's retreat to his James Island plantation.

1761 is an eventful year with nine Gazette advertisements related to Samuel Peronneau Jr. The first half of the year he continues to sell imported items from his store. In March he puts up for sale large tracts of land on Daufuskie Island and in Colleton County indicating he needs cash or the land has reached its potential for him. In June a major event occurred when he placed his store and all his contents up for sale and he took steps to collect all debts owed him. From this point in time, in most advertisements, he was consistently asking for all people owing him money to pay him. It appears that one or more significant events had taken place with Samuel Jr. By August of 1761 he was still in his store, yet the range of goods he listed for sale was much less expansive. Along with some imported items from England are also included basic foodstuffs from Philadelphia and local milk. In November, Elizabeth Peronneau (Samuel's mother) placed an ad in the Gazette for an overseer to run a plantation; this implies Samuel cannot, or will not, handle daily plantation operations.

The Gazette only has one advertisement in 1762 for Samuel Peronneau. In it, we see he was still in the same store, yet he was trying to rent out the second floor which has a kitchen. Also, the number of imported items has again decreased.

During 1763 Samuel Peronneau Jr's business continued to shrink. He wants to liquidate his business and he is looking to possibly get out of town, with no destination given. He placed two advertisements, one early and one later in the year, trying to sell a large number of imported housewares. The later ad also indicated the sale was to enable him to leave in the spring. His house was now for rent and his living situation is unknown.

Samuel Jr.'s Royal Problem

Royal governors appointed during the late 1750s and early 1760s encountered difficulties dealing with the legislature of the South Carolina colony. On December 22, 1761 Thomas Boone arrived as the newly appointed royal governor of South Carolina.⁸⁴ Boone arrived with impressive credentials. Born in England to a very politically connected family, he inherited two large estates in South Carolina. One called Mepshoo of 2,000 acres and one of 6,815 acres called Boone's Barony. Upon reaching legal age of 21 in 1751, he traveled to South Carolina to oversee his inheritance. He remained for two years before returning to England. In 1758 he returned with the intention of staying permanently.

While not actively seeking a governorship position, his political family never the less had him appointed governor of New Jersey in 1759. After a year, and a reasonably successful tenure in New Jersey, he sought and obtained the governorship of the much more prestigious South Carolina. Soon after Boone's arrival in December 1761 he began courting Sarah Tattnall Peronneau the wife of Samuel Peronneau, Jr. Social customs prevented her from divorcing Samuel Peronneau Jr and marrying Thomas Boone.

⁸⁴ Information for Thomas Boone was primarily derived from: Lewis Namier. "Charles Garth and His Connections" English Historical Review 54 (July 1939) pp. 443-470.

While this scandalous courtship was going on, Boone was ineptly handling his role as governor. Events turn badly enough to force a return to England to explain himself. On May 11, 1764 Boone set sail for England. On board was Sarah Tattnall Peronneau, the native-born daughter of the new world leaving it all behind. She never returned. In England, Boone and Sarah Peronneau eventually married after Sarah was officially a widow.

In England, Boone was officially reprimanded for his political failures and he resigned as governor of South Carolina. The rest of his working life was spent in a relatively minor government capacity in England. Sarah does try to get her dower back by petitioning the court in Charleston via a representative on November 29, 1768. Her petition was denied. Thomas Boone retired from government service in 1805 and returned to his ancestral home in Kent called Lee Place. Thomas and Sarah lived a relatively long life together, both dying within five months of each other in 1812.⁸⁵

Samuel Peronneau's Decline

As previously noted, Samuel's business decline began in the middle of 1761, a short time before Boone arrived in December of 1761. From late 1761, and for all of 1762 and 1763, Samuel's business advertisements were shrinking in size and scope, furthermore he was making suggestions he was going to leave town. The role of his marriage to Sarah, and her relationship to Boone in the decline in Samuel's business may never be known, yet the correlation is certainly present from the time Boone arrives until he left Charleston.

Speculation can also be made that other forces were at play in the decline of Samuel Peronneau's business, including his health. Many debilitating diseases were present during this time. Samuel's father, as we noted, died of a disease which manifested itself in long-suffering process⁸⁶. Also, competition among the increasing number of merchants and Britain's implementation of various taxes caused merchants' profits to diminish.

In late 1763 and early 1764, a number of advertisements appeared where Samuel stated he wanted to sell out and leave the colony. After Sarah leaves with Boone in May of 1764, Samuel's business decline continued and health issues are implicit. Starting in the later part of 1764 and through 1765 Samuel was concentrating on sales of some food stuffs from Philadelphia (notably flour) and a small range of dry goods on occasion. Other external issues could also come into play around 1763 to 1765. In 1763 the British navy begins to enforce the 1733 Molasses Act, which had not previously been enforced, and trade is restricted.⁸⁷ Samuel may have found a potential profit area in 1764 when he and William Hinckley purchased and registered a sloop they called the Jamaica Packet.⁸⁸ The sloop could have been used for shorter trading routes to cities along the eastern coast and Caribbean, avoiding the British navy.

⁸⁵ Citation "The Papers of Henry Laurens" Vol 9. and Namier, Lewis, "Charles Garth and His Connections." English Historical Review 54 (July 1939): pp. 443-70.)

⁸⁶ Gravestone in the Circular Church graveyard in Charleston.

⁸⁷ Arthur Meier Schlesinger, *The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution 1763-1776*. p. 47-48.

⁸⁸ Sloop called the Jamaica Packet, 25 tons, Charleston; master, Francis Dickinson; owners, Samuel Peronneau, William Hinckley (both of Charleston). A sloop is a sailboat with one mast and fore and aft sails. From Ship Registers from the Carolina Archives, 1734 – 1780, by R. Nicholas Olsberg. The South Carolina Historical Magazine, Vol. 74, No. 4 (Oct. 1984), pp. 189- 299.

The British Parliament passed the Stamp Act as a statute of the realm on March 22, 1765 and it was to go into effect on November 1st further impeding trade.⁸⁹ Charleston merchants experienced a severe downturn at this time. Samuel remained at his store at Broad and Union streets. In June and July 1765, Henry and Arthur Peronneau, also merchants, announced they are selling out their store and wanted to sell the store and house on Broad St.⁹⁰ Samuel Peronneau was one of a number of merchants and vessel owners to sign a petition which was sent to the Assembly of the colony and published in the Gazette on February 18, 1766 seeking relief from onerous taxation which was stifling trade and making merchants suffer.

Throughout 1766 a limited selection of items continued to be sold by Samuel, mainly foodstuffs including fresh Hopkins milk (presumably a species of cow) and water bread (made without milk). Of note for 1766 was an advertisement in January for an overseer to manage and plant at a plantation, presumably this was the James Island plantation.

In 1767, Samuel rented his store and house on Broad St. and moved his store to Tradd Street in the house formerly owned by Thomas Savage and opposite William Burroughs. He continued to sell a limited range of items. In April of 1768 Samuel left Tradd Street and settled open affairs while selling a few remaining items. Samuel must have been in the later stages of life at this time. His business efforts had gradually declined to almost nothing.

On October 25, 1768 Samuel Peronneau's death at the age of 25 was announced in the Gazette where he was listed as a merchant. This brought to an end the twenty years of Samuel Peronneau's, senior and junior, business and the use of the plantation on James Island. His mother, Elizabeth, sold some items from her place on Elliot Street in 1770; the extent of her efforts did not leave much in terms of historical records.

Settlement of Samuel Peronneau's Estate

His will was entered into court on October 21, 1768. Samuel Peronneau Jr's will was simpler and his inventory much less extensive than his father's. His demise seems to have taken some time, allowing him to simplify his holdings prior to his death. Some of the key items in his will were:

1. Samuel left 1 shilling to his wife Sarah (who was still in England) since she "eloped" (his words), indicating he remained resentful of this wife's desertion. The marriage contract with Sarah brought 3,000 pounds and 5 slaves (now 10). The will stipulated that money from that contract was to be split between his sisters, Sarah and Elizabeth, and each was to get 3 slaves.
2. William Burt was to get 500 pounds to be paid in interest until he reached the age of 21.⁹¹
3. 250 pounds were left to the South Carolina Society.
4. 50 pounds were left to procure his tomb.
5. His sisters, Elizabeth and Sarah, were to split the remainder of the estate.

⁸⁹ Edmund S. and Helen M. Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis*, p. 96. and Schlesinger, Arthur Meier. *The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution 1763-1776*, p. 65.

⁹⁰ Gazette, July 27, 1765,

⁹¹ William Burt was subject to amercement for supporting the British in the Revolutionary War.

The inventory of his effects taken on November 17, 1768 provides more insight into Samuel Peronneau, Jr. and his business activities; in particular, a bit more evidence is available on how the James Island plantation was used. First, the total inventory was valued at 4,401 pounds and 12 shillings. He possessed a Free Mason piece which, unless inherited, shows his probable involvement with the institution. He had 85 books on various subjects which demonstrate a higher degree of education than most for the time. Five slaves were listed in the inventory with one indicated as being a cooper and one a shoemaker. Other items of note include a sloop named the Betsey and Sally worth 1,300 pounds. 1,200 bushels of salt were also part of the inventory. Why some items were not on the inventory is not clear, the plantation on James Island was not listed, nor were other slaves which would have been on the plantation; perhaps his sisters had taken possession already or it was earmarked for auction to settle debts.

As previously covered, one can easily link the sloop with transporting goods and people between the James Island plantation and Charleston and other locations. The slave listed as a cooper could have been employed in making barrels to sell or used to contain the meat or other perishables produced on the plantation; the salt used to preserve the meat or other foodstuffs.

From the short inventory and its relatively small value of 4,400 pounds (30% being the sloop) compared to his father's estate value of nearly 16,000 pounds, we see that Samuel's financial resources were limited. Neither his merchandising efforts nor his land holdings seem to have done exceedingly well. Shortly before his death, Samuel Peronneau Jr prepared a document in which he acknowledges he owes his father's estate 3,000 pounds; this document was probably prepared to establish members of his father's estate, particularly his step-mother Elizabeth (who raised him from an infant), as creditors to be paid in the settlement and distribution of his assets.

Exact details on how Samuel's estate was settled could not be found. Evidence suggests there was some issue in settling the estate. A few months after Samuel's death we see some movement on the estate settlement process. A Gazette announcement on January 24, 1769, that on February 16th two houses and lots on White Point will be auctioned with Elizabeth Peronneau, as executrix. Later, on January 28th in the Gazette is the posting that on February 9th, the following James Island Plantation of the late Samuel Peronneau Senior will be auctioned per instructions in his will. The plantation is described as follows:

"The said plantation, containing about 617 acres of land, and marsh, commodiously and pleasantly situated in sight of Charles-Town, at about three miles distant there-from, with a good and safe landing thereto, at any time of tide, on Wappoo creek, by which it is partly bounded, and the land is known to be exceeding good for planting, and has a good dwelling home, and other convenient buildings on it, and is fenced or ditched in, and advantageously situated for supplying Charles-Town market."

Also, printed is that slaves, cattle, horses, livestock, implements, tools, provisions, etc. will also be sold. The plantation on James Island was not sold at this time; however, the description of the property is noteworthy.

Sometime in the estate settlement process it was determined that the senior Samuel Peronneau's will was still applicable which stipulated that the plantation was to be sold once his children reached the age of 21 or were married. With Samuel Jr.'s passing, his sisters were relatively quick on the marriage

stipulation, especially since they were all the better marriage partner given the value of their inheritance.

- Sarah Peronneau married John Scott in December 1768⁹²
- Elizabeth Peronneau married Edward Lightwood in January 1770⁹³

An entry in the Records of the Court of the Ordinary in February 1771⁹⁴ states that the estate of Samuel Peronneau (Jr) needed to be settled; it has been over two years since his death. The next month the same Court⁹⁵ stated that the executors of the estate named in the will resigned their role, and one of them, Samuel's step-mother Elizabeth, was declared insane. Finally, the entry states that Edward Lightwood is to administer the settlement of the estate; Edward is the husband of Samuel's sister Elizabeth. The details behind these actions would be good to know.

From a practical standpoint we know that by the end of 1771, Samuel's plantation (the northern end of James Island) was divided into three main parts, two with new owners.

1. Northwest Corner – now owned by Richard Hutson
2. Northeast Corner – now owned by Edward Lightwood and his new wife Elizabeth Peronneau
3. Central Tract – portion inherited by Richard Hutson from his father and possibly some amount from his wife, and portions owned by William Henderson and William Glenn. Two conflicting grants initially claimed this land.

A review of each follows with an emphasis on Richard Hutson's portion since it encompasses the portion in which Riverland Terrace lies.

Northeast Corner – New Owners

On March 14, 1771 (just after the Court of the Ordinary told executors to finally settle Samuel's estate), a "memorial" for a "plantation or tract of land" was recorded for Edward Lightwood on the Northeast corner of James Island.⁹⁶ The land contained 250 acres. The "memorial" officially recorded the boundaries in the real estate records of the parish.⁹⁷ How the land became Edward Lightwood's is not specified in documents found. The land was probably his wife's, Elizabeth, portion of her inheritance of her father's James Island plantation; other less likely options are that Edward Lightwood had to purchase it, or the land was a gift to the young couple carved out during the settlement of the estate.

A few other interesting notes on Edward Lightwood's financial transactions and this portion of land, which is later to become the McLeod plantation, are worth reviewing. Family connections play a

⁹² Date of December 1768 recorded in South Carolina Genealogy published in 1910 on page 36 as reported by Isaac Hayne. Also, date of December 20, 1768 recorded by Gazette.

⁹³ Date of January 1, 1770 recorded in South Carolina Genealogy published in 1910 on page 92 as reported by Isaac Hayne. Also, the Gazette published on January 9, 1770 reported the marriage.

⁹⁴ Elizabeth H. Jervey, "Records of Court of Ordinary 1764-1777", South Carolina Historical and Genealogy Magazine, Vol. 44, No. 3 (July 1943), p. 179.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 183

⁹⁶ The plat reference is: South Carolina Archives, Series S213184, Volume 16, Page 352, Record 19 of 103. A description is found in the South Carolina Archives, Series S111001, Volume 10,, Page 442, Item 005, Page 22 of 103.

⁹⁷ The land in the memorial formed the basis for what is known as the McLeod plantation currently.

substantial role in providing capital to Edward Lightwood. As background, Edward Lightwood is documented as being a merchant and a minor importer of slaves in what looks like a small number. In December 1769 the month before his marriage to Elizabeth Peronneau, Edward Lightwood received a large loan from her uncle William Webb. On March 19, 1772 Lightwood incurs an additional large loan from John Scott, Edward Lightwood's new brother-in-law. On May 25, 1772, Sarah Peronneau Scott releases all claims on any part of her inheritance of the late Samuel Peronneau's (senior) 617 acre James island plantation to help secure a contract between her husband John Scott, and her brother-in-law Edward Lightwood with William Webb. The purpose of this contract is not known; however, William Webb did not feel secure enough about this inter-family deal without Sarah Scott relinquishing inheritance claims in order to have a clear claim on the land used as collateral. How specific money was used is subject to conjecture. Edward Lightwood had grand plans and seems inclined to engage in speculative undertakings in land holdings, slave trading, and merchandising.

The debt contracts outlined above, engaged in during the 1769 to 1772 time period, return as a major issue between the parties in 1781. The issues and the context at the time are detailed in the Revolutionary War Section and reflect the depth of the war's impact within families as the fluctuations in anticipated outcome of the war cause severe economic impacts.

The northeast corner of James Island has a detailed lineage from this point forward as it forms the basis for what is known as the McLeod plantation.

Central Tract – Ownership Conflict

While the initial purchase of the northern end of James Island by Samuel Peronneau senior in 1741 seems very straightforward in terms of the boundaries, all is not as it seems. A grant extended in 1717 to Charles Armstrong surfaced to claim legitimacy of 379 acres right in the middle of northern end of James Island. The legal existence of this large tract of land in the middle of the northern section is important due to its large size and future partitioning. This "central section" is a designation given by the author to land west of Lightwood's plantation, east of the Peronneau land, and north of New Town Cut, originally in the senior Samuel Peronneau's purchase. How overlapping grants between the Peronneaus and Armstrongs were resolved or simply "lived with" is not known. It is clear that plantations were carved out of the 379 acres and actively worked while the Peronneaus owned the north end. The Peronneaus and the owners in the central section evidently worked out some arrangement.

Via a deed recorded by William Henderson, we know William Hutson owned a portion of this central section. On October 1756, William Henderson records a deed where on the related plat is depicted a west boundary with the "Lands of Rev. Hutson" indicated which signifies the land belonged to William Hutson while married to his first wife who died in 1757.⁹⁸

William Henderson also records a "Memorial" in October of 1756 detailing his purchase from Robert Screvens⁹⁹ which also includes a lineage of the land. In this historical lineage, Henderson cites an initial

⁹⁸ Indicating that William Hutson obtained the land via a purchase or via property brought to the marriage by his wife, Mary Woodward Chardon Hutson. Mary Hutson was the daughter of Richard Woodward and granddaughter of Henry Woodward one of the first settlers of South Carolina. Her family lived on James Island. Announcement of her first marriage stated she had a large fortune – South Carolina Gazette, Saturday November 8, 1735.

⁹⁹ South Carolina State Archives, Columbia, SC. Henderson Memorial, Serial: 111001, Vol: 7, Page: 129.

grant of 379 acres by the Lords Proprietors in 1717 to Charles Armstrong. Charles Armstrong passes the land to his son, also named Charles. Charles Junior sells 262 acres to Robert Screvens. It is likely that William Glenn and William Hutson (possibly via his first wife's family/inheritance or her first husband) obtained remaining portions of the original grant from Armstrong.

Richard Hutson's association with this "Central" portion dates back to the settlement of his father's (William Hutson) estate in 1761. After his return from "Philadelphia College" (per his letterbook in 1766), Richard took a more hands-on approach to the James Island plantation he inherited. On May 10, 1767 in a letter to Isaac Hayne (Richard's brother-in-law) he states that it is often necessary to be at James Island and that he will soon have his little house there in order. Note that this is prior to Samuel Peronneau Jr.'s death in 1768, meaning Richard must be referring to a house he is constructing in the Central portion on land he owns. It is not until 1776 that Richard refers to his James Island plantation as "Montpelier"; this could refer to the house he built in the Central portion or to one in the northwest section built by the Peronneaus.

Henderson's land of 264 acres remained between William Glenn's and William Hutson's land in 1761; this is per the advertisement for sale by William Henderson found in the Gazette of October 3, 1761. The 1761 date is prior to the death of Samuel Peronneau Jr., so the "central section" must have had some legitimacy in terms of ownership versus the Peronneaus. This legitimacy is verified when Richard Hutson mortgaged land in 1786 consisting of the 264 acres he must have purchased from Henderson; the mortgage lists the 264 acres as collateral with Mr. Glenn on the east and Mr. Hutson's land on the west. No details were found on this situation of conflicting grants to the same land from the Lords Proprietors.

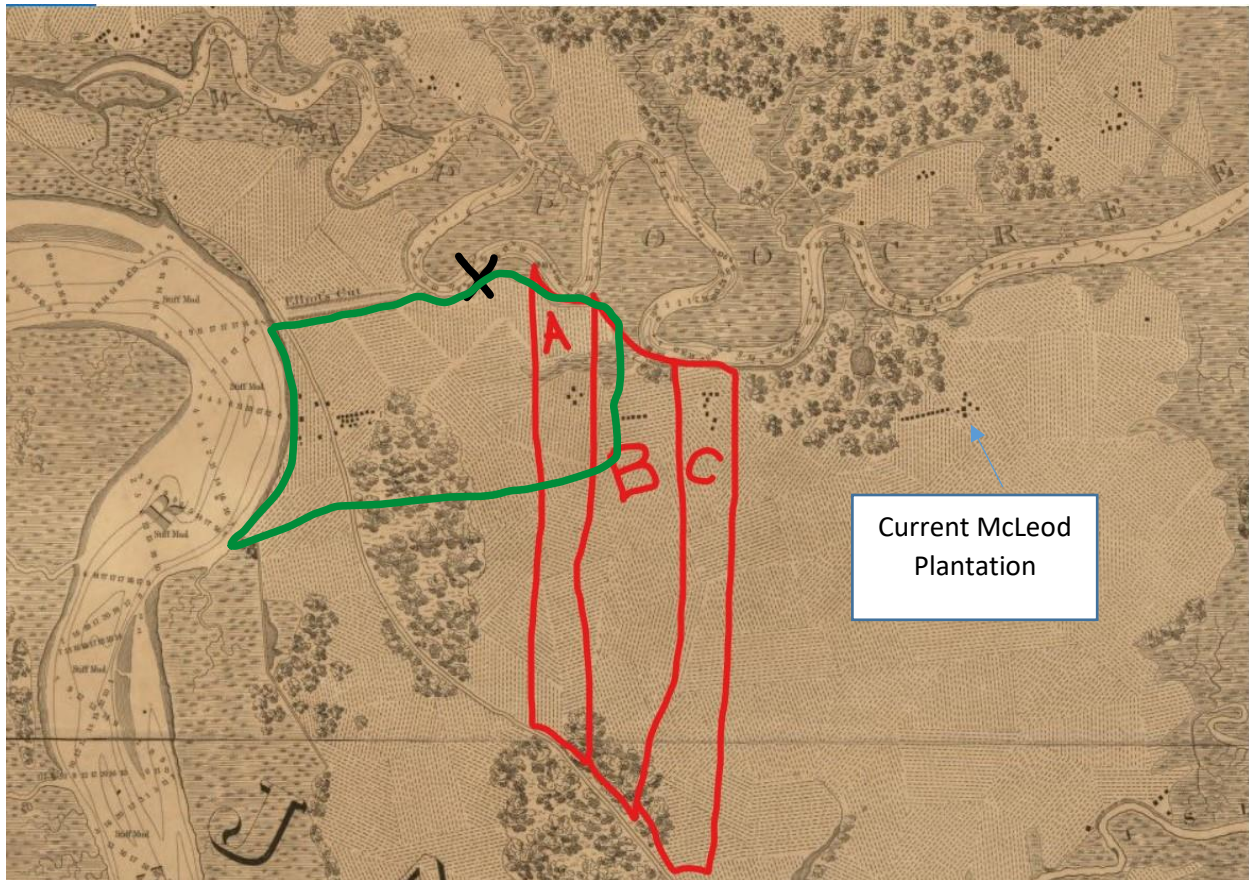


Figure 3.5. Very approximate outline of “Central Section” is entire red outlined area in 1760s. Area “A” would have been William Hutson’s. Area “B” owned by Scrivens/Henderson. Area “C” by William Glenn. “X” is approximate location of current Riverland Terrace Landing. Green box is approximate area of current Riverland Terrace. Base map from 1825 Map of Charleston by U.S. Govt in Library of Congress.

Northwest Section

The northwest section, as being defined, of James Island surrounds the land which Riverland Terrace currently occupies. Broadly the land is bounded on the north by Wappoo Creek, the west by the Stono River, to the south about to New Town Cut (with some variations), and to the east by the “central section”. Specifics of how this section of Samuel Peronneau Jr.’s plantation is handled in the settlement of the estate could not be found. As previously noted, Elizabeth Peronneau (Samuel’s step-mother) planned to auction the plantation in February 1769. No documentation of the auction was found. However, we do know that on March 28, 1771 Richard Hutson placed an ad in the Gazette to sell a plantation of 629 acres located on James Island situated on the Stono River at the northern extremity of the island. While Richard did not sell the land at this time, it does indicate that he had ownership rights by 1771. The March date of Hutson’s Gazette advertisement coincides with Edward Lightwood’s memorializing his plot; memorializing his plot of land meant that the boundaries of his land were recorded in official documentation of the time for others to see and reference. This independent activity in March 1771 indicates that the settlement process had taken place with Richard Hutson in sole

possession of the northwest corner of James Island and Edward Lightwood in firm sole possession of the northeastern corner of James Island.

Hutson's northwest corner could have been obtained via an estate auction sale or a direct purchase since he had family ties to the Peronneaus. Remember that Richard's ties to the Peronneaus were extremely close (via the Independent Church and his sister's marriage to a Peronneau and his being part of that family while young, once his father died). In addition, his legal training meant the settlement could have taken a route with limited public disclosure.

By early 1771, Richard Hutson now owned the northwest corner and a portion of the Central Section inherited from his father.

4. The Hutson Family

Purchaser: Richard Hutson

Purchase Date: Circa 1770

Area: The northwest portion of James Island from Wappoo Creek south to somewhere close to New Town Cut, more or less, defined Richard Hutson's James Island land. The eastern boundary was about one-third the width of the island moving from the Stono River east. In addition to the far western portion obtained from the Peronneau's, Hutson had already inherited land in the central portion. Hutson later purchased much of the remaining central portion he did not own, again this covered land south of Wappoo Creek to about where Central Park road intersects Riverland Drive.

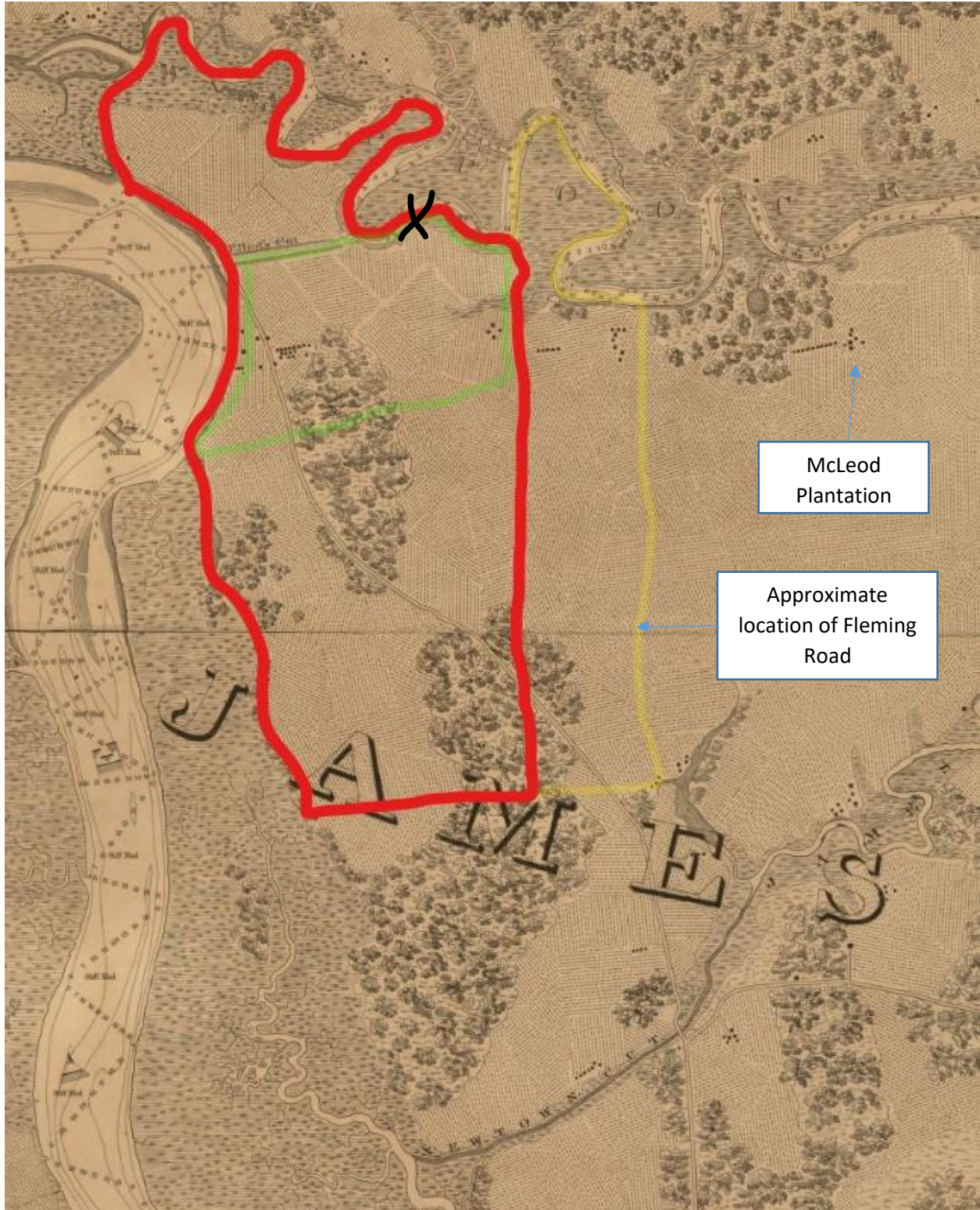


Figure 4.1. Red lines approximately enclose Hutson's land obtained from Peronneaus and inheritance with yellow lines indicating later purchase. Green lines enclose vicinity of what is currently Riverland Terrace. "X" is approximate location of Terrace boat landing. Base map from 1825 Map of Charleston by U.S. Govt in Library of Congress.

Richard Hutson Prior to Revolutionary War

Richard Hutson's father, William, was a minister heavily involved in the "Dissenter" movement along with the theology of the first "great awakening" as previously noted. His father's story is a significant journey which provides the origins of Richard's value system. Richard Hutson was born in 1748 and was the third child and first son of Mary (Woodward) Chardon Hutson¹⁰⁰ and William Hutson.

In 1748 Richard's father was the minister at the Stoney Creek Independent (Presbyterian) Church at Pocotaligo. At this time, the small community of Pocotaligo was one of the primary stops in the overland route between Charleston and Savannah and was still considered to be in Indian Territory. Given Richard's father was trained as a lawyer and was a follower of Whitefield, his family was literate. His routines as a youth were probably structured and included an educational component, the details of which are not known.

Richard was still a young boy in 1756 when his father took the position of minister at the Independent Church, which is now the Circular Church on the peninsula. Once in Charleston, life changed quickly for Richard. His mother died in 1757 when he was nine, followed by his stepmother in 1760. His father died in 1761 when he was 13. Details of who cared for the children are not certain, yet his oldest sister, Mary, married Arthur Peronneau¹⁰¹ in 1762, the year she turned 18. Given Richard and his other siblings were not of age, direct care or oversight for the care of her siblings by Mary seems to be a logical course of events. This would have established a firm bond between Richard Hutson and the Peronneaus, including the intangible benefits of the mentoring and interactions with the members of such a wealthy and educated extended family.

As a side note on the Hutson/Peronneau relationship, Arthur Peronneau's death in 1774 left Richard's sister Mary with at least four young children to raise. Richard in turn assists Mary by becoming the guardian of her children. Richard is certainly close to his siblings, often mentioning them in his letter book. Richard's later establishment of a family vault for the Peronneaus and Hutsons in the cemetery of the Independent Church provide evidence of the strength of this bond between the families. Richard attended the College of New Jersey (Nassau Hall), which later became Princeton. At college Richard's emphasis was in the classics.¹⁰² In 1765, at the age of 17, he graduated.¹⁰³ One of his classmates was David Ramsey, a fellow Charlestonian and part time historian who documented much of local colonial

¹⁰⁰ Mary (Woodward) Chardon Hutson was the granddaughter of Dr. Henry Woodward, the first English settler in South Carolina. The Hutson Family of South Carolina, SCHS, by William Maine Hutson. Volume 9, No. 3, July 1908, Page 127.

¹⁰¹ Arthur was about 10 years older than Mary. When Arthur died in 1774, he had accumulated a great amount of wealth as a merchant in the indigo trade, owning several plantations, and property in Charleston. Charleston Mercury, July 5, 2006 by Seabrook Wilkinson, p. 11.

¹⁰² U.S. Congress, Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774–1949 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1950), p.1354.

¹⁰³ U.S. Congress, Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774–1949 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1950), p.1354.

events¹⁰⁴. After graduation, Richard returned to Charleston. His inherited wealth allowed flexibility in determining his next endeavors. Initially, he pursued running the family plantations¹⁰⁵, one of which, Montpelier, was on the northern end of James Island in the “central” section. By June of 1766 Richard Hutson’s interests had shifted; in a letter dated June 21, 1766 he indicated he may study a “little” law.¹⁰⁶ Richard was soon admitted to the bar and began his practice in Charleston. Becoming a lawyer would shape the remainder of his life and that of South Carolina and beyond in governing concepts and documents he had a role in producing.

From 1766 to 1776, letters in his letterbook¹⁰⁷ pertain to, among other items, assisting the Independent Church obtain a good minister and speakers, attending to his plantation, building a house on his James Island plantation, and helping his older sister, Mary, whose husband died in 1774 at age 39 and left her with young children.

In one curious post in the Gazette in March 1771, Richard advertised he wanted to sell a plantation on James Island’s northern end situated on the Stono because he is going back to England. The plantation is in all likelihood the former Peronneau tract he now owned. He did not sell the plantation, nor can any record be found of his going back to England.

Richard Hutson During the Revolutionary War Period

Richard Hutson is one of James Island’s most important landowners owning a large portion of the JINWC containing at least two plantation houses. Richard selflessly threw himself into the service of the newly forming nation, state, and local public initiatives, while remaining engaged with the Independent Church.¹⁰⁸ In 1775 he was appointed to the St. Andrews committee to enforce the boycott of the importation of British goods. At the same time, he served on a committee to revise the constitution of the Independent Church in Charleston.

As the revolt against the British intensified so did Richard’s efforts to support the Patriots. 1776 was the first of 14 years of almost continuous representation for St. Andrews in South Carolina’s general assembly. During 1776 he was also a justice of the peace. On the military front, he served in the local militia during the British attack on Charleston. The initial British effort to take Charleston from the sea in June of 1776 was soundly defeated at Sullivan’s Island. When the British fleet first appeared, the residents of Charleston were naturally concerned for their safety. Richard Hutson in a letter dated June 24, 1776 in his letterbook stated that he had moved Mrs. Peronneau, his sister, to his plantation on the northern end of James Island which he had started to call Montpelier. Not being certain of the direction of the British attack he continued on to say that he kept his large boat at his front landing in case he and his sister needed to move on short notice.¹⁰⁹ In a June 30, 1776 letter after the battle for Sullivan’s

¹⁰⁴James McLachlan, *Princetonians 1748 to 1768 a Biographical Dictionary*. Princeton University Press, New Jersey 1976.

¹⁰⁵ Richard Hutson, Letterbook, March 12, 1766.

¹⁰⁶ Richard Hutson, Letterbook, June 21, 1766.

¹⁰⁷ Richard Hutson, Letterbook.

¹⁰⁸ These major activities and events are derived from: *Princetonians 1748-1768, A Biographical Dictionary*, James McLachlan. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey. 1976. 1903 SCHS Magazine, and Biography from SCHS files.

¹⁰⁹ When referring to Montpelier, the plantation is probably in the Central North end of James Island on the land he inherited from his father and on which he built the house he refers to in a 1767 letter. The other possibility is

Island, he provided a vivid first-hand account of the action viewed from what is probably Fort Johnson on the eastern side of James Island and not far from the struggle across the harbor.

During the years 1776 to 1778 Richard saw the chance for governments at all levels to have all religions on equal footing, with no preferential treatment or support from taxation. He vigorously advocated for this stance as the new nation's foundation documents were formed. From Richard's letterbook entry of January 18, 1777 he mentioned that (Rawlins) Lowndes and (Charles) Pinckney, fellow legislators, preferred the Church of England to continue in its current role in order to serve the poor and manage elections. He chastised his brother-in-law, Isaac Hayne, for not being a good representative and not pushing the issue in the correct direction. He was expressing frustration that the South Carolina temporary constitution of 1776 made no mention of breaking state support for the Anglican church. Richard was hoping to fulfill the desire of no state supported church so adamantly expressed in the early years of the Independent Church; this conviction of the Independent Church continued at this time with the current minister William Tennent.¹¹⁰ His voice, along with those of other Dissenters, were instrumental in making all religions equal and removing support for the Anglican Church in the 1778 Constitution of South Carolina. Their efforts helped support the separation of church and state as the Articles of Confederation and the U. S. Constitution were formed.

With the British occupied by fighting in the northern colonies, Richard in 1777 was the commissioner for opening and enlarging transportation between the Ashley and Stono Rivers. Improvements were needed for economic and military reasons.

From 1778 to 1779 Richard had some of his most influence at the national level. He served as one of two South Carolina delegates to the Second Continental Congress in Philadelphia. In addition, he is one of 49 signers of the Articles of Confederation. Other signers of the Articles of Confederation from South Carolina were: William Drayton, Thomas Heyward, Jr., Henry Laurens, and John Mathews. These signers put their lives and wealth on the line by signing the document. During this time South Carolina was running out of funds to support the war effort. Loans from individuals to the state were solicited so the state could issue paper script to pay war debt. Richard made four loans to the state totaling 100,000 South Carolina pounds which were to be paid back in South Carolina issued script. In doing so he hoped to demonstrate to others it was a patriotic thing to do. At the same time South Carolina was issuing paper script, the central government was also issuing Continentals (paper script issued at the federal level) to pay its debts. It was not too long before the money supply increased too much causing significant inflation and depreciation of the paper script. By 1783, Richard's loans were almost worthless. The Continental was worth about 3% of its initial value and basically went out of circulation, the rest of its value had been eaten up by inflation. Paper currency issued by the state of South Carolina was worth so little it was basically driven out of circulation.

that he does own the former Peronneau property situated at the northwest corner of James Island which has a substantial landing on the Stono River which also has a house on it. The two houses and landings would be about 1 ½ miles apart.

¹¹⁰ William Tennent was also an ardent supporter of the American Revolution. David Ramsey in his History of the Independent Church reports that with church consent he was elected to serve in the Provincial Congress and later the Commons House of Assembly. Tennent was thought so much of that the Provincial Congress in 1775 sent him along with four other talented individuals to the backcountry to try and enlist all support possible for the effort against England (see South Carolina a History, by Walter Edgar, p. 223)

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Pursuant to an Ordinance of the GENERAL ASSEMBLY, passed the 9th Day of September, 1779.

WE the COMMISSIONERS of the PUBLIC TREASURY, DO CERTIFY, That we have received into the Treasury from

Richard Hutson Esq.
Forty Thousand Pounds Currency
as a Loan to the State.

The said *Richard Hutson* his Executors, Administrators or Assigns, will therefore be entitled to receive, and shall be paid at this Office, the Sum of *Four Thousand Pounds* on the *Ninth of September 1780* for one Year's Interest on the said Principal Sum of *Forty Thousand Pounds* and the like Sum of *Four Thousand Pounds* on every *Ninth of September* yearly, for each and every following Year, during the said Loan.

The said *Richard Hutson* his Executors, Administrators or Assigns, will be entitled also to receive, and shall be paid, if demanded, the Principal Sum of *Forty Thousand Pounds* on the said *Ninth of September 1780* or at any Time after that Day, within Three Months from any certain Day, on which the said *Richard Hutson* his Executors, Administrators or Assigns, shall (in writing to be delivered to any one of the Commissioners of the Treasury for the Time being) demand the said Principal Sum, together with the full Interest which shall be due thereon, for any Part of a Year, at the Rate of Ten per Cent. per Annum.

For the true Performance of the several Payments, in Manner above mentioned, the Public Treasury is made liable, and the Faith of the State pledged, by the aforesaid Ordinance.

Given at the Treasury Office, under our Hands, Charleston, the

£. 40,000. - Principal,

£. 4,000. - Annual Interest,

the 9th September 1779

Figure 4.2. One of four notes documenting Richard Hutson lending money to the South Carolina government in September 1779. This note is for 40,000 pounds. Three others totaled 60,000 pounds. From South Carolina State Archives.

1780 proved to be a momentous year for South Carolina, Charleston, and Richard Hutson. The year started well enough beginning his service as a member of the South Carolina Privy Council from 1780 to 1783. The Privy Council consisted of six members elected by the General Assembly to advise the executive branch and take on designated roles. Then the war came to South Carolina in full force.

While the British focused their efforts on the northern colonies early in the war, Charleston remained out of mainstream of British war efforts until early 1780 when it became the bullseye. Richard Hutson, James Island residents, and those in the city of Charleston could not have foreseen how their lives would change over the next two years. By the middle of February 1780 Sir Henry Clinton had an expeditionary force of ships and infantry at the mouth of the North Edisto River. Commanders under Clinton included Lord Cornwallis and Alexander Leslie, along with a Hessian and loyalist contingent. The British plan was to cross and secure John's Island, then do the same for James Island. This was accomplished roughly over a two-week period from February 24th to March 10th. One of the major landing points on James Island was Peronneau's Landing, now owned by Richard Hutson. The landing was close to the bridge over Wappoo Cut which the patriots had destroyed.

By the end of February 1780, Sir Henry Clinton had his headquarters on James Island at or near the Peronneau plantation house¹¹¹ close to what is now the intersection of Riverland Drive and Wappoo Drive. Troops under Leslie and Cornwallis were bivouacked nearby. These references to Peronneau's house along with the maps establish the location of the James Island Samuel Peronneau house between what is now Riverland Drive and the Stono River near the road (now Wappoo Drive) to Lightwood's plantation.

¹¹¹ Lieutenant John Wilson "Wednesday, March 1. Encamped near Head Quarters at Pereneau's House" from "Journal of the Seige of Charleston", *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, p. 175. Published by South Carolina Historical Society. Also, headquarters at Peronneaus at the intersection of Stono and Wappoo stated on a number of occasions in: "The Siege of Charleston", *Journal of Captain Peter Russell, December 25, 1779, to May 2, 1780* The American Historical Review, Vol. 4, No. 3 (Apr., 1899), pp. 478-501.

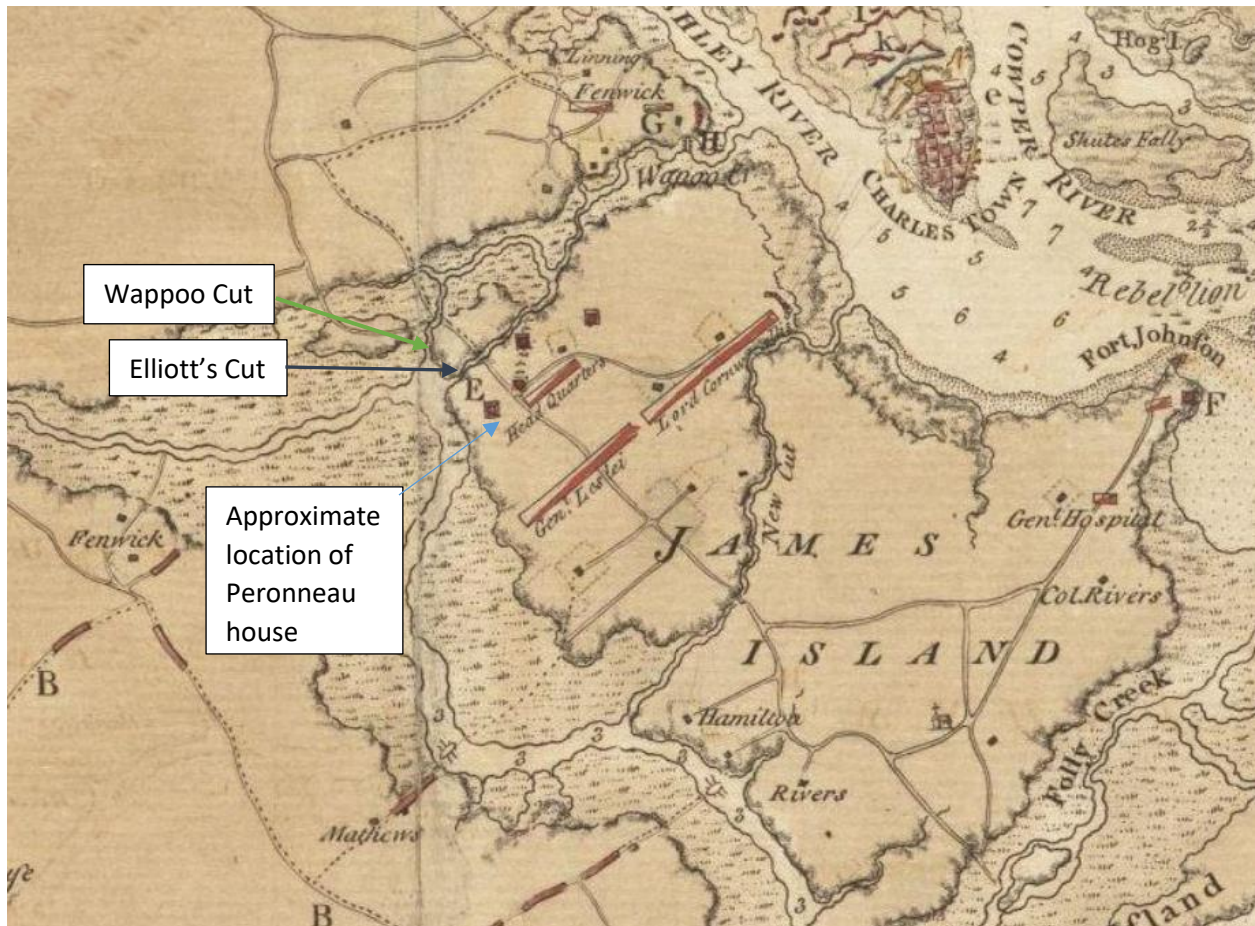


Figure 4.3. An overview of the British force deployment in late February and early March 1780. Note “Head Quarters” on the Kings Highway south of Wappoo and Elliott’s Cut. Locations of troops under Generals Leslei and Cornwallis are also shown. From 1780 map drawn by British engineer from Boston Public Library digital map.

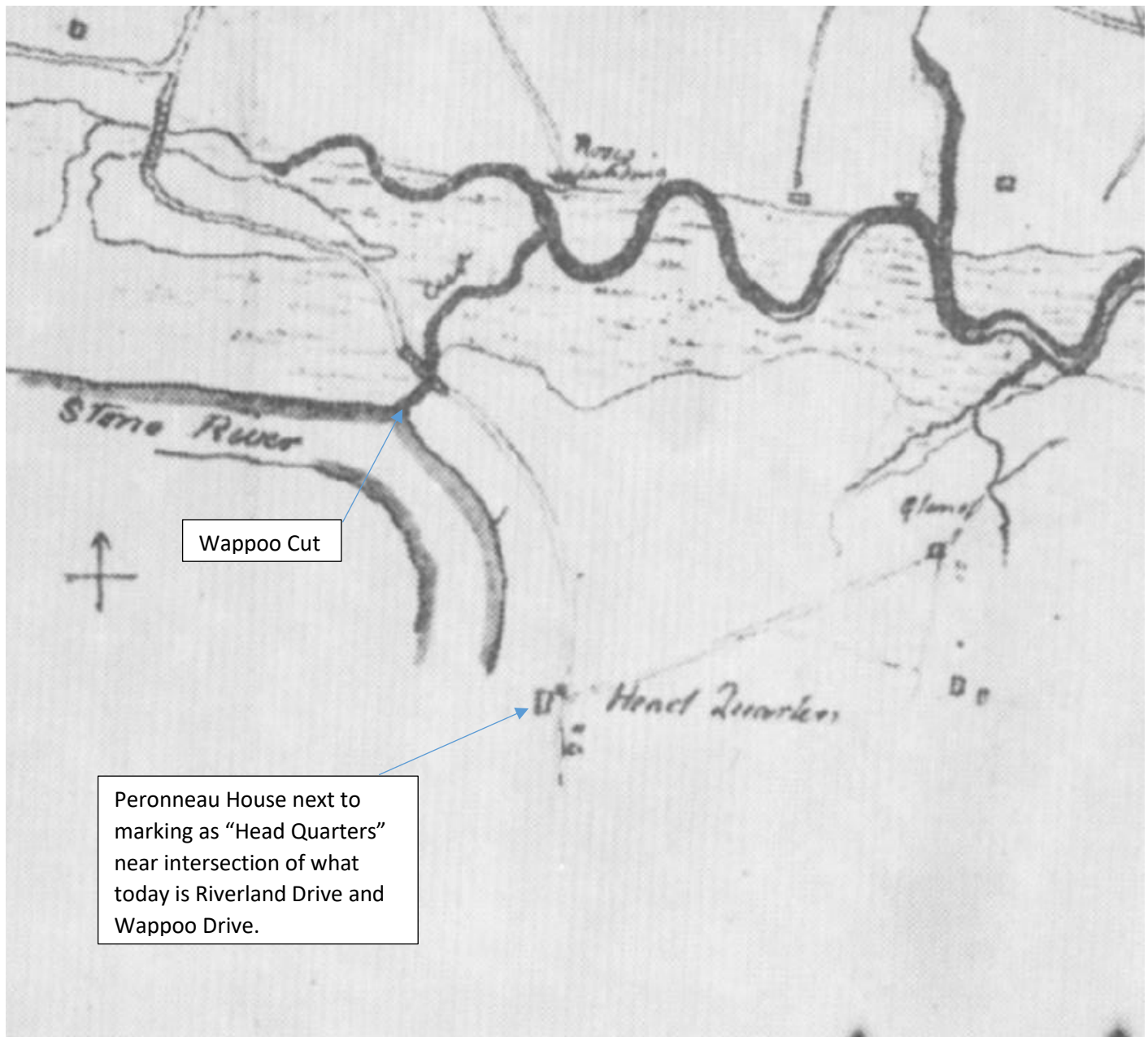


Figure 4.4. From Clinton's journal of the siege of Charleston in 1780. Note the designation "Head Quarters" near the King's Highway with a square indicating a dwelling nearby. Also, William Glenn has a dwelling marked "Glenn" along a road leading to it. Bridgework over Wappoo Cut is clearly noted. The British rebuilt the Wappoo Cut Bridge destroyed on purpose by the retreating local forces.

The British encountered little resistance as the Patriots had chosen to only defend the city proper and basically abandon James and Johns Islands. The British consolidated their position on the northern end of James Island using the Stono River and Wappoo Creek as the major supply routes. This consolidation phase on the northern end of James Island took about two weeks, the last week in February 1780 and the first week in March. Ships were continually unloading supplies, often at Peronneau's/Hutson's landing just south of Wappoo Cut. Smaller boats transported men and equipment down Wappoo Creek toward Charleston. Numerous maps of the siege indicate the headquarters location during this consolidation phase being at or near the Peronneau/Hutson house up until March 22nd.

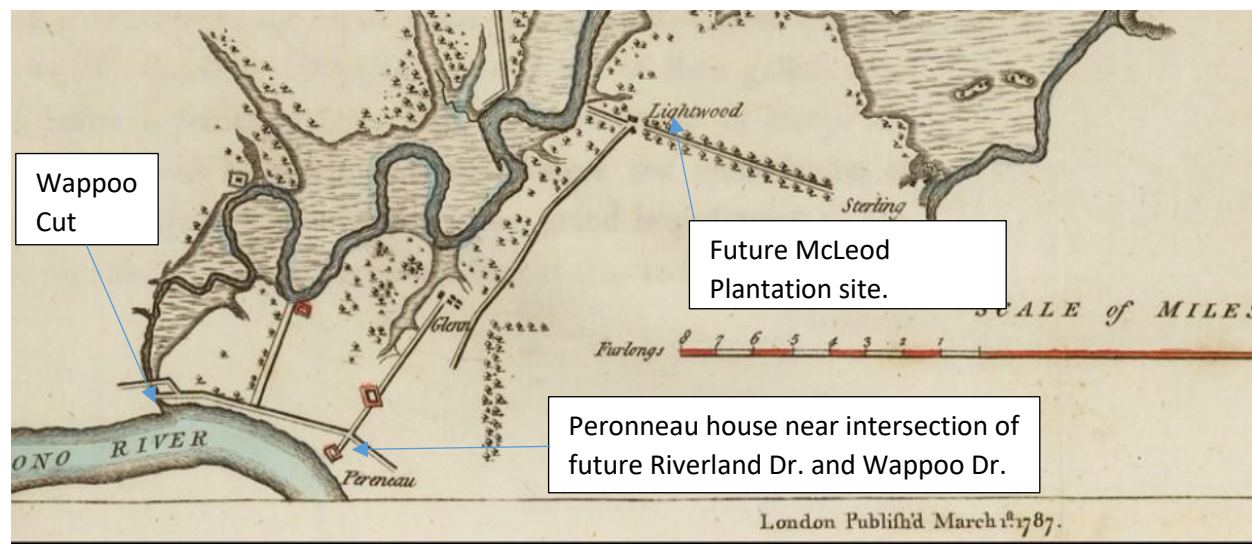


Figure 4.5. Excerpt from map of the siege of Charleston produced in 1787 showing the Peronneau, Glenn, and Lightwood plantations. From Tarleton's History of the Southern Campaign.

Major British military leaders during the American Revolution such as Henry Clinton, Cornwallis, Leslie, Tarleton, etc. would have encamped near the intersection of Wappoo Drive and Riverland Drive.

There is little reason to believe that the plantations of patriots such as Richard Hutson would fare well under occupation. Historians have noted documents which state that British troops carried away items of value they could and freely destroyed other items they could not carry. W. George Rivers, a plantation owner on James Island, later petitioned the British for all the provisions and livestock stolen from him. Richard Hutson's James Island plantations Montpelier along with the Peronneau plantation probably suffered substantial damage. Evidence of plundering can be found in a Hessian letter:

"... the Hessian officer Col. Friedrich von Porbeck, who complained that the British had cheated the Hessians out of their share of the rich booty in "Moors, indigo, silver plate, cows, and merchant wares" taken on that campaign."¹¹²

¹¹² George Fenwick Jones, "The 1780 Siege of Charleston as Experienced by a Hessian Officer: Part I", *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, p. 28.

Edward Lightwood on the northeast corner of James Island (future McLeod site), seemed to be looking out more for himself during the revolution and had a more fluid allegiance to the combatants depending on prevailing circumstances; perhaps his physical possessions fared better.

When Charleston and all its defenders fell to the British siege on May 12, 1780 it was a huge loss to the patriots. Richard Hutson was one of the leaders of the independence movement captured. The British tried different measures to entice or subdue the Charleston citizenry to their position. Many had a direct impact on Richard.

While Richard started the Revolutionary War with great wealth, losses in currency and property were becoming significant. During the British occupation of Charleston, a number of patriot leaders were deemed too radical and their subversive activity could potentially undermine British rule. To eliminate their influence, on August 27th, 1780, the first of some 65 patriots were rounded up and placed on a ship and sent to St. Augustine where they ended up in a form of “gentlemen’s” prison at St. Augustine, Florida.¹¹³ Richard Hutson was one those sent to Florida. In addition to their forced removal, their estates were confiscated. This confiscation meant items of value were probably taken or sold from all properties Hutson owned, this included his plantation and slaves who were also likely taken or took the opportunity to seek freedom via any means possible. Regretfully, in some cases the slaves were considered contraband and ended up being sold in the Caribbean by the British.

In 1781, the St. Augustine prisoners were part of an overall exchange. However, as part of the agreement, they could not return to Charleston and their families had to leave South Carolina. Richard Hutson, along with many other exiled patriots and their families, ended up being transported from Florida and Charleston to Philadelphia in the summer of 1781.¹¹⁴ In short order, Richard had made his way back to the exiled South Carolina patriots eluding the British.

Hutson Family Relationships During the Revolutionary War

Rebecca Brannon in her book¹¹⁵ on South Carolina Loyalists entitled the first chapter “The American Revolution: South Carolina’s First Civil War”; this title summarizes the internal divisions within the state along with the entailed brutality. Hutson’s extended family was no exception to divided allegiances. Many in the low country had grown wealthy under English rule, even if they were unhappy with many aspects of the relationship. The leap from demanding more representation within British rule to seeking independence was too much for many. Any doubt individuals had about allegiances during the Revolution were pushed in different directions for practical reasons as the course of the war ebbed and

¹¹³ Richard H. Tomczak, "A Number of the Most Respectable Gentlemen: Civilian Prisoners of War and Social Status in Revolutionary South Carolina, 1780-1782", *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, pp. 198-214.

¹¹⁴ Josiah Smith, the aged and infirm supporter of Whitefield and minister at the Independent Church, due to his patriot son also had to leave South Carolina. He went to Philadelphia where he died on October 19, 1781. He was interred there in the Arch Street Church. From Thomas S. Kidd, “A Faithful Watchman on the Walls of Charleston: Josiah Smith and Moderate Revivalism in Colonial South Carolina”, *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, Vol. 105 (April 2004).

¹¹⁵ Rebecca Brannon. *From Revolution to Reunion: The Reintegration of South Carolina Loyalists*.

flowed in South Carolina. Efforts to minimize chances for losing built up wealth caused individuals without strong convictions toward independence to vacillate in their actions taken.

To maintain support for Independence and attempt to determine who sided with the British, the newly formed patriot government for South Carolina passed legislation in 1777 requiring all adult males to sign a pledge of allegiance and fidelity to the new state or leave. The following legislation was passed¹¹⁶; extensions were needed since many men ignored the initial requirement.

- February 13, 1777 An Ordinance for Establishing An Oath of Abjuration and Allegiance (Number 1051)
- March 28, 1778 Act Enforcing Assurance of Allegiance and Fidelity to the State (Number 1079)
- October 9, 1778 An Act For Enlarging The Time For Taking The Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity (number 1101)
- February 17, 1779 An Act to Give Further Time For Taking The Oath of Affirmation Of Fidelity and Allegiance To The State (Number 1117)

The above are mentioned since they caused Richard Hutson to lose some close friends. Henry Peronneau and Alexander Garden were related indirectly to Hutson through the marriage of his sister Mary to Arthur Peronneau. Alexander Garden had married Elizabeth Peronneau (1739 – 1805), the sister of Arthur Peronneau. Henry Peronneau was the co-Treasurer of South Carolina when England governed South Carolina. He would not take the Oath of Allegiance and returned to England. When the English captured Charleston he returned until the British left when he again returned to England where he lived until his death in 1786. Alexander Garden, the physician and botanist, was named as a British supporter during their occupation of Charleston and subsequently banished at the end of British rule. Alexander Garden returned to England in 1783 with his wife Elizabeth Peronneau where they lived out their lives. Finally, William Glenn, Hutson's neighbor on James Island, left for England after he was banished.

During the British occupation of Charleston from May 12, 1780 to December 14, 1782 the patriot convictions of many Charlestonian's were put to the test. During the early part of the occupation, the British seemed to gaining the upper hand in the overall war effort; most notably the British victory at Camden by Cornwallis on August 16, 1780. Some of Richard's extended family and friends wavered. John Scott Jr. who had married one of Samuel Peronneau's daughters, Sarah, signed a proclamation congratulating Cornwallis on his victory over patriot forces at Camden. Implications of his signature of this document were felt by the end of the war.

Edward Lightwood, who had married Samuel Peronneu's daughter Elizabeth and built a plantation on the northeast corner of James Island which made him a neighbor of Richard Hutson and an in-law, also demonstrated loyalist tendencies during the British occupation. Edward's allegiances look to have varied depending on perceptions of which side was winning the war. One curious Peronneau related event took place during British occupation in the middle of May 1781, when William Webb and John Scott Jr, both of whom married Peronneaus, entered into a legal demand that Edward Lightwood pay back a very large debt to them created in 1769 and 1772. Lightwood had engaged in business endeavors with Loyalists and perhaps Scott and Webb felt the time was right to demand payment in

¹¹⁶ Kathy Roe Coker, *The Punishment of Revolutionary War Loyalists in South Carolina*. Dissertation.

such perilous times. Extended Peronneau family gatherings at the time must have been tendentious affairs.

At the end of the war, Richard Hutson advocated for leniency for those who sided with the British¹¹⁷. His Peronneau relatives may have motivated his position. At the end of the war, Jonathan Scott Jr is banished from the colony for congratulating Cornwallis on Camden. Edward Lightwood has to explain his less egregious activities with Loyalists and is only socially ostracized. Henry Peronneau, the former co-Treasurer of South Carolina returned to England for good.

Richard Hutson's Life after the Revolution

With the war concluded, Richard continued to serve the state by becoming its Lieutenant Governor from 1782 to 1783 while John Mathews was governor. Once this role completed, he turned his attention to serving in various political and social organizations in Charleston.

From 1783 to 1784 Richard was the Intendent (first mayor) of Charleston. This role proved to be very challenging. One event during this time which tested Hutson's statesmanship involved solving the civil unrest in Charleston. As part of the settlement with the British at the end of the Revolutionary War, British merchants in Charleston were allowed to stay and collect debts incurred before and during the war. British merchants and returning Tories immediately after the war also extended more credit to Charlestonians on harsh terms. The local economy was in disarray, and many debts could not be repaid. In the first half of 1784, anti-British factions and those seeking debt relief demonstrated their feelings by setting fires, marching, and engaging in fights. Richard Hutson tried to mediate between the two groups. Some items helped, such as addressing concerns of tradesmen and workers; however, the local militia had to be called out at times. While Richard was considered one of the elite class, he garnered enough votes in 1784 to be re-elected intendent.

On the social side during this time, Hutson organized the Mount Sion Society and served as chairman in 1784. In 1784 he was the road commissioner for St. Andrews. To support general education, from 1784 to 1785 he was vice-president of the Charleston Library Society.

After being Charleston's First Intendent, he became a Court of Chancery judge in 1784, a role he would continue in for nine years the last two as a senior judge. In 1788 he was a representative to the state convention to ratify newly drafted federal Constitution. In a similar manner, in 1790 he was a delegate to the state constitutional convention. Two final roles were the commissioner in 1789 for building a bridge over Wappoo Creek, and from 1791 to 1793 serving as the vice-president of the board of trustees for the College of Charleston.

It seems in his years after the Revolutionary War Richard's diminished financial resources meant he had to live somewhat more meagerly than what he was accustomed to. On May 1, 1786 Richard mortgaged part of his property on James Island to raise money which would be paid back over time at 7% interest. The land was the "central" portion he owned and consisted of 264 acres bounded on the north by

¹¹⁷ Johann David Schoepf, *The Travelers' Charleston – Accounts of Charleston and Lowcountry, South Carolina 1666-1861*. p. 52. In a 1784 letter Schoepf notes that Hutson was a man of integrity and tried to obtain leniency for loyalists to little avail.

Wappoo Creek, to the east on lands of Mr. Glenn and Archibald Scott, to the south on land of John Scriven, to the west by lands he owned.

In the last year of his life, in May 1794, a government committee was formed to see if Richard Hutson was capable to continue in his duties as a judge in the Court of Equity. No record could be found on any actions taken by the committee.

Richard died on April 12, 1795. He is buried in the vault he had built in the graveyard at his beloved Independent Church where his father preached and he worshipped. The large vault was for Hutson and Peronneau relationships and holds the remains of up to 18 people.

It is evident that Richard Hutson's strengths were in crafting and administering laws, governing documents, and promoting efforts to improve life and economic prosperity. The Revolutionary War proved to be especially trying for Richard in regards to the different positions taken by friends and family relations. Richard never seemed to waver in his support for the new country and improving Charleston after it.

Richard's death marks the end of ownership of northwest James Island by families motivated in a substantial part by religious freedom. In Richard's case, a serendipitous course of events associated with the first Great Awakening and George Whitefield shaped his life and beliefs. While not well known outside of Charleston, Richard Hutson in association with contemporary and previous members of the Independent Church, influenced the separation of church and state formalized in the governing documents of the new nation and South Carolina. His tireless efforts to guide and support the formation of the new nation exemplify the level of commitment many provided.

Richard wrote his will on June 4, 1776 almost twenty years before his death. In his will he specifically leaves his James Island land to his brother Thomas. He lists the property as containing 888 acres bounded as follows:

- On the north by Wappoo Creek
- On the east by lands of William Glenn
- On the south by lands of Archibald Scott
- On the west by the Stono River

This parcel is roughly the original Peronneau northwestern corner, the middle section he obtained through inheritance and an additional purchase of the 262 acre Henderson tract (which originated with the Charles Armstrong grant). The math for the total acreage is not consistent with the original Peronneau plat, perhaps the acreage had been remeasured and the new figure is more accurate.

When writing his will, Richard had no idea that his brother Thomas would precede him in death. Nor did he know that one of the executors of his estate, Isaac Hayne, would be hanged by the British on August 4, 1781 while Richard was removed from South Carolina by the British. Also, that William Glenn, a neighbor on James Island, would be a Loyalist in the Revolution and banished from South Carolina at the war's end. William Hazard Wigg was the remaining executor for his will which was proved in 1797.

5. The Wilson Family

Purchaser: Hugh Wilson

Purchase date: March 1800

Area: 891 acres, consisting of two plantations. The land is bounded as follows:

- On the north by Wappoo Creek
- On the east by lands of Margaret Jones (now Mrs. Foreshaw)
- On the south by lands of Archibald Scott
- On the west by the Stono River

These boundaries are almost the same as in the 1776 description found in Hutson's will, with the exception of a new owner to the east. The deed was recorded on March 24, 1800¹¹⁸. The two plantations would have been the western end of the original Peronneau tract and Hutson's parcel in the Central section he inherited next to the Peronneaus. Today this would equate to land approximately bordered by Fleming Road, Wappoo Creek, the Stono River and south down to around Central Park Road.

Hugh Wilson

On January 1, 1800, Hugh Wilson purchased at auction two plantations consisting of 891 acres of land on the northwest corner of James Island previously belonging to Richard Hutson. Hutson left this James Island property to his brother Thomas, who preceded him in death; consequently, the land went to Richard's sisters and Thomas' heirs. It seems that Richard Hutson had outstanding debt in the amount of three thousand and twenty-eight pounds and four shillings, which creditors found legal standing to force collection.¹¹⁹ The Charleston sheriff at the time, Thomas Lehre, auctioned Hutson's James Island land to cover the debt. Hugh Wilson was the highest bidder and obtained the land for 1,087 pounds sterling.

Hugh Wilson was a planter, named after his father who owned land on Wadmalaw, Edisto and Johns Island. He married Joanna Caroline Rippon in 1784¹²⁰ and they had at least 4 children who lived to adulthood as they were named in his will. His primary residence became his James Island plantation purchased in 1800 where he could manage operations. This purchase on James Island expanded his agricultural production.

After the Revolution, when the first census records were produced, the extent of Hugh's slave holdings could be seen. The census is for St. Johns and Wadmalaw Island; it is unclear if the 1800 and 1810 numbers include the James Island plantation.

¹¹⁸ Charleston Deed book Z6, page 274.

¹¹⁹ Part of the debt was for the mortgage Hutson made in 1786 for the 264 acres in the north-middle area of James Island. The mortgage deed indicates it was paid in March of 1800.

¹²⁰ "Marriage and Death Notices from the South Carolina Gazette", South Carolina Historical Society, p. 184

<u>Census Year</u>	<u>Number of Slaves</u>
1790	84
1800	176
1810	188
1820	186

This level of slave labor signifies engagement in agricultural production at a large scale. No records indicate specifically what he specialized in planting. Indigo was still produced at the time of the auction, although it was rapidly on the way to not being economically viable with the British buying support and subsidies no longer available, along with better quality produced in other countries. The two main crop possibilities are cotton and rice.

Sea island cotton is the logical choice for a cash crop. Cotton was in the throes of a large ramp-up phase on the sea islands when the land was purchased in 1800 as noted in the following statistics.

<u>Year End</u>	<u>Pounds of Sea Island Cotton Exported¹²¹</u>
Sept. 1789	9,840
Sept 1797	1,108,511
Sept 1800	6,425,863

Table 5.1 Sea Island Cotton Exported.

At the time cotton planters were very protective of their cotton seed if it produced a good crop so they could have a competitive advantage. Planters were most sociable yet protective of certain aspects of their individual growing practices. Richard Porcher, a historian of sea island cotton, credits Kinsey Burden as being a primary developer of sea island cotton bringing fame to the sea islands. In 1805 Burden resided on John's Island on the Stono River south of the Stono River and Wappoo Cut intersection, very close to Hugh Wilson.¹²² Hugh Wilson must have also been involved in cotton production and the refinement of seed if significant profits were possible and such work was going on in a nearby plantation.

Rice had been grown in the James Island and Wappoo Creek vicinity at times, yet James Island was not geographically situated to take advantage of the newer techniques which involved using the tidal rivers confluence of fresh and salt water where large economies of scale could be harnessed. Rice production on James Island would have been very limited in scale.

James Island's proximity to Charleston continued to assure a healthy market for crops and livestock. Hugh Wilson in his will written in August of 1819 notes that one-half of the cattle on the James Island plantation was to go to his son Abraham. Specific mention of the cattle indicates that raising cattle remained a viable source of income since Peronneau's occupancy.

¹²¹ Richard D. Porcher and Sarah Fick, *The Story of Sea Island Cotton*, pp. 95-96. From Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review, 1949, vol. 21.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 96.

Hugh owned the James Island parcel until his death on August 13, 1820. According to his obituary,¹²³ he died at his summer residence near Ft. Johnson. Other items of note in the obituary were that he was a volunteer in the army of the Revolution, and that he was a successful planter who treated his slaves mildly and indulgently. He owned three estates at the time of his death. In his will, Hugh indicates that at the time the will was written in 1819 he was living on his James Island plantation. Given Hugh Wilson's extreme wealth, we would expect that he had a plantation house that matched his wealth. The map of 1825 has markings for 26 structures in the vicinity of where the Wilson plantation would have stood and which coincides with location of the old Peronneau house (See Figure 5.2 below). About 12 of the structures are lined up in a manner consistent with a slave "street". No records were found specifically describing Hugh Wilson's plantation buildings; however, during the Civil War a newspaper article on Ft. Pemberton provided some detail of a fine old mansion which was nearby and probably the Wilson's even though 40 years had passed. The Civil War section covers the article in more detail.

At the time of his death the land on James Island passed through inheritance to his son Abraham via a specific directive in his will¹²⁴.

Abraham Wilson

Abraham Wilson, Hugh's son, was born around 1796. During his youth the land on James Island must have become very familiar to him as he grew up on the plantation he was to later own. In 1820 he inherited the James Island land which his father had purchased in 1800. He married Susannah Smith Clement (born around 1803) and in 1822 they had a son, Abraham (Jr.), who lived into adulthood. By 1850 seven more children had arrived.

According to the 1830 census Abraham lived in St. Andrews, which would include James Island, with an occupation of "planter" and owning 88 slaves. When Abraham appeared in census records whenever the occupation column was provided, he was always listed as a "planter". Like his father, he probably grew cotton as his primary crop. Few other specifics were found about Abraham Wilson during his 16-year ownership of the James Island plantation. In April of 1829 he was elected a "warden" of the Episcopal Chapel on James Island.¹²⁵ Abraham also served on a grand jury in October 1834 which investigated the conditions and management of the city jail.¹²⁶ We can only assume Abraham continued to live and manage his plantings from the same plantation complex as his father.

The following map shows the location of the Wilson plantation and others nearby on the northern end of James Island who would have been the closest neighbors. By this time most of the land had been cleared for cotton production.

¹²³ Marriage and Death Notices, *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol 47, No. 4 (Oct. 1946), p. 209.

¹²⁴ Charleston County Will Book F (1818-1826) as represented in the C.W.A. Project No. 3439 copy noted as vol. 34, Book A in the Family Search website.

¹²⁵ Charleston Courier April 10 and April 23, 1829 page 2.

¹²⁶ Charleston Courier October 16, 1834 p. 3.



Figure 5.2. 1825 map of northern end of James Island. Area “A” contains the buildings owned by the Wilson family. The road bisecting the buildings is now Riverland Drive. Some rows of buildings were probably slave quarters. Area “B” contains buildings in the vicinity of what is now the McLeod Plantation, at the time it was owned by William McKenzie Parker and his wife Sarah Peronneau Parker (Elizabeth Peronneau Lightwood died in 1825 when Sarah her daughter inherited it). Note the row of buildings which are probably slave quarters. Area “C” contains a few sets of buildings, from left to right the remnants of plantations of Richard Hutson’s Montpelier, William Henderson, and William Glen. Base map from 1825 Map of Charleston by U.S. Govt in Library of Congress.

After Abraham sold his James Island plantation in 1836, he appears to continue planting in nearby Colleton County. The 1840 census lists Abraham Wilson in Colleton County owning 111 slaves. The following 1850 census locates him in St. Paul’s, Colleton County with his wife and eight children ranging in age from 6 to 28. He may have experienced financial problems after leaving James Island in that he is named in litigation to sell a house on Coming Street in Charleston and plantations in St. Paul’s Parish, Colleton County.¹²⁷ According to his death certificate, Abraham died on November 11, 1860 at the age of 64, living on Bee Street with the occupation of a planter. He died of typhoid fever and was buried in the Pulty cemetery.¹²⁸

¹²⁷ Charleston Courier, December 17, 1839, p. 3 Abraham is listed as owning a house on Coming Street. In 1849 legal processes are engaged to sell his house on Coming Street and a plantation of 880 acres in Colleton County. See Charleston Courier April 21, 1849 and June 21, 1849 p2.

¹²⁸ No records of the Pulty cemetery location could be found.

His wife Susannah Smith Clement Wilson in all likelihood died in 1881 and was buried in the Toogoodoo Brick House cemetery.¹²⁹

Economic Conditions for the Wilsons

The Wilsons owned the northwest corner of James Island from 1800 to 1836. Economic and political events during that time were relatively calmer than during Richard Hutson's ownership. Hugh and Abraham Wilson were planters. Attempting to produce a living off their land seems to have been the focus of their lives. There is no indication they were heavily involved in the political issues existing during their tenure.

For the cotton the Wilsons were producing, the period of time from the 1790s to 1819 was generally very favorable according to Porcher¹³⁰ and Edgar¹³¹. Increasing wealth and prosperity marked the sea islands. The trade embargo of 1808 and the war of 1812 to 1814 with Britain depressed cotton prices and were the exceptions. The Financial Panic of 1819 set a lower equilibrium point for the price of cotton which would last until around 1835. The impact of this lower price on planters varied according to planter debt levels. Perhaps the lower level of profits finally convinced Abraham Wilson to sell in March of 1836.

Cotton production depleted the soil of nutrients if fertilizers and crop rotations were not part of the annual production process. We can only speculate if the crops and practices used by the Wilsons were sustainable. In any event, Abraham left James Island and continued with agricultural production on other sea islands until located in the city of Charleston late in life.

¹²⁹ The 1850 census for the family of Abraham (age 53) and Susan Wilson (age 42) lists the following children and their ages: Abraham H 28, Wm C 27, Jno F 17, Morton 15, Susan S 13, Clarissa 10, Warren 9, Sarah I 6. Several tombstones in the Toogoodoo Brickhouse cemetery match the names and birth dates derived from the 1850 census; too many for it to be coincidence that it is not the family cemetery after the Civil War.

¹³⁰ Richard D. Porcher and Sarah Fick, *The Story of Sea Island Cotton*.

¹³¹ Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*.

6. Antebellum Transportation Improvements

Wappoo Cut and New Roads

Moving people and goods during the colonial period was never easy. The lowcountry topography with its many rivers, creeks, and swamps enlarged the problem. As James Island's economy grew in the 18th century, its transportation infrastructure always seemed to be somewhat lagging. Finding and developing faster and more efficient means to transport bulky agricultural products, including livestock, to markets in Charlestown was a continuous request made to local governments. Improving roads, water crossings, and waterways were the obvious choices. James Island's Northwest Corner (JINWC) was the site of major government sponsored improvements.

Getting off James Island by means other than a boat was the first challenge. Acts of the South Carolina legislature in 1717 and 1721 refer to the establishment of a road and bridge over Wappoo Creek which is to be six feet above the high-water mark; the 1721 act refers to a road from Fort Johnson to Wappoo Bridge that was to be made, mended, and kept clear.¹³² JINWC housed a portion of this earliest public road often designated as the "King's Highway" on early maps. Most of it today is embodied in the road Riverland Drive. This highway started in the northwest corner of James Island; at the time, Elliot's Cut did not exist and what is now Edgewater Park was part of James Island proper. The bridge over Wappoo Creek would have been approximately where the current bridge from West Ashley to Edgewater Park exists today.



¹³² The Statutes at Large of South Carolina, Columbia, SC 1841, page 47.

Figure 6.1. 1825 map where area in blue circle is now Edgewater Park. Green line is part of the King's Highway which is now Riverland Drive. The red line shows continuations of the King's Highway to Fort Johnson. The number "1" is where McLeod plantation is currently and number "2" is approximate location of Peronneau house. Base map from 1825 Map of Charleston by U.S. Govt in Library of Congress.

From the bridge, the King's Highway continued down the west edge of James Island to the southern side of New Town Cut (which connected the Stono River with James Island Creek), and then turned eastward and ultimately terminated at Fort Johnson. Funds to improve and maintain the road were often a subject of debate by local officials. This road is not only one of the primary features on maps, it is also featured in many deeds to define the boundaries of parcels in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Travel to Charleston by land from James Island was a significant journey; Eliza Lucas (later Pinckney) in May of 1740 stated that Charleston from her plantation on the north side of Wappoo Creek at its western edge was 17 miles over land. If a water route was taken it was 6 miles¹³³. Her mileage may not be exact, yet it represents the circuitous and time-consuming land route from James Island to Charleston, up the western side of the Ashley River to a point near Drayton Hall where a ferry existed to cross the Ashley, with the final land leg a journey down the peninsula to Charleston. The six-mile water route would involve rowing, and sailing where possible, the many loops of Wappoo Creek finishing with a crossing of the Ashley River to the Charleston peninsula.

To avoid the difficult overland journey to Charleston, water transportation routes were used where possible. Water transport via the Ashley and Cooper Rivers and its tributaries continued as primary routes for those lucky enough to have direct access to these rivers. Settlers on sea islands and along rivers to the south of Charleston had more limited choices for reaching Charleston. Indirect routes using small creeks and new canals supported shallow draft river barges of limited width slowly winding their way to Charleston. Most planters preferred the inland water routes to Charleston as the least risky and expensive option since they could build the more simplistic shallow draft pettiaugers and barges which would not have to face the Atlantic's waves, currents, and winds.

Larger ships designed for inland and coastal travel could go into the Atlantic, yet they were also at the mercy of storms and the shifting sand bars near the coast; the entrance of Charleston harbor and at the mouth of the Stono River could be challenging even in calm weather.

Wappoo Creek was the primary inland route from points south to Charleston. Map 6.2 is taken from an 1825 map and focuses on Wappoo Creek notable for its snake-like shape. By 1825 a couple of short cuts straightened the route, which not only reduced travel time, yet also enabled longer boats to manage the sharp turns in the creek. Names of the various alterations or "cuts" to Wappoo Creek have historically been used in inconsistent manners. Wappoo Cut and Elliot's Cut are noted in the map. This document will refer to Wappoo Creek as the name of the original Creek to avoid confusion with specific cuts. Some of the short cuts dug to bypass the more elongated loops in the creek were often also given

¹³³ "Eliza Lucas Pinckney Letters and Memoranda", *National Humanities Center Resource Toolbox Becoming American: The British American Colonies, 1690 – 1763*. May 2, 1740 letter from Eliza Lucas to her friend Mrs. Boddicott.

names which are shown in subsequent maps in this document, yet are seldom referred to (or known) any longer.

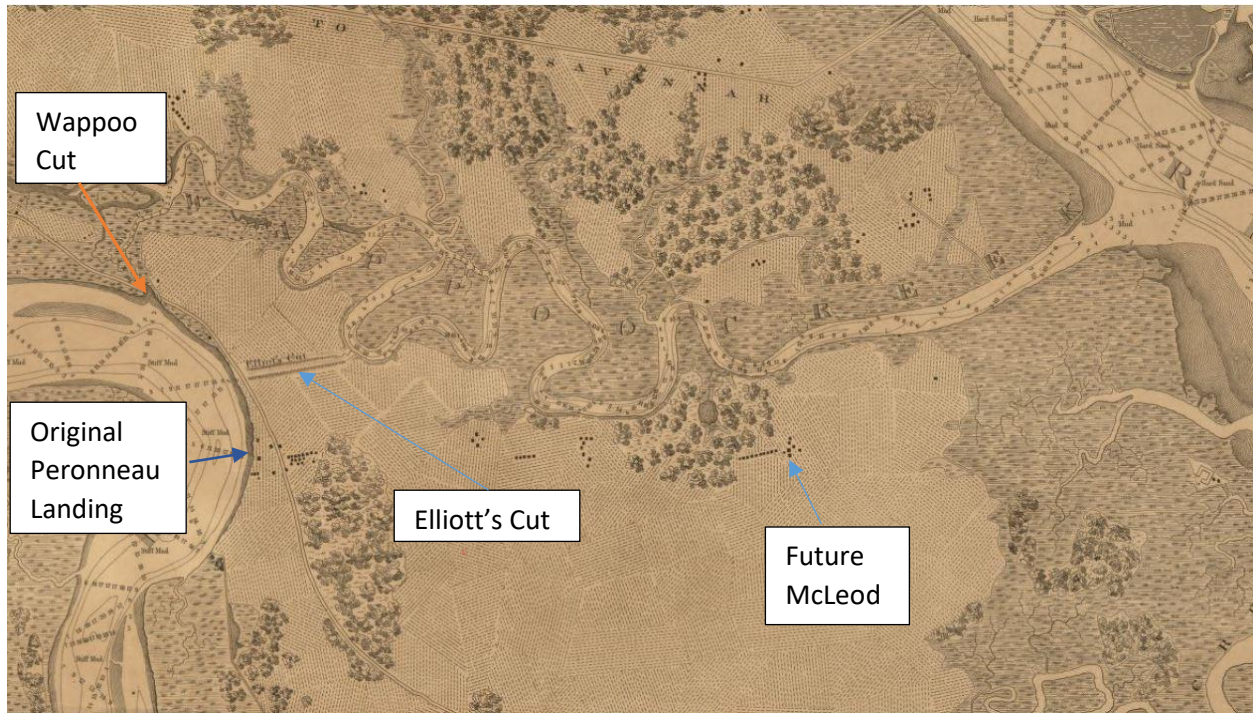


Figure 6.2. 1825 map showing full view of the looping Wappoo Creek with points noted. Base map from 1825 Map of Charleston by U.S. Govt in Library of Congress.

Plantations near waterways with enough depth usually had landings. The Peronneau Landing on the Stono River is often referenced in documents of the period while the Peronneaus were owners and for some time afterward. Two significant improvements were made in the 18th century to facilitate water craft using Wappoo Creek. First, Wappoo Creek's intersection with the Stono River was not one natural deep trough or canal, yet more analogous to many fingers over and through pluff mud. Shallow drafted boats were probably able to handle the natural linkage with the right tide when James Island was first settled, yet it was clearly not adequate as the local area produced more goods and shippers wanted larger craft to use Wappoo Creek. The second improvement was the first attempt at forming Elliott's Cut.

Wappoo and Elliott's Cut

To facilitate traversing Wappo Creek into the Stono River, a "cut" was dug to connect the deeper portions of Wappoo Creek at its western extremity and the Stono River. The earliest reference to "Wappoo Cut" found was in an Act of the South Carolina Legislature in 1712 stating that the cut at the head of Wappoo Creek going into the Stono needed to be wider; that the cut needed to be 10 feet wide and 6 feet deep or a new "cut" needed to be made.¹³⁴ Enhancing the existing cut cemented "Wappoo Cut" as the major inland route to Charleston from the south.

¹³⁴ The Statutes at Large of South Carolina, Columbia, SC, page 26.

While Wappoo Cut aided water traffic, it meant residents of James Island needed an efficient way to get on and off the island. In determining the route of the King's Highway, the western reaches of Wappoo Creek were the shallowest, yet surrounded by marsh. Until the Revolution, a bridge over Wappoo Cut was available most of the time. Numerous references are made in Acts passed by the South Carolina legislature to maintain, repair, or increase the height of the Wappoo Creek bridge along with the cut itself.¹³⁵ Evidently Mother Nature and normal wear and tear took its toll on the bridge. On March 12, 1776 Richard Hutson mentions in his letter book of building a place for the ferry keeper to reside in, which meant that the bridge may not be present. Repetitively allocating funds to keep the bridge operational signifies its importance to commerce was recognized.

During the Revolutionary War the Wappoo Cut bridge was destroyed to hinder British movements between James Island and the mainland. The British re-built the bridge over Wappoo Cut for their own use in the siege of Charleston. After the Revolutionary War it is not clear if the bridge was replaced; separate references exist for a ferry and a bridge, perhaps a bridge was not always operational.¹³⁶

The second item to improve transportation through Wappoo Creek was to avoid Wappoo Cut altogether and create a new "cut" in a bend of Wappoo Creek directly with the Stono River to further reduce travel distance and time requirements through the Creek's many loops. This involved digging a "cut" for 600 yards through a pasture on the northwest corner of James Island. The cut took on the name of a nearby planter, Elliott, since he lived nearby and perhaps had a hand in financing an earlier version although this is not clear nor is the date of its original digging.

The original version of Elliott's Cut existed at least by 1768 for on January 18th of that year a petition was made to a court of Charleston containing a request to open Elliot's Cut and make it navigable.¹³⁷ It is unclear if this early version of Elliot's Cut ever worked very well as no references exist for any significant use in the 18th century. In 1780, during the Revolution, an American officer scouting the British on James Island refers to the British encampment along the ditch in Mr. Hutson's pasture. The ditch is thought to be what was left of Elliot's Cut.¹³⁸

As the 19th century opened on James Island's northwest corner with the Wilson family as owners, Wappoo Cut was the primary inland water route and Elliot's Cut was not referenced as being used in local documents and periodicals of that time frame. Economic forces were increasing in the early 1800s, most notably from increased rice and cotton production, to find more efficient means to get products to the port of Charleston, in this case from the Stono River to Charleston harbor.

As such, ideas to enhance Wappoo Creek were often requested by planters and shippers of local products to government officials. Suggestions on how to straighten the notoriously winding creek were often presented. The two previous enhancements, Wappoo Cut and the original Elliot's Cut, were prone to silting up even when new, and were not wide or deep enough for the newer watercraft which could hopefully use Wappoo Creek someday.

¹³⁵ e. g. see: 1721 acts, 1751 acts, 1754 act #825, 1764 act #936, 1768 act #968, and 1769 act #986.

¹³⁶ 1789 act by South Carolina legislature refers to funding a bridge over Wappoo Creek, while an 1813 act provides a license and permitted rates for a ferry over Wappoo Cut. Some maps refer to a ferry.

¹³⁷ The Carolina Gazette and Country Journal, February 9, 1768. The cut may have been present as early as 1717.

¹³⁸ An Account of The Siege of Charleston, South Carolina in 1780. Gen. Wilmot G. DeSaussure (from the city year book – 1884). Charleston, S.C., The News and Courier Book Presses. 1885. p. 7.

Some documented examples of problems reported with traversing Wappoo Creek are listed below to provide a flavor of conditions shippers faced:

1. 1787 Session of South Carolina House of Representatives – Petition by residents of James Island that a draw-bridge be erected over Wappoo Cut, using tolls to pay for it. That the currently obstructed Wappoo Cut is causing great hardship. (No mention is made of improving or using Elliott’s Cut).
2. October 18, 1801 – Wappoo cuts old and new caused delays. From City Gazette.
3. March 31, 1819 – vessel grounded in Wappoo Cut delays steamship. From City Gazette.
4. May 25, 1822 – Steamboat Commerce delayed 12 hours at Wappoo Cut.¹³⁹
5. November 27, 1823 – a presentation to City Council on improving traveling between Charleston and Savannah is hampered by the sharp turns in Wappoo Creek which should be dug out. Also, where Wappoo Cut meets the Stono River, dredging is needed to make it deeper.¹⁴⁰
6. December 10, 1825 – in the South Carolina Senate a petition was presented by Mr. Crafts from H. W. Lubbock requesting legislative aid to improve Wappoo Cut. The request was forwarded to the committee on internal improvements.¹⁴¹
7. January 28, 1826 – a schooner owned by Mr. Minot ran aground at Wappoo Cut. 160 bbls of clean and rough rice was completely damaged.¹⁴²
8. February 27, 1826 – steamboat Commerce delayed at Wappoo Cut last night awaiting tide.¹⁴³
9. March 6, 1826 – Steamboat Pendleton delayed at Wappoo Cut and New Cut for two days.¹⁴⁴
10. April 20, 1827 – the steamboat Pendleton is aground in Wappoo Cut and preventing other boats from making planned scheduled runs.¹⁴⁵

Major Time Saving Enhancement for Wappoo Creek

South Carolina governments, state and local, recognized efficient water travel was important for the economy. Between 1790 and 1821 the state spent almost one and a half million dollars on canals, cuts, improving rivers for shipping and travel and other internal improvements.¹⁴⁶ Wappoo Cut and Bull’s Cut received \$5,000 between them during that time. The South Carolina House of Representatives on December 18, 1823 appointed a commission to determine which cut to improve, Wappoo Cut, Elliott’s Cut or build a new cut between Charleston and the Stono River to best serve the public interest. The committee consisted of Benjamin Reynolds, John LaRoch, Richard Jenkins, John D. Jenkins, and Abraham Wilson, the owner of the land surrounding the existing shallow Elliott’s Cut.

Improving Elliot’s cut was the proposed solution of the group’s study of the alternatives, since in March 1826 the legislature was reported as having approved \$2,500 for working on it.¹⁴⁷ No work was started in 1826 since it became evident to project managers that \$2,500 was nowhere near enough for the job.

¹³⁹ City Gazette, May 25, 1822 page 1.

¹⁴⁰ Charleston Courier, Nov. 27, 1823, page 2 presentation by Henry Schultz.

¹⁴¹ Charleston Gazette, December 10, 1825, page 2.

¹⁴² City Gazette, January 28, 1826, page 1.

¹⁴³ City Gazette, February 27, 1826, page 1.

¹⁴⁴ Charleston Courier, March 6, 1826, page 2.

¹⁴⁵ Charleston Courier, April 20, 1827, page 3.

¹⁴⁶ Charleston Courier, December 18, 1824, page 2.

¹⁴⁷ City Gazette, March 9, 1826.

In February 1828 work was contracted out after the legislature had allocated \$19,000 for its completion. The contract stipulated the following dimensions for the cut:

- 72 feet wide at surface of common high water
- 8 feet of depth at common high water
- 40 feet wide at bottom
- Half mile long

It was hoped that the constant ebb and flow of tidal waters would prevent any silting. Abraham Wilson was to be compensated \$7,000 for his loss of land in building the canal. Initially, the canal was planned to be finished by August of 1829.¹⁴⁸ A major event took place on January 19, 1831 when the steam packet, John David Morgan, under the command of Captain Dubois travelled through the cut on its run from Savannah to Charleston. This was the first steam boat to pass through the new Elliot's Cut.¹⁴⁹

It did not take long for the major shortcoming of the new Elliot Cut to become apparent to the planters on James Island. In December of 1832 a petition was completed asking for the state legislature to put a bridge of some sort over the enhanced Elliot's Cut. The petition was signed by 28 planters on James Island, which was most of the planters. Abraham Wilson was one of the signers. The petitioners stated that the only way to get off James Island was by boat. They went on to say that they got no benefit from the new Elliot Cut and that it was not deep enough for most steam boats.

Prior to expanding Elliot's Cut, residents of James Island could cross Wappoo Cut using a small ferry or a bridge (when one existed and if operational). The new Elliot's Cut was wider, deeper, and most of time had a very strong current running through it. Getting off the island was more difficult; how this was overlooked prior to the completion of Elliot's Cut expansion is difficult to comprehend. The reception of the petition by the state legislature is not documented, however a bridge was not built. A fully functioning bridge from James Island across Wappoo Creek was not in place until the Civil War (which was destroyed at the end of the war). In the meantime, maps after 1830 usually indicate a ferry was available to cross Elliot's Cut.

The next major events associated with Wappoo Creek occurred during the Civil War and are covered in that section.

¹⁴⁸ Report of the Superintendent of Public Works for the Year 1828. Published by the state of South Carolina, pp 13-14.

¹⁴⁹ Charleston Courier, January 21, 1831, page 2.

7. The Clark Family

Purchaser: Ephraim Mikel Clark from Abraham Wilson

Purchase Date: March 1836 for \$32,000

Area: 1,021 and 58/100 acres bounded as follows:¹⁵⁰

- North, Wappoo Creek
- West, Stono River
- East, lands of Girardeau
- South, lands of William Matthews

Ephraim Mikel Clark

Ephraim was born in 1814, baptized at the Independent Church in Charleston on December 24th.¹⁵¹ His parents, James and Mary, had a plantation on Edisto. On October 28, 1833, just shy of 20 years old, Ephraim married Susan J. Bailey at Edingsville. Over the course of their marriage, they would have 13 children, 6 of whom lived past 6.

The land purchased contained 140 more acres than the Wilson's original purchase. Given that two of the boundaries were waterways, the extra 140 acres came from the East or the South at some time during the Wilson's ownership. This was quite a purchase for Ephraim at the age of 23. One item to note in the contract documenting the sale to Clark is Wilson's retention of land containing a cemetery along with access to it. We can only guess that the cemetery housed some of the Wilson family or their slaves. No specificity as to the location of the cemetery was made and its location remains unknown.¹⁵²

While the Clarks owned the property from 1836 to 1859, there is no indication that they lived off the island. Shortly after selling the land on the north-west corner of James Island, 1860 records indicate E. M. Clark had a summer house in the village of Johnsonville¹⁵³. Since Johnsonville was established in the early 1800s, in all likelihood the Clark's spent their summers in Johnsonville while they owned land along Wappoo Creek. This continues the practice of the previous owners, the Wilson's, of being occupied with planting, managing the plantation, and raising their family from James Island and not being a permanently absent landlord and living in Charleston.

The 1850 Agricultural Census has E.M. Clark owning 500 acres of land on James Island worth \$25,000. Three hundred were in use and 200 were not. If the census is correct, Clark now owned half the amount of land he originally purchased from the Wilsons. The accompanying 1850 Slave Census has Clark in St. Andrews, which includes James Island, with 45 slaves.

After the sale of their property in 1859, the Clarks moved further south on James Island residing on what was then called the "Great Sound", later to be named Clark Sound. Few significant items of note were found regarding their occupation or involvement in other activities during their ownership on JINWC. As

¹⁵⁰ Book M, page 308

¹⁵¹ "Register of the Independent Congregational (Circular) Church Charleston SC 1784-1815", *The South Carolina Historical and Geneological Magazine*, July 1933, p. 164.

¹⁵² An 1888 map drawn by Robert Mellichamp to represent James Island during the Civil War, has a cross symbol at the intersection of the Stono River with Elliot's Cut perhaps indicating a cemetery.

¹⁵³ Douglas W. Bostick, *A Brief History of James Island*, p. 52.

one of the large planter families on James Island, much of his wealth and income was tied to the availability of low-cost slave labor. Ephraim would have been keenly aware of the escalating political divisions of the time. During 1860 he became heavily involved in the secessionist movement and was elected as a representative to the South Carolina Secession Convention for Charleston's St. Andrews Parish including all of James Island. He signed the Ordinance of Succession as the delegate to the Convention in Charleston on December 20, 1860.

After living on JINWC for 23 years, the Clarks sold 598 and 81/100 acres to another James Island resident, James M Lawton, for \$18,000. The two exchanged land on James Island for some reason. Clark bought a number of Lawton properties on the southern end of James Island at the same time Lawton was buying Clark land. During the period of Clark's ownership 423 acres of his initial purchase were sold, most along the southern boundary to fellow planter, Mr. Constant Rivers.

Clark and Lawton certainly knew each other as most large landowners on James Island socialized together. In the last half of 1852 they both were on the organizing committee for a sailing regatta to be held during November in the harbor which shows some recreational activities were taking place. Six classes of boats were to race with a total purse of over \$1,000. Oarsmen could be white or "colored".¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ Charleston Courier, November 15, 1852, p. 1.

8. The Lawton Family

Purchaser: James Monroe Lawton in 1859 for \$18,000¹⁵⁵

Area: 598 and 81/100 acres bounded as follows:¹⁵⁶

- North, Wappoo Creek
- West, Stono River
- East, lands formerly of Girardeau, now owned by T. S. Heyward
- South, lands of Constant H. Rivers and the public road leading to Wappoo Ferry
- The grave yard and access to it continues as stipulated by Abraham Wilson in the previous deed of conveyance.

James Monroe Lawton was born on James Island January 16, 1817, the son of Winborn Lawton, a large landowner on the eastern side of the island. Prior to purchasing the Clark property, he owned another plantation on the southern end of James Island. Given this background he knew the capabilities, good or bad, of farmland on the island. The planters on James Island often married others in their social class on the island. James Lawton's first wife was Martha G. McLeod; regretfully, she died at the age of 17 in 1840 having been married only a short time. James subsequently married Sarah Jane Rivers. He was active in the St. James Episcopal Church on James Island as he was elected a vestryman in 1848 and 1850.¹⁵⁷

To get a sense of his wealth and family, in the 1850 census James is married with no children and has real estate worth \$7,000, yet he has 51 slaves per the slave schedule. By 1860 after purchasing the Clark property, James has 4 children listed on the census with real estate valued at \$19,000 and having personal wealth of \$30,000 (if his slave holdings are as large as in 1850, their value would comprise most of the later amount). In the 1860 census, Joanna Rivers, the sister of James' wife, Sarah Jane Rivers¹⁵⁸, is also living with the Lawtons. These items indicate James has a young family to care for and the success of his plantation is paramount.

In the 1860 agricultural census it looked as if James had a very productive plantation. The plantation is listed as having 465 acres of improved land and 15 acres of unimproved land. The 480 total acreage matches his purchase from Clark in 1859. James lists the value of the plantation as \$18,000, with \$1,000 worth of tools, and \$2,500 in livestock value. Listed below is the livestock on the plantation and output for 1860:

- 5 horses
- 4 asses and mules
- 32 milk cows
- 4 other cattle
- 40 swine
- 12 sheep

¹⁵⁵ Book F14, p. 317

¹⁵⁶ Book F14, p. 317

¹⁵⁷ Charleston Courier, April 25, 1850, p. 2.

¹⁵⁸ Joanna Rivers father, Rawlins, had re-married and started a new family. Perhaps Joanna felt more comfortable with her natural sister.

- 900 bushels of Indian corn
- 27 bales of cotton weighing 400 pounds each
- 100 bushels of peas and beans
- 640 bushels of sweet potatoes
- 100 pounds of butter
- 10 units of hay

Such diversity of output indicates the need to produce food for slaves, livestock, and the owner's personal consumption. Any excess would have been sold on the island or in peninsula markets. Note the amount of cotton bales, the cash crop. In 1860 sea island cotton was averaging \$.47/pound which means the cotton would be worth \$5,076 which in 2002 would equate to around \$109,000.¹⁵⁹ An acre of cotton would yield about 135 pounds of cotton; Lawton's 27 bales would equate to having planted around 80 acres in cotton.

In 1860 James would not have known that he would own the plantation for the shortest time of any planters prior to or after him. The Civil War would prove to be disastrous for him.

¹⁵⁹ Porcher, *The Story of Sea Island Cotton*, p. 323.

9. James Lawton and JINWC Enter the Civil War

James Island served as a potential entry point for Union troops to reach the city. Just as with the British in the Revolutionary War, the Union made a number of attempts using various approaches to find a solution for capturing James Island. In the end, James Island was not taken directly by force. Through Confederate attrition and the Union's superior amounts of men and war materiel, the island was occupied late in the war by the Union only after Confederate troops abandoned the city.

Much has been written about the major events of the Civil War on James Island, most of which took place on the southern half of the island. The northwest corner of James Island served in three major capacities:

1. Protected access to the island from the upper portions of the Stono River and to Charleston via Wappoo Creek using strategically placed forts.
2. Provided defensive lines along a portion of the northwest corner if Union infantry managed to land on the island.
3. Provided staging areas, roads, bridges, and access to forts for supplies and Confederate soldiers to move through the area. Development of these capabilities evolved as the war progressed as evidenced by the events listed below.

Initially, planters such as James M. Lawton on James Island were attempting to support the Confederacy and continue to work their plantations. On James Island these two efforts became just about mutually exclusive early in the conflict. The following events unfolded on the northwest corner and for James M. Lawton they are a study of exasperation and financial decline for a planter.

Pulling out events relevant to the northwest and central sections of James Island from all the activities taking place on the island from 1861 to 1865 is not an exact science. Newspapers of the time provided a flavor of events taking place which enable a view of what north end landowners were experiencing, what was happening on their land, to their immediate neighbors, along with mile posts in the war for reference.

1861 Events

April 12, 1861 – Fort Sumter was fired upon including from positions at Fort Johnson on James Island.

May 23rd – the war started out innocuously enough for Lawton as he assisted a local military group by making parts of his plantation available to them. Expressing their gratitude, the Rutledge Mounted Riflemen in Charleston published a thanks to James M. Lawton for the conveniences and advantages of his plantation during their recent tour of service on James Island.¹⁶⁰

August 13th - Martha Stiles Royall McLeod, the wife of James Lawton's neighboring planter and ex brother-in-law William Wallace McLeod, dies at age 25 leaving three children.

1862 Events

¹⁶⁰ Charleston Daily Courier, May 23, 1861, p2.

April 30, 1862 – war preparations encroached on James Lawton as a report in the Charleston Daily Courier states that a noble breastwork¹⁶¹ is in the process of construction under the supervision of Captain William M. Ramsay on the land of James Lawton. The “noble breastwork” is named Fort Pemberton and is a couple of hundred yards south from James Lawton’s plantation home on the Stono River near Elliott’s Cut; Lawton’s slaves almost certainly helped build the fort. The reporter in the article goes on to say that after leaving the construction site and heading to Elliott’s Cut, he was gratified by a visit to the fine mansion and beautiful flower garden of James Lawton.

“the roses and other flower treasures of the garden, blooming in rich profusion, delighted the sight, while delicious odors regaled another sense.”

This is one of the few references to the main plantation house in use by James Lawton. It is not known if this house was built by the Wilsons or Clarks; it was already present when James Lawton purchased the property. Both the Wilsons and Clarks were wealthy and one would expect a structure of appropriate significance. At this point, James Lawton and family probably still resided in the plantation house, although they could be getting nervous about all the military activity and threats of a Union attack on James Island.

The reporter also makes a reference to a smaller fortification, not named, at the junction of the Stono River and Wappoo Creek and two supporting encampments nearby. Eastward of this unnamed fortification near Minott’s Bluff (in the Central Section adjoining Lawton’s land) is another encampment with occupying companies named. A bit further east more encampments near the pontoon bridge across Wappoo Creek are reported. The pontoon bridge is also described later as a draw bridge which allows boat traffic to pass.¹⁶² Changes are coming quickly to the land around James Lawton with agricultural efforts becoming more difficult due to military activity and building. From this short travelogue along the Stono and Wappoo Creek it is evident the military is using land on the JINWC intensely.

May 1st - a pontoon bridge over Wappoo Creek is referenced in the Charleston Daily Courier. Also, the “New Bridge” over the Ashley River between the peninsula and what is now West Ashley is referred to.¹⁶³ The expediency of war enabled the Wappoo bridge to be built which had only been dreamed of prior to the war. The Ashley River bridge was built just before the war. James Lawton would have been amazed at his new ability to get to the peninsula much more quickly over land with the help of these bridges.

May 6th – James Lawton’s access to the southern end of James Island was also improved as the Charleston Daily Courier reports that new roads on James Island reduced the land route from Secessionville to Charleston down to 8 miles instead of 13. The distance is going to be reduced to seven miles once a narrow bridge of 1,100 yards and linking roads are completed.¹⁶⁴ The old 13-mile route was over the Kings Road on the western portion of James Island (and Lawton’s

¹⁶¹ This is the start of Fort Pemberton which fits the description and is on Lawton’s plantation. Also, Ramsay was the officer who supervised Fort Pemberton’s construction.

¹⁶² Charleston Daily Courier, May 6, 1862, p. 4.

¹⁶³ Charleston Daily Courier, May 1, 1862, p. 1.

¹⁶⁴ Charleston Daily Courier, May 6, 1862, p. 4.

plantation land) and over Wappoo Creek and Elliot's Cut. The new route referred to is the start of what is now Harbor View Road. Moving men and equipment more efficiently to key forts throughout James Island was a priority and altered the road infrastructure of the island permanently and helped civilians immediately.

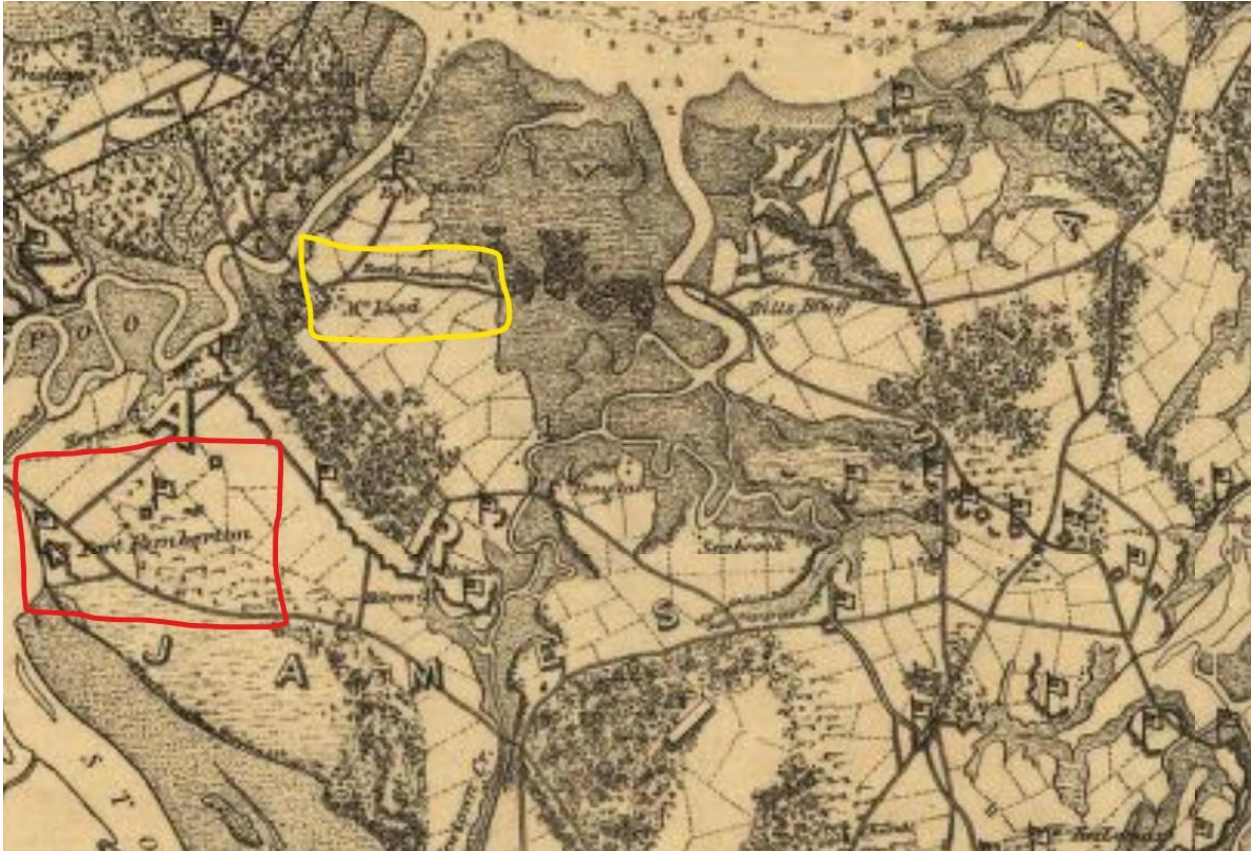


Figure 9.1. November 1863 map of James Island from Library of Congress. Note in red box the label for Fort Pemberton. In the yellow box is McLeod's home with the new road labeled 'Road to Secessionville' which continues to key points on James Island and shortened the distance from the peninsula.

May 15th – Fellow planters of James Lawton continued their active engagement in the war as the Charleston Light Dragoons re-organize for the war with Lawton's neighbor and ex brother-in-law, W. W. McLeod, listed as a private in the company.¹⁶⁵ William McLeod must have had an understanding extended family as he was a widower with children. Given the number of marriages between the McLeods and Lawtons, such enlistments brought hardships and worry across James Island. William McLeod's service during the war would not end well.

May 19th – The war took a significant turn for the worse for civilian residents as Brigadier General Gist in Sucessionville Headquarters ordered plantation owners on James Island to remove all slaves and personal property from James Island. Two slaves may be left to monitor each plantation. All cattle and sheep were to be left for the military. Owners were to submit

¹⁶⁵ Charleston Daily Courier, May 15, 1862, p. 4.

claims for reimbursement to Gist's headquarters. For the planters this order, in effect, placed James Island under complete military control. This meant an almost total loss for the crops in the ground for this growing year and concerns for the safety of buildings and other accessories the military was going to use. Economic problems must have been on the mind of James Lawton and his fellow planters as much as a Union invasion.

June 16 – While James Lawton is off James Island due to the May 19th order, the Battle of Sucessionville took place on the southern end of the island. Confederate confidence was high with the victory. Strengthening forts and trenching lands on James Island continued.

July 24 – Military control of JINWC permeated all aspects of activities as life along Wappoo Creek was made more difficult with fishing and shrimping in Wappoo Creek and James Island Creek now prohibited. Perhaps the idea was to prevent Union troops from sneaking up on the Island interior by removing everyone except military personnel from the rivers. Also, price controls were placed on pan fish (30 cents for 8 fish) and shrimp (15 cents for a plate). It is not clear how long these prices lasted given that inflation reached 5,824 per cent from 1861 to 1865¹⁶⁶. Providing food at a reasonable cost was a noble goal.

September 27th - James Lawton and his family are reported as living in Summerville.¹⁶⁷ James Lawton's inland residence would have been a huge change from life on a sea island plantation. At least in Summerville his family was sheltered from battles near the coast and peninsula. His income would now have been curtailed or non-existent, and his debts pressing.

October 25th – life in the military on James Island was not as expected by all. Two advertisements in the Charleston Daily Courier this day were for payment of \$30 to anyone who can find two deserters from Camp Ripley on Wappoo Creek located at Heyward's farm.¹⁶⁸ The advertisements are placed by an officer in Camp Ripley which was on the north, central end of James Island bordering Wappoo Creek and next to Lawton's plantation. Camp Ripley is another example of the extensive use of plantations and surrounding land by the military, limiting or eliminating agricultural production.

1863 Events

February 13th - while James Lawton was now in Summerville, he would have taken a keen interest in an article in the Charleston Daily Courier which reported that on January 8th special events at Fort Pemberton had taken place. The article described an afternoon/evening event the officers at Fort Pemberton staged including a review of the fort, a small parade, and dinner at the James Lawton house which had been commandeered by the military. The Lawton residence was noted as formerly belonging to Ephraim Clark, Esq. The article is important for the details it provides about Fort Pemberton, the surrounding grounds, and the "fine old residence" which is the James Lawton plantation home which was located between the fort and Elliott's Cut.

¹⁶⁶ Money, Prices, and Wages in the Confederacy, 1861 – 1865. Eugene M. Lerner. *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 63, No. 1 (February, 1955), pp. 20 -40.

¹⁶⁷ Charleston Daily Courier, September 27, 1862, p.1.

¹⁶⁸ Charleston Daily Courier, October 25, 1862, p. 2.

In particular, the fort is described as being very formidable and able to withstand any cannon shots coming its way. Mention is made of officer's quarters and a "plain" on which a small military parade took place near the fort. The evening's events included dancing before and after dinner in the two major front rooms which were decorated with evergreens and well lighted; the band was located in the hallway between the rooms. Dinner was served in adjoining "apartments" and featured many items normally in short supply due to the war. All-in-all quite an evening. The reporter also takes great effort to describe the quiet beauty of the setting sun over the Stono from his position at Fort Pemberton.¹⁶⁹ Fortunately, the beautiful sunsets over the Stono still exist.

This was probably the last hurrah for the Lawton "fine old residence". No further references to it during the remainder of the war exist. The building is not listed as one which survived the war by Willie McLeod or mentioned in any other references examined after the war. No specific record as to who built the plantation house has been found. The Wilsons who bought the land in 1800 were extremely wealthy, and the Clarks who followed them were from a well-established planter family; so, the house was probably large, as described in the articles and handsome. In any case, this description in conjunction with the previous listing on April 30, 1862 are the major ways we know any details of the long-lost dwelling. In 1967 Mrs. Fred W. Stevenson, who later lived on land of the former Lawton plantation along with her father and uncle, stated that while the original Wappoo Hall was long gone, its bricks were in her uncle's backyard for some time.¹⁷⁰

June 3rd - T. Savage Heyward listed for sale his property of 250 acres to the east of James Lawton and another property of 300 acres south of Lawton's land. By June 1863 the war was starting to take a more severe economic toll on James Island planters. Planters' debts for the initial purchase of land or for planting supplies found themselves struggling to remain economically viable. Losing the income from another planting season looked inevitable.

July first week. - Losses at Gettysburg and Vicksburg eroded Confederate confidence. Planters wanting to return to James Island were now less certain in their ability to do so in the foreseeable future.

August 1863 – Union General Quincy Gillmore started sending indiscriminate cannon shots into the city of Charleston from a battery in the marsh near Morris Island, four miles away.¹⁷¹ The war is hitting home on all fronts for civilians, continuing to erode the long-term confidence of planters on James Island. There are fewer and fewer places to seek shelter as the situation deteriorates.

November 4, 1863 - Confederate President Jefferson Davis spent the day examining defenses on James Island including Fort Pemberton.¹⁷² Holding Charleston was important for morale as well as militarily and Davis recognized the fortifications on James Island were key. At the conclusion of his visit, Davis was satisfied with the Island's fortifications to hold back Union attacks.

¹⁶⁹ Charleston Daily Courier, February 13, 1863, p. 4.

¹⁷⁰ Charleston News and Courier, December 30, 1967, p. 9.

¹⁷¹ E. Milby Burton, *The Siege of Charleston 1861-1865*, p. 251.

¹⁷² Charleston Mercury. November 5, 1863, p. 2.

November 27, 1863 - James M. Lawton gives in to the various pressures facing him and sold to Henry W. Kinsman his 598 acre plantation for \$40,000 (Confederate dollars were the legal tender at the time.) Precisely why Lawton sold is not known. Having \$40,000 Confederate dollars gave him some options, as long as he did not hold on to the money too long; inflation was 662% since the beginning of the war.¹⁷³

¹⁷³ Eugene M. Lerner, Money, "Prices, and Wages in the Confederacy, 1861 – 1865", *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 63, No. 1 (February, 1955), pp. 20 -40.

10. Henry W. Kinsman Background Up to 1863

In the middle of the Civil War another character was interjected into the fabric of JINWC, Henry Warren Kinsman. An overview of his history provides some insight into his personality. Although he ultimately owned over 1,300 acres on the JINWC, his name is little known. In contrast to the James Island owners which preceded him, Kinsman emigrated to the Charleston area from a northern state prior to the Civil War. He was joined by his brother Warren and possibly another brother or cousin named Norman.

The 1850 census has Henry W. Kinsman living in Charleston and listing his place of birth as Vermont. He was born around 1824 per census records of 1850 and 1860, and his obituary.¹⁷⁴ One of the first references to Kinsman in the local newspaper appeared in October 30, 1848; his name was listed as the receiver of goods in a shipment.¹⁷⁵ While his first business advertisement found in the newspaper was dated March 7, 1849, he seems to have been in business prior to then. On December 18, 1848 he is one of a number of people who owned houses and lots on Meeting Street and who presented a petition to the mayor and aldermen of Charleston to have Meeting Street paved between Broad and Boundary Streets. The petitioners state this section of road was now one of the main roads to carry goods between the city and the railroad and was basically a rutted, muddied dirty embarrassment.¹⁷⁶

Assuming Kinsman arrived in Charleston in the late 1840s he was a young man in his mid-20's. Energy and enthusiasm were hallmarks of his career. No reference was found as to why he moved from Vermont. Initially Kinsman sold window treatments, unholstering services, and mattresses geared to the fashion-conscious clients. As a merchant in Charleston originally from a northern state, his relationship to the established planter and aristocratic classes would have become immediately apparent. He was not one of them, and the need for more wealth was a motivator. The following Kinsman advertisement dates to March 7, 1849¹⁷⁷:

**PAPER HANGING,
WINDOW SHADES AND UPHOLSTERING.**

THE subscribers having just received per late arrivals a large and splendid assortment of WINDOW SHADES, PAPER HANGING, &c., takes this method of informing their friends and the public in general that having just removed from his old stand, 96 Meeting-street, to 86, corner of Cumberland, opposite Odd Fellows' Hall, and having made arrangements with Mr. T. H. LAROUSSELIERE, general Upholsterer, will for the future carry on the Upholstering in general, and be prepared to supply the public with any articles in their line, viz:

WINDOW SHADES FROM 50 CTS. TO \$6
PAPER HANGING FROM 6½ TO 50 CTS. A ROLL

Borders of every description, French and American; Mattresses made to order or renewed; Palliastres, Feather Beds, Pillows, Holsters, &c.; Church or other Cushions made to order; Sofas, Chairs, &c., repaired and restuffed; Carpets made up, Oil Cloth and Matting laid; Paper Hanging executed in a workman like manner; Folding Screens, Fire Boards, &c.; Venetian Blinds repaired and painted.

H. W. KINSMAN & CO.
w1 tu3

Mh 7

Figure 10.1 Kinsman Advertisement 1849.

From the start of his business endeavors Kinsman provides a classic example of small business entrepreneurship. He always searched for new, profitable items and traveled (mainly to New York) to find products at the lowest cost. He engaged in marketing efforts which combined practicality, low cost,

¹⁷⁴ The Charleston News and Courier, August 2, 1892, page 8.

¹⁷⁵ The Charleston Courier, October 30, 1848, page 2.

¹⁷⁶ The Charleston Courier, December 14, 1848, page 2.

¹⁷⁷ The Charleston Courier, March 7, 1849, page 3.

and a sense of international prestige and the associated glamor of the well to do. The first Samuel Peronneau exhibited many of these same traits. One of the key differences is that in colonial times emulation of British fashion ruled, by the 1850's Americans aspired to follow wider European styles.

Kinsman's business thrived. He moved his store to King Street. Below are examples of later advertisements in 1851.

H. W. KINSMAN,

WINDOW FURNISHING STORE, 177 KING, 2 DOORS ABOVE ENSTON'S STORE.

WHERE may always be found the most extensive and artistic assortment of WINDOW SHADES in the United States. Also, Muslin Curtains, Gilt Cornices, Bands, Pins, Curtain Loops, Cord, Tassels, Gimps, &c., at prices as low as the same style of goods can be procured in the country. 4 N 18

SPRING, HAIR AND MOSS MATTRASSES.

177 KING-ST. TWO DOORS ABOVE ENSTON'S NEW STORE.

THE undersigned have engaged the best workmen in the country of the above articles, and will keep constantly on hand a large assortment of them, made from the best material. Also, all kind of MATTRASSES, Feather Beds, Pillows and Bolsters, &c.

P. S.—Give me a call and examine them, every article warranted. H. W. KINSMAN.

N 18 4

PAPER HANGINGS! PAPER HANGINGS!

177 KING-STREET, TWO DOORS ABOVE ENSTON'S NEW STORE.

THE stock of rich French and American PAPER HANGINGS, cannot be excelled. They are imported direct from the manufacturers, and will be sold as low as the same article in the city.

PAPER HANGING done by experienced workmen. Call and examine them before purchasing. H. W. KINSMAN.

N 18 4

Figure 10.2 Kinsman advertisements 1851

Making his brother, Warren, a partner they open a confectionary on King Street and sold sherbets and ice cream in June of 1858, a novelty during Charleston's sultry summers. An advertisement from December 23, 1857 follows for the confectionary.

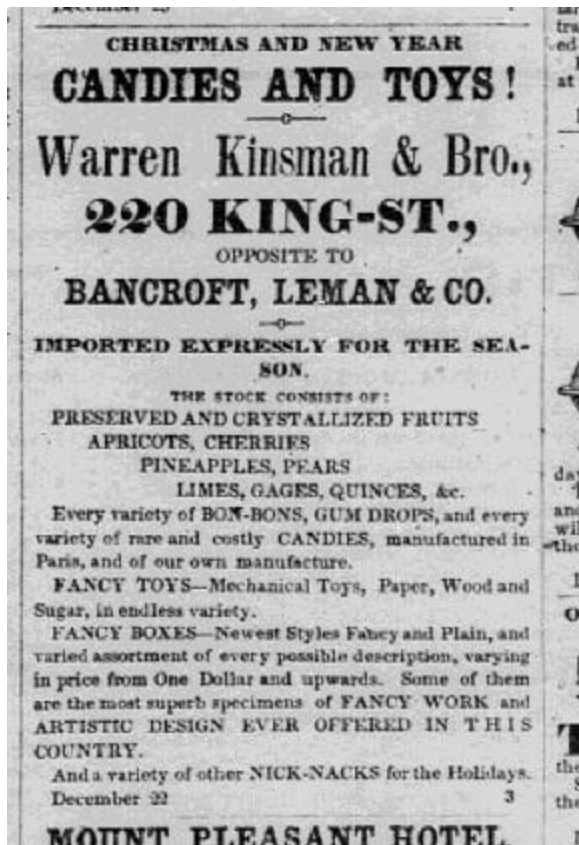


Figure 10.3 Kinsman Confectionary 1857

Kinsman saw an opportunity in a burgeoning market and became an agent for a new product with territorial selling rights, the sewing machine built by Grover and Baker. This manufacturer was one of the first to produce the sewing machine for the mass consumer market. Kinsman as agent probably made a decent amount of money for the manufacturer and himself. He heavily advertised the sewing machines in the local papers. Between 1853 and 1858 the manufacturer made 13,388 of these machines; Kinsman sold 253¹⁷⁸ of them locally. He sold sewing machines to at least two people associated with the northern end of James Island: Hugh Wilson (Jr.), and T. Savage Heyward.¹⁷⁹ The following is an advertisement of December 16, 1857.¹⁸⁰ Kinsman used innovative marketing with a liberation theme on numerous occasions;¹⁸¹ “liberation” referred to the ability of sewing machines to free women, and particularly seamstresses, from the drudgery and unhealthy nature of being attached to a sewing needle for extraordinary lengths of time. Increased efficiency over traditional sewing activities was a selling point which resonated with consumers. Little did he know how important knowledge of this industry would be to him in a few years.

¹⁷⁸ Charleston Daily Courier, March 6, 1860, page 2.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, March 6, 1860, page 2.

¹⁸⁰ The Charleston Mercury, December 16, 1857, page 2.

¹⁸¹ One example is found in the Charleston Daily Courier, September 26, 1859, p. 2.



Figure 10.4. December 16, 1857 advertisement for sewing machines by Kinsman

Kinsman's many business ventures were built upon a network of suppliers he carefully cultivated in the United States and abroad. His logistical knowledge and entrepreneurial drive brought creative products to the prosperous residents of Charleston, then one of the largest cities in the southeast.

In addition, Kinsman took an interest in local fire protection. This interest may have been the result of community support or a more material interest in looking out for his stores and their inventory. Fire was always a major hazard to residents in the densely packed city structures and the city had suffered from a number of major fires through the years. Charleston had individual fire companies who each had a support group to raise funds for equipment and supplies. In 1856, Kinsman rose to be the president of a local fire company, the Hope Engine Company, and received a number of accolades for his leadership and support.

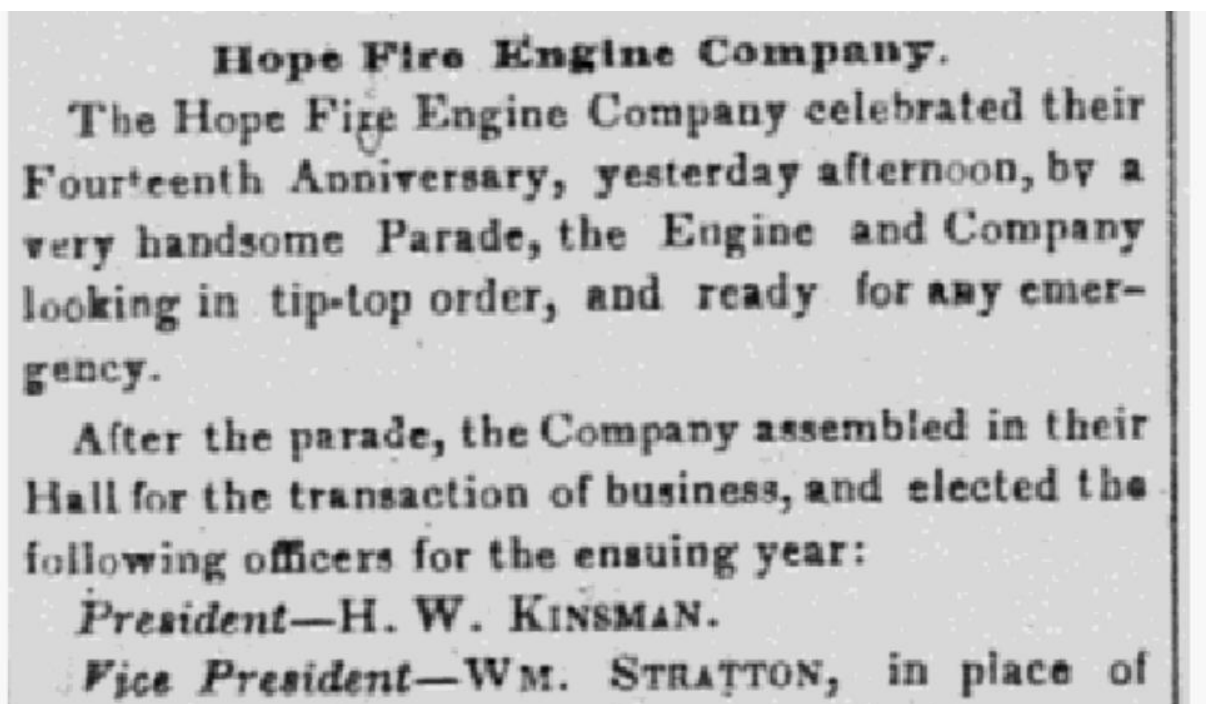


Figure 10.5. Taken from the Charleston Mercury, December 20, 1856, page 2.

The Civil War changed Kinsman's business. The Union blockade of the harbor was making it difficult to import goods. A new customer emerged, the Confederate government and its military. Kinsman transformed his business from sewing window treatments to producing tents, stretchers, grain bags, haversacks, etc. His knowledge of, and access to, sewing machines were instrumental.

Kinsman seized this opportunity soon after the war began. In September of 1861 he placed a help wanted advertisement in the Mercury for 10 seamstresses with experience working on sewing machines and a few apprentices¹⁸². The Confederate Government placed orders with his firm in 1861 for at least 400 tents which grew to over 1,400 in 1864. Kinsman was listed in at least 44 Confederate Government orders and vouchers from 1861 to 1864.¹⁸³ These receipts did not represent all new business associated with the war since not all his records are available. Also, not all orders for military goods during the war were centralized and often individual units raised money and provided for their own equipment. The records obtained for Kinsman's work for the Confederacy represent a small part of the total income he derived from the war.

¹⁸² Charleston Mercury, September 25, 1861, p. 6.

¹⁸³ Examination of the orders show the dollar amount ranged from under \$10 to over \$9,000. The vast majority relate to ordering tents. Orders and vouchers were obtained from Family Search website searching for Henry Kinsman.

ARMY
AND
WALL TENTS.

JUST RECEIVED, 20,000
yards of DUCK. Orders solicited
for Tents of any size or pat-
tern, at short notice.

H. W. KINSMAN.

January 25 2

OIL CLOTH COATS,
OIL CLOTH COATS,
OIL CLOTH LEGGINS
OIL CLOTH HAVERLOCKS
OIL CLOTH HAVERSACKS.

-AT-

H. W. KINSMAN'S,
Corner of King and Beaufain streets.

January 25 2

Figure 10.6. January 27, 1862 advertisement by Kinsman in Daily Courier for tents and oil cloth items.

All did not go completely without problems in his new military related business. In December of 1861 a fire in his plant took place. The newspaper reported it did not stop his business, so it was not too severe.¹⁸⁴ In November 1862 a more severe fire broke out at Kinsman's plant on Beaufain just west of King Street. While he was insured to some extent, his tent deliveries in 1863 were minimal.¹⁸⁵

Kinsman's industriousness was not limited to tent manufacturing. One item in short supply during the war due to the blockade was "lampblack" whose price jumped from a few cents per pound up to 75 cents per pound. While not only used for printing and writing, lampblack was used to dye some of the items Kinsman produced. Kinsman and Mr. T. B. Fagerty developed their own manufacturing process for lampblack through substantial effort. The end result was a new manufacturing process which could produce lampblack for twenty some cents a pound which was marketed in the local newspaper.¹⁸⁶ He

¹⁸⁴ Charleston Mercury, December 28, 1861, p. 2.

¹⁸⁵ Charleston Mercury, November 19, 1862, p. 2.

¹⁸⁶ A full description of his efforts can be found in the Charleston Mercury, April 12, 1862. p. 2.

had earlier also invented a hair spring pillow which was cooler by allowing air to flow through it while in use.¹⁸⁷

In addition to profits earned manufacturing military supplies, Kinsman is often listed as a consignee of shipments received by railroad during the war. While specifically what Kinsman received is not known, most railroad shipments into Charleston were basic foodstuffs such as flour, meal, bacon, and molasses. For example, during the waning months of the war in Charleston, from August to December 1864, Kinsman is listed on seven railroad arrivals as a consignee; most all contents were foodstuffs¹⁸⁸. Given the dire position of Charleston citizens during this time, one can only assume Kinsman made a good profit from the deliveries he managed to receive.

Kinsman prior to the war was importing many products of high value to be sold to wealthy individuals.¹⁸⁹ We can surmise that he used his numerous contacts in shipping to take part in blockade running enterprises where cargoes would have gone for substantial sums given the pent-up demand. During the first two years of the war, the Union Navy had little impact on the lucrative blockade running into Charleston. This time period corresponds to Kinsman's accumulation of enough wealth to purchase a significant amount of land by late 1863 and early 1864.¹⁹⁰ Auctions were common in Charleston for consumer goods which made it through the blockade.

As the war progressed, Kinsman became wealthy. There was a catch however. Confederate currency was depreciating at a rapid pace. As examples, what cost one Confederate dollar in 1861 cost \$6.90 by 1863 and \$11.60 by 1864. Anyone holding a currency falling in value will normally attempt to buy another asset which will hold its value. This could be gold, silver, buildings to rent, or agricultural land for example. This leads directly into Kinsman's new found interest in James Island in the middle of the Civil War.

¹⁸⁷ Charleston Courier, May 2, 1855, p. 2.

¹⁸⁸ Charleston Mercury on August 24, October 25, November 1, 10, 19, and December 22; all 1864. Charleston Courier October 12, 1864.

¹⁸⁹ For an example see the Charleston Courier, November 28, 1854, page 2.

¹⁹⁰ During the summer of 1863 the Union naval blockade of Charleston became very effective and ended the significance of blockade running for Charleston. From *Lifeline of the Confederacy* by Stephen R. Wise, University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, SC, 1988. pp. 121-124.

11. Henry W. Kinsman Purchase and Ownership

Purchaser: Henry W. Kinsman on November 27, 1863

Area: 598.80 acres comprised of 400 and 80/100 acres of high ground and 118 acres of marsh land excluding the graveyard and access to it which carried forward per deed from Ephraim Clark.

Boundaries:

North – Wappoo Creek

East – lands formerly of Guardeau now the property of T.S. Heyward

South – land now belonging to Constant Rivers and the public road leading to Wappoo Ferry

West – Stono River

The boundaries are, in essence, exactly the same as recorded in the transfer to Lawton in 1859. Lawton purchased the plantation for \$18,000. Kinsman bought the land for \$40,000 in Confederate money. Keep in mind that at this time James Island was under total military occupation. At the time of the sale, the war was not going as well for the south as in the early years. Kinsman must have thought he could wait the war out and whatever the outcome, the land would be valuable. Another motivation for the purchase was that Kinsman was probably sitting on a pile of Confederate paper money. If Lawton's \$18,000 purchase price of the plantation had kept up with inflation of Confederate dollars, in 1863 it should have been worth approximately \$119,160.¹⁹¹ Kinsman may have gotten a deal depending if any buildings were still present after military use. After Kinsman made his purchase in November, the depredations of the war increased for the South and Charleston. In the later part of 1863, the indiscriminate shelling of Charleston could have influenced Lawton and also had an impact on Kinsman's manufacturing.

1864 Events

1864 finds the siege and bombardment of Charleston continuing. The fire company Kinsman sponsored, Hope Fire Engine Company, found itself in constant demand extinguishing the burning results of Union cannon fire into the city. On James Island the fortifications, forts and defense lines across the island, continued to be strengthened. Manpower for the Confederates around Charleston drained off to support efforts in Virginia and Tennessee. All able-bodied men were drafted. Men in the Fire Companies were also required to be part of local military units defending the city in case of a Union attack.

Kinsman was probably able to visit his land purchased in November, yet putting it to agricultural uses rather than military defenses, would have been almost impossible. Confederate troops were using or procuring every structure, tool, animal, crop, etc., on James island for building fortifications, bomb shelters, supplying food, and attempting to deal with the heat, cold, and rain. Knowing that Confederate currency could continue to depreciate, the land that Kinsman purchased would at least retain some value despite the loss of buildings, equipment, etc.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

January and February 1864 brought more plantation ownership changes. James Island planter T. Savage Heyward advertised two parcels of land for sale within the JINWC in the Daily Courier.¹⁹² One parcel of 288 acres bordering Wappoo Creek and near the pontoon bridge crossing it, was adjacent to Kinsman's land purchased in November of 1863. Seeing the opportunity to expand his contiguous James Island holdings, on February 13, 1864 Kinsman purchased the plantation from Heyward. This parcel in all likelihood is the same property owned by William and Richard Hutson close to a century earlier. Details of the transaction are:

Heyward plantation of 234 acres purchased for \$27,500 on February 13, 1864

Boundaries:

- a. North – Wappoo Creek and land formerly of E.M. Clark now owned by Kinsman
- b. East/south east – land of R.R. Bee
- c. South West – public road
- d. West – lands formerly of E.M. Clark now owned by Kinsman

Kinsman did not stop with the purchase from Heyward. On February 24, 1864 Kinsman purchased from planter Mr. Constant Rivers, the adjoining land on the southern edge of his property. Specifics of this purchaser are:

Constant Rivers Plantation of 300 acres of high land and 135 acres of marsh land purchased for \$30,000 on February 24, 1864

Boundaries:

- a. North – land formerly of E. M. Clark, now owned by Henry W. Kinsman
- b. East - public road leading to Wappoo Ferry
- c. South – lands of Jas W. Holmes
- d. West – Stono River

With this purchase, in the space of three months, Kinsman has sole control of JINWC. He has obtained 934 acres of high land and 253 acres of marshland, all contiguous, at a cost of \$75,500 paid for in cash (a huge sum for the time). One can speculate that the previous owners of the land Kinsman purchased were running out of money at about the same time and reached a common consensus on how to handle their situation. Little or no agricultural income was produced in 1862 and 1863 from James Island. In February 1864, labor and seed for planting was needed for the upcoming season and without the use of their James Island land, prospects were looking dismal. Selling their plantations provided a few options at least. Kinsman may have been one of the few buyers willing to take a chance on the land.

In July of 1864 Kinsman must have had been anxious about the future as a major attack by the Union took place trying to advance up the Stono River. Fort Pringle on the Dill Plantation just

¹⁹² Charleston Daily Courier, January 21, 1864, p. 2. The Heyward advertisement lists the land for prime sea island cotton. The plantation has a comfortable residence, a few outbuildings, fruit trees, etc. A four horse steam engine to aid in growing cotton is part of the sale.

south of his property was bombarded by Union gunboats and monitor class ships¹⁹³, yet the fort held off the Union advance up the Stono.¹⁹⁴ Small Union attacks and constant shelling of forts on the southern end of James Island continued along with other threatening events. No one knew how long Confederate forces could keep such incursions at bay.

December of 1864 brought more bad news to the Charleston area. Savannah fell to the Union commander William Tecumseh Sherman. Confederate troops in Tennessee under Hood were defeated. Defenders and citizens of Charleston realized they were in a perilous situation.

Charleston Evacuation and Ramifications

During the night of February 17th and early morning of February 18th 1865, Confederate military forces evacuated Charleston and abandoned all the James Island defenses. Anything of value on James Island was either taken with the Confederates or destroyed to avoid aiding Union troops. The evacuation of Charleston quickly brought the city and its surrounding islands down to a desolate landscape and economy with impoverished residents. Union troops ransacked all private and public buildings taking everything of value. Bridges across the Ashley River and Wappoo Creek were destroyed by retreating Confederates. Northern James Island, as with all of James Island, was in shambles. It is difficult to imagine just how bad general living and economic conditions were. William McLeod states that after the war only six houses were still standing on James Island.¹⁹⁵ Cecilia Lawton, wife of Wallace Lawton, whose plantation on the eastern side of James Island was completely destroyed wrote in her diary from that time that Yankees destroyed property and so did Confederate “country cracker” class soldiers who hated all wealthy planters.¹⁹⁶

The journal kept by the Freedman’s Bureau that listed all plantations on James Island and their key characteristics after the surrender of Charleston, has no structures listed for the plantations formerly owned by Constant Rivers and T. Savage Heyward. The James Lawton plantation site, now also belonging to Kinsman, was listed with one building described as “Barracks”; no mention is made of a plantation house. Soldiers stationed at, or near, Fort Pemberton can be assumed to have built and used a barracks for quarters or medical purposes.¹⁹⁷

Virtually everyone was hungry and few had any money. Building blocks for a functioning economy had to be re-established under new rules. For agrarian based James Island, the issue boiled down to land ownership and the rights of newly freed slaves. Union and Confederate mandates issued prior to the end of the war shaped the legal environment concerning land. The Confederate government had ordered landowners to evacuate James Island during hostilities since adequate protection of civilians from the Union fleet and military forays was not possible. At the conclusion of the war, plantation owners wanted to return to their land.

¹⁹³ Monitor class ships had a low flat deck with a turret(s) on top. They were made famous in the clash of the USS Monitor and CSS Merrimack in Hampton Roads in March of 1862.

¹⁹⁴ E. Milby Burton, *The Siege of Charleston 1861-1865*, p. 291.

¹⁹⁵ Preservation Consultants, *Survey Report James Island and Johns Island Historical and Architectural Inventory*. p. 25.

¹⁹⁶ Clyde Bresee, *How Grand a Flame*, p. 148.

¹⁹⁷ 1863 newspaper article mentions officers quarters yet is not more definitive as to if it was an existing structure or a new set of barracks constructed when Fort Pemberton was built.

The Union authorities and newly freed slaves had different plans and desires which were formed in the later stages of the war. A few regulations and actions set expectations for the freed, and soon to be freed, slaves. First, while General William T. Sherman was in Savannah, he issued Special Field Order No. 15 on January 16, 1865. This order confiscated land along the coastal rivers thirty miles inland from Charleston south to the St. Johns River in Florida; James Island fell into the geographic area stipulated. In order to assist the growing number of freed slaves under Union care, the land confiscated could be divided into lots up to 40 acres in size for their use. The order was silent as to if the lands were permanently given. It seems that blacks occupying land under this order were given “possessory” claims, which as they were to find out, were not a title to the land.

Secondly, in March 3, 1865 an act was passed by Congress to establish a Freedmen’s Bureau to help deal with the mass relocation and support of freed people and loyal refugees. Basic homesteading rights and guidelines were established including renting and the right to purchase land under certain conditions.

Lastly, the Port Royal Experiment (1862 – 1865) gave hope to blacks of how reconstruction might proceed. After the Union took control of the Beaufort area in South Carolina early in the war, efforts generally entitled “The Port Royal Experiment” were made to have former slaves become self-sufficient using the resources of the confiscated plantations in the immediate area. The successes and failures incurred along the way in the Port Royal Experiment helped define what worked and what did not in realigning the components of a new agricultural economic structure.

Implementation of these new rules was problematic. Occupying Union forces and the newly formed Freedmen’s Bureau often had to revise administrative details as situations presented themselves. Initial Union leadership in Charleston favored granting freed slaves more rights specifically in land ownership and a desire to take a harsh stance against former Confederates pressing for a return to the pre-Civil War social order.

Newly freed slaves on James Island now, at least, had options. Some moved to the peninsula or to northern states. Others opted to secure land grants and farm. Concurrently, many freed slaves on the mainland flocked to the sea islands, including James Island, hoping to obtain some of the land promised early in 1865 by William T. Sherman. Too many freed people ended up on James Island. The newly appointed assistant superintendent of schools in Charleston, William F. Allen, reported in his journal on April 29th in a visit near Fort Johnson:

“We saw a colony of negroes recently brought here – now half-naked creatures, torn away from their homes & living in wretched huts here, with barely enough to keep them alive.”¹⁹⁸

The conditions on James Island were slow to improve as William Allen records in his journal on May 14th that the people on the island were suffering terribly, yet food from Beaufort was coming in.¹⁹⁹

With Lincoln’s assassination shortly after Lee’s surrender in April 1865, the tone in the White House changed dramatically; Andrew Johnson became president and began to implement rules more sympathetic to the pre-war southern establishment. Specifically, the new president made it easier for planters to have their land restored at the expense of most implicit agreements with freedmen. The

¹⁹⁸ William Francis Allen, *A Yankee Scholar in Coastal South Carolina*, University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, 2015. p. 191.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 196.

new administration took the position that the titles held by the pre-war planters took precedent over any “possessory” claims held by the freedmen. This was a landmark decision for the planters on James Island and equally upsetting to the freedmen who felt they had been lied to. Initially, restoration of lands to former owners was actually slowed down by local administrators of the Freedmen’s Bureau responsible for James Island; they wanted fewer restorations and more grants or processes for freedmen to take control of land. For a while the local Freedmen’s Bureau ignored the rules being promulgated to the Freedmen’s Bureau via President Johnson. The administrators finally had no choice other than to follow President Johnson’s issued rules and return plantations to their pre-war owners with some limited stipulations to provide for freed slaves using plantation land.

Once Union occupying agencies settled on new rules and guidelines for claiming previously owned land, an administrative process was established by the Freedmen’s Bureau. The Freedmen’s Bureau issued the formal steps in published official “circulars” with the most cited ones being July 28, 1865 and September 12, 1865. The end result was that most plantations were restored on James Island, with some limited land carve-outs for freedmen taking place.

By the spring of 1866, a significant number of plantation restorations had taken place via the official process along with various unplanned solutions individually forged. For example, in February 1866 Wallace Lawton on the eastern side of James Island simply bought out some former slaves so he could re-occupy the land of his former plantation.²⁰⁰

The official steps for a James Island plantation owner to have land restored to his possession were:

1. A pardon or amnesty had to be obtained. On May 29, 1865 the initial rules issued required 13 conditions to be met for an amnesty. In September 1867 a new proclamation lowered the number of conditions to three. Finally, in December of 1868 anyone could receive amnesty from the US government.
2. Proof of title to the land was needed. Also, former landowners had to provide some evidence to show they had not abandoned their land; applications of landowners reviewed for James Island simply state they were ordered off the land by the military and cited the order by Brigadier General Gist from Headquarters in Secessionville on May 19, 1862. This implied they had no option or intent to abandon their land.
3. Former plantation land had to be inspected by a representative of the Freedmen’s Bureau to see if any freed people were living on the land or had planted crops. If either case was true, planters seeking restoration had to reach an agreement with the freed people on places the freed people could live and farm for themselves on the former plantation.

By 1866, four years of war on James Island and little use of fields left them overgrown or torn up, yet fertile. Restorative work was needed before crops could be planted. Capital for equipment and seed was difficult to obtain and interest rates often usurious. Agricultural expertise was more limited with the loss or incapacitation of experienced planters during the war. Returning planters were dealing with evolving new farm economics of financing and labor.

²⁰⁰ Clyde Bresee, *How Grand a Flame*, p. 149.

Kinsman's Actions After the War's Conclusion

At the war's conclusion for Charleston in February 1865, Henry W. Kinsman had lost his primary customer, the Confederate government. His private customers were short of funds and his merchandise depleted. He did have title to 1,015 acres of high land and 253 acres of marsh land on the northwest corner of James Island, along with other acreage on the mainland. He wasted no time to try and reclaim it and put it to use.

Three months after the rules for obtaining a pardon were issued, Henry W. Kinsman had taken the first step and received amnesty from President Johnson on August 26, 1865. The two-week turnaround from application to approval by the President, no less, indicates Kinsman may have used business connections or money to expedite the process.

● I, H. W. Kinsman, solemnly swear that I have carefully read the Amnesty Proclamation issued by ANDREW JOHNSON, President of the United States of America, on May 29th, 1865, and that I am not excepted from the benefits of that Proclamation by any one of the fourteen exceptions therein made, except Charleston & Laws!

Sworn to and subscribed before me at City of Charleston, this 12th day of August, 1865.

Levi Spitzer
Aug 12 1865
Notary

No. 294

United States of America.

I, H. W. Kinsman, of the County of Charleston, State of South Carolina, solemnly swear in the presence of Almighty God, that I will henceforth faithfully support and defend the Constitution of the United States, and the Union of the States thereunder, and that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all laws and provisions which have been made during the existing rebellion with reference to the Emancipation of slaves—So HELP ME GOD.

Sworn to and subscribed before me at City of Charleston, this 12th day of August, 1865.

H. W. Kinsman
Aug 12 1865
Notary

The above named has light complexion; light hair, and light eyes; is 5 feet 6 inches high, and 46 years; by profession a farmer.

(The original oaths will be transmitted, by the officer administering them, to the Department of State, through intermediate channels, and a certified copy thereof will be furnished to the applicant for pardon, to accompany his petition.)

Figure 11.1. Kinsman's application for amnesty from the Federal Government in August 1865. President Johnson signed approval two weeks later.

August to November 1865 showed the first evidence of Kinsman rebuilding his businesses, old and new. During this time, he ran various advertisements in the local paper for a manager of a vegetable and fruit farm, along with offering for sale wallpaper, curtains, upholstery, and fertilizer. He was trying various

options to see where he could earn money in the slowly improving economic situation which characterized Charleston.

In order to use the land on James Island he purchased during the war, Kinsman submitted his restoration request to the Freedmen's Bureau in November 1865. Why it took three months after his amnesty to officially make his request is not known. The local administrators may have been part of the group attempting to be more punitive to plantation owners by ignoring President Johnson's more lenient rules on restoration.

The three properties Kinsman requested to be restored are:

1. Former "Rivers Plantation" consisting of 300 acres of high land and 135 of marsh land.
2. Former "Heyward Plantation" consisting of 234 acres.
3. Former "James Lawton Plantation" consisting 400 and 80/100 acres of high land and 118 acres of marsh land.

As a side note, most maps and Freedmen's Bureau documents refer to the plantations Kinsman now owned by their respective owners prior to his purchase for some time. Locals and slaves/freed persons would have cited the plantations by the previous owners; many may not have even known of Kinsman's purchases until they were restored to him and he was looking for labor.

In late 1865 and early 1866 the legal restoration of land process began to move more quickly due to political pressure or the realization that spring planting was imminent. While this was good for the planters, for the newly freed slaves this was tantamount to a betrayal by the United States government. Many freed blacks had staked their 40-acre claims on former plantation land they thought they were promised by General Sherman. Having former plantation owners coming back to the island and in essence telling freed blacks to leave, with minor accommodating allowances, was not being taken well. This was not the freedom from planters they had envisioned. Frustrations ran high for all involved parties. Plantation owners needed the labor blacks could provide along with the land.

A good example of the mistrust and level of tension took place in December 1865. In an attempt to move discussions concerning labor, land use and ownership with freed persons forward, a number of the major planters on James Island decided to visit James Island to hold initial negotiations with the freed people on the island. Keep in mind that James Island was still devoid of most all former plantation owners, or any southern white people for that matter, since the Confederate surrender; the island was not considered safe. The planters who went on this expedition were:

Ephraim Clark	H. W. Kinsman
John E. Rivers	J. C. Minott
Robert Bee	Dr. Robert Lebby

While they asked the Freedmen's Bureau prior to the trip to assist in the process, not much was forthcoming. The planters had received word that the free people on James Island were disillusioned about having former planters coming back to reclaim their land. The McLeod plantation house on the northeastern corner of James Island served as the headquarters for the Freedmen's Bureau on James Island and was the planter's destination. As the planters in their hired boat from the peninsula approached the landing at McLeod's plantation they were met with armed freedmen, some in Union

uniforms. They were prevented from landing initially. After some discussions between the planters on their boat and freedmen on land, the planters decided not to disembark; they were so unsure of their safety they planned to seek assistance or an armed guard when they returned in the future.²⁰¹ This episode demonstrated that major restorations of land were only on paper at this time and labor agreements had a long way to go. Freed blacks did not trust their former enslavers at this point to engage in direct labor contracts or the relinquishment of land and why should they? Most of the freed people were illiterate and dependent on the Freedmen's Bureau for guidance.

Further making the free people more distressed was an outbreak of smallpox on James Island, and other sea islands, reported in the Charleston Daily Courier on December 5, 1865²⁰². Hunger remained prevalent, money was scarce, and freed people knew if the planting of crops for 1866 was missed, nothing would improve. Over the winter of 1865/1866, freedmen realized their predicament and accepted the new realities and the need to have work. The transition to freedom was not an easy process.

The restoration process for Kinsman dragged on for a couple of years. Key points which follow show two of the properties were available for the 1866 planting season.

- 12/29/1865 – Freedmen's Bureau records show Kinsman's request for restoration of lands has been received.
- 1/24/1866 – Freedmen's Bureau records again indicate Kinsman's requests, along with those for the McLeod, Rivers, and Grimball plantations by their respective former owners. An officer is requested to go look at the plantations and see if they are occupied.
- 2/3/1866 – Kinsman's plantation known as the "Rivers" plantation is restored.
- 5/25/1866 – by this date the James Lawton plantation owned by Kinsman has been restored. The exact date of the restoration was not found.
- October 1867 – Kinsman asks again for the former Heyward plantation he owns to be restored. The exact date of restoration is not known or why it took so long.

Labor Negotiations Post Civil War

With at least two of his plantations restored in early 1866, the former Lawton and Rivers plantations, Kinsman could finally begin to put the land to use. If managed correctly, he could produce the finest sea island cotton. All that stood in front of him were favorable labor negotiations with freed persons, someone to manage cotton farming, and the right seed, tools, and weather.

In December 1865 or very early 1866 a unique interaction involving Kinsman and the northern author J.T. Trowbridge took place. Trowbridge was on an extended journey through the southern states to record the effects of the war and how reconstruction was progressing. On his visit to Charleston, Trowbridge managed to accompany the primary planters on James Island on their third trip to the island to better secure their land, labor, and deal with the concerns of the free people. In his book, "A Picture

²⁰¹ Documented in a letter the planters all signed and sent to the local military administrator, Capt. Ketchum. South Carolina Freedmen's Bureau records. Image 3Q9M-C9TZ-83R8 roll 30 app a-k, pp. 65-68.

²⁰² Charleston Daily Courier, December 5, 1865, page 2.

of the Desolated States, and the Work of Restoration”, Trowbridge records the visit.²⁰³ The group lands at what is now McLeod Plantation. In a stroke of remarkable luck for learning more about Kinsman, Trowbridge breaks off from the others with Kinsman and they walk to the area of Fort Pemberton where Kinsman’s “three fine plantations” are located. Along the way the dismal conditions the freed people were living and laboring under was noted. Conversations with several freed people took place as the walking journey progressed. When each of the freed people was asked if they would contract out their labor to the previous white planters, each indicated his true desire was to farm his own small acreage and not contract himself out for wages. Kinsman was dismayed by this, as the implications of how difficult obtaining labor would be sunk in. Trowbridge notes that Kinsman is from the north and is at heart a Union man. Trowbridge records his opinion that Kinsman was hypocritical for supplying the Confederacy with war material from which he earned a large profit to buy plantations, and now expected his recently purchased plantations to be returned to him. Trowbridge’s publishing of this episode in his book could not have helped Kinsman in his relationships with Charlestonians who had given everything for the Confederate cause.

Securing labor was the largest unknown as 1866 began. Neither Kinsman, or other planters, had specific details for a labor contract which both parties would find suitable. These agreements were one of the most fundamental experiments planters, the Freedmen’s Bureau, and freed slaves engaged in during the Reconstruction period. Specifications in these contracts set the underlying tone for the social and political positions of freed people in addition to their basic economic status. Initially, the Freedman’s Bureau provided general, yet nonspecific guidance, in a circular published in August 1865. The Bureau stipulated they were to approve any agreements made to verify that freed persons were not exploited. To provide some uniformity and minimum standards, the Bureau in February 1866 clearly defined and published what the contracts had to address. Until then significant variations in the conditions listed in contracts existed. Planters wanted a dependable source of labor at the lowest cost. While freed people preferred working their own land, most realized an income covering their basic necessities was needed. Freed people were at a disadvantage as most were illiterate and depended on others to interpret and negotiate contracts.²⁰⁴

During the spring of 1866 a number of James Island plantation owners who had their land back engaged in signing labor contracts with freed people seeking work. While the Freedman’s Bureau’s basic components were used for the contracts,²⁰⁵ each planter included his own specifications and modifications for items such as payment structures, which the Bureau agreed to.

Kinsman and other planters on James Island often negotiated labor contracts with black representatives of the freed people who were sufficiently educated to have the trust of the former slaves. Freed slaves did not trust their former owners; in their eyes, the planters had already managed to get their land back and deprive most of their promised 40 acres of land. Having educated free people negotiate for them

²⁰³ Pages 529 to 533 contain all details of the Kinsman and Trowbridge visit to James Island and Trowbridge’s opinions on the matter. Kinsman is not named, only referred to as Trowbridge’s planter friend, yet inferences clearly identify the man as Kinsman.

²⁰⁴ History of the Freedmen’s Bureau in South Carolina. National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). 2005 Records of the Field Offices for the State of South Carolina, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1872. Micropublication M1910, Reel Guide, Introduction. Washington, D.C.: NARA.

²⁰⁵ South Carolina Freedmen Office Records, 1865 – 1872. Charleston. Roll 63, Labor Contracts, June 1865 – March 1868, Image number 60.

was evident on March 1, 1866 when three free black men, Martin Becker, George Lee and James Shearman, entered into a formal agreement with 18 freed men and women to be their “financial agents”. Both pages of the document are presented below due to its unique nature. The document lists the terms of employment, mostly taken from the Freedmans Bureau stipulations which define working conditions the “financial agents” would achieve for the freed people who signed it. What the originators got out of the agreement is not known. Kinsman specifically dealt with some of the contract writers and signers. The point of including it is to further understand the negotiating environment Kinsman (and fellow planters), and freed people initially embraced on James Island.

Articles of agreement made and entered into this 1st day of March 1866 by and between James C. Shearman Martin & Becker and Lee See, as financial agents and the freedmen and women whose names are herewith attached -

1st. The said freedmen agree to hire their time and labor to the said Shearman, Becker, and See, to the 1st of January 1867, to conduct themselves right to work diligently to bring on Ardent Spirits on the plantations; not to invite visitors during work hours, nor to absent themselves during work hours without the consent of the employer.

2^d - They agree to perform reasonable daily tasks of 10 hours per day, excepting weather hindering and being excused by the employer, and legal holidays - No deduction to be made for loss of time in the last named cases -

3^d For every days labor lost by absence except for reasons stated above the laborer shall forfeit 50 cents per day - if absent more than three days without leave to be subject to dismissal and forfeiture of wages - The employers however agree to pay the party dismissed, five dollars for full hands and others in proportion for such time as said party may have worked deducting therefrom any advance that may have been made, either in money or provision -

If the party so dismissed have a family on the same plantation the wages due him or her shall be paid to the family -

4th The freedmen agree to take care of all tools & implements to be kind to work animals & to pay for any injury of the same by

reason of their carelessness-

5th - Each laborer is to receive 10- per month, 1 peck of wheat or gits 3 lbs of pork or bacon and one qt of molasses per week -

6th - The employers agree to furnish the working animals and all carts ploughs and tools -

7th - The employees shall not be compelled to work upon nor shall there be any deduction made for loss time on the following days. Fourth of July, Christmas, New Years, Fast days and Thanksgiving - except for necessity and mercy - and only a half days work will be required on Saturdays for females who are heads of families -

8th - The employers shall keep a book in which all advances will be entered and all forfeitures which book shall be received as evidence in adjusting claims - Each employee shall be entitled to a book in which shall be made entries of all advances & forfeitures

(Signed) James S. Shearman, Martin F. Becker, George

Signed Julius ^{his} ~~mark~~ Judge

Mrs. Edw ^{his} ~~mark~~ Green

Annison ^{his} ~~mark~~ Gale

Isaac ^{his} ~~mark~~ Walker

Lotta ^{his} ~~mark~~ Gale

Ketur ^{his} ~~mark~~ Washington

Cozen ^{his} ~~mark~~ Williams

Joney ^{his} ~~mark~~ Green

Mrs. Julius ^{his} ~~mark~~ Judge

Syba ^{his} ~~mark~~ Walker

Lena ^{his} ~~mark~~ Gale

Silla ^{his} ~~mark~~ White

Edw ^{his} ~~mark~~ Green

Kornel ^{his} ~~mark~~ Maack

Cozen ^{his} ~~mark~~ Williams

Emma ^{his} ~~mark~~ Nestbit

John ^{his} ~~mark~~ Clark

Chloe ^{his} ~~mark~~ Scott

(150¢ Stamp cancelled)

[Handwritten signatures and notes, including names like 'James S. Shearman', 'Martin F. Becker', and 'George']

Figures 11.2. March 1, 1866 two pages of agreement where Becker, Lee, and Shearman were to act as agents for the freed persons who signed the contract. From Freedmen Bureau records.

On May 4, 1866 Kinsman signed a contract with 10 freed men and women some of whom were also signers of the contract made by Becker, Lee and Shearman; the document was witnessed by two freed people, Charles Finley and Martin Becker. The 10 freed people listed on the contract marked their agreement to the contract with an "X", whereas the black witnesses signed.

X. The wages retained till the end of the year for payment, shall be forfeited unless the within contract is complied with, but should there be any disagreement concerning the forfeiture of wages, it shall be referred to the authorized Agent of the Bureau for adjudication and decision.

*VII. ~~With~~ employed shall not be compelled to work upon, nor shall there be any deduction of wages, made for the following holidays: Fourth of July, Christmas & New Years.

This 30th March 1866
 Witness our hands &c.
 Martin & Becker.

Henry his Small
 mark
 Jmy his Meyers
 mark
 Titus his Washington
 mark

This 2nd April 1866
 Witness our hands
 Charles Finley

Sam his Brown
 mark
 Abel his Hamilton
 mark

This 3rd April 1866
 - Charles Finley

Soy his Mack
 mark
 William his Mack
 mark

April 9th 1866

Approved
 Frank Everett
 1866
 A.M.C.

John his Washington
 mark
 Scipio his Jones
 mark
 Harris his Brown
 mark

Figure 11.3. Last page of Kinsman labor agreement made in the spring of 1866. Note the two signatures of the freedman witnesses Charles Finley and Martin Becker and the “approval” by a representative of the Freedman’s Bureau. Finley signs twice on two separate dates; his signature is much “rougher” than Becker’s, signifying a skill not often used. From Freedmen Bureau’s records.

The key feature in Kinsman’s contract is that he paid the freed men and women a set amount per month, \$10.00, with no sharing of profits from any sales of crops produced. Only one-fourth of the monthly payment was made at the end of each month, the remainder was to be made at the end of the eight-month contract. Clearly this was an incentive to have them committed for the entire growing and harvesting season.

Main features of the Kinsman contract:

- Freed people were to work diligently on their tasks as assigned by Kinsman or his agent in a manner appropriate for the success of the crop.
- Animals were to be treated with care.
- Working hours were sunup to sundown with time for dinner during the day. Unless excused due to health, unavoidable reasons, or weather conditions, fifty cents were to be docked from pay per day if the freed person was not present.
- More than three days of inexcusable absence and the freed person could be dismissed and asked to leave the plantation.
- One-half acre of land was granted each head of household for their own use. Others in the household were granted one-fourth of an acre each.
- Comfortable quarters and access to land for firewood was granted each family or individual.
- The employer and freed person, if desired, could have “books” (formal ledgers) which record all financial advances, wages, and any lost wages.
- Freed people were to be paid \$10 dollars per month. Females when “encumbered” were paid \$5 per month. One-fourth of the monthly payment was to be made at the end of each month with the remainder paid at the end of the contract.
- Official holidays were the 4th of July, Christmas, and New Years Day.
- Length of contract was until January 1, 1867.

In the case of Kinsman, the freed people were probably living in quarters similar, if not the same, to those they previously lived in. This contract is not specific as to if land granted for their use to live on and grow gardens was actually owned by them or not; if not specifically spelled out it can be assumed they did not own the housing or garden land. It would have been difficult for them to save for their own plots of land. How effective and cooperative the wage earners were during this initial contract period is not fully known. Ten workers hardly seem like enough to work even the small number of acres Kinsman controlled, yet other contracts could have been made concurrent to the one available to review.

Plantation owners varied in their labor approach to the freed slaves. Some allocated and actually gave them some land for their permanent use. Often the implicit stipulation was that workers could stay on the property as long as they worked for the plantation, if they left to work for someone else, they had to leave their quarters and land behind. This subjective stance of the landowners contributed to their distrust and hostile tone found in freedmen.

While Kinsman’s contract paid laborers by the month regardless of results, two other contracts by planters on James Island, Clark and Grimball, are based on a modified share-cropping farming structure. Differing contractual terms for freedmen are compared below. It is unknown if the variations were set by the plantation owners or if the freedmen had some say.

<u>Contract Category</u>	<u>Clark Plantation</u>	<u>Grimball Plantation</u>
Begin/End Date	April 4, 1866 / February 1, 1867	April 6, 1866 / January 1, 1867
Freed people payments	1/3 value of all crops raised on the plantation.	½ value of cotton crop, ¾ value of all provisions raised
Labor	10 hours per day.	For each “full hand” (able bodied laborer) 3 acres of cotton and 2 acres of corn will be planted on plantation.
Supervision of labor	Foreman chosen from and by freed people and agreed to by plantation owner	Foreman chosen from and by freed people and agreed to by plantation owner
Food and Provisions	Weekly rations of one peck of corn, 3 pounds bacon, and 1/3 pound salt. Cost taken out of final payout from crop production. Land provided for gardens and small animals.	Freed people were to feed themselves. Land provided for their own gardens and small animals.
Equipment	All plows, carts, and other equipment the freed people cannot make, the employer provided.	All equipment for planting and working provided by freed people.
Work Absence	Freed people docked 50 cents per day for unexcused absence. Over three unexcused absences were cause for dismissal.	Can visit city as work schedule permits.
Wage “Book”	Records work absences, monetary advances and cost of rations. Viewable by all.	Not mentioned.
Number of signees	22 freed people signed	8 freed people signed.

Figure 11.4. Comparison of Clark and Grimball contracts with freed people in spring of 1866.

These first contracts are examples of the new economic reality on James Island. Freed people who signed these contracts found themselves on plantations like those inhabited before the war, performing the same work. While they were receiving wages and had more rights than previously, a large gap existed between the quality of life they had anticipated and the one offered by the landowners. Saving enough money to purchase land and housing was extremely difficult and gaining political integration and full rights as citizens would briefly take place during Reconstruction and then regress.

These initial efforts at finding a new equilibrium between land owner and labor were best guesses, a live experiment, on how to structure contracts and what stipulations needed to be found in a contract. No detailed feedback on how the above contracts worked out was found, although most were not renewed, which in itself is a postmortem review. A consensus is that the initial contracts were too strict, satisfying neither the freed people or the planter, often resulting in failure.²⁰⁶ Labor relations and contracts would evolve, usually taking the form of tenant farming. The two certain outcomes were that sea island cotton would be less profitable for landowners, less cotton would be grown in the short-run and that freed people had some tenuous rights.

Kinsman Contract Signees: Charles Finley, Martin Becker, and Their Associate George Lee

Prior to moving on with Henry Kinsman's story, a closer look at the freed people associated with the initial labor contract with him is in order. Tracing the individual histories of former slaves after the Civil War is difficult at best. Many names on the document were illegible and oftentimes they had popular names that appeared with such frequency in the general population that identifying individuals with confidence is challenging. Although the black population was in flux after Charleston fell, it is probable that the 12 freed persons who agreed to or witnessed the contract had been James Island residents prior to the war. The following freed people associated with the contract had the clearest documented history, which provides an opportunity to explore in detail the post-war lives of laborers on JINWC.

Charles Finley

Charles was eager to begin his newly independent life as a freed person. By the growing season of 1868 he was renting 16 acres on James Island and employed 4 hands to grow cotton, corn, and potatoes. He borrowed money from the Freedman's Bureau to plant. The Freedmen's Bureau was eager to have the newly freed slaves become self-sufficient and assisting them in starting their farms was common since they usually had little to no collateral to secure loans. Unfortunately, flooding rains and a surge in caterpillars destroyed most crops in 1867 and 1868. Cotton production dropped from a local average of 135 pounds per acre to 20.²⁰⁷ Finley could not pay his employees or pay off the obligation of the borrowed money; he needed help to pay off his \$63 of debt. Charles Finley was not alone in seeking assistance from the Freedman's Bureau, many other farmers were in a similar situation as a result of the terrible conditions after the 1868 crop was harvested.

In January of 1869 Finley appeared before a government commission for financial assistance; the commission reviewing the claims met in Military Hall in Charleston. The commission decided that his debt payment should be deferred for a year and he only had to pay interest for one of the two years of the outstanding debt. Not willing to give up farming, in September 1869 Mr. Finley again borrowed from the Freedmen's Bureau for \$63.57 for purchasing items needed for farming.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ Michael Trinkley, Nicole Sutherland, and Sarah Fick, Cultural Resource Survey of Mullet Hall Plantation, Johns Island, Charleston, SC. The Chichora Foundation, Inc., Columbia, SC. Prepared for Michael O'Neill, July 28, 2013. P. 53.

²⁰⁷ Douglas W. Bostick, *A Brief History of James Island*, page 89.

²⁰⁸ Records of the field offices for the state of South Carolina Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands 1865-1872. Miscellaneous records 1866 – 1870. Unidentified name index, no date (NARA M1910, roll 30).

No. 1574

James Island S. C.
4th Jan'y 1869

Charles Finley
Petitioner

In debt dues \$ 63. 57

Room Commission on Bonds
Military Hall
Charleston S. C. January 12th 1869

The Commission recommend
that the collection of this claim
be suspended, the applicant
to pay the entire interest that
may have accrued upon his
bond up to November 1st.
1868, and to give new bonds
with security for the am-
ount of the indebtedness
payable on the 1st. of November
1869 without interest.

By order of the Commission.

John R. Edie

Bot Col. U. S. A.

Asst Comd. So. C.

Chairman

Figure 11.5. Charles Finley 1869 cover page of petition and results for debt restructure resulting from a bad crop year. From Freedmen Bureau's records.

Finley was able to continue farming, yet the 1880 census had Charles Finley as 65 years old and his occupation was a “laborer”. His wife Mary was listed with an age of 60 and also had “laborer” as her occupation. Apparently, the Finley farm was not prosperous enough and they had to work for others in their advancing years. Despite their freedom, life was difficult. Living with them was one son, Moses, and a grandson, Charley. No record of Charles’ (senior) death could be found. His wife Mary died in 1894 at 96 King Street where she had lived for 11 years; she was around 74 years old and records indicate she was buried on James Island. The site was not named.²⁰⁹

The Finley children left James Island. The eldest son, Charles, born in 1853 died in October 1939 at the age of 85. He was a preacher at the time of his death and lived at 149 Tradd Street. He was buried at Emanuel Cemetery.²¹⁰ The second son, Joseph, died in October 1912 at the age of 56. His death report indicated he lived at 69 Beaufain Street and he was buried on James island.²¹¹ Moses, the third son, looks to have ended up in Jacksonville, Florida and indications are that he died in 1921. His wife died in 1918.²¹²

Martin Becker

Martin Becker, also a freed man, was the other witness to Kinsman’s labor contract on May 1866. Becker, who farmed on James Island, also had to apply for relief of debt payments to the Freedman’s Bureau on January 4, 1869. At the time, his farm operations were much larger than Finley’s and consisted of 80 planted acres and employed 30 laborers. Mr. Becker’s crops planted were in acres: cotton 30, corn 20, potatoes 20, peas 8, and rice 2. Seeing two acres of rice plantings on James Island was surprising giving that fresh water was needed for the periodic flooding rice required.

The commission of the Freedman’s Bureau hearing the petitions in Martin’s case was comprised of two union officers and the ex-governor of South Carolina, William Aiken. In his request, Mr. Becker was said to owe \$391.45. The commission decided he needed to repay \$141.49 and interest, the remaining debt was suspended.

Despite the need for debt relief in May 1869, Becker required financial assistance again, in September 1869. He received \$391.47 for planting and agreed to pay the government back when his crops were harvested.²¹³ Happily the following years were more productive, in May 1872 a receipt from the Freedman’s Bureau showed that Becker had paid his debt.

No further information on the life of Martin Becker could be found.

²⁰⁹ Return of Deaths of the City of Charleston, S.C. for the Month of December 1894, Vol. 99, Number 140, and 2033.

²¹⁰ Standard Certificate of Death, South Carolina. Number: 13815.

²¹¹ Return of Deaths within the City of Charleston, S. C. for 1912. Number 1649.

²¹² State Board of Health Florida, Certificate of Death. No. 8451.

²¹³ Records of the field offices for the state of South Carolina Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands 1865-1872. Miscellaneous records 1866 – 1870. Unidentified name index, no date (NARA M1910, roll 30).

George Lee

Mr. George Lee, one of the “financial agents” along with Becker and Shearman for 18 free persons in the March 1, 1866 contract reviewed, became influential throughout South Carolina. Unlike Finley and Becker, Mr. Lee was born a free person in Coventry, Warwickshire, England where slavery had been outlawed prior to his birth in 1841. He initially migrated and lived in Massachusetts.²¹⁴ William Burke, author of a book on black lawyers, stated that Mr. Lee arrived in the Charleston area in 1866 to be a farmer.²¹⁵ The year 1866 was a busy one for Mr. Lee as he returned briefly to Boston to marry Sarah Wasdell on September 19th in Melrose, a small town outside of Boston. On his marriage record, Mr. Lee’s occupation was listed as “clock maker”,²¹⁶ an occupation he shared with his father, as the records of Mr. Lee’s birth in England in 1841 state that his father was also a “clock maker”.²¹⁷ A clock maker wanting to farm cotton and finding himself acting as a labor organizer demonstrates his versatility and determination. His exposure to different cultures, laws and politics via his international background and migration from the North provided perspectives not available to most freed people.

Records on his early farming activity were not found; however, we do find Mr. Lee going in another direction by 1868. Perhaps labor negotiations led to his first-hand experience with the general turmoil and conflicts playing out between the freed slaves, the local white population, and the Freedmens Bureau along with other northern influences. From 1865 to 1867 the efforts of the local white population to reassert control clashed with the Federal government’s desire to have freed slaves’ rights enshrined. The “Black Codes” and the new South Carolina constitution of 1865 failed to make the rights of blacks equal to that of whites. In order to help freed people achieve equality and deal with intimidation from some white groups, the Federal government intervened in 1867 and placed South Carolina into a military district. One of the immediate impacts of this intervention was that a new state constitution had to be written; a convention was held in January 1868 where blacks held the majority. The new South Carolina constitution created legal equality of whites and blacks. Elections for the state legislature under the new constitution were held later in 1868 which resulted in the black Republicans holding the majority in both houses.

George Lee was part of this process. In 1867 he was elected as a delegate to the state constitutional convention of 1868 where he helped in the writing of the new document. Later that year he was elected to the state legislature and re-elected once.²¹⁸ The author Thomas Holt wrote that George Lee, William Whipper, and Robert Brown Elliott were the most radical group in the legislature to promote the rights of freed people.²¹⁹ Knowing that being a lawyer would help in his legislative capacity, he pursued the steps to become one. Becoming a lawyer at that time typically involved reading the law under the guidance of a practicing attorney and then going before a panel to certify the applicant’s legal proficiency. In the 1870 census his

²¹⁴ Boston, Massachusetts marriage records 1866, number 1906.

²¹⁵ W. Lewis Burke, *All for Civil Rights: African American Lawyers in South Carolina, 1868 – 1968*. p. 21.

²¹⁶ Massachusetts Marriage records 1866.

²¹⁷ England, Warwickshire, Parish register for St. John Baptist’s Church, Coventry. Baptisms 1835 – 1845.

²¹⁸ W. Lewis Burke, *All For Civil Rights*, p. 29

²¹⁹ *Ibid* p. 29.

occupation is listed as “lawyer” while living in Goose Creek with his wife Sarah and two young sons.²²⁰

George Lee then moved into a judicial role when a criminal court was established in Charleston in March 1872 and was immediately appointed by the legislature to be a judge; first serving in Summerville and then onto the Charleston bench.²²¹ Having a black judge in the low country was a significant change. He went from advising newly freed slaves in 1866 on labor contracts to acting as judge in 1872.

George Lee’s meteoric rise was cut short when he died at the young age of 32 in February of 1873. When he died his occupation was listed as “judge” and he was living on Queen Street in Charleston. He was buried in the Brotherly Apostles Association Cemetery in Charleston.²²²

His energetic actions from the time he arrived in Charleston to advance his own skills to better serve the lives of freed people is a model of perseverance. Helping to write a new state constitution stressing equal rights, then being part of the legislature to write new laws under its purview, and finally adjudicating legal issues arising from their implementation as a black judge was a unique journey. During his seven years in the low country, he must have been one of the most effective people to advance civil rights there and in South Carolina, if not the country. Yet, George Lee’s name is almost unknown.

Tragically, his five-month-old daughter died the day after he did, leaving his wife with two young sons.²²³ One son, George, is listed in the 1880 census living with a family in Goose Creek as a “servant”.²²⁴ A “Sarah Lee” is listed as dying of consumption in 1884 in Charleston and being buried in a public cemetery.²²⁵ No records for the other son, James, could be found.

Kinsman’s Final Purchase on James Island Creating Wappoo Hall

In February of 1867 Kinsman took the opportunity to increase his contiguous land holdings on James Island. Robert R. Bee had recently died and his son, Robert Bee (Jr.) acting as the executor, wanted to sell his inherited land which had already been restored. This meant Kinsman did not have to go through the laborious and uncertain restoration process; the land would immediately be available for use. The land comprised 109 acres and was between the former Heyward Plantation (now Kinsman’s) and the McLeod Plantation, neither of which had yet been restored to Kinsman and McLeod respectively. Kinsman paid \$10,500 in total over a three-year installment period for the Bee land.

After the Civil War, most plantations on James Island decreased in size. Too much uncertainty over labor availability and cost existed along with the need for hard cash, so land was typically sold not

²²⁰ U. S. Census 1870.

²²¹ Ibid, p. 29.

²²² Return of Deaths within the City of Charleston, S.C. from the 16th of February 1873 to the 22nd of February 1873. No. 19 and 163.

²²³ Return of Deaths within the City of Charleston, S.C. from the 16th of February 1873 to the 22nd of February 1873. No. 20 and 168.

²²⁴ 1880 US Census of South Carolina, St. James Goose Creek, ED 85.

²²⁵ Death listings for Charleston, South Carolina. June 23, 1884.

purchased. Kinsman, however, retained his vision for agricultural land on JINWC as evidenced with this purchase.

Kinsman's James Island Empire

The purchase of the Bee property made Kinsman's land holdings reach 1,294 and 80/100 acres on the JINWC. The land stretched from the northern banks of Wappoo Creek (including what is Edgewater Park), southward approximately to where Central Park Road is today, eastwardly to where Fleming Road is now, with the Stono River naturally setting the west boundary. Prior to the Civil War Henry W. Kinsman was a merchant on the peninsula; a successful merchant, yet there are no indications that he was wealthy.

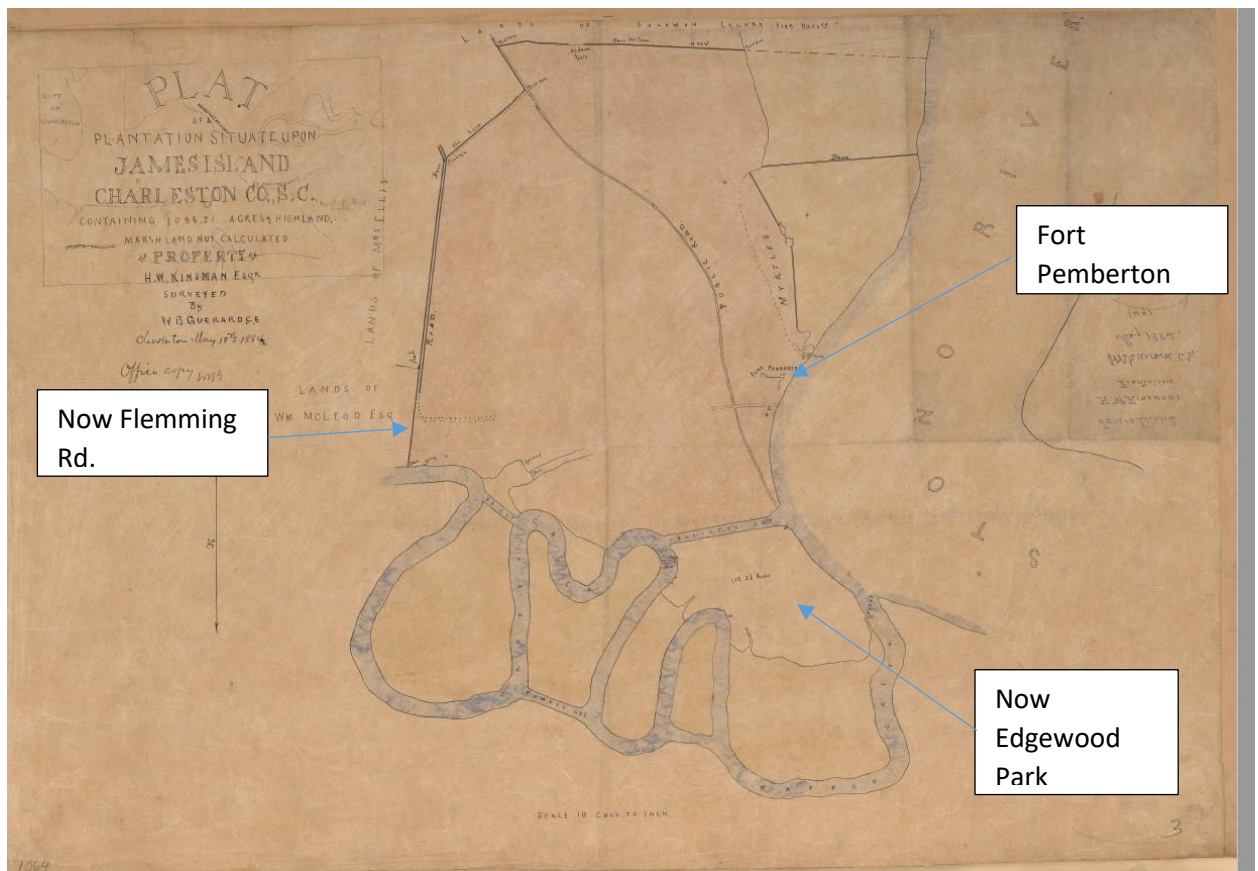


Figure 11.6. 1884 map of Kinsman land which was basically intact since his 1867 last purchase. Wappoo Creek is at the bottom. McLeod land is to the left. From Charleston County Register of Deeds.

Kinsman Activities After the Bee Purchase

In January of 1867 Kinsman placed an advertisement in the paper for farm hands; where they were needed is not mentioned. However, it does coincide with the expiration of the initial labor contract with freed people on James Island. If the labor contract had worked out well, it would have been renewed instead of advertising for labor. Later that year in December an advertisement was placed in the

Charleston Courier for a cotton and vegetable plantation on James Island for rent emphasizing that he was having difficulty getting labor he needed on James Island.



Figure 11.7. December 1867 advertisement for cotton and vegetable farm on James Island for rent placed by Kinsman.

By 1869 Kinsman and his brother, Warren, were still selling Grover and Baker sewing machines and running a general merchandise store and confectionary. In addition, to aid his farming efforts, in July 1869 Kinsman helped establish a Vegetable Farm Club to assist vegetable growers facing low profits with better farming practices and attempting to lower transportation costs to market. Below is a portion of a news article which clearly shows that Kinsman was engaged with others to better profit from fruit and vegetable production.

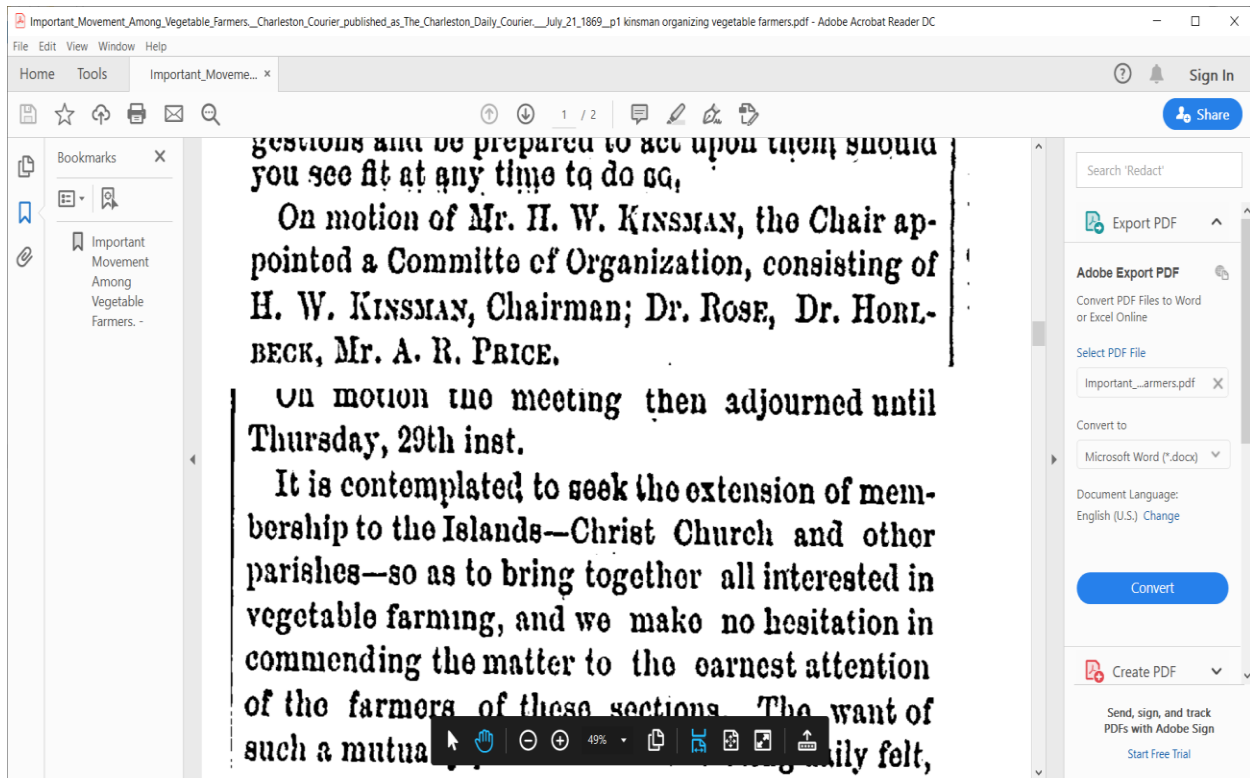


Figure 11.8. Charleston Daily Courier article in July 1869 of a group being formed to help vegetable and fruit farmers lower the costs associated with planting and marketing. Kinsman is part of a committee to help organize the group.

By December 1869, Kinsman had been engaged in the vegetable growing business for a few years. He felt sure enough of his new found skills to form the company of “Kinsman and Howell”. This firm served as a “factor”, a broker and middleman providing services and products local growers needed, including lending them money. Specifically, the firm sold fertilizers and seed along with providing shipping services and finding buyers for perishable products such as strawberries. Factors were aided by the first South Carolina lien law passed in 1866 which gave lenders first rights on selling crops produced by those they lent money to.²²⁶ Kinsman and Howell consistently had advertisements in the local paper during its existence demonstrating their active presence in the local economy.

When farmers borrowed money for supplies, their farm land, equipment, and crops harvested became collateral. If a crop failed, for any number of reasons, some or all collateral was auctioned off to pay the debt. It was a risky choice for farmers to deal too heavily with factors. If enough farmers failed in a given year, factors could also face cash flow problems. Many sea island farmers were customers of Kinsman; how he was perceived along with his business actions are not specifically known.

Meanwhile, back on James Island, the 1870 census provided the first full count of people on the island after the war. While specifics about the northern end of James Island are not identifiable, we can infer a

²²⁶ Michael Trinkley, Nicole Sutherland, and Sarah Fick, Cultural Resource Survey of Mullet Hall Plantation Johns Island, Charleston, SC. The Chichora Foundation, Inc., Columbia, SC. Prepared for Michael O’Neill, July 28, 2013. P. 55.

few items from the data found in the census. Blacks were the vast majority with 1,752 compared to about 50 whites. The census only had about 12 white households, with some familiar names from prior to the war:

1. George Peterson family
2. G. King family
3. Thomas Moore
4. John McLeod/James Frampton families
5. Wilson Dupont family
6. Joseph Newson family
7. Ephraim Clark family
8. Nash Clark family
9. Royall/Hulls/Seabrook families
10. Elias Rivers family
11. Wallace Lawton family
12. George Habernicht²²⁷

Kinsman is certainly not listed as living on James Island, which is additional proof he chose to remain on the peninsula. By 1870 the housing stock and related infrastructure on James Island were still slowly being replaced from their destruction during the war. Labor relations continued to evolve. Also, the practical implications of the new state constitution of 1868 giving more rights to former slaves had caused uncertainty for whites since its passage. Given the rather bleak environment on James Island, white planter families were slow to return from their refugee locations on the mainland.

Specifically, how Kinsman utilized his large land holding on James Island is a bit of a mystery with only a few clues. After his initial contract with freed blacks, little could be found to definitively state how his land was used. Legal documents where he or his firm acted as a factor or rented land are typically silent on the specific location of where the planter is farming. Kinsman engaged in contracts with a number of the planters on James Island. Keep in mind some of these planters had land on other sea islands, meaning it is hard to determine where farming took place precisely.

Given the difficulty of securing a steady labor force and some of the unique intricacies of raising cotton on James Island, Kinsman probably leased out much of his land or had tenant farmers, while he acted as a factor if needed. This would have lowered his risk while eliminating the constant issue of finding reasonably priced labor at crucial times. It is clear from records that he was never a member of the James Island Agricultural Society which had been formed on July 4, 1872.²²⁸ The James Island Agricultural Society in its early years was focused on cotton production enhancements.

One piece of clear evidence of what Kinsman is doing with a portion of his land is found in the July 4, 1873 minutes of the James Island Agricultural Society which state that R. L. Oswald was growing 30 acres of cotton on Kinsman's place.²²⁹ This is further confirmed in a short-term mortgage between the firm

²²⁷ Habernicht was a German who rented farmland from Wallace Lawton, see "How Grand a Flame".

²²⁸ Minutes of the James Island Agricultural Society 1872- 1935. McLeod Family papers. 285.02.03 Charleston Historical Society.

²²⁹ Entry dated July 4, 1873 in James Island Agricultural Society minutes found in the McLeod papers at the South Carolina Historical Society.

'Kinsman and Howell' and Robert Oswald in December 1872. The lease document specifies money is to be used to farm the land Oswald has rented from Kinsman which is near Fort Pemberton. The mortgage stipulates that Oswald can draw specific amounts of money monthly for crop production and how 'Kinsman and Howell' has first rights on crops grown to pay the debt off. On several occasions Kinsman or his firm lent money to Oswald for production costs. Robert Oswald is reported in the James Island Agricultural Society minutes to have left the island in the fall of 1881. If Robert Oswald continued to rent Kinsman land from 1872 to 1881, that would account for a significant portion of time during Kinsman's ownership. Members of the Oswald family returned to purchase land to the east of Kinsman land later in the 19th century.

Many black farms existed on James Island and often they were tenant farmers; Kinsman probably worked with them also in his role as a factor. Minutes of the James Island Agricultural Society reported blacks sent more cotton packages to market than white farmers in 1876 and 1888 specifically, which demonstrated how ingrained they were in James Island agriculture.²³⁰ Another noteworthy trend found in the James Island Agricultural Society notes after Reconstruction which would have impacted Kinsman was the explicit attempt by members to control the labor market. One method was to have landowners set standard contract dates for the cotton growing season. Another was to prohibit laborers moving from one planter to another if a debt was owed to the initial planter. Smaller items such as attempting to prohibit alcohol from being sold on James Island in an effort to maintain the quality of the labor force was part of their program. These efforts hoped to keep planters from playing off each other and engaging in bidding wars for labor, particularly at key times in the planting season.

In January of 1876 Kinsman ran into trouble as the firm of Kinsman and Howell was dissolved as it could not meet its obligations. As a middleman, his firm could have easily been caught in a cash flow problem of not being able to pay debts if many of his customers failed. One contributing factor was repeal of the South Carolina lien law in 1873 by Republicans to give farmers first right to proceeds of selling their crops over lien holders.²³¹ After the collapse of his firm, Kinsman focused much of his energy in the vegetable growing business throughout the late 1870s and the 1880s. He owned and rented farms near the "four-mile house" (a house on the main road from Charleston marking four miles from the city) north of Charleston and at a location eight miles from the city. Strawberries seemed to be his specialty. He developed special crates and later railroad refrigeration techniques for transporting strawberries. The railroad car refrigeration machinery was developed with the help of two others and patented by a company to build and sell them; each car could carry ten thousand quarts of strawberries.²³² Kinsman was active in the Agricultural Society of South Carolina²³³ evidenced by his being on the Executive Committee of the Agricultural Society of South Carolina in January 1876.²³⁴ His role at the state level

²³⁰ James Island Agricultural Society minutes.

²³¹ Michael Trinkley, Nicole Sutherland, and Sarah Fick, Cultural Resource Survey of Mullet Hall Plantation Johns Island, Charleston, SC. The Chichora Foundation, Inc., Columbia, SC. Prepared for Michael O'Neill, July 28, 2013. P. 55.

²³² News and Courier, April 22, 1889, p. 8.

²³³ The Agricultural Society of South Carolina was founded in 1785. During the Civil War and for a time following it was not active. The Society was re-activated in 1870. *Lasting Legacy The Agricultural Society of South Carolina*. Douglas Bostick. Published by Douglas Bostick. Copyright 2009. Page 9 and page 63.

²³⁴ Charleston News and Courier, January 14, 1876, page 4, first column.

stands in stark contrast to the James Island Agricultural Society which Kinsman never joined. Perhaps he was considered an “outsider” and not a welcome new cotton planter.

In the end, Kinsman may have simply left cotton production on his James Island land to be managed by others. Farming on James Island was never for the faint of heart. Some key events recorded from 1874 to 1885 in the minutes of the James Island Agricultural Society include the following which show the time from near the end of Reconstruction to 1885 was fraught with environmental issues²³⁵:

July 1874 – Caterpillars destroyed much of the cotton crop, except where “Paris Green’ was used.²³⁶

July 1875 – Frost on the nights of April 15 and April 19 killed cotton which had been planted in late March. Much replanting needed.

Summer 1876 - protracted drought from June 20th to end of harvest resulted in low yields.

Summer 1883 – 5.13 inches of rain on May 2nd necessitated much replanting.

Summer 1884 – 8.25 inches of rain in June caused problems.

Summer 1885 – storm caused 1/3 to ½ of cotton crop to be lost. Up to 13 inches of rain in one week.

Tenant and Sharecropping Farmers on Kinsman Land

Employment of freed people via contract labor after the Civil War was substantially replaced with tenant and sharecropping farming over time. Tenant and sharecropping farming can be structured in numerous ways, typically the landlord provides housing, land, and fuel with variations for equipment, seed, and fertilizer provided. Different percentages in sharing profits are made depending on value of items provided by each party.

1891 tax records²³⁷ provide a profile of the typical farmer on Kinsman’s land. Twenty-three individuals/families are listed as living on land with a Kinsman address. Taxes were assessed on the total value of the taxpayer’s worldly belongings. Values on the tax form were delineated into basic categories of land, buildings, types of livestock, etc. allowing profiles to be formed. While contractual arrangements with Kinsman are not known, the tax information shows absolute levels of wealth and its basic components.

Kinsman, himself, on tax records stated the value of his estate around Ft. Pemberton as \$6,200 consisting of 24 acres valued at \$250, two buildings worth \$50, other equipment at \$15 and the remainder consisting of his personal items. The other land he owned on James Island, as noted, was leased out. Kinsman owned other farms on the Charleston neck reported separately.

²³⁵ The hurricane of August 1893 may have been the worst. As reported in the Charleston News and Courier on August 30th on page 2, it flooded the waterways and all of James Island. Wappoo Creek had water 18 feet above its waterline. Huge economic losses ensued.

²³⁶ Paris Green was the first chemical insecticide available. It was a highly toxic arsenic compound first used in Paris to kill rats, hence its name. It has a distinctive green color which continues to be referenced today.

²³⁷ Tax records obtained from the Audit Department of the City of Charleston on micro-film which lists taxpayers by geographic area on James Island for years starting in 1891.

For the 23 individuals²³⁸ associated with Kinsman on the tax records, their profile follows. From census records, all the individuals are marked as “black”. In general, 70% owned one horse/mule and 57% owned a cow. These two types of livestock constituted most of the value of all assets owned. Only one person reported any acreage owned.

Median value of all assets: \$40

Median number of cattle owned: 1

Median value of cattle owned: \$10

Median number of horses/mules owned: 1

Median number of horses/mules owned: \$30

These individuals lived in a precarious situation with no social safety net. They did not own land (except one case), used their manual labor, ability to plow with their horse, and possibly sold dairy products to make ends meet.

Kinsman Final Years

During the 1880s, Kinsman continued to live in the city of Charleston. In 1883 Kinsman purchased the Faber house (aka Ward house) at 635 East Bay Street, a three story, 5 bay, double-pile classical revival house built in the late 1830s in the overtly Palladian style. After Henry Kinsman died, his brother, Warren, and sister, Sarah, lived in the house until 1907.²³⁹



Figure 11.9. Faber house at 635 East Bay Street which Kinsman purchased in 1883. It stayed in the Kinsman family until 1907. Author’s picture.

²³⁸ The names of the 23 individuals/families is listed in Appendix x.

²³⁹ “The Faber House” by Mary C. Fesak, November 28, 2016 a thesis as part of a Master of Science from Clemson and the College of Charleston. In 1922/1923 the house was converted into the Hamitic Hotel serving black customers; one of the few in Charleston.

Henry Kinsman, and his brother became active in the Democratic Party in the 1880s. This was the period after Reconstruction when the Democratic Party consisted of most whites; regaining control of state and local government from the black majority was a primary goal. Kinsman's motivations throughout his life were centered on economic achievement with slavery and the rights of freed people not a matter to be concerned about.

Kinsman died on July 31, 1892 and his obituary is found below. The obituary notably fails to mention the variety of activities he engaged in during his life and contributions made for the fire department, agricultural societies, the war effort, and to societies helping war widows and men with debilitating injuries from the war. Not to mention, he probably supplied some large percentage of equipment to Confederate soldiers. Also, noteworthy for its omission is any reference to being a cotton planter, particularly with the amount of land, around 16% of all James Island land, he owned. Kinsman's skill in truck farming must have been more lucrative for him, and perhaps something he felt he knew more about. On James Island he obtained land in dire times from established planters. He was probably never quite accepted into the rarified strata of sea island cotton farmers.

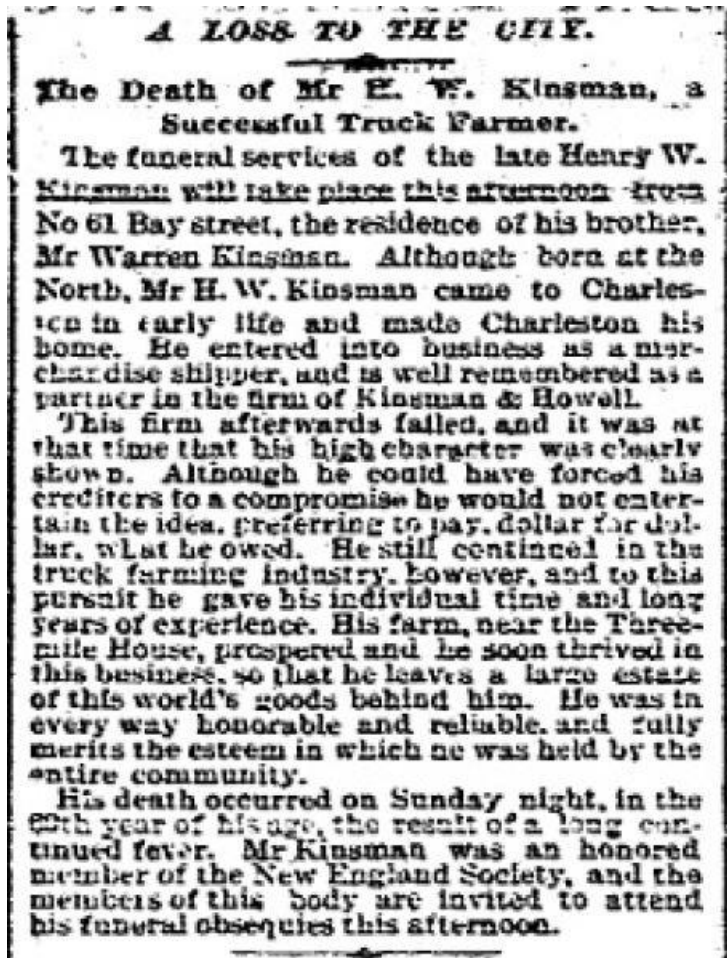


Figure 11.10 Kinsman Obituary 1892

At his death, July 31, 1892, Kinsman's sister, Sarah, is made the executor. The estate did not sell H.W. Kinsman's James Island acreage until six years later on July 14, 1898. Kinsman and his family had held onto the northwest corner of James Island for 31 years, which is a bit shorter than the Wilson family who owned much of the same land from 1800 to 1836.²⁴⁰ With Kinsman never having lived on James Island for any significant time, and probably not directly managing planting most of the time, his name is not typically associated with the history of James Island. His role as a factor after the war, often to planters on James Island, would have made his name familiar to city and James Island residents. From an economic standpoint his factoring company was necessary for the economy, it allowed planters to obtain material needed to farm.

In the deed for the sale of Kinsman's James Island tract, it is referred to as "Wappoo Hall" which is the first official reference to the name found.

²⁴⁰ The Wilson and Kinsman families collectively owned a large portion of James Island for 67 years.

12. Wappoo Creek From Civil War to 1918

Wappoo Creek During the Civil War

Wappoo Cut and Creek continued to serve as a path for local shipping during the Civil War. Confederate leadership knew about the British route to lay siege to Charleston in 1780 which used James Island and Wappoo Creek as stepping stones, and every effort was made to use their limited resources to prevent a Union incursion via the Stono and through Wappoo Creek.²⁴¹ If Wappoo Creek fell into Union hands, northern troops could place artillery close to the city or attack an unprotected spot. By May of 1862 a pontoon bridge had been built over Wappoo Creek in the vicinity of the McLeod Plantation.²⁴² The bridge was part of the effort to lower the distance to the forts on the southern end of James Island from the peninsula using land routes.

In January of 1863 an incident with the Union gunboat the Isaac P. Smith took place which made it abundantly clear that the depth of Wappoo Creek was something less than nine feet in places, much to the dismay of the Confederacy. A Confederate trap to capture the Isaac P. Smith in the lower Stono River using land forces had been successful. The only way to get the ship to Charleston wharfs for repairs and refitting as a Confederate gun runner, was via Wappoo Creek. Even though the ship was shallow drafted it ran aground numerous times in the creek. The trip through the creek which normally took hours, needed four days to complete even after the ship had been emptied.²⁴³ This experience emphasized the need to deepen the channel for gunboats, which had been identified in 1862.²⁴⁴ However, dwindling Confederacy manpower prevented the dredging project from taking place.

The defense of Charleston remained paramount for the Confederacy, and to help provide that security, during the latter part of 1863 the Stono River and Wappoo Cut were mined (mines were called torpedoes at the time). Other than building pontoon bridges and mining Wappoo Creek not much is done to alter the waterway during the Civil War. Manpower shortages prevented significant work and the Confederacy was noted in its lack of maritime forces.

Wappoo Creek after the Civil War

From 1865 to the late 1870s not much is mentioned in local papers or documents about expenditures for improving or maintaining Wappoo Creek or its cuts. One noteworthy event that did make the local paper was that a “grampus” whale, a type of dolphin typically living just off the continental shelf, was found in Wappoo Cut in November 1869. The animal was stranded in a marsh along the creek and killed; it was 20 feet long, 12 feet around and weighed 2,000 pounds. It was moved to Military Hall for viewing.²⁴⁵

²⁴¹ Ibid, page 200.

²⁴² The Daily Courier, May 1, 1862.

²⁴³E. Milby Burton, *The Siege of Charleston 1861 – 1865.*, page 123.

²⁴⁴ E. Milby Burton, *The Siege of Charleston 1861 – 1865.* P.118.

²⁴⁵ Charleston Daily Courier, November 29, 1869, page 1. The grampus whale is in the dolphin family. Measurements in 1869 may have been exaggerated a bit in that the current size for an adult grampus is much smaller.

Shortly after the Civil War ended, phosphate was found in many places on the land and in the rivers of the low country. Phosphate mining began in 1867 and continued to ramp up to a peak around 1892²⁴⁶. Techniques to mine phosphate would be considered an environmental disaster by current standards. Labor conditions for workers were so bad that, at times, not enough workers could be found. Yet, the south's economy was struggling to rebuild after the war and the industry forged ahead. From 1867 to around 1889 South Carolina was the leading producer of phosphate in the United States. In the early 1890s Florida's production of phosphate came on line and in a short time surpassed South Carolina's production which began to go into a permanent decline.

The Stono River was heavily mined for phosphate along with some of the shoreline of Wappoo Creek and associated cuts. Getting phosphate to mills required waterways with clear channels and sufficient maintenance. By the late 1870s federal occupation was over and the civilian government was beginning to make arguments to the federal government on how navigation improvements along the coast would help everyone economically. The state and city did not feel they were in any position to undertake this infrastructure project to the extent warranted. While not spelled out in funding requests, keeping the phosphate industry productive and profitable was one impetus behind funding requests for the improvement and maintenance of Wappoo Creek.

Typically, railroads eclipsed the need for water-based corridors throughout the country at this time; yet, the isolation of the sea islands was an exception. All sea islands used the waterways since the railroads had not expanded across most of the watery reaches separating the islands. Finally, as the phosphate industry continued to grow, around 1880 interest in enhancing Wappoo Creek by the US Engineering Office had increased to the point where action on their part was initiated. The main theme of the US Engineering Office was straightening the channel through Wappoo Creek and its surrounding marshes by making more "cuts" (which circumvented the need to travel the numerous loops in Wappoo Creek), increasing channel depth and width, and providing ongoing maintenance.

Some of the major Wappoo Creek/Cut projects the US Engineering Department engaged in follow. Note one project reduced the direct distance from the Stono to Ashley Rivers to 3.6 miles from 5.5. The state also typically allocated some small amount of funds toward ongoing maintenance.

September 1883²⁴⁷ – the dredging of new cuts was initially proposed to be 90 feet wide. This was reduced to 65 feet to save money. The mean low water depth (depth at low tide) was made six feet. A new cut reduced the total length through the Cut/Creek from 5.5 miles to 3.6 miles.

August 30, 1887²⁴⁸ – the US Chief Engineer's Report stated that the main shipping route through Wappoo has a channel depth of at least 6 feet mean low water. The channel was widened in some places of Elliot's Cut. This was a big improvement since prior to 1882 the western area of the cut had a depth of only 1 to 4 feet in places. Work continued to straighten the creek with more cuts.

²⁴⁶ Information on the phosphate industry was primarily obtained from *The South Carolina Phosphate Boom and the Stillbirth of the New South 1867-1920* by Tom W. Shick and Don H. Doyle. South Carolina Historical Society, Vol. 86 No. 1 (Jan 1985), pp. 1- 31.

²⁴⁷ September 1, 1883, Charleston News and Courier.

²⁴⁸ August 30, 1887, Charleston News and Courier, p. 1.

December 11, 1890²⁴⁹ – work of cutting and dredging across a portion of marsh land in Wappoo Creek to Elliot’s Cut had started.

An 1888 compilation of products passing through Wappoo Cut that year tabulated by the US Engineering Department and published in The Sunday News of the Charleston News and Courier shows the following:²⁵⁰

<u>Product</u>	<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Value (\$)</u>
Rice, bushels	150,000	130,000
Vegetables, crates	120,000	240,000
Phosphate, rock, tons	60,000	300,000
Sea island cotton, bales	6,000	360,000
Fertilizer, tons	2,000	30,000
Lumber and ties, feet	20,000,000	160,000

Table 12.1 Wappoo Cut Passages by Product

This point in time reference shows that sea island products were no longer just cotton and rice, that phosphate and vegetables were also important economically. This relatively more diverse agricultural mixture applies to James Island crop production. Minutes of the James Island Agricultural Society corroborate this. In 1884 society minutes incorporate truck farming as a subject, showing it to be a more mainstream activity on the island since the island’s agricultural society was expressly formed after the war to improve cotton farming.

While phosphate mining did not completely end until 1920, there was not much going on by 1900. Wappoo Mill, which processed phosphate, located at the junction of Wappoo Creek and the Ashley River on the mainland side ran into financial trouble in 1897 and shortly closed.²⁵¹

Total Changes to Wappoo Creek

The alterations to Wappoo Creek were infrequent until the last quarter century of the 19th century. Up until that time the two major alterations were the work done on Wappoo Cut and then the building Elliot’s Cut during 1828 to 1830. The following portion of an 1825 map of James Island²⁵² shows these two cuts and the general outline of Wappoo Creek. Note that a couple of extreme loops in Wappoo Creek already had cuts made between them.

²⁴⁹ December 11, 1890, Charleston News and Courier.

²⁵⁰ Charleston News and Courier, published as the The Sunday News, May 5, 1889, p. 8.

²⁵¹ October 18, 1897, Charleston News and Courier.

²⁵² Library of Congress



Figure 12.2. 1825 Map of the western end of Wappoo Creek. Area "A" is the earliest "Wappoo Cut" and is marked as such on the map. Area "B" is the new Elliot's Cut which in 1825 was just being completed. "X" marks the approximate location of the Riverland Terrace boat landing. Base map from 1825 Map of Charleston by U.S. Govt in Library of Congress.

Actions to provide a straighter channel through Wappoo Creek by 1891 are depicted in the engineer's map below:

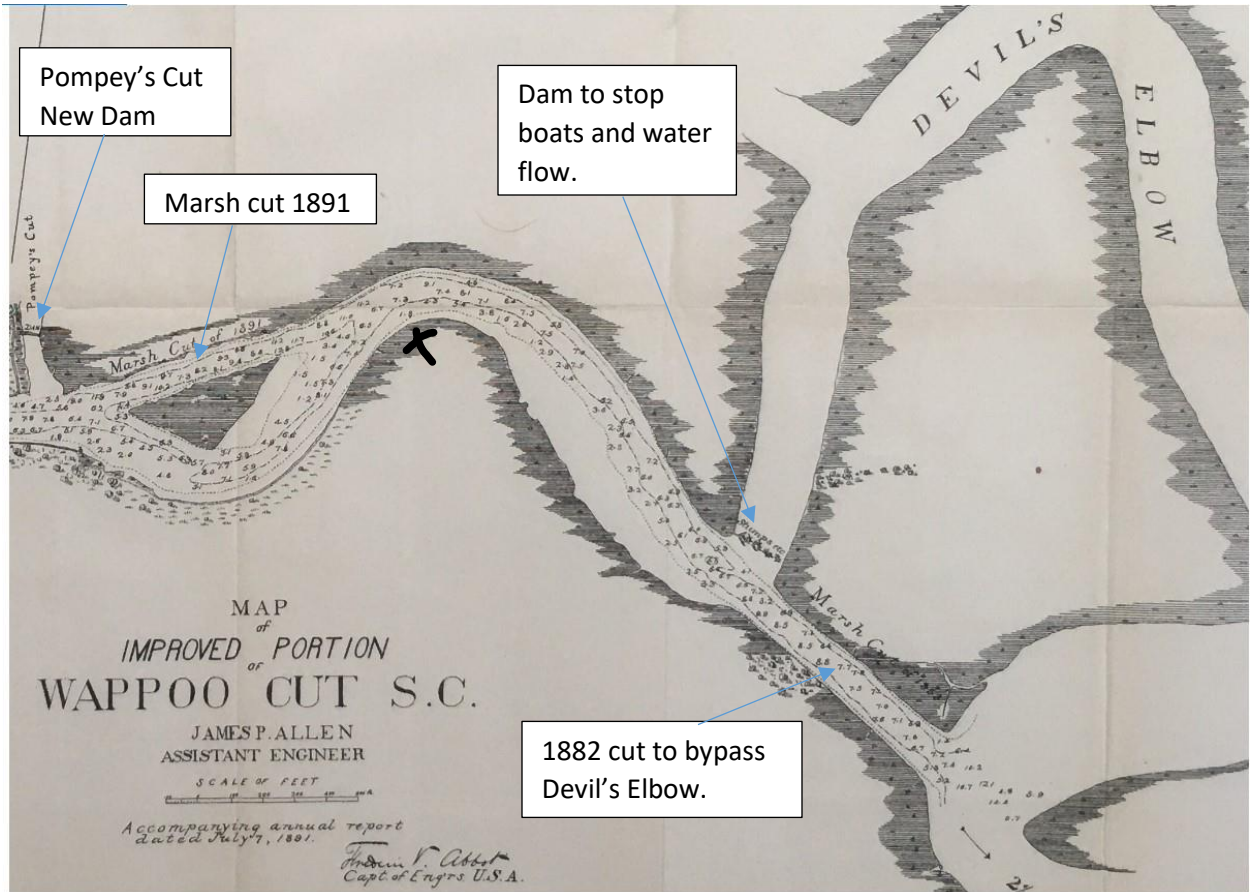


Figure 12.3. 1891 western end of Wappoo Creek. Pompey's Cut has a dam on it to stop usage and water flow. A marsh cut done in 1891 is marked. A series of tree trunks to stop usage by boat traffic of an original loop is identified which enabled a major cut done in 1882 to avoid Devil's Elbow (the new cut is on some maps listed as "U. S. Cut") to function. "X" again marks the approximate location of the current Riverland Terrace boat landing. From Army Engineering Dept.

By 1918 the western end of Wappoo Creek looking like the following:



Figure 12.4. 1918 Western end of Wappoo Creek. "X" marks approximate location of Riverland Terrace boat landing. 1918 topographic map produced by Army Corp of Engineers.

To put the changes in context, the following display of the 1825 map shows major alterations reflected on it.

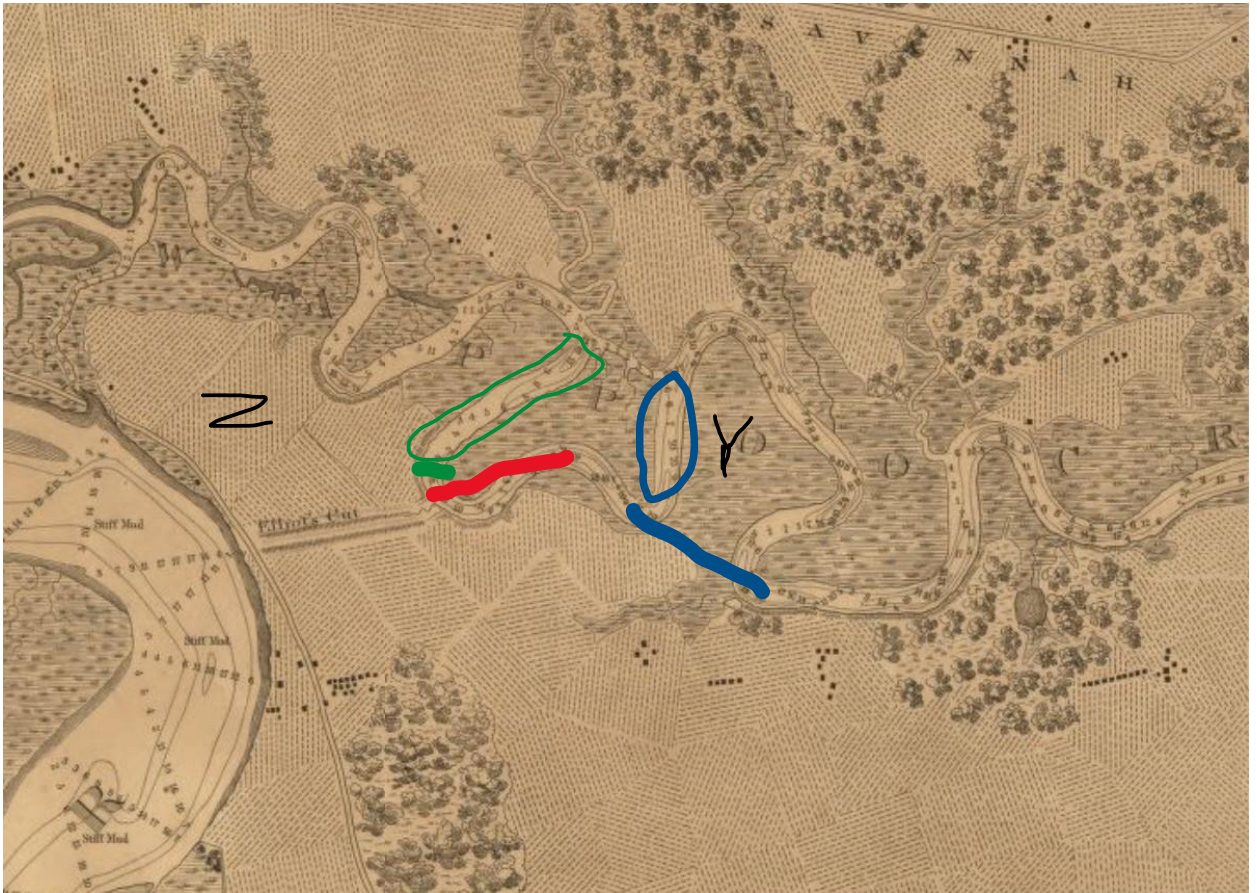


Figure 12.5. Map of 1825 reflecting major changes by 1891. Red line is the cut of 1891. Blue line is the cut of 1882 and blue encircled area returns to marsh. Green encircled area is dammed off at thick green line and encircled area returns to marsh. Area “Z” is now Edgewater Park and was entitled “Ficken’s Island” while the Fickens owned the land. Area “Y” was named Polly’s Island once the new 1882 cut made the area an island. Base map from 1825 Map of Charleston by U.S. Govt in Library of Congress.

A few more cuts to Wappoo Creek are made after 1918, which are addressed later.

Wappoo Bridge Emerges

In 1896 a significant event takes place as the Wappoo Bridge Company filed for a charter to build a toll bridge over Wappoo Creek/Cut. The bridge would be located on Mcleod plantation near where the current ale of trees leads to Wappoo Creek; a pontoon bridge was built and destroyed in the Civil War at the site.²⁵³ In February 1897 the state legislature granted the charter which allowed the toll bridge to

²⁵³ October 1, 1896, Charleston News and Courier. The destroyed bridge was present only during the Civil War.

be built.²⁵⁴ At this point river captains who ferried goods and people on and off James Island voiced concerns about the placement of the bridge and their economic loss.

Any concerns were worked out or ignored for in September 1898 construction in earnest began. The Bridge opened on February 1, 1899. The new bridge was the tentative start of the shift of James Island away from its agricultural way of life. It was still a long way to the Peninsula going from downtown Charleston to Fort Johnson still took 3 hours in a horse drawn buggy.²⁵⁵ Once the automobile was affordable by the public, and with a bridge over Wappoo, the transition of James Island away from agriculture moved into a higher gear.



Figure 12.6. 1903 Picture of a ferry at the McLeod landing for the annual Agricultural Society picnic. Note Wappoo Bridge in the background which opened in 1899. The wooden bridge had a single lane metal draw visible along with structural items enabling it to rise for boat traffic. Picture courtesy of the Charleston Museum.

²⁵⁴ February 3, 1897, Charleston News and Courier.

²⁵⁵ *ibid*

Former Charleston mayor, John F. Ficken, was president of the Wappoo Bridge Company when the bridge was being built and at its opening.²⁵⁶ In July of 1898 John F. Ficken, while getting the Wappoo Bridge Company and its project underway, purchased Wappoo Hall from the estate of Henry W. Kinsman in conjunction with his son, Henry. The Fickens may have foreseen, or hoped, that the new bridge would increase land values on James Island as access to the island was enhanced and more development could take place. Ficken may have been a bit early, yet he is one of the first businessmen who viewed James Island's value for possible development and not only for agricultural production.

²⁵⁶ February 2, 1899. Charleston News and Courier, p. 8.

13. Ficken's Ownership of Wappoo Hall

Purchasers: John R. Ficken and Henry H. Ficken on July 14, 1898

Area: 1,123 and 80/100 acres of high land and unspecified marsh land²⁵⁷

Boundaries:

North: Northern most channel of Wappoo Creek

East: Land of William McLeod and Ellis

South: Lands formerly of Soloman Legare

West: Low water mark of the Stono River

The land is further described in the deed as being a combination of land bought from James M. Lawton, Constant H. Rivers, Thomas Savage Heyward, and Robert Bee's estate executors. Dates of purchase and recorded deed book information is also provided.

Purchase Price: \$12,500

The purchase price of \$12,500 looks exceedingly low for 1,124 acres of high land on James Island. Henry W. Kinsman had a number of outstanding debts in place at the time of his death. One of his debts originated just 11 days prior to his death when on July 20, 1892 he obtained a mortgage from the Roper Hospital Fund using some of his land on James Island as collateral. In order to receive a clear title for the Kinsman property at its sale, the Ficken's (or someone representing the interests of the Kinsman estate) paid off the Roper Hospital fund debt of at least \$7,500 on July 13, 1898 (the day before the Ficken purchase) which released the Roper Hospital Fund claim to the land. In short, the \$12,500 may not have been the true value of the 1,124 acres; part of the Kinsman-to-Ficken transaction may have been to pay off some of Kinsman's debt.

²⁵⁷ A minor discrepancy exists between the 1,124 acres purchased and the summation of acreage purchased from the constituent plantations in the 1860s. This may be attributed to better measurement techniques in 1898.

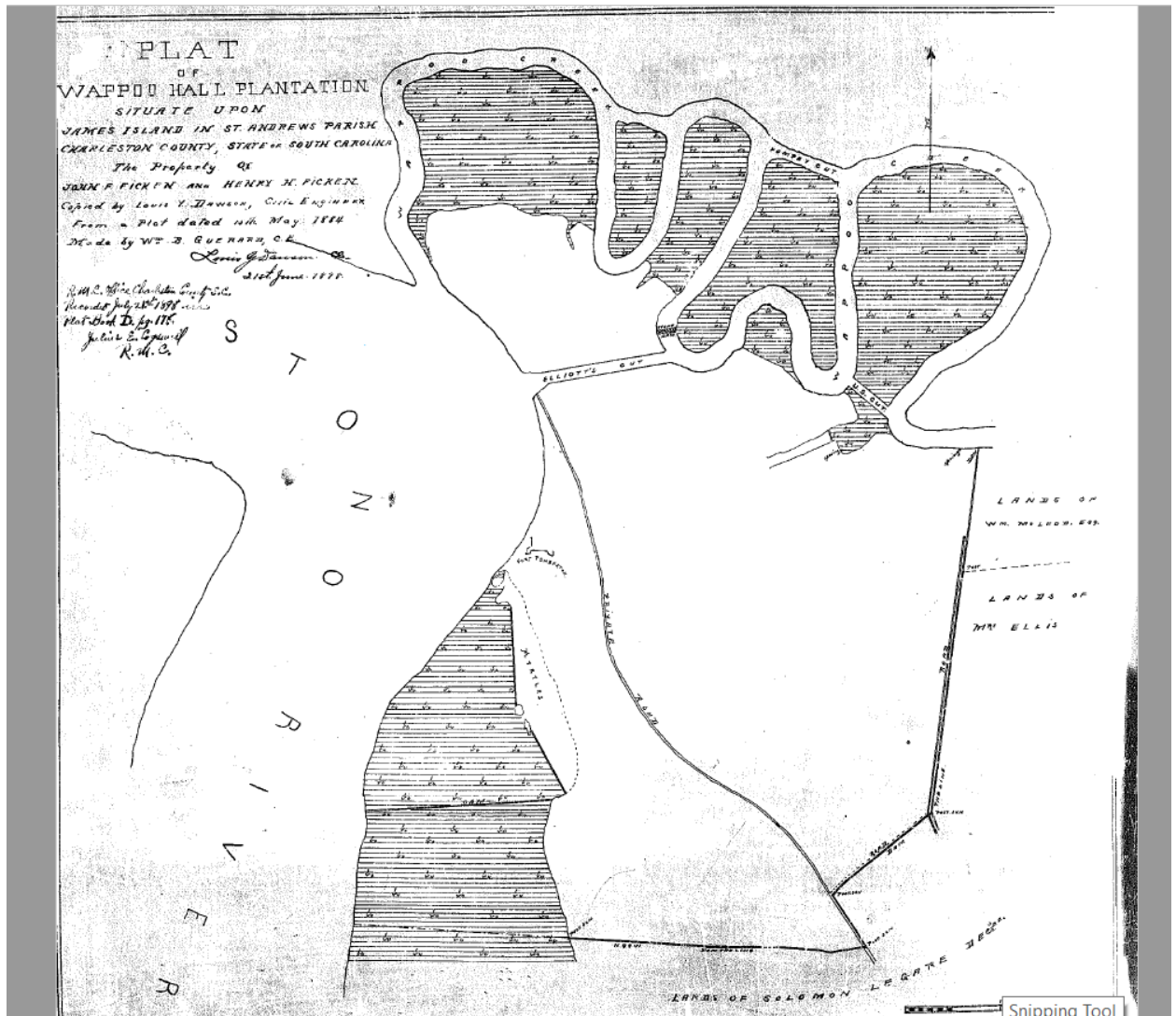


Figure 13.1. 1898 plat of Ficken’s purchase, a modified version of the 1884 plat. Top of plat is the north direction. Note Ficken lists what is now Riverland Drive as a “Private Road”, on the 1884 plat it was listed as a “Public Road”. Cuts shown on Wappoo Creek: Pompey, U.S., and Elliotts. McLeod and Ellis land is to the right of what is now Fleming Road. From Charleston County Register of Deeds.

Ficken Background

The purchasers, John Frederick Ficken (age 55) and son Henry Horlbeck Ficken (age 26) engaged in many investments together. John F. Ficken was noted for his role as a lawyer, banker and politician in Charleston. Born in 1843 in Charleston to Prussian immigrants, he enlisted in the Confederate military at the onset of hostilities. Desiring to receive a college education, he received permission to leave the military to attend Charleston College. In 1864 he graduated and returned to military service initially as a private in the Confederate German Artillery²⁵⁸ unit then stationed in Georgetown. Later in 1864 he was

²⁵⁸ A military group formed from Charlestonians of German heritage.

sent to work in the office of General Jones who administered the military districts of Florida, Georgia and South Carolina for the Confederacy.

After the war, he wanted to pursue a legal career and went to Berlin to study law for two years. He returned to Charleston in 1870. In 1876 he joined with Isaac Hayne to form a legal firm. In 1877 he was first elected to the state House of Representatives from Charleston, a position he continued to serve in until 1891.²⁵⁹ His 14-year run as a state representative shows he represented the city well as noted in September 1890, when the Charleston News and Courier stated Mr. John Ficken “was one of the strongest, most careful and most zealous members Charleston has ever had in the House”.²⁶⁰

In 1891 he became the 48th mayor of Charleston and served one term until 1895 and did not seek re-election. His election to mayor meant the JINWC had now been owned by two mayors, Richard Hutson the 1st mayor and now the 48th. Mr. Ficken was elected mayor as the candidate of the Reform segment of the Democratic Party. The Democratic party held complete control in Charleston at this time, no Republicans typically ran against Democratic candidates. Most all blacks were aligned with the Republican Party and few were even able to vote due to “Jim Crow” laws along with overt efforts to disenfranchise blacks via violence and fraud at the polls by Democrats. The Reform movement was intent on changing the tone within the Democratic party away from its aristocrat associations while not altering Democratic policy enough to encourage any members to vote Republican. In Charleston, the mayoral race was effectively the Democratic Primary.

Ficken’s Reform movement’s mayoral campaign promise was to eliminate irregularities which existed in voting (i.e., fraud) for local Democratic positions and the cronyism found in the general administration of Charleston’s local government; all the while staying in synch with the populist positions promoted by Governor Ben Tilman who had been elected in 1890. Mr. Ficken’s previous leadership in the House of the state legislature, his Reform platform, and his conservative views were key to his election as mayor.²⁶¹

While they were in different occupations, Henry W. Kinsman must have known Mr. Ficken through a common interest in the Democratic Party. In 1884, while Ficken was a state representative, Henry W. Kinsman was selected as a representative to the state Democratic Convention from Charleston.²⁶² He was also the Democratic Chairman of St. Philips Parish in 1884.²⁶³ How, or if, their relationship had any bearing on the terms of the sale of Kinsman’s Wappoo Hall estate after his death is not known.

John Ficken’s son Henry (8/17/1872 – 10/10/1940) followed in his father’s footsteps and was a lawyer and a banker; he differed from his father in choosing not to enter politics on a grand scale. A graduate of Yale, he served as president of both the South Carolina Loan and Trust, and at the Security Savings Bank. Charitable work was done for the Charleston Orphan House. John and Henry worked together on many personal and professional activities throughout their adult life.

²⁵⁹ Charleston News and Courier, November 25, 1890, page 2.

²⁶⁰ Ibid, September 6, 1890, page 4.

²⁶¹ Charleston News and Courier, September 30, 1891 page 8 and October 21, 1891, page 4.

²⁶² Ibid, June 20, 1884, page 1.

²⁶³ Ibid, October 3, 1884, p. 10.

Ficken's Use of Wappoo Hall

As with Henry Kinsman, neither of the Fickens lived on James Island. John Ficken lived at 94 Rutledge Ave²⁶⁴ a grand home in the city. His son, Henry, lived at 35 Meeting Street, a colonial era stucco brick house²⁶⁵. Henry was in charge of the farming operations for Wappoo Hall via the use of an on-site manager. He was a member of both the James Island and South Carolina Agricultural Societies in the early 1900s, while his father only of the latter. Henry is interested in Wappoo Hall farming enough that he is listed as a James Island planter attending the main gathering of the James Island Agricultural Society on July 4th 1904.²⁶⁶

The Fickens leased portions of Wappoo Hall at times along with growing crops. A portion of Wappoo Hall was dedicated to use as a dairy. One of the Fickens' first leases was to Jesse Annis in October 1899 for the "Wappoo Dairy tract" and some adjoining land totaling 112 acres.²⁶⁷ In August 1901 the Fickens leased the "land with the dairy buildings thereon known as the Wappoo Stock Farm" to the Mutual Creamery Company. The total lease was for 150 acres. One additional interesting note in the lease is that tenant buildings were present on the land which could be rented for \$.50 per week and that a windmill was on the property. The newly formed Mutual Creamery Company first advertised dairy products in October 1901. By December of 1902 Mutual Creamery was out of business.²⁶⁸ Dairy farming continued on portions of Wappoo Hall throughout the time the Fickens owned the land.

²⁶⁴ 94 Rutledge is the Isaac Jenkins Mikell House built in 1853-54. Jonathan Poston in *The Buildings of Charleston* states the house is one of the most visually imposing of houses built prior to the Civil war pages 556-557.

²⁶⁵ 35 Meeting Street is Bull house constructed circa 1720 per Jonathan Poston page 258 in *The Buildings of Charleston*.

²⁶⁶ Entries for 1902, 1903 and July 4th 1904 in the minutes of the James Island Agricultural Society found in the McLeod papers of the South Carolina Historical Society.

²⁶⁷ Lease is in Charleston County deed book L23 page 180.

²⁶⁸ Lease to Mutual Creamery is found in Charleston County deed book L23 page 414. Mutual Creamery first advertisement was in the Charleston News and Courier October 26, 1901 page 4. Notification of Mutual Creamery dissolution is found in Charleston News and Courier on December 27, 1902, page 4. Mutual Creamery was formed in early 1901.

Regarding the crops produced, minutes and notes of the James Island Agricultural Society provide details of the crops raised on Wappoo Hall for a number of years while the Fickens owned the land and are listed below:

Table 13.2. Acres of Crops Planted on Wappoo Hall by Year

Crop	1902	1903	1904	1905	1907	1909	1910	1911	1912	1914	1915	1916
Cotton	93	60	70	70	62	70	93	70	32	80	55	64
Potatoes	32	42	35	20	17	6		15	30	8	10	
Asparagus	35	36	36	36	36	35	40	30	30	30	30	30
Corn	26			20	20	20	27	20	20	40	25	50
Oats										23	40	40
Cucumbers	6											
Tobacco		15										
Peas		6										

Table 13.2. From minutes of the James Island Agricultural Society held by the South Carolina Historical Society.

For the crop years above, note the acreage devoted between cotton and other crops is more or less equally divided. The following recommendation shows the Fickens were pleased with the cotton produced on Wappoo Hall in 1907.²⁶⁹

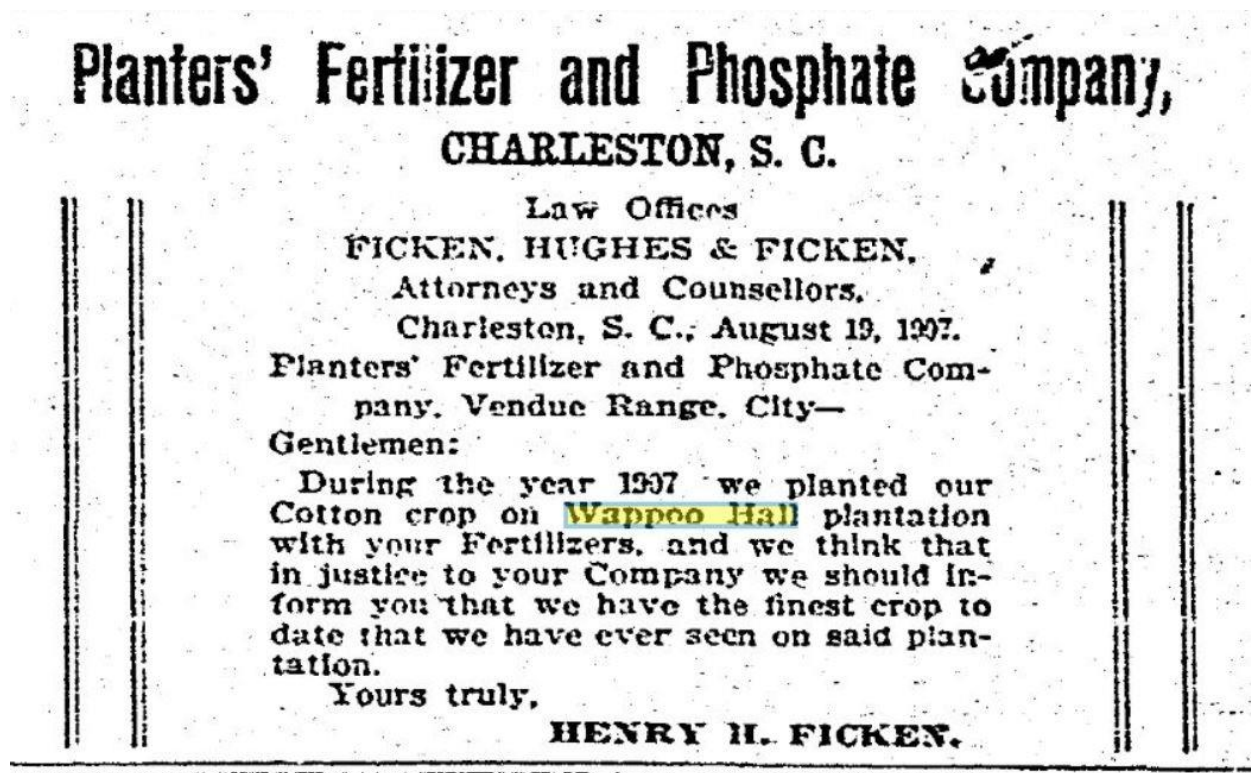


Figure 13.3 Ficken Use of Fertilizer

²⁶⁹ Ibid, January 17, 1908, p. 7

When the above endorsement in 1907 was published, sea island cotton from South Carolina was selling for around 30 cents a pound, an amount just sufficient to make a profit. From 1911 to the time of World War I the price fell to the 22 to 25 cents per pound range. Part of the reason for the price decline was competition from the West Indies along with Georgia and Florida farms²⁷⁰ This was barely enough to cover costs and often may not have. Per the James Island Agricultural minutes during this time, labor costs were attempted to be held down despite competition between planters for labor. A general movement of farm laborers was noted as moving to the city for a better life. A “plowman’s” wages were around \$1.00 a day at this time.²⁷¹ No one was getting rich at this time from cotton on James Island.

When the Fickens sold a large portion of Wappoo Hall to Thomas Welch in 1917²⁷² a listing of machinery items included in the sale provide a detailed look at how extensive agricultural efforts were on the farm:

Items Included in Sale to Thomas Welch

1. Windmill and associated tanks and pipes
2. Iron rail track to wharf
3. Gin house and a connecting building’s machinery including six gins, one (cotton) press, one engine, one boiler and sundry shafts, belts, pulleys and pipes.

The list indicates an intensive use of capital for cotton production and its preparation for sale, windmill power probably for pumping water, and access to a wharf for shipping. Wappoo Hall was not a gentleman’s farm. Profits were expected from the capital investment listed.

Competition, cotton price fluctuations, labor costs and labor availability all contributed to the need for a more diversified crop and stock production. The James Island Agricultural Society was explicitly formed to aid the improvement in cotton growing techniques when formed after the Civil War. It is not until 1884 that minutes of the society incorporate truck farming as a more mainstream endeavor in farming.

Aubrey Welch, born 1884, stated for his biography in 1931 that he worked 30 years ago at the Ficken’s Wappoo Hall farm for seven years.²⁷³ He purchased a good portion of the farm in 1918 from his brother Thomas who had bought it from the Fickens in the previous year. Aubrey’s half-brother, Priestly Cooper Coker, was the manager of Wappoo Hall for the Fickens and was very active in the James Island Agricultural Society. Priestly was credited with planting the alee of live oak trees that span Wappoo Drive from Riverland Drive west to the Stono River. The stately trees remain today as the hallmark of the Riverland Terrace neighborhood.²⁷⁴

²⁷⁰ Richard D. Porcher and Sarah Fick, *The Story of Sea Island Cotton*, page 314.

²⁷¹ It is interesting to note that in the July 14, 1910 minutes of the James Island Agricultural Society, one portion of land’s size was described as a “task”. This continued to refer to what a person could be expected to work in a day. Not much had changed over the years.

²⁷² Sale from intermediary of Fickens Security Savings to Thomas Welch in Charleston County deed book W26 page 624.

²⁷³ Thomas Petigru Lesesne, *History of Charleston County South Carolina*. The News and Courier, Charleston, SC. 1931 p. 346.

²⁷⁴ Charleston News and Courier, December 30, 1967, p. 9.

Ficken Selloff

While the Fickens used Wappoo Hall for agricultural purposes, one can see their other visions for the land soon came into play, or they were not making enough money in farming. While Henry Kinsman had aggregated the land comprising Wappoo Hall from others (Lawton, Heyward, Rivers, and Bee) and held onto it for around 30 years, the Fickens began to sell off portions of the property just three years after purchasing it in 1898. The major transactions the Fickens engaged in started out in 1901 with a large transaction of 250 acres on the eastern edge of Wappoo Hall to Saltana Blake Hall²⁷⁵. Then they sold outlying pieces of Wappoo Hall, such as Ficken's Island (now Edgewater Park consisting of 112.33 acres per Kinsman plat of 1884) in 1902. This was followed by Polly's Island, a small island between Wappoo Creek loops was sold in 1913 (the island no longer bears a name and is uninhabitable due to low elevation from sea level).

The largest transaction was ultimately to Thomas Welch in 1917²⁷⁶ which consisted of 562 and 45/100 of high land, 169 acres of marsh land, and 30 acres of marsh flats. These transactions lowered the concentration of ownership of JINWC full circle, back to the approximate acreage of James Lawton in 1860. It is this large tract Thomas Welch purchased which will remain the focus.

The large number of smaller transactions the Fickens engaged in as they sold off portions of Wappoo Hall can be found in below. The Ficken brothers often engaged in intermediate sales for unknown reasons, which can only be speculated on as to their economic rationale. Noteworthy are the groups involved in the transactions: the Fickens, Union Corporation, and Security Savings Bank (of which Henry Ficken was an executive).

<u>Date</u>	<u>Seller</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Purchaser</u>	<u>Details</u>
August 13, 1901	Ficken	250	Saltana Blake Harvey ²⁷⁷	2 tracts. Deed book/page Y-23, 214
October 22, 1902	Ficken		J. Martin Bottjer	Fickens Island (now Edgewater Park). Deed book/page X23, 663
July 2, 1913	John Ficken sells to Henry Fickens who then sells.		Union Corp (ultimately)	Polly Island – island between bends of Wappoo Creek. John Ficken sold to Henry Ficken who sold to Union Corp in back-to-back transactions.

²⁷⁵ Charleston County deed book y23, page 214.

²⁷⁶ This transaction had a roundabout journey as the land was sold in December 1916 to Union Corporation who in the same month sold it to Security Savings Bank. Security Savings Bank in turn sold the property to Thomas Welch in March 1917. The financial justifications of this series of transactions is not explored.

²⁷⁷ Five years later Mr. Harvey sells the land to the Oswalds and Mikells.

				Deed book/pages F26, 325 and 326
December 23, 1916	Fickens		Union Corp	Majority of Wappoo Hall sold. Deed book/page N28,102
December 30, 1916	Union Corp		Security Savings Bank	Majority of Wappoo Hall. Deed book/page F28, 53
December 30, 1916	Union Corp		Security Savings Bank	Polly's Island. Deed Book/page H28, 360 (or 369)
March 16, 1917	Security Savings Bank	562 acres high land, 199 acres of marsh land	Thomas C. Welch	Wappoo Hall deed book/page W26, 624
November 15, 1924	Security Savings Bank		Dariel Corp	Polly's Island. Deed book/page L32, 578
July 29, 1925	Henry Ficken	12 acres	?	Deed book/page E33, 76
April 12, 1926	Henry Ficken	12 acres	Aubrey Welch	Deed book/page N33, 76

Figure 13.4. Sales by the Fickens or firms which they had significant control over.

Due to the breakup of the land by the Fickens into a number of smaller tracts, the remaining focus on ownership and development will be on the area roughly encompassed by Riverland Terrace currently.

14. The Welch Purchase of a Major Portion of Wappoo Hall

Purchasers: In 1917 Thomas Welch purchased the reduced acreage of Wappoo Hall land from the Fickens after running the transaction through a couple of intermediaries.²⁷⁸ In 1918 Thomas Welch conveyed his recently acquired land, less 86 acres²⁷⁹, to his brother Aubrey Welch. Deed signatures were witnessed on April 23, 1918. A 1967 article in the Charleston News and Courier implies that the sale by the Fickens was prompted by the death of the farm manager, Priestly Cooper Coker in 1916 (the half-brother of Aubrey and Thomas).²⁸⁰

Area: 562 and 45/100 acres of high land, 169 acres of marsh land, and 30 acres of marsh flats

Boundaries:

North – Elliott’s Cut and Prigley’s Cut

East – Prigley’s Cut and land of Oswald

South – road leading to Cut Bridge and canal²⁸¹ from said road to Stono

West – Stono River

Welch Family

The 1900 census places Elizabeth (Lizzie) Cooper Coker Welch in Mt. Pleasant as the twice-widowed head of her household with her six children listed as dependents. Her first husband, James Coker, died in 1875 at the age of 32 leaving her with two children, one and two years old. Lizzie then went to live with her in-laws in the town of Darlington, South Carolina where she became a teacher. By 1885 she had married Augustus Lee Welch and in 1889 they moved to Mt. Pleasant. She had four children with Augustus. Unfortunately, Augustus died in 1895 at the age of 33 even though he was eight years younger than Lizzie. The early demise of her husbands show how fragile life was in the late 19th century. Diseases, epidemics, and limited health care were the standard for the time.

Three of Lizzie’s children, Priestly Coker, Aubrey Welch, and Thomas Welch, would have significant roles in JINWC. Priestly Coker, the oldest, went to work on the Ficken farm by 1900 when the census counts him in his mother’s household and also as a boarder on James Island as a farm laborer.²⁸² Priestly would soon become the farm manager for the Fickens’ Wappoo Hall. As previously noted, we have seen that Aubrey soon followed his half-brother to work on the Ficken’s place.

Priestly Coker, and later Aubrey Welch, lived in what may be the oldest house in what is now Riverland Terrace. 304 Stono Drive was probably built between 1865 and 1900 (based on mostly circumstantial evidence). In 1905 Priestly married Lillie Baynard Leppy and they moved into what is now 304 Stono

²⁷⁸ Fickens land was briefly sold to and held by Union Corporation and then to Security Savings Bank which the Fickens had an interest in before going to Thomas Welch.

²⁷⁹ in August of 1917, sold 86 acres to Clarence L. Mikell

²⁸⁰ Charleston News and Courier, December 30, 1967, p. 9.

²⁸¹ The canal referred to is probably represented by Canal Road off Riverland Drive and the actual canal at the southern edge of the Municipal Golf Course between Riverland Drive and the Stono River.

²⁸² The 1900 census has Priestly as a boarder in Renold? Jenkins house.

Drive.²⁸³ Priestly and Lillie soon had four children. One of the children, Elizabeth born in 1907, stated that she lived in the 304 Stono Drive house which her father, Priestly Coker, had purchased at an unknown date. Elizabeth lived there until her father died in 1916.²⁸⁴ At the time the house had 1 and ½ stories. Priestly Coker died in 1916 of pneumonia caused by a malarial fever.²⁸⁵ After his death Priestly's wife, Lillie, left the house and Aubrey Welch moved in. Lillie and her four young children moved back in with her parents, Joseph Hinson Leiby and Lily Baynard Leiby, who lived on the eastern side of James Island.²⁸⁶ To follow through on Priestly's wife Lillie, she died in 1961 at the age of 74 and her address at the time was 88 Murray Boulevard on the peninsula; from there she had a good view of the land of her early life on James Island.²⁸⁷

This is the only definitive record of the house at 304 Stono Drive found. Local legend is that the house was a hunting lodge for the Fickens when they owned the land. A lease in 1901 from the Fickens to Mutual Creamery, a dairy, mentions tenant houses for rent although their exact location is not specified, meaning the house at 304 could have been used by the farm manager.²⁸⁸ In 1927 the house was bought by the Van De Erve family who added a full second story, changed the orientation of the house to be parallel to Stono Drive, and dug out a basement.

Given that no records exist of a house in the vicinity of Riverland Terrace surviving the Civil War, and that Elizabeth Coker lived in 304 Stono as a child as early as 1907, it looks to be the oldest house (even though remodeled) in Riverland Terrace. The house at 168 Stono may be just as old yet no documentation on it is available; recent inspections show flooring and other components are of the same period as the house at 304 Stono.

Aubrey Welch was deeply engaged in agricultural improvement on James Island throughout his life. Initially Aubrey focused on learning how to grow sea island cotton. On the Ficken property and later after purchasing much of their land, he grew cotton for two or three years, then turned to truck farming and dairying after the boll weevil's arrival. Aubrey had the misfortune of being the owner of land which produced cotton as a cash crop while the last significant cotton crop was produced in the 1919-1920 growing season.²⁸⁹ For a few years Aubrey Welch explored and tried alternatives to cotton. At one point he maintained a herd of 150 cows. Later, residential development of his land provided income including engaging as a road building contractor. Of note is his role as vice president of the James Island Ginning Company²⁹⁰ while cotton was an island product; meanwhile he served as a director of the Stono Bridge Company which was initially a toll bridge between James and John's islands.²⁹¹

²⁸³ Charleston News and Courier, December 8, 1905, p. 10.

²⁸⁴ Historical interview notes from Count Tye. Electronic copy in possession of author.

²⁸⁵ Priestly Cooper death certificate. State of South Carolina, Bureau of Vital Statistics. Number: 40012, September 26, 1916.

²⁸⁶ The 1920 census lists the four children of Lillie Coker as: E. C. daughter age 13, H. L. son age 9, P. C. son age 7, R. L. son age 4.

²⁸⁷ News and Courier, November 11, 1961, p. 7.

²⁸⁸ 1891 tax return for Kinsman states that there are two buildings on his property near Fort Pemberton. There is nothing specific about what type of buildings they are. They could be the two houses on Stono Drive.

²⁸⁹ Richard D. Porcher and Sarah Fick, *The Story of Sea Island Cotton*, p. 332.

²⁹⁰ As noted, ginning machinery came with the purchase from the Fickens. The James Island Agricultural Society derived a reasonable cost for ginning a pound of cotton to try and avoid price competition on the island.

²⁹¹ Thomas P. Lesesne, *History of Charleston County*, p 346.

Aubrey Welch – Farmer to Developer

Aubrey Welch farmed the significant portion of Wappoo Hall plantation he purchased from 1918 to June 1924 when he sold 103 acres to Wappoo Development Company²⁹². Then in December 1925 he sold to Edisto Development Company 434 acres of high land and 112 acres of marsh land²⁹³. Finally, in March 1927 he transferred to Welch Development Company, which he owned, 19 acres²⁹⁴.

These sales marked a turning point. The full impact of not being able to raise cotton and the need to turn to other agricultural products had set in. Farming on James Island began its long decline. The lure of economic gains from selling agricultural land for residential development was now an option for landowners, which they gradually pursued as opportunities presented themselves. All the necessary components were lined up. The economy was strong. Automobile travel was altering living patterns and local infrastructure improvements supported these changes. On February 1, 1886 the wooden toll bridge over the Ashley had opened up,²⁹⁵ and in June of 1921 the toll was finally removed, which helped local commerce.²⁹⁶ An improved concrete Ashley Memorial Bridge was opened on May 5, 1926; it was designed to accommodate automobiles and had pedestrian walkways.²⁹⁷ Getting to James Island was getting easier with this modern bridge, a key component to an efficient commute to the peninsula.

While James Island had a bridge to the mainland opened in 1899, it was a wooden bridge with one single lane in the metal mid-section. A new concrete drawbridge opened on August 5, 1926 which made traversing Wappoo Creek reliable and efficient.²⁹⁸ Residential development on James Island would have been severely limited without the new bridge. The 1920s established the framework for what the northwest corner of James Island would look like and what its functional role would be comprised of. Events elongated the time it would take to build out the framework and lowered many aspirational aspects.

²⁹² Charleston County deed book U32 page 74.

²⁹³ Charleston County deed book V32 page 474.

²⁹⁴ Charleston County deed book N33 page 264.

²⁹⁵ News and Courier, February 1, 1886, p. 4.

²⁹⁶ News and Courier, June 27, 1921, p. 8.

²⁹⁷ News and Courier, May 5, 1926, pp. 26 and 27.

²⁹⁸ News and Courier, August 5, 1926, p. 10.

15. Developers Take Over

Riverland Terrace, as it is collectively called today, was the result of a distinct set of development activities over the years which were primarily initiated during the late 1920s and early 1930s. The table and map below list the major development efforts and the builders. Reviewing the map shows the initial two efforts in the 1920s set the framework and desired features.²⁹⁹ Keep in mind that each development took a number of years to build out; selling lots was the first step. The Great Depression drove a lack of development while World War II workforce housing needs generated a significant number of housing starts of a modest character. Each of the phases are reviewed in the following sections.

<u>Area</u>	<u>Developer</u>	<u>Number of Lots</u>	<u>Start of Sales</u>	<u>Boundaries/Comments</u>
Wappoo Hall	Wappoo Development Company	115	1925	Borders: Wappoo Creek, Riverland Drive, Coker Ave., Old Point Road. By mid-1925 some houses and bungalows were complete. Most lots sold by winter of 1925.
Riverland Terrace	Edisto Realty Company	229	1925	Borders: Coker Ave., Wappoo Drive, Riverland Drive, Lakeshore Drive and Grimball Ave. Lot sales started in late 1925 before infrastructure development was complete.
Woodland Shores	Woodland Shores, Inc	149	1926	
West Riverland Terrace	Welch Development Company	34	1931	Borders: Stono Drive, Riverland Drive, Wappoo Drive.
Riverland Golfview	Edisto Realty Company	294	1934	Borders: Maybank Highway, Wappoo Drive, Riverland Drive.
Fort Pemberton Heights	G. E. Moore	22	1941	Borders: Golf course (two sides), Ragos Lane, Seroy Street, Riverland Drive.
Kings Highway	Modern Homes Development Corporation	17	1953	Borders: Yates Ave., Aubrey Drive, Emerson Street

Table 15.1. Riverland Terrace Developers including Woodland Shores

²⁹⁹ Chase B. Williston, *Riverland Terrace, Finding Common Ground ...*, page 52 and in general provides much of the material for Riverland Terrace development.

Below are the initial development plats for Riverland Terrace joined together to provide location context of each sub-development. As actual development took place adjustments were made to lot size, street names, etc. Only the northern portion of Woodland Shores is included.

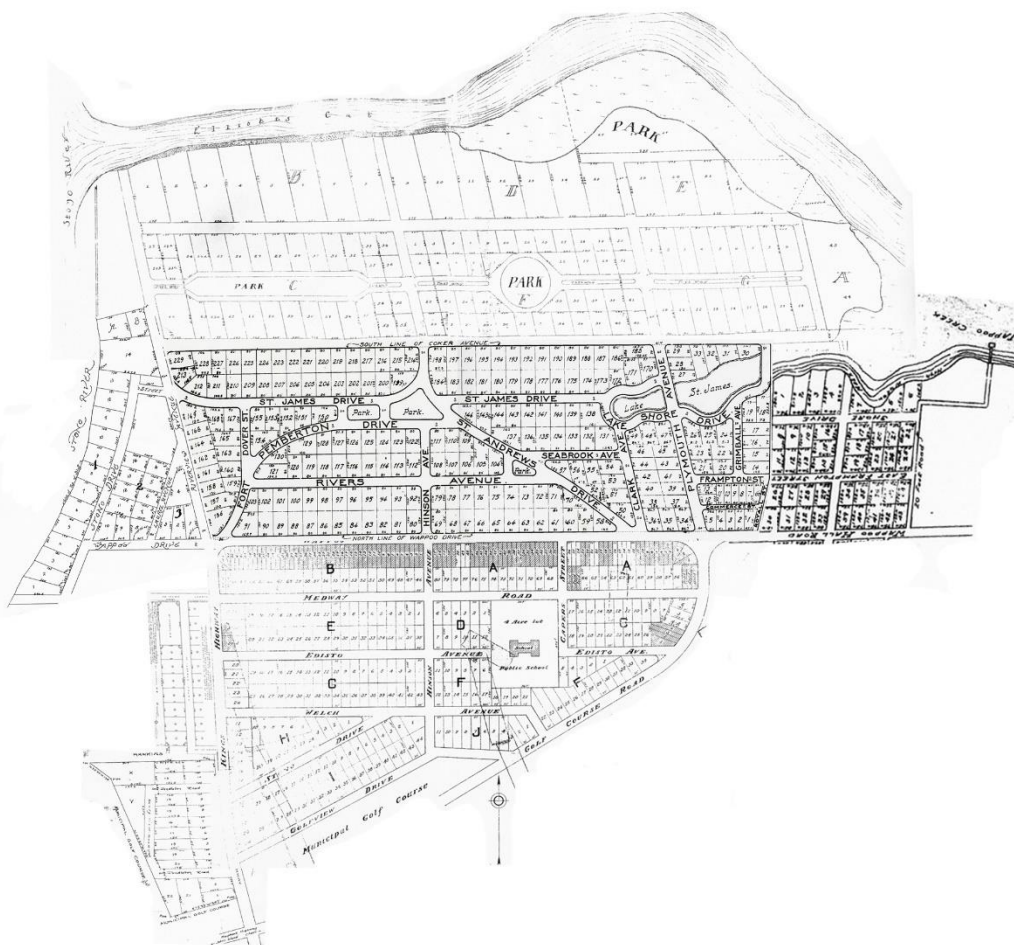


Figure 15.2 Initial development plats for Riverland Terrace. From Chase B. Williston Thesis.

Residents of Wappoo Hall Prior to Development

As Aubrey Welch sold portions of his land to developers, a pertinent question is what happened to any farming or housing structures on the land. A 1918 topographic map produced by the US Army Corp of Engineers shown below provides some of the only clues of the existence and location of structures. Each of the small dots represents a building, two were the residential structures now at 304 and 168 Stono Drive.

Prior to the development of subdivisions, the one primary east-west road on the northern portion of James Island connected the Peronneau and Lightwood plantations, and probably dates back further to when only Samuel Peronneau owned the land since he had buildings on both western and eastern ends

of the island. During the Civil War the road led from McLeods to Ft. Pemberton and James Lawton's home. During Kinsman and Ficken ownership it was often labeled on maps as the road to Wappoo Hall. Now it is partially Maybank Highway and at the western end, Wappoo Drive. On the 1918 map the road to Wappoo Hall is the main road running left to right (west to east).

The 1918 topographic map in Figure 15.3 below shows the majority of what is now Riverland Terrace. McLeod plantation related structures are on the right-hand side for reference. Structures along what is now Wappoo Drive are circled in blue. Specifically, about 18 building marks (dark squares) are present for what are probably housing structures along Wappoo Drive. Most likely these are for farm laborers. Often accommodations were provided by landowners to house their work force or rented to them, as noted in a Ficken lease to Mutual Creamery.

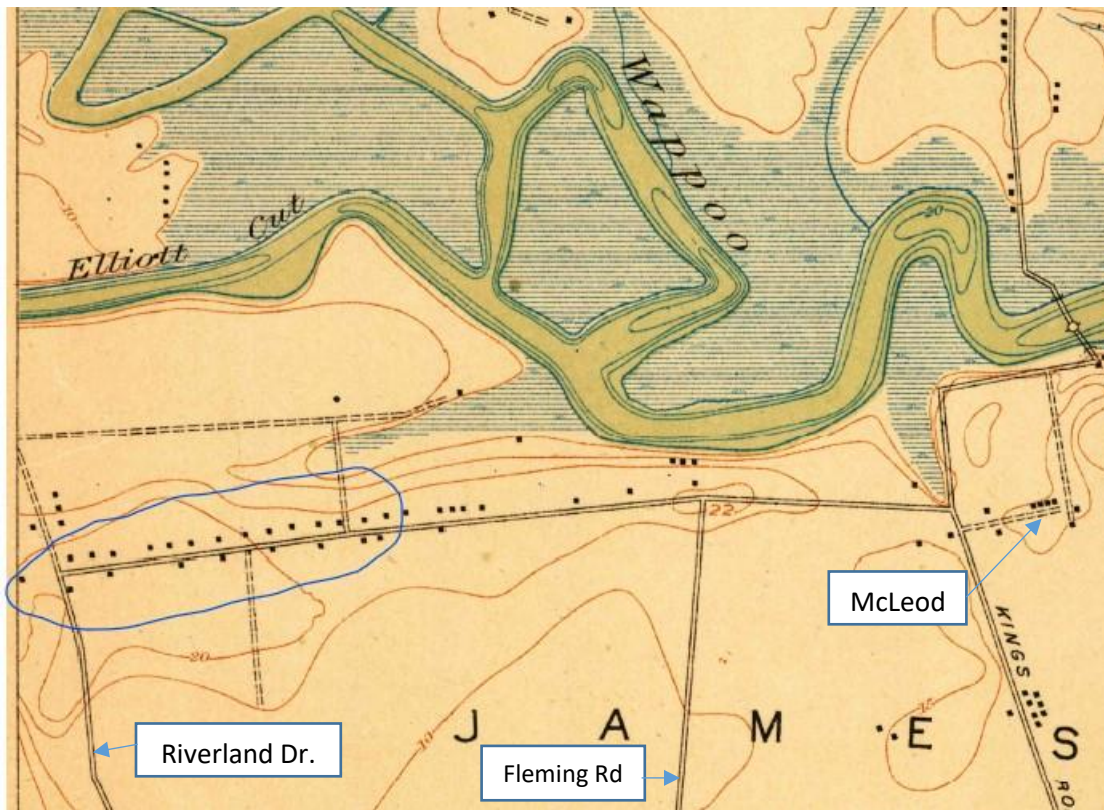


Figure 15.3 1918 Topographic map prepared by the U. S. Army Corp of Engineers. Road in blue circle approximates what is now Wappoo Drive. Note some of McLeod's historic slave housing to right is depicted, meaning the map is fairly detailed.

No records of deed transfers by Edisto Development were found for buying out residences along what is now Wappoo Drive. The structures were probably not of the quality developers wanted to convey to visitors and were likely destroyed when Riverland Terrace was developed. Perhaps some the first gentrification of James Island.

Wappoo Hall Development

Aubrey Welch sold 103 acres to Wappoo Development Company on June 23, 1924 and it was the first subdivision to be developed on the JINWC. The Wappoo Hall Development Company was chartered on

June 18, 1924 with Harry J. O'Neill as president³⁰⁰. Harry O'Neill was a Charleston businessman whose primary occupation was in the insurance industry; incidentally, he was the brother of noted Charleston artist Elizabeth O'Neill.

Harry O'Neill was not a resident of James Island having spent most of his adult life on Sullivan's Island and does not seem to have any particular connection with James Island.³⁰¹ He and fellow Sullivan's Island resident Dubose Heyward formed the insurance company of Heyward and O'Neill in 1909 when O'Neill was 18. Both O'Neill's and Heyward's fathers died when they were very young and their families' financial struggles may have compelled them to enter the insurance business early in their adult life. Their business thrived giving Heyward the financial means to devote himself to writing. He is best known for his novel *Porgy*. Likewise, the company's success allowed O'Neill to expand his business interests and opportunities.

The realty company W. C. Wilbur and Company was the lead sales company for Wappoo Hall. The lots must have been released in stages as in September 1925 the company reported all lots were sold and that several bungalows had been built.³⁰² The overall plat for the layout of Wappoo Hall was evolving subsequent to September 1925 as more lots in Wappoo Hall were soon listed for sale in the local newspaper and it is not until October 1925 that the plat for Wappoo Hall was recorded. The sales company may have released sales information over time to increase interest in the lots.

The following plat was recorded in October 1925 and is comprised of 115 lots. The subdivision extended south from Elliott's Cut and Wappoo Creek to what is now Coker Avenue.

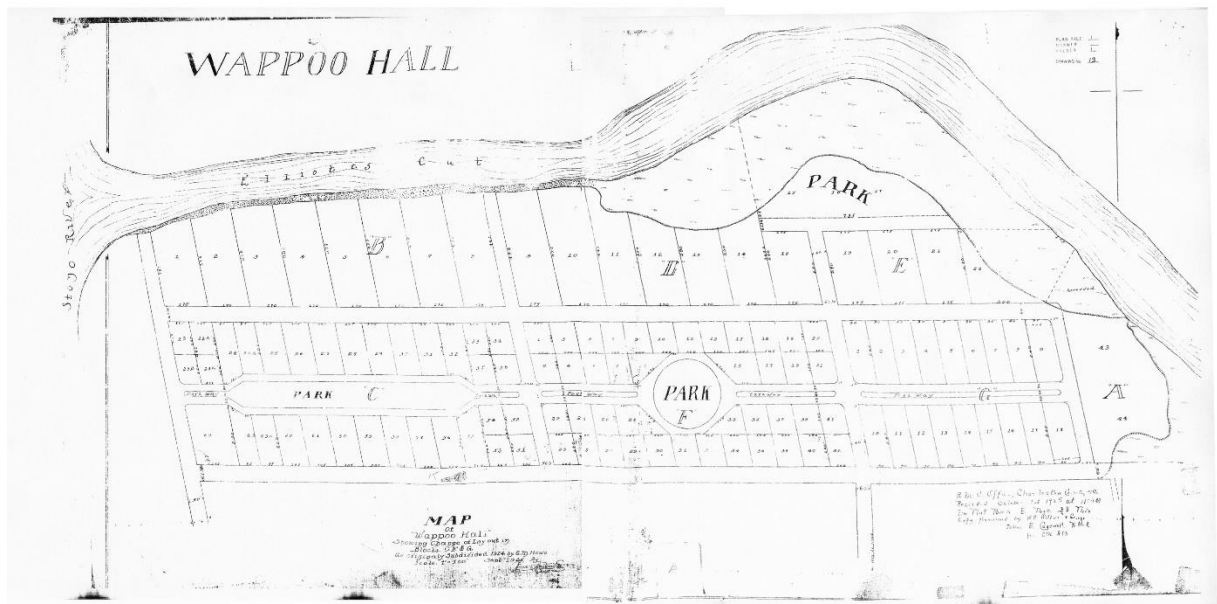


Figure 15.4. Map of Wappoo Hall. From Charleston County Register of Deeds.

³⁰⁰ News and Courier, June 18, 1924, p. 1

³⁰¹ News and Courier, December 13, 1952, p.2.

³⁰² News and courier, September 23, 1925, p. 2.

Items to note include the area which is now Plymouth Park is identified as a future “Park” along Elliott’s Cut. The circular park in the middle of what is now Parkway Drive ended up being bisected by the road.

Riverland Terrace, the Subdivision

The brisk sale of lots in the Wappoo Hall subdivision signaled that buyers were eager to move beyond the city of Charleston. Edisto Development Company purchased on December 21, 1925 434 acres of high land from Aubrey Welch adjacent to the Wappoo Hall subdivision.

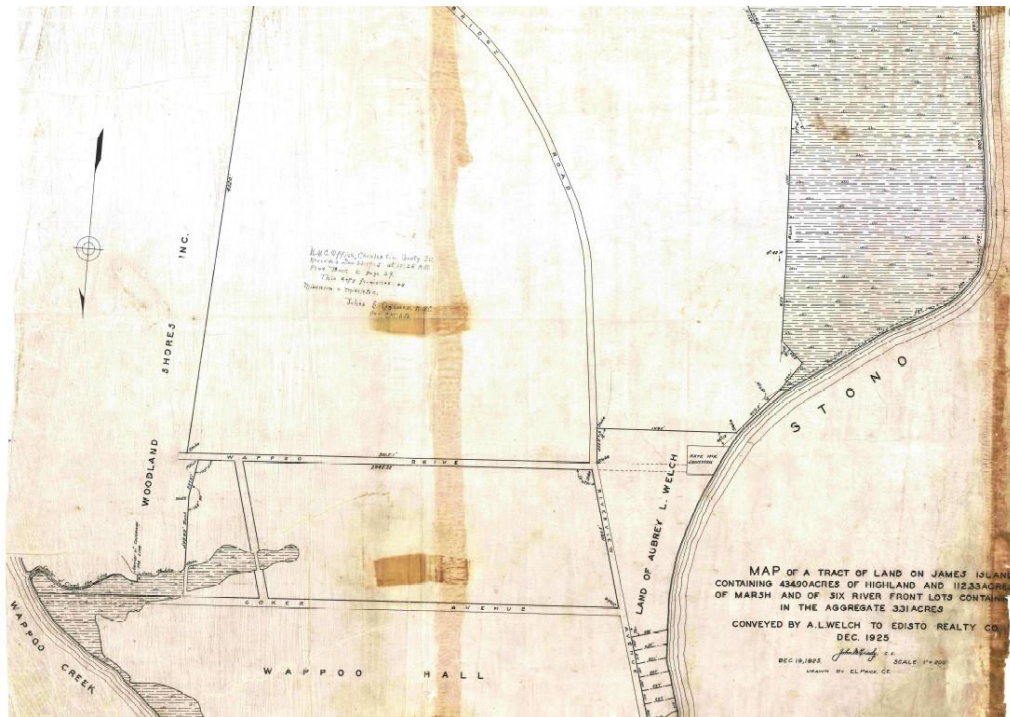


Figure 15.5. Plat of land sold by Aubrey Welch to Edisto Development Co. in December 1925. The 434 acres of highland and 112 of marsh land is mostly land from Coker Avenue to the top of the plat to the right of Woodland Shores Inc. The area between Coker Ave. and Wappoo Drive would become the Riverland Terrace subdivision. From Charleston County Register of Deeds.

C. Bissel Jenkins was the president of the Edisto Development Company and his sons C. Bissel Jr., John, and Rivers were also involved in the company. They named the new subdivision Riverland Terrace, a name derived from the Jenkins ancestral plantation named Riverland on Wadmalaw Island. Keep in mind this subdivision is only a part of the community called Riverland Terrace presently.

Like so many of the previous owners of this James Island area, C. Bissell Jenkins was an energetic, civic minded businessman. Born into a prominent and successful planting family in 1865, he grew up on Edisto and Wadmalaw Islands. Mr. Jenkins served as president of Cameron and Barkley, a large mill supply company, for 29 years. He was the first to propose and work with Charleston Mayor Rhett in extending the seawall around the Ashley River side of the peninsula. Ultimately, this effort reclaimed marsh land between South Battery Road and what is now Murray Boulevard which is adjacent to the South Battery itself. Jenkins was the first to build on the new land at 52 Murray Boulevard, an impressive colonial revival home.

Jenkins founded the General Asbestos and Rubber company in 1901, sold it in 1924 and turned his attention to the development of Riverland Terrace. His firm, the Edisto Development Company, was so anxious to get started that in October 1925 they started selling pre-development lots at a discount³⁰³; this was prior to officially recording a plat of the development. As with any speculative real estate development some cash flow to fund the development was desirable. At the time, the Edisto Development could only guarantee that electricity, water, and telephone service would be made available soon. Other individuals and companies associated with the development were listed in the October 1925 announcement; they include:

- Mr. John McCrady – engineer and landscape gardener
- Mr. A(ubrey). L. Welch – roadway development
- W. C. Wilbur and Company – sales agent. This is the same company used at Wappoo Hall to sell lots.

The plat dated January 1926 is below:

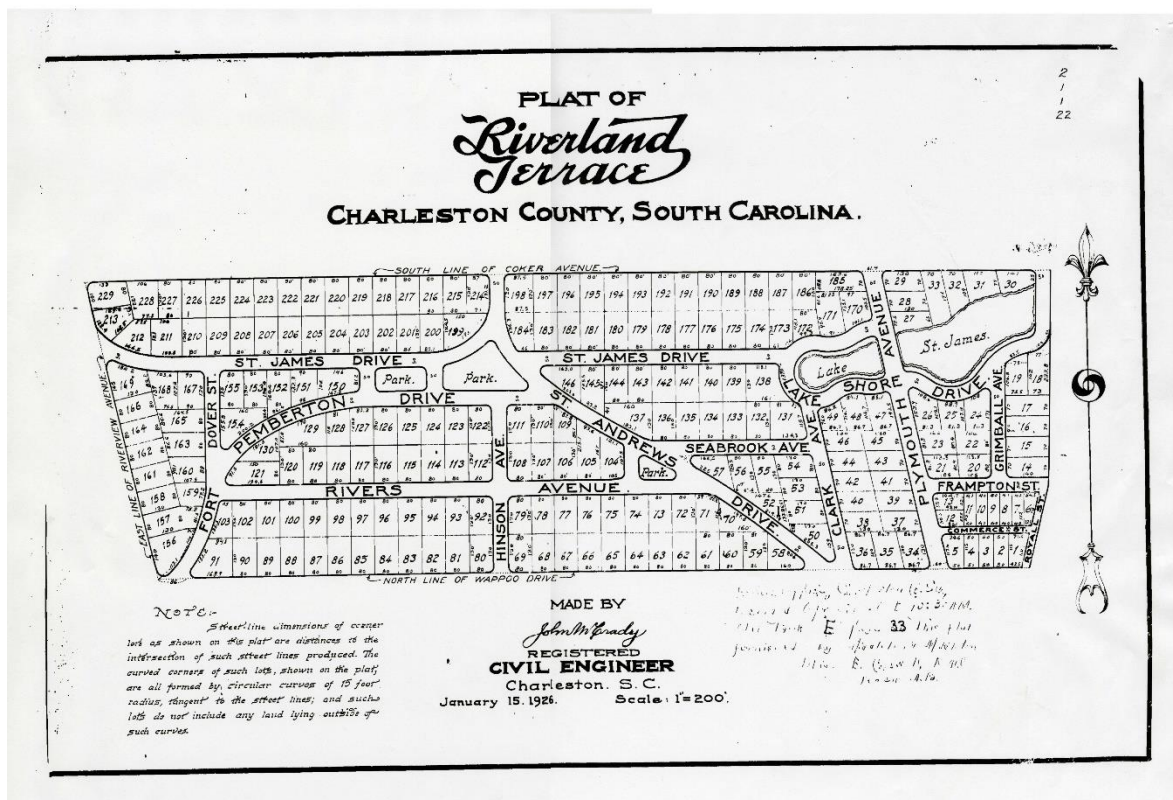


Figure 15.6 Riverland Terrace Subdivision. From Charleston County Register of Deeds.

The size of the development and creative road design is immediately evident. The 229 lots are about 100 more than Wappoo Hall, yet the typical lot size of ¼ acre was smaller than the lots in Wappoo Hall.

³⁰³ News and Courier, October 25, 1925, pp. 7 and 11.

Initially, lot prices in Riverland Terrace ranged from \$700 to \$1,750.³⁰⁴ A number of waterfront lots were available around a tidal creek which was to be turned into a lake and ultimately named Lake St. James; general accumulation of sediment and silting has decreased its current depth and size. This subdivision is bounded by Coker Avenue to the North, Wappoo Drive to the south, Riverland Drive to the west and Woodland Shores to the east.

With the large number of lots to sell, the Edisto Development Company employed various marketing strategies to promote the new development. Promotional material lauded the rural nature far from the pollution and noise of the city, making it an ideal place to raise a family, and it was only a short drive from the peninsula. The bridge over the Ashley River was new and easier to cross than the old one. By July 1925 improved infrastructure included an enhanced road on James Island leading to the new subdivisions and a new concrete bridge over Wappoo Creek which was to open in the near future.³⁰⁵

New homes were to have the modern conveniences of electricity and telephone access. Careful attention was paid to landscaping. The alee of oaks along the Wappoo Drive entrance was detailed as a unique feature with promotional material stating that two-thirds of the alee trees were already 10-15 years old and that Mr. Rene Ravenel was designing and building the lakes in Riverland Terrace.³⁰⁶ In December of 1925 an announcement was made that 200 palmetto trees were being planted in Riverland Terrace and Wappoo Hall.³⁰⁷ Marketing efforts also portrayed visions of amenities the development would (or hoped to) include such as a marina, a hotel, and library. Marketing efforts had to remove the previous connotations of James Island where cotton and vegetable production took place on land denuded of most trees and the population consisted primarily of farm laborers. Figure 15.7 below is a sample advertisement for Riverland Terrace.

³⁰⁴ Charleston Evening Post, 10/24/1925

³⁰⁵ News and Courier, July 17, 1925, p. 8.

³⁰⁶ News and Courier, November 12, 1925, p. 10.

³⁰⁷ News and Courier, December 13, 1925, p. 4.

THE NEWS AND COURIER

HUNDREDS OF CLARKE-BUILT HOMES
(Five of Them Pictured Here)

TELL THE STORY OF OUR SERVICE — WHAT IT'S WORTH TO YOU!

A thorough knowledge of planning and building homes, gained through a quarter-century's experience; resources that make for economy and competency; a definite idea of what the home-owner desires in the finished product—bring to you in a Clarke-Built Home an assurance of entire satisfaction plus outstanding value.

In the building of a home, it's those "hidden" parts that determine future upkeep—it's the "little things"—maybe a closet here, the placing of a window in that room, etc., that make for satisfaction. We ask you to let the homes we've built and those now under construction, tell our story—ask the owners of Clarke-Built Homes.

20
Of The
FORTY
MODERN HOMES
in

Riverland Terrace

ON HISTORIC ISSUES ISLAND OVERLOOKING THE STONO RIVER

TYPIFY THE CHARACTER OF OUR HOME-BUILDING SERVICE — ASK THE OWNERS!

CLARKE & CLARKE, INC.

"HOME BUILDERS"

ASSOCIATED WITH C. BISSELL JENKINS & SONS, INC., REALTORS, 19 BROAD ST.

SOUTHERN BROADCAST COMPANY

Figure 15.7. Clark and Clark was a major early builder in Riverland Terrace. The company was associated with the developers.

Development of Riverland Terrace Amenities

Marketing events and amenities were planned and advertised in an attempt to get top dollar for the lots. Various types of new amenities were tried out in the 1926-to-1929 time frame, some became permanent while others were short lived.

Riding Club

Around 1926 the Riverland Terrace Riding and Driving Club was formed. A large horse show that attracted regional attention took place in April of 1926. At one point, a polo field and club were planned for an area adjacent to Riverland Terrace.³⁰⁸ For those engaged in horsemanship, a paddock and 50 stables were erected. Automobile gatherings also took place for owners to show off their latest mechanical wonders.

Airfield

In 1927, open land near Riverland Terrace was used as an airfield. Sponsors wanted to build a hangar.³⁰⁹ However, by 1928 the developers of Riverland Terrace gave the airport's potential investors a choice of paying rent or buying the land, neither of which they could afford. The airport eventually located elsewhere on James Island, although newspaper reports indicate the Terrace air field was used at least until 1931.³¹⁰

On February 15, 1929 Charles Lindbergh made an unexpected stop at the Riverland Terrace air field. He was on a trip to Washington, DC from south of Charleston when bad weather and nightfall forced him to land on the Terrace airfield. Local legend has it that he walked to the house at what is now 2184 Wappoo Drive and asked if they had gas to spare. After finding gas, he took off for the navy yard in Charleston where he stayed the night.³¹¹

Golf Course

In July 1929, the Municipal Golf Course (intersected now by Maybank Highway) opened to the public with its first 15 holes completed. In May 1930 the final three holes had been completed and were also available for play. Land for the course was given to the city of Charleston by the Edisto Realty Company with the only stipulation that if the land ceased to be used as a golf course, the gift would revert back to the Edisto Development Company. Course development was led by Joseph M. Whitsett and Johnny Adams. Most say the course has a nod to Seth Raynor who designed the nearby Country Club of Charleston course.

The Municipal Golf course allowed the general public to play golf at a reasonable rate and was a big hit in the Charleston area. Professional tournaments were held which attracted a lot of attention. As with any new golf course, it took a while to work out some of the kinks, such as drainage problems, muddy tee areas, greens too hard or too soft, and fairways hurt with improper mowing trucks. One of the most noteworthy aspects which did not last long were the "sand" greens; they did not go over well and were soon replaced with grass.³¹²

New School

The growing neighborhood needed a school as part of its appeal. In August 1928 Edisto Realty gave about four acres to the local school system for a school. By the fall of 1928 the small

³⁰⁸ News and Courier, March 7, 1926, p. 1.

³⁰⁹ News and Courier, November 30, 1927. p. 16.

³¹⁰ News and Courier, February 25, 1931, p. 16.

³¹¹ News and Courier, February 16, 1929, page 1.

³¹² News and Courier, May 5, 1930, page 6 and May 7, 1930, p. 9.

school was open. It was built for \$11,000 dollars and consisted of two class rooms and an assembly room.³¹³ In addition to educational activities, the school was a gathering place for the community. Local newspapers often report on community activities at the school along with the achievements of its students. The school was located in a section called Riverland Golfview which was not fully platted for lot sales by Edisto Realty until 1934.

Woodland Shores

On the far eastern end of Riverland Terrace is the northern portion of Woodland Shores developed by Woodland Shores, Inc. which had no association with Edisto Development Co. Usually, this northern portion is considered part of Riverland Terrace when currently referenced. The Woodland Shores development began advertising sales of lots as early as February 10, 1926³¹⁴; the fine print indicated that adjustments to lots may take place when surveyed. The finished plat was recorded in 1932 and the survey is dated 1930. Most lots south of what is now Maybank Highway were about ½ acre while those north of Maybank were about half that size. About 149 lots were added to the market with this subdivision.

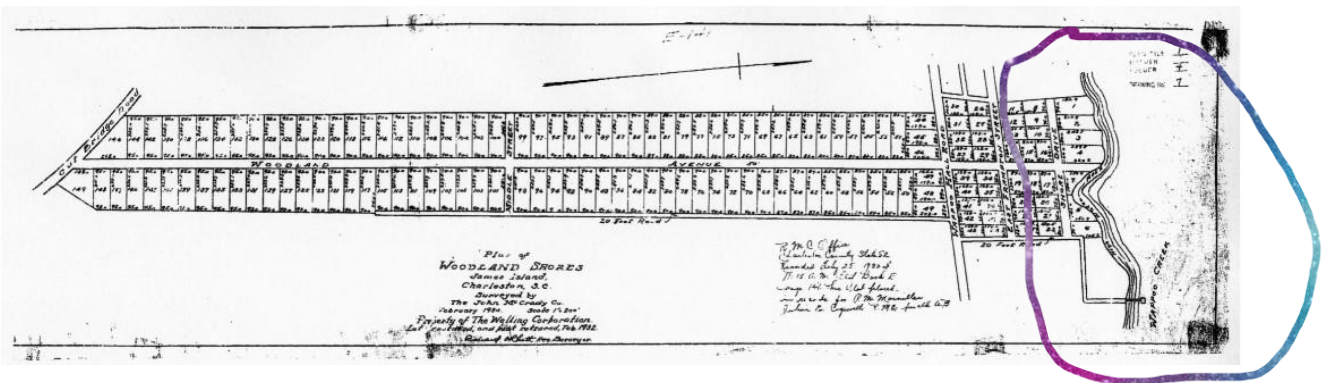


Figure 15.8. Woodland Shores plat. Area encircled is often associated with Riverland Terrace today. From Charleston County Register of Deeds.

Woodland Shores was featuring lots costing as little as \$550 (less expensive than Riverland Terrace) and access to their own Wappoo Creek boat landing.³¹⁵ In February 1929 the added feature of being near a new school was listed,³¹⁶ even though no mention was made that the new school was in the Riverland Terrace development.

Riverland Golfview

The next phase of the subdivision was Riverland Golfview, which was adjacent to the land Aubrey Welch had previously sold to Edisto Development Co. Boundaries for the subdivision are:

North – Wappoo Drive

West – Riverland Drive

³¹³ Courier, December 16, 1928 page 2.

³¹⁴ Courier, February 10, 1926, page 6.

³¹⁵ Ibid.

³¹⁶ Courier, February 13, 1929, p. 13.

South – Golfview Drive

East – Plymouth/Maybank

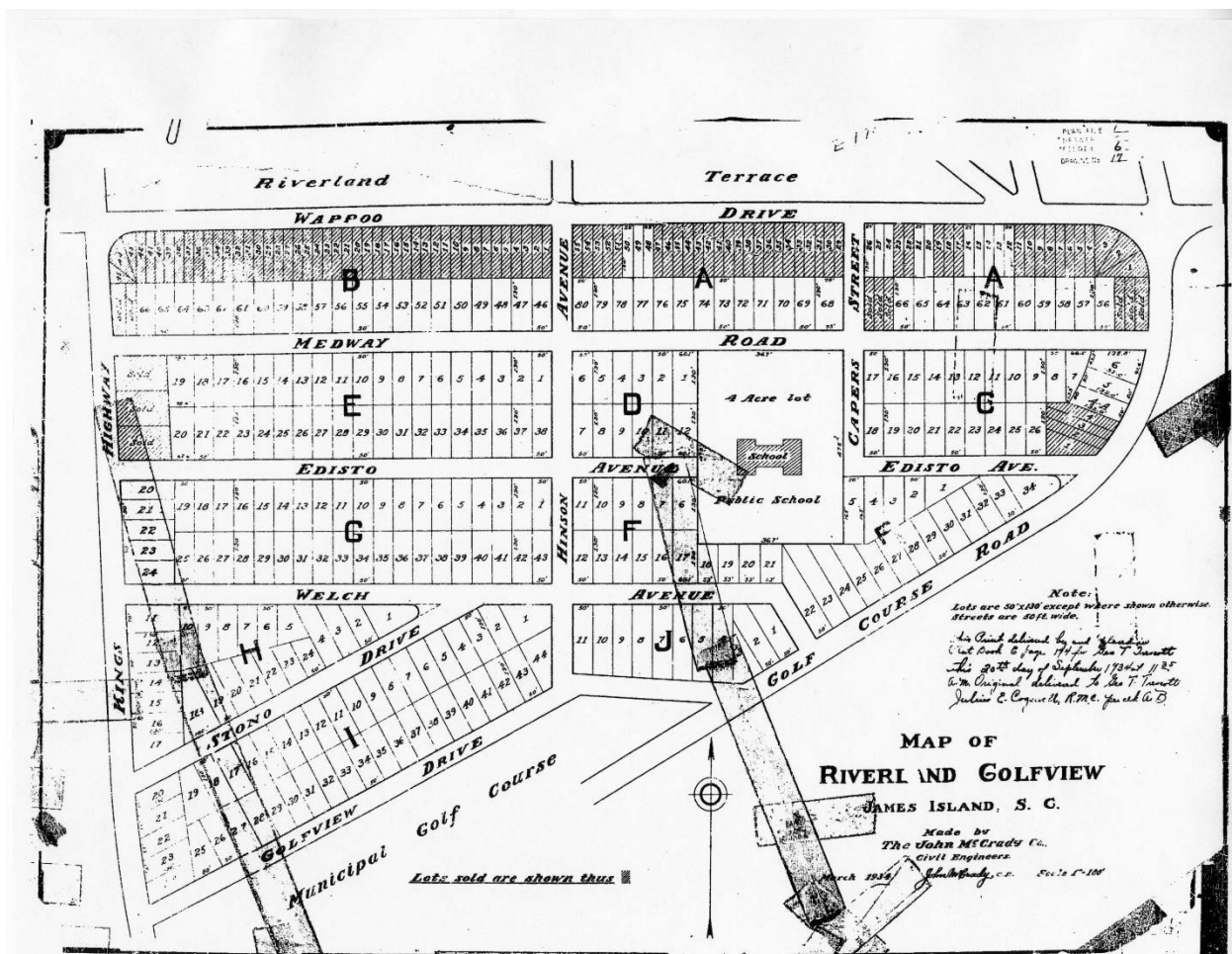


Figure 15.9 Riverland Golfview. From Charleston County Register of Deeds.

The effects of the slowing economy after 1929 must have been felt as lot sizes decreased, hoping lower prices for the lots would broaden the appeal to a larger audience. Lots were usually 130 feet by 50 feet or around 15% of an acre versus the quarter acre lots previously offered. This subdivision added about 294 lots to the market. While lots may have been sold prior to 1934, the official plat specifically delineating lots was recorded in September of 1934.

West Riverland Terrace

The final development phase in the late 1920s and 1930s included land along the Stono River which Aubrey Welch sold to the Welch Development Company. Many of the lots overlooked the Stono River. Aubrey knew the inherent value of these lots since he had built a house along the Stono in 1927 and had lived just down the street for a decade prior to that. About 34 lots were added to those available in the entire subdivision.

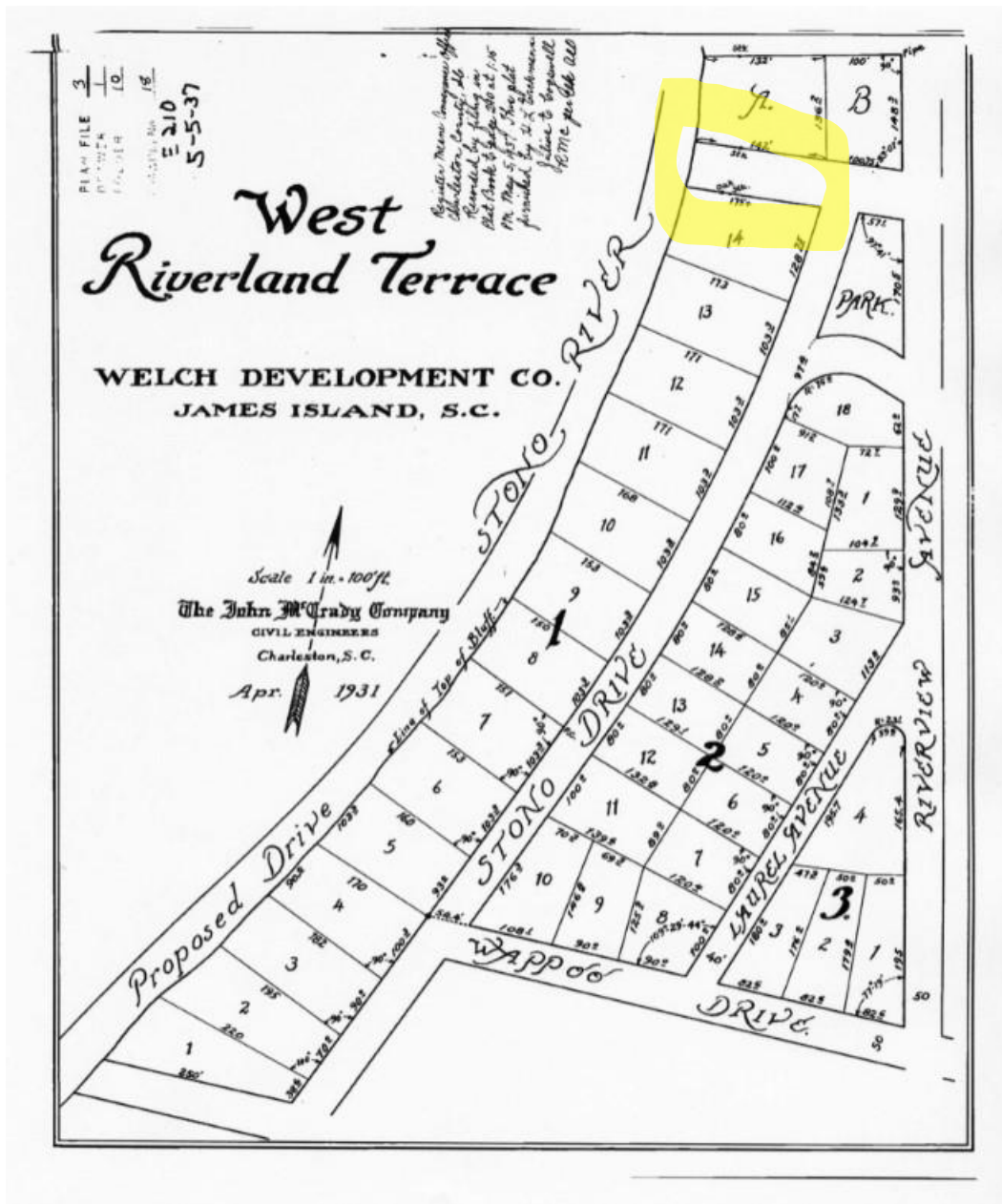


Figure 15.10. West Riverland Terrace 1931. The short road leading to a landing on the Stono River, circled in blue, was later altered along with the nearby “park”. From Charleston County Register of Deeds.

In the early 1930s there was a landing onto the Stono River at the northern end of Stono Drive. Youngsters of the neighborhood loved to gather, swim, and cause commotion to the dismay of adjacent homeowners; the homeowners managed to have the landing and the road leading to it closed. A lawsuit was filed by residents who wanted the landing to remain open. As the road is no longer present on the 1939 plat of the area, it appears that the peace-loving residents won the case.

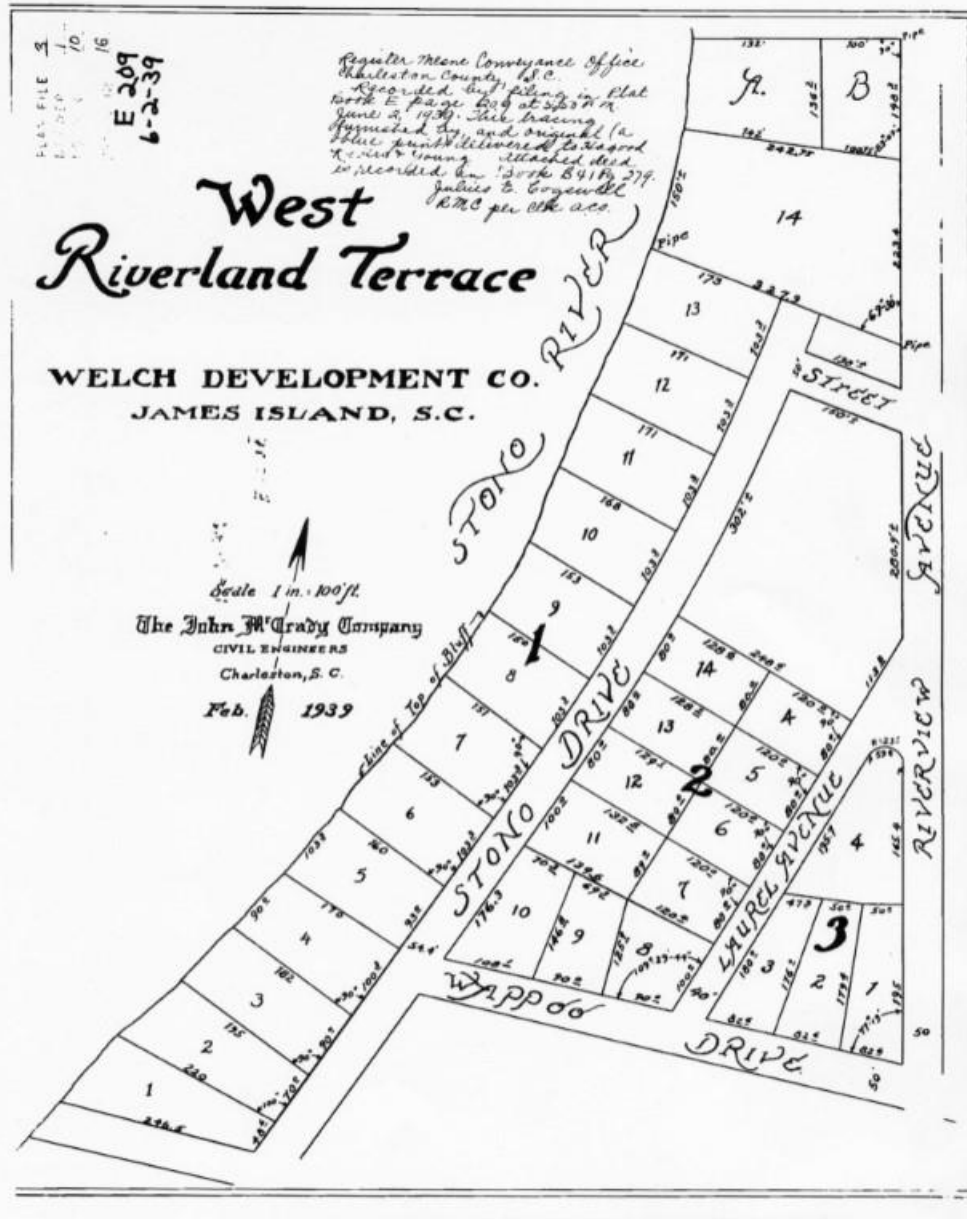


Figure 15.11. West Riverland Terrace in 1939. The road to the landing on the Stono is gone and so is the "park". From Charleston County Register of Deeds.

16. Great Depression and World War II

Just as the Great Depression was beginning, the developers of Riverland Terrace continued to pursue efforts to make their investment more viable. While Johns Island was further afield, having a bridge to it from James Island further expanded economic activity on both islands. A private company, Stono Bridge, Inc., built the initial bridge from James to Johns Island. The Stono Bridge company was composed of many of the same individuals who developed Riverland Terrace. C. Bissell Jenkins, John McCrady, Rivers T. Jenkins, and Aubrey Welch were all officers or directors. The bridge opened on June 7, 1930. It cost \$106,000 dollars and was 1,840 feet long. Made of timber, it had a steel drawspan of 152 feet. Cutting through the rather new golf course did not seem to raise significant concerns. Perhaps the traffic on the new two-lane road to the bridge was light and the road easily crossed by golf patrons. The toll bridge meant that Riverland Terrace was not the end of the road, yet on a road which enabled travel to many areas.³¹⁷ Just as with the original privately owned Wappoo Cut bridge, the Stono bridge was ultimately taken over by state transportation agencies and improved.

By the mid-1930s the major subdivisions of Riverland Terrace were designed and lots laid out. Including Woodland Shores, about 821 lots had been added to the local economy which was a huge number for the area's real estate market to absorb given that Charleston's population in 1930 was only about 62,000. In the best of times it would have been difficult for this number of lots to be absorbed in addition to requiring a major shift in residential living patterns away from the peninsula. It was all too much to move to a sea island with the severity of the Great Depression. Sales stalled and the "grand amenities" envisioned for Riverland Terrace fell by the wayside leaving only the basic neighborhood design intact.

During World War II the large increase in military related work, particularly at the Navy yard, caused a housing shortage. A small subdivision of 22 lots called Fort Pemberton Heights located between Riverland Drive, Emerson Street, and two sides on the golf course opened in 1941. In addition, older subdivisions in Riverland Terrace finally had houses built on vacant lots during the war years to meet the demand.

One final small subdivision, called the Kings Highway, was added in 1953 to round out the use of available subdivision land in Riverland Terrace with 17 additional lots.

³¹⁷ Courier, June 7, 1930, p. 5.

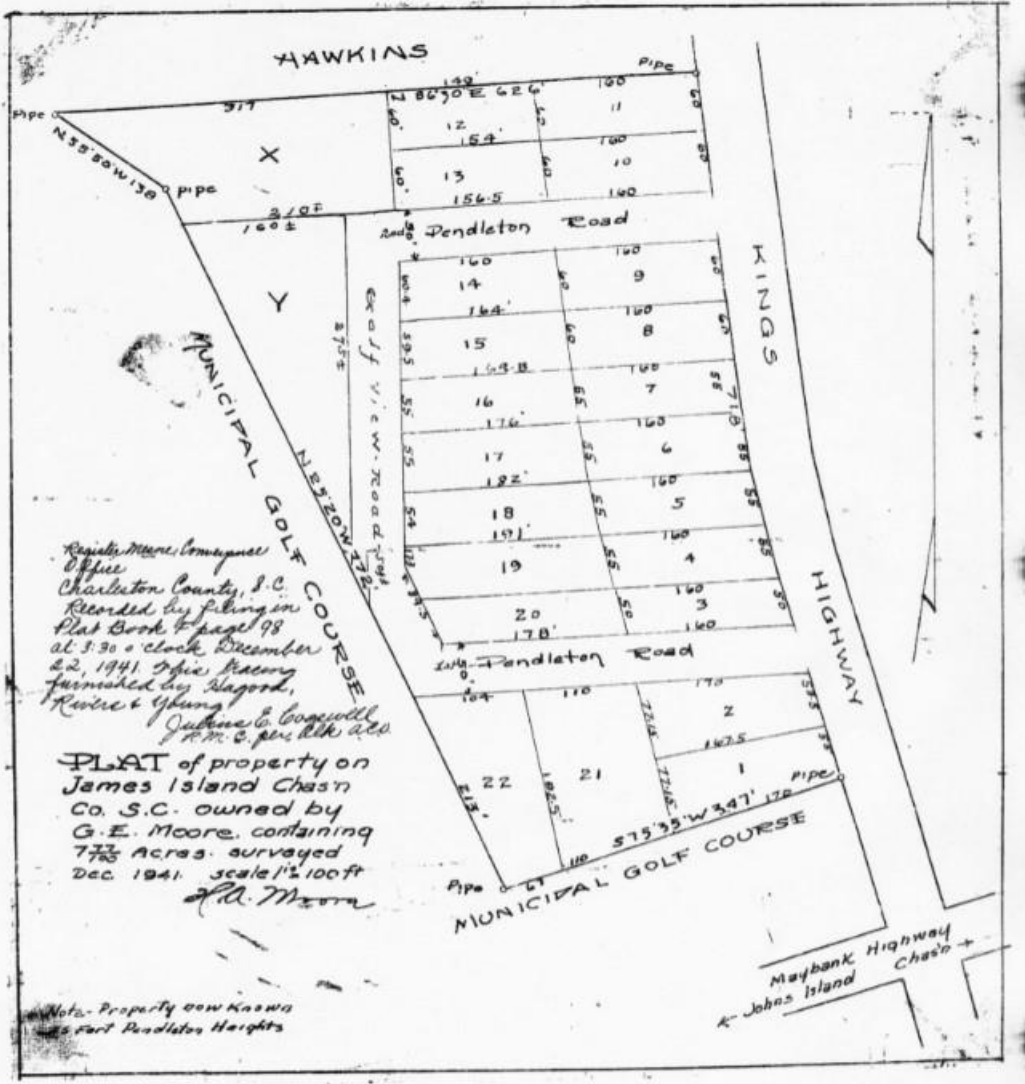


Figure 16.1. Fort Pemberton Heights Plat 1941. From Charleston County Register of Deeds.

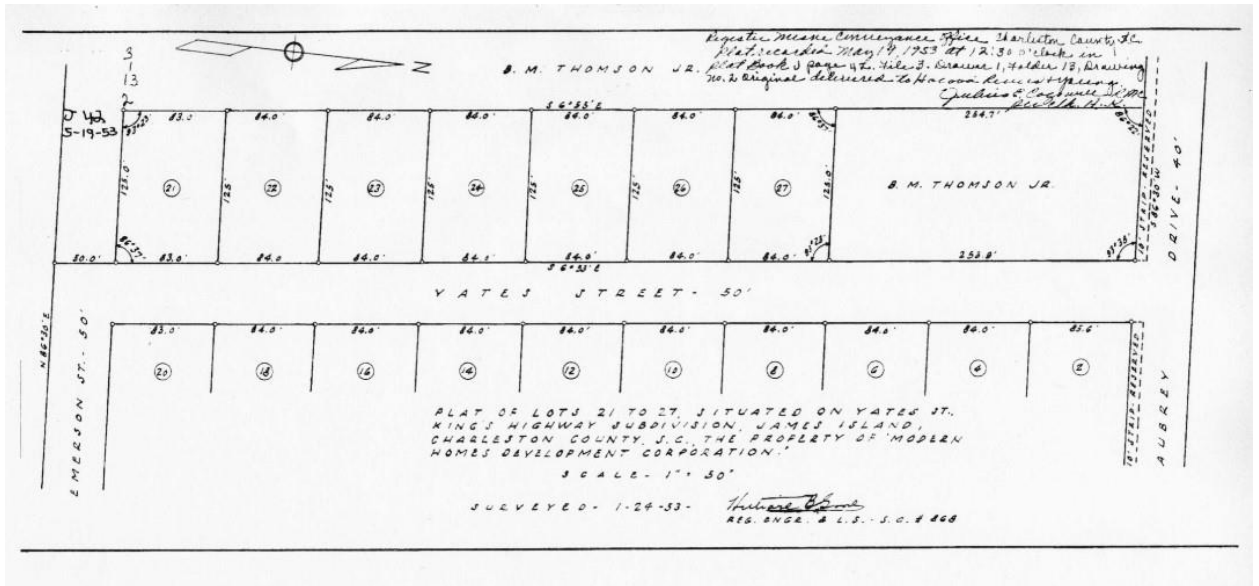


Figure 16.2. King's Highway Subdivision 1953. From Charleston County Register of Deeds.

17. Riverland Terrace Fully Suburbanized

With these final development efforts, Riverland Terrace completed utilization of major land areas on JINWC and the shift into housing. Homeowners now controlled the stewardship of their surroundings in conjunction with multiple local governments, the City of Charleston, Charleston County and at times the Town of James Island. Two large land tracts remain. The Terrace school was declared structurally unsafe and demolished in 1970 after being open for 42 years, leaving a four-acre green space with an uncertain future due to jurisdictional and disputed deed reversion rights. In addition, Fort Pemberton was placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1978 and in 2019 the City of Charleston purchased 8.4 acres surrounding it to make a passive park.

Commercial and Community Development

From its beginning, Riverland Terrace was a community in the best sense. It's distance from Charleston retail establishments provided opportunities for new businesses to open, filling the commercial area that C. Bissel Jenkins planned near the gates of Riverland Terrace, at the eastern end of Wappoo Drive. The first business opened in 1938³¹⁸ and was followed by an eclectic mix of establishments that provided necessities such as groceries, gas, haircuts, dining, and hardware which came and went.

Each generation has its own set of tales associated with the stores and their owners. Eddie's Grill (best hot dogs) became the Ram Room (favorite watering hole) and then the Stono Grill. Eva and Isadore Psaras, Greek immigrants, opened the Terrace Grocery in 1945. Their daughter, Helen, and son-in-law, Johnny Mooneyham, took it over in 1952 and ran it for about 20 years; it was known as Johnny's to most. A gas station locals called Jack's was a place for teenage boys to hang out.³¹⁹ As Maybank Highway became busier, its intersection with Wappoo Drive and Woodland Shores Road, known as "five points", supported more businesses.

Near the park at the end of Plymouth Road was the James Island Community House, construction date unknown. In 1950 it hosted the first services of the James Island Methodist Church. The church name was soon changed to Bethany Methodist Church of James Island and in 1954 it was able to move into its new structure on Maybank Highway.³²⁰ In 1965 the community house was changed into a fire station, and an improved fire station took its place in 1996. Another major addition to the Terrace was the boat landing at the end of Plymouth Road in 1967.³²¹ On summer weekends cars with boat trailers line up to get their vessels into Wappoo Creek.

Neighborhood members were sad to see the elementary school declared structurally unsafe and demolished in 1970 with students soon moving to a school outside the Terrace. The school had served as place for clubs and neighborhood members to meet in addition to educating Terrace children for 42 years. After sitting vacant for many years, a ball park was built on the land and a community garden developed by the City, the Charleston Parks Association, and Clemson University was added to the site.

³¹⁸ Chase B. Williston, *Riverland Terrace, Finding Common Ground ...*

³¹⁹ Information on business history for the Terrace was obtained from Page 1 and 4 of this week. (post courier, Jill Norman and Mike Mooneyham, p. 1 April 26, 1990).

³²⁰ Bethany United Methodist Church website under History.

³²¹ Thesis page 95.

A unique residential house was added to the neighborhood which won national recognition in 1989. The Croffead House built at the intersection of the Stono River and the Intracoastal Waterway.



Figure 17.1 Croffead House located at 85 Riverland Drive. Designed by the architects W. G. Clark and Charles Menefee which won the National Honor Award, American Institute of Architects 1989. Next door is a pocket park which has a view overlooking the intersection of the Stono River and Wappoo Cut.

One unique feature of the landscape is the windmill near the boat landing at the end of Plymouth Road. The windmill was built by John Roessler in 1933 on his property off what is now Wappoo Hall Drive. Mr. Roessler's interest in windmills began with his deployment in Europe during WWI. His windmill is a

design amalgamated from various sources. Once complete, he used it to drive a pump to water livestock, then to power a tool-sharpening grindstone.

In 1996 his property was sold to Woodrow Nelson and the new owner gave the windmill to the Riverland Terrace Garden Club if they would move it and care for it. A location near the boat landing and fire station was secured from the city of Charleston which owns Plymouth Park. In 2000 the windmill was partially disassembled and taken 1,000 feet to its new home where it was set up. Since then, the structure has served as a local landmark for boaters. It is maintained by the Riverland Terrace Garden Club.



Figure 17.2 Windmill at the landing on the end of Plymouth Avenue was built in 1933 by John Roessler.

Recently, two additions to the parks in Riverland Terrace have taken place. A pocket park was added at the end of Riverland Drive overlooking the junction of Elliott's Cut and the Stono River in 2018 through the efforts of the City of Charleston and neighborhood residents. Fort Pemberton and surrounding land will open as a new passive park thanks to efforts by the City of Charleston. Previously in private hands, the well-preserved Fort Pemberton is on the National Register of Historic Places. The fort has outstanding views over the Stono River.

Trees in the Neighborhood

The allee of trees along Wappoo Drive is a defining feature of the community. It is unfortunate that Priestly Coker did not live long enough to see his tree planting effort reach a more mature and impressive state while working for the Fickens. Initial developers recognized the desirability of trees in the neighborhood and their planting handiwork is evident along most streets and property lines. Hundreds of live oaks, water oaks, pecan and other trees were planted. Live oaks were planted along Wappoo Drive from Riverland Drive east to the entrance gates. These completed the allee started by Priestly Coker. As previously noted, in 1925 early developers planted 200 palm trees to convey the appropriate image.³²² It is difficult to imagine the bareness of the northern end of James Island until the early 20th century.

As the trees grew, they started to cause trouble for trucks driving along the roads and for the electric company afraid wires hitting tree branches would start fires. In the 1940s Charleston County attempted to excessively cut back a tree along Wappoo Drive to keep trucks from running into its limbs. A resident felt the trimming was going to be too severe and sent her children up the tree to prevent any cutting and successfully negotiated a more appropriate solution. Looking to better protect the allee of live oaks, the neighborhood was able to have Wappoo Drive designated a “scenic highway” in 1967 by the Charleston County Council. The Riverland Terrace Garden Club has been overseeing the education and maintenance, where possible, of “grand trees”³²³ in the neighborhood.

A more recent confrontation with the energy company took place in 2019 when power lines were to be upgraded which necessitated cutting large amounts of tree canopies. An agreement was reached where the lines would not be upgraded until a study was completed on possibly undergrounding power lines in critical areas. The final outcome is yet to play out.

What Government Runs This Place

The Riverland Terrace neighborhood does not have the equivalent of a Home Owners Association (HOA). The Riverland Terrace Neighborhood Association (RTNA) is strictly voluntary. The RTNA and the Riverland Terrace Garden Club are the two groups which have unofficial standing to represent the community with local branches of government.

Riverland Terrace had been at the center of annexation issues between the City of Charleston, Charleston County and the Town of James Island. The conflict had meant that regulations on property use, development, law enforcement agencies, and the provision of utilities were spread through these three entities depending on the specific property. Such divisions in responsibility resulted in hesitancy on each part to undertake some actions which would help the neighborhood. Recently the Town of James Island has relinquished its efforts to control any of the Terrace and only the City and Charleston County regulate property in the Terrace which has helped the situation somewhat.

This division of responsibility extends to the maintenance of roads in the neighborhood with some controlled by the state, some by the city, and others by the county.

³²² News and Courier, December 13, 1925, p. 4.

³²³ “Grand trees” are those with a 24 inch or greater diameter at 4.5 feet above grade.

18. Wappoo Cut Continues to Straighten

The following 1958 topographic map of the western end of the creek is found below. Having a straight cut for water traffic is close to being achieved. Some of the final efforts to reach a straight channel since 1918 were associated with work to accommodate the concrete bridge which replaced the one constructed in 1926 and its upgrade in 1956.

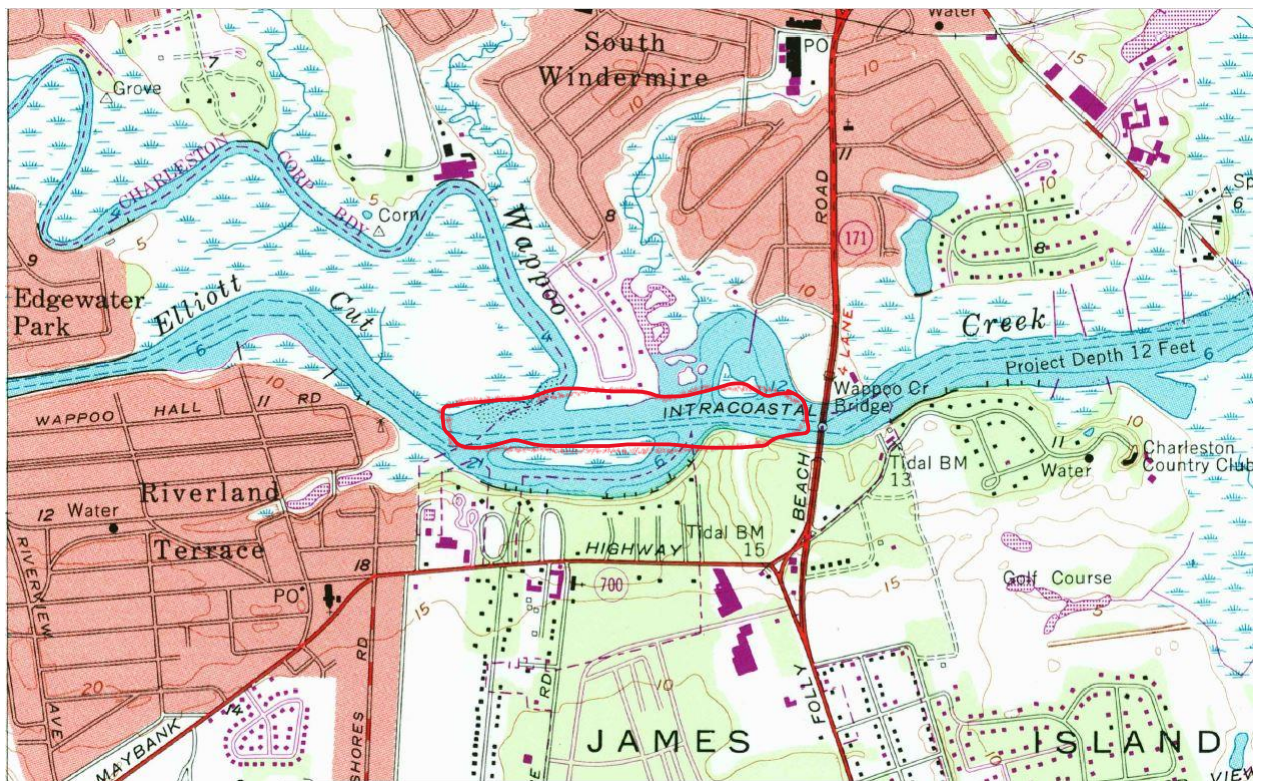


Figure 18.1. Cuts through the marsh circled in red eliminated the final small loops in the original creek. 1958 topographic map.

The original 1823 map of this section of Wappoo Creek is pictured below to allow a visual comparison of the original creek to its form in 1958.

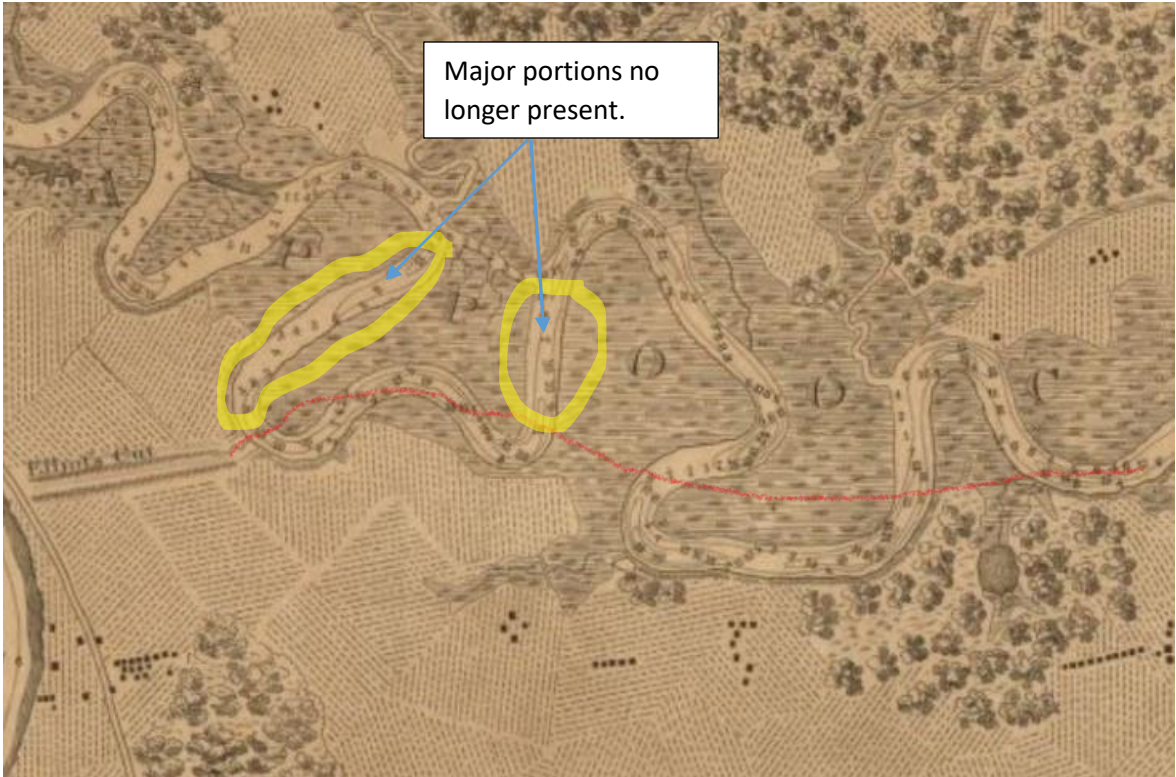


Figure 18.2. 1825 map of Wappoo Creek. The red line approximates final cuts to provide the straight channel now present. Yellow circles identify creek loops entirely removed. Base map from 1825 Map of Charleston by U.S. Govt in Library of Congress.

Wappoo Creek is now dominated by the cuts made and the several creek loops allowed to silt up are barely visible. Perhaps calling the current waterway Wappoo Cut is appropriate since the majority of the Creek is no longer present or used for the major portion of the heavily used waterway. Elliott's Cut is unique of all the cuts built due to its early construction, unusually heavy current, and the fact that it made what is now Edgewater Park (once Ficken's Island) into a true island separate from James Island. Some of Wappoo Creek is locally called Coburg's Creek due to the proximity of the original 100 acre Coburg's Dairy and farm. The rich history of names associated with sections of Wappoo Creek are part of history fading away. "Devil's Elbow" is no longer a problem since the main channel bypasses it. Prigley's and Pompey's Cut are no longer present. The "U. S. Cut" is simply part of all the other cuts on the primary route used.

19. Riverland Terrace's Future

Riverland Terrace is almost completely built out. Efforts now are often directed to improving or re-building what is currently present. The Terrace proximity to the peninsula, beaches, and access to surrounding waterways will continue to support its popularity as a residential area. Wappoo Drive sits along the highest ridgeline (parts over 26 feet above sea level) on James Island which means a large portion of the Terrace is so far above sea level it has the best natural defense against climate change sea level rises along the South Carolina coast.

Residences along the heavily utilized Maybank Highway are subject to increasing commercial development pressures. Action in 2020 by Charleston County and the City have been to re-zone residential property in Riverland Terrace along Maybank Highway to allow low intensity commercial use, such as professional offices for accountants, lawyers, dentists, etc. Expect many of those residences' use to change soon. Finding profitable agricultural uses for JINWC by a limited number of farmers was always the driver of land use decisions for around 200 years. Over 800 households working with local governments now determine the way Riverland Terrace will sustain its character.

Appendix 1

Inventory of elder Samuel Peronneau

The following is the inventory of Samuel Peronneau on the peninsula. It does not include items found on his plantation on James Island. The inventory provides a glimpse into the range of items available to residents of Charles Town and to provide a reference for future study.

Amounts are expressed in the local currency values of South Carolina in denominations of pounds, shillings and pence. Twenty shillings were in a pound and 12 pence in a shilling. At the time of the inventory, the conversion rate from South Carolina currency to English Sterling was 7 to 1. The inventory contained some trunks containing items which the value in Sterling was known and listed. Line items marked with an asterisk in the "Value" column are in Sterling and later converted within the original inventory as a group total from Sterling values to the total South Carolina currency value by multiplying by 7.

Inventory items have been grouped in categories to assist in the analysis of the goods sold. For example, were they finished goods, raw material, food, or personal items, etc. Some items use the unit of measure called an "ell" which is a former measure of length (equivalent to six hand breadths) used mainly for textiles, locally variable but typically about 45 inches.

<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Value (pounds, shillings, pence)</u>
	Cloth	
18	Pieces of coarse Irish Linnen, 409 yards	216
8	Pieces of fine Irish Linnen, 224 yards	184
1	Remnant of fine Irish Linnen	18
6	Pieces white Janes & Dimitty	36
1	Piece Long Lawn	20
1	Piece Tandem Holland	10
12	Pieces Plattiloes	24
12	Pieces Pistol Lawn	36
2	Pieces Cotton Holland, 64 yards	28-16
5	Pieces $\frac{3}{4}$ Garlix	40
3	Pieces Scotch Check, 77 yards	19-5
5	Pieces $\frac{7}{8}$ Cotton Check 172 $\frac{1}{2}$ ells	75-9-4 $\frac{1}{2}$
3	Pieces $\frac{7}{8}$ Check, 101 ells	30-6
1	Piece 10 Na. Check, 34 ells	8-10
1	Piece Napkin Huckaback, 26 yards	5-4
1	Piece $\frac{7}{8}$ Irish Linnen, 32 yards	9-12
4	Pieces Clouting Diaper	13
1	Piece Nankeen	2-10

<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Value (pounds, shillings, pence)</u>
1	Piece Buckram	5
2	Pieces Coloured Fustain	17
1	Piece Black China Taffaty	20
2	Pieces Callamanco	30
1	Piece Coarse Green Tamme	5
2	Pieces Irish Sheeting, 131 $\frac{3}{4}$ yards	52-14
2	Pieces Blue & Brown cloth, 24 yards	57-12
1	Remnant Black cloth, 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ yards	29-5
6	Pieces cotton Romalls	22-10
1	Piece diaper, 25 $\frac{1}{2}$ yards	19-2-6
1	Balladine silk, 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ pounds	26
25	Yards Black Lace	14-1-3
15	Yards footing	3-15
24	Yards footing	9
34 $\frac{3}{4}$	Yards head lace (white)	78-9-6 $\frac{1}{2}$
28 $\frac{3}{4}$	Yards white sarsenet	14-7-6
37 $\frac{1}{2}$	Yards Mantua	14-1-3
8	Yards Black India Persian	7
31	Yards Back Alamode	15-10
8 $\frac{1}{2}$	Yards Blue & Green Gauze	3-3-9
5 $\frac{3}{4}$	Yards Buckram	1-1-6 $\frac{3}{4}$
94 $\frac{3}{4}$	Yards of Tamme in 7 remnants	35-10-7 $\frac{1}{2}$
16	Yards Callimanco in Remnants	4
30 $\frac{1}{2}$	Yards Cambleteen	7-12-5
44	Yards Blue & Crimson Worsted Damask	19-5-0
25	Yards Striped Garlix	9-7-6
59 $\frac{1}{4}$	Yards Manchester Strpes	14-16-3
47 $\frac{1}{4}$	Yards Shalloon	17-14-4 $\frac{1}{2}$
3	pieces Callicoe 12 yards each	20-5
3	pieces & 6 half pieces Callicoe	66
5	pieces Coarse India Chints	47-10
2	pieces English Chints	22
20	Yards Muslin	20
3 $\frac{1}{2}$	yards Coarse Muslin	2-3-9
$\frac{1}{2}$	piece Coarse white Callicoe	3-10
2	half pieces Coarse white Callicoe	9
2	Remnants 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ yards	4-13-9
4	Remnants Gingham 17 yards	6-7-6
5	Remnants Collicoe 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ yards	24-18-9
9	Remnants Printed Linnen 43 $\frac{3}{4}$ Yards	27-0-7 $\frac{1}{2}$
2 $\frac{1}{2}$	yards Coarse India Chints	2-10
3	pieces Striped Ginghams	12
2	Whole & 2 half pieces Mck Chints	25-10

<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Value (pounds, shillings, pence)</u>
4	Printed Cottons 7 ½ Yards Each	28
½	Piece printed Linen 7 ½ Yards	5
6	Pieces White Callicoe	90
2	half pieces White Callicoe	15
1	Remnant White Callicoe	2
1	Piece Coarse Callicoe 12 yards	8
5	Pieces white Callicoe	35
1 ½	piece Callicoe	12
2	Remnants Callicoe 4 ¼ yards	2-2-6
14	pieces Printed Linnen	84
65	Yards Silk ferritt	3
5	Gross Silk ferritt	25
302 ¼	yards figured	37-15-7 ½
32	yards flowered & Spotted Lawn	51-4
2	Remnants fine Clear Lawn 11 ¼ yards	25-6-3
2	Remnants Coarse Clear Lawn 8 ½ yards	6-7-6
20	pieces Cambrick	240
4	Remnants Cambrick 16 ¾ yards	25-2-6
1 ½	yard black Taffaty	2-5
35 ½	Yards blue Persian	8-17-6
5	Yards Spotted Mantua	1-5
3	pieces Cotton Holland 62 Yards	27-2-6
3	Remnants Check 62 Yards	19-7-6
30 ¼	yards Linnen in Remnants	7-11-3
31 ¾	yards Grey Poplin & Bombazine	15-17-6
5	Yards French Quilting	4-7-6
65	Yards white Dimity & Jean	20-6-3
37	yards Fustian	11-11-3
35 ¾	yard Holland	44-13-9
27 ½	Yards Gulix halland	20-12-6
2	Remnants Long Lawn 16 yards	14
4	Remnants Irish Stuff 71 ¼ yards	26-14-4 ½
13 ½	Yards Marking Canvas	3-7-6
80	Pieces & 1 remnant coarse Rushia Linnen 851 ¼ yards	21-5-7 ½
1	Piece Negro Cloth qty. 97 Yards	24-5
10	Pieces & 1 Remnant Oznabrigs 1118 Ells	195-13
6	Pieces ¾ Striped linnen No. 1 Qty. 200 Ells	7-5-10 *
2	pieces 7/8 Cotton Check No. 2 67 ½ Ells	3-15-11 ¼ *
1	piece 7/8 Cotton Check No. 3 34 Ells	1-19-8 *
1	piece yard wide Cotton Check No. 4 34 ½ Ells	2-10-3 ¾ *
6	pieces Cotton Holland No. 5 193 yards	12-1-3 *
1	Piece White Jeans No. 6 20 yards	1-4 *
1	piece figured Dimity	2-1 *
6	Pieces Printed Linnen Qty. 185 ¾ Ells	5-16-1 *

<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Value (pounds, shillings, pence)</u>
1	piece Diaper Tabling 12 yards	2-4 *
6	pieces Pistol Lawn No. 10 50 yards	2-14 *
6	pieces finer Pistol Lawn No. 38 40 yards	3-3 *
1	piece 7/8 French Clear Lawn No. 1530	2-6 *
1	Piece 7/8 Brown Holland No. 8 Qty. 35 yards	1-14 *
2	Ellwide printed Callicoe dou purple Ground 18 yards	3-4 *
3	Yard wide printed Callicoe dou purple Ground 12 ½ yards	4-7 *
	Finished Cloth, Clothing, and Apparel Products	
3	Bed Ticks	21
12	Pieces blue & white linnen handkerchiefs	54
6	Dozen pair mens thread hose	66
2	Dozen pair womens thread hose	22
2	Dozen pair womens thread hose	18
2	Dozen pair youths thread hose	12
4	Dozen pair childrens thread hose	19
2	Dozen pair childrens thread hose	8-10
1	Dozen pair smaller childrens thread hose	2-10
2	Dozen pair mens grey hose	14
2	Dozen pair womens grey hose	12
2	Dozen pair boys grey hose	10
2	Dozen pair girls grey hose	8
5	Dozen childrens spotted hose	11-5
1	Dozen yarn mittans	1-10
2	Pieces Bed Lace	8
7	Pair Womens silk mittans	8-15
14	Pair cotton mittans	9-6-8
21	Pair mittans	10-10
4	Carlet Cloaks	8
62	Pair of Worsted Stocking L	35-3-4
23	Pair Worsted Gloves	2-6
103	Pair thread Stockings	68-13-4
1	Piece Band hankerchiefs	7
2	pieces Blue bed Patterns	32
5	pieces Bed Patterns	65
3	pair Worsted Garters	3
¾	Gross Scarlet Gartering	2-10
10	Lawn handkerchiefs	7-10
12	Romall handkerchiefs	3
1	Box Childrens Red & Black Shoes Containing 41 pairs	9-5
1	Box Mens & Womens Glazed Lamb Gloves 140 pairs	21-5
8	Bonnets & 4 hats	21
1	Capchin	5

<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Value (pounds, shillings, pence)</u>
5	dozen & 9 pair Womens pumps Clogs & Boys Shoes	41-15
2	Dozen & 4 pair Womens Callemaco Shoes	21
8	Dozen & 11 pair Girls & Womens worsted damask shoes	104-7-6
3	dozen & 4 Felt hats	15
7	Pair Bed Blanketts	24-10
1	A Bale No. 1 Containing 3 pieces Striped Duffles	78
3	India Chints Bautoes	4-4 *
3	fine India Chints Morees	7-4 *
4	Cotton Romalls	2-1 *
	Sewing Accessories	
12	Dozen paper pins	36
20	Dozen tape	45
23	Gross thread buttons	11-10
10	Dozen bobbin	7
13	Lbs white and brown thread	9-15
7 ½	Scotch thread	33-15
13 ½	Lbs Dutch thread	54
9	Lbs cruils	11-5
2	Dozen Manchester Tape	3-10
2 ½	pounds Mohair	7-10
3 ¾	Pound Coarse thread	1-17-6
11	Dozen Silk Laces	5
11	Pair Girls Stays	8-5
5	Pair Womens Stays	15
336 ¾	yards Ribbon	33-13-6
3	Remnants narrow Ribbon 38 ¾ yards	1-10
77	Yards worsted binding	2
22	Half pieces 4d Padusoy Ribbon	24-15
7 ½	Peces plain padusoy Ribbon	33-15
5	dozen Figured padusoy Ribbon	11-5
5	dozen Narrow padusoy Ribbon	8-15
4 ½	pieces plain Ribbon	13-10
9	pieces worsted binding	2-5
33	Hoop Coats	24-15
1	Box Containing a parcel of mohair & Mettale Buttons	5
1	a parcel of Needles & Thimbles	6
24	Pounds Oznabrigs thread	1-10 *
12	pounds Oznabrigs Thread	1 *
	Food	
1	Parcel of wafers	2
20	pounds Chocolate	3-15

<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Value (pounds, shillings, pence)</u>
47	pound Currans & Raisons	3-10-6
18	pound Sugar Candy	2-14
54	Pound Ginger & Alspice	4-1
78 ½	Pound black Pepper	29-8-9
17	Pound 10 ozs. Sinnamon, Clove, Mace & Nutmegs	44
62	pounds Coffee	7-15
2	Chests & 1 Cannister Bohea Tea wt. 718 lb	718
50	Loaves Single refined Sugar wt. 540 lb	121-10
1	No. 3 Qty. 70 loaves single sugar wt. 743 lb	167-3-6
1	Tierce Rum Quantity 65 Gallons	40-12-6
	Kitchen and Food Processing	
1	Box knives & spoon with other odd Articles of Iron Ware	18-0-9
209	lb hard pewter Dishes & plates	73-3
27	Chafing dishes	13-10
3	Jars & Band Boxes	1
32	Pint China Basons	8
2	dozen Tea Cups & Sawcers	5
1	Tea Cannister	5
4	dozen Iron pots	12
3	Rice Sives & Frying Pans	2-10
1	Trunk Tin Ware Containing Patty Pans Sauce Pans &c	22-6
1	Tea Cannister	2
	Jewelry and Personal Items	
1	Box Combs 92 Ivory & horn Combs & Brushes	11-10
1	Box Containing a parcel Necklaces	5
	Various Goods	
5	Pocket Books	0-15
200	Quils	2
1 ½	Lbs. pigtail tobacco	1-10
7	Rheams Paper	24
1 ½	Pounds Figg Blue	0-10
6	Bed cords	1-10
1 ½	Pounds Salt petre	0-10
43	Masks	12-10-10
4	Dolls	0-10-0
1	Box fans Containing 11 doz. & 4	40
7	Womens & 23 Childrens Umbrelloes	37-10
27	Pound Starch	6-15
13	Pair flatt Irons	9-15
75 ½	lb Duck & Swan Shott	4

<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Value (pounds, shillings, pence)</u>
4	dozen & 5 Books	8-15-8
1	a parcel Family Medicines	6
9	papers Ink Powder	0-15
13	Chamber Potts	1-12-6
27	Brushes	3
107	pound Mirtle Wax	13-7-6
31	Brooms & Brushes	7-15
11	Empty Trunks	5-10
	Hardware	
Various	11 stock locks, 6 pad locks, 11 Whet Stones	5-10
36	pieces Crocus	36
1	Cask of nails	
	Qty 28M of 10d Nails	42
	Qty 13M of 20d nails	26
	Qty 10M of 8d nails	7-10
	Qty 28M of 6d nails	21
1	dozen Falling Axes	10
14	dozen & 9 Broad Hoes	88-10
156	Pound Shott	9
2	Brass Fender	4
4	pair Scales & Weights & a Flasket	5

Select Definitions of Cloth, Clothing, and Specialty Items Found in Inventory

To better understand some of the types of cloth, definitions are provided below. Many obscure, or historical, names for types of cloth were left off since they were not readily available. Most definitions are from Webster's New World Dictionary.

<u>Cloth Type</u>	<u>Definition</u>
Alamode	Thin, shiny silk
Buckram	Coarse linen or other cloth stiffened with gum or paste, and used as interfacing for lining or stiffening clothes, and in bookbinding.
Cambrick	A very fine, thin linen or a cotton cloth.
Chints – English and Indian	A plural word that has erroneously become singular. A cotton cloth printed in colors with flower designs or other patterns and usually glazed. Hindi chīnt (from Sanskrit chitra , 'variegated') was the name given in the 17th century to the painted and stained calico imported from the East. However, as the plural 'chints' was more common in commercial use, it came to be taken for the singular and was written 'chince' or 'chinse' and, finally, 'chintz'. 'Chintzy' is thus used for a style associated with chintz soft furnishings, and hence for anything gaudy or garish.

Cotton Holland	A coarse linen cloth, so called because it was originally made in Holland and originally known as 'holland cloth'. ... From: Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase & Fable (19 ed.)
Diaper (for clouting and tabling).	A linen or cotton fabric woven in a repeating pattern such as small diamonds.
Dimity	A hard-wearing corded cotton fabric often woven with stripes or checks for curtains, dresses, etc.
Ferritt	A narrow ribbon of cotton, wool, silk, etc.
French Quilting	layers of fabric or padding with lines of stitching to form a bed covering, a warm garment, or for decorative effect.
Fustain (or fustian)	A course cloth of cotton and linen.
Gauze	A thin transparent fabric of silk, linen, or cotton.
Gingham	Lightweight plain-woven cotton cloth, typically checked in white and a bold colour. – origin early 17th cent from Dutch gingang , from Malay genggang (originally an adjective meaning 'striped').
Irish Linnen	Cloth woven from flax.
Lace	A fine open fabric of cotton or silk, made by looping, twisting, or knitting thread in patterns and used especially for trimming garments
Mantua	A woman's loose gown of a kind fashionable during the 17th and 18th centuries . The main distinguishing feature of the gown was a train, which from about 1710 was doubled up at about the level of the hem line of the petticoat and attached to the back of the bodice with pins.
Muslin	Lightweight cotton cloth in a plain weave: [as <i>modifier</i>] : <i>a white muslin dress</i> . Muslin means 'cloth made in Mosul' in Iraq. The place was called <i>Mussolo</i> in Italian and the cloth was called <i>mussolina</i> . This was adopted into French as <i>mousseline</i> (also used for a light sauce since the early 20th century) which in turn gave the English form.
Nankeen	A yellowish cotton cloth. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (nankeens) <i>historical</i> - pants made of nankeen. • the characteristic yellowish-buff color of nankeen. <p>– origin mid 18th cent.: from the name of the city of Nanking, where it was first made.</p>
Napkin Huckaback	A strong linen or cotton fabric with a rough surface, used for towelling and glass cloths.
Oznabrigs	Common clothing included oznabrig shirts—made of coarse, unbleached linen—which were imported strictly for slave attire and worn by newly arrived and American-born slaves alike. One slave, as described in the <i>Virginia Gazette</i> in 1751, wore “a new strong Oznabrig Shirt, a blue Penneystone wastecoat, Sew'd Up at the Side, the Whole Breadth of the Cloth and a new Scotch bonnet.” From

	<i>Encyclopedia of African American History, 1619–1895: From the Colonial Period to the Age of Frederick Douglass</i>
Padusoy (paduasoy?) Ribbon	A heavy, rich corded or embossed silk fabric, popular in the 18th century.
Persian	Old, western name for Iran , and southwest Asia.
Poplin & Bombazine	Poplin - a plain-woven fabric, typically a lightweight cotton, with a corded surface. Bombazine - a twilled dress fabric of worsted and silk or cotton.
Sarsenet	A fine, soft silk fabric used as a lining material and in dressmaking.
Shalloon	Woolen fabric.
Stuff	Junior barristers once wore gowns made of woven fabric called 'stuff', similar to fabric used for lining or stuffing.
Taffaty	adj. (also taffaty , tiffany , tiffety-taffety), transparent silks used for dresses.
Worsted Damask	Worsted - A type of cloth, using long wools, that was originally made in Worstead, Norfolk, but which became a speciality of the upper Calder and Aire valleys in the West Riding of Yorkshire from the later 17th century onwards. Damask - A reversible figured white or monochrome <u>textile</u> in which the pattern is formed by two faces of the same weave. The patterns are often revealed in the surface sheen, as in 19th-century tablecloths. The term is also loosely applied to any <u>silk</u> fabric with a raised pattern.

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