

Excerpts from 'The Story of an American Family'
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Chapter I

Colonel John Barnwell

As the 18th century opened, a young Irishman of good family, "the son of a verry good gentleman and gentlewoeman," sailed from his native Dublin for Charles Town in the colony of Carolina "out of a humor to goe to travel but for no other Reasson." Thus was John Barnwell, the progenitor of the family, described by a family friend, Alderman John Page of Dublin. Page might have said a good deal more, but was content merely to add that John had "extriordinary friends and Relashons" in the kingdom.¹

Page could have said that the Barnewalls, as the name is usually spelled in Ireland, or de Berneval as it appeared in Normandy and throughout the Middle Ages, had settled in Dublin county at Drimnagh Castle some 500 years before. Here they flourished and spread into nearby county Meath and elsewhere in Ireland and England. For centuries they were loyal servants of the English Crown and were duly rewarded through ennoblement in three great branches: Barons of Trimlestown in 1461, Baronets of Crickston in 1623, and Viscounts of Kingsland and Barons of Turvey in 1646. John, indeed, had "extriordinary Relashons" in the kingdom.²

In time the Barnewalls became as "Irish as the Irish themselves," and took part in the fight for Irish independence in the 17th century. With the failure of their cause, a steady stream of Irishmen, known to history as "the wild geese," took flight for continental armies and monasteries. John, instead, came to America.

His father, Matthew Barnewall, an alderman of Dublin in 1688, was a captain in King James' Irish Army and was killed in the siege of Derry on August 12, 1690. John's mother was Margaret Carberry, a daughter of Alderman John Carberry, and his grandfather, Richard Barnewall, had been an alderman in the 1630s and briefly in 1647, the Lord Mayor. Richard was a merchant, but he also held Archerstown, an estate in county Meath which had been granted to him for his loyalty during the Rebellion of 1641. Archerstown had belonged to a cadet branch of the Barnewalls of Crickston since the reign of Henry VII, but when they joined the Rebellion, as did most of the family, their lands were declared forfeit and given to Richard. This means almost certainly that he was a member of the same branch. At any rate, Archerstown was forfeited again, by Matthew, in 1690 for his loyalty to King James. Some of his heirs attempted to regain some of their lost rights, but John was not among them. He had sailed for the new world.³

When John Barnwell landed in Charles Town, he found a colony which had survived its early problems and was entering upon what promised to be a bright future. By 1700 there were 4,200 whites, largely British but also including a sizeable number of French Huguenots; 3,200 Negro slaves, and 800 Indian slaves. The colony had been faction ridden and, to the great disappointment of the Lords Proprietors, economically unprofitable from the moment the good ship *Carolina* with the original settlers dropped anchor in Charles Town harbor in April 1670. But during the half-decade before John arrived, the situation had changed dramatically. The mastery of rice culture by 1695 had given the colony a staple crop which insured its prosperity. The expansion of Indian trade started the first real penetration into the interior by Englishmen, and the firm and wise hand of Governor Archdale had achieved a measure of political harmony hitherto unknown.

The people of Charles Town were so confident of their destiny that they had begun making their city one of the finest in all the colonies. They were "building their homes along wide and well planned streets," lined with pines, cedars, and cypress trees. By 1700 wooden houses were forbidden within the city limits. The Anglican Missionary, Dr. Francis LeJau, after travelling through the West Indies and Virginia, believed that "for Gentility, politeness and a handsome way of living," Carolina exceeded anything he had seen.⁴ A public library had been opened and the earliest contributions to science and learning already made.

John Barnwell was fortunate in soon finding some powerful friends. By February 1703 he was Clerk of the Governor's Council and in August 1704 was promoted to Deputy Secretary of the Council, in which capacity he served as

liason between the council and the assembly.⁵ His chief patrons were the Governor, Sir Nathaniel Johnson, and Chief Justice Nicholas Trott. Johnson, appointed governor in 1702, had come to Carolina in 1689 after a distinguished career as a colonial official in the West Indies and became a wealthy planter at Silk Hope Plantation outside Charles Town. John's friendship with him was such that in March 1705 he named his elder son Nathaniel after him. His association with Trott was even closer. John Harleston, who had preceded Barnwell from Dublin by two years, wrote to Page that Trott "respected Barnwell very much," and was "like a Father to him," and "instructed him in his Places whereof he was very incapable." Trott invited his protege and wife to Harleston's wedding in April 1707 and "set him at table with the Governor & Capt. of a men-a-ware" then lying at anchor in the harbor. ⁶ Finally in June 1707 John was promoted to Comptroller of the Province.⁷

At this point John's career takes a dramatic and important turn. Harleston put it very bluntly in a letter to Page in March 1709:

" . . . he was one that flew in the face of the Governmt & headed a Mobb against the Chief Justice Mr. Nicholas Trott, who is my Peticuler Friend in Carolina; this Barnwell was Deputy Secretary & Clark of the Council, which was pretty Considerable in Carolina, & threw this misdemeaner he was Turned out of all; I suppose his comeing in at present would not admitt him to live in Charles towne, which has maide him settle a Plant(ation) at Port Royall near a 100 miles from towne, and thare he lives on what he has Cot by the government hom he soe Groosly abused . . . This Barnwell had this Designe in his head some before but would not vent it till the Man of warr sail'd Lest they should stop his Proceedings. Barnwell would not have had soe many Rioters to assist him but by reason of this, which was that the Judge then had the Church of England Established by act of Assembly & sent home for Ministers & Devided Parrishes & paid them out of the publick which has made the Decenters his Enemies Ever since . . . Judge Trott is now on his voyage to England in Persute of this Riot & has Latters of recomindation to the Arch-Bishop of London by the Clergye of the Church of England & by the best of all the Country of his uprightness, and allsoe had record maid by Coll. Wm Rhett & Coll. Risbe Justices of the Peace concerning this riot, which I would have you see."⁸



Colonel William Rhett

It has been impossible so far to determine precisely the date of John's protest demonstration and act of civil disobedience, but to understand why he did it, it is necessary to sketch in the background to the events of these years. In September 1703 John was ordered by the Council to prepare a map of Port Royal Sound where he soon began to

develop a strong interest. In February and March 1705 he received grants for 1,400 acres of land on Port Royal and neighboring islands.⁹ Between September 1706 and February 1709, he received five more grants for a total of 3,414 acres in the four years. Among his new neighbors was a Scotsman, Thomas Nairne, described as "probably the ablest, and certainly the most admirable politician" of his day.¹⁰

Captain Thomas Nairne had owned a plantation on St. Helena's Island since 1698 and later acquired another one on the edge of the Yemassee Indian country on the mainland across the Coosaw river. Appointed agent to regulate trade with the Indians, he became deeply interested in the urgent matter of trade reform, and, as a sincere Anglican, was interested in the conversion of the Indians to Christianity. His views on frontier policy, the Indians, and trade reform soon "attracted some of the brightest young men of the colony: . . . John Barnwell, George Chicken, Tobias Fitch and William Bull (who had married Nairne's step-daughter). This group of men originated every constructive development in South Carolina Indian policy for the next generation."¹¹

To call the commercial intercourse between the Charles Town merchants and the Indians "trade" is almost a euphemism. The Indians were gradually debauched and then enslaved by debt. South Carolina was the only colony that was able to make Indian slavery pay. The merchants profiting by the system included some of the most powerful men in the colony: Johnson, Trott, and Colonel Rhett. They found ready allies among the so-called Goose Creek men, a group of planter-merchants who had been one of the most divisive factions in the pre-Archdale era. The more prominent among them were James Moore, Robert Gibbes, and Ralph Izard.

The planters, particularly those in the southern part of the colony, were convinced that the existing system, or lack of it, would inevitably lead to an Indian revolt, which it did, and that the leadership of the colony was too interested financially in the status quo to do anything about it. They tended to come together under the leadership of Thomas Nairne.

The situation was complicated by the proposal for the establishment of the Church of England and the exclusion of dissenters from any part in the government. From its inception Carolina had been generally free of religious conflict. The Anglican Church was dominant, but dissenters had been freely admitted into the colony and more than one governor had been of their persuasion. Of the 4,200 white persons the largest body were Anglicans (1,800), but the dissenters altogether numbered 2,000. The 400 Huguenots, despite their theological affinity with the dissenters, tended to support the Anglicans to whose Church they were gradually being converted anyway. Taking advantage of a sparsely attended assembly in March 1704, the High Church party, with their Huguenot allies, and led by Johnson, Trott, Rhett, and the Goose Creek men, secured the passage of the Church Act which not only established the Church of England but also required communion in the Anglican Church a condition to any office in the colony. The dissenters naturally objected and sent John Ash and later Joseph Boone to London to lodge a protest with the Lords Proprietors.

It is possible that the Establishment men might have gotten away with it if the Anglicans had held together, but they were divided over several issues. The dissident Anglicans in Charles Town were led by old Colonel Stephen Bull until his death in 1707. He was the last survivor of the original leadership in the colony and had helped to lay out the city in 1670. The Stanyarnes and Elliotts, for their own reasons, could also be counted upon to align themselves with the opposition to the politico-religious machinations of the High Church party. The dissident Anglicans in the country were led by Thomas Nairne who had several reasons for his opposition. He generally supported the assembly and the colonists against the Governor, Council, and Lords Proprietors, but in this case he was obviously struck by the fact that those who were most opposed to trade reform were the same men who were now trying to assure their permanent political ascendancy through the imposition of religious qualifications for office holding.

Where John Barnwell stood at that time is hard to say. He was an Anglican and had his children baptized and raised in the Church, but his association with Nairne and his growing interests in the Port Royal region were drawing him away from his early dependence on Johnson and Trott, and he is listed by Sirmans among the dissident Anglicans. However his position in the government continued to be secure until after the repeal of the Church Act in November 1706 and through April 1707 when Trott treated him so graciously at Harleston's wedding. The religious controversy began to wane, but the bitterness of it carried over into other issues, particularly trade reform.

The opposition under Nairne won the elections to the assembly in May 1707, and soon John found himself in the center of the conflict. The assembly met in June and began to fight with Governor Johnson over trade reform and the right to appoint the chief revenue officers in the province: the public receiver and the comptroller. Nairne attacked Trott's position in the council claiming it was illegal since he held a royal commission in another capacity. The governor countered by claiming the right to appoint the public receiver and the comptroller, a right which tradition-

ally belonged to the assembly. In fact in their annual tax bill, the assembly had nominated George Logan for public receiver and John Barnwell for comptroller.

Johnson's strategy worked for the moment. The attack on Trott and the trade reform bill were postponed until the dispute over the appointments was settled. It is interesting to note that the debate centered on Logan and not Barnwell. Was Johnson trying to avoid injuring his friend, or former friend? At any rate he gave way after the assembly agreed to nominate someone else in Logan's place. The victory was assured by a new law, written by Nairne, which guaranteed this right to the assembly. The Assembly of 1707 as a whole was a victory for the opposition who finally pushed through an Indian trade bill and several other important measures. Nairne was also appointed the Indian agent for the province. John, of course, was the comptroller but not for long. In November he petitioned to be relieved of his duties and was replaced by Captain Thomas Walker.

This still leaves us in the dark about the riot which John led against the government. It may have occurred in connection with the consequences of the opposition victory. Johnson still smarted over his defeat at the hands of Nairne, and when Nairne, as the Indian agent, charged Johnson's son-in-law, Thomas Broughton, with illegal trade practices, Johnson had him thrown in jail on a trumped up charge of high treason. Sixty-two inhabitants of Colleton county signed a petition to gain his release on the grounds that it was false and that his presence among the Indians was essential to peace, but it was rejected. It seems most likely that it was during this period that John actively and finally threw in his lot with Nairne and the planter position and "took to the streets" by which he finally severed his relations with Trott and left Charles Town to take up permanent residence on Port Royal Island. It is worth noting that he received his last early grant of land in February 1709, and Harleston wrote to Page in March 1709. Harleston may well have exaggerated when he said that it was because of the riot that John "was turned out of all."

John was soon back in Charles Town as a member of the assembly from Colleton county in 1710-11 and from Colleton and the new Granville county in 1711-12 in all of which he was rated as a leader of the first rank in terms of committee assignments and legislation.¹² Much of the ill-feeling of the previous years seems to have died down. Sirmans notes that "such stalwarts of the Church party as Thomas Broughton and William Rhett cheerfully worked in the Commons House alongside Thomas Nairne and John Barnwell, dissenting opponents."¹³ In fact when the Tuscarora Indians went on the warpath in North Carolina and the local government appealed to South Carolina for help, the assembly appointed John as colonel and commander of the expeditionary force.

John's military experience must have been extensive, but the record is meagre. Since 1701 England had been at war with France and Spain in what in this country is called Queen Anne's War, and the region between Carolina and Florida became a sort of no-man's land. In August 1706 an enemy fleet was turned away from the very gates of Charles Town. When one of their ships stopped in Sewee Bay to raid the country side, a sloop was dispatched under Colonel Rhett to capture it. When they were successful, Rhett sent John Barnwell, who was among the volunteers aboard, to bring the good news to the city.¹⁴ John was more heavily involved in the various raiding parties into Florida. In 1708 he led a party through Timucua and up the St. John's river.¹⁵ On this as on other expeditions, he made maps of whatever he explored from which he made the great mother map of the American southeast from which all subsequent maps of that area were made.¹⁶ Now in October 1711 he was given the command of the first Indian war in the history of the Carolinas.¹⁷

→ The Tuscarora Indians lived in the region between the Cape Fear and Pamlico rivers mainly along the Neuse. One of the strongest and most warlike tribes in North Carolina, their chief, King Hancock, was able to call upon 1,000 warriors from his people. Their fear of the encroaching Europeans was, in this instance, stimulated by Indian traders in Virginia afraid of competition from Carolina and also by rival Indian tribes. The Tuscaroras took advantage of divisions in the local government to make their attack in September 1711, killing or capturing for slavery over 200 settlers. The government was helpless and appealed to Virginia and South Carolina. Virginia failed to respond, but Governor Gibbes and the assembly in Charles Town pledged £4,000 and an army.

Colonel Barnwell's force consisted of 30 militiamen, two other officers: Major Alexander Mackay and Captain John Bull, and about 500 Indians. The Indians, drawn from several small tribes, were, for the most part very unreliable. The Yemassee company had 158 men of whom only 87 were Yemassees (the only reliable group). The Essaw company had 155 men from seven different tribes, and Captain Bull's company was composed of men from eight more tribes.

They left Charles Town in the dead of winter and traversed 200 miles of swamp and forest in snow, ice, and heavy rainfall. The Indians were impossible to control and deserted all along the route. It took eight days to go the seventy miles from the Pedee to the Cape Fear and two more days to cross the Cape Fear. By the end of January they found themselves in the midst of several Tuscarora forts on the upper Neuse without guides or supplies. Word of their

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Barnwell*

approach had miscarried, but in any case, the government was unprepared to fulfil their promise of an army of white men, 1,500 bushels of corn and a supply of powder and bullets. Colonel Barnwell marched on anyway, thundering at the incompetence of the local officials and the shortsightedness of the Virginians.

On January 29th the small army captured Fort Torhunta (or Narhantes) in half an hour of direct assault. The Tuscaroras were dismayed at the quick work made of one of their finest strongholds and retreated from several lesser fortifications leaving behind "a fine country full of provisions." This bounty did not last, however, and the persistent lack of provisions haunted the whole operation. Furthermore the sight of all the plunder in the fort was too great a temptation for many of his own Indians. In his report to the government in Charles Town, he noted:

"Our Indians, presently loading themselves with English plunder of which these towns are full, and running away from me, left nothing for the white men but their tired horses & their wounds to comfort them. . . the greatest part of our Indians are unwilling to proceed into unknown Country, where they may be hemd in by a numerous Enemy and not know how to extricate themselves; but my brave Yemasseees told me they would go wherever I led them. They will live and die with me, and indeed I have that dependence on them that I would not refuse to give battle to the whole Nation of the Tuscaroras with them. The Enemy can't be less than 12 or 1400 men, which may be easily judged by their large settlements, but extremely cowardly if they have liberty to run. Our Indians outdo the Enemy very much either at bush or swamp but the Enemy are fleeter & has the advantage of knowing the Country."¹⁸

Setting out again for Hancock's Fort, they took the village of Kenta where nine of the enemy were killed and two burned alive. The Commander deliberately was pursuing a policy of terror to frighten the enemy into surrendering. He led the march through five more villages and boasted that "every private man behaved himself so well it was Terror to our heathen friend to behold us; the word was Revenge, which we made good by the Execution we made of the Enemy." He reported destroying 374 houses in the first few days of the campaign.

After these initial victories the little army was bogged down by torrential rains. There were still no guides, and provisions again were running low. His Indians were more and more afraid to go on, but the Colonel felt he could not go back—"for the honour of Carolina I am always ready to sacrifice." When his scouts reported that Hancock's Fort "had some great guns, a great amount of powder, & 300 men," plus those who had fled from the destroyed villages, he finally had to promise even his Yemasseees not to attack until they had reinforcements. For this reason he turned northward toward Bath Town on the Pamlico. "I made such a march," he reported, "with 178 Indians & 25 white men, 20 odd whereof were wounded that to the immortal Glory of South Carolina has struck the Dominion of Virginia into amazement & wonder." On the way they burned another abandoned fort, beat off an attack of 50 or 60 Tuscaroras, and almost lost their commander. As the Colonel noted in his report:

"I encamped all night, and rising at my usual hour which is daily since I had this charge on my hands, at 4 o'clock in ye morning, and at 5 I had just relieved the Centrys and sat at ye fire when ye Enemy poured a volley upon us, and I had reason to believe most of the Shott was directed at me for it made strange work with my things & several shott plugged the tree I leaned against. Our Centrys being very quick, fired at the same juncture, which was followed with 30 or 40 guns more . . . the Enemy was Fled without doing the least damage only the breaking of the stock of one gun wth a bullet."¹⁹

They arrived at Bath on the 10th "to ye incredible wonder and amazement of the poor distressed wretches, who expressed such extremity of mad joy that it drew tears from most of our men." He even proposed to the governor to settle the "300 widows and orphans that are here without provision or clothing and ill used" somewhere in South Carolina upon his return.

In camp about 15 miles above the town, they were joined by 67 North Carolinians without any ammunition, and a search of the Pamlico garrisons produced no more than ten rounds for each man. Unprepared as they were, it was necessary to move on to find food. "I waited so long for bread," reported the Colonel, "until half of the men fell sick and willing to preserve the health of the rest, I proceeded to get that of the Enemy's which was delayed by my friends." He now had 94 colonists and 148 Indians with him.

The torrential rains made it rough going, but some food was found in abandoned towns, and they learned something of Hancock's Fort from a captive. Reaching the Neuse on March 4th, they crossed on rafts under fire from

several Tuscaroras. The South Carolinians took the lead because they alone would. "I could not prevail with one of this country cowardly crew to venture, which was a presage of what followed," Barnwell wrote. They reached the fort the next day to find it not only well built but excellently positioned.

The Colonel decided to take it by assault, "hoping to finish the war by this stroke, where now all the principal murderers were in a pen." He ordered fascines made, bundles of sticks tied together to serve as shields. In his words:

"When we got within 10 or 12 yards of the Fort, the enemy made a terrible fire on us without the least damage in the world, but this country base, cowardly people, hearing the Shott strike the Fashines, threw both them & their arms away & ran for life, wch not only left themselves exposed but also those that went under their shelter: this encouraged the enemy to renew the firing, who deservedly shott sevell of them in their backs. In the meantime my brave South Carolina men & 23 of this country undauntedly kept their order. I ordered them to keep their stations until I brought up the runaways. Butt all my endeavour was in vain, tho' I mauled sevell wth my cutlass, and as soon as they saw me running towards them they would scamper into the swamp that was hard by. I, seeing the confusion & being afraid that the number that drew the enemy's fire was insufficient to come at the Fort by assault, I ordered a retreat which was gravely managed, for every man got Fashine on his back and of my own number I had but one wounded; the most of them had 10 or more shott in his Fashine, but the runaways there was 1 killed & 18 wounded and of the 23 that stood by my men there were 3 killed & 2 wounded, in all 4 killed and 20 wounded. It rained smartly during the attempt, wch proved a great hindrance."²⁰

The Colonel was unable to get a second attack out of his men: "in vain for I could get but 16 with my own men, who never refused me anything I putt them upon." The next morning, after the wounded were evacuated, he returned to the attack:

"As soon as I returned to the camp I ordered wooden spades to be made & more Fashines & poles got ready, and in the dark of the evening I crept on my belly within 30 yards of the Fort & perceived a curious plan to make a breastwork, that had more command of the enemy's canoes & water than they had themselves. To work I went & by morning had a re-intrenchment that held 50 men. In doing this I had 2 of my own brisk men wounded.

7th (March) The enemy being terrified at our near approach, began to quit the Fort, but my men fired so hard at ye canoes that obliged them to return. I immediately ordered a party over the River, and so blocked up the Fort on all sides, then the enemy when they wanted water would send to the bank one of the English captives to fetch it, our men called to them to have patience, for by next morning they should be delivered, at which the enraged desperate enemy began to torture them and in our hearing put to death a girle of 8 years of Mr. Taylors, upon this the relations of the other captives, came crying & beging of me to have compassion of the innocents, wch was renewed by Cryes & lamentations of the Captives being about 35 or 40 yards of them, at last I was prevailed upon to call to the enemy, who sent Mrs. Perce to me to treat about their delivery, she having 5 children within, wch ye enemy refused on any terms to do but on conditions I would raised the siege, otherwise they would put all to death and fight to the last man & beat us off.

After an hours consideration, having consulted all the officers, upon this I with two more went up to the Fort gates to speak with the head man who dare not come out to me; I preceived two reintrenchments within the Fort & perceived a great number of men. I ordered one of my men to go in but they would not let him, pleading he might have pocket pistols, I perceived ye head man & others to tremble exceedingly. I found that in case I broke in, I should have hard work against a parcel of desperate villains who would do all the mischief they could before their death. I knew I had not 30 men I could entirely depend upon, which if some of them (were) killed or wounded the rest of them would leave me in the lurch. Ammunition was so scarce with the North Carolina men, that some of them had not above 4 charges. I considered that if the place was relieved by the upper towns the enemy bragged of as much as of the assistance of the senicas, most of my men would run away, & it would be 2 nights more before I could penetrate the Fort for want of spades & Hoes, the ground being so rooty our wooden tools worked but slowly. And lastly I had more wounded men than I knew how to take care of, and if the number should increase upon meeting a repulse I should be

forced to leave them to the mercy of ye most barbarous enemy. All wch considerations obliged me to agree."²¹

Under the agreement, twelve captives were to be released immediately with two canoes to carry them to safety. There was to be a truce for twelve days after which the Tuscaroras were to deliver the remaining 22 white and 24 Negro captives to Batchelor's Creek some six miles from New Bern. The chief of the Tuscaroras was to come with them to discuss the terms of the peace treaty.

Colonel Barnwell was unable to meet Hancock on the agreed date because he and most of his men were ill in New Bern. He put the blame on "the wilful neglect, designs, & controversies of the government, who starved us here lest we should get provisions to enable us to depart their ungrateful service." He sent Captain Louis Mitchelle, "a Swiss brave gentleman," to go in his place, but the Indians failed to appear.

When he had recovered enough to mount his horse again, the Colonel ordered a reconaissance to discover "whether the Enemy maintained their Fort." He took with him only 15 white men and 30 Indians because he had provisions for only that number, but he also brought drums and trumpets to give the impression of a larger force.

They discovered that Hancock had not only maintained his fort but had enlarged it to include the Colonel's old breastwork. Hearing them approach, the Tuscaroras raised the war cry, and Barnwell replied with his drums and trumpets and a bold sally to within 300 yards of the fort. The ruse was successful. Several of the enemy dropped their corn and fled. But he realized that he could do nothing more with his small troop and withdrew to a point seven miles below the fort, to the junction of the Cotechney Creek and the Neuse where he found a place "so naturally fortified that with a little Labour 50 men could keep off 5000 men." "It is a very charming place," he wrote and sent to New Bern for tools and boats. He built several huts and adequate fortifications, which he called Fort Barnwell, and then sent for his Indians who were "dispersed all over the country to subsist the better."

On April 1st, word came from Governor Hyde that Colonel Boyd and seventy men with provisions were on their way from New Bern with assurances that henceforth there would be no more reason to complain. Barnwell then sent out a call for every able bodied man along the Neuse. Among the reinforcements were ten gallons of rum, two casks of cider, and one cask of wine. He also received some cannon: "2 three-pounders, 2 patteraros, 7 Granardo shells, 23 Great Shott but hardly enough powder for 10 discharges." His greatest problem, aside from the perpetual food shortage, was insubordination among the new recruits "which putt me," he said, "in such a passion at all kinds of ill usages since I came here that I ordered one of their majors to be tyed neck and heels & kept him so, and whenever I heard a saucy word from any of them I immediately cutt him, for without this they are the most impertinent, imperious, cowardly, Blockheads that ever God created."

Within a week everything was ready to march again. On the night of the 7th, 154 white men and 128 Indians moved out of Fort Barnwell for Hancock's Town. By daybreak they had it surrounded and blockaded. "We were there before ye enemy was aware of us," reported the Colonel. This siege lasted ten days "by which time," he wrote, "we gained ye ditch & sevell times fired ye pallisades wch ye enemy like desperate villains defend at an amazing rate. This siege for variety of action, salleys, attempts to be relieved from without, can't, I believe be paralleled agst Indians." But the lack of food brought the attack to a standstill: ". . . this 15 foot," he wrote, "cost us so much time untill I was, thro' extreme famine, obliged to harken to a capitulation for the surrendering thereof upon articles wch leaves above 100 murderers unpunished." The enemy, he later discovered, had been supplied with "400 buckskins worth of ammunition" from Virginia, but the deciding factor was food. He said that if only he had had four more days' rations, they could have made "a glorious end of the War." They lost six white men killed and 35 wounded; one Indian killed and one wounded.

Under the new treaty, all the captives were to be released, those in the Town immediately and the rest in ten days at Fort Barnwell. Hancock and three "notorious murderers" were to be surrendered plus all horses, skins, and plunder, three hostages (two brothers of the Tuscarora chief and the chief of the allied Coree tribe), and all the corn in the town. The Tuscaroras were to pay an annual tribute to the government, to restrict their planting area, and to vacate all the land between the Neuse and the Cape Fear.

But not all the terms were fulfilled. Twenty-three children and two Negroes were released, but Hancock had fled to Virginia. His two sons and a brother of the Coree chief were delivered up. They agreed to restrict their planting and to pay the tribute, but most of the horses, skins, and plunder were gone. There was enough corn for forty Indians, and they were sent home.

With this done, the gates of the fort were torn down, and Colonel Barnwell "drew the whole body up before the

breach & marched then unto ye Fort. 2 Trumpets, 2 Drumms, South Carolina Standard, Yemassee & Apalatchka, Col. Boyd, Coll. Mitchell, Major Mackay, Major Cole, myself, gentlemen volunteers 2 x 2, South Carolina men 2 x 2, ye Yemassee Cpts 2 x 2." Inside the fort, the colors were raised, the guns fired, and Colonel Barnwell made "a short, sharp speech." The Tuscaroras hid their arms and prostrated themselves before the victors. The Colonel was urged to massacre them on the spot, but he refused: "In truth," he said, "they were murderers, but if our Indians found that there could be no dependence in our promises, it might prove of ill-consequences."²² ←

The victorious army returned to Fort Barnwell where the Colonel made his report to Governor Gibbes asking for more corn for his Yemassee who had supported him when "all others left him in his greatest extremity." Reluctant to leave any of the wounded behind, he remained in North Carolina until July. On his return he was thanked by the assembly and, in time, was dubbed by an admiring posterity "Tuscarora Jack."

Some of his Indians had long been out of control, and, now, hungry and disappointed at the lack of plunder and scalps, they violated the treaty by attacking small parties of Tuscaroras which brought new reprisals on the colonists by the Tuscaroras. By August North Carolina was again pleading for aid. They blamed their failure to support the first expedition on its commander, on the floods and then the drought, the lack of ammunition, and the attitude of the Virginians. In spite of their criticism of Barnwell, he would have received the command of the second expedition simply because "he was the most experienced Indian fighter in the province," but his wounds prevented it. "It is self-evident upon the character of Colonel Barnwell," says Milling, "that, although vilified in Foster's instructions (from North Carolina which were read in the assembly), he advised the committee appointed by the House that further aid be given and personally assisted in planning the second campaign."²³ With a larger and better prepared army, Colonel James Moore, Jr. was able to defeat a still powerful Tuscarora nation. Most of the Tuscaroras abandoned North Carolina and migrated to northern New York to become the sixth nation of the Long House of the Iroquois.

Two years later it was South Carolina's turn to reap the rewards of their exploitive relations with the Indians. This attack came literally at the back door of the family—from the neighboring and once friendly Yemassee. They were, however, only the advance guard of what turned out to be "a far-reaching revolt against the Carolina trading regime," involving all the tribes who had had any trading relations with the Charles Town merchants—Creeks, Choctaws, Catawbias, Yemassee as well as many smaller tribes. It was what Nairne had been warning the colony about for many years.

The Indian Act of 1707 had been largely frustrated by Governor Johnson and the merchants, and when Nairne was replaced by John Wright as Indian agent in June 1708, the whole system of regulation broke down under Wright's mismanagement.

The Yemassee struck on Good Friday, April 15, 1715 at Pocotaligo Town. Among their initial victims was Nairne himself who was tortured to death over several days. Only two or three of the settlers escaped; one of them swam the river to Colonel Barnwell's plantation on the northern end of Port Royal Island and gave the alarm to the unsuspecting planters. About 300 of them with their families crowded onto a ship which had been seized for smuggling and providentially was lying at anchor in the harbor. Among them was Tuscarora Jack's ten year old son Nathaniel who had been rescued from the plantation house minutes before the Indians arrived. St. Bartholomew's Parish to the north was less fortunate because no alarm was given there, but the parishes beyond there received warning in time. By then the other tribes had joined the war and threatened not only the whole of Carolina but, if the conspiracy was allowed to spread to all the tribes, all the English settlements even up to New England. *Yemassee*

"That South Carolina escaped complete ruin," Crane concludes, "was due to the energy of a gallant governor, to the skill of seasoned Indian fighters who commanded her militia, to assistance in arms and men from neighboring provinces, and to the conversion of the Cherokees at a critical moment to peace and friendly assistance."²⁴ Governor Craven proclaimed martial law and organized the forces of the colony under General James Moore, Jr. Colonel John Barnwell and Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Mackay, companions-in-arms on the Neuse, were sent to recapture the Yemassee capital at Pocotaligo after securing Port Royal Island. The Governor with 250 militia and settlement Indians marched south to join Barnwell and Mackay, and together they drove the Yemassee into Florida where they found protection under the Spaniards near St. Augustine. But the Creeks and others were still on the warpath. It was not until the Cherokees signed a treaty with the colony in January 1716 that the tide of battle definitely turned. But peace, and an uneasy one at that, did not return until the end of 1717. Altogether over 400 colonists were killed and the growth of the colony was set back several years.

The task of reconstruction began with the re-organization of the Indian trade system by an Act of the Assembly in June 1716. This Act created a public corporation of five commissioners who were given complete control over trade with the Indians. Tuscarora Jack was a member of the first board along with George Logan, Ralph Izard, Charles

Hill, and James Moore.²⁵ With minor exceptions he was in regular attendance at their meetings of which there were over 100 during the first year. Each commissioner was paid a salary of £150 a year. John was also given charge of their public store house in Charles Town from March to December 1717 for which he was paid an additional £150 out of the profits of the trade. The new system reflected the victory of the planters, concerned with preventing another uprising, over the merchants. It was an interesting experiment in what was virtually a state monopoly, and naturally the merchants screamed until they got a modified Act in 1717, but the planters remained in control of the regulatory system, and the worst abuses were eliminated.

Tuscarora Jack had other duties during the reconstruction besides the Indian Commission. A member of the assembly from 1717 to 1719, he was put in charge of the southern defense of the colony. A fort was built on Port Royal Island in March 1716 which was to serve as the base for the two scout boats of the "provincial navy." The garrison was divided into two crews, one to remain at the fort, the other to patrol the inland passage between Port Royal and the Altamaha river in Georgia. He directed all their operations between the Stono and St. Augustine, retrieving runaway slaves, keeping watch on the Spaniards and Indians, and preparing maps of the region.

It is interesting to note that the garrison at Port Royal was reinforced at the time of the Yemassee war with a body of Tuscaroras who had not gone to New York. What irony that they should be brought down to fight against the Yemassees and given vacated Yemassee land. They were placed under the protection of their erstwhile enemy, John Barnwell, who directed all their trading with the merchants. Occasionally he used them to stop the persistent raiding of the Yemassees from Florida. Early in 1719 he personally undertook a peaceful mission to the Yemassees to win them back from the Spaniards but with no success. When a party of Yemassees penetrated into Granville county, killed several settlers, and took others into slavery, he decided to stop this once for all. In September he promoted an expedition against the Yemassees and Spaniards at St. Augustine which he described in his report to the governor as "performed by 50 Indians, Melvin, a Whiteman & Musgrove, & Griffin half-breed or Mustees under ye Leading of Oweeka, a Creek Indian their Generall. Wettly, his Second, a Palachucola Indian."²⁶ The expedition, which left Port Royal in seven canoes on September 28th included local Coosas and some Tuscaroras of the local garrison in one of the scout boats. Upon returning a month later to report their mission accomplished, Colonel Barnwell wrote to the governor: "I congratulate wth yr Honr this dawning of quietness to our poor Southern parts," but he was a little premature. Peace was not to come for many years. In June 1720 another Yemassee raiding party struck St. Helena's Island, killing one planter, capturing a white man and 12 Negro slaves.

One of the most important consequences of the Yemassee War was to reveal more clearly than ever the real inadequacies of proprietary government. For many years the colonists had recognized that their interests were not the same as those of the Lords Proprietors, but it was the inability of the Proprietors to understand and give assistance at the time of the war and during the period of reconstruction which provoked the colony to action. By 1719 the wealthiest and most influential men in the colony were agreed to demand an end to proprietary rule and the establishment of direct royal government. The assembly which met in December of that year converted itself into a convention, and the last proprietary governor, Robert Johnson, seeing the futility of resistance, resigned.

To present their case before the government in London, the assembly chose Colonel Barnwell. As Verner Crane has said, they could not have made a better choice:

"As a veteran of Queen Anne's War, of the Tuscarora War, and of the Indian rising of 1715, John Barnwell had first-hand knowledge of the Indian and Spanish frontiers from Virginia to the neck of Florida, moreover as the greatest planter of the Port Royal district, he had a direct interest in safeguarding the harassed southern border. His career in provincial office gave him standing as a colonial expert which the average agent, chosen from the merchant group in London, seldom possessed."²⁷

Colonel Barnwell sailed from Charles Town in March 1720 and arrived in London at the height of the land speculation craze known as the South Sea Bubble. Upon his arrival he wrote a letter to Sir Robert Montgomery, the chief promoter of the Azilia Company, a scheme to develop the land between the Savannah and the Altamaha rivers, commending his project and expanding on the beauties of the region. His letter was given wide circulation in a pamphlet called "A Description of the Golden Islands," and his advice was eagerly sought, not only by the Board of Trade, the Privy Council and the President of the Council Lord Townshend, but also by hordes of private investors. He could be seen in the Carolina Coffee House at least once a day or at the home of Francis Nicholson who was to become South Carolina's first royal governor.

Barnwell had two official tasks. The first was to persuade the government to accept the revolution in Charles

Town, and the second was to present the case for a better southern defense system. His first assignment was relatively easy to accomplish. His way had been prepared by persistent anti-proprietary propaganda for many years, and now a flood of letters and memorials arrived from Carolina showing the great popularity of the change. His first interview with the Board of Trade on August 11th produced an immediate order taking the government of South Carolina into the King's hands.

"The second purpose of Barnwell's mission," writes Crane, "was to convert the colonial authorities to a vigorous program of frontier defense in the South. Since the death of Captain Nairne no Carolinian, perhaps no American, was better qualified than this Beaufort planter and veteran of numerous Indian campaigns to assist the Board of Trade in laying the groundwork of an Imperial western policy. Though Barnwell based his program upon the Indian system of South Carolina, it was conceived on a truly continental scale; its object was to offset the rapid expansion of French influence all along the back of the English seaboard colonies. The notable reports of the Board of Trade upon South Carolina in 1720 almost literally reproduced Barnwell's suggestions. His ideas were again incorporated, with those of James Logan, in the great representation upon the state of the colonies of September 8, 1721. With these documents, issuing from Whitehall in 1720-21, British western policy may be said to begin."²⁸

Colonel Barnwell proposed building a series of forts surrounded by settlement in imitation of the French policy as a means of opposing French encirclement from New Orleans to Quebec. He suggested six strategic locations on the southern frontier where such forts ought to be constructed. Port Royal was to become a port of entry and the supply point for the entire southern frontier. His proposal assumed the jurisdiction of South Carolina to cover all the Indian territory from the Cherokee land along the Tennessee to the Mississippi river and down to the gulf of Mexico. His plan was drawn up in detail for only the southern frontier, but it was applicable to the whole continent including the Bahamas, the maritime frontier.

The plan was endorsed by the Board of Trade and sent to the Lords Justices, but they were more conservative, more aware of the expense involved, and less imperialistic. They approved only "the proposals for the Altamaha garrison, for the allotment of lands for 'the new projected town' on the Altamaha, and for the Indian trade conference (with Virginia to settle the problem jointly)." They urged the command of the Altamaha project be given to Barnwell "whose knowledge of the Country and Experience in matters of this Nature will highly conduce to the promoting a Settlement on this Frontier." Their recommendations were approved by the Privy Council and appropriate instructions were sent to the new royal governor.

Tuscarora Jack's discussions with the Board of Trade continued through November, and he did not return to Carolina for another six months. It would be interesting to know whether he returned to Ireland to visit his family, but nothing is known of his activities during this interval. He was paid the enormous sum of £1,000 from the general levy for his services in London.²⁹

On May 22, 1721 H.M.S. Enterprise with Governor Nicholson, Colonel Barnwell, and the new royal garrison dropped anchor off Charles Town harbor. Within a week, John was appointed Justice of the Peace for Granville county, commander of the county militia including the Port Royal scout boats again, and commander of the expedition to the Altamaha.³⁰ He presented his plans for the expedition to the Council on June 7th. They asked him to write out his own commission and instructions which, with minor changes, were approved and signed on the 10th. He left immediately for Port Royal to begin preparations.³¹

Hampered by heavy rains, it took nearly three weeks before everything was ready. He had to rely mainly on his scout boat men who, he was afraid, had lost some of their discipline while he was in London. "These Scoutmen," he wrote, "are a wild idle people & continually Sotting if they can gett any Rum for Trust or money. Yet they are greatly usefull for such Expeditions as these if well & Tenderly managed, ffor as their Cheerful Imploy is to hunt the fforest or ffish. So there is Scarce One of Them but understands the Hoe, the Axe, the Saw, as well as their Gun and Oar." He persuaded twenty-six of them to go. He also tried to get six Creek Indians, but they fled just before sailing. He took one Creek and a Tuscarora, but six other Tuscaroras and several Edisto Indians he left behind because of the influence they might have on the Creeks. Preparations were finished by the 6th of July.

"I furnished myself with all Such Necessarys as I wanted out of the King's store at Beaufort," he reported, "and took Everything belonging to Royal Scout, and putt them on Board the Sloop, the Whale Boat and my perriaugoe, which with that & ye provisions were deep loaded, and having hired one David Duvall & his

two Slaves which are Sawyers, I sent him in the Whale Boat to take charge of her, & by much ado gott away that night, the men all drunk as beasts and fell down 3 miles & rested that night. I was in good health when I left Beaufort, But one of the men pretending to carry me into my Boat fell down with me & ducked me, over head in ye water, I not perceiving he was drunk, till it was too late, & unwilling to go ashore again to dry myself least the men Should disperse & run away I lay all night wett, my linen being on board the Sloop. So it caused my sickness to return so Violent, that I was once determined to Return if I mett the Sloop according to appointment, But before I mett her, I was mended & thank God am now in Good health."

They arrived at the mouth of the Savannah the next night and there separated: the sloop to go by sea and the other boats by the inland water route. The Colonel stayed with the perriauge because of his illness. Four days later they reached the northern mouth of the Altamaha and spent the first day exploring the Sound despite the Colonel's illness. Only on the 13th was he able to write: ". . . this morning I found myself in a manner well of my flux, which I can impute to nothing under God but drinking such a large quantity of ye River water yesterday being Excessive hot I could not forbear it."

He selected a site on a bluff overlooking the Sound and there pitched the tents. That night they met the sloop at the rendez-vous point and brought her back to camp. In two days they were ready to start building the fort. They were blessed with fine weather and abundant game: deer, turkey, and fish especially. Sunday the 16th was a day of rest for the men, but the Colonel took some of the men with him to explore the mouth of the Sound. They killed two bucks on St. Simon's Island but got caught in a rain storm and did not get back to camp until the next evening after another day of exploring.

By then the Colonel had completed his plans and laid them before the company. Lacking the proper timber nearby, they had to bring the cypress logs from three miles away. "This cypress," he wrote, "can't be gott out of the Swamp without wading naked up to the waist or sometimes to the neck which is a Terrible Slavery, and Especially now in the dog days, when Musketoes are in their Vigor." At the rate of six or seven logs a day, it took them two weeks to prepare 100 logs. Each log was a foot square and twelve feet long. Once this work was underway, the Colonel was able to spend the rest of the month mapping the whole Sound.

His report for the rest of the expedition is missing, but the work continued and was finished by October and named Fort King George. It was

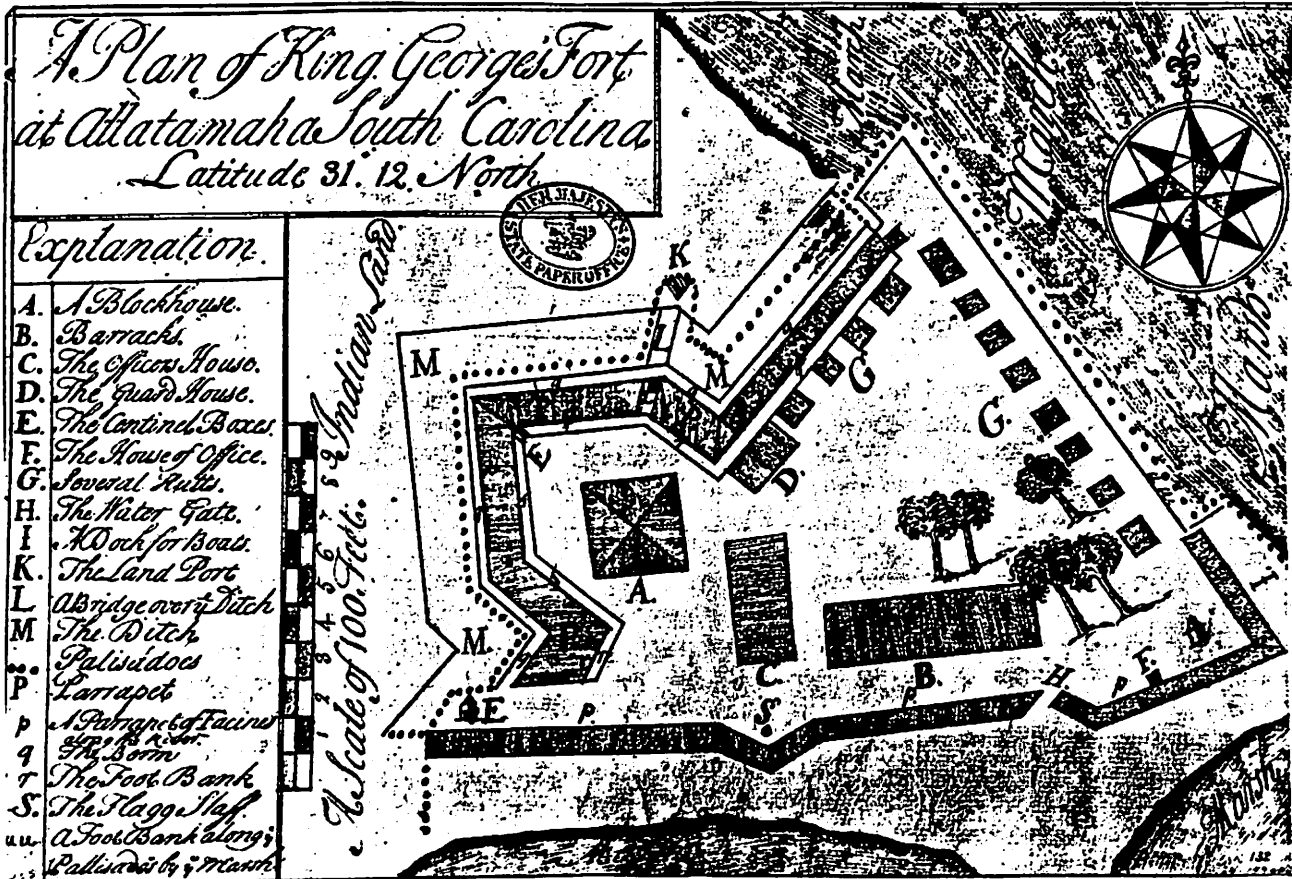
"a 'planked house,' or gabled blockhouse, twenty-six feet square. There were three floors: a magazine floor, a gunfloor at six feet from the ground, with walls pierced for cannon and musketry, and above a 'jetting floor to clear the sides,' with more loopholes for small arms. High in the gable a lookout window commanded a wide view of river and marsh and old Indian fields, and of St. Simon's Island to the east and southeast. On the land side of the blockhouse was defended by an earthen parapet, five to six feet high, with a bastion, and surrounding palisades and a moat. Another parapet of fascines fronted the river, and the palisades were continued along the marsh on the northeast. Within this irregular triangle, in a space measuring two hundred by three hundred feet, stood several palmetto-roofed huts and barracks."³²

Fort King George was the first permanent English penetration into Georgia. The royal garrison at Beaufort was stationed there until the fort burned down in January 1726. The weakness of the government in Charles Town delayed reconstruction until 1736 when General Oglethorpe changed the site to St. Simon's Island and there, with vastly superior resources, built Fort Frederica.

Tuscarora Jack was a leading member of the assembly again from 1721 until his death. He was appointed to the first Committee of Correspondance which served as a liason with the government in London. In 1724 he agreed to undertake a second mission to London when his health began to fail. Returning to Port Royal he made his will on May 4th and died early in June. On the 9th, Governor Nicholson wrote to the assembly:

"I am most cordially concerned for the Great Loss that His Majesty's Province in general and more particularly that part to the Southward hath sustained by the death of the honorable Coll. Barnwell. I have my Self been an Eye and Ear Witness of the Great Services he did for this Country in Great Britain."³³

His wife, Anne Berners, who tradition says was the sister of an English merchant living in Charles Town, had died before him leaving two sons and six daughters among whom his estate, amounting to over 6,500 acres, was divided.



"A Plan of King George's Fort at Allatamaha South Carolina"

Tuscarora Jack was buried in St. Helena's Churchyard on Port Royal Island directly behind the church. The apse was enlarged many years later, and so his grave is probably underneath the altar. Their children:

1. Margaret Barnwell, b. Feb. 13, 1704; d. Aug. 18, 1750.
2. Nathaniel Barnwell, b. Mar. 13, 1705; d. Feb. 20, 1775.
3. Anne Barnwell, b. Aug. 7, 1707; d. Aug. 17, 1770.
4. Mary Barnwell. *b. April*
5. Bridget Barnwell, d. Apr. 18, 1741.
6. Katherine Barnwell, b. Nov. 4, 1710; d. Oct. 7, 1740.
7. John Barnwell, b. Mar. 8, 1712; d. Oct. 5, 1782.
8. Elizabeth Barnwell, d. July 1748.

Chapter II

Colonial Beaufort

In December 1710 the Lords Proprietors agreed that a seaport, to be called Beaufort Town, should be established on Port Royal Island to "facilitate the production of naval stores in Granville and Colleton counties," and a charter to this effect was granted January 17, 1711. It was the second town in the colony. A town plan was drawn up and grants of lots were made as early as June 25, 1717. Within a few weeks over seventy lots had been granted with the majority going one to a person.¹

Although the grantees were required to build houses within a stated period of time, the town grew slowly because of the constant Indian threat, and few additional grants were made until after 1743.² A special Act to encourage settlement was passed in 1740, but the planters preferred to live on their plantations the year round. It was only with the growth of prosperity after the middle of the century that it became fashionable to build town houses in which to spend the summers. Tuscarora Jack acquired two lots which he left to Nathaniel and Anne. John, Jr. received one lot in September 1759 and three more in July 1764. By the time of the Revolution there were about 200 residents in the town with an additional 4,000 in the District. In 1769 the name Granville county was changed to Beaufort District.

Despite the original intention of the Proprietors and the fact that Port Royal Island is blessed with one of the finest natural harbors on the southeastern coast and that the production of naval stores did increase markedly, the town never became a large seaport. Between Charleston, 60 miles to the north, older, better established, and the seat of the government; and Savannah, 30 miles to the south with a much inferior harbor but necessary for the new colony of Georgia, Beaufort never had a chance. Furthermore the inhabitants were never interested in making it a great port.

However there was shipping in and out of Beaufort from the beginning, and it was a frequent port-of-call between the two capital cities. In May 1743 Captain Richard Wigg was made Receiver of Customs and George Livingston, Comptroller of the Port. By 1748 there was enough traffic for the assembly to appoint Colonel Nathaniel Barnwell, John Barnwell, Jr., Colonel Thomas Wigg, Charles Purry, and John Smith commissioners "to build and keep, and repair a pilot boat for the pilots of the harbour of Beaufort."³ Their commission was renewed in 1752 and again in 1762 granting the new commissioners, Nathaniel and John Barnwell again, Francis Stuart, John Mullryne, and William Hope the power to levy taxes to support it.

Beaufort's economic prosperity was always based principally on agriculture with rice, indigo, and cattle the most important in the colonial period. There was some cotton planted, but it did not have the importance it came to have after the introduction of the famous long staple Sea Island variety in 1790. Cotton tended to monopolize the attention of the planters changing somewhat the bountiful diversity enjoyed before the Revolution. William John Grayson, a great grandson of Colonel Thomas Wigg, recalled his boyhood on his grandmother's plantation on Parris Island: "Her plantation abounded in all good things. Her garden was excellent, producing every fruit and vegetable. Oranges were plentiful, figs without number, peaches and pomegranates in profusion . . . all useful and pleasant things flourished."⁴

Almost until the time of the Revolution, Beaufort was a frontier outpost against the Indians and Spaniards, and always had to be on the alert for a slave uprising. After the Yemassee War, His Majesty's Independent Company (Captain Edward Massey and 94 men) was stationed at the Beaufort fort.⁵ When Tuscarora Jack finished his fort on the Altamaha, Massey's Company was transferred there until it burned down in January 1726. They went back to Beaufort for ten years before joining Oglethorpe in Georgia. The Beaufort fort was repaired and largely rebuilt in 1733-34 under the direction of Major Nathaniel Barnwell and Thomas Wigg and named Fort Frederick. It was made of "tabby," a concrete of crushed oyster shells which was a very popular building material in the Sea Islands.

but forts alone were not enough for the kind of war which threatened the planters, and various schemes for companies of rangers were tried with moderate success.

Fort Frederick had so decayed by 1758 that it was abandoned and construction of a new one, named Fort Lyttelton, was started in the winter of 1758-59 about two and a half miles from the town. Delayed by the Cherokee war, it was not finished until late in 1762.⁶ Even then the sixteen cannon issued to the fort remained unmounted for lack of funds to build the necessary platforms and parapet walls. These were not completed until the Council of Safety, in preparation for the impending conflict with the mother country, ordered it done in December 1775 under the supervision of Colonel Stephen Bull, Nathaniel Barnwell II, James Cuthbert, and Thomas Rutledge.

The colony was divided into seven military districts of which Granville county was one. In each county there was one or more regiments with one or more companies in each parish. Each regiment had a colonel, lieutenant colonel, major, and an adjutant. These ranks rotated frequently among the planters of the district, and when a tour of duty was over, the titles were maintained by their holders. This, no doubt, accounts for the large number of colonels and majors in South Carolina before the Civil War. Nathaniel Barnwell was a major by 1733 and by 1737 was colonel and "Commander of the Southern Militia" which was probably the Granville county regiment.⁷ His brothers-in-law Thomas Wigg and Hugh Bryan, and friends John Mullryne and William Hazzard, Sr. of Hazzard's Neck were all colonels, and on the eve of the Revolution his son-in-law, Colonel Stephen Bull of Sheldon, was the regimental commander.

Beaufort men were well represented in the only two colonial wars in South Carolina: one against France and Spain which started with the so-called War of Jenkin's Ear in 1739, and the Cherokee War. During the 1730s Georgia was still a battleground for empire. In 1739 General Oglethorpe was ordered to attack the Spanish stronghold at St. Augustine. His call for assistance from South Carolina was answered by a pledge of £40,000 and over 400 men. In addition "several Gentlemen of Interest in the country (47 in number), discovering a resolution to go as Volunteers on the Expedition" were ordered by Lt. Gov. William Bull to obey Oglethorpe "in all times of action."⁸ Among these Volunteers were Colonel Nathaniel and John Barnwell and Thomas Wigg from Beaufort. Nathaniel became Oglethorpe's aide-de-camp and stuck by him when the other volunteers became angry and disillusioned at the gross mismanagement and subsequent failure of the campaign. They threatened to return to Carolina and got as far as St. John's when the arrival of more volunteers made them change their minds. In the investigation of the fiasco by the assembly, Nathaniel's testimony was valuable in assessing Oglethorpe's responsibility for it.⁹

In the war with the Cherokees, the commander of the South Carolina regiment was Colonel Thomas Middleton who had, besides important interests in Charlestown and Berkeley county, a plantation on Port Royal Island adjoining one belonging to Colonel Barnwell. Just before his departure for the war, he married his neighbor's daughter, Anne Barnwell. The Cherokees had gone on the warpath in 1759 and were eventually defeated by a combined British and provincial army under Lieutenant Colonel James Grant. The most important result of the war was that it opened up the back country for settlement. Middleton's regiment became famous for the number of men in it who contributed to the leadership of the Revolution in South Carolina: Henry Laurens, William Moultrie, Francis Marion, Isaac Huger, and Andrew Pickens. Colonel Middleton was accompanied by his fourteen-year-old brother-in-law Nathaniel Barnwell II who suffered from exposure in the field and remained a semi-invalid for life.

At the center of public life in Beaufort was the Anglican parish of St. Helena.¹⁰ Created by an act of the assembly in June 1712, it ministered to the whole of Granville county until 1745 when the area between the Coosawhatchie and Combahee rivers was set apart as Prince William's Parish. In 1747 another parish, St. Peter's, was formed at Purrysburg, and in 1767 a fourth parish, St. Luke's, was established in the southeastern part of the District.

The Rev. William Guy, the first rector of St. Helena's (1714-15) held services in private homes. The church, built in 1724, was a simple structure made of brick measuring 30 x 40 feet. The great steeple which tends to dominate the modern church was not added until after the Civil War. The minutes of the parish vestry indicate it was similar to other colonial parishes in being dominated by a few families.¹¹ Colonel Nathaniel Barnwell served as warden and vestryman for 39 years between 1726 and 1773. No one in colonial Beaufort served a longer time. His brother John put in 27 years between 1738 and 1773, and four of their brothers-in-law were also vestrymen: Thomas Stanyarne (1725-27), Dr. Ambrose Reeve (5 years), Colonel Thomas Wigg (21 years), and Hugh Bryan (3 years). Nine more vestrymen were related to the family in one way or another: Captain Richard and Edward Wigg, Colonel Hazzard (19 years), and his son William, Jr., Francis Stuart, Colonel Middleton (1764-66), and Andrew, Jacob, and William DeVeaux.

The vestry not only governed the affairs of the Church but also served, in the absence of anything else, as the town government.¹² They examined acts of the assembly as they pertained to the parish, acted as guardians of orphans,

served as the local agency for poor relief, and raised taxes to perform these quasi-governmental duties. For example, in 1737 they appointed Nathaniel Barnwell, Hugh Bryan, and Richard Reynolds as assessors to tax the parish £100 for the support of the poor, and in 1738 Nathaniel and John Barnwell and Hugh Bryan to assess the parish five shillings in the pound according to the tax on land and slaves. The support of the Church itself came from individual voluntary contributions of the members.

County judicial affairs were in the hands of the Justice of the Peace, an office which had existed from the earliest days of the colony. Their duties, determined largely by English tradition, involved the trying of minor cases, sending men accused of crime to prison and setting their bail, administering oaths, taking depositions of witnesses for major cases, issuing warrants of peace and warrants of hue and cry. Nathaniel Barnwell had served as a J. P. in Berkeley county in 1734, and in March 1737 he and Thomas Wigg were among the thirteen appointed for Granville county. In 1756 both Nathaniel and John along with Thomas Wigg and Francis Stuart were among the Granville county J. P.s.

The Colonial Family

Tuscarora Jack had left behind him not only a well earned reputation but also a family prepared to build on the foundations he had laid. Most of the men who ran the affairs of Granville county, and particularly St. Helena's Parish, whether military, political, or ecclesiastical were, or came to be, related to his children and grandchildren. The central position his descendants were to hold in the life of Beaufort for over a century was clear from very early in her history. Besides his two sons, he had six daughters: Margaret (1704-50), Anne (1707-70), Mary, Bridget (-1741), Katherine (1710-40), and Elizabeth (-1748).

Colonel Nathaniel Barnwell (1705-1775)

Nathaniel was born in Charles Town on March 13, 1705 and may have spent some of his youth in England.¹³ He played a more modest role in the public life of the colony than his father and correspondingly devoted more time to his estates and local affairs. He represented the parish of St. Helena in the assembly from 1736 until February 1740 when he resigned to go on the ill-fated expedition to St. Augustine.¹⁴ He was re-elected in September 1746 with Colonel Wigg and took an active and conscientious part in the work serving on the committees of grievance, Indian affairs, petitions, and the public debt among others. The session ended June 13, 1747 and so did Nathaniel's political career.¹⁵ He had joined the growing company of planters who were beginning to shun an assembly increasingly controlled by the lawyers and merchants of Charlestown.

From the standpoint of the family, Nathaniel's great achievement was to build up his estates. He inherited his father's principal plantation (400 acres) on Port Royal Island, an additional 1,000 acres on the adjoining islands to the west (later known as Barnwell Island), a lot in Beaufort, and half of his father's cattle.¹⁶ He added substantially to this in September 1751 with the purchase of 1,700 acres on Parris Island (half of it) from the trustees of John Parris.¹⁷ This is the site of the modern Marine base. Colonel Thomas Wigg owned a quarter of the island, and William Elliott of Beaufort most of the rest. Nathaniel also bought the plantation known as Laurel Bay (400 acres) fronting on Broad River; a plantation known as "The Swamp" near the Salt Water Bridge, and a tract of land "bought of Lt. Gov. Bull." He built a large home in Beaufort and bought two waterfront lots on the Bay. When he died he was able to make such bequests as £5,000 to each of his grand-daughters Anne and Elizabeth Middleton, £3,000 to his daughter, Mrs. Anne Middleton, and £2,300 to his daughter, Mrs. Mary Elliott all of which indicates that he had amassed a considerable fortune.¹⁸

Nathaniel married April 7, 1738 Mary Gibbes, a daughter of Colonel John Gibbes of John's Island and Mary Woodward. She was a grand-daughter of Governor Robert Gibbes and a great grand-daughter of Dr. Henry Woodward, the first Englishman to settle in South Carolina. Born February 26, 1722 Mary was 16 at the time of her marriage and had fourteen children. She also raised a grandson, Edward Barnwell II, and a young cousin, Elizabeth Fenwick, until her son John ran away with and married her. The Barnwells often entertained the missionary George Whitefield on his trips between Charlestown and Savannah and "imbibed from him his views and doctrines with regard to religious matters."¹⁹ She was a woman of strong character and had a great influence on her family.

Surviving her husband 26 years, she lived in the big home in Beaufort throughout the Revolutionary War and died there December 4, 1801. Only four of her children survived her.

Nathaniel made his will September 9, 1770 dividing his estate among his wife and eight surviving children. He died February 20, 1775 and was buried in St. Helena's churchyard "universally considered a man of high character and courage." They had fourteen children:

1. Nathaniel Barnwell, b. Aug. 10, 1739; bur. Nov. 17, 1739.
2. John Barnwell, b. May 27, 1741; bur. Oct. 7, 1743.
3. Anne Barnwell, b. Sept. 23, 1743; d. 1816
4. Mary Gibbes Barnwell, b. Apr. 11, 1745; d. Jan. 11, 1774.
5. Nathaniel Barnwell, b. Feb. 3, 1746; d. 1798.
6. John Barnwell, b. July 15, 1748; d. Aug. 27, 1800.
7. Robert Barnwell, b. Aug. 16, 1749; d. Sept. 1, 1749.
8. Bridget Barnwell, b. Oct. 16, 1750; d. May 16, 1751.
9. Robert Barnwell, b. Mar. 29, 1752; d. July 4, 1752.
10. Elizabeth Barnwell, b. June 19, 1753; d. Oct. 10, 1817.
11. Richard Barnwell, b. Jan. 20, 1755; bur. Oct. 12, 1756.
12. Edward Barnwell, b. Nov. 16, 1757; d. Apr. 15, 1808.
13. Robert Gibbes Barnwell, b. Dec. 21, 1761; d. Oct. 24, 1814.
14. Sarah Barnwell, b. Apr. 15, 1764; d. Sept. 19, 1796.

John Barnwell, Jr.
(1712-1782)

John, Jr. was born March 8, 1712 while his father was in North Carolina. He inherited the lower half of the 550 acres his father had "over against Beaufort on Combee Island" (Lady's Island). In 1749 he added another 170 acres on Lady's Island "bounded on the marshes of the Beaufort river." His largest acquisition came in August 1763 when he was granted 396 acres on Port Royal Island "bounding to the southward upon land belonging to Col. Thomas Middleton and to the westward on Col. Nathaniel Barnwell's land and to the northward Robert Wilkinson's land, to the N.E. and Eastward upon land belonging to Andrew DeVeaux and Henry Tabbert (Talbird?)."²⁰ In his will (1773) he mentioned owning Wassa Island (about 500 acres) between Datha and Lady's Island and also "Scott's Plantation." He had four lots in Beaufort but seems to have lived generally on Lady's Island.

He married October 31, 1737 Martha Chaplin, born April 3, 1720, a daughter of John Chaplin and Phoebe Ladson. The Chaplins were planters on Lady's and St. Helena Islands. John, Jr. died October 5, 1782 and Martha on October 24, 1792. They had ten children:

1. John Barnwell, b. Sept. 14, 1738; d. May 3, 1750.
2. Catherine Barnwell, b. July 3, 1740;
3. Anne Barnwell, b. Dec. 11, 1742; d. Apr. 26, 1798.
4. Margaret Barnwell, b. Oct. 4, 1745; bur. Oct. 11, 1763.
5. Martha Barnwell, b. Jan. 16, 1747; d. Dec. 13, 1789.
6. Elizabeth Barnwell, b. Jan. 18, 1749;
7. Bridget Barnwell, b. Nov. 4, 1752; d. Jan. 8, 1789.
8. John Berners Barnwell, b. Sept. 20, 1756;
9. Mary Barnwell, b. July 18, 1759;
10. Phoebe Sarah Barnwell, b. Sept. 9, 1763; d. 1810.

Margaret Barnwell
(1704-1750)

Margaret, the eldest daughter, was born in Charles Town February 13, 1704. Her first husband, John Whitmarsh, Jr., a planter on the Edisto and Ashepoo rivers, died in April 1723 leaving no children. In his will he left £500 to the

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for the poor of St. Paul's Parish and £500 for educating the poor in the parish and £100 to the Church.²¹

Margaret's second husband was Richard Stevens, a lieutenant on a British Man-of-War. He settled in Beaufort where he owned a house and two lots which he left in his will to his sister-in-law, Mrs. Anne Reeve.²² He died in February 1749 and Margaret on August 18, 1750 leaving two children:

1. Richard Stevens, born June 24, 1736, married August 27, 1755 Mary Wigg, daughter of Captain Richard Wigg of Beaufort. Mary was born August 20, 1740 and died July 16, 1763 leaving an only daughter, Margaret (1758-1790) who married Admiral Sir John Orde, 1st Baronet (1751-1824) and had no children. Richard married again December 18, 1765 Mary Smith of Beaufort and had a son, Richard. He made his will July 7, 1766 (pr. Sept. 30, 1766) appointing Thomas Middleton and Lewis Reeve his executors.

2. Mary Anne Stevens, born September 4, 1739, married May 2, 1754 John Gibbes, son of Colonel John Gibbes and Mary Woodward. They had no children.

Anne Barnwell
(1707-1770)

Anne was born August 7, 1707 and left an orphan at the age of 16, but her father had great confidence in her and in his will directed that all her younger sisters and brother John receive "their education and boarding" in her care "until they are otherwise provided for by her, without any Diminution of my personal estate entrusted to her on my plantation on Port Royal, or at Beaufort." For herself she inherited a lot in Beaufort and the other half of the 550 acres "over against Combee island."

Anne married four times but had children only by her second husband. She married, first, March 29, 1726 Thomas Stanyarne, son of Colonel James Stanyarne who had been on the Council from 1671 to 1693. The Stanyarnes planted on John's Island and were closely connected to the Woodwards and Gibbes. In time their descendants and the Barnwells were much interrelated. Thomas died in the spring of 1731 leaving his widow a plantation at Bennet's Point on the Edisto, a lot in Charlestown, and another in Beaufort.²³

Anne remarried December 16, 1733 Dr. Ambrose Reeve, a native of Kent and the surgeon attached to Captain Massey's Company at the Beaufort fort. Leaving the army, Dr. Reeve settled in Beaufort to practice medicine, bought a lot, and served on the vestry. He died in November 1749 leaving three children: Anne, Lewis, and Sarah Reeve.

Anne Reeve was born March 12, 1735 and married December 28, 1752 Francis Stuart, a local merchant. Francis was a son of John Stuart, a well-to-do merchant in Inverness, Scotland.²⁴ Descendants of the Scottish royal house, their cousin John Roy Stuart was the boon companion of Bonnie Prince Charlie during the Stuart rising in 1745. John Stuart of Inverness was a member of the Scottish Episcopal Church, on the Town Council (1713-16), and after serving as a magistrate (1713-15) was popularly known as Bailie John Stuart. He was "an ardent but cautious Jacobite." By his first wife, Marian Rose of Merkinch, he had two daughters. His second wife was Christian, daughter of Norman McLeod of Brynoch, by whom he had another daughter and at least ten sons.

The best known of his sons was John Stuart, Jr., born in 1718. John went into his father's extensive mercantile business and once sailed around the world. Although his politics reflected those of his father, he took no part in the rising of '45. Probably persuaded by friends and relations already in South Carolina, John sailed for Charlestown in the spring of 1748. There he formed Stuart & Reid, Importers which soon prospered enough to open a branch office in Beaufort under the management of his brother Francis whom he had persuaded to come over late in 1748.

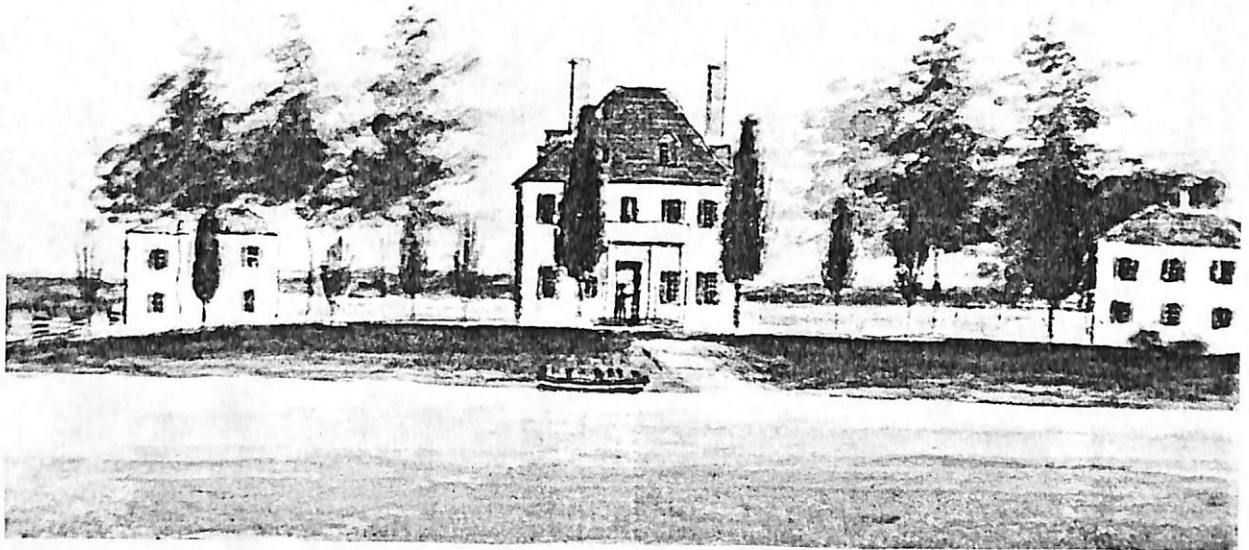
Francis Stuart was born about 1728 and described at the time of his emigration as "modest, sober, and sensible." The Beaufort branch did £1,500 worth of business during its first year, and Frank, as he was called, was given 1/3 of the profits. In 1754 the Charlestown office closed, but Frank escaped the disaster and continued to flourish in Beaufort until his death September 22, 1766. He was a member of the St. Andrew's Society in Charlestown, a J. P. for Granville county in 1756, a tax assessor and member of the vestry at St. Helena's parish (1759-64). He and Anne Reeve had several children but only one, Dr. James Stuart, survived infancy to become the ancestor of the Beaufort Stuarts.

Lewis Reeve was born August 5, 1739 and planted on Datha Island until his death November 14, 1774. He never married and left Datha to his sister Sarah.

Sarah Reeve was born March 4, 1746 and married Mar. 31, 1764 Robert Gibbes, the elder son of Colonel John

Gibbes of John's Island and Mary Woodward. Robert was born July 13, 1732 and had married, first, Anne Stanyarne, a daughter of General John Stanyarne who was a first cousin of Colonel James Stanyarne. They had one child, Mary, born in 1758.

The Gibbes plantation, "Peaceful Retreat," on John's Island was "well known throughout the country as the seat of hospitality and elegant taste." Robert was prevented by gout from active participation in the Revolution, but he supported it "and his house was ever open for the reception and entertainment of the friends of liberty." Sarah, even as a young woman, gave "evidence that she possessed a mind of no common order." Because of her husband's illness, the care and management of their estates and all the household duties fell upon her. In addition to her own nine children, she raised seven orphan nephews and nieces and, for a while, her nephew/cousin Robert Barnwell. "The multiplied cares involved in meeting all these responsibilities, with the superintendence of household concerns, required a rare degree of energy and activity; yet the mistress of this well-ordered establishment had always a ready and cordial welcome for her friends.²⁵ Robert died July 4, 1794 and Sarah on January 19, 1825. Some of their descendants married back into the family later on.



Peaceful Retreat
by Charles Fraser

After the death of Dr. Reeve, Anne Barnwell married March 6, 1752 her brother's neighbor, Colonel Thomas Wigg. He was a son of Richard Wigg who came to Carolina before 1706 and settled in Charles Town. Richard was one of the original grantees of lots in Beaufort in 1717 and died in 1727 leaving six children who chose to live in Beaufort: Thomas, Captain Richard, Edward, Mary, Hillersdon, and Catherine.

Colonel Thomas Wigg held a position in colonial Beaufort analogous to that of Nathaniel Barnwell: planter, militia colonel, member of the assembly, J. P. and long-time vestryman. His first wife, Mary Seymour of Charlestown, died in 1750 leaving six children for Anne to raise. One of them, Elizabeth Wigg, married John Heyward of Tulfiney whose son, John, Jr., married a daughter of John Barnwell, Jr. In his will Colonel Wigg left Datha Island (1,100 acres), which he had bought from Charles and Thomas Boone, to his widow. He died January 28, 1759.

Anne married, lastly, August 28, 1760 Colonel John Gibbes of John's Island. This was the fourth alliance between these two families in 26 years. Colonel Gibbes, a son of Governor Gibbes, was born June 21, 1696. His first wife,

Mary Woodward, was a daughter of Colonel John Woodward and Elizabeth Stanyarne. They had seven children, of whom Mary was already married to Nathaniel Barnwell, and Robert who would shortly be married to Anne's daughter, Sarah Reeve. After Mary Woodward died, Colonel Gibbs married (1748) a widow, Mrs. Elizabeth Bedon Jenys who died in October 1757.

Colonel Gibbs died December 18, 1764 leaving to his widow the "Corner House" in Charlestown with all its furniture and an adequate income for life.²⁶ Anne made her will June 14, 1770 leaving Datha Island to her son Lewis Reeve. She created a trust fund of £2,500 for her grandson, James Stuart, for his maintenance and education until the age of 21 when he was to get the principal. She gave her daughter Sarah nine slaves by name who were eventually to go to her grand-daughter, Mary Anna Gibbs. Her grandchildren through her daughter Sarah were, of course, Colonel Gibbs' grandchildren through his son Robert. Anne appointed Lewis Reeve and Robert Gibbs her executors and died August 17, 1770.²⁷



Colonel John Gibbs



Mrs. John Gibbs
(Mary Woodward)

Mary Barnwell

Tuscarora Jack's third daughter, we know the least about. She inherited 500 acres on St. Helena's Island and married Paul Grimball (1700-50), son of Thomas Grimball and Elizabeth Adams, and grandson of Paul Grimball who was a prominent figure in the early years of the colony. Paul Grimball II had two children, Ann and Paul, III, by a first wife, and he would marry a third time.

By Mary Barnwell he had three daughters: 1) Mary, who married George Cuthbert, son of John Cuthbert of Cas-

tlehill, Scotland; 2) Catherine, who married David Adams (1718-80) and had descendants who lived on Port Royal Island for several generations; and 3) Elizabeth, who married William Baynard, a planter on Port Royal Island where their descendants also lived for generations.

Bridget Barnwell
(-1741)

Bridget was about 14 when her father died and inherited 500 acres on Hilton Head at Scull Point. She married about 1727/8 Captain Robert Sams, son of Bonum Sams of Wadmalaw Island and Elizabeth Brewton.²⁸ Robert was a planter on Wadmalaw with some 550 acres there and was, for twenty-five years (1734-59), on the vestry of St. John's Parish. He was married at least three times. The name of his first wife is unknown, and his third wife, Mary, was a daughter of General John Stanyarne of John's Island. Bridget died in childbirth April 18, 1741 leaving four children: Robert, Jr., Elizabeth, John, and William who became the ancestor of the Sams family in South Carolina.

William Sams, born April 18, 1741, married Elizabeth Hext, daughter of Francis Hext, Jr. of Beaufort and Elizabeth Stanyarne. By 1765 he owned 490 acres on Wadmalaw and was a member of St. John's Parish until 1779. On May 13, 1783 he purchased Datha Island from his first cousins, Robert and Sarah Reeve Gibbes. Datha became the principal seat of the Beaufort Sams until the Civil War. William died there January 16, 1798 and his widow on November 8, 1813 and both were buried in the family graveyard on Datha.

The Sams family was wealthy and prominent in Beaufort until 1861 but did not belong to the circle of families descended from Bridget's brother, Nathaniel, who dominated the life of the community. They were drawn more into the orbit of the families who had large holdings on St. Helena's Island, the Fripps, Hanns, Chaplins, and Popes. William Sams' three younger sons, who made up the core of the Beaufort Sams: Lewis Reeve, Dr. Berners Barnwell, and Edward Hext Sams, all married Fripps from St. Helena's Island

Katherine Barnwell
(1710-1740)

Katherine was born November 4, 1710 and inherited the other 500 acres at Scull Point on Hilton Head. She married Hugh Bryan of Good Hope Plantation on John's Island, son of Joseph Bryan and Janet Cochran.²⁹ When he was only 16, Hugh was captured in the Yemassee uprising in 1715 and sold as a slave to a half-Indian, half-white master. When the master was killed in the war, the Yemassee chief sent Hugh to St. Augustine where, after a few months of captivity, he escaped and returned to his family.³⁰

Hugh Bryan acquired a plantation in Granville county and embarked on the usual career of a colonial planter becoming a captain and major in the militia, a tax assessor, a vestryman at St. Helena's and member of the assembly for St. Helena's in 1734. His first wife, Martha Brandford, died in March 1732 leaving him with two small children. He married Katherine Barnwell January 2, 1734. In a few years their lives were much changed by the appearance of the persuasive, itinerant evangelical preacher, George Whitefield.

The Rev. George Whitefield came to the new colony of Georgia in 1738 with his great friend James Habersham from Yorkshire. Whitefield stayed only three months on that trip but returned to America in August 1739. He preached up and down the English colonies having better success here than in England. In South Carolina he was not well received by the Anglican Commissary, Alexander Garden, and seems to have had his greatest influence on the brothers Jonathan and Hugh Bryan, Hugh's wife Katherine, and a "Mr. B....ll of Beaufort"³¹ who seems to have undergone a conversion experience under Whitefield's influence. This was probably Nathaniel because his son, Robert, said that Whitefield used to stay at their home on his travels between Charlestown and Savannah.

Whitefield persuaded Hugh and Katherine to start a Negro school which caused quite a sensation especially after the slave rising of 1739 in which 40 Negroes and 20 whites were killed. To be a teacher, the Bryans engaged "a young stage player," William Hutson, whom Whitefield had converted in New York and "who providentially came to Georgia, when Mr. Jonathan Bryan was there."³²

Katherine died October 7, 1740 "between the hours of nine and ten in the morning, being filled with the full assur-

ance of faith in Christ, and a joyful hope of eternal salvation through His merits and mediation," as Hugh wrote to his niece. They had no children.³³

Two months after Katherine's death, Charlestown had a great fire, and Hugh wrote a letter to the *Gazette* on January 8, 1741, edited and approved by Whitefield, in which he urged the clergy to disobey the canons of the Church and adopt the views of the great Whitefield. He blamed all the difficulties of the colony from the Yemassee war to the great fire on the laxity of the Church, especially the clergy, and on their failure to accept Whitefield. He was arrested and charged with seditious libel, which he freely confessed, and was released on bail but for some reason was never brought to trial.

Hugh continued in his views and expanded his activities with the Negroes to the great consternation of his neighbors. Enough pressure was finally brought upon him to make him see "the error of his ways," and he abandoned the school. His actions, in the last analysis, only served to bring Whitefield's teachings into disrepute in South Carolina,³⁴ but Hugh remained personally highly respected and published a popular book called *Living Christianity* which was a collection of his letters.³⁵ In August 1741 he bought Cedar Grove Plantation in Prince William's Parish and in 1742 appears as colonel of the county regiment.³⁶ Eventually he became a deacon in the Circular Independent Church in Charlestown whose minister was his erstwhile assistant, William Hutson. In 1744 Hugh married Mary Prioleau, daughter of Samuel Prioleau. He died December 31, 1753 and was buried in the Stony Creek churchyard. His widow became the second wife of the Rev. William Hutson.

Elizabeth Barnwell
(-1748)

Tuscarora Jack's youngest daughter was about 10 when he died and inherited over 1,000 acres "on Combee Neck in St. Bartholomew's parish in Colleton county." She married April 25, 1734 Thomas Tattnell, a planter on John's Island where he was a warden of the parish.³⁷ Tattnell died shortly before 1746 and Elizabeth in July 1748 leaving two children: Josiah and Sarah Ann Tattnell.

Josiah Tattnell, born February 1, 1740, married May 21, 1761 Mary Mullryne, daughter of Colonel John Mullryne of Beaufort and Claudia Cattell. They moved to Savannah in 1762 where he bought Bonaventure Plantation and founded a family long prominent in Georgia history.³⁸ Their son, Josiah II, was Governor of Georgia in 1800, and grandson, Josiah III, a Commodore in the Confederate Navy.

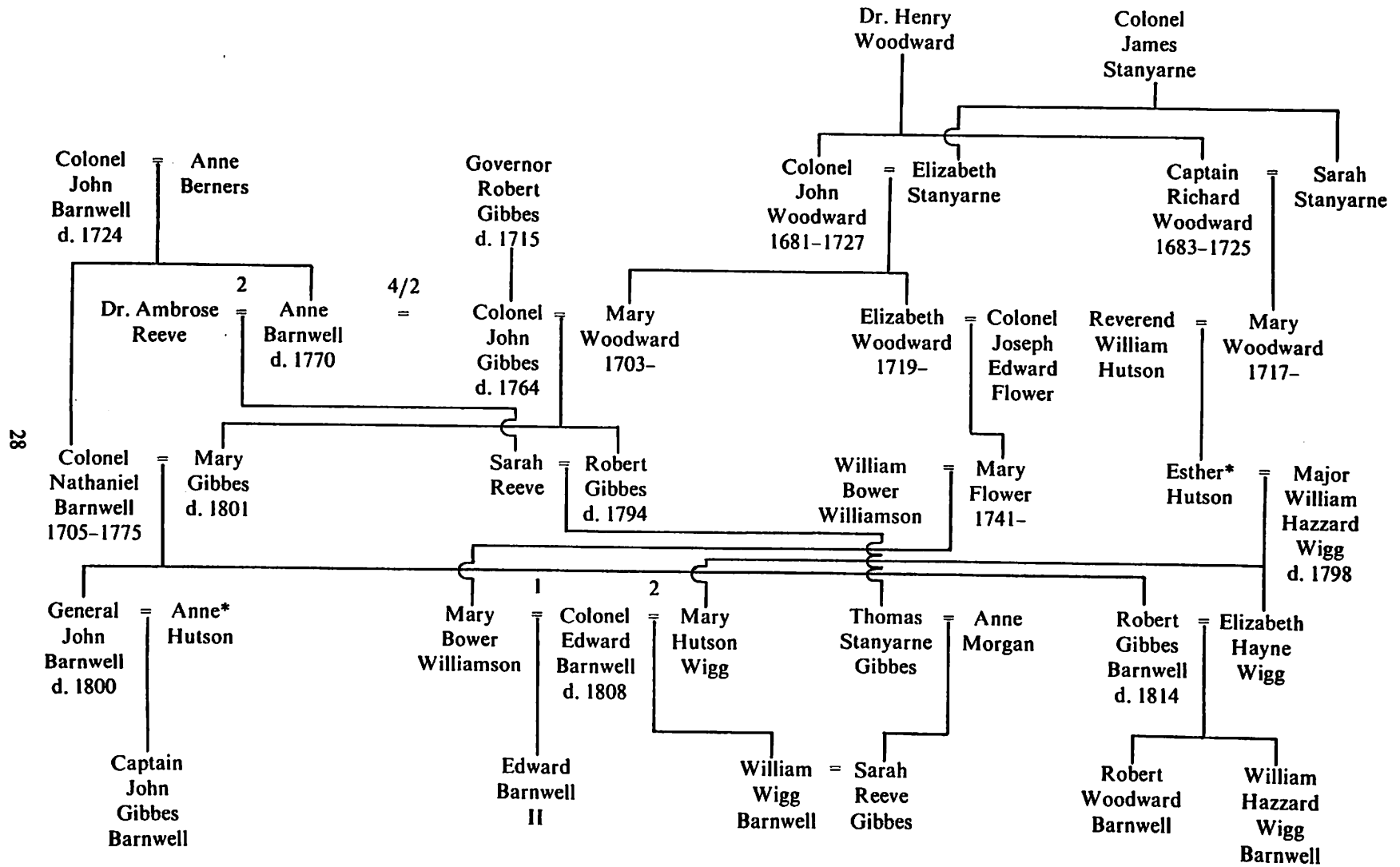
Sarah Ann Tattnell, born December 6, 1742, married, first, January 19, 1758 Samuel Perronneau, Jr. from James Island, a merchant in Charlestown, but she left him to elope with the Governor, Thomas Boone. Boone was born in Devonshire and educated at Eton and Cambridge.³⁹ He came to South Carolina in 1752 to take over Boone's Barony which he inherited from his uncle Joseph Boone. In May 1760 he was appointed Governor of New Jersey where he had a fairly successful administration. Promoted to the governorship of South Carolina in October 1761, he was much less successful. He soon antagonized the assembly by his arbitrary attitude, particularly by contesting their right to pass on their own elected members, and "by his dissolute life." He was forced to resign, and in May 1764 departed for England with, as McCrady put it, "a lady who was not his wife,"—Sarah Ann Tattnell Perronneau.⁴⁰ Boone's administration in Charlestown was important in that it greatly increased the dissatisfaction with royal government which would break out in revolution a decade later.

In England Boone was reprimanded for his mismanagement of the colony, but in 1769 was rewarded with a commissionership of Customs and retired in 1805. He was awarded £22,533 indemnity for the loss of his estates in South Carolina during the Revolution, particularly Boone's Barony. He died in Kent in 1812 leaving at least two children by Sarah Ann.

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Despite our lack of information about the colonial family, it is abundantly clear that they had substantially improved their position. Living in Beaufort, they were somewhat removed from the mainstream of Carolina life, but they were not completely isolated. Political events in the capital city were quickly felt in Beaufort. Such was the case with the Revolution which found some of its most ardent supporters at Port Royal, but this brings us to a new era and a new generation.

THE DESCENT FROM DR. HENRY WOODWARD, first Englishman to settle in Carolina



28

*sisters

Chapter III

The War for Independence

Colonel Nathaniel Barnwell had been a typical planter of colonial South Carolina. He had been taught by his father "never to trust a Spaniard, nor be afraid of an Indian,"¹ but the Spaniards were no longer a threat, and the Indians had been pushed to the west. His father had helped to bring royal government to the colony, and it is not surprising that the son should have remained loyal to the Crown. His own sons, however, were to do their part in overthrowing it and bringing in the new Republic. What irony that their sons and grandsons would, in their turn, try to overturn much of their work. It seems fitting and somehow proper that the old Colonel should die (1775) before watching his sons go into rebellion.

It is interesting to notice that while Nathaniel's descendants ("The Elder Branch") uniformly opted for the American side, John's family ("The Younger Branch") was divided, with the majority of those we know anything about remaining loyal to the King. The only thing which may account for this is that while Nathaniel died before the war, John died after the war and may have impressed his views more firmly on his family. At this point we can only guess.

Part I The Elder Branch

On the eve of the Revolution, the "elder branch" consisted of the colonel's widow, Mary Gibbes, and their four sons and four daughters: Nathaniel II, John, Edward, and Robert; Anne, Mary, Elizabeth, and Sarah.

Nathaniel Barnwell II was born February 3, 1746 and, being a semi-invalid from his experiences in the Cherokee War, was unable to participate actively in the Revolution. He inherited Barnwell Island and the Port Royal plantation known as "Old House" with another tract adjoining where he raised blooded race horses. He married Dec. 1, 1768 Elizabeth Waight, born March 4, 1749, a daughter of William Waight of John's Island and Elizabeth Field. The Wights owned property on St. Helena's Island and on the Combahee river as well as a home in Beaufort. Nathaniel and Elizabeth had only three children: Elizabeth, Nathaniel III, and William Waight which seems to indicate that Elizabeth died shortly after William was born (1774).

John was born July 15, 1748 and was educated with William Hazzard Wigg at the college of Whitefield's Georgia Orphan House in Savannah.² When only 17, he eloped with his mother's ward, Elizabeth Fenwick. She was born March 11, 1747, a daughter of Edward Fenwick and Martha Izard but was raised by her cousins in Beaufort. She and John were married January 30, 1766, but she died the following November 23rd, without children, and was buried in St. Helena's churchyard. Before the war, John was following in his father's footsteps—planter, vestryman, and captain of the Beaufort Company.

Edward and Robert were only 18 and 14 and living at home with their mother when the war started.

Anne, born September 23, 1743, married, first, Colonel Thomas Middleton of Boochawe Plantation and Howe Hall.³ Born in 1719, a son of Governor Arthur Middleton and Sarah Amory, he had served as a J. P. and member of the assembly (1742-66). He combined planting in Berkeley and Granville counties with banking and other commercial interests in Charlestown, one of the last men in his social class to do so. Middleton was adjutant of the Charlestown regiment in 1741, of Colonel Wright's regiment in 1743, captain in the Berkeley county regiment, and finally commander of the South Carolina Regiment in the Cherokee war.

Middleton's first wife was Mary Bull, daughter of Captain John Bull of Bull's Island who had been with Tuscarora Jack in North Carolina in 1711-12. They had three children: William (died, unmarried, in 1768); Sally, who

married (1760) the future Governor Benjamin Guerard; and Mary, who married (1771) Major Pierce Butler of H.M.'s 29th Regiment and later United States Senator from South Carolina. Mary Bull Middleton died February 2, 1760, and Thomas married Anne Barnwell the following August 6th. Colonel Middleton died December 17, 1766, the day before his daughter, Anne, was born. He left his True Blue Plantation (1,000 acres) on Kean's Neck in Prince William's Parish to his widow.

Anne Barnwell Middleton remarried May 2, 1772 Colonel Stephen Bull of Sheldon Hall. Stephen was a great-grandson of Colonel Stephen Bull who left his ancestral home, Kingshurst Hall in Warwickshire, in 1669 to come to Carolina as a deputy of the Lords Proprietors. In 1671 he settled Ashley Hall Plantation which remained in his family for over 200 years. He had three sons: William, Burnaby, and Captain John Bull. William Bull I, as the lieutenant governor, was "the key figure in the internal politics of South Carolina" from 1737 to 1743. He married Mary Quinyne and dying March 21, 1750 left two sons: Stephen Bull of Ashley Hall and Dr. William Bull who was five times the acting governor, the last time on the eve of a revolution he could not accept. The older son, Stephen of Ashley Hall, was a militia officer and member of the assembly. He married, first, Martha Godin, daughter of Benjamin Godin and Mary Anne Mazyck; and secondly Judith Mayrant from whom descend the Bulls of Ashley Hall. The only child by the first marriage was Stephen Bull of Sheldon.

Stephen of Sheldon was a J.P. for Granville county in 1756 and was elected to the assembly in 1757 for Prince William's Parish where he was one of the largest landowners. His grandfather Bull had owned Newberry Plantation (6,000 acres) out of which came both Sheldon and Little Newberry. The latter was sold to Henry Middleton who sold it to William Elliott II in 1801. Stephen also had 7,700 acres on the north bank of the Great Saltila river in Camden county, Georgia which he left to his three daughters. His first wife, Elizabeth Woodward (1738-71), by whom he had no children, was a daughter of Richard Woodward and Elizabeth Godin. When the Revolution broke out, he was the colonel of the Granville county regiment.

Wm. I → Colonel Barnwell's second daughter, Mary, was born April 11, 1745 and married, the same night as her sister Anne (August 6, 1760), William Elliott of Beaufort, a grandson of Thomas Elliott of Longpoint, Berkeley county. The Elliotts had been in the colony since the 1690's. Thomas' son, William (1703-30), married Elizabeth Emms, daughter of Ralph Emms, and had two sons: Stephen, who died without issue; and William of Beaufort.

William Elliott was a prosperous planter in the District. He owned a large plantation on Parris Island and inherited another 500 acres there through Mary Barnwell. Modern Marines will remember, perhaps with mixed feelings, a place called Elliott's Beach on the island. He also had property on Hilton Head and in Berkeley county where he served as a J. P. in 1756.

Elliott married three times. His first wife was Sarah Mullryne, a daughter of Colonel John Mullryne. She and her baby died March 18, 1757. William and Mary Barnwell, his second wife, had five children of whom William II, Ralph, and Stephen survived infancy to become the ancestors of the Elliott family of Beaufort. Mary died January 11, 1774 and William remarried in January 1775 Mary Hazzard, daughter of Colonel William Hazzard and already twice a widow, of Edward Wigg and Dr. James Cuthbert.

William Elliott supported the cause of independence but did not live to see victory. He died March 2, 1778 and his will (pr. August 1783) made Nathaniel and John Barnwell, Colonel Bull and Josiah Tattall his executors. His widow died March 19, 1787.

Elizabeth Barnwell, the Colonel's third daughter, was born June 19, 1753 and married Richard Gough of James Island. The Goughs had planted on Goose Creek since the turn of the century. Richard, born in November 1750, was a son of Richard Gough, Sr. and Rachel Keating. His father's will (1753) directed that Richard, when he reached the age of 13, be sent to England for his education. His attraction to Elizabeth Barnwell was not appreciated by her family, and they sent her to England "for a visit." Gough followed, and they were married in London in May 1772. Returning to South Carolina in August, their only child, Mariana, was born March 1, 1773.

Richard and Elizabeth both had tempers and did not get along well. In May she took her two month old daughter to Beaufort and never returned. There have been several explanations for the separation. According to one, her father and brothers heard that she was unhappy and sent a boat to bring her "home." Gough resented their interference and did not allow her to come back. The ill feeling toward Gough was reflected in her father's first codicil to his will in December when he appointed her brother Nathaniel trustee for her portion of the estate. This amounted to £1,600 and it maintained her and Mariana until Mariana was married. This was in sharp contrast to the Colonel's codicil, the next year, after his daughter Mary Elliott died, in which he left her portion directly to her husband.

According to another version, Elizabeth left Gough with his permission but on condition that her family become reconciled to the marriage. This never happened, and Elizabeth claimed ever after that it was only the intransigence

*The American Family
Barnwell*

of her family which prevented a reunion. On one occasion her brother John and Gough passed each other in Charlestown and each put his hand to his sword without further recognition. Some say that there was a duel between Gough and Edward in which the latter was wounded.⁵ But whatever the case, Richard and Elizabeth remained separated.

Sarah, the Colonel's youngest daughter, was born April 15, 1764 and was living at home with her mother and Edward and Robert when the war started.

The War

The first known association of the family with the Revolution came with the election of John Barnwell for St. Helena's and Colonel Stephen Bull for St. Peter's to the First Provincial Congress which met in Charlestown on January 11, 1775.⁶ The purpose of this meeting was to ratify the decisions of the First Continental Congress which had assembled in Philadelphia the previous September. The Continental Congress had come together by popular demand "not for independence, but for liberty"—to find ways to bring pressure on Parliament to repeal the recent oppressive tax laws and other restrictions on American trade without either frightening the American conservatives or encouraging the extremists to revolutionary acts which would lead to war. They urged a boycott on British goods, prepared a Declaration of Rights and Grievances, and worked out an agreement called the Continental Association which called for a system of local committees to supervise the boycott and take measures against those who disregarded it.

The South Carolina Congress, in the eight days in which they met, appointed several committees to carry out the Association. For St. Helena's parish, the committee included Thomas Rutledge, John Joyner, John Barnwell, Daniel Heyward, Jr., Daniel DeSaussure, William Reynolds, James Dougharty, and William Waight. For Prince William's Parish, Colonel Stephen Bull and William Bull were appointed, and Richard Gough was on the committee in St. John's, Berkeley county.

The Congress also provided for committees to supervise the exchange of rice after the boycott came into effect. On the Beaufort committee were Colonel Bull, Andrew DeVeaux, William Elliott, Nathaniel Barnwell II, William Waight, and Dr. James Cuthbert.⁷

It is important to remember that mere membership in the Provincial Congress or on one of these committees did not necessarily imply revolutionary sympathies. William Bull, under the influence of his uncle the Lieutenant Governor, never took up arms against the King, and Andrew DeVeaux and his family became notorious Tories during the war. Independence was, in fact, far from the minds of many, if not most, of the members of the First Provincial Congress.

The second session of the Congress met in June in a decidedly more tense atmosphere. The battles of Lexington and Concord were part of history, and the prospect for war in South Carolina was correspondingly greater. The new royal governor, Lord William Campbell, replacing William Bull, arrived in Charlestown during this session and was coldly received. The Congress went ahead to appoint a committee of thirteen, including Colonel Bull, to put "the colony in a posture of defence." Paper money was authorized; a test oath to the Continental Association was required; delegates to the next Continental Congress were chosen; and a Council of Safety was created to carry on the government. After three months of being ignored, Lord William Campbell resigned.

High on the list of priorities for the Congress was the creation of a reliable military force. All thirteen of the militia regiments were seriously weakened by political factionalism. Even the Granville regiment was only moderately reliable despite the influence of Colonel Bull. So the Congress created three regiments of regulars, designated as "provincial troops" which became part of the Continental Army. In the First Regiment of Foot, commanded by Colonel Christopher Gadsden, John Barnwell was appointed captain and company commander.⁸ Later on his brother Edward, although only 18, was made a lieutenant.

While the session was still meeting, it was learned that a British ship with several tons of gunpowder on board was due in Savannah shortly. The royal authorities, especially the Indian agent John Stuart, intended the powder to go to the Indians in Georgia to keep them loyal. The Council of Safety immediately dispatched Captains John Barnwell and John Joyner to intercept the ship.

Embarking from Beaufort with forty men in two large barges, they moved toward the mouth of the Savannah river. The next day they anchored off Bloody Point on Daufuskie Island just inside South Carolina but in full view of the Tybee lighthouse and the approach to Savannah from the sea. They arrived ahead of the British ship, but their mere presence served to frighten the Georgia government and gave heart to the Georgia Friends of Liberty who

called a Provincial Congress to meet in Savannah on July 4th. They offered their support to Barnwell and Joyner and fitted out a schooner under Captain Brown and Joseph Habersham. No sooner had the British appeared off the horizon than, sensing their danger, they vainly tried to escape. Sixteen thousand pounds of powder were confiscated; 7,000 going to South Carolina and 9,000 to Georgia.⁹

"The importance of this capture," writes Wallace, "was emphasized by news of the battle of Bunker Hill and a request from the Continental Congress for powder while Barnwell and Joyner's enterprise was in progress. The South Carolina Council of Safety obtained a loan of 5,000 pounds from Georgia and dispatched it to Philadelphia. It was used in invading Canada and conducting the siege of Boston."¹⁰

In September Captain Barnwell's company and two others in the First Regiment were ordered to full strength and sent to Fort Johnson on James Island to stop any vessels that tried to enter Charlestown harbor.¹¹ While there he attended the first session of the Second Provincial Congress. He resigned his company on December 11th to join Colonel Bull's regiment.¹² Edward, Robert, and their nephew William Elliott also joined although the latter two were mere boys under 15.

In February 1776 Colonel Bull with 300 men were sent to Savannah to help the Georgia Council of Safety overthrow the King's government.¹³ All three brothers and Elliott were among them,¹⁴ but how much of the expedition John saw is doubtful since he also attended the final session (February 1-March 26) of the Second Congress. Before adjourning they thanked "Stephen Bull, Esq. of Sheldon, Colonel of the Granville county regiment of militia, for his important services in the command of the colony forces in Savannah."

This session drew up a constitution for the State and authorized its delegates in Philadelphia to vote for independence in July. When the constitution was formally adopted in March, the Congress became the First General Assembly, and when the Declaration of Independence was signed on July 4th, it became the government of the new State of South Carolina. John Rutledge was elected President. Colonel Bull was elected to the upper house called the Legislative Council, and Captain Barnwell continued in the General Assembly.

South Carolina now faced its first serious threat of invasion. To crush the rebellion and deprive the New England colonies of the support of one of the wealthiest colonies, a British invasion fleet under Sir Henry Clinton sailed from Boston for Charlestown in June 1776. They were stopped at the mouth of the harbor, and returned north to attack New York with more success. After that there were only a few minor Indian skirmishes in South Carolina until the beginning of 1779.

During this interval we have little record of the family. John was re-elected to the General Assembly in October and had time to court and marry (May 8, 1777) Anne Hutson, daughter of the Rev. William Hutson. Their eldest son, John, was born in February 1778, the same year in which his father was first elected, with Colonel Bull, to the State Senate (formerly the Legislative Council).

There was one campaign in this period in which the brothers may have taken part. After the British lost Savannah, they built a fort on St. Mary's river in Florida from which they raided south Georgia. To destroy this fort, General Robert Howe, commanding the southern department, was sent (1778) with a mixed army of Georgians and South Carolinians, militia and continentals. The South Carolina militia was under Colonels Bull and Andrew Williamson, and it is quite possible that the brothers were with Bull. At any rate the expedition failed disastrously through sickness, bad weather, and friction between the regulars and the militia.

The war began again for South Carolina when the British, running into stalemate in the north, decided to renew the plan of 1776 by "rolling up the States from south to north." Georgia, the youngest colony, was also the weakest and had a strong Tory population—and was far removed from General Washington and the main Continental Army. When the Council of Safety in Charlestown learned of the impending invasion, they ordered the closing of the southern ports, advised the sea islanders to remove their families and stock, and created three new brigadier generals, one of whom was Colonel Bull.

In December 1778 a British and Tory force of 3,000 men under Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell made short work of the defences of Savannah and were soon poised to attack South Carolina. General Howe was replaced by Benjamin Lincoln as commander of the Southern Department. Lincoln fixed his headquarters at Purrysburg and sent General Moultrie to raise the local militia.

The British made the first move. With about 200 men, Major Gardiner landed on Port Royal Island on February 2nd. Moultrie with the aid of General Bull and 300 militiamen, 10 continentals, and three fieldpieces, occupied Beaufort and met the British on the 9th. "For three quarters of an hour the two forces fought a hot little battle. Then

the Americans' ammunition gave out, and Moultrie ordered a withdrawal, only to discover that Gardiner's force was already in retreat." Bull reported that Captain Barnwell "with a few light horse was of infinite service in giving us frequent intelligence of the enemy's position and attacking their rear."¹⁵ Both Edward and Robert fought in John's troop.

After the battle Captain Barnwell and his sergeant found the bodies of two unidentified British officers on the field and buried them in St. Helena's churchyard. He sent the sergeant into the church for a Prayer Book and read the Burial Service saying "We have shown the British we not only can best them in battle but that we can also give them a Christian burial."

On Moultrie's recommendation, John was promoted to major of cavalry and assigned to the Granville regiment now commanded by Colonel Benjamin Garden.¹⁶ Edward was promoted to captain and commander of the Beaufort company and led a detachment of 14 men on a raid to Pinckney Island in April.

Emboldened by the victory at Beaufort, the militia flocked to the colors bringing Lincoln's army to over 4,000 men. This gave him the courage to try to recapture Georgia through Augusta leaving Moultrie and the Beaufort District men to guard the road to Charlestown. To counter this move, Colonel Prevost with 2,500 well-trained British and Hessians crossed the Savannah on April 29th. Moultrie, with only 1,200 militia of doubtful quality and 220 continentals, was forced to withdraw to Coosawhatchie and then to Tulfinny Hill.

In his recollections of these events, Major Alexander Garden wrote that "while Colonel Laurens, with a trifling command, was disputing the pass at Coosawhatchie, against the entire British army, Major Barnwell, having no field of action, remained at the head of the causeway that led to it; but rendered him essential service by sending to his aid two volunteers, Mr. John Cuthbert (since, General Cuthbert) and Charles Freer."¹⁷ Major Barnwell urged Moultrie to make a stand at Tulfinny. They could not win, he admitted, but "the loss of a battle (was) far less injurious than the abandonment of the country," and it would give Lincoln time to come to their aid. But Lincoln was slow to appreciate the threat posed by Prevost. To him it was only a diversionary tactic to get him to leave Georgia. Moultrie knew this and ordered a general retreat. His situation was aggravated by heavy desertion among the militia. His men came largely from the Beaufort District, and they were leaving in large numbers to look after their families and property behind the lines. By May 7th Moultrie was in Dorchester about thirty miles north of Charlestown with only 600 men. His entire cavalry consisted of Major Barnwell and twenty horse.¹⁸ Two days later he retired to the city with Prevost only hours behind.

Lincoln now recognized the danger and was in Dorchester by the 14th, but by then Prevost had escaped to John's Island behind the Stono. It took Lincoln another month to decide to push him out of there. After an inconclusive battle, Prevost decided that discretion was the better part and retired along the islands to Beaufort which became the British headquarters.

It was during the time when Prevost was waiting for Moultrie to attack along the Stono that the Beaufort company under Captain Edward Barnwell came close to being wiped out. Quartered on John's Island near the plantation of Captain (later Governor) John Mathews who commanded another company in the same camp, they were not far from the home of Thomas Fenwick whom they believed to be a friend as well as a relative. One evening Fenwick had supper with the American officers and, after ascertaining their strength, went directly to the British commander. An attack was ordered and in the ensuing battle, Mathews' company was surrounded and taken. The Beaufort company was also surrounded and their surrender demanded:

"Captain Barnwell called out to know what quarter they should have: 'No quarter to rebels,' was the reply. 'Then, men,' said Captain Barnwell, 'defend yourselves to the last. Charge!' In an instant the click of every gun was heard as it cocked and presented in the faces of the enemy who immediately fell back. Shortly after this, a Sergeant of the British put his head into the door saying, 'surrender and you shall have honorable quarter.' 'By what authority do you promise quarter, if we accept it?' then asked Captain Barnwell. 'I am but a Sergeant in command,' was the answer, 'but my word is as good as any officer's in H. M.'s service.' On this assurance, Barnwell and his men surrendered their arms, and the British soldiers immediately commenced an attack upon them with their bayonets, killing and wounding most of the Beaufort company."¹⁹

Robert received seventeen wounds and was left for dead. When news of the fighting reached nearby Peaceful Retreat where he had spent some of his youth with his cousins, the Gibbes, Mrs. Gibbes sent a servant to look for him among those lying on the battlefield. A layer of mud and blood made identification difficult, but he was found and brought to the plantation house where young Mary Anna Gibbes nursed him back to life.²⁰



Mary Anna Gibbes
(Mrs. Alexander Garden)

After Prevost's retreat the exact whereabouts of the brothers is unclear. Major John spent some time on the staff of Colonel William Washington, generally considered "one of the most brilliant cavalry leaders of the war." He was so impressed with Washington as a soldier and a man that after the war he named one of his sons William Washington Barnwell.

From 1778 to 1780 both General Bull and John Barnwell were in the Senate. John defended a liberal course toward those who had had difficulty choosing sides in the war and toward those who had deserted to look after their families. For this he was attacked by a well-known patriot, Thomas Ferguson who charged: "Had you not, Major Barnwell, recently shown by your activity in the field, your perfect devotion to the cause of your country, I should not hesitate to call you a traitor." John replied: "The danger which drove the unfortunates in whose behalf I plead for mercy, has never been brought to your doors. Remember that when it does reach you that you swerve not from duty nor forget the opinions you now support. From you, gentlemen, I shall, on every future occasion, look for unshaken firmness and exemplary intrepidity."²¹

The next step in the British southern campaign was directed against Charlestown. In January 1780 General Clinton with 8,500 men and 200 guns in 90 transports escorted by 14 men-of-war sailed out of New York harbor for the southern capital. Joined by an additional 4,000 soldiers and Tories, it took them four months to complete the operation. General Lincoln had allowed his army to become bottled up in the city, and on May 12th had to surrender the entire force: 5,466 continentals, militia, and armed citizens, 391 guns, 5,916 muskets, 15 regimental colors, 33,000 rounds of small-arms ammunition, over 8,000 round shot, 376 barrels of powder, and the rest of their military supplies. It was the worst disaster to American arms in the war. The regular soldiers were made prisoners, but the militia were allowed to go home on parole, including the brothers, General Bull, William Elliott, and others from Beaufort.

One of the more devastating aspects of the conflict in South Carolina was the bitterness of the civil strife which was intensified with the fall of Charlestown and the harsh attitude taken by the British toward rebels or those suspected of rebellion. The state of public opinion had always been divided, and the rise and fall of fortunes on both sides made the decision difficult for many. Some were opportunists, but many were genuinely divided in their feelings about cutting all their ancestral ties. Those who were decided, however, had an increasing tendency to view the undecided as traitors, and so the reprisals on each grew in intensity.

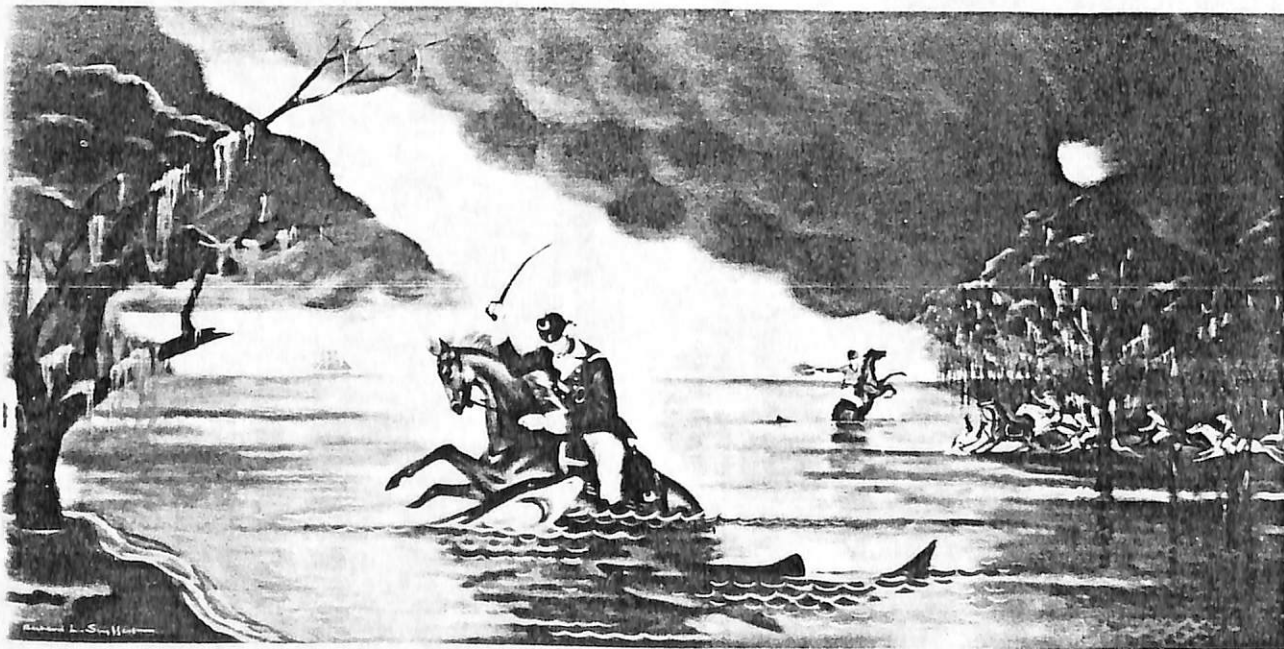
In May 1781 the British commander in Charlestown, in open contravention of the terms of capitulation of the city, arrested 129 militia officers and men, prisoners-on-parole, and confined them on two prison ships in the harbor,

the Pack Horse and the Torbay. Among those on the Pack Horse were John, Edward, and Robert Barnwell, William Elliott, William Hazzard Wigg, Dr. George Mosse, James Stuart, the future Governor Benjamin Guerard and many others from Beaufort.²² They were hostages, pledges for the good conduct of American commanders toward captured British and Tory soldiers.

The prisoners, in the name of Colonel Stephen Moore of North Carolina and Major John Barnwell of South Carolina, protested against their arrest, but they also wrote to the new American commander of the Southern Department, Nathanael Greene (May 18th), that "should it fall to the lot of any or all of them to be made victims agreeable to the menaces therein contained, they had only to regret that their blood could not be disposed of more to the advancement of the glorious cause to which they adhered."²³

This letter to General Greene has been, mistakenly, associated with the celebrated case of Colonel Isaac Hayne. Hayne had been taken at the fall of Charlestown and ordered to accept the obligations of a British subject or go to prison. He submitted but only to avoid prison and separation from his dying wife and children sick with smallpox. He objected only to the demand that he bear arms against his former comrades and was assured that this would not be required of him. Upon returning from his home, however, he was ordered to fight or go to prison. He considered this a violation of his parole which absolved him from it and resumed his former position with General Marion. When he was captured again on a daring raid into Charlestown, the British decided to make an example of him and summarily executed him in a very dramatic scene in Charlestown on August 4, 1781. The repercussions were heard in New England and even in Parliament.

It was long thought that the letter from the prisoners on the Pack Horse to Greene was to offer themselves as victims if Greene proceeded with the reprisals he threatened if Colonel Hayne was hanged. Aside from patriotic motives, the brothers had good reason to be concerned. Hayne's wife, Elizabeth Hutson, was a sister of Major John's wife, Anne. Another sister, Esther Hutson, was married to Major William Hazzard Wigg, and their two daughters, Elizabeth and Mary Wigg, would marry Robert and Edward Barnwell after the war. But the story is not true. There had been a general exchange of prisoners two months before Hayne's capture and execution. To carry out the exchange, some of the Pack Horse prisoners, including the brothers and Elliott, were put on board a ship for Philadelphia. As the ship passed the North Carolina coast, the prisoners seized control of the vessel and brought her into port. From there, "after many perils," they made their way home safely.²⁴



Major William Hazzard Wigg escaping from General Tarleton's troops across a shark infested Broad River on his famous charger, Independence who was born July 4, 1776.

Since the appointment of General Greene, the war in the south had gone much better for the Americans. The battles of Cowpens (January 1781), Guilford Courthouse (March), and Eutaw Springs (September) had given them control of the interior. In August Governor Rutledge returned to the State. His first concern was to re-organize the militia, "these men of almost unregulated independence," who regularly deserted to carry their plunder home. The militia ought to be an army, not an armed mob. The area between Charlestown and Savannah was part of Marion's command, but Rutledge thought it was too large for effective control. So he created a new brigade and, looking around for a commander who had had experience in the Continental Army and was known to be a disciplinarian, he chose Major Barnwell and promoted him to brigadier general.²⁵

Rutledge's choice was very unpopular with the troops. This area had been entrusted by Marion to Colonel William Harden who was popular and had done a good job. Harden felt that he had been improperly superseded and resigned. Barnwell's promotion was defended on the ground that he would instill discipline into the men which Harden had not done. In the subsequent investigation in the assembly, it was learned that after Harden had been captured in the fall of Charlestown, he had submitted and become a British subject. John refused to submit although both his colonel and lieutenant colonel had done so. Harden returned to the American side in January 1781 and was promoted from captain to colonel while John had been cut off from further advancement. The committee concluded that General Barnwell had "in every matter committed to his charge acquitted himself with fidelity and becoming an officer."²⁶

But this did not make things easier for John in his brigade. Major Garden commented: "I have always considered it a misfortune to this country that his (Barnwell's) strictness of command and unremitting efforts to render the militia as submissive to discipline as regular soldiers, rendered him so unpopular in his brigade."²⁷ The consequences of this were at once evident in the efficiency of the brigade.

After Eutaw Springs, Lord Cornwallis moved north with the main British force in the field and stopped at Yorktown to consolidate British control of Chesapeake Bay, Maryland, and Virginia. It was there that Washington and Rochambeau with the French fleet surrounded him and forced him to surrender, October 17, 1781. The war was not over, but the British will to continue the struggle began to dissolve and about all that really remained was to clear out the remaining British strongholds in the west and along the east coast.

General Anthony Wayne was given the task of clearing the British out of Georgia, and General Barnwell was to assist him from the South Carolina side. Edward Barnwell had been promoted to major and lieutenant colonel and commander of the Beaufort regiment, and Robert was now the captain of the Beaufort company. It was Robert who signed with the British for the surrender of Beaufort in November 1781.

General Wayne managed to bottle up the enemy in Savannah. To cut off their supplies he tried to seize the rice crop on Hutchinson's Island opposite the town. When this failed he ordered General Barnwell to burn it while he engaged the attention of the garrison elsewhere. The plan was to cross the river from the Carolina side in canoes after midnight on February 24th. Unfortunately his Tory cousin, Major Andrew DeVeaux, on one of his famous raids along the coast, appeared off Beaufort and destroyed all the boats Barnwell was collecting. Colonel Edward Barnwell was then ordered to cross with fifty men and burn what they could. His position was given away, however, and in the skirmish which followed several men were killed forcing them to withdraw.²⁸ Supplies were finally cut off, and the British evacuated the town on July 11th. Charlestown was not surrendered until December. The war for South Carolina was over.

Recovery

In 1783 the Rev. Archibald Simpson, pastor of the Stony Creek Presbyterian Church in Prince William's Parish returned to Beaufort after an eleven year absence in Scotland. He was shocked by what he found:

"All was desolation, and indeed all the way there was a gloomy solitariness. Every field, every plantation, showed marks of ruin and devastation. Not a person was to be met with in the roads. . .

Every person, every family in both parishes, and through all this district of country, appears to be in the same situation. No one comes to see me, for none have horses. All society seems to be at an end. Every person keeps close to his plantation. Robberies and murders are often committed on the public roads. The people that remain have been peeled, pillaged, and plundered. Poverty, want, and hardship appear in almost

every countenance. A dark melancholy gloom appears everywhere, and the morals of the people are almost entirely extirpated. . . .

It is evident that the British army came here to plunder, and not to fight or conquer the people, far less to conciliate them to submit to the British government."²⁹

It was not many years before Simpson's picture had quite changed. Beaufort's prosperity had always been based upon agriculture, and agriculture is usually the first industry to recover after a devastating war. Rice remained the staple crop in the District, but recovery was vastly aided by the introduction of the long staple, Sea Island cotton in 1790. William Elliott II is generally credited with being the first planter in America to experiment successfully with it on his Hilton Head plantation. Gradually the islands shifted from rice to cotton, but on the mainland, rice more than held its own, especially in the capable hands of the Heywards.

In 1790 General John, with 83 slaves, was one of the leading planters in the islands. He inherited 1,200 acres on Parris Island and half the stock from his father. He acquired Coosaw Island (2,000 acres) just east of Lady's Island, and also Retreat Plantation which was a favorite, perhaps *the* favorite spot with his descendants for generations.

Retreat Plantation had a long and romantic history which has attracted all kinds of tales making it sometimes difficult to tell fact from fancy. Located on a beautiful bend of Battery Creek about six miles from Beaufort, it is probably the oldest house in the area. It was built in 1737 by a Frenchman, Jean de la Gaye, for his young bride and when she died shortly thereafter, La Gaye became a recluse. Strange tales of his behavior filtered into Beaufort. Rumors of cruelty to his slaves were confirmed when he was killed by two of them who were hunted down and also killed.

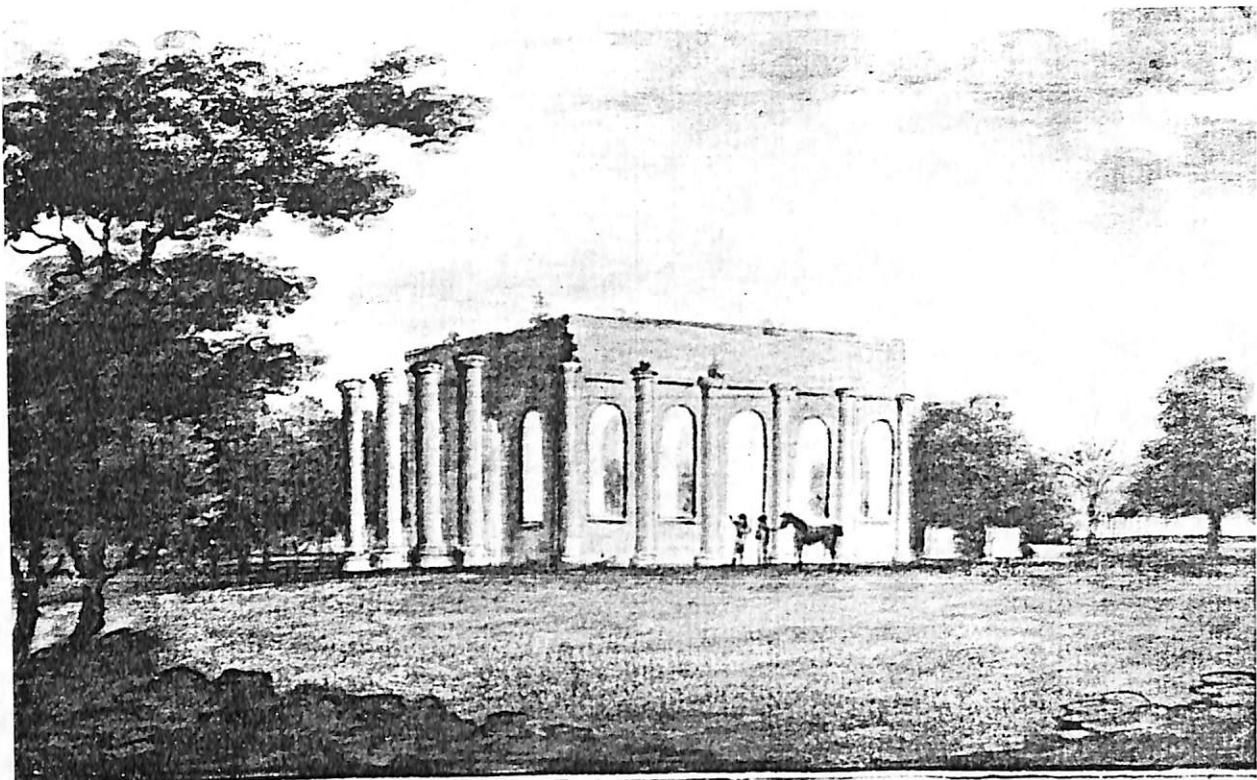
La Gaye left no will, and the property (1,000 acres) was sold at auction to Stephen Bull of Sheldon. He soon regretted his purchase, probably because he already had enough, and on his way home from the sale met John Barnwell who was willing to take it for a nominal price. This probably happened before the Revolution because there is a well-authenticated story that during the war British soldiers came to the Retreat looking for him. He was not home, but his family was. There was a pot of peas cooking on the fire, and his son, John, who was then a very little boy, was anxious about them. Stationing himself in front of them, he defied the enemy to touch his next meal. The small tabby house on the property was secluded among great oaks and hickory trees which John and his descendants refused to have cut down. Nor did they allow any hunting on the premises. It was truly a retreat.

Colonel Edward was also a planter. He inherited the Swamp Plantation near the Salt Water Bridge and a lot in Beaufort and, no doubt, acquired more. He did not have the imagination or success that his son Edward was to have later on, but the number of his slaves increased from 20 in 1790 to 107 in 1810. His great-grandson, drawing on the memory of those who had known him, said he was "a kindly, manly, jovial man, careless about money as other things, but a great favorite during his day."³⁰

Edward and Robert built the four-story "duplex" mansion on the Bay known as "The Castle." It was built on the two lots which their father had left them "to be divided equally between them." Edward owned the east side and Robert the west. The interior of Edward's side was more expensive than Robert's and because of less careful management cost twice as much. The Castle remained in the family until it was confiscated by Federal troops during the Civil War. It eventually became the county courthouse and burned down in the 1880s.

Robert inherited "the tract bought of Lt. Gov. Bull," but his principal country seat was Laurel Bay on the Broad river about ten miles from Beaufort. Laurel Bay had been given to Anne, and she was probably the one who built the old colonial mansion described as having "every comfort and luxury including an aquarium." After she married General Bull, the house became a target for British shells in the war and was burned to the ground. Sometime later, probably after Bull's death in 1800, Robert bought the property and built a new house on the ruins of the old, but it was very plain and could not compare with its colonial predecessor. He left Laurel Bay to his second son, William. Stretching out east of the house was a great avenue of oaks said to have been planted on the day William was born (July 28, 1806). If this is true, they grew remarkably well attaining a girth of three feet by 1861.

General Bull and his family returned to South Carolina from Maryland in 1783 to begin the work of reconstruction. They had left the State sometime after the fall of Charlestown, perhaps after Sheldon Hall was burned by General Tarleton's troops in 1781. They stayed in Maryland until after the birth of Sarah in December 1782. Bull rebuilt Sheldon Hall and Sheldon Church and restored the family fortunes to their pre-war level, extending hospitality on a grand scale. On a Sunday morning after the service, he would invite the whole congregation to his home where he entertained "the more respectable part of the congregation. . . while his Overseer, by his direction, and at



Remains of the Church in Prince William's Parish

Remains of the Church (Sheldon), Prince William's Parish.
by Charles Fraser

his expense, liberally entertained the rest." It was not a small congregation then, either. Often as many as 60 or 70 carriages of every description could be seen at the church for a service.³¹

The Elliotts also played a major part in the reconstruction. William Elliott I and his wife, Mary Barnwell, had died before or early in the war, but their three sons belong to this period. William Elliott II, even more than his father, laid the foundations for the Elliott fortune in the Sea Islands. He owned 650 acres on Parris Island inherited from his father and mother, and in 1801 bought Little Newberry Plantation in Prince William's Parish from Henry Middleton who had acquired it from the Bulls.³² In addition to these and the plantation on Hilton Head where he experimented with Sea Island cotton, he had several others in South Carolina and Georgia. His estate in 1810 shows some 160 slaves.

The economic position of the family is reflected in the way it was represented in the State Senate during this period. To qualify for the Senate, until 1810, a member needed an estate valued at £2,000. General John was re-elected to the Senate in 1782 and, except for 1788-91, was a Senator until his death in 1800. Robert was in the Senate from 1803 to 1806, serving as its president in December 1803. He was succeeded by William Elliott II who, after his death in 1808, was succeeded by his brother Stephen until 1812.

← Wm II

The political stance of the family was strongly Federalist which was to be expected of men in their position. They repeatedly represented their District in the legislative councils of the State but with the possible exception of Robert Barnwell, never came to have the influence, which men from Charlestown had. Robert was in the legislature in 1787-88 but declined to serve in 1790. He represented St. Helena's again from 1794-1800 serving as the Speaker from 1794-98. General Bull declined election in 1782 but represented Prince William's Parish from 1785 to 1790. William Elliott II was a member, 1796-1800 and again from 1804 until he went to the Senate in 1806, and Stephen Elliott sat from 1794-96 and 1797-1800.

Richard Gough represented St. John's, Berkeley in 1779-80 and was a member of the famous Jacksonborough

Assembly in 1782 which judged itself competent to pass on the loyalty of others. But he resigned in protest over the condemnation of a man who was not allowed to defend himself. Gough urged moderation in dealing with those who could not make up their minds during the war even though he had once been a prisoner in chains. He had been a captain in Colonel Daniel Horry's Regiment of Light Dragoons raised by the assembly in 1779 and later served in Marion's brigade. "The war is brought to a happy conclusion," he said, "my resentments are no more."³³ He declined election in 1785.

Gough's tolerant attitude was similar to that of General John who had spoken out for moderation and mercy after Prevost's invasion and continued to do so in the trying period of the re-adjustment of loyalties. A story is told of two brothers who had embraced different sides at the beginning of the war. After the fall of Charlestown, the patriot brother, believing the war lost, changed sides and had six barrels of rice impressed by his brother who was a British commissary. When the fortunes of war shifted to the American side, the patriot brother came back. The commissary came over, too, and was admitted to all the privileges of citizenship by General Barnwell—which any army commander could do. After the war the patriot threatened his brother with payment for the rice. The latter asked the protection of General John who just happened to have a copy of a very unctious letter from the patriot professing his undying loyalty "to the best of Kings" and asking for a post in the royal administration. John suggested that a copy of the letter be sent to its author hinting that if he proceeded with his suit, it would be made public. Many men who had held positions under the British were indebted to General John for his support of their applications for citizenship.³⁴ He bought 332 acres of land which had been forfeited by Major Andrew DeVeaux, but he recommended that DeVeaux be recompensed for his losses, and John had little reason to be fond of his cousin Andrew.

Robert Barnwell came as near as anyone in his generation in the family to being a statesman. John was elected to the Continental Congress in February 1784 but declined to serve.³⁵ Robert was elected in 1788 and went to Philadelphia in January 1789 but only to "sign in."³⁶ By that time the Congress was only marking time until the First Congress met in March. John declined his election to the Fourth Congress in 1795 while Robert accepted his to the Second Congress in 1791.

In the South Carolina Convention to ratify the new Federal Constitution in May 1788, the entire delegation from St. Helena's Parish was related to one another: John and Robert Barnwell, their brothers-in-law William Hazard Wigg, Thomas and Richard Hutson, nephew William Elliott II, and cousins Dr. James Stuart, John A. Cuthbert, and Stephen DeVeaux.

Of all of them it was Robert Barnwell who took the lead in debate. His defense of the Constitution in the assembly in January had proved him to be "among the most able and efficient advocates" of it. He said that he had always been in favor of it, but adverse criticism "had established in his mind as conviction what was only approbation before." The fear in the South that "the eastern states entertained the greatest aversion" toward them and would take every opportunity "to oppress them," he said, was "founded in prejudice and unsupported by the facts." Oppression was possible, he agreed, but "nothing would be more completely farcical than a government completely checked." It was sometimes necessary to give up some rights in order to secure others. He reassured his colleagues that the mutual assistance and sacrifices made during the war was enough guarantee of the good will of all parts of the country. Comrades in arms could also be comrades in peace. He ended his speech by declaring that the Constitution was "like the laws of Solon, not the best possible to be found, but the best that our situation will admit of." Its "healing power" would pervade the Continent, and therefore its ratification "was a consummation devoutly to be wished."³⁷ Robert was also a delegate to the State Constitutional Convention in May-June 1790.

When Robert was President of the State Senate, Edward Hooker watched him in action and has left us this description of him:³⁸

"a tall, portly, well built man . . . of singular gravity and possessed of a great influence in the Senate . . . he is considered one of the greatest orators in the State. He has a heavy sonorous voice which completely fills the room. It is somewhat rolling . . . smooth and pleasant. His gestures are principally extended arms, quite expressive and graceful, but not accompanied by so many flourishes as Alston's. His manner of speaking is extremely natural and engaging."

Robert's friend and neighbor, William John Grayson, said:

"His natural powers of elocution, the flowing, copious gift of speech, which no labour can acquire, have been seldom surpassed. He was fond of discussion and always ready for it in all places public and private.

During his whole life he maintained a sort of intellectual dictatorship in our (Beaufort) society which no one was disposed to dispute." He was "polite to his political opponents, conceding to them minor points, but inflexibly insisting on his own Federal principles and measures . . . By his own honest convictions and confident assertions, he impressed his hearers with the most perfect conviction of his sincerity, even if they differed."³⁹

The Federalist party leader in South Carolina, Robert Goodloe Harper, once expressed the opinion that Robert Barnwell could have been elected to the United States Senate whenever he wanted it, but he always refused.

It was John who carried on the military tradition in the family.⁴⁰ Although resigning his commission in the last year of the war,⁴¹ he did not want to end his military career, and wrote to Governor Guerard:

"For some months before I resigned my command, I had with unwearied industry endeavoured to draw the militia of the Brigade I was appointed to into the field, but from personal prejudice & an invincible aversion for duty, my efforts did not meet with desired success, & I am sorry to acquaint your Excellency that I have as yet no reasons to expect different conduct from them.

Your Excellency is too well acquainted with my disposition to serve my country, than to have the most distant idea that this information proceeds from a wish to retire from service, & I beg leave to assure you that whenever you may think it expedient to honor me with your commands I shall at the risque of everything that is dear endeavour to enforce them.

I have the honor to be with the
highest respect your Excellency's
Most Obedt Servt

John Barnwell⁴²

CharlesTown, FebruY 28th, 1783

In the Senate he served on a committee with Generals Moultrie and Sumter which had the impossible task of finding provision for the army, but nothing seems to have been done about a commission for ten years. In 1793 he was appointed brigadier general of the Fourth and later Fifth Militia Brigade. With Thomas Grayson and Ralph Elliott, he was ordered to build a powder magazine in 1795 which became the Arsenal and headquarters of the Beaufort Guards and Artillery, and during the brief naval war with France in 1797, he was ordered to build a small fort and post house on Mosse Island. Finally in February 1799, when General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney was transferred to the Federal Army, John was promoted to major general of the Second Militia Division. General Bull, now also a major general, commanded the First Militia Division.

Both John and Robert held a variety of local offices. John was a J. P. and a Justice of the Quorum in 1787 and a commissioner of the ferry and causeway at Cochran's Point. Robert was Tax Collector for St. Helena's Parish; Tobacco Inspector; and commissioner for the sale of public lands on Port Royal Island in 1785. Both were commissioners to establish the Port Royal ferry at the north end of the island, and both were incorporators of the Port Royal Ferry Company in 1793.

The achievements of the war-time generation extend far beyond mere economic and political recovery. They laid the foundations for the unusual character of Beaufort's culture in the ante-bellum era, particularly in the area of education and the Church.

Education in colonial Beaufort was primarily in the home, but there were one or two private schools in operation from time to time. In 1795 a group of citizens founded the Beaufort College as the beginning of a university for the sons of planters in South Carolina and the West Indies.⁴³ The family was always well represented on the Board of Trustees. John and Robert Barnwell, William H. Wigg, William and Stephen Elliott, Thomas Fuller, Sr., and John A. Cuthbert made up half of the first board. At their first meeting in March 1796, General Barnwell was elected president, but plans for a building were postponed by the French war, and nothing was done until after John died in 1800. Robert was elected president and Edward came on the board, and under their administration, the College began to take shape. The cornerstone was laid November 4, 1802 and the doors opened for students in January 1804. The school had three floors with eight private rooms and one "public room" on each floor. The College never developed as its founders had hoped, and the "university idea" was abandoned after a few years, but it did become one of the finest preparatory academies in the South. It also housed the Public Library, founded in 1802 with 700 volumes. The intellectual life of Beaufort was expressed and furthered through a "Conversation Club" over which

Robert Barnwell presided. Papers were read and discussed at regular meetings. Stephen Elliott was a member and borrowed the idea for a similar club he founded in Charleston many years later.

In the Senate, Robert Barnwell proposed the creation of a state-wide system of free public education. He argued that it was futile to strike at crime through the courts and suggested that only education would be effective in the long run. Children could then "learn to read the Bible and be instructed in the great principles of morality." The resources of the State were up to it, he said, but the Senate was not ready to listen. William Elliott II pursued the same goal with no more success, but his brother Stephen secured the passage of the Free School Act in 1811. It provided for free schools in each electoral district, but those that were opened became stigmatized as "charity" schools. There was to be no public school system, as such, in the State until after the Civil War, but for his vision, Stephen Elliott has been called the "Father of the Free School System in South Carolina."

During the post-revolutionary period, Christianity was at a very low ebb in America, and Beaufort was no exception. The family held its usual position on the vestry. Nathaniel II was on for sixteen years (1772-88); John for 28 years (1772-1800); and Robert for 19 years and represented the parish in Convention in 1806 and 1807. Edward represented the parish in Convention in 1785 and served on the vestry, usually as senior warden, from 1789 until his death in 1808. Under his leadership, the parish voted (June 23, 1806) to accept the constitution of the Diocese of South Carolina.

According to William Grayson, "religion was very little regarded" in Beaufort after the war. "Church going was for the most part confined to the women. Sunday was a day of boat racing, foot racing, drinking, and fighting." St. Helena's was allowed to go without a priest from 1800 to 1804. Like Archibald Simpson, Grayson attributed this to the war:

"During my boyhood," he wrote, "many men of the Revolution were still alive. They were a jovial and somewhat rough race, liberal, social, warm-hearted, hospitable, addicted to deep drinking, hard swearing, and practical joking and not a little given to loose language and indelicate allusions . . . They were fond of dinners, barbecues, and hunting clubs . . . They met monthly or oftener to hunt and dine. Afterwards when deer became less numerous, the club assembled to eat, drink, and talk of politics or planting. At these festivals no man was permitted to go home sober . . . Seven years of war and licence has not strengthened self-denial or led to control of the appetites."⁴⁴

A change began not long after the turn of the century. The Baptist Church, newly founded, was beginning to make some converts, most notably Thomas Fuller and his wife Elizabeth Middleton. For St. Helena's an important factor in the change came with the conversion of Robert Barnwell to a deeper understanding of the faith.⁴⁵

Robert once told his pastor, the Rev. John Barnwell Campbell, that as a young man he had looked upon the Church as a good political machine, highly useful for keeping the common people in awe. "Christianity was only a collection of impossible precepts, such as no man ever would or ever could fulfil." He used to argue with his mother, who had been converted by Whitefield, but in time came to respect her as a faithful and "intelligent defender of the Faith." He described his conversion to Campbell thus:

"I was, some years ago, in the Beaufort Library and in looking over the volumes it contains, I happened to put my hands upon Watson's Apology for the Bible, and, taking it up I read a few pages, and returning the book to the shelf, went homeward. As I was walking, the subject I had been cursorily perusing, pursued me on my way, and I was induced to say to myself, 'Perhaps Christianity may be true.' And then he thought, 'If true, it undoubtedly is the most important thing in the world.' Viewing it in this light, I was perfectly astonished that amidst all my pursuits I had never thought it before worth my while to inquire into it, and give the subject as fair an examination as I possibly could. Having recourse to the study of the Bible, and particularly prayer to God, for his illumination and direction, and the more I read and the more I prayed, the more completely was I convinced that Christianity was true, and consequently the Bible was the word of God."

Robert came under great pressure, as his son would later on, to join the Baptists, but he was convinced from Scripture that infant baptism and episcopacy were both thoroughly scriptural. These convictions on his part were undoubtedly an important factor in the recovery of Anglicanism in Beaufort. His conversion came at a time when it was not a popular thing to do. He was "openly rebuked with the rudest sarcasms for his religious principles," and his seat in the Legislature was challenged when it was learned that he had, on occasion, served as a lay reader, had taken

the services in the parish during one summer when the rector was on sick leave, and had spoken from time to time from the pulpit of the Independent Church in Savannah.

His Christian convictions may well have been responsible for his changed attitude toward the popular practice of duelling. There is evidence that all the brothers had engaged in duels, but Robert, at least, changed his mind. Duelling was no proof of courage, he would say, "but frequently the result of cowardice—of fear to encounter the frowns or insinuations of a community misguided by custom, example, or education."⁴⁶ His faith may also have had something to do with his proposal in the Senate to abolish the slave trade. His bill was defeated by two votes.⁴⁷ However, he did not feel that the slaves were ready for emancipation and maintained at least 89 in 1810. Shortly before he died, he said, "If I have one sincere wish for the welfare of my children, either here or hereafter, it is not that they should be rich, wise, or learned but that they should be genuine Christians." He would not have been disappointed.

The Passing of An Age

Nathaniel Barnwell II died in 1798, age 52. All the brothers suffered from gout and died between the ages of 51 and 53.⁴⁸ His wife, Elizabeth Waight, probably died before him. They had three children:

1. Elizabeth Barnwell, b. May 6, 1770; bur. July 5, 1770.
2. Nathaniel Barnwell, b. 1772; d. 1801.
3. William Waight Barnwell, b. Oct. 12, 1774; d. Oct. 23, 1798.

Nathaniel Barnwell III (1772–1801) inherited the plantation on Barnwell and Big Islands where he maintained 90 slaves. He married his first cousin, Mary Bull (1776–1857), daughter of General Bull and Anne Barnwell. They had two children: Stephen Bull (1799–1814) and Eliza Natalia Barnwell (1801–1831) who married Thomas Heyward Cuthbert; see p. 71. After Nathaniel's death, Mary Bull remarried Milton Maxcy; see p. 48. A plain spoken woman, she once remarked, "I married twice, once to please my friends and once to please myself. I was a fool both times."



Nathaniel Barnwell
by St. Memin



Nathaniel Barnwell III
attr. to E. G. Malbone

William Waight Barnwell married (1796) Sarah Green Porteous, who was born April 20, 1778, a daughter of Robert Porteous and Ann Wigg, sister of Major William H. Wigg. They had one son, Nathaniel IV. After William's death, Sarah remarried Benjamin Fuller by whom she had five more children. She died April 17, 1850.

Nathaniel Barnwell IV was born April 20, 1797 and married January 18, 1816 his cousin, Elizabeth Wigg Barnwell, daughter of Colonel Edward Barnwell. Their only child, Mary Wigg, was born October 27, 1816 and died February 23, 1834, unmarried, bringing this branch to a close. Nathaniel died October 2, 1817 and Elizabeth remarried, Arthur Gordon Rose; see p. 100.

*

As we have seen, General John married Anne Hutson during the war. Born January 11, 1755, she was a daughter of the Rev. William Hutson and his first wife, Mary Woodward, who was a grand-daughter of Dr. Henry Woodward. Their second son, Nathaniel, died at 16 from injuries received in a game of hockey, or shinney, as it was then called.

1. John Gibbes Barnwell, b. Feb. 10, 1778; d. Mar. 22, 1828.
2. Nathaniel Barnwell, b. May 25, 1779; d. 1795.
3. Mary Hutson Barnwell, b. July 18, 1781; d. Aug. 31, 1851.
4. Anne Middleton Barnwell, b. Dec. 29, 1783; d. May 14, 1840.
5. Elizabeth Barnwell, b. Mar. 10, 1786; d. Aug. 7, 1807.
6. Sarah Barnwell, b. Apr. 7, 1788; d. July 4, 1866.
7. Esther Wigg Barnwell, b. June 6, 1790; d. infancy.
8. William Washington Barnwell, b. June 17, 1793; d. infancy.

General Barnwell died August 27, 1800 full of honors. The officers of his division were directed to wear mourning for two weeks. One of the new counties created in 1785 was named in his honor as was one of the main streets in the new capital, Columbia. Anne died October 21, 1817, and both were buried in St. Helena's Churchyard.

*

Colonel Edward Barnwell married twice after the war. His first wife (m. June 8, 1783) was Mary Bower Williamson, born October 17, 1762, the only child of William Bower Williamson of John's Island and Mary Flower. It was said that Mary Williamson had the dark eyes of the Williamsons and many of her descendants inherited them. For a long time they were the only Barnwells with brown eyes.⁴⁹ She died in childbirth on March 12, 1789 leaving one son:

1. Edward Barnwell b. Nov. 6, 1785; d. Jan. 19, 1860.

Colonel Edward married again, July 29, 1790, another cousin, Mary Hutson Wigg, a daughter of Major William Hazzard Wigg and Esther Hutson. Born March 2, 1774 she was a remarkable woman with great influence on her family and was an excellent manager of her large household. She raised not only the eleven children she had by Edward but also the children of her daughters Esther Heyward, Elizabeth Rose, and Charlotte Cuthbert all of whom died young leaving small children. She was noted in Charleston for having her eight daughters well married before they were twenty-one. Mary was only 34 when her husband died (April 15, 1808), but she never remarried and lived in The Castle until her eightieth year. They had eleven children:

1. Bower Williamson Barnwell, b. June 6, 1791; d. Apr. 14, 1798.
2. William Wigg Barnwell, b. Mar. 21, 1793; d. Mar. 30, 1856.
3. Mary Gibbes Barnwell, b. Feb. 1, 1795; d. Dec. 31, 1853.
4. Esther Hutson Barnwell, b. Nov. 7, 1796; d. Apr. 7, 1819.
5. Elizabeth Wigg Barnwell, b. Apr. 4, 1798; d. Oct. 13, 1830.
6. Bower Williamson Barnwell, b. Oct. 25, 1799; d. Nov. 9, 1802.
7. Ann Barnwell, b. Apr. 2, 1801; d. Oct. 17, 1820.
8. Sarah Woodward Barnwell, b. Feb. 28, 1803; d. Nov. 28, 1879.
9. Caroline Barnwell, b. Mar. 9, 1805; d. May 5, 1876.

10. Emma Barnwell, b. Nov. 30, 1806; d. Dec. 6, 1835.
11. Charlotte Barnwell, b. July 18, 1808; d. Sept. 12, 1841.

*

Senator Robert married Edward's wife's younger sister, Elizabeth Hayne Wigg in January 1796. She was born May 13, 1775 and had eight children:

1. Elizabeth Barnwell, b. Aug. 4, 1797; d. Feb. 13, 1872.
2. Ann Barnwell, b. Oct. 10, 1799; d. Sept. 4, 1846.
3. Robert Woodward Barnwell, b. Aug. 10, 1801; d. Nov. 24, 1882.
4. Nathaniel Berners Barnwell, b. Nov. 20, 1802; d. 1811.
5. William Hazzard Wigg Barnwell, b. July 28, 1806; d. Feb. 17, 1863.
6. Mary Gibbes Barnwell, b. Aug. 10, 1808; d. Sept. 5, 1837.
7. Esther Hutson Barnwell, b. Sept. 4, 1809; d. Dec. 2, 1832.
8. Maria Henrietta Barnwell, b. Oct. 6, 1811; d. infancy.

Senator Barnwell died October 24, 1814 unhappy over the new war with England which, as a good Federalist, he had opposed and which did not end until after his death. Elizabeth died in July 1823 and both were buried in St. Helena's Churchyard.

*

General Stephen Bull was buried September 2, 1800 in Sheldon Churchyard, and his wife, Anne Barnwell, died in 1816 and was buried with him. She had four children by her first husband, Colonel Middleton, and three by General Bull:

1. Henry Middleton, b. July 28, 1762; d. Sept. 15, 1762.
 2. Elizabeth Middleton, b. Feb. 13, 1764; d. Aug. 29, 1833.
 3. Henry Middleton, b. Aug. 28, 1765; d. Dec. 11, 1765.
 4. Anne Middleton, b. Dec. 18, 1766; d. Jan. 21, 1849.
1. Mary Bull, b. Sept. 21, 1776; d. Dec. 31, 1857.
 2. Charlotte Bull, b. Feb. 11, 1781; d. Dec. 29, 1852.
 3. Sarah Bull, b. Dec. 18, 1782; d. Oct. 10, 1862.

Elizabeth Middleton married June 19, 1786 Thomas Fuller, son of Colonel Thomas Fuller and Lydia Yonge. Colonel Fuller was a grandson of Captain William Fuller who came to Carolina before 1679. The Fullers settled in St. Andrew's Parish and moved to Beaufort before the Revolution where they established their country seat at Sheldon on land bought from the Bulls.

Thomas Fuller, born March 11, 1760, inherited the plantation near Sheldon and built a large tabby home on the Bay in Beaufort. He had 157 slaves in 1810 making him one of the largest planters in the District. He was a member of the State Convention which adopted the Federal Constitution and was elected to the Board of the Beaufort College in 1802.

Elizabeth Middleton was described by a grandson who knew her, as "a woman of superior mind and culture, quick perceptions, sound judgement and energy . . . Some of her grandchildren remember that venerable figure, seated in an armchair, with her neatly turned cap, and a book in hand. She was a close and constant reader."⁵⁰ Although her husband had served on the vestry at St. Helena's, they joined the Baptists in 1804 and became one of the strongest Baptist families in Beaufort. Nine of their twelve children survived infancy. Fuller died April 24, 1830, and Elizabeth on August 29, 1833.

Anne Middleton was born December 18, 1766, the day after her father died. She married May 18, 1785 Dr. James Stuart, son of Francis Stuart and Anne Reeve. Born March 8, 1760, he served with the Beaufort company during the war and later graduated (A.M. and M.D.) from the University of Edinburgh. Returning to Beaufort to practice, he was also a planter with 83 slaves in 1790. He was a member of the State Convention which ratified the Federal Con-

stitution, served on the vestry in 1786-87 and from 1788 to 1805, and was a member of the Board of Beaufort College from 1799 to 1810. Dr. Stuart died February 25, 1810, and Anne on January 21, 1849. Seven of their nine children lived to give Beaufort one of its most prominent families even into the 20th century.

Mary Bull, born September 21, 1776, married her first cousin, Nathaniel Barnwell III who died in 1801; see p. 44. She married again in August 1808 Milton Maxcy, son of Levi Maxcy and Ruth Newell. Milton Maxcy was born January 1, 1782 in Attleboro, Massachusetts and graduated from Brown University in 1802. When his brother Jonathan Maxcy became the first president of the South Carolina College in 1805, Milton came to Beaufort to practice law and conduct a small boys' school. He represented St. Helena's in the legislature in 1810-12 and died in October 1817 leaving three daughters: Matilda, Anne, and Mary.

Charlotte Bull was born February 11, 1781 and lived all her life in Beaufort with her sister Sarah who married their first cousin, Captain John G. Barnwell, but their story belongs to the next chapter.

*

Mary Barnwell (Mrs. William Elliott I) died in 1774, but her three sons: William II, Ralph Emms, and Stephen Elliott belong to this era.

William Elliott II, born July 9, 1761, married May 28, 1787 Phoebe Waight, daughter of William Waight and his second wife, Phoebe Jenkins. Phoebe Waight was a younger half-sister of Mrs. Nathaniel Barnwell II. Born January 6, 1772, she was raised in Beaufort, and it was said that at school she was the best female student and stood at the head of the line of girls while Stephen Elliott stood at the head of the boys. She was very pretty and was courted by



William Elliott II
by Charles Fraser



Mrs. William Elliott
(Phoebe Waight)

many ardent suitors including Robert Barnwell and John A. Cuthbert. Most people thought that Stephen was the favored one, but while he was at Yale, it was William who married her.

Enough has already been said about the many achievements of William Elliott II. He built up a large fortune which he used "to promote educational and charitable institutions and to advance public improvements." He served on the vestry for 12 years and was a commissioner of the Fort Republic Ferry in 1800. He was taken ill at his plantation on the Ogeechee river in Georgia in May 1808 and was moved to Mrs. Waight's cottage on Hilton Head, considered a healthier place. Here he was visited for the last time by his friend and neighbor, General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and died on the 17th. He was buried in St. Helena's churchyard; the elaborate inscription on his tomb was written by his brother:

A man
of integrity unspotted, of fortitude
unshaken,
of understanding vigorous and correct,
in manners yielding, in principles
immovable.

His country saw him in the field
in early youth,
found him in her councils
at his last breath.

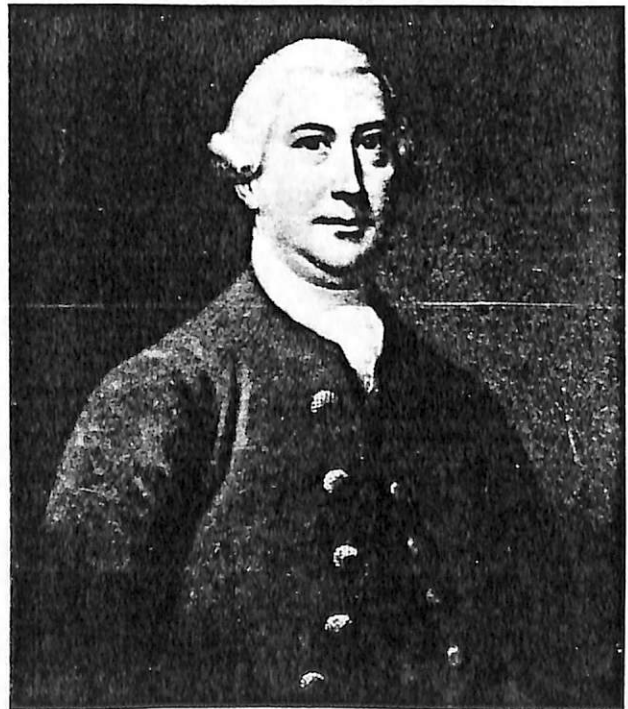
A Soldier, a Citizen, a Senator
active, enterprising, just
a Husband, a Father, a Master
a Friend

without weakness, without reproach
he passed through life untouched
by censure
not by bending to the follies of the
World
but by living above them.

Ralph Emms Elliott was born February 7, 1764 and married Susannah Parsons Savage, daughter of Thomas Savage and Mary Elliott Butler, a distant cousin. She was born November 24, 1773. Ralph owned Cedar Grove Plantation on Port Royal Island, once owned by Hugh Bryan, and built the great Elliott mansion in Beaufort with twelve rooms and walls a foot thick. He was a warden of St. Helena's in 1793-94 and 1803-06 and represented his parish in Convention in 1805. They moved to Savannah but would spend their summers in Beaufort. Susannah died April 2,



Stephen Elliott, LL.D.



Gov. James Habersham



James Smith
by. St. Memin



Mrs. James Smith
(Mariana Gough)

1804 and Ralph on September 25, 1806 in Augusta "while on a journey into the upper country for the benefit of his health." Their only child, Ralph Emms, Jr. was born December 11, 1793 and died of malaria November 29, 1805; so the Elliott mansion in Beaufort was left to the nephew, William Elliott III.

Stephen Elliott was born November 11, 1771 and raised by his brother William. He was tutored at home by the Rev. Abiel Holmes (Yale, '83) and later in New Haven, Connecticut by Simeon Baldwin (Yale, '81) in preparation for entering Yale himself in February 1788. Highly regarded by professors and students alike, he was asked by his classmates in his senior year to give the funeral oration for one of their classmates. He graduated, Phi Beta Kappa, in 1791 and was chosen to deliver the English Oration. It was entitled "On the Supposed Degeneracy of Animated Nature," revealing his early interest in scientific and philosophical matters.

Stephen returned to Beaufort to manage his plantations there and near Savannah. On January 28, 1796 he married Esther Wylly Habersham, daughter of James Habersham, Jr. James was the eldest son of Governor James Habersham who had come to Georgia from Beverley, Yorkshire with the Rev. George Whitefield in 1738. It was Whitefield who married James to Mary Bolton in 1740. The Governor had three sons: James, Jr., Joseph, and John. Governor Habersham in Georgia was in an analogous position to Governor Bull in South Carolina—both loyal to the end yet having sons or nephews prominent in the Revolution. Joseph Habersham later became the Postmaster General under Presidents Washington, Adams, and Jefferson (1795–1801). James Habersham, Jr., who died July 2, 1799, married Esther Wylly, daughter of Captain Richard Wylly and had, among others, a son, John, who married a daughter of General Barnwell, and Esther, who married Stephen Elliott.

Elliott's career was so varied and fruitful that he was said to have exerted the largest influence in the State during his time, but that part of his life which falls within the scope of this chapter found him to be a fairly typical Beaufort planter, serving in both houses of the legislature and, on the vestry of St. Helena's and the Board of Beaufort College. In the Senate he proved himself to be an expert on financial matters and wrote the bill creating the State Bank of South Carolina in 1812. Chosen to be the bank's first president, he sold all his plantations in Georgia and South Carolina. He said he had "never been successful as a rice planter," and because of the health of his Negroes (82 in 1810) which became more important to him when he could not attend to them himself, he retired from planting. He

resigned his seat in the Senate and moved to Charleston, but Beaufort was ever home to them and they invariably returned for the summer.

*

Elizabeth Barnwell Gough continued to live in Beaufort with her daughter, Mariana, and separated from her husband. Mariana grew up to be a beautiful girl giving rise to a story that one day when Captain Gough was in a shop in Charleston, he was so impressed by the beauty of a lady customer that he inquired whom she might be and was told she was his daughter. Gough died in February 1796 and in his will (October 1791) left only £50 to her and another £50 to her mother.

Mariana married December 22, 1791 James Harvey Smith, son of Thomas Smith of Charlestown and Sarah Moore. James was a grandson of Landgrave Thomas Smith, and Sarah a grand-daughter of both Governor James Moore and Colonel William Rhett. James was born in Charlestown on November 2, 1761 and fought on the American side during the war. He was present at the siege of Savannah in 1778 and was taken in the fall of Charlestown. His family was heavily engaged on the American side. His brother, Roger, was married to Mary Rutledge, a sister of Governor John Rutledge; and his sister, Sarah, was married to Chancellor Hugh Rutledge, the governor's brother. Another sister was married to Speaker John Faucheraud Grimke, and another to Lieutenant Governor Thomas Bee, a member of the Council of Safety.

James Smith went to England and studied law at the Middle Temple in London. He was admitted to the Bar in Charleston in 1787 and appointed a J. P. in Beaufort. Like Stephen Elliott, he was not successful at rice planting and shortly after 1800 moved to a plantation on the Cape Fear river in Brunswick county, North Carolina where he was aided by his brother, Governor Benjamin Smith. Their four older sons, Thomas, James, Benjamin, and Barnwell remained in Beaufort to be raised under the strict discipline of their grandmother, Elizabeth Gough in the large tabby house she built on Washington Street. One of them grew up to become "the Father of Secession." Elizabeth died October 10, 1817 and was buried in St. Helena's Churchyard.

*

Sarah Barnwell, the youngest daughter, was born April 15, 1764 and married May 5, 1785 James Hazzard Cuthbert, son of Dr. James Cuthbert and Mary Hazzard. Dr. Cuthbert was born in December 1716, a son of John Cuthbert of Castle Hill, Inverness and Jane Hay, a daughter of William Hay, the Bishop of Moray. He came to South Carolina in October 1737 and settled in Prince William's parish where he founded a family soon much allied to the Barnwells. His first wife was Patience, daughter of James Stobo; she was probably the mother of George and Joseph Cuthbert. After her death, Dr. Cuthbert married, February 24, 1758 Mary Hazzard, daughter of Colonel William Hazzard of Hazzard's Neck. She was born in 1718 and was a widow of Edward Wigg; so Dr. Cuthbert had to raise several step-children, including Major William Hazzard Wigg. Dr. Cuthbert died October 15, 1776, and his widow remarried William Elliott I of Beaufort.

Dr. James and Mary Cuthbert had four children: 1) Jane Hay who married John Berners Barnwell, see p. 52; 2) General John Alexander (1760-) who married Mary Dupré Heyward, daughter of Thomas Heyward (1723-95); 3) James Hazzard, see below; and 4) Elizabeth, who married Samuel Stirk, the Attorney General of Georgia.

James Hazzard Cuthbert was born August 28, 1762 and fought with the Beaufort Company during the war. He inherited Castle Hill Plantation near Yemassee and possibly also the plantation on Lady's Island known as Cuthbert's Point. In 1810 he was listed as maintaining 115 slaves. He served for over twenty years on the vestry of St. Helena's Parish and in 1802 was elected to the Board of the Beaufort College. He and Sarah had eight children:

1. James Hazzard Cuthbert, b. Jan. 24, 1786; d. Sept. 30, 1813.
2. Mary Cuthbert, b. Feb. 24, 1787; d. Aug. 4, 1789.
3. A(nne) B(arnwell?) Cuthbert, b. Feb. 18, 1788; d. Dec. 1790.
4. John Alexander Cuthbert, b. Feb. 3, 1790; d. Sept. 20, 1817.
5. Robert Barnwell Cuthbert, b. May 8, 1791; d. Apr. 8, 1868.
6. William Wigg Cuthbert, b. Feb. 6, 1793; d. Nov. 1793.
7. Washington Cuthbert, b. July 7, 1794; d. July 1799.
8. Sarah Cuthbert, b. May 26, 1796; d. Aug. 20, 1798.

Sarah Barnwell died September 19, 1796 at Castle Hill, and James remarried March 1, 1798 a widow, Mrs. Ann Elliott, by whom he had six more children:

1. Lucius Cuthbert, b. Dec. 27, 1798; d. June 18, 1860.
2. Edward Cuthbert, b. Apr. 25, 1800; d. Aug. 27, 1825.
3. William Cuthbert, b. Sept. 8, 1801; d. Oct. 31, 1801.
4. George Cuthbert, b. Nov. 9, 1802; d. Jan. 12, 1835.
5. Ann Cuthbert, b. Aug. 30, 1804; d. Dec. 11, 1825.
6. Louisa Cuthbert, b. Apr. 25, 1806; d. Oct. 23, 1817.

James died in Beaufort August 21, 1817 and his widow on November 3, 1825. Both were buried in St. Helena's Churchyard.⁵¹

Part II The Younger Branch

It is not possible to describe the "younger branch" in the same way we have the "elder branch" for two reasons: first, there is not enough known about them, and, secondly, they did not have that political unity among themselves which characterized their cousins. Tory influence among them was very strong. Both John Barnwell, Jr. and his wife lived through the war, and it may have been their influence which was responsible for it.

Their only surviving son, John Berners Barnwell, was born September 20, 1756 and in April 1776 married Jane Hay Cuthbert, a daughter of Dr. James Cuthbert. Her two brothers, James and John, both fought on the American side, but we are completely lacking in information about Berners, as he was called. He inherited his father's lands and appears in the 1790 census owning 43 slaves, in 1800 as having only 13, and in 1810, his estate is credited with 25. He did not serve on the vestry as his father did, but he did own a pew (No. 27) in the church. He seems to have died before 1810. In April 1811 the wardens of the parish were instructed to purchase two lots formerly sold to John for \$260 "sold under execution" against him. The date of his wife's death is also not known. They had nine children:

1. John Berners Barnwell, b. May 26, 1777; d. July 15, 1841.
2. Mary Cuthbert Barnwell, b. 1786; d. Sept. 17, 1817.
3. James Cuthbert Barnwell, b. May 26, 1782; d. unmarried.
4. Jane Hay Barnwell, b. 1786; d. Sept. 17, 1817.
5. William Hazzard Barnwell, b. July 15, 1787; d. unmarried.
6. Nathaniel Sams Barnwell, b. Aug. 21, 1788; d. June 1800.
7. Robert Barnwell, b. Feb. 10, 1790; d. unmarried.
8. Edward Wigg Barnwell, b. Jan. 12, 1793; d. Oct. 1853.
9. Cuthbert Barnwell, b. July 18, 1797; d. Sept. 3, 1853.

John Barnwell, Jr. had eight daughters, all of whom married, and six of whom had descendants.

Catherine Barnwell (1740-) (DeVeaux)

Catherine, the eldest daughter, was born July 3, 1740 and married Andrew DeVeaux III, son of Andrew DeVeaux II and Hannah Palmer, and grandson of André DeVeaux who came from France before 1714 and settled in St. Andrew's Parish. In 1748 he bought Jericho Plantation in Prince William's Parish from William Palmer and left it to his sons Andrew, James, and John who sold it in 1756 to William Maine from Ireland. André DeVeaux married three times but had children only by his first wife whose name is not known. He died in the spring of 1754 leaving four sons: 1) Israel DeVeaux who married Elizabeth Martin; 2) Andrew DeVeaux II who married Hannah Palmer; 3) Colonel James DeVeaux (-1785); and 4) John DeVeaux of Granville county.

Andrew DeVeaux II and Hannah Palmer had four children: 1) John Palmer DeVeaux; 2) Andrew DeVeaux III; 3) Stephen DeVeaux who fought with the Americans in the battle of Beaufort and was a member of the State

Chapter IV

The Ante-bellum Family

In describing the family during the ante-bellum era, it would be arbitrary and inadequate to write about the Barnwells without their cousins who were also descended from Colonel Nathaniel Barnwell and Mary Gibbes: the Fullers, Stuarts, Elliotts, Rhetts, Cuthberts, Means, Heywards, Stoneys, and Walkers. It is not simply a matter of biological descent nor because the intricate relationships among them demand the fuller treatment, but because they formed a sort of inner circle in Beaufort society, even though not all of them always resided in Beaufort. Without wishing to obscure the real accomplishments and contributions of the other Beaufort families, many of whom were also descended from Tuscarora John and with whom there was some intermarriage, yet, Beaufort's reputation rested largely on the achievements of this inner circle. Members of this in-group were well aware of the distinction which was more than a little artificial, but it took the catastrophe of the war to open their eyes. In 1866 Annie Stuart wrote to her cousin Emily Elliott that "a good deal of the stiffness and nonsense has been shaken out of us . . . and we are much more sociable and sensible than we used to be. The lower ten are delighted at the change."¹

The Setting

Ante-bellum Beaufort, often called the Newport of the South, has been described as "one of the prettiest and most attractive places south of Mason's and Dixon's line" where "the mildness of the climate encourages the most luxuriant growth of flowers."² Everyone who visited old Beaufort was struck by its beauty. The eminent British geologist, Sir Charles Lyell in 1844 found "a picturesque town composed of an assemblage of villas" each of which was "shaded by a verandah surrounded by beautiful live oaks and orange trees laden with fruit."³

Even war-time visitors, who had no reason to love this "hot-bed of secession," could not refrain from singing its praises:

"Words are feeble to describe this isle of the bay, this fairyland of the South with a gem of a town upon it," exclaimed Major Stowits of the Federal occupation troops. "The stranger is surprised and bewildered at the number of fine structures all along the bay, so large, modern, and costly. In short these mansions and their surroundings were all that wealth, taste, and art could suggest. The air is freighted with the aroma of flowers, the oleander, magnolia, fig tree, lemon and orange, as well as live oak, all so naturally arranged . . . The beauty of the town is its naturalness, or absence of artificial arrangement. The trees are irregularly situated all over it, yet forming one unbroken shade."⁴

Charles Nordhoff, war correspondent for *Harper's*, reported from Beaufort in 1863:

"The climate here is enchanting. The breezes soft, the skies have a tropical radiance; the yellow jasmine was in full bloom on the 15th of March and filled the air with its strong perfume . . . In the gardens roses were already in full flower; the orange trees were white with their odoriferous blossoms and the splendid magnolia was preparing to flower."⁵

Nordhoff found Parris Island

"a more charming spot than even Beaufort. Here stands a low roofed, somewhat crude, broad verandahed house but a few steps from where the surf beats against the shore; it stands in a garden filled with a wilder-

William Elliott III

ness of roses and oranges and tall oleanders . . . and everything about it is so quiet, so cool, so shady, the constant murmur of the sea fills the air with so pleasant a dreaminess that I thought, Hither one might come, weary of the busy world, and live contended forever."⁶

Historian Edward McCrady said ante-bellum Beaufort was "the wealthiest, most aristocratic and cultivated town of its size in America, a town which, though small in number of inhabitants, produced statesmen, scholars, sailors, and divines whose name and fame are known throughout the country."⁷

BEAUFORT

Beaufort county was the wealthiest per capita county in the State if not the whole South. As late as 1840 Beaufort was still the second most populous county in the State with 35,800 persons. Charleston had more than double that number. But counting only white persons (5,650), who enjoyed most of the wealth, Beaufort ranked 20th out of the 29 counties. St. Helena's parish in 1860, for example, had 1,062 whites, 7,644 slaves, and 29 free Negroes.⁸ According to Mill's *Statistics* (1820), the annual value of all products in Charleston county was \$2,700,000 while Beaufort's was \$2,400,000 and no other county was even close to them.

Beaufort's prosperity still rested chiefly on rice and Sea Island cotton, a long staple variety much in demand in world markets which brought higher prices than the short staple cotton produced up-country. It thrived on the peculiar kind of soil of which the sea islands have a monopoly. William John Grayson regretted this dependence on cotton and the passing of the variety of crops which he remembered on his grandmother Wigg's plantation on Parris Island. "Now," he said, "plantations are cotton fields rearing crops for foreign markets and little more. The fruits have almost disappeared. Oranges are rare, pomegranates formerly seen everywhere are seldom met with, figs are scarce and small. The planter's whole attention now is absorbed in the cotton crop."⁹ If the crop was good, there was prosperity, money to travel, to buy fine luxuries, or build larger homes. If not, one waited until the next year.

Grayson's picture, however, was overdrawn. He was disappointed in the change which cotton had wrought to his beloved Parris Island, but the fact is that Beaufort county, as a whole, had a broadly based agricultural economy. In 1840 the county, although third in rice production, produced only 8% of the total crop in the State. In cotton Beaufort ranked 15th with 1,544,000 pounds, way behind Abbeville and Fairfield counties with over 8,000,000 pounds and Edgefield with 7,500,000 pounds.

agricult.

On the other hand Beaufort still had the largest number of cattle (41,000) in the State, was third in sheep, and had the highest wool production in the State. They sold seven times more lumber than their nearest competitor, Charleston, and ranked second only to Charleston in potatoes, third in rye, and high in silk and beeswax. Corn, of course, was a staple in every county, and Beaufort was no exception. In addition to these, there was an abundance of fruits and vegetables and an almost bewildering variety of fish and game.¹⁰

Beaufort was a sportsman's paradise. William Elliott III wrote to the editor of Skinner's *Sporting Magazine*: ← Wm. III

"Sir, I am a hereditary sportsman, and inherited the tastes of my grandfather, as well as his lands. Whoever has seen the beautiful bay on which they are seated (known on the map as Port Royal Sound), with its transparent waters stocked with a variety of seafish, while the islands that gird it in abound in deer and other game—will confess that it is a position well calculated to draw out whatever sporting propensities may have been implanted in us by nature."¹¹

Elliott was the author of *Carolina Sports, by Land and Water* (1846). He describes with all the zest of the participant an important part of the life of any Sea Island planter. He brings to life the dangerous hunt of the "devil fish," a large ray common in those waters, and the pursuit of the drum fish. "The drum," said Grayson, "is not confined to Port Royal. They are found as far north as New York, and they are common on the coasts of Florida, but nowhere except in Port Royal Sound is drum fishing an institution and a jubilee cultivated and enjoyed by old and young, white and black, master and slave."¹²

James Stuart recalled that "in April, Uncle John (J. G. Barnwell II) took us fishing in the 'Eliza Woodward' down on Port Royal Harbor. The drum fish came into those waters at that season to spawn. They are large fish weighing 40 to 70 pounds. The name comes from a sound produced by the male which is exactly like the stroke of a bass drum and very loud and distinct." Drum fishing was such a sport with them that even right after the fall of Fort Sumter in April 1861, William H. Russell of the *Times* on a visit to Beaufort, was treated to a drum fishing expedition by William H. Trescot and the Elliots.

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BEAUFORT

agree.

Wm. III

On the seaward side of St. Helena Island lies another island of 2,000 acres of palmetto, pine, and marsh which was jointly owned by J. G. Barnwell II, (General) Stephen Elliott, John Fripp, E. M. Capers, and Dr. W. J. Jenkins as a private hunting preserve. Not surprisingly it was called Hunting Island, but is now a State park.

Beaufort was an ideal place for boys to grow up in. James Stuart has left us a very good account of it:

"As boys we spent only two months in the country, December and April, our two holy days. The rest of the year we were in town going to school. December was our month for hunting and shooting; April for fishing. We rode horseback all the year round in town or country. In shooting ducks among the marshes we used an ordinary dugout canoe. . . carved from parts of two trees clamped together. Boats built in this way were the rule in the early days of our country. My uncle John Barnwell had one which was a barge rowing twelve oars . . . This big boat was used between my grandfather's several plantations, among them the main one, Coosaw Island . . . We were very happy when we were invited down there to shoot ducks in the ponds in the winter and alligators in the Spring. This barge was used, of course, to move the family to and from the Island.¹³

Hunting included marsh hens, mink, racoon, and the elusive otter, and deer were still plentiful even after decades of hunting.

"December was the month for us," Stuart continued, "with guns, dogs, and horses. And Christmas was the culmination of it. It was the year's jubilee also for the negroes . . . The negro women, when they came to sing, had each in her hand two or three eggs for us children. We would bring a basket and they filled it. This gave the eggs for the Egg Nog that night with which Christmas always ended. We were full by that time of the Christmas dinner, turkey and ham, plum pudding and mince pie, almonds and raisins. Our dinner hour was 3 o'clock with a light tea handed in waiters at about 7 o'clock.

"We seldom went to shoot on Christmas day but amused ourselves on the premises with firecrackers and a bonfire at night, English fashion. Sometimes, however, on Christmas day we went racoon hunting . . .

"As I said before, we lived in Beaufort from the end of April to the end of November and from the end of December to the end of March to go to school. Our school hours were from 8 a.m. to 1 p.m. with the afternoon free to study or play. Our games in the winter months were those of all boys—prisoner's base, town ball or bat ball from which baseball has been developed, and football, the Rugby game . . . Our summer was very long and hot. Out of school we then amused . . . ourselves quietly and every afternoon about 4 or 5 p.m. we went to swim, about 30 or 40 of us together.

"Sometimes our families would go down to Bay Point for 2 or 3 weeks where there were a number of Pest houses very plainly built of wood. No sashes but shutters in case of a storm. Here we went bathing in the surf. It was at the mouth of the harbor looking right out to sea. The light ship on Port Royal Entrance faintly visible at night. We caught turtles on the beach and terrapins and found their nests in the sand with from 70 to 100 eggs in them. We had a royal time and went back to school well tanned and our faces and arms peeling. We boys generally slept in a tent. The mornings and forenoons were very hot and glaring among the white sand hills. But at noon every day the sea breeze began to blow and continued to blow until about 9 p.m. This salt breeze was very bracing and invigorating."

Sea Islanders often went much further than Bay Point for the summer. Nearby Bluffton was popular, and by 1830 Pendleton was a favorite resort. After 1837 Flat Rock in North Carolina began to attract the planters, and northern resorts like Saratoga and Newport were always popular, but Beaufort itself maintained its own powerful attraction.¹⁴ Its population frequently doubled in the summer. To stay on the plantations after mid-May was to risk malaria which took its toll and never more so than in the devastating epidemic of 1817. About 120 persons in Beaufort are said to have died between August and October. Just to glance at the death dates in the last chapter is to see the heavy toll in the family alone: General Barnwell's widow, Elizabeth Barnwell Gough, James H. Cuthbert, Sr., Milton Maxcy, Nathaniel Barnwell IV, Jane Hay Barnwell, and others.

No description of old Beaufort would be complete without some account of the Beaufort Artillery, as sketchy as our information is. Founded in 1775, it fought through the Revolution and took part in the defense of the town during the War of 1812 when a British fleet made a token appearance in the harbor, lobbed a few shells into the town and withdrew. Reorganized in 1820, George P. Elliott was its captain and commander from 1826 to 1843/4. In 1824

the Beaufort Volunteer Guards were formed. Middleton Stuart was an early commander, and John G. Barnwell II became its captain in 1837 until the two companies were merged into the Beaufort Volunteer Artillery in 1843 or 1844. John remained the commander until he was succeeded in 1858 by his lieutenant, Stephen Elliott.

Joseph Barnwell recalled that one of the sights he most enjoyed as a boy was to see Major Barnwell march at the head of his Artillery:

“Every man of the first platoon was six feet tall or over, and some were even taller than the Major (6'2"). I not only remember seeing him marching by my uncle Osborn's house the first year I went to Beaufort (1853) but later saw him preside over one of the 4th of July banquets held by the company each year, and I well remember the huge bass drum which stood beside his chair and upon which he pounded when he wished to command order. The hall in which they met was called the Arsenal Hall.”¹⁵

Grayson has given us a very candid description of ante-bellum society in Beaufort. He said it was “remarkable for the property of standing still . . . It has always been on good terms with itself nevertheless and for better reasons than usually accompany self-complacency. It is quiet, healthy, religious, dresses well, is of good manners and morals and not a little addicted to mental cultivation.”¹⁶

Another native son put it this way:

Books and the boats I sing:
And this old town of note.
Where each man had a library
And every man a boat.

Leisure and island homes!
For them old Homer wrote.
And oft they went to Odysseus
To learn about a boat.

They'd sit upon a balcony
With Gibbon, Hume, and Grote,
And then they'd take some exercise
With six oars and a boat.

Plantations all had muscled crews
A landing and a boat.
Each lad was taught to sail and row,
But also how to quote.

On summer morns they loved to read,
On summer eves to float,
Woe to the man who had no books,
Or chanced to have no boat!

For Beaufort was a strange old town
In those old days remote!
One had to have a library;
One loved to have a boat.

The Rev. Robert Woodward Barnwell¹⁷

Most of the homes in old Beaufort, in fact, did have good private libraries, and it was said that “almost every family subscribed to a newspaper.” George P. Elliott estimated that 33,120 newspapers and 3,406 periodicals passed

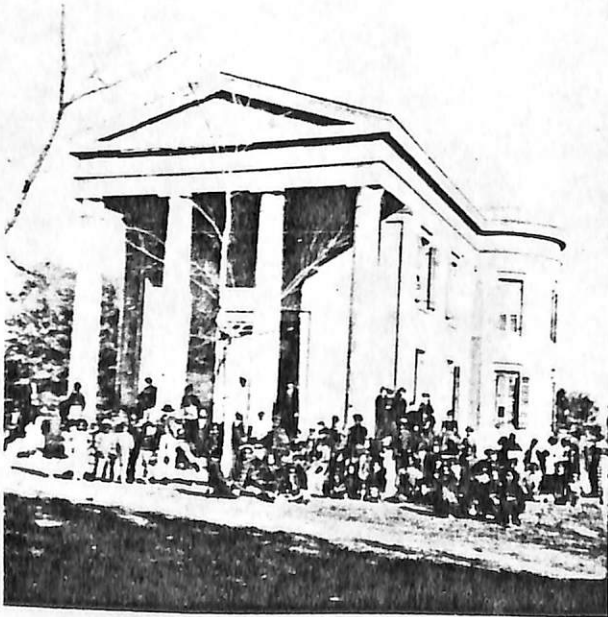
through the Beaufort post office in one year, more than "through the post office of any other American town of its size."¹⁸

The public library, founded in 1802 and supported by the Beaufort Library Society, grew to 3,100 volumes by 1861, "one of the best in the South."¹⁹ It contained not only "a choice selection of classics gathered in Europe by Hugh Swinton Legare" but the best of American authors as well, covering all fields of study, the usual standard reference works, and many of the leading British and American magazines.

Long before the war Beaufort was able to boast that there was no illiteracy among its white population. No other Southern community could make the same claim and very few in the rest of the country. There were several boys' schools, often conducted by lawyers to supplement their income, a primary school for young children, and a seminary for young ladies.²⁰ In the county there were 28 schools with almost 600 pupils. But the Beaufort College was the most important educational institution in the town and one of the best preparatory schools in the South sending a steady stream of students into the universities. James L. Petigru was the Headmaster from 1811 to 1813 when he was succeeded by Martin Luther Hurlbut from Connecticut. The most "memorable" master, as far as the boys were concerned, was old John Fielding who was hired in 1841. An Irish ex-Roman Catholic priest, in Anglican Orders but who rarely preached, he was "a most ruthless man with a cane." Dr. Hal Stuart recalled that he could hardly eat breakfast each morning out of fear of the caning which he knew was forthcoming sometime during the day. His cousin, James Stuart, said that all the boys detested Fielding: "He was a good teacher of Latin grammar and prosody, but he seemed to know little else. Only he made the boys study by the use of the rod, a stick a foot and a half long, and he loved to whip and sometimes very unjustly. There was hardly a boy in the school who was not at some time black and blue from his floggings."²¹

Joseph Barnwell's description of some of their textbooks explains a great deal about the preparation of the students: Walker's *Dictionary*, the History of Rome, Peter Parley's *History of the United States* (a very popular text of the time), English grammar, Davis' *Arithmetic*, Comstock's *Philosophy*, Greek and Roman mythology, and the proclamation of a speech every Friday.²²

The first college building was razed after the great fever epidemic of 1817. It was thought to have been built in an unhealthy site, and a new building in another part of town was erected in 1820. In 1851-52 the present building was designed and built by John G. Barnwell and today it stands as part of the Extension Division of the University of South Carolina.



The Beaufort College, c1862.



St. Helena's Episcopal Church, c1862.

Few of the young men of Beaufort seem to have gone to a university before 1800 (Stephen Elliott at Yale and James Stuart at Edinburgh were notable exceptions), but between 1800 and 1861 at least two-thirds of the male descendants of Colonel Nathaniel Barnwell and husbands of the female descendants did, and half of them graduated. This is a remarkably high number for that period even in their social status. It was common for students to move from one college to another, either to study under some famous professor or to be with friends and relatives. Most young Beaufortians attended the South Carolina College at one time or another. Beaufort ranked close behind Charleston and Richland counties in the number of students at the College and with a much smaller population from which to draw. Harvard was the most popular outside the South; no less than 25 men went there from Beaufort in the forty years before the Civil War. Yale came second, followed by Princeton (Nassau Hall), Columbia, and West Point. Among Southern colleges, Virginia became popular with the family only after 1850 with seven Barnwells, eight Elliotts, three Fullers, two Stuarts, and one Rhett attending in the ten years before the war. The College of Charleston was popular but generally only with those who had "expatriated" from Beaufort, and The Citadel attracted only one or two after it was founded in 1842.

Study in European universities drew some of the family in the 1850s. In 1854 Robert W. Barnwell, Jr. and Nathaniel Barnwell Fuller went to Germany for two years; James R. Stuart and Robert H. Barnwell followed them four years later, and Robert W. Rhett also chose Germany in which to finish his education. Much earlier Thomas and Henry Fuller studied medicine at Edinburgh, and in 1859-60 Thomas O. Barnwell was in the medical school at Paris.

Shortly after the South Carolina College was founded in 1801, the influence of Beaufort could be felt. The first president was Jonathan Maxcy, whose brother Milton conducted a school in Beaufort and married Mary Bull, widow of Nathaniel Barnwell III. After Dr. Maxcy left the College, the Board of Trustees chose Stephen Elliott to succeed him, but Elliott felt it unwise to leave the State Bank which was under attack and regretfully turned it down. The Board then chose Dr. Thomas Cooper, one of the best scholars in the early history of the College but whose unorthodox views in religion clashed with the strongly Presbyterian Board and with the general outlook of the State. The result was to bring the College, in the words of one member of the faculty, "to a state of almost complete ruin; lost confidence had to be restored and the work of construction begun anew."

To do just that, the Board chose two brothers-in-law from Beaufort: Robert W. Barnwell to become the third president and the Rev. Stephen Elliott, Jr. to be chaplain and professor of sacred literature. Within six years, the College had fully recovered, a new library was built, and an extensive program of expansion started. Barnwell's administration is considered one of the most successful in the history of the University, and he continued to exert influence on the College throughout his forty years on the Board.

Elliott was elected Bishop of Georgia in 1840 and there spent his entire fortune on an unsuccessful attempt to build a girls' school. More importantly, he was one of the founders of the University of the South in Sewanee, Tennessee. Robert W. Barnwell turned down an invitation in 1844 to become the president of the College of Charleston, and his nephew, the Rev. Robert W. Barnwell, Jr., after a brilliant career at the State College, declined an invitation to become president of William and Mary College in Virginia.

There was another area of public education in which Beaufort had an influence all out of proportion to its size—journalism. The *Beaufort Gazette* was for many years ably edited by John A. Stuart who went to Charleston in 1830 to become the editor of the *Mercury* and make it one of the most influential newspapers in the state in its advocacy of the extreme states' rights position and, later, secession. The *Mercury* was soon recognized as the organ of the Rhett faction. R. Barnwell Rhett was Stuart's brother-in-law and after Stuart's retirement, ownership and editorship passed to William R. Taber, Barnwell Rhett, Jr., and Edmund Rhett, Jr.

In 1828 Stephen Elliott, Sr. founded the *Southern Review* in Charleston, and it immediately ranked with the best in periodical literature in the country. The *Review* published a variety of articles in science, literature, history, religion, and politics, but it was too scholarly for its time and culture. Stephen Elliott, Jr. assisted his father and tried to carry on after his death in 1830 but when Hugh Swinton Legare, a heavy contributor, went to Europe in 1832, the magazine closed.

Perhaps the most celebrated name in ante-bellum southern journalism is J. D. B. DeBow. He lived in Beaufort for a while, and in 1846 founded his *Commercial Review* in Charleston and New Orleans. It has been called "the most influential of Southern journals."²³ DeBow's only assistant, a frequent contributor, assistant editor, and eventual successor after his death in 1868, was Robert G. Barnwell from Beaufort. Robert started with *Review*, possibly from the very beginning, and stayed with it, off and on, for over twenty years. He was something of a literary dilettante, but his articles in the *Review* were among the most important things he did.

Two church magazines owed their existence to men from Beaufort. The earlier and less important was the *Episcopal Protestant* founded (1843) and edited by the Rev. William H. W. Barnwell in Charleston. It was a monthly magazine of news and opinions reflecting the anti-Tractarian views of its editor. When his health failed in 1845, it merged with the *Episcopal Recorder* of Philadelphia.

More important was the *Southern Episcopalian* founded and edited by the Rev. James Habersham Elliott, brother of Bishop Elliott, and assisted by the Rev. C. P. Gadsden and the Rev. Joseph A. Shanklin who joined the staff in 1855. It first appeared in April 1853 as a general periodical of Church news and flourished for ten years before becoming a casualty of the war. After the war, Elliott was editor of the *Christian Witness* in Boston for two years.

Grayson was right when he said that Beaufort was "religious." Recovery from the corrosive influences of 18th century Deism and the disruption of the Revolution had begun before the revolutionary generation had passed from the scene. The return of the Rev. John Barnwell Campbell from England in 1812 marks the beginning of a steady growth in St. Helena's parish which continued up to the war. Within five years the church was too small for the congregation and had to be lengthened by twenty feet. A gallery was added and an organ installed. In 1824 the church subscribed "a considerable amount" to the new General Theological Seminary in New York and members of the parish were well represented in the Protestant Episcopal Society for the Advancement of Christianity in South Carolina. The rector and his wife and sister, Mrs. James Stuart, Jr. were Life Members. The annual membership included Captain John G. Barnwell, Mrs. Edward Barnwell, Sr., Mrs. James H. Cuthbert, Jr., Mrs. William Elliott (Phoebe Waight), Nathaniel Heyward, Jr., Mrs. Mary Bull Maxcy, Mrs. Mary Stuart, and Charlotte Bull.

In 1824 the Rev. Joseph Rogers Walker came from Pennsylvania to succeed Campbell as rector. He married Mariana Rhett and settled down to an unusually productive pastorate of fifty-five years. He brought with him his younger brother, Edward, who married Ann Bull Barnwell and had a fifty-four year ministry in the Diocese. In 1827 Dr. Walker introduced worship services on Feast Days, Wednesday mornings, and Friday evenings, special lectures for children, and Holy Communion on the first Sunday of each month. By 1829 he had established parish and Sunday School libraries, and the membership doubled. In 1834 eight scholarships were created in the parish for men studying for the ministry.

All of this indicates that the Church in Beaufort was alive before the Rev. Daniel Baker held his famous preaching mission in the Sea Islands in 1831, but this mission was still an important event in the religious life of the community. The Rev. C. C. Pinckney in his memorial address for Dr. Walker in 1879 spoke of Baker's visit as a turning point in his own life: "A notice of Baker's visit . . . was sent around to every house in town. It reached the house of a member (of a whist club) just as the club had assembled for the evening and was read aloud amid much merriment. Some advised abstaining, but confident of their ability to withstand the preacher's snares, they determined to attend. Eight of that party of eleven were soon testifying to the power of Grace."²⁴ Out of one law office alone came six men in a row to study for the ministry as a result of this mission: Richard Fuller (Baptist), Stephen Elliott (Bishop), Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, William H. W. Barnwell, William Johnson, and Thomas Fuller, Jr., and not long after, Elliott's brother James left the same law books to follow in their footsteps.

Out of this enthusiasm came a further enlargement of the church in 1842 with "a new and superior organ." By 1844 the parish had 171 white and 50 Negro communicants, 9 white and 6 Negro Sunday School teachers, and 174 white and 140 Negro children. It had a Bible Society, a Dorcas Society (ancestor of the Episcopal Churchwomen), and several missionary groups. "Indeed the interest in missions on the part of St. Helena's congregation," it has been said, "was so great that it had the enviable distinction of making a larger *per capita* contribution to that cause than any other Episcopal congregation in the United States."²⁵ In 1815 a group of young ladies, including eight from the family, applied for and was granted a charter for a Benevolent Society for the "relief of distressed and destitute female children."²⁶

Beaufort also had a strong Baptist congregation in which members of the Sams, Fuller, and Cuthbert families played a prominent part. There was also a smaller Methodist church, and in 1845 a Roman Catholic parish was founded.

Slavery was, of course, a fixed element in the life of St. Helena's parish where the slaves outnumbered the whites seven to one. It was believed to be the basis of her prosperity and, indeed, the very foundation of her civilization. Slavery found some of its most eloquent defenders in Beaufort, both those who viewed it as a perpetual relationship and those who recognized it was only temporary.

Edmund Rhett gave a classical statement of the planters' position to William Howard Russell, *Times* correspondent covering the Civil War:

"We are an agricultural people pursuing our own system and working out our own destiny, breeding up women and men with some other purpose than to make them vulgar, fanatical, cheating Yankees. . . We have gentlemen and gentlewomen in your (English) sense of it. We have a system which enables us to reap the fruits of the earth by a race which we save from barbarism in restoring them to their real place in the world of laborers, whilst we are enabled to cultivate the arts, the graces, and accomplishments of life, to develop science, to apply ourselves to the duties of government, and to understand the affairs of the country."²⁷

William Grayson, Unionist though he was, was one of the better known defenders of the system. He wrote the widely publicized poem "The Hireling and the Slave" in which he compared the uncertain situation of the Northern factory worker to the "peace and security" of the Southern slave.

A popular attitude around Beaufort was expressed by James Reeve Stuart who wrote at the distance of half a century:

"It was a wonderfully secure life, that old plantation life in the days of slavery. No one ever used the name slavery then. They were 'the negroes' or 'our people.' They were part of us. They themselves used the expression habitually, *our* plantation, *our* cattle, *our* horses, *our* family or *our* white folks. We went to bed at night with a feeling of perfect security and yet our house was never locked up. The house servant closed the window shutters and went to his rooms in the Negroes' Quarters some distance from the house. Only one young girl, as a rule, slept in the house near her mistress ready for a call. If the others were needed, they were sent for."²⁸

The nearest thing to an "abolitionist" position adopted by a son of Beaufort was that held by Bishop Stephen Elliott. He believed that slavery was "a trust committed to the South by God which had been forced on a protesting Georgia by the greed of English and New England slave traders,"²⁹ but it must and ultimately would be eradicated through the influence of the Church.

"Already," he told Frederika Bremer, "is Christianity laboring to elevate the being of the negro population, and from year to year their condition improves, both spiritually and physically; they will soon be our equals as regards morals, and when they become our equals, they can no longer be our slaves. The next step will be for them to receive wages as servants; and I know several persons who are already treating their slaves as such."³⁰

In 1841 Bishop Elliott called for a body of well instructed Negro communicants in every parish in Georgia. He contrasted the lack of success of missionaries in Africa with the success of the Church in the South which was producing "a Christian people, having a clear discernment of right and wrong, understanding very distinctly the system of our religion, having educated teachers of their own color and race, gentle, kind, and, until meddled with, faithful and affectionate."³¹

After the war (1866) Elliott admonished his diocese: "We have always welcomed them to our Churches and altars; let us continue the same. We have always permitted them to organize churches for themselves—they have been free as air upon this point; let us continue the same." "We shall lead these people, once our servants, but now not servants but above servants, as brethren beloved, and present them to Christ as our offering of repentance for what we may have failed to fulfil, on the part of our trust. But, it may be asked, Do you regret the abolition of slavery? For myself and my race, No! I rather rejoice in it." But for the future of the freedmen, he was afraid they were unprepared and unprotected. They would become the victims of unscrupulous employers who would use them and then discard them. The Church should not allow this to happen.³²

In some respects Bishop Elliott's attitude was not really a radical break from his background in Beaufort. The religious education of slaves was a matter of concern to many Sea Island planters particularly after the religious

*Willie Lee Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction* shows that the behavior of the freedmen in the Sea Islands belied all the arguments of the planters and that with even the gentlest of masters, slavery was hated by the slaves.

revival of the 1820s. Planters often built chapels for their people, but Dr. Walker did not think this was the solution. In Convention he argued that "while separate schools and separate lectures cannot be dispensed with yet, there should be association with the whites in pastoral and sacramental privileges." The adoption of this practice in St. Helena's was the main reason for the renovation and enlargement of the parish in 1841-42.

The Methodist missionary, the Rev. George Moore, conducted a preaching mission to the slaves around Beaufort in 1832 and noticed that the religious instruction of the slaves was mainly in the hands of a few white clergy and the young ladies of the planter families. He was surprised to find that "some of the wealthiest and most distinguished gentlemen would spend every Sabbath afternoon in imparting religious instruction to the Negroes, young and old."³³ Moore was especially impressed with Thomas Cuthbert of Big Island "among the most liberal patrons" of his mission. Cuthbert built a large, "comfortable" chapel and "allowed his people to attend weekdays as well as Sundays . . . Mr. Cuthbert and his little daughter, he being a widower, were generally present at the church. He would commune with his people."³⁴

Moore stayed with Robert Means on Parris Island during his mission. On Sundays all the Negroes from the surrounding plantations of Dr. Thomas Fuller, the Rev. Stephen Elliott, Mrs. Anne Habersham, and William Eddings would gather at the Means plantation for services conducted by the missionary. He then visited Cat Island, owned by the Rev. Richard Fuller, and from there to the Sams plantation on Datha Island and to "Barnwell's place on Coosa Island." Moore ended his mission on Port Royal Island visiting several homes including Laurel Bay, remarking, in passing, that the Rev. William H. Barnwell began his ministry there "preaching to his own blacks and holding prayer meetings with them every morning before sunrise."

On a later mission, the Rev. A. M. Chreitzberg said that "with one or two exceptions," the planters were all in sympathy with the work of evangelism among their people. Bishop Elliott's cousin, the Rev. Stephen Elliott, devoted almost his entire ministry on the Combahee to the Negroes of the neighboring plantations, building a large church out of his own funds and conducting the instruction and services himself. The Rev. Edward Walker, the rector's brother, had the same kind of ministry on St. Helena Island.

This was the position officially proclaimed by the Diocese of South Carolina. In 1837 at the bidding of the Bishop, the Revs. William H. Barnwell, Paul Trapier, and Christopher Gadsden prepared "A Catechism to be used by Teachers in the Religious Instruction of Persons of Colour." At a meeting of diocesan leaders in 1845 which included the Rev. W. H. Barnwell, his brother Robert, and R. Barnwell Rhett, it was announced that "religious instruction of the Negroes was the great duty and in the truest and best sense, the fixed, settled policy of the South."³⁵

Fundamental to the planters' attitude toward slavery was their belief that it was the basis for a superior civilization both for the planters and their people, and this belief was continually supported by visitors from Europe and the North. The Viscountess Avonmore from England commented: "The South Carolinians seemed almost a different race . . . there is more dignity, more polish about him than the Northerner."³⁶ Sir Charles Lyell wrote: "There is a warm and generous openness in the Southerner which mere wealth and a retinue of servants cannot give; and they have often a dignity of manner, without stiffness, which is most agreeable. The landed proprietors here visit each other in the style of English country gentlemen."³⁷ Charles Murray, another visitor from England, observed "there is something warm, frank, and courteous in the manner of a real Carolinian; he is not studiously, but naturally polite."³⁸

The same conclusions were reached by Frederick Olmstead after his extensive travel in the South: "There is less vulgar display, and more intrinsic elegance, and habitual mental refinement, in the best society of South Carolina than in any distinct class anywhere among us." "The women of the South are unexcelled in the world for every quality which commands admiration, respect, and love."³⁹ The South Carolinians were, naturally, flattered but were angry when their explanation for it (slavery) was not accepted in the North. And when the attitude of the North grew stronger, the South Carolinian could only see an attack upon his own civilization.

Whether slavery would have crumbled under its own weight or by the spread of such views as Bishop Elliott held, it may never be satisfactorily determined. The issue became hopelessly enmeshed in a dispute over the interpretation of the Constitution and sectional pride and was finally resolved only by war.

Beaufort was best known, perhaps unfairly, for her brand of politics. If not the original home of secessionism, she was at least the native soil of the "Father of Secession," Robert Barnwell Rhett, and other ardent Southern nationalists. The idea that Beaufort was the seedbed of the Civil War was much encouraged by such reports as those of Charles Nordhoff from Beaufort in 1863:

"Here in cool quiet," he wrote, "they hatched their treasonable plot, and I must say the nest seems a pleasant one, and doubtless the labors of incubation were lightened and cheered with many a 'cobbler.' . . .

As I walked under the generous shade of magnificent oaks, which abound hereabouts, and drank in the quiet spirit of the scene, I caught with it a sense of the base use to which this piece of earth has been put. Here, beneath these live oaks, in this grove of tall and spreading pines, by these budding orange trees, in the portico of the rural church of the Rhetts, the Barnwells, the Prescotts (Trescotts?) the hundred other leading traitors conferred together; here they deliberated, here they planned, in sober councils, the ruin of their country; here was nurtured that gigantic and inexcusable crime which has made so many children fatherless, so many homes desolate, that a few ambitious and unscrupulous aristocrats might have their fling against free government."⁴⁰

Nordhoff was writing in the heat of a bitter civil war. Beaufort did not have this much influence, but it was a stronghold of secession and was, in the last analysis, divided only on whether South Carolina should secede alone or with the other slave-holding states. In the decade of the 1850s, two of the recognized leaders of these positions in the State did come from Beaufort. Robert W. Barnwell, with Langdon Cheves and Andrew P. Butler, led the Southern nationalists while Barnwell Rhett was the leader of the separate secessionists.

Beaufort had once been, as we have seen, as fervently American nationalist and Federalist as it became secessionist. Expressive of this nationalism was the Independence Day celebration in July 1819 presided over by the Intendant (Mayor) William Elliott III.⁴¹ There were the usual toasts to the Fourth of July, the Constitution, the memory of Washington, and the Fair Sex. It was a unanimous expression of loyalty to the still new Federal Union, "may it receive daily strength by an increasing unanimity of sentiment and feeling." Jacob Guerard proposed "The Union of the States, the Gordian Knot of our Independence." Captain Edward Barnwell proposed "The Memory of Alexander Hamilton," and Dr. James Stuart: "Our Country—may neither the fame nor the services of the violators of its Constitution protect them from punishment." It was only a few years since the nation had successfully resisted secessionist tendencies in New England.

The change from ardent nationalism to a concern for what was called "Southern rights" came in the 1820s. Recent tariff legislation had not benefitted South Carolina as its authors had expected, and the planters found themselves paying higher prices for goods manufactured in the North. At the same time the western South was beginning to open up. Vast new acreage was given over to cotton, and although the demand for cotton was rising, the price gradually declined. Furthermore the new profits were enriching Savannah, Mobile, and New Orleans rather than Charleston. In 1827 Stephen Elliott, future editor of the *Southern Review* and a commissioner of the South Carolina Canal and Railroad Company, recommended the construction of a great railway system linking the Ohio Valley and the Mississippi to Charleston. It was visionary and economically unfeasible, but it was one of the few attempts to understand the real causes of the economic malaise which affected South Carolina in the 1820s.

The average planter was more apt to blame the Federal government for using tariffs and "internal improvements" as a means of taxing the South to benefit the North. And, of course, the North knew a good thing when they saw it, and tariffs went up and up. As early as 1820 Stephen Elliott presided at a meeting of influential citizens in Charleston to draft a memorial to Congress against tariff increases. Twice, in 1824 and 1828, Beaufort protested to Congress the dangerous consequences of this tariff policy.

With the passage of the so-called "Tariff of Abominations" in 1828, feeling in South Carolina reached a peak. Thomas Cooper, president of the State College, was one of the first to ask, publicly and influentially, whether it was worthwhile to continue in a Union "where the North demands to be our masters, and we are required to be their tributaries." A States' Rights party was formed in 1830, and even so staunch an old Federalist as Stephen Elliott, once described as exerting "the greatest impulse upon the thought of the State" found himself as the secretary of the party in Charleston.⁴² At a party celebration in July, a toast was proposed to his cousin, Robert W. Barnwell "the talented, eloquent, and chivalric defender of States Rights. In honoring him, our fellow citizens of Colleton and Beaufort do honor to themselves and to Carolina."

The crisis came to a head in 1832. In July a new tariff was passed in Congress solely in the interests of Northern manufacturers. The States Rights party in South Carolina won the elections to the legislature. A public meeting in Beaufort instructed its delegation to vote for a state convention "to nullify" the tariff act. Senator William Elliott(III) resigned rather than support a policy which he felt could only lead to disaster. The other delegates did as they were instructed, and the legislature voted for a State Convention to meet in November.

At this Nullification Convention, R. W. Barnwell and C. G. Capers represented St. Helena's and Robert Barnwell Smith (Rhett), St. Bartholomew's parish. Barnwell was on the Committee of Twenty-one which drew up the Ordinance of Nullification declaring the tariff "unauthorized by the Constitution" and therefore "null, void, and no law, nor binding upon the State, its officers, or citizens." It was typical of him that he should move that January 31st be set aside as "a day of solemn fasting, humiliation, and prayer" asking God to "bestow his blessing upon the proceedings of this body, that they may eventuate in the promotion of his glory, and in restoring and perpetuating the liberty and prosperity of our native state."⁴³

President Jackson could not allow this act of revolution. It was impossible that a State should enjoy the advantages of Union and yet claim the right to determine which of its laws it wanted to obey. Nullification was nonsense: either submission to all the laws of Congress or secession. South Carolina was not ready to secede, and Jackson was not ready to force the issue. A compromise was reached whereby tariffs would be lowered, but a Force Act was passed authorizing the President to use armed force if necessary to collect the duties. Lacking support from other states, the Nullification Convention reassembled in March 1833 to accept the compromise.

Robert W. Barnwell was appointed to the Committee to Reconsider, and he spoke in favor of the compromise. No doubt more eloquent, more important speeches were made in that Convention, yet his remarks spoke for many in South Carolina in 1833. He said the Constitution had been adopted to assure "the mutual protection of a league of twenty-four states" and "exemption from foreign and domestic discord." South Carolina was refused the right to protest or pull out. The choice now was between this compromise or "the evils of secession." The State could have none of that "mock-heroic bravery . . . that could cast all prudence out of the question." The real issue now was civil war, not the tariff or even secession. True, he said, the compromise was "not the utmost that we had a right to demand," but it had accomplished their purpose—tariffs were coming down. He did not touch on what Calhoun and others clearly saw was "the real cause of the present unhappy state of things" namely "the peculiar domestic institution of the Southern States"—slavery.

By the time the next sectional crisis occurred, however, slavery was the stated issue. In 1846 the Wilmot Proviso, which would have prohibited the extension of slavery into the new territories of the West, failed to pass in Congress, but it touched off a national debate on slavery which lasted six years. The debate came to a head when California applied for admission as a free state in 1850. To the South this was a denial of their right to take their "property" into the new state, but the basic issue was much deeper. If slavery was right in one state, surely it was right in every state. If it was wrong in California, then, by implication, it was wrong in South Carolina. By then many, like Lincoln, were beginning to think that a nation could not endure "half slave, half free," and many Southerners were beginning to say, "Right! Let there be two nations!" But the majority were not ready to face the issues so squarely. Senator Henry Clay produced an acceptable compromise. California was to be admitted as a free state; New Mexico and Utah were to be organized as territories without reference to slavery; and there was to be a new and tougher fugitive slave law.

The Compromise was attacked by extremists on both sides. A Southern Convention was called to meet in Nashville in June 1850. It was very much like the romantic nationalist assemblies then prevalent in Europe and was accused of being secessionist, but the moderates were quick to deny it. Their only aim, they said, was to defend Southern rights within the Union. South Carolina sent a full delegation of 18 men including Robert W. Barnwell and Barnwell Rhett. The cousins found themselves, as they had for many years, in different camps: Barnwell supporting the moderates while Rhett emerged as the leader of the extremists since the death of Calhoun in March. In Nashville he wrote "The Address to the People of the Southern States" in which he reviewed the history of "Northern aggression" and explained why every part of the Compromise was unacceptable to the South. His Address generated much debate, but the Convention soon realized that they were not representative of the whole South and lacked the power to do anything. They adjourned until November after passing rather tame resolutions repeating Southern claims of equal rights in the territories and the duty of Congress to protect their property in slaves.

This failure to produce anything stronger gave heart to the supporters of the Compromise. Calhoun had been succeeded in the Senate by Rhett's friend, F. H. Elmore, but when he died after only three months in office, the moderates prevailed upon Robert W. Barnwell to accept an interim appointment until December. He carried on Calhoun's opposition to the admission of California as a free state and did it so well that even Webster, although in complete disagreement, was very much impressed by him. California was admitted in September, and with his customary courtesy, Senator Barnwell presented the credentials of her first Senator, John C. Fremont.

By the end of 1850 the country, as a whole, had accepted the Clay Compromise, but not so the old home of Nulli-

fication. There the debate was not whether to secede but whether to secede alone or with the other slaveholding states. In Beaufort the discussion was as lively as anywhere, and, considering her position, as important. There were few Unionists down there. William Elliott III was the most prominent and detested his cousin Rhett's influence which he called "malignant and sinister." He called Rhett a "bellowing mooncalf," "a mountebank with his puppets," but Rhett more nearly voiced the sentiments of his state and community than did Elliott.⁴⁴

Beaufort was really divided between ardent secessionists and timid Southern nationalists. John A. Stuart and his *Beaufort Gazette* had been disunionist since 1827, and this had had its effect. At the Fourth of July annual banquet of the Beaufort Artillery in 1850, the theme was secession. William H. Trescot delivered the oration on "The Position and Course of the South" in which he declared that "the sectional controversy was the natural development of deepseated and enduring causes." The only solution was to have two separate nations. "The old Union had served its purposes, achieved its destiny, and now it was to be broken and a new one formed in the South to achieve the true destiny of the South."

In October a Southern Rights Association was formed in Beaufort to protest "the injustices and aggression of the North . . . until the wrongs of the South are redressed, and the Federal Constitution is restored to its original purity, or the States resume the powers heretofore delegated to the United States for special purposes." Robert W. Barnwell was chosen its president, Edmund Rhett and Richard de Treville as vice-presidents, and William H. Trescot the corresponding secretary. A Council of Safety was organized with Captain John G. Barnwell of the Artillery, George P. Elliott, Thomas O. Barnwell, William H. Cuthbert and eleven others on it. One hundred and thirty-eight men signed the Association including a fair representation of the family: Thomas G. Barnwell, John A. Stuart, Captain Edward Barnwell, Lucius Cuthbert, Sr., (General) Stephen Elliott, Middleton Stuart, Thomas R. S. Elliott, Haskell S. Rhett, and William W. Elliott in addition to those mentioned above.

A similar Association was formed with 110 students at the South Carolina College, a large majority of the student body. Edward H. Barnwell from Charleston, Archibald Smith Barnwell, Robert H. Barnwell, and Lucius Cuthbert, Jr. from Beaufort were among them. On December 6th, the Rev. William H. W. Barnwell preached a sermon at St. Peter's, Charleston in favor of a new Southern nation; he was more secessionist than his brother Robert.

The next session of the Nashville Convention was even more disappointing for the extremists than the first one. There was going to be no help from the other states. Rhett and his followers, however, were prepared for separate secession if necessary. This would drag the other states along. The South Carolina legislature met in a distinct atmosphere of disunion but with little agreement on when or how. They decided to call a State Convention, elected delegates to a never-to-be-held Southern Convention in Montgomery, and chose Barnwell Rhett to succeed Robert W. Barnwell in the Senate.

The radicals took Rhett's election as a victory and called a meeting of the Southern Rights Associations to meet in Charleston in May 1851 to show their strength in the state. Robert Barnwell was a delegate from Beaufort but, far from supporting separate secession, spoke out against any independent course. Secession, he declared, was "fraught with danger."

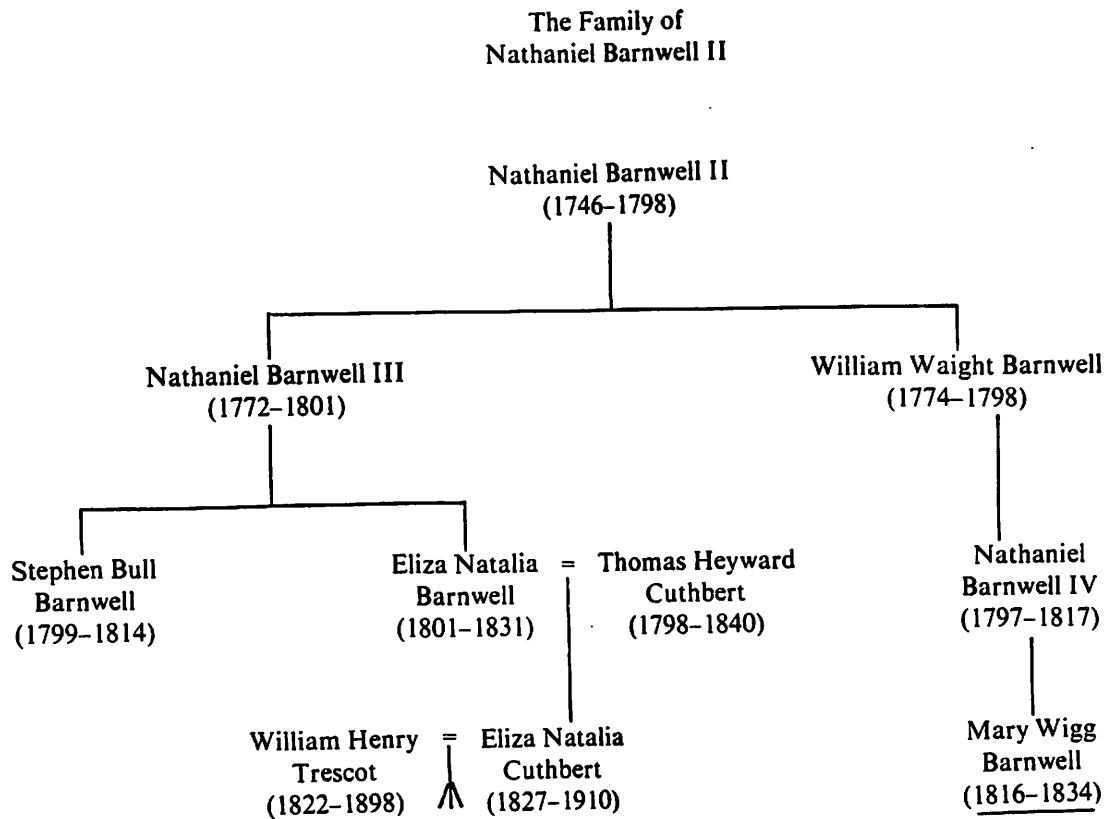
If Robert Barnwell was expressing a majority sentiment in the state, he was not representative of his own district. In October, at their first anniversary meeting, the Beaufort Association adopted a resolution favoring immediate secession. Twenty-nine members resigned including their president, Stephen Elliott, and Bower W. Barnwell. The new president was Richard de Treville and the Council of Safety was the same with the addition of Thomas G. Barnwell. Their delegates to the Southern Rights Convention were Edmund Rhett, Captain Edward Barnwell, Trescot, and Robert Chisholm.

The elections in the fall for the State Convention in April 1852 in Charleston turned into a contest between the immediate secessionists led by Senator Rhett against the moderates led by a triumvirate of Robert W. Barnwell, Senator A. P. Butler, and Langdon Cheves. This time, Robert was a delegate, not from St. Helena's, but from Charleston. Edmund Rhett and John Fripp represented St. Helena's.

The moderates carried the day, and the Convention simply declared that, although South Carolina had the right to secede, "from reasons of expediency" they would not do so at that time. "The Rhett faction was soundly beaten, attributing its defeat to 'the controlling interests of trade' centered at Charleston and dominated by Barnwell, Butler, and Cheves."⁴⁵ Rhett resigned his seat in the Senate saying he no longer represented his state. Even his political enemies expressed their admiration for his abdication of the office he so long coveted. Unionist Benjamin Perry hailed his action as "the brightest feather in his cap," the "true spirit of the Chevalier and Patriot."

South Carolina was the last state to accept the Compromise of 1850. It would be ten years before the rest of the

South would arrive at the state of mind of the extremists of 1850. But that opens a new chapter in the history of the country and the family.



The descendants of Nathaniel Barnwell II in the male line died out by 1817 leaving two young cousins: Mary Wigg Barnwell who died, unmarried, in 1834 and Eliza Natalia Barnwell, daughter of Nathaniel Barnwell III and Mary Bull. She married (1823) Thomas Heyward Cuthbert (b. 1798), son of General John Alexander Cuthbert and Mary DuPré Heyward. He attended the South Carolina College for two years. Eliza inherited the oldest family plantations on Barnwell and Big Islands which, after her death went to Cuthbert. He remarried Eliza Louisa Fishburne who, after Cuthbert's death on January 16, 1840, married John Barnwell Porteous, son of John Porteous and Mary Bull Fuller.

Barnwell Island was inherited by Eliza's only surviving child, Eliza Natalia Cuthbert, who was born January 22, 1827. She married February 3, 1848 William Henry Trescot, son of Henry Trescot of Charleston and Sarah McCrady. Trescot was born November 10, 1822 and graduated from the College of Charleston in 1840. He was admitted to the bar in 1843 and assisted James L. Petigru in the drawing up of the South Carolina Law Codes.

Trescot was appointed secretary of the American Legation in London in December 1852 (until 1854) and in the next five years published several books on diplomacy and diplomatic history which led to his appointment as assistant secretary of state in President Buchanan's cabinet. His important role in the beginning of the Civil War will be dealt with in the next chapter.

During the war he served in the State legislature (1862-68) and on the staff of General Ripley and on the Executive Council of the State. In the summer of 1861 he conducted some negotiations with the British and French on behalf of the Confederate government, but his antipathy to President Davis kept him out of affairs more than he wanted. He was an advisor to the South Carolina and Confederate governments on diplomatic affairs. Barnwell Island was seized by Federal troops in 1861 and his library was confiscated and given to the Smithsonian Library.

After the war the Trescots reacquired Barnwell Island but lived in Pendleton and Washington where he practiced law and served as the agent for the South Carolina planters who had had their lands confiscated during Federal occupation. He was back in the diplomatic service in June 1877 on the Fishing Rights Commission at Halifax, Nova Scotia. In 1880 he was the American plenipotentiary in China to revise certain treaties, and later was sent to negotiate with Columbia over American rights in the Isthmus of Panama and as a special envoy to Peru, Chile, and Bolivia then at war with one another. His last assignment was to negotiate a new trade treaty with Mexico in August 1883.

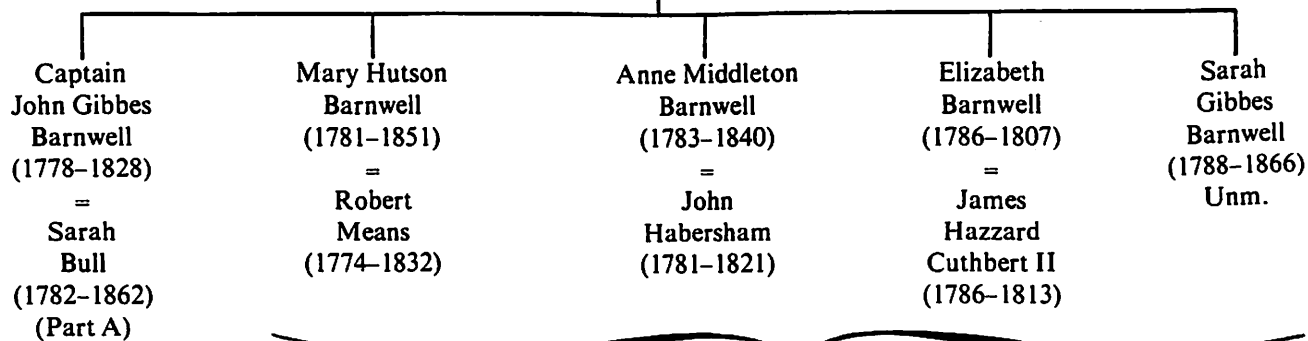
Trescot died in Pendleton May 4, 1898 and Eliza on June 10, 1910. Their descendants are the only descendants of Nathaniel Barnwell II.



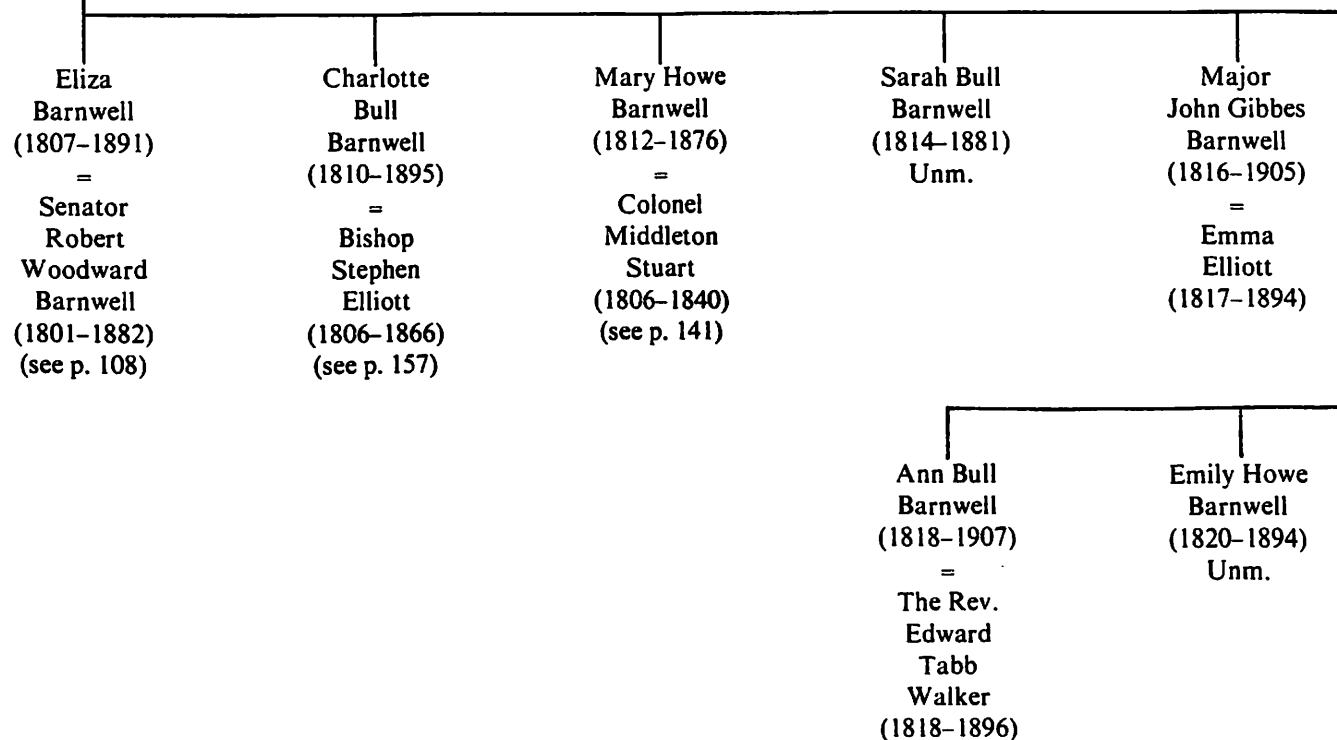
Eliza Natalia Barnwell (Mrs. Thomas H. Cuthbert)

The Family of
General John Barnwell

General John Barnwell
(1748-1800)



Part B, p. 78



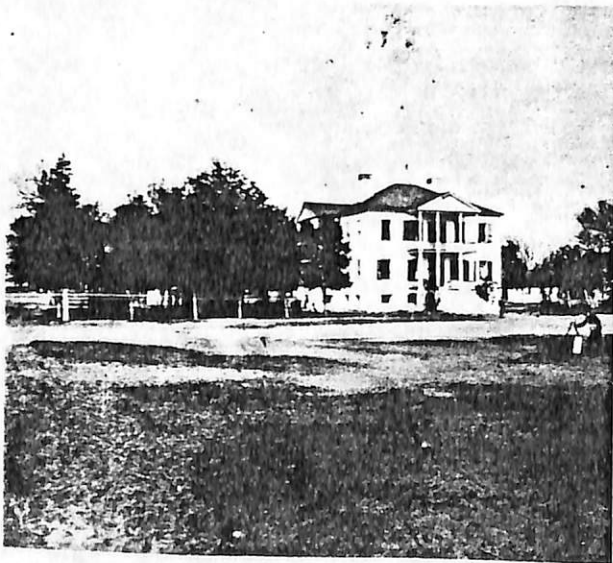
could not turn around. The fresh water terrapin, a real delicacy, was known to live in these holes also. If the alligator could be pulled out, the terrapin could be caught. John was said to have been the first man in those parts to have dived down into an alligator hole and pulled him out. Some doubted the story after his death, but it was repeated some years later by General Stephen Elliott.⁴⁷

According to another story, it was considered proper in those days to accept every offer of a glass of wine. John was never known to have become intoxicated; so a number of his friends conspired to test him on his wedding day, of all times. Each in turn offered him a drink. Of course he never refused, but the expected results failed to appear. It was later discovered that he had poured most of every glass into the high cravat which encircled his neck and chin. He was soaked but quite sober.⁴⁸

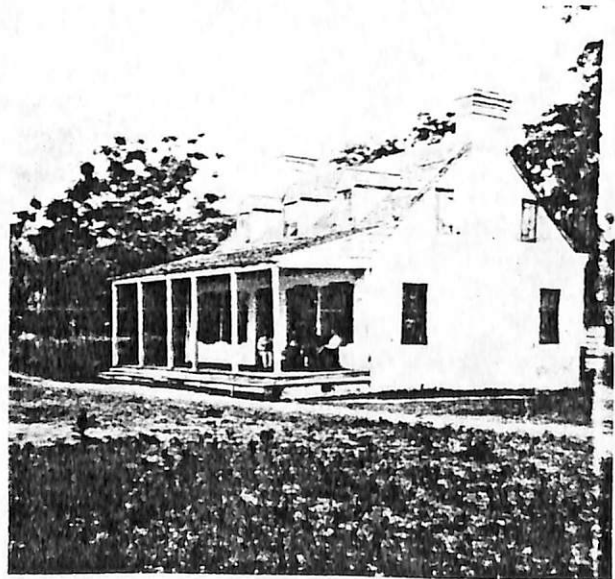
John showed independent courage on another, more important, matter. He once had a slave, named Venture, who was a man of obvious intelligence and ability. Contrary to the law and the warnings of some of his neighbors, he taught Venture to read and write and do simple arithmetic and placed him in full charge of one of his plantations. When John's son, John, assumed the management of his estates, he gave Venture and his family their freedom. Venture moved to Charleston where he made a good living. After the Civil War he offered all his savings to the family he had once served, but they refused.

John married his first cousin, Sarah Bull, daughter of General Stephen Bull and Anne Barnwell. She was born in Maryland December 18, 1782 where her family were refugees. John died March 22, 1828 and was buried in St. Helena's Churchyard. Sarah continued to live in the old house in Beaufort until the Union invasion in 1861. Fleeing to Walterboro, she died there October 10, 1862. They had seven children:

1. Eliza Barnwell, born Nov. 8, 1807; died Sept. 3, 1891.
2. Charlotte Bull Barnwell, born Mar. 31, 1810; died June 27, 1895.
3. Mary Howe Barnwell, born Mar. 4, 1812; died July 20, 1876.
4. Sarah Bull Barnwell, born June 8, 1814; died June 30, 1881.
5. John Gibbes Barnwell, born Sept. 20, 1816; died Apr. 23, 1905.
6. Ann Bull Barnwell, born May 10, 1818; died Feb. 24, 1907.
7. Emily Howe Barnwell, born in 1820; died Apr. 30, 1894.



Home of Mrs. John G. Barnwell I
Washington and Carteret Streets



Retreat Plantation,
c1862.

John would live to regret the day his country did.

John married February 15, 1838 Emma Gibbs Elliott, daughter of Stephen Elliott and Esther Habersham. She was born September 12, 1817 in Charleston where she was educated. A woman of intellect with a deep religious faith, she had a profound influence on her children. They had ten:

1. John Gibbs Barnwell, b. Apr. 3, 1839; d. Aug. 13, 1918, attended Harvard for a year (1855-56) and Virginia for two more (1856-58).
2. Isabella Elliott Barnwell, b. Oct. 29, 1841; d. Oct. 30, 1867.
3. Stephen Elliott Barnwell, b. July 10, 1842; d. Mar. 27, 1890, attended the South Carolina College in the Class of 1861 but left in his junior year.
4. Middleton Stuart Barnwell b, May 22, 1845; d. Aug. 14, 1866.
5. William Habersham Barnwell, b. Feb. 11, 1848; d. Dec. 27, 1928.
6. Robert Woodward Barnwell, b. Dec. 27, 1849; d. July 24, 1902.
7. James Elliott Barnwell, b. Nov. 7, 1851; d. July 7, 1852.
8. Robert Habersham Barnwell, b. June 19, 1853; d. Mar. 1854.
9. Robert Habersham Barnwell, b. Sept. 9, 1854; d. July 8, 1930.
10. James Elliott Barnwell, b. July 1, 1857; d. Jan. 29, 1939.

Ann Bull Barnwell was born May 10, 1818 and married November 14, 1844 the Rev. Edward Tabb Walker, son of Zadock Walker and Elizabeth Rogers. He was born October 9, 1818 in Uniontown, Pennsylvania and, orphaned at the age of ten, was brought to Beaufort by his brother, the rector, to be raised. Edward graduated from Washington College (now Trinity College) in Connecticut in 1839 and was trained at the Virginia Theological Seminary in Alexandria. Ordained deacon by Bishop Elliott on January 22, 1842, his first charge was Frederica Parish on St. Simon's Island, Georgia. In 1844 he became the rector of Christ Church, Wiltown near Adam's Run in South Carolina. There he also supplied at Trinity Church in Edgefield, at Holy Trinity in Grahamville, and for three months in 1845 at St. Peter's, Charleston during the illness of its rector, the Rev. William H. Barnwell.



The Rev. Edward T. Walker.



Ann Bull Barnwell (Mrs. Edward T. Walker).

Walker left Christ Church in November 1852 to go to St. Luke's in Newberry which had only six communicants. There he succeeded in changing the attitude of the local people who were, at first, very antagonistic to Anglicanism. He built up the congregation and raised funds for the property and a church which could seat 300. It was consecrated in August 1855. He also started the work in Laurens before leaving in 1856 to begin a more intensive ministry with the Negroes around Beaufort. By 1858 he had built two chapels for this work in the islands—Grace Chapel and St. Helena's on St. Helena Island of which he became the rector in May 1860. He also supplied at Grace Church on Sullivan's Island during the summer of 1858 and again from June to November 1859.

Edward and Ann Walker had nine children:

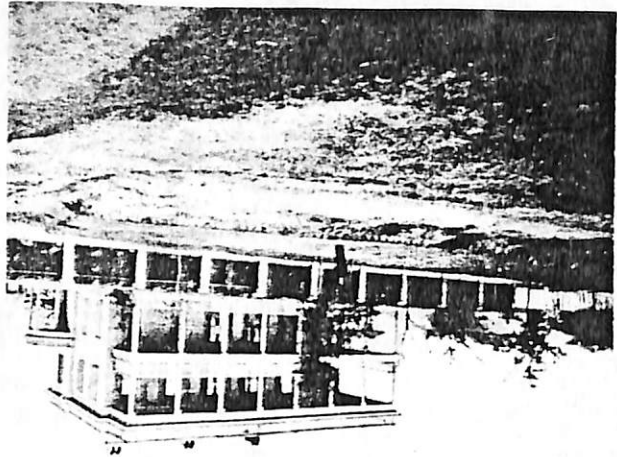
1. Emily Barnwell Walker, b. July 29, 1846; d. Mar. 23, 1933.
2. Mary Stuart Walker, b. Mar. 21, 1847; d. Sept. 5, 1851.
3. Joseph Rogers Walker, b. Aug. 31, 1848; d. Apr. 16, 1854.
4. Elizabeth Barnwell Walker, b. May 24, 1850; d. Nov. 5, 1886.
5. Sarah Barnwell Walker, b. Feb. 5, 1852; d. Mar. 1, 1857.
6. Edward Tabb Walker, b. Sept. 11, 1853; d. July 14, 1854.
7. Ann Barnwell Walker, b. Mar. 19, 1855; d. Aug. 25, 1857.
8. Ellen Bull Walker, b. May 21, 1857; d. Dec. 11, 1940.
9. Edward Barnwell Walker, b. Apr. 19, 1859; d. Nov. 26, 1926.

Part B

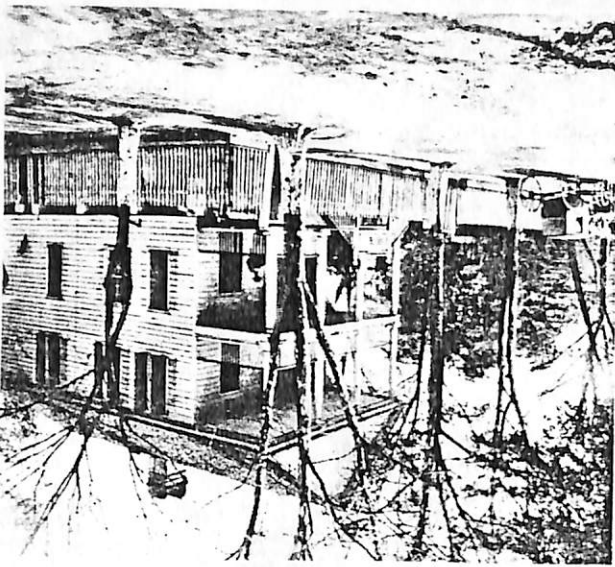
Mary Hutson Barnwell, the eldest daughter of General Barnwell, was born July 18, 1781 and married June 20, 1805 Robert Means, son of John Means and Isabella Harper. John Means came from Boston to South Carolina after the Revolution. Robert was born March 24, 1774, probably in Boston, and was a merchant in Charleston before moving to Beaufort where he became a successful planter on Parris Island. By 1810 he maintained 66 slaves. The Means plantation was located at the southern tip of the island. Robert was elected to the Board of the Beaufort College in 1809 and again in 1830 and was president of the Beaufort Agricultural Society. He died December 11, 1832 and Mary on August 31, 1851. They had twelve children:

1. Robert Barnwell Means, born September 8, 1806 and died September 11, 1824 during his junior year at Yale.
2. Ann Hutson Means, born May 12, 1808, married Henry Middleton Stuart (see p. 138), and died May 11, 1862.
3. Isabella Harper Means, born October 4, 1809, married November 15, 1832 Dr. Louis McPherson DeSaussure, son of Chancellor Henry William DeSaussure and Eliza Ford. Henry DeSaussure was a friend of President Washington and became the first director of the United States Mint. In this capacity, he issued the first gold Eagle dollars. Louis DeSaussure was born May 20, 1804 and graduated from the South Carolina College in 1825 with (Bishop) Stephen Elliott. He graduated from the Medical School in Charleston in 1828 and practiced in Beaufort, but also owned a home on Bay Street in Charleston. Their son, William Henry, graduated from the South Carolina College in 1855 and another son, Louis, Jr. in 1856. They also had twin daughters, Eliza Ford and Mary Means, born in 1841. Isabella died January 16, 1844, and DeSaussure married Jane Hay Hutson, daughter of William Maine Hutson by whom he had two sons: Charles Alfred (b. 1846) and Thomas Hutson (b. 1851). Dr. DeSaussure died June 6, 1870 and his widow on March 23, 1887.
4. Mary Barnwell Means, born January 1, 1811, married Dr. Henry Middleton Fuller (see p. 134), and died in October 1878.
5. Thomas Means, born September 28, 1812, married May 24, 1837 Ann Stuart Hanckel, daughter of the Rev. Christian Hanckel and Anne Stuart. She was born November 8, 1813 and had one daughter named Anne, born in 1853. Thomas studied medicine and practiced in Beaufort where he was also a planter. He was elected a trustee of the College in 1845. Dr. Means died July 1, 1876, and his wife on December 27, 1899 in Hendersonville, North Carolina.
6. John Barnwell Means, born January 3, 1814; died March 8, 1814.
7. John Barnwell Means, born June 9, 1815; died August 2, 1816.
8. Sarah Barnwell Means, born November 29, 1816, married, first, Thomas Fuller, son of Dr. Thomas Fuller (see p. 128). After his death (1845), she remarried her sister Anne's widower, Henry Middleton Stuart (see p. 138).

Home of Edward Barnwell Means,
c1862.



Home of Sarah Gibbs Barnwell,
c1862.



Sarah Gibbs Barnwell, the youngest daughter of the General, was born April 7, 1788. She never married and lived alone in Beaufort. Asked why, she would reply: "So that I may go to bed Missus and get up Boss!" She was known as "Cousin Sally Jack" to distinguish her from the other Sally Barnwell in Beaufort. She died July 4, 1866 and was buried in St. Helena's.

*

Elizabeth Barnwell, the third daughter, was born March 10, 1786 and married her first cousin, James Hazzard Cutbert, Jr. She died August 7, 1807; see p. 178.

*

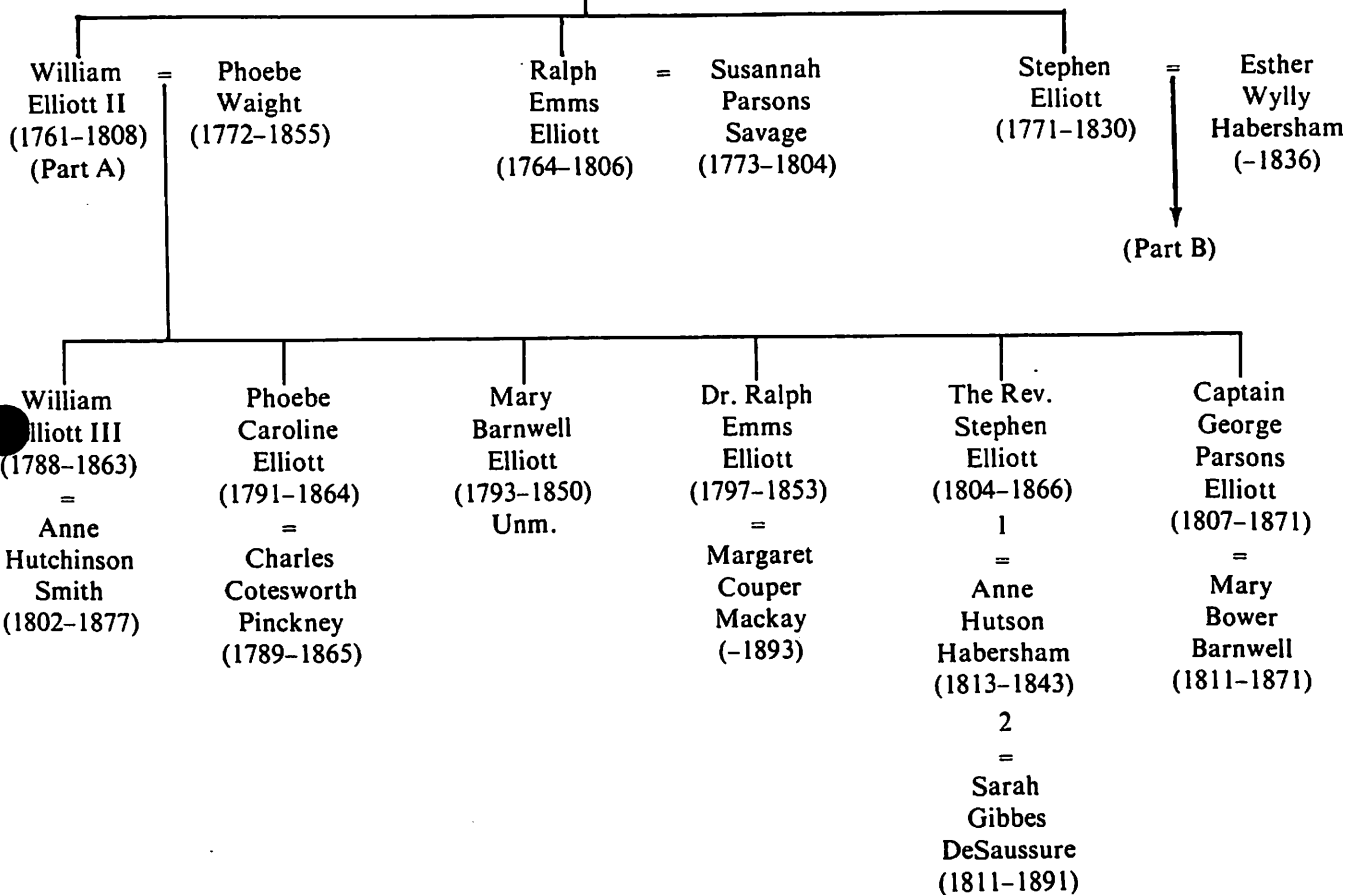
2. Maria Elliott Habersham, born September 7, 1815, never married. During the war she assisted the Rev. Robert W. Barnwell in the South Carolina hospitals in Virginia. She was in charge of the wards, food service, and laundry in the Monticello Hotel in Charlottesville which had been converted into a hospital. She died in Beaufort July 7, 1866 and was buried in St. Helena's churchyard.

The Descendants of
Mary Barnwell
(1745-1774)

Colonel Nathaniel Barnwell
(1705-1775)

Mary Barnwell
(1745-1774)

William Elliott I
(1730-1778)



Part A

→ William Elliott II died in 1808 and his widow, Phoebe Waight, continued to live in the Elliott mansion on the Bay until shortly after the marriage of her daughter Caroline, to Charles C. Pinckney in 1811. She moved to her old home at the east end of the Bay, next to the old Waight home, where she lived with her daughter Maincy (Mary). They used to spend part of every winter on Hilton Head and made regular trips to Saratoga Springs in the summer. Maincy died, unmarried, April 16, 1850 and her mother on June 1, 1855.*

→ William Elliott III was born April 27, 1788 and went to Harvard but had to leave before finishing his course because of ill health. His early election to Phi Beta Kappa and standing in his class (second) persuaded the college to give him the "unsolicited compliment of an honorary degree in 1810." He received his M.A. in 1815. His father died when he was still in Cambridge, and the family hoped to keep the news from him until he had finished, but he read about it in the papers. William made a host of friends in New England who invited him on many trips and excursions all of which may have been a factor in his Unionist sympathies later on.

William was known as a planter, politician, poet, sportsman, agriculturalist, and author. He owned at least nine plantations including the Grove, Myrtle Bank, Social Hall, the Bluff, Shell Point, Bay Point, Middle Place, and Newberry which he bought from Henry Middleton in 1810. His principal country seat was Oak Lawn near Adam's Run on the Edisto. It was closer to Charleston where the younger members of the family would go in February for the season. In May the whole family went to Beaufort, to the mansion on the Bay which he inherited from his uncle Ralph. Many summers were spent in the North, at Newport or Boston or Saratoga Springs, or at Warm Springs, Virginia, or, as was frequently the case, in Europe.



William Elliott,
by Thomas Sully.



Home of William Elliott in Beaufort.

Elliott was one of the most highly respected men in the state despite his unpopular political views. He was the Intendent (Mayor) of Beaufort for many years and in that capacity entertained Lafayette in 1825. A member of the Board of the Beaufort College since 1814, he represented St. Helena's Parish, as a Republican, in the legislature, 1814-16, and the Senate, 1818-21. After a further tour in the legislature (1826-30), he was returned to the Senate but resigned rather than go along with Nullification. He wrote "An Address to the People of St. Helena's Parish" (1832) rebuking his neighbors and relatives for their disunionist tendencies. While Beaufort was going secessionist,

*Mary (Maincy) was born March 23, 1793. William and Phoebe Elliott also had two infants: Susan Parsons (b. Sept. 21, 1794; d. Sept. 1798) and Stephen (b. Mar. 10, 1799; d. March 1800).

Elliott staunchly remained a Unionist until the war when he, like Lee, went along with his state. In the crisis of 1850-51, he wrote a series of Unionist articles for the *Southern Standard* in Charleston under the name 'Agricola' which were collected and published in 1852.

William Elliott was no abolitionist, however. He believed that "slavery was sanctioned by religion, conducive to good morals, and useful, nay, indispensable." Northern agitation was "wicked, unprovoked, and fanatical," but the South must stay away from the "folly of secession."⁹² Convinced by what he had seen in the North and Europe, he urged the industrialization of the South. The South did not have the economic balance to support independent nationhood, and he viewed Rhett's position as sheer madness. His own position was identical with that of William J. Grayson, his friend, neighbor, and boyhood chum.

Elliott thought of himself as a scientific agriculturalist in the tradition of Edmund Ruffin of Virginia. Oak Lawn was the site of his experimental gardens, and he fully supported his cousin, R. W. Barnwell, in demanding that agricultural studies be introduced into the curriculum at the South Carolina College. In his many articles for William Ashe's *Southern Agriculturist*, he advocated all-round better farming and wider diversification to free the South from its dependence on cotton which he would reduce by one-third and replace with oranges, grapes, and olives as well as rice and indigo. Appointed by the governor to represent South Carolina at the Universal Exposition in Paris, he delivered an address on cotton (in French) before the Imperial Agricultural Society, July 4, 1855.

William was best known in his day as a politician, farmer, and publicist, but today, perhaps as a sportsman, and this is the way he would have had it. Under the names 'Venator' and 'Piscator,' he wrote popular articles for the *Mercury* and sporting magazines on his hunting and fishing expeditions. In 1846 many of these were collected and published as *Carolina Sports, By Land and Water*. After the 1859 edition, he wrote his wife: "I think that if anything that I have written will live after me, it will be these 'Sports' . . . at the worst they can only drop into oblivion, but should they acquire notoriety, it will be a sort of legacy of honor to my posterity who need not be ashamed of claiming descent from old 'Venator.'"⁹³ William H. Russell, who met him on a drum fishing expedition in the spring of 1861, described him as "a tall, knotty, gnarled sort of man with a mellow age and a hearty voice."⁹⁴

In his book on sports, Elliott said that "a man without recreation is like a bow always kept taut," and he defended dancing and the theater in an age when this was not quite respectable. He even wrote a tragic drama entitled *Fiasco: A Tragedy*, published in Charleston in 1850. "His family correspondence," writes L. P. Jones, "glows with keen wit, informative observations, a lively style, and genuine affection. His letters reveal a storehouse of information on a wide variety of subjects: the Bible, Shakespeare, Milton, French literature, Egyptian history, Greek philosophers, English economists, and others. Such classical erudition appears early in his letters—even in the subtle and humorous ones which he frequently wrote to his sister Mary."⁹⁵

William married May 28, 1817, Anne Hutchinson Smith, born April 5, 1802, a daughter of Thomas Rhett Smith of Charleston. During the war their plantation at Oak Lawn became a battleground, and their home with its fine library was burned to the ground, and the lovely gardens destroyed. They fled to Flat Rock where he died February 5, 1863. His widow returned to Oak Lawn after the war and died there February 23, 1877. They had nine children:

1. William Elliott, born May 9, 1818; died in 1830 from yellow fever.
2. Thomas Rhett Smith Elliott, born September 26, 1819 in Moultriesville, married in 1839, Mary Cuthbert, daughter of Colonel James Cuthbert and Anne Miles Heyward. They had thirteen children. Tom had a plantation in Prince William's Parish and served as a captain and aide to General Thomas Drayton in the battle of Port Royal in November 1861. His son, Tom, Jr. died in Nassau in 1862 while running the blockade.
3. Anne Elliott, born March 24, 1822 in Charleston, died at Oak Lawn after the war, unmarried.
4. Mary Barnwell Elliott, born August 26, 1824 in Beaufort, married February 24, 1848 Andrew Johnstone of Beaumont Plantation, son of William Johnstone and Anne Marie Pinckney. He was born March 17, 1805 and died June 16, 1864 leaving six children. Mary died March 4, 1909 in Baltimore and was buried at St. John's in the Wilderness, Flat Rock.
5. Caroline Phoebe Elliott, born January 25, 1827 in Beaufort, died at Oak Lawn after the war, unmarried.
6. Emily Elliott, born August 26, 1829 in Beaufort, died unmarried.
7. William Elliott, born February 16, 1832 in Beaufort, was educated at Harvard (1847-51). He joined Company I (The Palmetto Guards), 2nd Regiment, S.C. Infantry in May 1861 and fought in the first battle of Bull Run in July. In November he was appointed aide-de-camp to his brother-in-law, Colonel Gonzales, and in September 1862 he was a first lieutenant in the First Battalion of S.C. Sharpshooters. William was the first of his family to return

to Oak Lawn after the war to find everything in ruins. He lived in the former slave quarters and managed to get one crop planted before he died in January 1867. He never married.

8. Ralph Emms Elliott, born March 15, 1835 in Beaufort, attended the University of Virginia, 1851-52, and became a planter at Adam's Run, probably at Oak Lawn. He represented St. Paul's parish in the legislature, 1860-62 and became a captain on the staff of General N. G. Evans, commanding the Second Military District at Adam's Run. He was mentioned for gallantry in the battle of Secessionville, June 16, 1862. After the war he returned to Oak Lawn to carry on the planting operations begun by his brother. He died, unmarried, July 7, 1902.

9. Harriet Rutledge Elliott, born October 2, 1839 in Beaufort, married in 1856 Ambrosio Jose Gonzales, the famous Cuban revolutionary and soldier of fortune who was born in Matanzas, Cuba in 1818.⁹⁶ He wanted to marry Harriet when she was only 15, but her father objected, perhaps having forgotten that his own bride was barely 15 when they were married. Gonzales became a colonel and chief of artillery to General Beauregard during the firing on Fort Sumter and later was the inspector general for the Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. Mary Chesnut said he looked "so like Beauregard as to be mistaken for him."

After the war Gonzales tried and failed at planting and then returned to Matanzas in 1869 to resume his school teaching. Harriet died within a year of yellow fever, and he brought their six children back to Oak Lawn to be raised by their aunts Anne, Caroline, and Emily. His subsequent career was not marked with any success, but he remained faithful to the cause of Cuban independence until his death in New York in 1893. Their sons Narcisco, Ambrose, and William Elliott Gonzales became famous as journalists, founding *The State* in Columbia in 1891. *The State* became famous, as might be expected, for its support of the war for Cuban independence from Spain in 1898.

*

Phoebe Caroline Elliott was born September 2, 1791 and after attending the local school in Beaufort was sent with her sister Mary for several successive winters to Mrs. Colcock's boarding school in Charleston. Here "they not only received instruction in English, French, music, and dancing but saw a good deal of society, for their parents' numerous friends scarcely ever allowed them to spend a Saturday at home, and Miss Millicent Colcock occasionally took them to places of public amusement."⁹⁷ Caroline was, like her sister, very musical. She played the harp and Mary the piano and they enjoyed singing duets.

Caroline married May 1, 1811 Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, son of General Thomas Pinckney and Elizabeth Motte. She wanted a quiet wedding at the cottage on Hilton Head but, according to her daughter, Caroline Seabrook, "the old ladies having decided that 'Caroline Elliott could not be married in a corner,' the wedding was celebrated at Beaufort with great eclat." The pillars of the piazza of the Elliott mansion were "wreathed in evergreens and the whole house fixed up in festive style for the occasion." General Thomas Pinckney and his family came down from Charleston and General C. C. Pinckney and his family came by boat from nearby Pinckney Island. A band from Charleston "who had often seen the bride dancing to their music at the balls, came of their own accord to play at the wedding though steamboats and railroads were then unknown. There was a large company, music, dancing and supper, and the wedding was over."⁹⁸

Pinckney was born in 1789 and graduated from Harvard in 1808. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in Charleston in 1812. For a while he was in partnership with Samuel Prioleau and also planted rice on the Santee and at Aukland Plantation on the Ashepoo. They had a home in Charleston and a summer home in Pendleton where he represented St. Paul's in Convention in 1844 and 1846. He also represented St. James' Santee in 1847-48, 1850-51, and 1856 and was a trustee of the College of Charleston, 1829-34.

During the war, the Pinckneys moved to a plantation near Abbeville where Caroline died June 20, 1864 and her husband just a year later. They had seven children:

1. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, born July 31, 1812. For his career, see p. 87.
2. Thomas Pinckney, died in infancy, "from teething."
3. Phoebe Caroline Pinckney, born March 29, 1816 in Charleston, married December 20, 1837 Archibald Hamilton Seabrook, son of Governor Whitmarsh Seabrook. He was born January 27, 1816 and became a planter in Beaufort. Among their six children was Cotesworth Pinckney Seabrook (b. 1839) who served in Co. H, 1st Regiment, S.C. Infantry commanded by Captain John G. Barnwell and was killed at Chancellorsville, May 3, 1863. Phoebe died January 2, 1892 and Seabrook on July 22, 1894.
4. Maria Henrietta Pinckney, born October 26, 1820 in Moultriesville, died, unmarried, October 9, 1858.