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BOOCHAWEE: PLANTATION LAND AND LEGACY IN GOOSE CREEK

MICHAEL J. HEITZLER*

ON SEPTEMBER 20, 1683, THE LORDS PROPRIETORS OF CAROLINA granted to colonist James Moore a twenty-four-hundred-acre tract called "Boochaw and Wapensaw," usually referred to as "Boochawee."¹ From the start, this large parcel of land, which was located north of Charles Town near Goose Creek, had auspicious owners. James Moore Sr., who built and lived at the original frontier house, explored inland to the Appalachian Mountains, grew wealthy trading with and enslaving the natives, rose to the position of governor of South Carolina in 1700, and led several invasions of Spanish Florida during Queen Anne's War. James Moore Jr. followed in his father's footsteps: as an Indian trader, as a military hero in the Tuscarora War, and as governor of the colony during the turbulent transition period that ended proprietary rule. In spite of the ambitions and talents of the Moores, Boochawee faded into obscurity unlike better-known neighboring plantations such as the Oaks, Crowfield, and Medway. Eventually, the Boochawee manor was attached to the Oaks Plantation, owned by the prominent Middleton family, and other Boochawee subsections melded with five bordering estates named Schenckinck's, Springfield, Liberty Hall, Howe Hall, and Button Hall—all seats of important personalities during the heady colonial era and beyond. The masters of Boochawee and its subdivisions made durable contributions to the political, economical, and social institutions of South Carolina, while thousands of bound African Americans labored in the swamps to build the inland rice systems that produced their fortunes. Later as freedmen, black residents farmed their own small plots of old Boochawee, eking out enough to feed extended families and support whitewashed churches and schools well into the twentieth century. These lands now comprise central sections of the city of Goose Creek, a burgeoning municipality located in the Charleston metropolitan area. Incorporated in 1961, the city's 2010 population was estimated by U.S. Census Bureau to be forty thousand.

The following description of Boochawee and the plantations that evolved from it continues the nineteenth-century historical research of Henry A. M. Smith. Born in Charleston in 1853, Smith began practicing law in 1874 and was appointed federal district judge for eastern South Carolina in 1911.

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¹ A tribe of Native Americans called the Etiwans once hunted and farmed this area and called it "Boochawee," probably in reference to the abundant freshwater swamps. Spelling variations include the two-word title "Boochaw and Wapensaw." A consistent "Boochawee" is used here, unless within a quotation.

Holloway's names were shown inscribed on the monument, but no one else from the family was included. Charles Holloway's monument stands with a few others salvaged from the cemetery and moved to a plot of land dedicated to the society in another African American graveyard a few miles away on Cunningham Street, outside of the gates of the massive Magnolia Cemetery.⁷⁸

These, then, are the remaining memorials to the Holloways and their history in Charleston—engraved stones of various vintage and location, and a fragile paper scrapbook compiled at the turn of the twentieth century. The stones invite people to pause and remember, while the scrapbook in the archives of the Avery Research Center evokes the hand of James Harrison Holloway and the tale of his family from the 1790s to the 1970s. Now digitized, the electronic version will make the story that James Holloway tried to tell through the scrapbook widely accessible.⁷⁹ With an irony that may not have been lost on Holloway, it must be noted that this turnabout, the journey from the scrapbook's creation to its preservation and access, has taken that same unit of time that so obsessed him—a century.

⁷⁸ The remains exhumed from the Brown Fellowship-MacPhelah plot, removed under the guidance of the Catholic Diocese of Charleston, were not reinterred in the Brown Fellowship lot, but in an unmarked grave in nearby Saint Laurence Cemetery.

⁷⁹ The digitized version of the scrapbook, which is part of the College of Charleston's Lowcountry Digital Library, is available online at <http://lowcountrydigital.library.cofc.edu/collections/holloway/>. Digitization of the scrapbook was made possible in part by contributions from the Gaylord and Dorothy Donnelley Foundation.

Smith's lifelong avocation was local history, and he served for twenty years as vice president of the South Carolina Historical Society. He also helped found the South Carolina Historical Commission, forerunner of the South Carolina Department of Archives and History. For more than half of his life, Smith fed his interest in history by exploring abandoned town and plantation sites, copying plats, recording deeds, and assembling volumes of personal notes that detailed land ownership and use along the South Carolina coast from the earliest years of European settlement to the Civil War. Between 1905 and 1928, he published several dozen articles based on his extensive research in this journal's predecessor, the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, that have been described by Walter Edgar as "part history, part title search, part genealogy, part plat (for all were accompanied by maps)." Edgar added, "I do not know of any major historical study of the South Carolina lowcountry that has not relied on one or more of his articles."²

Smith's output ended abruptly when he became ill and died on November 23, 1924. He left an unfinished draft on the plantations of Goose Creek that was published posthumously, though the manuscript terminates in mid sentence as he began a discussion of Boochawee. The present article takes up where Smith left off. It seeks to honor the Smith tradition while bringing a more inclusive approach, both chronologically and socially, to his life's last work.³

BOOCHAWEE PLANTATION

Boochawee represented the type of arable land coveted by the seventeenth-century colonizers of South Carolina. Soon after the English founded Charles Town in 1670, frontier families joined a land rush to settle the best sites nearby. Within ten years, all of the tracts bordering Goose Creek and the Back River, both tributaries of the Cooper River, were claimed. These streams were navigable for miles, which increased the accessibility, and hence the value, of the property bordering them. Lands on the shallow headwater creeks and swamps that drained into these outlets were also desirable, as their fertile soils could support both planting and stock grazing. By the 1680s, plantations such as the Oaks on Goose Creek and Medway on the Back River were flourishing. The newest arrivals to the colony sought the remaining unclaimed grounds

² "Hon. Henry A. M. Smith," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 29 (January 1928): 67–68 (hereafter cited as SCHGM); Walter Edgar, "South Carolina History: Past, Present, Future," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 101 (October 2000): 278 (hereafter cited as SCHM). The Reprint Company, in association with the South Carolina Historical Society, published an anthology of Smith's articles from the SCHGM. See Smith, *The Historical Writings of Henry A. M. Smith*, vol. 1, *The Baronies of South Carolina*; vol. 2, *Cities and Towns of Early South Carolina*; vol. 3, *Rivers and Regions of Early South Carolina* (Spartanburg, S.C.: Reprint Company, 1988).

³ Henry A. M. Smith, "Goose Creek," SCHGM 29 (October 1928): 279.

that lay in between the deep-water grants. This included what would become Boochawee Plantation. Except for Foster Creek, a narrow stream that emptied into the Back River ten miles above Charles Town harbor, Boochawee lacked direct access to any principal waterway. Notwithstanding its isolation, the soil was rich and the woods abounded in wildlife and forest products.

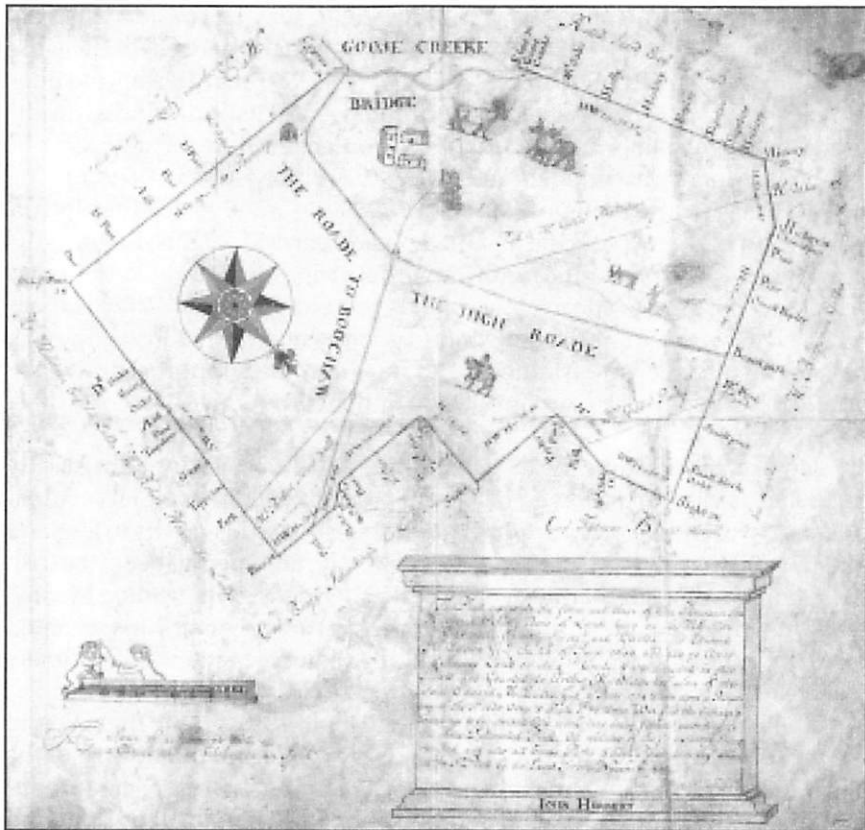
James Moore was an educated and ambitious man who immigrated from Ireland by way of Barbados to serve as plantation manager for Lady Margaret Yeamans, wife of the governor of Carolina, Sir John Yeamans. By 1674 Moore was her attorney and soon wed Margaret Berringer, the governor's step-daughter. Moore and Berringer eventually had four daughters and six sons.⁴ With these important family connections, Moore was elected to the colonial council in 1677 and then elevated to deputy to the governor in 1682. The next year, he acquired Boochawee Plantation.⁵

Moore established his plantation at the terminus of a half-mile avenue that ran from the seventeen-mile marker on the main route from Charles Town—on a stretch known then as the High Road—up a slight rise to where two trails, which came to be called the Lower and Upper Back River Roads, met.⁶ At this crossing, not far from the Goose Creek bridge, he erected rough shelter for his family, slaves, and livestock and began the arduous task of clearing fields. Charles Town, where he initially kept quarters, was a convenient half-day's horseback ride to the south. One mile from his avenue in the opposite direction of town, the main road branched. One leg was the Wassamassaw Road that extended ten miles to a swamp of the same name, where Moore obtained a second land grant. The other branch reached what would later become Moncks Corner, at the time an Indian trading stop, before continuing further westward across the frontier. This principal Native American trading route passed Moore's front door, and predictably, he entered the lucrative business by first dealing directly with the natives and later by underwriting traders who travelled deep into the interior. Moore purchased laden pack trains and chartered sea captains to carry pelts to Europe, where they were converted into high-priced purses, vests, jackets, gloves, and other accessories. He also entered into the nefarious native slave trade that returned huge profits, but caused heated political quarrels and deadly Indian wars. Throughout his lifetime, Moore depended on the system of roads around

⁴ Verner Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670–1752* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1928), 119; Mabel L. Webber, "The First Governor Moore and His Children," *SCHGM* 37 (January 1936): 5.

⁵ Walter B. Edgar et al., eds., *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1974–1984), 2: 466.

⁶ Boochawee manor was located in the Greenview neighborhood of modern Goose Creek. In 2007 the city of Goose Creek erected a historical marker for Boochawee Hall in Lake Greenview Park, near East Pandora Drive.



Plat of 1,630 acres granted to Edward Middleton in 1680, showing the Goose Creek bridge, the "High Road," and the "Roade to Boochaw," 1716. Courtesy of the Charleston Museum, Charleston.

Boochawee to keep in contact with the merchants and seat of power at Charles Town, access his plantation lands, and trade with the Indians.

As the Moore household grew wealthier, living conditions at Boochawee improved materially. The rudimentary frontier shelter was replaced by a substantial two-story brick house flanked by pleasure gardens that featured ponds, terraces, walkways, and ornamental plantings.⁷ An orchard was carefully tended, and a stand-alone brick kitchen as well as barns, sheds, shops, stables, pens, and coops supported the growing plantation community

⁷ Undated memorandum, Miscellaneous Land Papers, 1735–1932, Langdon Cheves Papers, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston (hereafter cited as Cheves Papers, SCHS). This collection includes correspondence, notes, plats, legal

that included more than sixty African and native slaves, who resided in small, crude cabins.⁸ Boochawee Hall was stately, and its demesne bespoke wealth, with hundreds of cattle and horses grazing freely, dozens of sheep and hogs fattening in pens, and wide fields of corn and rice. Yet it was the Indian trade, more so than husbandry, which made the immense Moore fortune.

James Moore was confident and successful. Within ten years of occupying Boochawee, he accompanied Maurice Mathews, another leading Indian trader, on a trek to explore the distant Appalachian Mountains. Reportedly, he sought trade opportunities with the western tribes, but more likely, he was searching for gold.⁹ No precious metals were discovered. When Moore returned to his service as a "gentleman of good estate" on the Grand Council, he kept an alliance with Mathews and nurtured the support of the rising political party composed of many of his neighbors known as the Goose Creek Men.

James Moore skillfully mixed politics and business by consistently opposing any law that slowed his quest for wealth and power. His contentiousness was countered by opponents who questioned his loyalty to England and claimed that he descended from Roger Moore, the hated leader of the Irish Rebellion. During one roaring debate, he was derided as "the heating Moore" and "the next Jehu of the party."¹⁰ Undaunted and unrepentant, Moore named one of his sons Maurice, after his political ally Maurice Mathews. Two others were named Roger and Jehu.

The Goose Creek Men tightened their political grip on the colonial government and engineered Moore's ascent to governor by the turn of the eighteenth century. From that office, Moore enhanced his pugnacious reputation by leading an unsuccessful siege of the Spanish in Saint Augustine and an expedition against the same foe in Guale the following year. Moore stepped down to the Grand Council in 1703. Three years later, he died of yellow fever in Charles Town. At fifty-six years of age, he had lived longer than most. His

documents, and other items (1907–1932) pertaining to Middleton and Cheves family lands in Berkeley County, including Boochawee, Howe Hall, Button Hall, Broom Hall, the Oaks, and Springfield Plantations. After visiting Boochawee sometime in the early twentieth century, Cheves wrote that he observed "extensive ruins of terraces, walks, ponds and signs of gardens" at "Moore's old place."

⁸ James Moore will and inventory, July 11, 1700, Charleston County Inventory Book 54, p. 375, Works Project Administration transcripts, Charleston County Public Library, Charleston (hereafter cited as Charleston County Inventory Book). The Moore slaves are listed and categorized in the inventory record.

⁹ Webber, "The First Governor Moore," 2–3.

¹⁰ J. G. Stewart, "Letters from John Stewart to William Dunlop," *SCHGM* 32 (January 1931): 2–3. Also see Eugene M. Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina: A Political History, 1663–1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), 41.

last will and testament ordered the division of Boochawee among his ten children.¹¹

When Moore provided for the division of Boochawee, he violated the traditional practices of entail and primogeniture, which required that estates be kept whole and devised entirely to the eldest son. His aberrant last testament cited Margaret, his wife, and ten children as recipients of shares of all of his real and personal estate. Margaret received the plantation at Wassamasaw as well as some slaves and two "Indian men," while the oldest son, James Moore Jr., acquired two-ninths of Boochawee, amounting to less than five hundred acres. The other sons and daughters each obtained a one-ninth share of the remaining land.

The inherited sections of Boochawee eventually were added to neighboring plantations through sale transactions or transfers of dowry at the time of marriage. All but one of the Moore sons sold their tracts and found new plantations elsewhere, but each of the four daughters married men residing on plantations contiguous to Boochawee and attached their sections to the lands of their spouse. Margaret, the eldest daughter, was married to Benjamin Schenckling when her father died. She combined her share with her husband's, and the Schenckings raised cattle on the one thousand acres. Ann Moore married Captain David Davis and joined her land with his, but that property was divided. One part merged with Springfield Plantation and another with Liberty Hall Plantation. Mary Moore attached her lands to Howe Hall Plantation when she married Robert Howe. The youngest of the Moore children, Rebecca, married Thomas Barker and after his death William Dry of Button Hall Plantation. Consequently, following the demise of the patriarch, the subdivided Boochawee sections were incorporated into five separate plantations, except for the two-ninth share retained by the first-born son.

James Moore Jr. preserved Boochawee for another generation, merging the inherited land with his own. According to the wording of the will, he received his two-ninth share of Boochawee in 1704, prior to his father's death, and the plantation prospered under the new family patriarch. Moore represented Berkeley and Craven Counties in the Commons House of Assembly from 1706 to 1708, and in 1707, the assembly commissioned him a militia captain.

In 1712 Moore and John Barnwell led a mixed military force of whites, black slaves, and Indians to New Bern, North Carolina, to rescue colonists besieged by the Tuscarora tribe. Moore helped force the Tuscaroras out of North Carolina and returned to South Carolina with a fortune in Indian captives, whom he sold to slavers bound for the Caribbean sugar plantations.

The Tuscarora expedition should have forewarned Moore and the others of the perils of mistreating, enslaving, and cheating Native Americans to the

¹¹ Webber, "The First Governor Moore," 2, 4.

point of desperation, but the same type of abuses persisted in South Carolina. When the Yamasee War broke out in 1715, Moore—by this time a lieutenant general of the colonial militia—played a decisive role. With Charles Town and its hinterland reeling from attacks by the Yamasees and their allies, Moore and his brother Maurice brokered an alliance with the Cherokees, whose entry into the fray swung the tide in the colonists' favor.

After the bitter Indian war, South Carolinians focused their frustration on the Lords Proprietors, who had failed to rush aid to the imperiled colony. This lapse was cagily seized on by the Goose Creek Men, who effected a coup that placed Moore in the governor's seat in 1719. Moore retained the post until the first royal governor, Francis Nicholson, arrived two years later.¹²

With most of his capital invested in the Indian trade and the responsibilities of politics consuming more of his time, Moore, like many wealthy Charles Town merchants, assumed the role of gentleman planter, keeping a lucrative business in town and a mere "country seat." He sold one thousand acres of Boochawee in 1711 to his brother-in-law David Davis for eight hundred pounds and mortgaged nineteen hundred acres to three Charles Town merchants, retaining only nine hundred acres for his retreat.¹³

Governor James Moore Jr. kept Boochawee until his death in 1724, when the remaining lands were divided among his three sons. Elizabeth, his wife and the mother of the sons and two daughters, retained the right to use "one room in the dwelling house" and the messuage. James Moore III received the old house and the three-hundred-acre manor. The second son, John, received another three hundred acres, and the third son, Jehu, was given the remainder, plus two hundred acres purchased from Thomas Smith.¹⁴ When James Moore III came of age, he continued the family trade with the natives and entered politics representing Saint James Goose Creek Parish in the Tenth Royal Assembly. But after the passing of his mother, Moore and his wife, Sarah Waring, sold the plantation, divided the return among the three brothers, and relocated to Saint George Dorchester Parish.¹⁵

¹² Edgar et al., *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives*, 2: 468–469.

¹³ James Moore to David Davis, March 3, 1711, Charleston County Deed Book P, no. 6, p. 288, Charleston County Register of Mesne Conveyance, O. T. Wallace County Office Building, Charleston (hereafter cited as Charleston County RMC Book).

¹⁴ James Moore last will and testament, April 16, 1723 (proved March 27, 1734), Charleston County Will Book 58, p. 372, and Will Book 60, p. 55, Works Project Administration transcripts, Charleston County Public Library, Charleston (hereafter cited as Charleston County Will Book). Also see Charleston County RMC Book T, p. 433.

¹⁵ Edgar et al., *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives*, 2: 470.

The main house, called Boochawee Hall, and nine hundred acres were sold in 1739 to Sarah Middleton, widow of Arthur and matriarch of the neighboring Oaks Plantation.¹⁶ When transferred, Boochawee was a fraction of its original expanse, but some of its splendor remained. The advertisement for its sale depicted the fifty-plus-year-old hall as a "very good brick two story house" and the land as "convenient for damming, and growing corn and rice." Additionally, the sale included outbuildings and fifteen "choice" slaves.¹⁷ The bound servants were added to the larger work crew of the Oaks Plantation, and the boundaries of the Oaks were extended to include the last section of intact Boochawee. Thus, the sale transaction at public auction on February 13, 1739, marked the passage of Boochawee out of the Moore family. Eventually, old Boochawee Hall crumbled, the Oaks Plantation thrived, and the dominant Middleton name obscured the Moore title in Goose Creek.

While the sale of Boochawee to the Middletons marked the end of an era, the dissolution of the estate had begun years before with its founder, James Moore Sr., and his decision to portion the property among his heirs. The daughters attached their dowries to the adjacent lands of their husbands, and the Moore plantation was absorbed by Schenckings, Springfield, Liberty Hall, Howe Hall, and Button Hall. The division of Boochawee started when Margaret, the oldest daughter, married Benjamin Schenckings.

SCHENCKINGH'S PLANTATION

A seven-hundred-acre proprietary land grant to Barnard Schenckings in 1680 was the origin of Schenckings's Plantation.¹⁸ This land was flat and wooded, bordering on the Oaks to the north and extending along the waters of Goose Creek southward from the bridge. It gently rose from the Goose Creek floodplain eastward to modern Red Bank Road and followed the road toward the Cooper River. The Boochawee lands lay contiguous to and east of Red Bank Road and were unclaimed at the time of Schenckings's award.

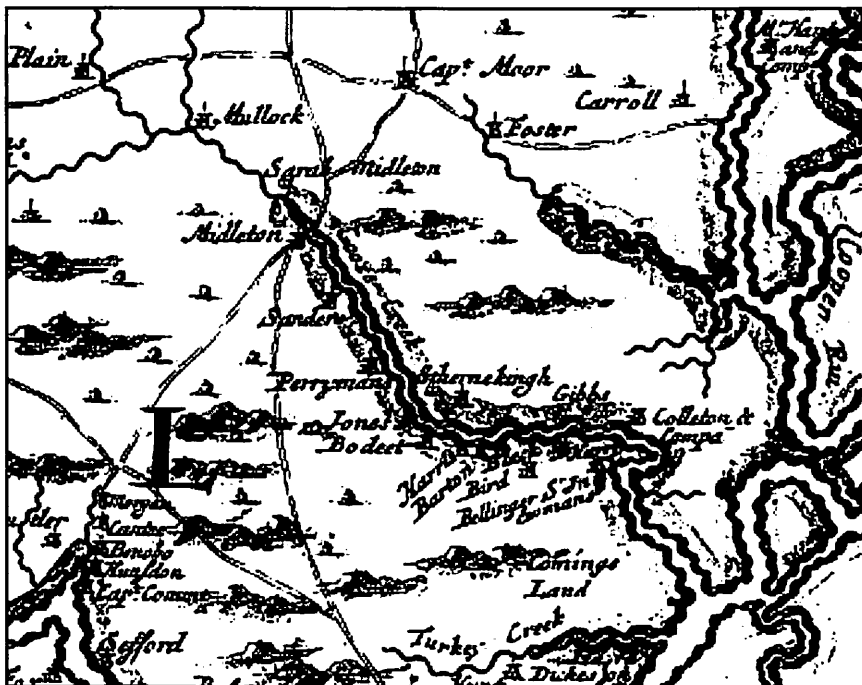
Barnard Schenckings immigrated to South Carolina from Barbados about 1678 with his wife, Elizabeth; his daughters Elizabeth, Katherine, Amarinzia, and Hannah; and sons Barnard and Benjamin.¹⁹ Although a landowner in Goose Creek during the frontier era, Schenckings kept a

¹⁶ "James, John and Jehu Moore . . . and Elizabeth Moore . . . to Sarah Middleton," January 22 and 23, 1739, Charleston County RMC Book T, p. 433. Also see James and Sarah Moore conveyance of land to Sarah Middleton, February 13, 1739, *ibid*.

¹⁷ Advertisement, *South-Carolina Gazette*, January 25, 1739.

¹⁸ Proprietary land grant to Barnard Schenckings, memorial, July 14, 1680, series S213019, vol. 38, p. 233, item 3, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia (hereafter cited as Memorials, SCDAH).

¹⁹ A. S. Salley Jr., "William Smith and Some of His Descendants," *SCHGM* 4 (July 1903): 239, n. 4; J. G. Dunlop and Mabel L. Webber, "Spanish Depredations, 1686," *SCHGM* 30 (April 1929): 89, n. 14.



Detail of a map by N. Sanson entitled "Carte Particuliere de la Caroline," circa 1696. Schenckingh's Plantation, spelled "Sthernekingh" on the map, is located east of Goose Creek and west of Foster Creek. From the collections of the South Carolina Historical Society.

residence at Charles Town between present Calhoun and Line Streets, and by 1688 he owned three town acres known as "Schenckingh's Square."²⁰

Schenckingh's land grant was one of the last unclaimed tracts along Goose Creek contiguous to navigable waters, and as had been the case with those who arrived before him, his deed required payment of a "yearly quit-rent of one penny per acre" to the Lords Proprietors.²¹ Unlike his neighbors, though, Schenckingh's agreement postponed the first payment until 1689. He

²⁰ Henry A. M. Smith, "Charleston and Charleston Neck, the Original Grantees and the Settlement along the Ashley and Cooper Rivers," *SCHGM* 19 (January 1918): 12; Smith, "Charleston, the Original Plan and the Earliest Settlers," *SCHGM* 9 (January 1908): 27.

²¹ Thomas Cooper and David J. McCord, eds., *Statutes at Large of South Carolina* (Columbia, S.C.: Printed by A. S. Johnston, 1836–1841), 2: 133–134 (1696/97). Also see Susan Baldwin Bates and Harriott Cheves Leland, eds., *Proprietary Records of South Carolina*, vol. 2, *Abstracts of the Records of the Register of the Province, 1675–1696* (Charleston, S.C.: History Press, 2006), 78, n. 127.

free-grazed livestock on the lush flora of his plantation and watered the animals in a substantial freshwater stream that flowed across most of his land. He forded his cattle, horses, and sheep through the shallows near the Goose Creek bridge and drove them to the Charles Town market.

Schenckling struck a more moderate political course than most of the Goose Creek planters, which may help to explain the more favorable terms of his rent. He refrained from the illicit native slave trade that increasingly passed near his avenue and remained loyal to his benefactors. By 1685 the Lords Proprietors had fallen out of favor with his neighbors, yet that year Schenckling signed a letter of promise and allegiance to the king, the proprietors, and the Fundamental Constitutions.²² Skillfully tacking the political winds of the colony whether they prevailed from the Lords Proprietors or the Goose Creek Men, he served in several public capacities, including sheriff, proprietors' deputy, and judge of the Court of Common Pleas. He died in 1692.²³

Barnard Schenckling's eldest son and namesake died shortly after him, requiring his widow to serve as administrator of the estate.²⁴ The second son, Benjamin, assumed the right to the Goose Creek land as well as the property in town. He increased the size of the plantation with a grant of 102 contiguous acres in 1702 and through his marriage to Margaret Moore of neighboring Boochawee. Their combined one-thousand-acre plantation extended beyond Red Bank Road toward Foster Creek.²⁵ Benjamin and Margaret Schenckling held the land for more than thirty years, during which time they sold two hundred acres and mortgaged the rest, securing the loan with their slaves.²⁶ During these transfers, the Boochawee tract was referred to as "Bonds Bank"

²² "Wee whose names are hereunto subscribed doe [sic] promise to beare [sic] faith and true allegiance to our soveraigne [sic] Lord King James and second his heires [sic] and Successors and fidelitie [sic] and submission to the Lord Proprietors and the form of Government by them established by their Fundamentall [sic] Constitution." Barnard Schenckling oath and will, October 6, 1685, Charleston County Will Book 53, p. 522.

²³ Stewart, "Letters from John Stewart to William Dunlop," 3, n. 7; Dunlop, "Spanish Depredations," 89, n. 14. Stewart was critical of Goose Creek Men such as James Moore, but praised "Smith and Skinkeine . . . [as] men of the greatest sense . . . in all the country." Stewart, "Letters from John Stewart to William Dunlop," 3.

²⁴ "Abstracts from the Records of the Court of Ordinary of the Province of South Carolina, 1692-1700," SCHGM 10 (April 1909): 85-86; "Elizabeth Schenckling, widow Administratrix," July 17, 1695, Charleston County Will Book 53, pp. 4, 279, 299, 556.

²⁵ Proprietary land grant to Benjamin Schenckling, September 8, 1702, series S213019, vol. 38, p. 423, item 4, Memorials, SCDAH.

²⁶ Benjamin and Margaret Schenckling transfer of property, lease and release by mortgage, February 3 and 4, 1725, Charleston County RMC Book L, p. 214. Also see Charleston County Inventory Book 61-B, pp. 532-536.

and "Bens Bank."²⁷ Yet when the Schenckings finally offered the remaining eight hundred acres for sale in the *South-Carolina Gazette* in 1733, they recalled the original name: "To be sold by Benjamin Schenckings, Esq: A plantation in Goose Creek containing 800 acres commonly known by the name of 'Boochaw,' one mile from a landing and two miles from Goose Creek Bridge, 300 acres are good un-cleared oak and hickory land the other 500 acres are good for corn, rice, with dwelling house, barn, stables and other outhouses, garden, orchard and other improvements on the same."²⁸

The property did not immediately sell, except for fifty-six acres to Arthur Middleton. But Benjamin Schenckings empowered Margaret to sell it all, which she did the following year, again to Arthur Middleton.²⁹ Soon thereafter Middleton devised "all that plantation called 'Boochoy' sold me by Mrs. Margaret Schenckings" to his son Thomas.³⁰ It was five years after that when James Moore III and his brothers sold Boochawee manor to Sarah Middleton, further expanding the Oaks and dissolving Boochawee.³¹

SPRINGFIELD PLANTATION

Springfield was located east of Schenckings's. It originated when James Moore Jr. sold a large section of Boochawee to David Davis in 1711. Paul Mazyck purchased tracts from Anne and John Davis, the son of David Davis, in 1728 and from Benjamin Smith and his wife, Anne, in 1741 (later Liberty Hall Plantation). Mazyck combined the lands into a single plantation and employed more than forty slaves to build rice fields on both parcels.³²

Mazyck's father, Isaac, was a Huguenot who sailed to South Carolina in 1686 to escape religious persecution. Isaac and his three sons established profitable mercantile businesses in Charleston, enjoyed town houses near the

²⁷ Benjamin and Margaret Schenckings transfer of property, January 1 and 2, 1728, Charleston County RMC Book H, p. 14. Also see mortgage of December 30 and 31, 1728, *ibid.*, p. 11.

²⁸ Advertisement, *South-Carolina Gazette*, February 24, 1733.

²⁹ "Margaret Schenckings, Executrix of Benjamin," memorial for eight tracts of land containing 2,475 acres in Berkeley and Craven Counties, May 3, 1733, series S111001, vol. 5, p. 275, item 2, Memorials, SCDAH. Also see the Benjamin Schenckings last will and testament, February 1, 1732/33, Charleston County Will Book 3, pp. 39–40.

³⁰ "Margaret Schenckings, Executrix of Benjamin," memorial for eight tracts in Berkeley and Craven Counties, May 3, 1733, series S111001, vol. 5, p. 275, item 2, Memorials, SCDAH.

³¹ James Moore III et al. conveyance of land to Sarah Moore, January 22 and 23, 1739, Charleston County RMC Book T, p. 433.

³² Philip D. Morgan, ed., "A Profile of a Mid-Eighteenth-Century South Carolina Parish: The Tax Return of Saint James, Goose Creek," *SCHM* 81 (January 1980): 64. Also see Mazyck Family Documents, 1683–1807, South Carolina Historical Society (hereafter cited as Mazyck Documents, SCHS); Benjamin Smith to Paul Mazyck,

harbor, and developed several rural tracts.³³ Under Paul Mazyck, Springfield became a successful inland rice plantation with an elegant manor. The house at Springfield Plantation would remain the Mazyck family's country seat for more than a century.

The Springfield settlement, consisting of a large house with expansive ornamental gardens and many outbuildings, was located at the head of Foster Creek. A tree-lined avenue connecting the road to Charles Town and the Upper Back River Road approached Springfield from the west and skirted the main house. Behind the house, a carefully designed "pleasure garden," resplendent with varying trees, shrubs, vines, and flowering plants, was approached by way of a formal path. A 1791 plat of Springfield Plantation indicates that the garden was an elaborate arrangement, culminating in a central mall where four allees radiated from a circular greensward to four parterres.³⁴

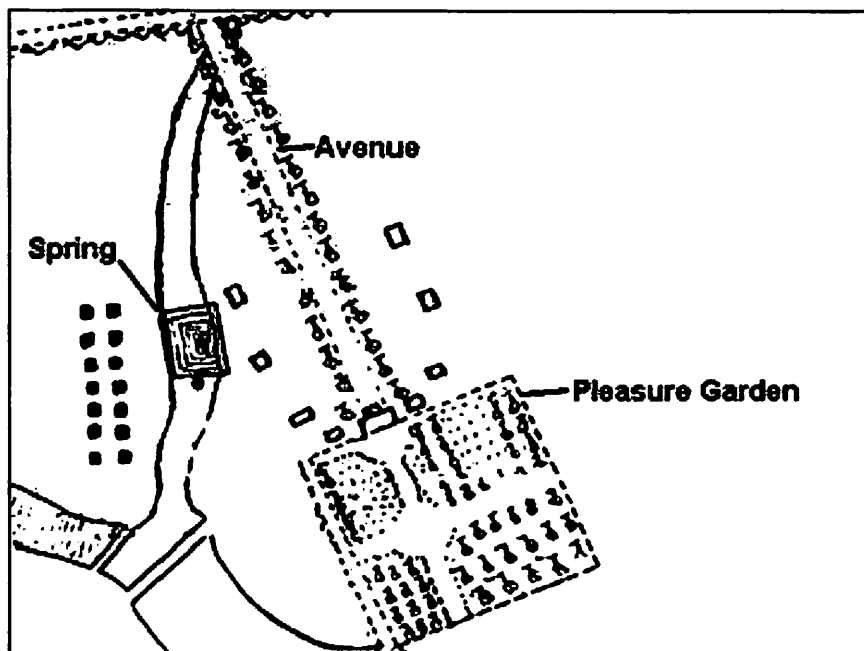
There are scant descriptions of the main house and other structures at Springfield, but the February 2, 1734, issue of the *South-Carolina Gazette* reported that Paul Mazyck's nine-hundred-acre plantation featured a "fine, eight-room house." The aforementioned plat suggests that nearly sixty years later, the main house may have included a large portico or anteroom. It probably was a commodious brick structure with columns, expensive masonry work, and a slate roof similar to neighboring plantation houses at the Elms, Bloomfield, and Crowfield. But it also is possible that the house was a simpler, two-story wooden structure. If the latter is true, it likely had four rooms on each floor, two chimneys, and battens with overlapped cypress shingles for the roof.

The newspaper advertisement from 1734 described two large stables, "sixty by thirty and sixty by twenty feet each," and listed a coach house, stock barn, sheep stable, and slave quarters. The 1791 plat reflects an expanded message, featuring substantial buildings that probably included a kitchen and smoke house as well as carpenter and cooper shops. In addition, a bellows barn for a blacksmith likely existed. The names of nearby Brick Barn Plantation and Brick Bound Swamp suggest that brick making was an important activity

November 4, 1741, Charleston County RMC Book P, no. 6, p. 296; Paul Mazyck land purchase, memorial for six tracts containing 1,880 acres in Saint James Goose Creek and Saint James Santee Parishes, March 5, 1732, series 111001, vol. 3, p. 446, item 1, Memorials, SCDAH; memorial for 325 acres, chain of title to land, February 27, 1746, series S111001, vol. 7, p. 464, item 2, *ibid.*

³³ Michael Trinkley, *Benjamin Mazyck, Mystery Man of Goose Creek* (Columbia, S.C.: Chicora Foundation, 2004?), 1.

³⁴ Conveyances of nine hundred-acre tract in Saint James Goose Creek Parish between 1769 and 1773, Mazyck Documents, SCHS. Also see Plat of Springfield Plantation, September 1791, series L10005, reel 9, plat 5025, South Carolina Department of Archives and History (hereafter cited as Plats, SCDAH); Plat of Springfield Plantation, September 1791, series L10005, reel 2, plat 1329, *ibid.*; Benjamin Smith to Paul Mazyck, November 4, 1741, Charleston County RMC Book P, no. 6, p. 296.



Detail of a 1791 plat illustrating the main house, outbuildings, avenue, spring, and ornamental gardens of Springfield Plantation. Labels added by author. Courtesy of the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.

in the area. Certainly, the clay at Springfield was mined, chopped, mixed, molded, and baked for bricks to construct footings and chimneys on the plantation, but it is doubtful that the bulky blocks were transported off the grounds. Bricks baked for market were commonly worked at sites near Foster Creek where sloops could float the heavy loads to Charles Town. Nevertheless, one of the structures depicted on the 1791 plat may have been a brick-drying barn.

Even if bricks were baked at Springfield, they probably were not used to build the fourteen slave houses that stood separated by shallow water from the main house. Archaeological findings at neighboring Liberty Hall Plantation, which was owned by a Mazyck relative, suggest that the little slave cabins at Springfield were "pole houses," built with vertical logs sunk in a trench and sealed with clay chinking, but without clay fireplaces or chimneys.

In 1734 Springfield Plantation consisted of 643 acres of forest and pastureland where horses, sheep, cattle, mules, oxen, and other livestock grazed freely; 208 acres of cleared highlands for producing corn and other food crops; seventy-eight acres of low rice lands; and an eleven-acre freshwa-

ter reserve for irrigation.³⁵ By the last decade of the eighteenth century, Mazyck slaves had built five additional dammed, banked rice fields in nearby swamps, each ranging in size from ten to twenty-two acres, as well as a twenty-acre reserve pond.

Five nested rectangles drawn on the 1791 plat of Springfield are labeled "spring."³⁶ This feature, located adjacent to an outbuilding, probably describes a wide, deep cistern excavated to access fresh water. The cistern likely was brick-lined with broad steps descending to a pool. A similar structure was used at the Elms Plantation. Also, there was a brick-lined pond fed by a spring at Bloomfield Plantation, less than two miles away.³⁷

Paul Mazyck, founder of Springfield Plantation, was elected twice to the Royal Assembly, but declined to serve on both occasions. He and his wife, Catherine Chastaigner, reared at least five children: Charlotte, Mary, Alexander, Mary Anne, and Catherine.³⁸ When Paul Mazyck died in 1749, he bequeathed Springfield to his only son, Alexander.

Paul Mazyck recommended in his will that his executors "not clear any land whatsoever on my Plantation on Foster's Creek or to cut any timber or trees, more than is barely required for fencing and making barrels for the use of the [rice] crop."³⁹ He probably intended to preserve the value of the marketable timber and firewood for Alexander, who held all of his father's land for a quarter-century before selling the 1,205-acre Liberty Hall section for £17,955 to his uncle Benjamin in 1773.⁴⁰ Alexander Mazyck retained the Springfield house and gardens.

A typical merchant-planter of his day, Alexander Mazyck resided at the Springfield manor only part of the year. He owned a town house and several lots in Mazyckborough, a Charles Town neighborhood where other members of his extended family kept residences, and passed the warm months near the

³⁵ Advertisement, *South-Carolina Gazette*, February 2, 1734.

³⁶ "Plat of a Plantation called Springfield, containing 940 acres in St. James Goose Creek, Charleston District, surveyed at the request of J. Keith Furman by C. Rutledge Parker," October 18, 1858, series L10005, reel 3, plat 1646, Plats, SCDAH; Springfield Plantation, April 1792, series L10005, reel 9, plat 5025, *ibid.* Also see Charleston County RMC Book B, no. 6, p. 40.

³⁷ Undated memorandum, Cheves Papers, SCHS. Langdon Cheves noted ruins of a "fine brick spring" at Bloomfield Plantation around the turn of the twentieth century.

³⁸ Edgar et al., *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives*, 2: 448.

³⁹ Paul Mazyck will and testament, December 12, 1746, Charleston County Will Book 6, p. 208. Also see Mazyck memorial for six tracts in Saint James Goose Creek and Saint James Santee Parishes, March 5, 1732, series 111001, vol. 3, p. 446, item 1, Memorials, SCDAH.

⁴⁰ Alexander Mazyck to Benjamin Mazyck, November 12, 1773, Charleston County RMC Book P, p. 302.

harbor breezes, returning to the country plantation after the first frost to enjoy the winter holidays and assess the work of his overseers and slaves. Mazyck lived well, as evidenced by his purchases of fine furniture from Thomas Elfe, the renowned Charles Town craftsman.⁴¹ Like his father, Mayzck did not pursue civic affairs, although he did contribute financially to the patriot effort during the American Revolution.⁴²

Springfield continued as the family retreat during the war years. When the invading British occupied Charles Town, Stephen Mazyck abandoned his town house to reside with his cousin Alexander at Springfield. He wrote from the family seat in February 1776, reporting on the trials of the war: "I am now at cousin Alexander Mazyck's house at Goose Creek . . . I pass my time more agreeably than I can in Charles Town, which now has the most melancholy appearance." Many others from the city had evacuated to the countryside, and he lamented that the "whole province is in such a melancholy disturbed situation that there is no peace, satisfaction or happiness to be enjoyed in it."⁴³

Alexander Mazyck died after a short illness at his Mazyckborough town house in March 1786.⁴⁴ He bequeathed a town lot to his wife, Elizabeth Charlotte Mazyck, and ordered that a "neat single two story house" be built on the lot for her. In addition, he bequeathed to his wife fifteen hundred pounds sterling, all household items and goods, his riding chair, selected horses, and favored slaves "yellow Lizette" and her sons Pollydore and Matthew. Nine additional bound servants were included in the bequest along with the future children of the "females." Mazyck's principal dwelling at Springfield was also promised to his widow, and he ordered that it not be sold until her demise. He bequeathed his remaining lots and wealth to his sons Paul, Nathaniel, and Alexander as well as his daughters Mary, Catherine, and Charlotte.⁴⁵

Within ten years, Springfield was again combined with the contiguous property of Benjamin Mazyck, Alexander's uncle. Benjamin kept its rice lands—along with those of his plantation, later named Liberty Hall—in cultivation until his death in 1800, when he devised the Springfield portion

⁴¹ Mabel L. Webber, ed., "The Thomas Elfe Account Book, 1768–1775," *SCHGM* 36 (April 1935): 60; *ibid.*, *SCHGM* 37 (July 1936): 115.

⁴² Claims of Alexander Mazyck, file nos. 4867 and 4868, Accounts Audited of Claims Growing out of the American Revolution in South Carolina, 1775–1856, South Carolina Department of Archives and History (hereafter cited as Accounts Audited, SCDAH).

⁴³ Stephen Mazyck to Paul Mazyck, February 7, 1776, Mazyck Family Papers, 1716–1847, South Carolina Historical Society.

⁴⁴ Mabel L. Webber, ed., "Marriages and Death Notices from the Charleston Morning Post and the Daily Advertiser," *SCHGM* 20 (January 1919): 53.

⁴⁵ Alexander Mazyck last will and testament, March 31, 1786, Charleston County Will Book 21, pp. 823–826.

to his son Stephen.⁴⁶ When Stephen Mazyck inherited Springfield, the house was luxuriously appointed with mahogany tables and chairs, carpets, glass, china, silver, and much more.⁴⁷ Stephen worked forty-seven slaves in his Goose Creek rice fields, but annually realized diminishing returns.⁴⁸

The early years of the nineteenth century witnessed the rapid decline of inland rice production, and Springfield, as well as the other Mazyck rice plantations in Goose Creek, depreciated noticeably.⁴⁹ The third generation of Mazyck planters was less successful than their forebears, even as they attempted to diversify by introducing cotton as a cash crop. For Stephen Mazyck, the worn Foster Creek soils brought only marginal returns until his descent into increasing debt resulted in the country home falling into disuse.⁵⁰ When Stephen died in 1808, the six-hundred-acre tract with the Springfield house and gardens devised to his son Benjamin. In that transaction, Springfield was described as that tract "made of so much of my Brick Barn plantation purchased by my father from Alexander Mazyck, as lies south of Back River Road."⁵¹

Springfield Plantation passed out of the Mazyck family prior to the Civil War. By 1846 the land and amenities were owned by Dr. Matthew Irvine.⁵² Twelve years later, Dr. J. Keith Furman purchased all of it.⁵³ When Furman bought the property, the house and gardens were still useful, but the depressed economy, exhausted soils, and emergence of competitive tidal rice culture, which attracted available investments, further reduced profits. Finally, the emancipation of the slaves, seven years after the Furman acquisition, caused the dissolution of the last vestiges of the old estate.

⁴⁶ Will of Benjamin Mazyck, January 13, 1801, Charleston County Will Book 28, p. 79.

⁴⁷ "Mazyck, Benjamin, Memorial for 900 acres on Forster's [*sic*] Creek, Berkeley County, November 26, 1766," and "Mazyck, Benjamin, Paul Mazyck and William Mazyck, Heirs of Isaac, In Trust, Plat for a Water Lot on Ashley River, Charleston, Surveyed by Joseph Purcell, October 6, 1787," Charleston County Inventory Book E, p. 4.

⁴⁸ Michael Trinkley, *Liberty Hall: A Small Eighteenth-Century Rice Plantation in Goose Creek, Berkeley County, South Carolina* (Columbia, S.C.: Chicora Foundation, 2003), 54.

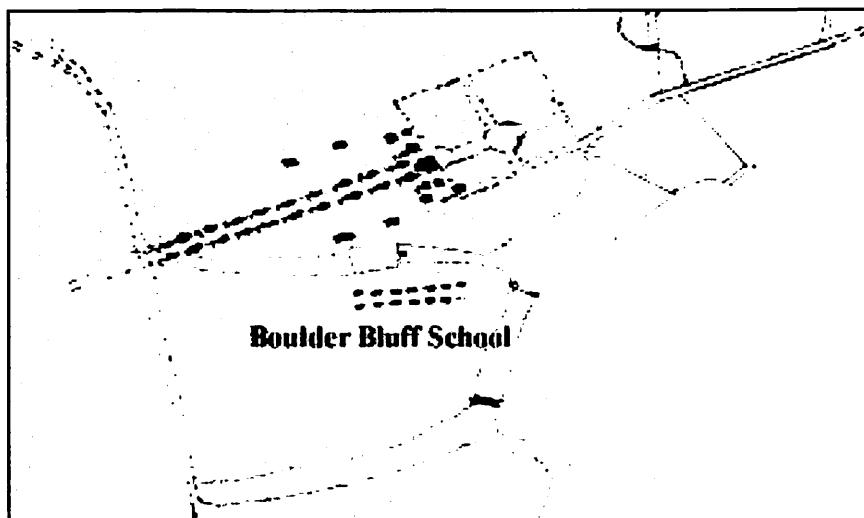
⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Stephen Mazyck last will and testament, November 6, 1809, Charleston County Will Book 31, p. 150.

⁵² "Plat of land on road to Moncks Corner, Springfield and Mount Holly plantations, made for Col. M. J. Keith, 1856," and "Plat of a line in Mount Holly, run by Mr. Mellard in 1872 and rerun by Peter Gourdin and Palmer Gaillard in 1913." Henry A. M. Smith traced these plats, and both are in the Henry A. M. Smith Papers, 1744–1922, South Carolina Historical Society (hereafter cited as Smith Papers, SCHS).

⁵³ "Plat of a Plantation called Springfield," October 18, 1858, series L10005, reel 3, plat 1646, Plats, SCDAH.



Eighteenth-century plat of Springfield Plantation overlaid on a 2006 Berkeley County tax map. The main house at Springfield was located near present-day Boulder Bluff Elementary School. The school's parking lot covers the site of the plantation slave quarters. Courtesy of the Berkeley County Geographic Information System Department, Moncks Corner, and the South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

Langdon Cheves, a Charleston businessman, purchased and managed Goose Creek tracts including Springfield during the waning decades of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth. He leased plots of the tired ground to black tenant farmers such as J. H. and J. G. Harmon, W. H. Bell, Joel Huff, and Joseph J. Driggers for two dollars an acre annually, while Toney Galliard and Josiah Green purchased nearby plots and managed meager livings.⁵⁴ The families produced corn, peas, beans, and sweet potatoes to feed themselves as well as hay and corn to nourish their horses, cows, pigs, and chickens.⁵⁵ The Springfield land was worked in this fashion until most of it was converted to modern housing during the 1950s and 1960s.

⁵⁴ Plat of property showing Richard Myers and Toney Gaillard lands, 1874, Cheves Papers, SCHS. A letter from J. H. Knight to H. A. M. Smith and Langdon Cheves, March 2, 1910, gives tenant names and amounts of rent. Ibid. Also see the plat of four tracts of land in Saint James Goose Creek Parish owned by Toney Gaillard, Richard Myers, James Stephens, and John Green, 1874, South Carolina Historical Society.

⁵⁵ U.S. Census, 1880, Mount Holly District, Productions of Agriculture, Saint James Goose Creek Parish, S.C.

LIBERTY HALL PLANTATION

This land passed out of the Moore family in 1726 when Isaac Mazyck Jr. purchased nine hundred acres of Boochawee from Nathaniel Moore, son of James Moore Sr., for thirty-five hundred pounds.⁵⁶ Mazyck, son of the Huguenot immigrant, was educated in England and served a short tour with the British cavalry before returning to South Carolina to work in a mercantile partnership with his prosperous father. He became a rich merchant-planter as well as an astute political leader who was elected twenty-three times to the Royal Assembly from five different parishes.⁵⁷

Isaac Mazyck Jr. and his brother Paul, acting as their father's executors, sold the nine-hundred-acre Foster Creek plantation to their younger brother Benjamin for fifty-two hundred pounds. Benjamin Mazyck resided part-time at his country home, located about one mile from the family's Springfield manor, during his fifty-year ownership of the place. He also owned a house near his trading business in town.⁵⁸ Mazyck added contiguous lands and developed a diversified operation that produced seasonal bounties. His plantation baked brick during the fall, cut timber in winter, planted and harvested rice during the spring and summer, and grazed livestock year-around. The slaves raised hogs, sheep, and horses, branded Mazyck's free-ranging cattle with a fleur-de-lis sear, and drove his stock to market along the Lower Back River Road and Goose Creek Road (as the road to Charles Town had come to be known).⁵⁹ Mazyck shipped tons of home-grown rice and heavy orders of brick from his deep-water dock on Foster Creek to Charles Town, where he advertised the bricks for sale in the *South-Carolina Gazette*.⁶⁰

The Mazyck slaves not only cleared large rice fields from the thick freshwater swamps and erected miles of banks, dams, ditches, and drains, but

⁵⁶ "Nathaniel Moore, Gentleman, & Sarah his wife of St. James, Goose Creek Parish, Berkeley County, to Isaac Mazyck . . . 900 acres," lease and release, May 31, 1726, Charleston County RMC Book E, p. 180; plat of "Land formerly owned by William Loughton Smith, [conveyed] to Thomas [L.] Smith, David Thaxler, and Charles P. Shier, in St. James Goose Creek Parish, adjacent to Liberty Hall and How[e] Hall, and lands of Dr. Charles Desel and others," 1855, South Carolina Historical Society. Also see "Plat of Liberty Hall Plantation, Situate at the Head of Foster's Creek, Waters of Cooper River, Parish of St. James, Goose Creek, Charleston District, S.C. Surveyed by W. H. Mellard, William Hume, and Simons and Howe," March 4, 1884, series L100051, reel 3, plat 1598, Plats, SCDAH.

⁵⁷ Edgar et al., *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives*, 2: 445-447.

⁵⁸ Advertisements, *South-Carolina Gazette*, August 27, 1748, December 3, 1753, February 26, 1756.

⁵⁹ Livestock Mark Books, 1695-1737, Recorded Instruments, Secretary of State, South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

⁶⁰ Advertisement, *South-Carolina Gazette*, February 15, 1749.

also dug a shipping canal from Brick Bound Swamp near the center of the property to the northernmost reaches of Foster Creek.⁶¹ The canal carried flat-bottom barges laden with agricultural products and lumber, which were pushed by pole men or pulled by mules. Slaves transferred the bulky loads at the Mazyck dock onto larger, deep-drafted sailing craft. In 1749 Mazyck advertised for an "open boat that could carry 120 barrels of rice or fifteen cords of firewood . . . also a large quantity of bricks."⁶²

Benjamin Mazyck purchased neighboring Springfield Plantation from his nephew Alexander in 1773 and acquired several additional properties to expand the original nine hundred acres to a consolidated 2,288-acre holding.⁶³ A Whig during the Revolutionary War, he supplied Continental troops and state militia on several occasions with food, fodder, and lead.⁶⁴ Even so, his property was not pillaged by the marauding British army that patrolled nearby roads.⁶⁵

By the end of the war, Mazyck was an affluent middle-aged man, and he had built a second residence, a two-and-one-half-story single house, in Charles Town (on modern Magazine Street). His town and country residences were furnished with fine mahogany furniture and household effects valued at more than £418, and he managed each with slave labor: fifty-five slaves at Liberty Hall Plantation, and fifteen in town.⁶⁶ His combined work force was valued in excess of forty-six hundred pounds. Mazyck also kept wild and work horses, enjoyed books and jewelry, and purchased shotguns and blunderbusses. But Benjamin Mazyck was the last owner to reap significant profits from the Foster Creek land.⁶⁷ As noted in the preceding section on Springfield Plantation, his son Stephen fell heavily in debt during his short ownership of the combined Springfield and Liberty Hall properties.⁶⁸ Usually, success for a planter depended upon skilled diversification of production

⁶¹ Stephen Mazyck last will and testament, November 6, 1809, Charleston County Will Book 31, p. 150.

⁶² Advertisement, *South-Carolina Gazette*, January 23, 1749.

⁶³ Benjamin Mazyck purchase of property, March 8, 1763, Charleston County RMC Book P, p. 302.

⁶⁴ Benjamin Mazyck to Daniel Ravenel, June 28, 1776, Benjamin Mazyck Papers, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

⁶⁵ Claims of Benjamin Mazyck, file no. 4868, Accounts Audited, SCDH.

⁶⁶ Will of Benjamin Mazyck, January 13, 1801, Charleston County Will Book 28, p. 79. Also see Charleston County RMC Book K-5, pp. 188-191. The record notes that Benjamin Mazyck's town house was situated on the north side of the west end of Broad Street, next to properties owned by Peter and Alexander Mazyck.

⁶⁷ Plat of Liberty Hall Plantation, describing the 2,743.5-acre tract owned by Stephen Mazyck, Smith Papers, SCHS. Smith traced the original plat drawn from a survey made by "Skrine" in 1802.

⁶⁸ "A True and Perfect Inventory of Stephen Mazyck," January 1, 1771, Charleston County Inventory Book E, p. 4.

to provide returns throughout the year that could feed, clothe, and house the labor force as well as provide a steady stream of reinvestment income. Although Stephen Mazyck diversified the production of the plantation, meager returns made the effort almost futile.⁶⁹ His slaves baked brick, harvested timber, and grew rice, and he owned two cotton gins, indicating an interest in cotton production.⁷⁰ However, all of his efforts failed, and he was forced to sell valuable slaves to settle mounting debts.

Upon the death of Stephen Mazyck, the estate was subdivided among his three sons, and the family was able to keep the land for twenty more years until an equity case forced Mary Mazyck, Stephen's widow, to sell a large part of the old plantation to Charles Desel at auction in 1834.⁷¹ This conveyance of 2,740.5 acres for seventy-eight hundred dollars included "all that plantation on the northern side of Foster Creek."⁷² Mary Mazyck died in 1845 at the age of eighty-two.

Charles Desel increased the acreage during his twenty-year tenure, including buying back 506 acres of old Boochawee land in 1842 from Jacob I. Moses, who briefly owned the Oaks Plantation.⁷³ Desel amassed 3,252 acres by 1849 and constructed a settlement near the site of earlier Mazyck residences on Foster Creek.⁷⁴ Desel was the son of a Charleston cabinet maker and physician whose wealth was not dependent on the bounty of the land, allowing him to enjoy the role of a gentleman planter of by-gone days.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ Stephen Mazyck last will and testament, November 6, 1809, Charleston County Will Book 31, p. 150.

⁷⁰ Stephen Mazyck, November 6, 1809, Charleston County Inventory Book E, p. 4.

⁷¹ Plat of Berkeley County lands, 1809, South Carolina Historical Society. This plat comprises eighty-seven acres purchased by Lewis and Jacob Breaker from William Loughton Smith; 202.34 acres belonging to Toney Gaillard, next to Liberty Hall and Springfield Plantations; and two hundred acres adjacent to Liberty Hall Plantation belonging to R. Myers. It includes neighboring lands belonging to Henry A. Middleton, Toney Gaillard, and Peter Smith, as well. *Charles L. Desel and Caroline Desel v. Mary Mazyck*, judgment roll, July 20, 1833, series SL10018, year 1833, item 280A, South Carolina Department of Archives and History (hereafter cited as Judgment Rolls, SCDH).

⁷² *Charles L. Desel and Caroline Desel v. Mary Mazyck*, July 20, 1833, series SL10018, year 1833, item 280A, Judgment Rolls, SCDH.

⁷³ Thomas O. Elliot to Charles L. Desel, October 18, 1827, Charleston County RMC Book H, no. 10, p. 14. "Now in consideration of \$7800 to Charles Desel all that plantation on the northeast side of Foster Creek . . . 2740 ½ acres, April 4, 1834." *Ibid.*, Book E, no. 10, p. 402. Desel purchased the 506 acres from Jacob I. Moses on May 17, 1842. Charleston County RMC Book K11, p. 156.

⁷⁴ U.S. Census, 1850, Productions of Agriculture, Saint James Goose Creek Parish, S.C.; "Plat of Liberty Hall Plantation," March 4, 1884, series L100051, reel 3, plat 1598, Plats, SCDH. Also see Charleston County RMC Book O15, p. 521.

⁷⁵ Plat of Liberty Hall Plantation, City Inventories, film JR 4380, B, p. 450, Charleston County Register of Mesne Conveyance.

Nevertheless, Desel's country home was a rustic farm house, not an elegant plantation manor like neighboring Springfield.

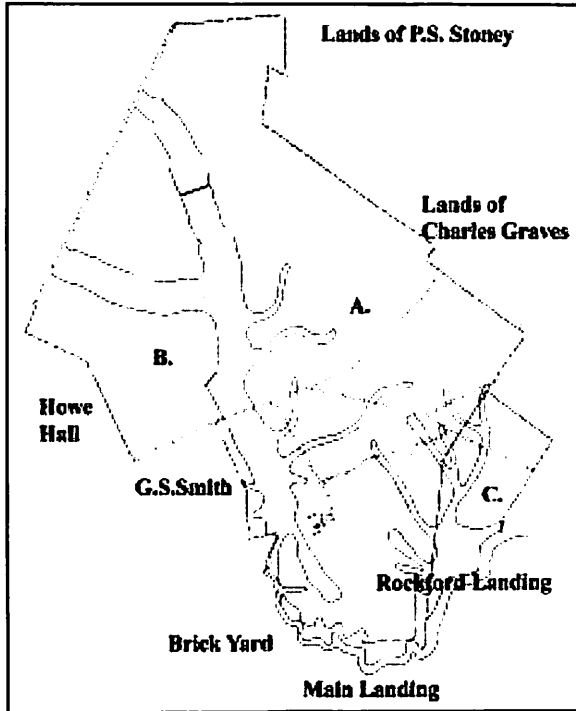
The freshwater swamp that dominated the topography in the center of Desel's plantation clearly represented the best rice fields in the area. But the swampland had lost its fertility by the time of his purchase, and the difficulties caused by slumping market prices may have dampened his efforts to revitalize it. Desel, who seemed content to spend most of his time in Charleston, planted only small quantities of rice and did not attempt to diversify production as did his more successful neighbors. Although his land was located in a brick-baking district—within a short walk of his country seat, Foster Creek was lined with drying barns, brick works, kilns, landings, and docks—and his neighbor and hunting companion Charles W. Graves ran a lucrative brick-baking operation at Brick Hope Plantation, Desel never engaged in that industry.⁷⁶ Desel was one of the larger slave holders in Goose Creek with eighty-six bound workers, but he kept only three horses, eight mules, fifty head of cattle, and thirty hogs at Liberty Hall. The limited number of livestock was barely enough to support his slaves. Additionally, Liberty Hall seems to have become less important to Desel as he aged. By the time of his death, the plantation house was barely furnished, with only \$250 appraised value of personal effects.⁷⁷

When Desel died in 1854, he devised his land to his wife, Catherine, and upon her demise, it was divided equally among their children until reconstituted and sold intact in 1859 to Ephraim S. Mikell for \$10,800. In that transfer, the land was referred to on record as "Liberty Hall" for the first time. Shortly after that sale, the chaos of the Civil War and the depressed postbellum economy made large landholdings difficult and farm failures common. As a consequence, Liberty Hall Plantation passed through several more hands during the waning years of the nineteenth century.

An 1877 plat indicates that Charles Graves, owner of Brick Hope Plantation, acquired much of Liberty Hall for a short time, but the old plantation was sold again and marginally worked by Louis Seel, who in 1880 planted a mere

⁷⁶ In an undated note regarding Charles Desel, Charles W. Graves makes comments about brick production. Charles W. Graves Plantation Journal, 1846–1875, South Carolina Historical Society.

⁷⁷ Charles Desel was a friend of Dr. John Bachman, noted naturalist and rector of Saint John's Lutheran Church in Charleston. Bachman was a frequent visitor to Desel's Foster Creek property and on several occasions brought along his close acquaintance John James Audubon. For half a century, Audubon was the foremost wildlife artist in the country, and his *Birds of America* (1827–1838), a collection of 435 life-size prints, circulated around the world. Both Bachman and Audubon explored the Boochawee lands extensively, making field observations and securing specimens. Jay Schuler, *Had I the Wings: The Friendship of Bachman and Audubon* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 73, 145, 146.



Adapted from an 1854 plat of Liberty Hall Plantation, showing the property lines and a settlement located north of the main landing. Courtesy of the South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

forty of his 3,561 acres.⁷⁸ Joseph C. Blaney held the land for about five years, then Edward G. Hanahan purchased it in 1888 to mine phosphate deposits. Hanahan was forced to sell at auction to Colin Mackay Grant, who leased timber rights to the E. P. Burton Lumber Company.⁷⁹

Early in the twentieth century, some of the plantation lands in Goose Creek were owned and farmed by African Americans, but Liberty Hall remained in a large undivided holding. In 1912 a group of Charleston men including Edward Frost Lowndes, Frank C. Ford, and David Huguenin leased

⁷⁸ U.S. Census, 1880, Productions of Agriculture, Saint James Goose Creek Parish, S.C.

⁷⁹ Colin Mackay Grant transfer of acreage to E. P. Burton Lumber Company, 1888, Berkeley County Deed Book A4, p. 137, Berkeley County Register of Deeds, Berkeley County Office Building, Moncks Corner (hereafter cited as Berkeley County ROD Book).



Susie Jenkins serving coffee at the Liberty Hall Hunt Club. Jenkins was born into slavery in Goose Creek in 1858. She died in 1937 and is buried at Brick Hope Plantation. From a private collection.

the land from Grant for use as a hunting preserve. They built a clubhouse approached by the avenue of ancient oaks that once led to the residential settlement.⁸⁰ The clubhouse stood on the site of Desel's house and included four bedrooms, a large dining room, and a member's area with dressing lockers. A kitchen was located behind the clubhouse near a caretaker's house, horse stable, corncrib, and dog pens.⁸¹

A Liberty Hall Hunt Club certificate granted one share of stock in the club for five hundred dollars, and the first hunt of the thirty-year incorporation commenced in 1912.⁸² At its zenith, the fenced hunting preserve was ex-

⁸⁰ Terrence Larimer, interview by Edward F. Lowndes, August and September 1998, typescript in private collection.

⁸¹ Interview of Frank C. Ford, *ibid.*

⁸² Game Record, Liberty Hall Hunt Club, 1912, *ibid.* Includes a copy of the Liberty Hall Hunt Club certificate.

panded to include Brick Hope, Parnassus, Medway, and Pine Grove Plantations. Two hunts per week were held in deer season. In 1914 Colin Mackay Grant sold a right-of-way across the property to the Carolina, Atlantic and Western Railway, which later became CSX Railroad.⁸³ During the early decades of the twentieth century, the Burton Lumber Company retained at least one logging camp on Liberty Hall, which was known as Stokes, consisting of barracks and a kitchen for the lumbermen.⁸⁴ After Grant sold the land in 1943, it passed through several owners, including more timber companies, until the section east of the rail line was conveyed to the U.S. Department of Defense, which operated a naval ammunition depot and weapons station on the Cooper River. The western section was sold to Richard Friedburg and W. A. Moncrief in 1977.⁸⁵ It has been subdivided, transected by Henry E. Brown Jr. Boulevard, and put to residential and commercial use.

HOWE HALL PLANTATION

The origin of Howe Hall Plantation was a 290-acre proprietary grant to immigrant Robert Howe in 1683. An eight-hundred-acre grant was awarded to Robert Howe, grandson of the immigrant, twenty-three years later, along with an additional one hundred acres the same year.⁸⁶ This 1,190-acre estate was contiguous to Boochawee on two sides and eventually absorbed a section of that plantation through marriage. Thereafter, the name "Howe Hall" supplanted "Boochawee" and remains associated with the neighborhood today.

Robert Howe immigrated to South Carolina prior to 1683 and soon acquired land. Although the granted tract was not large, its location was advantageous because of its proximity to deep water and the well-traveled Goose Creek Road. Howe's land gradually rose from the main road for almost a mile before descending to the banks of navigable Foster Creek. He approached his settlement via a shaded avenue that intersected the Goose Creek Road at the seventeen mile-marker (intersection of modern Old Back River Road) in the busiest section of the colonial community. He constructed his home "after the rustic order" upon a clay knoll above three freshwater springs

⁸³ Trinkley, *Liberty Hall*, 24.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ Richard Friedberg and W. A. Moncrief, conveyance of property, 1977, Berkeley County ROD Book A321, p. 110.

⁸⁶ "Plat of Land in St. James Goose Creek Parish, Berkeley near Yeoman's [*sic*] Creek Containing 800 Acres," November 15, 1706, series L10005, reel 11, plat 5697, Plats, SCDH; "Plat for 100 Acres Laid Out Being Part of 1000 Acres of Land Given by the Lords Proprietors to John Monck and Transferred to [Robert] Howe in Berkeley County, Lying on Northeast Side of Goose Creek, Surveyed by Thomas Broughton," December 16, 1706, series L10005, reel 8, plat 4217, *ibid.*

and surrounded by trees, lawns, and gardens.⁸⁷ His sturdy wooden house remained useful until it was replaced by a brick structure fifty years later.

Howe Hall was a successful inland rice plantation, but it is best remembered as the home of dynamic political leaders during the proprietary era. Job Howe, son of Robert the immigrant, grew up in Goose Creek working the land with his father, but soon after coming of age, he diverted his attention from planting and stock raising toward political interests. He joined the Goose Creek Men and with them dominated civil affairs during the early eighteenth century, ascending to the powerful position of Speaker of the Commons House of Assembly in 1700. Six years later, he greatly expanded his Goose Creek landholdings with two grants totaling nine hundred acres.⁸⁸

Job Howe married Sarah, who was the widow of Richard Fowell of Barbados and later Edward Middleton of the Oaks Plantation. Job and Sarah Howe reared their son Robert as a farmer and stockman, and he became a prosperous planter with sixty-four African American and Native American slaves.⁸⁹ Robert Howe wed Mary Moore, the daughter of Governor James Moore of Boochawee.⁹⁰ Hence, his father and father-in-law were leaders of the Goose Creek Men, and those connections by blood and marriage propelled him into the raucous political arena.

Robert Howe continued his father's work in the assembly and made frequent trips to Charles Town. He remained influential all of his life, but stepped aside from politics when South Carolina transitioned from a proprietary to a royal colony in 1719. He died five years later without a will. When his widow married Thomas Clifford, an attorney, the Howe estate was divided, with one-third of the slaves and wealth converting to the widow and two-thirds transferring to Howe's only son, Job, a minor.⁹¹

Job Howe inherited Howe Hall, but spent much of his time in town and kept the old plantation for less than ten years. In 1732 he advertised the sale of the property in the *South-Carolina Gazette*, where he touted "800 acres great part of which is corn land," "100 acres rice land," and a "great quantity of good timber for sawing and for cooperage and fire wood."⁹² A 1736 advertisement listed "about 200 acres under a very good fence for pasturage or planting and

⁸⁷ Advertisement, *South-Carolina Gazette*, March 25, 1732.

⁸⁸ Edgar et al., *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives*, 2: 336.

⁸⁹ "A true and perfect inventory and appraisal of . . . Mr. Robert Howe . . . 64 slaves valued at £11,305," July 30, 1724, Charleston County Will Book 60, pp. 36–37.

⁹⁰ Edgar et al., *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives*, 2: 337.

⁹¹ "Warrant of Division of the Estate of Robert Howe, Gentleman deceased," March 3, 1728, Charleston County RMC Book E, p. 273, and Book P, p. 250. Also see Charleston County Will Book 61–A, p. 75.

⁹² Advertisement, *South-Carolina Gazette*, March 25, 1732.

600 acres moderately well wooded . . . [and] a tolerable dwelling house."⁹³ At that time, the original grant consisting of 290 acres was subdivided from the whole and not offered for sale.⁹⁴ The advertisements failed to interest a buyer, and the family was compelled to undertake considerable improvements. When the plantation was advertised for sale again three years later, the buildings were described as: "a large Brick House, a House adjoining it of two rooms on a floor, one story high, a very large store house, a coach house and stables, a barn, smoke house, and several houses for all kinds of stock, all strong and completely built . . . but two years ago." Included in the purchase was a "stock of cattle, horses & 32 Negroes."⁹⁵

Intermittent ownership of all or part of the Howe estate ensued, including a sale to Arthur Middleton of the neighboring Oaks Plantation. That transaction included 340 acres of Howe Hall and 305 contiguous acres called "Pineland."⁹⁶ Thus, Middleton came into possession of Howe Hall Plantation and much of Boochawee, which more than doubled the size of the Oaks by the time it was devised to his son Thomas in 1740.⁹⁷

Thomas Middleton owned the tract until 1752, when he sold it to James Irving before departing South Carolina to travel abroad for two years. At the time of the sale, Howe Hall and Boochawee, consisting of 1,397 acres, were described as having a "commodious brick dwelling house" with convenient outbuildings as well as "corn, indigo and some rice lands."⁹⁸ Irving, who was from Jamaica, held the plantation for three years then sold it to Richard Dunn Lawrence for three thousand pounds. Lawrence defaulted on the purchase four years later, causing the land to revert to Irving, who resold it in 1769.⁹⁹

⁹³ *Ibid.*, April 17–21, 1736.

⁹⁴ "Mary Clifford, Wife of Thomas Clifford and Job Howe and Martha Howes [sic], His Wife to Thomas Cheeseman," renunciation, July 3, 1734, series S136009, vol. N, p. 26, South Carolina Department of Archives and History; Thomas Clifford and Job Howe to Thomas Cheeseman, June 14 and 15, 1734, lease and release, series S372001, vol. M0, p. 218, item 0, *ibid.* Also see "Howe, Job, Plat for 500 Acres of Land in Berkeley County," March 30, 1731, series S213184, vol. 1, p. 195, item 3, Plats, SCDAH; Thomas Cheeseman, "Memorial for Two Tracts, One for 340 Acres on Forsters [sic] Creek, Summarizing a Chain of Title to a Lease and Release from Job Howes [sic] and Others," June 14 and 15, 1734, series S111001, vol. 3, p. 164, item 2, Memorials, SCDAH.

⁹⁵ Advertisement, *South-Carolina Gazette*, July 7, 1739.

⁹⁶ Thomas Cheeseman memorial for two tracts, June 14 and 15, 1734, series S111001, vol. 3, p. 164, item 2, Memorials, SCDAH.

⁹⁷ Lothrop Withington, ed., "South Carolina Gleanings in England," *SCHGM* 4 (July 1903): 293.

⁹⁸ Advertisement, *South-Carolina Gazette*, April 13, 1752.

⁹⁹ James Irving to Richard Dunn Lawrence, December 6, 1755, Charleston County RMC Book QQ, p. 168; Lawrence to John Hayes, lease for six years, November 2, 1756, Charleston County RMC Book RR, pp. 104 and 110; Irving to

Benjamin Smith, the wealthy and influential son of Thomas Smith and Mary Hyrne of Yeamans Hall Plantation, purchased Howe Hall for forty-three hundred pounds that year and renamed the old mansion "Smith Hall."

Benjamin Smith purchased 752 acres of the old Boochawee lands in addition to Howe Hall as part of the transaction, but he kept only seventeen of his slaves there to raise cattle and harvest timber. During much of his tenure, Smith relied upon Joseph Cantey, a wealthy planter in his own right who owned as many as sixty-nine slaves, to oversee the operations.¹⁰⁰ Smith remained an absentee landowner with two houses in Charleston where he kept five slaves, and he worked many others on thousands of additional acres elsewhere. But he was always referred to as "Benjamin Smith of Goose Creek," and he was elected seven times to represent Saint James Goose Creek Parish in the Royal and General Assemblies as well as at the state convention that ratified the U.S. Constitution.¹⁰¹

Benjamin Smith married four times. He wed Elizabeth Ann Harleston, with whom he reared three children, and after her death, he married Catharine Ball, who also died. Smith then wed his cousin Sarah Smith, daughter of George Smith. With her, he fathered five children. After her demise, he married Rebecca Singleton, widow of Benjamin Coachman. Their union produced no offspring. When Benjamin Smith died in 1790, he devised the Goose Creek lands and slaves not to his widow, but to his two sons from the previous marriage. One son, Thomas Smith, received Howe Hall, the homesite, and part of the "Bowehoie" tract. Benjamin, another son, received the remaining land, including the section of Boochawee not devised to Thomas. The dividing line between the two devised tracts was drawn along the Lower Back River Road.¹⁰²

Prior to the Civil War, James Vidal purchased 1,505 acres between Liberty Hall Plantation, Charles Grave's Brick Hope Plantation, and Foster Creek.¹⁰³

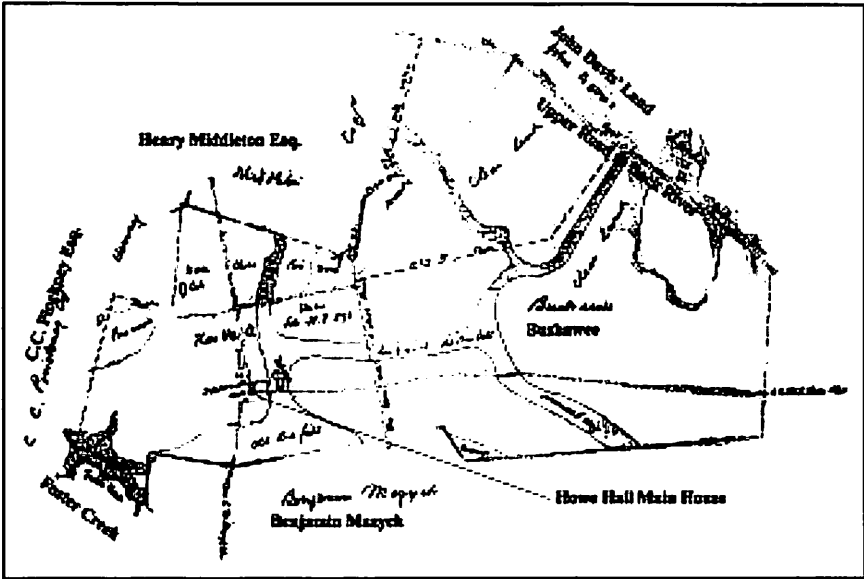
Lawrence, December 6, 1755, Charleston County RMC Book QQ, p. 168; Irving sale of Howe Hall property to Benjamin Smith, March 3, 1769, Charleston County RMC Book QQ, p. 168.

¹⁰⁰James Irving sale of Howe Hall property to Benjamin Smith, October 17, 1769, Charleston County RMC Book P-3, pp. 476-483; *Directory for the District of Charleston, Comprising the Places of Residence and Occupation of the White Inhabitants* (Charleston, S.C. Printed by John Hoff, for Richard Hrabowski, 1809).

¹⁰¹Edgar et al., *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives*, 2: 629-630.

¹⁰²Will of Benjamin Smith, July 20, 1790 (proved August 3, 1790), Charleston County Will Book 23, p. 679. Benjamin Smith bequeathed property that included "Bowehoie lands." Charleston County Probate Will Book C, p. 438, Charleston County Probate Court, Charleston.

¹⁰³Augustus E. Thrower to James Vidal, February 21, 1863, Charleston County RMC Book R, no. 14, p. 183. A title trace and plat of Howe Hall Plantation from 1775 is among the Smith Papers, SCHS.



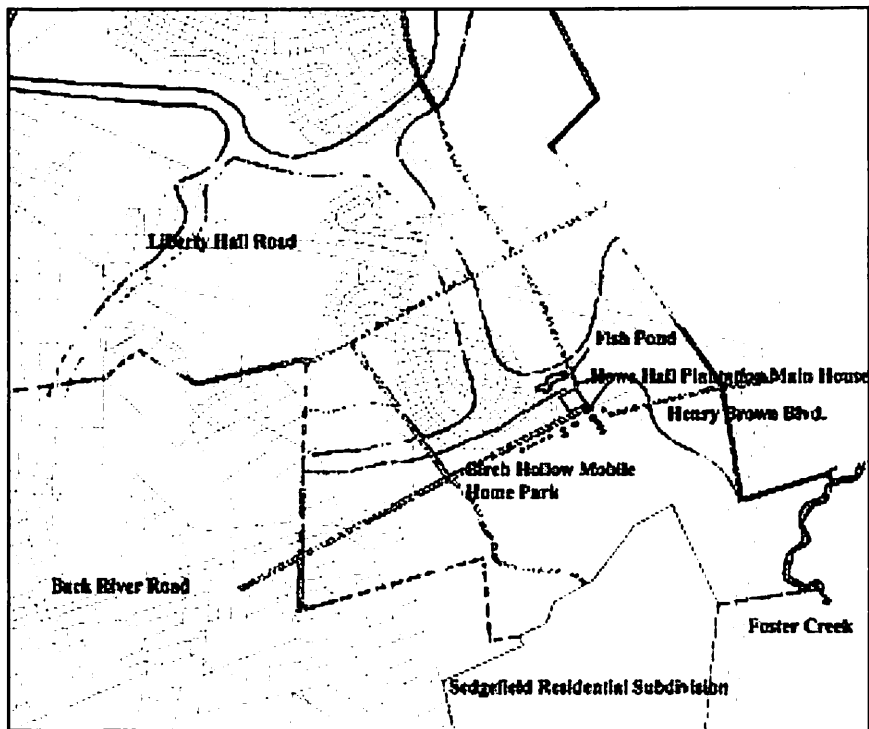
Tracing of a 1775 plat of Howe Hall Plantation, including a section of "Bushawee." Labels added by author. From the collections of the South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston.

A majority of these lands were at one time part of Howe Hall. Vidal's postbellum tenure is especially notable because unlike most white planters of his day, he willingly sold parcels of land to African Americans, providing opportunities for freedmen to achieve greater independence. It was rare for white landowners to sell outside of their race, but Vidal was a first generation South Carolinian and may not have felt obliged to abide by the unwritten social mores that compelled many others.¹⁰⁴

James Vidal sold large sections of his Goose Creek properties to two white farmers, Edwin J. Wright and William Tennant, but he also sold a two-hundred-acre tract to African Americans Frank Ladson, a twenty-six-year-old farmer from Charleston, and James Rivers. Frank Ladson married Amey, who was ten years his younger. Together, they worked their lands with their son Peter until he came of age and acquired his own farm.¹⁰⁵ Ladson and Rivers formed a business enterprise called a "society," which was an innovative

¹⁰⁴ Marion R. Hemperley, ed., "Federal Naturalization Oaths, Charleston, South Carolina, 1790–1860," *SCHM* 66 (October 1965): 226. John Vidal, father of James, took the naturalization oath on April 23, 1807.

¹⁰⁵ U.S. Census, 1870, Population and Productions of Agriculture, Saint James Goose Creek Parish, S.C.



Eighteenth-century plat of Howe Hall Plantation overlaid on a 2006 Berkeley County tax map. The main house, outbuildings, avenues, and fish pond are indicated near the entrance to Birch Hollow Mobile Home Park. Courtesy of the Berkeley County Geographic Information System Department and the South Carolina Historical Society.

scheme that awarded land ownership to disenfranchised freedmen.¹⁰⁶ This pyramid-type investment plan promised land possession, but provided mixed results because most arrangements were conducted through mutual understandings secured by mere handshakes. As a result of the arrangements not being properly recorded, some ended in questionable titles, clouded ownerships, and disputes.

Vidal sold eleven smaller parcels to black farmers between 1869 and 1872 as well, including 140 acres to James Gaillard, twenty-two acres to William Durant, and twenty acres each to William and John Gaillard, "Trustees"; Iden Butler; Daniel Wood; Samuel Middleton; John and Caroline Dawson; and

¹⁰⁶ In an undated memorandum, Langdon Cheves described a "society" or "grapevine" land consortium arranged by Frank Ladson and James Rivers. Cheves Papers, SCHS.

Richard Yeadon.¹⁰⁷ These Howe Hall land sales were rare opportunities for emancipated African Americans to obtain farmlands, and the Reconstruction government assisted some buyers, with trustees being assigned to supervise the acquisitions. William and John Gaillard were African Americans designated as trustees in the land-transaction records, and both men bought parcels of Howe Hall Plantation on behalf of freedmen.

Because much of Howe Hall was subdivided through small land sales after the Civil War, some characterized the fragmentation of the old plantation as a sign of poverty and despair. One writer derided the small Howe Hall farms by referring to that section as "Hog Hall," because the "grand" antebellum estate had been replaced by small homesteads with hogs.¹⁰⁸ Such derision was understandable from the perspective of white planters, but the liberated African Americans cherished their homes, whether they owned the land with a recorded deed or some dubious society promise. Furthermore, those hogs were the private property of free families, and to them the hams, shanks, and bacon from "Hog Hall" were not signs of desperation, but long anticipated slices of freedom.

The new-found liberties of Howe Hall's freedmen farmers were expressed in neighborhood institutions such as churches and schools. The Greater Mount Zion African Methodist Episcopal Church on Howe Hall Road began when slaves gathered under shade trees to worship prior to the Civil War. By 1861 the group was meeting regularly in a small wooden structure, but over the next twenty-five years, a more formal assemblage evolved. The first ministerial hierarchy was officially established in 1885 with the Reverend T. Smalls, pastor; the Reverend R. Weatherspoon, presiding elder; and the Right Reverend James A. Shorter, bishop.¹⁰⁹

African American families remained at Howe Hall until the second half of the twentieth century, when the boundaries of racial segregation slowly

¹⁰⁷ Plat of 100 acres on the Upper Back River Road, sold by James Vidal to James Gaillard, 1871, South Carolina Historical Society; Vidal to William Durant and Russell Moultrie, December 3, 1872, Charleston County RMC Book J, no. 16, p. 132; Vidal to Edwin White and William Tennant, mortgage, March 4, 1869, *ibid.*, Book E, no. 16, p. 7; Vidal to William Gaillard, Trustee, December 1, 1869, *ibid.*, Book N, no. 15, p. 282; Vidal to Iden Butler, May 16, 1871, *ibid.*, Book P, no. 15, p. 141; Vidal to Caroline Dawson, May 16, 1870, *ibid.*, Book P, no. 15, p. 143; Vidal to Richard Yeadon, May 16, 1870, *ibid.*, Book P, no. 15, p. 145; Vidal to John Gaillard Jr., Trustee, June 4, 1870, *ibid.*, Book S, no. 15, p. 145, and February 25, 1870, Book O, no. 15, p. 154; Vidal to Daniel Wood, April 5, 1871, *ibid.*, Book A, no. 16, p. 260; Vidal to Frank Ladson and James Rivers, October 4, 1871, *ibid.*, Book A, no. 16, p. 188; Vidal to Samuel Middleton and John Denny, December 3, 1872, *ibid.*, Book N, no. 16, p. 168.

¹⁰⁸ Samuel Gaillard Stoney, *Plantations of the Carolina Low Country* (Charleston, S.C.: Carolina Art Association, 1938), 76.

¹⁰⁹ Michael J. Heitzler, *Goose Creek: A Definitive History*, vol. 2, *Rebellion, Reconstruction and Beyond* (Charleston, S.C.: History Press, 2006), 112–113.

dissolved. Within the context of segregation and shortly after his inauguration in 1952, Governor James F. Byrnes prepared South Carolina for the impact of the Supreme Court's impending *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision that eventually forced school integration. Prior to acquiescing to the demands of the Supreme Court, the state and some local school districts, including the Berkeley County School District, significantly improved funding for minority schools and built better institutions in an effort to circumvent demands for racial integration.¹¹⁰ Consequently, a new facility was built that consolidated the one-, two-, and three-room "Negro schools" in Goose Creek.¹¹¹ Casey, Grove Hall, Howe Hall, and Bowen's Corner Schools were closed and the children bussed to the new Howe Hall Elementary School on Howe Hall Road in 1956.¹¹² Notwithstanding the concerted efforts of many to retain the "separate but equal" status in Goose Creek, Howe Hall Elementary School was racially integrated under orders from the U.S. Justice Department in 1967. In the twenty-first century, it excels as the Howe Hall School of the Arts.

BUTTON HALL PLANTATION

James Moore devised a portion of Boochawee to his daughter Rebecca in 1706, and she brought the 615-acre dowry to her union with Captain Thomas Barker Jr. when they married three years later. The Barkers built a settlement on high ground near the center of swampy Button Hall Plantation.¹¹³ Their avenue stretched approximately five hundred yards from its juncture with the main road near the eighteen-mile marker, roughly one-half mile north of the entrance to Rebecca's childhood home at Boochawee Hall.

The land near the eighteen-mile stone on the road to Charles Town was characterized by a large, boggy "savannah." Here, water collected across a broad area until the Barkers' slaves channeled the surface drainage away from the fertile savannah soils and into manageable reserve ponds, where it could be stored and released as needed to irrigate the entire breadth of the tract, which was converted into rice fields.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 522; public notice, *Berkeley Democrat* (Moncks Corner, S.C.), July 15, 1953.

¹¹¹ Public notice, *Berkeley Democrat*, May 9, 1956.

¹¹² Gertrude Trescott, interview by the author, April 15, 1979, transcript in author's possession.

¹¹³ "William Bull, Plat of a Tract of Land in St. James Goose Creek Parish, Containing 950 Acres, (Button Hall) Surveyed by John Fenwick," March 9, 1778, series L10005, reel 2, plat 1478, Plats, SCDAH. A copy of the plat is among the Cheves Papers, SCHS.

¹¹⁴ Foxborough Lake, in the Foxborough neighborhood of modern Goose Creek, is a remnant of the savannah.

The Barkers lived together on Button Hall for eight years rearing one son, before their lives were jolted by the Yamasee War.¹¹⁵ Thomas Barker, a militia captain, was killed during the hostilities. Widowed and distraught, Rebecca Barker remained on her plantation, relying on the help of an overseer and drivers to run the place, but was compelled in 1718 to sell 201 acres to her brother for three hundred pounds to pay steadily mounting debts.¹¹⁶ Her fortune greatly improved when she married William Dry, an able, energetic man who immediately made improvements to the neglected plantation. He rebuilt the main house and all important outbuildings and added to his wife's Boochawee acres with his own contiguous land grant.¹¹⁷ He further enlarged the plantation to 975 acres with purchases of properties from his neighbors Benjamin Gibbes, John Moore, and Benjamin Schenckingh.

William and Rebecca Dry developed Button Hall into a model inland rice plantation. The road to Charles Town ran through Button Hall, separating one hundred acres that Dry purchased from Benjamin Gibbes on the west side from the remainder of the plantation. Near the entrance to the avenue, a small house with a brick chimney was built as an overseer's quarters or guest cottage. The messuage at the terminus of the avenue featured a main house flanked by gardens. Nearby was a fishpond stocked with perch, roach, pike, eels, and catfish that was used for "great diversion."¹¹⁸ There was a spring within "three stone throws of the house," where the waters were diverted under a lavatory for a "cold bath." Nearby, dams created three more large ponds for reserves, which irrigated apple, pear, and peach orchards.¹¹⁹

The Dry family slaves planted four hundred acres of rice fields and produced a small fortune for their owners. The Drys employed the best technologies and infrastructures of the day such as threshing machines, winnowing and storage barns, shops for coopering and packing, rice mills, and mortars as well as an oven, a large "Stable & Coach house," and "a house built for a smith shop." The proceeds from the plantation paid for "a good Brick Dwelling House."¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ Crane, *The Southern Frontier*, 168.

¹¹⁶ "Rebecca Barker, Widow, of Parish of St. James, Goose Creek, Berkeley County for £300 current South Carolina Money to John Moore," November 28, 1718, Charleston County RMC Book C, p. 1.

¹¹⁷ Advertisements, *South-Carolina Gazette*, February 9, 1733, February 23, 1734. According to the advertisements, the buildings were mostly brick and none were more than thirteen years old. In a March 2, 1734, advertisement in the *Gazette*, Dry stated that he wished to relocate out of the province with his family. Thomas Clifford transferred the right of ownership to William Dry in 1728. Quit claim, March 23, 1728, Charleston County RMC Book H, p. 41.

¹¹⁸ Advertisement, *South-Carolina Gazette*, February 4 and August 4, 1733.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., August 4, 1733.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

William McKenzie purchased Button Hall for fifty-seven hundred pounds in 1734.¹²¹ When he died from a fever four years later at the age of forty-five, his widow, Sarah, offered the plantation with its "large and commodious brick house, in good repair" for sale in the *South-Carolina Gazette*. No buyers came forward, so Button Hall remained in the family for their only son, John, to inherit.¹²² John McKenzie was a capable young man. Educated at Cambridge University, he added to the family fortune by working 207 slaves on sixty-nine hundred acres in several parishes. He acquired an elaborately accommodated town house and converted Button Hall into a personal retreat. He kept thirty-eight slaves at Button Hall, which he renamed "Castle Brawn."

At Castle Brawn, John McKenzie maintained an extensive library valued at twenty-one hundred pounds, experimented with hay production, represented the Saint James Goose Creek Parish in the Royal Assembly, served as churchwarden, and allied with Christopher Gadsden as an ardent patriot.¹²³ He married Sarah Smith, the daughter of Thomas Smith and Sarah Moore of adjoining Bloomfield (Broom Hall) Plantation.¹²⁴ This union greatly increased his fortune as well as his political and social connections, but in 1771, at the age of thirty-three, he died at his father-in-law's home. His body was carried by wagon along the shaded avenue from Bloomfield House to his final resting place at Castle Brawn, less than two miles distant.

The *South-Carolina Gazette* eulogized John McKenzie as that "inestimable member of the Community . . . that zealous, disinterested, and unshaken Patriot . . . that true friend to America and the English Constitution . . . that excellent Man in every social relation."¹²⁵ He left his twelve-thousand-pound estate to his widow and bequeathed one thousand pounds to begin a college in Charleston. He also left an eight-hundred-volume library on law, political science, and history to that college upon its establishment.¹²⁶

William Bull II, who served as lieutenant governor of South Carolina from 1759 to 1775 and acting governor on five different occasions during that span, acquired the land after John McKenzie's demise. A prominent loyalist, Bull resided there occasionally until he was banished from the state in 1777 and retired to England. When Bull purchased the tract, he reclaimed the "Button

¹²¹ "William Dry and Rebecca, his wife . . . sells to William McKenzie, March 13, 1734 in consideration of £5700," Charleston County RMC Book 5, pp. 178–180, 182.

¹²² Notice of death, *South-Carolina Gazette*, September 28, 1738; advertisement, *ibid.*, March 27, 1739.

¹²³ Edgar et al., *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives*, 2: 425.

¹²⁴ Barnwell Rhett Heyward, "The Descendents of Col. William Rhett, of South Carolina," *SCHGM* 4 (July 1903): 41, n. 3.

¹²⁵ Eulogy, *South-Carolina Gazette*, May 30, 1771.

¹²⁶ Edgar et al., *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives*, 2: 426.

Hall" label, even though Castle Brawn's borders exceeded the limits of Button Hall by more than two hundred acres.¹²⁷ Daniel and Elizabeth Tharin owned the 976-acre plantation in 1778, when they sold it to Lewis Lestergette for forty thousand pounds. At what point the Tharins purchased Button Hall from the lieutenant governor is uncertain.¹²⁸

William Loughton Smith acquired the tract in 1785 from Lewis Lestergette.¹²⁹ Smith was the son of Benjamin Smith and Anne Laughton, who sent him to study in England. He returned to South Carolina in 1783 to pursue a career as an attorney and gradually amassed a fortune through his own skillful services. But it was his marriage to Charlotte Izard, daughter of Ralph Izard and Alice Delancey, that assured his ascent to high political office. With his father-in-law, Ralph Izard, and brother-in-law Gabriel Manigault, he became the third member of one of the strongest political factions in the nation. Smith represented Saint James Goose Creek Parish in the General Assembly before moving on to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1788. The Izard-Manigault-Smith alliance provided strong support for the Federalist Party on all levels of government, and the party repaid those favors during its time in power, naming Smith one of the first directors of the Bank of the United States and minister to Portugal and Turkey.¹³⁰

William Loughton Smith resumed his prosperous Charleston law practice in 1803. Thirteen years after the death of his first wife, he married Charlotte Wragg in 1805. Upon his passing in 1812, Smith bequeathed an estate worth \$140,000, including his Goose Creek lands, to Charlotte.¹³¹ Two years prior, though, he had sold 109 acres of Button Hall to Lewis Breaker, the proprietor of the Eighteen Mile House tavern. Therefore, Button Hall contained only 387 acres when Charlotte Wragg Smith sold the manor and acreage in 1821 for \$2,710. The old estate was bought and sold into and out of the Smith family until it reverted to J. J. Screven Smith and Thomas Smith, two of William's grandsons.¹³² These two Smiths owned a larger tract into which Button

¹²⁷ Plat of Button Hall Plantation, 1778, South Carolina Historical Society; L. Lewis Simons, lease, March 29, 1910, plat no. 90, Cheves Papers, SCHS.

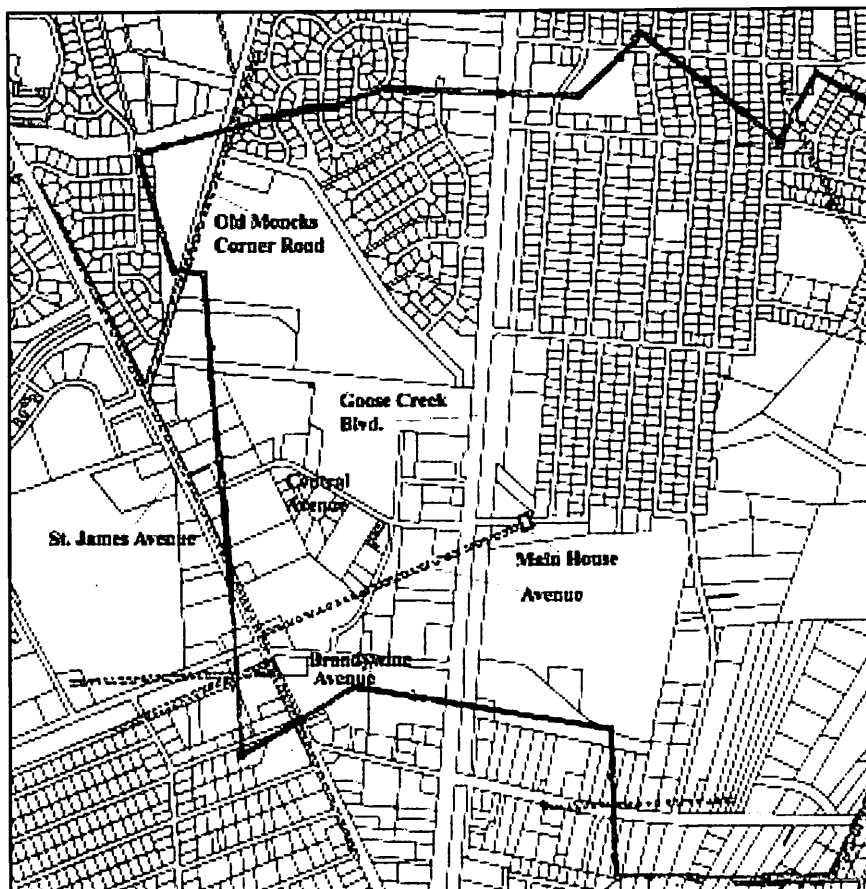
¹²⁸ "William Bull, Plat of a Tract of Land in St. James Goose Creek Parish, Containing 950 Acres," March 9, 1778, series L10005, reel 2, plat 1478, Plats, SCDAH.

¹²⁹ "Lewis Lestergette and Elizabeth Burnham his wife to William Smith," lease and release, April 1 and 2, 1785, Charleston County RMC Deed Book N-5, pp. 544-545.

¹³⁰ Edgar et al., *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives*, 3: 674-678; George C. Rogers Jr., *Evolution of a Federalist: William Loughton Smith of Charleston (1758-1812)* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1962), 159-341.

¹³¹ Salley, "William Smith and Some of His Descendants," 252-255.

¹³² Transfer of Button Hall to J. J. Screven Smith and Thomas Smith, November 4, 1871, Charleston County RMC Book G, no. 9, p. 335. Also see the plat surveyed by John Diamond among the Cheves Papers, SCHS.



Eighteenth-century plat of Button Hall Plantation overlaid on a 2006 Berkeley County tax map. U.S. Highway 52 transects Button Hall. Courtesy of the Berkeley County Geographic Information System Department and the South Carolina Historical Society.

Hall was absorbed in 1871, combining old Boochawee lands and a part of the Oaks with the Boochawee manor site, totaling 1,111 acres.¹³³

In the difficult postbellum economy, the Smiths divided and sold or rented some sections of Button Hall to African American farmers. Robert and Mary Austin purchased a tract from the Smith family and farmed the land until

¹³³ Plat of four tracts owned by Toney Gaillard, Richard Myers, James Stephens, and John Green, 1874, South Carolina Historical Society. The plat includes lines for Liberty Hall, Howe Hall, Springfield, and land owned by Henry A. Middleton.

Robert's demise. Widowed Mary relocated to Charleston and sold two hundred acres of Button Hall for \$750 in 1874 to an African American couple, Richard and Margaret Myers.¹³⁴ The Myerses farmed that tract for more than forty years, selling parcels from time to time to African American neighbors until Richard's death in 1899. Finally, Langdon Cheves purchased the last of the Myers properties in 1914, including their little house on Lindy Creek Road.¹³⁵

Twenty years after Langdon Cheves acquired the last of Richard Myers's land, he negotiated with the Berkeley County Highway Commission for a right of way across the old boundaries of Button Hall and Boochawee, which the commission used to lay a road paralleling the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad.¹³⁶ Today, that road is U.S. Highway 52 (Goose Creek Boulevard), a busy, multi-lane highway that bisects the bustling city of Goose Creek, connecting it to the Interstate 26 corridor to the south and the county seat, Moncks Corner, to the north.

CONCLUSION

Some of the plantations that Henry A. M. Smith walked, researched, and wrote about in the nineteenth century remain intact in the twenty-first either in private hands or as public parks, looking much the same as they did the last time he saw them. A number of others have been carved up and built over, and their names are now applied to sprawling commercial and residential developments. With thousands of single-family homes, a golf course, and a host of businesses, Crowfield Plantation in Goose Creek, which Smith discussed at length in his final article, is one such example.¹³⁷ However, few of the plantations from Smith's day have been so thoroughly erased from the local landscape and collective memory as Boochawee. Gnarled live oaks at the Schenckingh's, Springfield, and Howe Hall plantation sites, silted canals at Button Hall and Liberty Hall, and overgrown rice fields scattered amid the residential neighborhoods, schools, and shopping centers in the heart of modern Goose Creek are the only visible traces of the plantations that sprang

¹³⁴ "Sale of Land, Mary Ann R. Austin of Charleston, Widow to Richard Myers of Charleston County, Farmer," June 22, 1874, Charleston County RMC Book R, no. 16, p. 66

¹³⁵ Plat of 391 acres of Saint James Goose Creek Parish land and 410 acres of Charleston County land owned by Robert Austin, 1872. Includes Liberty Hall, Howe Hall, and land owned by Henry A. Middleton. Cheves Papers, SCHS. Mary R. Austin to Richard Myers, January 14, 1875, Charleston County RMC Book R, no. 16, p. 166.

¹³⁶ W. H. Dennis to Langdon Cheves, February 15, 1922, Cheves Papers, SCHS. Also see a letter from an unknown author to William H. Dennis, February 21, 1922, *ibid.*

¹³⁷ Smith, "Goose Creek," *SCHGM* 29 (October 1928): 266–272

from once-proud Boochawee. Smith started out to document the land and legacy of Boochawee Plantation based on extant property and family records, but as the editor of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* noted at the time, "The work ends abruptly here."¹³⁸ Perhaps now, nearly a century later, his work is done.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 279.