

ELIZA LUCAS PINCKNEY: THE EVOLUTION OF AN ICON

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ELIZA LUCAS PINCKNEY IS TODAY PERHAPS THE MOST WIDELY known South Carolinian of the eighteenth century. Her letterbook has become regarded as a Rosetta stone through which scholars and popular writers seek to decode her long-ago world. Aside from Pinckney's carefully crafted letters, which are among the most numerous of any woman's of the colonial era, her contemporary reputation rests on two accomplishments that arguably transformed not only the course of South Carolina's history, but that of the nation as well. The first, her contribution to the establishment of indigo as a fabulously profitable export commodity for the Carolina lowcountry during the 1740s while still a teenager, might well have gone unheralded had she not later married Chief Justice Charles Pinckney, one of Charleston's "lordly planters." The second is her position as a matriarch of one of South Carolina's most distinguished families. Her two sons, General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and General Thomas Pinckney, were military heroes during the American Revolution as well as statesmen and diplomats during the critical years of the Early Republic. The influence of her numerous notable descendants has rippled through the history of South Carolina for many generations.¹

Ironically, no image survives of this icon of South Carolina's past. Her early letters suggest a young girl of intelligence and maturity; her later writings suggest a woman of piety; her few surviving possessions suggest a lady of elegance. The Charleston Museum owns a pair of her dainty shoes: blue satin with silver braid, the rage of London in 1770. Ever since her first mention in the public record in the early nineteenth century, historians have been like Prince Charming in the Cinderella story trying to find the woman who fits those shoes. In consequence of having no guide, every generation has felt free to shape her image to reflect itself.² She has become a symbol for

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¹ Elise Pinckney, ed., *The Letterbook of Eliza Lucas Pinckney, 1739-1762* (1972; reprint, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997), p. xxvii; James Raven, *London Booksellers and American Customers: Transatlantic Literary Community and the Charleston Library Society, 1748-1811* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002), p. 23.

² David Ramsay, *The History of South Carolina, From its First Settlement in 1670, to the year 1808* (Charleston, S.C.: David Longworth, 1809), vol. 2, p. 209.

every age. Her life story, deemed laudable in the nineteenth century, evolved into the heroic in the twentieth. In the beginning of the twenty-first century, her name is becoming part of American popular culture.

All scholarship, lore, and fable about Pinckney begins with her surviving letterbooks. She dutifully copied letters sent to her family, friends, and business associates or made notations about this correspondence in leather-bound volumes. The first set runs from 1739 to 1746, the period when, at about age seventeen, she came to South Carolina with her family from Antigua, conducted her experiments with indigo and other crops, and married Charles Pinckney. The second includes correspondence from 1753 to 1757, when she lived in London with her three children while her husband held the position of commissioner of the colony, an intermediary between South Carolina's provincial government and the Board of Lords of Trade and Plantations. The third begins with Charles Pinckney's death in 1758 and ends in 1762. Pinckney was a widow for over thirty years before she died in 1793 while in Philadelphia seeking a cure for breast cancer. Only a small amount of correspondence survives from this last era.

Although much of the emphasis in Eliza Pinckney's legend has been her role as mother of two famous sons, the preservation of the letterbook was largely due to the efforts of her daughter Harriott Pinckney Horry. When Horry died in 1830, she presumably passed the letterbook down to her own daughter, also named Harriott Pinckney Horry, who had married Frederick Rutledge, son of John Rutledge, in 1797.³ Passing through the daughters of the family, subsequent generations protected the letterbooks through wars, evacuations, hurricanes, earthquakes, and floods. To trace the chain of custody of Pinckney's papers is to also trace the intergenerational transfer of values, with special emphasis on the importance of the family and of the land, themes central to South Carolina history, that have been passed down like fine coin silver. In their role as family archivists, the Pinckney women have not only been the keepers of records but also the winnowers, interpreters, and subtle shapers of family history. Eliza Pinckney's influence, the belief in the persuasive power of the written word, burned brightly through her female descendants, and they, in turn, have kept her memory alive.

Every generation has taken the story of Eliza Lucas Pinckney, elaborated it, and carried it forward. Over centuries Eliza's daughters have spun out a narrative of their family's founding mother. In 1850 Harriott Horry (Rutledge) Holbrook, granddaughter of the first Harriott and wife of world-renowned naturalist Dr. John E. Holbrook, published a small run of selected

³ Mabel L. Webber, comp., "The Thomas Pinckney Family of South Carolina," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 39 (1938): 24. (The *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* and its successor, the *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, are hereafter cited as SCHM.)

letters for family consumption. Holbrook praised Pinckney for her contributions to South Carolina's economy and mentioned her association with botanist Dr. Alexander Garden.⁴ On one occasion, Harriott Holbrook's sister Eliza Pinckney Rutledge courageously plucked the cherished letterbook "from the flames," probably during the great Charleston fire of 1861 that destroyed the homes of both her great-uncle General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and her grandfather John Rutledge. After that, their cousin Phoebe Caroline Pinckney Seabrook painstakingly copied out in longhand two copies of all the known correspondence.⁵

In 1896 Harriott Rutledge Ravenel published the only full-length biography of Eliza Lucas Pinckney, drawing from all the known sources at the time. Since the letterbook remained in family hands until the 1940s when it was entrusted to the South Carolina Historical Society, Ravenel's *Eliza Pinckney* was the standard reference work for more than seventy-five years.⁶

In 1945, when author and poet Josephine Pinckney was enjoying her own fame for the novel *Three O'Clock Dinner*, she was asked to write the entry on her great-great-grandmother for the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. In 1972 a member of the next generation, Elise Rutledge Pinckney, brought a scholar's eye to the editing of the *Letterbook*, and with extensive research and painstaking annotation, made this important primary document readily available to general readers and the academic community just at the time when scholars began exploring the role of women in American history with increased vigor. Through multiple editions, Elise Pinckney's volume continues to be the starting point for all scholarship on Eliza Lucas Pinckney.

"GREAT WOMAN" OF HISTORY

During the past several decades, amidst the rush to correct past sins of omission and enrich American history by including the many contributions of women, Eliza Lucas Pinckney's reputation has been burnished to a high sheen. Scholars have not been immune from the temptation to extrapolate meaning from her writings that correspond to contemporary concerns. Her letters have been parsed for encoded feminist meanings; her work manag-

⁴ Harriott Pinckney Holbrook, ed., *Journal and Letters of Eliza Lucas: Now First Printed* (Wormsloe, Ga.: Privately printed, 1850), pp. 3-4. John Edwards Holbrook (1794-1871) was a founder of the Medical College of South Carolina and author of *North American Herpetology* (1842) and *Ichthyology of South Carolina* (1855-60).

⁵ Dedication Page, Harriott Horry Ravenel, *Eliza Pinckney* (New York: Scribner, 1896); Pinckney, *Letterbook*, p. xxviii.

⁶ I am indebted to Nicholas Butler for his research in the records of the South Carolina Historical Society to establish when the papers were transferred. Note that over time the conventionally used title of the book has been changed from "Eliza Pinckney" to "Eliza Pinckney."

ing plantations interpreted as evidence of economic opportunity for women; her interest in science held up, like Marie Curie's, as a role model to school girls. One writer has imagined her dinner-table conversation as comparable to "the brightest female characters in Jane Austen's novels." Pinckney's success in raising two patriot sons has been cited as an example of "republican motherhood," a concept that women might play a role on the public stage while continuing in the private domestic sphere by inculcating their sons with an ideology of virtue, piety, and liberty. Frances Williams's *Plantation Patriot* and Nell Graydon's *Eliza of Wappoo*, both written in 1967 as works of fiction, link Pinckney's early agricultural experiments with incipient nationalism and gender consciousness.⁷

During the 1980s, as commerce overtook crusading as a positive good in the public mind, Pinckney began to be portrayed as a proto-capitalist and shrewd businesswoman. In 1989 she became the first woman inducted into the South Carolina Business Hall of Fame. Five years later, Harvard's Schlesinger Library incorporated Pinckney's story into their traveling exhibition "Enterprising Women, 250 Years of American Business," placing her in the same category as media mogul Oprah Winfrey and cosmetics maven Helene Rubenstein. Television personality Cokie Roberts included Pinckney in her popular book *Founding Mothers* (2004). If Pinckney had been born today, Roberts observed, the "child prodigy turned into a celebrity" would be "the subject of talk show gabfests and for made-for-TV movies."⁸

One of the ironies of the laudable movement toward greater inclusion in the study of the past has been that our field of historical vision has not widened so much as shifted. Rather than provide a corrective to the "Great Man" approach to history, the current trend threatens to elevate Eliza Lucas Pinckney to the status of a singular "Great Woman."

⁷ Darcy R. Fryer, "The Mind of Eliza Pinckney: An Eighteenth-Century Woman's Construction of Herself," *SCHM* 99 (1998): 221; Edward Pearson, "'Planters Full of Money': The Self-Fashioning of the Eighteenth-Century South Carolina Elite," in Jack P. Greene, Rosemary Brana-Shute, and Randy J. Sparks, eds., *Money, Trade, and Power: The Evolution of Colonial South Carolina's Plantation Society* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001), p. 308. The classic formulation of "republican motherhood" is Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980). The two novels about Pinckney are Francis Leigh Williams, *Plantation Patriot: A Biography of Eliza Lucas Pinckney* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1967) and Nell S. Graydon, *Eliza of Wappoo: A Tale of Indigo* (Columbia, S.C.: R. L. Bryan, 1967). See also Emily Bowles, "'You Would Think Me Far Gone in Romance': Eliza Lucas Pinckney and Fictions of Female Identity in the Colonial South," *Southern Quarterly* 42 (2004): 35-51.

⁸ Cokie Roberts, *Founding Mothers: The Women Who Raised Our Nation* (New York: HarperCollins, 2005), p. 1.

The popular reputation of the girl-planter, mother of heroes, has eclipsed that of her husband, Charles Pinckney, often referred to as "Chief Justice" to indicate a colonial post that he held briefly. He distinguished himself in colonial politics as a young man, served as the Speaker of the Commons House of Assembly, and, as advocate-general in the Court of Vice-Admiralty, was among the few provincials appointed to high office. A second-generation Charlestonian, the first Carolina-born lawyer to have received a complete course of legal training and be called to the English bar, Charles Pinckney had an expansive vision for the future of the colony and dynastic dreams of the role his own family might play. In 1753 he was heralded in the Charleston press for his many contributions to the success of the colony as "a true Father of his Country," meaning, of course, South Carolina.⁹

Eliza Pinckney's fame now also surpasses that of her two estimable sons as well: Charles Cotesworth, a signer of the Constitution; and his younger brother Thomas, governor of South Carolina from 1787-1789 and America's first minister to the Court of St. James. They belonged to the conservative branch of the Federalist party and moved in the high circles of national power surrounding George Washington. They have now, however, moved into the realm of "forgotten founders," at the same time that no school text fails to have some mention of their mother and the Internet offers lesson plans for students to role-play episodes from her life. A historical question surrounding Eliza Lucas Pinckney that lingers is whether she may likewise be called "a true Mother of her Country."

ENLIGHTENMENT MOTHER

As writers have attempted to fit Eliza Lucas Pinckney into the prototypical role of "plantation patriot" and then "republican mother," the more interesting story of her evolution into a South Carolinian, then American—an evolution described by one biographer as the way "the country moulded the people"—has been overlooked.¹⁰ Pinckney's early letters remind us that long before she was a wife and a mother, she was a daughter of the British empire, a citizen of the Atlantic world. Eliza Lucas was born in 1722 on Antigua, an island located in the crosscurrents of the triangular trade, a

⁹ Robert M. Weir, *Colonial South Carolina: A History* (Millwood, N.Y.: KTO Press, 1983), p. 138. Charles Pinckney was first elected to the Commons House of Assembly in 1729 and served as Speaker from 1736-1740. He was commissioned as advocate-general in the Court of Vice-Admiralty in 1732 and was appointed chief justice in 1752. Pinckney held the latter post six months until replaced by a royal appointee, Peter Leigh. Webber, "The Thomas Pinckney Family," pp. 17-18.

¹⁰ Ravenel, *Eliza. Pinckney*, pp. 322, 2.

fluid, restless matrix in which people, goods, and ideas were always in transit on the seas connecting Europe, the Americas, and Africa. Valued in Great Britain primarily as a source of sugar, Antigua was a link in the great chain of mercantilism. Although the George Lucas family was among the most substantial planting families on Antigua in terms of acreage under cultivation and ownership of sugar mills, they were hostage to the vagaries of the world market, competition, the weather, the quality of the cane crop, the productivity of slaves, imperial policy, and interest rates. Growing up close to her father who discussed his business affairs with her, Eliza developed a keen sense of the vulnerability inherent in a single crop economy and understood why he announced in 1739 that the family was leaving for South Carolina.¹¹

Financial pressures drove George Lucas to uproot his family from Antigua and try his luck in South Carolina on a Wappoo River plantation bequeathed to him by his father, John Lucas. In 1713 the elder Lucas had bought this land as an investment, as a commodity from which to extract profit, without personal attachment. Carolina in its first half-century was primarily a source of provisions and timber for the established planters of the West Indies. Seduced by lower interest rates, the temptation of new lands, and the opportunity to diversify his crops, George Lucas bought two more plantations, one on the Waccamaw River and the other on the Combahee. The restlessness that often plagued planters in the West Indies, the desire to make enough money to live in England as absentee landlords, seems to have gripped Lucas. Once in South Carolina, he began the cycle all over again, mortgaging, spending, and traveling to England to buy a major's commission in the 38th Regiment of Foot, 1st Battalion, South Staffordshire Regiment. This Antigua-based regiment was part of the regular British army and was perhaps his most strongly felt source of identity.¹² George Lucas imbued Eliza with his love for England and had her sent there sometime in 1732 or 1733 for about five years of study.¹³

Pinckney's education was not the typical female schooling of needlework and music punctuated by sessions on the classics. At the insistence of her father, she attended a school with a more practical turn. By 1732 commerce had infiltrated all aspects of British public life and education, and Pinckney's curriculum—which included not only basic math and book-keeping but also the fundamentals of British history, literature, geography,

¹¹ Harriet Simons Williams, "Eliza Lucas and Her Family: Before the Letterbook," *SCHM* 99 (1998): 260-61; David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1758* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 146.

¹² Weir, *South Carolina*, p. 142; Williams, "Before the Letterbook," pp. 271-73.

¹³ Williams, "Before the Letterbook," p. 265.

and probably botany—reflected this ascendant commercial ethic. Given the high mortality among men, especially in the island outposts of the empire, school officials properly assumed England's daughters as well as her sons would ultimately have responsibilities for estates or businesses. Their education emphasized the importance of an orderly environment, of adherence to a schedule, and of working with "method and regularity."¹⁴

Another critical element of education for a far-flung empire was letter writing. Successful London factors believed that the key to success in conducting global business was communicating and persuading, the knack of "spinning out a very long letter" with a mastery of spelling and language that would "beget respect and confidence." Teaching the practice of copying correspondence was surely part of that training. Eliza Lucas's writing style embraced all the conventions of civility, but also reflected her understanding of the importance of letter writing in the successful prosecution of business. For a young woman, her correspondence is notably free of gossip and contains a hint of the businessman's "selling" of oneself, very self-consciously crafting each letter to meet the approval of the recipient. She adopted the language of the English merchant class, denouncing "giddy gaiety" and frivolous activity that "waists our time" and "tends to effeminate the mind."¹⁵

Not long after Eliza's return from England, the Lucases departed Antigua for South Carolina. Called back to the West Indies on military business, George left his eldest daughter, according to her own matter of fact report, "with the business of three plantations" and oversight of the household that included her sickly mother, young sister, and slaves. Under the long-distance direction of her father and his overseers, Eliza plumbed the possibilities of South Carolina, joining the colony's frenzy to find profitable, exotic export crops—olives, grapes, mahogany, nuts, hemp, flax.¹⁶

Eliza accepted her removal to South Carolina stoically. "My lott has fallen here," she wrote to Mrs. Boddicott, the wife of an English business associate of George Lucas with whom Eliza had boarded on weekends while at school.¹⁷ Eliza preferred England to South Carolina, but South Carolina to Antigua. She was not alone. The reluctance of English colonists to give their heart and allegiance to a new country was as common in New England as in the plantation South, a sentiment captured by Robert Frost's poem "The Gift Outright," written in 1942 and recited at the presidential inauguration of John F. Kennedy in 1961:

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 267; Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, pp. 101-03.

¹⁵ Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, p. 103; ELP to Mrs. H., n.d., in Pinckney, *Letterbook*, p. 48.

¹⁶ ELP to Mrs. Boddicott, May 2, 1740, in Pinckney, *Letterbook*, pp. 6-7.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

The land was ours before we were the land's.

But we were England's, still colonials,
 Possessing what we still were unpossessed by,
 Possessed by what we now no more possessed.

One might see in Lucas, as in many colonials, the initial "withholding," as Frost put it, but the lowcountry was a persistent suitor. The two factors of her eventual conversion were, first, her evolving love for the physical land itself that rewarded her efforts so generously. She soon laid out "a large plantation of Oaks" for "Posterity" on her father's land "that I now look upon as my own property" and claimed to regard the ancient Carolina specimens "with the reverential [*sic*] esteem of an old Druid."¹⁸ The second was her love for Charles Pinckney, the elegant older man, who was, in his high moral character, public esteem, and wealth, very much like the hero of romantic English novels she read with great interest.

Not long after Eliza arrived in South Carolina, Charles Pinckney's first wife, English-born Elizabeth Lamb Pinckney, befriended the intelligent and entertaining girl. Very sickly, frail, and with no children of her own, Mrs. Pinckney frequently invited Eliza to visit her home in Charleston as a break from the quiet plantation life on the Wappoo River and to provide companionship for Mary Bartlett, her niece visiting from England. Eliza knew how to be good company for both the ladies of the house, and she soon charmed Mr. Pinckney with her lively interest in his well-chosen library and his agricultural pursuits. The letters from Eliza to Mary Bartlett are some of her most carefully crafted and engaging. In addition to showing her flair for dramatics and her ability to place herself on center stage, they demonstrate her maturity and seriousness of purpose. She clearly understood that her letters would be read aloud to the household: "I sopose according to custom you will show this to your Uncle and Aunt. 'She is [a] good girl,' says Mrs. Pinckney. 'She is never Idle and always means well.' 'Tell the little Visionary,' says your Uncle, 'come to town and partake of some of the amusements suitable to your time of life.' Pray tell him I think these so, and what he may now think whims and projects may turn out well by and by. Out of many surely one may hit."¹⁹

Eliza even began sending special messages directly to Charles Pinckney through Mary. "Your good Uncle I know has long thought I have a fertile brain at schemeing [*sic*]," she wrote Mary Bartlett. "I only confirm him in

¹⁸ ELP to Mrs. Onslow, February 27, 1762, in Pinckney, *Letterbook*, p. 185; ELP to Mary Bartlett, n.d., *ibid.*, p. 38.

¹⁹ ELP to Mary Bartlett, n.d., *ibid.*, p. 38.

this opinion, but I own I love the vegetable [*sic*] world extremely. I think it an innocent and useful amusement. Pray tell him if he laughs much at my project, I never intend to have my hand in a silver mine, and he will understand as well what I mean."²⁰

Eliza often borrowed books from Pinckney, a member of the Charleston Library Society. He directed her toward John Locke and Virgil, conventional reading at the time.²¹ However, a book on loan from Mrs. Pinckney, Samuel Richardson's wildly popular sentimental tale *Pamela; Or Virtue Rewarded* (1740), clearly engaged her imagination. Written in the epistolary style, which no doubt further intrigued Eliza and possibly shaped her own correspondence, the story is of a servant girl who first rebuffs her master's seductive overtures, then wins him over through her display of virtue. In defiance of the custom of the country, they are married. Fierce debate rocked English parlors as readers took sides. Some saw Pamela's marriage across the wide chasm of class as virtue indeed rewarded, while others denounced Pamela as manipulative and essentially entrapping the unaware "Mr. B."²²

Eliza does not seem to have read the subsequent rebuttals to Richardson, Henry Fielding's *Shamela* (1741) or Eliza Haywood's *Anti-Pamela; Or, Feign'd Innocences Detected* (1741), but she, of course, had her own strong ideas about Pamela's character: "She is a good girl and as such I love her dearly." Because Pamela's flaws made her human in Eliza's eyes, she excuses Richardson for giving the character a lack of appropriate humility and raised no complaint about the young protagonist referring to her new husband as "master." By the time of Richardson's next novel, *Clarissa* (1747-48), the dark tale of a young woman who has a tragic end after refusing to marry the man of her family's choosing, Eliza had already done exactly that, twice. She dismissed both of the men George Lucas had suggested as appropriate mates, and with little dowry from her cash-strapped father except a bag of indigo seed ("the fruit of her industry"), in May 1744 she married Charles Pinckney, one of the wealthiest men in the colony, whose wife had died the previous January. At forty-five years old, he was twice her age.²³

Although the gap between Charles and Eliza Pinckney was not as dramatic as in *Pamela*, still, significant disparities did exist besides age. Pinckney was addressed as "Honorable Gentleman" and stood at the

²⁰ ELP to Mary Bartlett, n.d., *ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

²¹ Raven, *London Booksellers*, p. 40; Henry F. May, *The Enlightenment in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 13.

²² ELP to Mary Bartlett, n.d., in Pinckney, *Letterbook*, pp. 47-48.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 47; Pinckney, *Letterbook*, p. xi.

highest rank in Charleston's stratified society.²⁴ Although eminently respectable, fourth-generation Antiguans—and George Lucas did serve as lieutenant governor of the island around this time—the West Indian Lucases apparently were not part of the Jonathan Lucas clan that became so prominent in the lowcountry, and as far as is known, had no other connections in Carolina.

In anticipation of her own hasty wedding, Eliza may well have thought back on the conversation between Pamela and the reformed "Mr. B." "I am thinking, Sir," said Pamela, "of another mortifying thing too; that were you to marry a lady of birth and fortune answerable to your own, all the eve to the day would be taken up in reading, signing, and sealing settlements, and portions, and such like: but now the poor Pamela brings you nothing at all." The reformed Mr. B declared, "This affair is so much the act of my own will, that I glory in being capable of distinguishing so much excellence you bring me what is infinitely more valuable—an experienced truth and well-tried virtue, and a wit and behaviour more than equal to the station you will be placed in: to say nothing of this sweet person that itself might captivate a monarch; and of the meekness of temper, and sweetness of disposition which makes you superior to all women I ever saw."²⁵ When Eliza wrote her father, assuring him that Charles Pinckney was pleased with the modest dowry he had arranged and would happily forego it if necessary, she thanked him for the expense of her education, "which I esteem a more valuable fortune than any you could have given me, as I hope it will tend to make me happy thru my future life and those in whom I am most nearly concerned."²⁶

From all accounts, Eliza Lucas and her husband had a loving, companionate marriage. Dividing their time between Pinckney's Belmont Plantation on Charleston Neck and their fine town home on the bay, the couple worked with common purpose: in continuing and expanding their experiments for a profitable export crop for South Carolina (she had some success with silk, and he was instrumental in securing a royal bounty on indigo that greatly spurred production); then, in raising their family.

When the Pinckneys had their first child, Charles Cotesworth, the couple began experimenting on him as well. Belonging to what J. G. A. Pocock described as "the most classical-minded of English centuries," the Pinckneys sought order and regularity in all their undertakings, from the design of their homes to the raising of their children. At a time when the British aristocracy was notoriously lax about the education of their off-

²⁴ Raven, *London Booksellers*, p. 40.

²⁵ Samuel Richardson, *Pamela* (1740; reprint, New York: E. P. Dutton, 1952), vol. 1, p. 301.

²⁶ As quoted in Pinckney, *Letterbook*, p. xi.

spring, the Pinckneys reflect the intense desire of colonials to perfect all elements of their world. Charles Pinckney, who had waited a long time for fatherhood, was much more involved with his children than is thought common in the eighteenth century. He and Eliza, who is perhaps more deserving of the name "Enlightenment Mother" than "Republican Mother," agreed to raise their son according to the ideas of John Locke and encouraged him "to play himself into learning." Charles Pinckney devised a method to teach his son "to read as soon as he could speak." The experiment was a success, but the Pinckneys' "over-anxiety" weighed heavily upon the child. When Charles Cotesworth was grown with children of his own, he told his daughter that his parents' eagerness to make him "a clever fellow" was so intense that they almost turned him into "a very stupid one."²⁷

The Pinckneys moved to England with their children in 1753. Eliza enjoyed the social life and entertainments, but felt she was regarded as an outsider, a provincial. In 1758 during a visit home to check on their properties, Charles Pinckney died of malaria, thrusting the responsibilities of his large estate and education of their children upon Eliza. Without her husband, South Carolina felt like a place of exile. In 1760 she complained that "all countrys are now to me alike," and she denounced the colony as "the remote corner of the globe in which I am situated so distant from everything that is new and entertaining." She referred to Belmont Plantation as "a little hovel" in the country where she wasted her "Genius" attempting to tame the wild, subtropical overgrowth that resisted shaping and pruning. Unhappy in town and in the country, Pinckney resolved to quit South Carolina and return to England to oversee her sons' education and perhaps move with them to Geneva, but the unceasing warfare among the European powers kept the Atlantic World in such a turmoil that she never did return to the homeland of her imagination.

The perils of an Atlantic crossing prevented Eliza from seeing her eldest son for eleven years, her youngest for fourteen. She maintained her influence over them through skillful letters in which she adopted the same tone she had employed as a teenager sending her sixteen-year-old brother off to become a soldier: "The greatest conquest is a Victory over your own irregular passions." The man who lacks self-control," she continued, is "a burthen to Society and to himself." Through her letters, this "Enlightenment Mother" pressed her sons to always choose reason over passion. Charles Cotesworth struggled to master his quick temper; Thomas, his eye for "charmers."²⁸

²⁷ Weir, *South Carolina*, p. 253; Ravenel, *Pinckney*, p. 113; Maria Henrietta Pinckney, *A Notice of the Pinckneys* (Charleston, S.C.: Evans and Cogswell, 1860), p. 9.

²⁸ Pinckney, *Notice*, p. 16; Frances Leigh Williams, *A Founding Family: The Pinckneys of South Carolina* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1978), pp. 37, 68.

Pinckney prodded her sons though Westminster, Oxford, legal studies at the Middle Temple, and military training in France. At various times, her "over-solicitude" and warning against vacations nearly drove them to collapse. "She always declared," wrote her granddaughter Maria Henrietta Pinckney, "that her sons were a living contradiction to the opinion that the affection of children was weakened by absence, and well was she rewarded for the sacrifices she had made for their advantages, for her every wish was a command to her sons."²⁹

Yet her sons did rebel against her in an important and public way in their enthusiasm for American independence from England. Perhaps their mother wondered if she had not wielded her moral authority with too heavy a hand (or pen) or reminded her sons too often of their obligations to their dead father for them both to reject so entirely the authority of the king. At Oxford the intensely self-critical Thomas was called "the little rebel" for his political views.³⁰ Both Pinckney brothers drank deeply of the heady republican ideology of the Country Whigs and became jealous of their prerogatives. Declaring themselves "altogether American" while still in England, they became "patriots among patriots" when they returned to South Carolina. From the time they risked their lives and fortunes in service to the revolutionary army until their deaths in the 1820s as South Carolina's most venerated public men, Eliza's sons wreathed the Pinckney family in glory.³¹

The laurels of Charles Cotesworth and Thomas Pinckney have also clustered around their mother, and her legend has flowed from theirs. The image of Eliza Lucas Pinckney as one of South Carolina's "Whig Ladies" became part of the construction of the public personas of her two politically ambitious sons. (The Pinckneys are, thus far, the only brothers to offer themselves for president of the United States: Thomas in 1796, and Charles Cotesworth in 1804 and 1808.) Two stories, both involving President George Washington, are the foundation for her reputation as a supporter of revolutionary politics. The first is Washington's breakfast stop at Hampton Plantation, where Eliza was staying with her daughter, during his highly-choreographed 1791 southern tour to solidify lagging support for the Federalist party. Washington is quoted as saying that he wanted to pay

²⁹ Pinckney, *Notice*, pp. 13-14.

³⁰ Rev. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, *Life of General Thomas Pinckney* (Boston: Houghton and Mifflin, 1895), pp. 22-23, 25.

³¹ Arthur H. Shaffer, "David Ramsay and the Limits of Revolutionary Nationalism," in *Intellectual Life in Antebellum Charleston*, Michael O'Brien and David Moltke-Hansen, eds. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986), p. 55; Harriott R. Ravenel, *Charleston: The Place and the People* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1912), pp. 378-79.

special tribute to the mother of two such noble sons. The second, Washington's personal request to serve as a pallbearer at Eliza's funeral, seems to have first appeared in the Reverend C. C. Pinckney's 1895 laudatory biography of his grandfather *General Thomas Pinckney*. Neither Eliza Pinckney's obituary nor Harriott Horry's diary mention George Washington offering to be a pall bearer, although Horry does note the kindnesses paid her mother during her illness in Philadelphia by both George and Martha Washington and other pillars of the Federalist establishment such as Alexander Hamilton and Supreme Court justice James Iredell.³²

ELIZA, ACCORDING TO THE PINCKNEY WOMEN

The family narrative that flows through the female line of the Pinckneys underscores their matriarch's humanity rather than her heroism. In her 1896 biography, Harriott Horry Ravenel struck a different note from her cousin C. C. Pinckney concerning the parade of dignitaries who visited the ailing Eliza in Philadelphia during her last days. While all the attention "pleased the sick lady," wrote Ravenel, "she received it as respect shown to her sons." Pinckney, according to Ravenel, did not guide her children toward revolution. Actually, it was the other way around. Pinckney maintained strong emotional ties to England through the Anglican Church, the British army in which her father served and lost his life in 1747, her personal contacts in England, and her loyalist friends. Pinckney is quoted as saying that she played no part in her sons' decision to take up arms against England, that she "had given no advice and attempted no influence." At the first outbreak of trouble, she first "prayed for peace," then for a "speedy end," and finally for "reconciliation and forgiveness of injuries."³³

The stories that Eliza told of herself when she gathered her little grandchildren to her were not about growing indigo or managing plantations or even the adventures of her sons. Instead, she recalled the pleasures of the years spent in England both as a student and later with her family. She loved to recount her memories of all "the celebrated actors and actresses she had seen" and how she never missed a performance by David Garrick, a Shakespearean actor acclaimed as the greatest of his day.³⁴

The first attempt at a family narrative, *A Notice of the Pinckneys*, was written by Maria Henrietta Pinckney sometime before her death in 1836. Maria, one of three daughters of General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney who lived at Hampton during the Revolution and granddaughter of Henry

³² Pinckney, *Thomas Pinckney*, p. 22; Harriott Pinckney Horry Diary, May 7, June 10, and June 16, 1797, South Carolina Historical Society.

³³ Ravenel, *Pinckney*, p. 316.

³⁴ Pinckney, *Notice*, p. 8.

Rutledge, set about to put a more human face on the Augustan generation who cowed the younger set with their irrefragable brilliance. "The public lives of the Generals Pinckney are well known to their families," she wrote, "but with their early years and the lives of those who preceded them, they are unacquainted." Maria wrote about the generals when they were children in school, received punishments for misbehavior, and worried that they might disappoint their parents.³⁵

Maria Pinckney also strove to de-mythologize her vaunted grandmother, who had the reputation of a "Respected, admired" widow, and as "the head of society in Carolina . . . all that she thought and said, and did was right."³⁶ Maria brushed over Eliza Pinckney's "experiments in tropical plants" and summarized her shortcomings: "no knowledge of Latin," unable to carry a tune, an irregular communicant at the monthly Eucharist. Reading and gardening were Eliza's "amusements," Maria explained, but religion was her true passion; it was "the source of her motives, it influenced all her actions." Eliza's personal characteristics were the Christian virtues of "self-control, forgetfulness of self, charity towards others, and humility of deportment." Although she did not keep the strict "Jewish Sabbath," Eliza expected all the children in her house to attend church, to recall the text of the sermon and find it in the Bible, and recite the Collect for the Day by heart. Her religion was not that of self-denial; even as an elderly widow who had suffered intensely during the course of her life, Eliza practiced a Christianity of joy looking with approval upon the civilized pleasures of music and dancing. Maria Pinckney also made the point of Eliza's tolerance of differences of religious opinions.³⁷

Eliza Pinckney's hasty marriage to Charles Pinckney was a matter that Maria Pinckney felt needed greater clarification for the historical record. Traditional eighteenth-century grieving rituals demanded yards of black crepe, mourning rings, perhaps hired mourners, and long periods of inactivity behind closed doors. The reason Maria gave for this breach of mourning etiquette was George Lucas's decision to seize upon a lull in the hostilities between England and Spain in late 1743 to have his family return to Antigua. His fortunes had not improved despite Eliza's experiments. According to Maria's account, Elizabeth Lamb knew of these plans and so regretted the necessity of this extraordinary young woman leaving the colony that she proclaimed "she would step out of the way and let her take her place, which kind intention she actually executed, dying the

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3. Maria Henrietta Pinckney's pamphlet *A Notice of the Pinckneys* was privately published by her sister Harriott Pinckney in 1860.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 8.

following year."³⁸ In this patriotic flourish, she saved Eliza for South Carolina and for her husband who was at last gratified in his desire to have a family. Perhaps it is at this point that the second Elizabeth Pinckney (as she was called in all official documents) began to be called "Eliza."

Remembered as "a woman of unusual force of mind and a student of public questions," Maria Pinckney was impatient with her grandmother for not being more political when she was so close to the seat of power. Fiery in her defense of states' rights during South Carolina's Nullification controversy over the imposition of federal tariffs, Maria had anonymously published a distillation of all the politicians' harangues in 1830. Attempting to succeed where her grandmother had failed in illuminating the way for future generations of women to be involved in public affairs, she wrote *The Quintessence of Long Speeches*, structured in the form of a "political catechism" for her goddaughter Maria Pinckney Rutledge. In her *Notice of the Pinckneys*, which came to be called the "Family Legend," Maria admitted the "conceit" of her generation in asserting that "Eliza Lucas, with all her acquirements, virtues and unaffected piety, might now be regarded as a light not sufficiently bright for the illumination of the times."³⁹ By this she meant that, contrary to the legend of Eliza's patriotism, she had not been an early advocate of American independence.⁴⁰

Rather than being the "Plantation Patriot" of legend, Eliza's "surrender" (as Robert Frost phrased it) to South Carolina was conditional. Only after British soldiers ruined her Belmont Plantation, and only after Thomas was critically wounded, seized as a prisoner of war with his plantation, and all the family treasures hidden there lost, did she relent. Perhaps the final straw came after the fall of Charleston when a British officer, James Moncrief, rejected her pleas to preserve "certain Oak Trees of remarkable beauty" on her property that had been planted by her husband. Colonel Moncrief took visible pleasure in telling the mother of rebels that the venerable oaks "will make excellent fire-wood."⁴¹

Over time, according to Harriott H. Ravenel, Eliza Pinckney's sympathies "centered themselves in the cause for which her sons were fighting, and their country became entirely her own." Ravenel argued, though, that

³⁸ Pinckney, *Notice*, p. 6. See also Herbert Ravenel Sass, "Love and Miss Lucas," *Georgia Review* (Fall 1956).

³⁹ "Maria Henrietta Pinckney," in *Library of Southern Literature*, Edwin Anderson Alderman et al., eds. (New Orleans: Martin and Hoyt Co., 1908-13), vol. 15, p. 345; [Maria Henrietta Pinckney], *The Quintessence of Long Speeches* (Charleston, S.C.: Printed by A. E. Miller, 1830); Pinckney, *Notice*, p. 8.

⁴⁰ See Darcy R. Fryer, "The Mind of Eliza Pinckney," pp. 215-237.

⁴¹ Alexander Garden, *Anecdotes of the Revolutionary War in America* (1822; reprint, Spartanburg, S.C.: Reprint Company, 1972), p. 269.

the great contribution of Eliza's generation was not in being political "republican mothers," urging their sons to the battlefield in defense of their freedoms; instead, unlike "the unhappy women of the French Revolution," it was in having grounded their children in personal restraint and control over their passions so that when they met the opportunity for self-government they did so "in law and soberness; not in riot and anarchy."⁴²

ONE STAR AMONG MANY

In the discussions of Eliza Lucas Pinckney's influence as a mother, her daughter Harriott has curiously been neglected, even though she is the more deserving of the encomium of "Plantation Patriot." Harriott Pinckney, the little girl "so fond of learning," was the middle child between two brothers. In a family notorious for its use of necronyms in naming their children, Eliza's choice of "Harriott" for her only daughter was a notable sign of independence. One family member speculated that she might have named her daughter after Harriet Byron, the virtuous character of Samuel Richardson's *The History of Charles Grandison* (1753-54), but Harriott, perhaps a victim of Eliza's sometime unconventional spelling, was born in 1748.⁴³ As a sign of the esteem in which Harriott was obviously held in her family, her name continues to alternate with that of "Eliza" among the generations of her ancestors.

Unlike her mother, Harriott Pinckney preferred South Carolina to England.⁴⁴ In 1758, after five years in England, Harriott returned with her parents to Charleston, while her brothers stayed behind to attend school. After Charles Pinckney's death, her grieving mother withdrew into herself. Months later, Harriott's cousin observed, Eliza Pinckney "remembered at length that she was a mother" and began to devote herself to the education of her daughter, who did "fully repay the thousand cares bestowed on her. She was every thing the fondest parent could hope or desire."⁴⁵ In 1762 Eliza wrote to an English friend: "I love a Garden and a book; and they are all my amusement except I include one of the greatest Businesses of my life (my attention to my dear little girl) under that article. For a pleasure it certainly is to cultivate the tender mind, to teach the young Idea how to shoot, &c., especially to a mind so tractable and a temper so sweet as hers. For, I thank

⁴² Ravenel, *Pinckney*, pp. 316, 270.

⁴³ Webber, "The Thomas Pinckney Family," pp. 18, 24; ELP to Master MacKenzie, n.d., in Pinckney, *Letterbook*, p. 142.

⁴⁴ ELP to an unidentified correspondent, ca. 1753, quoted in Ravenel, *Eliza Pinckney*, p. 147.

⁴⁵ Pinckney, *Notice*, p. 11.

God, I have an excellent soil to work upon, and by the Divine Grace hope the fruit will be answerable to my indeavours [*sic*] in the cultivation."⁴⁶

So it was upon Harriott that Eliza's influence was most fully felt. Harriott became her mother's close companion and was said to have inherited her business talent. She kept a diary, and like her mother, she began her own receipt book in 1768 upon her marriage to wealthy rice planter Daniel Horry. The couple divided their time between the Horry's Hampton Plantation in the old Huguenot territory along the South Santee River about forty miles north of Charleston and a mansion house in town.⁴⁷ Like her brothers, Harriott became a fierce patriot, aiding Francis Marion in his stealthy operations around Hampton. Daniel Horry shared her enthusiasm for the cause of independence and fought with valor until Charleston fell in 1780, when his decision to ask for the protection of the British for his family and land threw a shadow over both their reputations. While the British seized many of his former comrades as prisoners of war, Horry sailed for England to enroll his son in school, leaving Harriott to bear the public opprobrium and manage their estates.⁴⁸

With the reversal of American fortunes and victory in 1781, only the intervention of Harriott's brothers kept the bankrupt state government of South Carolina from confiscating Hampton, but a 12 percent amercement remained to be paid. She ended up as poor as a Tory. Daniel Horry returned home disgraced. His son Daniel changed his name to Charles Lucas Pinckney Horry and (despite long letters from Eliza about his duty to family and country) lived out his life in Paris with his wife, a niece of American ally General Lafayette. Eliza Lucas Pinckney, who owned no land in her own right, moved permanently into Hampton with Harriott, who lived a long life as a planter and passed Hampton on to her own daughter. The Pinckney brothers may have urged George Washington to bless Hampton with a visit in 1791 on his swing through the South to purge any whiff of treason still lingering around their family after Daniel Horry's defection.⁴⁹

The Pinckney family fortune, as well as its patriotic reputation, was enhanced by another eighteenth-century heroine who likewise has been overshadowed by current interest in Eliza Lucas. Maria Pinckney held up Rebecca Brewton Motte in the "Family Legend" as "the heroine most distinguished among the daughters of Carolina."⁵⁰ Motte was woven into the Pinckney family through an intricate network of cousinage and inter-

⁴⁶ ELP to Mr. Keate, February 1762, in Pinckney, *Letterbook*, p. 181.

⁴⁷ Webber, "The Thomas Pinckney Family," p. 24.

⁴⁸ Williams, *Founding Family*, p. 189.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*; ELP to Daniel Horry, Jr., April 16, 1782, in Elise Pinckney, ed., "Letters of Eliza Lucas Pinckney, 1768-1782," *SCHM* 76 (1975): 167.

⁵⁰ Pinckney, *Notice*, p. 19.

marriage. Her aunt Ruth Brewton had married William Pinckney (Eliza's brother-in-law), and her sister Frances married the Pinckneys' son, her first cousin, Charles. Motte was also twice the mother-in-law of Eliza's son Thomas. Thomas married Elizabeth "Betsy" Motte during the Revolution, and in 1797, three years after Betsy's death, he married a second of Motte's three daughters, the widow Frances Motte Middleton.⁵¹

Motte, who had been an early convert to the patriot cause, won added glory for her valor after the fall of Charleston. She hid her three daughters (including Thomas's wife, Betsy) when British officers took over her King Street mansion, and later when she had removed to Mount Joseph, her Congaree River plantation, the redcoats seized her house for their headquarters. In one version of a much-told story in which she gives General Marion permission to burn down her home to get the British officers out, she even supplied special combustible arrows that had been a present from "her favorite African," who had been a prince in his native land. Harriott Ravenel claimed to remember that Motte kept her knitting needles in the long-empty bamboo quiver. Domesticity combined with a warrior spirit in this "Spartan Matron."⁵²

In contrast to Eliza Lucas Pinckney who wielded only moral authority, the widowed Rebecca Brewton Motte (heir to the fortune of her brother Miles Brewton) held the power of the purse in her relationship with her children. The failure of her friends to repay debts incurred during the Revolution threw her into a financial crisis, but Motte turned to rice planting, managed her own business affairs, and, in evidence that she was as careful an agriculturalist as Eliza Pinckney, reported in 1806 that she was close to regaining solvency: "I have a better prospect of a good crop than I have ever had, there were more pains taken in planting." With Harriott Pinckney Horry at Hampton on the South Santee, Motte let Thomas Pinckney and Betsy live at Fairfield, one of her husband's plantations nearby. Later, when Motte came to live with Thomas and his second wife, Frances, she bought more property in the district, and they built Eldorado together. Motte held the title to both plantations so intimately connected to Pinckney family history until her death. She lived until 1815, always wearing a high crowned mopcap, black silk mitts, and a long silver chain

⁵¹ A. S. Salley, "Col. Miles Brewton and Some of His Descendants," *South Carolina Genealogy* (Spartanburg, S.C.: Reprint Company, 1983), vol. 1, pp. 135-37.

⁵² [Maria H. Middleton], *Worthy Women of our First Century*, edited by Mrs. Owen [Sarah Butler] Wister and Miss Agnes Irvin (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Co., 1877), p. 37; Ravenel, *Eliza. Pinckney*, pp. 299-300. For a summary of the different versions of the famous house-burning incident at Mount Joseph, see Salley, "Miles Brewton," 150-52.

with the plantation keys, the symbol of domestic power. When she died, her properties went to Frances, who outlived General Pinckney by only a few months. Motte is memorialized with a marble tablet, the top of one of her pier tables, erected in the vestibule of St. Philip's Episcopal Church in Charleston across from that of General William Moultrie—the only heroine honored among the heroes.⁵³

Had Motte had sons, instead of three daughters; had the names of Motte (de la Motte) and Brewton not died out with her; or if her business correspondence had survived to prove her a successful rice planter, she might today be paired with Eliza Lucas Pinckney as two South Carolina heroines of the eighteenth century: one the Demeter, the Greek goddess of agriculture and the abundant harvest; and the other, the wise Athena, warrior goddess.⁵⁴ But like Motte's fortune and her houses, the spirit of her deeds has been folded into the Pinckney legacy. Even her few remaining letters have become part of the Charles Pinckney Papers at the South Carolina Historical Society.

Eliza Lucas Pinckney was but one brilliant star amongst a constellation of remarkable colonial women. To view her as a paragon, as a solitary burst of brightness, a "dazleing" comet, albeit with "petticoats on" (like the one she stayed up to see streak across the early morning sky in 1742) that when spent leaves the sky darker than before, is to miss the deeper meaning of her story for South Carolina's history. As her obituary in the *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser* recalled, "Her whole life was like the Milky way with stars thick-set."⁵⁵ The challenge to historians interested in the heroines of the eighteenth century is to link the solitary stars into the context of a larger constellation and to recognize the heroic aspects of being human, which may be, after all, the enduring lesson of Eliza Lucas Pinckney's life.

⁵³[Middleton], *Worthy Women*, p. 43-44; Will of Rebecca Brewton Motte, Charleston County Wills, Vol. 33, Book C (1807-1818): 1005-1009; *Tablet to Mrs. Rebecca Motte, Erected by Rebecca Motte Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution; Ceremony of Unveiling at St. Philips Church, Charleston, S.C., May 9th, 1903* (Charleston, S.C.: Daggett Printing Co., 1903).

⁵⁴Motte's third daughter, Mary Brewton Motte, married planter William Alston in 1791. She inherited her mother's King Street mansion that had been left to her by Motte's brother Miles Brewton, who was lost at sea with his family in 1775. See Richard Côté, *Mary's World: Love, War, and Family Ties in Nineteenth-Century Charleston* (Charleston, S.C.: Corinthian Books, 2001).

⁵⁵ELP to Mary Bartlett, ca. March-April, 1742, in Pinckney, *Letterbook*, p. 31; *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser* [Charleston, S.C.], July 17, 1793, reprinted in Mabel L. Webber, comp., "Marriage and Death Notices from the City Gazette," *SCHM* 21 (1920), pp. 158-59.

BOOKS REVIEWS

Sons of Privilege: The Charleston Light Dragoons in the Civil War. By W. Eric Emerson. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005. Pp. xi, 180; \$24.95, cloth.)

The decades immediately following the American Civil War saw the publication of hundreds of histories of small military units, ranging from companies—consisting of a hundred or so men—to regiments comprised of several companies. For the most part, smaller military units, be they Union or Confederate, were recruited from common geographic areas and displayed distinct personalities reflecting the temperaments of their commanders and the peculiarities of their places of origin. One consequence of the local flavor of companies and regiments was their strong unit cohesion; soldiers fought not only for a common cause, but for their own lives and for the lives of their comrades. Men waged battle alongside friends they had known since childhood, and a man's conduct in battle—whether he was brave and dependable, or cowardly and untrustworthy—was certain to follow him home and color forever his standing in his community. Deep ties among soldiers drawn from a common locale inspired astounding feats of valor. But, by the same token, a community could lose the flower of its manhood in a single bloodstained moment if fate drew the unit recruited from its households into the vortex of combat.

In recent years, Civil War scholars have renewed their interest in military unit micro-histories. Unlike postwar accounts, which often read like compilations of tales of bravery in the face of overwhelming odds, modern studies strive for more balanced accountings. Several exemplary studies during the past decade have done a masterful job of capturing the character of various units and of chronicling their painful evolution in the crucible of combat. Noteworthy is Warren Wilkinson's *Mother, May You Never See the Sights I Have Seen: The Fifty-Seventh Massachusetts Veteran Volunteers in the Last Year of the Civil War* (1990); Edward J. Hagerty's *Collis' Zouaves: The 114th Pennsylvania Reserves in the Civil War* (1997); and Robert Keating's *Carnival of Blood: The Civil War Ordeal of the Seventh New York Heavy Artillery* (1998). To this august list must now be added *Sons of Privilege: The Charleston Light Dragoons in the Civil War*, by W. Eric Emerson, executive director of the South Carolina Historical Society.

The Charleston Light Dragoons possessed personality in spades. The cavalry company's roster read like the registry of Charleston's elite families, sprinkled with blue-ribbon lowcountry titles such as Drayton, Heyward, Huger, Legare, Manigault, Middleton, Pinckney, Rhett, Rutledge, and Vanderhorst. This "company of gentlemen," as the Dragoons were wont to be called, passed the initial years of the war in a blissful whirl of horse races,