

THE
SOUTH CAROLINA
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

OCTOBER 1970

VOLUME 71

NUMBER 4



COPYRIGHT © 1970 BY

SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
CHARLESTON, S. C.

CONTENTS

Articles:	PAGE
“Cotton Ed Smith”—Showman or Statesman? by Daniel W. Hollis	235
John Tobler’s Description of South Carolina (1754), translated and edited by Walter L. Robbins	257
McCabe’s Impression of the Bombardment of Charleston, 1863, by Claude C. Sturgill and Charles L. Price	266
The Presbyterian Clergy in South Carolina and the American Revolution, by Durward T. Stokes	270
The Lineage of Daniel Deupree (1768-1848)	283
Reviews:	
Berkeley and Berkeley, <i>Dr. Alexander Garden of Charles Town</i> , by Wade Batson	284
Notes	286
Archives News	292

JOHN TOBLER'S DESCRIPTION OF SOUTH CAROLINA (1754)

Translated and edited by WALTER L. ROBBINS *

A translation of an account of South Carolina, which John Tobler of New Windsor wrote in 1753 for the issue of a Swiss almanac for 1754, in order to attract settlers to South Carolina, has already appeared in these pages.¹ The present translation is of a similar account by Tobler which appeared in the following issue of the same almanac, that is, the issue for 1755, and was made from photostats of a copy of this issue of the almanac at the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island.² The issue is forty unnumbered pages in length. Tobler's article is on pp. [32-37]. His dedication of his article, on page [2], is signed "New Windsor, May 24 [N. S.], 13 [O. S.], in the year 1754. Johannes Tobler, Mathematician." For a fuller commentary on Tobler's background, his activity as a maker of almanacs and his accounts of South Carolina, see the editor's introduction and notes to his account written in 1753. No matter what small doubts may exist as to Tobler's frankness in the 1753 account, he was honest to a fault in the account written in 1754, possibly one of the reasons why the Swiss colony at New Windsor failed to see its numbers reinforced by an influx of Swiss immigrants: Tobler's descriptions of rattlesnakes and some not-so-gentle Indian practices were not likely to attract settlers to South Carolina. Tobler's account follows, preceded by a preface, apparently by the printer.

* Dr. Robbins is an assistant professor of German at Morehead State University, Morehead, Kentucky.

¹ See Walter L. Robbins, tr. and ed., "John Tobler's Description of South Carolina (1753)," this *Magazine*, 71 (1970), 141-161.

² This issue is entitled: *Alter und verbesserter Schreib-Calender, auf das G. G. Gnadenreiche Christ-Jahr MDCCLV. Nach dem Meridian der Löbl. Ständen Glarus, Appenzell und der drey Bündten gestellet. Neben andern nuz-ergötzlichen Erfordlichkeiten mit einer merckwürdigen Beschreibung von Süd-Carolina versehen, verfasst und bemeldt Dreyen Löblichen Ständen dedicirt von Herr [!] Johannes Tobler, ehedemigen Lands-Hauptmann des Löbl. Stands Appenzell, A. R. nunmehrigen Königl. Gross-Britannischen Friedens-Richter zu Granwil-County in Süd-Carolina.* St. Gallen, Hans Jacob Hochreütiner, [1754]. The copy in the John Carter Brown Library is listed as item no. 186 in: Thomas D. Clark, ed., *Travels in the Old South. A Bibliography*, I, Norman, Okla., 1956, and is available from the Lost Cause Press, 235 S. Galt Ave., Louisville, Ky. 40206, in a series of microcard reproductions of items listed in *Travels in the Old South*.

PREFACE

Our original intention was to report, in this almanac, divers items of news to the gracious reader. But, due to the remoteness of the place where it [the almanac] is consigned to the press, the additional rules of husbandry were unexpectedly again included. So [the reader] is now requested to be satisfied with this little bit [of news] and to be assured that, in the future, along with curiosities from Carolina worth reading, all sorts of other, more extensive pieces of useful and entertaining news will be added to the almanac.

CONTINUATION OF THE DESCRIPTION OF NORTH [!] CAROLINA
AND ITS CURIOSITIES

Those who have not been able to pay their passage across the sea are commonly sold by the captain [of the ship], who has brought them here, as servants and maids, [to serve] for one, two, three or four years, in order to earn the money to pay for their passage. If they get good masters, they have it good; they get used to the country and learn the language. But, if they come into bad employment, they are sometimes in miserable circumstances. Sometimes they are worse than their masters, want to do what they want and run away from them but are severely beaten if caught. When they have served their time, they get land and other things, like those who have come free into the province. In such a way, parents, children and brothers and sisters are sometimes separated. One must settle here, and another one there, and so they feel the influence of church and school only later in life.³

There are no beggars here, for, because there is a lack of workers, everyone is employed. Wherever there are old and sickly people, there are good people here and there, who take them in and care for them without compensation.

The government is very mild, set up as in England, and consists of an Upper and Lower House. Every community has the right to elect representatives to it [the Commons House]. The Council consists usually of twelve commoners, who have to swear the oath; the High Council, however, consists of the Governor and some gentlemen appointed to [serve on] it.⁴

³ On German and Swiss redemptioners in South Carolina, see Warren B. Smith, *White Servitude in Colonial South Carolina*, Columbia, 1961, especially chapter v: "The Poor Protestants of Europe."

⁴ The "Council" ("der Rath") appears to be a reference to the Council sitting as the "Upper House," while the "High Council" ("der hohe Rath") appears to be a reference to the Council as such. Tobler appears to have confused the Council

Both physical freedom and freedom of conscience are completely enjoyed, so that everyone can do what he wants with what he owns, [treating it as] his own property. If someone has earned something, through the blessing of God, and he wants to return with it to his native country or to go elsewhere, he has complete freedom. He can go and return, how and whenever he wishes. No accounting nor tax⁵ is demanded of him, as long as he owes no one anything or as long as he, as they say, has paid his debts.

Now I shall say something about the different religions of this province: As far as the Indians, or wild inhabitants, are concerned, they also have a type of worship and religion. One can include as part of this the fact that almost every year, when their corn is ripe, before they eat of it, they purge themselves and sacrifice the first fruits of it to God on their great assembly day. On the same day, they also extinguish all the fires and kindle, from green wood, new fire for the coming year.⁶ Faith in and thankfulness towards God can also be found among some of them. For this is what an Indian once said to an Englishman: It was clear that God provided for them, the Indians, because they trusted in him and never took bread along on trips, but depended upon the providence of God, while, on the other hand, the Europeans always took bread with them. After a celebration, which they arranged on the occasion of renewed peace in Pennsylvania, an old Indian stood up and said very seriously: "Thanks, thanks be to you, you great ruler of the world, that you cause the sun to shine again; the Indians are yours." (Among them the sun is a symbol of peace.) Otherwise, they are a bloodthirsty, warlike and malevolent people and treat their prisoners of war wretchedly. But they are kind toward people whom they meet on the road or in the woods; they show people, who have lost their way, the right way, and do not deny one anything, as long as they have something. Their most common occupation is hunting, in which they are very expert. But their women have to do all the other work; they are considered by the men more as slaves than

sitting as the "Upper House" with the lower or "Commons House." See W. Roy Smith, *South Carolina as a Royal Province, 1719-1776*, N. Y., 1903, 85-117.

⁵ A reference to a tax exacted in Switzerland on emigrants; see Albert B. Faust, comp. and ed., *Lists of Swiss Emigrants in the Eighteenth Century to the American Colonies*, I, Washington, D. C., 1920, vii, 11.

⁶ Tobler is referring to the annual "busk" festival of the Creek Indians; see John R. Swanton, "Religious Beliefs and Medical Practices of the Creek Indians," *Bureau of American Ethnology, Forty-Second Annual Report, 1924-25*, Washington, D. C., 1928, 546-614.

as wives. I have repeatedly seen the men riding on horseback and the women following on foot with a load, in addition to which they had to carry the children too.⁷ Besides this, they are very jealous but sometimes have reason to be, for their women are very desirous of new fare. The men divorce their wives whenever they want to, and the women do not stay all the time with one man.⁸ In their youth they commit abortion a good deal and, in old age, their temperament grows cold in other respects. They no longer multiply as greatly as formerly, a situation which their waging of war and drinking help to bring about. They have a nice way of punishing adultery: Many of them stand in a group, take finger-thick and even thicker switches from a nut [or walnut] tree and beat the adulterer with them until he faints. Then they revive him but start beating him again [and continue] as long as they think it is just enough not to kill him. Then they cut off both his ears and let him go. They have already practiced such a punishment on Englishmen and others.⁹

Otherwise, the chief religion in this province is the Episcopal or that of the High Church, which is supposed to be similar in doctrine to the Reformed Church. But because of the many unnecessary ceremonies retained from popery, the Swiss do not like it [the Episcopal religion]. Diana¹⁰ is still highly esteemed, etc. Otherwise, this doctrine is supposed to be good. If such good qualities are lacking in one and the other place, this is not the fault of the doctrine but of the preachers, who trust more in human powers and works than they should according to scripture. The Presbyterians and the Dissenters agree with the Reformed in almost every respect but have to pay their ministers themselves. The latter [the Dissenters] celebrate no day except Sunday. The preachers have the freedom to preach at any time of the year that they wish on the birth, passion, death, resurrection and ascension of Christ and the mission of the Holy Spirit. Only a few do these things at fixed times, as among you. The latter are called the Dissenters or

⁷ On the division of labor between men and women, see John R. Swanton, "Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy," *Bureau of American Ethnology, Forty-Second Annual Report*, 384-388.

⁸ On divorce customs, see *ibid.*, 376-378.

⁹ Regarding similar punishments for adultery, see *ibid.*, 348-355, 378; John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors*, "Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology," Bulletin 73, Washington, D. C., 1922, pp. 77-78; J. N. B. Hewitt, "Notes on the Creek Indians," ed. by John R. Swanton, *Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology*, Bulletin 123: *Anthropological Papers*, No. 10, Washington, D. C., 1939, 144.

¹⁰ A sarcastic reference to the Virgin Mary?

Independents, because they do not adhere to any outward ceremonies. Whoever comes here from Europe, sticks to the religion which he has learned. But there are also many who, to all appearances, have no religion at all. The golden image of Nebuchadnezzar¹¹ still has many worshippers, and the belly is also not forgotten. In addition to these, there are also people who have denied God and who believe neither in God nor in hell and the devil; some of them exhibit such things in their daily lives, and others are insolent enough to express themselves even more plainly. There are also Catholics here, who, however, cannot be distinguished in their [method of] praying. They behaved quite defiantly during the troubles over the Pretender,¹² but now they cannot be distinguished from others. They also maintain peace and tranquility, and nothing is done to them because of their religion, which is also not necessary. To persecute someone because of his religion is not learned in the school of Christ and the Holy Scripture; such a person would only show what kind of man he was. There are also Jews, but they cannot be distinguished in everyday contacts, except that they go to no church or religious meeting. And who could enumerate all the religions? But something should be said also of the Seventh-Day Baptists and Dunkards:¹³ Two years ago there appeared at my place a family from Pennsylvania, who had been unhappy there. The man had supported himself [and his family] for almost two years in the woods, with hunting. But he grew tired of this life and tried to settle somewhere. I let him and his numerous family, who otherwise behaved decently, stay in one of my houses. But because he, as a Seventh-Day Baptist, wanted to celebrate Saturday and work on Sunday, I could not stand to have him for long at my place because of this offensive behavior. Otherwise, he came also to our worship service, was a devout man and a particularly good singer. He is well versed in the Bible. Apart from a few errors, his doctrine agrees with the doctrine of the Pietists. He is quite familiar with the Moravians but does not care to have anything to do with them. He talks quite mockingly and annoyingly of our practice of baptizing children and has ten children, who have not been baptized. He thinks that baptism is nothing if one

¹¹ Daniel 3:1-30.

¹² A reference to the attempts of the "Young Pretender," Charles Edward Stuart, to usurp the English throne; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Chicago, London and Toronto, 1958, V, 291-293.

¹³ The Seventh-Day Baptists, a branch of the Dunkards, were founded in Pennsylvania by Johann Conrad Beissel (1690-1768); *ibid.*, X, 209.

is not immersed. For that reason he is called a Dunkard. He does not want to have his children baptized until they [are old enough to] understand it. No matter how one remonstrated with him on this subject, it was all in vain. He would rather be killed than celebrate Sunday. He is very zealous in his worship. He reads from the Bible, expounds it, sings, prays, but usually in silence, and this is known as the inner worship of these people. He believes with great certainty in a restoration of all things. I will not say any more about him because of the lack of space; I also omit mentioning other sects to be found in this province. If I were to judge all the religions, with which I am familiar, not just from hearsay but rather from the various adherents themselves, according to the saying of Paul to "test everything; hold fast what is good," and according to the advice of John to "test the spirits to see whether they are of God,"¹⁴ and then make a choice, I would have to stick to what I believed among you [in Switzerland] and could not deviate an iota from it, neither to the right nor to the left. For, to me, Holy Scripture is the only rule and precept of belief and life. All doctrines and ways of life that disagree with it should be rejected, no matter where they come from. On the other hand, whatever agrees with it should be accepted and approved, no matter where it comes from. And because our Christianity is based on this doctrine, it must be seriously practiced by everyone who bears this splendid name.

Now, I sincerely wish that things were better in this region with regard to religion than is the actual case. I would to God that there were many righteous preachers to be found here, who were really seriously concerned about the glory of God and the arch-shepherd Jesus. Then one could be hopeful that things would get better than they are now. The most distressing thing is the fact that there are preachers who do not preach and live properly in every respect; but there are also those who proclaim the word of God purely and sincerely. Among the latter one can justifiably include Mr. Whitefield, an English preacher, of whom I have already said something.¹⁵ In America, by means of the gospel, he brought about a great awakening in an area around 1,400 miles wide. And, in a few years, very many were converted to the true God. Now and then, people also work on [converting] the black slaves, and, in Carolina, many of them can be found who are baptized, and also a few among them who demonstrate their Christianity in their

¹⁴ 1 Thessalonians 5:21 and 1 John 4:1, respectively.

¹⁵ See Robbins, *op. cit.*, 148.

lives.¹⁶ My older son,¹⁷ when he is here (for he is often traveling), instructs the Negroes in Christianity every Sunday. Therefore, since there is a great lack of true preachers here in this province, it is fervently to be wished that sincere preachers might decide to come here and make the most of their talent. They could certainly expect great blessings and an abundant harvest. But they should also speak English, because everywhere the people are mixed. But Germans are also encountered everywhere among other nationalities, who live quite peacefully with each other. But whoever is not single-mindedly concerned with the glory of Jesus Christ but rather with benefices and salaries, had better stay away. There is nothing for such a person to do here. May the Lord of the vineyard also send workers to this garden according to his will.

Up to now we have given a general description of South Carolina and its curiosities. To this we add one and another of recent curiosities which we have heard of from there.

The town of Savannah is working at getting silk culture started. Just recently, a house has been built there, in which six silk-winding machines operate. In addition, a spacious house with six basins is being built for the reeling of the silk. They are also in the process of instructing the woman weavers correctly in this skill. Mr. Cloyd, who has the well-known machine, in which the silk is prepared for weaving, considers the climate in this place to be one of the most suitable for manufacturing good silk like the best in Italy. It took much effort to bring about this excellent and useful matter. In this connection, Rev. Bolzius at Ebenezer performed a unique service and, so to speak, broke the ice. Others lacked the courage, but he took the risk. He prevailed upon to do this by the encouragement from England, from which this matter was greatly urged, along with the expressed will of the authorities of the province, that all the colonists should plant and raise white mulberry trees. His wife then tried to raise a few silkworms and weave silk in secret. She succeeded, and the assistance which a few women gave her soon made the profit of this project known to the community. This brought benefits to all and made Mr. Bolzius all the more capable of supplying the necessities of life to himself and his people. All the silk raised in Ebenezer is sent to the new house in Savannah, where it can be reeled by means of six machines. It is sold

¹⁶ Actually, only a few slaves were converted in colonial times; see Marcus W. Jernegan, "Slavery and Conversion in the American Colonies," *American Historical Review*, XXI (1915-16), 504-527.

¹⁷ Tobler actually had three sons; see Robbins, *op. cit.*, 159, N. 49.

for two shillings sterling per pound, and, in return for the reeling in Savannah, the woman weavers receive a quite fair compensation. Her Royal Majesty of England [Queen Caroline] had a certain dress made from a very beautiful silk damask, which was of silk cultivated and manufactured in Georgia. This gracious pleasure of the king encourages us [to engage in] further silk culture. May God grant us in silk a great and present blessing.¹⁸

The Yuchi Indians, when they come to us, prefer for us to give them rum and cinnabar,¹⁹ with which to paint their faces and other parts of their body, than for us to give them food and drink. They flee from other Indians.²⁰ Once one of them brought a bundle of scalps, which they are accustomed to take from the enemies whom they have shot and killed, and showed them to us to our particular displeasure. But a Creek Indian, when he saw this, rebuked him earnestly, and so he soon packed up his disgusting wares. It often happens that people walking in the grass in the woods, and also dogs and cattle, are bitten by rattlesnakes. But for this a certain snakeroot, which grows widely in this region, is used [as an antidote] with desired success. A little piece of the green root, or, better, of the dried root, is chewed, the juice swallowed, and another chewed piece is placed on the wound. From this, the greatest swelling subsides in half an hour. And the person or animal (to which one administers the root by means of a vehicle) gets completely well in the same short time. It is easily eliminated. These rattlesnakes are most poisonous in the summertime. When they are three years old, they acquire a rattle, which consists of a thin horny skin, by means of which they give a warning to people and animals. Some have fifteen to twenty rattles and are that much older than three-year-old snakes. The largest of which I have heard are twenty-one to twenty-two feet long and as thick as a strong man's

¹⁸ On the silk industry in colonial Georgia, see Mary T. McKinstry, "Silk Culture in the Colony of Georgia," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XIV (1930), 225-235; Marguerite B. Hamer, "The Foundation and Failure of the Silk Industry in Provincial Georgia," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XII (1935), 125-148; and Pauline T. Stephens, "The Silk Industry in Georgia," *Georgia Review*, VII (1953), 39-49.

¹⁹ Rum was sold by Indian traders in the Indian towns and was included in presents given to the Indians in treaties; see Chapman J. Milling, *Red Carolinians*, Chapel Hill, N. C., 1940, index, under "Rum." On the use of cinnabar by the Indians to paint themselves, see *ibid.*, 210.

²⁰ The Yuchi were harmless settlement Indians, who had been decimated and dispersed by Cherokee, Creek and Shawnee raids. But history does not support Tobler's statement that they were cowards. See *ibid.*, 179-187.

thigh. They are very fat and move quite slowly. They sleep in the warm sun, and one sometimes steps on them unexpectedly and is bitten. Their poison is deadly if one does not procure help immediately. But they are said to die soon from the blood of the man whom they have bitten; in fact, human saliva is said to be their death. Someone conducted an experiment with a long thin stick, the thin end of which was chewed, moistened with saliva and held to the snake's mouth. It bit into it and soon died from it. Deer fight with them and crush them with their feet and antlers. They also have a deadly enemy in the black snakes, which are likewise very thick and long but not poisonous. It is hard to believe but nevertheless quite true that some people cut off the head of the rattlesnake and roast and eat its flesh, which looks snow-white and is said to taste like the best veal. But they must be killed before they are angered or bite. Those, who have become nauseated after eating such snakes, have become somewhat ill.²¹

Two ships from the West Indian Sugar Islands arrived in Savannah and brought some coconuts, whose inner milk and snow-white kernel are quite delicious. It is an excellent fruit, whose inner hard shell itself is valuable and could be used as a drinking vessel. With their outer green husk, they are thick as a man's head. They are cut from the tree with an axe, and afterwards it takes a good bit of sawing before the actual black shell can be divided. But before people do this in order to get at the kernel, a hole is first made at one end of the nut, from which the delicious tasting milk is poured into two glasses.

²¹ The references in this note are to Laurence M. Klauber, *Rattlesnakes. Their Habits, Life Histories, and Influence on Mankind*, 2 Vols., Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1956. The folklore of the rattlesnake root; II, 879-883, 885. The belief that rattlesnakes are more poisonous in summer; II, 822-825. The myth of the rattlesnake acquiring its first rattle at age three and related myths; I, 247. The myth of the rattlesnake acquiring one rattle a year; I, 245. The rattlesnake lengths mentioned by Tobler are mythological; for similar mythological lengths, see II, 1232-1235. Rattlesnakes disturbed while sleeping as more aggressive; I, 425. Saliva or blood fatal to snake; similar beliefs in II, 1217. Enemies of rattlesnakes: deer; II, 1033-1035; black snakes; II, 1074-1076. Rattlesnake flesh as food; II, 1022-1025.

McCABE'S IMPRESSION OF THE BOMBARDMENT OF CHARLESTON, 1863

CLAUDE C. STURGILL and CHARLES L. PRICE *

During the bombardment of Fort Sumter in August, 1863, a young artillery lieutenant, W. Gordon McCabe, visited the fortress. In a letter to a friend, he left one of the most vivid descriptions in existence of the shelling and the reactions of the garrison. McCabe in his letter also included pertinent comment on Henry Timrod and Generals Ripley and Beauregard.

McCabe was a writer of considerable literary ability and during the war and after he attained notable fame as a poet. In his later career McCabe was known primarily as an educator, attaining national attention as headmaster of the University School at Petersburg, Virginia.

The letter presented below is written to another literary figure of some note, James Barron Hope. Even before the war Hope had attracted considerable attention as a young poet. After the war, while continuing his literary career, Hope became a newspaper editor and ended his career as superintendent of the Norfolk schools. The letter reproduced below can be found in the James Barron Hope Papers in the Earl Gregg Swem Library of the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg. In editing we have made as few changes in spelling, punctuation, and style as possible in order to keep the original excitement.

Head Quarters, 1st Military District
Department of South Carolina, Georgia
and Florida.

Charleston, August 21st, 1863.

My dear Mr. Hope,

You see my promises are not like that tradictionary pie-crust, for lo! here is the letter. My time has been so entirely taken up by my duties since I reported here, that I have scarcely had time for writing to any one. However, I did not care to write until I had visited all the Batteries, & seen "the situation." The day after my arrival, I ran

* Dr. Sturgill is associate Professor of History at the University of Florida at Gainesville. Dr. Price is Professor of History at East Carolina University at Greenville, N. C.