

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

THE LIFE OF CHARLES PINCKNEY
SNEE FARM--HISTORY OF A LANDSCAPE

CHARLES PINCKNEY
NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE
Mount Pleasant, South Carolina

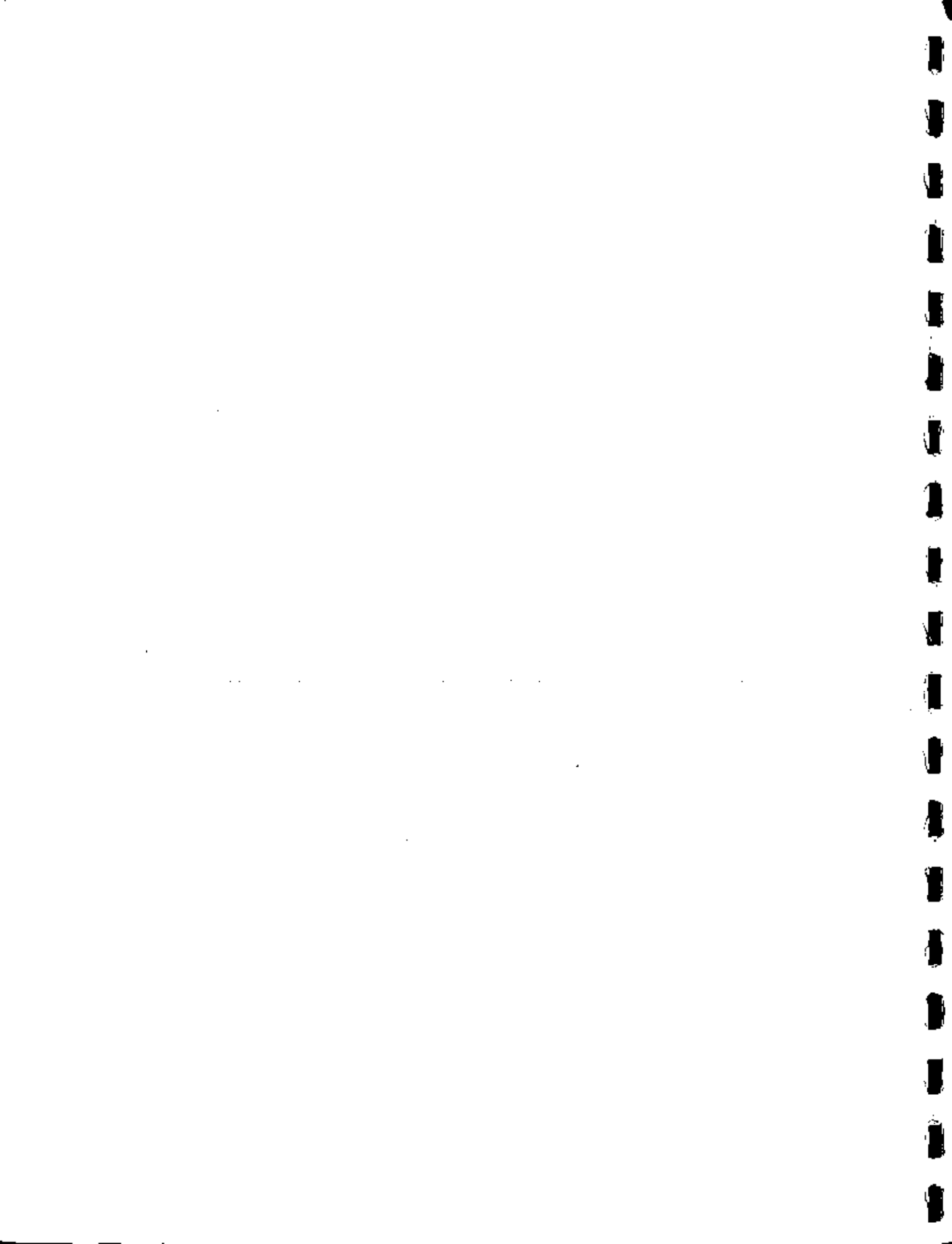
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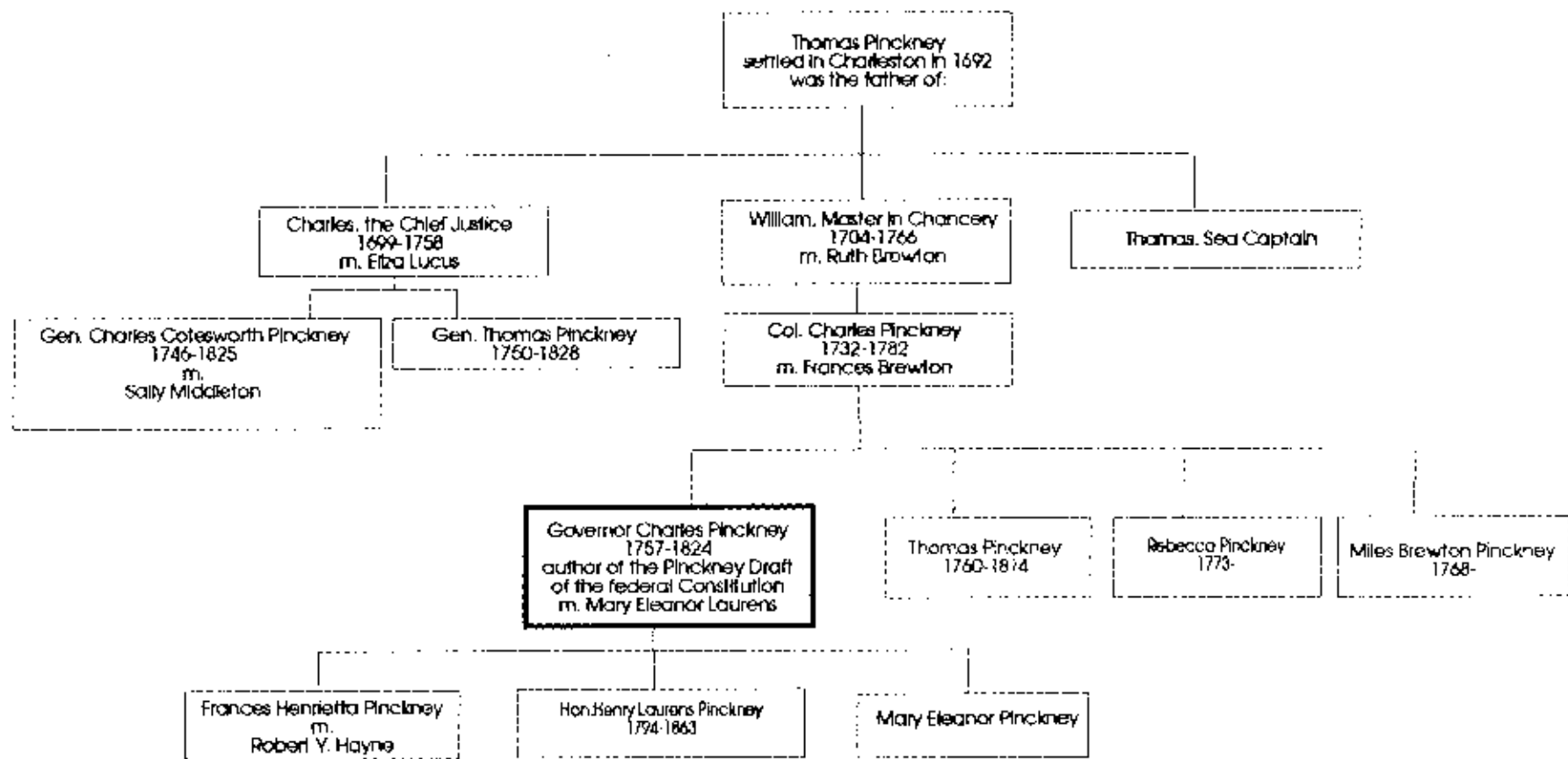
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Simplified Pinckney genealogy



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INTRODUCTION

The following documents comprise an historical overview of the life of Charles Pinckney and the history of Snee Farm to accompany the General Management Plan for Charles Pinckney National Historic Site. Initially, these documents will be used to provide team members with background information on Pinckney and the farm to assist them in the planning process. The reader will notice these documents are not a treatise on Pinckney or the farm, and reflect research conducted by park staff through March 1993. A bibliography for both documents can be found at the end of the Snee Farm document.

At the various team meetings that have been held concerning the development of the site, the Historical Overview has been reviewed as part of the process. Through these reviews the need for a Pinckney biography was identified. Such a biography will answer the following questions:

1. The Pinckney Family at Snee Farm.
2. The role Colonel Pinckney and Charles Pinckney played in Charleston society.
3. The "Debow's Commercial Review" article describing Snee Farm.
4. Charles Pinckney's stay in Philadelphia after being exchanged as a prisoner of war during the American Revolution.

This document may be used as an outline in the development of an interpretive booklet, an indepth thesis, or other site related publication. A summary of this Historical Overview will be included in the General Management Plan.

The reader will note three Charles Pinckneys appear in the following texts: Charles Pinckney (subject of this document), Colonel Charles Pinckney (his father), and General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney (a cousin). A geneology chart is provided. To assist the reader in clarifying which Pinckney is being referred to, Charles Pinckney's father will be identified as "Col. Pinckney," and his cousin as "Gen. Pinckney" or "C.C. Pinckney."



THE LIFE
OF
CHARLES PINCKNEY
(1757-1824)

Charles Pinckney was born on October 26, 1757. He was the son of Charles Pinckney and Frances Brewton, members of Charleston's and South Carolina's social elite. They, like other wealthy families of the South Carolina lowcountry viewed themselves as similar in standing and responsibility to British aristocracy. Their attitude toward political, social and economic leadership naturally lead them to participate fully in public affairs. Public service was considered not only an honor, but a duty as well. These factors destined Charles Pinckney to a career in public service which would last over forty years.

Charles Pinckney's father, Colonel Pinckney, was one of the colony's leading attorneys. Among the numerous offices and positions he held was his service as commanding officer of the Charles Towne Militia, a member of the General Assembly, and in 1775, president of the South Carolina Provincial Congress. As a symbol of position and wealth, Pinckney bought his first plantation, Snee Farm, in 1754. The farm remained in the family for over 60 years until 1817 when it was sold to satisfy debts.

Young Charles Pinckney was tutored in Charleston in preparation for studying law in England. He received his education under the guidance of noted South Carolina scholar and author, Dr. David Oliphant. Dr. Oliphant had served in the Commons House of Assembly with Col. Pinckney and supplemented his physician's income by instructing several young men of outstanding promise. Through Dr. Oliphant's tutelage Pinckney became well-versed in the classics, emphasizing his study of history, political science, and languages.

In 1773, just short of his eighteenth birthday, he was scheduled to leave Charleston for law school; however, because of the growing unrest between the colonies and Great Britain, his parents decided Charles should remain at home and study law in his father's office.¹

The decision to keep their son in South Carolina was wise, for just two years later the American Revolution began. Despite the war Pinckney was able to continue his education in Charleston and by early 1779 his formal training was completed.

That year, Charles Pinckney celebrated his 21st birthday and began his life of public service. After being admitted to the South Carolina Bar, he was elected to the State's Third General Assembly representing Christ Church Parish. Also in 1779, Pinckney received a commission as a lieutenant in the 1st Battalion of the Charles Towne Militia, joining his father who served as the unit's commanding officer.² Service in the defense of the new nation would occupy most of his time for the next two years.

During the fall of that year, a joint French-American force advanced on Savannah, attempting to reclaim the city which had fallen to the British in December 1778. The Charles Towne Militia, one of the units included in the expedition, participated in the main attack on the British lines. Lieut. Pinckney received his baptism of combat in this assault and survived unharmed. However, an estimated 400 Americans and French, including his first cousin Jack Jones, were not so fortunate. This action ended the siege with the American forces returning to Charleston.

Shortly thereafter, the British initiated a campaign resulting in the capture of Charleston in May 1780. Under the terms of the city's surrender, Pinckney and the other American officers were paroled. But this limited freedom lasted only a few days before the officers were arrested and placed on board prison ships in the harbor. Lieutenant Pinckney was confined on the *PACK HORSE*.⁴

Also captured with the fall of Charleston was Charles' father, Colonel Charles Pinckney. Before the war Colonel Pinckney had been a leader in the lower house of the General Assembly and one of the colony's leading attorneys. British authorities realized the influence Pinckney, and others like him, possessed and worked to have them swear allegiance to the crown. The British threatened to imprison, hang, and/or confiscate the property of "traitors" who did not publicly declare themselves Loyalists. Faced with these circumstances, Colonel Pinckney and over 160 others declared themselves as "loyal inhabitants of Charles Town." Pinckney's estate, which included Snee Farm, was saved through this decision. When Colonel Pinckney died in 1782 Snee Farm was among those properties inherited by his son.⁵

After spending most of the summer of 1781 as a prisoner of war, Lieutenant Pinckney was among a group of officers exchanged through a general agreement for the South Carolina militia. Although records are not specific, the lieutenant was probably among the group taken to Philadelphia by ship and exchanged at that location. It is also unknown why he chose to remain in the North until the end of the war and return to South Carolina in 1783.⁶

Lieutenant Charles Pinckney was not tainted by his father's actions during the Revolutionary War. His service in the militia, his imprisonment by the British, and status as a "Patriot" strengthened the beginning of his career in state and national government.⁷

When he returned home he was elected to the South Carolina General Assembly, but his return to state politics was short lived. Pinckney wrote 3 pamphlets on the nature of the Confederation and its weaknesses in 1783.⁸ Subsequently, he was selected as a delegate to represent South Carolina in the Fifth Continental Congress (1784-1787). Only 26 years of age, Pinckney was one of the youngest members to attend. "In Congress in mid-winter of 1786 Charles Pinckney emerged as a major voice in the debates on the dire state of the Confederation."⁹

Pinckney quickly established himself as one of the most active members of the Fifth Congress. Of greatest note was his work on two important committees; the first reported on the commercial treaty policy with foreign powers and the other concerned itself with negotiations with Spain over conflicting claims to navigation on the Mississippi River.

By the winter of 1786-1787, it was apparent that Charles Pinckney, already very active, was also among the most influential men of the Congress. Congressman Pinckney, along with other members, began to realize the inherent weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation and he recognized the need for a strong central government. While he engaged in his varied duties of the Congress, Pinckney began to concentrate his efforts toward resolving these problems.¹⁰

The first need was for an official forum for discussion. On February 21, 1787, after a prolonged debate on the subject the Congress voted approval for a general convention to be held in Philadelphia in May 1787 to address the problems facing the new nation. This convention would become known as the Constitutional Convention of 1787 and Pierce Butler, Charles Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and John Rutledge were appointed as South

Carolina's delegates.

In Philadelphia, Pinckney became a familiar leader speaking more than one hundred times on various issues facing the body. Of note were his strong beliefs in protecting property interests, and establishing a strong federal government with a clear separation of powers. Pinckney was concerned with forming a government that would represent the rights of the people.¹¹

Among the many ideas Pinckney had about how the new nation should be ordered was his strong belief that religious testing for public office was wrong. At the time, nine of the thirteen colonies maintained an established church which was either Anglican, Dutch Reformed or Congregationalist. "How many thousands of subjects of Great Britain at this moment labor under civil disabilities merely on account of their religious persuasions!" Pinckney exclaimed in a speech to members of the Continental Congress.¹² The proposal passed easily and found itself in Clause 3 of Article 6 of the Constitution.¹³

When the issue of slavery arose, Delegate Pinckney stood among his fellow southerners in defense of the institution. He openly questioned the assertion that slavery was wrong, stating: "if slavery be wrong, it is justified by the example of all the world. In all ages, one half of mankind have been slaves."¹⁴ He also stated South Carolina would reject the Constitution if the document prohibited slave importation.

On May 29, 1787, Pinckney presented his own draft of the Constitution. Unfortunately this document was lost. A draft of the Pinckney Plan was found among the papers of James Wilson [Pennsylvania] which permitted constitutional scholars, J. Franklin Jameson and Andrew C. McLaughlin to reconstruct Pinckney's Plan.¹⁵ When, in 1818, James Madison wrote the South Carolinian requesting a copy of this original draft, Pinckney did not have it and, thus, provided Madison with another copy he believed was "substantially the same."

This resulted in a major controversy concerning Pinckney's contributions to the final draft of the Constitution. Nevertheless, scholars today attribute approximately 28 clauses to Pinckney. His major contributions were:

- The elimination of religious testing as a qualification to office.¹⁶
- The division of the Legislature into House and Senate.
- The power of impeachment being granted only to the House.
- The establishment of a single chief executive, who will be called President.
- The power of raising an army and navy being granted to Congress.
- The prohibition of states to enter into a treaty or to establish interfering duties.
- The regulation of interstate and foreign commerce being controlled by the national government. (For a complete roster see Appendix A.)¹⁷

Further contributions Pinckney made to the Convention and the Constitution may never be known, but it is obvious he contributed significantly to the proceedings, earning the nickname "Constitution Charlie". After the signing of the Constitution in September 1787, Pinckney returned home, once again to become active in state politics. That same year the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University) conferred its Doctorate of Laws Degree to Pinckney.¹⁸

In 1788, he represented Christ Church Parish as a member of the state's convention to ratify the Constitution. That same year, on April 27, he married Mary Eleanor Laurens,

daughter of Henry and Eleanor Ball Laurens. Henry Laurens, who had served as president of the Second Continental Congress, was a wealthy Charleston merchant and one of South Carolina's leading citizens. Like his older cousins, General C. C. Pinckney and Thomas Pinckney, Charles had married into a family of wealth, position, and influence. Mary's wealth, combined with his own fortune, aided Pinckney's public service career and lifestyle.¹⁹

Landholdings of Pinckney included property inherited from his father and that which his wife owned. Two plantations, Frankville and Hopton, were located five miles from Columbia on the Congaree River. A plantation in Georgetown included 560 acres of tidal swamp and 600 acres of high land. Pinckney also owned a 1200-acre tract of land at Lynches Creek, 815-acre Snee Farm²⁰, a house and 4-acre lot at Haddrell's Point called Shell Hall (given to him by his mother, Francis Brewton), and a house and lot in Charleston on 16 Meeting Street. From his wife, Mary Eleanor Laurens, Pinckney acquired a plantation called Wrights Savannah on the Carolina side of the Savannah River and a tract of land, including a rice mill and ferry, called Mount Tacitus.²¹

Pinckney's townhouse on Meeting Street was the former Fenwick home, a three-storied Palladian mansion which housed his 200,000 volume library. So posh was the home that in a letter dated 28 March 1789 to James Madison he bragged, "I think the house I have lately bought is not only a handsomer and better house than any in New York (which it might very easily be) but that the situation is as airy and the prospect as fine as any they have."²² Pinckney also expressed how in later years he wanted to be able, "to do and go where I please if alive and well," to be, "my own master or rather the master of my own time--in other words to enjoy the Luxury of doing as I please." (emphasis Pinckney's)²³

The following year, in 1790, Pinckney served as president of the South Carolina State Constitutional Convention and while serving in the legislature was elected governor. Charles Pinckney would serve a total of four terms as South Carolina's governor, the only person to do so in state history. After completing his first term (1789-1791), he was immediately reelected and served from 1791-1792.

At the end of his second term, the people of Christ Church Parish once again returned Pinckney to the General Assembly as their representative. He subsequently served the Parish through the Tenth, Eleventh, and Twelfth General Assemblies (1792-1797). During these formative years of the new nation, Charles and C. C. Pinckney, were leaders of the Federalist Party. However with time, Pinckney's views began to change. By 1795 he had cast his lot with the Democratic-Republican philosophies of Thomas Jefferson and the rapidly-growing Carolina back-country.²⁴ With the rise of a new political party, Pinckney recognized the opportunity for advancement in a new power base. The rest of his family remained loyal to the Federalist Party of the eastern aristocracy.

In 1796, Pinckney supported the Virginian for president, and did not support his Federalist cousin, Thomas Pinckney, who sought the vice-presidency. John Adams won the presidency with Jefferson as vice-president. Pinckney solidified his support of Thomas Jefferson during the Fifth Congress (1797-1799), became the founding father of the Democratic-Republican Party in South Carolina, and helped establish it firmly on the national scene.²⁵ These actions widened the gap between Pinckney, his Federalist family, and other established lowcountry families that had always controlled the state, politically and economically.

In 1796, after rejecting an offer to run for the U. S. Senate, Charles Pinckney ran for his third term as governor, beating his Federalist brother-in-law, Henry Laurens, Jr. Upon completion of the two year term he was returned to the General Assembly, representing Christ Church Parish. However, he could not accept the post as he had been appointed to fill an unexpired term in the United States Senate on December 6, 1798.

In the Presidential election of 1800, General C. C. Pinckney was on the Federalist's ticket for the office of vice-president. However, Charles Pinckney remained loyal to presidential candidate Thomas Jefferson, serving as his campaign manager in South Carolina and helping to carry the state for Jefferson.

In 1801, President Thomas Jefferson offered Pinckney the post of Minister Plenipotentiary to Spain. He accepted and subsequently resigned from his seat in the Senate. Minister Pinckney served abroad from 1801-1805. He attempted to smooth relations between Spain and the United States, particularly with regard to problems which arose from the seizure and plundering committed by Spanish and French vessels on American shipping. In addition, he made an unsuccessful, but valiant attempt to win cession of the Floridas to the United States. He also worked toward the transfer of Louisiana from France to the United States in 1803.²⁶

Charles Pinckney returned to Charleston in January 1806, and again took up the mantle of public service in the South Carolina General Assembly. In December of that year he was elected to his fourth and final term as governor. After completing his term as governor, Pinckney was returned to the General Assembly and served until 1813.

Over the course of his service in state politics Charles Pinckney worked tirelessly for South Carolina. He was the first governor to advocate free schools. He supported legislative reapportionment to provide better representation to the upcountry districts, and advocated universal white male suffrage. Pinckney favored the War of 1812, supported the elimination of primogeniture, and the abolition of political and civil disabilities on Jews. Also of note during his first term as governor the state capitol moved from Charleston to Columbia, which better reflected the growing political power and population of the mid-lands and mountainous upcountry.

In 1814, nearly 56 years old, Charles Pinckney declined re-election to the legislature and retired from active political life. But he was still the recognized leader of the state's Democratic-Republican Party and in 1816 actively supported James Monroe's successful presidential campaign. In 1818, Pinckney feared the Federalists would win the Charleston District seat in Congress. Convinced by friends that he was the only one in his party who could win, he entered the race and won the seat in the Sixteenth Congress (1819-1821).

It was during this Congressional session that the Missouri Compromise was passed. Pinckney, and many other members of Congress, opposed the proposal. In his speech addressing the issue he presented an outline of the views of the framers at the Constitutional Convention concerning slavery, which read in part:

The intention was to give Congress a power, after the year 1808, to prevent the importation of slaves... it was an agreed point, a solemnly understood compact, that, on the Southern States consenting to shut their ports against the importation of Africans, no power was to be delegated to Congress, nor were they ever authorized to touch the question of

*slavery; that the property of the Southern States in slaves was to be as sacredly preserved, and protected to them, as that of land, or any other kind of property in the Eastern States were to be to their citizens.*²⁷

In this speech, Pinckney also surmised he was in a losing battle and declared that slavery was the only issue that could divide the Union. He lamented the horrors a civil war would create.

Pinckney refused to accept renomination and retired from politics entirely in 1821. He spent his remaining years writing of his travels and his political life.

On October 29, 1824, Charles Pinckney died in Charleston.²⁸ For over forty years he had served his community, state, and nation. Descendant of one of South Carolina's founding families, Pinckney became one of the State's most prominent political figures. His influence extended to national politics and culminated in his contributions to the United States Constitution.

APPENDIX A

CHARLES PINCKNEY'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CONSTITUTION

1. The Legislature shall consist of a House and a Senate.
2. Each branch (House and Senate) will select its own presiding officers; its other officers; its own rule of proceedings;
3. Neither branch shall have the power to adjourn for more than a specified number of days without the consent of the other.
4. Only the House will have the power of impeachment.
5. The Legislature will have the power to coin money.
6. The Legislature will have the power to establish post offices.
7. The Legislature will have the power to call forth the aid of the militia.
8. No state will keep troops or warships during peacetime;
9. No state will coin money.
10. A single chief executive, called President, will be established.
11. The President shall inform the Legislature of the conditions of the nation (annual State of the Union address).
12. The President shall commission all officers.
13. The President will serve as the commander in chief of the army; and serve as the commander in chief of the navy.
14. The President will have the power to convene the Legislature under extraordinary conditions.
15. The President will have the power to discontinue a session of the Legislature on certain occasions.
16. The Congress shall have the power of raising an army; and a navy.
17. The provision relating to the time of election for lower house members.
18. Congress will establish the standard of weights and measures.
19. No state may enter into a treaty.
20. No state may establish interfering duties.
21. Full faith and credit between the states shall be established.
22. Privileges and immunities of citizens shall be established.
23. Criminals shall be surrendered between jurisdictions.
24. Interstate and foreign commerce shall be regulated.

ENDNOTES

1. Frances Leigh Williams, *A Founding Family, The Pinckneys of South Carolina* (New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978), 20, 41, 69. Cited hereafter as, Williams.
2. Williams, 96.
3. Mark Mayo Boatner III, Encyclopedia of the American Revolution (New York, David McKay Co., Inc., c. 1966), 980-988.
4. Williams, 178.
5. Williams, 172-173, 185-188.
6. Williams, 183-184, 198.
7. Williams, 198.
8. Williams, p.240.
9. Williams, 211
10. Williams, 199-206, 211-216. Paul A. Horne, Jr., Forgotten Leaders: South Carolina's Delegation to the Continental Congress, 1774-1789 (Ann Arbor, MI, U.M.I., c. 1992. Doctoral thesis, Dept. of History, University of South Carolina, 1988). 304-356.
11. Shirley Sidney Ulmer, "The South Carolina Delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1787: An Analytical Study," doctoral thesis Duke University, 1956, 283-339.
12. Quoted in Menendez, Albert J. "No Religious Test: Mr. Pinckney's Forgotten Freedom", *Church and State*, March 1987, p. 9.
13. Menendez, p. 9.
14. Ulmer, 330.
15. Williams, 222
16. James Madison, *Debates on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, ed. by Jonathan Elliot, Washington 1869, p. 544, as found in Ulmer, p. 333. Albert J. Menendez, "No Religious Test: Mr. Pinckney's Forgotten Freedom", *Church and State*, March 1987, pp. 6-7.
17. Ulmer, 340-408. See Appendix A for a complete list.
18. Williams, p. 270.

19. Williams, 282-283. ✓

20. The Conveyance in Trust, from which this information was taken lists Snee Farm as 815 acres. The additional acreage has not yet been researched to determine from where it was acquired.

21. Conveyance in Trust. Charles Pinckney III to Simon Magwood, et. al. (1816)

22. Charles Pinckney to James Madison, Charleston, March 28, 1789, MS: LC, as found in Ulmer, pp. 57-58.

23. Charles Pinckney to James Madison, pp. 57-58.

24. Robert G. Ferris, ed., *Signers of the Constitution*, National Park Service, Washington, D.C., 1976, p. 203.

25. Ulmer, 338.

26. Ulmer, 348-352.

27. Ulmer, 355-359.

28. Where in Charleston Charles Pinckney died is a question to be answered by future research.



SNEE FARM HISTORY OF A LANDSCAPE

INTRODUCTION

Snee Farm is located within Christ Church Parish, which is bounded on the north by the Wando River, on the west by the Cooper River, on the east by Awendaw Creek, and on the south by the Atlantic Ocean. Known historically as the Wando Neck, the area is rich in cultural resources that shed light on the largely agrarian patterns of parish life from the late 17th century to the present.

This paper interprets Snee Farm in the historical context of Christ Church Parish, focusing on an overview of land use from the 18th century to the present. An examination of documentary evidence, archeological findings, and the surviving cultural landscape provides a preliminary understanding of the evolving role Snee Farm played in the lives of the Pinckneys and subsequent owners.

PRE-EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT LANDSCAPE

Flora and Fauna

The Coastal Plain region of South Carolina before European contact was a region of broad, grassy plains with pine, oak and mixed hardwood forests. Slash, loblolly, and longleaf pine predominated as part of vast swaths of pinelands stretching from southeast Virginia to Texas. Here, natural fire eliminated competition and created vast parklike settings consisting of loblolly pine and wiregrass as a groundcover.¹

The coastal regions bounded with a large array of animals. White-tailed deer browsed the canebrakes, savannahs, and grassy pinelands. Predators included panthers, bobcats and wolves.² Black bear, raccoons, squirrels, skunks and opossums lived on dry land whereas otters, muskrats, southern minks, beavers, and alligators inhabited wetlands.

Coastal rivers were teeming with fish—bream, bass, catfish, and freshwater eels along with herring, alewives, striped bass, sea trout, shad, smelt and flounder that swam inland seasonally for spawning. Sturgeons from 3 to 6 feet swam in large numbers in tidewater rivers. Spanish mackerel, bonitos, red drums and sea bass were abundant offshore.³

Birds included cranes, herons, eagles, hawks, ospreys and a multitude of other small birds. Migratory fowl included ducks, geese, swans, Carolina parakeets and hordes of passenger pigeons. Wild turkey, flocks of more than 200, inhabited the pinelands and maritime forests.⁴

Native Americans

Native Americans probably reached South Carolina approximately 15,000 years ago.⁵ By the time of European contact they had developed into a diversified culture that focused on agriculture (beans, corn and squash), semi-sedentary village life, platform mounds, and ritual burial practices. Although they shortly disappeared following European contact, these Mississippian peoples constituted the height of Southeastern Indian prehistory.⁶

Native American settlements varied through time, but the landscape of protohistoric and historic peoples often consisted of old and new horticultural plots associated with scattered villages that were located on bluffs along tidal streams and adjacent to maritime forests. Fire was used

to clear new areas, revitalize existing plots, and to trap deer in the hunt.⁷ Their alterations to the landscape resulted in open woodlands, weedy old fields, pure pine stands on old sites, and blackened forests destroyed by wildfire.⁸

Around the Charleston area, the Native Americans lived in settlements of two types: 1) a large communal, round house or 2) a series or cluster of small round cabins.⁹ These houses were constructed of wattle and daub with roofs of thatched palmetto leaves.¹⁰

Ethnohistorical sources indicate that in 1600 approximately 15,000 Native Americans lived in the area we know today as South Carolina. The Siouan-speaking tribes such as Catawba and subordinate tribes such as the Santee, Sewee, PeeDee, Wateree, and Congaree were located in the north and eastern part of the state. (Figure 1) The Iroquoian-speaking Cherokees, their entire nation consisting of approximately 30,000, lived in the northwestern part.¹¹

Some 1,750 native Americans lived along a 100-mile strip of coastal area between the Santee and Savannah rivers.¹² Along the southern coasts many smaller tribes, collectively known as Cusabos, and speaking Muskogean, a common language of the Southeast, were related to the powerful Creeks in Georgia and Alabama. The Yamasees, who did not settle in South Carolina until 1685, were the most well-known of this group.¹³ The Cusabos and Seewees occupied the coastal area in the 16th century, but by the 1715, only one Seewee village remained.¹⁴



Figure 1. Indians at time of contact, c. 1670. (Reprinted with permission. Map 4.2, Kovacic and Winberry, *South Carolina: The Making of a Landscape*, p. 60.)

EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD: 1526-1720

Spanish

Early explorers of the 16th century laid claim to the southeastern regions for France and Spain long before English settlers came to Jamestown in 1607. Giovanni da Verrazzano, in 1524, explored the Atlantic coast for France and Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon explored the eastern Carolinas for Spain in 1526. Hernando de Soto and Juan Pardo explored the Southeast in the 1540s, leading expeditions into the interior. French attempts at settlement in the New World ended in abandonment or destruction.

In 1565, the Spanish established strongholds at St. Augustine and one year later at Santa Elena. The fort and mission there constituted a formidable Spanish presence in Carolina.

Africans came to the Americas in these early expeditions as slaves. In 1526 free blacks as well as slaves accompanied Ayllon to a settlement near Cape Fear and later when the settlement moved to alongside the PeeDee River in the fall of that same year. Slaves were being imported to the West Indies as early as 1517, making way for slave trading over the next 300 years.

Initial British Colonists

The enormous demand for manpower on West Indies sugar plantations gave rise to more involuntary recruitment of Africans. When Barbados was settled in 1627, one out of four inhabitants was an African Negro.¹⁵ By 1670, approximately 30,000 blacks and 20,000 whites inhabited the island. Land shortages, crop failures, epidemics, fires, and hurricanes, soon caused many planters to seek fortunes elsewhere. Thus, Barbadians immigrants comprised the largest proportion of first permanent settlers to Carolina.¹⁶

The first English settlement in Carolina was made on the Ashley River, but the colonists moved ten years later to Oyster Point. The city of Charles Town was thus founded at the confluence of the Ashley and Cooper Rivers. The Barbadians coming to the new settlement were rewarded enormous grants of land through a land policy, or headright system. A man traveling to the colony would be allowed 150 acres for each male he transported there, including himself, 100 acres for each female, and 100 acres for each male under 16 years of age. This amount would later be reduced to 50 acres per person brought in to the province.¹⁷

Initial Industry and Agriculture

Much of the initial work on the land involved clearing massive trees and splitting logs in order to make huts or houses for slaves and squaring and sawing logs to make the houses for the freemen and their families. Three acres were expected to be cleared and cultivated annually.¹⁸ Settlers planted corn and tobacco during these early years and just barely eeked a living.¹⁹

Several colonists tried to grow tropical fruits such as olives and citrus but were generally unsuccessful.²⁰ The single most profitable enterprise was raising livestock. Allowed to roam freely and browse, cattle became a source of protein for colonists early on. In addition to cattle, hogs became a commodity. By 1690, selling cattle, hogs, and corn to newcomers was well-established.²¹

Grazing had many advantages. It required little labor, freed up manpower for clearing the land, and provided a source of food and income. Grazing afforded the colonists with the

time and capital to plan for longer term economic growth. Money made from livestock enabled them to purchase slaves and servants.²²

Barreled pork and beef were the third largest export commodity. Most of these were exported to the West Indies—1,963 barrels of beef and 1,241 barrels of pork in 1712.²³

Deerskins were another commodity quick to assist the English in their search for economic stability. Traders gave glass beads, cloth, tools, knives, guns, powder and shot, rum and other manufactured goods to Native Americans in return for hides. By the end of the 17th century, 50,000 deerskins were being shipped annually from Charles Towne.²⁴

A merchant community quickly developed during the period 1705 to 1715. During this time the Native American trade dominated commercial activity. The port became politically and economically dominant in the colony and remained so throughout the colonial period.²⁵

Timber quickly became another industry to develop in the early settlement period. The local need for housing sustained a constant demand. In addition, intense cultivation of land in the West Indies for sugar cane had left the islands devoid of any wood products. Carolinians quickly began providing Barbados and other islands with wood for cane boiling fires and staves for barrels to ship molasses. Beef, pork, corn, and lumber products were also shipped in large quantities. It was through these industries that Carolinians got a start in the New World.²⁶

Given the hardships of starting a new life with different resources, the first farms and plantations in the Charles Towne area were actually frontier farms seeking economic stability through the use of a few slaves. Typical farms needed laborers able to tend cattle, clear land, fence off the land for pasture, build pens for calves and shelters for hogs. Other types of work included butchering, barrel-making, salt gathering, packing and loading meat for export. These small farms were the precursors to large cash crop plantations emerging in the mid to late 18th century.²⁷

Naval stores were another industry to find success from the vast natural resources of Carolina. Although it developed slowly due to a lack of processing knowledge and a shortage of labor, the industry peaked in 1720 with 40,000 barrels of tar and pitch exported to England.²⁸

Carolina became a major producer of naval stores in the American colonies. Earnings financed more land acquisition and slaves. The success of the industry caused a flood of products and a resulting decrease in prices. However, when England later turned to the Baltics for their supply, demand dropped. In addition, Parliament reduced its subsidies to the industry in Carolina and eventually allowed them to expire. By the end of the colonial period, the naval stores industry had faltered.²⁹

Native Americans

Most Native Americans were willing to trade with the colonists and create for themselves a more secure environment. They hunted animals that were traded for hoes, kettles, knives, jewelry, and axes. Such items increased their prestige within the tribe and made their lives easier.³⁰

The Sewees, one of the local tribes, allied themselves and provided food for the English. They and other local Native American groups also assisted the English during raids by the Spanish.³¹ The Kiawahs were known to have shown the English where to settle their colony at Charles Town Landing.³²

Having formed alliances with the English, many Native Americans were more than willing to capture their enemies and exchange them for goods. Native American slaves were shipped to Europe and the northern colonies in return for cattle, black slaves, or white servants. However, concern over reprisals from the tribes and threats to the fur trade influenced colonists to look elsewhere for their labor supply.³³

One such incident was the Yamasee War in 1715. As deer and other animals became scarce, the Yamasees became more and more in debt and feared enslavement themselves. Shady trading practices of the English traders further increased the distrust Yamasees held for the white man. The resulting war pushed the southern frontier back to Charles Town.

Old world diseases would be disastrous for the local tribes. Having no resistance, many would die within a few days after the arrival of European traders. Diseases such as smallpox, measles, influenza, and typhus took enormous tolls on Native American populations.³⁴

Natives closest to the shores suffered most resulting in dramatic declines in populations. The Sewees gradually moved away from the Charleston area having lost large numbers to smallpox and other diseases. Their population of 800 in 1600 had declined to only 62 by 1716.³⁵ Of the approximately 10,000 Native Americans living in the Piedmont and Coastal Plains of South Carolina in 1685, only approximately 7500 remained 15 years later. Disease, war, and slavery continued to reduce this population to a mere 300 by the end of the 19th century.³⁶

African-American Experience

Although white labor was common in the form of indentured servants, many settlers preferred the slavery system. It was not an uncommon way of life as many who initially imported slaves had come from West Indies plantations where slavery was already institutionalized. During the early colonial period there were no diplomatic or strategic problems or fears of reprisals as there were with Native American slaves. It was cheaper to import blacks from the islands than bring in labor from England. In addition, there were unlimited terms, a constant source, and no reprisals for harsh treatment.³⁷

Demand for labor increased with the clearing of land for pasture, the development of the timber industry, including naval stores, and the production of meal. During the first 25 years after initial settlement, blacks were on equal footing with Native American slaves and indentured servants. Many worked complimentary tasks side-by-side with their masters. As a result, blacks became involved with a diversity of jobs: driving cattle, hewing logs, coopering, and fishing. Blacks were good pathfinders in the wilderness as fewer Natives remained. Many served as guides and translators for fur traders.³⁸ Others became good boatmen or were sought for their skills as sawyers.³⁹

Shared difficulties allowed for unified forces on the homefront. Hostilities with the Spanish in the south, constantly shifting relations with Native Americans, and fear of Atlantic pirates urged whites and blacks to work together for security. Also within the colony was the concern with daily provisions, threats to livestock, and building bridges. These were all commonly done by black males for benefit of the whole.⁴⁰

Blacks participated in the defense of white settlers in the Yamasee War of 1715. Some were given their freedom in exchange for defending the colonies. Most slaves, however,

probably had no choice in the matter. Accounts list as many as 400 blacks joining white forces in response to the Native American threats.⁴¹

During the height of the naval stores industry, blacks excelled in the skills needed to extract turpentine from pitch pines. Others had a hand in the fur trade, collecting skins from Native Americans, and trimming, weighing and packing the pelts for shipment to England.⁴² By the end of the 1720s, a larger portion of the labor force was devoted to naval stores and meat production than to rice.⁴³

Population figures for blacks and whites indicate the black population exceeded that of whites as early as 1708. Figures show 4,080 free and indentured whites, 4,100 black slaves and 1,400 Native American slaves. By 1720, those figures had grown to roughly 6,500 whites and 12,000 blacks. In 1720, Christ Church Parish, east of the Wando River, had 637 slaves and 535 free whites. (Approximately 49 people per taxable acre with 54 percent of the total population being black.) St. Philip's Parish, including the city of Charles Towne, had 1,390 slaves and 1,415 free whites. (23 per taxable acre and 50 percent of the total population being black.)⁴⁴

Rice

The introduction of new varieties of rice brought increasing interest in the crop by the end of the 17th century. Historian Peter Wood states that the knowledge of West Africans in the cultivation of rice in their homeland, was the key to the "discovery" that the crop does well under flood conditions. Planting and covering the seeds, hoeing in unison to work songs, and the pattern of cultivation were all retained from West African forebears.⁴⁵

Black slave labor was heavily relied upon for the production of rice. The sheer physical strength needed to clear swamp land, plant, hoe, harvest, and transport to market was enormous. Africans also carried a partial immunity to certain lowland diseases which increased the landowners' preference for slaves. Yellow fever and malaria were common diseases in Africa. Acquired immunity and particular genetic changes through the sickle cell trait gave Africans an advantage over Europeans when exposed to these diseases.^{46 47}

Rice emerged as the staple commodity during the first 50 years of settlement. It was exported to Great Britain, to the northern colonies, to the West Indies, and, after 1730, to southern Europe. By 1715 more than 8,000 barrels were shipped annually from Charles Towne. The cultivation of rice spread along the coast north and south of the city and exports reached almost 40,000 barrels per year by the 1730s.

Settlement patterns

Carolina's tidal rivers and streams made transportation easier and this affected the general settlement patterns. Early settlement had concentrated around Charles Towne with slow growth of a population dependent upon trade with Native Americans, cattle, and forest industries. Colonists selected plantation sites based upon several locational factors, but the most important during initial settlement was access water transportation. The 1685 Thornton-Morden map (Figure 2) shows clusters of plantations along major waterways. The Wando and Hobcaw Creeks also show some settlement. By 1715, naval stores and the developing rice industry grew along with a population increasing to 16,000 (6,000 whites and 10,000 blacks). Settlements were concentrated along the Cooper, Ashley and Edisto Rivers with a few

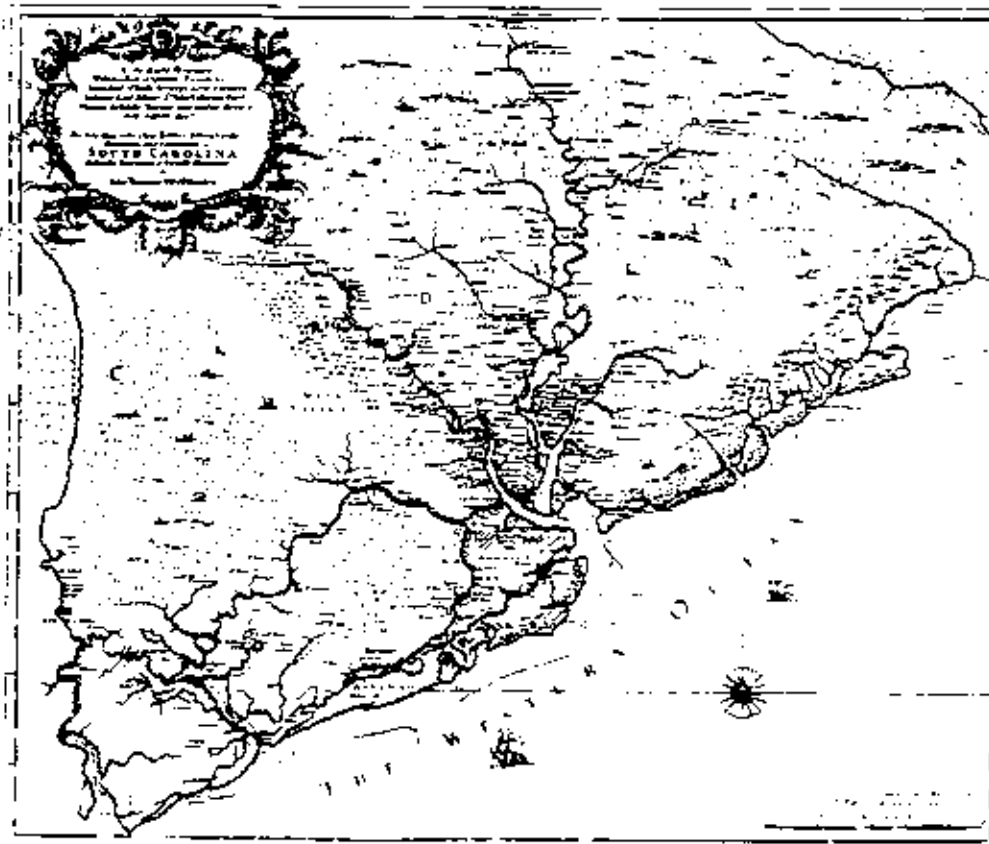


Figure 2. Thornton-Morden Map of 1685.
 Courtesy of the Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina.

clusters near Beaufort and along the Santee. At this time 90 percent of the population was living within 30 miles of Charles Towne.⁴⁸

Christ Church Parish and Snee Farm: 1706-1744

Christ Church Parish, known historically as the Wando Neck, was created in 1706, the results of the Church Act of 1706 which established ten church parishes outside of Charleston.⁴⁹ Most of the parishioners of Christ Church were very poor farmers and mechanics.⁵⁰ They kept cattle, mostly free-ranging, and regularly burned the woods to enhance grazing areas. Some people were involved in the Native American trade, selling hides and deerskins in Charles Town. Many inhabitants hunted the abundant wild game to supply food for their families. Native American shell mounds were used to produce lime and make mortar for building, whitewash, and crude bricks. Clay deposits found in the parish provided a source for bricks. Many worked to produce turpentine, rosin, tar, and lumber.

By 1721 there were 107 families living in the parish—400 whites and 637 slaves. In 1724 the parish grew to include 470 whites and 700 slaves.⁵¹

Some of the parishioners listed in the Parish included Benjamin Law, elected church warden in 1727. Joseph Law is listed as a parishioner in 1732 along with James Allen. In addition, William Pinckney, Charles Pinckney's grandfather, is listed as a new member in 1740.⁵² These three family names are associated with tract of land which we know today as Snee Farm.

Snee Farm is bounded on the north by Long Point Road. This road, referenced as early as 1707 as the "Seawee Broad Path", connected Governor Sir Nathaniel Johnson's lands on the Sewee Bay with Bermuda Town. Christ Church Parish historian, Anne King Gregorie⁵³ in her footnote cites a 1707 Assembly act which ordered the widening of the path to 16 feet. Long Point Road extended from Belvue-Bermuda plantation west of Boone Hall to Christ Church at present day U.S. Highway 17. The establishment in 1719 of Long Point plantation, situated north of Bermuda plantation, apparently was responsible for the renaming of the road.

Today Snee Farm consist of 28 acres of what was originally a 500 acre land grant to Richard Butler in the late 17th century. The Thornton-Morden map of 1685 shows a Butler in the vicinity of the site (Figure 3). A 1733 Memorial to Benjamin Law, in Charleston, states that the grant to Richard Butler was made on December 5, 1696.⁵⁴ Sometime between 1696 and 1730, however, Butler conveyed the 500 acres to John Givens for in 1730, Givens left the parcel of land to Benjamin Law.⁵⁵ (See Chain of Title in Appendix A)



Enlargement of the Thornton-Morden Map of 1685.
 Courtesy of the Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina.

The land was described as "situate in Berkeley County buting and bounding on land of Thomas Boone to the Northeast and upon the land of Mary and Sarah Sims to the Southwest. . .⁵⁶ In 1738, 615 acres were sold to John Allen. The plat prepared that year shows only property boundaries with Captain Thomas Boone's property on the north (Figure 4).

Allen increased the size of the farm by purchasing the 100 acres owned by James and Sarah White (formerly Sarah Sims) in 1744. This consolidated the farm into 715 acres.

MIDDLE AND LATE COLONIAL PERIOD

Rice

The switch from inland swamp rice cultivation to tidal rice in the 1750s created great demands for slave labor. The slave population in South Carolina jumped to 52,000 in the 1760s and almost doubled to 100,000 by the Revolutionary War.⁵⁷ Tidal rice technology involved a system of ditches, dikes, canals, and trunks which diverted tidal waters from rivers and streams onto the rice fields. Tidewater rice cultivation was practiced along the tidal portion of the Savannah, Ogeechee, Combahee, Ashepoo, Edisto, and Cooper Rivers.

Indigo

Indigo was another major commercial crop in coastal Carolina. Charles Pinckney's great aunt, Eliza Lucas Pinckney, along with the help of French Huguenots, successfully reintroduced the crop in the mid-18th century. During the French and Indian War, exports exceeded 0.5 million pounds annually. However, by the mid-1770s the crop peaked at over 1 million pounds.⁵⁸

The higher lands behind rice fields were ideal for indigo cultivation. Large acreages occurred along the coast and in the back country. Contemporary estimates of a typical lowcountry plantation in 1755 include 60 acres of indigo, 25 acres of rice, and 32 slaves. Cattle, hogs, sheep and poultry were also part of the agricultural scene.⁵⁹

African-Americans

Racial tensions had been felt early in the colonial period. Acts to restrict negroes appeared as early as 1712, and in 1721 a citizens' watch was formed in the city of Charles Towne.⁶⁰ By 1730, fear of insurrections in the province had prompted churchgoers of Christ Church parish to carry guns to services.⁶¹

Fears of uprisings forced slaves into more menial tasks, and as the colony became more stable with its rice-based agriculture, white control over the economy tightened. Blacks began finding themselves restricted more and more to servile positions, and pushed out of positions that had before provided them contact and equal footing with whites. More and more blacks were being confined to agricultural labor such as hauling and loading rice, cultivating and processing indigo, collecting and disposing refuse, building roads, and cutting canal passages.⁶²

Still, the transition was gradual. Even after 1720, there remained a high demand for skilled blacks. During the decades following 1720, many were sold with their tools of trade. Advertisements sought drivers, blacks with knowledge of planting, coopers, cooks, scamstresses, housewenches, washerwomen, "waiting men", boatmen, fishermen, blacksmiths, and ploughmen.⁶³

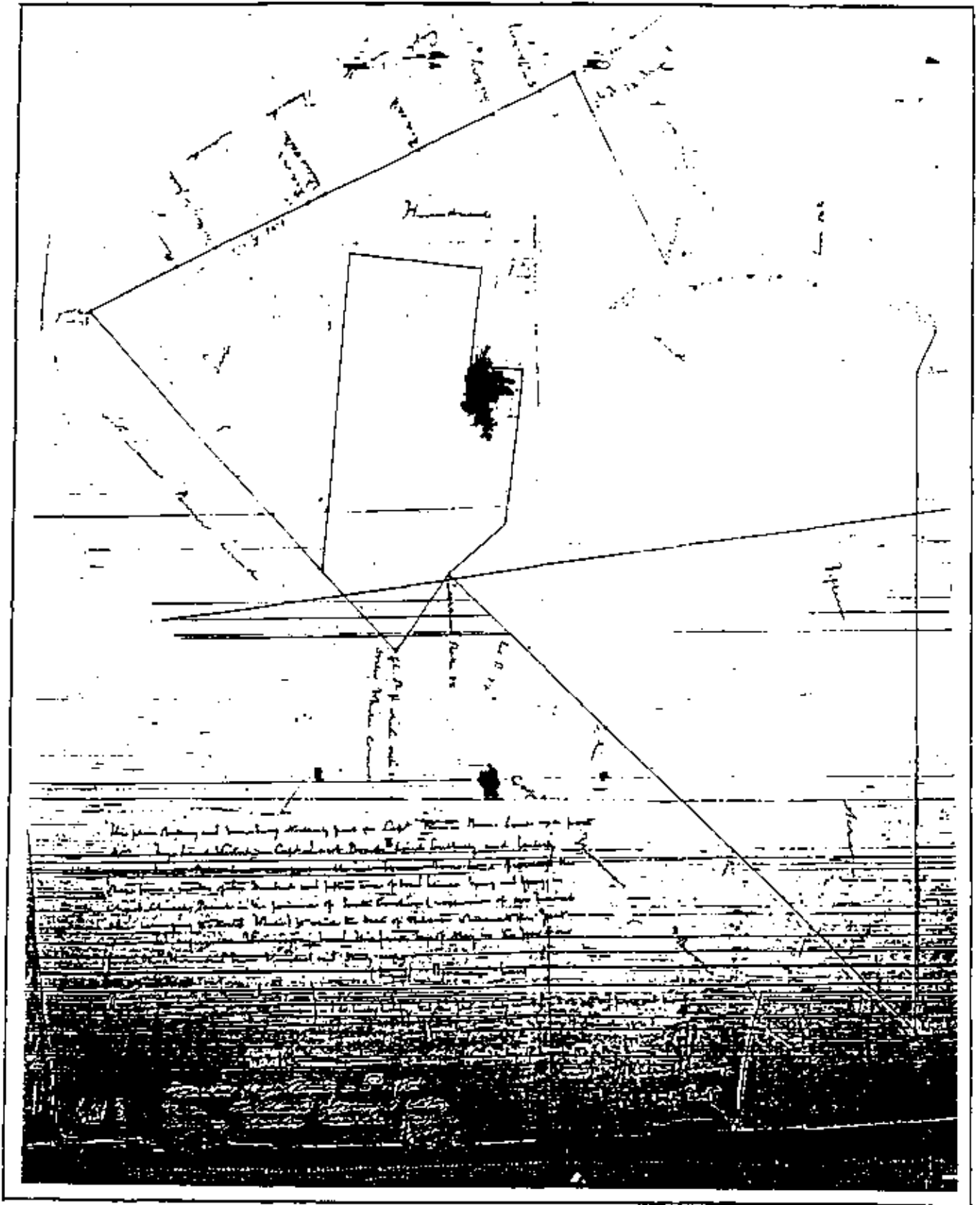


Figure 4. Plat of John Allen's Land, 1738. McCrady Plat #6013.

Populations

Forty thousand black slaves and twenty thousand free whites lived in Carolina by 1740. Huge increases in slave importation occurred after 1725 coinciding with the rise in rice and indigo production.⁶⁴ The British Surveyor General William DeBraham estimated there were 35,000 free whites in the city and country and 80,000 slaves between 1751 and 1771.⁶⁵

The white population tripled during the period 1730-1760 with Germans, Irish Protestants, Welsh Baptists from Pennsylvania, Scotch-Irish, and Swiss Protestants settling in townships, homesteads and areas of the frontier.⁶⁶

Economy

Many factors contributed to the rise of Charles Towne's Golden Age. Beginning in 1730, business activity flourished around the success of rice and indigo production. Charles Towne merchants also established enterprises within the interior along river townships to bring wheat, indigo, tobacco and corn to market. A southern port on the Gulf Stream and an ideal stopping point to and from the West Indies, Charles Towne rapidly grew to be a major seaport on the eastern seaboard. Some 300 to 400 ships made stops there annually, sailing on to England, Holland, the West Indies, and the northern colonies. Exports rose 600 percent from 60,000 pounds sterling in 1720 to over 400,000 pounds sterling in 1769.⁶⁷

Cattle were still very common to the coastal areas. Merrrens⁶⁸ writes that an estimated 800,000 cattle filled coastal cowpens, swamps, and planters' lands in 1751.

Landscape patterns

Architectural historian, Roger G. Kennedy, has traced the architectural styles from the West Indies planters to the colonial Carolina lowcountry, and provides a view of the early 18th Charleston landscape. Kennedy notes that the successors of the West Indian planters did not live on their plantations but rather they "...created a little London in Charleston, from which they paid state visits to the overseers of their rice, indigo, and cotton plantations." Although the colonial gentry possessed great wealth, it did not often result in "large and elegant country houses."⁶⁹

By the late colonial period, plantation houses begin to appear oriented towards roadways as these transportation routes became important with waterways. By 1751, several roads, bridges, private roads to plantations, landings, and several causeways across marshes had been built. This infrastructure was important in the establishment of parish systems and showed a general movement of populations into the interior regions. Plantations were widely dispersed as indicated in the Faden Map of 1780 (Figure 5). The dispersed settlement pattern continued into the 19th century in Christ Church Parish as seen in the Mills Atlas of 1825, Charleston District (Figure 6).

Transportation to Charleston during the 18th and 19th century was by boat, and public and private landings can be found on numerous early plats and maps of the area. The 1818 plat of Snee Farm (Figure 7) indicates an "old causeway" leading in a northwesterly direction to Boone Hall Creek and suggests the use of a landing there during Pinckney's time.



Figure 5. Faden Map of 1780.

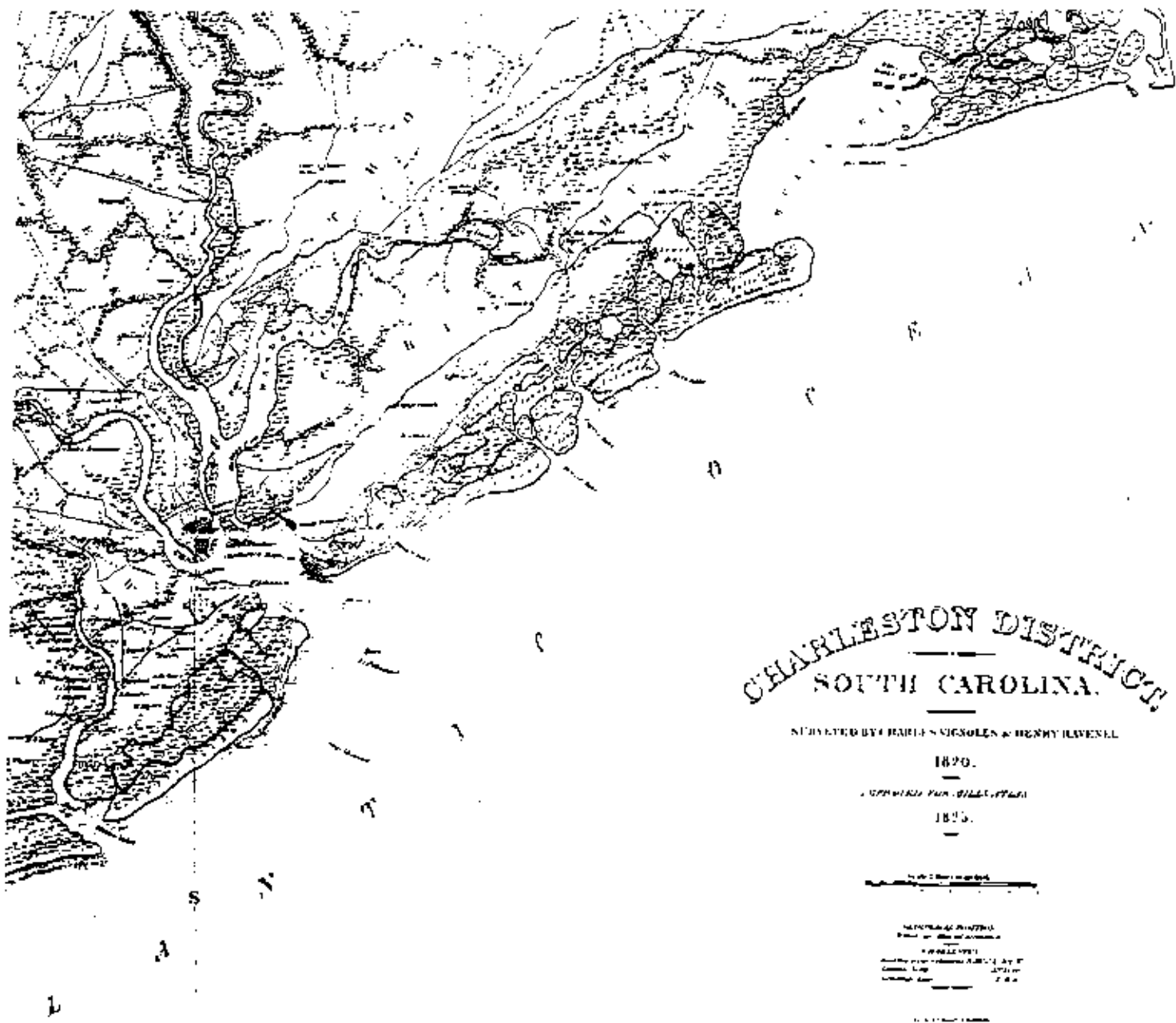


Figure 6. Mills Atlas, Charleston District, 1825.

Revolutionary War

The war created many physical changes in the landscape of Charles Towne and the Wando Neck. Fortifications were completed at Haddrell's Point in 1775 and at Fort Johnson. Fort Moultrie, on Sullivan's Island, was also built.

The partisan war also created much conflict, death, and destruction in the colony. Churches, plantations, and crops were burned and approximately 30,000 slaves were lost from having run away, having died, or from having been stolen.⁷⁰ Property was seized, looted, and for the most part devastated.

African-Americans played important roles in the construction of defense works throughout the Charleston area. Indeed, Charles Pinckney acknowledged their part in a speech quoted in Gordon⁷¹:

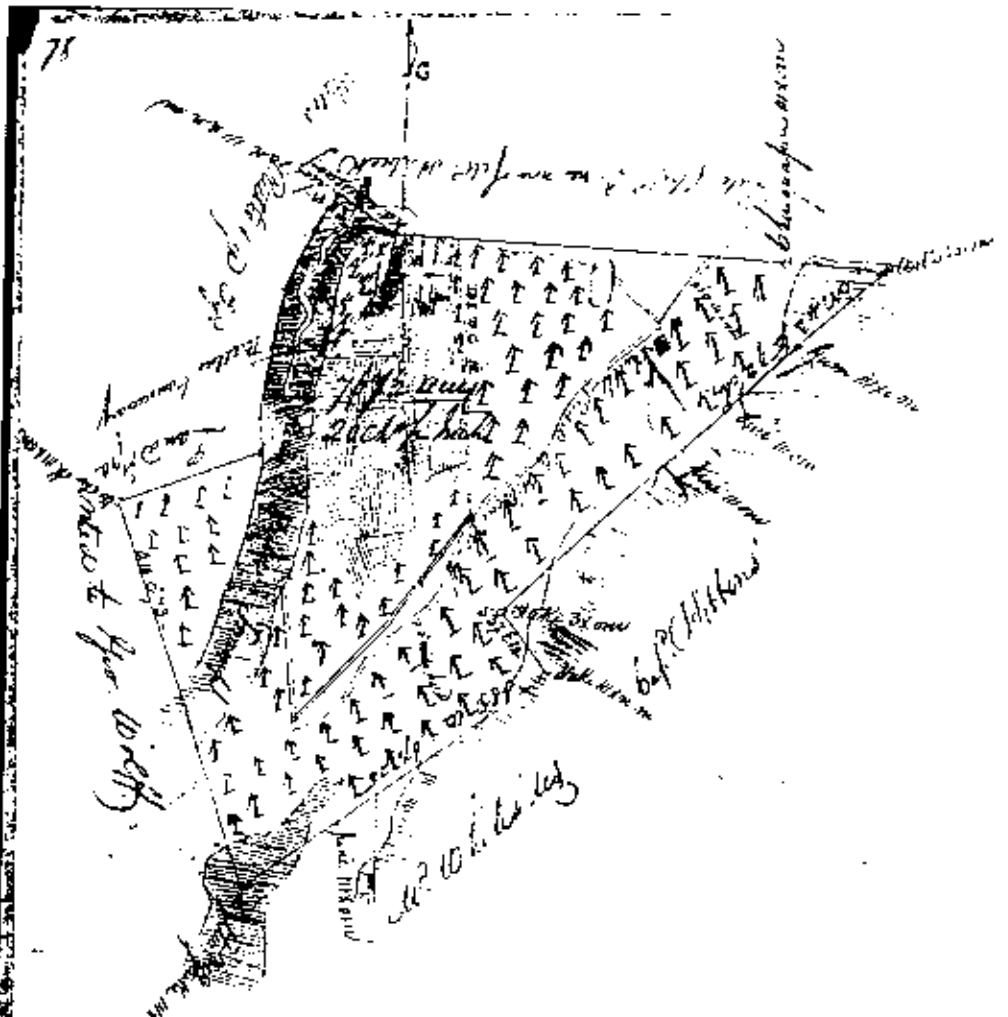
They were, as they still are, as valuable a part of our population to the Union as any other equal number of inhabitants. They were in numerous instances the pioneers and, in all, the laborers of your armies. To their hands were owing the erection of the greatest part of the fortifications raised for the protection of our country; some of which, particularly Fort Moultrie, gave at that early period of the inexperience and untried valor of our citizens, immortality to American arms; and, in the northern states numerous bodies of them were enrolled into and fought by the sides of the whites, the battles of the Revolution.

Christ Church Parish and Snee Farm: 1754-1817 (Pinckney Period)

In 1748, John Allen died and his widow, Anne Scott Allen, married John Savage. Savage sold Snee Farm in 1754 to Charles Pinckney II (1731-1782), a member of the lowcountry gentry, and a wealthy Charleston attorney, public servant, and planter. Colonel Pinckney acquired Snee Farm soon after his marriage to Francis Brewton, sister of Miles Brewton⁷². A late 18th century plat (copy not reproducible) of the estate shows only two houses on the property, one on the northern boundary and one on the south along the "Public Road to the Church Street".⁷³ The house located on the northern edge appears to be in the same location as cruciform-shaped area drawn on an 1818 plat drawn for the subsequent owner, Francis G. Deliesseline (Figure 7). The house on the northern boundary may have been standing when Colonel Pinckney purchased the land. To date, archeological investigations have yet to locate the site of this structure.

Colonel Charles Pinckney died in 1782. The probate inventory of 1787 indicates he had 40 slaves at Snee Farm including a driver, sawyer, a wheelwright, a cooper, a gardener, an oarsman, 3 carpenters, and 5 field hands.⁷⁴ The use of an oarsman is reinforced by the acknowledgement of a landing and boathouse located north of Pinckney bridge. In a court case concerning a land dispute between William Mathews and John Horlbeck in 1844, descriptions of the property provide the following:

... About three chains below the [Pinckney] bridge are to be seen the marks of an old causeway, and ... the traces of an old road leading to it. The old boat house of Snee Farm, when it was held by Charles Pinckney and Governor Pinckney, stood just below the old causeway, and the boat landing was immediately below the house.⁷⁵



South Carolina

Its hereby except for the way of the line
 a tract of land containing four hundred & fifty acres
 a half acre surveyed for high tax 18 April 1818. Situate in the
 district of Charleston Christ Church Parish in the county of
 Wando's Cross & hath such state for D. Marks as the above
 plat represents —

Given under my hand this 21 day of April 1818.

Wm. Pringle
 J. P.

— John Hilliard
 J. P.

Figure 7. 1818 plat drawn for Francis Deliuselinc. State Plat [1], Vol. 39, p.78.

Colonel Pinckney specifically stated in his will that Snee Farm, along with Drainfield and Fee Farm at Ashepoo, be retained while other properties of his be sold to pay his debts. This would indicate that Snee Farm was a profitable and, perhaps, favorite place. His son, Charles Pinckney III (1757-1824), inherited the property following his father's death in 1782.⁷⁶

Archeological investigations conducted at Snee Farm have revealed the location of extensive 18th and 19th century brick foundations, some of which date to the Pinckney period of occupation. Recent archeology suggests that the farm during CPII's ownership was quite active. Discoveries of wine bottle seals with the Pinckney name and a silver spoon with initials of Colonel Pinckney and his wife are strong evidence of the family's residency.

It is known that Colonel Pinckney spent Christmas Eve and Christmas day of 1775 at Snee Farm.⁷⁷ Given the apparent activity and use of the farm by Charles Pinckney's parents, it is believed that Snee Farm played a prominent part in his youth. Further research may reveal how the Pinckneys spent their time at Snee Farm.

Young Charles Pinckney inherited Snee Farm from his father's estate. Snee Farm was known as his country estate, but he also owned several plantations in the lowcountry and one on the Congaree River near Columbia. He maintained an elegant three-storied brick residence flanked by a carriage house and stable buildings at 16 Meeting Street in Charleston. The townhouse was probably his principal residence after his marriage to Eleanor Laurens in 1788.⁷⁸ South Carolina historian, Dr. George C. Rogers stated that Charleston was at her peak in 1788 and that all the Pinckneys (Charles, Charles Cotesworth, and Thomas) had fine residences in town.⁷⁹

A review of the 1790 Federal Census provided no information on Charles Pinckney's residence. The records simply recorded that he owned 14 slaves in St. Phillip & St. Michael, 52 slaves in St. Bartholomew, and 45 slaves in the Orangeburg District. Slave laborers and skilled slaves at Snee Farm may have been managed by an overseer at this time.⁸⁰

During his second term as Governor of South Carolina, Charles Pinckney wrote to George Washington offering Snee Farm for a rest stop on his tour to Charleston in 1791. In the invitation he requested the President "to make a stage at a little farm of mine in Christ Church . . . I must apologize for asking you to call at a place so indifferently furnished and where your fare will be entirely that of a farm".⁸¹ President Washington recorded in his diary after his breakfast at Snee Farm on 2 May 1791: "Breakfasted at the Country seat of Governor Pinckney about 18 miles from our lodging place and then came to the ferry at Haddrell's Point. . ."⁸² Historian Walter Edgar notes that Washington's use of the word "seat" in his description of Snee Farm emphasizes the important status of Pinckney's country estate. In England country seats were considered much more than mere farms. He further comments that 18th century etiquette would have required the use of more modest terms when describing one's own property. Hence the use of "farm" by Pinckney in his letter to Washington.⁸³ Pinckney was, by this time, not spending much time at Snee farm and by 1795 he had leased it to Samuel Cripps.⁸⁴

Pinckney qualified as executor of his father's estate on April 16, 1798, sixteen years after his father's death.⁸⁵ This lengthy period suggests some legal difficulties may have been associated with the Colonel's estate. Perhaps further research into county records may reveal something about the activities on the farm between 1782 and 1798.

An examination of the 1800 Federal Census shows that Charles Pinckney was listed as a resident of the City of Charleston, but no members of his family or slaves were counted. His name also appeared in the list of slave owners in Christ Church Parish. Pinckney's name appears next to the names of William Dunlap (19 slaves) and Delienseline (23 slaves) suggesting these men were acting as his representatives, land agents, or overseers. The census record does not state the location of the slaves but it is probable that the 42 slaves were at Snee Farm.⁸⁶

Again, in the 1810 Federal Census Mr. Pinckney was listed in Charleston and no household members were enumerated, but he was listed as the owner of 58 slaves in Christ Church Parish.⁸⁷ The number of slaves is similar to the number of slaves Pinckney inherited from his father's estate. Based on the evidence, it is reasonable to assume that slave life and labor at Snee Farm had not changed since the American Revolution.

Because no family papers or Snee Farm plantation records are known, we have no description of the farm other than two survey plats from 1783 and 1818. One Charleston County record reported that Charles Pinckney's Snee Farm and several other properties were "wholly unproductive" and some of the properties were "in perishing condition the houses going to ruin and daily diminishing in value."⁸⁸

Walter Edgar's *A Documentary History of Snee Farm* prepared for the Friends of Historic Snee Farm in 1991 contains the following excerpt from an 1817 advertisement in the *Charleston City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, 21 February 1817. Snee Farm plantation was described as: "...containing about 800 acres with the necessary buildings well suited for supplying the Charleston markets. Also, about 60 head of cattle which may be seen on the farm." The 1818 plat presents a graphic picture of rice cultivation, land use, and a presumed garden.

The Pinckney Gardens at Snee Farm

Wealthy planters who had been to England were known to have spent the time and money to erect stately gardens⁸⁹. Henry Laurens, Eliza Lucas Pinckney, and Charles Drayton, who were contemporaries of Colonel Pinckney, fashioned their gardens from English models of the time. They were characterized by geometric planting beds with straight walkways and enclosed with fences or hedgerows. The fashion of the day encouraged the mixing of vegetables, fruits and flowers in a decorative style. The combination of "decorative" with "productive" illustrated a new gardening style known as the "ferme ornee".⁹⁰

As Colonel Pinckney was educated in England and kept close economic and social ties with the mother country, there is a strong likelihood that he installed elaborate gardens at Snee Farm. His wife, Frances Brewton, was also a member of one of the wealthiest Charleston families and she may have played a role in the development of Snee Farm.⁹¹ The fact that Col. Pinckney's probate inventory of 1787 listed a gardener leads us to believe that this skilled slave was needed for special gardening tasks. Obviously, the slave gardener had tasks unlike those of the slave field hands.

Details found on an 1818 plat (See Figure 7) indicate a rectangular cruciform pattern and may represent a garden or garden plots located near the northern property boundary adjacent to Long Point Road. Two tightly cross hatched rectangles on the south and east edges of the pattern may represent a dwelling house and an associated structure.

Evidence for a garden is found again on a later plat, probably related to an 1844 court suit "Mathews vs. Horibeck" (Boone Hall lands). The plat bears the identification of gardens in a section labeled "Park and Garden of Mr. Mathews." Although details of the gardens are not drawn, the area indicated was in the same area where the earlier 1818 plat indicated a cruciform-shaped garden north of the residence. Intriguing, also, is a quote by the lawyer representing Mathews when the case against Horibeck was appealed:

Upon this tract there has been continuous possession since the conveyance to Charles Pinckney and perhaps long before, and a handsome garden and adjoining pleasure grounds besides houses and fields have long existed on it and been carefully tended and embellished by Charles Pinckney, Governor Pinckney and the Plaintiff.⁹²

Finally, one bit of information published in 1866 provides a fascinating view of the past cultural landscape at Snee Farm. *DeBow's Review* published an intriguing article in April 1866 which stated that Charles Pinckney was "fond of rambling over his farm" in Christ Church Parish. The author, W. S. Elliott was a Pinckney descendent. Despite his reminiscent and rather florid description of "Snee Farm" as the site of a "villa" with fountains, shrubbery, an artificial lake, and fish ponds, Elliott offers the possibility of embellished gardens existing during the Pinckney period.⁹³ His description of "An avenue a mile long, with a grove of luxuriant oaks, [which] led the way to the rustic residence..." correlates with the entrance "avenue" found on other plat maps.⁹⁴

Snee Farm During the Revolution

Colonel Charles Pinckney may have spared devastation to Snee Farm when he abandoned the American cause in order to protect his property.⁹⁵ William Moultrie and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney were paroled and kept quarters at Snee Farm in 1780. It was during that time that Moultrie reported that the "quarters were excellent at Mr. Pinckney's place called Snee Farm".⁹⁶ This indication that the farm was in good condition is further supported by the fact that Frances Brewton Pinckney, wife of Colonel Charles Pinckney, wrote after the war that she intended to spend more time at Snee Farm.⁹⁷ Unfortunately, Christ Church did not fare as well. The church was burned by the British in 1782 and rebuilt in 1788.⁹⁸

OVERVIEW OF THE CHRIST CHURCH PARISH LANDSCAPE: 1785-1860

At the end of the 18th century, colonial imprints still existed on the agrarian landscape of the parish. Rice remained a cash crop and planters were finding enormous success with Sea Island Cotton. However, general farming and the production of provision crops for the Charleston market dominated this section of the parish. Although plantation owners generally maintained fine residences in the City, they found Christ Church Parish plantations convenient due to the short distance to the city, across the Cooper River. Plantation lands in the parish had been selected not only for convenience, but for the suitability of the soils, available forest lands, inland and tidal swamps, access to water transportation, and interior roads. The Charleston countryside was viewed as a pleasant place for retreats and holidays at country farms and plantations or houses in the village of Mount Pleasant .

Recent historical and archeological research suggests a diversity of human activities took place within the agrarian landscape of the parish. The archeological remains of boat landings, ship building or ship yards, tar kilns, Civil War earthworks, and brick yards have been recorded from sites along Hobcaw Creek and the south side of the Wando River⁹⁹. Historians are now examining the history and cultural life of the former village of Mount Pleasant.¹⁰⁰

Commonly, in the early 19th century slaveholding planters and farmers of Christ Church Parish sent rice, vegetables, cotton, and livestock to the City of Charleston by boats just as they had in the late 18th century. Whenever the prices for rice and cotton increased, planters sought to increase their land holdings and purchased more slaves to clear and cultivate new fields.

South Carolina lowcountry historian, Charles Joyner states that "From 1804 to 1808, at least 200 ships unloaded upwards of 40,000 black slaves at Charleston". It should be noted that most of these slaves were destined for upcountry cotton plantations at this period in time. Although slave importation was abolished in 1808 by 1810, eight of every ten people in the lowcountry were black. The lowcountry had the highest proportion of Africans than in any other region of North America.¹⁰¹ Cotton and rice were the staple crops cultivated by slave laborers in the countryside around Charleston by the 1820s.

Snee Farm was probably representative of the type of landholding in the area. Historic plat maps between 1818 and 1848 show tidal rice cultivation along a tidal creek at Snee Farm. The plats drawn for post-Pinckney land owners show banks, canals, ditches, and field divisions common to the tidal form of rice cultivation¹⁰².

Typical of plantations near major waterways, Snee Farm had primary approaches from both the river side, Horlbeck Creek, and the land side, to the King's Highway [U.S.17].¹⁰³ The agrarian landscape of the farm can be reconstructed from several historic plats which depict the cultivated fields, types of land, spatial arrangement of buildings (slave quarters and main house complexes), avenues or streets, swamps, ponds, woodlands, roads, boundaries, witness trees, bridges, causeways, and adjacent landowners.¹⁰⁴

Settlement Patterns and Plantation Layouts

Robert Mills' 1825 map of the Charleston District provides a view of the general settlement pattern of the Christ Church Parish (See Figure 6). The names of landowners who subscribed to his publication are indicated but his map does not show the boundaries of the landholdings. The owner of Snee Farm (DeLiesseline) was not shown. The transportation system (roads, ferries, and boat landings), the Christ Church, marshes, islands, forts, and the antebellum village of Mount Pleasant are illustrated.

Recently, historical archeologist, Linda France Stein presented data on a shift in the settlement patterns of lowcountry plantations in Charleston County from the late 18th to early 19th century and has suggested that this transition was related to the emergence of cotton as a staple crop in the countryside around Charleston.¹⁰⁵ This hypothesis of settlement pattern change was based upon cartographic analysis of a series of historic maps of the county and is relevant to our understanding of the evolution of the landscape at Snee Farm. Three historic plantation patterns or layouts were identified by the Charleston County study. Plantation complexes along roads were arranged in a linear manner, showing a central drive with a large

house at the end with smaller buildings (perhaps slave quarters) lining each side of the driveway or slave street. Two other types of plantation settlement patterns, a linear cluster and a more organic, non-linear group associated with rice plantations were documented from historic maps.¹⁰⁶

A number of historic maps of Snee Farm have been examined and found to exhibit characteristics of the first plantation layout type. A plat attributed to surveyor Joseph Purcell (circa 1783) shows only 2 buildings, one near the present day Long Point Road and one near present day U.S. 17. A review of early to mid-19th century plats of the farm shows that the main house was located near present day Long Point Road. Although the spatial arrangement of 18th century buildings at the farm has not been determined with certainty, archeological investigations have yielded architectural remains and historic features dating to the 18th century in the same location as those of the 19th century (Brockington 1987, 1989, King 1991, Keel 1991-1992).

Whether or not the archeological resources correlate with the historic plats remains to be shown in the final archeological report. However, the historic plats do indicate that by the 1840s a main house complex and slave quarters were arranged in a linear pattern. A long straight avenue leads south to north to the main house and a line of slave houses was located off this main avenue forming an L-shape. It appears that this spatial arrangement did not change until 1863.

A map prepared for the Civil War Atlas shows a new location for four structures, presumed slave houses, along Long Point Road and east of Horlbeck Creek. It is possible that the Civil War era map did not delineate all structures on the plantation.¹⁰⁷

19th Century Buildings and Structures

Most of the residences built in Charleston County from 1800 to 1860 were built in rural areas because of the slave-based staple crop plantation economy. Planter's houses of this period were generally two story adaptations of the Greek Revival and Neoclassical styles. Even the dwellings of overseers were commonly of two-story frame construction.

"Small farmer's houses may have been similar to the simplest planter's residences. Typically, cottages of one or one-and-one-half stories, on a raised foundation, these had a single-story porch across the facade; two ridgepole or rear chimneys in the lateral gable roof; and sometimes dormers."¹⁰⁸ The prevailing vernacular house type in Charleston County associated with farms and villages was a central-hall farmhouse with a full-facade porch. A recent survey of extant vernacular farmhouses in the county found that these housetypes often include ornamentation, possibly the result of the availability of locally-sawn and milled trim. These central-hall plan houses, which prevailed prior to 1900, contained four principal rooms with shed room or a detached kitchen commonly added to the rear.

Slave cabins were small wood frame one story structures with a single gable and exterior chimney. The brick slave cabins at Boone Hall plantation (adjacent to Snee Farm), are an exception due to the fact that the Horlbeck family was a brick manufacturer.¹⁰⁹ Other buildings commonly found on a 19th century lowcountry plantation were: detached kitchens, meat houses or smoke houses, dairy houses, rice barns, rice mills, barns, storage buildings, special use winnowing houses, and cotton gins. Specialized structures such as indigo

processing facilities, tar kilns, cooper shops, blacksmith shops, boat docks, boat landings, and bridges were also found on lowcountry plantations.

Mt. Pleasant: Antebellum Summer Village

A summer village existed at Haddrell's Point on the east side of the Cooper River in the 1780s but it was not until 1837 that the town of Mount Pleasant was officially laid out. It had changed significantly by the middle of the 19th century. A resident stated that "In place of being a small isolated Village, with a few straggling houses, the summer resort of the neighboring farmers, it is now intimately connected with the City of Charleston, by a Steam Boat Ferry; handsome dwellings have sprung up, a fine Hotel, and Shops and Factories have been established, it is an incorporated town..."¹¹⁰

19th Century Agriculture

Agricultural census data provides some clues about the crops and livestock at Snee Farm. This data available for 1850 to 1880 supplements the historic plat maps of the 1840s. This information might also be used to infer that similar crops may have been grown at Snee Farm in the early 19th century when Charles Pinckney owned the land. The 1860 agricultural census recorded a livestock operation at Snee Farm. Corn, peas, and beans were also grown. An interesting fact is that in 1860, Snee Farm produced 58 bales of ginned cotton and 100 pounds of wool. The owner of the farm, Lockwood Allison McCants, was also listed in the Industrial Schedule as a cotton gin operator.

In 1860, Christ Church Parish recorded a drastic drop (81.3%) in rice production. Since rice planters in the parish could not effectively compete with the tidal rice plantations in the other parishes of the Charleston and Georgetown Districts they may have drained the old rice fields and converted them to cotton fields or provision crops. Based on the census data it appears that Snee Farm was a mixed farming operation in the 1860s. As the Civil War approached, parish planters were supplying livestock, cotton, and vegetables for the Charleston market.¹¹¹

THE CIVIL WAR ERA

Limited Civil War military actions occurred in this section of the parish. In January of 1861 the Rev. Mr. Fell of Christ Church reported that a company of Confederate soldiers who were encamped nearby attended church services. During the following winter, residents of the "village" around Christ Church sought refuge in the upper part of the state. Palmetto Battery was constructed as part of the defenses of Charleston and delineated on the 1863 *Map Of Charleston And Its Defenses*. (Figure 8) The remains of the earthwork are located east of US 17 near Christ Church and terminate at the edge of Copahce Bay.¹¹²

In her history of Christ Church, historian Arne King Gregory reported that: "Mt. Pleasant was not damaged by the guns of the enemy, and Christ Church was completely out of range...In September 1865...Negro troops were stationed in the parish. A company of Negro cavalry used Christ Church as a stable, and the church was wrecked".¹¹³ Gregory stated that plantation owners fled the parish during the war and that in 1866 only two white families had "... returned to their plantation homes in the parish, but in the chaotic conditions

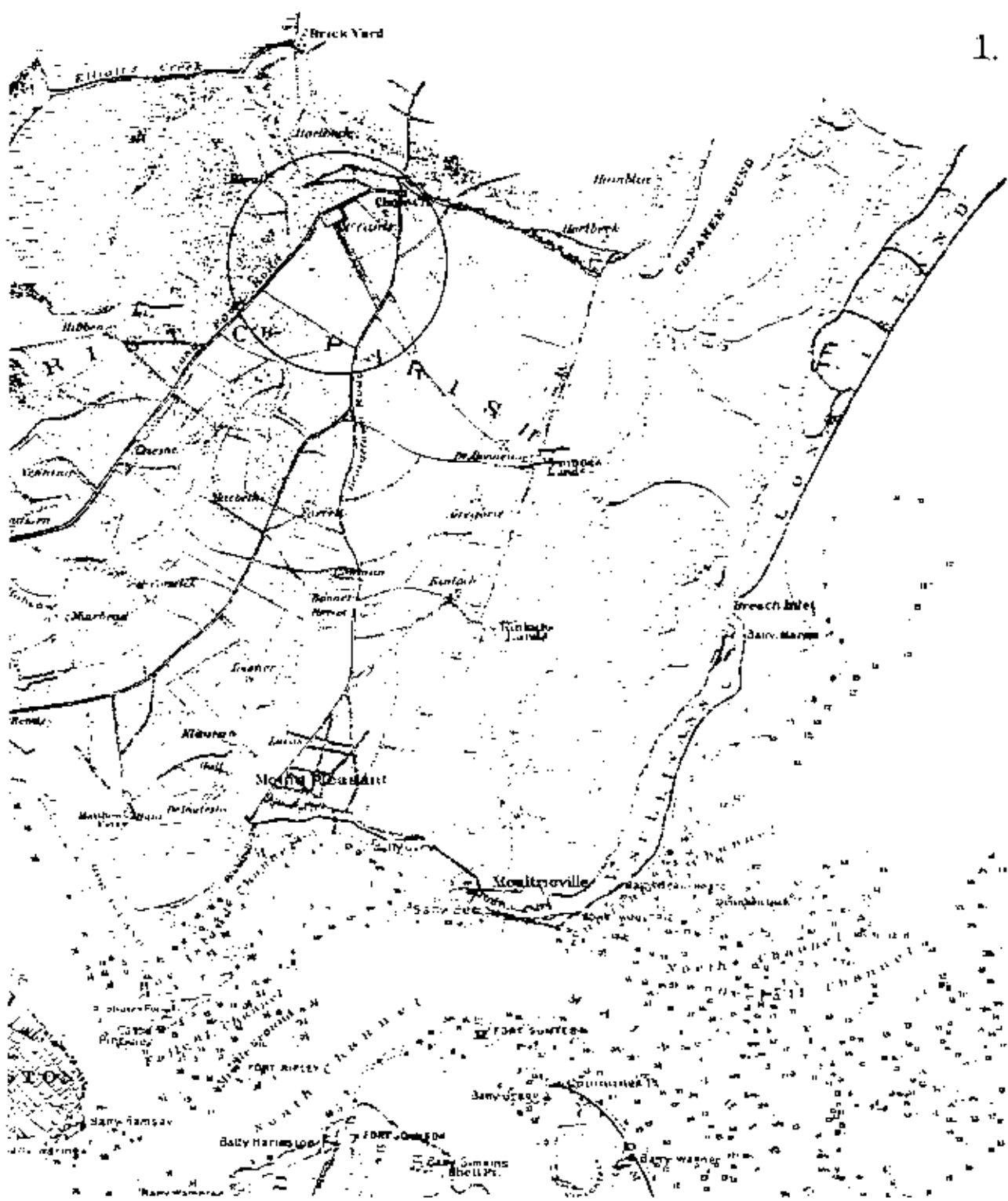


Figure 8. 1863 Map of Charleston and its Defenses

of the time, they were regarded by their friends as foolhardy, for ruin was on every side, and most of the planters preferred to remain in their summer homes in Mount Pleasant".¹¹⁴

1863 Civil War Map

The map entitled *Charleston And Its Defenses*, November 28, 1863 provides a glimpse of the landholdings and landowners from Christ Church to Mount Pleasant. The map clearly shows the owner's name, McCants, at the location of Snee Farm (Figure 8). Christ Church is shown at the intersection of three roads; two were named: Long Point Road and the Georgetown Road. The third road terminates at the western end of the Confederate Battery on the lands of Horlbeck (now Boone Hall). Generally, this map depicts widely separated or dispersed plantations on the south side of the Wando River. The mile long plantation avenue which transects McCants' Snee Farm may have existed since the colonial period; however, there is no indication of a main house at Snee Farm. This Civil War map is an excellent overall view of the area's settlement pattern.

Snee Farm and the Parish: 1865-1880

Following the Civil War the social structure, economy, and labor of Charleston County was disrupted and subsequently changed. Free African-Americans adapted to changing circumstances. Some Charleston County planters had to sell off their land or pieces of it and white men with money hired wage laborers on a yearly contract or monthly, weekly, or daily basis.¹¹⁵ In Christ Church Parish the first private sale to blacks was Woodville Planation, north of the Wando River. "In December 1863 it was divided into 6 to 18 acre farms, and 220 blacks bought and settled them."¹¹⁶

The *Cultural Resource Survey of Mt. Pleasant*, conducted in 1988, also identified black ownership trends in the area. "The present day African-American community of Snowden, located on the north side of Long Point Road, appears to have developed between the 1870s and the first decade of the 20th century when at least three large tracts were subdivided into small farms."¹¹⁷ In Christ Church Parish the number of farms increased from 61 in 1860 to 517 in 1870.¹¹⁸ White and black landowners, tenant farmers, and farm laborers produced cotton, rice, corn, sweet potatoes, and livestock while other residents found employment in the fishing, timber, and the phosphate industries.

In 1870 the owner of Snee Farm produced less than half the amount of cotton as before the war and Indian corn, peas, and beans nearly equaled the prewar levels. Only two horses and three mules were recorded in the Census of Agriculture. The absence of livestock and the reduced cotton production probably reflects the post-war economy. By 1882 the truck (vegetable) farms south of the Wando River were producing potatoes and cabbages for shipment to the city markets.¹¹⁹

In 1870, 68 percent of the county's total population of 88,863 was black and by 1880, the ratio of blacks to whites had not changed, but the population had increased to 102,800. There was a general population decline which lasted well after the turn of the century.¹²⁰

SUBSEQUENT LAND OWNERS OF SNEE FARM

Francis Gottier Deliesseline: Owner of Snee Farm 1817-1828

Pinckney's farm was sold by the Master In Equity to Francis G. Deliesseline in 1817 for the amount of \$4,380.00.¹²¹ On April 18, 1818, surveyor William Brailsford drew a plat (See Figure 7) of Snee Farm with 767 1/2 acres situated in the district of Charleston Christ Church Parish on the waters of the Wando River for Francis G. Deliesseline.¹²² This plat of Snee Farm is an excellent source of information since it shows the details of the marsh and rice field swamps along the tidal creek (known today as Boone Hall Creek). The surveyor drew cross-hatched field patterns to represent rice cultivation and a system of ditches, dikes, and canals. Two ditches run north-south from boundary line to boundary line. A third ditch runs east to southwest and then north into the tidal creek. The road bisects the property on a N-S line, beginning at the "5 mile post" and terminating near "Butlers Causeway" on Long Point Road. It is likely that this is the mile long avenue which Elton described in the *DeBows Review* article.

This plat also illustrates the rectangular cruciform pattern of a garden as discussed previously in the section entitled "Pinckney Gardens". Two dwelling houses may be represented in the tightly cross-hatched rectangles in the southern and eastern edges of the garden. No slave quarters were shown on this plat which seems odd because all of the later plats show quarters. It should be noted that nearly two-thirds of the land area was identified as woodland in 1818.¹²³

Deliesseline's land was bounded on the north by that of William Horlbeck (formerly Capt. Boone), on the south by that of William Whitesides and Captain Hibbens, on the west by lands granted to George Wolf, and on the northwest by Rutledge land. "Butlers Causeway", across the tidal marsh, on Long Point Road is indicated on the northwest portion of the plat. The location of the church (Christ Church) at the six mile post was drawn as a filled rectangle. At this time the Georgetown Road was known as the "Church Road to Hibbens Ferry." This public road actually ran through the southern section of Snee Farm.

Scant information is available about Deliesseline. It has been reported that he was the sheriff of Charleston County and no doubt additional research would prove useful.¹²⁴ Census data for 1820 indicated that he owned 25 slaves in Christ Church Parish.¹²⁵ He appears as a resident of the City of Charleston which suggests that Snee Farm was not his primary residence. A biographical sketch of Francis Gottier Deliesseline states that, "some time after 1826, he evidently found himself in poor financial and/or political straits. Unable to resolve his problems, he, without his family, abandoned his property to his creditors and moved to St. Mary's, Georgia a self-imposed exile."¹²⁶ Apparently he was unable to meet the terms of the Snee Farm mortgage since by 1828 the property was conveyed by the Master in Equity to William Mathews.¹²⁷

William Mathews: Owner of Snee Farm 1828 to 1853

Mathews purchased Snee Farm in 1828 for \$3,150.¹²⁸ The sale price was less than the price Deliesseline had paid in 1817 (\$4,380). It is not known whether the main house at Snee Farm plantation was constructed at this time or whether it was constructed at an earlier date by Deliesseline.

In 1830, the Census takers recorded Mathews as the owner of forty-one slaves in Christ Church Parish in 1830: twenty-nine male slaves and 12 female slaves.¹²⁹ No household or family members were enumerated in the population schedule.

Architectural investigations of the present dwelling house at Snee Farm commissioned by the Friends of Historic Snee Farm concluded that the structure dates to the period around 1820. The architectural researchers were impressed by the "remarkably intact condition of the dwelling house at Snee." The architectural investigators, Buchanan, Herman, Ridout, Tolson, and Wenger stated that:

Very little has occurred here in the way of changes that compromise the historic character of the structure. Once part of an extensive plantation district, this property is one of the few surviving remnants still capable of evoking that agricultural landscape and the way of life it sustained.

The house itself is a fine and important example of the Coastal Cottage, a prominent element in the cultural history of the Carolina lowcountry and the coastal region of the upper south during the late colonial and early Federal periods.¹³⁰

Two recent architectural surveys conducted in Charleston County and the town of Mount Pleasant contained an historical overview and data on extant historic structures in the area. The review of the Historical and Architectural Survey Charleston County, South Carolina, 1992 survey data suggest that the extant house (coastal cottage) at the Charles Pinckney National Historic Site is apparently typical of a small planter's residence or an overseer's house.¹³¹ The one and-one-half-story wood frame double pile, gable roofed house with dormers, represents a type of dwelling which was typical of the small planter's residences in Charleston County.¹³²

The Historic American Buildings Survey team prepared a historical narrative which accompanied the measured drawings of the Snee Farm house, recorded in the summer of 1990. The description from the HABS report follows:

The plantation dwelling house is a wood frame vernacular cottage-style structure that is a rare survivor of a form that was familiar to the 18th and 19th century South Carolina rural landscape but has largely disappeared in this century. The story-and-a-half gable roofed house with dormers rests upon brick piers. On the Interior the principal rooms lie on either side of a fully paneled central hall with stairs rising from the north or back end of the hall. In 1936 the two wings were added. The house is built of native pine and cypress and the interior ornamentation is a vernacular interpretation of Federal style carving.

The HABS architectural historian noted: "It seems most likely that either Deliesseline or Mathews built the existing house." Historical information related to the Mathews period of ownership provides insight into land use at Snee Farm plantation and establishes the fact that Mathews principal residence was on Charlotte Street in Charleston. The HABS documentation states:

William Mathews described himself, in his last will and testament, as a planter. Indeed, it appears that he owned considerable property. His will, which leaves his real estate to his two surviving daughters, lists five "plantations" including Snee Farm, two other tracts of land, a "lot

of land with the buildings thereon" in Mazyckborough and a "wharf lot" in the same, a "Ferry place" and Ferry, as well as "my house and lot in Charlotte Street where I now reside..." (Will K:199). His estate included 352 slaves. Mention is made in an equity proceeding following his death of a sloop "for the transport of his own crops to market." It would appear from this document that Snee Farm was not his primary residence. Reference is made, however, to "certain other articles of furniture at Snee Farm" which were Mathews' private property. This would seem to indicate that it was a place where he spent some time.¹³³

The HABS documentation also provided some information about the productivity of the plantation based upon equity court proceedings, Charleston Chancery Records, Bill 59, 6 December 1848, p. 7-8:

Snee Farm... devised to (Mathews daughter) Mrs. Hunt, containing about 700 acres of land and settled by a gang of about forty-eight negroes, is, as your Orator has been informed, an unproductive place: That the testator (William Mathews) bought it with the intention of making corn and hay here for the use of Milton Ferry; that over and above the provisions used on the place itself, Snee Farm has scarcely done more...than to furnish bread for the hands at the Ferry, with hay for the work-mules and horses at (the) livery.

It should be noted that the historic records show that the number of acres for the plantation vary through time. This may be due to errors by surveyors given the nature of the wetlands or it may be that additional lands were acquired by the subsequent owners. The equity proceeding quoted above says that Snee Farm contain about 700 acres, but the 1841 plat map shows 915.24 acres. Four plats of Snee Farm associated with William Mathews' period of ownership examined for this study are similar.¹³⁴ A main house complex or "*Mr. Mathews settlement*" and a slave quarters are illustrated. All of these buildings were arranged in a linear manner. William Mathews was cultivating 365 acres rice land, swamp, and reclaimed marsh in the western section of the 915 acres tract. The increase from 767 to 915 acres is unexplained, but a series of plats were drawn for a land dispute between Mathews and Horlbeck (landowner on the north). The 1841 plat shows that Mathews claimed woodlands in the northern corner of Snee Farm.¹³⁵ (Figure 9) Also shown are the areas of cleared high land and provision land. The amount of wetlands, rice land, and reclaimed marsh were illustrated. Witness trees, indicators of the natural vegetation included: live oak, pine, dogwood, gum, tupelo, red oak, chinquepin, white oak, and hickory. The plantation road or "avenue" which appeared on the early 1818 plat still existed.

A second plat, McCrady Plat 5559, drawn for a land dispute between Mathews and Horlbeck (owner of Boone Hall Plantation) shows the locations of Butler's Bridge and Pinckney's Bridge on the road/causeway crossing the tidal crocks in the northwest corner of Snee Farm. The plat was drawn in 1848 and depicts the remains of an "old settlement" in the southwestern section of Snee Farm near the Georgetown Road.¹³⁶

McCrady Plat No. 923 is undated but was probably related to an 1844 court suit "Mathews vs. Horlbeck" (Boone Hall lands). The plat bears the following identification: "Snee Farm Lands of Wm. Mathews." The surveyor showed the location of "Pinckney Bridge" on the "Road from Georgetown to Libbey's Point" and previous surveyor's lines and measurements along the northern boundary of Snee Farm. The map also showed an important



Figure 9. 1841 Plat of Mathews' Snee Farm. McCrady Platt #1651.

feature labeled "Park and Garden of Mr. Mathews, discussed in the previous section entitled "Pinckney Gardens." (see also an 1844 plat by Edward B. White, surveyor.¹³⁷)

The Federal Census of 1840 listed William Mathews in Christ Church Parish. Mathews died in 1848 leaving Snee Farm to his daughter Susan (wife of Benjamin F. Hunt) and the will was probated in July 1848.¹³⁸ After his death there were disputes over the distribution of Mathews estate. Apparently a suit was finally settled by the South Carolina Supreme Court and Snee Farm was sold to pay debts.¹³⁹

No biographical material for William Mathews was found and the census taker simply recorded that the Estate of William Mathews owned 54 slaves in 1850.¹⁴⁰ The 1850 agricultural schedules should be examined for crops and livestock information.

William McCants: Owner of Snee Farm 1853 to 1859

The HABS report stated that William McCants described himself as a planter of Christ Church Parish. "He maintained a 'house and lot in Mount Pleasant' as well as Snee Farm, possibly dividing his time between the two depending on the season."¹⁴¹ Probate records document that the farm was inherited by Lockwood Allison McCants in 1859.¹⁴²

Lockwood Allison McCants: Owner of Snee Farm 1859 to 1879

In Figure 8, *A Map of the Defenses of Charleston*, the names of landowners and the overall settlement pattern of the area are clearly depicted. The Union map, shows "McCants" as the landowner for the Snee Farm location. If this map is correct then there was a significant change in the number and arrangement of buildings on the farm between 1848 and 1863. No main house is indicated and only four buildings are shown on this map compared to the 11 buildings on the Mathews plats. It is interesting to note that the old plantation "avenue" appeared unchanged from the earlier plat maps.

The McCants plantation also differs from the other plantations in the immediate area because all the buildings (presumed slave quarters) are lined up along Long Point Road. Perhaps a switch from rice to other crops may have necessitated the removal of the slave quarters to make way for new crops. L.A. McCants was recorded in the 1860 Federal Census as the owner of 34 female and 36 male slaves. His name also appears as a representative for the slaves of J.B. Lamb.

The 1860 Census, Agricultural Schedule shows that L.A. McCants was farming 400 acres of improved land for a total of 880 acres. The cash value of his farm was \$15,000.00. He owned 5 horses, 7 asses or mules, 10 milk cows, 3 working oxen, 60 cattle, 20 sheep, and 60 swine worth \$3,000.00. He grew 1200 bushels of Indian corn and ginned 58 bales of cotton. He produced 100 pounds of wool, 100 bushels of peas and beans, and 1500 bushels of sweet potatoes. No rice was reported which suggests that the old rice fields had been abandoned, converted to dry cultivation for cotton or converted livestock pasture.

In 1870, the Federal Census enumerators estimated the value of Lockwood A. McCants real estate at \$15,000 and his personal estate at \$1,500 and the 35 year old McCants identified himself as a Planter. His household included his wife Mary (age 38), Anna (age 13), Harriet D. (age 11), Thomas G. (age 2), Lockwood A. (8 months), and a 70 year old woman named Sarah McCants (his mother?).¹⁴³ The 1870 Industrial Schedule reported that McCants was the owner of a cotton ginning facility at Snee Farm and the agricultural

schedule indicated only 27 bales of cotton were produced (150 pounds per bale). His livestock was limited to a couple of horses and a few mules. He produced 800 bushels of Indian corn and 100 bushels of peas and beans. The value of all farm products as recorded in the 1870 census was \$7650.00 and the cash value of the farm was \$15,000. Only 400 acres was considered improved land and the remainder was listed as woodlands. Lockwood A. McCants, like other white landowners in the parish during Reconstruction was faced with social upheaval, racial tension, high taxes, and debts. And like other landowners he may have hired Freedmen as farm laborers or to operate the cotton gin. Some of the land may have been rented to tenants. Deed records indicate that the farm was sold to William Jervey, trustee for the estate of Francis Cordes in 1870, but the land reverted back to McCants, probably because of a default on the payments.¹⁴⁴

The 1880 Agricultural schedule recorded Lockwood A. McCants as a farmer who once again was producing cotton. Eighty-five acres yielded 50 bales of cotton. He had 30 acres of Indian corn, 31 acres of Irish potatoes, and 4 acres of sweet potatoes. His land was valued at only \$5,000.00 (down from the 1860 value of \$15,000). McCants also paid wages to African-American farm laborers in the amount of \$3,000.00.¹⁴⁵ The farm also contained 900 acres of land classified as permanent meadow or pasture and 200 acres of unimproved woodland and forest. Apparently, his livestock only included a couple of cows and some working horses and mules. He produced some poultry and eggs. His total acreage was 1300 acres, which obviously included more land than the Snee Farm tract in 1880. By 1900 the McCants estate sold Snee Farm to Thomas J. Hamlin (It should be noted that the Hamlins had settled lands to the southeast of Snee Farm during the colonial period and their descendants presently live in the parish).

POSTBELLUM AND CONTEMPORARY LANDSCAPE

Settlement Patterns

The new labor system of tenancy, emerging after the Civil War, remained into the 20th century. Settlement patterns reflected this change from the clusters of buildings in the interior of a plantation to a series of houses scattered alongside roadways. Tenants now lived on the land they worked and average holdings were about 44 acres per family in 1910.¹⁴⁶ Seventy percent of the South Carolina's tenants in 1920 were black and tenants operated 65 percent of the farms.¹⁴⁷ Fencing, to enclose livestock, was also a new feature found in the early 20th century South Carolina landscape.

Agriculture

Cotton and corn dominated the agricultural landscape; however, by 1940, soil erosion and declining soil fertility prompted the cultivation of cotton to move from inner coastal and lower Piedmont areas into the upper Piedmont region. Depressed prices, devastation from the boll weevil, and acute shortages of labor made growing cotton very difficult. Many converted over to subsistence crops.¹⁴⁸

Rice never recuperated after the Civil War. Hurricane strikes between 1883 and 1913 damaged fields, levees, and trunk systems. By 1910 the state had produced only 0.5 million pounds.¹⁴⁹

Low property values and poverty contributed to the sale of several rice plantations in the area. Attracted to the rice fields for duck hunting, northern industrialists acquired old plantations and converted the lands into hunting retreats. Plantation homes were renovated. However, on occasion, the residences were destroyed. For example, the Boone Hall residence was replaced by a building more appropriate for entertaining. New houses were constructed for those employees needed to manage the hunting grounds.¹⁵⁰

Other crops besides cotton produced in the coastal regions included corn, sweet potatoes, tobacco, and soybeans. In 1933, New Deal programs served to increase prices as less land was cultivated in tobacco and cotton. As a result, the tenancy system shrank between 1930 and 1940.¹⁵¹

Tomatoes and cucumbers quickly replaced cotton as the principal crop in the coastal counties of Charleston and Beaufort. Truck farming, begun as early as 1868, grew out of the need to transport vegetables to a ready market. Cabbage and potatoes were initially planted but later replaced by cucumbers, peas, beans, and lettuce. The collapse of Sea Island cotton left land to be farmed in vegetables and by 1940 tomatoes became a major crop.¹⁵²

Most of the labor in truck farming came from black residents of the Snowden and Hamlin Beach communities. Long Point, Palmetto Grove and Copahce were some of the parish's plantations to rely heavily on truck farming.¹⁵³

Experimentation in less labor-intensive crops at the turn of the century included commercial pecan groves. By 1899, there were 9959 pecan trees in the state, 307 of which were in Charleston County.¹⁵⁴ John S. Horlbeck, owner of Boone Hall on Long Point Road owned, in 1907, a 600-acre grove and two smaller ones on his farm just north of Snee Farm.¹⁵⁵

The 20th century also saw the rise in the production of sea grass baskets sold as household items and to tourists. Many of the weavers from the Hamlin Beach area sold their crafts through Clarence Legerton's Sea Grass Basket Company (later renamed Seagrassco) up through the 1940s. Entrepreneurs later took advantage of the highway trade by setting up stands along U.S. Highway 17, a principal tourist route to Florida in the 1930s and 1940s. The tradition became prosperous as numerous stands lined the roadside and sales provided a steady income for the black community.

Transportation:

U.S. Highway 17, the South Atlantic Coastal Highway, was one of several federally designated national highways that crossed the state. Paved in 1930, this highway was a major road of the New York to Florida tourist route in the 1930s, and as travel increased, motels, courts, restaurants would soon appear alongside it. The opening of the John P. Grace Memorial Bridge in 1929 connected Mount Pleasant to Charleston by road for the first time.¹⁵⁶

Long Point Road was not paved until 1966, and in 1988, the section of Long Point Road from Whipple Road to U.S. Highway 17 was designated a state scenic highway.

Population:

Blacks dropped below majority during the period from 1870 to 1940, from 59 percent to 43 percent of the state's total population.¹⁵⁷ Fick¹⁵⁸ reports that by 1930, whites were a

majority with 54.3 percent of the total population. The demographic change was due largely to heavy outmigration of blacks moving to northern industrial cities.

Although the Piedmont and upper coastal regions experienced much of the change in population, lowcountry areas were affected as well.¹⁵⁹ Charleston County population figures were 87,965 (31 percent white, 69 percent black) in 1900. However in 1910, although the population total had not changed much, ratios changed to 37 percent white and 63 percent black. Again by 1920, the ratio was 41 percent white and 59 percent black.¹⁶⁰

Between 1950 and 1980, South Carolina's cities began experiencing population growth. Charleston County's population increased dramatically due to coastal development projects.¹⁶¹ Much of the growth occurred in suburban areas such as Mount Pleasant, Hanahan, North Charleston and Goose Creek.¹⁶² Mount Pleasant's population rose from 1,857 in 1950 to 13,838 in 1980, with much of the rapid suburbanization occurring within the last 15 years.¹⁶³ By 1990, the city's population had grown to 31,000.¹⁶⁴

The community of Snowden developed during the late 19th century into the early 20th. Located on the north side of Long Point Road, the area was established when three large tracts of land were subdivided into small farms. Many of the inhabitants were black who worked at Long Point and Bermuda plantations.¹⁶⁵

Industry/economic development

Important industries in Charleston County today include fishing, commerce, farming, and tourism. Commercial shrimping became viable in 1924 in Charleston County and Sherm Creek got its first commercial dock in 1946. Competition for commercial and residential development continues to threaten remaining cultural and natural resources in the area.

Snee Farm Owners and Landscape

In 1900, Thomas J. Hamlin bought Snee Farm and kept it for 36 years. Kollock's Property Map of Charleston, 1932-34, indicates that the part of Snee Farm on the east side of Highway 17 belonged to the Horlbecks. (Figure 10) When this transaction took place is not presently known.

Julia Welch Hamlin, Thomas Hamlin's daughter-in-law, living at Snee Farm until 1935 spoke of a three acre oak and magnolia grove on the northeast side of the house as being the most beautiful part of the farm.¹⁶⁶ A 1933 news article in *The News and Courier* states that the grove was nearly destroyed in a forest fire.¹⁶⁷ No date is given for the fire. Mrs. Hamlin also thought the avenue of oaks extending from the front of the house to the highway was part of the beautiful grounds which disappeared.

In 1936 the property was sold to Thomas Ewing. Ewing's daughter and son-in-law bought Boone Hall across Long Point Road about the same time. The Ewings enlarged the house at Snee Farm by adding flanking wings and making a few interior changes. They left Snee Farm to their daughter and son-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Stone. Ellen Stone, daughter of Thomas Stone remembers the origin of the existing flowering shrubs at Snee Farm: "I . . . helped my mother create the lovely camellia-azalea gardens around the house and in the grove. When my parents left Holland they were presented with 100 flowering shrubs by Queen Julianna. Most of these went to Snee Farm and were planted by mother and me".¹⁶⁸

A 1941 aerial photo shows the existence of several outbuildings at Snee Farm including the Stone/Ewing library, a large structure opposite the existing entry drive from the library (a barn?), a caretaker's house (located south and west of the main house), and several smaller buildings. The library was located northwest of the main house and housed the many books of Mr. Ewing.¹⁶⁹ Today this structure is called the caretaker's house.

Landscape features include fields and pastures, woodlands and canals along the upper reaches of Boone Hall Creek. The lower portion of the entry drive from U.S. Highway 17 is lined with trees, but the upper section leading all the way to the house no longer appears to be used. No trees line this part of the drive.

These landscape features are evident in a 1959 USGS map of the area (Figure 11). The darkened areas on the map indicate trees or woodlands. Eight buildings are located, as well as the entry drive, marshes and cleared fields.

Joyce Hollowell¹⁷⁰ states that the existing cedar trees lining the entry drive from the south were already planted when she and her husband Guilds Hollowell obtained the property in 1968. They initially purchased 7 acres, including the house and outbuildings, and bought the remaining 21 acres a few years later. The rest of the farm was sold to developers. Today approximately 685 acres of the original Snee Farm has been converted into a golf course and residential subdivisions.

Few changes were made to the landscape during the Hollowell's 18 year stay. The 4-stall barn was enlarged to the present 10-stall structure in order to board horses and the caretaker's house, located southwest of the main house, was removed.

In 1986, the Hollowells sold their 28 acres to C and G Investments. Friends of Historic Snee Farm purchased the 29 acres in 1988 and the farm was acquired by the Department of the Interior/National Park Service in 1990.

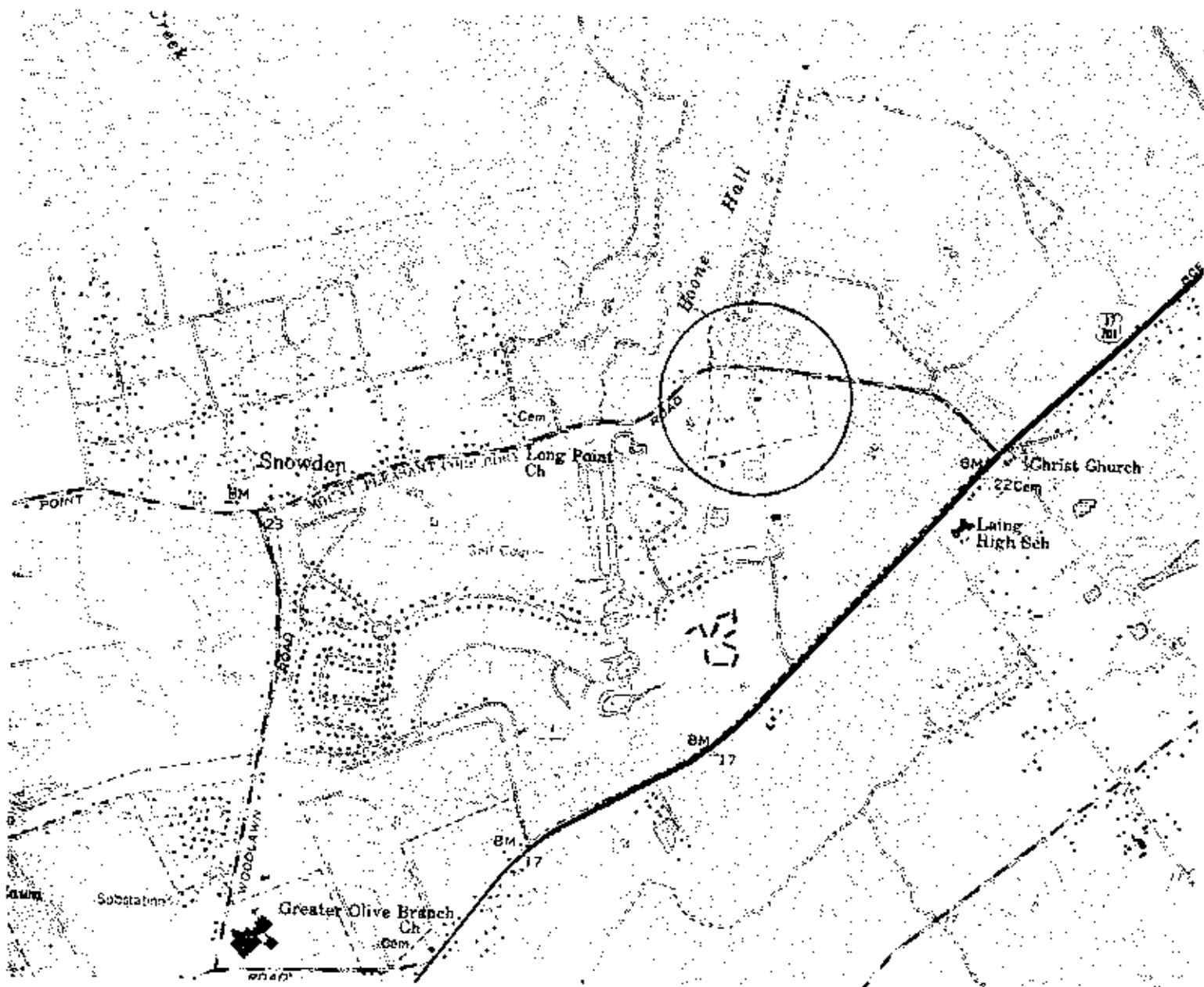


Figure 11. From USGS Fort Moultrie Quadrangle, 1959.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Timothy Silver, *A New Face on the Countryside: Indians, Colonists, and Slaves in South Atlantic Forests* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 17-19.
- 2 Silver, 26.
- 3 Silver, 30.
- 4 Silver, 30-31.
- 5 Charles F. Kovacik and John J. Winberry, *South Carolina, The Making of a Landscape* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1989), 52.
- 6 Kovacik and Winberry, 54.
- 7 Linda Stine, *Revealing Historic Landscapes in Charleston County: Archaeological Inventory, Contexts, and Management* (Columbia: South Carolina Institute of Archeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, 1992), 62.
- 8 Silver, 65.
- 9 Stanley South, *The Unabridged Version of Tribes of the Carolina Lowland Peedee-Seewee-Winyaw-Waccamaw-Cape Fear-Congaree-Waterree-Santee* (Columbia: Research Manuscript Series #20, South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, 1972), 13,14. Found in Stine, 62.
- 10 Silver, 56.
- 11 Kovacik and Winberry, 60.
- 12 Silver, 39.
- 13 Kovacik and Winberry, 60.
- 14 John R. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States*. Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 137, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D. C. 1979, p.182-183.
- 15 Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority. Negroes in Colonial South Carolina From 1670 Through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1974), 6.
- 16 Wood, 8-9.

17 George C. Rogers, Jr. "South Carolina," in *The Encyclopedia of Southern History*, eds. David C. Roller and Robert W. Twyman (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), 1128.

18 Wood, 107.

19 Silver, 105.

20 Silver, 144.

21 Wood, 28,30.

22 Wood, 33.

23 Silver, 71.

24 Kovacic and Winberry, 69.

25 Kovacic and Winberry, 82.

26 Wood, 32.

27 Wood, 106.

28 Silver, 70-71.

29 Silver, 71.

30 Silver, 102.

31 Anne King Gregorie, *Notes on Sewee Indians and Indian Remains of Christ Church Parish, Charleston County, South Carolina* (Charleston: Charleston Museum, 1925), 7.

32 Stanley South, *Archaeology at the Charles Towne Site (38CH1) on Albemarle Point in South Carolina, Part I, the Text* (Columbia: Research Manuscript Series #10, South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, 1971). Found in Stine, 64.

33 Wood, 39.

34 Silver, 74-76.

35 Michael Trinkley, *An Archeological Survey of Longpoint Development, Charleston County, South Carolina: Palmetto Grove Plantation* (Columbia: Chicora Foundation, 1987), 18.

36 Silver, 82.

37 Wood, 43.

38 Wood, 116.

³⁹ Wood, 96, 109. See also Leland Ferguson's *Uncommon Ground* on African lifestyles in South Carolina's lowcountry.

⁴⁰ Wood, 97.

⁴¹ Wood, 128.

⁴² Wood, 114.

⁴³ Wood, 55.

⁴⁴ From Table II in Wood, 146-7.

⁴⁵ William R. Bascom, "Acculturation Among the Gullah Negroes," *American Anthropologist* XLIII (1941): 45.

⁴⁶ Wood, 63.

⁴⁷ Two strains of malaria are believed to have been prevalent in Central and South America in Pre-columbian times: *Plasmodium vivax* and *Plasmodium marlariae*, although dangerous, did not inflict the brutal fatalities as did *P. falciparum* brought to the New World by Spanish conquistadors and, later, by African slaves. The vector, the anopheles mosquito, has always been present. Thus, the conditions were ripe for disease to take hold. (Dr. Alexander J. Sulzer, Center for Disease Control, Atlanta GA, personal conversation.) For more information see Sulzer, A.J., et al., 1975. A focus of hyperendemic *Plasmodium malariae*-*P. vivax* with no *P. falciparum* in a primitive population in the Amazon jungle. *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*, 52:273-278.

⁴⁸ Kovacik and Winberry, 76.

⁴⁹ Edward G. Lilly, ed., *Historic Churches of Charleston* (Charleston: Legerton and Co., 1966), 82-3. The Church Act of 1706 established ten church parishes outside of Charleston.

⁵⁰ Anne King Gregorie, *Christ Church, 1706-1959: A Plantation Parish of the South Carolina Establishment* (Charleston SC: The Dalcho Historical Society, 1961), 20.

⁵¹ Gregorie, *Christ Church*, 25-6.

⁵² Gregorie, 28, 32, 37.

⁵³ *South Carolina Stat.*, IX, 9. Found in Gregorie, *Christ Church*, 19.

⁵⁴ Julia A. King, *Archaeological Investigations at Charles Pinckney Snee Farm, Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina* (Mt. Pleasant, SC: Friends of Historic Snee Farm, Inc., 1992), 5.

⁵⁵ 1730 Memorial. Found in King, 5.

⁵⁶ As quoted in King, 7.

⁵⁷ Kovacik and Winberry, 73.

⁵⁸ Kovacik and Winberry, 74.

⁵⁹ John J. Winberry, "Indigo in South Carolina: A Historical Geography", *Southeastern Geographer* XIX, no. 2 (November 1979): 97.

⁶⁰ Wood, 272-3.

⁶¹ Gregorie, *Christ Church*, 31.

⁶² Wood, 196,229.

⁶³ Wood, 196.

⁶⁴ Table 4 in Wood, 152.

⁶⁵ Louis DeVorsey, ed., *Notes from DeBrahm's Report of the General Survey* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, Tricentennial Edition, #3, 1971), 92.

⁶⁶ Kovacik and Winberry, 82-3.

⁶⁷ Kovacik and Winberry, 82-3.

⁶⁸ Roy H. Merrens, ed., *The Colonial South Carolina Scene, Contemporary Views, 1697-1774* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, Tricentennial Edition, #7, 1977), 180-1).

⁶⁹ Kennedy notes that Drayton Hall is an exception and that the plantation economy of the low country did not produce architecture as ambitious as that built by owner-managers of the great houses of the Virginia and Maryland Tidewater. He mentions Medway, located 12 miles northeast of Charleston, as being on the fringe of the Barbadian subcolony. Roger G. Kennedy, *Architecture, Men, Women and Money in America 1600-1860*, New York 1985, p. 45-46, and 55.

⁷⁰ Kovacik and Winberry, 84.

⁷¹ Asa H. Gordon, *Sketches of Negro Life and History in South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1929), 40-41.

⁷² The Miles Brewton house in Charleston is National Historic Landmark.

⁷³ South Carolina Department of Archives and History, McCrady Plat 4952. This plat was examined by Dr. Charles Lesser, Senior Historian at the Archives. He identified it as a Purcell's office copy and estimated the date at 1783. The plat contains this identifying phrase "715 acres of land now belonging to the Estate of Charles Pinckney called "Snead" [sic]" and shows only 2 houses on the property; one on the northern boundary and one on the south along the Public Road to the Church St. The house located on the northern edge appears to be in the same location as a house shown on an 1818 plat drawn for the subsequent owner, Francis G. Delicsseline. No other documents have been found which describe the buildings and cultural landscape of Pinckney's Snce Farm.

⁷⁴ King, 21.

⁷⁵ Mathews vs. Horlbeck. Charleston, March 1844. Charleston Court of Appeals in Law (Opinions), 1844-1855: 197-201.

⁷⁶ Charleston County Will Book A (1783-1786) page 432 and Charleston County Wills Volume 26:527-533. Surveyor, Joseph Purcell drew a plat of the 715 acres, Estate of Charles Pinckney, located along the Public Road to the Church St., n.d. Copy in South Carolina Archives in History.

⁷⁷ Thomas Pinckney to Harriott Pinckney Horry, 24-25 December 1775, in Pinckney Papers, Red Box D Undivided, Library of Congress as found in Frances Leigh Williams, *A Founding Family* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978), 87. Also in Edgar, 6.

⁷⁸ N. Louise Bailey and Elizabeth Ivey Cooper, *Biographical Directory Of The South Carolina House of Representatives, Volume III 1775-1790*, (Columbia :1981) 555-559. Frances Leigh Williams, *A Founding Family: The Pinckneys of South Carolina* contains a reproduction of a water color of Pinckney's house on Meeting Street, see page 246. The house was sold on March 3, 1817 to James Lowndes. The water color by artist, Mrs. Colden Tracy assisted by James Lowndes, 1909, is in the collection of the South Carolina Historical Society.

⁷⁹ Interview with George C. Rogers by National Park Service historians Ruthanne Mitchell, Southeast Regional Office and Mike Allen, Fort Sumter National Monument in Columbia, June 1992.

⁸⁰ Charleston County Deed Book O-8, page 111-116. A house and four acre lot at Haddrell's Point called Shell Hall was included in the 1817 sale of his properties. See also: Walter B. Edgar, *Historic Snee Farm: A Documentary Record*. (prepared for Friends of Snee Farm:1991). Edgar notes that the Haddrell's Point House in Mount Pleasant was given to him by his mother from her inheritance from her brother, Miles Brewton.

⁸¹ Quoted in Edgar, 7-8.

⁸² Edgar, 9.

⁸³ Edgar, 9-10.

⁸⁴ South Carolina Department of Archives and History, The Judgement Rolls identified as Cripps vs. Charles Pinckney have not be examined. These judgements were dated 1799, 1801, and 1804 and may shed some light on the conditions at Snee Farm. Court of Common Pleas suits involving Frances Pinckney, mother of CP III should also be examined since most of them date from 1783-1790.

⁸⁵ Charleston County Wills 1783-1786 pp. 527-533. South Carolina Archives and History (SCA&H) and printed in volume 39. CP III did not inherit the family residence on Orange Street. Also copy in the Inventory in Will Book A (1783-1793) p. 431. Walter B. Edgar, *Historic Snee Farm: A Documentary Record*, ms. 1991, p.19. Colonel Charles Pinckney died in 1782. His will had been written in 1770, but was not proved until 1798. A

writ of partition could not be found, but Charles Pinckney III was the owner by 1795 when he leased it to Samuel Cripps.

⁸⁶ Bureau of the Census, Charleston County, Christ Church Parish. The 1800 census also lists Dellesseline on another page of the Christ Church Parish along with 25 slaves. Pinckney's son, Henry Laurens Pinckney is listed in the Barnwell District of Charleston County.

⁸⁷ Bureau of the Census, 1810 Census of Population. Pinckney also owned slaves in the Georgetown District.

⁸⁸ National Park Service, Historic American Buildings Survey Snee Farm (1991), p. 15. Charleston County Report Book, April 27, 1808-March 7, 1818:398-399.

⁸⁹ Bridenbaugh, 72.

⁹⁰ See Robert P. Maccubbin and Peter Martin, *British and American Gardens in the Eighteenth Century* (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1985) for articles by George C. Rogers, Jr. ("Gardens and Landscapes in Eighteenth Century South Carolina") and William A. Brogden ("The Ferme Ornee and Changing Attitudes to Agricultural Improvement").

⁹¹ Her brother Miles Brewton built a grand house on King Street in Charleston in 1765. Miles Brewton's town house had elaborate gardens. She inherited a house near Haddrells Point after her brother's death in 1770. Charles Pinckney may have inherited some of his wealth and property through his mother or his uncle, Miles Brewton.

⁹² William Mathews vs. Henry Horlbeck et. al., 7 April, 1844. Charleston Court of Appeals. 1844-1845: 197-200.

⁹³ Elliot errs in his assumption that "Snee Farm" was a corrupted version of "Fee Farm." Fee Farm was a Pinckney plantation on the Ashepoo River. Elliot also suggests Snee Farm as the site of South Carolina's first liberty pole, as well as the location of a family cemetery. These implications will need further research.

⁹⁴ South Carolina Department of Archives and History. Plat maps from 1754, 1783(?) and 1818 contain the only image of the farm which could be correlated with Pinckney ownership.

⁹⁵ Paul E. Brockington, *A Culture Resource Survey at Snee Farm, Charleston County, South Carolina* (Charleston: Historic Charleston Foundation, 1987) 24.

⁹⁶ Walter B. Edgar, *Historic Snee Farm: A Documentary Record* (Prepared for the Board of Directors of the Friends of Historic Snee Farm, 1991), 7.

⁹⁷ Edgar, 7.

⁹⁸ *Town of Mount Pleasant, South Carolina: Cultural Resource Survey* (Charleston: Preservation Consultants, Inc., 1988), 19.

⁹⁹ Linda Stine, *Revealing Historic Landscapes In Charleston County: Archeological Inventory, Contexts, and Management*. Prepared for the County of Charleston Planning Department and the South Carolina Department of Archives and History (Columbia:1992), 74-84.

¹⁰⁰ Mount Pleasant has received funds from the National Endowment for the Arts to conduct history seminars.

¹⁰¹ Charles Joyner, "One People: Creating an Integrated Culture in a Segregated Society: 1526-1990," in David R. Chestnut and Clyde N. Wilson, ed., *The Meaning of South Carolina History: Essays in Honor of George R. Rogers, Jr.* (Columbia:1991), 218.

¹⁰² For an explanation of various types of rice cultivation, see the following: David Doar, *Rice and Rice Planting in the South Carolina Low Country*. Contributions from the Charleston Museum, Vol. VIII, 1936 (1970) and Sam B. Hilliard, "Antebellum tidewater rice cultivation in South Carolina and Georgia" in James R. Gibson, *European Settlement and Development in North America: Essays in honor and memory of Andrew Hill Clark* (Toronto:1978), 91-115.

¹⁰³ National Park Service, Historic American Buildings Survey, Snee Farm, 1991, 1.

¹⁰⁴ Information from deeds, wills, plats, and census records was researched. Other types of public records such as judgement rolls have not been intensively searched. Copies of deeds should be obtained.

¹⁰⁵ J.W. Joseph, "Building To Grow: Agrarian Adaptations to South Carolina's Historic Landscape" in Linda F. Stine, et al. "An Archaeological Synthesis of South Carolina, Volume II: Historic Landscapes of South Carolina." (South Carolina Archives and History, draft: 1992), 84-85.

¹⁰⁶ Linda F. Stine. *Revealing Historic Landscapes In Charleston County: Archeological Inventory, Contexts, and Management*. Report prepared for the County of Charleston Planning Department and the South Carolina Department of Archives and History. 1992, page 79-80.

¹⁰⁷ Personal communication with Ed Tolson, architectural historian, South Carolina State Historic Preservation Office.

¹⁰⁸ Preservation Consultants, Inc., *Charleston County Historical and Architectural Survey*. Prepared for the South Carolina Division of Archives and History (Columbia: 1992) 9.

¹⁰⁹ Preservation Consultants, Inc., 1992, 18.

¹¹⁰ Henry D. Lesene quoted in Anne King Gregorie, *Christ Church 1706-1959: A Plantation Parish of the South Carolina Establishment* (Charleston:1961) 105-106.

¹¹¹ Brockington, et al., *Rural settlement in the Charleston Bay Area: Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Sites in the Mark Clark Expressway Corridor* (1985),41. Preservation Consultants, Inc., 1992. Stine, 1992.

- 112 Christopher Espenshade and Eric Poplin, *Archeological Survey and Testing, Palmetto Fort Tract, Charleston County, South Carolina*. Brockington And Associates (Atlanta: 1988).
- 113 Anne King Gregorie, Christ Church, 1706-1959, 111-112.
- 114 Gregorie, 112.
- 115 Stine, *Revealing Historic Landscapes*, 1992, p.90.
- 116 Preservation Consultants, Inc., 1992, p.38.
- 117 Preservation Consultants, Inc. , *Town of Mount Pleasant, South Carolina: Cultural Resource Survey*, (Charleston:1988) 10-11.
- 118 Preservation Consultants. 1992, 38.
- 119 Preservation Consultants, 1992, 39.
- 120 Stine, *Revealing Historic Landscapes*, 1992, 90.
- 121 Charleston County Deed Book X-8: 78-81.
- 122 South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Records of the Secretary of State, Surveyor General, State Plats, Recorded Copies, Charleston Series, Vol. 39, p. 78. Reproduced by permission of the South Carolina Division of Archives and History. Courtesy of Charles Lesser, Senior Historian.
- 123 McCrady Plat 2354. A tract of land containing 777 1/2 acres situate in the District of Charleston Christ Church Parish on the Waters of the Wando River,[for Francis G. Deliesseline], 21 April 1818.
- 124 Jonathan Poston, Historic Charleston Foundation, personal communication, 25 January 1993.
- 125 Bureau of the Census, Schedule of Free Inhabitant 1820, Charleston County, Charles Pinckney was listed in the City of Charleston.
- 126 N. Louise Bailey and Elizabeth Ivey Cooper. 1981, p.181
- 127 Charleston County Conveyance Book N-10:278-80.
- 128 Charleston County Deed Book N-10, page 278-280.
- 129 Bureau of the Census, Schedule of Slave Inhabitants, 1830 Microfilm M19, Roll 170, page 197. Slaves:
5 males under 10 years, 9 males between 10-24 years, 10 males between 24-36 years, 5 males between 55-100 years, 6 females under 10 years, 2 females between 10-24 years, and 4 females between 36-55 years.

¹³⁰ Buchanan, P., B. Herman, O. Rideout V, E. Tolson, and M. Wenger. Architectural Investigation At Snee Farm. Prepared for the Friends of Snee Farm, March 1991. See also National Park Service Memorandum from E. Blaine Cliver dated July 30, 1990 on results of x-ray analysis of nails and visual inspection of Snee Farm dwelling house.

¹³¹ Preservation Consultants Inc., 1992, 18-23.

¹³² Preservation Consultants Inc., 1992, 18-23.

¹³³ According to historian, Anne King Gregorie, most of the residents of the parish resided in Mount Pleasant during the summer and "sickly months." Additional bibliographical research may confirm that Mathews also maintained a residence in Mt. Pleasant.

¹³⁴ See McCrady Plats 6049, 6151, 5559, 923, and archeological reports by Brockington and Associates, (1987), Dr. Linda F. Stine (1988) and Julia King, Ph.D. (1992) which revealed site specific data on the location and spatial arrangement of structures and activity areas at Snee Farm for the late 18th and early 19th century. Dr. Stine reported on data recovery in a slave quarters area indicated on the 1841 plat of William Mathews land. Dr. King's archeological testing at the site of the extant house confirmed the findings of the architectural historians which concluded that the extant house was constructed between 1820 and 1830. "The house was probably constructed by William Mathews, who purchased the property in 1828. The principal dwelling of the Pinckneys appears to have been located on or adjacent to the site of the standing dwelling, and this 18th century dwelling house may have been similar in appearance to the post 1820s replacement" (King 1992:165). National Park Service archeologists, working under the direction of Dr. Benny Keel, have focused their investigations on locating the foundations of the Pinckney dwelling house and the spatial arrangement of plantation buildings.

¹³⁵ South Carolina Department of Archives and History, McCrady Plat of Snee Farm property of William Mathews, Esq. situated in Christ Church Parish Charleston District, State of South Carolina, Containing Fields of pasture, 365 acres of rice, reclaimed marsh 65 acres, Wood 485.24 acres, total 915.2 acres, surveyed in April 1841. R.Q. Pinckney [surveyor].

¹³⁶ The outcome of the case of Mathews vs. Horlbeck should be examined because additional information may be contained in the May term 1848 court records.

¹³⁷ An additional plat from a survey by Edward B. White, dated March 1844 was reviewed in a document written by James A. Turner. Mr. Turner wrote *A History of Snee Farm Plantation* in 1969, a copy of which was located in the files of the Institute of Archeology and Anthropology at the University of South Carolina. Mr. Turner's history was largely based upon a reference known as the *Snee Farm Monograph*, Historic Charleston Foundation, Charleston, S.C. and accompanied an archeological report. The archeological report focused on the discovery of mastodon and other fossil remains along Horlbeck Creek within the area of the golf course being developed by Joe Griffith Realty of Charleston.

¹³⁸ Charleston County Will Book K (1845-51) page 199.

139 HABS, 1990, 10.

140 This was confirmed by examining the order of the names on the Census and comparing them with those of adjacent landowners on the 1841 plat map. Bureau of the Census, 1850 Slave Schedule, Microfilm 432, Roll 862.

141 HABS, 11.

142 Charleston County Wills, Vol. 48, Book A (1856-1858), pages 378-382. It is notable that a "McCants" appears in the 1850 Census of Agriculture in Christ Church Parish, p.335, yet the sale of the farm from Mathews Estate to William McCants did not take place until 1853. It is possible that Wm. McCants was living at Snee Farm prior to the purchase.

143 Bureau of Census 1870 Schedule 1, Inhabitants in Christ Church Parish, Charleston County, page 109. National Archives Center, Eastpoint, Georgia. The clergyman, Rev. Thomas F. Gadsden of Christ Church, and Richard Venning were his neighbors. Microfilm M 593, Roll 1488-1489.

144 Charleston County Deed Book Q-15:71. L. A. McCants was apparently a member of the Christ Church congregation after he sold Snee Farm since he attended a meeting of the congregation on March 8, 1874. It has not been determined whether or not he owned other property in the parish at this period.

145 Bureau of Census, 1880 Agricultural Schedule. McCants hired "colored people" for 50 weeks during the year, according to the 1880 census.

146 Kovacik and Winberry, 106.

147 Kovacik and Winberry, 108.

148 Kovacik and Winberry, 111.

149 Kovacik and Winberry, 111.

150 Preservation Consultants, Inc., 1992, 42.

151 Kovacik and Winberry, 127.

152 Kovacik and Winberry, 174.

153 Preservation Consultants, 1988, 8.

154 R.T. Morrison, "The Founder of McClellanville," in *The Visible Village: A McClellanville Scrapbook, 1860-1945*, William P. Baldwin, (Privately printed, 1984), 16-17.

155 "Boone Hall Had Largest Grove," *News and Courier*, 3 October 1933.

156 Preservation Consultants, 1992, 52.

157 Kovacik and Winberry, 122.

158. Preservation Consultants, 1992, 53.
159. Kovacik and Winberry, 122-23.
160. Preservation Consultants, 1992, 53.
161. Kovacik and Winberry, 136.
162. Kovacik and Winberry, 144.
163. Kovacik and Winberry, Table 8.3, 145.
164. *Town of Mount Pleasant Master Plan*, Table One, (Redman/Johnson Associates, 1992), 5.
165. Preservation Consultants, 1988, 10-11.
166. Betty Lee Johnson, *As I Remember It, and Oral History of the East Cooper Area*, Comments of Julia Welch Hamlin transcribed by Johnson, 1987, as found in HABS/Snee Farm, 19.
167. Petrona Royall McIver, "Snee Farm, Near Mt. Pleasant, Colonel Pinckney's Place", *Charleston News and Courier*, April __, 1933, as found in HABS/Snee Farm, 19-20.
168. Mrs. T. Joseph Devine (Ellen Stone) to David Moffley, 5 October 1988, Charleston Historical Society, Charleston SC.
169. Joyce Hollowell, Interview by Susan Hart, 7 October 1992.
170. Hollowell, 7 October 1992.

APPENDIX A

CHAIN OF TITLES
SNEE FARM*

- 1696 500 acre land grant to Richard Butler. 1733 memorial for Benjamin Law states the grant was made on December 5, 1696. However, he could have been there earlier. The 1685 Thorten-Morden map shows a Butler in the vicinity. (See Figure 2) No other deeds or land patents have been found for Snee Farm at this time.**
- ?? Richard Butler to John Givens.**
- 1730 John Givens to Benjamin Law (1733 Memorial to Benjamin Law)**
- 1738 Benjamin Law to John Allen. Charleston County Conveyance Book MM: 284 and Deed Book 00: 690-96.
- 1753 John and Ann Savage to William Scott. Release in fee. Charleston County Conveyance Book MM: 314.
- 1753 William Scott to John Savage. Charleston County Conveyance Book MM: 319-320.
- 1754 John and Ann Savage to Charles Pinckney II.
- 1772 Charles Pinckney II to Charles Pinckney III. Will dated 2 October, 1772, probated 10 November, 1784. Recorded in Will Book A, 1783-86: 431.
- 1815 Charles Pinckney III to Simon Magwood, Charles Kershaw, Hasell Gibbs, and Robert Y. Hayne. Conveyance in Trust. Charleston County Conveyance Book Q8: 111.
- 1817 Master in Equity to Francis G. Delicesseline. Charleston County Miscellaneous Records, Book X-8: 78-81.

*Unless otherwise indicated information taken from HABS Report, No. SC-87: 4-6.

**Julia King, 1992: 5-7.

- 1828 Francis G. Deliesseline to William Gibbes, Master in Equity (Deliesseline failed to meet terms of mortgage). Charleston District Conveyances, Book N-10: 278-80.
- 1828 William Gibbes, Master in Equity, to William Mathews. Charleston County Conveyances, Book N-10: 278-80.
- 1848 William Mathews to Susan B. Hunt. Will dated 21 January, 1848 and probated 24, July, 1848.
- 1853 Estate of William Mathews to William McCants. Charleston County Conveyances, Book V-12: 25-26.
- 1859 William McCants to Lockwook Allison McCants. Will dated 7 September, 1858 and probated 18 December, 1858. Charleston County Record of Wills, Vol. 48, Book A: 378-382.
- 1870 Lockwood A. McCants to William Jervey (trustee for the estate of Francis Cordes). Charleston County Deed Book Q-15: 71.
- 1900 Mary McCants et al., to Frederick Weiters. Charleston County Conveyances, Book Y-22: 597.
- 1900 Frederick Weiters to Thomas J. Hamlin. Charleston County Conveyances, Book U-25: 179.
- ?? (No will recorded for T. J. Hamlin). Thomas J. Hamlin to Osgood Darby Hamlin.
- 1936 Mrs. Osgood D. Hamlin (Julia Welch) to Thomas Ewing (newspaper articles) Deed and title not located at Registry of Mesne Conveyance.
- 1943 Mrs. Thomas Ewing to Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Stone. Letter from Ellen Stone Devine to David Moffley (See References).
- 1968 Estate of Alexandra Ewing Stone to S. Guilds and Joyce Hollowell. Charleston County Conveyances, Book V-89: 275.
- 1986 S. Guilds and Joyce Hollowell to Creekside Mobil Home Park (C and G Investments). Charleston County Conveyances, Book S-156: 386.
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