WILLTOWN BLUFF
The Civil War Skirmish that Saved Charleston

BENJAMIN E. MAYS AT SOUTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE

RECENT CONSERVATION SUCCESSES
The South Carolina Historical Society recently received a do-it-yourself Memory Station from Vivid-Pix that allows users to easily scan, restore, and save personal photographs and documents. The Memory Station is now available to SCHS members and guests by appointment only during regular museum hours in our Fireproof Building location.

**Appointment information:**
- You’ll receive a brief orientation on your first visit, and then you’ll be ready to scan your treasures!
- Each appointment includes access to the Vivid-Pix Memory Station and Restore software for up to three personal photographs or documents.
- Items up to eleven by seventeen inches can be scanned.
- USB drives are available for purchase, or you can bring your own.
- SCHS members receive four free thirty-minute appointments per year (then each thirty-minute appointment is $10). For non-members, each thirty-minute appointment is $15.

For more information or to schedule your appointment, contact Brandon Reid at brandon.reid@schsonline.org or (843) 723-3225, ext. 113.

---

**Scanning Solutions: A Vivid-Pix Class**  
**Tuesday, May 2 • 6:00 p.m.**

Join us for a special Zoom event with Vivid-Pix founder and CEO Rick Voight. During this class, you will receive instruction on using the Vivid-Pix Memory Station and Restore software installed at the Fireproof Building, along with additional information to help you tell your story.

This class is free for SCHS members and $10 for non-members. Contact Hannah Mooney at hannah.mooney@schsonline.org or (843) 723-3225, ext. 111, with any questions.
The South Edisto River is seen from Willtown Bluff Plantation, the site of an early colonial settlement as well as a little-known Civil War engagement that held important consequences for Charleston. For more on this, see “Willtown Bluff: The Civil War Skirmish that Saved Charleston” on page 16. Photograph by Lauren Nivens.
When you overhear someone declare that history is boring, does it make you cringe and wonder if he or she is speaking out of ignorance or out of prejudice? If you are not disturbed, you are not paying attention. How is it possible for anyone to read South Carolina’s stories of extraordinary heroism, past crimes, and everyday life during the last 350 years and not want to know more?

To my way of thinking, this is a perfect opportunity for you to suggest a visit to the South Carolina Historical Society Museum and then to ask, “Do you still think history is boring?” As one meanders through the museum and studies the special exhibits, it becomes undeniable that the SCHS is a powerful weapon against ignorance and prejudice.

Because of the growing complexity of history, our stories can be used to justify the status quo or dragged into political wars. Isn’t it ironic that while few people study history, some will use history to fit a personal agenda? History needs to unite us, not drive us apart. The point is this: until we have an agreed-upon history, how is it possible for us to ever work together effectively?

The archives of the SCHS reveal a lofty truth. We South Carolinians are one people, we have one story, and we have thousands of voices. The SCHS does not hide unpleasant elements of our history. If we did, we would lose not only irreplaceable parts of our story, but we would be vulnerable to others who want to tell us who we are. We know we have scars, but we also know scar tissue can heal and strengthen us.

Every day the SCHS makes its archives accessible to the public through publications, lectures, tours, or exhibits. Because of that accessibility, we can examine the present through the lens of the past. The SCHS stimulates, awakens, and drives an awareness of the value of historical literacy. History is for looking forward. It would take an extraordinary effort for us to make history dull and boring!

After the privilege of serving on this board for eleven years, it is time to pass the gavel into the capable hands of Bill Davies. With the support of CEO Faye Jensen and Chairman Davies, along with Kester Freeman, Glenn Oxner, Minor Shaw, John McCardell, and the full Board of Managers, the SCHS will enter a new period of geographical, gender, and racial outreach. Aspirational goals will aim higher than ever. With a shared vision of the importance of historical literacy, the SCHS and its devoted members will drive our mission statement forward in ways that promise to enrich our state, its people, and its future.

Emilyn Childs Sanders
2022 Chairman, SCHS Board of Managers
New to the Lowcountry Digital Library

Several new SCHS collections are now available on the Lowcountry Digital Library (bit.ly/SCHS-LCDL):

- Isaac Hayne Journal, 1764–1781: This bound volume was compiled by planter, South Carolina legislator, and Revolutionary War colonel Isaac Hayne (1745–1781), who was executed by the British for treason. It contains the records of people enslaved at Hayne Hall Plantation in Jacksonboro, including names, births, deaths, and marriages, along with occasional notes regarding the sales of enslaved people and runaway attempts.

- Samuel Badger Papers, 1767–1773: This collection is largely comprised of letters between Charleston tailor Samuel Badger (1734–1823) and members of his family discussing personal, family, and religious matters. Also included is a 1772 bond for an enslaved female.

- Journal of Samuel Wilson, 1854: Kept by Charleston physician Samuel Wilson (1791–1861), this almanac repurposed as a journal contains reports of weather conditions, yellow fever deaths, deaths of enslaved people, natural disasters, and other events in 1854.

Staff Developments

- SCHS vice president of collections and chief operating officer Virginia Ellison recently received her Digital Archives Specialist (DAS) certificate from the Society of American Archivists. The nine-course program is designed to provide the information and tools archivists need to manage the demands of born-digital records and is concluded by a comprehensive examination. Her coursework was funded by a microgrant from the Digital Preservation Outreach and Education Network at the Pratt Institute School of Information.

- Edited by SCHS processing archivist Karen Stokes, Fortunes of War: The Adventures of a German Confederate is now available in English for the first time from Shotwell Publishing. The 1879 memoir of German immigrant August Conrad tells the story of his service in the Charleston Zouave Cadets at Castle Pinckney, his blockade-running work, and the horrors he witnessed during Sherman’s campaign in South Carolina.

Rare Handwritten Newspapers Conserved

Thanks to a generous donation by Margaret and Dennis O’Brien, four of the SCHS’s handwritten Civil War-era newspapers (including the January 28, 1863, edition of the Rebel, shown here) recently received conservation treatment by Marion L. Hunter Jr. For more on another recent conservation success story, check out Photo Finish on page 22!

What’s in Your Attic?

Join us for one of our What’s in Your Attic presentations around the state! During this talk, the SCHS’s Virginia Ellison discusses the benefits and procedures of donating materials to an archival repository or museum. Attendees learn how to navigate the donation process, what factors to consider when donating their family’s treasures, and basic preservation tips that can be followed at home. Upcoming dates include:

Monday, April 17 • 2:00 P.M.
Beaufort Branch Library, Beaufort

Monday, May 1 • 10:00 A.M.
Pickens County Museum of Art and History, Pickens

In Memoriam: William L. Kinney Jr.

The SCHS lost one of its most dedicated supporters with the passing of William L. Kinney Jr. on February 19. In addition to his work as editor and publisher emeritus of the Marlboro Herald-Advocate, the lifelong Bennettsville resident was a noted community leader and served in leadership positions with the SCHS and many other historical organizations. Kinney is pictured here in 2015, speaking as SCHS president at the opening of the SCHS Archives at the College of Charleston’s Addlestone Library.
2023 Winter Lecture Series

Presented virtually on Tuesday evenings throughout January and February, the SCHS’s sixteenth annual Winter Lecture Series featured discussions by a variety of scholars on the rising tide of resistance during the colonial and Revolutionary eras. A huge thanks to our wonderful speakers and to everyone who joined us for this year’s series!

1. SCHS chief executive officer Faye Jensen (right) introduces Serena Zabin, a professor of history and chair of the history department at Carleton College, before she presents “The American Revolution as Divorce: Families, Politics, and War.” 2. John Navin, a professor of history at Coastal Carolina University, presents “War against Everyone: South Carolina, 1670–1729.” 3. David Dangerfield, an assistant professor of history at the University of South Carolina Salkehatchie, presents “Freedom Deferred: Free People of Color and Enslaved Experiences in the American Revolution.”

Arthur Ravenel Jr. Collections

In 2013, SCHS vice president of collections and chief operating officer Virginia Ellison sat down with Arthur Ravenel Jr. (1927–2023), a former state senator and US congressman from Charleston, for an oral history interview. Over the course of two conversations, totaling 180 minutes, Ravenel discussed his memories of growing up in Charleston and his personal and professional accomplishments. Ellison met again with Ravenel in 2016 and helped him decide which materials to donate to the SCHS, including the Mexican-American War medal of William Davie De Saussure (1819–1863), which is now on permanent exhibit in the SCHS Museum. During this time, Ravenel told stories of his adventures, reminisced about his family members, and described how each item came into his possession. The SCHS is forever grateful for his longtime support of our collections.

Items donated by Arthur Ravenel Jr. include photographs of his visits to soldiers during the Gulf War (above) and William Davie De Saussure’s Mexican-American War medal (left). From the collections of the South Carolina Historical Society.
New Prints Available

Five new prints are now available for purchase in our gift shop on the first floor of the historic Fireproof Building (100 Meeting Street, Charleston) as well as in our online store (shop.schistory.org)! Each unframed reproduction is printed on matte paper with small text in the lower left corner noting that the image comes from the collections of the South Carolina Historical Society. Don’t forget, SCHS members receive a 20% discount on all gift shop items, so stop by or visit us online today!

Bachman’s Warbler and Cooper River Jump Shooting (11 x 14 in. each)
These images are from a collection of seven journals kept by renowned twentieth-century artist and ornithologist John Henry Dick (1910–1995). The journals are filled with watercolors, drawings, and writings inspired by his world travels as well as entries concerning social events at Dixie Plantation, concerts, trips, pets, bird-watching, and world events.

Long-Billed Birds (12 x 9 in.)
One of a series of watercolors depicting birds by Charleston lawyer and historian Langdon Cheves III (1848–1939), this work was painted on wallpaper most likely during the Civil War years, when the blockaded Southern states endured paper shortages.

How to Find Edisto Island (7.75 x 9 in.)
If a trip to Edisto Island is in your future, this cheeky map drawn in the 1930s by Augustine Thomas Smythe Stoney (1894–1949), a Charleston illustrator and cartographer, will help get you there!

A New and Accurate Map of the Province of South Carolina in North America (12.3 x 14.5 in.)
Originally published in the June 1779 issue of the Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure, this map by John Hinton (1716–1781) depicts precincts, townships, towns, forts, roads and trails, ferries, courthouses, landmarks, rivers and creeks, harbors, islands, and shoals along the coast.
The Bible of Strawberry Chapel

In 2022, SCHS processing archivist Karen Stokes completed processing the records of the parish of St. John's Berkeley, a large collection spanning 1774 to 2019 and donated by the vestry of Strawberry Chapel. Though the collection chiefly consists of vestry records, including correspondence, property records, financial records, election records, and minutes, it also includes the original bible of Strawberry Chapel, which was printed in London in 1701 and re-bound in 1826.

Created in 1706, the parish of St. John's Berkeley was the largest of the original parishes in South Carolina. Because of its great size, it was divided into three parts: Lower, Middle, and Upper St. John's. The main parish church, known as Biggin Church, and its chapel of ease, Strawberry Chapel, were built in the lower portion of the parish in the early eighteenth century. According to Albert Sidney Thomas’s history of the Episcopal Church in South Carolina, “St. John’s was a prosperous parish” before the Civil War and possessed a summer and a winter parsonage, a rice plantation, and considerable stock investments. Biggin Church suffered significant damage during the Civil War, however, and in the second half of the nineteenth century, Strawberry Chapel became the principal church of Lower St. John’s. Today, the circa 1725 chapel is closed to the public but still holds services four times a year.
My name is Sam Sharnas, and I am a history major at the Citadel. As part of the school’s history curriculum, students are required to complete a history-related internship during their senior year. I began my internship with the South Carolina Historical Society Archives in August and finished in early December 2022. It was a great experience, and I learned a lot!

Prior to beginning my internship, I had no idea what to expect—I figured I would be placed in a corner shredding papers or taking out the trash. This ended up being as far from the truth as possible. My experience at the SCHS Archives was extremely hands-on, and I got to personally handle hundreds of original historical documents. The first project I worked on was processing a collection of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century newspapers. I was responsible for reading through the newspapers and providing descriptions of what they talked about and the types of advertisements they contained. I was fascinated by these newspapers because they provided a direct look into ordinary life in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Charleston. It is not every day that you can physically hold and read a newspaper that is nearly three hundred years old!

The second main project I worked on was processing a dozen plats that had originally belonged to John McCrady, a surveyor from Charleston who collected thousands of plats during his lifetime. The plats I handled were primarily from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and were for tracts of land in the lowcountry region. I was responsible for identifying the area of land depicted, the time period, the surveyor, and providing a brief summary. I will admit that during this project, I realized reading old cursive handwriting was not my strong suit. However, the SCHS staff were kind and able to help me out when I needed it!

The third major project I worked on was inventorying original artwork by Sabina Wells, a well-known Charleston artist and Newcomb potter during the twentieth century. Although known primarily for her pottery, she was also a skilled painter and drawer. The collection I handled primarily contained designs for book illustrations, pottery, and ceramics; watercolor paintings of flowers; and sketches of dogs and some wildlife. Many of these items were unfinished sketches or plans for her final projects. This project was interesting because I got to see Wells’s thought process and the practice that went on behind the scenes for her final copies.

Overall, interning in the SCHS Archives was a great professional and academic experience. I experienced working in a professional environment for the first time and learned several new historical facts and bits of information every single day. While I do not plan to go into the archival field, it was a memorable experience, and it gave me a lot of respect for the work that archivists do!
In 1971 autobiography *Born to Rebel*, Benjamin Elijah Mays (1894–1984) describes his graduation from high school as valedictorian in 1916. He takes this event as an occasion to reflect on his educational experiences up to that point in his life:

*In the sixteen years since I entered the first grade at the age of six, I had spent only seventy-three months in school—the equivalent of eight nine-month years of schooling. Had I been able to complete each year without being taken out for farm work, I would have been graduated at fourteen instead of at twenty-one. I regret those “lost years.”*

Mays calculates about seven years lost, seven years that he could have used pursuing what he loved best: learning. Even though he went on to earn degrees from Bates College and the University of Chicago, he continued to regret those lost years because he believed they had left unfillable gaps: “Although the high school teachers at State were excellent, I am well aware that there are gaps in my education which I was never able to overcome. . . There are many things that one must learn and read in elementary and high school; otherwise it is too late, for each passing day makes its own new demands.” In addition to its melancholy tone, this statement reminds us of another quirk in Mays's schooling: he pursued his
secondary education not at a regular public high school, but on the campus of South Carolina State College ("State"). Why did Benjamin Mays, the eventual president of Morehouse College, the mentor of Martin Luther King Jr., and a major figure in the civil rights movement, not graduate high school until age twenty-one, and why did he do it on a college campus?

Mays was unlucky in the timing of his education: he commenced it at a point in American history when the forces of Jim Crow had decisively tipped the balance against Black schools. In the decades prior to this, South Carolina had grudgingly developed a system of public education for its citizens, both Black and White. Indeed, the first mass movement for state-funded public education during Reconstruction came from Black people, and statistics indicate that they attended public schools in greater percentages than did Whites. The famous sociologist W. E. B. Du Bois, in his seminal *Black Reconstruction in America*, studied public school enrollments in South Carolina in the 1870s, and he recorded that during a single year (1869–1870), Black enrollment increased from 8,163 to 15,894, whereas White enrollment increased only from 8,255 to 11,122. In his 1889 history of education in South Carolina, Colyer Meriwether calculated that between 1871 and 1888, African American student enrollment increased by more than an order of magnitude, from 8,163 to a remarkable 103,334.

Even more remarkable than these numbers is the fact that Black citizens paid twice for the public education they pursued. Like everyone else, they paid taxes to fund the public schools ostensibly available to all citizens. Yet, even before the end of Reconstruction, Southern states found ways to funnel disproportionate resources to schools that were predominantly White, despite the fact that Black citizens outnumbered White ones by a fair margin. Thus, in an effort to compensate for the imbalance in quality, Black parents supported their schools with their personal finances, labor, and other resources, in addition to the taxes they were already paying to support public education in general. Their willingness to do this suggests how important education was to them. Although he was an exceptional man, young Benjamin Mays’s attitude toward education was also representative of Black feeling at the time: “Vaguely, yet ardently, I longed to know, for I sensed that knowledge could set me free.”

Although he was an exceptional man, young Benjamin Mays’s attitude toward education was also representative of Black feeling at the time: “Vaguely, yet ardently, I longed to know, for I sensed that knowledge could set me free.”

Yet the modest promise of Black education seen during and just after Reconstruction was reversed just at the time six-year-old Benjamin Mays began first grade. With the return to power of the Democratic Party in the South, state legislatures passed many laws that politically and socially disenfranchised Blacks. Moreover, the infamous practice of sharecropping systemically kept many Blacks dependent, in debt, and unable to pursue education, amounting to a kind of slavery by proxy. In 1895, Reconstruction essentially came to an end when the Democratic Party-controlled government (led by Benjamin Tillman) called for a state constitutional convention that resulted in the adoption of a new constitution, one that sought systematically to marginalize Blacks. This state convention occurred five years before young Mays commenced his schooling in 1900.

The effects were devastating. In rural areas in the South, Blacks found public education increasingly inaccessible, and the comparative percentages of Black and White children enrolled in school underwent a reversal. In 1900 (when Mays entered school), the US Census of South Carolina indicated that eighteen percent of the 119,669 Black children ages five to nine were enrolled in schools, compared to thirty percent of the 74,594 White children ages five to nine. The same census also recorded that forty-five percent of the 106,982 Black youths ages ten to fourteen were enrolled, compared to sixty-four percent of the 67,435 White youths ages ten to fourteen.

As bad as these figures look, the situation of public Black high schools was far worse. There were practically no high schools for African American teens. This was a longstanding problem. According to the *Annual Report of the [United States] Commissioner of Education 1890–1891*, in the Southern states, only 0.39 percent of Black children of high school age (3,106 of 804,522) were enrolled in high school, and more than two-thirds of those were attending private high schools unsupported by public funds. These numbers suggest that Southern states and local governments cut off financial support to Black secondary schools. In the narrative interview *Remembering Jim Crow*, Walter M. Carvers recalls his educational experience while growing up in rural Alabama just a few years before Mays began his own schooling:

*One of my ambitions, the biggest one, was to go to college. See, we didn't have no public schools back...*
then, I attended school three months in a year. Then that’s all we got until next year. The white [children] would be going to school up to May or June. But we only had our school open in November and it closed in March or the last of February.

This lack of secondary schooling for African Americans persisted for decades. As late as 1918, only a single public Black high school existed in South Carolina; there was none when Mays was seeking an education. With public high schools so scarce, college was a goal more often imagined than attained by Black youths.

What did young Black people such as Mays do in this situation? Some turned to privately funded, charitable institutions, such as the Brewer Institute in Greenwood. Others turned to another alternative: high school programs on college campuses. Some of these colleges were private, including Allen University and Benedict College in Columbia as well as Claflin University in Orangeburg. These historically Black colleges and Universities (HBCUs) took on the mission of providing high school education for Black Americans when few options were available. For example, from 1869 to 1922, Claflin University conferred degrees to 136 college graduates and graduated 982 high school students. Yet there were also public HBCUs coming into existence, funded by Southern states seeking to take advantage of the “separate-but-equal” doctrine codified into law by the Supreme Court with the Plessy v. Ferguson decision in 1896. In an effort to legally maintain segregated education, these states established public college campuses intended for Black students. In 1896, the South Carolina General Assembly established the school, eventually to be called South Carolina State College, under the title the Colored Normal, Industrial, Agricultural, and Mechanical College of South Carolina.

This mix of private charitable institutions, private HBCUs, and public land-grant HBCUs supplied a crucial lifeline to Black Americans seeking a high school education. Some Black educators embraced this model of education, perceiving it as a way for Black citizens to improve their lot slowly while avoiding violent confrontations with Whites. This approach has become known as the Hampton-Tuskegee model, named after the Hampton Institute, founded by Samuel C. Armstrong in 1868, and the Tuskegee Institute, founded by Hampton graduate Booker T. Washington in 1881. Unfortunately, despite its good intentions, the Hampton-Tuskegee model did much to train Black educators to teach racial subordination to the next generation of Black youths. Nonetheless, this model governed many of the educational options for Black youths seeking to graduate from high school. These options were not ideal, but for many students they were lifesaving, as the high school at South Carolina State was for Mays.

Benjamin Mays spent his childhood under the worst times in the South since the enslavement period. Lynchings and other violent acts were committed by Whites upon Blacks and then justified by the courts. Mays recalls that during his childhood, White vigilante groups, supported by the local and state governments, kept Black people in Greenwood County in their place. His earliest memory of such an act occurred at the age of four, when “the infamous Phoenix Riot” broke out in Greenwood County. Several armed White men rode upon Mays and his father, drew their guns, and proceeded to curse and harass them.

While a youngster, Mays attended the stereotypical one-room school building (affectionately known as the Brickhouse School) for a four-month school term. His father owned a small farm that required the child’s help during the harvesting and planting season, as was the case for many rural families. When he was not farming, the young Mays’s daily round trip to the Brickhouse School was seven miles. Mays readily mastered the curriculum at the Brickhouse School and, at the age of fifteen, was given permission to attend a small Baptist Association school in McCormick, located twenty-four miles from Greenwood. There Mays was identified as a gifted student and was often proudly presented at school and church recitals. However, the small McCormick school, also on a four-month schedule, did not have a high school curriculum.

At this point in his career, Mays reached a turning point. There was significant pressure not to continue his education. The well-intentioned pastor at McCormick wanted Mays to return for a third year and work as a student teacher. In resolving to move on, Mays worried he was burning bridges, since the pastor “never really
forgave me for not coming back.” The next obstacle was even more formidable. Not every Black person in South Carolina treasured education; Mays’s father was one who did not. His view was that education “went to one’s head and made him a fool and dishonest.” At considerable emotional cost, Mays resisted his father and obtained permission to attend high school. Since there were no public Black high schools in South Carolina, the seventeen-year-old Mays sought out Black colleges to finish his secondary training. It partly came down to money: he chose South Carolina State over Benedict College because the former was cheaper.

Mays entered South Carolina State in 1911 as an eighth grader. He flourished in his schoolwork, but his progress was hampered by his father’s requirement that he attend only four months each year, returning home to work on the farm. This continued for two years, until Mays found it impossible to achieve his educational goals under such conditions. He resolved to stay at State for the full school year, at which point his father angrily refused any further financial support. Mays cleaned outhouses on campus for six dollars each month. One of his teachers, Professor Bollie Levister, generously loaned him seventeen dollars to purchase a uniform so that he could work summers as a Pullman porter. (Mays promptly repaid the debt, and he recalled the story in later years to Levister’s daughters, to whom he sent an autographed copy of his 1969 book Disturbed about Men.) Adding to this income a bit of financial support from his brother John, Mays scraped together the funds to continue his schooling.

Mays was now attending South Carolina State on his own terms. What was it like? He reports finding intellectual and social stimulation that gave rise to a racial pride he had not experienced before. “It did my soul good in 1911 to find at State College an all-Negro faculty and a Negro president,” he writes in his autobiography. He talked openly about race issues with his math teacher, Professor Nelson C. Nix. When the class would get stuck on a problem, Nix would apply a bit of racial motivation: “You boys can’t work these problems? The white boys at the University of South Carolina are eating these problems up!” He also admired the wife of college president Robert Wilkinson, Marian Birnie Wilkinson, who publicly and vocally opposed racial discrimination in the town of Orangeburg. Mays associated her racial dignity with the “proud carriage” she maintained as she walked around campus. “The inspiration which I received at State College was and is of incalculable value,” Mays concludes.

Yet there was also a downside of doing high school at South Carolina State. South Carolina legislators had
After serving as a professor of physics and head of the Department of Science for sixteen years, Robert S. Wilkinson (top left) was named the second president of South Carolina State in 1911 and remained there until his death in 1932. Benjamin Mays admired Wilkinson’s wife, Marian Birnie Wilkinson (left), writing in his autobiography that “she fought racial injustice and discrimination, and the white merchants who sold to the school paid her the unusual tribute of calling her Mrs. Wilkinson.” He also notes that Professor Nelson C. Nix (above), who “challenged us with his talk about the white boys at the University of South Carolina,” was “perhaps the one who inspired me most.” Courtesy of the Orangeburg County Historical Society.
designed it as a trade school, and despite the committed teachers Mays encountered, he also felt the limitations. In his view, “State College was the finest I had ever seen for Negroes, but it was obvious that, though ‘separate,’ it was not ‘equal’ to the University of South Carolina, from which Negroes were excluded. State College was not designed to prepare Negroes for literary and professional careers.” Mays chafed under the requirement that all high school students choose a “trade” (his early choices were shoe repair and harness making) and devote at least one day a week to it. He somewhat bitterly repeats the joke on campus that Latin was permitted in the curriculum because it was called “agricultural Latin.”

Upon completing his high school coursework, he wanted to go north to college “to compete with white students,” since he believed he could not do so in South Carolina. In an incident echoing his experience with the pastor of the McCormick school years earlier, Mays found that his desire not to attend college at South Carolina State had deeply offended the school’s president, Robert Wilkinson. He offered to explain his decision to the president, but Wilkinson rebuffed him. Although they reconciled years later, Mays remained puzzled by the president’s attitude: “He never explained. I never understood.” A century later, we might speculate that the Hampton-Tuskegee model was exerting its mentality. Wilkinson saw his institution as a resource for Black students to earn a degree, learn a trade, and slowly work their way to financial independence. Mays wanted more than that.

Along with the high points of racial consciousness and the low points of strictly vocational training, South Carolina State offered Mays what we might now call a high school experience. He compared himself ambitiously with the other high school boys on campus, some of whom he called “the dumb boys, the lazy loafers.” Yet in his autobiography he also confesses feeling abashed that these were the boys who captured the attention of the prettiest girls. They were from the city and had a polish and sophistication that rural boys like Mays lacked. “I was a bit reticent, a bit shy,” Mays reports, although he eventually met his future wife, Ellen Harvin, on campus. In relating these feelings and experiences, Mays describes a social scenario that many Americans can recognize, the transitional interval between child and adult in which high school students try to find themselves and their place in their world. Although this was not academic content, it was something that South Carolina State gave to Mays, and his inclination to mention it in his autobiography suggests that he gained from it.

At graduation in 1916, Mays was the class valedictorian. He accomplished the coursework to graduate in five years, a year sooner than most students. He credited his years of study at South Carolina State as an inspiration to pursue higher education, earning degrees at Bates College and the University of Chicago. At the centennial anniversary of Morehouse College in 1967, Benjamin Mays retired as the president of Morehouse. He had provided twenty-seven years of service there. During his tenure, he was able to transform a struggling, second-rate school into a first-class institution that has produced some very strong social and political activists. His weekly chapel services were legendary, and in them he touched the hearts and minds of students by critically addressing relevant social issues. He was not just a profound public speaker. He was also a scholar, an author, and a theologian.

It is important to remember that probably none of this could have happened had not South Carolina State made a high school education available. Mays was clearly cognizant of this, regularly returning to the school in later years to deliver the commencement address and the annual Easter address.

Likewise, South Carolina State recognized the status that one of its alumni had achieved, and in 1946, it awarded Mays an honorary doctor of letters degree. As the only public Black college in South Carolina, State juggled the dual missions of teaching secondary students and college students. It managed to inspire its young people despite being designed to offer a mostly vocational education. In undertaking these activities, its contribution to Black advancement extended beyond granting college degrees. This can be said of HBCUs in general. They opened educational horizons that would otherwise be closed to a vast number of Black people at the time. Despite State’s limitations, Mays found there much of what he had lacked during his lost years.

Travis D. Boyce is an associate professor and chair of the Department of African American Studies at San José State University. A native of Greenville, he is the co-editor of Historicizing Fear: Ignorance, Vilification, and Othering (University Press of Colorado, 2020) and the author of the forthcoming book Steady and Measured: Benner C. Turner, A Black College President in the Jim Crow South (University of South Carolina Press).
At four o’clock on the morning of Friday, July 10, 1863, the First South Carolina Volunteers of the US Colored Troops and three federal steamers used the cover of a dense fog to sail up the South Edisto River. Their mission was to destroy a railroad bridge about thirty miles southwest of Charleston. The railroad line, which connected Charleston and Savannah, played a major role in supplying South Carolina’s largest city as well as moving goods from the port of Charleston inland. When the First South Carolina Volunteers put ashore at Willtown Bluff Plantation, they quickly overran the Confederate artillery batteries and small detachments of militia posted there. Colonel Hugh Kerr Aiken then dispatched from nearby Adams Run with his Sixth South Carolina Cavalry Regiment. After a brisk skirmish of several hours, Aiken pushed back the Union troops and destroyed one of the steamers. The federal steamers had nearly reached their target, the destruction of which would have been devastating to Charleston. The Union army’s ill-fated assault on Battery Wagner took place eight days later. Although this bloody battle on Morris Island is more famous, the Sixth South Carolina Cavalry’s action at Willtown Bluff averted disaster for Charleston by preventing the destruction of the vital railroad bridge over the South Edisto River, keeping the city’s supply line to Savannah open.

The Charleston and Savannah Railroad held strategic significance for both sides. It began operation on April 21, 1860, and became more important than ever once the war started. In November 1861, Union forces captured both Port Royal and Hilton Head Island, putting them within about thirty miles of the railroad. To protect this critical line, the Confederates built trenches and fortifications along the most vulnerable inlets and water approaches to Willtown Bluff: The Civil War Skirmish that Saved Charleston

By J. Keith Jones

Above, situated on a twenty-five-foot bluff above the South Edisto River in Charleston County, Willtown Bluff Plantation was the site of an early colonial town, known as Willtown or New London, that served as a prominent frontier outpost until its decline in the mid-eighteenth century. Rice planter William Elliott was granted twenty-four of the town’s lots in 1760, and his grandson, Lewis Morris, owned much of the land in the area when the 1863 skirmish at Willtown Bluff took place. Photograph by CharlestonSCwriter (licensed under CC BY-SA 4.0).
the Charleston and Savannah. The railroad bridge over the South Edisto River at Jacksonboro was an inviting target for the federals. For this reason, the Confederates had fortified nearby Willtown Bluff, overlooking a bend in the river, using artillery batteries of mostly state and local defense units.

The Union expedition up the South Edisto originated at Port Royal. On the afternoon of Thursday, July 9, 1863, Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson departed with 250 of his soldiers from the First South Carolina Volunteers, one of the earliest African American regiments in the US Army. They loaded onto three boats—the armed steamer John Adams, the transport Enoch Dean, and the small tug Governor Milton—along with one section of the First Connecticut Volunteer Light Battery under the command of Lieutenant James B. Clinton. Their orders were to destroy the bridge at Jacksonboro and liberate the enslaved people from the Willtown-area plantations. Higginson wrote that the Enoch Dean was armed with a ten-pound Parrott gun and a small howitzer. The Governor Milton carried two twelve-pound Armstrong guns, manned by Clinton’s Connecticut gunners with assistance from a squad of First South Carolina troopers under Captain William James, while the John Adams carried two Parrott guns, of ten- and twenty-pound calibers, and “a howitzer or two.”

Colonel Higginson’s amphibious force reached Willtown Bluff Plantation around four o’clock the next morning. Confederates from the Chestnut Artillery, the Washington Artillery, and the Marion Artillery occupied positions on the bluff, a little over three miles downriver from the Jacksonboro Bridge. Thick fog had given Higginson the advantage, preventing the artillery units from sighting the steamers until shortly before they went ashore at the Willtown landing. The batteries at Willtown further were caught off guard because, in the words of Lieutenant Thomas G. White of the Palmetto Battalion, they had no infantry support “excepting 7 vedettes,” or mounted sentinels. The one company of infantry that had been supporting them was withdrawn and sent to Charleston the previous evening.

Initially, Willtown Bluff fell easily into Union hands. Lieutenant White recalled being awakened by his sergeant, who advised that federal boats had been spotted and were within eight hundred yards of their position. White’s men fired their first gun at a quarter to five in the morning, at the “smallest of the enemy’s steamers nearest inland.” Higginson reported that the Confederate batteries fired three shots and then ceased. At that point, Lieutenant James B. West took thirty men from the First South Carolina Volunteers and captured the bluff. According to White, one gun had failed from a friction primer, and another would not fire because a ball had been forced down in the barrel hastily without the powder cartridge. This put two of the three Confederate guns temporarily out of service, so White ordered a withdrawal to save his artillery. When they reached the bluff, Higginson’s soldiers discovered “clothing, equipments [sic], and breakfast fires left behind [which] betrayed a very hasty departure.” They were unaware that White was observing them nearby. He had remained behind alone to watch their movements. After a while, he saddled his horse himself and rode away, barely avoiding capture. Higginson noted the strategic significance of the commanding bluff, where they could watch the steamers ply upriver toward the bridge, so he stationed men there. In his report, White said that by the time he became aware of the federal approach, enslaved African Americans already had gathered at the landing at Morris’s Mills downriver. He believed this indicated a foreknowledge of the attack on their part and the likelihood of spies in the Confederate camps, who

A detail of an 1856 Charleston and Savannah Railroad map is marked with points of interest from the 1863 skirmish at Willtown Bluff, including Willtown itself (labeled 1), Hope Plantation (2), the position of White’s battery upon its return to the river (3), the position of Walter’s Washington Artillery (4), the site of the federal boats running aground (5), the Jacksonboro Bridge (6), and the Adams Run Confederate camp (7). From the collections of the South Carolina Historical Society.
had advised the federals of their strength and positions. White also stated that only women waited at the docks, meaning that the men already were aboard the boats, revealing some level of planning. Lending credence to this notion, a freedwoman attached to the First South Carolina Volunteers as a nurse, Susie King Taylor, wrote: “While planning for the expedition up the Edisto River, Colonel Higginson was a whole night in the water, trying to locate the rebels and where their picket lines were situated.”

Colonel Hugh Aiken and the Sixth South Carolina Cavalry were in camp at Adams Run, about five miles from Willtown Bluff. After learning of the attack at six o’clock in the morning, Aiken immediately dispatched Lieutenant Colonel Lovick P. Miller with fifty men. He then organized the remainder of the regiment to follow under Major Thomas B. Ferguson. Aiken himself arrived at Willtown at seven o’clock and discovered that Lieutenant White and his battery had abandoned the bluff, which now was under the control of the federal troops.

Aiken’s subsequent orders were twofold. First, he wanted all of the remaining enslaved people to be “driven back from the river.” Second, he deployed the Sixth Regiment as skirmishers on the right end of the line, north of Willtown, “resting on and perpendicular to the river, and the remainder parallel,” ordering them to advance on the bluff. His report described the undergrowth as “almost impenetrable,” which “prevented rapid movements” on the right. His left and front “had advanced fully half way to the river” despite being under heavy fire. Lieutenant Colonel Miller sent a courier to tell Aiken that his right had been flanked, and Higginson’s troops were in his rear. Aiken ordered Miller to fall back, but he wrote later that Miller’s fears had proved unfounded and “placed us at great disadvantage.”

Meanwhile, the federal boats continued up the river toward their objective at Jacksonboro, but before reaching the bridge, they had to contend with a “row of spiles.” These were logs that had been driven vertically into the shallows by the Confederates. Union intelligence indicated that the logs mostly were decayed and therefore would be ineffective as an obstruction. This turned out to be a mistake, however, and the miscalculation cost the federals three hours while Captain Charles Trowbridge’s company of the First South Carolina Volunteers cleared the channel. By that time, the tide was too low to steam over the shallow part of the river. The boats were forced to wait until noon before the water level was high enough to pass.

As Trowbridge’s men toiled to move the boats past the river obstructions, a squadron of federal troopers brought two prisoners to Higginson. They were Fenton Hall, a private in Company G of the Sixth South Carolina Cavalry, and G. Henry Barnwell, a private in the Third South Carolina Cavalry. Hall was a farmer from Abbeville District who presented a sturdy but humble figure, according to Higginson. Higginson wrote that the prisoner “submitted quietly to his lot,” with the simple request that a letter be left behind explaining he had been taken prisoner. Barnwell, by contrast, was a haughty and belligerent young man of high birth. Ironically, Barnwell would not have been part of the action, except that he was on furlough at his family’s home, nearby Hope Plantation. Barnwell complained bitterly of being kicked after his surrender. In his memoirs, Higginson made a point of stating that he had “reproved the corporal” for kicking Barnwell.

For the rest of the day, Higginson’s troops under Captains H. A. Whitney and William W. Sampson had “occasional skirmishes” with the Sixth South Carolina Cavalry. All the while, Higginson wrote, escaping enslaved people “were swarming to the shore, or running to and fro like ants, with the poor treasures of their houses.” Higginson’s quartermaster, Lieutenant Luther M. Bingham, oversaw “taking on board some two hundred colored people,
with their great bundles holding all their worldly goods," along with six bales of cotton and other items that Higginson deemed "serviceable in war." Union soldiers broke the dams of the rice fields belonging to Lewis Morris, the owner of Willtown Bluff Plantation, and burned his mill and storehouses. Higginson stated that his men did not destroy or plunder any dwellings, but Morris’s daughter wrote that “Papa’s house was sacked by his own negros [sic].” Higginson boarded the Enoch Dean and left Whitney and Sampson to continue fighting and collecting “additional contraband.” The John Adams, which had run aground, stayed behind to support the troops at Willtown Bluff. Upon learning that he would be aboard a boat heading upstream, Henry Barnwell expressed his fear to Higginson that Confederate torpedoes would be in the water. However, none were found.

Lieutenant Thomas White, who had been in command of the Confederate batteries at Willtown Bluff before retreating to the junction of the Jacksonboro and Adams Run Roads, waited there for two hours until he was ordered to a spot above “Barnwell’s” to fire on the federal steamers as they passed. White reported that a “spirited engagement took place” once his guns were in place, and they twice forced the boats back. Still, the federals held the advantage, with their heavier guns and greater range. White then was ordered to retire further up the River Road.

Proceeding up the river, Higginson’s boats encountered Captain George Walter’s Washington Artillery. Walter reported that “two gunboats of the enemy passed up the Edisto River, and rapidly advanced to a point opposite the plantation of Dr. [Joseph Edward] Glover, about 3 miles below the railroad bridge.” The Enoch Dean, with Higginson on board, repeatedly ran aground and became mired in a mudbank two miles below the Jacksonboro Bridge. The Governor Milton, under the command of Major John D. Strong, also frequently ran aground and had to work to free itself constantly. The latter vessel drew the fire of a section of the Washington Artillery under Lieutenant Samuel Gilman Horsey, positioned 250 yards upriver, as Higginson’s men ran from side to side, attempting to rock the Enoch Dean free. The accurate fire of Horsey’s guns inflicted heavy damage on the Governor Milton, disabling the engine and killing the engineer. As the Milton drifted downstream, the Dean finally freed itself and steamed back to retrieve the troops from Willtown Bluff. While they headed downriver, the two federal boats continued taking heavy fire from the guns of Lieutenant Robert Murdock and a section of the Marion Artillery, who were reinforcing White’s guns at Gibbes Plantation. In addition to engaging the Milton and the Dean, Murdock quickly drove the now-free John Adams back from its attempt to assist the Milton. The Milton became entangled in the obstructions near Willtown, and Strong soon realized that his vessel was hopeless. He ordered the guns pushed overboard and the boat abandoned. Higginson sent orders to burn the Milton in order to prevent its capture.

The thin wooden hulls of the small Union fleet had allowed the Confederate shells to pass through mostly unexploded, resulting in few casualties. Higginson had received a small flesh wound in his side. The Enoch Dean took aboard the crew of the Governor Milton, and Higginson transferred to the John Adams, where he gave in to exhaustion and turned command over to Trowbridge. The Adams and the Dean steamed down the South Edisto and then back to Beaufort, enduring fire from one more Confederate battery along the way. They
Colonel Hugh Aiken reported that the Sixth South Carolina Cavalry had retrieved “two brass rifled 6-pounders, with carriages,” in good working order, during the action at Willtown Bluff. He “had 2 men wounded, 1 of whom was taken prisoner. A courier is also missing.” One of the prisoners, Henry Barnwell, was exchanged late in the war and lived until 1926. Fenton Hall disappears from the historical record at this point. He did not return from the war, and there is no record of him as a prisoner. It appears likely that Hall may have been killed by friendly fire while aboard the Enoch Dean, but Higginson made no mention of him after his request that a note be left on his behalf. This request seems to have been honored.

In his report, Higginson noted that two of his soldiers had been killed, July Green and William S. Verdier, along with the engineer of the Governor Milton and one unnamed “contraband.” Higginson’s subordinate, Lieutenant Colonel Liberty Billings, conveyed praise to the First South Carolina Volunteers for their soldierly qualities. You have “the proud satisfaction of knowing that you have given the boon of freedom to hundreds of your oppressed race,” Billings declared. In addition to the wound in his side, Higginson suffered a slight concussion, which historian Leonard Brill refers to as being “more a psychic than a physical wound.” Nonetheless, Higginson never returned to active duty and resigned from the army on October 27, 1864.

As fervent abolitionists, Higginson and Billings congratulated themselves for liberating a large number of enslaved people at Willtown Bluff. Yet the Union expedition up the South Edisto River did not achieve its main objective, the destruction of the Jacksonboro Bridge, and superior officers deemed it a failure. Major General Quincy Adams Gillmore wrote that the mission “signally failed, with a loss to us of two pieces of field artillery, and a small steamer.” Indeed, the Charleston and Savannah Railroad remained in operation, serving as a critical lifeline between the beleaguered cities, until early 1865, when Major General William T. Sherman’s army finally shut it down. The quick and determined actions of the Sixth South Carolina Cavalry to save Charleston in July 1863 mostly have been overlooked by historians. Their significance did not escape Higginson, however. Biographer Anna Mary Wells writes that “the thirty-six hours on the Edisto River . . . were the most painful period of self-discovery in Higginson’s lifetime.”

J. Keith Jones of Graham, North Carolina, is the author of numerous books and articles about the American Civil War, including Echoes from Gettysburg: South Carolina’s Memories and Images (2016).
Calling all educators! Thanks to South State Bank, admission to the SCHS Museum is free for many students. Contact brandon.reid@schsonline.org to schedule your field trip.

A Historic Dining and Tour Experience in the Landmark Fireproof Building

Diners will enjoy an eighteenth- and nineteenth-century dining experience and exclusive tour of the SCHS Museum. Lunch and dinner options are offered Thursday through Saturday. Visit historicupperclub.com for more information and to make reservations.

SCHS members receive a 15% discount! Contact hannah.mooney@schsonline.org to obtain the discount code.
In the Photo Finish of our Winter 2020 issue, we featured an ambrotype of Sue Sparks Keitt (1834–1915), the wife of South Carolina politician Laurence Massillon Keitt, posing in an evening gown circa 1860. The ambrotype was in need of conservation work to replace deteriorating glass and to remove mold and dirt, and thanks to a generous donation to the South Carolina Historical Society’s Adopt-a-Collection program, it recently underwent treatment by South Carolina conservator Marion L. Hunter Jr. During the process, Hunter removed grime and dirt using soft brushes, replaced the glass cover, and resealed the glass, brass mat, and ambrotype. We are thrilled that this significant item has been preserved for future generations, but there are many more treasures in the SCHS collections that need help! To learn more and to contribute to the Adopt-a-Collection program, visit bit.ly/adoptacollection or contact Virginia Ellison at (843) 723-3225, ext. 114, or virginia.ellison@schsonline.org.
All levels of membership include:

- Subscriptions to Carologue and the South Carolina Historical Magazine
- Online access to back issues of SCHS publications
- Discounts on reproductions and research services
- 20% discount in the SCHS Museum shop and online store
- Discounted admission to lectures and events
- Four free thirty-minute sessions using the Memory Station per year (then $10 per appointment)
- 15% discount to Historic Charleston Supper Club dining opportunities in the Fireproof Building
- Exclusive benefits from Time Travelers affiliates*

Fellow ($250)

- Core benefits
- Unlimited visits for five people to the SCHS Museum
- Admission to NARM sites**

Supporter ($500)

- Core benefits
- Unlimited visits for six people to the SCHS Museum
- Admission to NARM sites**
- Two complimentary tickets to the Fall Tour
- 50% discount on JPASS access
- Priority event registration

Proprietors Council ($1,000)

- Core benefits
- Unlimited visits for eight people to the SCHS Museum
- Admission to NARM sites**
- Two complimentary tickets to the Fall Tour
- 50% discount on JPASS access
- Priority event registration
- Invitations to exclusive events

Benefactor ($2,500)

- Core benefits
- Unlimited visits to the SCHS Museum
- Admission to NARM sites**
- Four complimentary tickets to the Fall Tour
- 50% discount on JPASS access
- Priority event registration
- Invitations to exclusive events
- Access to private tours
- One gift membership
- Discounts on Fireproof Building event rentals

Chairman’s Circle ($5,000+)

- Core benefits plus all Proprietors Council and Benefactor benefits
- Private, curated tour of the SCHS Museum or Archives for up to ten people
- Free Fireproof Building event rental (up to six hours)
- Invitation to annual Chairman’s Circle function

*See the full list of over 300 Time Travelers institutions at timetravelers.mohistory.org.
**See the full list of over 1,000 North American Reciprocal Museum (NARM) Association institutions at narmassociation.org.

Visit schistory.org/join-give for more information on our Business Council memberships.
Planning a visit to Charleston this summer for the opening of the International African American Museum? Don’t miss a chance to explore the South Carolina Historical Society Museum and our latest exhibit tracing the origins, lifestyles, contributions, and struggles of enslaved people in eighteenth-century South Carolina.