

CAROLOGUE

A Publication of the South Carolina Historical Society

REPUBLIC

SPECIAL ISSUE

Exploring South Carolina's Role in Founding the Nation











2023 Fall Tour: *Kingstree* SUNDAY, OCTOBER 29 • 11:00 A.M.

Join us as we explore a variety of sites in Kingstree, a historic city on the scenic Black River. Locations featured on this self-guided tour include the Williamsburgh Historical Museum, the C. Williams Rush Museum of African-American Arts and Culture, the Williamsburg County Courthouse, Thorntree, the Scott-Atkinson House, and more. Lunch will be provided at the Williamsburg Presbyterian Church.

Stay tuned to our website (schistory.org/event/fall-tour-2023) for more information on the day's events and how to purchase tickets!

CAROLOGUE

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ON THE COVER

A nineteenth-century illustration portrays a crowd demonstrating against the passage of the Stamp Act in 1765. For a look at how the South-Carolina Gazette, a colonial newspaper published in Charleston, covered Stamp Act protests and other events leading to the Revolutionary War, see "Conduit of Revolution" on page 12. From the collections of the South Carolina Historical Society.

A "Tactile Sense" of History



In 2015, the late Queen Elizabeth II opened the Georgian Papers to the public. Of the 450,000 pages in that collection, most of the material relates to King George III. Rick Atkinson, who gave a wonderful talk for the SCHS recently in Greenville, was one of the first researchers admitted to the Royal Archives, which is

housed in Windsor Castle. Atkinson later described the experience of climbing 102 stone and 21 wooden steps to the tower where the collection is stored as "fantastic!" He explained that the months he spent reading George's manuscripts gave him a "real tactile sense of being in his presence." As he came to know the king, Atkinson also realized that George III was a man of much greater depth than popular history has portrayed him. Those papers, Atkinson says, allowed him to tell the story of the first stages of the American Revolution from both the British and the American perspectives.

Like Atkinson, author David McCullough spoke fondly of the months he spent "in the presence" of John Adams as he sifted through the Adams Papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society. And we see again that the accepted portrayal of a man was challenged by an in-depth look at primary sources. Ah, the secrets we discover in archives! Just ask SCHS archival staff

members Karen Stokes, Virginia Ellison, or Molly Silliman, and I'm certain that they can rattle off a list of researchers who have uncovered all kinds of things in our magnificent collection. There's the well-known story of Priscilla, an enslaved woman whose Sierra Leone roots are recorded in the Ball Family Papers (which was documented on NBC News), or the one about twenty-year-old Augustine Thomas Smythe writing to his mother from the steeple of St. Michael's Church during the Civil War siege of Charleston, or the legal files that reveal the mysterious murder of Charleston newspaper editor Francis Warrington Dawson in the late 1800s.

Both the Georgian Papers and the Adams Papers have been digitized and are available online. While it may not be quite the same experience as one would get at Windsor Castle or the Massachusetts Historical Society, the ease of access is something to celebrate. If you have not done so recently, you should visit our collection on the Lowcountry Digital Library (bit.ly/SCHS-LCDL). I tell people all the time what a treat it is to peruse these rich resources. And the added benefit to online research is that a typed transcript accompanies each document when legibility is an issue. Your membership has enabled people from all over the world to have a "tactile sense" of being in the presence of South Carolinians from the past as they read Isaac Hayne's journal, Charles Manigault's letters, and Eliza Lucas Pinckney's receipt book. What a gift!

Faye Jensen, PhD SCHS Chief Executive Officer

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MORE THAN A MUSEUM, LIBRARY, OR ARCHIVES: A TREASURY OF KNOWLEDGE TO BE DISCOVERED.

Founded in 1855, the South Carolina Historical Society is the state's oldest and largest private archive as well as a modern historical museum. Our mission is to expand, preserve, and make accessible our invaluable collection, and to encourage interest in the rich history of our state.



About This Issue

REVOLUTION * * * to * * * REPUBLIC

In 2022, the South Carolina Historical Society received a state appropriation to highlight the important role that

South Carolina played in building the nation. These funds will allow us to focus on the period spanning 1763 to the early 1800s through digitization of archival materials; educational outreach to students, teachers, and others throughout the state; a new exhibit in the SCHS Museum; and special publications, including this themed issue of *Carologue*. Thanks to Representative Leon Stavrinakis, Representative William Cogswell, and Senator Dick Harpootlian for their support of the SCHS and help securing this appropriation.

New to the Lowcountry Digital Library



A number of new collections are now available on the Lowcountry Digital Library! Please note that these selections fit the scope of our digitization project, Listening to Silences: Digitally Enhancing the Visibility of Enslaved Persons in

South Carolina's Historic Record, so full collections are not always included. To view, visit bit.ly/SCHS-LCDL:

- Adger Family Papers, 1813–1932
- Frederick Fraser Receipt Book, 1793-1816
- Gaillard Plantation Journal, 1817
- Glover Family Papers, 1729-ca. 1955
- Theodore Louis Gourdin Account Record, 1826-1829
- Horlbeck Brothers Records, 1824-1860
- Cora Godfrey Justice Family Papers, 1816–1987
- Kiawah Plantation Book, 1854–1861, and Stock Account Book, 1877–1882
- Charles Manigault Letter Book, 1846-1848
- Dr. Francis P. Porcher Prescription Book, 1856-1859
- Elizabeth W. Allston Pringle Family Papers, 1861-1926
- Additions to the Ravenel Family Papers, 1695-1925
- Stoney Account Book, 1837–1838, and Plantation Daybook, 1852
- Lydia Jane Waring Estate Book, 1840-1847
- Weehaw Plantation Journal, 1855-1861

New Staff Members

The SCHS recently welcomed three new staff members to its team:

Hailing from the Midwest, education coordinator Melina Testin holds a BA in history from Loyola University Chicago, where she concentrated her research on twentieth-century military history and published her graphic



novel on the American POW experience with the Pritzker Military Museum and Library. Prior to joining the SCHS, Melina worked as a museum educator at the National Czech and Slovak Museum and Library, where she designed community programs, events, and tours.

A native of North Myrtle Beach, research fellow Amanda (Mandy) McGehee-Floyd holds a BA in history and an MA in liberal arts studies with a focus on African American history and preservation. She is currently



a PhD candidate in the Public History Program at Middle Tennessee State University and is completing her dissertation on the preservation, restoration, and interpretation of a historic Rosenwald School and its cultural landscape.

Library assistant Blair Motley is originally from Virginia and moved to Charleston from St. Louis, Missouri, to be closer to friends and family. Before joining the SCHS, Blair worked in the Adult Services Department at the Charleston County



Public Library's main branch, and she received her MLS from the University of Missouri in 2016.

Back-to-Back Greenville Events

March at the South Carolina Historical Society was marked by two days of memorable events in Greenville! First, on March 3, the society held a Revolutionary Evening, which featured a talk by best-selling author and three-time Pulitzer Prize winner Rick Atkinson. Guests also enjoyed period music, St. Cecelia Society punch, and an exhibit of some of the society's most notable Revolutionary-era items at the historic Poinsett Club.

Then, on March 4, approximately seventy-five members gathered once more at the Poinsett Club for the society's 168th Annual Meeting. Attendees were first briefed on the state of the society during the business meeting, and they then mingled at a mimosa social before settling in for lunch, the recognition of current and outgoing Board of Managers members, and the presentation of awards.

For service to the society, the Mary Elizabeth Prior Award was presented to Sam Sharnas. Brooke M. Bauer received the George C. Rogers Jr. Award for Becoming Catawba: Catawba Indian Women and Nation-Building, 1540-1840 (University of Alabama Press), voted 2022's best book on South Carolina history. The Clark-Weir Award for the best article in the South Carolina Historical Magazine was given to Peter N. Moore for "Indigenous Power and Collapse on the Lower South Carolina Coast, Precontact-1684." Keynote speaker James C. Cobb, a renowned historian and the B. Phinizy Spalding Professor Emeritus of History at the University of Georgia, then discussed his new book, C. Vann Woodward: America's Historian (University of North Carolina Press).

Later that afternoon, attendees dispersed to explore the Upcountry History Museum, which highlights the rich heritage and culture of the upstate. A huge thanks to everyone who attended these events and helped to make them such great successes!

I. A Revolutionary Evening attendees mingle and enjoy St. Cecelia Society punch. 2. SCHS vice president of collections and chief operating officer Virginia Ellison arranges items on display for a Revolutionary Evening. 3-6. Bonnie and John McCardell (3); Steve Osborne and Paul Turner (4); Les Cotter, Michael Beal, and John McCabe (5); and Dan and Emilyn Sanders (6) gather during the Annual Meeting. 7. Annual Meeting attendees enjoy lunch at the Poinsett Club. 8. James C. Cobb delivers the keynote address during the Annual Meeting.

















New Items Just Added

New items continue to be added to 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). Don't forget, SCHS members receive a 20% discount on all gift shop items, so stop by or visit us online today!



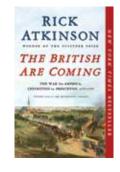
Herman Moll's Map of Carolina

Published in 1729, Moll's map depicts the extent of British power in the colonial Southeast and identifies battlegrounds where Carolinians and their Native American allies defeated the Tuscaroras in 1712 and the Yamasees in 1715. The map has been reproduced on heavyweight, archival-certified paper and measures nine and a half by fourteen and a half inches.

Shore Images Coaster Set

This set of four coasters features images found in journals kept by the renowned twentieth-century wildlife artist and naturalist John Henry Dick. A native of New York, Dick moved to South Carolina in 1947 and made his home at Dixie Plantation near Hollywood.





The British Are Coming: The War for America, Lexington to Princeton, 1775–1777

If you missed Rick Atkinson speaking at the society's Revolutionary Evening in March, here's your chance to grab a copy of his George Washington Prize-winning book!

Conservation of Courege Release

M any thanks to the DuBose family for helping the SCHS preserve another treasure for future generations! Dating from 1723, the Francois Courege release conveys to Susanna Couillandeau DuBose a plantation of 350 acres (in two tracts) bounded by the Santee River. DuBose later married Bentley Cooke following the death of her husband, Isaac DuBose, and herself died in 1742. Conservation of the document, pictured here before and after treatment, was conducted by South Carolina conservator Marion L. Hunter Jr.







Port Royal in South Carolina

reated by Canadian cartographer Joseph F. W. Des Barres in 1777, this map shows Beaufort and Port Royal Island in addition to Dawfoskey (Daufuskie) Island, Trench's (Hilton Head) Island, St. Helena Island, and other nearby islands on the southern South Carolina coast. The map was published as part of the four-volume *Atlantic Neptune*, considered the most significant collection of maps, charts, and views of North America published in the eighteenth century. Produced over a seven-year period, the maps in *Atlantic Neptune* are known for their accurate portrayal of various harbors and navigational hazards along the East Coast and were used extensively by the Royal Navy during the Revolutionary War. The SCHS also holds a copper engraved plate that was used to print this map.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR EVENTS

Around the Palmetto State

Along with the SCHS, a number of cultural institutions and historic sites across the state are hosting events throughout 2023 to explore the Revolutionary War and commemorate our nation's independence: Here is just a sampling of events coming up later this year:

COMMEMORATION OF THE BATTLE OF KINGS MOUNTAIN Kings Mountain National Military Park, Blacksburg October 7

Experience a wreath-laying ceremony, Overmountain Victory Trail reenactors, guided lantern tours, and more at the annual anniversary celebration of this important American victory.

nps.gov/kimo



South Carolina GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY ANNUAL

MEETING

Laurens County Museum, Laurens October 13-14

Explore the Revolutionary War era in the South Carolina backcountry during this annual meeting weekend hosted by the society's Laurens District Chapter.

scgen.org

BATTLE OF CAMDEN REENACTMENT The Meeting Place,

Kershaw November 11-12

See daily mock battles simulating this major British victory along with other period demonstrations. southerncampaign1780.org



"FRANCIS MARION:

Lake City October 28

Spend the evening before the SCHS Fall Tour at this special talk by Scott Kaufman, a professor of history at Francis Marion University. Stay tuned for more information! schistory.org/event/fall-tour-2023







COLONIAL DAY 2023

Old Santee Canal Park, Moncks Corner September 30

Join the Berkeley County Museum, Lord Berkeley Conservation Trust, and Old Santee Canal to learn about colonial Berkeley County through guided Fort Fair Lawn tours, weapons and living-history demonstrations, and more.

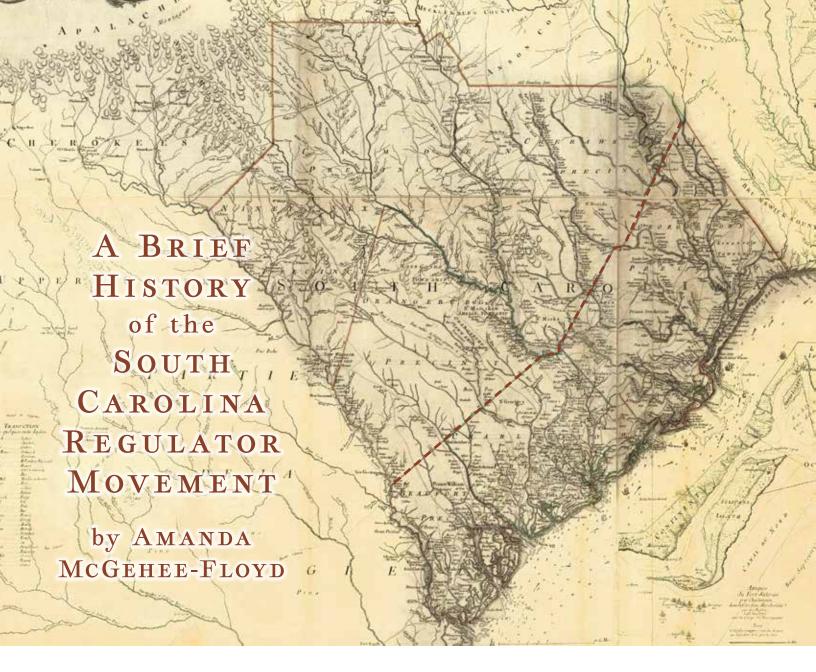
bit.ly/ColonialDay23

Francis Marion Symposium

F. E. DuBose Campus of Central Carolina Technical College, Manning October 20-21

Examine the Southern Campaign of the Revolutionary War and the life and times of Francis Marion through lectures, dinner theaters, and more.

clarendonmurals.com/symposium



In the early part of the eighteenth century, the area extending beyond South Carolina's coastal parishes was considered the frontier. Known as the back-country, this region was inhabited by the Cherokees, a sparse population of White settlers taking advantage of land grants, and White hunters engaging in trade with the Indians. Life was not easy, particularly for settlers looking to farm. While the land presented abundant opportunities, it was also rife with hardships. Through the 1740s, the South Carolina backcountry was a desired destination for migrants from Virginia, North Carolina, and Pennsylvania. The increase in settlers aiming to farm the land led to conflict not only with the Cherokees,

but also with hunters, traders, and squatters. Conflicts reached a head in 1759 with the outbreak of the Cherokee War, which was spurned by failing relations between the Indians and British government as well as the continued encroachment by White settlers on tribal lands. The war ended in 1761 with the defeat of the Cherokees and marked a turning point in the settlement of the South Carolina backcountry.

The conflict's end led to an influx of new White settlers in the region, resulting in several points of concern, especially for landowners. As the population rose, an increase in crime followed, with little means of protection for victims. There was no organized local

Above, the area known as the backcountry during the colonial period began roughly sixty miles inland from the coast of South Carolina. Depicted in this 1777 edition of Henry Mouzon's Accurate Map of North and South Carolina, with Their Indian Frontiers are the four backcountry judicial districts created with the passage of the Circuit Court Act in 1769: Ninety Six, Orangeburg, Camden, and Cheraws (all located west of the dashed line). From the collections of the South Carolina Historical Society.

government beyond the coastal parishes, only a handful of justices of the peace who had limited power to maintain order. Criminals and bandits, both men and women, roved through the backcountry with little fear of being punished or caught. Those who were apprehended had to be taken to Charleston to be tried and jailed, and many were given lenient punishment. With the population of the backcountry reaching well over thirty thousand in the late 1760s, but no courts, sheriffs, and jails to help keep the peace, crime was a major issue with no resolution.

In 1767, a group of backcountry settlers, primarily landowners, formed a vigilante group they called the Regulators to combat the wave of crime. The Regulators set out to punish, control, and remove disorder from the region. Punishments included whipping, removal from the colony by force, and escorting the criminals to Charleston to be jailed. One eyewitness account describes the punishment doled out to John Harvey, an alleged horse thief, in 1769. Harvey endured being chained to a tree and given five hundred lashes by Regulators while drums beat, and violins played in the background. Women were not excluded from Regulator punishments, and those who were considered unruly or of ill repute were whipped.

Vagrants were forced to work, and efforts were also made to control hunters who roamed the backcountry.

Of the South Carolina Regulators, 118 have been identified. They ranged in occupation from small-scale planters and farmers to surveyors, ferry operators, and ministers. A number of the planters owned slaves, with some enslaving more than forty people. Evan Pugh, a known Regulator, was a Baptist minister serving the Welsh Neck Baptist Church in present-day Marlboro County. His diaries record some of the Regulator activities during the period.

While crime was a major point of contention with

the Regulators, they also felt slighted by the government and courts, which were concentrated in Charleston and favored wealthy planters. Members of this elite class held government positions and made up the lion's share of representation for the colony. At the time of the Regulator movement, the backcountry had only two representatives in the Commons House of Assembly.

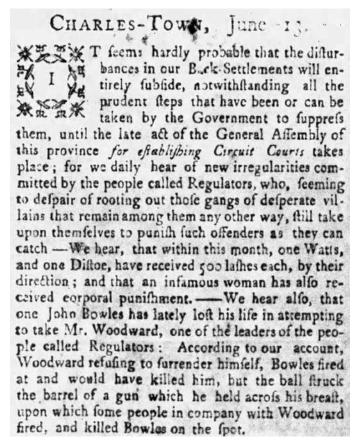
In 1767, Charles Woodmason, an itinerant Anglican clergyman in St. Mark's Parish, drafted a remonstrance of grievances for the Regulators detailing their demands

for the backcountry. These included a system of local courts and law enforcement, a local apparatus for processing land warrants, and increased representation in the assembly. The Regulators made their presence known during the election of 1768, when they convened in numbers on three lowcountry polling stations and claimed the right to vote. The first official they elected to represent them in the assembly was Patrick Calhoun, the father of John C. Calhoun, who was speculated to be a Regulator.

In November 1767, the grievances submitted by the Regulators were taken up by legislators who began formulating circuit court and vagrancy acts. The movement was marred in early 1768, however, when victims of Regulator justice sued

the men involved. Then, in early 1769, an opposition group to the Regulators formed, calling themselves the Moderators. They were in agreement with the grievances put forth by the Regulators but strongly opposed their use of excessive violence. A truce between the Moderators and Regulators was reached on March 25, 1769, and the Circuit Court Act passed in the same month, establishing four judicial districts in the backcountry and thus indicating the end of the Regulator movement.

Amanda McGehee-Floyd is a research fellow at the South Carolina Historical Society.



A news item from June 13, 1768, details "new irregularities committed by the people called Regulators," including the corporal punishment received by an "infamous woman." From the South-Carolina Gazette.

Christopher Gadsben

South-Carolina &

CONDUIT of REVOLUTION

by Cindy Thames

Plate & Jewellery,

Winter GOODS,

THOMAS JERVEY,

JOHNSTON & SIMPSON

n November 1765, the *South-Carolina Gazette* traveled to the London Board of Trade with a letter from William Bull, the lieutenant governor of South Carolina. In it, Bull blamed the *Gazette* for Charleston's Stamp Act riots, noting that the newspaper was the "conduit pipe" through which "the minds of men here were . . . poisoned with the principles . . . propagated from Boston and Rhode Island."

By showcasing the trials and tribulations in Boston and beyond and bathing its readers in the rhetoric of civil liberties, democracy, and protest, the *South-Carolina Gazette* prepared the populace for the break with England. Peter Timothy, the printer of the *Gazette*, had been antagonizing the royal governors since taking over the newspaper from his mother, Elizabeth, in 1746. He was in his element taking on the entire British ministry.

Parliament passed the Stamp Act, which imposed a tax on legal documents and printed materials in the American colonies, on March 22, 1765. On May 17, outrage flared in New England, with a blackbordered item appearing on the front page of the New-Hampshire Gazette, and it rolled down the coast to hit Charleston on July 13. The news must have broken late in the Timothy Printing Office, and someone pulled type to make room for two sentences. The first was straightforward and the second a bit askew: "We learn from Northward that the STAMP-ACT is to take place in America, on all saints day, the first of November next. In the year 1755, on the 1st of November, happened that dreadful and memorable Earthquake, which destroyed the city of Lisbon."

A week later, the *South-Carolina Gazette* quoted Charles Townshend, British chancellor of the exchequer, calling the colonists spoiled children "nourished by our indulgence, protected by our arms." Then it printed the blistering response from Isaac Barré, a member of Parliament who had fought alongside the colonists in the French and Indian War:

They nourished up by your indulgence? They grew by your neglect of them. . . . They protected by your arms? They have nobly taken up arms in your defense. . . . The people I believe are as truly loyal as any subjects the King has, but a people jealous of their liberties and who will vindicate them, if ever they should be violated, but the subject is too delicate and I will say no more.

The next week, the *Gazette* published a letter calling for a Stamp Act Congress "to *consult together* on the present Circumstances of the Colonies . . . and to consider of *a general and united, dutiful, loyal and humble Representation* of their Condition to his Majesty and the Parliament; and to *implore* Relief." On August 10, it reported that the South Carolina Assembly had appropriated £600 to send three delegates to the Stamp Act Congress.

Anti-Stamp Act broadsides from New York, Boston, and Connecticut appeared in the *Gazette* on August 26.

The New-York Gazette quoted Cicero: "They were fools to conclude, that tho' the republic were lost their fish ponds remain secure." Boston lit into:

These dirty sycophants, these ministerial hacks, would fain have us believe, that his sacred Majesty ever lov'd by his American subjects would be displeased to hear their murmurs at the sight of chains!—that the parliament, who sit to redress grievances, would be displeased with our remonstrances, when we are aggrieved!

The *Gazette* also carried this item: "The gentlemen appointed by the hon. commons house of

assembly of this province, to meet the committees of the houses of *representatives* of the provinces of Massachusetts Bay &c. have taken their passage on the brigt. Carolina Packet, which sails for New-York next Sunday, wind and weather permitting." On September 15, Christopher Gadsden, Thomas Lynch, and John Rutledge reached New York, the first delegates to arrive for the Stamp Act Congress.

On October 18, the *Gazette* reported that stamps had arrived overnight "and settled under the guns of Fort Johnson." Meanwhile, carpenters, wheelwrights, upholsterers, ironworkers, artisans, craftsmen, and, most likely, printers worked through the night to fashion three

Opposite, based in Charleston, the South-Carolina Gazette began publication in 1732 and was run by several members of the Timothy family—Lewis Timothy (d. 1738), Elizabeth Timothy (d. 1757), and Peter Timothy (ca. 1725–1782)—from 1734 until it ceased publication in 1775. It was restarted as the Gazette of the State of South Carolina in 1777.

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elaborate effigies and raise gallows twenty feet high at the intersection of Broad and Church Streets. From its location on Broad, the Timothy Printing Office had a ringside street when the sun rose on October 19.

"LIBERTY and no STAMP-ACT" was written on the gallows "in very conspicuous characters," and on the back of the principal figure appeared a warning that "whoever shall dare attempt to pull down these effigies, had better been born with a mill-stone about his neck and cast into the sea." The *Gazette* observed that the gallows were hung "with a figure of the devil on right hand, and on left a Boot, with a head stuck upon it, distinguished by a blue bonnet, to each of which were affixed labels expressive of the sense of a people, unshaken in their loyalty, but tenacious of just liberty, who had conceived, 'that all internal duties imposed upon them, without the consent of their immediate, or even virtual, representatives, was grievous, oppressive, and

The Court of General Sessions convened that morning in a building overlooking the square. The effigies remained "without one person's offering to disturb or take them down, . . . nor was there the least riot or disturbance, tho' a great concourse of people incessantly resorted to the place of exhibition," Timothy wrote.

unconstitutional."

At some point during the day, the crowd mustered wagons and carts "drawn by eight or ten horses" to take away the effigies and their accoutrements, according to the

Gazette. That the reporter couldn't tell the exact number of horses testifies to the confusion and chaos in the square. But the text did commit to a crowd size of "at least 2000 souls."

The procession led down Broad to Bay Street and then up Tradd to the home of the tax collector, where rocks were thrown and windows broken. The *Gazette* asserted that "it was impossible to prevent [damage] from so great a number (whom it required great prudence, and no less exertion of influence in many, to restrain [the rioters] from leveling it with the ground)." William Bull likely thought the mob had been inspired by reading in the September 28 *Gazette* that Boston rioters had reduced the lieutenant governor's mansion there to "a meer skeleton." Satisfied that no stamped paper was at the house, the Charleston procession, which had gained a coffin labeled "Liberty," moved on to the Green, where the effigies were "committed to flames," and the bells of St. Michael's Church rang muffled.

The Monday and Tuesday after the weekend of

protests, a rumor circulated that stamps and stamped paper had been hidden at the home of a certain "Ansonborough man." On the night of Wednesday, October 23, a peaceful group of men "went thither to be satisfied of this report; but finding none, they returned and quietly, without insult to anyone," reported the *Gazette*.

The Ansonborough man himself, Henry Laurens, had a different take. Days after the event, he wrote to Joseph Brown that he had awakened around midnight to "a most violent thumping and confus'd Noise at our western Door and Chamber Window." About eighty masked and blackened-faced men mobbed his doorstep, chanting "Liberty, Liberty & Stamped Paper." Demanding entry, they pushed past him, and "a brace of Cutlasses across my breast was the salutation & Lights, Lights & Search was the Cry," he recalled.

For more than an hour, Laurens argued with the

William Bull likely

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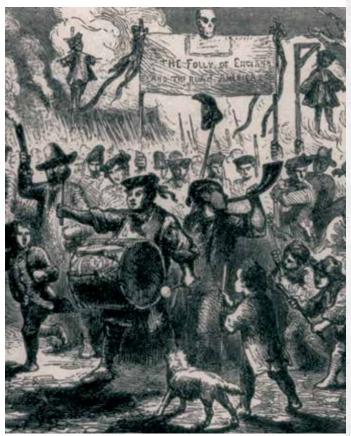
men as they "rampaged House, Counting House, Cellar, and Stable." One took him by the shoulders and said "every Body would Love me if I did not hold way with one Governor Grant.... This provoked me not a little as it exhibited to me the Cloven foot of a certain malicious Villain acting behind the Curtain who could be reached only by suspicion."

For longer than two centuries, historians have speculated about who Laurens believed was "behind the Curtain." Many favored Christopher Gadsden, though some argued for Timothy, either

as one of the "peaceful group of men" or as an instigator through the *Gazette*. Gadsden had used the *Gazette* to slam British army officer James Grant over his conduct of the Cherokee War. In 1765, Grant was governor of East Florida but still very much a flashpoint among certain Charlestonians.

Gadsden had been at the Stamp Act Congress during the protests, but he praised the Charleston activists in a letter dated December 2. "Our people have behaved as firmly in the common cause as any upon the Continent, without having done the least mischief, and I make little doubt of their continuing so to do," he wrote.

The South-Carolina Gazette of October 19–31, the one that Bull sent to London, was the last out of the Timothy Printing Office for seven months. It swept in nearly two weeks of news and included a four-page "continuation" as well as a two-page supplement full of advertisements, in addition to the normal four pages of news, making for an unprecedented ten-page publication appearing just under the wire before enforcement of the Stamp Act. The



Riots broke out in a number of colonial seaports, including Boston (above) and Charleston, before the Stamp Act went into effect on November 1, 1765. The official announcement of the Stamp Act ran in the October 31, 1765, issue of the South-Carolina Gazette (right), the last before the newspaper suspended publication for seven months. Boston illustration courtesy of the Library of Congress.

columns of the regular newspaper had black mourning borders.

Suspending the paper was an agonizing decision for Timothy. Appearing at the end of the roundup of Charleston's Stamp Act protests was this notice:

Tomorrow (being the first of November) most of the business in public offices will cease; and from this day the publication of the SOUTH-CAROLINA GAZETTE, will also be suspended. Numerous subscribers thereto have signified, almost to a man, that they will not take in ONE stampt news-paper, if stamps could be obtained.

During the suspension, the printer hopes those indebted to him will consider, that tho' he is to live without work, yet he cannot support himself and a large family, unless the money due to him is paid.



General Poll-Office,

SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NORTH-AMERICA,

Charles-Town, October 26, 1765.

PUBLIC NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN,

That, by an act passed the last session of parliament, " for altering certain rates of possage, and for amending, explaining, and entering provisions in the act of the ninth of Queen Anne, and other acts relating to the Post-Office;" it is, among other things, ENACTED.

That letters between LONDON and any port within the BRITISH

That letters between LONDON and any port within the Bellien dominions in AMERICA (in which all His Majefly's West-India Mands are included) which are carried in His Majesty's mails by the packet-boats that now are or hereaster may be established, shall by single One Shilling, double Two Shillings, treble Three Shillings, the ounce Four Shillings.

That letters, by fea, from any one port to any other port within faid dominions, carried by fuch packet-boats as before-mentioned, shall pay fingle Four Pence, double Eight Pence, treble One Shil-

hing, the ounce One Shilling and Four Pence.

That letters, by land, to or from any chief post-office in America, from or to any other past thereof not exceeding axty miles from such chief post-office, or from the office where such letters, not pass sing through a chief office, may be put in, shall pay single Four Pence, double Eight Pence, treble One Shilling, the cunce One Shilling and Four Pence. And being upwards of fixty, and not exceeding one bundred miles within the said dominions, shall pay single Six Pence, double One Shilling, treble One Shilling and Six Pence; the cunce Two Shillings. And being upwards of one bundred, and not exceeding two bundred miles within the fuid dominions, shall pay single Eight Pence, double One Shillings and Four Pence, treble Two Shillings, the cunce Two Shillings and Eight Pence. And for every distance not exceeding one bundred miles above such two bnudred, and for every such farther distance within the said dominions, shall pay single Two Pence, double Four Pence, treble Six Pence, the cunce Eight Pence.

Timothy's reputation suffered for his not continuing to publish without stamps. He wrote to his old friend and mentor, Benjamin Franklin, "I find myself from the most *popular* reduced to the most *unpopular* Man in the Province."

But the South-Carolina Gazette came roaring back on June 2, 1766, with "the joyful news of the REPEAL of the STAMP-ACT . . . which undoubted promises to restore harmony, unanimity and prosperity, to Great-Britain and her colonies, and which 'tis hoped, will never be again interrupted." The rejoicing commenced, although close readers of the act to repeal, printed in the Gazette, found this chilling section: "An Act for better securing the dependency of his Majesty's dominions in America." Because the colonies had enacted their own laws and cast votes in opposition to royal governors and ministerial edicts, "all resolutions, votes, orders, and proceedings,

in any of the said colonies or plantations . . . are hereby declared to be utterly null and void, to all intents and purposes." At the same time Parliament withdrew the Stamp Act, it kneecapped the ability of the colonists to manage their own affairs.

That fall, Charleston's Fellowship Society met at the edge of town under an ancient oak. According to the memory of one participant, after they toasted the repeal, Christopher Gadsden "harangued them at considerable length on the folly of relaxing their opposition and vigilance, or of indulging the fallacious hope that Great Britain would relinquish her designs or pretensions."

Parliament passed the Townshend Acts beginning the following June. This hit the mechanic class hard, with the Revenue Act imposing duties on imported paper, glass, paint, and lead, essential supplies for artisans, craftsmen, builders, and printers who were already squeezed by inflation caused by currency restrictions. On August 17, the *Gazette* printed the provisions contained in the

Townshend Acts, including that the legislative power of the New York Assembly cease until it complied with the Quartering Act of 1765.

Throughout the rest of 1767, the *Gazette* continued to publish news from northward and London. On December 14, under the headline "Save your Money, and you save your Country," it printed the minutes of a Boston town meeting that voted unanimously to support local manufacturing and stop importing British goods, pending repeal of the Townshend Acts. On December 21, it reported that in Boston "a number of ladies . . . upon an Afternoon's visit . . . appeared dressed principally in the manufactures of this colony, and without ribbons. They were genteelly treated by the lady of the house (who was in the same habit) with suitable refreshments, although tea was excluded. It is hoped this example of oeconomy will be followed."

A man on a galloping horse blowing a trumpet was the largest image in the January 4, 1768, edition of the



Gazette. It was an illuminated "I," the first letter of the first of twelve *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*. Written in a measured and accessible style by John Dickinson, a Pennsylvania lawyer, this series of essays argued that Parliament's actions against the American colonies violated the constitution of Great Britain.

Addressed to "My Beloved Countrymen," the first *Letter* scolded the Pennsylvania legislature for not backing the New York Assembly when the governor suspended it for thumbing its nose at the Quartering Act. According to Dickinson, Pennsylvania should have asked its London agents to object to the suspension. "Thus we should have borne our testimony against it; and . . . on a like occasion, we might receive the same assistance from the other colonies," he wrote.

The Timothy Printing Office received its packet of

essays sometime after December 2, when the Pennsylvania Chronicle printed the first. The print shop would have been in a whirl of activity in order to launch the series on January 4. At about two thousand words, or fourteen thousand characters, the first letter would have taken about thirty hours to set in type. The South-Carolina Gazette was the fifteenth newspaper to publish it, after the Newport Mercury. Savannah's Georgia Gazette followed later in January, its printer probably working from Timothy's copy.

Nineteen newspapers from Boston to Savannah printed the *Letters from a Farmer*, most of them in full, week after week. For months after the series ended, newspapers

were filled with tributes, critiques, and responses to the author, which were freely shared among the printers. The project knit together the colonies through an unprecedented act of coordination.

As the *Letters from a Farmer* circulated, the Massachusetts legislature dispatched a letter to the other assemblies asking them to petition London for repeal of the Townshend Acts. When its governor ordered it to rescind the letter, it refused, ninety-two to seventeen. In retaliation, the governor dissolved the legislature. Lord Hillsborough, secretary of state for the colonies, then ordered all governors to prevent their assemblies from endorsing the letter. In March, April, May, and June, Pennsylvania, Virginia, New Jersey, and Connecticut endorsed the letter.

The Massachusetts letter reached Charleston in April, just after the end of the legislative session. Timo-

thy immediately went to work shaping public opinion. The April 11 *South-Carolina Gazette* quoted the British prime minister saying American printers should be arrested for promoting a "doctrine of a dangerous and alarming tendency." It published the Massachusetts non-importation resolutions, and it reported that a committee of Providence, Rhode Island, merchants had urged adoption of "similar measures" while New York merchants celebrated the anniversary of the Stamp Act repeal with a toast to "success to the American manufactories, liberty of the press, and unanimity to the sons of liberty in America." On July 10, South Carolina endorsed the circular letter, with a letter from speaker Peter Manigault to the Massachusetts legislature.

After London ignored the petitions for repeal, the Boston merchants asked the merchants of the other colo-

nies to back nonimportation. When their letter reached Charleston in September, it was "handed from man to man with Silent Neglect," Bull wrote to Hillsborough. Apparently that silence reigned only among the friends of Bull. The October 3 Gazette reported that "mechanicks and other inhabitants of Charles-Town" met at "Liberty-Point" and nominated candidates for the South Carolina Assembly, all supporters of the nonimportation resolutions. The Gazette continued: "This matter being settled . . . they all removed to a most noble LIVE-OAK Tree, in Mr. Mazyck's pasture, which they formally dedicated to LIBERTY, where many loval, patriotic, and constitutional toasts, were drank, beginning with the glorious

NINETY-TWO Anti-Rescinders of Massachusetts-Bay, and ending with, among the Members of our ensuing Assembly not to rescind from the said resolutions."

On October 10, the *Gazette* reported that "the reasons for fitting up the Barracks here so long ago, will soon appear, upon the arrival of a considerable body of the troops collected together at St. Augustine." Then, on November 7, with a regiment of redcoats making themselves at home in Charleston, the *Gazette* launched the *Journal of Occurrences*, a diary of public life in Boston under military occupation. Charleston could follow along as hundreds of soldiers marched off British warships to make camp in Boston Common on September 30. "We now behold Boston surrounded at a time *of* profound peace, with about 14 *ships of war, with springs on their cables* and their broadsides to the town," observed the *Journal*.

Dreading whatever role he might be forced to play when the assembly took up the circular letters and the anti-rescinders, Bull delayed the October opening of the new session until Governor Charles Montagu was expected to return in November. When the governor arrived, the assembly met him with its unanimous endorsement of the Massachusetts and Virginia nonimportation resolutions and a petition to the king "for a redress of grievances." Following the example of the Massachusetts governor, Montagu dissolved the assembly. A few days later, the *South-Carolina Gazette* hit the streets with an "Extraordinary" edition, publishing the full text of the nonimportation resolutions and letters from Massachusetts and Virginia, which Manigault had read aloud on the floor.

In the election to reconstitute the assembly, two dozen members who supported nonimportation

were reelected. The governor repeatedly prorogued it, and the assembly did not meet again until June, after popular support for nonimportation had swept the Charleston district.

The *Gazette* published the *Journal of Occurrences* every week in December and regularly on the front page through May, along with a steady stream of propaganda from northward. "Now behold . . . those seats of freedom and justice [the legislative chamber, the courthouse, and the town hall] occupied with troops, and guards placed at the doors:

the Common covered with tents, and alive with soldiers; marching and countermarching to relieve the guards, in short the town is now a perfect garrison," appeared in the December 12 *Gazette*, dated October 3 in the *Journal*. In that same issue, Charleston readers could learn that on two occasions, the British used "Black drummers" to whip White miscreants on Boston Common.

An item in the *Journal* dated November 7, which appeared in the *South-Carolina Gazette* on December 22, accurately predicted Montagu would dissolve the assembly for standing by the "Massachusetts ninety-two." The timing suggests that Timothy told the author of the *Journal* what was likely to happen.

In January, the mechanics and their allies coalesced on their own set of resolutions to go into effect if the revenue acts were not repealed by "April or May." The *Gazette* published the agreement on February 2. Timothy kept up the pressure, reporting on March 2 that "buying Superfluities and Articles which we may make among ourselves" had relieved the province of roughly £100,000

before the Stamp Act. Worse, it "computed at £270,000 Sterling" the sum that would be "drained from this Province" that year to pay for enslaved workers.

The Gazette continued: "The Generality of People now seem deeply impressed with an idea of the Necessity, and most heartily disposed, to use every Measure, to promote INDUSTRY, OECONOMY, and AMERICAN MANUFACTURES, and to keep as much Money amongst us as possible." It noted that "MANY of the Inhabitants of the Northern and Eastern Parts of this Province have this Winter cloathed themselves in their own manufactures: many more would purchase them if they could be got." What's more, Christopher Gadsden, "our greatest friend to homespun cloth," had been unable to find mourning clothes made in America and "was obliged to follow in blue cloth" when he buried his wife, Mary Hassell. The "manufacture of England" used in the funeral "did not

amount to more than £3.10 in our currency (equal to 10 sh. Sterling)." One sterling pound equaled 20 shillings, but one pound in currency was worth fewer than four—Timothy let that ratio speak for itself

Gadsden himself appeared in the June I issue of the *Gazette*. Addressing "Brother Planters," he sneered at the merchants who ignored the circular letter for winning praise from Lord Hillsborough, that "distinguished defender of Liberty, and of us AMERICANS in particular." He made a powerful and persuasive

argument for nonimportation, spiced with insults and sarcasm. He asked fellow planters, "Will [the merchants] be the greatest sufferers by the late unconstitutional measures, who may in general be called mere Birds of Passage, come here to make a fortune, or yourselves who are fixed to the country?" He also called out "several Negro merchants" for saying since the previous summer that the Townshend Acts would be repealed soon. That was "an old stale flimsy artifice." Gadsden did believe the repeal would occur around the new year, "not because it is unconstitutional but because, by that time, all the Silver in America will be drained from us."

Timothy and Gadsden had had a mutually beneficial relationship for many years. The *Gazette* got juicy copy from Gadsden, and Gadsden got access to the press to argue with political opponents. Their business relationship has not been recorded otherwise, but Gadsden placed large display ads in the *Gazette* nearly every week, with smaller ones appearing as early as 1742. Whether or not he paid to print his essay, Gadsden's polemic triggered

such a flurry of responses that Timothy gave notice that he would print no more letters that were not "properly recommended"—that is, paid for.

The mechanics' nonimportation agreement went into effect the next week. On June 8, the *Gazette* announced that the agreement had support of "many, in different parts, without limitation of time or condition . . . there is, at this time, a very great demand both in town and country, not only for every manufacture already established in this province but also for almost every article (usually imported from Great Britain) that can be procured from our sister colonies."

On June 15, the word on the street was that "Several *Societies of Gentlemen* in this Town are agreeing to purchase no kind of British Goods that can be manufactured in America, and to cloathe themselves in homespun as it can be got." Following that, Timothy reprinted, reportedly by popular demand, "The Resolution of the Merchants and Mechanicks of New-York," which had been published in the October 10 issue.

Gadsden returned with fire and brimstone in the June 22 *Gazette*. Addressing "Planters, Mechanicks

and Freeholders," he wrote: "Can we hesitate one moment longer, to unite with our brother sufferers in the other colonies, in the ONLY PROBABLE MEANS of averting so horrid a train of evils as are staring us in the face?" He picked apart all the reasons given for not joining the nonimportation movement, called the merchants selfish "strangers" trying to manipulate the populace to be passive, and asked "might you, very soon, convince them that YOU *may* do without *them*, but THEY *cannot* without *you*?" He signed himself "*Pro Grege et Rege*"—for the people and the king—a reversal of the usual order. A copy of the February nonimportation resolutions followed.

The merchants rallied themselves and met on June 30 in Dillon's Tavern, located at the corner of Broad and Church Streets, to come up with a nonimportation agreement they could stomach. Meanwhile, the mechanics gathered on July 3 and 4 at Liberty Tree to hash out final changes to theirs.

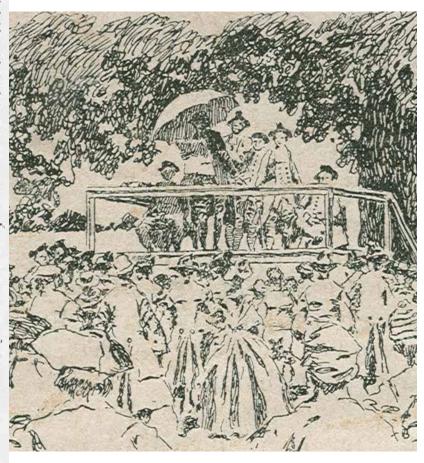
On July 13, the two sides faced off on the front page of the *Gazette*. The mechanics' agreement spread across two columns at the top, calling for non-consumption



WHE Form of a GENERAL ASSOCIATION (inferted in the first Page of this Gazette) effectually to discontinue the Importation of European and East-India GOODS and NEGROES into this Province, and for extending the Powers of Admiralty-Courts there, shall be repealed, was framed the Beginning of last Week, by a joint Committee, in Pursuance of an Invitation, by Advertisement, from Gentlemen in Trade, that were defirous of laying afide Diffinctions, and feeing one Form only adopted, and circulated throughout the whole Province; the chief Object of which Committee was, to comprize all the effential Matters contained in the two Forms before extant, into one, and to remove, as far as possible, every Obstacle to any Man's subscribing thereto; which Business was completed Yesterday Se nnight. In Consequence thereof, a General Meeting of the Body of Merchants was called last Thursday, at Mr. Dillon's, when, to their Honour we must record, they unanimously agreed to what had been done by the Committee. On Saturday there was a General Meeting alfo, at Liberty-Tree, of all the Inhabitants of, and Country Gentlemen then in Charles-Town, when Christopher Gadiden, Efg. being defired to read the new Form, did accordingly read it, first for Information, to the numerous Body of People there affembled, and a fecond Time Paragraph by Paragraph, that Objections (if any there were) might be offered; but the whole was immediately approved of and affented to, with an Unapimity fearce to be parallelled. Several fair Copies being then produced, they were instantly figned, and with great Eagerness, first by every Member of our House of Representatives that was in Town, then by other Inhabitants promifcuoufly, amongst whom were no less than forty-seven Merchants and Importers.—The Body of Merchants having at their Thursday's Meeting appointed a Committee of thirteen Gentlemen, for the particular Purpose of concerting and doing whatever might be farther necessary to give Force to the new Affociation; it was proposed, and also unanimously agreed, that a Committee of thirteen Planters, and as many Mechanicks, &c. should be nominated and joined thereto, forming one General Committee. Twenty-fix Gentlemen were accordingly nominated, and none objected to, but by Capt. Gadiden, by whose particular Defire, himself and such others as had been Merchants, were struck out of the Planters Lift; so that the General Committee confifts of the following Gentlemen, viz.

CHARLES - TOWN, JULY 27.

PLANTERS. MERCHANTS. MECHANICES, &c. Thomas Lynch, J. Neufville, Daniel Canton, Wm. Williamfon, Ja. Laurens, J. Edwards, John Prue, Cato Ajb, John Fullerton, Tho. Ferguson, Benj. Elliott, Dan. Doyley, Jobn Mackenzie, The. Shirley, Jojeph Verree, Peter Porcber, Peter Bacot, Barn. Beekman, Barnard Elliott, John Ward, Joseph Dill, Benjamin Huger, G. Ab. Hall, Simon Beravick. Win. Moultrie, John Coram, John Matthews. John Parker, Andr. Lord. Theod. Trezwant. Charles Elliott, Aar. Loocock Thomas Young, Mr. Dan. Legaré, Roger Smith, Tunis Tebout, Mr. Ifanc Lefefne, Wm. Price, William Trufler.



A news item in the July 27, 1769, issue of the South-Carolina Gazette (left) describes Christopher Gadsden reading the Charleston nonimportation agreement at Liberty Tree (above). Liberty Tree illustration from the collections of the South Carolina Historical Society.

of "British Goods, Wares and Merchandises," with a list of exceptions—tools, ammunition, cheap cloth—while pledging the "utmost Oeconomy" and no use of special mourning clothes. Item IV was italicized and noted as being passed unanimously at the Liberty Tree meeting: "That we will not, upon any Pretence whatsoever, directly or indirectly import, or purchase, any NEW NEGROES or Slaves, brought into this Province for Sale, from and after the 1st Day of January, 1770." Anyone who refused to sign the agreement would be deemed "no Friend to the true Interest of the Colony."

At the bottom, also across two columns, was the merchants' nonimportation agreement, which was weaker in many ways than that of the mechanics. Most offensively, it allowed importation of goods from Great Britain while pledging not to import any from "Europe or East India" between January 1, 1770, and

January I, 177I. It made exceptions for many of the necessities the mechanics allowed, adding the "mill and grind stones" that were required for productizing large-scale agriculture. It also agreed not to "import, buy, or sell" kidnapped Africans during this timeframe. This agreement would end whether or not the Townshend Acts were repealed.

In a letter running down the narrow third column, "The Merchants of Charles-Town" defended themselves from the accusations that they ignored the circular letter, and they complained that the mechanics' agreement ignored the merchants' needs. Following that was a letter that called Gadsden a failed planter and merchant and, not surprisingly, recommended "prudent, steady, virtuous, considerate and cool behavior" regarding the Townshend Acts. It was signed "*Pro Libertate et Lege*."

South Carolina merchants had to be dragged on board

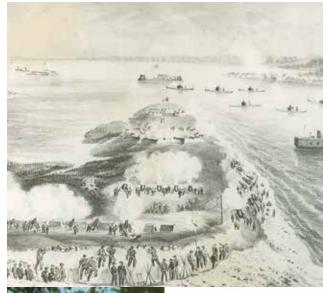
because the Townshend Acts had little impact on their business model, which was built on enslaved labor and the global trade in kidnapped Africans. The concerns of mechanics and northeastern merchants were not theirs. Smaller planters and virtually every enterprise in South Carolina depended on enslaved workers to some degree, but the smaller planters struggled under debt to the merchants who profited from the trade. Their economic precarity gave them more in common with the mechanics than the merchants. Forbidding the slave trade also benefitted small retailers, tradesmen, and mechanics, who had difficulty keeping free laborers at wages competitive with the cost of enslaved ones.

On page three, the July 13 *Gazette* reported that "several considerable Gentlemen in Trade have since (as well as before) subscribed to the first Form of Agreement" drawn up by the mechanics. The *Gazette* continued: "Some Mechanicks and other *Inhabitants* are already taking Lists of the Names of the Gentlemen in Trade who have signed the first Form of Agreement, determined to lay out their Money with them only." Names of signers were to be kept up to date in the Timothy Printing Office.

The merchants saw the writing on the wall and called for a joint meeting, which resulted in an agreement that Gadsden read to a gathering under Liberty Tree. Participants endorsed it and appointed a General Committee of thirty-nine—consisting of thirteen mechanics, thirteen planters, and thirteen merchants—to monitor compliance.

On July 27, the *Gazette* printed the South Carolina nonimportation resolutions on the front page. The mechanics and planters got everything they wanted, and the merchants got to purchase new millstones and grindstones and forbid imported wine. The General Committee went on to hold meetings at which all "inhabitants" were welcomed and heard, bringing participatory democracy to Charleston. It seeded the ground for the Provincial Congress and government independent of Britain. Peter Timothy was a member of the General Committee and the Provincial Congress, and in 1777, he changed the name of the *South-Carolina Gazette* to the *Gazette of the State of South-Carolina*.

Cindy Thames is a former reporter for daily newspapers in South Carolina and Georgia now working on a biography of Peter Timothy. Her newsletter, The Radical Printer (radicalprinter.substack.com), covers the world of the South-Carolina Gazette and its printers from 1733 to 1778. Peter Timothy's journal of observations from the 1780 siege of Charleston is currently on exhibit in the SCHS Museum.







SCHS Speakers Bureau

The SCHS Speakers Bureau features staff members and scholars who are available to travel throughout the state and share their knowledge of South Carolina's rich history.



Speakers include:

- CEO Faye Jensen, who offers talks on topics ranging from golf to moonshine
- Processing archivist Karen Stokes, who specializes in Civil War history

To learn more and to request a speaker, visit schseducation.org/programs or contact Melina Testin at melina.testin@schsonline.org.



Revisiting the Swamp Fox

While heading to Kingstree to make preparations for the South Carolina Historical Society's upcoming Fall Tour, education coordinator Melina Testin (left) and membership and events coordinator Hannah Mooney made a quick stop in Pineville to visit the gravesite of a legendary Revolutionary-era South Carolinian. Considered a pioneer of guerrilla warfare due to his relentless raids on British supply lines, Francis Marion earned the nickname "Swamp Fox" in 1780, when the infamous British officer Banastre Tarleton supposedly likened him to a "damned old fox" that "the Devil himself

could not catch." Marion returned to a quiet life after the Revolutionary War and died in 1795 at Pond Bluff, his upper St. John's Berkeley Parish plantation (he is buried about fifteen miles away at the site of Belle Isle, his brother's plantation), but the legends surrounding his daring feats have persisted into the twenty-first century. On October 28, the SCHS will be in Lake City to host a special talk by Scott Kaufman, a professor of history at Francis Marion University, titled "Francis Marion: Hollywood or History." Be sure to follow our website (schistory.org/event/fall-tour-2023) for more information!

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- Priority event registration

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