

Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution The JOURNAL



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Fife Call

LOST AND
FOUND AT A
BRITISH BASE

Inside:

Fairlawn Plantation in
South Carolina

C. Leon Harris

A publication of



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The Journal

Editor

Richard C. Meehan, Jr.

Contributing Writers

C. Leon Harris
Richard C. Meehan, Jr.
Wayne Lynch

Peer Review Pool

C. Leon Harris
Richard C. Meehan, Jr.
Rick Wise
Jim Piecuch
Tom Persons
John E. Allison

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Thomas E. Persons

Chairman

Julian JB Burns

Treasurer

SCART, Inc.

P.O. Box 2552

Camden, SC 29020

<https://sc-art.org>

<https://southern-campaigns.org>

John E. Allison

Vice Chairman

Corinne M. Hoch

Secretary

Physical Address:

The Robert Mills Courthouse

607 South Broad Street

Camden, SC 29020

Wesley O. Herndon

Executive Director

John "Bucky" Haas

Board Member

Letter from the Editor

A Heartfelt Thank You



Richard C. Meehan, Jr.

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I hope this letter finds you well and thriving. I want to extend my heartfelt thanks for your wonderful comments and thoughtful feedback on last month's issue of *The Journal*. Your insights and encouragement have not only enriched our dialogue but have also propelled us to strive for even greater excellence in our work. Your engagement is the heartbeat of this publication, fueling our passion for the written word and scholarly discourse.

As we turn the page to a new chapter, I am delighted to announce that we actively welcome contributions from passionate writers and intellectuals. Whether you wish to share your scholarly articles, join our team as a columnist or peer reviewer, offer incisive commentaries, or front announcements and the latest news, we are eager to hear your voice. Your research, opinions, and creative insights are essential in helping us build a vibrant community of ideas and conversation.

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Again, thank you for your unwavering support and for making *The Journal* a place of thoughtful conversation and scholarly excellence.

Warm regards,

Richard C. Meehan, Jr.

Editor

Hear Ye, Hear Ye



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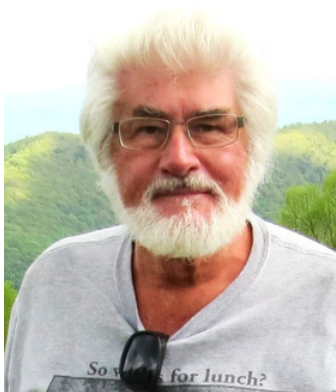
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Are you interested in donating, but have some questions? Contact us below, and we will happily answer your questions or concerns about your potential donation.

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Executive Director
info@sc-art.org
843-655-4683



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Like many of you, I became interested in the Revolutionary War while conducting genealogical research. After discovering that veterans' pension applications existed, I began searching for Harrises who lived in Patrick County, Virginia, where nearly all my ancestors had resided for the past two centuries. This was back in the Paleolithic era, before Will Graves began transcribing pension applications of southern Patriots and posting them on revwarapps.org, so reading them involved driving to the South Carolina Department of Archives and History and using cumbersome microfilm projectors. I was thrilled to find the pension application of James Harris of Patrick County, who had served in the militia of Orange County, North Carolina. It turned out that this James Harris was not related to me, but his file, which has since been transcribed at <https://revwarapps.org/w11223.pdf>, is still revealing. It includes an 1836 letter to the Secretary of War from one James M. Redd that reads in part, "Is, A Free Negro entitled to a Pension if they are not, There has been an imposition put on you, for there is one James Harriss of this County who has Just rec'd his Warrant, who I understand receiving thirty dollars per year, he is as Black as half of the Negroes in this county."



The Dragon

by
C. Leon Harris

After less than two generations, the service of this Patriot was not only forgotten but also denied simply because of his African ancestry. The Pension Commissioner was unaware of the contributions of Blacks during the Revolutionary War. In response to inquiries, he received a letter from a congressman stating, "I have no doubt that until since 1814 free people of colour served in the militia and... that no distinction was made before as to militia service performed or to be performed." The first service by James Harris was on Sullivan's Island, South Carolina, where, on June 28, 1776, he helped prevent British land forces from crossing Breach Inlet and taking Fort Moultrie during the coordinated attack by the British Navy. At Breach Inlet, Catawba Indians were present at the same time, another group whose services are often overlooked or omitted from history.

Adding to the diversity at Breach Inlet was Colonel Peter Muhlenberg's "German Regiment," so-called because most of its troops were recent immigrants who spoke only German. Three years later, Fort Moultrie was defended by Captain Richard Lushington's mostly Jewish company. Two "size rolls" of Virginians transcribed at <https://revwarapps.org/b69.pdf> and <https://revwarapps.org/b81.pdf> provide insight into the diversity of people who fought to create the United States. Out of 2244 men on the two rolls, 179 (8%) had some degree of African ancestry, and 427 (19%) were not born in North America. Every soldier was an individual with a unique mix of reasons for serving, but among those reasons were surely the distinctive concerns of the culture with which he identified.

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The Plight of Whig Prisoners in Revolutionary South Carolina: Neglect, Resilience, and Legacy

by
Richard C. Meehan, Jr.

The treatment of Whig prisoners during the American Revolutionary War shows a troubling picture of neglect and cruelty. About 25,000 American prisoners were taken by British forces, with around 18,000 dying from poor conditions. In many cases, death rates were over 70%. These numbers highlight the harsh realities of imprisonment, particularly in places like South Carolina, where environmental issues and logistical problems made conditions even worse.¹

In the absence of institutional accountability, the survival of many Whig prisoners relied heavily on the interventions of family and friends. British authorities, disavowing any responsibility for the care of those they labeled "criminal" captives, left outside support as the sole means for these prisoners to obtain sustenance. Families and local communities organized efforts to appeal for help, raised funds, and sent food parcels and medical supplies, often at considerable personal and financial risk, to alleviate the suffering caused by starvation, disease, and despair prevalent in prison conditions.²

Correspondence and diaries from the time reveal that a prisoner's chances of recovery significantly improved with the arrival of external aid. The fate of captives became a communal concern, particularly in South Carolina, where timely support was crucial; without it, many succumbed to malnutrition and unsanitary conditions. One poignant account illustrates this sentiment, as a family member remarked, "...without the humble parcels from home, our dear cousin would have been swallowed by the darkness of that dungeon."³ These testimonies underscore the precarious nature of life in prison and illuminate the vital role of family bonds in sustaining both morale and physical well-being.

The experiences of Whig prisoners reveal not only the brutal conditions they faced but also illustrate how British forces strategically employed cruelty to discourage rebellion by punishing captured patriots. This systemic neglect was instrumental in shaping postwar national consciousness, advocating for ideals of liberty and human dignity that became core to American values. The reliance on support from family and community during imprisonment laid the foundation for early American efforts to promote humane treatment of prisoners, which subsequently impacted the development of international humanitarian law. The suffering endured by these captives evolved into a significant symbol of American resilience and resistance in the collective memory of the postwar republic. Their tribulations fueled a national identity prioritizing individual freedom and communal responsibility over paternalistic institutional care.⁴

The suffering of Whig prisoners in Revolutionary South Carolina highlights a mix of extreme deprivation, systemic neglect, and deep dependence on family support. With death rates reaching as high as 70%, these circumstances vividly demonstrate the harsh realities of British imprisonment. However, it was precisely this brutality that fostered networks of mutual aid, saving numerous lives and influencing the moral and political evolution of the nascent nation.

Resources

¹ Richard H. Tomczak. "A Number of the Most Respectable Gentlemen: Civilian Prisoners of War and Social Status in Revolutionary South Carolina, 1780–1782." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 116, no. 3 (July 2015): 220-240.

² Paul A. Chase. "Prisoners of War (POWs) during the American Revolution." Presentation, Sons of the American Revolution, June 2020.

³ Tomczak, "A Number of the Most Respectable Gentlemen."

⁴ Chase, "Prisoners of War (POWs) during the American Revolution."

⁵ Ibid.



FAIRLAWN PLANTATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA: LOST AND FOUND AT A BRITISH BASE

by
C. Leon Harris

In the summer of 1781, British troops occupied Fairlawn Plantation, twenty-eight miles north of Charleston. They converted an elegant and substantial brick mansion called Fairlawn House into a hospital and military depot, which Americans burned on November 17, 1781. A Loyalist Claim by the owner, Louisa Carolina Colleton Graves, gives testimony that Fairlawn House might have been one of the premier architectural treasures of South Carolina. The Loyalist Claim also includes previously unnoticed testimony that the British commandeered the overseer's house as a base, around which slaves were compelled to build the well-preserved redoubt now known as Fort Fair Lawn. (Fig. 1)



Figure 1. Part of the “Plan of Fairlawn Plantation” surveyed in April 1789 by Joseph Purcell for Louisa Carolina Colleton. The ruins of Fairlawn Mansion are labeled Q. Almost a mile to the east is the “Redout built by the British,” which was actually built by slaves and survives as Fort Fair Lawn. (In this and other maps in this paper, north is toward the top.)

Fairlawn Plantation



Figure 2. Louisa Carolina Colleton Graves (1763-1822).

Fairlawn Plantation had been part of Fair Lawn Barony, a twelve-thousand-acre grant by King Charles II in 1663 as a reward to Sir John Colleton, First Baronet, for his military services during the English Revolution. Sir John thereby became one of the first eight Lords Proprietors of the Carolinas, none of whom ever set foot there. Like many other ancestors of prominent South Carolinians, Sir John made his fortune in Barbados. His great grandson, called Honorable John Colleton, came to Fairlawn Barony around 1726 and built Fairlawn House, also called Colleton House, in the 1730s. Fair Lawn Barony was eventually divided into smaller plantations, including Fairlawn, Stony Landing, Gippy, Lewisfield, and Fairfield, as well as part of the present city of Moncks Corner.[1]

The John Colleton who built Fairlawn House died in 1750, leaving Fairlawn Plantation to his son, also named John Colleton. This Sir John Colleton, Fourth Baronet, had a child, Louisa Carolina Colleton.[2] (Fig. 2) He then divorced his wife for adultery and married a woman who already had one child and had “art enough” to make him believe he was father of another.[3] In April 1777 Sir John sent his daughter to England, and he died a few months later. Sir John’s will had originally provided an allowance to “Dame Jane Colleton, my unhappy wife,” and one shilling and some education for a trade to each of her two sons, but he later struck even those meager provisions from the will. He left his estates in England and America to his “Dear Daughter.” His widow remarried but hung on to the name Lady Colleton.

[1] Henry A. M. Smith, “The Colleton family in South Carolina” *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (Oct., 1900), 325-341.

Henry A. M. Smith, “The Baronies of South Carolina, The Fairlawn Barony.” *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (Oct. 1910), 193-202.

J. E. Buchanan, “The Colleton Family and the Early History of South Carolina and Barbados, 1646-1775”, PhD dissertation, Univ. of Edinburgh, 1989.

Kishanda Fulford, *The Spite of Fortune* (London: Ashgrove Publishing, 2023).

[2] See Fulford’s *The Spite of Fortune* for an excellent account of the eventful life of this interesting woman.

[3] Typed transcript of the will of John Colleton dated July 13, 1776, South Carolina Department of Archives and History. <https://www.archivesindex.sc.gov/>.

Louisa Colleton Graves stated that her father had “refused to have any concerns in the Rebellion.”[1] Less charitably, James Simpson, former Attorney General of South Carolina, stated that Sir John “had no merit as a Loyalist nor does he know he took any Part against America. He was a drunken Sot.”[2] Fairlawn Plantation remained relatively untouched by the Revolutionary War until the siege of Charlestown in the spring of 1780. In April of that year a dragoon in Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton’s British Legion severely cut Lady Colleton’s hand and badly bruised her.[3] She died several months later.

British Defenses on Fairlawn Plantation

In the summer of 1781, with the fortunes of war turning against them, British troops chose Fairlawn Plantation as an encampment, with devastating consequences. Fairlawn Plantation had the misfortune of being an ideal location to support the thousands of Loyalists, slaves, and soldiers who took refuge in Charlestown. A nearby road across Biggin Bridge provided access for British plundering of nearby plantations, and Stony Landing allowed transport of the captured food and other plunder down Cooper River to Charlestown using the plantation’s boats. (Fig. 3)

The British converted Fairlawn House into a hospital and military store house. They surrounded the house with an abattis of sharpened limbs from cedar trees (probably eastern redcedars) cut from a stately avenue to the house. American Lieutenant Colonel Hezekiah Maham, anxious to justify the burning of a hospital, emphasized its military uses:

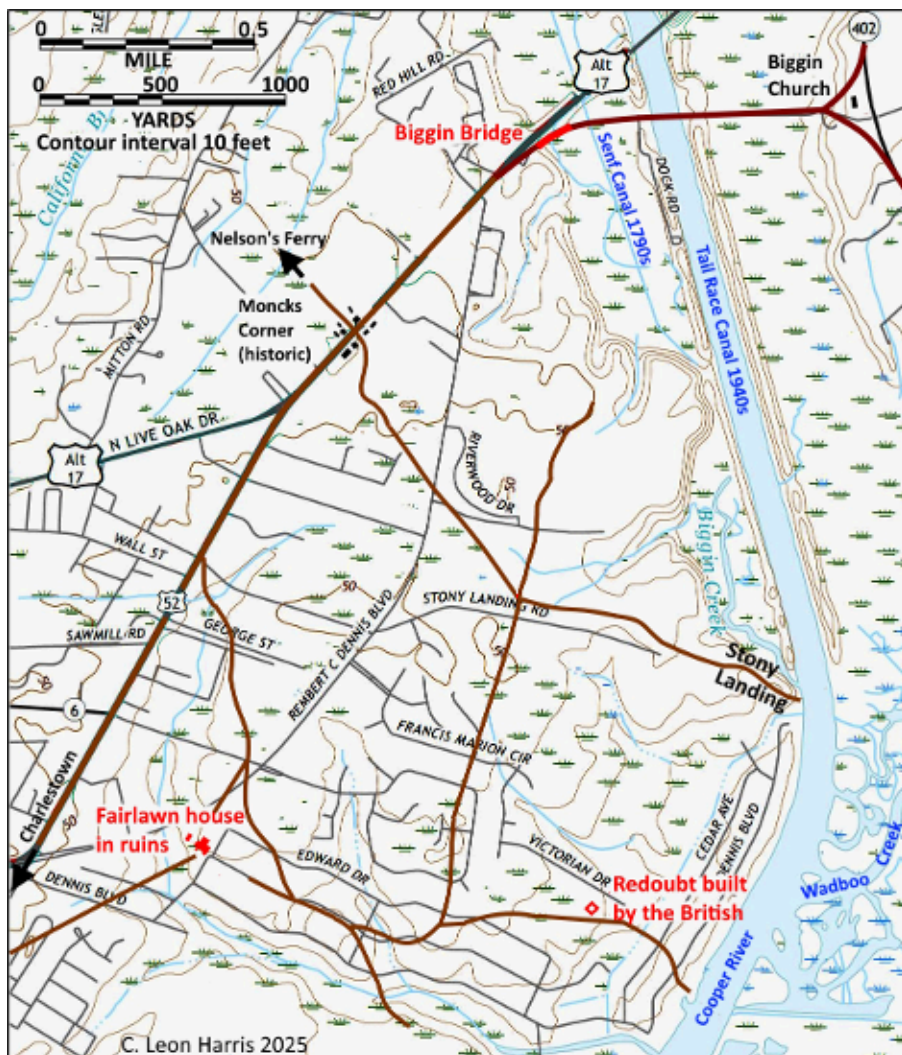


Figure 3. British defenses (red) and roads (brown) from the 1789 survey by Joseph Purcell overlaid onto a modern USGS topographic map.

{1} Testimony by Louisa Carolina Colleton Graves, January 25, 1788 in her Loyalist Claim (Appendix B).

[2] Appendix B.

[3] Anthony Allaire, Diary of Lieut. Anthony Allaire, of Ferguson’s Corps, Appendix to Lyman C. Draper, King’s Mountain and Its Heroes, (Cincinnati: Peter G. Thomson, 1881), 491.

The House at Fairlawn, is defensible for any hospl1] Of it self, But thay had abbattd it [surrounded it by abattis] strongly all around, in the next place, it was within half a mile of a fort Which was in full view. Thay made it a stage for there troops to go in and from Charlestown. I have none [known] Majr Frasher [Major Thomas Fraser], to Quarter his Cavalry within the Abbaotis, which he did, a few nights before it was taken, and from the information we could git, thay allways kept a strong guard, which I expected To finde there.[7]

The "fort" noted by Maham was an earthen redoubt now known as Fort Fair Lawn, actually 0.94 mile from Fairlawn House. The Loyalist Claim of Louisa Colleton Graves and her husband contains previously unnoticed testimony that the British had the redoubt built around the house of the plantation's overseer. According to Lt. Col. Archibald McArthur, "the Overseers House was surrounded by a Redoubt raised by his Order and was destroyed when abandoned by Brigadier General Stewart he saw it in Flames, having occupied it himself." [1] Building a redoubt around an existing house was a recommendation of British Major Patrick Ferguson, who was later killed at the Battle of Kings Mountain. Ferguson's plan was followed in 1781 at Fort Granby and Fort Motte. [2]

McArthur testified that "he ordered two of [the Negro Houses] to be burnt and threatened the whole to oblige the Negroes to attend the Public Works" of clearing the trees around the overseer's house and building a redoubt around it. Thirty to forty of the plantation's slaves were put to work building the redoubt of soil topped with clay and marl. [3] Many were probably among the 194 slaves named in a 1777 plantation inventory, transcribed in Appendix B. Some of those enslaved men, women and children gained a measure of freedom by joining the British as laborers, servants or soldiers, or by running away. Louisa Graves testified that "One hundred men, women, & children were lost to the Estate by various means, some attached themselves to the Troops, and acted under Orders, some to Officers and Individuals of the Army, and others run away without any account being had of them." In 1785 there were 115 slaves on the plantation. [4]

The redoubt is apparently shown in Purcell's map in Figure 1, since there is no physical or eyewitness account of any other redoubt. [12] Overseers usually lived near slaves, so there was presumably a slave settlement near the redoubt. Purcell's map shows a slave settlement about a half mile from the redoubt, but that settlement is labeled "R," referring to a legend reading "the present Settlement," indicating that it

[7] Hezekiah Maham to Greene, November 27, 1781, Papers of General Nathanael Greene 9:630-631.

[8] The British abandoned Fairlawn Plantation on November 24, 1781. Francis Marion to Nathanael Greene, November 25, 1781 in Dennis M. Conrad, et al., eds., *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 9:628.

[9] Brian Mabelitini, "Patrick Ferguson's Fortification Proposals In South Carolina," *Journal of the American Revolution*, <https://allthingsliberty.com/2025/02/patrick-fergusons-fortification-proposals-in-south-carolina/>.

[10] McArthur, September 11, 1788. Composition of the earthworks is according to Eric C. Popkin and Ashley Chapman, "Archaeological Survey of Selected Portions of the Stony Landing Development Tract, Berkeley County, South Carolina" (Mount Pleasant SC: Brockington and Associates, Inc., 1990), 37.

[11] Testimony by Louisa Colleton Graves, January 25, 1788 and June 23, 1789 in Appendix B.

[12] Louisa Carolina Colleton Graves, *Desultory Thoughts on Various Subjects* (Brussels: British Press, 1819), 100, stated that the British "also built two forts on the land," but she was not present during the British occupation and may have included a blockhouse near Biggin Bridge.

was a recent construction. According to Louisa Graves, as the British were abandoning Fairlawn, they burned the settlement (“a town for the residence of several hundred people belonging to the estate”).[13] The settlement on the Purcell map was, therefore, evidently a replacement.

Fifty men of the 84th Regiment Royal Highland Emigrants were expected to defend Biggin Bridge almost two miles to the north, Stony Landing three-fourths of a mile to the northeast, and Fairlawn House almost a mile to the west. On November 17, 1781, they could only watch helplessly from the redoubt as 380 men in a detachment of Gen. Francis Marion’s troops under Lt. Col. Hezekiah Maham marched the patients out of Fairlawn House and plundered the stores. One or more of Maham’s men—it is not clear who or whether under orders—burned the main part of Fairlawn House. The British later burned the remaining wing containing the kitchen, and the overseer’s house, before abandoning the encampment.[14]

Fairlawn House

On reaching age twenty-one in 1784, Louisa Carolina Colleton claimed her inheritance. In August 1785, she sailed for South Carolina, arriving two months later after a nearly fatal voyage and a stop in the Bahamas, which she also claimed as part of her inheritance. The “sight of the ruins of Fair-Lawn overwhelmed [her] with affliction.... Desolation brooded where plenty formerly had revelled in her gayest mood.”[15] (Appendix A) The site of Fairlawn House is even more desolate now, thickly wooded, much disturbed, and vulnerable to nearby development, with little left from which even the most discerning archaeologist can reconstruct its former splendor. (Fig. 4)



Figure 4. Fragments of bricks from Fairlawn House. Intact bricks were presumably scavenged.

[13] Graves, *Desultory Thoughts*, 101

[14] For details regarding the destruction of Fairlawn House, see Charles B. Baxley, J. Brett Bennett and C. Leon Harris, “Incident at Fair Lawn Plantation: How a Raid Ordered by Gen. Francis Marion Led to the Burning of a Hospital,” *Journal of the Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution* Vol. 18, No. 1.5 (September 6, 2021).

<https://southern-campaigns.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/Fair-Lawn-Raid-v.1.5.pdf> Louisa Graves in *Desultory Thoughts*, 101 stated that the British burned Fairlawn House, but in her *Loyalist Claim* she stated that the British burned only the remaining wing.

[15] Graves, *Desultory Thoughts*, 100-101.

Two years after her arrival in South Carolina, Miss Colleton returned to England and married British navy officer Richard Graves, thereby yielding to him control of her property. In 1788, they filed a Loyalist Claim with the British government for her losses in America. (Appendix B) They claimed almost £17 thousand in losses, but received less than £2500 in compensation.[16] Louisa Graves made repeated unsuccessful attempts to reclaim her lands and fortune, but the remainder of her adventurous life verged on poverty. This Loyalist Claim gives some hint of Fairlawn House—“An Elegant Mansion House built of Brick and finished in a Genteel Stile with a Row of Arches making a Communication to the Kitchen the Kitchen two Story built also of brick.” “The Mansion House was strongly built of Brick two Stories & Cellar below.”

The 1789 map by Joseph Purcell in Figure 1 depicts the outline of Fairlawn House. Purcell may have been informed of the layout of the home by Miss Colleton or a neighbor, or possibly he could still make out its foundation. An 1821 map by another talented surveyor, Charles Blacker Vignoles, shows a different outline. (Fig. 5) The original base of the house cannot now be discerned because of disturbance to the site.[17]

An inventory of the furnishings lists its rooms: Blue Chamber, Drawing Room, Hall, Bed Chamber, Servants Hall, Closet of Servants Hall, Chamber at the end of Long Room up Stairs, Parlour, another Bed Chamber, Store Room, Under Store Room, and the Kitchen.[18] Fairlawn House may have been built like mansions of other South Carolinians with roots in Barbados, modifying Jacobean, Palladian or Georgian styles for better ventilation and protection against hurricanes.[19] The outline of the house on the map by Purcell does not have the strict symmetry characteristic of these architectures, but the outline in the Vignoles map does. The house at Middleton Place Plantation twenty-seven miles northwest of Charleston is a well-known example of Barbadian-influenced architecture. The main house was flanked by two smaller houses, only one of which survived the American Civil War. This “flanker,” now a major attraction for visitors to the area, gives some hint of the opulence of the main house and probably of Fairlawn House. Nearby Drayton Hall is another example of a mansion built by prominent South Carolinians with roots in Barbados. (Fig. 6)

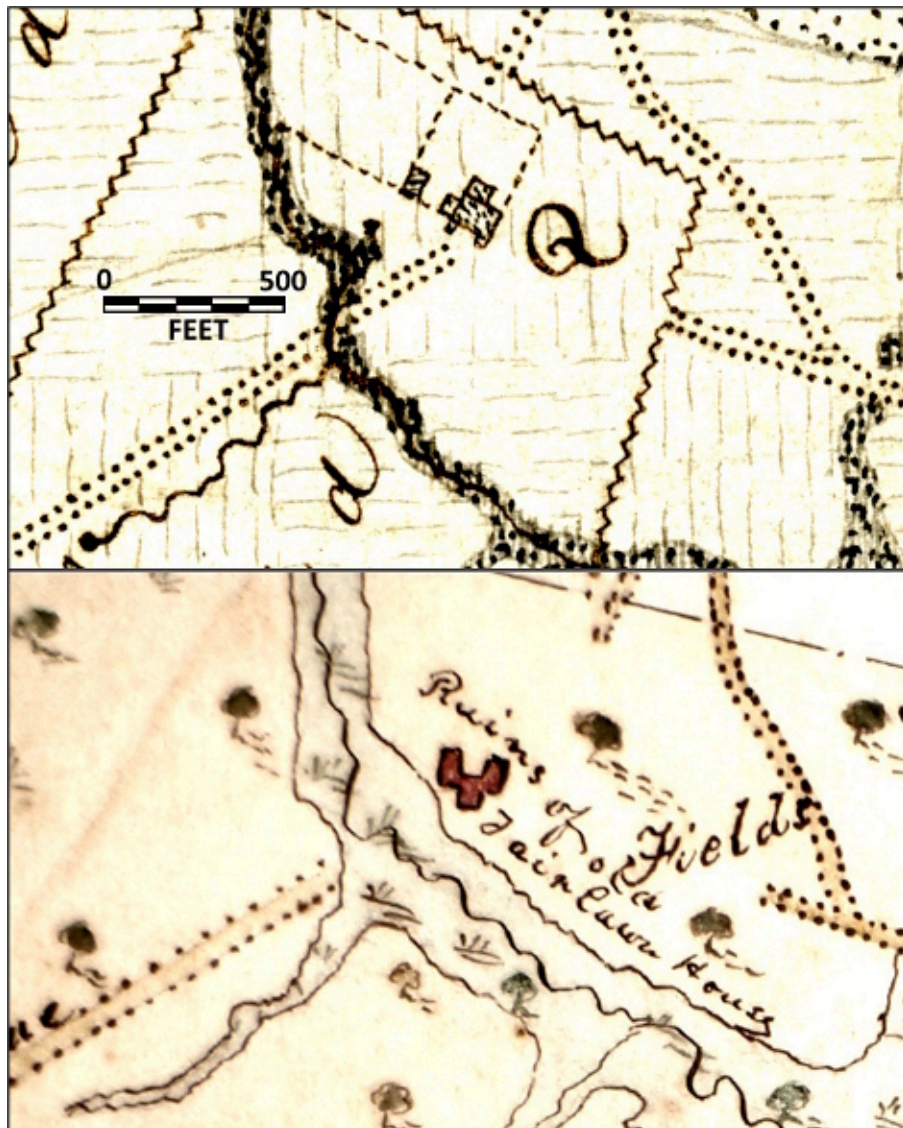


Figure 5. Parts of two maps of Fairlawn Plantation showing the outline of Fairlawn House. Top: 1789 map by Purcell. Bottom: 1821 map by Vignoles.

[16] Fulford, Spite, 113.

[17] S. Smith, T. Wilson and J. Legg, *The Search For Francis Marion: Archaeological Survey of 15 Camps and Battlefields Associated with Francis Marion* (Francis Marion Trail Commission, 2008), 85.

[18] For a more details see Fulford, Spite, 22-23.

[19] Anonymous, “The Barbados Carolina Connection,” Barbados and the Carolinas Legacy Foundation. https://issuu.com/scnationalheritagecorridor/docs/theconnectionguide_digital_



Figure 6. Two houses with Barbados-influenced architecture. Top: The surviving flanker at Middleton Place Plantation built about 1755 in Jacobean style. Bottom: Drayton Hall built about 1738 in Palladian style, which influenced Georgian architecture.

The Overseer's House and Redoubt

So little remains of the overseer's house within the redoubt that it was totally overlooked until McArthur's testimony in the Loyalist Claim was noticed. The house was described by neighbors as "30 feet by 18 built of wood featheredged & good Cypress Shingles w'th. a double Stack of Brick Chimneys." [20] (Fig. 7)



Figure 7. Author's conception of the overseer's house and redoubt. Fairlawn House is barely visible in the distance. Each wall of the earthworks is about 100 feet long on the inside. Removal of dirt for the walls created a moat. Many redoubts were protected by a fraise, abattis, or artillery, but there is no evidence for them here.

A large number of nails would be expected from a wooden house, but relatively few were found in 1986.[21] Brick rubble lies within a 13-by-27-foot area approximately where the overseer's house is depicted in Figure 7. The good nails and bricks may have been salvaged to build a new overseer's house. Military artifacts were scattered outside but absent inside the redoubt, probably taken by relic collectors.[22] Fortunately the earthworks remain as Fort Fair Lawn, one of the best preserved structures from the Revolutionary War and a major attraction for visitors to the area.[23] (Fig. 8)

[20] Appraisal by Keating Simons and others, June 26, 1787, Appendix B. The dimensions and description of the overseer's house are similar to those of a lockkeeper's house on the Santee Canal constructed in the 1790s. Elizabeth Connor, Richard Dwight Porcher, Jr. and William Robert Judd, *The Santee Canal: South Carolina's First Commercial Highway* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2024), 103-104.

[21] Email from Mike Kirby to the author, March 10, 2025.

[22] Popkin and Chapman, *Archaeological Survey*, 35-39.

[23] "Fort Fair Lawn," Lord Berkeley Conservation Trust. <https://www.lordberkeley.org/fort-fair-lawn>.



Figure 8. Northeast corner of Fort Fair Lawn.

APPENDIX A: “The ruins of Fair-Lawn” by Louisa Carolina Colleton Graves.[24]

When the sight of the ruins of Fair-Lawn overwhelmed me with affliction. This mansion, in which I was born, had been the residence of my family, from the time it was built by my grandfather [Honorable John Colleton, 1701-1750], the Land-grave of Colleton, who built it on one of his baronies named Fairlawn, during the life of his father [Sir John Colleton, 1669-1754], who was one of the Sovereign Lords proprietors of an extent of country in North America, which now forms three of the United States, by the names of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, and also Sovereign Lord Proprietor of the Bahama Islands; the mansion, as it was for a family residence, was, of course, very magnificent, and of such great extent, that when the British made a rapid retreat, after the battle near the Entow, or Eutaw Springs,[25] on reaching it, they rallied under the shelter of the building, and repulsed the pursuing army with great slaughter, who in their turn retreated, leaving their wounded; after which the British converted it into an hospital and magazine for military stores, and also built two forts on the lands and cut down the wood to the extent of two miles round them, to prevent the danger of surprise. The barony of Fair-Lawn, (unfortunately for me,) being particularly well situated for the British, the river Cooper, one of its boundaries, being navigable for their armed vessels as far as one of my landings. When the British retreated to Charleston, they burnt down the mansion, to prevent so strong a post falling into the hands of the Americans, and destroyed every building on the barony, including a town for the residence of several hundred people belonging to the estate, with the granaries, mills, etc. etc. On this occasion, in addition to the furniture, paintings, books, plate, etc. etc. a large sum of money, upwards of 10,000l. sterling, which was in my father's strong box, and even my jewels, were lost to me, either destroyed or plundered. Whilst contemplating the place of my nativity, my attendants informed me that the hunted deer often took shelter amidst the ruins, from which I then turned heart-sick, at finding that desolation brooded where plenty formerly had revelled in her gayest mood. Alas! but I repress my feelings and renew the narrative. To the devastation thus effected, many officers of highest rank and distinction can bear testimony; necessity, to prevent so strong a post falling in to the hands of the Americans having been the plea which has proved most serious to me in its consequences, involving in a general wreck the greatest part of my property. At the period this was effected, I was in England, an orphan and a minor.[26]

APPENDIX B: The Loyalist Claim of Louisa Carolina Colleton Graves and Captain Richard Graves.[27]


To the Hon'ble the Commissioners appointed by Act of Parliament for inquiring into the Losses and Services of the American Loyalists.

The Memorial of Louisa Carolina Colleton Spinster the Daughter and Devisee of the late Sir John Colleton of Fairlawn in Berkley [Berkeley] County in the Province of South Carolina who was in his Lifetime one of his Majestys Counsel of the said Province Sheweth.

[24] Graves, Desultory Thoughts, 100-101.

[25] Battle of Eutaw Springs, September 8, 1781.

[26] Louisa's mother. Ann Fulford Colleton Lea, actually lived until 1809. Fulford, Spite, 114.

[27] Transcribed from UK, American Loyalist Claims, 1776-1835 on ancestry.com. Among these papers, presumably misfiled, is a paper signed on December 13, 1776, by order of British  William Howe ordering protection for one Joseph Peddle.

That the said Sir John Colleton was in his Lifetime and at the time of his death the owner and Proprietor of very large Estates situate in Colleton County and in Berkley County in the said Province of South Carolina All which was of great yearly Value and upon part thereof a Capital Mansion house called Fairlawn had been Erected at a very considerable Expence And the said Sir John Colleton had a large quantity of Negroes or Slaves in and upon his said Estates.

That at the breaking out of the Troubles in America your Memorialist who was then an Infant of tender Years was sent by her Father to England where she has ever since resided.

That the said Mansion house at Fairlawn during the said Dissentions, having been by the chance of War sometimes in the Possession of the Kings army and at other times of the Americans, was in the End totally burnt together with all the Furniture therein, and great Numbers of his Negroes were destroyed, driven away, or carried from off the said Estates and the Profits of the said Estates have been withheld from your Memorialist for upwards of six years but she hath not yet learnt whether the Estates have been Confiscated or not.

That the said Sir John Colleton in and by his last Will and Testament duly executed gave and devised all his Estates subject to the Payment of his Debts unto and for the use and Benefit of your Memorialist, but your Memorialist by reason of her Minority and of her Residence in England during the late Dissentions in America hath not yet been able to ascertain with accuracy the exact Value of the Property nor amount of the Losses sustained by Damages done to the said Estates during the War but hath been informed and believes the same amounts to a very large Sum of Money And your Memorialist will take the Earliest Opportunity of procuring the best Information the nature of the case will admit of

Your Memorialist therefore humbly hopes that her Memorial may be taken into your Consideration in order that she may be enabled by your Report to receive such Aid and Relief as her Case may be found to deserve.

Chamberlayne & White Soli[cito]rs for and on behalf of the Memorialist Louisa Carolina Colleton 25th Mar. 1784.

To the Commissioners for inquiring into the Losses and Services of American Loyalists

The Memorial of Richard Graves Captain in his Majesty's Navy and Louisa Carolina his Wife late Louisa Carolina Colleton Spinster only Daughter of Sir John Colleton late of the Parish of Saint John in the State of South Carolina Baronet deceased Sheweth That the said Sir John Colleton Baronet deceased the Father of your Memorialist Louisa Carolina Graves in and previous to the year 1777 resided in the Parish of Saint John in the State of South Carolina and was one of the Kings Council for the State until the time of his death which happened in or about the Month of September 1777 and during all that time the said Sir John Colleton acknowledged his Allegiance to the Sovereign of Great Britain and obedience to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm and no other whatsoever and used his utmost Endeavours on all occasions to promote due Obedience to the same and to suppress all tumultuous and rebellious Assemblies for the purpose of opposing the Authority of the Sovereign of Great Britain and Laws of this Realm And your Memorialists further Shew That the said Sir John Colleton at the time

of his death was possessed of a Mansion house called Fairlawn and Lands and Plantations thereunto belonging in the State of Carolina hereinafter more particularly described and was also possessed of the several Articles of Household Furniture Plate Linnen China Horses Carriages Slaves Vessels and other moveable Effects in and about the said Mansion house and premises particularly mentioned in the Inventory thereof hereunto annexed and which Inventory was taken by sworn Appraisers soon after the death of the said Sir John Colleton and Effects therein mentioned were then valued at the Sum of £120,280 Currency being equal to £17,182 Sterling Money.

That at the time of the death of the said Sir John Colleton your Memorialist Louisa Carolina Graves was a Minor of the Age of fourteen years or thereabouts and then residing in England and the said Sir John Colleton by his will gave to your Memorialist Louisa Carolina Graves the said Mansion house Plantation and Estate called Fairlawn and the Effects mentioned in the said Inventory the whole of which remained on the said premises until the Month of May 1780 when a part of the British Army took post at a place called Monks Corner about 31 Miles from Charles Town and within the distance of one Mile from the said Mansion house and Estate of your Memorialist in consequence whereof Lady Colleton Widow of the late Sir John Colleton (who till then had resided at the said Mansion house) was obliged with her Family to leave the same in the possession of the Army with the Furniture and Effects aforesaid and also the Plantation and Stock upon the same at which time and at divers times afterwards the British Army were supplied with great Quantitys of Corn, Pease Corn Blades Cattle and other things from the said Plantation and Estate of your Memorialist and the Negroes of the said Estate were also employed by them and no satisfaction has ever been received by your Memorialist or any other person on her behalf for the use of such Negroes or for such provision Cattle and other things supplied as aforesaid

That the situation of the Estate called Fairlawn being very convenient to the British Forces and there being a Communication from thence to the Sea and your Memorialist being then possessed of divers Schooners Boats and other Vessels mentioned in the said Inventory the same were fitted out at a considerable expence to your Memorialist and together with the Negroes belonging to the Plantation of your Memorialists were employed in the Service of the British Forces for a considerable time and your Memorialist incurred a considerable expence in fitting out and Victualling the said Vessels in so much that after giving Credit for every thing received on account thereof your said Memorialist exclusive of the Advantage which might have been gained by the use of the said Vessels and Negroes during the time they were so employed as aforesaid incurred a Debt of £616.17 Sterling on account thereof And your Memorialist has been informed and believes that by the employment of the said Vessels and Negroes belonging to your Memorialist great Service was rendered to the British Army and great relief afforded to them by the supply of Provision Cattle and other things furnished from the said Estate and Plantation and in consequence of your Memorialists Estate and Effects affording such Services and Supplies and the Situation of it being of great Importance to the British Army and being taken possession of and the Mansion house fortified by them as hereinafter mentioned the same became an Object for the American Army to destroy and which they did in the manner hereinafter stated

That at the time the British Army entered on the said Estate the Buildings thereon consisted of an elegant and substantial Mansion House built of Brick and finished in an Elegant and substantial manner with a row of Arches making a communication to the wing which was also built of Brick two Story high together also with a large Building 50 feet by 35 featheredged and Cypress Shingles raised on a brick Foundation containing Stables and Carriage house and finished in a neat manner Together with an Overseers House 30 feet by 18 feet and built of wood featheredged and good Cypress Shingles with a double Stack of Brick Chimneys Together with a large Barn 60 feet by 30 feet and three Negroe Houses which said Mansion House and the several other Buildings thereto belonging were in the year 1781 worth the Sum of #3385 Sterling Money as by the valuation thereof hereunto annexed will appear. And at the time the same was so taken possession of your Memorialists Family left in the said Mansion house divers quantity of Household Furniture Linnen and China and divers pictures Plate and other valuable Effects to a considerable Amont and the Plantation belonging to the said Messuage and Premises was at that time well cropped and stocked with Negroes Slaves Cattle and Utensils of every kind.

That on or about the 13th July 1781 Col. McArthur with a Body of British Troops under his Command marched from Charles Town and converted the said Mansion House into a Magazine of Stores and Hospital for the reception of the Sick who were sent there from the British Army and Lieutenant Wilson of the British Engineers in order to render the place as secure as possible from the Attacks of the American Army cut down a Beautiful Grove consisting of above 400 Stately Cedar Trees which had been reared at a great Expence and trouble the Boughs whereof was converted into an Abattis and the Trunks of the said Trees were sent to Charlestown in order to facilitate the works then carrying on there by Colonel Moncrief [Maj. James Moncrief] for the defence of that City And the said Colonel McArthur caused a Redoubt to be thrown up round an Overseers House at some distance from the Mansion house. That Colonel Maham with a Body of American Troops soon afterwards invested the said Mansion House and Premises which had been so converted into a Magazine of Stores and Hospital and entirely burnt the same together with all the Furniture and Effects which then remained therein except one wing of the Mansion house to which the Fire did not communicate That a few days afterwards a great part of the British Army under the command of General Stewart [Lt. Col. Alexander Stewart] took post at Fairlawn near the said Redoubt where they continued 5 or 6 days during which time they burnt the remaining Wing of the Mansion House which had escaped the Flames a few days before as aforesaid That after the said Mansion House plantations and Estate were entirely evacuated by the British Army no part of the said plate China Pictures Linen Household Furniture Crop Negroes Slaves Cattle Vessels or other moveable Effects whatsoever remained thereon except some Negroes valued at Åí4301 and some Plate and a few Wild Horses the value whereof did not exceed Åí30 And by means of the said Plantation and Estate being so taken possession of as aforesaid and the Negroes belonging to the same being employed by the Army the Crops of the said Plantation during the years 1780, 1781 and 1782 were totally lost to your Memorialist and a considerable Expence was during that time incurred by your Memorialist in cloathing the Negroes and otherwise relating to the said Estate.

The Amount of the Inventory annexed
17182.
The Amount of Valuation of the Buildings
3385.
The Amount of Debt incurred by fitting out and Victualling Vessels 616.17
21,183.17
Deduct Value of Negroes left on the Estate
4301
Value of Plate and Horses 30 4,331.
16,852.17

Wm. Graves
Louisa Carolina Graves.

A just and true Inventory and Appraisement of all the Goods and Chattles rights and Credits belonging to the Estate of Sir John Colleton Baronet late of Charles Town district in the State of South Carolina deceased as they were shewn to us the Subscribers by Lady J. Colleton Administratrix the 30th day of Dece'r Anno Domini 1777

	Blue Chamber			
1	Bedstead Feather Bed and Furniture 2 Blanketts Sheets and Counterpane	£500		
1	Easy Chair with Cover	40		
	A Toilet Table and small Glass	25		
1	Chimney Glass and Old Landscape in Oil	15		
1	Large Looking Glass	50		
11	Prints Landscapes &c.	50		
1	Roman Cabinet	150		
1	Corner Chair	15		
1	Strong Box with Medals Old Coin &c	50		
1	Bottle and Basin & Mahogany Stand	7		
6	Hair Bottom Mahogany Chairs	60		
72	Volumes Books and a Family Bible in the Closet	<u>150</u>	1112	
	Drawing Room			
10	Mahogany Chairs with Hair Bottoms	100		
1	Ditto dining Table	20		
1	Pair Card Tables	50		
1	Table Clock	15		
1	Pair window Glasses with Shades	5		
1	Large looking Glass	50		
1	Wilton Carpet	30		
1	Gilt Jarandeaux [girandole?]	10		
4	Paintings in Oil	10		
1	pair Dogs Shovel Fender & Tongs	15		
1	Ditto Brass Sconces	<u>5</u>	<u>310</u>	
		£	1422	

	Hall	£	1422		
2	Mahogany Dining Tables	45			
11	Green Chairs	60			
3	paintings in Oil	50			
1	Table Clock	15			
1	Scotch Carpet	10			
1	pr. Dogs Shovel and Fender	35			
1	Tea pot China Bowls Mugs &c in ye. Beaufet	60			
1	114 oz. Silver	£5 p oz. 570			
1	pr. plated waiters 1 do Coffee pot 1 do Cruet stand and 1 punch Ladle	40			
3	pr. double plated Candlesticks	55			
1	Set Blue and White Table China	<u>150</u>			
			1090		
	Bed Chamber				
1	painting in Oil	30			
1	Bedstead Feather Bed Curtains &c	120			
1	Chamber & dressing Glasses	25			
2	Old Tables	2			
1	Ditto Desk	5			
16	Venetian prints	10			
3	Old Chairs	3			
1	Gold Watch 1 Gold Seal &c	200			
1	pinchbeck watch	<u>20</u>			
			415		
	Servants Hall				
1	Corner Chair without the cover	8			
1	Brass Chafing Dish	5			
1	Lot Old Candlesticks &c	5			
1	Backgammon Table	12			
2	Brass warming pans	20			
1	Old Table	1			
9	Candle Moulds (Bruised)	2			
1	pair Common Iron Dogs	5			
1	water Jug empty Bottles Lanthorn &c	6			
1	Mahogany Tray	2			
1	pr. Bellows (broken)	1			
1	Flax Wheel	<u>7</u>			
			<u>74</u>		
		£	3001		

	Closet Servants Hall	£	3001		
1	Lot China with a broken Set Tea China	£50			
1	Lot Glass ware &c	30			
1	Mahogany Knife Case 1 Dozen Silver handed Knives and Forkes	100			
1	Shagreen Case with 1 Doz Silver Handed ditto	40			
1	Lot Ivory Handed Knives and Forkes	5			
2	large and 2 small Japan'd & Mah'y Waiters				
1	Japan'd Coffee pot and Bread Basket	<u>40</u>			
			265		
	Chamber end of Long Room up Stairs				
1	Bed Stead Bed and Curtans	70			
8	Scripture pieces	25			
2	Looking Glasses with Scenes	40			
4	Chairs	5			
1	Mah'y double Chest Drawers	120			
	pr. Dogs pokers Flower pots & 1 old Box	8.5			
	Old Chest Drawers	2			
	Servants Bed with Saking Curtains	10			
	pr. Shovel Tongs & 1 old Desk	<u>5</u>			
			285	5	
	Parlour				
4	Looking Glasses and a Chimney Glass	200			
1	Eight-day Clock out of repair	70			
1	Japan'd Tea Kitchen and Stand	25			
1	Mah'y Breakfast Table	12			
1	Copper Coffee pot and Mah'y Knife Box	5			
1	do Tea Kettle	7			
	pair Brass Dogs Shovel Tongs with Brass heads}				
	Brass Fender & 1 pr. Chamber Bellows }	50			
	pair of Iron Dogs Fender and Tongs	<u>20</u>			
			389		
	Bed Chamber				
1	Mahogany Bedstead Feather Bed worked Fustain [Fustian] Curtains}				
1	Coverlet Counterpane and Chair Cover &c. }	500			
	poplar Bedstead, Bed, Sheets Blankets & Quilt	70			
1	Old Press	<u>2</u>			
		£	<u>572</u>		
			4512	5	

		£	4512	5	
	Store Room				
1	Cask Nails	200			
1	Silver Hilted Sword and Cutlass	60			
	a pair of Brass Screw Barrel Pistoles	30			
1	Do Servants Pistols Holsters Housing &c	15			
1	pair Cotton Cards	12			
	a Half Box Window Glass	15			
1	Ullage Barrel Sugar	50			
	a Lot Tugs Canisters &c	2			
3	Large Old Chests	5			
1	Old Bedstead &c	1			
	1 Chart of the State of South Carolina	10			
2	Leather portmanteaus	<u>12</u>			
			412		
	A Chest containing 13 pr. of Sheets sorted	260			
1	Set Curtains and 3 pavilions	150			
13	Large Damask Table Cloths	195			
6	Small Diaper ditto	30			
1	Damask Table Cloth & 12 Napkins in a Set	100			
	a Lot Towels pillow Cases Rollers &c	60			
	Remnant of Linen Check &c	<u>50</u>			
			845		
	Under Store Room				
1	whole and 1 Ullage Kegs White Lead	15			
	a Lot of Old Canisters Jugs &c	5			
1	pr. Steel Yards	5			
	3 Old Guns	<u>30</u>			
			55		
	Kitchen Furniture				
1	Lot Pewter Dishes Basons &c.	60			
	A Lot Kettles pots pans Spits &c.	120			
3	Marble and 2 Brass Mortars	<u>25</u>			
			205		
	a Landau with Harness for 4 Horses	300			
	a post Chaise with ditto	500			
	a Phaeton with Harness for 2 Horses	400			
1	Ox Cart with Fire wheels Yokes Chains &c.	80			
2	Do Do &c.	85			
1	Horse Cart	5			
			<u>1370</u>		
		£	7399	5	

		£	7399	5	
1	Sadle Horse of the English Breed	300			
2	Sorrel Mares	300			
1	Carriage Horse of the English breed	275			
1	Brown Lay Draught Horse	150			
1	Sorrel Do. Do.	100			
48	Head Horses Mares Colts & Fillys £15 each	720			
35	Do working Oxen £50	1750			
94	Do running Cattle 25	2350			
310	Do Sheep 10	<u>310</u>			
			6255		
3	Mens Sadles (one Broken)	30			
5	Pair Quern Stones £20	100			
42	Pitching Axes £3	126			
12	New Broad Axes	30			
8	Socket Spades 60/	24			
	Carpenters Coopers & Bricklayers Tools	50			
1	Lot wedges Froes and Sickles	20			
3	whips & 2 cross cut Saws £30	150			
1	Lot Old Iron Brass &c	<u>10</u>			
70	Head Sows Shoats and Pigs 60/		570		
1200	Bushels Corn 20/	1200	210		
100	Rough Rice (Bushels) 10	50			
15	Bushels Rye 20/	15			
4	Ditto Indigo Seed £ 5/	20			
	Indigo Drainer and press Cloths	20			
1	wire Rice Sieve	3			
1	win [wind] fan for Rice	<u>10</u>			
			1318		
	Black Smiths Beak Iron Anvil & Bellows	50			
3	Grindstones	<u>3</u>			
			53		
	Schooner Success with her Tackle & Furniture	2500			
	Schooner Nancy in the Stocks repairing	700			
	Rowing Boat Canoe Built with 6 Oars	<u>150</u>			
			<u>3350</u>		
			<u>19155</u>	5	

[In the following lists, the sixty-four names preceded by asterisks indicate slaves who, judging from their names and values of at least £500, were able-bodied adult males among whom may have been the thirty to forty who helped construct the redoubt.]

Negroes

*Sambo.....	£900
Lezy.....	600
Elsy.....	600
Old Hamond.....	30
Old Tellah.....	50
Buellah.....	300
*Sampson.....	1000
Jenney.....	700
Little Sampson.....	200
Sue a Child.....	150
Rose.....	300
*Old Primus.....	800
Old Betty.....	550
Nan.....	500
Mira.....	700
Grace.....	200
*Quash.....	1000
Phillis.....	600
*Sambo.....	500
Daphne.....	450
Old Sheba.....	50
*Jack.....	1200
Sappahannah.....	750
Little Walley.....	150
*Joe.....	600
Swainson.....	400
Lyzett.....	300
Tahia.....	500
Harriet.....	220
Phillis.....	650
*Boatswain.....	1000
*Primus.....	1500
*Bado.....	700
*Fortune (34).....	<u>1000</u>
No. 1	£19,150

Jenney.....	£400
*Simon.....	550
Betsey.....	500
Hany.....	800
*Quahu.....	800
Deliah.....	600
Kelly.....	200
Sampson.....	380
*Jemmy.....	1000
Old Lyzett.....	400
Ignola.....	600
Cleopatra.....	650
Scipio a Child.....	100
*York.....	800
*Peter.....	800
Old Toumlah.....	2
*Emanuel.....	800
Binah.....	650
*Morris.....	600
Mariah.....	450
*James.....	700
*Elijah.....	500
Morris (a Child).....	250
Moses (Do).....	350
*Simon.....	650
*Walley.....	500
Siderah.....	100
John.....	400
Josey.....	1000
Harrian.....	550
*Old Jenno.....	550
Pindar.....	3
*Sambo.....	700
Rinah (34).....	<u>400</u>
No. 2	£17,735

Neppee.....	450
Catto	350
Namah	220
*Pompey.....	600
Old Monko	350
Kate	600
Tomboy	450
*Nero	1500
Venus.....	500
*Dule	800
Nancy	700
*Mercury	600
Senah	600
Joe.....	170
Old Phillis.....	5
Fan.....	700
Little Hammond	350
Betty (a Child).....	350
Chance (do).....	200
*Charles.....	900
*Dick.....	500
Stephen.....	250
Jean.....	800
*Sandy.....	600
Old Cyrus	10
*Casar.....	800
Phebe	400
Little Jean	650
Sorrow	250
Phillis.....	250
*Jusse	700
London	250
Bella	300
Shepherd (34).....	<u>100</u>

No. 3 £16,455

*Young Shepheard.....	700
Sarah	500
Cyrus	300
*Hendlay.....	650
*Bob.....	1000
Doll	650
Bennett.....	380
Nancy (a Child).....	220
Dye.....	650
*Winter	800
Louisa.....	450
Billy	350
Little Kent (a Child).....	180
*Cuffee.....	900
Cicellia	650
Old tom	150
Betty.....	400
*Isaac	500
Bess.....	700
Sintah	150
Exeter.....	150
Paul	400
*Jack	900
*John.....	800
*Harry	700
Saremaih	300
Moll.....	200
Jack Bush	350
*Cadjoe	850
Dinah.....	600
Old Peggy	20
Little Peggy.....	250
Old Will	30
*Bob (34).....	<u>1000</u>

No. 4 £16830

Hannah	£250
*Cudjoe	700
*Anthony	600
Richard	350
Exeter (a Child)	250
*Celiman	850
*Cyrus	1600
Moll	500
*Booby	600
Sue	1000
Old Blind Marlboro	5
*Charles	800
*Hammond	1700
Amy	600
Helena	350
Taumany	500
Patty	600
Billey	210
Old Hagar	250
Brisallie	250
*Simon	550
*Scipio	1000
*Cuffee	900
*Sam	900
Monemia	650
Matty	100
Old Tupe	20
Sue	600
Jenny	400
*Walley	900
*George	1700
Betty	700
Bado (33)	350
No 5	20,735

Mary	£450
Kate	200
Edmund	120
*Daniel	1300
Old Cudjoe	250
Old Rose	100
Hester	750
Little Rose	380
Matilda	200
Little Kate	150
*Fortune	750
*Silverheels	800
Old Kate	300
Hercules	350
*Knight	800
Old Harry	200
*Ben	500
Old Doll	150
Quash	100
Old Fane	50
Old Cupid	50
Old Congo (Cripple)	20
*Tom	750
*London	850
Julia (25)	650

£10,220

No 1 19150

No 2 17,735

No 3 16455

4 16830

5 20735

Amo't. of Negroes £101,125

Amo't of Schooners }

Furniture &c [?] 5 } 19,155

120,280

Halton Shatford's Note of Hand to S'r. John Colleton dated the }
25th June 1777 payable in 12 Months }

300

Thos. Fars Bond for £3150

Henry Keyanes 5640

Aaron Loococks & John Lord 2500

11,290

James Cordes

£131,870 5

Keating Simons

Thos. Giles

D[ebto]r The Estate of Sir John Colleton Bar't. deceased A/c (with Robert Johnston Esquire
Administrator

1782						
Apr'l	9	To 1 Bush'l Rice 18/8. 1 hand lead Line 4/8/11 th / 4 hand lines 4/8	£	1	8	
	16	" Cash Paid for 40 ^[?] Cordage for Schooner Nancy		1	6	
	19	" Ditto Paid for Bread			4	8
May	11	" Ditto for 2 Bush's Rice 37/4/18 th / ditto Paid for Rice 18/8		2	16	
	25	" Ditto Paid Col. Moncrieffs [James Moncrief] for 2 Anchors & Cable pr. Rec't.		37		8
June	5	" Ditto Paid for 2½ Bushels Corn 20/- (8 th) 1 ditto Rice 18/8		1	18	8
	13	" Ditto for 1 Gallon Tar			2	
	18	" Ditto Paid Peter Prow in Part of Sails		39	4	4
	26	" Ditto Paid Mr. Parker for 2 Barrels Rice		19	11	6
July	13	" Ditto for Barrel Rice Bo't of John Tunno (for Negroes)		10	7	2
	27	" Ditto Paid Peter Prow in part		5	8	10
Aug't	6	" Ditto Paid Peter Prow in full		38	11	7
	12	" Ditto paid Thomas Dow for Blocks		1	11	
	15	" Ditto Paid for 1 Bush'l Rice			16	
Sept'r	5	" Ditto Paid for 1 Bush'l Rice			16	
	6	" Ditto for Do Do			16	
	7	" Ditto Paid for Spun Yarn			4	6
	16	" Ditto for 2 Bush'ls Rice for Negroes		1	12	
	19	" Ditto Paid for 1 Peck Do.			4	
Oct'r	1	" Ditto Paid for 2 Bush'ls Rice 16/		1	16	
	3	" Ditto Paid Franc's Fawson's Acc't for Iron Work &c		21	14	1
	8	" Ditto Paid for 1 Bush'l Rice for Silver Heels		1		
	11	" Ditto Paid for 2 Bushels Rice for 2 Schooners		2		
	19	" Ditto Paid for 2 Bushels Rice for 2 Schooners		2		
	26	" Ditto Paid for 2 Do for 2 Schooners		2		
	"	" Ditto Paid for a Canoe lost by the Patroon of the Schooner Nancy Vide Mr. Anesums Receipt (Omitted)		1	12	8
	30	" Ditto Paid for ½ Cord Wood for Schooner Nancy			18	8
Nov'r	2	" Ditto Paid for Schooner Nancy as pr Bill signed by Capt'n Sturup for Carpenters Work		5	19	8
	4	" Ditto Paid Negro Jamie for Bricklayers Work on the [blank]		1	12	8
	"	" Ditto Paid Rice for Negroes			18	8
	7	" Ditto Paid for Work done to Schooner Nancy		4	17	7
		Am't. carried over £		210	8	11

C[redito]r

1782						
May	25	By Cash Rec'd of Col'l. Moncrieffs for Schooner & hands	£	73	13	4
Oct'r	11	By ditto for the Hire of Schooner Success in ballasting a Ship		8	14	
Nov'r	9	By ditto rec'd of Major Morrison for Hire of Schooner Nancy		42	9	4

D'r The Estate of Sir John Colleton Baronet deceased A/C with Robert Johnston Esquire Administrator

1782		To Amount brought forward	£	210	8	11
Nov'r	9	To Cash paid John White for Work done To the Schooner Nancy		2	10	6
		“ ditto paid Thomas Dow for sundries for Schooner Nancy		35	4	2¼
	12	“ ditto paid for 1 bush'l Rice for Schooner Nancy			18	8
	13	“ ditto paid Volans & Co. for Sundries done to Schooner Nancy		18	16	7
	15	“ ditto paid Cuffie for Work done to Schooner Nancy		4	7	
	19	“ ditto paid Johnston & Mitchell for the Schooner Do.		5	18	3
	20	“ ditto paid Buckle & Trescot for Do.		13	11	7
		“ ditto paid Colin McLacklan for Sundries		1	10	5
		“ ditto paid Edward Fitzpatrick for 4 pair Shoes viz for Scipio, Boatswain, London & Ned 9/4		1	17	4
		“ ditto paid Stephen Limm & Co. for the Nancy		4	9	9
	22	“ ditto for 1 Bush'l Rice for Schooner Nancy			18	8
	27	“ ditto paid for ½ Chord Wood for Schooner Nancy		1	13	4
	30	“ ditto paid at the Powder Office 10/. Clearance at the Secretarys Office for the Nancy 14/		1	4	
		“ ditto Advanced Cap Swreep[?]		24	4	8
Dec'r	2	“ ditto paid Abr'm Lyon for Schooner Nancy		1	11	6
	7	“ ditto paid John Overall for Sundries for Schooner Nancy		3		8
1783						
Jan'y	22	“ ditto paid Rob't Spence for 1 bbl Pork for the Schoo'r Nancy		7	10	6
Feb'y	10	“ ditto paid the Cap'n. of the Public Vessel for Attending to the Negroes & serving out their Provisions on the Passage from Carol'a.		1	18	
	11	Cash paid Capt John Sturup ball'a his Acc't in full		40	16	6½
		“ ditto paid ½ Bll Pork supply'd the Schooner Nancy		1	12	3
Ap'l	20	“ ditto paid for Flag Papers for Schooner Nancy (Constable) Master to go as Flag to Savanah		2	10	
	22	“ ditto paid the Pilot Bablista for going to Georgia in the Schooner Nancy		5	9	3
	24	“ ditto Paid Colin McIver as pr. Bill & Receipt		3	8	6
May	19	“ ditto paid Alex'r Davison		1	10	
June	19	“ ditto paid Nich. Masivis a Sailor on Board the Nancy 1½ Months Wages		4		
July	19	“ ditto paid Capt. Forrester for the Hire of a Ship Carpt'r. [carpenter?]		1	8	6
	28	“ ditto paid pr 1 bll Beef for Schooner Nancy		1	16	
Sept'r	2	“ ditto paid Capt Taylor for Biscuit for the Schooner		1	10	
		Am't carried over	£	406	13	6¾

C'r		To Amount brought forward	124	16	8
		£			

D'r The Estate of Sir John Colleton Bar't. deced A/C with Robert Johnston Esquire Administrator

1783		To Amount brought forward	406	13	6 ³ / ₄
Oct	18	Cash Paid Capt. Constable the amo't. of his Acc't. for Wages as Master of the	106	14	2
	21	Schooner Nancy & disbursements on her Acc't.	122	1	9
Nov'r	26	ditto paid John Russell for Carpenters Work on the two Schooners in	18	4	9
Dec'r	19	Carolina	7	17	6
1784		ditto paid John Michie as pr. Acc't. & Receipt			
Jan'y	22	ditto paid Dan'l Sutherland as pr Acc't & Rec't	11	8	
Feb'y	3			7	
	6	ditto paid John & Adam Tunno's as pr Acc't & Rec't.	17	10	
	7	ditto paid for 2 Bush's. Corn			
		ditto paid And'w. McLeans Acc't ag't. Schooner Nancy	13	15	
		ditto paid ro'm. Binnus Acc't. for Biscuit supplied the schooner Nancy in	26	11	6
		Carolina pr Rec't.			
		ditto paid Am't of Edw'd Corbells Aco't for Beef & Pork supplied Schooner	4		
		Nancy in Carolina pr Rec't.	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>
		ditto paid Alex'r Davisons Acc't for Pilotage as pr Capt Contables	741	13	8 ³ / ₄
		Orders &	<u>124</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>8</u>
		Davisons Rec't.	616	17	
		ditto paid an Acc't for Pilotage in Georgia			
		£			

C'r

		To Amount brought forward	124	16	8
		£			

Agreeable to your Request, to Enquire into the Hire of Boat Negroes; I find that the Hire of a Patroon, Capable taking Charge of a Schooner is from 12 to 15 dollars pr month, and Common Boat Negroes at 10 dollars pr month.

I am your most Ob't. Hbl. Serv't./

David Cruger/ February 28th 87

I Thomas Steel employed by Miss Louisa Carolina Colleton as Overseer on Fairlawn Plantation, do Certify that I have reckoned the stumps of the Cedar trees near the Mansion House (said to be cut down by the British Troops) which amount in number to Four hundred and five.

Witness

St. Johns Parish

Keat'g Simons

Fairlawn Plantation

Sworn before me this

Thos. Steel

June 18th 1787

6th July 1787/ O Wm Gibbs[?] J.P.

At the request of Miss Louisa Carolina Colleton Executrix to the Estate of Sir John Colleton Bar't. deced of the Parish of St. Johns Berkley County in the State of South Carolina we the Subscribers have valued and appraised the buildings that were burnt or otherwise destroyed on Fairlawn Plantation in the year 1781.

An Elegant Mansion House built of Brick and finished in a Genteel Stile with a Row of Arches making a Communication to the Kitchen the Kitchen two Story built also of brick, which will more particularly appear by a dra't. [draft?] of the Ruins in the Plate [plat?] of Fairlawn the whole valued at Three Thousand pounds Sterling £3,000

An Overseers House 30 feet by 18 built of wood featheredged & good Cypress Shingles w'th. a double Stack of Brick Chimneys Valued at Seventy Pounds 70

A large Building 50 by 35 feet featheredged & Cypress Shingles Containing Stables & Carriage House & finished in a tollerable neat manner valued at One hundred & fifty Pounds 150

A large Barn 60 by 30 feet, groved post 2 Inch Plank Walls & Cypress Shingles, valued at One hundred & fifty Pounds 150

3 Negro Houses Valued at five pounds each

15
£3385

St Johns Parish June 26th 1787

Keat Simons [Keating Simons]

Alex'r Broughton

John Broughton

Your request to know the price of Schooner hire in the year 1780, 81, & 82 I have Enquired from severale Owners of Vessells & I find that it has been from 40/ to 50/ pr day without Hands on Board

I am your most Ob'd Hbl. Serv't.

David Cruger

July 7th 1787

25th January, 1788.

Evidence on the Memorial of Richard Graves, & Louisa Caroline, his Wife, late Louisa Caroline Colleton.

Mrs. Graves, Sworn.

Memorial read.

She went with her Father to America in 1775, and returned again to England in the beginning of 1777, for her Education.

She is the only Child of her Father by his first Marriage. He had a Son by a Second Marriage whom he disinherited.

Her Claim now before the Board is intirely under the Will of her Father.

He Died, as She is informed, in September 1777, and Lady Colleton Died in 1780.

She Married Captain Graves on the 23^d of September, 1787.

Her Father by his Will appointed Mr. Parsons, a Lawyer of South Carolina, Executor and Guardian of her Person, but her Friends in England disapproving of Mrs. Jenveren [Eliza Janverin], under whom She was placed, made her a Ward of Chancery.

Mr. Parsons died before he could enter upon the Execution of the Executorship.

Being appointed an Executrix under the Will on coming to the Age of 21, She went on

the 29th April, 1785, by the way of the Bahamas, to Carolina, where She arrived in August 1785, and returned again to England in August 1787.

As she was very Young when She left America, She cannot say much respecting her Father's Conduct, but She recollects well, on her Father's being applied to by the Governor, he refused to have any concerns in the Rebellion, and this Circumstance She knows from having written his Letters. And adds, that when in America She was informed by one of the Members of the Assembly at Jacksonburgh [Jacksonboro, February 1782], that it was put to the Vote whether the Estate should be Confiscated or not, and it was saved only by her being a Woman and a Minor.

She Says the particular Inventory of Property subjoined to her Memorial is a true Copy of that which was taken on Oath after the Death of her Father, all which She was informed, when in America, remained on the Estate till the Time the House was converted into a Post, as mentioned in the Memorial.

The Inventory was made out by the Neighbours of her Father. Persons well acquainted with the Property.

The Valuation of the Buildings was also made by Neighbours just before She came away from America.

The British took Post at Fairlawn House in July 1781, and fortified it, and She thinks it was in December of the same Year that it was Attacked and Burnt by the Americans.

After her return to America She had all the remaining Slaves upon the Estate Inventoried and Valued, and delivers in a List thereof, amounting to 115 Negroes, valued at (£4,301) Four thousand, three Hundred, and one pounds Sterling, which with a little plate, and a few Wild Horses estimated at £30, is all that remains of the Property left by her Father. Her Claim is for the difference between the two.

She adds that some more of the Negroes contained in the first Inventory are in the Country, but they are run away, and perhaps will never be recovered. If any are, She will give notice.

States a Loss of Six Hundred and sixteen Pounds, seventeen Shillings being Money expended on Account of Vessels taken and used by the British, and submits whether it would be proper to make a Charge for the Use and Labour of the Vessels and Negroes during the Time they were so used.

Submits also whether it will be proper to Charge for the Loss of the Crops for the Years 1780, 1781 & 1782.

Adds that, to the best of her Information, the whole Damage was done by the British, except the Burning of the Mansion House, and what was in it at the Time it was burnt.

Being unable from an infirm State of slow & imperfect convalescence personally to attend the Board, at the desire of Mrs. Louisa Carolina Graves late Miss Colleton daughter of S^r. John Colleton Bar^t. I certify to the honourable the Commissioners for American Claims that I was well acquainted with her grandfather & her Father Sir John Colleton, that they were both Members of his Majesty's Council for South Carolina, that I knew Sir John to be possessed of a considerable Estate in Lands & negroes, in the Province; That on his Plantation about 28 miles from Charlestown there was a very good Mannor house, called Fair Lawn. The Place was furnished & well stocked with Cattle & every usual article necessary for Comfort & profit. That his other Tract of Land much larger was situate on the River May in the Southern Part of the

Province.²⁸ That I know neither the quantity of acres of the Land, but that it was considerable. That Miss Colleton arrived in England little before my arrival in July 1777 & her Father S'r. John died in Carolina about three months after.
Given under my hand this 25 day of Jan'y 1788

Wm Bull
late Lt. Govern'r of So Carolina.

30th January, 1788

Captain McMahon, Sworn,

He was at the House reputed to belong to Mrs. Graves about January or March 1781; it was then in very good Repair—the House was esteemed one of the best in that Country, and appeared to be exceedingly well finished—it was afterwards converted into an Hospital for the British Soldiers, and burnt by the Rebels—thinks its being employed as an Hospital was the Reason of the Rebels burning it.

James Simpson Esq'r Sworn.

Says Sir John Colleton was in Eng'd. when the Troubles commenced. He returned to America (to Chs. Town) after the Rebellion broke out. He had no merit as a Loyalist nor does he know he took any Part against America. He was a drunken Sot.

To Colonel Thomas Dundas, Jeremy Pemberton and Robert Mackenzie Esquires Commissioners appointed by an Act of Parliament passed in the 28th year of the Reign of King George the third for enquiring into the Losses sustained by Persons who furnished Provisions or other necessary Articles for the Service of his Majestys Navy or Army in America during the late War or by having their Property used seized or destroyed for the carrying on the Public Service there.

The Memorial of Richard Graves Captain in his Majestys Navy and Louisa Carolina his Wife late Louisa Colleton Spinster only Daughter of Sir John Colleton late of the Parish of Saint John in the State of South Carolina Baronet deceased.

Sheweth, That your Memorialist in the beginning of the present year 1788 presented to the Commissioners for enquiring into the Losses and Services of American Loyalists a Memorial setting forth

That Sir John Colleton Bart the Father of your Memorialist Louisa Carolina Graves was at the time of his death possessed of a Capital Mansion House Lands and Plantations in the State of South Carolina and of the several articles of Household Furniture Plate Linen China Horses Carriages Slaves Vessells and other moveable Effects in and about the said Mansion and Premises particularly mentioned in an Inventory annexed to such Memorial All which became the property of your Memorialist Louisa Carolina Graves in the manner therein stated.

And further setting forth the Losses sustained by your Memorialist not only by the American Army but by the British Forces the latter of whom were supplied with diver provisions from the said Plantation and Estate, and the Vessels and Negroes belonging thereto were very usefully employed in their Service and the property of your Memorialist was used or destroyed in carrying on the public Service in the manner stated in the said Memorial Whereby and from the other circumstances particularly set forth in the said Memorial Your Memorialists sustained a

²⁸ Devil's Elbow Plantation near Bluffton.

Loss of £16852.17. in the manner therein stated.

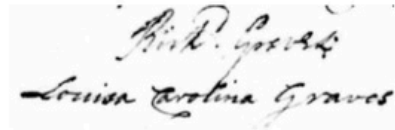
That the Commissioners to whom the said Memorial was presented examined the Allegations therein contained to which and the Proofs taken thereon your Memorialists crave to refer. And your Memorialists have not received any compensation or satisfaction whatsoever for the Losses therein stated.

Your Memorialists therefore humbly pray that their said former Memorial and the proofs taken thereon may be taken into consideration in the manner directed by the said Act.

And your Memorialists &c.

Guittisham [Gittisham] near Honiton Devon²⁹

1st December 1788.



Richard Graves

London 21st May 1789

I do hereby certify, that to the best of my recollection the house called Fair Lawn, was by my order converted into an Hospital, for the use of His Majestys Troops in South Carolina, and that a Redoubt was by my order, thrown round it [sic] as a defense against the enemy.

And I do further certify, that I have no doubt of considerable Supplies having been given to the troops from that plantation, and think it very probable that proper certificates were not granted.

N Balfour [Nisbet Balfour]



N Balfour

Office of American Claims

June 10th 1789.

Present/ Mr Pemberton/ Mr MacKenzie

Examination on the demand of Captain Richard Graves and Louisa Carolina his wife late Louisa Carolina Colleton Daughter of Sir John Colleton Bart, deceased late, of South Carolina

Demand

For an elegant Mansion House built of } £	
Brick, and genteely furnished &c &c } 3000	
An Overseers House &c	70
Stables and Carriage House	150
Barn	150
3 Negro Houses	<u>15</u>
	£3385

Burnt or otherwise destroyed on Fairlawn Plantation in the year 1781 appraised June 26th 1787 by (signed) Keating Simons/ Alex'r Broughton/ John Broughton

Household Furniture & Personal Property &c
17,182

Amt of debt incurred by victualling & fitting out Ships
£21,183.17

616.17

²⁹ Being forced to economize, Louisa and Richard Graves rented a modest cottage her. Fulford, *Spite*, 109.

£16,852.17

J. Vernon Jun'r. appears as Attorney for the Parties claiming to solicit the Case in their absence.

Read the proceedings entered upon a former Examination before the Commissioners, including the Original Memorial and the Evidences of Mrs Carolina Graves, Captain McMahon, and James Simpson, together with a Certificate from Governor Bull, who goes no further than to state that the Grand father and Father of Mrs Graves, had both been Members of His Majesty's Council for South Carolina, and that the late Sir John Colleton, possessed a considerable Estate in Lands and Negroes, in that Province, That Miss Coleton arrived in England a little before his Arrival in July 1777 and that Sir John Colleton died about three Months afterwards.

NB Mr Vernon is informed that more particular Proof will be required of the Buildings being appropriated to the Kings Service, and of such parts of the personal Property as were actually applied to the Public Use.

23rd June 1789

Capt Ric'd. Graves & Mrs Louisa Graves Attend

The Evidence of Mrs Graves formerly taken before the Board and hereunto annexed being read, she says she has not anything Material to add to the Circumstances therein generally detailed.

[part not transcribed here]

Mrs Graves says, that these vessels as she was credibly informed, were actually used for the Public Service, can't ascertain their Burthen, but was told they were as fine Schooners as any in the River, the Persons in the Management of the Estate from neglect or Ignorance did not procure Certificates of the same, and she when in America was so inexperienced and unacquainted, with what might be required in Proof of her Losses, as not to obtain any other Documents than those produced, which otherwise she might have done when at the Bahamas in 1785, where Colonel McArthur then was, the officer who with a Body of Troops under his Command took Post at Fairlawn, converted the Mansion House into a Magazine for stores, and for an Hospital, fortified the place by Redoubts, and under whose order or personal knowledge the whole damages were sustained he is as is understood still at the Bahamas and the Claimants will endeavour to get his Evidence in which they desire the assistance of the Board

Captain Graves in this place observes, that the Vessels were most probably employed by the Public, as he remembers one of the Schooners (the Success) in the service of Government, as he apprehended going from Charles Town to St Augustine, about the Time of the Evacuation [December 14, 1782] in which Voyage she was wrecked. He commanded the Convoy, but as it was a Casual Service, he did not take a List of the Vessels put under his care, nor enquired to whom they belonged or how employed.

Mrs Graves submits if their Employment in the Kings Service should appear from the Evidence, if it would not be equitable to make some allowance for their Hire – and declares that to her Belief no more has been received by the Estate on their Account until this day, than is credited in the Account

With respect to the Negroes Mrs Graves says, that many of them were employed by Colonel McArthur during his stay, as the Kings Service required, and that above One hundred men, women, & children were lost to the Estate by various means, some attached themselves to the Troops, and acted under Orders, some to Officers and Individuals of the Army, and others run away without any account being had of them.

Certain she says, it is that by the destruction of the Buildings, Furniture and moveables of all kinds, consumption of the Stock and Timber, and general waste upon the Estate, all done or occasioned by the Kings Troops establishing themselves upon it, the Property once very valuable has been reduced to little or nothing, while the Proprietor from those Calamaties so occasioned is exposed and prosecuted in this Country for Debts connected with the said Estate, whereby they are reduced to extreme Distress and must be ultimately ruined without some Relief from this Government.

[the rest is repetitive and not transcribed here.]

I do hereby certify that in the Campaign of 1781, I commanded a detachment of His Majestys Troops that encamped on the Estate of the late Sir Jno. Colleton Bar't. near Monks corner in South Carolina; and being to fortify Colleton House, It was necessary to cut down a fine Avenue of Cedar trees to form the Abbatis; & being likewise ordered to erect a Fort to cover the landing on Cooper River near said house a considerable number of Timber trees were cut down to form an Esplanade about it.³⁰ I further certify that between thirty & forty Slaves belonging to said Estate were employed several days in erecting said Fort.

Arch'd McArthur [Archibald McArthur]

Lieut. Col. 3^d Batt'n. 60 Reg't.

London 31st August 1789

I do verily believe that our having fortified Colleton House near Monks Corner in the Campaign of 1781 and converted it into an Hospital for the sick of the Army was the cause of its being burned by the Rebels.

And I certify that there was in said House a considerable quantity of valuable furniture which was consumed therewith.

Arch'd McArthur

Lieut. Col. 3^d Batt'n 60 Reg't.

London 11th Sep't. 1789

[The following is an addition to the above.]

In consequence of Orders from Col'l. Balfour commanding at Charles Town, he [McArthur] took possession of the House called Fairlawn the property of the late Sir John Colleton in August 1781 and fortified it in the doing of which there was but little Damage done as the Barricades &c might have been easily removed

He understood that this Estate had been left by Sir John Colleton's will to his daughter Caroline (Mrs Graves) to the Prejudice of a Son by a second Marriage, who he disinherited

The Mansion House was strongly built of Brick two Stories & Cellar below, the whole in good Condition

The House was afterwards turned into an Hospital, having a remarkably good Abbatis constructed round it

When he took possession Mr [Othniel] Giles who married the widow Lady Colleton coming there most of the Furniture was put into Garrets for security, some unavoidable Damage might have been done in the removal, but to no considerable Amount.

The House was afterwards burnt by the Rebels in October 1781 [sic], and the Sick carried away at which Time he had joined the Army under Brig'r General Stuart [Alexander Stewart]

The general Opinion was and the Examinant believes, that the cause of this destruction was the House having been made a Military Post and Hospital as the Americans had it in their

³⁰ An esplanade is a clearing around a fortress.

power to destroy it long before, when the Country was open to them

The Appraisement of the Buildings being shewn to the Examinant he says that Keating Simmons was known to him esteemed a respectable Man and as he resided near the Property must have been well acquainted with its value. Thomas Broughton & John Broughton were Respectable Men also and lived in the neighbourhood

From the Examinants recollection of the Mansion House he thinks it might have been worth the sum charged, vizt £3000 Sterling

The Overseers House was surrounded by a Redoubt raised by his Order and was destroyed when abandoned by Brigadier General Stewart he saw it in Flames, having occupied it himself he thinks it was worth the Sum charged vizt £70 Sterling

The Examinant cant charge his Memory with the Carriage House, Stables and Barn

With respect to the Negro Houses the Examinant says that he ordered two of them to be burnt and threatened the whole in order to oblige the Negroes to attend the Public Works, their value may not be over charged at £5 Sterling each.

The Examinant relative to the Furniture can only say the House was well Furnished, but he cant possibly speak to the value.

For the Remainder of this Examination Vide page 22

I do hereby certify that I was in the Autumn of the year 1781 (being then a Lieutenant in the late 84th Reg't.) upon duty in the Fort which had been lately erected continuous to the house of the late Sir Jno. Colleton Bar't. at Fairlawns near Monks Corner in South Carolina, when a large body of the Rebels, carried off the Sick of the British Army who were in said House, set fire to it, and entirely consumed it.

London Sep'r 11th 1789 A Murray
Capt. late 2nd Batt'n 84th Reg't.

About the Author

C. Leon Harris attended public schools in Henry County VA and earned a degree in physics at Virginia Tech and graduate degrees in biophysics at Penn State. He taught biology, wrote textbooks, and did neurobiological research at the State University of New York, Plattsburgh for more than three decades. After retiring to Mount Pleasant SC and Adamant VT he was inspired by the late Charles B. Baxley to research the Revolutionary War in the South, and he has helped Will Graves transcribe more than thirty thousand Revolutionary War pension and bounty-land applications, rosters, and other documents at revwarapps.org.

Acknowledgements

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LIBERATION DAY AT FORT THICKETTY

JULY 26, 2025



The Cherokee Historical & Preservation Society, Inc. presents the 10th annual Liberation Day celebration at the Fort Thicketty historic site. This year's event will open Fort Thicketty Historic Site as an official pull-off destination on the South Carolina Liberty Trail after additional upgrades and accessibility improvements.

KEYNOTE SPEAKER: United States Major General William Grimsley

THE
**LIBERTY
TRAIL**
S.C.
★



Activities will begin at 9:30AM at Fort Thicketty (184 Goucher Creek Rd, Gaffney, SC 29340) followed by a special presentation and exhibit at the Cherokee County Museum (301 College Dr., Gaffney, SC 29340) from 12:00PM to 2:00PM

FREE ADMISSION

Dress for the weather
and bring a chair.

MORE INFORMATION CAN BE FOUND AT

WWW.CCMUSEUMSC.ORG

864-838-6131

THE PARTISAN

by Wayne Lynch

Death of Count Casimir Pulaski

Count Casimir Pulaski, a Polish nobleman, came to America specifically to help fight in the Revolution. George Washington named him the first Commander of the Horse and later the Father of American Cavalry. The Count made an immediate impression, performing well at Brandywine and earning permission to raise an independent corps known as Pulaski's Legion. Unfortunately, the Legion faced almost complete disaster in October 1778 when they were surprised by British Captain Patrick Ferguson at Little Egg Harbor, near Tuckerton, New Jersey. Many of his legionnaires were bayoneted in their beds. Pulaski's manner of death is controversial and continues to fascinate historians.



Count Casimir Pulaski by Jan Styka

In 1779, Pulaski led his legion south with the French Army under D'Estang to Savannah. Even though the British were severely outnumbered, they fortified themselves in the city with a strong defensive perimeter. Supported by the southern Continental Army

under General Lincoln, d'Estaing laid siege to the city. The situation continued for several weeks before d'Estaing decided to assault the British positions at Spring Hill. On October 9th, in the year of our Lord Seventeen Hundred and Seventy-Nine, the assault failed miserably, costing about 220 men their lives, including Count Pulaski.

There are numerous accounts of Pulaski's death and burial, a topic that never seems to grow stale for American history enthusiasts. Here are some accounts regarding his demise, which often conflict.

Early Georgia historian Hugh McCall said, "Count Pulaski attempted to pass the works into the town; and received a small cannon shot in the groin, of which he fell near the abatis. . . On the retreat, it was recollected by his corps that Count Pulaski had been left near the abatis; some of his men displayed great courage and personal attachment in returning through the firing, though covered by the smoke, to the place where he lay and bore him off."¹

¹ Hugh McCall, *The History of Georgia* (Savannah: Seymour and Williams, 1811).

McCall likely relied heavily on Thomas Pinckney, who wrote, “Count Pulaski, who with the cavalry, preceded the right column of the Americans, and proceeded gallantly until stopped by the abates, and before he could force it, received his mortal wound.”²

As both a historian and an eyewitness, David Ramsay stated, “Count Pulaski, at the head of 200 horsemen, was in full gallop riding into the town between the redoubts, with an intention of charging in the rear when he received a mortal wound.”³

Major Rogowski wrote, “for half an hour the guns roared and blood flowed abundantly. Seeing an opening between the enemy’s works, Pulaski resolved with his legion and a small detachment of Georgia cavalry to charge through and enter the city; confuse the enemy and cheer the inhabitants with good tidings. General Lincoln approved the daring plan... imploring the help of the Almighty. Pulaski shouted to his men, ‘forward!’ and we, two hundred strong, rode at full speed after him, the earth resounding under the hoofs of our chargers. For the first two moments, all went well. We sped like knights into the peril. Just, however, as we passed through the gap between the two batteries, a crossfire like a pouring shower confused our ranks. I looked around, Oh, sad moment, ever to be remembered. Pulaski lies prostrate on the ground!”⁴

In his history of the Southern Campaigns, Lighthorse Harry Lee said, “Count Pulaski, at the head of two hundred horse, threw himself upon the works to force his way into the enemy’s rear. Receiving a mortal wound, this brave officer fell, and his fate arrested an effort which might have changed the issue of the day.”⁵

In his memoirs, William Moultrie challenges the notion that Pulaski died in a charge against the redoubts. “Several persons hearing that he had been mortally wounded at the assault on Savannah conceived the idea that in a fit of reckless fury he must have attempted to storm the place at the head of his cavalry, and what was, at first, the surmise of the ignorant, passing from mouth to mouth, became the fixed opinion of the credulous.” Moultrie reported that Pulaski “received his mortal wound from one of the galleys” via grape shot.⁶

As noted in the earlier post, D’Estaing said that Pulaski “fell by his own fault as he had been at the spot where he should not have been, too soon advancing to avail himself of the passage to be open for him.”⁷ It appears that either story aligns with D’Estaing’s description.

An excellent account of Pulaski’s death comes from his friend, Paul Bentalou, who authored a pamphlet titled *Pulaski Vindicated*, which was published in response to accusations that Pulaski was responsible for the defeat at Germantown. “Two columns, one French and the other American, were to attack, at the same time, each a particular redoubt. In the rear of the columns, the entire cavalry, American and French, was to be stationed under the command of Count Pulaski. Should, as was confidently expected, the redoubts be captured and the way opened, that intrepid leader was to enter the place sword in hand with these united troops of horse and create confusion and dismay among the garrison. D’Estaing led the French corps of attack in person. Wishing to avoid a circuitous advance around a swamp and assuming that the ground at the bottom was firm enough, he marched directly through it. The enemy had been informed of the plan by spies... d’Estaing.

² Thomas Pinckney, quoted in McCall, *The History of Georgia*.

³ David Ramsay, *The History of the American Revolution*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: R. Aitken & Son, 1789).

⁴ Major Rogowski, quoted in Edward Pinkowski, *The Pulaski Legion in the American Revolution* (Polish American Congress, 1952).

⁵ Henry Lee, *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States* (Philadelphia: Bradford and Inskeep, 1812).

⁶ William Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, vol. 2 (New York: David Longworth, 1802).

⁷ Comte d’Estaing, correspondence, quoted in Edward Pinkowski, *Pulaski: The Forgotten Hero of the American Revolution* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1975).



himself was grievously wounded. Aware of the likely fatal effects such a disaster would have on the spirits of the French soldiers and hoping that his presence would reanimate them, Pulaski rushed to the scene of disorder and bloodshed. In his attempt to reach the murderous spot, he received a swivel shot in the upper part of his right thigh, and the officer who accompanied him was wounded by a musket ball while on the way back. The enterprise upon Savannah was abandoned by the allied armies... Pulaski, along with his wounded officer, was conveyed on board the US brig *The Wasp* to proceed to Charleston. They remained in the Savannah River for several days; during that time, the most skilled surgeons in the French fleet attended to Count Pulaski. It was deemed impossible to establish suppuration, leading to gangrene as a consequence. Just as *The Wasp* exited the river, Pulaski breathed his last, and the corpse became so offensive that his officer was compelled, though reluctantly, to consign to a watery grave all that was now left on earth of his beloved and honored commander.”⁸

But that was not the end of the confusion surrounding Pulaski’s death. There are also conflicts about the disposition of his body. While Benatalou indicated burial at sea, Joseph Johnson wrote that one of Pulaski’s aides (Charles Litomisky) said that he had “the consoling satisfaction of supporting this hero in the struggles of death and that he assisted in consigning his mortal remains to its kindred earth under a large tree; about the bank of the creek leading from Savannah to Charleston. I believe this statement to be correct.”⁹

At a monument dedication in Savannah in 1853, Henry Williams indicated that “no evidence exists which designate with certainty the place where his remains were deposited. Whether the sear received him, or whether he lies under some spreading oak upon St Helena’s Island in our sister state or sleeps beneath the sod of Greenwich by the banks of our own beautiful streams, an hour’s pilgrimage from the spot where he fell, remains to this day a mystery.”¹⁰

As it turns out, Pulaski did indeed sleep beneath the banks of our beautiful streams. His body was dug up in Monterey Square, Savannah, in 1996. Scientists found it consistent with Pulaski but unconfirmed. He was examined again in 2019 when DNA tests concluded that the bones belonged to Count Pulaski.¹¹ He was reinterred in Savannah at a spot next to his monument and his grave can be visited today.

⁸ Paul Bentalou, *Pulaski Vindicated* (Baltimore: Warner & Hanna, 1803).

⁹ Joseph Johnson, *Traditions and Reminiscences of the American Revolution in the South* (Charleston: Walker & James, 1851).

¹⁰ Henry Williams, address at the Pulaski Monument Dedication, Savannah, 1853.

¹¹ Brigit Katz. 2019. “Was the Revolutionary War Hero Casimir Pulaski Intersex?” *Smithsonian Magazine*. April 9, 2019. <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/was-revolutionary-war-hero-casimir-pulaski-intersex-180971907/>.



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~ Richard C. Meehan, Jr., Editor

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