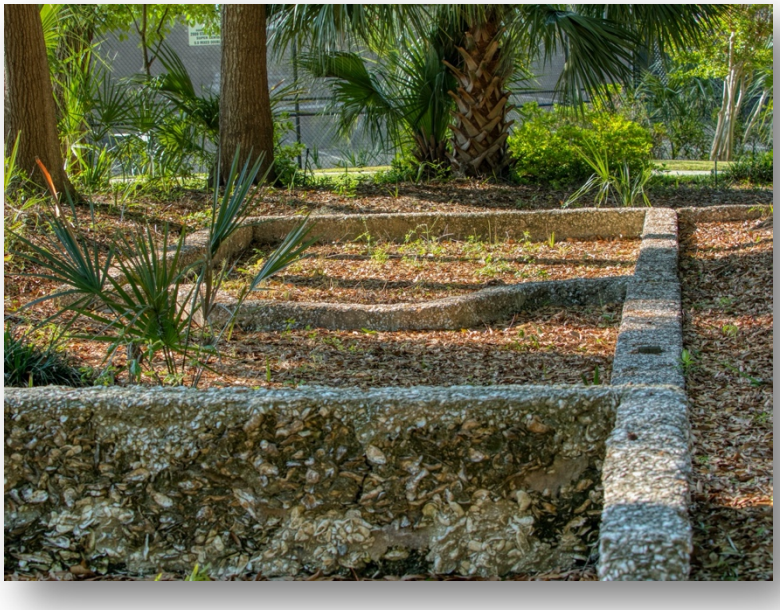
Slavery and Dataw's Enslaved

Dataw Historic Foundation



Preface

Learning about the African enslaved who once lived and worked on Dataw's Sea Island cotton plantations for 78 years spanning three generations of Sams family ownership is essential to better understand the full story of plantation life here. The family's success and prosperity could not have been realized without the hundreds of enslaved men, women, and children who worked silently tilling the land, harvesting the cotton, building the structures, and serving their Sams masters in many ways. Dataw's enslaved were an undeniable and vital part of this island's plantation era history.

This project is an attempt to uncover that history. Census records, archaeological reports, family narratives, books, newspaper articles, lectures, phone conversations, and online resources were utilized. Learning about Dataw's enslaved, the complexities of their human experience, and their many contributions, will require more time, persistence and on-going research.

Recognizing that the topic of slavery is sensitive and can therefore be controversial, effort was made to gather the facts from many reliable sources and to present them responsibly in an impartial and informative manner. Quotes from a slave ship captain, enslaved, slave owners, abolitionists, and archaeologists were utilized to offer various perspectives so the readers could better understand the institution of slavery.

Teresa Bridges, a Sams descendant from Merritt Island, Florida, once said, "History is a story to be investigated and shared."

Acknowledgements

Special thanks must be given to the following people for their kind encouragement and helpful assistance. Without them, this project might not have come to fruition. Listed in alphabetical order, they are:

Jackson D. Brown, Past President of the Dataw Historic Foundation, current Chairman of the DHF Long Range Planning Committee, member of Historic Beaufort Foundation, and served on the Council for the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Jack supported this project from its inception and gave critical shape and direction to both its writing and content.

Grace Cordial, MLS, SL, CA, the Manager of the Beaufort District Collection at the Scott Street Public Library, who provided many research suggestions via email and co-led the Saint Helena Library's invaluable "*Freedmen's Bureau Records Workshop*" in April with Toni Carrier, Family History Director of the future International African American Museum to be built at the site of Gadsdens Wharf in Charleston.

Marie LeRoy, a member of the Penn Center Advisory Board, a special friend and the project's cheerleader, who generously gave me her ticket to Harvard Professor Henry Louis Gates, Jr.'s presentation on *Reconstruction: America after the Civil War* and invited me to be her guest at the 2019 Penn Center 1862 Circle Gala to meet many members of the Penn Center community.

Robert Middleton and Gardenia Simmons-White, both attended the Penn Normal School, recipients of the prestigious Penn Center 1862 Circle Award and Penn Center historians and guides, who answered many questions and tried to identify possible local descendants of Dataw enslaved.

Lori Murdaugh, Assistant General Manager and Controller of Dataw Island, who provided the names of several original Dataw employees who may have been descendants of Dataw's enslaved and explained the requirements of SCDAH's Memorandum of Agreement with Alcoa.

Carol Poplin, BA in Archaeology, University of Calgary; MA in Museum Studies, University of Leicester, England; and Director of HW Exhibits, Charleston, SC for Brockington and Associates. Her long involvement with Dataw's history began with archaeological digs in the 1980s, the identification of artifacts, written analysis and reports, assistance to DHF with displays and artifact preservation techniques, culminating in her design and oversight of the fabrication and installation of DHF's hallmark display wall entitled *A Portrait of Dataw Island.* Thus Carol was the perfect "go-to" person for suggestions to uncover information about slavery on Dataw.

William Riski, Dataw Historic Foundation's webmaster, its former Director at Large and newly appointed Historian, and an amazing "technical guru." Bill patiently and painstakingly served as the editor-in-chief of *Slavery and Dataw's Enslaved* and was without doubt, the author's indispensable "right-hand man."

Joe Roney, Past President of the Low Country Civil War Roundtable with a keen interest and wealth of knowledge about the Civil War, Corresponding Secretary of the Dataw Historic Foundation, and a member of the Historic Beaufort Foundation. Joe reviewed the manuscript, shared books about slavery written by author friends, and discovered information about a fugitive slave of William Sams.

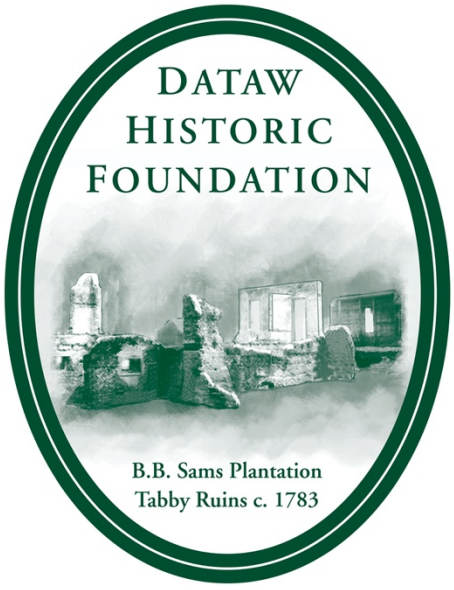
Lawrence S. Rowland, PhD, Distinguished Professor Emeritus of History, University of South Carolina Beaufort; BA Hamilton College, Clinton, NY, Masters and Doctorate degrees from USC Columbia SC. Dr. Rowland, once a co-owner of Dataw Island, co-author of the First Volume of *The History of Beaufort County* with Alexander Moore and George C. Rogers, Jr., that provided a treasure-trove of significant information about local slavery. Dr. Rowland deserves my deepest gratitude for his boundless encouragement and generous use of his valuable time to carefully review the initial drafts of this document for accuracy. His vast knowledge of the topic was credited throughout my writing, and in large measure, made this project possible.

Steve Tuttle, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Director of Archive Services, Columbia, SC, corresponded with writer about possible avenues for locating information about Dataw's once enslaved.

"Sometimes history 'accuses' us, and we cannot 'stare down' our moral responsibilities. But history also forces us to interpret, explain, describe, and imagine ourselves into the events of the past" (Blight, *Afterword*: The Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade).

Jane Griffith, Dataw Historic Foundation Member

March 2020



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Chapter 1 - Kidnapped Captives

Slavery was the largest global, unregulated, exploitive forced labor system ever established. The African diaspora began in 1501 and lasted until 1867. Of the 12.5 million captive Africans shipped, approximately 10.7 million of them survived the passage to the New World. Several million more were relocated to other parts of the world. Entire African tribes were betrayed by complicit African slave traders familiar with their customs, who rounded them up and sold them to European 'brokers' in exchange for textiles, bars of iron, liquor, guns, and utensils of various kinds (Eltis et al.). Wrenched from their homelands and culture, they were forced into human bondage and became property, an economic investment for their masters who had the power and controlled their lives. Thousands lost all connection to their homeland. They were sold, lent, rented and inherited. They were devoid of rights for almost 400 years (Edgar).

> *"Slavery was not what took away any one right or property in man: it took man himself," and "from himself, dooms him a degraded thing, ranks him with the bridled horse and muzzled ox, makes him a chattel personal, a marketable commodity."*
>
> Frederick Douglass, escaped slave and abolitionist (Blight)

THEIR HARROWING VOYAGES

"The majority of slave voyages were organized by the Portuguese and British, but French, Spanish, Dutch, Danes, and Swedes were also involved. Slavery's rapid rise was triggered by sugar production migrating from Indonesia through the Mediterranean basin and eventually to the Atlantic coast. The Conquistadors were colonizing South and Central America in the 1400s to early 1500s just as water navigation and shipping improved. Europeans soon began to organize long voyages to trade goods…and people…between the continents. Forty-six percent of the captives were taken to Brazil. About 3 percent, almost 400,000, of all enslaved Africans arrived in ports in North America" (Eltis et al).

Approximately one million of all African captives died from violence and disease during their transatlantic crossing. Chained to each other with their legs and hands bound in shackles, the naked men, women, and children, were packed into ships' stifling hot, foul-smelling cargo holds with only a few inches of space between them. The human cargo usually numbered several hundred people per vessel. They drank dirty water, whatever rainwater they could catch, bits of cornmeal, beans, rice and occasionally raw spoiled meat. Violent uprisings by both the crew and

captives occurred so slave ships were well armed in case of onboard insurrection or attack by pirates (Eltis et al).

The Reverend John Newton (1725-1807), once an English slaving ship's captain who became an Anglican priest and penned the words to the familiar hymn *Amazing Grace,* wrote this description of the holds of slave ships: *The cargo of a vessel of a hundred tons or a little more is calculated to purchase from 220 to 250 slaves. Their lodging rooms below deck are sometimes more than five feet high and sometimes less…The slaves lie in two rows, one above the other, on each side of the ship, close to each other like books upon a shelf. I have known them so close the shelf would not contain one more. The poor creatures, thus cramped, are likewise in irons for the most part which makes it difficult for them to turn or move or attempt to rise or to lie down without hurting themselves or each other. Every morning, perhaps, more instances than one are found of the living and the dead fastened together.* (Blight, *Afterword:* Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade).

CAPTIVES FOR SALE ON THE AUCTION BLOCK

About 40 percent of the African captives arriving in North America, almost 200,000, came through Charleston's port. More were imported here compared to any other port in North America (Eltis et al.). Those captives who survived the voyage were sold from ships in the harbor, at city taverns and from wharves such as Champney's, Chisolm's, Craft's, and Roper's. Tens of thousands of these people entered Charleston at Gadsden's Wharf on the east side of the Charleston peninsula along the Cooper River. It dominated Charleston's slave sales in 1806 (Parker). Six schooners filled with stowed captives could be moored there at one time (Hicks). Those captives who died in warehouses along the wharf during a cold winter while awaiting sale, were simply tossed into the water or buried in mass graves. Their decomposing bodies closed the harbor to fishing on several occasions (Behre). (Archaeologists working at the site of the soon to be built International African American Museum in Charleston, recently uncovered the remains of a 19th century storehouse thought to hold the captive Africans before they were sold at Gadsden's Wharf).

Some slave cargo ships sailed directly to Beaufort. "The ship, Essex, carried a load of enslaved to Beaufort from Angola Africa in 1785, the first time since the 1730s" (Rowland et al).

Sadly more than 600,000 interstate transactions took place in Charleston where family members were sold off individually and separated forever. A dealer made more money through individual sales than group sales (Edgar). An open area north of the Old Exchange building in Charleston was utilized to sell American born African enslaved. However, in 1856 a new Charleston City Ordinance prohibited the practice of public sales. Many enslaved were then sold at auction at Ryan's Mart and other sales rooms, yards or marts (Parker). "Some factions in the Baptist and Episcopal churches did debate whether to forbid splitting up slave families" (Rosengarten). .

On display at Middleton Place near Charleston is a cotton sack given to a nine-year-old enslaved girl, Ashley, by her mother, Rose. Ashley was about to be sold, and they would never see one another again. Her mother tenderly placed a tattered dress, three handfuls of pecans, and a braid of her hair inside the sack which she gave to the child. Rose's heart-wrenching hope was that she would not be forgotten by her daughter (Rothstein).

VICTIMS OF COERCION AND CONTROL

Violence such as whippings was endemic to plantation life. A master had impunity if he killed one of his enslaved during a lashing since the enslaved was his possession (Edgar). . Former slaves described their owners based on how they treated them. For example, Alviro Fripp and Gabriel Capers, two Saint Helena Island plantation owners, were known as "devils in cruelty" and Edgar Fripp punished his enslaved if they failed to doff their hats in his presence (Rowland et al.).

"Whippings caused unspeakable pain and often resulted in loss of blood. Paddles didn't lacerate but raised large blisters. The psychological impact was immeasurable. This was a systemic attempt to keep black people fearful and to impress upon them their inferiority and dependence" (Rosengarten). .

In her diary entry on May 23, 1862, Laura M. Towne, an abolitionist, a founder of the Penn School, and a missionary who served the Sea Islands' newly freed enslaved as a teacher, described visiting plantations on Parris Island and at Eddings Point, Frogmore, and Edgar Fripp's on Saint Helena Island. "There were few who were not marked up with welts. A whip had been used with a ball on its end which took the flesh clean out. Loretta showed me her back and arms today. In many places there were ridges as high and long as my little finger. We saw there one woman whose two children had been whipped to death" (Towne).

Sexual exploitation was another form of coercion. Light-skinned African young girls and women commanded more money (Hicks). Aptly described by Frederick Douglass, *"Slavery had 'soul killing' power"* (Blight).

COTTON BECOMES KING

Although the slave trade was closed in South Carolina between 1787 and 1802 due to increasing fear of slave revolts, it reopened in 1803 when Eli Whitney's cotton gin, patented in 1794, made short-staple cotton very profitable in the Upcountry of South Carolina (Kytle). Long-staple Sea Island cotton was first grown successfully on Hilton Head Island in 1790. A roller gin was used to squeeze out the seeds of the Sea Island cotton versus Whitney's saw-tooth gin which damaged its long silky fiber. The coastal sandy soil of South Carolina's Low Country produced a finer quality than that of the Bahama Islands, where the seed was first obtained. This soon became the primary crop of the Sea Island plantations (Rowland et al.).

In 1850, Beaufort County which included present-day Jasper County, had a total population of 38,805; of that, 5947 were white (15.3%); 579 were Free Blacks (1.4%); and 32,279 were enslaved (83.1%) (Poplin.) Saint Helena Parish had 151 plantations. The largest producers of cotton at that time were: William J. Grayson (Frogmore), Thomas A. Coffin (Coffin Point), and Benjamin Chaplin Sr. The largest slave holder in Saint Helena Parish was Thomas Coffin who owned 301 enslaved (Rowland et al.).

"Without slavery, the antebellum plantation was simply unsustainable" (Rothstein). . Enslaved men, women, and children had become the backbone of South Carolina's plantation economy. And simultaneously, an aristocratic, wealthy class of planters was created.

Chapter 2 - Dataw Island's Slave Owners

YOUNG SAMS IMMIGRANT ESTABLISHES ROOTS IN THE CAROLINA COLONY

The first known Sams to own land in the Carolina Colony, Bonum Sams, was a newly married 18-year old who sailed with his 17-year-old wife, Enstis Blake, from England to the New World in 1681. These hopeful and daring teenagers courageously left all that was familiar. Escaping political and religious strife, they were determined to find new opportunity and earn land in the Carolina Colony promised by the Lords Proprietors. Bonum and Enstis were among the twenty-one making the voyage whose names were recorded in the Secretary's Office in the Province on May 10, 1682. Although the rules for receiving a land grant had changed in 1682 to a lengthy indenture, Bonum and his wife willingly agreed to work as indentured servants to achieve their goals (Salley) About thirty years old when his servitude ended, Bonum was finally granted one hundred acres in 1694 along the banks of the Wadmalaw River. There he began to prosper and acquired an additional six hundred acres by 1711 (Colgan). Land and its wise use and management ultimately became the basis for his wealth and that of his future generations.

THE FIRST SAMS TO OWN DATAW ISLAND

Bonum and his second wife, Elizabeth Brewton, were the grandparents of William Sams, the first Sams to own Dataw Island. Forty-two-year-old William Sams and his wife, Elizabeth Hext Sams, wealthy in her own right, purchased Dataw from a cousin in May 1783. Both William and Elizabeth had family ties to Beaufort. They moved from their plantation near Charleston to avoid further repercussions from anti-loyalist sentiments, and this remote Sea Island nestled in the Low Country near Beaufort undoubtedly seemed like a safe haven. William's name appeared in the register of Saint John's Parish until 1779. Having served as a British magistrate in the years before the American Revolution, William was thought to be a British sympathizer. As a result, his estate

was fined a 12 percent valorem tax due to the SC Confiscation Act of 1782. In his January 1783 petition appealing for relief from the tax, he described himself as "formerly of John's Island but now a Saint Helena planter who had never taken an Oath of Office signifying allegiance to the King of England" (Lepionka). Among his claims for leniency, he stated that he lost forty slaves which reduced his net worth. William Sams, like the many other SC plantation owners of this period, was reliant on a cheap labor force to work on his plantation and thereby maximize his profits. The 1790 census lists William as owning eighty-four enslaved. From its purchase in 1783 until his death in 1798, almost 15 years later, William utilized enslaved laborers to develop Dataw into a large Sea Island cotton plantation (Poplin).

The English believed that land was the basis for wealth (Edgar). Perhaps that was the incentive for Bonum to earn a land grant and what ultimately propelled future Sams generations into owning more and more land. Their acquisition of land through inheritance and purchase also increased their need for many slave hands to shape and reshape unproductive land into productive land. "The wealth amassed by Sea Island cotton planters between 1790 and 1825 made them among the richest families in early America" (Rowland et al.). Well educated, enterprising, and possessing astute management and business skills, members of the Sams family joined this elite rank of wealthy cotton planters.

DATAW ISLAND'S EIGHT SAMS SLAVE OWNERS

1) William Sams (b.1741 – d.1798): purchased Dataw in 1783 at age 42; 1,170 acres; the first to grow Sea Island cotton; owned 84 enslaved in 1790; Dataw owner almost fifteen years (Poplin). [Great-Grandson, Conway Whittle Sams, believed his wife, Elizabeth, bought Dataw Island.]

2) Elizabeth Sams, wife (b.1746 – d.1813): age 37 when Dataw Island was purchased in 1783; by terms of her husband's will dated Nov. 10, 1795, "...was given *life use* of the Dataw dwelling and one moiety (half) of his plantation sufficient to work her negroes on, either with her children's negroes or separately." Her three youngest sons, Lewis Reeve, Berners Barnwell, and Edward Hext, were each to inherit 1/3 interest of the island when of age (Poplin). ; owned 141 enslaved in 1810; after her husband's death, Elizabeth preferred living in her Beaufort home and died fifteen years later in the old Hext house (C.Sams). William and Elizabeth are buried in the Sams Family Cemetery on Dataw Island, South Carolina (Find-A-Grave).

3) Lewis Reeve Sams, son of William (b.1784 – d. 1856): willed 1/3 interest of Dataw plantation by his father's 1795 will; received his share in 1805 at age 21; with brother, Berners, bought out their brother, Edward's, 1/3 interest; divided Dataw Island into two plantations with Lewis owning the northern half he named Dataw Point where he built a new plantation

house, slave dwellings, and other necessary out buildings along the Morgan River; per the 1850 Agriculture Census, Dataw Point comprised 41 percent of his 1467 acres of farmland that produced 70 bags (28,000 lbs.) of cotton worth $7,784[1] (Poplin). ; owned Beaufort home on Bay at New Street; graduate of Brown University; planter and businessman who served briefly in state legislature (Rowland et al.). ; owned 27 enslaved in 1810, 91 enslaved in 1820; 131 enslaved in 1830; 154 enslaved in 1840, 162 enslaved in 1850; owned Dataw Point plantation 51 years. Lewis Reeve Sams is buried with his second wife Frances in the Beaufort Baptist Churchyard, Beaufort, South Carolina. His first wife Sarah is buried in the Sams Family Cemetery on Dataw Island, South Carolina (Find-A-Grave).

Figure 1 - Lewis Reeve Sams (1784 - 1856)

4) Berners Barnwell Sams, son of William (b.1787 – d.1855): received his 1/3 share in 1808 at age 21; took ownership of the southern half he named Dataw Inlet; extensively expanded the old original tabby house, added slave dwellings, other out-buildings, and a chapel (Poplin). ; per the 1850 Agriculture Census, Dataw Inlet comprised 24 percent of his 2,097 acres of farmland which included other plantations, The Bluff and Laurel Hill on Lady's Island;

[1] Valued at $234,423 in 2018 dollars. Conversion done by Bill Riski using data in *The Story of Sea Island Cotton* by Dr. Richard D. Porcher and inflation information from U.S. Department of Labor.

additionally he gave other plantations to his sons through the years (C. Sams); produced 65 bags (26,000 lbs.) of cotton worth $7,228[2] (Poplin); built two Beaufort homes, one in 1818 on New Street and the other in 1852 near the Green on Laurens Street; medical doctor and graduate of Charleston Medical College (C.Sams); owned 87 enslaved in 1820, 124 enslaved in 1830, 140 enslaved in 1840, 135 enslaved in 1850; owned Dataw Inlet plantation 47 years. Berners Barnwell Sams is buried in the Sams Family Cemetery on Dataw Island, South Carolina, along with his first wife Elizabeth and second wife Martha (Find-A-Grave).

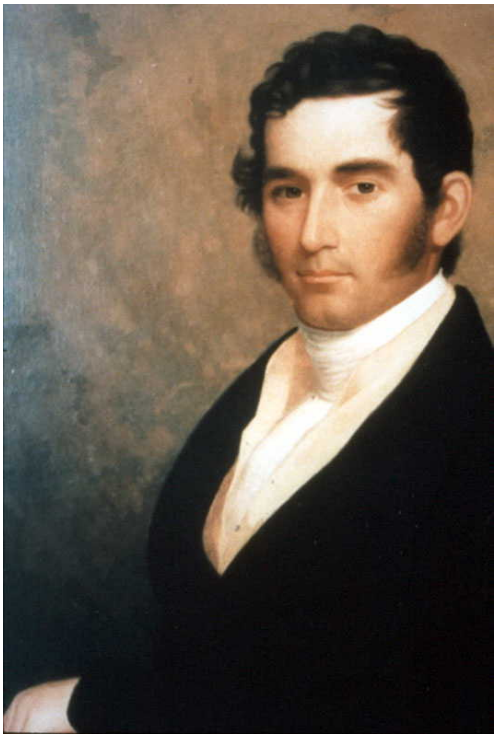

Figure 2 - Berners Barnwell Sams (1787 - 1855)

[2] Valued at $217,678 in 2018 dollars. Conversion done by Bill Riski using data in *The Story of Sea Island Cotton* by Dr. Richard D. Porcher and inflation information from U.S. Department of Labor.

Figure 3 - Plantation House of BB Sams on Datha Island, SC

5) James Julius Sams, son of Berners and grandson of William (b.1826 – d. 1918): age 29 at time of father's 1855 death (no will found); father's Dataw Inlet Plantation was to be divided between brothers Charles, Bonham, and Horace but James Julius ultimately obtained ½ ownership with brother Horace, through mortgaged buy outs and land swaps with brothers Charles and Bonham; transactions were only partially recorded in public record with his eventual ½ ownership based on tax returns for St. Helena Parish, implication of the 1860 Agricultural Census, and the US Court of Claims Direct Tax Case #17013 (Poplin); verbally partitioned the plantation land with co-owner, Horace; JJ owned Mink Point Field, Hill Field, and the land between the 'cedar' hedge and Jenkin's Creek while he shared Oak Island ownership with Horace (C.Sams); older brother, Franklin, managed all of Dataw Inlet Plantation for a year after his father's death during intra-familial transactions described; co-owner, Horace, thereafter managed Dataw Inlet Plantation while J. Julius, an Episcopal minister, served St. John's Berkeley Parish, Black Oak Church (C. Sams); owned 19 enslaved in 1860; plantation abandoned when Northern troops invaded area in Nov. 1861; plantation

foreclosed on March 10, 1863 for non-payment of direct taxes (Rowland et. al.). Estimated Dataw Inlet active ownership about 4 years or less. Earned his Doctor of Divinity degree at William and Mary College in 1878 (Colgan). Reverend James Julius Sams and his wife Mary are buried in the Elmwood Cemetery, Norfolk City, Virginia (Find-A-Grave).

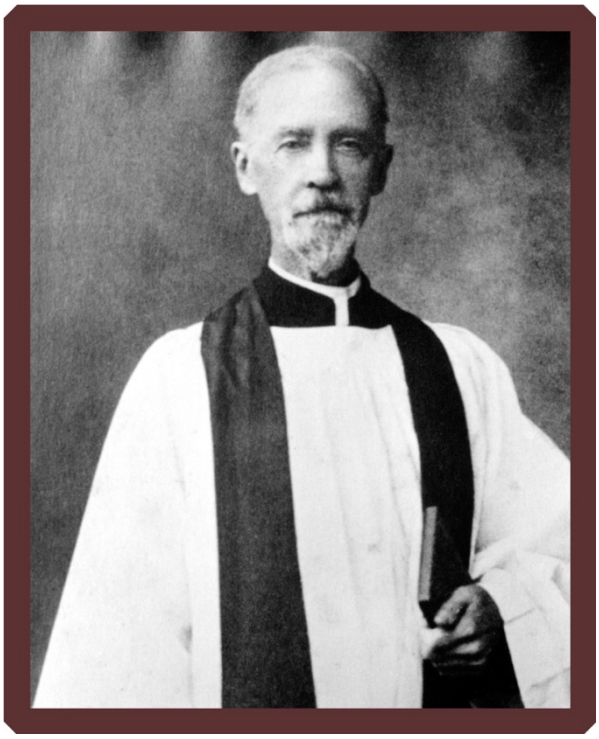

Figure 4 - James Julius Sams (1826 - 1918)

6) Horace Hann Sams, son of Berners and grandson of William (b.1829 - d. 1865): age 26 at time of father's 1855 death (no will found); as previously described, he became owner of ½ of Dataw Inlet including the house, all out-buildings, Long Field, Pee Dee Field and others and shared ownership of Oak Island with brother JJ; lived in the Beaufort brick house from 1856 until 1860 while he cultivated Dataw; moved to Dataw after his Oct. 1860 marriage; first plantation he owned; also owned a lot in town on Hancock Street, 100 acres of pine barren on Lady's Island, and the right of way through the plantations of Robert Randolph Sams (the Bluff) and B.F. Capers on Lady's Island to get from town to Dataw; studied law at South Carolina College, Columbia; a non-practicing attorney who was principal at a private school in a house on the south side of Beaufort Green; willed his Negroes[3] as personal property along

[3] Unless used otherwise in a quote, the term Negro / Negroes will be capitalized in this paper. The term is used when quoting or paraphrasing others. If you have a better convention for us to use in this paper, please contact us at datawhistory2019@gmail.com.

with his horses, mules, boats, carts, crockery, cotton seed, cotton bales, etc. to his wife per his will dated Nov. 18, 1861 (C.Sams); owned 30 enslaved in 1860; plantation abandoned Nov. 1861 when Northern troops invaded area; plantation foreclosed on March 10, 1863 for non-payment of direct taxes (Rowland et. al.)**;** Commissary officer in Confederate Army and died of typhoid fever at a field hospital in Greensboro, NC in 1865 (C.Sams). Estimated Dataw Inlet active ownership about 4 years. Horace Hann Sams and his wife Grace are buried in the Cedar Grove Cemetery, Norfolk City, Virginia (Find-A-Grave).

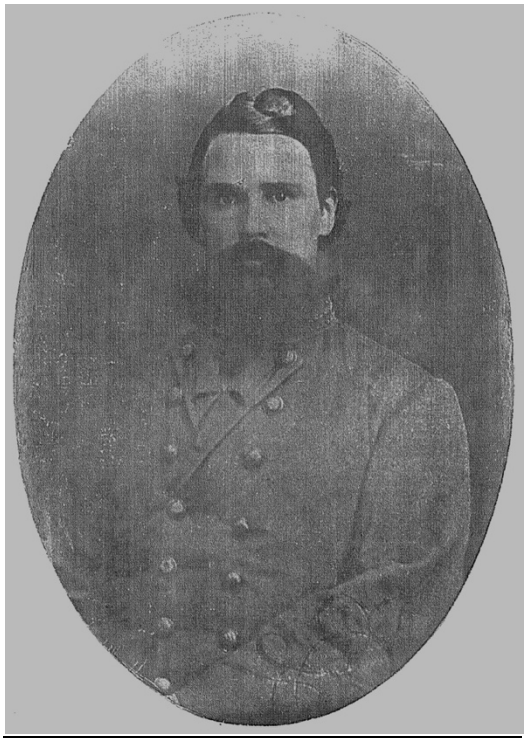

Figure 5 - Major Horace H. Sams, CSA (1829 – 1865)

7) Richard Fuller Sams, son of Lewis and grandson of William (b.1838 – d.1878): age 18 at time of father's 1856 death; inherited ½ ownership of Dataw Point (Poplin); medical doctor; owned 33 enslaved in 1860; enlisted in the Confederate Army in June 1861; plantation abandoned Nov. 1861 when Northern troops invaded area; plantation foreclosed on March 10, 1863 for non-payment of direct taxes. Estimated Dataw Point active ownership about 5 years. Richard Fuller Sams and his wife Caroline are buried in the Oakland Cemetery, Atlanta, Georgia (Find-A-Grave).

8) Thomas Fuller Sams, a son of Lewis and grandson of William (b. 1842 – d.1881): age 14 at time of father's 1856 death; inherited ½ ownership of Dataw Point (Poplin); absentee owner living in Princeton, NJ as a student at age 18 in 1860 (Riski); owned 34 enslaved in 1860;

enlisted in Confederate Army; plantation abandoned Nov. 1861 when Northern troops invaded area; plantation foreclosed on March 10, 1863 for non-payment of direct taxes. Estimated actual active ownership to be about 1 year or less. Thomas Fuller Sams is buried in the Oakland Cemetery, Atlanta, Georgia (Find-A-Grave).

Most of the Dataw Sams family members owned multiple properties, including elegant Beaufort homes as well as other plantations. The number of enslaved they owned was obtained from census records. The total number each owned did not work exclusively on Dataw but on all of their properties. Census data was not collected per property but per owner. For example, their house servants were taken to their Beaufort homes while the family was in residence there, along with other essential enslaved workers. During Berners' renovation and expansion of the original tabby plantation house around 1820, archaeologist, Eric Poplin, theorized that he likely used enslaved laborers from his other plantations. Quantifying the exact number of enslaved laboring on Dataw at any one time is difficult, if not impossible (Poplin).

"The South was wholly dependent on forced labor; without it the white planter class would not have the life it loved."

Rosengarten

Chapter 3 – Lives of South Carolina's Enslaved

A HARSH REALITY

The largest number of enslaved laborers worked on rice and cotton plantations in South Carolina. This labor force accounted for approximately 80 percent of a plantation's value (Edgar). They cleared the land; built dams and dikes; constructed the plantation houses, their quarters, and various out-buildings; planted and cultivated the crops; hunted and fished for the family; and looked after the livestock. The domestic enslaved cared for the household needs of their master's family, such as cooking, sewing, and childcare. A butler was called a 'daily give' servant. Despite being on-call 24 hours a day, domestics had better clothing (hand-me-downs), food and living conditions. Those enslaved who learned special skills such as blacksmithing and carpentry were referred to as 'extra man' and were more valuable. James Julius Sams, a son of Dataw's Berners Barnwell Sams, proudly noted in his *Memoirs*, that his father BB, "Owned tailors, blacksmiths and carpenters, but he seemed always to know more about these trades than the servants themselves."

Field hands included men, women, and children (Edgar). Displayed at the Charleston Museum is a small harness that fit an enslaved child about five years of age. The youngster wore it to tote tools, buckets, and other supplies to the field hands. They worked in extreme heat and humidity and were exposed to insect-borne diseases such as yellow fever and malaria. Some developed ringworm and trench-foot working barefoot in the wet rice fields or collecting cart loads of plough (pluff) mud which was used for fertilizer (Edgar). Based on skeletal studies, there was evidence of the hard physical labor these people were forced to undertake. It is estimated the average male slave lived to be about thirty-five years old and the average female slave lived to about forty years old. Chemical studies of skeletal remains revealed indications of dietary stress during childhood, infections, anemia and lead exposure, probably due to eating from unfired and unglazed cookware and dishes they made called Colonoware (Trinkley).

MEAGER SUPPLIES PROVIDED FOR THE ENSLAVED

Typically the enslaved were given cloth at Christmastime to make their clothing and received one pair of shoes expected to last a year. Sam Polite, at age 93 who was born enslaved on Thomas B. Fripp's plantation on Saint Helena Island, explained: "You have straw in your mattress, but they give you blanket. Every year, in Christmas month, you gets four or either five yard cloth, according to how you is. Out of that, you have to make your clote [clothes]. You wears that same clote till the next year. You wear it winter and summer, Sunday and every day. You don't get no coat but they give you shoe" (Hurmence).

Twenty-five year-old Charlotte Forten, was a Philadelphia free black Quaker abolitionist who came to Saint Helena Island in October 1862 to teach the newly freed enslaved. She lived at Dr.

Lewis Reeve Sams Jr.'s former Oakland Plantation and walked to nearby Brick Baptist Church, the first building used as the Penn schoolhouse. She wrote the following in her diary: "I made daily visits to the eight or nine little one or two-roomed 'miserable huts' which were the 'quarters' of the former enslaved at Oakland….there I met Celia, a cripple but one of the best, kind and sympathetic to others. I learned that her master was 'too mean' to give his slaves clothes enough to protect them…her feet and legs were so badly frozen that they required amputation above the knees."

Journal entries written by Sea Island cotton planter, Thomas B. Chaplin, and chronicled in the book, Tombee: Portrait of a Cotton Planter, verified that December 1856 was a brutally cold month with high winds and extremely low temperatures. Cotton bolls were destroyed and both salt and freshwater ponds were frozen (Rosengarten).

THE SLAVE DRIVERS AND OVERSEERS

Their daily work was directed by the driver who was generally an older, experienced fellow enslaved laborer. He assigned the jobs or tasks. He usually had his own house and was socially separate from the other enslaved. A driver rarely was in charge of more than one hundred enslaved. He was below the overseer in the plantation management hierarchy. He assigned the work and usually gave out any punishment. An overseer or the plantation manager, was typically a young white man, although there were black overseers. He might manage multiple plantations for the same owner (Rowland et al.).

THE BENEFITS OF THE TASK SYSTEM

The task system, first used on rice plantations, divided the cotton fields into quarter-acre sections which were marked off with stakes. The workers were assigned task sizes based on their physical ability and the difficulty of the task (i.e. full hand, half hand, or quarter hand). This made the field hands' work more manageable despite them laboring long eight to ten hour workdays (Vogt). And if a hurricane approached, the field hands were made to work by the light of the moon to harvest the cotton crop in an effort to save it from destruction. The task system also allowed the enslaved opportunity to have small gardens and to raise a few chickens. The more efficient delegation of work also proved beneficial for the masters who had the luxury of being absentee owners. They left their plantations in the care of their overseer and drivers while they enjoyed months at a time in their townhomes (Rowland et al.).

OWNERS ZEALOUSLY TEACH CHRISTIANITY

Despite some enslaved maintaining their Muslim beliefs and tribal practices, plantation owners believed it was crucial to infuse Christianity into their lives to promote better behavior and good morals. Frederick Douglass who learned to read by using the Bible during his youth, was enraged by the masters' religious hypocrisy and the pro-slavery complicity of the churches (Blight). "Young women of the families helped teach enslaved children the catechism. Some planters also

welcomed missionaries to their plantations for that purpose. Two Methodist ministers, George Moore and John Coburn, preached to the enslaved on many cotton plantations in the Beaufort area including Dataw's. As a result of this mission of 1832, Berners Barnwell Sams built 'a comfortable house of worship' on Dataw the following year" (Roland et al.). "An Episcopal Chapel was built largely for the religious training of the many slaves on the island" (Family Bible references per L. S. Bond and Laura S. Sanders).

SOME MASTERS MELLOW BUT THE POTENTIAL FOR REBELLION REMAINS

Some masters were kindlier and more lenient, allowing their enslaved to 'marry' and have a family despite those marriages being illegal. Doing so benefited the master because it perpetuated his workforce since the offspring became the owner's property, essentially giving him a renewable labor supply (Rowland et al.).

"My father and mother ain't marry. Slave don't marry; they just live together. When I been little boy, I play on (slave) street….shoot marble, play army, and such thing. When horn blow and morning star rise, slave have for get up and cook. When day clean (after sunrise), they gone to field. Woman too old for work in field have for stay on street and mind baby. My mother belong to Mr. Old B. Fripp and my father belong to Mr. Marion Fripp. All slave have for stay on plantation in daytime, but when work done, can visit wife on other plantation. Have pass so patrol won't get 'um" (Hurmence).

Keeping the enslaved content also lessened the chance they would revolt or run away. The draconian 1740 Slave Codes passed following the 1739 Stono Rebellion, among other things, required the enslaved to have a pass to visit on other plantations. The Citadel was founded in Charleston after the 1822 Denmark Vesey uprising to suppress future slave revolts (Kytle).

On May 16, 1797, the following notice appeared in Charleston's *City Gazette:* "Taken up and brought to the Work House, a Negro Fellow, who says his name is July and that he belongs to Mr. William Sams, living on Dattah Island" (Brown and Sims). The Work House, also called the Sugar House, was in Charleston. It was a dungeon-like place where captured runaways were brutally punished by beatings with paddles and lashings with cowhide whips (Edgar).

"Slaveholders had two basic goals for their slaves: to extract labor and prevent servile insurrection. After work, owners tried to keep slaves from congregating in groups where rebellion might be discussed" (Leigh). As described by James Julius Sams, "My father (BB Sams) only permitted his Negroes to visit on his other plantations and nowhere else. Nor did he permit 'strange' Negroes to visit on his plantations" (J. Sams). Clearly BB kept close reign over his many enslaved, and he did not want to chance unknown Negroes putting any seeds of discontent into the minds of his enslaved.

"The 'Market Bell' rang in Beaufort at 9 o'clock and no Negroes were allowed on the streets unless they had a pass from their owner" (C.Sams). Towns such as Beaufort were typically patrolled at night by citizen groups of white men looking for run-aways or those who violated the codes. "My father (Horace) and his brothers had to do their part of this patrol duty which continued through the night" (C.Sams). "If the patrol catch you without (a) ticket, they beat you" (Humence).

THE SOUTHERN MINDSET AND JUSTIFICATION FOR SLAVERY

Slavery was legal in both the North and South in 1776. Congress did not officially end the legal importation of slaves until 1808 (Kytle). The Sams family lived in a society that not only sanctioned the institution of slavery, but also considered it normal. Southern slave owners compartmentalized their thinking, defending slavery for economic, social, religious, historical, and political reasons. The South's agricultural economy was dependent on slavery, and the wealthy plantation owners benefited from it financially. Many feared the loss of prosperity. They thought that all Negroes were inferior and not entitled to the privileges and freedoms they enjoyed, such as learning to read, write and even marry. "To many, African people were seen as less than human" (Gates). Some believed that owning many enslaved was prestigious and elevated their social status. One Saint Helena Island planter's wife boasted one year after the first successful growth of Sea Island cotton, "The profits of our crops were mostly expended on the purchase of Negroes…nothing is so much coveted as the pleasure of owning many slaves" (1938 Federal Writers' Project). Others feared there would be unemployment and chaos if slavery ended. Politically more conservative, they thought a free labor system would not work. The typical southern plantation owner did not think that slavery was morally wrong. They felt their paternalistic efforts to instill Christianity in their enslaved enriched their lives and their clergymen defended slavery. These 'men of the cloth,' pointed to the Ten Commandments ("Thou shall…not covet thy neighbor's manservant or maidservant…") and other passages from the Bible to justify that slavery was acceptable in the eyes of the Lord. Lewis Reeve Sams' brother-in-law, the well-respected and popular Rev. Richard Fuller, pastor of Beaufort Baptist Church who ministered to many of the black enslaved, initially saw the issue of slavery as a political and legal issue. But by 1851, he acknowledged his anxiety and hope for compromise (Rowland et al.). Others justified slavery because it had existed since ancient times. While living in their Beaufort homes, members of the Sams family undoubtedly had a heightened awareness of, and likely participated in discussions about slavery, states' rights, abolition, and potential secession which climaxed in Beaufort with the first drafting of the Articles of Secession (Rowland et al.). Horace Sams, a secessionist, felt so strongly about this issue, he named one of his horses 'States Rights' and another horse 'Nullification' (C.Sams). Southerners tried to rationalize their concept of what was right and just in the matter of nation versus state sovereignty. They were caught between their loyalty to a nation that South Carolina did so much to create from its crucial role in the

Revolutionary War to its statesmen who helped draft its Constitution…and conflict over South Carolina's states' rights.

THE UNRAVELING OF SLAVERY BEGINS

Their answer came on November 6, 1860, when Republican Abraham Lincoln was elected President. South Carolina quickly became the first state to secede on December 20th, just a little more than a month later. Lincoln was inaugurated on March 4, 1861, and the first shots of the war were fired by the Confederates on April 12, 1861, at Fort Sumter in Charleston's harbor (Wise et al.). Only seven months later…"at 9:25 A.M. on the clear and windless day of November 7, 1861, the War of Secession suddenly ended for the Sea Islands when the Union squadron of Flag Officer Commodore Samuel Francis DuPont sailed into Port Royal Sound. They fired upon the Confederate batteries at Fort Walker and Fort Beauregard. In less than 5 hours, the forts' flags came down" (Penn Center). . The Confederates were defeated.


HARPER'S WEEKLY
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VOL. V.—No. 227.] NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1861. SINGLE COPIES SIX CENTS. $2 50 PER YEAR IN ADVANCE.
Entered according to Act of Congress, in the Year 1861, by Harper & Brothers, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court for the Southern District of New York
THE HOUSETOPS IN CHARLESTON DURING THE BOMBARDMENT OF SUMTER.

SLAVERY FINALLY CRUMBLES ON THE SEA ISLANDS

The institution of slavery first began to disintegrate with the federal occupation of Beaufort in 1861. Laura M. Towne made this diary entry in November 1862, "Tina of Palawana Island, was telling us today how her master's family (Dr. Lewis Reeve Sams, Jr.) were sitting down to dinner in their far off lovely island, when the news came that everyone was flying. They sprang up, left the silver on the table, the dinner untasted, packed a few clothes for the children, and were gone, never to come back." The plantation owners took only their best enslaved with them when they fled. Those enslaved left behind, called 'contraband of war,' faced disorganization, disarray, and starvation among the elderly and very young, while they tested the boundaries of their new freedom. Beaufort's homes were ransacked and looted. Many followed the federal troops. Others felt attached to the place where they had lived, the only place they knew, and some remained on that land (Rose).

SOUTH CAROLINA'S BELIEF IN STATES RIGHTS

South Carolina's belief in States Rights was described as a sacred creed one hundred years after the Civil War. The South Carolina Gettysburg Battlefield monument was dedicated in 1963 and its inscription reads in part as follows:

”Dedicated South Carolinians stood and were counted for their heritage and convictions.

Abiding faith in the sacredness of States Rights provided their creed.”

Chapter 4 - Who Were Dataw's Enslaved?

There is scant information about the hundreds of enslaved who labored on Dataw's plantations from 1783 until 1861. Their indescribable deprivations, to wit, their lack of rights, being treated as 'property,' being subjected to punishment, their loss of connection to their homelands and cultures, slave 'families' being split up and sold, along with other difficult challenges, make their long-overlooked lives and contributions painfully poignant. Most are nameless and unknown. Yet these enslaved are as profoundly entwined in Dataw's plantation era history as are their wealthy, aristocratic owners.

> "History must stay open; it is all humanity."
>
> William Carlos Williams, Author (1883-1963)

DATAW'S ENSLAVED BY THE NUMBERS

The number, sex, and ages of the Sams family's enslaved African Americans are available in some US Census Reports. For example, the 1790 Census, the very first US federal census taken after President Washington's inauguration, and the 1810 US Census, provide the aggregate number of slaves owned by an individual. By 1820, the US Census enumerated the number of slaves an individual owned based on the slave's sex within an age range: for example, Female Slaves, 10 to 23 years old. The US Federal Census–Slave Schedule Reports of 1850 and 1860 were more detailed. The 1850 Slave Schedule, the first year a census was devoted exclusively to slave information, listed each owner's enslaved individually. It includes their (1) age (usually oldest to youngest); (2) sex; (3) color (noted if mulatto); (4) if deaf, dumb, blind, insane or idiotic; (5) if a fugitive from the state; (6) if manumitted (freed). An additional column was added to the 1860 Slave Schedules which provided the total number of slave houses on a person's property. There was no effort in any of these census reports to indicate which enslaved belonged to the same family unit. All of the enslaved were nameless. Although some census enumerators may have listed the names of the enslaved who were over one hundred years of age, no names of Sams' enslaved are found in the various census reports. It must be noted that the accuracy of a census report depends on the enumerator and the person supplying the information. And some individuals were entirely missed in a census year.

It was not until the 1870 US Census that slaves were listed by their first and last names. This year, 1870, is referred to as the 'Brick Wall' since getting information before that time, such as the name of the final slaveholder, is a tedious, time-consuming endeavor (Carrier). Another significant hurdle is that Beaufort is a 'burned county' since almost all its pre-Civil War records were destroyed in an 1865 fire (Cordial). The Beaufort District's public records were taken to

Columbia for safe-keeping but were destroyed when Sherman's troops visited the state capital. Fires were set, whipped by winds and burning cotton bales. Columbia's buildings were caught up in the raging inferno and Beaufort County's records destroyed. The Beaufort Library materials along with collections taken from plantation Big Houses, were shipped to New York by the Treasury Department agents eager to sell the captured rebel property at auction. That plan was opposed by the Army and Treasury Secretary, Salmon P. Chase. The books and collections were ordered sent to Washington to be returned to their owners when the country reunited. Unfortunately they were put into the Smithsonian Institution which was gutted by fire in 1865 so all was lost (Rosengarten). And a further limitation is the fact that the Beaufort District plantation records did not reveal the country of origin for their purchased enslaved (Rowland et al.). Undoubtedly these facts make this search more challenging.

Federal census information for the various Sams owners is presented in Table 1 - U.S. Census Information for Sams Family Owned SlavesThe information is summarized from records found on Ancestry.com and in the National Archives.

There is little specific information about Lewis Reeve Sams' enslaved other than their number based on census data. It was said he owned more than his brother, Berners Barnwell Sams (C. Sams). One reference to Lewis Reeve Sams' slaves or that of his son, was contained in a journal entry made by Saint Helena planter Thomas B. Chaplin on Sunday, June 13, 1852. Chaplin wrote, "Went to church. Heard that two Negroes are to be tried for their life tomorrow in Beaufort for murder, all belong to Lewis Sams I believe." A footnote in the book, Tombee, further explained it could have been Lewis Reeve Sams (1810-1888), physician and planter, who was Chaplin's second cousin, or his father, Lewis Reeve Sams, Sr (1784-1856), planter (Rosengarten).

Sams Family Slave Owners	**US Census Figures**								**# Slave Houses**
	1790	**1800**	**1810**	**1820**	**1830**	**1840**	**1850**	**1860**	**1860**
William	84								
Elizabeth			141						
Lewis Reeve			27	91	131	154	162		
Berners Barnwell				87	124	140	135		
James Julius								19	8
Horace Hann								30	7
Richard Fuller								33	13
Thomas Fuller								34	12
Total per Year	**84**	**?**	**168**	**178**	**255**	**294**	**297**	**116**	**15 Inlet 25 Point**

Table 1 - U.S. Census Information for Sams Family Owned Slaves

Dataw Point Plantation: In the 1850 Slave Census, of Lewis Reeve's 162 enslaved, there were 79 females ranging in age from 70 years old down to 3 two-year olds with 22 females between the ages of 2 and 12 years. One was Mulatto. There were 83 males ranging in age from 75 years old down to 3 male babies under one year of age with 13 males from 0 years of age (infants less than a year old) to 13 years of age. Two males were Mulatto and 1 was blind.

Dataw Point Plantation: In the 1860 Slave Census, Richard Fuller had 15 males and 18 females with 13 slave houses. In the 1860 Slave Census, Thomas Fuller had 16 males and 18 females with 12 slave houses.

Dataw Inlet Plantation: In the 1850 Slave Census, of Berners Barnwell's 135 enslaved, there were 62 females ranging in age from 85 years old (two were in their 80s) down to the youngest female who was 13 years old. Fourteen of these girls were in their teens. One was Mulatto. There were

73 males ranging in age from 75 years old down to 4 one-year olds with 23 males between the age of 12 years and one year of age. Five males were Mulatto.

Dataw Inlet Plantation: In the 1860 Slave Census, James Julius had 9 males and 10 females with 8 slave houses. In the 1860 Slave Census, Horace Hann had 15 males (one 18-year-old was a "fugitive from the state") and 15 females with 7 slave houses.

Based on this census information, a number of enslaved owned by Sams family members lived into their 70s and 80s. There were also many infants and young enslaved. The young 'native born' enslaved likely joined the workforce and reduced the need to buy newly imported African slaves referred to as 'new stock'. According to Conway Whittle Sams, if a Sams family member purchased slaves, they did so locally or from other family members.

DATAW'S ENSLAVED BY THEIR NAMES

Uncovering the names of Dataw's once enslaved is a challenge. "Fewer than 20% of freed enslaved in the Low Country adopted the surname of their final slaveholder. Bills of sales listed only the first names of the enslaved" (Carrier). Those enslaved that had a last name, usually took either the surname of their owner or of their white overseer. Mary Goodwine Johnson whose family lived on Polawana Island owned by Dr. Lewis Reeve Sams, Jr, discovered while doing genealogical research on her family's surname that "evidence was lacking of descendants of slaves adopting and carrying the surname Sams."

SEVERAL SAMS FAMILY DOCUMENTS SHED LIGHT ON ENSLAVED FIRST NAMES

The first family document, the *Memoirs of Rev. James Julius Sams* (1826 – 1918), available on-line at the DHF website, is a valuable source of information about the Dataw plantations and their inhabitants. These *Memoirs* have been used by archaeologists and members of the Dataw Historic Foundation since the 1980s to interpret the layout of the plantation and family life at Dataw. James Julius' undated *Memoirs* are a first-person account, written perhaps in the early 1900s, some years after he lived on Dataw. JJ, as he was called, was the 8th child and 6th son of Berners Barnwell Sams and his first wife, Elizabeth Hann Fripp Sams. He resided on Dataw during his youth when his father's plantation was in its glory and painfully witnessed its downfall and loss in 1861 while owning half of Dataw's Inlet Plantation.

Much of what JJ wrote in his *Memoirs* was about his exuberant, youthful adventures while growing up on Dataw. He named several slaves as he told tales of mischief with his favorite younger brother, Horace. He also identified someone who held the dual role of overseer and teacher.

The named enslaved were:

(1) **Brutus**, described as "…an old African…a little old man, honest, and good natured." who was the hog minder. The brothers often tried to fool him by pretending to be hogs, crouching low and making grunting sounds when Brutus was getting the pigs into their pens in the evening;

Figure 6 - Brutus, an ex-slave, at his house on Polawana Island[4]

(2) **Old Phillis** a domestic servant at Dataw who was pouring water from a pitcher prior to dinner one evening. James Julius was about to say the blessing before the meal when Horace asked Phillis the name of an old dog which he could not remember. She answered,"Dat dog name, Sir…I neber remember, I firgat." To which Horace responded, "Well, call him Forget!" and the boys burst out laughing. Both lads felt very ashamed and needless to say, Julius did not give the grace;

[4] Photo from *Face of an Island: Leigh Richmond Miner's Photographs of Saint Helena Island* by Leigh Richmond Miner and Edith M. Dabbs, 1970. He may be related to the enslaved hog-minder named Brutus mentioned in JJ Sams memoir.

(3) **Diana**, a domestic servant at the family's Beaufort house is mentioned briefly when JJ described a fleeting memory of his mother. He was sitting on the carpet and overheard Diana ask his mother how she was feeling; and

(4) **Cuffee**, a farm hand who was "too smart" because he reached through the fence and managed to grab an ornery pig's leg so the other Negroes who had been chasing and scrambling after it, finally captured it.

The overseer/teacher was **Mr. Rushing**. James Julius described his home as "being at the front of the stable." Archaeologist, Eric Poplin, theorized that Mr. Rushing was white since he was addressed formally as 'Mister' Rushing. JJ concluded that Mr. Rushing was not terribly strict based on his low-key reaction following JJ and Horace playing hooky from school one day.

James Julius interspersed his *Memoirs* with occasional stories about some activities of the enslaved that intrigued and amused him: their hilarious, fumbled attempts to catch the fatted hogs; their wariness around his dad's dogs; feeling petrified by an eerie noise in the woods caused by two large tree limbs rubbing against each other during violent storms which they named 'the white lady with long hair' believing she lived in the woods and was screaming and wringing her hands; one slave's sneaky nighttime attempts, eventually discovered by his father, to alarm his mother by banging around in the cellar of the Beaufort home to convince the family to return to Dataw; and their great agitation about a big alligator that killed some hogs which they had to pull from its muddy den after it was shot. JJ enjoyed oyster picking with his brother but as children of privilege, "Precious few did we pick…the negro boys did the rowing of the boat and picking of the oysters." (J. Sams).

Per archaeologist, Eric Poplin, "James Julius mentions neither the slave occupants (of the slave dwellings along the plantation wall) nor their activities. Indeed, he is silent about their three dwellings, his lack of comment reflecting a more general bias evident throughout the *Memoir*s which masks slavery under silence, euphemism or childish anecdote. Pertinent references stress the owner's benevolence. 'I do not think there was another body of negroes in the whole district more orderly or well cared for, physically and religiously,' he remarks. Of daily slave routines he tells us almost nothing…"

James Julius grew up with all the accoutrements a wealthy planter's son typically enjoyed including servants (a more genteel term for slave). He described Dataw as a "celestial paradise." When he wrote his final thoughts in his *Memoirs* decades after the Civil War's end, his perspective was sad and bitter. Yet his ruminations about his beliefs and convictions must be framed in the context of his time and experiences.

The inaugural battle of the Civil War started at 4:30 a.m. on April 12, 1861 when Confederate artillery batteries surrounding the Charleston harbor fired on Fort Sumter. Many people rejoiced

watching that bombardment from rooftops across Charleston. They believed their cause would prevail. Yet it wasn't long before Beaufort's early occupation by northern troops became a harsh reality for the Sams families and they fled. It was a war fought primarily in the South (Wise et al.). General Sherman's swath of devastation through South Carolina impacted Sams family members in Barnwell, Columbia and elsewhere. And sadly, JJ lost two brothers, his beloved favorite brother, Horace who died from typhoid fever, and his youngest brother, Charles who died from consumption (TB), while they served in the Confederate Army. The South's ultimate defeat had bloody and devastating consequences that literally turned both white and black lives upside down.

And so it was with Julius. "The Yankees wrested it (the land) from us…impoverished a rich family…rendered unhappy a happy family…scattered a united family…and deprived you of your inheritance, small as it was. I believe the war waged by the North against the South to have been the most unjust, fraudulent and ungrateful ever waged by one people upon another." JJ expressed his forgiveness of the Yanks and implored others to forgive them as well. But the Reverend did not, and likely could not, ask for the South to be forgiven nor did he repudiate slavery.

A NEVER-BEFORE-SEEN DOCUMENT

In April 2019, Theresa (Ting) Canter Sams Colquhoun, sister of the late Reeve Sams and Jeanne Sams Aimar, and an 8th generation descendant of both Berners and Lewis Sams, kindly allowed the Dataw Historic Foundation to copy a second Sams family document for their archives. This never-before-seen document has proven especially helpful in the endeavor to find information about Dataw's enslaved. It was written by Conway Whittle Sams (1864 to 1935), the son of Horace Hann and BB's grandson.[5] This is an account of the Sams family based on Conway's genealogical research and what he heard second hand through the years. His favorite aunt, Elizabeth Exima Sams, lovingly called Aunt Bet, was his primary informant. Since his father died serving in the Confederate Army when Conway was only 10 months old, he was not a source of the information. His mother was so saddened by his father's death that she rarely talked about him. Conway never lived on Dataw Island. Aunt Bet, his father's unmarried younger sister, validated what Conway wrote on February 21, 1905 before her death in 1906 at almost 76 years of age. [*Horace's brother, James Julius Sams, and his wife, Mary Eliza Whittle, a sister of Horace's

[5] Some pages might be missing since they are not numbered consecutively, there are several errors such as the location of Bonum's ancestral home and his wife's first name, the purchase of Dataw by Elizabeth Hext's family, the date for DuPont's Naval victory, and the locations of each plantation on the island (east and west versus north and south). The whereabouts of the original document is unknown. (Riski) . Included are JJ's *Memoirs*, family photos and sketches.

wife, Grace Latimer Whittle, also had a son named Conway Whittle Sams who was a first cousin of the author of this document (Riski).]

This document provided insight into a few family members and their enslaved. William's wife, great Grandmother Elizabeth Hext Sams, was described as "a business woman who did not mince her words in dealing with the servants when every day at twelve o'clock she personally superintended having all the little darkies line up in the yard to give each one a bountiful supply of soup" (C.Sams). Based on that description, it can be inferred that although Elizabeth Hext Sams wished to provide an adequate food supply to her enslaved, she was rather stern and kept her enslaved under control by lining them up while she dispensed the food. Conway Sams included a copy of a picture of the Sams' Chapel that was in the possession of his Uncle Dr. Robert Randolph at the time, showing 'Old Bob's' home which could faintly be seen. **'Old Bob'** was one of his Grandmother Elizabeth Hann Fripp Sams' enslaved who came into the family through the Fripps. Conway then described in more detail, his Grandfather BB's enslaved.

"**Mingo**, one of Grandfather BB's slaves, was a genuine African. He could speak both English and his original tongue, 'Gullah.' He was good and faithful but ugly as a baboon. [Per Find-A-Grave, a Mingo Polite is buried in the nearby Oakland Cemetery just beyond Dataw's entrance (Riski). Perhaps he was related to BB's Mingo.] Grandfather had 19 servants at his town house. **Jimmie** was his man cook for 42 years. His coachman was **Cicero** who also worked as a gardener and boatman (Grandfather BB had a four-seated carriage and kept a pair of horses. The family had a twelve-oar boat made from hollowed out cypress.) **Jacob** and **Boz** were the two dining room servants. Jacob also served as his valet. BB had 3 seamstresses, **Alfie** who also served as a maid to my step-grandmother, Martha, and later belonged to my father; **Louisa** who also served as a maid to Aunt Elizabeth; and **Harriet** who served only as a seamstress. There were 2 additional maids, **Nancy**, who waited on half-sister, Adelaide, and **Diana**, who waited on half-sister, Sarah. This Diana may well have been the same maid James Julius Sams mentioned in his *Memoirs.* There were 2 washwomen, one also named **Nancy**, a bought negro, and possibly **Juliet,** a bought negro, whose job was not listed. **Christmas**, also a bought negro, was a boatman. There were 4 children, **Joe, Emma**, **Elisha** they called **Mannie**, and **Winter**. Only 3 of all these slaves were bought. All the others were born into the family. "They had little to do and an easy time. When the family moved over to Dataw for the month of December, all these slaves were taken with my Grandfather except one who was left to protect the Beaufort property" (C.Sams). **August Burks** was said to be one of the Sams' enslaved on Ladies Island although there were many Sams' owned plantations out on Sams Point.

Two white Dataw overseers were mentioned. One was **Mr. Cummings** who was a severe man hated by the enslaved. The other one was **Mr. Reynolds** who was decent and kindly (C.Sams). Neither name matches the overseer, Mr. Rushing, mentioned in James Julius Sams' *Memoirs.*

Most enslaved that were sold were taken to Charleston. Those bought and sold locally were purchased through private transfers/transactions. There was no public market for them nor were there slave 'traders/brokers' in Beaufort (C.Sams). This information is confirmed in the diary of Charlotte Forten, the Penn School teacher. When she arrived from Hilton Head Island and awaited the boat to row her from Beaufort to Saint Helena Island, she later noted, "We saw the market-place, in which slaves were sometimes sold; but were told that the buying and selling at auction were usually done in Charleston."

Conway Sams' unpublished oral history included several of his father's legal documents which shed invaluable information about Horace Sams' enslaved. There is an inventory of his father's slaves valuing them at $21,550[6] which was witnessed on September 23, 1861 by Thomas Cuthbert, Berners Fripp and Robert Randolph Sams and sworn before Magistrate W.J. DeTreville. It provided the names, age and values of 32 of his father's enslaved, included here as Table 2 - Enslaved of Horace Hann Sams (1829 – 1865). There also is a second inventory and appraisal of his property (boats, cattle, rams, oxen, cotton seed, furniture, houses, and the remaining 29 Negroes valued at $17,950[7]) sworn by Richard F. Sams before Magistrate Charles Bell on September 26, 1862. This 1862 second inventory did not itemize the 29 enslaved by name, age, or value. These documents were attachments to Horace's will dated November 18, 1861.

[6] Valued at $614,926 in 2018 dollars. Conversion done by Bill Riski using inflation information from U.S. Department of Labor.

[7] Valued at $512,201 in 2018 dollars. Conversion done by Bill Riski using inflation information from U.S. Department of Labor.

Dated: 9/23/1861

Name of Enslaved		Role	Age	Value (1861)
1) Moses		(field hand)	38	$1200
2) Bess		(field hand	40	$ 800
3) Titus			15	$1000
4) Andrew			12	$ 900
5) Ruth			8	$ 450
6) Moses			5	$ 350
7) January			4	$ 250
8) James			1	$ 150
9) David		(field hand)	37	$1100
10) Beck		(field hand)	33	$1000
11) David			5	$ 400
12) Rose			1	$ 100
13) Cato*		(field hand)	21	$1200
14) Phoebe			26	$ 700
15) William			4	$ 250
16) Primus			1	$ 100
17) Solomon		(carpenter)	51	$ 700
18) Aphe*		(seamstress)	41	$ 450
19) Winter	*(son of Aphe)		9	$ 600
20) Hatta	*(daughter of Aphe)	(learning to sew)	6	$ 400
21) Jacob*		(Horace's valet)	38	$1200

Name of Enslaved	Role	Age	Value (1861)
22) Peg*	(worked in yard)	61	$ 50
23) Moll*		20	$1100
24) Isaac		49	$ 750
25) Hannah*		44	$ 500
26) Emanuel	(field hand)	22	$1100
27) Lonnon	(field hand)	15	$ 950
28) Cinder*		12	$ 750
29) Thomas		10	$ 650
30) Delia		6	$ 400
31) Tom		26	$1000
32) Marge		24	$1000

Table 2 -Enslaved of Horace Hann Sams (1829 – 1865)

*(13) “Cato supposedly attempted to poison Uncle Robert Randolph after the war.”

*(18) “Aphe was taken to Norfolk, VA by Horace’s wife to be a nurse to their daughter, Fannie. She ran away at the end of the war and took refuge in Rodger’s house.”

*(21) “Jacob went to war with Horace as his body servant. He was allowed to return to Beaufort twice. He was tall, a fine-looking black man, a great dandy and fond of a glass. He was a good servant, took great interest in everything, and announced dinner with great pomp and ceremony. He would walk out on Sunday evenings dressed in a white suit with a tall black hat and looked very imposing. Horace thought he wore his white duck clothing. Unfortunately, the second time he returned to Beaufort from where Horace was serving, he got drunk and was killed.”

*(22) “Peg was Clement’s nurse, made fine preserves, and was generally useful.”

*(23) “Moll was Aunt Elizabeth’s cook at the conclusion of the war. She talked in a loud voice and was crippled with rheumatism. She lived with her daughter in Beaufort at the southwest corner of Pinckney and Hancock Streets. She was upset that Uncle Randolph did not tell her that my

sister and I were visiting saying, "Young Massa's children were visiting in town." She was fond of the Sams family.

*(25) "Hannah was bought to be a pastry chef but failed miserably so was 'sent off.'"

*(28) "Cinder was the granddaughter of Lucinda who was a field hand at the Bluff Plantation." (C.Sams).

Winter and **Jacob** were listed among BB's enslaved and they may have been inherited by Horace as half owner of Dataw Inlet. Horace bought 7 of these slaves from his half-sister, Adelaide, for $4,900[8] on January 30, 1860. They were **Isaac**, **Hannah**, **Emanuel**, **Lonnon** (London), **Cinder**, **Thomas** and **Delia**. He also bought two enslaved from his sister, Elizabeth (Aunt Bet), for $2000[9] on the same date. They were **Tom** and **Marge**.

Conway described his father's life as a planter as "a very easy life. He was brought up to be waited on and naturally took to it. None of the boys did any hard work."

In describing the situation with the newly freed slaves in Beaufort after the Northern troops' took control in 1861, he stated, "The negroes were in a tremendous majority, and insolent, trained and encouraged to be so by the carpet-bag whites from the North." But he went on to say, "There was a 'kindly feeling' between the masters and their former slaves."

SEVERAL OTHER ENSLAVED

Another Dataw enslaved was **Ma Lilly**. Historian Lawrence Rowland's mother, Elizabeth Sanders Rowland who owned the island from 1933 until her death in 1965, told the story of **Ma Lilly**, who was described as a loving 'second mother' to both the black and white youngsters on the island. Her legend has been kept alive with a street, Malilly Run Road, named after the little stream located near her home. Andrew Robinson, a Dataw Island native and an original Alcoa employee whose father had been the island's caretaker, believed that Ma Lilly was his great-great-grandmother, Lillian Robinson, born in 1795. The only burial of a female Robinson born in 1795 identified by the Robinsons in 2007 in the former Slave Cemetery on Cotton Dike Road is named Abby Robinson. A Lillian Robinson is not listed among those buried but a Lillian Robinson is named in both the 1870 and 1880 Saint Helena Parish census records (Holden).

Author Willie Lee Rose, quoting from Charlotte Forten's diary, described a former slave named **Cupid** who once belonged to a Rebel physician, Dr. Sams (likely Lewis Reeve Sams, Jr. of nearby

[8] Valued at $139,821 in 2018 dollars. Conversion done by Bill Riski using inflation information from U.S. Department of Labor.
[9] Valued at $57,070 in 2018 dollars. Conversion done by Bill Riski using inflation information from U.S. Department of Labor.

Oakland Plantation (Rosengarten); [of note: Conway Whittle Sams' document stated that Oakland Plantation was given to Melvin Melius Sams by his father, BB Sams, who bought it from his nephew, L.R. Sams. Jr. Melvin was also a doctor.] **Cupid** was asked to round up the other enslaved to be transported by boat when their owner and his family were hastily departing. "The majority of the Negroes showed the shrewdness of a certain Dr. Sams's man **Cupid**, who recalled that his master told his slaves to collect at a certain point that 'dey could jus' sweep us up in a heap, an' put us in de boat.' The Negroes had taken to the woods instead and Rebel Dr. Sams could not find even one of his 'faithful servants.' 'Jus as if I was gwine to be sich a goat!' said **Cupid.** He was frightened "cause massa who run when he hear de fust gun, tell we dat de Yankees would shoot we, or sell we to Cuba, an' do all de wust tings to we when dey come." **Cupid** was described by Miss Forten as "a small, wiry figure, stockingless, shoeless, out at the knees and elbows, and wearing an old straw hat." Additionally **Harry,** once the foreman of the plantation who visited Miss Forten in the evenings to learn to read, shared that: "Master was so daring as to come back after he fled from the island, even at the risk of being taken prisoner by our soldiers and ordered the people to get all the furniture together, take it to a plantation on the opposite side of the creek (likely Polawana), and to stay on that side themselves." He said that a few of Dr. Sams' house servants had previously been carried away." Based on the following letters of Sarah Jane Graham Sams, the daughter of Lewis Reeve Sams, Jr., those enslaved were taken to Barnwell.

Charlotte Forten described two unnamed young enslaved girls about 15 and 10 years of age who were taken by their fleeing master during the 'secesh skedaddle.' These young girls managed to escape, desperate to get back to their parents who were left behind. They trekked for more than two days through swamps and creeks, eventually arriving at the bank of the Beaufort River near the Port Royal ferry. Their frantic father managed to row over to get them when he heard about their plight. Totally exhausted, they ran into the arms of their overjoyed mother who collapsed in shock and were finally living back on 'Daktaw.' (Forten).

SAMS FAMILY 1865 LETTERS WRITTEN IN THE MIDST OF THE CIVIL WAR

Among the DHF archives are copies of a collection of letters written by Sarah Jane Graham Sams (9/22/1835-6/21/1920), a granddaughter of Dataw's Lewis Reeve Sams, and the daughter of his son, Lewis Reeve Sams MD and his wife, Sarah Givens Graham Sams, owners of nearby Polawana Island. The letters are dated from February 3, 1865 through March 25, 1865 and were mailed from the Court House in Barnwell, SC (Aimar). They were written to her husband, "My dearest R," Robert Randolph Sams (1827-1910), a son of her great uncle and father-in-law, BB Sams, and his first wife, Elizabeth Hann Fripp Sams. Robert Randolph was serving as a Private in Stuart's Company of the Beaufort Volunteer Artillery, CSA. [Theirs was the first 'cross-over' marriage in the Sams family (Brown).] Sarah had fled from Beaufort with her children, parents and some enslaved to the town of Barnwell. The unfortunate reality soon became clear that Sherman's

troops were not marching from Savannah to Charleston as expected. They were heading to South Carolina's capital, Columbia, and would pass through Barnwell (Barrett). "They were under the command of the Union's cocky Calvary General Kilpatrick who galloped into Barnwell on the 6th and let his men run wild" (Walsh). The infantry troops of the Fourteenth Corps soon followed (Barrett). Sarah's letters vividly described her frantic efforts to hide her family's possessions as she prepared for the invasion and her terror as she confronted threatening soldiers who ruthlessly broke into her home stealing whatever they could. Stories circulated in the Federal Camps that Kilpatrick asked Sherman how he would know where he and his men were located to which Sherman replied, "Make smoke, as the Indians do on the Plains." Whether true or not, it was said that Kilpatrick filled all his troopers' saddle bags with matches before leaving Savannah. He had the effrontery in Barnwell to stable his horses at the Church of the Holy Apostle and watered them at the church's Baptistry (Walsh) Sarah's letters told of wanton 'firing' (burning). and destruction of homes, businesses and property including her dad's buggy, her desperation as food and supplies dwindled, and her deep love and concern for her husband's safety. Finally by February 15th, Sarah was able to write, "Barnwell is quiet once more." The troops had finally passed through. "A trail of destruction had been left with much of the lower state in smoldering ruins including Barnwell" (Barrett). Soon Sarah observed changes in the Negroes' behavior. She noted in her letters that they were "slow to obey…they hold their heads rather higher than they should…and are behaving worse on the plantations than in town." She was now troubled by their refusal to comply with the usual behavioral expectations of their lower status. The enslaved felt joyous, sensing their imminent freedom.

Chapter – 5 Where Did the Enslaved Live on Dataw?

Two of the family narratives gave some information about the locations of enslaved dwellings on Dataw. James Julius mentioned two slave settlements on either side of Big Woods through which the enslaved traveled. That did not line up with what the archaeologists uncovered when they compared old maps of the island and did digs before Alcoa could start construction. Additionally, JJ's wife made a sketch map of the island, which showed where various fields and structures were located when Julius lived here. The 1860 Slave Census documents indicate that brothers Richard and Thomas, Dataw Point's owners, had a total of twenty-five slave houses, and brothers Julius and Horace, Dataw Inlet's owners, had a total of fifteen slave houses.

Three archaeologists and an architectural historian were hired by Alcoa to investigate and document Dataw Island's historic sites as required by the Memorandum of Agreement with the SC Department of Archives and History before the construction of Alcoa's planned residential community could begin. Since their reports are available online at the Dataw Historic Foundation's website, only the significant slave settlements will be mentioned. Some of the slave

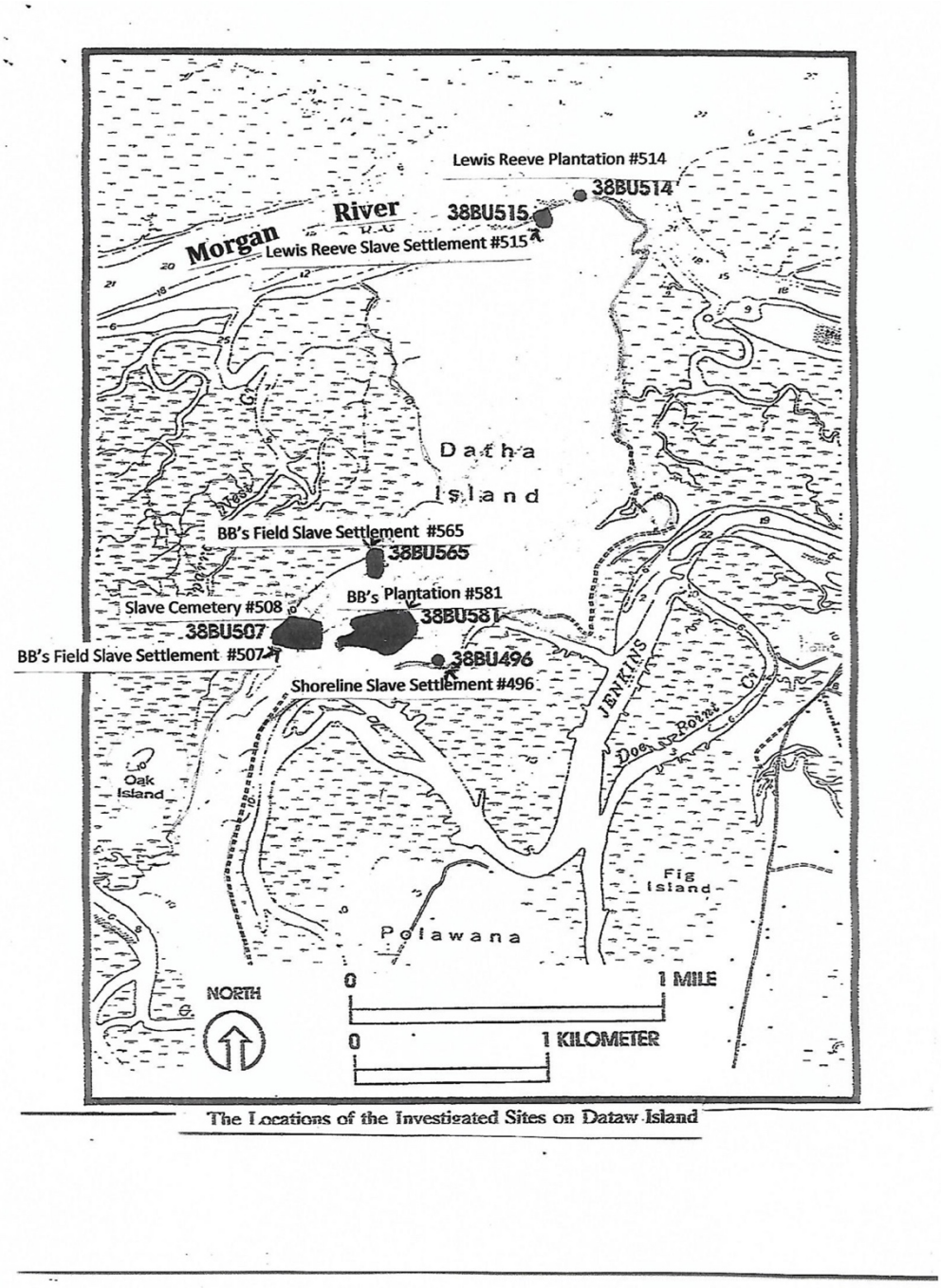
settlement sites were compromised due to land use during the Tennant Period of the late 19th century, farming/logging activities of the 20th century, and eventually Alcoa's construction. The archaeologists who investigated and wrote reports about their findings over the course of ten years, were Lesley Drucker, Larry Lepionka, and Eric Poplin. Eric was assisted by his wife, Carol Poplin, an expert at identifying artifacts and dating pottery and china sherds. Both archaeologist Eric Poplin and Colin Brooker, the architectural historian, have subsequently done other studies of the plantation structures and sites for the Dataw Historic Foundation.

The domestic slave dwellings identified from their tabby foundation remains along the wall enclosing BB's plantation ruins are easily identified. Poplin wrote, "Not the largest or most substantial of early nineteenth century Beaufort District's slave houses, individual dwellings attached to the Sams House yard, if tabby walled, were better than many local examples." Questions remain about the exact locations of the Overseer's home and that of the driver. Structure X east of the fenced-yard's southeast corner is usually referred to as the Overseer's house. Eric Poplin believed the Overseer's residence was shown on the Sams Map "southeast of the point where Dataw's then main road intersected the route to Little Landing."

Conway Whittle Sams described the location of various plantation buildings: "Some of their (slave) quarters were some distance to the southeast of the house on Jenkin's Creek. There were about four of their houses there. There was a long row of their cabins to the north of the house. On the road coming up from Mink Point was first, a big cotton house on the left-hand side of the road. Near that, on the same side of the road was the gin house where the seeds were gotten out and the cotton was packed (into bales). Then came the dairy, then a brick well to the east of the dairy, and then the tabby fodder house (for storing corn stalks) which was near the barn and corn mill. The corn was ground on the place. To the west of the house (plantation house) was the Overseer's house of frame. The Overseer was always a white man. His house was one story with three or four rooms in it, with a kitchen in front. West of the Overseer's kitchen, across the road, were two small tabby houses for the servants' quarters" (C.W. Sams).

Lesley Drucker identified as many as three field slave settlements in the central portion of the island within one-quarter mile to the east, west and north of the Sams tabby complex. All date to the late 18th through 19th centuries. Two had partially standing tabby structural elements.

The Historical Development of Dataw Island, by Brockington and Assoc. from 1993 is the basis of Figure 7 - Investigated Sites on Dataw Island.



The Locations of the Investigated Sites on Dataw Island

Figure 7 - Investigated Sites on Dataw Island

Site 38BU507 is located at the present-day maintenance area and stretched along parts of Cotton Dike Road to Cotton Dike Court.[10] Based on Drucker's 1982 survey and Larry Lepionka's later

[10] These archaeological site trinomials are used U.S. wide. 38 = South Carolina, BU = Beaufort County, xxx is a particular location.

investigations, this site was described as a large field slave settlement located inland of the west shore of the central part of Dataw. The only partially intact architectural features found were one above grade tabby fireplace and a second subsurface fireplace foundation. The fireplace openings faced west. The absence of tabby or stucco fragments indicated that the houses likely were of wood construction built on above grade sleepers or log piers. It was thought they were not in rows. There were no house outlines. Artifacts found were clustered around the structural remains. They included pearlware, whiteware, Colonoware, brown salt glazed stoneware, bricks, nails, kaolin pipes, glass, miscellany of metal including a coin, furniture fittings, a musket ball, brass screw, lead piece, and iron kettle fragments. After the artifact recovery, much of the site was cleared and destroyed during Alcoa's Phase I construction of the maintenance area (Drucker, Lepionka, Poplin).

Site 38BU508, further west along the water's edge and in the cul-de-sac at the end of Cotton Dike Road, is the Slave Cemetery, now renamed the Cotton Dike Cemetery. It was used to inter the Sams family slaves until 1861 and thereafter was used by freedmen farming on Dataw. Burials continued into the mid-20th century. This was marginal, unproductive land and also fulfilled the custom for slave burials to be near a shoreline so that the deceased's soul could be transported over the water eastward to the homeland, Africa (Poplin). Due to water erosion, some of this cemetery has disappeared. Ground penetration conducted by archaeologist Eric Poplin n 2006 revealed the presence of at least 39 graves in what remained of the cemetery. In 2007, Andrew and Nathaniel Robinson provided DHF a list of their ancestors buried in the cemetery and a rededication ceremony was held (See Appendix #1: Names to Research as Potential Dataw Enslaved). .

Two other sites, 38BU565 and 38BU567, were also identified as likely 19th century slave settlements. 38BU565 contained significant quantities of domestic, architectural, and subsistence remains, but it had been entirely disturbed by 19th century land use and Alcoa's Phase I development. It contained useful information on slave settlement location, chronology, and material culture. It would have been on the opposite or north side of the boundary forest. 38BU567 was a shell scatter located north of center on the west shore. It was likely associated with 38BU565 to the east. Only one sherd of pearlware was found, and Phase I road construction had interfered with its east side (Drucker).

Site 38BU496 was on the shore east of the main BB Sams' plantation complex. It had a tabby fireplace 3' by 6' wide and 7' high, which was 6" thick. It was located approximately 80' east of the BB Sams complex overlooking a tributary of the Jenkins Creek at an elevation of 5'. It was a mid-19th century slave village associated with cotton production. A series of structures along the east shore, near 38BU496 are depicted in the Sams Sketch Map. This settlement also seems to match the description of slave houses along Jenkins Creek described by Conway Whittle Sams.

Site 38BU515 is the likely slave settlement near Lewis Reeve's plantation house along the Morgan River. See E. Poplin et al., Section 2, page 247 for a full description. The Hurricane of 1893 obliterated most structures. Lewis Reeve's plantation house was located north and east of this slave settlement.

Settlements around the main house and at Lewis Reeve's plantation site are shown on the 1872 US Coastal Survey Map of St. Helena. Marks on the Sams Sketch Map show sites 38BU507, the large slave settlement across from Cotton Dike Cemetery, and 38BU496, the Jenkins Creek slave settlement (Poplin).

Based on JJ Sams' *Memoirs,* archaeologist Eric Poplin, and John Reid Clonts, a consulting naturalist hired by Alcoa, each reflected on how beautifully BB Sams had landscaped his plantation complex. Despite that, Poplin concluded, "Berners had brought together a complex web of ideas woven by the Enlightenment (i.e., larger more humane slave quarters). But slavery's unacceptable face could not be disguised indefinitely no matter how idealized the landscape or the size of the slave dwellings. *Improvement* and *social reform* went together. Once let loose in the Low Country, these dual ideas would dispossess an elite planter class and destroy, among a multitude of other *slave built* enterprises, all plantations belonging to the Sams family."

Conclusion

Like the typical southern plantation owners of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Sams family relied on slavery. They did not believe it was morally wrong to own another human and treated their enslaved as inheritable and marketable possessions. This workforce of cheap slave labor guaranteed the Sams cotton planters prosperity. The Dataw enslaved, in keeping with the prevailing attitude of other planters, were seen as inferior and not entitled to the same rights their owners enjoyed. They were controlled in both subtle and overt ways with punishment metered out by the slave drivers as necessary. They were expected to be subservient and behave with deference towards their owners. Several racial epithets, 'little darkies' and 'ugly as a baboon,' were labels not unsurprisingly found in one family member's early 1900s written recollections. The Jim Crow laws enacted following Reconstruction, served to reinforce segregationist thinking at that time (Gates).

The Sams slave owners were seemingly more benevolent toward their slaves than some other local planters. Dataw's enslaved seem to have received decent and generally kindly care. For example, BB Sams provided medical care for his enslaved and Lewis Reeve kept a slave who was blind and therefore limited in what he could do. Many of the enslaved lived long lives. The domestic servants in particular developed warm bonds with family members. Although one of the Dataw slave drivers was described as 'a severe man hated by the slaves,' only one reference was discovered identifying a family member as 'mean.' That was found in Charlotte Forten's diary

regarding the plight of the slave, Celia, who belonged to a 'Rebel Dr. Sams' at his Oakland plantation near Dataw. In 1850, the largest number of enslaved belonging to Lewis Reeve and BB Sams combined was almost 300. Since each owned other plantations and town houses, exactly how many of that number were working on Dataw's plantations at one time is unknown. Members of the Sams family were staunch supporters of Secession and many volunteered to serve in the Confederate Army. Clearly, when slavery crumbled on the Sea Islands of South Carolina, both the lives of the enslaved as well as those of their owners were forever impacted by cataclysmic change.

Although many questions remain regarding Dataw's enslaved, those questions are nuanced, open to conjecture, and may never be fully answered. Without a doubt, Dataw's enslaved were indispensable and vital to the island. Their human spirit emerged triumphant in the form of a surviving visible and powerful legacy of their hard labor and remarkable accomplishments. The Dataw Historic Foundation has protected and preserved this legacy for future generations. The ruins of the slave-built Sams Tabby Plantation Complex were awarded the National Register of Historic Places status. Dataw Island's ruins are studied, toured, and appreciated by many today.

Throughout history, the human experience has been plagued by mans' inhumanity to man. That 'dark past' of the African enslaved is reflected poetically in the lyrics of the Negro National Anthem, *Lift Every Voice and Sing,* written by James Weldon Johnson and J. Rosamond Johnson.

Sing a song full of the *faith* that the dark past has taught us,

Sing a song full of the *hope* that the present has brought us,

God of our weary years, God of our silent tears,

Thou has brought us thus far.

AppendiX #1: Names to Research as Other Potential Dataw Enslaved

Pre-Civil War burials at the Cotton Dike Cemetery, formerly called the Slave Cemetery, have been identified. Based on found artifacts and oral interviews, it is known that this cemetery was utilized by local African American families into the twentieth century. In 2006-07, members of the Robinson family, Andrew and Nathan, who were closely connected to Dataw, provided the names of 28 of their ancestors buried there. Based on year of birth and death provided for 22 of the 28 buried there, nine individuals likely were among Dataw's enslaved. They are:

1) Dennis Robinson (b 1790)
2) Bina Brunson (b 1840 - d 1912)
3) Abby Robinson (b 1795)
4) Jolly Robinson (b 1856 - d 1908)
5) Andrew Robinson (b 1830 - d 1910)
6) Alevia Robinson Chaplin (b 1858)
7) Mary Robinson (b 1835 - d 1900)
8) Susan Robinson (b 1860)
9) Andrew Robinson, great grandfather of informant, Andrew Robinson. Andrew believed this Andrew was a slave of William Sams and buried here in 1795.

There were eight resident tenant farmers listed in the Dataw Title Search. These individuals signed a legal agreement in 1875, approximately 10 years after the Civil War's end, with William Irvin, a New Yorker who purchased the north end of Dataw in 1864. Each of these tenant farmers received ten acres guaranteed by crop liens. It is likely that some of these were freedmen and women who may have been among the former ten thousand slaves liberated in the Beaufort District in 1861 and among Dataw's formerly enslaved.

Their names were:

1) W.L Brown
2) Nelly (or Nellie) Scott
3) Hampton Mitchell
4) Stepney Mitchell
5) Tony Moultrie
6) Phoebe Bryan
7) Sam Middleton
8) Boson Johnson

In 1982 Lesley Drucker interviewed the following people who had either lived here themselves or had ancestors who did. It is possible that researching some of these names will lead to information about their ancestors who may have been former enslaved on Dataw. They were:

1) Beatrice Simmons
2) Willie Robinson of Eddings Point
3) Sadie Moultrie Brisbane
4) Redella B. Brabham
5) Virginia Anderson
6) Mary Snipe
7) Mrs. Sam Moultrie (Polawana Island)
8) Eugene Moultrie of Coosaw Island
9) Mrs. Agnes Sherman of the Penn School

Appendix #2: Research Suggestions to Learn about African Americans

Family History Director of the future International African American Museum in Charleston, SC, *Toni Carrier,* has helpful suggestions for locating information about ancestors of African Americans.

1) Ancestry.com is available on the computers at *Beaufort Main Library* on Scott Street, second floor Beaufort Collection Room. Parking is free before 10 a.m. Make arrangements a week in advance. Phone: 843 255-6468. There is a 2-hour limit. There are 250 digital collections. Look into which records have been digitized, what is your scope, and what records survived. Go to the Slave Census documents. Check obituaries.
2) The *Bluffton Library* offers help on the first and fourth Thursday each month.
3) *Freedmen's Bureau Records* began in 1861 when Union forces took possession of this area. Many military officers were charged with protecting the rights of the Freedmen and they had a crisis on their hands. Their job was to safeguard Freedmen's rights and welfare. They provided medical and subsistence help. They oversaw labor contracts and helped settle disputes such as individuals getting the agreed to share of crops as well as the necessary farm tools to cultivate their crops. They helped to reunite families. They helped transport military members back to where they came from. There were no courts and all government functions were disrupted at this time (1865 to 1872). [The Reconstruction Era is defined by the National Park Service as from 1861 to 1898.] As a result, some things were recorded.

a) *Abandoned lands*
b) *Names of People Who Entered into Contracts*
c) *Ration Requests* (these often had the names of the plantation and its owner…many were elderly, feeble and orphaned who needed this assistance);
d) The Register of Deaths
e) *Military Records* including Bounty Claims
f) *Register of Freedmen* which was an inventory of the Contraband Camps (those who followed the military)
g) *Register of Colored Persons*
h) *Register of Schools*
i) *Register of School Children*
* Toni Carrier first checks 'Miscellaneous Records' below:
j) *Freedmen's Bank Records* Family Search digitized these records and a Beaufort bank was included in these records. The slave owner's name might be listed on the person's account.
k) *US Colored Troops Pension Files* Check to see if an individual applied for a military pension. Five hundred forty-six files have been collected so far. Five thousand colored served in South Carolina but many records were missing and they attempted to use witness testimony for validation.
l) *Search for 'place' (large list) and do so by 'plantations' (smaller list).* All these documents were stored at the National Archives, were sorted and are being digitized. They expect to have all the records digitized by 2020. There are now research guides for every state. Ms. Carrier recommends you read your state's guide to begin your research, so you know what is available.

4) Join a Facebook Research Group
5) Go to: LowcountryAfricana.com
6) Check the Underground Railroad Freedom Center in Cincinnati, OH

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