

On Good Friday, April 15th, 1715, the approximately 1,220 Yamasee Indians declared war against the colony of South Carolina by killing all of the white men then in Pocatigo and the other nine Yamasee tribal villages.¹

As we hear in a letter of the 10th of August 1715, " .. The Government had, some three days before this cruel massacre, received some slight intimation of such a design. But could not imagine it to be really so; having heard nothing before of any uneasiness among them" (chiefly due to being deaf, blind and indifferent). "However, the Governor, desirous of promoting the peace and securing the quiet of the Province,^{*} undertook himself the trouble of a visit to them to know their greivances, and redress what he found amiss." Too little, too late.

"And with a numerous attendance was actually going up to their towns, when in the middle of their journey, he received the fatal news of the beginning of the war by the cruel massacres above mentioned.

"His Honor the Governor, without returning to Charleston, raised all the forces in Colleton county."² Colleton county then consisted of four parishes: St. Johns Colleton (made up of islands — Johns Island, Kiawah Island, Wadmalaw Island, Edisto Island); St. Pauls parish; the parish of St. Georges Dorchester; and the parish equivelant to the present Colleton county, S.C. — namely, St. Bartholomews parish, bound to the north and east by Edisto river, and to the south and west by a river called Combahee along its lower stretches, but known further upstream as Salkehatchie river. The Anglican writing this letter, served as the preacher for St. Pauls parish. He continues:

"And with his own attendance (and with" [such] "other assistance" [as] "could

* "Province" = the English,
not the Indians

readily be gotten together, marched directly towards them.

"And the week after Easter, encountered the Yamousees at the head of a river called Combahee. And after a very hot engagement of about three-quarters of an hour, put them to flight."

Much further on down in the same letter, the preacher mentions "An Indian War. Captain who himself fought for us at the Battle of Combahee."¹ This is the famous Waterree Jack, a Waterree Indian man who had formerly lived as a slave on the landholdings of former South Carolina Governor James Moore Sr., at Wassum-issau and Adthan (Goose) Creek — Wassamasaw Swamp and Goose Creek on the far upper reaches of Ashley river and Cooper river, respectively. Freed by former Governor Moore by 1706, Waterree Jack now found himself, nine years later, fighting under one of James Moore's successors in the office, a Governor Craven — fighting on the battlefield against other Indians, sometime during the week beginning on Monday the 18th of April 1715. The site of the battle:

somewhere around the source of Rosemary creek (called Salkehatchie river and then Combahee river further on downstream) .. The source of Rosemary creek arises in what we now call Barnwell county next to the present Williston, S.C. and less than a mile short of the Aiken-Barnwell county line .. and two miles south of a small town across the line in Aiken county called White Pond, S.C.²

May 14th, 1715

Further involvement of Wateree Indians in the
Yamasee War after Wateree Jack's participation
in April 18th to the 25th, 1715;

on May 14th, 1715

May 17th, 1715

June 5th, 1715

June 13th, 1715

Dr. Le Jau writes that about the 14th of May these Indians came "to a settlement belonging to one John Herne, about thirty or forty miles near the borders of the parish of St. James Goose Creek, and killed poor Herne treacherously after he had given them some victuals after our usual friendly manner. This party of Indians continued lurking in the woods still drawing towards the Mulberry (Col. Broughton's seat twelve miles of my house) and one Mrs. Julien's plantation, who lays at some fifteen or twenty miles distance, I believe, north of me." 4

May 14th, 1715

John Herne⁶, the Mulberry⁷ and Mrs. Julien's plantation⁸ all belong to St. Johns Berkeley. Concerning Mulberry, the plantation of Thomas Broughton on the west bank of the Western Branch of Cooper river not far downriver from the present Moncks Corner, we may quote the following: ("It stands on a high bluff above Cooper river and is an imposing structure. The brick walls, several feet thick, are pierced for musketry in the lower story. At the four corners are small, square semidetached buildings with pointed roofs surmounted by ironwork vanes six feet high, each having the date 1714. Under each of these a trapdoor leads to a deep, stone-paved cellar for the storage of ammunition .. These buildings are called 'flankers', but give the impression of turrets. Hence the place was always called 'Mulberry Castle.' It was built after 'Seaton', the English home of the Broughtons, which may be seen engraved on their family tree." ⁷

Mrs. Julien is Damaris Elizabeth Le Serrurier, the wife of Peter de St. Julien de Malacare, and the plantation on which they lived is Wantoot, a thousand acres[&] north of the present Moncks Corner, on the other side of the river from it and the Mulberry.* "The house, a massive structure of cypress, with its Dutch roof and huge chimneys (said to have been built upon the model of a Dutch frigate turned upside down) was built in 1712." Castle Mulberry still stands, 270 years after its construction, but Wantoot is no more, having been burnt to the ground precisely a century and a half after its service.

*"at the head of the West Branch of Cooper"; Wantoot "possibly an Indian word" - & if so, probably from the Taino -like language of the Etiwan Indians

14th & 17th May 1715

as a fort in the Yamasee War. St. Julien, a native of Vitre' in France and then about forty-five or forty-six years of age, came from the Orange Quarter (or French Quarter or parish of St. Dennis) on the east side of the Eastern Branch of Cooper river at Wisboo* creek (or Lynches creek, or French Quarter creek, later Fresh Water creek), where a colony of French Huguenots planted themselves in 1685 or 1686. St. Julien's father, Pierre Julien de St. Julien, sieur de Malacare had a plantation there called Pompion Hill or Pumpkin Hill.^f

Subsequent action involving this body of several hundred Indians, which held together and rambled over the same territory for a full month, took place chiefly on the 17th of May and again on the 5th and 13th of June.

May 17th, 1715. On this day the Indians met a force of 102, ninety white and twelve black, all on horseback, and killed twenty-seven, losing "several" of their own men. Our accounts follow under head of the Roman numerals I through V.

I. Our French minister, Le Jau, writes on the 21st of May: "A worthy gentleman, Captain Thomas Barker, was sent last Sunday, 15th of this instant with ninety men on horseback and twelve negroes to lodge himself at the Hernes' plantation, whose fate was then unknown, and was to be followed by Col. Moore with a strong body of white men and negroes; but being destroyed by an Indian to whom Capt. Barker's father-in-law, the late

*originally Wiskbo
(an Etowan word)

17th May 1715

famous Col. Moore, had given his freedom, and in whom we trusted entirely."

"These Northern Indians having lined a path through which our party ought absolutely to go, and being hid by large trees fallen in our late hurricane very thick, they took their opportunity as our men were ensnared between them to fire very briskly without being seen. Our men being surprized presently dismounted and fired also. The Indians fled, but the Captain falling and there being no commanding officer at hand, we were discouraged and retreated. I lost ten very brisk parishoners with the Captain upon that unhappy occasion. The news was sent to me the very day of the engagement, on Tuesday last instant at midnight; and was desired to secure my wife and children from the barbarous enemy." ⁴ The ambush had taken place at noon.

II. In a letter from another minister, William Tredwell Bull, the pastor for the parish of St. Pauls, of the 10th of August, 1715, we read: "We had great hopes of putting a speedy end to this barbarous war when to our great surprize we understood that several other nations were joined in the conspiracy, both the Northern and Southern Indians having killed the traders that were among them. So that a very small and inconsiderable number of Indians only, that lived interspersed with the English, remained our friends." ^{5A} He refers mainly to the Etowan, eighty men and twice that number of women and children scattered about with no fixed place of abode in St. James Goose Creek. Many of the children belonging to this tribe already

17th May 1715

spoke good English, though otherwise their way of life remained much the same as before.⁴ The only other tribe known definitely to have fought on the side of the settlers is the Kiawah, a group several times smaller in number than the Etiwan.⁹ "And even of these some proved to be only spies on our proceedings and gave intelligence of all that passed amongst us to the enemy, as we had all reason imaginable to believe. And particularly from the death of one Captain Barker, a brave young gentleman who with about a hundred horses being ordered up to the Congerees, a small nation of our Northern Indians,[#] either to compell them or force them to join us, fell into an ambuscade and himself and near thirty of his men killed. An Indian War Captain who himself fought for us at the Battle of Combahee" (a very hot engagement of forty-five minutes at the head of Combahee river, in which Governor Craven put the Yamasees to flight) "and parted from them but the day before with promise to meet them the next day, being at the head of the enemy, and fired the first shot upon Captain Barker himself."^{5A} This Indian was a Wateree and a manumitted slave.

III. Le Jau writes again, on the 22nd of August: "The reason of our forsaking our settlement was an unfortunate accident which did happen May 17th about noon. Just on the borders of my parish and rather a few hours march from the field of battle to my house, three hundred Indians having lain in an ambuscade fired upon a party of our men, most of them my parishoners, who fought very bravely and killed several of the enemy, but being

of 22 men in
1712-1715 before
the war; of 30 men
in 1715 during the war

17th May 1715

overpowered by the number were forced to retire and leave behind some wounded men whom the Indians killed. We lost, the Captain and twenty-six very pretty young men. This accident did put the whole country, and them chiefly who lay the most exposed into a great consternation. By divine mercy the Indians did not pursue their advantage .." ⁴

IV. A map of South Carolina drawn sixty years later in 1775 and used extensively by both sides during the American Revolution shows an X in St. Johns Berkeley about three and a half miles almost directly south of Nelsons ferry on Santee river with the notation, "Capt. Barker defeated in 1715." * ¹⁰

V. One of the horsemen with Barker was an Edward Thomas. A history of South Carolina published in 1809 speaks of him — "This gentleman after living about fifty years in St. Stephens parish, for fifteen years of which period he never passed the limits of his plantation, went to England and died there since the Revolution" (since 1782) "at the advanced age of ninety." While in England he met a John Palmer, also of St. Stephens, and spoke to him of the Yamasee War: ¹¹

"A similar act of perfidy on the part of the Indians was committed about the same time a little above the Eutaws at a place called Barkers Savannah. The commanding officer, Col. Barker, from whose defeat the scene of action acquired its name, was drawn into an ambushade by the treachery of an Indian named Watteree Jack who, pretending friendship, allured the white people into a snare. In this action David Palmer was killed and Ed-

*ultimately copied from the large map General Barnwell drew in England in 1720 & '21

17th & 18th of May 1715.

ward Thomas, the great-grandfather of the two present Dr. Thomas's, was wounded." ⁱⁱ

Other than for armed bodies of men fortified in a few isolated plantations, virtually all of the settlers north of Charleston packed up and hit the road for that city the day after the loss of the twenty-seven men.⁴ The northernmost of these forts lay at French Santee, its pastor, Claudius Phillippe De Richebourg, having returned with some of his men after only a week or so as refugees.^{5B} The Southern and Western Indians, so-called, had already driven the colonists north. The colony had a dozen parishes, but by the night of the 18th of May, 1715, most of the people in them were concentrated in two of them, namely, St. Phillips and St. Michaels, meaning the Charleston Peninsula be-

17th May 1715

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18th & 20th of May 1715

tween the Ashley and Cooper rivers. ⁴ (Just before the outbreak of war on the 15th of April the colony may have had a white population of 6,300, English, Irish and French, including 1,600 men, besides a larger number of slaves (all blacks other than for about 1,850 Indians) and 535 settlement Indians,

— the *Ettowan* in the north and the *Chyawahaw, Edistoh, Kussoo, Escamacu* and *Coosa* in the south. ¹⁴ And now, other than for those already killed, the men in the army, or in forts, and the settlement Indians, all of these people were refugees in Charleston. We will consider all of this from the perspective of one man, Le Jau, writing on the 21st of May. ⁴

"My parish [#] is all deserted but two fortified plantations where our men lay with a body of negroes waiting for orders. I came here" (to Charleston) "on Wednesday night with part of my family and am entertained with great humanity and charity by Madam Johnston or Commissary's wife" — the wife of one Gideon Johnston, an Irishman, the Commissary or top official of the Anglican church in South Carolina. ⁴ ("Yesterday" (May 20th, 1715) "news came that these Indians had been near the Mulberry and Mrs. Julien's plantation, but finding these places well guarded the base men never durst attempt anything. Their scouts were yesterday also near one Captain Chicken's plantation, where our chief fort and best body of men lay. It is but six miles of my parsonage .. There is no time to lose, for if this torrent of Indians continue to fall upon us there is no resisting them as matters stand with us." ⁴

St. James Goose creek

May 21st & June 5th, 1715

Le Jau now rattles off the names of ten preachers, each representing a rural parish — St. Bartholomews, St. Helens, St. Dennis, St. James Goose Creek, St. Johns Berkeley, St. Thomas, St. Andrews, St. Pauls, St. James Santee and Christ Church, respectively.⁴ (Two of these, St. Dennis and St. James, called the Orange Quarter and French Santee, respectively, represented French Huguenot populations; St. Dennis was the smallest of the ten, consisting "chiefly of abundance of youth and children .. in the number of thirty families .. The young people is very much inclined to the English tongue and are like to increase the number of our English churchmen." This according to their minister.^{5c} (To continue with Le Jau: "Mr. Osbourne, Mr. Guy and Mr. La Pierre of St. Dennis, with myself, have no parishes at present. Mr. Maule is safe for a time at the Mulberry but his parish is also deserted. So is Mr. Hasell. Some few people are on Ashley river, Mr. Taylor's parish, and Mr. Bull is this side Port Royal and safe enough at present. Just now I hear he is driven out of his parish, the time to come is in God Almighty's hands. Mr. Richebourg at Santee is also without his flock; Mr. Jones is still in his parish."⁴

(Someone broke in while Le Jau was actually writing and contradicted what he had just written, that William Tredwell Bull was still safe in St. Pauls.⁴

June 5th, 1715. On this day the aforementioned body of three to five hundred Indians met a force of thirty, white and black,

June 5th, 1715

and killed nineteen, or twenty-two, taking at least five as prisoners of war and allowing only a few, or possibly only one, a black man, to escape. Our accounts of this follow under head of the Roman numerals I through VI.

I. An unsigned letter of July 19th, 1715, to two South Carolinians in London. "I believe the misfortune that befell Captain Barker was before you went hence, by which he lost twenty-seven men. And some time after the garrison at Schenckings Fort, commanded by one Redwood, was foolishly betrayed by credulity of said Captain who listening too much to the insinuations of peace disarmed his own men and suffered the Indians to come amongst them. Who taking the opportunity drew out their knives and tomahawks from under their clothes and knocked twenty-two of our men on the head, burnt and plundered the garrison."¹⁵

Schenckings Fort lay on Santee river, as did the French fort under De Richebourg at French Santee.

II. The letter from William Tredwell Bull, August 10th, 1715. "Not long after this another party of Indians under pretense of peace surprized a small garrison of about twenty men, one of them only escaping to tell the news."^{5A}

III. Le Jau writes on the 22nd of August that the Indians who had ambushed Barker "amused themselves in firing on a small fort where we had thirty men white and black. But not being able to take it by force they contrived to send proposals of peace to our men in the fort, which they unwisely accepted. And having received a vast number of Indians in the fort, nineteen

June 5th, 1715

of them were murdered in cold blood; a few escaped. The others, who were young lads, were carried away captives. This happened June the 5th." ⁴

IV. In another letter of the 23rd of August Le Jau writes: "We lost the Commander of our party that had the misfortune to be surprized by the Northern Indians, and twenty-six men, most of them young gentlemen of my parish. This accident, happening within a few hours march to my house, put all our neighbors into a great consternation. In the beginning of June the same Indians having battered one of our small ports in vain, sent proposals of peace to our men that were in it to the number of thirty, white and black. And having deluded them into a belief that they were sincere were admitted in great numbers into the fort where in cold blood they killed nineteen of them. A few escaped and the rest were made captives." ⁴

V. A letter from Claudius Phillipe De Richebourg, the pastor of French Santee, February 12th, 1716. "My parish of St. James upon Santee river is the remotest of this province on the north side, neighboring to several nations of Indians" (the Seawee, Wiania and Santee) "and consequently the most exposed on that side. Though the war began to the south the 13th of April" (wrong — it was the 15th, Good Friday) "presently after, the Northern Indians did declare themselves against us by killing the traders. And we were forced to retire ourselves and run away from our habitations the 6th of May." ⁵⁸

"But the week following we took altogether a good and firm resolution to return and secure that frontier, to fortify ourselves

June 5th, 1715

and defend ourselves against a so barbarous enemy, Our fortifications being not yet finished we heard the terrible news of Mr. Barker and his company killed, the Schenckinckh Fort taken and the garrison miserably murdered by five hundred Indians upon our river and not far off from us." 58

VI. The recollections of Edward Thomas in England in the 1780's. "In the Indian war in 1715 St. Johns and St. Stephens parishes were the frontiers of the province. In or near them were three forts, the first on Cooper river about three or four miles below Moncks Corner on the plantation of Mr. Thomas Broughton, called Mulberry. One was on Mr. Daniel Ravenel's plantation, called Wantoot. Another on a plantation of Mr. Iazard's, called Schenckinckh's, on Santee river. The garrison at Schenckinckh's were all massacred in consequence of their own imprudence in permitting a number of Indians to enter the fort under the cloak of peace and friendship. When they got in they butchered the whole of the garrison except one negro, who jumped over the fort. He ran to the garrison at Wantoot and gave the alarm." 11

Thus far, Edward Thomas remains more or less on the track, though his reminiscences contain a few anachronisms, both Daniel Ravenel and St. Stephens parish belonging to an age later than that of the Yamasee War. But the rest of his story amounts to wishful thinking, betraying a degree of emotion still felt in England some sixty or seventy years or more after the fact, for no such thing happened. "Col. Hyrne who was in that fort ad-

5th & 13th of June 1715

vanced with a party — surprized the same body of Indians at Schenckings Fort and killed the whole of them. They were unguarded and engaged in feasting. In this situation they were surprized and cut to peices. Colonel Hyrne who commanded on this occasion was the grandfather of the late Major Hyrne." ¹¹

A Ralph Izard lived in St. Johns Berkeley at this time, as did one Benjamin Schenckings, a native of Barbadoes; one would consider both of them prominent men, wealthy landowners, and the fort in question probably had some connection with them. ¹⁶ The first letter quoted spells the name Schinkins, ¹⁵ De Richebourg has it SkinKing ^{5B} and Edward Thomas, Schinskins. ¹¹

June 13th, 1715. On this day the Indians met 110 — seventy whites and forty blacks and Indians, or 120, and killed two, a white man and a black. The Indian army lost "about forty" or "above sixty", including some of the women and children, besides two captured, a quantity of guns, ammuniton, food and plunder, and four white prisoners of war. The remainder, about 350, dispersed to their various towns. Our accounts follow under Roman numerals I through IV.

I. The letter of the 19th of July, 1715. "Captain Chicken marched from the Ponds with 120 men." ¹⁵ (This is George Chicken of St. Johns Berkeley. The Ponds, or Weston Hall, was a plantation of 2,400 acres at the head of Ashley river, having three small lakes, black and Indian slaves, white servants, houses, buildings, horses, cattle, sheep and hogs and occupied by one

13th June 1715

Nathaniel Carr with his wife and children, though owned by three persons in London, namely, Andrew Percival, his sister Mary and their mother Essex, the survivors of the late Andrew Percival of South Carolina.¹⁷ "And understanding that they were got to a plantation about four miles distant marched there, divided his men into three parties, two of which he ordered to march in part to surround them and in part to prevent their flight into an adjacent swamp.¹⁵

"But before the said party could arrive to the post designed them two Indians belonging to the enemy, scouting down to the place where Captain Chicken lay in ambushade, he was obliged for fear of discovery to shoot them down. And immediately fell upon the body, routed them and as is supposed killed about forty, besides their wounded they carried away. Took two prisoners and released four white men, as I remember they kept alive of those of Schenckings's garrison.¹⁵

"The white prisoners informed us that the night before the Chiroquese to the number of about seventy, understanding that one of their nation were sent by the Governor to make peace, went away with Steven Ford's son, another taken at the garrison, to their own towns. Since which we have not heard anything of the Indians from any quarter. Tis supposed they are gone home with design to come down with a greater force and to make further alliances."¹⁵

II.. The letter from William Tredwell Bull, August 10th, 1715. "This party however a few days after paid dear for their

13th June 1715

treachery. One Captain Chicken, a brave bold officer with a small party of men, came up with them, killed several on the spot and wounded a great many, took all their ammunition and baggage and a considerable number of their arms, which in haste through flight they threw from them. Since this defeat they are fled so far from the settlement that to the northwards of the province they have not been heard of more." 5A

III. The letter from Francis Le Jau, August 22nd, 1715. "Having given you an account of our bad fortune I must also mention the good success we had on June 13th. The Captain of our Goose Creek company, called G. Chicken, surprized our Northern Indians, fought them from four in the afternoon until night, killed sixty of them or more and forced them to run away and leave behind some ammunition, plunder, provision and so forth. We lost one white man and a negro. The Indians were three or four hundred and had their women and children with them. This blow given by seventy white men and about forty negroes and Indians has discouraged them in such a manner that they durst not appear since on the north." 4

IV. The other letter by Le Jau, August 23rd, 1715. "But June 13th the Captain of our Goose Creek company, one Mr. G. Chicken with seventy white and forty blacks or Indians, surprized that body of Northern Indians, being a mixture of Catabaws, Sarraws, Waterrees and so forth to the number of three or four hundred and fought them from four in the afternoon till it was dark. And killed above sixty among whom my son believes

13th June 1715

there was some women and children whom the Indians did endeavor to secure." Le Jau's son fought at this battle under Captain Chicken. "They fled at last into the woods and marshes leaving behind arms, ammunition, provision and the plunder they had got from our poor people whom they had massacred in all parts of the province from the beginning. Since this blow the Northern parts of the province have been pretty quiet." 4
