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The Colleton family and their part in the establishment of the slave/plantation system

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Summary table of Colleton history

Name	Place	Notes
Thomas Colleton	Monkenzeale, Devon	
Peter Colleton (1563? to 1622)	Exeter	Sheriff of Exeter Wool merchant Royalist
Sir John, 1st baronet (1608-1667)	Exeter; Barbados (1650-1660); London;	Royalist who fled to Bdos and played leading political role with Modyford. Established sugar plantations in Bdos. Initiated royal charter for settlement of Carolina. Director of Royal Adventurers trading with Africa (slave trading)
Sir Peter, 2nd Bart (1635-1694)	London; Barbados; Carolina; Exmouth	Barbados Deputy Governor and President of the Council 1672-7 Agent for Royal African Company 1670 organised move of settlers from Bdos to S. Carolina. Received land in S.C. including Fair Lawn. Retired to England c1680.
Sir John 3rd Bart (1669-1754)	Exmouth	Merchant of Exeter Received land at Colleton Neck, S.C.
Hon John (1701-1750)	Exmouth; Carolina	Moved to Fair Lawn S.C. Member of His Majesty's Council in S. C.
Sir John 4th Bart (1738-1778)	Carolina	Lived at Fair Lawn Member of His Majesty's Council in S. C. 1st m to Anne Fulford of Devon 2nd m to Jane Mutter
Louisa C. Colleton (1763- 1822)	Fair Lawn S.C.; Hembury Fort, Devon	Dter of John Colleton and Anne Fulford 1775 Fled from Fair Lawn to Fulfords (Devon) to escape American Revolution 1786 m to Admiral Richard Graves 1802 opened Colleton Cres, Exeter.
Sophia Louisa Colleton Graves (1789-1868)	Buckerell, Devon; Vere and Kingston, Jamaica	Dter of Richard and Louisa Graves 1st m to Tristram Ratcliffe II, owner of Exeter plantation, Jamaica, who d. 1826; 2nd m to Baron Ketelhodt 1830. He made unsuccessful claim on Exeter 1834; became Custos of St Thomas, Ja, and was killed in Morant Bay Rebellion (Sherlock p.259).

1. The Colleton family in Exeter

The Colleton family were originally Normans and had long been prominent in Exeter as wool merchants[1]. In his thesis, Buchanan, a Colleton descendant, relates that the family had several generations of experience in administration as mayors of Exeter and as merchants of woollen cloth which they stored in their warehouses on the Exeter Quay and shipped in their own vessels to Europe and across the Atlantic. They had trading connections with the Netherlands, which would prove invaluable as the Dutch were key players in the early financing and organising of the slave trade and slave-based sugar agriculture in the New World. Friar's and Larkbeare were two of their Exeter properties, near to the quay.

The Colletons were colleagues, or even relatives, of the Modyfords in Exeter and were Royalists related to George Monck,[2] the Duke of Albemarle, who was an important connection in advancing their careers. John Colleton (1608-1666) was the first of the family to go to Barbados, in 1650, after the defeat of the Royalists in England and the supremacy of the Parliamentarians. He was one of the group of Royalists, with Modyford and the Walronds, who were active in the establishment of the slave/plantation system in Barbados and South Carolina.

Who was George Monck?

George Monck (1608 – 1670) was born near Great Torrington, son of an MP and grandson of Sir George Smith, merchant, who was three times mayor of Exeter and its richest citizen. This seems to be how his family was close to the Colletons and the Modyfords. He was a prominent soldier under the Royalists, then the Parliamentarians, then the Royalists again. He was rewarded by Charles II at the Restoration in 1660 by titles including Duke of Albemarle and Earl of Torrington. Also, in 1663 he was named one of the eight Lords Proprietors of North and South Carolina, being awarded a huge tract of land.

2. The Colletons in Barbados

Colletons as planters: According to Buchanan, **John Colleton** (1608-1667) bought his first Barbados property sight unseen in 1647 – this was the 90 acre The Ridges, St Peter, just north of the present-day Speightstown, near the west coast (see Maps). The Colleton Great House there is now a tourist hotel. His second property consisted of 220 acres on higher ground inland on the borders of St Peter and St Lucy accumulated from 1651 to 1660, but this was a dry, rocky area. His third property, in the parish of St John in the east of the island, was accumulated from 1651 to 1662 and known as the Windward property,

[1] Buchanan, J.E. (1989). *The Colleton family and the early history of South Carolina and Barbados 1646 – 1775.* PhD thesis, Edinburgh University, accessed on ethos – electronic theses online service, Aug 2020.
[2] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_Monck,_1st_Duke_of_Albemarle

consisting of 450 acres. This was where he lived and had his main estate, *"where the breeze is constant, the rainfall abundant, and the red soil produces excellent cane"* [3]. This large area, of around 500 acres, was necessary for efficient sugar cane production, with about one enslaved worker for every two acres. His house there has not survived. Buchanan speculates that Colleton financed these purchases through his connections in the City of London, possibly including Thomas Kendall, Modyford's brother-in-law. On these plantations he rapidly made a substantial profit from slave-grown sugar, in company with other large planters such as Modyford, the Walronds, Drax and Codrington.



Barbados, showing Colleton plantations

world-mapss.blogspot.com

John Colleton lived in Barbados for ten years (1650-1660) and was one of the *"forceful, able and aggressive men"*[4] who were to play a dominant role in future American colonisation as merchants and planters. Almost as soon as he arrived he became embroiled in the Royalist vs Parliamentarian conflict described in the Modyford section[5]. In fact, Colleton acted

[3] Dunn, R.S., *The Barbados Census of 1680: Profile of the richest colony in English America.* WMQ, Vol XXVI, 1969, p.15.
[4] Dunn, p.78
[5] The earlier sections, on Modyford and Walrond, can be read in conjunction with this Colleton section to give a fuller picture of the early Devon/Barbados/slavery connection.

closely with Modyford throughout this period, helping to achieve the re-establishment of parliamentary rule under the Aysque expedition of 1652, a judicious choice in spite of their being Royalists themselves. As reward, he was appointed a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas and his sequestration (a punishment for fighting on the Royalist side) order was removed. Ayscue's alliance with Colleton and Modyford, who were moderate Royalists in contrast to the extreme royalism of the Walrond brothers, brought peace to Barbados.

During John Colleton's years in Barbados, the Colleton-Modyford faction intrigued for one side or the other in a constantly changing political environment. One controversial scheme they strongly supported was Venables' 1655 attack on the Spanish island of San Domingo (Hispaniola) as part of Cromwell's Western Design. Colleton and Modyford felt the need to extend their agricultural territory. To this end they recruited 4,000 white freemen as part of the army. This was unpopular with a section of Barbados planters who did not want to lose their labour force or for other islands to be developed which could compete with them in sugar production. The San Domingo attack failed but Jamaica was captured instead, though with great loss of life due to plague and food shortages.



Colleton Great House, St Peter, Barbados

https://q-xx.bstatic.com/xdata/images/hotel

John Colleton stayed in Barbados until the restoration of the monarchy in England in 1660, at which time he was able to return to England to live in London without having to pay penalties to the parliamentary regime. He left his sons to manage his plantations, to provide leadership for the Barbados Adventurers and to provide base facilities for the exploration and development of the Carolina coast. In 1665 he left a trust dividing his Barbados property between his three sons who were to take turns in managing the property[6].

John Colleton was therefore a key ally of Modyford and participated in the early establishment of the slave/plantation system, though it is not clear whether he played as significant a role in the government of the island as did Modyford. Modyford acted with

[6] HHA D/4. Buchanan appendix B

John Colleton until the latter's departure in 1660 and then with his son Peter Colleton until Modyford himself left for Jamaica in 1664. Modyford stayed for a while in Barbados after his appointment as Governor of Jamaica because he had to organise many settlers to accompany him[7].

Peter Colleton in Barbados

John Colleton's eldest son, Peter (1635-1694), assisted in running the family plantations but did not seem to attain high office on the island due to his frequent absences. Peter made frequent visits 'home' during the 1660s and 1670s, and in about 1680 returned home for good. He was ahead of the trend in absenteeism. Most large planters lived on their plantations with occasional visits to England in the 1670s but absenteeism became more common in the 1680s due to worsening economic and political conditions on the island, such as soil exhaustion and a new sugar tax. Planters were more able to lobby for better conditions from London than from Barbados.

Colletons in the government of Barbados

Inspite of his absences, Peter Colleton was a member of the Barbados Council from 1664-84 and Deputy Governor and President of the Council 1672-7[8]. I have not been able to find any other reference to either John or Peter Colleton in the government of Barbados. If, as it seems, they played a minor role in the period when the Slave Code was passed, then they were less influential than Modyford and Walrond in the establishment of the racist laws. From the dates of Peter Colleton's membership of the Barbados Council, it appears that he only became more involved in the government after Modyford had gone to Jamaica and Walrond had fled the island.

Colletons' role in the slave trade

Both father and son were involved in the slave trade through their membership of Company of Royal Adventurers Trading with Africa, set up by Charles II in 1660 which became the Royal African Company in 1672. John was a director of the Company and Peter, along with Modyford, was an agent in Barbados[9]. Thus the Colletons were heavily involved in the trading of enslaved Africans. (The main shareholders and directors were King Charles II, the future King James II and Edward Colston whose statue was toppled into the harbour at Bristol in June 2020.)

The Colletons' main role would seem to be in transferring the slave/plantation system and its laws from Barbados to mainland America.

[7] Buchanan, p.73

[8] http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/colleton-sir-peter-1635-94

[9] Bridenbaugh, C. & R. (1972). No peace beyond the line: The English in the Caribbean 1624-1690. NY: OUP. p.249

3. The Colletons move to Carolina

Dunn[10] gives a clear account of the move from Barbados to the Carolinas. As explained earlier (under Modyford), Barbados in the 1660s was becoming over-populated and there was pressure for planters, smallholders and freed white servants to emigrate. In 1663 Peter Colleton, along with Modyford, attempted unsuccessfully to promote emigration to Cape Fear in North Carolina through the Barbados Adventurers, a scheme which fell through when their plans for home rule were rejected by the Lords Proprietors[11].

However, the problem then became that many of the most useful men were leaving Barbados, as with Modyford's departure for example, resulting in a shortage of fighting men who were needed to repel invasions by other European powers and to suppress the enslaved Africans. John Colleton, by then an absentee proprietor, made an analysis of the island's population. He estimated that by 1666 the population had shrunk to the size it was in the 1640s, with 760 'considerable proprietors' and at most 8000 'effective men', most of whom were of 'little innate courage'[12]. In 1669, his son, Peter, reckoned that 2,000 people had emigrated, either to New England ('the sobriest and the richest') or to Jamaica ('the looser sort')[13]. Later, the destinations of the 593 people leaving Barbados in 1679 was recorded because they had to obtain an official ticket to prove that they were not debtors attempting to escape their creditors. These tickets show that 100 went to Virginia and the Carolinas, 35 to Jamaica and 3 to Topsham[14] in Devon among many other destinations. This shows the popularity of the North American colonies as places for planters to try to remake their fortunes.

It was John Colleton who initiated the proprietorship scheme for South Carolina. Through his contacts he was able to put pressure on the king, who granted a royal charter in 1663. Eight Lords Proprietors were given control over the settlement, the apportionment of land, and the creation of its laws. Six of these eight had Westcountry backgrounds. Their names are still there in today's place names: Monck's Corner, Ashley River, Cooper River, Albemarle, Berkeley, Carteret and Craven counties.

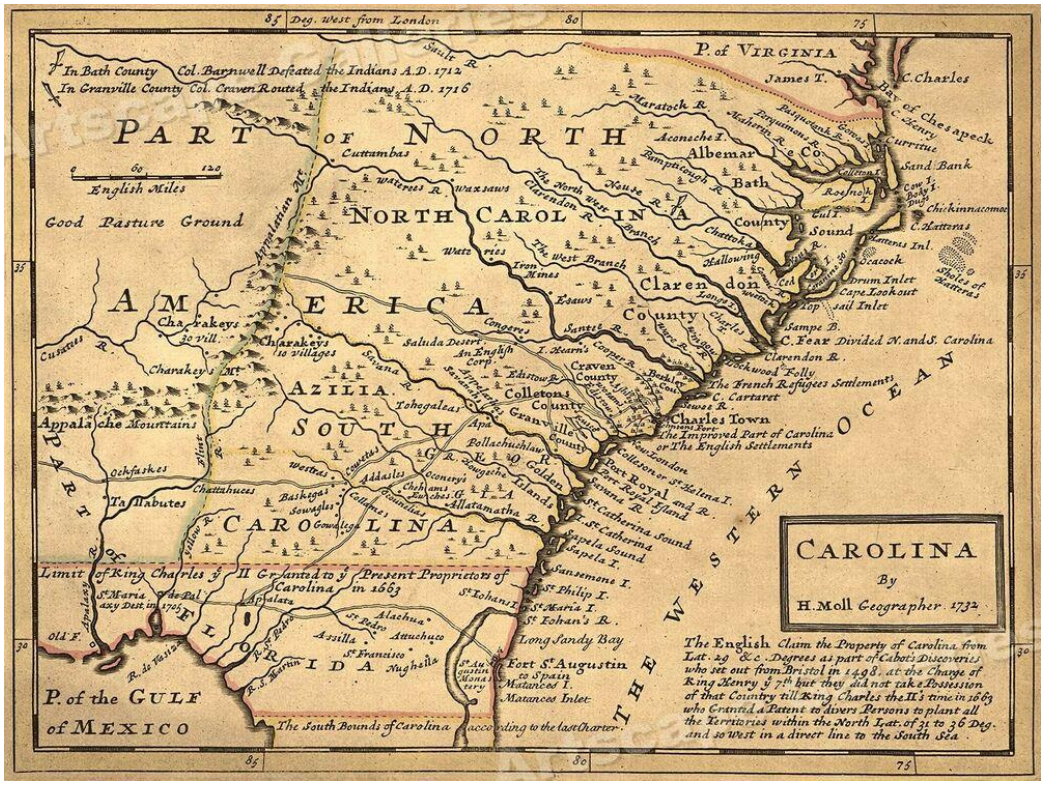
[10] Dunn, S. (1972). *Sugar and slaves*. London: Cape. P.110-116

[11] Bridenbaugh p.208. The colony was ruled by eight Lords Proprietors appointed by the king and given far-reaching powers.

[12] Bridenbaugh p.215

[13] Bridenbaugh p.219

[14] PRO: CO 1/44, fol.47, XXVI



The Carolinas in 1732 showing Colleton County, Cooper River and Charlestown

[Carolina 1732 Map Poster #Vintage #Maps #Posters | Map, Map poster, Historical maps (pinterest.com)]

The organising of the move of settlers from Barbados to South Carolina was spearheaded by Peter Colleton and Thomas Modyford. It didn't actually happen until 1670 after many difficulties and one disastrous voyage from Barbados. According to Dunn[15], Barbadians played a decisive role in the formation of South Carolina because of their exceptional energy, experience and wealth. They settled at Goose Creek on the Ashley River near present-day Charleston. Over the course of the 17th century, many thousands of Barbadians moved to this and other parts of English America. Their prominent role is evidenced in the number of governors of the colony who had Barbadian backgrounds – seven out of the 23 between 1669 and 1737; one of these was James Colleton, younger brother of Peter. They were awarded land warrants, some for the minimum allotment of 70 acres but others for hundreds of acres. These arrivals tended to be men of wealth and position who needed room to expand their holdings and to provide greater opportunities for themselves and their children. They brought with them their white servants and enslaved Africans. Buchanan credits the early survival of the colony on Peter Colleton's careful planning for the supply of provisions.

Although the Colletons were the prime organisers of the colonising scheme, they did not have good fortune on the mainland themselves. In the 1670s Peter was head of the family

[15] Dunn (1972) p.112

and held positions in both South Carolina and Barbados: one of the Lords Proprietors of South Carolina, member of the Barbados Council, and owner of his Barbados sugar plantation. He divided his time between the two locations while his brothers (James and Thomas) remained in Barbados and played their part in governing the island. The three brothers sent letters to each other, which sometimes took months to reach their destination, and this poor communication caused difficulties in the administration of the colonies.

Peter retired to England in about 1680 and left the management of the family plantation in Barbados to his brother Thomas who, in turn, became a leading figure as member of the Assembly, judge on the Barbados bench, and colonel of the militia. But the other brother, James, having no particular role on the island, was sent to South Carolina in 1686 as governor and obtained extensive grants of land. The aim was that he would ensure that the colonists obeyed the laws of the Fundamental Constitutions that the Lords Proprietors set out. But he was unable to achieve this; the colonists rebelled against him in 1690 and sent him packing back to Barbados! On the death or departure of his brother Thomas from the island, James took over his role in managing the family plantations and sitting on the Barbados Assembly.

4. Agriculture and slavery in South Carolina

Early settlers to South Carolina took planting material for cotton, indigo, rice, sugar cane and ginger, and grew local crops like corn, melons and yams. A triangular trade was proposed by Thomas Colleton of timber from Carolina to Barbados, sugar and rum to New York, then 'supplies' from New York back to Carolina. Slavery was introduced at an early stage in the colony's development by sugar planters from Barbados. John Yeamans was said to have brought the first group of enslaved Africans from Barbados in 1671.

In the early days of settlement, the products of the colony were not very profitable and, consequently, the number of enslaved Africans was small and their treatment relatively benign. Initially, rice was cultivated though yields were limited but they greatly increased (in the 1680s and 1690s) due to the introduction of better seeds and to the utilisation of the Africans' expertise in rice cultivation from their traditional experience in West Africa. This led to great prosperity in South Carolina, for a while possibly the wealthiest place on Earth. Planters grew rich overnight; an elite developed in which wealth, privilege and power went hand in hand; and Charleston developed a showy and boisterous society which resembled Barbados. The demand for enslaved labour shot up and Africans were imported in large numbers, mainly from Angola. From the 1,500 enslaved in South Carolina in 1690, there were 20,000 by 1730. Feeling increasingly threatened by the black population and more determined to maintain their enormous profits, the governing council adopted the Jamaican Slave Code in 1695 to exert tighter control over the enslaved population. Furthermore, in 1698 the monopoly of the slave trade that had been enjoyed by the Royal African Company

was abolished and the trade became freer, greatly increasing the number of slaving voyages.[16]

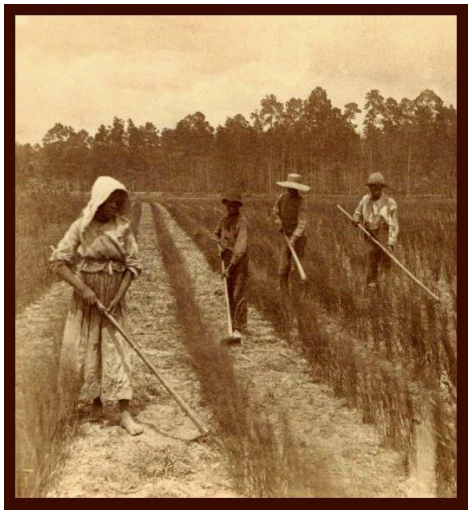


Rice-growing areas of the Carolinas (in brown)

map of rice growing areas of south carolina - Bing images

Rice cultivation occurred in the swampy creeks along the coastal plains of South Carolina. It required expertise to regulate the flow of water along irrigation ditches and brawn to prepare the grain for market. The crop needed cutting and threshing and then pounding in wooden mortars to remove the husk. Toil was hard in the hot swamps where mosquito-borne diseases were rife. The Colleton properties, such as Mepkin, Wadboo and Fairlawn (see Appendix), were in just these areas, alongside the Cooper River. Presumably the Colletons grew rice and benefitted from the high value of their enslaved workers' labour. The Colletons seem to have been largely absent from their Carolina properties during this period but, in 1726, the Hon John Colleton (1701-1750) arrived to live permanently at Fairlawn, perhaps attracted by the soaring profits being made.

[16] Weir, R. M. (1983). Colonial South Carolina: A history. NY: KTO Press



Enslaved people hoeing rice in nineteenth century South Carolina
Hoeing rice. African Americans, 19th century stereoscope card. - PICRYL Public Domain Search

Conditions for the enslaved worsened throughout this period, the 1730s being particularly hard as the rice boom was at a high point and black life expectancy was falling. Major slave rebellions broke out in 1720 and 1739 as a reaction to these conditions. The whites responded in 1740 by tightening the Slave Code and this new code stayed in place until Emancipation in 1863. The militia were empowered to patrol black activities after working hours, often harassing and whipping innocent people. This made every white man a guardian of law and order – a contributing factor to the vigilantism and lynching of the twentieth century.[17]



Enslaved Africans harvest indigo plant in South Carolina
Photo Asset | Field Workers Harvest Indigo Plant | History of SC Slide Collection | Knowitall.org



Field of indigo
Indigo Plant Fields - Bing images

[17] Weir p.146

A similar progression happened with indigo. At first, local wild indigo was cultivated but yields were poor. Then, in the 1740s, a better indigo variety was introduced by Eliza Pinkney from the West Indies and this led to a rapid expansion of the industry. The indigo plant was processed to produce a dark blue dye which was much in demand by the burgeoning textile industries of Britain. It had the advantage over rice of being able to grow in most environments and being less bulky to export. But, while being less physically demanding than rice, extracting the dye was a complicated and smelly process which attracted flies. The 1750s to the 1770s were 'the golden days of indigo'. John Colleton (4th Bart) must have invested in this booming crop because, in 1775 when he sent his daughter Louisa to Devon for safety from the coming revolution, he sent her with a cargo of indigo (unfortunately seized by pirates!)[18].

Cotton would become a profitable crop by the early nineteenth century following the 1794 invention of Whitney's cotton gin. By 1803 the Colleton properties were making a substantial income from this crop. Enslaved workers had to plant, weed and tend the plants with the greatest demands being made at harvest time when the cotton bolls (hairy seeds) had to be picked. All hands were put to picking during long work days and those who fell behind in the number of sacks they picked could be whipped.

Enslavement of Native Americans

An unexpected fact that came to light in my research is that the British colonisers of South Carolina indulged in a slave trade of Native Americans, for example the Yamasee. Over almost fifty years from 1670, the colonists captured Native Americans and exported them as 'slaves' to colonies in the north, such as Boston, and to islands in the West Indies. They used the proceeds to buy enslaved Africans. The disturbance this caused to the native tribes eventually resulted in the Yamasee War of 1715 – 1717, in which the Yamasee were defeated and their land appropriated[19]. Buchanan[20] reports that, in 1671, Peter Colleton was concerned about the enslavement of Native Americans and a new temporary law was passed forbidding their enslavement or transportation out of Carolina. Nevertheless, Peter Colleton traded in these enslaved people himself.

Slave codes in North America

The underlying legal framework of slavery in South Carolina came indirectly from the Barbados Slave Code. The Barbados Assembly had passed racist laws in 1661 which gave different rights, duties, freedoms and punishments for blacks and whites. These laws were aimed at giving whites control over large numbers of enslaved Africans. Modyford had taken these laws with him to Jamaica in 1664 where they formed the basis of that racially divided society. These laws were made harsher in 1684 in response to the resistance of the enslaved in the form of rebellions and escape to the mountains to join bands of Maroons

[18] Weir p.146
[19] Weir p.26
[20] Buchanan p.120

(runaways)[21]. The 1684 Jamaican laws were copied by the colonists of South Carolina in 1695, and in turn by other American states such as Georgia and Florida. Virginia's slave code followed the Barbados code in 1667 and was made more comprehensive in 1705. The Virginia code was later copied by the tobacco states of Maryland, Delaware and North Carolina[22]. Through this sequence, the slave laws invented by the Barbadians in 1661 were transmitted across the Caribbean and North America, with subsequent modifications to suit local conditions. They formed the basis of racist societies until the abolition of slavery (in 1834 in the British colonies of the Caribbean and 1863 in the U.S.A.). The behaviours and attitudes engendered by these laws, one could argue, have lasted much longer, indeed until the present day. Today we have the Black Lives Matter campaign – black lives were made not to matter by these slave codes.



Slaveholders visiting their enslaved Africans
Ref: *Slavery in the Colonial South. Courtesy of the University of Georgia Libraries*

5. Slave narratives from South Carolina

The Slave Codes formed the basis of the enslaved people's conditions of life on the plantations of South Carolina. Accounts of the lives of the enslaved were recorded in a U.S. government project in the 1930s in which over 2000 elderly African-Americans were interviewed across many states. The interviewees in this Federal Writers Project gave their recollections of childhood from over seventy years previously during the final years of slavery in the 1850s and 1860s. Bearing in mind the limitations of this data, due to the long time lapse, and the changes that must have occurred in the plantation system over the two centuries since the Colletons' initial ventures, it nevertheless gives a key insight into the experiences of the enslaved on plantations in South Carolina which is almost completely absent for the Caribbean.

[21] Rugemer, E. B. (2018). *Slave Law and the Politics of Resistance in the Early Atlantic World*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.
[22] en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Slave_codes

I have selected a few extracts here to illustrate themes of sale, work, punishments, restrictions and escape. The interviewers have tried to transcribe the dialect of their interviewees to a greater or lesser extent. A term for an African-American is used which is unacceptable today.

Sale: *Dese peoples dese days don' know nuthin 'bout dem times den. I 'member how dey use'er sell de colored peoples offen to annuder plantation some uv de time. Man come dere to buy my Gran'mudder a'ter Massa Ben Gause die en tell her to open she mouth so he c'n 'xamine her teeth. Say she say, "I won' do it." Wanna know effen dey waz sound 'fore he buy her. Dat de way dey do when dey sell hosses*. Mom Genia Woodberry aged 89, Marion County S. Carolina[23]

Work: *There was forty of us slaves in all and it took all of us to keep de plantation goin'. De most of de niggers work in de field. They went to work as soon as it git light enough to see how to git around; then when twelve o'clock come, they all stops for dinner and don't go back to work 'til two. All of them work on til it git almost dark.* Victoria Adams, 90 years old, Columbia, S. Carolina[24].

Punishments: *De massa and missus was good to me but sometime I was so bad they had to whip me. I 'members she used to whip me every time she tell me to do something and I take too long to move 'long and do it.* Victoria Adams, 90 years old, Columbia, S. Carolina.

Restrictions: *I remember how my mammy used to tell me bout dat de colored people won' allowed to go from one plantation to another wldout dey had a 'mit (permit) from dey Massa. Yes, mam, all de niggers had to have dat strip somewhat bout dem to keep from gettin a beatin. Couldn' leave dey home widout showin dat 'mit from dey Massa. You see, de nigger men would want to go to see dey wives en dey would have to get a 'mit from dey Massa to visit dem. Cose dey wouldn' live together cause dey wives would be here, dere en yonder. It been like dis, sometimes de white folks would sell de wife of one of dey niggers way from dey husband en den another time, dey would sell de husband way from dey wife. Yes, mam, white folks had dese guard, call patroller, all bout de country to catch en whip dem niggers dat been prowl bout widout dat strip from dey Massa*. Julia Woodberry (daughter of Genia Woodberry), Marion County p.238[25]

Escape: *De grown-up slaves was punished sometime too. When they didn't feel like taking a whippin' they went off in de woods and stay 'til massa's hounds track them down; then they'd bring them out and whip them. They might as well not run away. Some of them never come back a-tall, don't know what become of them.* Victoria Adams, 90 years old, Columbia, S. Carolina.

Such were some of the pains, privations and indignities that the slave/plantation system inflicted on its victims, at the same time as their white masters and mistresses were

[23] south-carolina-part-4-slave-narratives.pdf (wordpress.com) Vol 4. South Carolina. P. 218. Ref 390127
[24] Image 11 of Federal Writers' Project: Slave Narrative Project, Vol. 14, South Carolina, Part 1. P. 10. Ref 390293
[25] south-carolina-part-4-slave-narratives.pdf (wordpress.com) Vol 4. South Carolina. P. 238. Ref 390327

enjoying a life of privilege for which they were prepared to fight (in the American Civil War) to maintain. The Colletons' enslaved Africans would have endured much harsher conditions than these in the early days of slavery in the colony.

6. The Colletons in South Carolina with their enslaved people

The prominence of Colleton place names in South Carolina testifies to the important roles of the early Colletons in the planning and implementation of the colonisation of South Carolina from 1663. Due to this early involvement they were granted vast tracts of land. However, it was not until later generations that the Colletons lived on their Carolina properties, part time to begin with, until the Hon John (1701-1750) moved there full time. They were badly affected by the American War of Independence during which they lost some of their properties and which led to the return to Devon of Louisa Colleton in 1775. Her son Samuel Colleton Graves moved back to their Carolina property but sold much of it. Throughout these centuries the family still maintained their Devon connections.

Detailed accounts of the history of the Colletons and their properties in South Carolina may be found in Buchanan (1989) and in Fulford (2023) (see Bibliography). Some of this material is given in the Appendix. The current section focusses on their use of enslaved Africans at their Carolina properties.

Mention of 'slaves' in Colleton records

The Colleton family records were used by Fulford to write her recent biography of Louisa Colleton Graves[26]. The records mention slavery in various ways, from which it is possible to know something about the family's attitudes towards, and use of, their enslaved people.

As property: It is clear that Africans were regarded as property to be bought and sold, and as wealth to be accumulated. In the setting up of the Carolina colony, the Lords Proprietorsneeded wealthy settlers to stock the colony with 'Negroes, Cattle and other Necessarys'. By the time of his death in 1750 the Hon John possessed over 200 'slaves' on his Fairlawn plantation. In the next generation, his son, Sir John 4th Bart, needed money to finance his divorce from his first wife (Ann nee Fulford who had deserted the family), a very expensive matter at that time. For this he sold land and horses and members of his household including 'a young Mullato Wench, that is a good seam-stress, and House-wench, with her Child; and a Mullato Boy, that is a tolerable Cook'. On his death, the 4th Bart's second wife (Jane nee Mutter) made an inventory and this showed that 197 'slaves' were owned. Some of their values are given, according to how useful they were to the Colletons. The highest in value were: Phillis at £600, Old Primus at £800, and Haman at £1,700. Haman was captain of the Colleton's schooner, a fast type of sailing ship which would have been used to carry produce down the Cooper River to Charleston for export. Three years later, after Fairlawn had been ransacked by both armies during the War of Independence, only 159 'slaves' remained. Among these, eight were old and an expense, two were children, and

[26] Fulford, K. (2023). *The spite of fortune: The fabulous story of an 18th-century heiress*. London: Ashgrove Publishing

‘Cate without a nose’ was almost valueless. Charles, a mulatto, was worth £50. After the defeat of the British, much of their Carolina property was confiscated. This left only 17 ‘slaves’, one of whom was Haman, and the schooner of which he was captain. The property was reduced to ruins and the ‘slaves’ left hungry and unshod.

In the early nineteenth century, the 4th Bart’s grandson, Samuel Colleton Graves, lost the remaining South Carolina properties through his dissipated and extravagant lifestyle. In 1817 cotton and rice prices were high so Samuel expanded operations at Colleton Neck (a prime area for the valuable sea island cotton) and purchased 56 enslaved people on credit. But by 1822 he was having to sell land and enslaved people to satisfy his creditors. One creditor even snatched Samuel’s house ‘slave’ to deliver her to the sheriff’s office to sell for cash. After his death in 1828 the family’s remaining lands were sold and the enslaved people put up for auction.

These records show how enslaved people were treated as property and seen only according to their economic value. Some were valueless, such as Cate, while others were extremely valuable to the Colleton enterprise, especially Haman. Some were sold away from the plantation when money was short, thereby causing the emotional trauma of family separation, while others suffered the humiliation of being sold at public auction.

As lifesavers: Louisa’s diaries also recount incidents where her enslaved people were particularly helpful to her. Indeed, her life was saved by an African herbalist as a sick child at Fairlawn when other treatments had failed. Her life was saved again by Haman, the enslaved captain of the family schooner, when he prevented the ship in which they were sailing from the Bahamas to Charleston from being wrecked on the sandbars outside the town. In a further incident, Louisa returned from Devon to Fairlawn in 1786 to find out what she could rescue after the depredations of the Revolution, to find that the remaining enslaved workers living in a ‘shack’ had been sheltering her two half-brothers, presumably feared dead, for the previous five years. These boys had been disowned by their father and left orphaned after the deaths of both parents, Sir John and Jane Colleton, during the Revolution.

Colleton relationships with enslaved Africans: There was clearly a degree of loyalty and affection between some of the enslaved people and some members of the Colleton family. The prime example is Haman and Louisa. He had remained at Fairlawn after the Revolution and joined Louisa on her visit to the Bahamas in 1785 as part of her long legal battle to claim her share of the sovereignty that had been granted to her ancestor, Sir Peter Colleton. Haman’s daughter, Tachina, insisted on serving Louisa as her personal maid. This close relationship would have been helped by Louisa’s understanding of Haman’s Gullah language. This is a form of creole spoken by the enslaved, combining English with West African speech. She gives a translation in her diary of admiring words spoken of her brave spirit by Haman: “Qui! Lilimissi, lili; for nothing him have heart big mo no to much,” which she translated as “a great heart in a little body”. In contrast, her mother Ann had not been able to understand the speech of the enslaved people in her Fairlawn household, which contributed to her loneliness and perhaps to her noted lack of concern for the welfare of her ‘servants’.

An aspect of the relationship between white male enslavers and their black enslaved women is the existence of mixed-race offspring – mulattos. Given the power imbalance between the two they were unlikely to have been loving consensual relationships. Mulattto children were likely to be kept as household 'slaves' rather than being sent out to the fields, as in the example given above of the seamstress and the cook. In this regard, many changes had been made to the will of Louisa's father, the 4th Bart, and the latest she was confronted with was a codicil granting freedom to his mulatto 'slave', Judy. Judy may have been Sir John's favourite mistress – or perhaps even a half-sister of Louisa. Louisa's great grandfather, the 3rd Bart, had similarly granted manumission to the enslaved Hector and Lissey who had gone with him to England. Manumission was highly unusual but sometimes granted as in these instances on the death of the enslaver. But how secure the freed black person could be in the America or Britain at that time is doubtful.

Summary of Colletons in South Carolina

The Colleton family, then, were key players in the establishment of the colony of South Carolina with its slave/plantation system. Their position as original landowners and as large scale slave-owners over several generations would have placed them in key roles to model and enforce the plantation system that they had known from Barbados and to transfer it to the growing of rice, indigo and corn on the American mainland.

7. Colleton descendants in Devon

Places: At the time that the Colletons were active in London, Barbados and South Carolina they also maintained their base in Devon. Sir John Colleton (3rd Bart) had a house in Withycombe Raleigh, now part of Exmouth, the site of which is marked by a blue plaque. He is best remembered in this town for introducing horticultural specimens from South Carolina, the most famous of which is the Magnolia Grandiflora Exmouthiensis which he introduced in 1726 and which appears on the town's coat of arms today. His house, called Rill Manor, is no longer standing. The Colletons also maintained a town house on Fore Street, Exeter. When not in South Carolina, the 3rd Bart's grandson (Sir John 4th Bart) lived with his second wife, Jane, at Shewte Manor near Bovey Tracey which he purchased in 1771. His daughter Louisa spent many of her childhood years in the nearby Fulford House with her mother's family. After Louisa's 1786 marriage to Richard Graves the couple lived at Hembury Fort House near Honiton and in 1798 also lived in a newly built house on Southernhay in Exeter.



Devon, showing places connected to Modyford, Walrond and Colleton families

Recalling that their ancestors had been wool merchants and mayors of Exeter, the Colletons still possessed land near Exeter Quay and, as evidenced in documents held in the Devon Heritage Centre, they were renting it out. For example, there is a 1759 agreement between John Colleton (4th Bart), Baronet of London, and the mayors of Exeter to lease them a parcel of land just outside the South Gate for £4 7s 6d for 99 years. This was to give the friars access to their Friary[27]. A further lease agreement of nearby land in 1767 describes him as Sir John Colleton, Bart, of Fair Lawn, South Carolina, while in 1771 he is named as John Colleton of Exmouth. A 1771 agreement releases the City of Exeter from the 1759 lease for payment of £100[28]. It is on this land that Louisa initiated the building of Colleton Crescent.

Their 'slaves' in Devon: The Colletons brought a few of their enslaved Africans with them when they visited their Devon homes. Hon John took his personal 'slaves', Hector and Lissey, with him every time he visited England[29]. Records in Topsham (a town between Exeter and Exmouth) show a baptism and burials of black 'servants' of the Colletons. In 1715, Anne Avery aged 37 was baptised and then buried a week later in Topsham. She is described as black and a servant of? belonging to? (not specified) Sir John Colleton (3rd Bart). In 1771, another black servant of a Sir John Colleton (the 4th Bart, grandson of the previously mentioned Sir John), called Isaac Primus, was buried in Topsham, aged 27. It seems likely that this young man could have been the son of Old Primus, enslaved on Fairlawn, South Carolina, who featured on the 1777 estate inventory after the death of the 4th Bart. These records demonstrate the existence of black people in Devon during the

[27] DRO D 1/5/169
[28] DRO D/1/5/171
[29] Fulford, p.94

eighteenth century, and the transatlantic link between Devon grandees and the enslaved populations of the New World[30].

Louisa Colleton Graves (1763-1822)

Louisa was heir to her father, Sir John Colleton (4th Bart). Louisa had the most dramatic life and, fortunately for us, kept diaries of much of it, which were used to great effect by Fulford in writing '*The spite of fortune'.*

Louisa was born at Fairlawn, South Carolina, but spent much of her childhood at the home of her mother's family, the Fulfords of Great Fulford, Devon. Her mother, Ann, deserted the family, which led to lengthy and bitter legal disputes. Louisa travelled several times across the Atlantic, encountering attack and capture by English then French pirates. She showed great spirit in her escapes and in her determination not to be cheated of her inheritance.

When the American War of Independence (1775-1783) broke out it caught the Colletons in a bind; Sir John tried to maintain a neutral stance but suffered at the hands of both the British and American sides in the conflict. Both he and his second wife (Jane nee Mutter) died at Fairlawn during the war, and the house was destroyed. Their enslaved workers were scattered.

In 1787 Louisa married a handsome naval captain, Richard Graves, whose family owned Hembury Fort House near Honiton, Devon. This was to prove a disastrous match as Richard, and later their son Samuel, between them frittered away her inheritance. She died impoverished in 1822 while her husband had to escape to Europe to avoid his creditors. Hembury Fort was finally sold in 1828[31] and the Colletons' Carolina properties of Fair Lawn and Colleton Neck (otherwise known as Devil's Elbow) were parcelled and sold piecemeal, so there was nothing left to show how "*plenty formerly had revelled in her gayest mood*"[32].

During her marriage Louisa suffered many reversals of fortune, at one time having to move to a farm labourer's cottage in the nearby village of Gittisham, and at others splashing out on new houses, carriages and social seasons in Bath. She enjoyed watching her son and daughters playing on the beach at Sidmouth yet, in the end, the girls would lose their inheritances to their brother's profligacy.

Louisa had a project for which she can be remembered: the building of Colleton Crescent overlooking the quayside in Exeter. In 1802 she laid the foundation stone for this prominent and stylish crescent of three-storey townhouses which still attracts attention today. Designed by the architect, Matthew Nosworthy, work on the building continued until 1818, and was painted by JMW Turner in 1827. The name was appropriate given the family's long association with the area around the quay.

[30] MacKeith, L. (2003). *Local Black History: A beginning in Devon*. London: Archives and Museum of Black Heritage. From information provided by The Friends of Devon Archives.
[31] DRO 337B/8/8 1826 Hembury Fort Sale Catalogue
[32] Graves, L. C. (1821). *Desultory thoughts on various subjects*. British Press, p.112



Colleton Crescent, Exeter

image of colleton crescent - Bing images

8. **Colleton descendants and the end of slavery**

Sophia Colleton Graves in Jamaica

After the end of the Colletons' boom years in South Carolina the family continued to profit from the forced labour of Africans– but this time in Jamaica.

One of Louisa's daughters was Sophia Louisa Colleton Graves (1789-1868). She was born at Hembury Fort, Buckerell, Devon, where, in 1813, she married Tristram Ratcliffe II[33], owner of Exeter sugar plantation in Vere, Jamaica. The couple were in financial straits as the plantation was heavily mortgaged and Sophia had not received the £6,000 share in the family wealth that her brother Samuel had agreed to pay his sisters. In 1824 the couple travelled to Jamaica where Tristram died of yellow fever. On his death Sophia became owner of the indebted plantation with its enslaved Africans. She decided to stay on her plantation where 'at least she can get food to eat on her own estates while living on them'[34]. She may have been shocked by the horrors of Jamaican slavery even though she would have heard stories of slavery in South Carolina from her mother.

Sophia made a second marriage, to a German aristocrat, Baron Maximilian von Ketelhodt (1804-1865), in 1830, and lived for a while in Prussia[35]. At some point in the next few years the family moved back to Jamaica and lived through the closing days of West Indian slavery.

The slave/plantation system did not come to an end without a bitter struggle. In the British West Indies it was achieved after a long public campaign by the Abolitionists and active rebellions by the enslaved, most notably the 1830/31 Sam Sharpe Rebellion in Jamaica. Abolition was fiercely opposed by the West Indian planters and their lobby in the British Parliament. It was only achieved, in 1834, by paying off the slave-owners for the loss of their

[33] Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery. www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs. Accessed 10/02/2022.
[34] Fulford, p.212
[35] www.wikitree.com/wiki/Graves-7013

'property', a cost that was borne by the British taxpayer. Claims for such compensation are listed on the UCL website.

The von Ketelhodts would have been hoping to benefit from the government's compensation payment of £3,700 for the 208 enslaved people on their Exeter plantation but they lost this to their mortgagee. They did, however, receive £138 for their five enslaved domestic workers.

The next records of the couple in Jamaica appear in the Almanacs of the 1850s which show von Ketelhodt as a magistrate and a member of her Majesty's Legislative Council. But the role for which history remembers him is that of Custos Rotulorum (chief magistrate) of the parish of St Thomas-in-the-East which made him a key player in the drama of the 1865 Morant Bay Rebellion.

The Morant Bay Rebellion 1865

Thirty years after Emancipation, the now freed Jamaicans were making an inadequate living as subsistence farmers on small plots of land and, at a time of poor harvests and high taxation, they requested help from the government. When their requests were repeatedly ignored a delegation under the leadership of Baptist minister Paul Bogle approached the Morant Bay courthouse where von Ketelhodt was presiding. While the Baron was reading the Riot Act, the militia fired into the crowd, provoking an outraged reaction. In the ensuing violence, von Ketelhodt was killed, being found next morning with his head smashed and one of the fingers of his right hand cut off and his ring taken[36]. The subsequent excessive repression by the governor Edward Eyre led to Eyre's recall to England and trial – but he was never convicted and eventually retired to Walreddon Manor near Tavistock, Devon. Sophia stayed on in Jamaica after her husband's death and died in 1868 at Allman Town, Kingston, Jamaica.

Thomas Garth

Another Colleton descendant received compensation for the loss of his enslaved property; this was Thomas Garth (1791-1841), owner of Colletons estate in Barbados. This estate had been passed down through the generations from the original John Colleton to settle on the island in the seventeenth century to become the property of Thomas Garth, a resident of Maidenhead, Berkshire, UK. Garth was a captain in the Royal Navy and a distant cousin to James Edward Colleton (1709-1790) who was himself a grandson of James Colleton (d. 1706), the ousted governor of South Carolina. He was awarded £6,381 in compensation for the plantation's 281 enslaved people.

This, then, was the end of the almost two hundred year history of the Colleton family in West Indian slave-ownership. A small ending that hid an extensive history of oppression and exploitation.

[36] Renton, A. (2021). *Blood Legacy.* Edinburgh: Canongate.

The last Colletons in South Carolina

In South Carolina, slavery did not come to an end without a war. The Carolinians were at the forefront of opposition to the northern U.S. states' demands to abolish slavery; they led the Confederate movement to secede from the Union because they wanted to retain the institution that had brought the whites so much prosperity - indeed, the first shots of the American Civil War were fired in Charleston, South Carolina. Emancipation officially arrived with Abraham Lincoln's Declaration of 1863, although the War lasted another two years.

Where were the Colletons? Sophia's brother, Samuel Colleton Graves (1788-1823), who had inherited much of the family's South Carolina property, had died in 1823 after squandering the family's fortune, and Fairlawn had been divided and sold by 1839. His daughter, Carolina Clifford, who died in Charleston in 1907, must have lived through the Civil War and, if she had retained any enslaved people after the main property had been sold, they would have been freed at this point. She is interred in the Magnolia Cemetery in Charleston – appropriately for a descendant of the man who brought the magnolia to Exmouth! [37]. Again, a diminished finale for the heirs of the Colleton father and sons who had played such a key role in conceiving of this colony and establishing the slavery/plantation system which was so fundamental in its social and economic development and the enduring legacy of American racism.

9. Conclusion

The Colletons' is a fascinating story of the slavery connections of a Devon family over many generations. It shows the remarkable continuity of transatlantic links of a family who profited from enslaved labour from the beginning of West Indian slavery in seventeenth century Barbados, through its translocation to South Carolina and burgeoning throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to its final days in nineteenth century Jamaica. It shows how this Exeter family was instrumental in establishing the slave plantation system in Barbados where they were central to the Royalist faction, with Modyford and Walrond, which formulated the 1661 Slave Code, and also prominent in the expansion of the early transatlantic slave trade. It relates how early Colletons initiated and organised the settlement of South Carolina, taking Barbadians to colonise the newly acquired territory and to take their system of managing forced African labour into the new context of rice and indigo production, resulting in great wealth for the white elite but the beginning of centuries of oppression for the black population. Their story continues over two centuries and seven generations of slave-ownership, with growth then decline, ending with the emancipation of the enslaved first in the West Indies and then in South Carolina.

Colleton Crescent is, perhaps, Exeter's most stylish road; but in its name the long history of slave-ownership is hidden 'in plain sight'.

[37] findagrave.com

Appendix: Detail of the Colletons and their properties in South Carolina

This section gives a detailed description of the Colletons, their lineage, and their properties and civil roles in South Carolina[38].



Berkeley County, South Carolina, showing location of some Colleton properties

Sir John Colleton 1st Bart, (1608 - 1666): Because Sir John Colleton 1st Bart was one of the original Lords Proprietors, the name Colleton was given to several places in South Carolina. There is Colleton County, also Colleton Neck, Colleton River and Colleton Creek. The family residence in South Carolina was known as the Colleton Barony though officially named Fairlawn Barony (now just outside Moncks Corner – see maps). The Colletons were the only one of the Proprietors' families to establish a seat in South Carolina. The family connection with this seat continued until the late nineteenth century.

The article claims that John Colleton (1st bart), although one of the Lords Proprietors, and one of the prime movers behind the colonisation scheme, probably never set foot in Carolina, and that the actual connection began with his three sons. They were granted land in joint tenancy: a tract of land near Ashley River (Waheewah); a lot in Charleston; 3,000 acres on Cooper River (Mepkin –see map); 2,000 acres on the opposite side of the Cooper River (Pimlico – see map). They were also granted land individually, as detailed for each of them below.

Thomas Colleton (1636 – 1690?) second son; while actively engaged in business ventures in the settlement and development of Carolina, there is no evidence that he ever visited it. In 1681 he was given the honorific 'Landgrave' and awarded the 12,000 acre Cypress Barony on Cooper River. He seems to have remained in Barbados and on his death his Carolina

[38] (No author named) The Colleton Family in South Carolina. (1900). *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine,* Volume 1. https://archive.org/stream/jstor-27574930/27574930_djvu.txt

property went to his son ***Peter,*** who also seems not to have visited Carolina but to have had his property managed by attorneys. Peter sold his property in 1707 for £800 and this ended his Carolina connection.

James Colleton (? – 1706) third son; he was created a Landgrave in 1671 and awarded 12,000 acres called Wadboo in 1683 in the headwaters of Cooper River. Because he outlived both his brothers, he inherited their joint tenancy land. In 1686 was sent to Carolina as Governor but, as described earlier, was relieved of his post in 1690 whereupon he returned to Barbados, where he died in 1706. Wadboo was expensively constructed and was probably his main residence (Look for pictures and maps – not found). His son and heir, ***John*** (? – 1755), lived for many years in Barbados and then moved to England but does not appear to have lived in Carolina. However, papers remain which show that he kept up his investments there with a manager, his town and country properties, and slaves. In 1712 he donated a site for the church and glebe field at Wadboo; there were broken remains of the Colleton vault there in 1900. Nothing is left of the Wadboo residence, which is said to have burnt down during the American War of Independence. This John died in England in 1755 and left his land to his second son, ***John***, of Westminster, who also did not appear to live in Carolina. He sold Mepkin but continued to cultivate Wadboo and Pimlico with his slaves. After his death, his wife ***Margaret*** inherited but the land was confiscated under the Confiscation Act of 1782 (after American independence) as belonging to a British subject. The land was divided into smaller parcels and sold off.

Sir Peter Colleton (2nd bart) (1635-1694) eldest son and heir of John (1st Bart); received land grants of 12,000 acres on Cooper River, called Fair Lawn (see map); 4,400 acres to the east of this called Mulberry; like his brothers he received smaller lots in Charlestown itself. He is described as being of St James, Middlesex. However, he was given appointments in Albemarle County (S. Carolina) from 1664 to 1672, starting with assistant to the governor until he became governor himself, and he lived there during this time. He returned to England in 1672 to describe problems in the colony, but then remained in England [39]. On his death, his daughter and executrix Katherine Colleton appointed a manager first to take an inventory and then run Fairlawn, and this document shows that the property had 'lands, plantations, slaves and stock'[40]

He was succeeded in 1694 by his son ***Sir John Colleton*** (3rd bart) (1669-1754) of Exmouth, who only lived in Carolina for a short time after 1714. He is described as being a busy merchant of Exeter. In 1718 he received a grant of 12,000 acres near Beaufort County from which the native American Yemassee had just been driven. Because of its shape between two rivers it became known as Colleton Neck. It is an area of botanical interest as being the northern limit of several species. In 1708 he sold Mulberry. In 1726 he divided his estate, slaves etc, between his two sons: to the elder, ***Hon. John*** (1701-1750), he gave Fair Lawn, and to the younger, ***Peter***, Colleton Neck. This Peter lived in South Carolina for some years

[39] https://www.carolana.com/Carolina/Proprietors/petercolleton.html

[40] Smith, H.A.M., 1910, The baronies of South Carolina. *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* Vol. 11, No. 4 (Oct., 1910), pp. 193-202. Accessed https://www.jstor.org/stable/27575280?seq=5#metadata_info_tab_contents

but died without issue so Colleton Neck reverted to his elder brother. In 1728, Sir John sold his interest in S. Carolina to the Crown[41]

This Honourable John Colleton (1701- 1750) was the first Colleton head of family to reside continuously in South Carolina, arriving in 1726 and living at Fair Lawn Barony, near to Monck's Corner. The magnificent house was probably completed at this time. Hon. John was a member of His Majesty's Council in S. Carolina, which required visits to Charleston, so he purchased land on Charleston Neck, and built a house which he named Exmouth after his boyhood home. This later became the governor's residence. He died one of the wealthiest men in the colony, having over 200 slaves at Fairlawn alone.

Hon. John died before his father, Sir John, and after the latter's death in 1754, his grandson, also called ***Hon. John*** (4th Bart), inherited. This Hon. John (? – 1777) lived practically all his life in S. Carolina. He was a member of the Commons House in the Provincial Parliament and later a member of the Council. This Hon. John married, first, Anne Fulford of Great Fulford (Devon), by whom he had a daughter, Louisa Carolina, and after this marriage was dissolved by Act of Parliament he married Jane Mutter. It was this Hon. John who sold the 988 acres to the south of Fairlawn, called Exeter, in 1767 to Mary Broughton (see map and picture) which is now the Berkeley Country Club beloved of African-Americans as a wedding venue.

The Colletons were badly affected by the American War of Independence (1775-1783). While not joining the American revolutionaries, Hon. John (4th Bart) was sympathetic to their protests against the British imposition of laws and taxation without representation. He died early in the War of Independence in 1777 at Fair Lawn, leaving his widow Lady Jane Colleton there – he had wisely sent his daughter Louisa to England for safety earlier in the year. Colleton Neck was ravaged by the British forces under Prevost in 1779; £8,000 worth of cattle were killed or taken, and all his crops and stores of indigo and corn etc were destroyed, as well as many plantation buildings. In 1780, the British laid siege to Charleston where the American rebels were holding out and their success was one of the greatest British victories of the War, but they had expected the many British Loyalists of S. Carolina to rise up in their support and this did not happen, resulting in a period of guerrilla warfare in the area. Fairlawn mansion was occupied by the British forces as a stronghold but some of British troops 'shockingly abused and maltreated' the ladies[42]. On their later retreat, the British burnt down Fair Lawn to prevent it falling into enemy hands together with a town of several hundred houses for people belonging to the estate (i.e slave quarters), granaries, mills, furniture, pictures, plate, money, jewels etc.

As described earlier, the remaining property was transferred to Samuel Colleton Graves (1788 – 1823), who also sold much of it, though it seems he went to live there, marrying and having one daughter whose married name was Carolina Clifford.

Major Charles Colleton (b.1663) was probably the illegitimate son of Sir Peter Colleton. He came to South Carolina in 1686 during the governorship of Sir James Colleton, was several times member of the Commons House of Assembly, and died in 1728. He bought 500 acres

[41] https://www.carolana.com/Carolina/Proprietors/johncolleton_3rd_baronet.html
[42] The Colleton Family in South Carolina. (1900). p.338

just north west of Fair Lawn, near to Pinopolis, called Fair Sight, on which he resided. He had six children but the male line disappeared from the records after 1755.

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