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The
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presents . . .

Faces of America

On the Cover:

**WISTER “WICK” LEE GARRETT, CA. 1917
(1863–1928)**

Although born 16 August 1863—eight months after the Emancipation Proclamation’s effective date—Wick was nevertheless enslaved during his first two years of life in Laurens County, South Carolina. Despite this beginning, his death on 2 December 1928 garnered a front-page notice in the *Laurens Advertiser* titled “Respected Colored Man Died Last Sunday.”

Isaac and Hannah (Cunningham) Garrett’s second son and third child, Wick was reportedly literate, though no record of formal education survives. His obituary describes him as an industrious farmer. Apparently, he was successful. His probate petition indicates he owned four hundred acres in Laurens County.

Wick and his wife, the former Frances J. Latimer, raised nine children born between 1884 and 1900. Daughter Hattie graduated in 1908 from the precursor to South Carolina State University, later the alma mater of her brother Fletcher Mills Garrett. Son John Wesley was a 1926 Allen University graduate. Two other children also earned degrees from historically black colleges.

Wick transferred land to his fellow trustees when they organized Bethel Hall Baptist Church in Laurens, which celebrated its 100th anniversary in 2010. In 1913 Bethel Hall’s organizers purchased land from Wick for one dollar to establish the Charleston Hall Public Colored School, one of the area’s first public schools for African Americans. The faculty included two of Wick’s children, Fletcher and Hattie, and two daughters-in-law, the former Alberta Barksdale (wife of Shellie Donaldson Garrett) and the former Mattie Neely (wife of Albert Elton Garrett).

Sadly, three of Wick’s children died untimely deaths, predeceasing him. Eldest daughter, Hattie, the first child to graduate college, died 26 December 1913. Son Cloda served in France during World War I. He died of tuberculosis in 1920, the year after his discharge from the U.S. Army. Wick’s namesake, Wister Otto Garrett, born in 1900, suffered a tragic death. He was a homicide victim in 1919. Reports from *The State* (Columbia, S.C.) and the *Laurens Advertiser* chronicle Otto’s death at the hands of a magistrate who testified he fired his pistol in fear of his life after Otto “violently brushed against him.” Probably because of Wick’s status in the community, the magistrate was charged and tried. But the jury found him not guilty.

Credits: Wick Garrett’s life is documented in the files of LaBrenda Garrett-Nelson, JD, LL.M., CG, CGL; 4201 Cathedral Avenue, NW; Washington, D.C. 20016; info@LabGarrettGenealogy.com. The photograph is from her collection. Her article in this issue tells of Wick Garrett’s paternal grandparents.

Parents for Isaac Garrett of Laurens County, South Carolina: DNA Corroborates Oral Tradition

By LaBrenda Garrett-Nelson, JD, LL.M., CG, CGL

Documentary sources plus DNA evidence and oral tradition lead to the parents of a formerly enslaved African American.

No record names Isaac Garrett's parents. Isaac, an African American, first appears with a surname in the 1866 tax roll for Laurens District, South Carolina.¹ Reconstructing an enslaved person's lineage is challenging, and this case is no exception. Involuntary separations often severed family ties. Antebellum records rarely give human property a last name. Postbellum geographic proximity and shared surnames do not prove familial relationships, especially among freedmen who perhaps assumed an enslaver's family name.² Retold for generations, family stories laid a foundation for documentary and genetic research, which point to Isaac's parents.

ORAL TRADITION

Descendants believe Isaac's parents were an enslaved couple, Samuel and Nancy Garrett. In his 1919 biographical sketch Casper George Garrett claimed:

My grandparents were Samuel and Nancy Garrett. My mother, Martha Hyde, was brought from Virginia as a slave when small. . . . Grandfather's parents were strong

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1. South Carolina, Comptroller General, Tax Return Books, Laurens District, 1866, H–M, box 32, folder 1, loose pages, unpaginated, List of Freedmen, Isaac Garrett, person of color; Series S 126062, South Carolina Department of Archives and History (SCDAH), Columbia. Before 1868 South Carolina jurisdictions were called districts and thereafter counties. For changing jurisdictions, see “SC County Maps,” *South Carolina Department of Archives and History* (<https://scdah.sc.gov/research-and-genealogy/resources/sc-county-maps>).

2. Randall N. Miller and John David Smith, “Freedmen,” *Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), 267. “Freedmen” refers to those who were formerly enslaved.

and hearty Virginians. My grandmother's father . . . went upstate, bought land in the early eighties, married a slave woman, built a home and bought his wife and all his girl children. Through the treachery of his guardian the old man lost his plantation and the children unbought.³

Casper, born September 1865 in Laurens District, was Samuel and Martha (Hyde) Garrett's son.⁴ Casper's granddaughter reported his father, Samuel, and Isaac were brothers.⁵ His daughter shared information about a third brother, named Stobo Garrett.⁶ No other known direct evidence establishes Isaac's kinship to either man. Nor does any record show Isaac living with Samuel and Nancy Garrett. Isaac, born about 1836–38 in South Carolina, established his own household after slavery was abolished.⁷

ISAAC'S ROOTS IN LAURENS COUNTY

Isaac Garrett was probably newly freed when taxed in 1866. No emancipation deed, census enumeration, or other known record shows him as a free person of

3. Arthur Bunyan Caldwell, ed., "Casper George Garrett," *History of the American Negro: South Carolina Edition* (Atlanta, Ga.: A. B. Caldwell, 1919), 316–19, specifically 316 for quotation. Casper was the apparent informant for his biographical sketch.

4. Caldwell, "Casper George Garrett," *History of the American Negro*, 316.

5. Ruth Esther (Simons) Nicholson (1922–1986), interview by author, August 1986, Washington, D.C.; notes in author's files. The interview is memorialized in LaBrenda Garrett-Nelson, *The Source of Our Pride* (Washington, D.C.: Privately printed, 1996), 13. Ruth reported she was the daughter of Mattie (Garrett) Simons. For Mattie's father, 1900 U.S. census, Richland Co., S.C., population schedule, Columbia Township (Twp.), Enumeration District (ED) 82, sheet 9-B, dwelling 146, family 160, Casper G. Garrett household; microfilm publication T623, roll 1534, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Washington, D.C. Daughter Matte P. Garrett was eight. In his biographical sketch Casper confirmed Mattie P. (Garrett) Simons was his daughter. See Caldwell, "Casper George Garrett," *History of the American Negro*, 319.

6. Naomi Mills Garrett, PhD (2210 Lady Street; Columbia, S.C.), ca. 1997–98, interview by Beryl Dakers Burton; transcript in interviewer's files, Columbia, S.C., 2008. Burton gave a copy of the interview transcript to the author. See Beryl Dakers Burton, e-mail to LaBrenda Garrett-Nelson, 21 February 2008, "Naomi Mills Garrett Transcript"; author's files. The interview is memorialized in LaBrenda Garrett-Nelson, *The Source: The Garrett, Neely, and Sullivan Families* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Family Heritage Publishers, 2008), 79. Although in her 90s when interviewed, Dr. Naomi Garrett had a long career as an educator and was a credible witness. For Naomi's father, 1910 U.S. census, Richland Co., S.C., pop. sch., Columbia Twp., ED 76, sheet 3-B, dwell. 47, fam. 63, Caspar G. Garrett household; NARA microfilm T624, roll 1471. Daughter Naomi M. Garrett was three.

7. 1870 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch., Laurens Twp., fol. 136v–37r (stamped), dwell./fam. 8, Isaac Garrett; NARA microfilm M593, roll 1501. Isaac was 32 and head of household. For earlier birth year, New Grove Baptist Church Cemetery (Laurens, Laurens Co., S.C.), Isaac Garriett [sic] marker; transcribed by author, July 2015; notes in author's files. Isaac's marker is inscribed: "died June 8, 1911 Age 76 Years."

color before 1865.⁸ Laurens County's racial climate during Reconstruction argues against Isaac's moving there in the postbellum period: "In Laurens . . . there were organized bands of 'regulators'—armed men who make it their business to . . . maltreat Negroes."⁹

Enslaved Isaac Garrett

The estate of Jesse Garrett, a Laurens District slaveholder, provides Isaac's probable whereabouts in 1847. That year Garrett bequeathed six enslaved people to his wife for her use during her lifetime, including a male named Isaac.¹⁰ The enslaved were to be sold after the widow's death. In 1857 W. H. Langston purchased one "Negro boy Isaac" from Garrett's estate.¹¹

If "boy Isaac" was the same person as thirty-two-year-old Isaac Garrett living in Laurens County in 1870, he was about nineteen when Langston purchased him.¹² Isaac may have been the twenty-three-year-old black male Langston owned in 1860.¹³ Langston died in 1886, apparently intestate, thus leaving no information about his former enslaved people.¹⁴

Isaac likely reclaimed the surname of his earlier Garrett owner with whom he identified more closely. No known postbellum record names an African American Isaac Langston of Laurens County.¹⁵ Only one African American Isaac Garrett

8. "Search Historical Records," database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/>), search for "Isaac Garrett"; Residence place: exact to "Laurens, South Carolina"; Residence Year (Range): 1800 to 1865. Also, Margaret Peckham Motes, *Free Blacks and Mulattos in South Carolina 1850 Census* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 2002). No entry was found for "Isaac Garrett."

9. W. E. B. Dubois, *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860–1880* (1935; New York: Atheneum, 1992), 676.

10. *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/004753277>), digital film 004753277, images 9–11, Laurens Dist., S.C., Probate Court, Jesse Garrett estate (1853), bundle 132, package 10, will of Jesse Garrett, 22 September 1847, proved 5 October 1853.

11. *Ibid.*, images 25–29, Jesse Garrett estate (1853), "A Sale Bill of the Estate of Jesse Garrett," filed 7 December 1857.

12. 1870 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch., Laurens Twp., fols. 136v–37r (stamped), dwell./fam. 8, Isaac Garrett.

13. 1860 U.S. census, Laurens Dist., S.C., slave schedule, p. 11 (penned), W. H. Langsten [*sic*]; NARA microfilm M653, roll 1233. Langsten owned twelve slaves in two slave houses.

14. "W. H. Langston," obituary, *Laurens Advertiser* (Laurens, S.C.), 14 July 1886, p. 3, col. 1. *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/004753240>), digital film 004753240, images 76–80, Laurens Co., Probate Court, General index to estate papers, 1800–1931, "L" surnames. A search found no estate file for W. H. Langston.

15. LaBrenda Garrett-Nelson, *A Guide to Researching African American Ancestors in Laurens County, South Carolina and Selected Finding Aids* (N.p.: Xlibris, 2016), 102–307. This work documents results of the author's page-by-page review of the following sources: Laurens Co., Auditor's Tax Duplicate Book, 1868; microfilm roll C00092, SCDH. Also, 1869 South Carolina state census, Laurens Co., pop. sch., Horry-Marlboro, for Laurens County; microfilm roll AD966, SCDH. Also, *Records of the Field Office for the State of South Carolina, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, 1765–1872*; NARA microfilm M1910, rolls 85–86, Laurensville, S.C. (Subassistant Commissioner). Also, "Search Historical Records," database, *FamilySearch*, search for "Isaac Langston" or "Langsten"; Residence place: exact to "Laurens, South Carolina"; Residence Year (Range): 1800 to 1900. No entry was found.

born before 1850 was enumerated there in the nineteenth century.¹⁶

Two other enslaved persons sold from Garrett's estate also adopted Garrett's surname: "Sam and his wife Hannah," originally bequeathed to Garrett's wife. In 1857 Abner Babb bought them for five hundred dollars, a sum suggesting old age.¹⁷ In 1870 eighty-four-year-old Samuel Garrett and seventy-nine-year-old Hannah Garrett lived in Laurens Township of Laurens County. Enumerated in the preceding household was Samuel Garrett, fifty-three, Nancy Garrett, fifty-six, and eight younger Garretts.¹⁸ Samuel and Nancy were likely Isaac's parents and the grandparents Casper named in his biography.

Freedman Isaac Garrett

Isaac lived in Laurens County shortly after emancipation. In 1866 he was assessed a capitation (head) tax imposed on males twenty-one to fifty.¹⁹ He registered to vote there in 1868.²⁰

In 1869 Isaac Garrett, a colored male twenty-one or more, headed a Laurens Township household of two boys and three girls, six to sixteen, and a fourth female who was over sixteen or under six.²¹ This family closely aligns with Isaac's 1870 household: twenty-five-year old Hannah, twelve-year-old Jefferson, ten-year-old Dicy, eight-year-old Wick, six-year-old Corra, and five-month-old "Marry."²² They

16. "Search Historical Records," database, *FamilySearch*, search for "Isaac Garrett"; Residence place: exact to "Laurens, South Carolina"; Residence Year (Range): 1800 to 1900, Birth Year (Range): 1800 to 1850. Only the subject Isaac Garrett was found.

17. For will, *FamilySearch*, digital film 004753277, images 9–11, Laurens Dist., Probate Court, Jesse Garrett estate (1853), bundle 132, package 10, will of Jesse Garrett, 22 September 1847, proved 5 October 1853. For sale, *ibid.*, images 25–29, Jesse Garrett estate (1853), "A Sale Bill of the Estate of Jesse Garrett," filed 7 December 1857.

18. 1870 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch., Laurens Twp., p. 110 (stamped), dwell. 60, fam. 63, Samuel Garrett (age 84); and dwell. 59, fam. 62, Samuel Garret (age 53).

19. South Carolina, Comptroller General, Tax Return Books, Laurens District, 1866, H–M, box 32, folder 1, loose pages, unpaginated, List of Freedman, Isaac Garrett, person of color; SCDAH. For law, "No. 4776 An Act To Raise Supplies For The Year Commencing In October, One Thousand Eight Hundred And Sixty-Six," *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina, Volume XIII, Containing the Acts from December, 1861, to December 1866* (Columbia: Republican Printing, 1875), 368, "Special Tax."

20. South Carolina, Secretary of State, Abstract of Voter Registrations Reported to the Military Government, 1868, Laurens Co., First Registration Precinct, Laurens Court House Election Precinct, p. 185, Colored, Isaac Garrett; images, *South Carolina Digital Library* (<https://digital.tcl.sc.edu/digital/collection/voterreg/id/1475>).

21. 1869 South Carolina state census, Laurens Co., pop. sch., Laurens Twp., 35th unnumbered page, line 1, Isaac Garrett; *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/008194978>), digital film 008194978, image 174.

22. 1870 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch., Laurens Twp., fols. 136v–37r (stamped), dwell./fam. 8, Isaac Garrett.

all appear as Isaac's wife and children in his 1880 household, except for Jefferson, who was old enough to be on his own by 1880.²³

Eleven other Garretts named in Isaac's 1870 household were likely extended family or fictive kin who had had a common enslaver. Their ages ranged from four to twenty-one, including two four-year-olds, two nine-year-olds, and a second six-year-old child in addition to Corra. The eleven are listed together after Isaac, Hannah, and their four oldest children; five-month-old daughter Marry appears last.²⁴ Enumerators' instructions defined family as persons living under the same roof and provided for at a common table.²⁵

Between 1870 and 1910 Isaac, described as a farmer or farm laborer in Laurens Township, rented his home.²⁶ Federal enumerators were instructed "to distinguish between farmers and farm laborers."²⁷ Isaac's farmer designation probably indicates he was a sharecropper.²⁸ He apparently owned no land. From 1870 to 1874 he appears in the county tax records but was never assessed on real estate.²⁹ In 1890 he

23. 1880 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch., Laurens Twp., ED 99, pp. 62–63, dwell. 530, fam. 587, Isaac Garrett; NARA microfilm T9, roll 1233.

24. 1870 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch., Laurens Twp., fols. 136v–37r (stamped), dwell./fam. 8, Isaac Garrett.

25. Department of the Interior, *Ninth Census, United States: 1870 Instructions To Assistant Marshalls*; PDF, *Census.gov* (<https://www.census.gov/history/pdf/1870instructions-2.pdf>), 8.

26. 1870 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch. Laurens Twp., fols. 136v–37r (stamped), dwell./fam. 8, Isaac Garrett. 1880 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch., Laurens Twp., ED 99, pp. 62–63, dwell. 530, fam. 587, Isaac Garrett. 1900 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch., Laurens Twp., ED 55, p. 194, sheet 19, dwell./fam. 324, Isaac Garrett; NARA microfilm T623, roll 1533. 1910 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch., Laurens Twp., ED 55, sheet 39-B, dwell./fam. 613, Ike Garrett; NARA microfilm T624, roll 1465.

27. *Ninth Census, United States: 1870 Instructions To Assistant Marshalls*, 13. Also, Department of the Interior, *Twelfth Census, United States: 1900 Instructions To Enumerators* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), 33; PDF, *Census.gov* (<https://www.census.gov/history/pdf/1900instructions.pdf>), 33.

28. *Twelfth Census, United States: 1900 Instructions To Enumerators*, 33. "Sharecropper," *Merriam-Webster* (<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/sharecropper>).

29. For land, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/007899264>), digital film 007899264, images 110–15, Laurens Co., S.C., Indirect [Grantee] Index to Deeds, 1774–1903, "Ga" surnames. No Isaac Garrett as grantee was found. Also, "U.S., Selected Federal Census Non-Population Schedules, 1850–1880," *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/1276/>), search for Isaac Garrett in Laurens County returned no results. For tax, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/008134273>), digital film 008134273, image 368, Laurens Co., Auditor's Tax Duplicate book, 1870, fol. 45, line 1, Isaac Garrett C[olored]. Ibid. (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/008300437>), digital film 008300437, image 143, Laurens Co., Auditor's Tax Duplicate book, 1871, fol. 68, line 11, Isaac Garrett, Col[ored]. Ibid. (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/008300438>), digital film 008300438, image 125, Laurens Co., Auditor's Tax Duplicate book, 1872, fol. 59, line 4, Isaac Garrett, Col[ored]. Ibid. (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/008300440>), digital film 008300440, image 150, Laurens Co., Auditor's Tax Duplicate book, 1873, fol. 72, line 8, Isaac Garrett, Col[ored]. Ibid. (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/008300442>), digital film 008300442, image 147, Laurens Co., Auditor's Tax Duplicate book, 1874, Laurens Twp., fol. 71, line 7, Isaac Garrett, Col[ored].

was taxed on two cattle and other personal property valued at twenty-four dollars.³⁰

Isaac's 1880 household included wife Hannah (née Cunningham), thirty-nine, and his eight children: Dicy, nineteen; Sedgwick [a.k.a. Wick and Wister], seventeen; Cora, fifteen; Mary, thirteen; Lela, nine; Hattie, seven; Early, five; and Isaac, two.³¹ After Hannah's death in 1888, Isaac lived with a second wife, named Kansas (var. Cavass). Censuses disagree on their marriage year—1870 or 1886.³² No civil records for Isaac's marriages exist, but the later date is probably closer.³³ In 1911 at age seventy-six, Isaac was laid to rest in the New Grove Baptist Church Cemetery by Hannah's side.³⁴

ISAAC'S PROBABLE PARENTS IN LAURENS COUNTY

Samuel and Nancy Garrett's presence in Laurens County soon after emancipation suggests they were enslaved there.

Nancy Garrett's Origins and Parents

Casper Garrett preserved his family's oral history, perhaps thanks to his legal training.³⁵ He reported that Isaac's maternal grandfather married a "slave woman," bought his wife's and daughters' freedom, and bought land.³⁶ Without naming him, Casper's account closely tracks the life of Dublin Hunter, a free man of color,

30. *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/008191369>), digital film 008191369, image 52, Laurens Co., Auditor's Tax Duplicate book, 1890, Laurens Twp., fol. 24, line 6, Isaac Garrett, col[ored]. "Col[ored]" persons are listed separately.

31. 1880 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch., Laurens Twp., ED 99, pp. 62–63, dwell. 530, fam. 587, Isaac Garrett. For Wister's and Hannah's names, "South Carolina Deaths, 1915–1965," *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1417492>) > 004177654 > image 1208, S.C. Board of Health, death certificate, file no. 22848, Wister Lee Garrett, 2 December 1928, Laurens County. Wister was born 16 August 1863 in Laurens, South Carolina; his father was Isaac Garrett and mother was Hannah Cunningham, both of Laurens.

32. New Grove Baptist Church Cemetery, Hannah Garriett [*sic*] marker; transcribed by author, July 2015; notes in author's files. Hannah's marker shows a death date 2 March 1888 at age 54, "Wife of Isaac Garriett." The inscriptions are the only records spelled Garriett. For new wife and marriage year, 1900 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch., Laurens Twp., ED 55, sheet 19, p. 194, dwell./fam. 324, Isaac Garrett. Isaac was married 30 years. Also, 1910 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch., Laurens Twp., ED 55, p. 39B (stamped), dwell./fam. 613, Ike Garrett. Ike was married 24 years.

33. South Carolina did not require a license to marry until 1911. See *Code of Laws of South Carolina, 1912*, 2 vols. (Charlottesville, Va.: Michie Co., 1912), 2:321, Criminal Code §386, "Marriage License."

34. New Grove Baptist Church Cemetery, Isaac Garriett [*sic*] marker; transcribed by author, July 2015; notes in author's files. Isaac's marker is inscribed: "died June 8, 1911 Age 76 Years."

35. South Carolina, Supreme Court, License to Practice Law, Casper G. Garrett, 23 May 1890; digital image in author's files; original certificate, privately held by Phyllis Simons Ferguson, Seattle, Washington. The license hung in Casper's home in Columbia, South Carolina, where it remained during the residency of his daughter, Naomi Mills Garrett. Phyllis obtained the license from her Aunt Naomi Garrett's estate.

36. Caldwell, "Casper George Garrett," *History of the American Negro*, 316.

who purchased his own freedom from a Laurens enslaver in 1819.³⁷ Dublin bought twenty-one acres in 1821, the first of many land acquisitions.³⁸ In 1823 he purchased an enslaved woman, Sall, and two girls from Charles Simmons's estate.³⁹ Dublin, born about 1785, lived in Laurens District from 1830 through 1850. Absent from the 1860 census, he probably died after his 1850 enumeration.⁴⁰

Sixty-year-old Sall and a fourteen-year-old boy, both free persons of color, lived in Dublin Hunter's 1850 household. However, no known evidence of their emancipation exists.⁴¹ When Dublin purchased Sall in 1823 state law provided that "[n]o slave shall . . . be emancipated, but by act of the legislature."⁴² Without legislative action Sall was Dublin's personal property and subject to creditors' claims, despite living as a free person. Children born to Sall while she was enslaved shared her condition of servitude.⁴³

Charles Simmons's 1791 will gave rise to an 1823 equity court case involving enslaved Sall and five children. Sall was sold in 1792 in Virginia—after Charles Simmons's death—at "about two years of age" and taken to Laurens District. Sall was in the decedent's son's possession until he executed a 1793 bill of sale to his

37. *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/007857041>), digital film 007857041, image 243, Laurens Dist., Deed Book K:239, James Hunter to Dublin Hunter, deed of emancipation, 14 January 1819, recorded 12 March 1819.

38. *Ibid.*, image 375, Laurens Dist., Deed Book L:45, James Hunter to Dublin Hunter, sale, 5 November 1821, rec. 2 March 1822.

39. *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/007706338>), digital film 007706338, image 950, Laurens Dist., Probate Court, box 66, package 11, estate of Charles Simmons (1822), "Sale Bill of Certain Negroes," 25 March 1823.

40. 1830 U.S. census, Laurens Dist., S.C., p. 233 (stamped), Dublin Hunter; NARA microfilm M19, roll 169. 1840 U.S. census, Laurens Dist., S.C., p. 31 (stamped), Dublin Hunter; NARA microfilm M704, roll 513. 1850 U.S. census, Laurens Dist., S.C., pop. sch., fol. 246r (stamped), dwell./fam. 671, Dublin Hunter; NARA microfilm M432, roll 855. In 1850 Dublin was sixty-five. Also, 1850 U.S. census, Laurens Dist., S.C., agriculture schedule, p. 31, Dublin Hunter; series F 600204, microfilm publication AD260, roll 2, SCDAAH. In 1850 Dublin had a farm with fifteen improved acres, two horses, and three cows.

41. 1850 U.S. census, Laurens Dist., S.C., pop. sch., fol. 246r (stamped), dwell./fam. 671, Dublin Hunter. *FamilySearch*, digital film 007899264, images 152–55, Laurens Co., Indirect [Grantee] Index to Deeds, 1774–1903, "Hu" surnames. A search produced negative results for Sally Hunter.

42. Benjamin James, *A Digest of The Laws of South Carolina, Containing The Public Statute Law of The State, Down to The Year 1822; A Compendious System . . . Use of the Private Citizen and Inferior Magistrate* (Columbia, S.C.: Telescope Press, 1822), 398, "Slaves."

43. *Ibid.*, 380–81.

mother, Charles Simmons's widow. Until the widow's 1822 death, Sall remained in her possession.⁴⁴

Heirs challenged the widow's will, which treated Sall as her property.⁴⁵ Because an enslaved woman's issue were the property of her owner, the court's decision also determined the ownership of Sall's children.⁴⁶ The equity court decreed Sall and her children belonged to Charles Simmons's estate—rather than to his widow's estate.⁴⁷ In its decision the court accepted the claimant's assertion that Sall was the mother of all five children in the case, including a girl Nancy “about eight years old,” thus born about 1815.⁴⁸

When Dublin purchased Sall in 1823, John [Stobo] James purchased Nancy from the Simmons estate.⁴⁹ He probably held Nancy in bondage into the 1840s.⁵⁰ In 1842 financially troubled James mortgaged forty-one enslaved people, including a woman Nancy and a man Sam, the same given names as the couple Casper identified as his paternal grandparents and Isaac's parents.⁵¹

44. *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/004754149>), digital film 004754149, images 121–23, Washington District Western Circuit, Equity Court, Partitions of Estates, 1803–1826, fols. 114r–116r, Laurens District, Charles Simmons and David Anderson v. John Simmons et al. (1823), bill of complaint, Charles Simmons and David Anderson, filed 5 June 1822. For Sall's age, *ibid.*, image 124, John Simmons to Elizabeth Simmons, bill of sale for slaves, 24 December 1793, “Exhibit B,” fol. 117r. A conflicting version of Sall's origin, asserted in an undocumented genealogy, says she “lived in Jamaica as a slave before being sent to South Carolina.” See Tera W. Hunter, “Introduction,” *Bound in Wedlock, Slave and Free Black Marriage in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2017), 1.

45. *FamilySearch*, digital film 004754149, images 121–23, Charles Simmons and David Anderson v. John Simmons et al. (1823), bill of complaint.

46. John Belton O'Neill, *Negro Law of South Carolina* (Columbia, S.C.: John G. Bowman, 1848) 17, ch. 2, §2. “The owner of the mother has the same right in her issue, born while she belongs to him, which he has in her.”

47. *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/008621522>), digital film 008621522, image 138, Washington District Western Circuit, Equity Court, Decree book, 1807–1823, fol. 145v, Laurens Court, Charles Simmons and David Anderson v. John Simmons et al. (1823), decree, 27 May 1823.

48. *FamilySearch*, digital film 007706338, image 948, Laurens Dist., Probate Court, box 66, package 11, estate of Charles Simmons (1822), “Inventory and appraisment [*sic*] of certain negroes (Decreed by the court of Equity to) belong to the Estate of Charles Simmons, decd.,” 24 March 1823.

49. For purchase, *ibid.*, image 950, “Sale Bill of Certain Negroes,” 24 March 1823. For purchaser's full name, John Belton O'Neill, *Biographical Sketches of the Bench and Bar of South Carolina*, 2 vols. (Charleston: S. G. Courtenay, 1859) 2:516–17, “John Stobo James” sketch. The author, a chief justice in South Carolina, identified John Stobo James as his brother-in-law.

50. 1830 U.S. census, Laurens Dist., S.C., p. 232 (stamped), Jno S. James. Also, 1840 U.S. census, Laurens Dist., S.C., p. 3 (stamped), John S. James, Esq. Nancy was the right age to be one of five enslaved females age 10–23 on the 1830 record and one of the four age 24–36 in 1840.

51. *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/008140755>), digital film 008140755, images 139–40, Laurens Dist., Deed Book O:134–35, John S. James to John Garlington et al., mortgage, 24 October 1842, rec. 5 November 1842. Also, O'Neill, *Biographical Sketches of the Bench and Bar*, 2:516. O'Neill reported that John Stobo James had tried his hand at “the mercantile business . . . in Laurens and failed in 1843 or 1844.”

Samuel and Nancy Garrett in Postbellum Laurens County

In 1869 Samuel Garrett Jr. headed a household in Laurens Township with ten colored occupants—six males, only one over twenty-one, and four females. Six lines below Samuel Jr., the enumerator recorded Samuel Garrett Sr. in a household of two—one male and one female, both over twenty-one.⁵²

In 1870 Samuel Garrett, fifty-three, headed a Laurens Township household of ten, similar in makeup to Samuel Jr.'s 1869 household. His apparent wife, fifty-six-year-old Nancy Garrett, was born about 1814—the approximate birth year of Sall's child Nancy, enslaved by the Simmons family. Dublin, a one-year-old in Samuel's household, was likely Nancy's grandchild. He may have been named after Nancy's probable father, Dublin Hunter. Seventeen-year-old Stobo Garrett—a male with the same given name as the son Casper's daughter remembered—lived with Samuel and Nancy.⁵³

In the next enumerated 1870 household, Samuel Garrett, eighty-four and “Infirm,” lived with Virginia-born Hannah Garrett, seventy-nine.⁵⁴ Their proximity to the younger Samuel and their ages suggest they were probably the couple recorded in 1869 as the Samuel Garrett Sr. household. The two Samuels were possibly father and son.

The younger Samuel last appears in Laurens Township tax rolls in 1874 listed on the line below Isaac Garrett. Samuel owed no poll tax, indicating he was over fifty.⁵⁵ Samuel and Nancy Garrett do not appear in censuses after 1870, which suggests they died before 1880.⁵⁶ Casper George Garrett—about five years old in 1870—

52. 1869 South Carolina state census, Laurens Co., pop. sch., Laurens Twp., 24th unnumbered page, line 23, Samuel Garrett Jr.; and line 29, Samuel Garrett Sr.; *FamilySearch*, digital film 008194978, image 164.

53. 1870 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch., Laurens Twp., p. 110 (stamped), dwell. 59, fam. 62, Samuel Garrett household. The household included Nancy, Dublin, Stobo, and several other Garrett young adults and children.

54. 1870 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch., Laurens Twp., p. 110 (stamped), dwell. 60, fam. 63, Samuel Garrett household.

55. *FamilySearch*, digital film 008300442, image 147, Laurens Co., Auditor's Tax Duplicate book, 1874, Laurens Twp., fol. 71, line 7, Isaac Garrett, Col[ored]; line 8, Sam Garrett, Col[ored]. In 1874 a one-dollar poll tax was assessed on males 21 to 50. See *Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of State of South Carolina . . . at the Regular Session of 1873–74* (Columbia: Republican Printing, 1874), 733, section 5, no. 631, “An Act to Reduce all Acts and Parts of Acts Providing for the Assessment and Taxation of Property into one Act, and to Amend the Same.”

56. “1880 United States Federal Census,” database, *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/6742/>). Also, “1900 United States Federal Census,” database, *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/7602/>). Search of Laurens and adjacent counties in South Carolina for a black or mulatto Samuel Garrett, born about 1817, or Nancy Garrett, born about 1814, produced no results.

could have remembered Samuel and Nancy as grandparents.⁵⁷

At New Grove Baptist Church in Laurens Isaac associated with Nancy's probable brother, Richard Hunter.⁵⁸ Isaac, his wife Hannah, and Richard are buried in the churchyard.⁵⁹ Judging from newspaper accounts Richard Hunter's birth family was enslaved after Dublin Hunter's death. The reports corroborate Casper's 1919 recollection that through a guardian's treachery "the old man lost his plantation and the children unbought."⁶⁰

SAMUEL'S SON STOBO

Only one African American Stobo Garrett appears in federal censuses for Laurens County from 1870 to 1910. He bore the middle name of the man who enslaved his probable mother, Nancy.

In 1870 Stobo Garrett, seventeen, lived with Samuel and Nancy Garrett in Laurens Township. He was first assessed a poll tax in 1875, indicating he had turned twenty-one.⁶¹ In 1880 Stobo headed a household including wife Mary (née Clowney) and son Fletcher.⁶² In 1910 Stobo's Laurens household included wife Mary and four

57. Caldwell, "Casper George Garrett," *History of the American Negro*, 316. Also, "South Carolina, Death Records, 1821–1968," *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/8741/>) > 1925–1949 > 1947 > Richland > image 2110, S.C. Board of Health, death certification, file no. 17049, Casper G. Garrett, 17 November 1947, Richland County. The informant, son Chris Garrett, said Casper's parents were Sam Garrett and Martha Hunter, both of Laurens County. The certificate shows 1866 as Casper's birth year, but in his biographical sketch Casper said he was born September 1865. For son, 1910 U.S. census, Richland Co., S.C., pop. sch., Columbia Twp., ED 76, sheet 3-B, dwell. 47, fam. 63, Casper G. Garrett. Son Christopher T. Garrett is listed in household.

58. "Dick Hunter Dead, One of the Best Known Negroes in the County, Facts About His Remarkable Career—How He Bought His Freedom and Paid for it After Emancipation," obituary, *Laurens Advertiser*, 4 June 1902, p. 3, col. 3. He died 1 June 1902 at age 76. After Richard "Dick" Hunter's 1902 death, newspaper articles appeared nationwide about his continuing to pay for his freedom after emancipation. Reports identified him as the son of Dublin Hunter, a free man of color. See "Bought Himself Twice," *New-York Tribune* (New York, N.Y.), 16 June 1902, p. 2, col. 4. Also, 1830 U.S. census, Laurens Dist., S.C., p. 233 (stamped), Dublin Hunter. The 1830 household included two males under ten years of age, one of which could have been Richard, born about 1826.

59. New Grove Baptist Church Cemetery, Isaac Garriett [*sic*] marker. Ibid., Hannah Garriett [*sic*] marker. Ibid., Richard Hunter marker; born 12 January 1826, died 1 June 1902. Also, "Dick Hunter Dead," *Laurens Advertiser*, 4 June 1902, p. 3, col. 3. His burial at New Grove Baptist Church is reported..

60. "Bought Himself Twice," *New-York Tribune*, 16 June 1902, p. 2, col. 4. For Casper's account, Caldwell, "Casper George Garrett," *History of the American Negro*, 316.

61. *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/008300444>), digital film 008300444, image 171, Laurens Co., Auditor's Tax Duplicate book, 1875, Laurens Twp., fol. 80, line 25, Stobo Garrett, Col[ored].

62. 1880 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch., Laurens Twp., ED 99, p. 18 (penned), sheet 17-B (stamped), dwell. 163, fam. 174, Stobo Garrett. For maiden name, "South Carolina, Delayed Birth Records, 1766–1900 and City of Charleston, South Carolina, Birth Records, 1877–1901," *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/1239/>) > Delayed Birth Records > BC_19 1891–1892 > image 1862, Laurens Co., delayed birth certificate, no. 15-1913 (1940), John B. Garrett. Stobo Garrett's family Bible is cited. Parents were Stobo and Mary (Clowney) Garrett. Also, Suffolk Co., Mass., death certificate no. 611213, Mary Garrett, 27 December 1936; Registry Division, City of Boston; certified copy, 1 October 2018, author's files. Laurens was her birthplace; father was Todd Clowney, and mother's maiden name was unknown.

children: eighteen-year-old John B., fifteen-year-old Anna, twelve-year-old Mamie, and seven-year-old “Maud.”⁶³ By 1920 Stobo, sixty-five, had relocated to Boston, Massachusetts, with his wife, Mary, and the same four children enumerated in his 1910 Laurens household.⁶⁴ Casper’s daughter may have known Stobo as an uncle. In an interview she said Stobo’s son John B. Garrett was Casper’s first cousin.⁶⁵

Stobo’s 1922 Massachusetts death certificate names his father, Samuel Garrett.⁶⁶ The record names no mother, but onomastic evidence connects Stobo to the former Nancy Hunter. “Hunter” was Stobo’s middle name and the given name for one of his sons.⁶⁷

PARENTS FOR SAMUEL GARRETT

Samuel Garrett, born about 1817, was probably the son of Samuel and Hannah Garrett, the elderly couple sold out of the Garrett enslaver’s estate.⁶⁸ Several points support the theory:

- The same person—Jesse Garrett—enslaved Samuel the elder, Hannah, and Isaac.⁶⁹
- Seventy-nine-year-old Hannah, described as mulatto in 1870, is probably the same “Molattow Gerral” whom Jesse Garrett bought in 1803, and who is described as Samuel’s wife in Garrett’s will.⁷⁰ The 1803 deed does not give Hannah’s age, but by 1870 she would have been elderly.

63. 1910 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch., Laurens City, ward 2, ED 57, sheet 6-B, dwell./fam. 120, Stobo H. Garrett.

64. 1920 U.S. census, Suffolk Co., Mass., pop. sch., Boston Ward 7, ED 209, sheet 6-B, dwell. 48, fam. 143, Stobo Garrett; NARA microfilm T625, roll 732.

65. Garrett-Nelson, *The Source: The Garrett, Neely, and Sullivan Families*, 79.

66. Suffolk Co., death certificate no. 698923, Stobo Garrett, 31 August 1922; Registry Division, City of Boston; certified copy, 13 August 2018, author’s files. “Lawrence, SC” is the birthplace of both parents. Although unnamed, the informant’s relationship was “wife.”

67. For Hunter as middle name, Rosemary T. Matthews, “Register Report for Samuel Garrett,” compiled 25 January 2013; supplied by Matthews, Fayetteville, Ga.; PDF copy in author’s files. This manuscript, compiled by a trained librarian, references U.S. census reports and an *Ancestry* public tree. It includes relevant information corroborated by sources cited in this article. For middle initial, 1910 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch., ED 57, sheet 6-B, dwell./fam. 120, Stobo H. Garrett. For son, 1900 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch., ED 58, sheet 1-B, dwell./fam. 14, Stobo Garrett. Son Hunter was fourteen and born January 1886.

68. *FamilySearch*, digital film 004753277, images 25–29, Laurens Dist., Probate Court, Jesse Garrett estate (1853), “Sale Bill of the Estate of Jesse Garrett,” filed 7 December 1857; specifically image 28 for “Sam & Hannah.”

69. *Ibid.*, images 9–11, Laurens Dist., Probate Court, Jesse Garrett estate (1853), bundle 132, package 10, will of Jesse Garrett, 22 September 1847, proved 5 October 1853. Also, *ibid.*, images 20–21, “Appraise Bill of the Estate of Jesse Garrett,” 24 May 1853.

70. 1870 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch., Laurens Twp., p. 110 (stamped), dwell. 60, fam. 63, Samuel Garrett household. Seventy-nine-year-old Hannah was keeping house. For purchase, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/008140754>), digital film 008140754, image 281, Laurens Dist., Deed Book H:269, Robert Coker to Jesse Garrett, 25 July 1803, rec. 3 February 1808. *Ibid.*, digital film 004753277, images 9–11, Laurens Dist., Probate Court, will of Jesse Garrett, 22 September 1847.

- Hannah, born about 1791, and about twenty-six at the younger Samuel's birth in 1817, was of an age to be his mother.
- After emancipation Samuel and Hannah lived in the household enumerated after Samuel and Nancy.⁷¹
- Casper reported his grandfather's parents were Virginians. The one census where Hannah appears lists Virginia as her birthplace.⁷² A local history reports the Garrett enslaver's parents emigrated from Virginia, likely bringing enslaved people with them.⁷³
- Onomastic evidence supports the connection. The given names of Nancy's husband and fourteen-year-old Hannah in Samuel and Nancy's 1870 household are possible namesakes of the elder Samuel and Hannah.⁷⁴
- The elder Samuel is listed as "Sr." and the younger as "Jr." in Laurens Township in the 1869 state census.⁷⁵ Anecdotal evidence suggests the enumerator used these suffixes to distinguish between fathers and sons.⁷⁶

CASPER GARRETT'S PARENTS

Casper Garrett does not appear in the 1870 enumeration of Laurens County.⁷⁷ He told his biographer that his father, Samuel, "had left with the Yankees and did not return," and that his mother's given name was Martha.⁷⁸

Martha Hyde a.k.a. Martha Hunter

Casper Garrett may have been known by the surname Kennedy. In 1880 seventeen-year-old Casper Kennedy lived with sixty-year-old Cato Kennedy.⁷⁹ The

71. 1870 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch., Laurens Twp., p. 110 (stamped), dwell. 59, fam. 62, Samuel Garrett; and dwell. 60, fam. 63, Samuel Garrett.

72. Ibid., dwell. 59, fam. 62, seventy-nine-year old Hannah in Samuel Garrett household.

73. William P. Jacobs, ed., "Edward and Elizabeth Garrett," *The Scrapbook: A Compilation of Historical Facts About Places and Events of Laurens County, South Carolina* (Laurens, S.C.: Laurens County Historical Society and Laurens Arts Council, 1982), 189.

74. 1870 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch., Laurens Twp., p. 110 (stamped), dwell. 59, fam. 62, Samuel Garrett. The household includes fourteen-year-old Hannah.

75. 1869 South Carolina state census, Laurens Co., pop. sch., Laurens Twp., 24th unnumbered page, Samuel Garrett Jr., line 23; and Samuel Garrett Sr., line 29; *FamilySearch*, digital film 008194978, image 164.

76. The 1869 census taker for Laurens County's population schedule was Y. J. P. Owens. See *ibid.*, image 140. For a Jr.-Sr. example, see *ibid.*, image 257, Sullivan Township, line 11, Daniel South Sr.; and line 12, Daniel South Jr. Daniel South's will names Daniel L. South as a son. See *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/004754156>), digital film 004754156, image 492, Laurens Co., will book B:346, will of Daniel South, 8 May 1875, proved 12 February 1876.

77. 1870 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch.; NARA microfilm M593, roll 1501. The author searched the entire county page-by-page using microfilm at the National Archives, Washington, D.C.

78. Caldwell, "Casper George Garrett," *History of the American Negro*, 318. A Samuel Garrett of an age to be Casper's father was enumerated in the 1870 U.S. census for Laurens; however, no record of a connection between Casper and that candidate was discovered. 1870 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch., Youngs Twp., p. 285 (stamped), dwell. 384, fam. 402, Samuel Garrett.

79. 1880 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch., Laurens Twp., ED 99, p. 74, dwell. 671, fam. 743, Cato Kennedy.

household's eldest female, forty-year-old Martha Kennedy, carried the same given name as Casper's mother.⁸⁰ Casper reported his mother was "brought from Virginia as a slave when small."⁸¹ Consistent with this story, in 1886 C. G. Garrett placed a newspaper ad seeking information about Martha Kennedy's birth family from whom she had been separated and sold as a child in Virginia.⁸²

Records show two different maiden names for Casper's mother: Hyde in his 1919 biography and Hunter on his death certificate.⁸³ Martha's enslavement history explains the conflict. Samuel Hunter enslaved Martha but after he died intestate she was transferred to his married daughter. Thereafter Martha was probably known by Hunter's son-in-law's surname, Hyde.⁸⁴

The similarity of the Virginia origin stories of Martha Kennedy and Martha Hyde—each with a son Casper of about the same age and interaction between Casper Garrett and Martha Kennedy—supports merging the identities. No conflicting record appears before 1880 when Casper was enumerated as a Kennedy or after he placed the 1886 ad. A colored C. G. Garrett owned personal property worth twenty dollars and no real estate in 1890 Laurens County.⁸⁵ Cato Kennedy, enumerated without a family in 1870, was likely Casper's stepfather.⁸⁶

80. Ibid. Everyone on the page, including Martha Kennedy, is recorded as South Carolina-born. It appears the enumerator assumed this was the case. 1930 U.S. census, Richland Co., S.C., pop. sch., Columbia City, p. 151, ED 40-25, sheet 1-A, dwell./fam. 3, Casper Garrett; NARA microfilm T626, roll 2210. Casper's mother is shown as Virginia-born. However, unknown informants in other census records gave Casper's mother's birthplace as South Carolina. His daughter Naomi did the same on his death certificate.

81. Caldwell, "Casper George Garrett," *History of the American Negro*, 316.

82. "Information Wanted," *Christian Recorder* (Philadelphia, Pa.), 15 July 1886, p. 3, col. 3; images, Center for Research Libraries (<https://dds.crl.edu/item/341807>).

83. Caldwell, "Casper George Garrett," *History of the American Negro*, 316. Also, "South Carolina, Death Records, 1821–1968," *Ancestry* > 1925–1949 > 1947 > Richland > image 2110, S.C. Board of Health, death certificate, file no. 17049, Casper G. Garrett, 17 November 1947, Richland Co.

84. *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/004753265>), digital film 004753265, images 918–20, Laurens Dist., Probate Court, box 102, package 12, Samuel Hunter estate (1849), "Settlement of the Personal Estate of Samuel Hunter." The accounting refers to "the share of rv. [Rev.] Hyde & wife." Ibid., images 913–15, "Sale Bill of the Personal Property of Samuel Hunter, decd." "Negro girl Martha" was allotted to daughter, N. A. Hunter. Also, 1850 U.S. census, Laurens Dist., S.C., pop. sch., fol. 262r (stamped), dwell./fam. 942, Mary Hunter. E. F. Hyde, Clergyman, and Nancy A. Hyde lived in the 1850 Laurens District household headed by Samuel Hunter's widow, Mary. Also, Leon S. Hollingsworth, *A History of the Origin and Development of Our Family in America and a Genealogy of the Descendants of John Hunter, II* (Decatur, Ga.: The author, 1952), 44. This book includes an abstract of Samuel Hunter's estate inventory that refers to "N.A. Hunter (daughter, Mrs. Hyde)."

85. *FamilySearch*, digital film 008191369, image 52, Laurens Co., Auditor's Tax Duplicate book, 1890, Laurens Twp., fol. 24, line 1, C. G. Garrett, col[ored].

86. 1870 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch., Laurens Twp., p. 115v (stamped), dwell. 151, fam. 157, Kato Kenedy [*sic*]. Kato was fifty-two.

Another Samuel Garrett: Casper's Father and Samuel Jr.'s Son?

A freedman named Samuel Garrett, born about 1838 and twenty-one years younger than Nancy's husband, Samuel, lived in postbellum Laurens County. The younger Samuel was consistently enumerated in Youngs Township.⁸⁷ He almost certainly was the colored "Sam Garrett" who registered to vote in 1868 at the Laurens Court House election precinct.⁸⁸ He was neither Samuel Garrett Jr. nor Samuel Garrett Sr.; they registered to vote in 1868 in another precinct.⁸⁹

The 1868 tax list has no geographic detail. Therefore, it is impossible to determine whether Samuel Garrett with two hogs and other personal property worth twenty-four dollars was Nancy's husband of Laurens Township or the Youngs Township resident.⁹⁰ Sam Garrett of Youngs Township was taxed in 1874 and 1875 on personal property, but no real estate.⁹¹ After 1880 he does not appear in Laurens County censuses or on the 1890 tax list, suggesting he died or moved.⁹²

Samuel Garrett, born 1838, was the right age and living in the right place to be Casper's father and Samuel Jr.'s son. However, no connection has been established between this Youngs Township Samuel and Casper.⁹³ Casper's father, Samuel, may have "left with the Yankees and did not return," as family oral tradition holds.⁹⁴

87. 1870 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch., Youngs Twp., p. 285 (stamped), dwell. 384, fam. 402, Samuel Garrett, age 32. Also, 1880 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch., Youngs Twp., ED 107, p. 21, dwell./fam. 204, Sam Garrett.

88. South Carolina, Secretary of State, Abstract of Voter Registrations Reported to the Military Government, 1868, Laurens Co., First Registration Precinct, Laurens Court House Election Precinct, p. 185, Colored, Sam Garrett; images, *South Carolina Digital Library*.

89. Ibid., Second Registration Precinct, Scuffletown Election Precinct, p. 245, Colored, Samuel Garrett Jr., Samuel Garrett Sr.; images, *South Carolina Digital Library* (<https://digital.tcl.sc.edu/digital/collection/voterreg/id/1505>). Election precincts were not aligned with township boundaries. In 1868 Laurens County had sixteen registration precincts spread over nine townships. See *ibid.*, Laurens Co., title page, fol. 159; *South Carolina Digital Library* (<https://digital.tcl.sc.edu/digital/collection/voterreg/id/1462/rec/1>).

90. *FamilySearch*, digital film 008134273, image 97, Laurens Co., Auditor's Tax Duplicate book, 1868, unpaginated, rough alphabetical order, Samuel Garrett, P.C. [Person of Color]. Townships are not designated.

91. Ibid., digital film 008300442, image 77, 1874, Youngs Twp., fol. 36, line 16, Sam Garrett, col[ored]. Also, *ibid.*, digital film 008300444, image 89, 1875, Youngs Twp., fol. 39, line 28, Sam Garrett, col[ored].

92. "1900 United States Federal Census," database, *Ancestry*. Also, "1910 United States Federal Census," database, *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/7884/>). Search of Laurens and adjacent counties for Samuel Garrett, a black or mulatto male born about 1838, produced no results. He is not on the 1890 tax list for Laurens County. See *FamilySearch*, digital film 008191369, Laurens Co., Auditor's Tax Duplicate book, 1890.

93. "Search Historical Records," *FamilySearch*, search for "Samuel Garrett"; with Other Person: Casper, George, or Casper George Garrett; Residence Place: exact to "Laurens, South Carolina"; Residence Year (Range): 1860 to 1900.

94. Caldwell, "Casper George Garrett," *History of the American Negro*, 318.

INTERGENERATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS OF THE GARRETT LINES

Two family reunion programs show Casper's and Isaac's descendants considered themselves kin. Casper's granddaughter preserved a 1933 program for the Dublin Clan's reunion at Bethel Hall Baptist Church in Laurens.⁹⁵ Isaac's son Wister donated the land on which Bethel Hall was built.⁹⁶ Wister's immediate family is interred in the graveyard.⁹⁷ At the 1933 reunion Wister's son F. M. [Fletcher Mills] Garrett welcomed the "Clan."⁹⁸ Casper's son Dr. C. H. [Colon Hunter] Garrett gave a talk on "Clanship."⁹⁹ Casper's granddaughter explained the reunion's reference to "Dublin" acknowledged the common ancestor of the three families attending—"Mills, Garretts, Hunter."¹⁰⁰

Casper was the "organizer" of a 1934 Dublin Clan reunion and F. M. Garrett served as "Chair of the Committee." The 1934 reunion was held at Flat Ruff Baptist Church in Laurens.¹⁰¹ An undocumented church history identifies Samuel and Nancy Garrett among its organizers. The program included Wister's son John W. Garrett and Casper's daughter Mattie (Garrett) Simons.¹⁰²

95. "1933 Reunion Program, Reunion of the Dublin Clan, including the Mills, Garretts, and Hunter Families," Bethel Hall Baptist Church, Laurens, S.C., 13 August 1933; original in the custody of David Nicholson, Vienna, Va.; copy in author's files. David inherited the document from his late mother, Ruth (Simons) Nicholson, who was Casper's granddaughter.

96. Laurens Co., Deed Book 32:131, W. L. Garrett to Trustees of Bethel Hall Baptist Church, deed, 16 November 1911, rec. 16 November 1911; Clerk of Court's Office, Laurens.

97. Bethel Hall Missionary Baptist Church Cemetery (Laurens, S.C.), markers for W. L. Garrett; Frances J. Garrett, wife of Wister; Hattie Z., daughter of W. L. and F. J. Garrett; Otto, son of W. L. and F. J. Garrett; transcribed by author in 2010. For transcriptions, see LaBrenda Garrett-Nelson, ed., *Historical Book of Bethel Hall Missionary Baptist Church, Laurens, South Carolina, 1910–2010* (Laurens, S.C.: Bethel Hall Missionary Baptist Church, 2010), 47.

98. "South Carolina, Death Records, 1821–1968," *Ancestry* > 1962–1965 > 1964 > 008100–009793, image 1033, S.C. Board of Health, death certificate, file no. 64 009067, Fletcher Mills Garrett, 31 March 1964, Laurens Co. Wick [a.k.a. Wister] and Frances Garrett are named as his parents. Also, 1900 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch., Sullivan Twp., ED 60, p. 299, sheets 11-B–12-A, dwell./fam. 205, Fletcher listed as a son in Wister L. Garrett household; NARA microfilm T623, roll 1534.

99. 1910 U.S. census, Richland Co., S.C., pop. sch., Columbia Twp., ED 76, sheet 3-B, dwell. 47, fam. 63, Colon H. listed as a son in Casper G. Garrett household. Also, "Pennsylvania, Death Certificates, 1906–1967," *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/5164/>) > 1949 > 054751–057300, image 808, Pa. Dept. of Health, death certificate, file no. 55321, Colon Garrett, 22 June 1949, Philadelphia Co. Colon Garrett's parents are listed as Casper George Garrett and the former Anna Threewicks [sic].

100. Ruth Esther (Simons) Nicholson (1922–1986), interview by author, August 1986, Washington, D.C.; notes in author's files.

101. "Reunion of the Dublin Clan, Including the Mills, Garretts, and Hunter Families," Flat Ruff Baptist Church, Laurens, S.C., 16 August 1934; folder: "Dublin Hunter," vertical files; Elaine Martin Local History Room, Laurens County Public Library, Laurens.

102. "History of Flat Ruff Baptist Church, Laurens County, South Carolina," *120th Anniversary and Dedication* (Gray Court, S.C.: Flat Ruff Baptist Church, 1988); SCC Pamphlet Box; Elaine Martin Local History Room. For Wister's son, 1910 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch., Sullivan Twp., ED 61, p. 153 (stamped), sheet 9-A, dwell./fam. 164, son John W. in household of Wister Garrette [sic].

DNA STUDY

Family tradition and documentary evidence show Samuel and Stobo were Samuel and Nancy (Hunter) Garrett's sons. Isaac's hypothesized relationship to the couple comes from indirect evidence. DNA alone cannot prove a genealogical relationship, but it can provide evidence to affirm or refute a conclusion. The study focuses on descent from the ancestral couple, Samuel and Nancy, because either individual might be the source of descendants' shared DNA.

To test the hypothesis that Samuel and Nancy were Isaac Garrett's parents, the study uses two types of DNA—autosomal DNA (atDNA) and the Y chromosome (Y-DNA), the latter only found in males.¹⁰³ The study compares test results of two test-taker groups who agreed to participate and might contribute DNA evidence of Isaac's parents—six of Isaac's descendants and six descendants of his hypothesized brothers, Samuel and Stobo. Figure 1 identifies the lines of descent of the twelve testers.¹⁰⁴

Isaac's Descendants

Six of Isaac's documented descendants through two children form one group shown in the shaded area of figure 1.

- Beryl, descended from Isaac's daughter Dicy (Garrett) Johnson
- Kenneth, descended from Isaac's son Wister
- Tony and Chris, full brothers descended from Isaac's son Wister
- Thomas, descended from Isaac's son Wister
- Abigail, descended from Isaac's son Wister¹⁰⁵

103. All participants were tested by FamilyTreeDNA. X-DNA was tested as part of atDNA. However, X-DNA matches between testers in independent lines were too small to be significant. See Kathryn J. Johnston, "X-DNA Techniques and Limitations," in Debbie Parker Wayne, ed., *Advanced Genetic Genealogy: Techniques and Case Studies* (Cushing, Tex.: Wayne Research, 2019), 67. Mitochondrial DNA is not applicable in this case study.

104. An author-created public *Ancestry* tree documents the lines of descent. See LaBrenda Garrett-Nelson, "Garrett-Nelson Family Tree," Public Member Tree, *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/tree/85023590/family/familyview>). The author received written permission from all test takers who are part of the study. One test taker, labeled "Male Garrett" in figure 1, declined to have his name published. Other potential test subjects were contacted, but did not agree to participate.

105. In all cases test takers identified their own parents. For Dicy and Wister's parents, 1880 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch., Laurens Twp., ED 99, p. 61, dwell. 530, fam. 587, Isaac Garrett household. Also, "South Carolina Deaths, 1915–1965," *FamilySearch* > 004177654 > image 1208, S.C. Board of Health, death certificate, file no. 22848, Wister Lee Garrett, 2 December 1928, Laurens Co. Certificate shows Wister's parents were Isaac and Hannah Garrett. For Pearl Dakers, "Georgia, Deaths Index, 1914–1940," *Ancestry* (<http://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/2562>) > 004178801 > image 570, Ga. Board of Health, death certificate, no. 34277, Pearl Dakers, 30 November 1924, Richmond Co. For Lucius Dakers, 1920 U.S. census, Richmond Co., Ga., pop. sch., Augusta, ward 3, ED 81, sheets 17-B–18-A, dwell. 492, fam. 515, Pearl Dakers household; NARA microfilm T625, roll 276. Son Lucius "Warren" was mistakenly given his middle name as surname. Also, Lucius Warren Dakers funeral program, Columbia, S.C., 1 April 2002; in author's files. For Beulah, Elton, and Shellie, children of Wister (a.k.a. Wick), see his will, Laurens Co., Probate Court, bundle 532, package 5, Wick L. Garrett estate (1928), will, 10 February 1927, filed 8 December 1828; Probate Clerk's Office,

Kenneth, Tony, Chris, and Thomas have Garrett and Neely lineages. These testers are descendants of siblings Beulah and Elton, Wister's children. Beulah (Garrett) Neely married a paternal uncle of Elton Garrett's wife.¹⁰⁶ This analysis, however, is unaffected by the shared Garrett-Neely DNA. The focus is on DNA segments these individuals have in common with descendants of Samuel and Stobo who have no Neely lineage.

Samuel's and Stobo's Descendants

Casper is the only identified child of Isaac's putative brother Samuel. Five of Casper's descendants from three children provided test results.

- William and Phyllis, full siblings descended from Casper's daughter Mattie
- Paul, a grandson of Casper's daughter Mattie
- Adam, a grandson of Casper's son Marion
- Male Garrett, Casper's great-grandson descended from Casper's son Christopher¹⁰⁷

Laurens. For Edgenoria Neely's parents, 1920 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., Dials Twp., ED 33, sheet 13-A, dwell./fam. 137, Richard Neely household; NARA microfilm T625, roll 1699. For Edgenoria's marriage, "District of Columbia Marriages, 1811–1950," *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1803979>) > 004661498 > image 329, Washington, D.C., marriage license, no. 173753, Furman Herron-Edgenoria Nely [sic], 10 September 1933. For Edgenoria's daughter, documentation in author's files was reviewed by the editors. For Thomas Garrett and Lnora (Garrett) Grayson's parents, Laurens Co., Probate Court, Elton Garrett probate file, "Petition to Prove Will in Common Form of Law and for Letters," 9 July 1977; Probate Clerk's Office. For Shelley (Garrett) Rogers's mother, 1940 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch., Sullivan Twp., ED 30-36, sheets 11-A–B, household 177, Shellie D. Garrett (informant) household; NARA microfilm T627, roll 3821.

106. For the pedigree of Elton's wife and her Neely uncle, see LaBrenda Garrett-Nelson, "The Freedman Richard Neely: One Family's American Beginning," *Journal of the Afro-American Historical and Genealogical Society* 34 (2017): 64–97.

107. In all cases test takers identified their own parents. For Mattie Simons, Marion Garrett, and Christopher Garrett, see 1910 U.S. census, Richland Co., S.C., pop. sch., Columbia Twp., ED 76, sheet 3-B, dwell. 47, fam. 63, Casper G. Garrett household. For William Simons, Phyllis (Simons) Ferguson, and Casper Simons, see 1930 U.S. census, Washington, D.C., pop. sch., ED 50, sheet 7-B, dwell. 119, fam. 99, Alfred E. Simons household; NARA microfilm T626, roll 293. For Sauda (Sue) Garrett, see Sauda (Sue) Lyn Garrett, [(E-ADDRESS FOR PRIVATE USE),] to LaBrenda Garrett-Nelson, e-mail, 2 January 2012, "Happy New Year"; author's electronic files. For Christopher Garrett Jr., 1930 U.S. census, Richland Co., S.C., pop. sch., Columbia, ED 40-34, sheet 6-B, dwell. 82, fam. 84, Christopher Garrett household; NARA microfilm T626, roll 2209. The editors confirmed the father of Male Garrett and that he identified his own parents and himself as a patrilineal great-grandchild of Casper George Garrett.

Figure 1

Autosomal DNA Matches of Hypothesized and

Generation

1

Samuel Garrett (b. 1817)

2

Isaac Garrett
(b. 1836–38)

3

Dicy (Garrett)
Johnson

Wister “Wick” Lee Garrett

4

Pearl (Johnson)
DakersBuelah
(Garrett)
NeelyElton
GarrettShellie
Garrett

5

Lucius
DakersEdgenoria
(Neely)
HerronLnora
(Garrett)
Grayson**Thomas
Garrett**Shelley
(Garrett)
Rogers

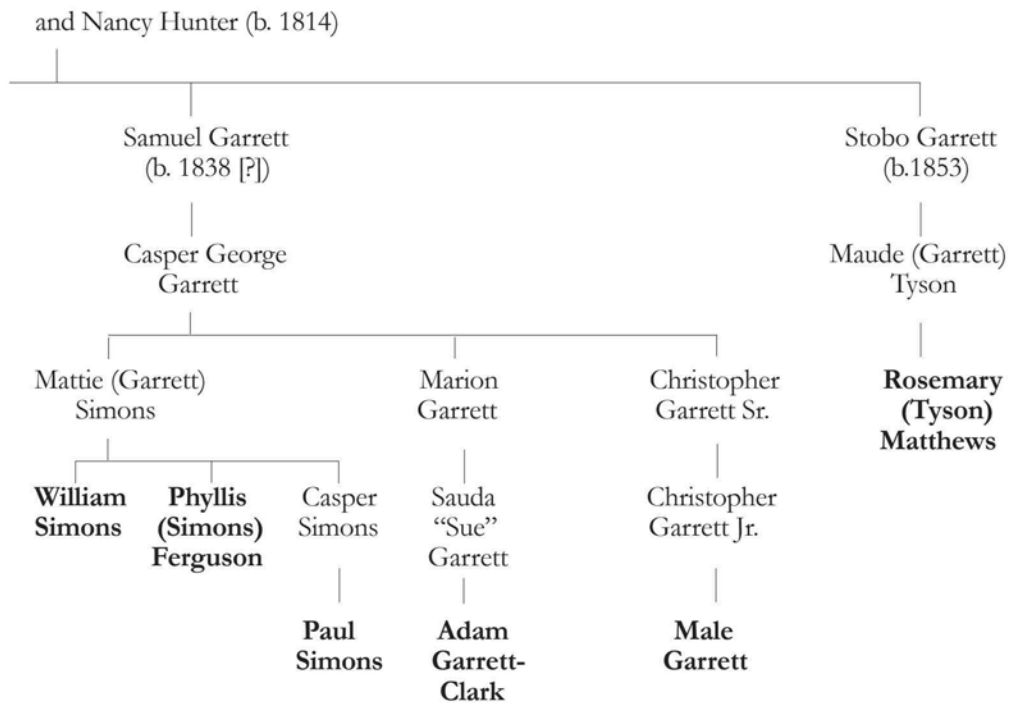
6

**Beryl
Dakers**Edgenoria’s
daughter**Tony
Grayson****Chris
Grayson****Abigail
Rogers**

7

**Kenneth
Crosson**

Notes: DNA test takers are indicated in bold. The shaded area shows Isaac’s descendants and his hypothesized relationship to Samuel and Nancy (Hunter) Garrett. For documentation of Isaac Garrett’s descendants, see footnote 105 in text.

Figure 1 (*continued*)**Selected Descendants of Samuel Garrett and Nancy Hunter**

Notes for figure 1 continued: For documentation of Samuel Garrett's descendants, see footnote 107 in text. For documentation of Stobo Garrett's descendants, see footnote 108 in text.

A single identified descendant of Stobo was willing to test—Rosemary, the only child of Stobo’s daughter Maude.¹⁰⁸ Her own descendants aside, Rosemary could identify only one cousin in her Stobo Garrett line, who declined to participate.¹⁰⁹

Although Americans of African descent are reportedly underrepresented in direct-to-consumer DNA databases, Casper’s descendant Adam was found through FamilyTreeDNA’s database.¹¹⁰ Multiple efforts were unsuccessful to locate willing study participants who are documented Stobo descendants among FamilyTreeDNA and GEDmatch users.¹¹¹

AUTOSOMAL DNA

Autosomal DNA (atDNA) refers to the twenty-two chromosomal pairs in the nucleus of each human cell. Each parent contributes to a child one of each pair of atDNA chromosomes. Because atDNA randomly recombines, siblings do not receive exactly the same mix of atDNA from their parents. In addition to the effects of recombination, half of a parent’s atDNA is *not* passed on to a child. Thus, the probability of matching genetic cousins decreases with each generation.¹¹²

Genetic relatedness is measured using centimorgans (cM), the probability of the frequency of recombination between two points on a chromosome. In general, the higher the number of shared cM for two testers, the more closely related they are.¹¹³ Closeness of a genetic relationship is also assessed using the number of single nucleotide polymorphisms (SNPs), variations in the DNA sequence at locations on a chromosome.¹¹⁴

108. For Maude’s parents, 1880 U.S. census, Laurens Co., S.C., pop. sch., Laurens Twp., ED 99, p. 18 (penned), sheet 17-B (stamped), dwell. 163, fam. 174, Stobo Garrett household. For Rosemary’s parents, “Virginia, Marriage Records, 1936–2014,” *Ancestry* (<https://ancestry.com/search/collections/9279/>) > 1964 > 24000–24499, image 405, Norfolk Co., Va., marriage records, certificate no. 24403, Henry George Matthews-Rosemary Simmons, 14 August 1964. The certificate names the bride’s parents William George Tyson and Maude Garrett. Also, Rosemary T. Matthews, “Register Report for Samuel Garrett,” p. 4.

109. [NAME PRIVATE] to author, e-mail, 21 February 2019, “Our Garrett Family”; author’s files.

110. Dieter Holger, “DNA testing for ancestry is more detailed for white people. Here’s why, and how it’s changing,” online news article, 4 December 2018, *PCWorld* (<https://www.pcworld.com/article/3323366/dna-testing-for-ancestry-white-people.html>).

111. See author’s files for private e-mails in 2017–2019. A DNA test taker who claims descent from Celie (var. Cicilia) Garrett (1805–?) shares more DNA with Rosemary than any other test taker in this study. The tester or her full sister also share DNA with descendants in the line of Stobo, Samuel, or Isaac. Test results for these sisters, however, are not included because adequate documentary evidence for Celie’s relationship to the Garrett lines in figure 1 has not been established.

112. Blaine T. Bettinger and Debbie Parker Wayne, “Genealogical Applications for atDNA,” *Genetic Genealogy in Practice* (Arlington, Va.: National Genealogical Society, 2016) 67–99, specifically 70–72 for “Recombination.”

113. *Ibid.*, 72–75.

114. Roberta Estes, “Concepts—CentiMorgans, SNPs and Pickin’ Crab,” blog post, 30 March 2016, *DNAeXplained* (<https://dna-explained.com/2016/03/30/concepts-centimorgans-snp-and-pickin-crab/>).

Variables Affecting the Analysis

Pedigree gaps result from the scarcity of records for enslaved ancestors. Thus, although each parent-child link in figure 1 is documented, the lack of depth in pedigrees could mask an unidentified common ancestor from whom test takers inherited atDNA. The enslaved in rural areas such as Laurens District were geographically isolated and had limited personal autonomy. They inevitably likely chose mates from family groups within the enslaved community. Intermarriage within the same communities continued in rural areas into the early twentieth century. Thus test takers may have atDNA from multiple recent common ancestral couples. Predicted relationships are based on theoretical probabilities. The following points reduce the odds of an invalid match or of attributing atDNA to the wrong ancestor:

- All atDNA matching segments in the study's genetic comparisons are greater than 7 cM—statistically viewed as “identical by descent,” or inherited, in contrast to false positives.¹¹⁵ All matching segments have more than 700 SNPs.
- Valid statistical tools, such as those on *GEDmatch* and the Shared cM Project 4.0 tool v4 found at *DNAPainter*, support the conclusions about genetic relationships.¹¹⁶
- For the nine test takers who had results uploaded to *GEDmatch* the tool “Are your parents related?” confirms none had parents who were related to each other.¹¹⁷
- Thomas is the only test taker whose parents were both members of the Laurens County population, and his pedigree is complete to the theorized ancestral couple. All eight of his great-grandparents are identified.¹¹⁸
- Rosemary's pedigree is complete to the theorized ancestral couple. Her four grandparents are documented.¹¹⁹

115. Brenna M. Henn et al., “Cryptic Distant Relatives are Common in Both Isolated and Cosmopolitan Genetic Samples,” research article, 3 April 2012, *PLOS One* (<https://journals.plos.org/plosone/article?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0034267>), see figure 6. True identical by descent segment lengths greater than 7 cM were detected over 90 percent of the time in this scientific study. Also, for a discussion see “Identical by descent,” updated 23 November 2018, *International Society of Genetic Genealogy Wiki* (https://isogg.org/wiki/Identical_by_descent).

116. In addition to the utilities at *GEDmatch*® (<https://www.gedmatch.com>), all genetic relationships were calculated using a statistical tool that predicts relationships based on empirical data. See *DNAPainter* (<https://dnainter.com/tools/sharedcmv4>). Also, Blaine Bettinger, “Version 4.0! March 2020 Update to the Shared cM Project!,” blog post, 27 March 2020, *The Genetic Genealogist* (<https://thegeneticgenealogist.com/2020/03/27/version-4-0-march-2020-update-to-the-shared-cm-project/>). For full explanation, Blaine Bettinger, “The Shared cM Project Version 4.0 (March 2020),” *The Genetic Genealogist* (<https://thegeneticgenealogist.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/Shared-cM-Project-Version-4.pdf>).

117. “Are your parents related?,” *GEDmatch* (https://www.gedmatch.com/v_compare_parents1.php), evaluations of kits T440057 (Beryl), T837933 (Kenneth), T407039 (Tony), T168905 (Chris), CU807097C1 (Thomas), T281192 (Abigail), T177464 (William), T141871 (Paul), and T551205 (Rosemary).

118. For pedigree, LaBrenda Garrett-Nelson, “Garrett-Nelson Family Tree,” Public Member Tree, *Ancestry* (<https://ancestry.com/family-tree/tree/85023590/family?cfpid=30510309459>).

119. For Rosemary's pedigree, *ibid.*, *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/tree/85023590/family?cfpid=380167203452>).

- Other test takers' geographic dispersal outside of Laurens reduces the probability of competing hypotheses for the atDNA shared with Garrett descendants. Casper's mother was born in Virginia and the mother of his children outside the Laurens gene pool in Columbia, South Carolina.¹²⁰ Beryl's paternal grandmother is her only genetic link to Laurens.¹²¹ All other test takers have at least one parent who was not a Laurens native, including Rosemary whose father was born in Georgia.¹²²
- All descendants of Stobo, Casper, and Isaac are estimated to have significant percentages of European DNA from *outside the enslaved population*, ranging from 9% for Thomas, to 21% for Beryl, 35% for Phyllis, and 40% for Rosemary.¹²³ This finding is consistent with a peer-reviewed genetic study of African Americans who descend from enslaved populations on the U.S. mainland.¹²⁴ This study's test takers are unlikely to share DNA through unknown European lines.
- Pedigree collapse occurred in some areas as enslaved populations reproduced over several hundred years. In contrast, white settlement and the introduction of slavery in South Carolina's upcountry began in the mid-1760s, one hundred years and only three or four generations before emancipation.¹²⁵

Autosomal DNA Shared by Both Groups

Table 1 shows thirty instances in which one of Isaac's descendants has a matching segment greater than 7 cM on the same chromosome as one of Samuel's or Stobo's descendants. Each pair of test takers consists of

- a third-, fourth-, or fifth-generation descendant of Isaac; and
- a third- or fourth-generation descendant of Samuel, or Stobo's second-generation descendant.

120. Caldwell, "Casper George Garrett," *History of the American Negro*, 316. Also, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/search/film/004185109>), digital film 004185109, image 705, S.C. Board of Health, death certificate, no. 02751, Anna Garrett, 15 February 1944, Richland Co.

121. 1920 U.S. census, Richmond Co., Ga., pop. sch., Augusta, ward 3, ED 81, sheets 17-B-18-A, dwell. 494, fam. 515, Pearl Dakers household. Georgia is listed as the birthplace of Beryl's paternal grandfather. Also, 1920 U.S. census, Orangeburg Co., S.C., pop. sch., Union Township, ED 154, sheet 11-A, dwell./fam. 192, Laurene in household of John Williams; NARA microfilm T625, roll 1705. From at least age three Beryl's mother was enumerated in Orangeburg County.

122. Rosemary T. Matthews, "Register Report for Samuel Garrett." Also, 1910 U.S. census, Chatham Co., Ga., pop. sch., Savannah, ED 74, sheets 3-B-4-A, dwell. 63, fam. 75, Colonel B. Tyson household; NARA microfilm T624, roll 178.

123. "Origins Version 2," *FamilyTreeDNA* (<https://www.familytreedna.com/my/my-origins>), for kits 412572, 430704, 535421, and 469351. Percentages were confirmed by the editors.

124. Soheil Baharian et al. "The Great Migration and African-American Genomic Diversity," research article, 27 May 2016, *PLOS Genetics* (<https://journals.plos.org/plosgenetics/article?id=10.1371/journal.pgen.1006059>), see "Abstract." "An estimated 82.1% of ancestors to African-Americans lived in Africa prior to the advent of transatlantic travel, 16.7% in Europe, and 1.2% in the Americas, with increased African ancestry in the southern United States compared to the North and West."

125. Margaret Peckham Motes, *Laurens County, S.C.: Rabun Creek Settlement 1762-1848* (Baltimore: Clearfield Publishing, 2011), xiv-xv. Donn Devine, "How long is a generation? Science Provides an Answer," *ISOGG Wiki* (https://isogg.org/wiki/How_long_is_a_generation%3F_Science_provides_an_answer), para. 7.

Table 1
Shared Segments between Isaac's and Samuel/Stobo's Descendants
 (Test taker's ancestor: Sa=Samuel, St=Stobo)

ISAAC DESCENDANT	SAMUEL / STOBO DESCENDANT	CHR.	MATCHING SEGMENT > 7 cM	SNPs
Beryl	Rosemary (St)	18	22.6	2,619
Kenneth	Rosemary (St)	6	11.7	2,363
Kenneth	Rosemary (St)	8	18.6	3,719
Kenneth	Rosemary (St)	10	13.9	2,437
Kenneth	Rosemary (St)	15	9.1	715
Tony	Rosemary (St)	2	29.0	6,850
Tony	Rosemary (St)	5	14.0	2,400
Tony	Rosemary (St)	8	18.5	3,719
Tony	Rosemary (St)	10	8.7	1,586
Tony	Phyllis (Sa)	2	8.69	2,065
Tony	Adam (Sa)	2	29.28	7,844
Thomas	Rosemary (St)	2	43.6	9,148
Thomas	Rosemary (St)	5	14.0	2,404
Thomas	Rosemary (St)	6	27.0	5,651
Thomas	Rosemary (St)	8	8.8	1,417
Thomas	Rosemary (St)	12	12.3	1,283
Thomas	Rosemary (St)	20	8.9	1,513
Thomas	Rosemary (St)	20	12.0	3,022
Thomas	William (Sa)	1	11.8	2,362
Thomas	William (Sa)	18	20.1	3,120
Thomas	Paul (Sa)	2	23.6	4,288
Thomas	Paul (Sa)	18	14.5	1,433
Thomas	Paul (Sa)	18	19.0	3,005
Thomas	Male Garrett (Sa)	19	23.67	2,591
Thomas	Phyllis (Sa)	2	19.67	4,428
Thomas	Adam (Sa)	1	10.63	2,600
Thomas	Adam (Sa)	2	33.6	9,038
Abigail	Rosemary (St)	6	35.4	6,688
Abigail	Rosemary (St)	15	14.0	1,128
Abigail	Paul (Sa)	18	14.6	1,435

(Table 1 continues on next page.)

Table 1 sources: “One-to-One Autosomal DNA Comparison,” *GEDmatch* (<https://www.gedmatch.com>), kits T719262 (Beryl), T837933 (Kenneth), T407039 (Tony), CU807097C1 (Thomas), T281192 (Abigail), T551205 (Rosemary), T177464 (William), and T141871 (Paul); default options (Build 37) with “Prevent Hard Breaks” selected. Kits for Phyllis, Adam, and Male Garrett were not uploaded to GEDmatch. Their matches were analyzed using FamilyTreeDNA tools and results verified by the editors. “Family Finder – Matches,” *FamilyTreeDNA* (<https://www.familytreedna.com/my/familyfinder>).

Table 2 shows hypothesized relationships for atDNA matches between the two groups for eleven of the twelve test takers.¹²⁶ All relationships are consistent with those predicted by the Shared cM Project tool available at *DNA Painter*, a statistical tool that predicts relationships based on empirical data. None of the hypothesized relationships had a zero probability of occurring.¹²⁷

ISAAC DESCENDANT	SAMUEL / STOBO DESCENDANT	TOTAL SHARED cM	HYPOTHEZED RELATIONSHIP
Beryl	Rosemary (St)	34	2C2R
Kenneth	Rosemary (St)	60	2C3R
Tony	Rosemary (St)	75	2C2R
Tony	Adam (Sa)	35	4C
Tony	Phyllis (Sa)	23	3C1R
Thomas	Rosemary (St)	120	2C1R
Thomas	Paul (Sa)	55	3C1R
Thomas	Adam (Sa)	49	3C1R
Thomas	Phyllis (Sa)	37	3C
Thomas	William (Sa)	37	3C
Thomas	Male Garrett (Sa)	29	3C1R
Abigail	Rosemary (St)	44	2C2R

Sources: For total shared cM, “Family Finder – Matches,” *FamilyTreeDNA* (<https://www.familytreedna.com/my/familyfinder>), for test takers' matches. Results were verified by the editors. For the relationships, C=cousin, R=removed. For example, 2C2R is a second cousin, twice removed.

126. The twelfth test taker, Chris, did not match anyone in the Samuel/Stobo group, but atDNA and X-DNA confirm he is Tony's full brother. See “GEDmatch® Autosomal One-to-one Comparison – V1.0,” and “X-DNA One-to-one Comparison – V1.0,” *GEDmatch*, comparing kits T168905 (Chris) and T407039 (Tony). The brothers share 2,737.7 cM of atDNA and 121.7 cM of X-DNA.

127. “The Shared cM Project 4.0 tool v4,” *DNA Painter*. For explanation, Blaine Bettinger, “Version 4.0! March 2020 Update to the Shared cM Project,” blog, 27 March 2020, *The Genetic Genealogist*.

Descendants of Isaac, Samuel, and Stobo Share Triangulated Segments

Segment triangulation identifies the same or overlapping atDNA segments on the same chromosome shared by at least three testers with independent lines of descent from a hypothesized common ancestral couple. Triangulation is viewed as increasing the probability the correct common ancestral couple is identified.¹²⁸

Two triangulated groups of testers, shown in table 3, share segments on chromosome 2. Each group includes Rosemary, the closest generational descendant of Samuel and Nancy Garrett, and a descendent of Isaac and Samuel. Documentary research revealed no genealogical connections among these test takers other than their Garrett lines. These shared matches in two triangulated groups strengthen the case for Samuel and Nancy Garrett as the test takers' most recent common ancestral couple.

Table 3
Two Triangulated Groups on Chromosome 2
 (Test taker's ancestor: I=Isaac, Sa=Samuel, St=Stobo)

TEST TAKERS (ANCESTOR)	START	STOP	SHARED cM	SNPs
Thomas (I) and Rosemary (St)	77,572,079	133,728,225	43.6	9,148
Thomas (I) and Paul (Sa)	113,825,303	135,711,657	23.6	4,288
Rosemary (St) and Paul (Sa)	113,825,303	133,728,225	21.0	3,666
Tony (I) and Rosemary (St)	77,572,079	121,341,281	29.0	6,850
Tony (I) and Adam (Sa)	77,511,553	120,961,417	29.28	7,844
Rosemary (St) and Adam (Sa)	71,562,688	126,435,595	40.04	10,438

Sources: "GEDmatch® Autosomal One-to-one Comparison – V1.0," *GEDmatch* (<https://www.gedmatch.com>), kits T407039 (Tony), T551205 (Rosemary), CU807097C1 (Thomas), and T141871 (Paul); default options (Build 37) with "Prevent Hard Breaks" selected. Adam's test results were not uploaded to *GEDmatch*. His atDNA was analyzed with FamilyTreeDNA tools. See "Family Finder – Chromosome Browser," *FamilyTreeDNA* (<https://www.familytreedna.com>), shared DNA segments for Tony Grayson, Rosemary Matthews, and Adam Garrett-Clarke; data verified by the editors.

X-DNA

The X chromosome (X-DNA) is one of the sex chromosomes. A mother passes an X chromosome to each of her children, but a father gives X-DNA only to his daughters. Because X-DNA recombines, the X-DNA a mother passes to a son can

128. Roberta Estes, "Triangulation for Autosomal DNA," blog, 21 June 2013, *DNAeXplained—Genetic Genealogy* (<https://dna-explained.com/2013/06/21/triangulation-for-autosomal-dna/>).

be from either or both of the son's maternal grandparents. A male cannot inherit X-DNA from his paternal grandparents.¹²⁹

FamilyTreeDNA includes X-DNA as part of its atDNA test results. The only X-DNA matches between independent Garrett lines of descent were Male Garrett and Rosemary. However, they share 3.82 cM, a segment considered too small to be significant.¹³⁰ X-DNA provides no relevant evidence for testing the hypothesis for Isaac's parents.

Thomas and Chris, both Isaac's descendants, share 1,849.3 cM of atDNA and 43.3 cM of X-DNA, supporting their uncle-nephew relationship.¹³¹ Yet Tony, Chris's full brother, shares 1,950.8 cM of atDNA and no X-DNA with Thomas—a demonstration of X-DNA randomly recombining in full siblings.¹³²

Y-DNA SUPPORTS A KINSHIP

The Y chromosome (Y-DNA) is passed from a male ancestor in a direct line from father to son. Y-DNA does not recombine but can mutate, which results in differences among test results of males in the same patrilineal line. Two Y-DNA tests are available. One looks at SNPs on the Y chromosome and determines a male's haplogroup or deep ancestry. Another test examines sequences of short tandem repeats (STRs) along the Y chromosome and is best for identifying matches that may descend from a common male ancestor within a genealogically relevant timeframe. Y-DNA testing cannot determine the degree of relationship, but it can test whether two males from independent lines share a common patrilineal ancestor.¹³³

At a minimum, two males from different lines are needed to confirm or refute a hypothesized paternal relationship.¹³⁴ Two Garrett males took both SNP and STR Y-DNA tests: Isaac's great-grandson Thomas and Casper's great-grandson Male Garrett.¹³⁵

129. Bettinger and Wayne, *Genetic Genealogy in Practice*, "Genealogical Applications for X-DNA," 101–12.

130. Kathryn J. Johnston, "X-DNA Techniques and Limitations," in Debbie Parker Wayne, ed., *Advanced Genetic Genealogy: Techniques and Case Studies*, 59. This expert advises "only matching X segments above 10 cM should be considered."

131. "GEDmatch® Autosomal One-to-one Comparison – V1.0," *GEDmatch*, comparing kits CU807097C1 (Thomas) and T168905 (Chris); default options (Build 37) with "Prevent Hard Breaks" selected.

132. *Ibid.*, comparing kits T407039 (Tony) and CU807097C1 (Thomas).

133. Bettinger and Wayne, *Genetic Genealogy in Practice*, 23–43.

134. Blaine Bettinger, *The Family Tree Guide to DNA Testing and Genetic Genealogy*, 2nd ed. (Cincinnati, Ohio: Family Tree Books, 2019), 195.

135. The author was unable to locate a living Y-descendant of Stobo.

A SNP test established the biogeographical Y-DNA haplogroup of Thomas and Male Garrett as E-BY176457, an African lineage. The terminal SNP—the most recent mutation—for both men is BY176457.¹³⁶ Thomas and Male Garrett sharing the Garrett surname carries less probative value than if their ancestors were not enslaved. Freedmen often assumed the surname of a former slaveholder with no genetic relationship. The Garrett surname is common to the British Isles, not Africa.¹³⁷ The African haplogroup suggests the European DNA of these two testers came from maternal lines.¹³⁸ The shared haplogroup supports the hypothesized relationship.

The STR test measures relationships based on the genetic distance (or number of differences) in the results of test takers.¹³⁹ Thomas and Male Garrett are each other's only match on a 111-marker STR test with a genetic distance of three.¹⁴⁰ Table 4 shows the three differences. One is at DYS570, a fast-mutating marker that is more likely to change within a genealogical timeframe.¹⁴¹

Table 4 Y-STR Values for Thomas and Male Garrett				
TEST TAKER	DYS570	DYS413	Y-GGAAT-1B07	DYS425
Thomas	17	20-22	12	0
Male Garrett	18	20-23	11	0
Source: "Y-DNA - Standard Y-STR Values," <i>FamilyTreeDNA</i> (https://www.familytreedna.com/my/y-dna-dys), for Thomas Garrett and Male Garrett. The editors verified these results.				

136. "Y-DNA - Haplogroup Origins," *FamilyTreeDNA* (<https://www.familytreedna.com/my/y-dna-haplo-matches>), for Thomas Garrett and Male Garrett. The editors verified the results.

137. *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/en/surname?surname=garrett>). Also, "Garrett History, Family Crest & Coats of Arms," *House of Names* (<https://www.houseofnames.com/garrett-family-crest>).

138. For European DNA, "Origins Version 2," *FamilyTreeDNA*, for Thomas Garrett and Male Garrett. A peer-reviewed study of the African American genome concluded that the "higher proportion of African ancestry along the X compared to autosomes is consistent with previous studies . . . and the historical record of early admixture occurring predominantly through coerced sexual interaction between European-American males and African-American females." Baharian et al., "The Great Migration and African-American Genomic Diversity," *PLOS Genetics*, see "Results: Admixture Patterns."

139. Bettinger and Wayne, *Genetic Genealogy in Practice*, 23–43, for "Genealogical Applications for Y-DNA."

140. "Y-DNA Matches," *FamilyTreeDNA* (<https://www.familytreedna.com/my/y-dna-matches>), match list for Thomas Garrett and Male Garrett at 111 markers; genetic distance=3. The editors verified these results.

141. "Mutation Rates," 26 June 2019, *International Society of Genetic Genealogy* (https://isogg.org/wiki/Mutation_rates).

The match result showing 108 of 111 markers indicates Thomas and Male Garrett share a common patrilineal ancestor. Over half of the matches at this level are related as fifth, or more recent, cousins.¹⁴² The men's zero value at DYS425 provides additional evidence of relationship. Null values are rare.¹⁴³

CONCLUSION

The two groups of Garrett test takers share atDNA in amounts consistent with the hypothesized relationships of Isaac, Samuel, and Stobo as brothers. Two triangulated groups on chromosome 2 strengthen the evidence. Y-DNA comparison of two testers points to Isaac's and Samuel's descendants sharing a common ancestor on their patrilineal line. The DNA study results—in conjunction with documentary evidence—support the conclusion that Samuel and Nancy (Hunter) Garrett were Isaac Garrett's parents. Samuel and Hannah Garrett were likely Isaac's paternal grandparents.

142. "If two men share a surname, how should the genetic distance at 111 Y-chromosome STR markers be interpreted," *FamilyTreeDNA* (<https://www.familytreedna.com/learn/y-dna-testing/y-str/two-men-share-surname-genetic-distance-111-y-chromosome-str-markers-interpreted/>).

143. "Y-DNA – Standard Y-STR Values," *FamilyTreeDNA* (<https://learn.familytreedna.com/user-guide/y-dna-myftdna/y-str-results-page/>).

Otto Garrett Killed by Peace Officer

Magistrate Woods Shoots When Negro Makes Show of Resisting Arrest.

While attempting to make an arrest of Otto Garrett, colored, at a colored church in the Mount Bethel community of Sullivan township Friday night, Magistrate N. B. Woods shot and mortally wounded Garrett who died the following day. Magistrate Woods placed himself in the hands of the sheriff immediately after the shooting and was granted bail by Judge Memminger in Common Pleas Court Monday morning.

According to evidence adduced at the inquest Sunday morning, Magistrate Woods had been asked to come to the meeting at the church so that his presence would improve the order of certain unruly elements. Arriving there he was informed that Otto Garrett had a pistol concealed about his person. Going into the church he called Garrett out and told him that he would have to search him for the pistol. He was leading him out of the church, said Mr. Woods, and was just outside the door when Garrett brushed against him violently and made a flourish as if to draw his pistol. Thinking, he said, that his own life was in danger and the darkness preventing him from seeing the exact movements of the negro, Mr. Woods quickly drew his own pistol and fired one shot which struck somewhat in the rear of Garrett's side and took effect in the abdomen.

Source: "Otto Garrett Killed by Peace Officer," *Laurens Advertiser* (Laurens, S.C.), 10 September 1919, p. 1, col. 3.

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