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## **Before They Were Red Shirts: The Rifle Clubs of Columbia, South Carolina**

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Before They Were Red Shirts:  
The Rifle Clubs of Columbia, South Carolina

By

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Bachelor of Arts  
College of William and Mary, 2012

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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

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Accepted by:

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## DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents and family who have supported me throughout my time in graduate school. Thank you for reading multiple drafts and encouraging me to complete this project.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As with every thesis, I would like to thank all the people who helped me finish. I would like to thank my academic advisors including Thomas Brown whose Hist. 800 class provided the foundation for my thesis. Also acknowledgment should go out to the McKissick Museum who worked with me to create a small exhibit on my Columbia rifle clubs during the Fall of 2013. And lastly I cannot leave out all of the staff at the archives and research institutions that guided me through their collections. Special appreciation goes to Graham Duncan, Brian Cuthrell, Beth Bilderback, and rest of the staff at the South Caroliniana Library. Also I would like to mention Debbie Bloom at the Richland County Public Library who introduced me to some fruitful sources and started me down the path to rediscovering the Schuetzen Platz.

## ABSTRACT

This paper argues that historians should reexamine the motivations of rifle clubs during Reconstruction by looking closely at the events the clubs held and the actual men who made up the organizations. The clubs from Columbia, South Carolina were more social and political organizations than otherwise given credit. Most of the men who joined the rifle clubs tended to be too young to have fought in the Civil War and not bitter veterans trying to “redeem” the state. The clubs began years before the violent “Red Shirt” campaign of 1876-77 and were more focused on organizing balls and parades than attempting to intimidate black voters.

General claims of a monolithic goal to “redeem” the South from Northern and Black rule underestimates the diversity of opinions within each club. The paper concludes by arguing that events outside of Columbia pushed the local rifle clubs to become the militant wing of the Democratic Party. There was a serious debate among Democrats in South Carolina between cooperating with moderate Republicans who would be sympathetic to white Southerners, or going for a “straight-out” Democratic ticket. Martin Witherspoon Gary and his Mississippi Plan used violence in what has become known as the Hamburg Massacre to rally the Democratic Party under the straight-out cause. Although always a possibility, the use of rifle clubs as organizations to intimidate black voters was not an inevitable outcome.

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## INTRODUCTION

Recent historiography of Reconstruction in South Carolina has emphasized the violent resistance that culminated in the Red Shirt campaign of 1876. Notable historians such as Richard Zuczek, author of the last book-length overview of the topic, have revised Clausewitz's famous phrase by describing the end of Reconstruction as "war by another means."<sup>1</sup> It may be true that violence characterized state politics during 1868-1871 and again in 1876, but this interpretation underestimates the plasticity of the intervening period and misunderstands the origins of at least some rifle clubs that ultimately allied with the Red Shirt campaign. The rifle clubs that formed in Columbia organized several years before 1876, and only events from outside Richland County pressured them into the Red Shirt campaign. Before and even afterwards the clubs were an active part of the Columbia community. They sponsored social events that help reveal how citizens understood and adapted to their new, evolving society. Colonial and antebellum militias had traditionally served the important social function of bringing people together to reaffirm the community's values and give a sense of group identity. The same was true after the Civil War.

A weakness in analyzing South Carolina rifle clubs' impact on Reconstruction has been to view them as yet another example of violence that was trending throughout the South. For example, this viewpoint is expressed by Otis Singletary in *Negro Militia and*

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<sup>1</sup> Richard Zuczek, *State of Rebellion: Reconstruction in South Carolina*, (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2009), 1; David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*, (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press, 2001), 110; George Rable, *But there was no Peace: the Role of Violence in the Politics of Reconstruction*, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984), 25.

*Reconstruction*, and by Eric Foner in *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877*. The histories often conclude that South Carolinians readily adopted the infamous “Mississippi Plan” of outright violence to win the 1876 election. While grouping South Carolina with other Southern states can be useful, closer analysis of the local politics in Columbia, South Carolina suggests that white elites tried a number of more peaceful options before resorting to violence in July 1876. Most of the rifle clubs in Columbia formed in 1874 but did not engage in violence during that year’s election cycle or at any point during the two years before the “Red Shirt” campaign.<sup>2</sup> While Martin Gary’s violent “Mississippi Plan” outlined the “straight-out” Democratic hopes for immediate redemption of the state, the clubs employed other strategies for political success prior to the Red Shirt campaign such as simply trying to mobilize for elections.<sup>3</sup>

Rifle clubs in South Carolina registered with the government, unlike the situation in Mississippi and other states where clubs remained secret to hide their violence. The Columbia clubs published the names of their officers in the local newspapers. White residents of Columbia used the rifle clubs to revive the social functions of the antebellum militia that they had lost in the years after the Civil War while blacks celebrated with state militia units. Undoubtedly these clubs were capable of transforming into violent organizations, just as their antebellum precursors were used as slave patrols. For example Wade Hampton Manning later recalled, “the weapon which was adopted was not a sporting or a target rifle, but a 16 shooter Winchester, it is not hard to appreciate that its hidden defensive object was not so peaceable as its constitution professed.” But

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<sup>2</sup> The earliest recognized white rifle club was the Palmetto Guard in Charleston in 1869. *Charleston Daily News*, July 5, 1870.

<sup>3</sup> Martin Gary was a former Civil War general who after he saw Mississippi whites in 1875 redeem their state, adopted their plan of racial violence for South Carolina.

that potential did not become realized until the election campaign in 1876. Prior to the campaign, members of the Columbia rifle clubs were more likely to focus their energies on organizing an exceptional social ball with the appropriate type of people than to contemplate attacking black militia companies.<sup>4</sup>

The violent turning point in the history of the South Carolina rifle clubs occurred with the Hamburg Massacre on July 8, 1876, only about a month after Conservative Democrats at the Democratic Convention held off from nominating someone to run against Chamberlain in the upcoming election. On that day rifle club members from around the town of Hamburg converged on a black militia company for parading on the streets during the Fourth of July. Under former Confederate General M. C. Butler, the whites demanded that the black company give up its arms. The company's refusal sparked the whites to attack and brutally murder any black man they could find. The massacre changed everything in South Carolina, politically and socially. In this toxic atmosphere, the murder of black militiamen and the start of the "Red Shirt" campaign should be seen as not just a terrible act against Republican rule but also as a rallying cry to unite South Carolinian whites under the "straight-out" cause.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> *The State*, December 1, 1909.

<sup>5</sup> Francis Butler Simkins, *South Carolina during Reconstruction* (Gloucester, Mass: P. Smith, 1966), 485.

## CHAPTER 1:

### RIFLE CLUB ORIGINS

The rifle clubs that formed in Columbia wanted to carry on the local militia traditions that had existed before the war. During the antebellum era the city hosted several militia companies, including the Governor's Guards, Richland Rifles/Guards, Richland Volunteer Rifles, Emmet Guards, Carolina Blues, Columbia Artillery, Richland Light Dragoons, and just before the war, the Chicora Rifles. Of these groups, the Governor's Guards, Richland Rifles, Richland Volunteer Rifles, and the Columbia Artillery fought in the Civil War. One militia organized specifically for the war, the Columbia Grays, bringing the number of units from Columbia up to five. The Chicora Rifles, Carolina Blues, and the Emmet Guards did not enter the war as organized units, but many of their members probably served as individuals.<sup>6</sup> There was also an oddball company, the College Cadets, which was made up of students from South Carolina College. The Cadets were originally formed in 1825 for General Lafayette's visit to Columbia. The organization showed staying power by making appearances over the following decades, including most infamously an 1856 student riot. The Cadets organized a company that

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<sup>6</sup> James Franklin Williams, *Old and New Columbia*, by J. F. Williams (Columbia, South Carolina: Epworth Orphanage Press, 1929), 44; John Hammond Moore, *Columbia and Richland County: a South Carolina Community, 1740-1990* (Columbia, S.C: University of South Carolina Press, 1993), 150; *The State*, October 9, 1891.

served at Fort Sumter, but they disbanded once the fighting shifted north to Virginia. Some members of the Cadets did go on to serve in the war with other units.<sup>7</sup>



**Figure 1.1** The Richland Rifle Company enjoying 'after-dinner hour' at their quarters on Sullivan's Island in Charleston harbor. From the *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, March 2, 1861.

After the Civil War, survivors formed associations from their disbanded companies that eventually coalesced into a statewide organization. Comradeship played a strong role on the local level, but starting in 1869 survivors sought to gain political influence. In August, Charleston survivors invited other survivors to form the Survivors' Association for the State of South Carolina. Their letter put the stakes passionately:

“The minds of the young even are sought to be poisoned at the fountain, by false and pernicious statements. The very school books are used as vehicles to blacken the memory of the Confederate cause, and establish a prejudice where an appeal to reason would fail. A reliable and trustworthy depository of Narratives, Reports, and all other available documents, illustrative of the career of the late war, and the Confederacy which it sought to save, is the surest mode of securing for the future historians the materials out of which the authentic story of the Lost Cause is to be woven.”<sup>8</sup>

In a meeting earlier in March the Charleston survivors set out their two main goals: to preserve Confederate records and to teach the next generation “that their

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<sup>7</sup> Andrew Joseph Harrison, *The South Carolina College Cadets, 1825-1862: a Company History*, 1994, 19–32.

<sup>8</sup> Survivors' Association of the State of South Carolina and Kohn-Hennig Collection, *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Survivors' Association of the State of South Carolina* (Charleston: Walker, Evans & Cogswell, 1870), 4.

parents were not the vile traitors that the Common School Histories now prepared by our enemies assert.”<sup>9</sup>

The first inaugural meeting of the Survivors’ Association of South Carolina occurred in November 1869 at Charleston, drawing delegates from across the state. The state officers included Wade Hampton as president and J. B. Kershaw, Samuel McGowan, and T. G. Barker as vice presidents. These positions were mostly ceremonial in nature, capitalizing on the fame of the officers to add prestige to the association. Wade Hampton was the highest-ranking Confederate officer from South Carolina during the war. He and his vice presidents only occasionally were present at the annual meetings and left the running of the association to the executive board and other officers.<sup>10</sup>

The two state officers who did regularly attend the meetings were both from Columbia: secretary A. C. Haskell and treasurer William K. Bachmann.<sup>11</sup> Haskell would become closely involved with the formation of rifle clubs and was an active Democratic politician. Bachmann had grown up in Charleston before moving to Columbia in 1856. He too would play an important role in the future development of rifle clubs as a founding member of one.<sup>12</sup> One member of the executive board, William H. Wallace, also hailed from Columbia. He was the captain of the Columbia Greys during the Civil War and would continue to be involved with the formation of rifle clubs in subsequent years.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>11</sup> A. C. Haskell’s full name is Alexander Cheves Haskell.

<sup>12</sup> Gilbert P. Voigt, *A History of Ebenezer Lutheran Church, Columbia, S.C* (Columbia, S.C: 1930), 86–89; Survivors’ Association of the State of South Carolina and Kohn-Hennig Collection, *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Survivors’ Association of the State of South Carolina*, 6–10.

<sup>13</sup> John M. Bateman, “Military Organizations,” *Columbia, Capital City of South Carolina, 1786-1936*, 289.



The Survivors' Association served the purpose of preserving Confederate history, and also signified the men who would be leading figures in organizing rifle clubs during the years to come. Haskell, Bachmann, and Wallace from Columbia have already been mentioned. Additionally, Richland County also sent delegates to the meeting every year. From 1869-72 J. P. Waties, Fitz W. McMaster, D. B. DeSaussure, John D. Caldwell, J. P. Thomas, Thomas Taylor, John T. Darby, Walter C. Fisher, Sherod L. Leaphart, W. Preston Hix, John A. Crawford, and John Preston Jr. all served as delegates. Seven of these twelve delegates would become members of the Richland Rifles in 1874, eight counting J. P. Waties, whose son joined.<sup>14</sup> Other identified members of the Richland district of the Survivors' Association were also future members of the Columbia rifle clubs. William Wallace acted as chair for the district in 1870 with R. C. Shiver as his secretary and treasurer.<sup>15</sup> W. C. Swaffield, Preston Brown, and M. R. Clark would all go on to become members of the Richland Rifles, and W. H. Sigh would remain active with the Richland Light Dragoons as its captain.<sup>16</sup>

*Committee on Hall and Finance*—W. C. Swaffield, Chairman; S. L. Leaphart, J. C. Roath, Preston Brown, Walter Fisher, Warren Adams, M. R. Clarke, W. H. Sligh, R. C. Shiver.  
*Committee on Toasts and Speaking*—Col. F. W. McMaster, Col. A. C. Haskell, Capt. W. K. Bachman, Col. J. P. Thomas, Dr. John T. Darby, Gen. E. P. Alexander, Dr. Walter Taylor.

**Figure 1.2** List of members from the Richland Survivors District.  
*Daily Phoenix*, October 27, 1870.

<sup>14</sup> Survivors' Association of the State of South Carolina and Kohn-Hennig Collection, *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Survivors' Association of the State of South Carolina*.

<sup>15</sup> Shiver died early in 1874 as the rifle clubs started to organize. *Daily Phoenix*, July 24, 1874.

<sup>16</sup> Records of the Richland Rifle Club (Columbia, S.C.), *Constitution and Rules of the Richland Rifle Club, Columbia, S.C., with a Roll of its Officers and Members*; *Daily Phoenix*, September 25, 1870.

At the local level, Columbia hosted three survivors' organizations during Reconstruction: the Governor's Guards, the Richland Volunteer Rifles, and the Richland Light Dragoons. Of the three, only the Richland Volunteer Rifles were able to form a long-lasting organization. The others either died out or were assimilated into the newly formed rifle clubs. In 1866 the Governor's Guards and the Columbia Greys attempted to form a consolidated company. The effort probably failed, as announcements in the newspapers stopped after only a couple weeks and no further news was heard from them until 1875 when the Governor's Guards were once again trying to reorganize. That the Columbia Greys and the Governor's Guards attempted to join together is most likely indicative of the reduced state of the companies after the war. The Richland Light Dragoons under Captain W. H. Sigh appeared only twice in the local newspaper, the *Daily Phoenix*, suggesting they too did not last long.<sup>17</sup>

The Richland Volunteer Rifle Company likely enjoyed the most success due to its rich history and large number of members surviving the Civil War. The company was one of the oldest militia organizations in South Carolina, having first organized in 1813. The Richland Volunteer Rifles fought in three wars by the time of Reconstruction: the Seminole War with Andrew Jackson, the Mexican War, and the Civil War. The company stayed together for six months at the beginning of the Civil War, bringing 178 men to Charleston. When the company's enlistment term expired, the men continued to fight. The Richland Volunteer Rifles divided into three companies in order to conform with regulations limiting the size of companies to one hundred men. The Richland Volunteer

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<sup>17</sup> *Daily Phoenix*, September 25, 1870; *ibid.*, August 5, 1874; *ibid.*, February 28, 1866; *Columbia Register*, September 15, 1875.

Rifles continued under John Cordero, the Harper Rifles formed under D. B. Miller, and the Columbia Rifles formed under Thomas Radcliffe. The name Harper Rifles was doubtless a salute to the company's first captain, William Harper.<sup>18</sup>

After the war ended, the survivors of the Richland Volunteer Rifles organized themselves into the Richland Volunteer Relief Association (RVRA). In July of 1867 the association invited all former members of the three Civil War companies to join. The RVRA remained active throughout Reconstruction and was most notably visible during the members' August celebration of the Richland Volunteer Rifle's anniversary, usually with a barbecue. They also made an appearance to mourn the death of Thomas Radcliffe, who passed away in April 1870.<sup>19</sup>

In May of 1870, efforts to restart the company with new, younger members resulted in the election of A. C. Haskell as captain, James A. Campbell as first lieutenant, and Thomas D. Lomas as second lieutenant. The survivors were not directly involved in the workings of the new militia company, as the RVRA remained its own separate organization, but certainly there were crossovers between the organizations. Most evident was the leadership of the new company, as all three officers were survivors of the war. The rank-and-file members are unknown, but if the company followed the same pattern of other Reconstruction white companies, the active members were young men who would have needed instruction in drilling. The new Richland Volunteer Rifle Company remained active through at least October 1870, often meeting at Seeger's saloon on Main Street or the Palmetto Engine Hall. However, after October 1870 the

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<sup>18</sup> *The State*, October 9, 1891.

<sup>19</sup> *Daily Phoenix*, April 15, 1870.

company became dormant for the next three years. Haskell retained his title as captain until finally resigning in 1874 when the Richland Volunteer Rifle “Club” organized.<sup>20</sup>

The Richland Volunteer Rifle Company under Haskell was not the only new company to spring from the antebellum company. In June 1870 Governor Robert K. Scott accepted the reorganization of the Columbia Rifles under Richard O’Neale, who was a Civil War survivor from the South Carolina 15<sup>th</sup> Infantry. He ran a grocery store in Columbia and would eventually be elected mayor in 1880.<sup>21</sup> The Columbia Rifles also gathered at Seeger’s saloon but instead of the Palmetto Engine Hall, their alternative meeting place was the Independent Fire Engine Company Hall, which also hosted the RVRA. While the Columbia Rifles was an organization separate from the RVRA and the Richland Volunteer Rifle Company, all three had close ties to each other. For example, when Haskell resigned as captain of the Richland Volunteer Rifles in 1874, it was O’Neale who took his place. Contemporary newspaper articles suggest that the active members of O’Neale’s company had little to no military experience. The reports described the members as “young men,” and company announcements constantly ordered drills at Seeger’s saloon under the manual of arms.<sup>22</sup>

Besides the vestiges of the old Richland Volunteer Rifles, the Richland Light Dragoons also reorganized in 1870. Along with the Columbia Rifles in September, the governor commissioned the Richland Light Dragoons under William H. Sigh. The Dragoons had been in existence since the 1830s and were best known for having Wade Hampton as one of their captains shortly before the Civil War. The old company was

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<sup>20</sup> *Daily Phoenix*, July 26, 1867; *Daily Phoenix*, April 15, 1870; *Daily Phoenix*, July 24, 1870; *Daily Phoenix*, July 20, 1870; *Daily Phoenix*, September 23, 1870.

<sup>21</sup> Kohn-Hennig Collection and R.L. Polk & Co, *Columbia Directory* (Richmond, Va: Hill Directory Co, 1875), 77.

<sup>22</sup> *Daily Phoenix*, June 23, 1870; *Daily Phoenix*, October 18, 1870; *Daily Phoenix*, February 17, 1871.

considered an aristocratic social organization and not an active military company. Members were expected to furnish their own horses, eliminating all but elites from joining.<sup>23</sup> The newly formed 1870 version of the company was much larger than its antebellum precursor. It reported seventy-four members, suggesting the social hierarchy within the new group was much more relaxed and allowed middle-class whites to enter.<sup>24</sup>

The Richland Volunteer Rifles, the Columbia Rifles, and the Richland Light Dragoons all seem to have dissolved by the end of 1870. The Columbia Rifles lasted at least until November 2, 1870, but by February an article appeared in the *Daily Phoenix* expressing a desire to see the company reorganize once again. The Richland Light Dragoons did not even make a second appearance in newspapers after September 25, 1870 until 1874. To understand the rise and wane of the Columbia companies during this period, it is necessary to view concurrent events in the whole state of South Carolina.

It was not until the end of January 1869 that Congress allowed Southern states to reorganize their militias. A few months later on March 16, Governor Scott signed a bill that allowed citizens to form companies.<sup>25</sup> For the rest of 1869, Scott tasked census-takers from June to December to create lists of men eligible for militia service throughout the state. The census-takers divided all men, white and black, into two lists, one containing the names of men between the ages of eighteen and thirty, and another of men from thirty to forty-five.<sup>26</sup> The Adjutant and Inspector General ordered, “every man must be enrolled. Make no exceptions. Consider no applications for exception but order them

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<sup>23</sup> Walter Brian Cisco, *Wade Hampton: Confederate Warrior, Conservative Statesman*, 1st ed. (Washington, D.C.: Brassey's, 2004), 46.

<sup>24</sup> *Daily Phoenix*, September 25, 1870.

<sup>25</sup> Justin G. McIntyre, “The Benjamin Franklin Randolph Monument: A Symbol of Remembrance and Defiance in the Age of Reconstruction” (M.A., University of South Carolina, 2011), 26.

<sup>26</sup> Military Dept. Adjutant and Inspector General, “Militia Enrollments” (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1869).

to make application to this office.”<sup>27</sup> Scott did not attempt to arm the militia until the summer of 1870, initially recognizing only black companies. After he accepted some white companies from Columbia, whites elsewhere, especially in Charleston, complained that they had applied for recognition but been excluded. Most historians have seen Scott’s hesitancy to accept white companies as a result of politics and racial violence. All Republican governors attempted to form black militia companies in order to mobilize the black community for the upcoming fall elections. Klan violence, as evidenced in the 1868 election, certainly weighed on Scott’s mind. Columbia was unique in that Scott did commission some white companies and eventually armed one of them.<sup>28</sup>

Reconstruction historians Francis Simkins and John S. Reynolds both maintain that the white companies in Columbia disbanded in October 1870 as a result of being placed under the authority of a black colonel.<sup>29</sup> This report very well could be true. The militia system in South Carolina now was interracial, and the Republican government did not want completely white companies. Although the historians and their sources do not name the black colonel, he probably was W. Beverly Nash. He was a former slave who had worked as a hotel servant in Columbia, but rose rapidly as a Republican politician during Reconstruction. He served as vice president during South Carolina’s 1868 constitutional convention that ensured blacks the right to vote as citizens, and he served as a state senator from 1868 to 1877.<sup>30</sup> Nash was addressed as a colonel during the Fourth of July celebration in 1870 where he gave a speech to four black militia

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<sup>27</sup> F.J. Morris Jr. letter, June 8, 1869, Letterbooks, Military Department Adjutant and Inspector General, SCDAH.

<sup>28</sup> Francis Butler Simkins, *South Carolina During Reconstruction* (Gloucester, Mass: P. Smith, 1966), 451; *The Charleston Daily News*, August 5, 1870.

<sup>29</sup> John S. Reynolds, *Reconstruction in South Carolina, 1865-1877* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), 136; Simkins, *South Carolina during Reconstruction*, 451.

<sup>30</sup> Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 252–254.

companies in Columbia.<sup>31</sup> Government records indicate that Nash remained a colonel until 1873 when he became a brigadier general.<sup>32</sup>

While the black colonel may have been the last straw, a rise in Klan violence was most likely the cause of the white companies disbanding. Governor Scott was slow to commission any white company and even less forthcoming in providing them arms. The August 5<sup>th</sup> edition of the *Charleston Daily News* pointed out that five black militias in Columbia paraded during the Fourth of July with arms supplied by the state, contrasting that with the Columbia Rifles who were still waiting for weapons two months after being accepted. Finally, on September 12<sup>th</sup>, the *Charleston Daily News* reported that Scott had commissioned the Columbia Rifles and would issue them arms within a few days.<sup>33</sup> The Columbia Rifles had the distinction of being the only white company to be issued arms in South Carolina. This status did not last long, however. One month later Scott demanded the arms be returned. The governor reasoned that this order would eventually apply to all militia companies, though the white company had to be first.

After votes from the October gubernatorial election showed the Republican Party had solidly had defeated the conservatives' Reform Party, Klan violence escalated in South Carolina. As the Klan violence increased, Scott did eventually order all of the militia's arms returned in the hopes that it would diffuse the conflict. The situation continued to escalate until finally the United States military came in to restore order.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> *Charleston Daily News*, July 6, 1870.

<sup>32</sup> *Reports and Resolutions of South Carolina to the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina, Regular Session Commencing November 28, 1876* (printed under the direction of the State Budget and Control Board., 1877), 413.

<sup>33</sup> *Charleston Daily News*, September 12, 1870.

<sup>34</sup> Simkins, *South Carolina during Reconstruction*, 457; Richard Zuczek, *State of Rebellion: Reconstruction in South Carolina* (Columbia, S.C: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), 93.

After 1870 white companies in Columbia started using the guise of rifle clubs just as companies in Charleston had been doing since 1869. The Congaree Rifle Company had organized in June 1870 under Captain B. Joyner, but in August of the next year the Congaree Rifles reorganized as a rifle club under the leadership of William Wallace. The 1870 Congaree Rifles may have been commissioned like the other white companies in Columbia, but like the other companies they disbanded by the end of the year. The Congaree Rifle Club was specific in explaining why it formed, taking out an advertisement in the *Charleston Daily News* that congratulated Charleston conservatives on recent municipal elections after conservative Johann A. Wagner won the office of mayor, and promising to transmit copies of the club's resolutions to their fellow rifle clubs.<sup>35</sup> These new rifle clubs had the benefits of allowing white companies to reorganize as target-shooting sport clubs even if the state would not recognize them as a militia companies. It also insured that they were not placed under a black colonel. In short, they gained more independence from state control. The main disadvantage of the newly formed rifle clubs was that now the men had to provide their own uniforms and arms instead of seeking assistance from the state.

Rifle clubs in Columbia really did not take off for the next three years, which passed with minimal racial violence. According to Columbia's historian John Hammond Moore, the Klan activity that occurred throughout the state never transpired in the city. In fact Moore claims that by the summer of 1871 residents took the Klan lightly, even naming baseball teams after them as a joke.<sup>36</sup> The composition of who joined the Klan is still debatable, due in part to its unorganized nature. Robert Zuczek argues that white

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<sup>35</sup> *Daily Phoenix*, June 24, 1870; *Charleston Daily News*, August 12, 1871.

<sup>36</sup> Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 221–222.



elites were among the original members, but backed out as the violence increased and the U.S. military threatened to intervene. According to Zuczek, white elites formed rifle clubs as the Klan's influence ebbed so they could maintain more control over their men and present the public with a more respectable organization.<sup>37</sup>

John Hammond Moore goes a step further in declaring that Richland County was a "rather unique situation" compared to the rest of South Carolina due to its lack of racial violence. He argues the "community put economics before politics." For example, Republicans John Alexander, who was mayor of Columbia, and John Agnew worked with Democrats L. D. Childs, Edwin Seibels, and W. B. Stanley to create the Congaree Manufacturing Company to build a mill. Probably not coincidentally John Agnew also joined the Richland Rifles with Childs, Seibels, and Stanley in 1874. What tied all these men together was not politics, but business. Moore also notes that even though Edwin Seibels was a Democrat, his real-estate business served the Republican Printing Company and even leading black politicians Beverly Nash and Robert B. Elliot.<sup>38</sup>

For much of the first decade following the war, it was the survivors who attempted to carry on the legacy of antebellum militia companies. Of the few attempts at reforming companies, none lasted more than a year. Generally, the men of the Columbia area were more focused on rebuilding the city after its destruction during the war. Only the survivors kept the militia traditions alive until the next generation of men became interested in reviving the old companies. When the clubs formed in 1874 they did not have to start from scratch. They could rely on the old models of militia companies and

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<sup>37</sup> Zuczek, *State of Rebellion*, 139.

<sup>38</sup> Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 22; Records of the Richland Rifle Club (Columbia, S.C.), *Constitution and Rules of the Richland Rifle Club, Columbia, S.C., with a Roll of its Officers and Members*.

have support from former members whose days of drilling were in the past. Captain Richard O'Neale of the Columbia Rifles would serve as the captain of the Richland Volunteer Rifle Club, William K. Bachmann would remain active as a founding member of the German Schuetzen Verein ("shooting club"), and Winthrop Williams--who acted as the secretary for the Columbia Rifles-- would serve in the same capacity for the Richland Rifle Club.

## CHAPTER 2:

### REPUBLICAN MILITIAS

Starting in 1869, black militia companies paraded and functioned publically in Columbia. The companies were rarely covered in the Democratic newspapers, but they seem to have been a tolerated feature of city life. They operated peacefully throughout Reconstruction, celebrating significant holidays such as Emancipation Days and the Fourth of July. Columbian whites tolerated the black companies and even allowed them to continue functioning after Reconstruction ended, although in a reduced state. The black companies' presence and their peaceful although at times tense relationship with the white community challenges the assumption of constant conflict between the races. In fact when the votes for the 1876 were counted, a majority of Richland County still voted for Chamberlain and the Republican Party over Wade Hampton, despite the voting intimidation of the Red Shirt campaign.<sup>39</sup>

The black community in Columbia did not start to form state militia companies until Governor Scott started to arm and authorize their formation in 1870. From the Republican Party's perspective, arming black men would hopefully help prevent the racial violence that had erupted during the 1868 election, but perhaps more importantly serve as election mobilization organizations to get out the vote. Most histories of the black militia companies have fixated on whether the black companies were openly

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<sup>39</sup> John Hammond Moore, *Columbia and Richland County: a South Carolina Community, 1740-1990* (Columbia, S.C: University of South Carolina Press, 1993), 226.

defiant, asserting their new-found agency, or still oppressed through economic limitation and white violence.<sup>40</sup> The militia companies in Columbia do not fit neatly into this dichotomy.

The black community of Columbia wanted to form their own militia companies for similar reasons that white citizens had wanted to form companies during the antebellum era. As newly minted citizens of the United States, the black community looked at the militia companies as sources of pride. At one parade celebrating the Fourth of July, the *Columbia Daily Phoenix* recorded that blacks from as far as thirty miles away had walked to the city to witness the companies march.<sup>41</sup> Like white companies, the new militia was used as political mobilization organizations. This political activity was not confined to the protection of black voters from white intimidation that Republicans feared. The militias also served as incubators of black leaders and politicians, and as a platform for political intercourse. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Beverly Nash was a colonel in 1870. A powerful state senator, he moved up in 1873 to become a brigadier general. The next colonel, William Simmons, served as a delegate for Richland County in the South Carolina House of Representatives. All of the captains in the black companies were elected into political office as well.<sup>42</sup>

The only evidence of black companies being involved in violent activity occurred when rival political factions of black politicians fought each other. In a heated election for a state senate seat between Nash and Charles Minort in 1874, Governor Moses called the Richland Rifle Club out in case the two black politicians' factions started to riot. A

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<sup>40</sup> A recent example of an historian focusing on the defiance of black militias can be found in *A Nation Under Our Feet*, by Stephen Hahn.

<sup>41</sup> *Columbia Daily Phoenix*, July 4, 1865.

<sup>42</sup> *Reports and Resolutions of South Carolina to the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina, Regular Session Commencing November 28, 1876*, 416.

clash never materialized, although it must have been tense if a Republican governor was desperate enough to ask for help from a rifle club. Nash won the election by allying himself with white conservatives through adding two conservatives to his ticket, one as a state legislator and the other as a probate judge. The legislator, Richland Rifle Club Vice President John T. Sloan Jr., was the first white man to hold that post since 1868.<sup>43</sup>

All black companies organized as part of the National Guard, Second Regiment in the First Brigade, First Division. The eleven units from Columbia made up companies A-K for a total of eleven. There were a few other companies as well, although not all were active at the same times. Unless associated with National Guard duty, the companies did not use their assigned letter, but instead chose other names, usually honoring an important South Carolinian Republican politician.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> *The State*, December 1, 1891; *Columbia Register*, August 5, 1875; *Lewiston Evening Journal*, October 6, 1874; Hyman Rubin, *South Carolina Scalawags* (University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 103; Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 223.

<sup>44</sup> *Columbia Daily Union-Herald*, July 4, 1875; *Columbia Daily Union*, January 3, 1873; Hyman Rubin, *South Carolina Scalawags* (University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 103; John Hammond Moore, *Columbia and Richland County: A South Carolina community, 1740-1990* (Columbia, S.C: University of South Carolina Press, 1993), 223.

**TABLE 2.1 COLUMBIA BLACK MILITIA COMPANIES  
2ND REGIMENT, 1ST BRIGADE, 1ST DIVISION**

	<b>Company</b>	<b>Captain</b>	<b>1st Lieutenant</b>	<b>2nd Lieutenant</b>
Elliot Guards	A	Robert Cooper (3/18/1873), Archie Gunn (8/5/1873)	Willis Joiner	Jesse Avery
Neagle Rifles	B	Jacob Thompson	Melton Chirp	D. H. Cannon
Governor's Guard	C	Benjamin Williams (3/18/1873), E. Williams (8/21/1873)	M. C. Mayburn	S. L. Lomax
[no name given]	D	Joseph E. Ballard	Simon Williams	Clifton Washington
[no name given]	E	[no name given]	William Lowman	Alfred Goodwin
[no name given]	F	John T. Gilmore	Raphael Williams	Abraham Williams
[no name given]	G	Theodore Ingalls (3/18/73), George H. Days (1873)	J. Boykin	Louis Anderson
[no name given]	H	F. J. Allen	Henry Williams	William Allen Jr.
Randolph Rifles	I	Augustus Cooper	Hinton	Henry Champion
Chamberlain Rifles	K	D. W. Eidear	Scipio Starling	Simeon Taylor
Zouaves		John Bynum		
[No name given]		Richard Wilson		

The names of the companies hint at the companies' political awareness. The list of companies include the Randolph Rifles, the Scott Guards, Elliott Guards, Governor's Guards, Richmond Guards, Neagle Rifles, Chamberlains Rifles, and the Stevens Light Infantry. The Scott Guards and the Chamberlains Rifles both referred to the white Republican governors of South Carolina, Robert Scott (1872-1874) and Daniel Chamberlain (1874-1876). The Elliott Guards took their name from Robert B. Elliott, the assistant adjutant-general in 1868 who was in charge of South Carolina's militia system. From 1871 until November 1874, Elliot served in the United States House of Representatives before leaving to become the Speaker of the House in South Carolina, a

position he held through April 1876. The Neagle Rifles were named after Dr. John L. Neagle, who served as the comptroller-general from 1868-1872. The black company, “Governor’s Guards” must have been interesting since white survivors of the antebellum and Civil War company of the same name were still alive and attempting to reorganize as a club.<sup>45</sup>

The Randolph Rifles was one of the most active companies from Columbia. The company was named after former black state senator B. F. Randolph, who was murdered by white men in October 1868 while campaigning in western South Carolina. After the renewed violence following the 1870 election, the black community rallied around his memory through the creation of the Randolph Monument in 1871. Randolph was commemorated in a number of other ways in addition to the monument, such as naming militia companies after him. Besides the Randolph Rifles in Columbia, another Randolph Rifles existed in Charleston.<sup>46</sup> The Randolph Rifles of Columbia formed under Captain Augustus Cooper, an owner of the grocery store *Cooper & Taylor* on Assembly Street, and a city alderman in the first ward. The 1870 census described Cooper as 35 years old and having real estate property valued at \$3000 and personal property valued at \$4,000. The company often mustered outside his grocery store and in at least one instance used the store as a venue for a military ball while entertaining another visiting black militia from Georgia.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> *Charleston Daily News*, July 6, 1870; *Daily Phoenix*, January 4, 1871; *Daily Phoenix*, April 6, 1873; *Daily Phoenix*, August 31, 1872; *Daily Phoenix*, April 8, 1873; *Daily Phoenix*, November 19, 1873.

<sup>46</sup> *Daily Phoenix*, January 23, 1870; Justin G. McIntyre, “The Benjamin Franklin Randolph Monument: A Symbol of Remembrance and Defiance in the Age of Reconstruction” (M.A., University of South Carolina, 2011), 28.

<sup>47</sup> *Columbia City Directory* (Richmond, VA: Hill Directory Co, 1875); *Columbia Register*, August 11, 1875; *Columbia Daily Union-Herald*, July 4, 1875; Michael Trinkly, and Debi Hacker, *A Small Sample of Burials at Randolph Cemetery: What Their Stories Tell Us About the Cemetery and African American Life in Columbia*, (Columbia, SC: Chicora Foundation, Inc., 2007), 9.

The black companies freely adopted militia traditions that had once be reserved only for whites. For instance the clubs participated in shooting competitions. The *Columbia Register* reported that Company H and the Randolph Rifles went out to a farm in the country where they demonstrated some “remarkably good shooting.”<sup>48</sup> The Neagle Rifles and Chamberlain Rifles are known to have gone on target excursions as well.<sup>49</sup> The Randolph Rifles and the Stevens Light Infantry enlivened their competitions by offering prizes. On September 22, 1871 Mayor John Alexander, Policeman Knott, Alderman Hayne, C. D. Lowndes, and James Graham judged the Randolph Rifles. The three winners for best marksmanship were awarded with a pair of silver goblets and a silver cup. The Randolph Rifles held this event on an annual basis from at least 1871-1874.<sup>50</sup> The Stevens Light Infantry participated in several excursions and competed for “a silver and a handsome china cup” in 1875.<sup>51</sup>

Another militia tradition the black companies adopted was defining gender roles through ceremonies and drill exhibitions. Even before blacks were allowed to organize as militias, during an 1865 Fourth of July parade a “procession, consisting wholly of males, and estimated to be from four or five thousand in number” marched in pairs down the principal streets past spectators who were “females mostly”.<sup>52</sup> Drilling in uniform was a masculine activity verified by the female onlookers. During one parade after heavy rain the militiamen “braved the mud... followed by a large rabble of boys, girls, and women.” The “pants of the soldiers indicated that the mud averaged six inches” as the

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<sup>48</sup> *Columbia Register*, October 22, 1875.

<sup>49</sup> *Daily Phoenix*, November 5, 1872; *Daily Phoenix*, May 29, 1873.

<sup>50</sup> *Daily Phoenix*, September 23, 1871; *Daily Phoenix*, October 1, 1872; *Daily Phoenix*, September 24, 1873; *Daily Phoenix*, September 23, 1874.

<sup>51</sup> *Daily Phoenix*, September 9, 1873; *Daily Phoenix*, May 25, 1875.

<sup>52</sup> *Columbia Daily Phoenix*, July 6, 1865.



companies marched through the streets.<sup>53</sup> Another way the black community embraced their gender roles was through women presenting awards to the militia companies. On another occasion after the Randolph Rifles marched through the city, the company was presented a “neat flag... made by Miss Carolina Brown.” The Stevens Light Infantry was given a banner by Mrs. Lowndes on the same day.<sup>54</sup>

Blacks used several different locations to host the large crowds that arrived in the city during celebrations. In addition to gathering in front of the capital building, the black community also utilized Sidney Park and later the Male Lunatic Asylum grounds.<sup>55</sup> Outside the city, the companies visited Latta’s Grove adjacent to Columbia in the east (present day Waverly district), Adam’s Cut, and the Lexington Heights.<sup>56</sup> Latta’s Grove was an ideal spot due to its location on high ground just outside the city grid.

Businessman Robert Latta, who died in 1861, formerly owned the land. After being purchased by the Childs family in the early 1870s, the site started to be developed and was no longer used as a social gathering location. As a result “Latta’s Grove” disappeared from the newspapers.<sup>57</sup> Another site, “Adam’s Cut” probably refers to the 482 acres sold by James P. Adams to the South Carolina Land Commission in 1870. The black companies were transported by rail to the site, as it was several miles outside the city.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> *Columbia Daily Union*, January 3, 1873.

<sup>54</sup> *Columbia Daily Union*, May 11, 1872.

<sup>55</sup> *Daily Phoenix*, July 7, 1874; *Columbia Daily Union-Herald*, July 5, 1874; Sidney Park: *Daily Phoenix*, July 6, 1871.

<sup>56</sup> Latta’s Grove: *New York Times*, July 9, 1869; *Daily Phoenix*, July 6, 1868; *Daily Phoenix*, July 8, 1869. Contract between B.L. McLaughin and Robert Latta for three squares in city and two acres “east of Boundary street and opposite of the Dwelling House where said B.L. McLaughin resides” in The Papers of Robert Latta Folder 15, May 10 1851 in SCL; Latta, Robert. 1852 c. Will Typescript.

<sup>57</sup> Michael C. Scardaville, Roberta V.H. Copp, and Susan L. Hosking, *Historical and Architectural survey of Waverly: Columbia's first suburb* (unpublished in SCL, 1986).

<sup>58</sup> *Daily Phoenix*, June 4, 1973; National Register of Historic Places, Lower Richland County Multiple Resource Area, Richland South Carolina, National Register #MPS019; Elizabeth Almlie et al., “Prized

Black residents further borrowed from antebellum Columbia militia traditions to highlight the diminution of the Klan. Before the Civil War, every Fourth of July celebration included a mock white militia, known as the “Invisibles.” The group consisted of non-elite whites that would satirically ridicule the elite-controlled militia system by making fun of its pomp and extravagances. James F. Williams remembered the “parade of the invisibles...making monkeys of themselves” that all Columbians enjoyed.<sup>59</sup> Susan G. Davis has described similar parades in antebellum Philadelphia as a ploy by lower-class whites to attack the elitism of militias.<sup>60</sup> When Columbia blacks gained political power and were able to form their own militias, they adopted the tradition for their own means. During a Fourth of July celebration in 1869 the *Daily Phoenix* noted, “The Invisibles- a negro burlesque on carnival parades- paraded through the streets.”<sup>61</sup> In 1871, the paper declared that the “Invisibles” were the “great feature of the day...for the colored folks,” although the Democratic newspaper maintained “the imitation was so feeble, the parody so disgusting that it is scarcely worth passing notice.”<sup>62</sup>

When the *Columbia Daily Union-Herald* encountered the “Invisibles” in 1874 during a militia picnic, the paper observed:

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Pieces of Land: The Impact of Reconstruction on African-American Land Ownership in Lower Richland County, South Carolina,” *Books and Manuscripts*, September 1, 2009, 20–21, [http://scholarcommons.sc.edu/pubhist\\_books/3](http://scholarcommons.sc.edu/pubhist_books/3).

<sup>59</sup> James Franklin Williams, *Old and New Columbia* (Columbia, South Carolina: Epworth Orphanage Press, 1929), 45.

<sup>60</sup> Susan Davis, *Parades and Power: street theatre in nineteenth-century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 73.

<sup>61</sup> *Daily Phoenix*, July 5, 1869; *New York Times*, July 9, 1869: described the scene as “of maybe a hundred paraded through the principle streets, dressed in the most fantastic manner imaginable- some in frocks, many in masks, painted, wearing absurd head-gear, carrying dilapidated umbrellas, striding along in grotesque movements, riding upon donkeys, riding upon steers, driving cows and mules together, in a score of ways making a ludicrous display.”

<sup>62</sup> *Daily Phoenix*, July 6, 1871; *Daily Phoenix*, July 6, 1869.

In the afternoon came the oddity for which Columbia is remarkable- the Modocs<sup>63</sup> or invisibles. This exhibition is full of fun and laughter, and are about the funniest burlesque on the Ku Klux that is imaginable. They made everybody who has “gobbled up any of the gratuitous grub” shake it down with a good laugh. Nobody was ku kluxed, except a little child, whose name was not obtained, but who, it is said, was invisibly run over.<sup>64</sup>

Like the “Invisibles” of the antebellum era, the black Reconstruction Invisibles used its platform to critique the contemporary politics and societal conditions. Elaine Parsons in “Midnight Rangers: Costume and Performance in the Reconstruction-Era Ku Klux Klan,” details how the Klan gained notoriety through public performances under the umbrella of the minstrel tradition, where societal satire was common. The Klan appeared often in popular culture in carnivalesque ways alongside the violent escapades. In fact, Southerners often claimed that the Klan was merely a cultural representation rather than a genuinely violent movement. A common trope in the minstrel plays was the Klan as an “invisible” organization that existed solely as a performance. The idea of the Klan’s invisible organization and ghostly performances downplaying any actual violent events proved fertile ground for the black Columbian “Invisibles,” who sarcastically proclaimed that “nobody was ku kluxed, except a little child” who “was invisibly run over.”<sup>65</sup>

Most whites tried to ignore these predominantly black celebrations by staying at home or leaving the city. The *Charleston Daily News* in 1869 for the Fourth of July

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<sup>63</sup> The adopted second name “Modocs” refers to the Modoc Indians who in the early 1870s fought the United States army with a scant amount of men. Over the course of six months in 1873, their leader “Captain Jack” was able to stave off defeat- costing the US government over half a million dollars. Under reservation rule, the Modocs suffered maladministration from the federal government under the Office of Indian Affairs that underfunded them food, clothing, and medical supplies while forcing them to stay on a reservation. The war reminded Americans of the strained relations whites had with Indians in which they were willing to undergo an expensive war to ensure native confinement. For more information on the Modoc War, see Murray, Keith A. 1959. *The Modocs and their War*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press; and Quinn, Arthur. 1997. *Hell with the Fire Out: a History of the Modoc War*. Boston: Faber & Faber.

<sup>64</sup> *Columbia Daily Union-Herald*, July 5, 1874; the *Herald* reported on them again the next year but was not impressed “The invisibles should remain invisible forevermore, if they cannot do better than they did Monday,” *Columbia Daily Union-Herald*, July 7, 1875.

<sup>65</sup> Elaine Frantz Parsons, “Midnight Rangers: Costume and Performance in the Reconstruction-Era Ku Klux Klan,” *Journal of American History*, 92, no. 3 (2005): 813-817.

wrote “the white citizens of Columbia have not observed it as a holiday... the day belonged to the negroes [sic] and they have celebrated it with unusual pomp and parade.”<sup>66</sup> Four years later the *Daily Phoenix* concurred, saying “the celebration is now largely discontinued [amongst whites], and where it does take place at all, it is generally a tame or hypocritical affair.”<sup>67</sup> This is not to say whites shunned the Fourth of July, but they tended to downplay the holiday. For example, in 1868 Columbia whites went to Batesville for the opening of the Augusta Railroad, where orators took stock of the current situation. Leroy Youmans, a future member of the Richland Rifle Club, compared conditions of South Carolina to England before it became an empire and counseled by “a proper application of the resources in our reach we [whites] should attain the highest degree of prosperity.”<sup>68</sup>

The black companies continued their celebrations throughout Reconstruction, although diminished in the final years. White rifle clubs started to challenge them for attention and black celebrations were pushed to the edges of Columbia. Still, blacks were allowed to maintain their companies for several decades, even after Wade Hampton and his followers controlled the state. Both the white rifle clubs and black companies shared the city without violence between the groups, showing a certain amount of tolerance prevailed in Columbia. Whites may not have enjoyed the black companies’ existence, but they did not feel threatened enough to attempt to coerce them physically.

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<sup>66</sup> *Charleston Daily News*, July 5, 1869.

<sup>67</sup> *Daily Phoenix*, July 4, 1873.

<sup>68</sup> *Charleston Daily News*, July 6, 1868.

### CHAPTER 3: 1874 FORMATION

Several factors might have led the growth of rifle clubs in 1874. Politics certainly played a strong role. It should not be lost that the clubs formed once again during an election year. This does not necessarily mean the members were contemplating voting intimidation rather than attempting to form support groups that would rally around the conservative cause. Of course another reason could just have been that whites had seen black companies parade around for several years and wanted to have their own organizations once again, for social purposes. After about a decade since the war, the next generation of men was ready to show their masculinity. The membership rosters of the clubs show that unlike the commonplace historiographical characterization of Civil War veterans taking revenge and redeeming the state, the members of the clubs were mostly young men not old enough to have fought in the war. The rosters in fact show men who were the current and future pillars of their communities.

Political opportunities and economics probably contributed the most to the reemergence of the rifle clubs in 1874. After their failure in 1870, South Carolina conservatives did not even field a candidate for the 1872 election. Instead Southerners attempted to find “fusionist” or Liberal Republican candidates who would be more sympathetic to Southern whites than a full-fledged Radical Republican. Since militia companies were used as electoral organizations, the reemergence of rifle clubs during the summer of 1874 may have been the result of whites preparing for the fall election that

resulted in Liberal Republican Daniel Chamberlain's election. It was not a complete victory for Southern whites, but it was their first taste of political success in quite a while. Another factor that likely played a role was the financial panic of 1873, which endangered South Carolina's slow economic recovery and deepened labor tensions across the United States. The weak economy worked to undermine the Republican Party in South Carolina and gave more credence to claims of government corruption.

The organizational power of the rifle clubs had a huge potential impact politically. Historian Stephanie McCurry notes that militia companies in antebellum South Carolina were important political mobilization organizations for elites to rally their supporters for electoral victory.<sup>69</sup> This same trend continued with the rifle clubs during Reconstruction. W. Scott Poole has argued that the rifle clubs were employed by Conservative elites as a way to reestablish their legitimacy and rally middle-class whites under the Lost Cause myth. The myth gave South Carolinians an opportunity to unify politically under the ideas of white supremacy and an idyllic, aristocratic past they sought to recreate. Unsurprisingly members of the Columbia rifle clubs were heavily associated with the Conservative faction of the Democratic Party, later called Bourbon Democrats.<sup>70</sup>

The track record of successful politicians during and after Reconstruction shows the rifle clubs' electoral power. Two future governors, Hugh Thompson (1882-1886) and Miles Benjamin McSweeney (1899-1903), were former members of Columbia rifle clubs. Other members went on to staff high-level departmental posts. Especially at the local level, Columbia rifle clubs were able to produce a political machine and infrastructure for

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<sup>69</sup> Stephanie McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning, Power and Politics in the Civil War South*. (Cambridge, Mass, Harvard University Press, 2012).

<sup>70</sup> W. Scott Poole, *Never Surrender: Confederate Memory and Conservatism in the South Carolina Upcountry* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004), 78–79, 93.

running successful campaigns. The 1876 Democratic ticket included many rifle club members from Columbia. Hugh Thomson ran for superintendent of education, and S. L. Leaphart for treasurer. John C. Seegers, the president of the German Schuetzen Verein, ran for the state House of Representatives and served four terms. Richard O'Neale, the captain of the Richland Volunteer Rifle Club, ran for the clerk of the court, and Andrew Crawford, a Richland Rifle Club member, ran for the judge of probate. Rifle club members also were in charge of the political party election wards in Columbia. Hugh Thompson was vice president for the fourth ward. In the second ward Willie Jones was president, John T. Sloan Jr. was second vice president, and W. H. Faber was the secretary and treasurer. Eight of the nine Columbia mayors from 1868-1900 were members of a rifle club in 1874. The one exception was Republican John Alexander who was in office for much of the time during Reconstruction.<sup>71</sup>

Beyond politics, a national perspective shows that growth of militia companies occurred not just in the South, but also in the North. Eleanor L. Hannah's study of Illinois noticed an increase of companies in the early 1870s. Most Northern historians have argued the rise of militia companies was tied to 1877 labor tensions, but Hannah shows that the growth started a few years earlier. There were no militia companies in 1870 and only seven by 1872, but in 1874 Illinois had twenty-five companies with 1,500 members. By the end of 1875 the number increased to over 5,000 members. Instead of economics causing the increase, Hannah sees the revival a result of men needing to

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<sup>71</sup> Democratic Party (S.C.), "Records," n.d.; Richland Rifle Club (Columbia, S.C.), "Records of the Richland Rifle Club (Columbia, S.C.); Voigt, *A History of Ebenezer Lutheran Church, Columbia, S.C.*, 92; Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 480.

showcase their masculinity and patriotism.<sup>72</sup> The men wanted to show off to the ladies by “donning the uniform and embracing their role as handsome and manly civic performers in parades and funerals and dances and drills.” The upcoming 1876 Revolutionary War centennial provided a tempting event to showcase themselves and be a part of the national celebration.<sup>73</sup> Hannah’s observations could easily be applied to the Columbia rifle clubs, highlighted by the 1876 Fort Moultrie Centennial.

At least six rifle clubs organized in Columbia during 1874, although only three of them would continue throughout Reconstruction. The three clubs that did not last long were the Chicora Rifles, the Richland Light Dragoons, and the Richland Fork Club. Little information exists on the Richland Light Dragoons and the Richland Fork Club other than that they attempted to form and elected officers. Only one announcement each appeared in contemporary newspapers during the summer of 1874, and little suggests that actual clubs assembled. Part of the lack of evidence may be due to the different nature of the two clubs from the rest; they were sabre or cavalry clubs. Also since Captain Sigh, of the Richland Light Dragoons, was a Granger and no officers of the Richland Fork Club appear in the 1874-75 Columbia Directory, it is probable that both these clubs were rural. The rural clubs may have survived longer than their single urban press announcements suggest, but more than likely both clubs did not last long since they never appear again. Another sign that the Richland Fork Club did not last long is the absence of a club

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<sup>72</sup> Eleanor L. Hannah, *Manhood, Citizenship, and the National Guard: Illinois, 1870-1917* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2007), 10, 26.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.



secretary, usually an important office held by someone who was the driving force in recruiting members.<sup>74</sup>

The Chicora Rifle Club was different from the other two failed 1874 clubs in that it was an urban rifle club. However no survivors' organization existed since the Chicora Company did not fight in the Civil War. It was not surprising to former Columbia resident James F. Williams that the antebellum Chicora Rifle Company had not entered the war as a unit, as it consisted totally of men aged twenty-five years or younger.<sup>75</sup> The new incarnation of the Chicora Rifles as a club likely had little to do with previous members since the company was only a few years old before the Civil War began and lacked established traditions. Instead the members of the Chicora Rifle Club probably chose the name of an old militia company to give the new organization some legitimacy. They met at the Palmetto Fire Engine Company Hall, with an initial roster of eighty members. Still, the club was only able to last a few months from August to October before disappearing from the newspapers.<sup>76</sup>

The more successful clubs were the Richland Volunteer Rifle Club (RVRC), the Richland Rifle Club, and the Schuetzen Verein. The Richland Volunteer Rifles was headed Captain A. C. Haskell but he quickly stepped down, allowing Richard O'Neale to become captain. The Richland Rifles elected the principal of the Columbia Male Academy and Civil War survivor Hugh S. Thompson to be their captain. Thompson had experience leading militia companies before his election having graduated from the Citadel in 1856. When the College Cadets in 1860 wanted to participate in the war, it

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<sup>74</sup> *Daily Phoenix*, September 1, 1874; *Daily Phoenix*, August 5, 1874; *Daily Phoenix*, August 13, 1874; *Columbia City Directory* (Richmond, VA: Hill Directory Co, 1875).

<sup>75</sup> James Franklin Williams, *Old and New Columbia*, by J. F. Williams (Columbia, South Carolina: Epworth Orphanage Press, 1929), 45.

<sup>76</sup> *Daily Phoenix*, August 4, 1874; *Daily Phoenix*, September 4, 1874; *Daily Phoenix*, October 4, 1874.

was Thompson who drilled them before they left to Fort Sumter. The Verein was a German rifle club headed by local entrepreneur John C. Seegers, the same Seegers who offered his saloon as a meeting hall for the 1870 Columbia Rifles and Richland Volunteer Rifles. During Reconstruction the Richland Volunteer Rifle Club did not use Seegers's saloon as a meeting place, but the post-Reconstruction company eventually did move back into the space. In fact Seegers's old building today still has a faded stenciled sign on a wall commemorating the company from 1813 to 1900.<sup>77</sup>



**Figure 3.1** A stencil from the original plaster of Seegers Saloon. Taken by *The State*, December 16, 2012.

Some members in these new rifle clubs were already familiar with militia organization due to their previous involvement in the 1870 companies. Hugh S. Thompson, president of the Richland Rifle Club, was previously the third vice president of the Congaree Rifle Club. Winthrop Williams was once again a secretary, as he had been for the Columbia Rifles. William Cathcart moved from the post of orderly sergeant

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<sup>77</sup> *Daily Phoenix*, August 8, 1874; *The State*, December 1, 1909; Andrew Joseph Harrison, *The South Carolina College Cadets, 1825-1862: a Company History*, 1994, 51; *Daily Phoenix*, October 4, 1874; "COLUMBIA, SC: Beer Barrel Harkens to Main Street's Past as Area Moves Forward," *The State*, accessed March 13, 2014. <http://www.thestate.com/2013/12/16/3162502/beer-barrel-hearkens-to-main-streets.html>.

for the Columbia Rifles to second vice president of the Richland Rifle Club. Nathaniel Barnwell held a similar position in the Richland Rifles, 4<sup>th</sup> Warden, as he did three years earlier with the Congaree Rifles, 5<sup>th</sup> Warden. William Wallace, the former captain of the Columbia Greys and the man who represented Richland County at the Survivors' Association meetings, also joined as a contributing member.<sup>78</sup>

The rifle clubs relied on the survivors from the antebellum companies for support. The survivors of the Richland Volunteer Rifle Company must have dissolved their association after the new 1870 company failed, but they continued to gather every year to celebrate the company's anniversary. In 1873 the survivors contemplated forming their own rifle club, but no further notice appeared in the newspapers afterwards.<sup>79</sup> The RVRA finally reformed in 1875 under Jacob Levin, an auctioneer in Columbia and a former Richland Volunteer Rifle Company member. The RVRA announced it organized as an association of honorary members from the club to "use their best efforts to build up the membership of the club, also, to participate in the anniversary celebrations and attend all funerals of members of the club." The association met in the Independent Engine Hall, a firemen company; which was also the site of the first meetings of the Richland Rifle Club. As before, the survivors were a separate organization but worked closely to help the new club.<sup>80</sup>

The Richland Rifle Club affiliated itself with the survivors of the Governor's Guards Company, who had last attempted to reorganize in 1866. The Governor's Guards were not nearly as old as the Richland Volunteer Rifles, having organized in 1848 at the

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<sup>78</sup> Records of the Richland Rifle Club (Columbia, S.C.), *Constitution and Rules of the Richland Rifle Club, Columbia, S.C., with a Roll of its Officers and Members*.

<sup>79</sup> *Daily Phoenix*, March 6, 1873.

<sup>80</sup> Governor's Guards Minutes, July 13, 1874; *Columbia Register*, August 18, 1875.

onset of the Mexican War. Like the Richland Volunteer Rifles, the Governor's Guards joined the siege of Fort Sumter as Company A in the Second South Carolina Infantry. After their original six-month term expired, the Guards continued the rest of the war as part of Kershaw's Division, fighting in Virginia.<sup>81</sup> It is a bit odd that the Richland Rifle Club did not take the Governor's Guards name, but this switch may have been because the survivors still held out hopes of forming their own rifle club. The antebellum Richland Rifle/Guard Company did not attempt to reorganize after the war, so the Richland Rifle name was still available in 1874.

The Richland Rifle Club and the older Governor's Guards had a complicated relationship. When Fitz W. McMaster of the Governor's Guards gave the Tradewell Medal for the best shot at the Richland Rifles' 1875 anniversary celebration, he put limitations on it.<sup>82</sup> McMaster gave the medal to Richland Rifles until "perchance, some of the survivors of the Governor's Guards shall organize another company, bearing the same name, when we desire it to be given to the new company as an heirloom."<sup>83</sup> During September 1875, the survivors met under the leadership of former captain S. L. Leaphart in an attempt to organize a "Governor's Guards Club". However, like the 1866 attempt, this effort eventually failed.

The issue reappeared in 1877 after Wade Hampton's victory. There was considerable discussion in the Richland Rifles' minute book as to what should be the club's official militia company name. Their minutes report "heavy objections" to using the Governor's Guards name; however after an "inquiry into the matter from the former members of this old militia organization, no difficulty appears to exist to the ability of

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<sup>81</sup> *The State*, October 9, 1891.

<sup>82</sup> Bateman, *A Sketch of the History*, 17; *Columbia Daily Union-Herald*, May 6, 1875.

<sup>83</sup> Bateman, *A Sketch of the History*, 14.

this club if they so desire to assume both the name and entire organization of the old Company.”<sup>84</sup> In all likelihood members of the former Governor’s Guards were on the committee which probably made the inquiry not difficult, but it shows the respect the club had in assuming the former militia’s name. While a separation did exist between the two organizations, several of the survivors were members of the club such as R. L. Gilliland who played an active role establishing the club in 1874. In fact, shortly after the debate on the club’s proper name, the new militia invited all the former Guards to join as honorary members.<sup>85</sup>

The Verein did not enjoy the ability to connect with an antebellum company, as no German organization existed in Columbia before the war. The club associated themselves more with other German clubs in Charleston. The Verein had to invent their own traditions and were much more socially active than either the Richland Rifles or the Richland Volunteer Rifles.<sup>86</sup>

The rifle clubs were selective in choosing potential members and were highly concerned with the newcomers’ ability to fit into the group’s established social order. The costs of joining the clubs also limited the number of white citizens who could join. Uniforms, guns, and fees to attend the balls and other social events were all the responsibility of the individual member. The initiation fees for the Richland Rifle Club was \$2.50 for active members and \$10.00 for contributing members. The Richland Rifles charged twenty-two dollars each for the uniforms and admittance to one ball was three

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<sup>84</sup> Governor’s Guards Minutes, May 15, 1877.

<sup>85</sup> Governor’s Guards Minutes, July 17, 1874; Governor’s Guards Minutes, April 27, 1877; Bateman, *A Sketch of the History*, 20; *Columbia Register*, September 17, 1875; *Columbia Register*, September 18, 1875; *Columbia Register*, September 25, 1875.

<sup>86</sup> *Daily Phoenix*, June 21, 1874.

dollars for active members.<sup>87</sup> The costs of membership definitely deterred lower-class men from joining, and even if they tried, clubs had to approve their applications before they could be admitted. The Verein also required an admission fee and issued tickets to their events marked “Member’s Ticket, not transferable.”<sup>88</sup> The Richland Rifles had one of their longest meetings in 1875 when an uninvited man arrived at one of their balls. The members argued amongst themselves, blaming each other over who invited the intruder. The club finally decided to settle the matter by demanding the unwelcome guest, “Mr. Watties,” to state he meant no disrespect to the club, which he did rather quickly.<sup>89</sup>

One important source for examining the membership of rifle clubs is the Richland Rifle Club’s “Constitution and Rules” which has a complete membership roster from 1874. The roster forms the basis of the Richland Rifle’s list in appendices one through three. The list has been collated with newspaper articles, census data, and the Columbia directory. The Richland Volunteer Rifle Club’s and Schuetzen Verien’s incomplete membership lists had to be compiled only through gathering information from the local newspapers. Still even a partial examination of the two clubs’ composition is helpful, and in all probability they shared the similar characteristics with the Richland Rifle Club.

The hierarchical distinctions within the Richland Rifles and other clubs can be divided into four groups: high-ranked officers, lower-ranked officers, active members,

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<sup>87</sup> Governor’s Guards Minutes, August 11, 1874 and January 12, 1875; Records of the Richland Rifle Club (Columbia, S.C.), *Constitution and Rules of the Richland Rifle Club, Columbia, S.C., with a Roll of its Officers and Members*.

<sup>88</sup> *Daily Phoenix*, January 15, 1875; *Third Annual Festival of the Columbia German Schuetzen Verein, Member’s Ticket*, in Hyatt and Keenan Family Papers.

<sup>89</sup> Governor’s Guards Minutes, August 10, 1875.

and contributing members.<sup>90</sup> The distinctions are reflected not only by the divisions in the rolls, but also by the uniforms. The high-ranked officers, all wore more elaborate attire than the rest of the club. The president and the vice presidents wore double-breasted gray frock coats, trimmed with gold lace and gilt palmetto buttons. Their pants were of cadet gray cloth, with a stripe of black cloth one inch in width, bound with gilt stripe. The lower-ranked officers, the ensign, and all others wore a cadet gray mixed cloth dress coat, with a shirt faced with black cloth, breast braided with a black cord with gilt palmetto buttons. The pants had to be of same material, with black cloth stripe three-fourths of an inch wide.<sup>91</sup>

The Schuetzen Verein and the Richland Volunteer Rifle Club also signified social divisions in their units through uniforms. D. Epstein, a member of the Verein, supplied his company with its uniforms and got free publicity in the newspapers for doing so. The officers wore greyish hats with red, white, and green feathers; privates received only a single green feather.<sup>92</sup> The RVRC's uniform was a grey suit, a coat with the frock pattern and three rows of brass buttons down the front. The coat was trimmed with green velvet and gold lace. The pants had three stripes down the sides, the middle one being green velvet and the outer two of gold lace. The company's hats were black with the sides looped up and adorned with a palmetto tree and a black feather. The RVRC's officers distinguished themselves by adding a white feather to their hats along with gold-fringed epaulettes on their coats.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> A fifth group would be "honorary" members, which were former members of the Governor's Guards. Thirty-five men were given this status in 1877. Honorary members were not required to attend events and did not have to pay membership dues.

<sup>91</sup> Records of the Richland Rifle Club (Columbia, S.C.), *Constitution and Rules of the Richland Rifle Club, Columbia, S.C., with a Roll of its Officers and Members*.

<sup>92</sup> *Daily Phoenix*, May 5, 1875.

<sup>93</sup> *Columbia Register*, August 7, 1875.

The high-ranked officers tended to be older than the lower-ranked, and all but one was a Civil War survivor. The average age of high-ranked officers in the Richland Rifles was 35.5 years with a median of 35. These men were well established in the city and represented several different professions. The positions included in the high-ranked officers category were the president, the four vice presidents, the secretary- treasurer, chaplain, surgeon, solicitor, ensign, and steward, for a total of eleven men. The Richland Volunteer Rifle Club and Schuetzen Verein followed the same pattern except that the RVRC only had two vice presidents and the Verein only one. These positions correspond to traditional militia company ranks, but since the group was officially a rifle club, they employed different titles. President equated to Captain, Vice President to Lieutenant, and the rest used the same titles as militias. The lower-ranked officers were divided between wardens and directors. The Richland Rifle Club had four wardens and four directors, while the RVRC had five wardens and four directors. The clubs were further divided into sub-groups with directors in charge of each of them. The wardens' responsibilities were to summon the club members when needed, keep an accurate roll, and have charge over the club's hall and property.<sup>94</sup>

According to the Richland Rifle Club's constitution, the executive committee that ran the club was made of the president and his vice presidents. Along with President Hugh Thompson, the committee included William C. Swaffield, William R. Cathcart, John T. Sloan Jr., and Willie Jones. Each member had different ties in the city. Swaffield was a wealthy clothing merchant, Jones was a bank clerk, and Sloan was a lawyer. Cathcart had earned distinction at the age of only nineteen as a telegraph operator during the siege of Charleston in 1863. He is said to have used his tongue to

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid.



receive messages when the telegraph station was damaged during battle.<sup>95</sup> Willie Jones would rise up the ranks to become captain of the Governor's Guards in 1882 and during the 1890s became the colonel of all of the Columbia militia companies. Although not in the executive committee, secretary and treasurer Winthrop Williams must have played a critical role as the keeper of the minute book and by making announcements in newspapers for meetings and events. Williams also had the distinction of being the chair of the charter meeting that organized the Richland Rifle Club, which met first in the Independent Fire Engine Company.<sup>96</sup>

The other high-ranked officers filled more particular roles. The solicitor, chaplain, surgeon, and steward were important men, but it seems that they were more added for their prestige and knowledge of their chosen fields. The proprietor of the Wheeler House, Theodore M. Pollock, served as the steward, and A. C. Haskell, the former captain of the Richland Volunteer Rifles and a lawyer by profession, acted as the solicitor. Their positions were only added after the charter meeting and they were expected to only make appearances when needed. For example, the chaplain was in charge of praying at events, the surgeon to give medical care as needed, and the solicitor "to protect corporate privileges of the club."<sup>97</sup> They were grouped with the executive members on the roll, but they did not have the same decision-making powers. The

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<sup>95</sup> Robert N. Rosen, *Confederate Charleston: an illustrated history of the city and the people during the Civil War*. (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press 1994), 125-126; Bateman, *A Sketch of the History*, 13.

<sup>96</sup> John M. Bateman, *A Sketch of the History of the Governor's Guards of Columbia, S.C., 1843-1898* (Columbia, S.C.: R.L. Bryan, 1910), 13.

<sup>97</sup> Records of the Richland Rifle Club (Columbia, S.C.), *Constitution and Rules of the Richland Rifle Club, Columbia, S.C., with a Roll of its Officers and Members*, 6; John Hammond Moore, *Columbia and Richland County: a South Carolina Community, 1740-1990* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1993), 480.

constitution does not mention what type of uniform they should wear which also suggests their attendance was sporadic and they were not expected to be full participants.<sup>98</sup>

The last member of the high-ranked officers was Ensign Rufus N. Richbourg, a survivor and 31 years old. Demographically he was similar to other high-ranking officers, but he was designated to wear the same uniform as the Wardens, Directors, and other members. More than likely he was included as part of the high-ranked officers in the rolls due to his potential leadership in the future. After Reconstruction he would continue up the ranks until he became the captain of the Richland Volunteer Rifle Company. The duties as an ensign are not defined in the constitution but when the Richland Rifles were presented their flag in 1875, Richbourg was given the responsibility of caring for it.<sup>99</sup>

The lower ranked officers had much more in common with the active members than they did with the high-ranked officers. The average age of wardens and directors in 1874 was 23.6 years with the median of 23, compared with the average age of active members being 23 years and the median 22. Most lower ranked officers and active members were much too young to have fought in the war, though at least four did. Of the eighty-two active members, thirty-four were clerks, and twenty had no listed occupation or were not in the Columbia directory. Some were better positioned, as there were four lawyers and six business owners. The nine lower ranked officers were slightly better off,

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<sup>98</sup> Records of the Richland Rifle Club (Columbia, S.C.), *Constitution and Rules of the Richland Rifle Club, Columbia, S.C., with a Roll of its Officers and Members.*

<sup>99</sup> Governor's Guards Minutes, November 13, 1874.

three were clerks but the rest consisted of four lawyers, one broker, and one “yard master” for a railroad company.<sup>100</sup>

The last category, contributing members, was comprised of the oldest and wealthiest members of the club. The average age of contributing members was 45.3 years old with a median of 44.5, but there is a much wider range of ages than in other categories. The standard deviation of contributing members is 11.8 years, compared to only 7 for active members, 5.85 for high-ranked officers, and 2.66 for lower ranked officers. While age certainly is a significant characteristic of contributing members, their wealth probably is the most distinguishing feature. Eighteen contributing members listed real estate or personal value in the census compared to only two active members. Unlike other members who had to pay \$2.50 per year and were required to attend all meetings, drills, and parades, contributing members paid \$10 and did not have to attend every event. They were entitled to all privileges of the club except that they were not allowed to vote, although undoubtedly they still had a strong influence due to their experience and connections, as well as their wealth. Of the seventy-three contributing members, only six were clerks. The most common professions were business owners, bank presidents, real estate and railroad agents, lawyers, and doctors.<sup>101</sup>

Many of the members had business ties to each other. Richland Rifle Club members led three of the five banks listed in the directory. Presidents J. P. Southern, L. D. Childs, and John S. Preston of the Union Bank, Carolina National Bank, and South Carolina Bank & Trust Company along with their cashiers all supported the club as

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<sup>100</sup> Records of the Richland Rifle Club (Columbia, S.C.), *Constitution and Rules of the Richland Rifle Club, Columbia, S.C., with a Roll of its Officers and Members*.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

contributing members.<sup>102</sup> Book sellers and stationery business owners W. J. Duffie and R. L. Bryan along with “Boots and Shoe” shop owners William Chapman and John Meighan joined; however it is unknown if they donated any supplies.<sup>103</sup> Perhaps more impressively, many of the Columbia’s recognized lawyers were included on the membership roster, one even holding an officer rank. Lawyers included (first warden) J. P. Arthur, E. R. Arthur, William K. Bachman, Leroy Youmans, John Bacon, Edwin W. Seibels, B. I. Boone, J. M. Muller, D. Crawford, Fitz W. McMaster, and J. Q. Marshall.<sup>104</sup>

Hugh Thompson also took this opportunity to recruit some of his former Columbia Male Academy students to the club. Wade Hampton Manning noticed this a few decades later remarking that “upon close examination it will be found that many of the men in the ranks had been former pupils of Capt. Thompson.” On at least a couple occasions Thompson had his rifle club drill in view of his school and even had his students participate in a parade in their “new military caps.”<sup>105</sup> When John M. Bateman, son of one of the Richland Rifle Club’s original members and a former captain of the Governor’s Guards in the 1890s, looked back at the club in 1910 he recalled that “Captain Thompson’s influence over his men was not at all diminished by that fact that, as school boys, he had thrashed a considerable portion of them.”<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> *Columbia City Directory* (Richmond, VA: Hill Directory Co, 1875), 106; Richland Rifle Club (Columbia, S.C.), and Winthrop Williams. 1874. Records of the Richland Rifle Club (Columbia, S.C.), *Constitution and Rules of the Richland Rifle Club, Columbia, S.C., with a Roll of its Officers and Members.*

<sup>103</sup> *Columbia City Directory* (Richmond, VA: Hill Directory Co, 1875), 108.

<sup>104</sup> *Columbia City Directory* (Richmond, VA: Hill Directory Co, 1875), 121-122.

<sup>105</sup> *Columbia Register*, February 23, 1876; *The Daily Phoenix*, October 20, 1874; *The State*, December 1, 1909; Richland Rifle Club (Columbia, S.C.), “Records of the Richland Rifle Club (Columbia, S.C.),” February 22, 1877.

<sup>106</sup> Bateman, *A Sketch of the History of the Governor’s Guards of Columbia, S.C., 1843-1898*, 15.

Beyond the Richland Rifle Club, the partial membership roster from the Verein also creates a picture of a social community. The Verein's 1874 application named twelve members who were involved in various businesses around Columbia. The twelve members listed on the application included many business owners such as their president John Seegers, who owned two saloons on Richardson (Main) Street. Charles C. Habenicht, son of Verein member Henry Habenicht, listed one of Seegers's saloons as his residence. Other saloon owners included Fredrick D. Koneman and Fredrick A. Jacobs, while B. Koenig simply was described as a bartender. George Diercks and Eibie F. Hei both ran grocery stores that sold wines and liquor, also on Richardson Street. James F. Williams remembered Hei for manufacturing ginger pop served in stone bottles. Other named members ran tailor shops, a boot store, and a bakery. This list however only gives a limited view of the club's dynamics as an earlier announcement claimed the club had up to seventy members, but unfortunately no other names were given.<sup>107</sup>

Edwin Green, a professor of Ancient Languages at the University of South Carolina in the 1930s, gathered a history of the Verein and its later organization, the Freundschaftsbund ("Friendship Society"). He was able to add some more names to his list, probably through oral history, although he did not leave a record of his sources. A majority of the club was of German descent, whether recent immigrants or second generation. The organizations tended to be led by wealthy businessmen such as C. C. Habenicht, John Seegers, W. K. Bachmann, William Stieglitz, George Diercks, F. D. Koneman, and John Seibels; however they also accepted those of lesser status as members such as J. Bahlman, who was identified as a bookkeeper and writing master.

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<sup>107</sup> Williams, Kohn-Hennig Collection, and Donald S. Russell Library, *Old and New Columbia*, by J. F. Williams, 148; *Daily Phoenix*, August 12, 1874; *Columbia City Directory* (Richmond, VA: Hill Directory Co, 1875); *Daily Phoenix*, July 3, 1874.

Both organizations probably followed a typical hierarchical structure. Prominent citizens, who could easily pay dues and support large events, were at the top and those of more modest means and accomplishments, who would later be identified as middle-class, constituted the rank and file.<sup>108</sup>

John Seegers was perhaps the most successful businessman of the club. He emigrated from Germany around 1850 and set up a variety of businesses from ice manufacturing, butcheries, and breweries. James F. Williams in the 1920s recalled that Seegers was the first person to manufacture ice in Columbia by purchasing an ice machine from Germany that could produce over two tons of ice per day.<sup>109</sup> Seegers temporarily retired in 1880 and entrusted his then son-in-law Christopher Habenicht to manage most of his businesses while he still retained ownership of the properties. The Habenicht family had a close relationship with Seegers. Henry Habenicht probably served as his bartender along with his son Charles, who lived in one of Seegers's saloons, suggesting that he worked there.<sup>110</sup> Seegers would continue his entrepreneurial activities as a farmer until he finally decided to return to the brewery and dispensary business in 1895. He remained active until his death in 1912 through farming, brewing beer, and producing bottles.<sup>111</sup>

There were also other more casual crossovers between the companies/clubs that illustrate their social aspects. Wade Hampton Manning moved around from club to club, joining the Columbia Rifles in 1870, the Congaree Rifles in 1871, and the Richland

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<sup>108</sup> *The State*, July 1933 in Hyatt and Kennan Family Papers.

<sup>109</sup> Staci Richy, *1631 Main Street, Seegers-Habenicht Building Ca. 1866*, (Columbia S.C.: City of Columbia), 2-3; James Franklin Williams, *Old and new Columbia*, (Columbia, S.C.: Epworth Orphanage Press), 135-136.

<sup>110</sup> *Daily Phoenix*, July 21, 1874; *Columbia City Directory* (Richmond, VA: Hill Directory Co, 1875).

<sup>111</sup> Richy, *1631 Main Street*, 14-31.

Rifles in 1874. John M. Bateman described members joining during Reconstruction primarily motivated by social reasons. He wrote:

“In the simple life of those days the militia was in competition with fewer counter attractions than at present. There were fewer social clubs, fewer dances and receptions, fewer card parties and fewer plays. No golf, not automobile parties, no Ridgewood. A young man usually became a member of a ‘rifle company,’ or a volunteer rifle company, or both, and it was natural that he should join the same organization as that of his friends and associates were already members. In this way strong partisanship was developed, and fierce rivalry sprang up.”<sup>112</sup>

William Stieglitz remembered much of the same, recalling “he joined everything in sight in his early days, brass band, militia [rifle clubs], fire company, baseball team.”<sup>113</sup>

Highlighting this social atmosphere, Verein members were connected in other organizations such as Ebenezer Lutheran Church and the Palmetto Fire Engine Company.

Architect G. T. Berg helped draw up new plans for the church when they needed to rebuild after the war, and William K. Bachman, John Seegers, and Gerhard Diercks served as vestrymen. Seegers also acted as one of the leaders in the fire company in the 1890s, and Richland Rifle Club member and future mayor W. B. Stanley was president of the Palmettos in the 1870s.<sup>114</sup>

The rosters of the rifle clubs, especially the Richland Rifle Club and Schuetzen Verein, reveal some of the social aspects that drew men to the clubs. The clubs did serve a purpose politically and for protection, but they did not form just to drill. Members were connected to each other economically, working in the same businesses as other members, and socially through memberships in the same organizations and going to the same schools together. Quite strikingly these clubs were predominantly urban with almost all

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<sup>112</sup> Bateman, *A Sketch of the History of the Governor's Guards of Columbia, S.C., 1843-1898*, 14.

<sup>113</sup> *The State*, August 23, 1927.

<sup>114</sup> *Daily Phoenix*, January 4, 1871; *Daily Phoenix*, January 3, 1875; *Columbia Directory* (Richmond, Va: Hill Directory Co, 1875); *The State*, July 25, 1895; Gilbert P. Voigt, *A History of Ebenezer Lutheran Church, Columbia, S.C* (Columbia, S.C: 1930), 35-37.

members living in Columbia and listed in the 1875-1876 city directory. Being part of a rifle club involved much more than defending Columbia; it involved being part of a community.



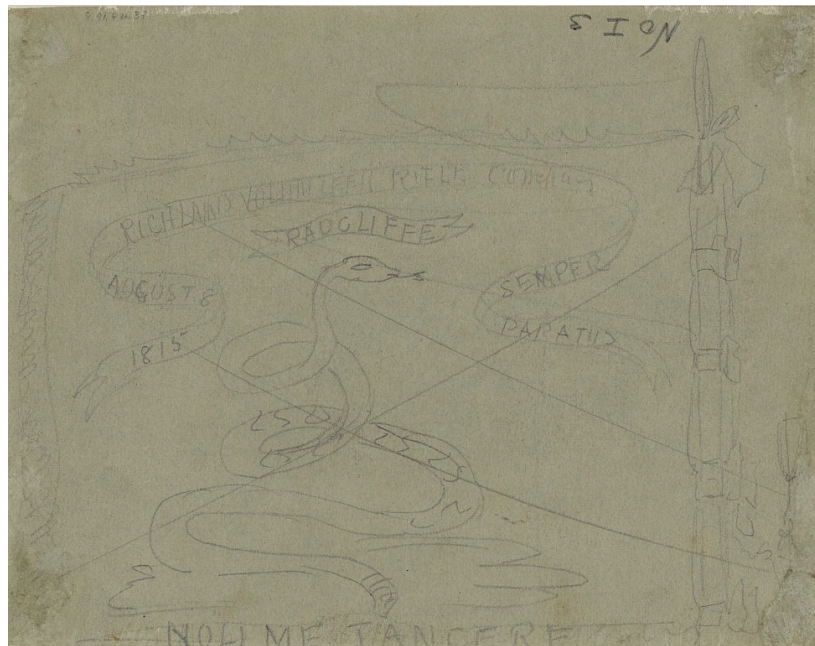
## CHAPTER 4:

### RIFLE CLUBS IN THE COMMUNITY

Although most historians largely consider the social aspects of the rifle clubs as cover for sinister intentions, the clubs took the social events seriously. They brought the community together and played a fundamental role in forming a renewed sense of national and regional pride for South Carolinians. The clubs commemorated Confederate dead during Decoration Days with the local Ladies Memorial Association chapter, paraded during holidays, and hosted social events such as balls, anniversaries, and target shooting excursions. Even after Reconstruction and up until the Spanish-American War in the 1890s the rifle clubs, then officially recognized militia companies, still organized the same social events maligned in the 1870s. To suggest that these events meant little to rifle clubs would dismiss the amount of effort they put into them and the symbolism they provided for the white community.

Eleanor Hannah observed that her Illinois militia companies had an increased sense of professionalism and military training after the Civil War. Since training was better than during the antebellum era, there was a stronger drive for companies to drill in public view so the community could see how well they marched. The rifle clubs in Columbia certainly behaved in this manner. For the anniversary celebration of the RVRC on August 9, 1875, the Richland Rifle Club gathered at its armory on Main Street and marched up to Stenhouse, the RVRC's current hall. From there the clubs countermarched and eventually made their way up north to the State Fair Grounds, where

the Verein stood waiting at the entrance to receive them. The grounds were adjacent to Elmwood Cemetery, the final resting place for the Confederate dead and a frequent gathering site for rifle clubs. The clubs spent the rest of the day participating in shooting competitions.<sup>115</sup>



**Figure 4.1** Waud, Alfred Randolph. "Flag of the Richland Volunteer Rifle Company." *Library of Congress*. (1860-185 c.). <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2004660861/>

The rifle clubs often used acceptance of gifts such as flags and awards from the former militiamen as a way to expand their presence in city life. An example of this can be seen in RVRA President Jacob Levin's flag presentation at the Opera House while celebrating George Washington's birthday on February 22, 1876. The Richland Rifle Club escorted the RVRC from their armory further up on Main Street, parading as they made their way to their final destination. After A. C. Haskell delivered his address, Levin presented a flag to the current president of the RVRC, Richard O'Neale. The flag

<sup>115</sup> *Columbia Register*, August 10, 1875; Eleanor L. Hannah, *Manhood, Citizenship, and the National Guard: Illinois, 1870-1917* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2007), 104.

bore the names of many of the company's former captains as well as the date of the organization of the original militia in 1813. The flag's center featured a coiled snake in the act of striking- reminiscent of the flag that Alfred R Waud sketched for the Richland Volunteer Rifle flag during the Civil War.<sup>116</sup>

The first event the Richland Rifles held was a ceremony receiving a flag from the women of Columbia, where the club publically declared their purpose. The club marched with the U.S. 18<sup>th</sup> Infantry Post Band to the Columbia Male Academy, which not coincidentally was where their president, Hugh S. Thompson, acted as principal. Miss Kate McMaster, representing the Ladies of Columbia, presented a flag to the club with depictions of the Coat of Arms of South Carolina and a palmetto tree as "a proud device... [to] account of the memories of the past". Thompson received the flag and proclaimed that on the other side of it lies "an inscription which tells us that it is a woman's gift." Then for safekeeping, Ensign Rufus N. Richbourg was charged with the flag and the injunction that "it is not intended by our organization to keep alive the spirit of war and bloodshed... we rather invoke for our once happy and beloved state the blessings of peace" although the club would "be ready for any emergency that may occur."<sup>117</sup>

Like the survivor organizations before them, the rifle clubs did not forget the Civil War dead. During the 1875 Decoration Day, Richland Rifles Club escorted members of the Ladies Memorial Association to Elmwood Cemetery, where children placed wreaths

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<sup>116</sup> *Columbia Register*, February 22, 1876; Waud, Alfred Randolph. "Flag of the Richland Volunteer Rifle Company." *Library of Congress*. (1860-1865 c.). <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2004660861/> (accessed April 7, 2013).

<sup>117</sup> Governor's Guards Minutes, November 13, 1874.

on Confederate and even Union graves.<sup>118</sup> These days were designed as a day of remembrance to bring the community together in mourning the dead. There were strong Lost Cause undertones at these events, and children were encouraged to participate in order to aid their social indoctrination.

Women's organizations that had supplied the Confederate armies with needed goods during the war usually held the responsibility of organizing the event. These organizations acted as a marker of status for the women involved since it gave them the opportunity to take a public role. During these ceremonies the women acted as the organizers, although men always acted as the orators. The hope was that under Republican rule, Southerners could still mourn and praise their dead under the guise of the women's nonpolitical role as caretakers.<sup>119</sup> That the Richland Rifles were involved in this ceremony shows their devotion to their community's heritage and their familial relationships with the Ladies Memorial Association of Columbia.

Several Ladies Memorial Association members were the wives of rifle club members. The president of the Ladies was Mary Preston Darby whose husband was a contributing member of the Richland Rifles. Captain Hugh S. Thompson's wife was an active member in the association as well. Leaphart, Sloan, Childs, Beck, Walker, Preston, Swaffield, Haskell, Cathcart, Bryan, Jones, Crawford, and many more family names appeared on the rolls of both organizations.<sup>120</sup> Several of the same women involved in the Ladies were also active in the rifle clubs through supporting their husbands and fathers. In planning a ball in early 1875, the men of the Richland Rifles

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<sup>118</sup> Known today as Memorial Day.

<sup>119</sup> Caroline E. Janney, *Burying the dead but not the past: Ladies' Memorial Associations and the lost cause*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008) 52-57.

<sup>120</sup> Young Ladies' Hospital Association (Columbia, S.C.). 1861. *Records.*; Richland Rifle Club (Columbia, S.C.), and Winthrop Williams. 1874. *Records of the Richland Rifle Club (Columbia, S.C.), Constitution and Rules of the Richland Rifle Club, Columbia, S.C., with a Roll of its Officers and Members.*

asked the women to run and organize several committees for preparing the hall, the reception, “on hall,” invitations, floor managers, and supper to ensure its success.<sup>121</sup>

Women also helped other clubs such as the Palmetto Guards in Charleston when they were organizing the Fort Moultrie centennial in 1876.<sup>122</sup>

Perhaps the biggest change between antebellum and postbellum companies that Hannah notes deals with the award system. Instead of unit awards, competitions increasingly focused on individual accomplishments. Drills remained important, but the adoption of more accurate rifles and better-trained men, companies started to host shooting competitions. The competitions had the benefit of improving the professional image of the companies, thereby increasing their reputation as a desirable company in their community. While Hannah describes this shift towards individual recognition occurring over a fifteen-year period between 1890 and 1905, it was standard practice within the Columbia rifle clubs much earlier.<sup>123</sup>

The rifle clubs started reviving the old medals from the antebellum companies and added some individual awards as early as 1875. Osgood A. Mood, a former member of the “old” Richland Volunteer Rifles, gave the RVRC with a goblet rewarding the best-drilled member of the unit.<sup>124</sup> Major D. B. Miller also added five more medals along with the story of how his wife hid them in her cellar from General Sherman and “his incendiaries” during the war. The first prize was a medal won by the Richland Volunteer Rifles in an 1859 contest with the Palmetto Guard. Engraved on the medal was “1813” for the founding date of the company as well as palmetto trees with shields

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<sup>121</sup> Governor’s Guards Minutes, January 12, 1875.

<sup>122</sup> Letter to Mrs. W.H. Chapman from the Palmetto Guards, May 5 1876 in *William H. Chapman papers* in SCL.

<sup>123</sup> Hannah, *Manhood, Citizenship, and the National Guard*, 104, 128.

<sup>124</sup> *Columbia Register*, August 7, 1875.

and South Carolina mottoes. The next prize was named after E. J. Arthur, a former mayor of Columbia, who in 1856 first presented the medal to the company. The third prize, originally award in 1859, was known as the “Radcliff Medal” honoring their captain, Thomas W. Radcliff. The fourth medal, “the De-Kalb Medal”, memorialized the 1841 target shooting victory of the Richland Volunteer Rifles over the DeKalb Rifle Guards. The final award dated from August 8, 1815, the company’s second anniversary, and had an engraving of a kneeling rifleman aiming at an imaginary target.<sup>125</sup>

In much the same way as the RVRC, the Schuetzen Verein also accepted gifts from German Civil War veterans even though they had no antebellum militia to commemorate. Edwin L. Green wrote in *The State* that the Verein and later the “Freundschaftsbund” or Friendship Society in 1890s participated in annual shooting competitions in which the winner was deemed the King of the Schuetzen Platz- “Koenig des deutshen Shutzenvereins.” Green also recalled how P. W. Kraft, William Stieglitz, F. W. Husemann, P. Motz, and F. Konemann would present a pendant to the winner that translated from German as “To the German Society, Columbia S.C., from the German Shooting Company, Charleston S.C. 1875.”<sup>126</sup>

Contributing members of the clubs even occasionally participated in individual competitions of their own. At the anniversary celebration of the RVRC in 1875, eight survivors were in attendance with one of them even winning the shooting competition of the contributing and honorary members. James Fraser won the prize with only one arm.

Other survivors identified being present were Lieutenant R. E. B. Hewetson, Lieutenant

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<sup>125</sup> *Columbia Register*, August 10, 1875.

<sup>126</sup> *The State*, July 1933 in the Hyatt and Keenan Family papers 1878-1932. Dr. Green seems to rely on oral history for his article and only offers up a presently lost photograph of F.D. Konemann in 1883 with five of these medals on a chain around his neck as evidence. Green during his time tried to learn as much as possible about the history of Richland County and in his papers housed in the SCL, he has many folders of letters corresponding with people trying to reconstruct the daily life of the county.

H. C. Heise, First Sergeant Osgood A. Mood, Fourth Sergeant J. R. Hamilton, John C. Squier, R. N. Richbourg, and Ed Berry.<sup>127</sup>

Hannah notes “marksmanship competitions took place in isolated, specialized places.”<sup>128</sup> This is true of the Columbia rifle clubs who regularly competed and celebrated at the Schuetzen Platz in the countryside (in present-day Colonial Heights neighborhood). The Schuetzen Verein created the Schuetzen Platz as a social park that regularly was used by their fellow rifle clubs and members of the community up through the 1890s.<sup>129</sup> The site was located about two miles outside of the city’s original grid, north of the Lunatic Asylum along the Asylum Road on top of a plateau. The elevation offered a sublime view of Columbia with cooler breezes in the summer. The history of ownership before the Schuetzen Verein acquired the property in 1874 is a bit murky, partially because most government documents were lost during the Civil War.

Edwin Green, who happened to be one of the first people to buy one of the Colonial Heights plots in 1907, offers a rare glimpse of its history. Green believed Chancellor Caldwell owned the site during the middle of the nineteenth century and later transferred the land to James W. Adams, who used it as his summer home. Green notes that General Sherman burned Adams’s home, though the validity of this statement is questionable because it was the tendency of the times to blame every fire on the Union general. Although Green failed to cite where he received his information, in all likelihood he gained this knowledge through correspondence and the oral histories of his contemporaries. He undoubtedly at least saw the Platz before it became developed since he was one of the first confirmed lot purchasers in Colonial Heights and had the

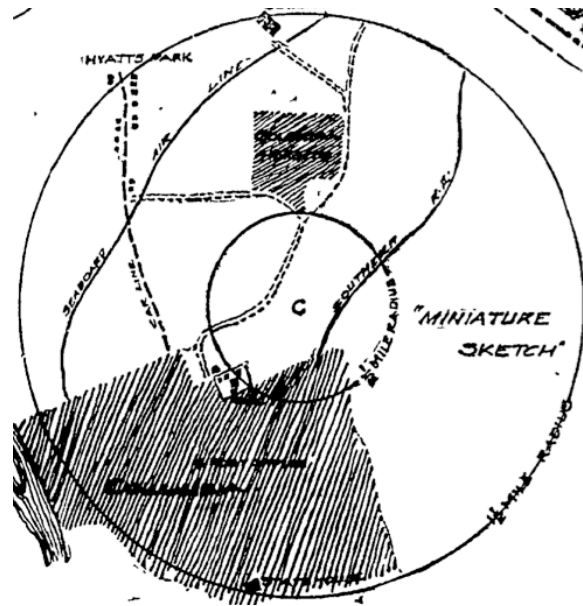
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<sup>127</sup> *Columbia Register*, August 10, 1875.

<sup>128</sup> Hannah, *Manhood, Citizenship, and the National Guard*, 104.

<sup>129</sup> *Columbia Register*, August 13, 1891.

opportunity to directly interview those who had used the park during the previous three decades.



**Figure 4.2** The shaded space north of the inner circle was the Schuetzen Platz. The Platz included the wedge on the southeast corner. *The State*, October 24, 1905.

The Verein was officially recognized as an organization on July 12, 1874 although they had been active for several months prior as evidenced by their attendance at Schuetzen Fests in Savannah and Augusta.<sup>130</sup> Richland deed books and contemporary newspapers confirm the Verein's purchase of approximately one hundred and sixty-five acres followed shortly thereafter with Samuel G. Henry surveying the property in September.<sup>131</sup> The Verein used the space to socialize with other groups in Columbia, including the Richland Rifle Club, who became the Governor's Guards in 1877, and the Richland Volunteer Rifle Club. The clubs celebrated special events such as their anniversaries, usually by staging a rifle shooting competition followed by a dinner and

<sup>130</sup> *Daily Phoenix*, June 21, 1874; *Daily Phoenix*, May 31, 1874.

<sup>131</sup> *The State*, July 1933 in Hyatt and Kennan Family Papers; Richland County Deed Book Q:547.



ball.<sup>132</sup> These events were exclusive to members and friends only. The two-mile trek outside the city along with the economic factors of transportation probably helped limit the participation of lowered status citizens.<sup>133</sup> The Platz made clear that only members were permitted to enter with a newspaper announcement that warned, “Those who are not members of the Club or Stockholders cannot gain admittance” unless accompanied by a member. An invitation ticket for the Schuetzen Verein’s third annual festival in 1878 clearly noted to the guests that it was “not transferable”.<sup>134</sup>

Clubs sometimes marched to the Platz, but most often the distance from the city encouraged people to take other forms of transportation. For example, every Sunday and Monday the omnibus line in Columbia offered to pick people up in front of Seeger’s brewery and for 25 cents drive them to the park.<sup>135</sup> While the park was meant for the Verein, nonmembers could gain admittance if they accompanied “Stockholders” or club members.<sup>136</sup> The Platz included a shrubbery, a clubhouse, a large hall used for dancing, and a rifle range.<sup>137</sup> The Verein even planned to build a horseracing track, long a symbol of elites, and a bowling alley. The former project was abandoned, but the Verein eventually constructed the latter.<sup>138</sup> The Richland Rifles often used the space to celebrate their anniversaries; they invited the RVRC, the Verein, and later the officers of the 18<sup>th</sup> Infantry to engage in target shooting competitions followed by a ball.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> *Columbia Register*, May 5, 1876; *Columbia Register*, July 4, 1876; *Columbia Register*, August 8, 1889; *Columbia Register*, August 13, 1891; *Governor’s Guards Minutes (Richland Rifle Club) 1874-1878*, April 22, 1875, May 14, 1878; *ibid.*, July 9, 1878.

<sup>133</sup> *Columbia Register*, August 1, 1875; *Columbia Register*, August 8, 1891.

<sup>134</sup> *Daily Phoenix*, July 17, 1875; *Third Annual Festival of the Columbia German Schuetzen Verein, Member’s Ticket*, in Hyatt and Keenan Family Papers.

<sup>135</sup> *Columbia Register*, August 1, 1875.

<sup>136</sup> *Daily Phoenix*, July 17, 1875.

<sup>137</sup> John M Bateman, *A Sketch of the History of the Governor’s Guards of Columbia, S.C. 1843-1898*, (Columbia, SC: R. L. Bryan Company, 1910), 14.

<sup>138</sup> *Columbia Register*, May 5, 1876; *ibid.*, October 23, 1875.

<sup>139</sup> *Columbia Register*, May 2, 1876.

Former members of the Verein and the Freundschaftsbund continued to maintain the Platz for the rest of the nineteenth century. At the Verein's foreclosure sale in 1884, Charles C. Habenicht purchased the one hundred and sixty-five acre property for 4,100 dollars. Habenicht had taken over most of John Seegers's businesses in Columbia, including ice manufacturing and saloons. Habenicht was German, although born in South Carolina, and had married into the Seegers family. He continued to build on Seegers's business empire through purchases such as the Grand Central Hotel in 1891, where he employed Frank Seegers, the son of John. Throughout the rest of the 1880s and early 1890s, Habenicht held onto the Platz, and it continued to function as an ideal rural social space hosting several anniversary celebrations of the white militia and firemen's companies.<sup>140</sup> Habenicht eventually moved to Georgia passed the park once again to Seegers, who maintained it until the park was finally sold to former Richland Rifle Club member Julius Walker and the Suburban Home Company in 1905. The property was then developed into the Colonial Heights neighborhood.<sup>141</sup>

Traces of the Schuetzen Platz remained for several years after the site became Colonial Heights. Even after the neighborhood was planned and plotted out, it took decades to fully develop the whole area. The 1916 Richland County Soil Survey map shows that while the western side of the suburb had neatly settled roads, a large portion of the eastern side remained undeveloped. This could partially be explained as a result of the trolley line running further on the western side and residents preferring closer proximity to the Eau Claire neighborhood with its parks and school buildings. The Schuetzen Verein's clubhouse added a more physical reason not to build on the eastern

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<sup>140</sup> Richy, *1631 Main Street*, 3-4 and 23; Richland County Deed Book Q: 547.

<sup>141</sup> Richland County Deed Book AK: 486.

side since it was not immediately demolished in 1905, although Julius Walker noted the building would have “to make way for modern residence.”<sup>142</sup> However, Edwin Green in the 1930s still declared that he was able to trace the location of the clubhouse based on observing the avenue trees that had led up to it. Indeed, the first aerial photograph of Colonial Heights in 1933 shows the eastern side still undeveloped and a large section of trees that Green mentioned. The avenue of trees leading to a vacant lot served as one of the last reminders of its previous German owners.<sup>143</sup>

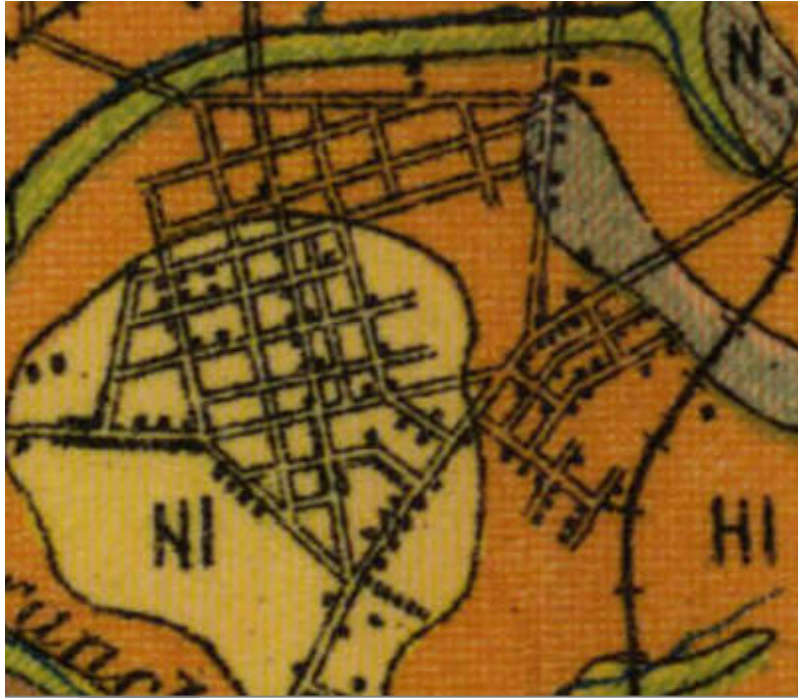


**Figure 4.3** 1938 Photograph of the Colonial Heights neighborhood. Source: the Department of Agriculture.

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<sup>142</sup> *The State*, December 6, 1906.

<sup>143</sup> United States Department of Agriculture. *Richland County, 1916*. Map. Richland County SC: University of South Carolina, 1916. From USDA Historical Soil Survey Maps of South Carolina, Maps Department. <http://digital.tcl.sc.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/HSSM/id/33/rec/34> (accessed April 28, 2013); United States Department of Agriculture. Richland County, 1938, SC Aerial Photo. Photograph. Richland County, SC: University of South Carolina, 2005. From Aerial Photos of Columbia, Richland County, South Carolina Collection. <http://digital.tcl.sc.edu/cdm/ref/collection/AP/id/240> (accessed April 28, 2013); *The State*, July 1933 in Hyatt and Kennan Family Papers.



**Figure 4.4** 1916 Soil Map of the Colonial Heights neighborhood. Source: the Department of Agriculture.

After the Platz was finally sold and converted into a suburban neighborhood, former members remembered the social activities the place had provided for decades. Writing in 1910, John Bateman, described the park as “a place for amusement” and “very popular for picnics and barbecues.”<sup>144</sup> William Stieglitz in 1927 recalled:

“The Independent fire company held maroons and the Palmetto and Phoenix [fire companies] celebrated barbecues. The events were staged at the old Schuetzen Platz on the site now known as Colonial Heights. The German element maintained a resort that furnished real joy for a number of years. Lager beer and the small of sassafras on the counter are all remembered by man... Target Shooting and other prize winning contests marked the success of the Schutzen Fest [sic.] held each year in May. Moonlight picnics and dances made the platz famous.”<sup>145</sup>

The rifle clubs in Columbia left behind a legacy of creating enjoyable social activities that the city enjoyed throughout the nineteenth century. In one form or another the

<sup>144</sup> John M. Bateman, *A Sketch of the History of the Governor's Guards of Columbia, S.C., 1842-1898*, (Columbia, S.C.: R.L. Bryan, 1910), note C; *The State*, July 1933 in Hyatt and Kennan Family Papers.

<sup>145</sup> *The State*, August 23, 1927.

Richland Volunteer Rifles, the Richland Rifles, and the Schuetzen Verein stayed active for decades after Reconstruction was over, engaging in drill and rifle shooting competitions, balls, and picnics.

## CONCLUSION

Cooperation between rifle clubs and the occupying U.S. 18<sup>th</sup> Infantry officers in various social and commemorative events, which excluded the black militia companies, symbolized the negotiated reconciliation between the North and the South. The United States officers attended shooting competitions with the clubs and even loaned out their American flag for a Fourth of July ball in 1875. The coming of the centennial of American Revolution battles gave opportunities for Southerners and Northerners to express their desire to reconcile. The centennial allowed whites to use the terminology of the Revolution to avoid discussing the Civil War. The Richland Rifle and the Richland Volunteer Rifle Clubs both participated in the centennial celebrations such as Fort Moultrie (1876), Cowpens (1880), Ninety-Six (1881), and Yorktown (1881) among others. Absent from these unifying events were black citizens, who were left behind. Black companies were able to use the 18<sup>th</sup> Infantry Post Band, but the white officers never participated in the blacks' events as they eventually did with the rifle clubs.<sup>146</sup>

The Columbia clubs' efforts at reconciliation started in 1875 by inviting Governor Chamberlain and the 18<sup>th</sup> Infantry officers to club events. The minutes of the Richland Rifle Club show this was a cautious decision at first. During their regular January meeting, while deciding on whom to invite to an upcoming ball they voted not to invite

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<sup>146</sup> Cronenberg, Charles. 1882. Scrapbook, in the South Caroliniana Library, Charles Cronenberg was a member of the Richland Volunteer Rifles and collected newspaper clippings of the club's events; Anne Sarah Rubin, "'Seventy-Six and Sixty-One': Confederates Remember the American Revolution," in *Where these Memories Grow: History, Memory, and Southern Identity*, ed. W. Fitzhugh Brundage (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000) 86; John M Bateman, *A Sketch of the History of the Governor's Guards of Columbia, S.C. 1843-1898*, (Columbia, SC: The R.L. Bryan Company, 1910).

the officers. They must have had second thoughts because only two days afterwards, the club held a special meeting where they reversed their decision and sent invitations the officers. Governor Chamberlain was also added on about two weeks later.<sup>147</sup> Also in 1875, the Columbia Ladies made sure to start decorating the Federal dead during Decoration Days.<sup>148</sup> This conflict of action may partially be due to the division amongst southern Democrats between “fusionists” who advocated they allow Liberal Republicans to run unopposed for governor in South Carolina versus the more militant “straightout” faction who rejected the idea. Clearly it seems the local rifle clubs of Columbia at least paid some heed to the fusionist side; after all South Carolina Democrats had allowed Chamberlain to run unopposed in 1874.<sup>149</sup>

Chamberlain and the 18<sup>th</sup> Infantry officers did their part to reciprocate the clubs’ attempts at reconciliation. In June 1875, he presented the Washington Light Infantry, a rifle club from Charleston, with a flag before they departed to celebrate the centennial of the Battle of Bunker Hill in Boston.<sup>150</sup> During a shooting competition in May 1876, Chamberlain came by invitation and even was humorously requested to make the presentation of the tin cup for the worst shot “which he did in a handsome fashion.”<sup>151</sup> Chamberlain, in trying to unify Democratic support behind him, during the “Red Shirt” campaign, continued to speak at predominantly white rallies at his own personal risk. The officers of the 18<sup>th</sup> Infantry also became regular attendees of rifle club events. For George Washington’s Birthday, they shared dinner with Captain Robert O’Neale and donated an American flag to a Richland Rifle Club ball for decoration in 1875. The

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<sup>147</sup> Governor Guards Minutes, January 27, 29, and February 9, 1875.

<sup>148</sup> *Daily Phoenix*, May 11, 1876; *Columbia Register*, May 11, 1876.

<sup>149</sup> Poole, *Never Surrender*, 78-79.

<sup>150</sup> *Daily Phoenix*, June 12, 1875.

<sup>151</sup> *Columbia Daily Union-Herald*, May 6, 1876.

officers joined in other festivities such as the 1876 anniversary shooting competitions and balls of the Richland Rifles at the Schuetzen Platz.<sup>152</sup>

The largest rifle club celebration in South Carolina was by far the Fort Moultrie Centennial in 1876. The Palmetto Guard in Charleston spent its 1875 anniversary celebration at the countryside of Professor Francis L. Holmes planning the for the next year's large parade.<sup>153</sup> For the first time, the Richland Rifle Club actually brought up the armory's inventory in the meeting minutes when they began discussion on Fort Moultrie. A committee reported that their armorer "shall be required to furnish the club with a statement of all property in his charge of the meeting following the anniversary." Upon hearing that Wade Hampton was in Columbia on the eve of the centennial, they moved to make him an honorary member and escort him there.<sup>154</sup> The 18<sup>th</sup> Infantry Post band's services were also used to escort the Columbia rifle clubs to Charleston and perform a piece at every station along the railroad.<sup>155</sup> At this point in time, Democrats still did not know whom they would support in the upcoming election. The "fusionists" Conservatives had succeeded during the May Democratic Convention by adjourning without nominating a candidate. Quite possibly, the results of the 1876 election would maintain the status quo.<sup>156</sup>

On the June 28, 1876, the centennial of the Battle of Fort Moultrie proudly gathered white military companies from Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Massachusetts, and New York in Charleston. Commenting on the day, Colonel William L. Trenholm claimed the battle "was the first great event of the Revolution which took

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<sup>152</sup> *Daily Phoenix*, February 23, 1875; *Columbia Register*, May 2, 1876; *Columbia Register*, February 23, 1876; *Columbia Register*, July 5, 1876.

<sup>153</sup> William Chapman papers, June 28, 1875.

<sup>154</sup> Governor's Guards Minutes, March 14, 1876; *ibid.*, June 19, 1876.

<sup>155</sup> *Columbia Register*, July 1, 1876.

<sup>156</sup> Foner, *Reconstruction: American's Unfinished Revolution*, 570.



place on Southern soil; it produced a most happy effect in dispelling the distrust which even at that early day agitators had begun to sow between the sections... it thus confirmed that union among the colonies and strengthened the mutual confidence among the people which was essential to their success.”<sup>157</sup> Later, Trenholm concluded, “The spirit of 1776, now evoked, indicates a broad and solid ground on which all may stand”.<sup>158</sup>

Trenholm’s fine rhetoric did not include the relationship between races. Less than a week later, in the town of Hamburg, South Carolina, a black militia company under Captain Doc Adams got into a confrontation with local whites as they were celebrating the Fourth of July. Attorney General William Stone later reported that while parading down a road, the militia encountered a carriage with Thomas Butler inside. Although the road was wide enough for both parties, Adams and Butler argued over who had right of way until finally the black militia stepped to the side and allowed the carriage to drive through. This event precipitated increased tensions between the races, resulting in more whites converging into Hamburg over the next four days. Under the leadership of General M. C. Butler, the rifle clubs demanded that the black company surrender its arms. The black company sought shelter in a building until a piece of artillery from the Washington Artillery in Augusta fired upon them. After capturing a part of the fleeing black men, armed whites murdered several of them.<sup>159</sup> This event, remembered as the Hamburg Massacre, effectively settled the question between the “fusionists” and “straightout” Democrats. There would be no more cooperation with Republicans.

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<sup>157</sup> Fort Moultrie Centennial; *Being an Illustrated Account of the Doings at Fort Moultrie, Sullivan's Island, Charleston (S.C.) Harbor; Part II*, (Charleston, SC: Walker, Evans & Cogswell, 1876), p.2. in South Caroliniana Pamphlet Collection.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.* 3.

<sup>159</sup> *The Miscellaneous Documents of the Senate of the United States for the Second Session of the forty-fourth Congress*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1877), 473-476.

The Hamburg Massacre was not only a brutal display of violence; it was a statement “to deprive the militia of their rights on account of their race and political opinions.”<sup>160</sup> Congressman Richard Cain at a meeting of black residents in Charleston on July 17, 1876 asserted that it was “true that they [the militia] blocked the streets on the 4<sup>th</sup> of July; but did not the white soldiers block up the streets of Charleston on the 28<sup>th</sup> of June?”<sup>161</sup> Ultimately General Butler was not convicted of a crime, and the massacre proved to be the start of the “Red Shirt” gubernatorial campaign of Wade Hampton infamous for its fraud and intimidation.<sup>162</sup>

Instead, reversing Clausewitz’s famous phrase that politics became war by another means, the Hamburg Massacre took what could have been another nonviolent election and unified South Carolinian whites together under the “straight-out” banner. M. C. Butler used the violence to force the political angst of Carpetbagger rule, along with racial tensions, to a head. No longer would whites resist the urge to threaten violence to get what they wanted as other Southern states had already done. The massacre radicalized the debate.

The bloody political campaign of 1876 should not overshadow and come to symbolize what all South Carolinian rifle clubs thought from their inception. Radical “straight-out” Democrats forced the issue onto their fellow Democrats who might have supported Chamberlain in 1876. After rejecting the nomination of a candidate for

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<sup>160</sup> *The Miscellaneous Documents of the Senate of the United States for the Second Session of the forty-fourth Congress*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1877), 480.

<sup>161</sup> Damon L. Fordham, *Voices of Black South Carolina*, (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2009), p.59-60.

<sup>162</sup> Stephen Kantrowitz, "One Man's Mob is Another Man's Militia: Violence, Manhood, and Authority in Reconstruction South Carolina" in Jane Dailey, Glenda Gilmore, and Bryant Simon, eds., *Jumpin' Jim Crow: Southern Politics from Civil War to Civil Rights* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2000), 80.

governor during the May convention, Democrats reconvened in August and selected Wade Hampton to lead the “Red Shirt” campaign.<sup>163</sup>

Columbia rifle clubs did participate in the campaign, but it is doubtful they were as defiantly violent as other clubs. Robert Wallace Shand, of the Richland Rifles wrote in his journal that between intimidation and bribery of blacks, his club focused on the latter.<sup>164</sup> When the election results came in, a majority of Richland County still voted for the Republican Party. Instead, it seems as though rifle clubs from the rural parts of the state, such as Edgefield, dragged the Columbia clubs and Conservative elites into an election they originally contemplated sitting out once again.

Still, for all the local progress that was made, the history of the Red Shirt campaign has overshadowed what could have been. The Columbia rifle clubs certainly were not innocent bystanders. They did coordinate with the Richland Democratic Club for events such as Wade Hampton’s arrival to the city. But, the clubs’ contributions to the previous decade’s relative peace in the city are more indicative of their legacy. If anything, the history of the Columbia rifle clubs complicates the narrative of the Red Shirts and demonstrates that the campaign was not a monolithic movement. The history of Columbia rifle clubs cannot be fully and accurately understood without exploring their origins and what the organizations did before and after the election campaign of 1876.

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<sup>163</sup> Simkins, *South Carolina during Reconstruction*, 490–491.

<sup>164</sup> Zuczek, *State of Rebellion*, 168.

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APPENDIX A: RICHLAND RIFLE CLUB OFFICERS

**TABLE A.1** RICHLAND RIFLE CLUB OFFICERS

<b>Name</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Age (1874)</b>	<b>Profession</b>	<b>Residence</b>	<b>Veteran</b>
Hugh S. Thompson	President	38	School principal	E Laurel between Pickens and Henderson	Yes
W[illiam] C[ole] Swaffield <sup>165</sup>	1st VP	37	Clothier	Sumter between Washington and Lady	Yes
W. R. Cathcart	2nd VP	30	Telegraph operator, Manager	124 E Plain	Yes
John T. Sloan Jr.	3rd VP	28	Lawyer	Pendleton corner of Bull	No
Wilie [Wiley] Jones <sup>166</sup>	4th VP	54	Bank Teller	Beds Mansion House	Yes
Winthrop Williams	Sec. and Treas.	30	Bookkeeper	40 E Laurel	Yes
J H Bryson	Chaplain	43	Pastor	149 E Plain	Yes
A[lexander] N Talley	Surgeon	47	Physician	Beds Columbia Hotel	Yes
A. C. Haskell	Solicitor	35	Lawyer	44 N Henderson	Yes
R[ufus] N. Richbourg	Ensign	31	Jeweler	206 N Gates	Yes
T[heodore] M. Pollock <sup>167</sup>	Steward	38	Merchant; Proprietor of Wheeler House	84 N Richardson	Yes

	<b>Wardens</b>				
J[ohn] P. Arthur	1	23	Lawyer	106 W Richland	No
W. H. Casson Jr.	2	27	Yard Master (railroad)	93 W Lady	No
J[ohn] D. Cochran	3	22	Bookkeeper	43 E Lumber	No
Nathaniel Barnwell	4	28	Lawyer, Master in Equity (1880)	106 N Marion	No
W[illiam] G. Bateman	5	22	Ice dealer, helper, Clerk (1880)	15 E Washington	No
	<b>Directors</b>				
L. E. Hendricks	1	23	Ticket Agent SCRR, clerk	beds 84 N Assembly	No
B[enjamin] I. Boone	2		Judge (lawyer named)	106 W Richland	No
L W Simkins	3	20	Lawyer	Columbia Hotel	No
W[illiam] G. Childs	4	24	Broker	85 E Plain	No

<sup>165</sup> \$6000 real estate; \$8000 personal estate.

<sup>166</sup> \$300 real estate; \$450 personal estate.

<sup>167</sup> \$2500 real estate.

APPENDIX B: RICHLAND RIFLE CLUB ACTIVE MEMBERS

**TABLE B.1** RICHLAND RIFLE CLUB ACTIVE MEMBERS

<b>Name</b>	<b>Age (1874)</b>	<b>Profession</b>	<b>Residence</b>	<b>Veteran</b>
W[illiam] J. Arrants	29	Clerk	123 N Barnwell	Yes
E[dward] R. Arthur	25	Lawyer	106 W Richland	
C[larence] F. Aughtrey	19			
T[homas] B. Aughtrey	25	Clerk (grocer)	Beds corner of Sumter and Lumber	
James Bailey	54	Gardener	SE corner of Senate and Marion	
P. S. Bailey				
W[illiam] G. Beck	28	Clerk	Beds in Wheeler House	
Edward Berry	28	Clerk, furniture store	135 Assembly Street	
A[llen] M. Boatwright	22	Clerk	139 N Bull	
J[ames] S. Boatwright	17		139 N Bull	
William Bollinger	27	Clerk	263 N Gates	
E[dward] A. Brown	27	Agent of Southern Express	Beds 139 N Bull	
C. A. Bolin		Baggage Master	Beds Columbia Hotel	

D[aniel] L. Bryan		Clerk	(Probably) 47 E Washington	
T[homas] S. Bryan	17	Clerk	47 E Washington	
E[ugene] E. Calvo	22	Printer	130 N Barnwell	
W[illiam] C. Chapman		Boot Store Owner	22 E Taylor	
T. S. Clarkson	19	Railroad (1880)		
J[ames] W. Cook		Railroad Clerk	Beds corner of Richardson and Plain	
L. C. DeSaussure		Collector	Corner of Plain and Marion	
T[ucker] H. Fisher	21		140 E Plain	
S[amuel] D. Friday	22	Clerk	219 N Henderson	
R[ichard] L. Gilleland	25	Clerk	47 Washington	
Joseph Jenkins		Conductor, G&C RR	Beds Virginia House (1880)	
T[hodore] M. Johnson		Clerk	248 N Gadsden	
C. C. Kennedy	23	Telegraph Operator	271 N Assembly	
Henry Krum		Clerk (shoe department)	93 E Washington	
W[illiam] H. LyBrand <sup>165</sup>	44	Music Store Owner	174 N Richardson	
L. W. Leavey				
W[ade] H. Manning	29	Governor's Private Secretary (1880)	85 E Washington	Yes

<sup>165</sup> \$2000 real estate; \$1000 personal.

J. Q[uitman] Marshal[l]	25	Lawyer, trial justice	Beds Mansion House	
W[illiam] H. Martin	35	Clerk	143 E Blanding	Yes
M[iles] B. McSweeney	18	Compositor	Beds 69.5 N Richardson	
D[onald] McQueen	21	Bookkeeper	70 E Taylor	
John A. Metts	17	Bookkeeper, Carolina National Bank	Beds Mansion House	
F[rank] T. Miller	21	Clerk	Taylor "beyond the limits"	
S[hanon] Morrison	23	Freight Clerk G&C RR	60 W Lumber	
J. M. Muller [J. W. Muller?]	21	Clerk	57 N Pickens	
W[illiam] R. Muller	25	Clerk	57 N Pickens	
W[illiam] E. Owens		Freight Clerk G&C RR	70 E Taylor	
J. P. Palmer				
E[dward] K. Palmer	20	Deliver Clerk C&A RR	67 E Gervais	
G[eorge] L. Parker	32	Owner of General Store	N Richardson between Washington and Plain	
J[ohn] W. Parker		VP of Carolina National Bank and Real Estate broker	158 E Laurel	
W[illiam] H. Parrant	22	Clerk	Beds Mansion House	
S. D. Pelham				
J[ospeh] D. Pope Jr.	19	Clerk	159 E Plain	
D. M. Ray				
J. W. Rike				

E[dward] W. Screven <sup>166</sup>	36	Proprietor of City Mills	Beds Wheeler House (1880)	Yes
R[aymond] H. Screven	21	Transfer Clerk RR		
J[ohn] T. Seibels	23	Lawyer	116 Richland corner Pickens	
S. H. Simonton	18?			
A[braham] C. Squier	23	Business Owner, furniture	67 N Sumter	
W[alter] E. Stratton	22	Clerk	Washington Hotel	
A. N. Talley Jr.	21		Probably beds Wheeler House	
H[enry] P. Taylor	21	Auditor's Clerk	74 E Blanding	
R. O. Thackum	17	Clerk	58 E Lumber	
J. O. Thomas		Clerk	Beds Central Hotel	
J[ulius] H. Walker	21	Bookkeeper, Central National Bank	113 E Gervais	
F. E. N. Wills				
William Mcb. Sloan	18	Law student	Pendleton corner of Bull	
[William] Ja[mes] Van Ingen		Clerk	Beds Richardson corner Plain	
W[illiam] E. Orchard	22	Salesman for F B Orchard	144 E Laurel	
J. P. Waties	17	Clerk	58 E Laurel	
W. A. Metts	19	Clerk, shoe store (1880)	Beds Percival House (1880)	

<sup>166</sup> \$400 real \$150 (1870 GA).

H. H. Slain (?)				
A. E. Cloram(?)				
J[ames] R. Thackaw [Thackham]	15	Clerk	58 E Lumber	
J. E. English				
R. C. Wright	17	Clerk J.S. Wiley & Co. (1880)	106 W Richland	
B. W. Hancock		Telephone Operator	Beds Mansion House	
LM Do Samuel				
W[illiam] H. Faber	25	Lawyer	37 S Sumter	
S. F. McGregor		Druggist	60 N Gates	
J. W. Kennedy				
W[illiam] W. Fry		Clerk	Beds Percival House	
W. K. Perry				
W. H. Parrauh (?)				
H[enry] W. Boozer	19	Salesman (1880)	Beds Mansion House (1880)	
P. L. Melton				
J[ames] A. Laval	17	Bookkeeper (1870), Assistant Clerk (1880)	68 E Richland	

Sources:

U.S. Census Bureau, 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910.

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Columbia (Richland County, S.C.) Directory for 1879 - 80. Charles Emerson & Co., 1879-1880.

Columbia (Richland County, S.C.) Directory for 1888. Douglass, C.M., 1888.

APPENDIX C: RICHLAND RIFLE CLUB CONTRIBUTING MEMBERS

TABLE C.1 RICHLAND RIFLE CLUB CONTRIBUTING MEMBERS

Name	Age (1874)	Profession	Residence	Veteran	Income
John Agnew	56	Hardware Merchant	18 E Gervais		\$20,000 real estate; \$35,000 personal
John E[dmund] Bacon	43	Lawyer	165 E Gervais	Yes	
W[illiam] K. Bachman	34	Lawyer	128 E Plain	Yes	
Press[ley] Brown	46	Bookkeeper	67 S Richardson		
R[ichard] L. Byran	51	Bank Director, Book Store Owner	47 E Washington		
J[ames] P. Carroll		Lawyer	58 E Gervais		
John T. Darby	38	Physician	(Probably) 101 E Plain	Yes	\$8000 personal
Thomas Dodamead	56	Superintendent (railroad)	Beds Wheeler House		\$6,000 real \$2000 personal
W[illiam] J[efferson] Duffie	42	Book Store Owner	89 E Richland	Yes	
Thompson Earle	51	Grocer	80 E Elmwood Ave.		
J[ames] B. Ezell	42	Real Estate Agent, Manager	Beds Columbia Hotel		
W[alter] C. Fisher	26	Druggist	140 E Plain	Yes	
D[avidge] Gambrell		Broker	16 E Plain		

R[obert] W. Gibbes	65	Physician	23 E Plain	Yes	
H[enry] M. Gibson	41	Grocer (owner)	61 E Laurel		\$3000 real; \$2000 personal
T. M. Gibson					
W[illiam] P. Geiger	44	Physician	27 E Plain		
Lee Hagood	27	General Agent (business owner)	Beds Wheeler House		
W. P[reston] Hix	36	Art Gallery Owner	107 E Plain	Yes	
C[aderallador] J. Iredell	34	Cashier, Carolina National Bank	102 E Lady		
S[herod] L[uther] Leaphart	43	Insurance Agent	55 W Plain	Yes	
W. B. Lowrance		Grocery Store Owner	Richardson between Laurel and Richland		
F[it]z W[illiam] McMaster	48	Lawyer	82 E Laurel	Yes	\$9,000 real; \$4,000 personal
John McKenzie	63	Bakery Store Owner	62 N Richardson (store)		\$1,000 personal
John Meighan	49	Shoe Merchant, Store Owner	93 E Washington	Yes	\$5,000 real; \$2,000 personal
C. H. Miot	51	Druggist/Apothecary	110 Lady corner Pickens		
T[homas] T. Moore	29	Dentist	Corner of Sumter and Pendleton		
S[amuel] A. Pearce [Jr.]	41	Columbia Water Power Co. Agent	55 N Sumter, corner of Lady		
E[lias] Pollock	68	Bookkeeper	Beds Wheeler House		Son (Theodore): \$2,500 personal
O[osborne] M[inor] Sadler	31	Route Agent, Southern Express	NW Corner Taylor and Pickens		
J[erome] H. Sawyer	55	Cashier, Central National Bank	Beds 115 E Gervais		

H[enry] E. Scott	49	Banker	E end Washington corner Pickens		\$2,000 personal
J[ohn] C. Seegers	45	Brewery Owner	"near Elmwood Ave"	Yes	\$4000 real \$2,500 personal (1860)
E[dwin] W. Seibels	46	Broker, Real Estate Agent	116 Richland corner Pickens	Yes	
M[alcom] A. Shelton	48	Salesman/Clerk	77 E Washington		\$2,000 real \$2,000 personal
J. P. Southern	44	President, Union Bank	112 E Plain		\$10,000 real (1870)
H. V. L. Sprigg					
W. D. Starling			114 N Assembly		
A[braham] Stork	43	Restaurant Owner	26 S Richardson		\$3,000 real; \$1,700 personal
W[illiam] B. Stanley	63	Merchant (1876)/ Banker (1880)	263 N Sumter		
R[obert] Swaffield	69	Clothing Store Owner	63 E Plain		
George Symmers	42	Grocer and Wine Merchant	240 N Sumter		
B[enjamin] W[alter] Taylor	40	Lawyer	118 N Assembly		
J[ohn] F. Treutlen	44	General Agent	Beds Wheeler House	Yes	
William Wallace	46	Lawyer	Elmwood, opposite of the Asylum	Yes	
G[ustus] M. Walker	32	Cashier, Union Bank	Beds 16 E Plain	Yes	
C[lark] Waring	47	Contractor and Builder	85 E Laurel		\$7,500 real (1870)
LeRoy F. Youmans	39	Lawyer	45 S Sumter	Yes	
S. D. Perry		Tobacco Store Owner	Beds Washington near Bull		

[John R.] Slawson	25	Tobacco Store Owner	Beds Mansion House		
Edwin S. Bouknight	23	Store Owner; Sec & Treas of C C & G Railroad	Gates corner Richland		
W. J. Ryerson					
J[ohn] B. Palmer	48	President, Southern Railway Security Co; and two RR's	67 E Gervais	Yes	
John Preston Jr.	38	Lawyer	101 E Plain		\$8000 real estate
Jackson (E7?)					
John Taylor		Secretary, Southern Life Insurance Co.	In the "country"		
J. Auton (?)					
M[athias] T. Bartlett		General frt Agent, G&C RR	130 N Gates		
L[am] D. Childs	54	President, Carolina National Bank	85 E Plain		\$35,750 real; \$35,750 personal
D[aniel] B. Miller	49	Clerk, Circuit Court	E end Taylor		\$400 real; \$500 personal
A[lexander] B. Desaussure		Local agent to SCRR	44 E Plain	Yes	
John S. Preston	72	President, Columbia National Bank	101 E Plain		
J. H[enry] Davis		Shoe Store Owner	Beds Columbia Hotel		
F. B. Orchard		Dry Goods Store Owner	51 E Taylor	Yes	
T. J. Lyles		Dry Goods Store Owner	70 E Taylor		
Frank Green	23	Physician	40 E Gervais		

D[aniel] Crawford	64	Cotton factors, Business Owner	Lumber corner Gates		\$1000 real; \$300 personal
G[urdon] S. F. Wright		Dentist	Beds Mansion House	Yes	
CN. M. Curry					
John D. Lynch	55	Physician, USC	25 N Assembly		
LE. LeConb (?)					
J. C. Roach					
????					

Sources:

U.S. Census Bureau, 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910.

Columbia (Richland County, S.C.) Directory for 1875-76. Beasley & Emerson Publishers, 1875.

Columbia (Richland County, S.C.) Directory for 1868. R. L. Polk & Co., 1868. Print.

Columbia (Richland County, S.C.) Directory for 1879 - 80. Charles Emerson & Co., 1879-1880.

Columbia (Richland County, S.C.) Directory for 1888. Douglass, C.M., 1888.

APPENDIX D: RICHLAND VOLUNTEER RIFLES ROSTER

TABLE D.1 RICHLAND VOLUNTEER RIFLES ROSTER

	Rank	Age (1874)	Profession	Residence	Veteran
<b>1870 Company</b>					
A[lexander] C. Haskell	Captain	34	Lawyer	44 N Henderson	Yes
James A. Campbell	1st Lieutenant				Yes
T[homas] D. Lomas	2nd Lieutenant				Yes
J. H. Diseker	Secretary pro tem				
<b>1874 Club</b>					
Richard O'Neale Jr.	President	32	Store Owner	Elmwood Av foot Assembly	
R. E. B. Hewetson	1st VP	40	Architect	80 N Richardson	Yes
J. J. Campbell	2nd VP				
H[enry] C. Heise	Ensign		Confectioner	Corner Bull and Plain	
R[obert] S. Morrison	Sec. & Treas.	47		60 W Lumber	
W. J. Cathcart	1st Warden		Clerk	74 W Lumber	
C[harles] J. Beck	2nd Warden	32	Transfer	67 N Sumter	
J. A. Scott	3rd Warden				
F. M. Drennan Jr.	4th Warden				
James Patterson	5th Warden		Printer	268 N Sumter	
J[ames] G. Friday	1st Director			118 N Bull	
F. L. McKenzie	2nd Director				
R[obert P.] Mayrant	3rd Director			88 E Senate	
Thomas [L.] Mood	4th Director		Printer	Gates between Taylor and Plain	
Pat. Meighan	Steward				
William Rose (colored)			Drummer		Yes

Sources:

*Daily Phoenix*, 8/7/1870.

U.S. Census Bureau, 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910.

Columbia (Richland County, S.C.) Directory for 1875-76. Beasley & Emerson Publishers, 1875.



APPENDIX E: SCHUETZEN VEREIN ROSTER

**TABLE E.1** SCHUETZEN VEREIN ROSTER

	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Profession</b>	<b>Residence</b>	<b>Age (1874)</b>
John C. Seegers	President	Business Owner	Near Elmwood Ave	45
G[erhardt] Diericks	Vice President	Grocery, Wine Owner	146 N Richardson	
William F. Steiglitz	Treasurer	Business Owner, baker	19 W Washington	42
B. Keonig	Secretary			
George Bunns [Buns?]				
M[ichael] Ehrlich		Shoe Store Owner	172 N Richardson	66
F[redrick] A. Jacobs		Saloon Owner	126.5 N Richardson	49
Eibi F. Hei <sup>167</sup>		Business Owner	100 S Richardson	52
D. Epstin <sup>168</sup>		Clothing Store	92 E Plain	49
F. B. Koneman	Secretary	Saloon	99 N Assembly	28
J[acob] F Eisenmann		Merchant Tailor	52 N Gates	52
Henry Habenicht		Barkeeper	157 N Assembly	
C[hristian] D. Eberhardt			74 W Gates	49
Fritz Husemann		Merchant		34
Charles [F] Hoefler		Saloon Owner	126.5 N Richardson	40
G[eorge] von Allworden		Wine Store Owner	22 W Pendleton	44
Abraham Stork		Restaurant and Liquor	26 S Richardson	43
J. B. Riedlinger		Baker (1900)		23

E[manuel] Grieshaber <sup>169</sup>		Brewer (1860)		42
G. T. Berg		Architect	267 N Gates (Mrs.)	51
A. Feiniger		State Librarian		
E. Neumann				
P[eter] W. Kraft		Gunsmith, Bakery	159 and 161 N Richardson (stores)	44
W[illiam] K. Bachman		Lawyer	128 E Plains	34
J. C. H. Troeger				22
Henry Troeger		Poultry Keeper (1910)		11
Julius [H] Mancke		Bartender, Wheeler House	Wheeler House?	21
R[andolph] Arndt		Bartender, Wheeler House	Wheeler House?	19
J[ohn J.] Schroder		Clerk	Beds 72 N Richardson	
F[ritz W.] Schroder		Wines and Liquors Owner	Beds 72 N Richardson	
Chris Jacobs				
Fritz [W.] Meyer		Cigar Manufacturer	270 N Gadsden	25
J[ohn] Bahlman		Bookkeeper (1880)		36
P[hilip] Motz		Blacksmith and Wheelwright	48 N Assembly	

<sup>167</sup> \$6000 real estate; \$1500 personal

<sup>168</sup> \$2000 personal

<sup>169</sup> \$800 real estate; \$1000 personal

#### Sources:

*Daily Phoenix*, 7/22/1874.

*The State*, July 1933 in Hyatt and Keenan Family papers.

U.S. Census Bureau, 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910.

Columbia (Richland County, S.C.) Directory for 1875-76. Beasley & Emerson Publishers, 1875.

APPENDIX F: CONGAREE RIFLES ROSTER

**TABLE F.1** CONGAREE RIFLES

<b>1870 Company</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Veteran</b>
A. C. Moore	Secretary pro tem	Yes
R. M. Casson	Secretary	
B. Joyner	Captain	Yes
<b>1871 Rifle Club</b>		
William Wallace	President	Yes
George Tupper	1st VP	Yes
John T. Rheit	2nd VP	
Hugh S. Thompson	3rd VP	Yes
W[illiam] H. McCaw (lawyer, Daily Phoenix 4/26/71)	Sec. Treas.	Yes
J. P. Shand	Chaplain	
J. J. Goodwyn	Surgeon	Yes
Alex Y. Lee	1st Warden	
Wade H. Manning	2nd Warden	
John A. Crawford Jr.	3rd Warden	
Wade Hampton Jr.	4th Warden	
N. B. Barnwell	5th Warden	
F. B. Fielding	1st Steward	
J. Gregg Maxcy	2nd Steward	
F. H. Trenholn	3rd Steward	
James F. Gadsden	4th Steward	

L. C. Swygert	5th Steward	
L. W. Taylor	6th Steward	
	Daily Phoenix: 8/9/71	
W. H. McGaw	Secretary	

Sources:

*Daily Phoenix*, 6/24/1870.

*Daily Phoenix*, 8/2/1871.

APPENDIX G: COLUMBIA RIFLE CLUB ROSTER

**TABLE G.1** COLUMBIA RIFLE CLUB (1870)

	<b>Rank</b>
Richard O'Neale Jr.	Captain
W. R. Cathcart	Orderly Sergeant
Winthrop Williams	Secretary
J. Iredell	1st Lieutenant
Wade H. Manning	2nd Lieutenant

Sources:

*Daily Phoenix*, 9/8/1870.

*Daily Phoenix*, 11/5/1870.

APPENDIX H: CHICORA RIFLE CLUB ROSTER

**TABLE H.1** CHICORA RIFLE CLUB (1874)

	<b>Rank</b>
C. F. Janney	President
F. B. Orchard	1st VP
James E. Morris	2nd VP
George Wright	3rd VP
R. A. Keenan	1st Director
H. C. Beard	2nd Director
H. Milne	3rd Director
J. D. Roberts	4th Director
J. J. Orchard	5th Director
D. B. Miller Jr.	Surgeon
W. D. Kirkland	Chaplain
Winthrop Williams	Secretary
A. C. Moore	Treasurer

Source:

*Daily Phoenix*, 8/13/1874.

APPENDIX I: RICHLAND FORK MOUNTED CLUB ROSTER

**TABLE I.1** FORK MOUNTED CLUB (1874)

	<b>Rank</b>
James P. Adams	President
S. G. Garner	1st VP
Warren Adams	2nd VP
Thomas A. Scott	3rd VP
P. Hamilton Joyner	1st Director
Robert Adams	2nd Director
M. Crouch	3rd Director
Peter Gerick	4th Director
John Gibson	1st Warden
John Taylor	2nd Warden
William Turner	3rd Warden
Mr. Sloan	4th Warden

Source:

*Daily Phoenix*, 9/1/1874.