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*Caroliniana Society Annual Gifts Report - 2017 (279
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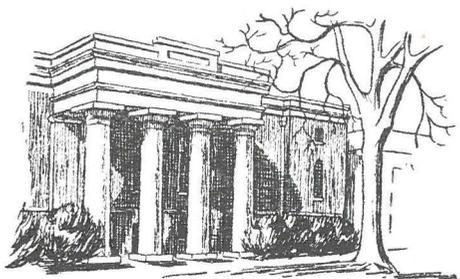
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The
South Carolina
College Library
1840



The
South Caroliniana
Library
1940

THE UNIVERSITY SOUTH CAROLINIANA SOCIETY

EIGHTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA
Saturday, April 22, 2017
Mr. Kenneth L. Childs, *President*, Presiding

Reception and Exhibit 10:30 a.m.
South Caroliniana Library

Luncheon 12:00 p.m.
The Palmetto Club

Business Meeting
Welcome
Reports of the Executive Council Mr. Kenneth L. Childs

Address Mr. A. Scott Berg

2017 Report of Gifts to the Library by Members of the Society

Announced at the 81st Meeting of the

University South Caroliniana Society (the Friends of the Library)

Annual Program

22 April 2017

- **Reconstructing South Carolina's History Through the South Caroliniana Library**
- 2016 Keynote Address by Dr. Orville Vernon Burton
- Gifts of Manuscript South Caroliniana
- Gifts of Printed South Caroliniana
- Gifts of Pictorial South Caroliniana
- Endowments and Funds to Benefit the Library
- Guardian Society and New Members

South Caroliniana Library (Columbia, SC)

A special collection documenting all periods of South Carolina history.

<http://library.sc.edu/socar>

University of South Carolina

Contact – sclref@mailbox.sc.edu

PRESIDENTS

THE UNIVERSITY SOUTH CAROLINIANA SOCIETY

1937–1943	M.L. Bonham
1944–1953	J. Heyward Gibbes
1954	Samuel L. Prince
1954–1960	Caroline McKissick Belser
1960–1963	James H. Hammond
1963–1966	Robert H. Wienefeld
1966–1969	Edwin H. Cooper
1969–1972	Claude H. Neuffer
1972–1974	Henry Savage, Jr.
1974–1978	William D. Workman, Jr.
1978–1981	Daniel W. Hollis
1981–1984	Mary H. Taylor
1984–1987	Walter B. Edgar
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1990–1993	Walton J. McLeod III
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2001	Ronald E. Bridwell
2002–2005	John B. McLeod
2005–2008	Steve Griffith
2008–2011	Robert K. Ackerman
2011–2017	Kenneth L. Childs

**RECONSTRUCTING SOUTH CAROLINA'S HISTORY
THROUGH THE SOUTH CAROLINIANA LIBRARY
80TH ANNUAL MEETING**

ADDRESS BY DR. ORVILLE VERNON BURTON

(Presented 19 March 2016)

This lecture is dedicated in loving memory to my dear friend and fellow historian Charles Joyner (1935-2016), who adored the South Caroliniana Library.

I want to acknowledge the excellent research assistance of Bennett Parten and my beloved daughter Beatrice Burton.

Sometimes writers of fiction can point us toward deeper truths than writers of fact. We mourn the loss of South Carolina author Pat Conroy whose papers are in the University of South Carolina Libraries. Conroy's writings touched both head and heart, and he channeled what is deep in the earth and in our souls to capture the beauty as well as the brutality of life in the South. With writing so descriptive that I could smell the marshes and see the ocean, Conroy always took me home even when I was in Illinois. I once was listening to *Prince of Tides* on books on tape as I drove all night from Illinois to my mother's home in Ninety Six, South Carolina, with a car filled with my wife and five children asleep, and I drove past my exit on I-26 because I was so mesmerized by his story telling. His musing on Sherman and Sherman's march into South Carolina in *Beach Music* is brilliant (and we can be thankful that Sherman, or the retreating Confederates, did not burn the Caroliniana).

As Conroy phrased it: "I always felt if I told the story of the South, I'd tell the history of the world. If I could figure out the South, figure out what is glorious about it, figure out what is hideous about it, if I could get it down, if I could get it right, I would tell the story of the entire human race."

Conroy's writings are a metaphor for Southern history and especially our South Carolina history because his work was filled with so many destructive family secrets, but once those secrets were faced, Conroy provided redemption.¹ The historian's quest for truth, however, must be based on verifiable facts, and without the South Caroliniana Library a factual history of our state would not be possible. This is especially true for us as Conway's fiction illustrates, and as the Edgefield historian Francis Butler Simkins warned professional historians in his presidential address to the Southern Historical Association: "Sometimes Southern historians forget that what is often important to Southerners is not what actually happened but what is believed to have happened."² Thanks to the Caroliniana, we can learn what actually happened.

In the last few years, it has been customary for the University South Caroliniana Society's talks to coincide with anniversaries and commemorations. We here today want to commemorate the eightieth anniversary of the Society. This is also the academic year we commemorate the 175th anniversary of the South Caroliniana Library, finished in 1840 as the South Carolina College library, the first freestanding academic library building erected in the United States, and the oldest American college library in continuous operation. The Caroliniana is more than a building. The records and documents that our special libraries and archives maintain have a spiritual quality. They capture and preserve real pieces of life from people of other times. While those people are no more, something of their lives continues in the materials they left behind. The

privilege of working with these remnants and interacting across time with these lives from the past, either as custodians or researchers, is a very high one, and keepers of the Caroliniana are the best.³

We have just finished the sesquicentennial commemoration of the Civil War and are beginning the commemoration of Reconstruction. Historians usually argue that Reconstruction ends with the withdrawal of the few federal troops remaining in the former Confederate states in 1877, but that is not how the people saw or lived their lives at the time. My interpretation does not separate the Civil War and Reconstruction, and I argued in *The Age of Lincoln* that Reconstruction is part and parcel of the long Civil War. During Reconstruction, former Confederate generals such as Edgefield's Martin Witherspoon Gary and Matthew Calbraith Butler of the Wade Hampton Legion led paramilitary groups with many former Confederate soldiers. I also found younger men, too young to fight in the Civil War, but who rode with the Redshirts in 1876 and 1878 and who applied for the State of South Carolina's Confederate War pensions! They believed Reconstruction was part of the Civil War.⁴

Instead, I mark the end of Reconstruction when the gains of freedom for African Americans during Reconstruction were legally undone, although this can vary as well since there were various sorts of Reconstruction—political is what we are mostly focusing on here, but there were social, cultural, economic, religious components of Reconstruction as well. In 1896 the Supreme Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson* sanctioned separate but equal; in 1898 the Court allowed voting disfranchisement in *Williams v. Mississippi*. After the Supreme Court gave the green light, there was a sprint to the bottom as the former Confederacy constructed state governments based on white supremacy.⁵

In 1874, in the midst of Reconstruction, journalist James Pike published his overtly racist report on Reconstruction in South Carolina, which he labeled *The Prostrate State*, and initiated the long popular view of Reconstruction as a tragedy. History written during the time of Jim Crow continued this particularly noxious and wrong-headed interpretation of Reconstruction, one made popular in the 1915 silent film *Birth of a Nation* that glorified the Ku Klux Klan. President Woodrow Wilson, no mean historian himself and who had lived in Columbia as a youngster during Reconstruction, was a friend (they were graduate students together in political science at Johns Hopkins) of the Reverend Thomas Dixon, author of the 1905 novel *The Clansman: A Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan*, the basis for the movie. Wilson, who segregated the federal government and Washington, D.C., screened W.D. Griffith's classic film in the White House and endorsed it.⁶ The professional historical interpretation of "Black Reconstruction" was perpetuated by Professor John W. Burgess and his student William A. Dunning and Dunning's students at Columbia University. The Dunning "Tragic Era" School declared that the Republican Party was comprised of venal carpetbaggers, viciously ignorant former slaves, and fifth columnist low-white-trash scalawags. They ruled the South and made a mockery of honest government and democracy during "the tragic era," until the "Redemption" by heroic conservative white Democrats.⁷

This language, still in use today, is unacceptable. Terms such as "carpetbaggers," "scalawags," and "redemption" powerfully misrepresent truth, and they predispose the general public against the interracial Republican Party in the South during Reconstruction. According to this interpretation, northerners, carrying all their worldly belongings in cheap carpet bags, came South after the Civil War to enrich themselves. A few

migrants into the region were scurrilous opportunists, but many more were dedicated reformers: former abolitionists and idealists who came as educators to help the former enslaved. Others were former Union soldiers who chose to remain in the South. The derogatory term “scalawags” encompassed native white southerners, purportedly poor whites, who supposedly took advantage of uneducated people for their own personal gain. And yet many of the Southerners who joined the Republican Party, including planters and even Confederate heroes, worked in alliance with the former slaves; they had to be brave individuals to be fighting against the grain for African-American rights. Those African Americans, definitely poor and mostly unschooled, went from slavery to voting in two years, and they were sophisticated enough to vote their interests even in the face of economic intimidation and terrorism.⁸

My greatest complaint about the terms applied historically to Reconstruction is the misappropriation of the beautiful religious term “Redemption.” In 1876–1877 whites, orchestrating a vicious *coup d'état* to overthrow a legitimately elected government, applied that term to their actions. This violent takeover of political Reconstruction was a restoration of white Democratic Party leaders, not a redemption which would best be used to describe the gallant experiment in interracial democracy that actually was Reconstruction.⁹

Naming Reconstruction the “tragic era” solidified that interpretation in the historiography. This interpretation was taught in the public schools of the former Confederacy well into the 1980s. When I attended school in Ninety Six, we used Mary C. Simms Oliphant, *The History of South Carolina*, as our text. In the chapter “South Carolina before the War,” the words slave and slavery were only mentioned four times. On

Reconstruction, Oliphant wrote, "The men who ran the government were more dangerous than ordinary gangs of robbers. They took advantage of the ignorance and lack of experience of the Negroes." She claimed, "The people who came into the Southern states to steal or to make their fortunes became known as 'carpetbaggers,'" and 'Some Southerners joined forces with the carpetbaggers to rob their own states. They were known as scalawags." She thought one of the worse aspects of Reconstruction was that "To a large extent the carpetbaggers and scalawags managed to break up the old feeling of friendship and confidence" among blacks and whites. Her view of the Ku Klux Klan was favorable: "As the Klan became more active, murders, house burnings, and burglaries grew fewer." One of the "interesting" homework assignments on Reconstruction was to "write a story about a boy or girl who lived in Reconstruction times and whose father took part in the Red Shirt Campaign of 1876."¹⁰

Until Walter Edgar's 1998 *South Carolina: A History*, bourbon historian David Duncan Wallace's *The History of South Carolina* (1934) was the major reference for South Carolina history. This four-volume tome (and his one-volume condensed history) endorsed the racist portrayal of Reconstruction. Wallace was a graduate student at Vanderbilt when he observed the 1895 convention that wrote the South Carolina constitution that disfranchised African-American voters and mandated segregation. He admitted that there was a "black squint" to the law. South Carolina lawmakers have long followed the warnings of congressman James F. Byrnes, who would eventually become a senator, Supreme Court justice, "domestic wartime production czar president," secretary of state, and governor of South Carolina. He cautioned in 1920: "It is certain that if there was a fair registration they [African Americans] would have a slight

majority in our state. We cannot idly brush the facts aside. Unfortunate though it may be, our consideration of every question must include the consideration of this race question.”¹¹

Today scholars still view Reconstruction as a tragic chapter in American history, not because African Americans had the right to vote, but because Reconstruction ultimately failed to achieve equality and dignity for African Americans. The crucial question in Reconstruction studies since the 1970s has been whether or not Reconstruction might have succeeded. Historians now grant contingency to the Civil War, that is the Confederacy might have won under certain circumstances, and a number of times, came very close. Historians, however, have not been willing to grant contingency to the story of Reconstruction. Reconstruction included many successes—an interracial democracy on the local level, for example, where new grass-roots alliances flourished. If Reconstruction were such a failure, why did it require fraud, intimidation, violence, and terrorism to overturn a legitimately elected interracial administration?

Sometimes I am asked why there is not a general interest in Reconstruction to compare with the great interest the reading public has in the Civil War. I wonder if maybe readers do not like the complexity of Reconstruction. Readers may prefer satisfied, or at least tidy endings. Perhaps the most celebrated image of the end of the Civil War is a “Happy Appomattox,” where noble General Robert E. Lee is saluted by Union soldiers. Even the tragic death of Abraham Lincoln somehow symbolizes a Christ-like martyr paying for our sins to save our nation and end slavery. I have noticed that the general public now finds themselves much more interested in the American Revolution or the formation of the country (even popular musicals such as “1776” and “Hamilton”). It is

easier to deal with the Founding Fathers and concepts of revolution and independence than with the most revolutionary period of our history, Reconstruction.

Reconstruction involves our national identity. A local story, which five South Carolinians from different towns, George Brown Tindall of Greenville, Charles Joyner of Myrtle Beach, Joel Williamson from Anderson, Whitey Lander from Calhoun Falls, and Vernon Burton from Ninety Six, heard versions of as boys, is very much a part of Southern folk lore. The story demonstrates some of the complexities of national identity for white Southerners not only during the three-plus decades of Reconstruction, but in the century and a quarter since.

A Union company comprised of previously enslaved African Americans was stationed in Edgefield immediately after the war. Each morning this squad, commanded by a young lieutenant, marched into the town square and raised the American flag. Directly across from the flagpole was the home of "Whitfield Gary Butler III," who had lost two sons in the war. From the piazza of his many-columned mansion, the hoary-headed old man listened as the bugler blew, watched as the flag rose, and then yelled at the top of his lungs, "You damn Yankees might've won the war, but us Rebels sure beat the hell out of you at Chickamauga." This unnerved the Union officer, who warned Butler not to disrupt the ceremony or he would be imprisoned for treason. Nevertheless, Butler's routine continued unabated, and the officer marched the old man off to jail. All was fine until late Saturday night when the unreconstructed rebel began thinking about Sunday morning and how, since the building of the Episcopal Church in 1836, a Butler had always sat in the third pew. When he could stand it no longer, he called for the lieutenant. The Union officer informed Butler that the conditions of his release included taking

the Oath of Allegiance to the United States and Butler's word of honor that he would no longer embarrass the morning ritual by shouting, "You damn Yankees might have won the war, but us Rebels sure beat the hell out of you at Chickamauga." Butler agreed.

On Monday morning, as usual, the old man sat grinning on the porch. As the bugler began and the flag unfurled, Butler let out with a yell, "Us damn Yankees might have won the war, but them Rebels sure beat the hell out of us at Chickamauga."

Fifty years ago, in 1965, near the conclusion of the nation's Civil War centennial observation, C. Vann Woodward remarked, "No one has so far called for a commemoration of Reconstruction." I agree with Woodward, and in 2005 I echoed his call for that commemoration of Reconstruction, which is really the origin of modern America and who we have become as a people. Nearly a year after I delivered this lecture, and just before his second term ended, President Barack Obama signed legislation designating Penn Center and parts of Beaufort as national historic sites. These sites will bear the first national monuments to Reconstruction and be officially enshrined in our country's National Park Systems.¹²

The historical Woodrow Wilson home in Columbia does an excellent job of presenting the complexities and truths of Reconstruction. The permanent exhibit features images from the South Caroliniana Library collections and includes a wonderful photo of the main reading room as it appeared in 1874, when a racially integrated University of South Carolina was training future African-American leaders.¹³ I am very excited about the possibilities for our state being a leader in our reconsideration of Reconstruction as we begin the sesquicentennial.

Reconstruction has left us with troublesome questions that we do not want to face. Questions of race tear at the fabric of our supposedly egalitarian society, at our system of justice and law and order. As former Attorney General Eric Holder reminded us in what became a controversial statement, "In things racial we have always been, and I believe continue to be, in too many ways essentially a nation of cowards."¹⁴

Some saw President Obama's election, or more correctly, they argue that the election and reelection of an African American, was the fulfillment of Reconstruction. They argue race as a distinct problem in American life has been resolved in a post-racial society. South Carolinian Steven Colbert, in the *Colbert Report*, said that rewriting history is a good thing because we can make it better. He recommends that now that an African American is president, we can say that slavery never existed.¹⁵

Yet today we see the continued existence of racially polarized voting. Moreover, the 1970s style Southern Strategy of politicking with issues of race has expanded nationwide. A recent survey finds that since 2010, twenty-one states, including South Carolina, have passed new voting restrictions, generally targeting African Americans and other minorities.¹⁶

Twenty-five years ago, I published "'The Black Squint of the Law': Racism in South Carolina," playing off Dr. David Duncan Wallace's observation of the 1895 Constitutional Convention. Some called it a "diatribe," but I wrote that essay out of love for South Carolina, not out of anger. I wrote it because I care about race relations in our state. South Carolina history must include the whole population, African-American as well as white. I do not aim to diminish South Carolina's history, but to enrich it, to give a complete accounting of the past to inform the present and future. And the records in the Caroliniana Library allow us to do that.¹⁷

Is it a mistake to bring up the unpleasantness of past discrimination? Should not we ignore rather than dwell upon past lynchings, segregation, indignities? Does not it just rile emotions? Is it better to “get over it” and move on? No!

Pat Conroy understood Robert Penn Warren’s warning, “if you could accept the past you might hope for the future, for only out of the past can you make the future.”¹⁸ Minimizing historical atrocities, sweeping “unpleasantries” under the rug, only creates issues we keep tripping over. It is not accidental that the Civil Rights Movement is called the Second Reconstruction. Today we are still stumbling over issues of Reconstruction—citizenship and the 14th amendment, refugees, violence, who can use guns and for what purposes, terrorism, poll taxes and voter restriction laws, law enforcement and policing, incarceration, demagoguery, scapegoating, Nativism. In that regard, the first and second Reconstructions are still playing out in American history.

We have to open our eyes to the reality of continued obstacles to racial equality. The “Black Lives Matter” movement does not mean white lives do not matter—of course, all lives matter! It means that the lives of African Americans have been treated as less important throughout our history and, admit it, still are today. “Black Lives Matter” did not come out of nowhere, but developed out of historical circumstances. This is a legacy from slavery, Reconstruction, and Jim Crow segregation, and the movement challenges every one of us to honestly face the ambiguity in ourselves and in our political systems and to learn as we move forward.

Black lives matter because in stark contradiction to a white North Charleston policeman’s report, a video revealed that on April 4, 2015, Michael Slager shot fleeing and unarmed African American Walter Scott in the back. Two months later, on June 17, in the hopes of starting a race

war, a twenty-one-year-old white South Carolinian, Dylan Roof, who embraced the Confederate flag as emblematic of his white supremacist doctrines, was welcomed into a Bible study at Mother Emanuel A.M.E. Church in Charleston. He then murdered nine African Americans, including state senator the Reverend Clementa Pinckney. At Roof's hearing, the murdered victims' families had the opportunity to confront the assassin. Rather than well-justified anger and desire for revenge, these Christians prayed for him, and in an extraordinary act of grace they echoed Christ's words on the cross and forgave him.¹⁹

Something else must be included in any history of our state, and that is the role of religion. Francis Butler Simkins argued, "faith in the Biblical heritage is a factor second only to White Supremacy as a means of conserving the ways of the South."²⁰ Religion is a powerful motivator that historians have ignored for too long. That will have to be a different lecture, but in South Carolina we have just witnessed how religion and faith influenced politics and culture for the better. After the terrorist attack at Mother Emanuel, NPR asked me about the possibility of the Confederate flag being removed from the statehouse grounds. I said I was not hopeful. But that was before the victims' families forgave Dylan Roof.

I believe it was "grace" that tore down the wall of white defensiveness. After calling her minister at Mt. Horeb United Methodist Church in Lexington and asking his advice, Governor Nikki Haley courageously reversed her previous stand on the Confederate emblem. On June 22, Governor Haley, with leaders from both the Republican and Democratic Parties, called for the Confederate flag to be removed from the State House grounds. On July 6, the South Carolina Senate voted to remove the flag, and after thirteen hours of often heated and emotional debate in

which the word grace prominently echoed, on July 9, the house voted 94-20 to remove the flag. The next day the Confederate pennant was moved to the Confederate Relic Room and Military Museum.

John Coski in his history of the Confederate battle flag argued that it was during World War II that the ensign began its modern history. It was a time of searching for white southern symbols—such as Operation Dixie, the drive to unionize white workers in upstate cotton mills—as a precipitating factor in the color’s taking on more explicit identification with race.²¹ It is hardly coincidence that a political revolution with racial connotations was occurring throughout the South at this time. When the United States Supreme Court overturned the white primary in 1944, Governor Olin D. Johnston called a special session of the legislature to repeal all laws relating to primary elections. “After these statutes are repealed,” Johnston told the legislature, “we will have done everything in our power to guarantee white supremacy in our primaries.”²² When Governor Haley and the South Carolina legislature furled the flag, they rejected some of the white supremacist rantings in the state. South Carolina led the nation in race relations in 1860, but in the wrong direction. Now we have the opportunity to lead the nation in the right direction. I am full of optimism for my native state that this time we are on the right side of history.

My university has been at the center of what has emerged as an historical controversy in several senses. Clemson University was built on the plantation of John C. Calhoun, who promulgated the pro-slavery theory in the United States Senate in 1837. He was instrumental in changing the idea that slavery was “a necessary evil” to its elevation as “a positive good.” Calhoun’s Philadelphia-born son-in-law, Thomas Green Clemson, who envisioned “a high seminary of Learning,”

bequeathed the land of Fort Hill Plantation upon which Clemson University is built. Clemson was a slave owner who resigned as United States Superintendent of Agriculture because he followed his adopted state into the Confederacy. To fulfill Clemson's vision for a university, it was South Carolina Governor Benjamin Ryan Tillman, the prototype of the southern racist demagogue, whose political abilities made Clemson University a reality.²³

This is the history, but the story does not stop there. A.D. Carson, an African-American Clemson graduate student who has been working diligently on racial reconciliation, makes note of Clemson's history in spoken poetry titled "See the Stripes." (You can find it on YouTube, and it is worth watching.) Carson points to the stripes on the Clemson tiger; it would not be a tiger without its black stripes. Carson asks us to see the historical stripes—the scars on the backs of enslaved workers at Fort Hill and convict laborers who built the University. As Carson notes, nothing can move forward until the truth of the racist past has been acknowledged.²⁴

Much of the energy and debate at Clemson is focused on whether to rename Tillman Hall, the iconic, most prominent building on the Campus. Opposed to name-changing are some who believe that if we do not preserve those scars of segregation, like the name Tillman Hall, or veterans' monuments that segregate the names by race, that we will ignore and not learn from our mistakes. They believe that to make changes is to "rewrite history." Others find renaming to be a waste of time. A frustrated Clemson student commented on changing the name of Tillman Hall, "What good will it do?...We cannot change history. We cannot change how things happened or how one man acted over a century ago."²⁵

But yet, names and memorialization do send important messages. Tillman Hall was called Old Main Hall until 1946. At that time the Clemson Board wanted to make a statement against the national call for integration. Lest we forget, it was the 1946 brutal beating and blinding of World War II black veteran Isaac Woodard in South Carolina that spurred President Harry Truman toward civil rights as well as moved Charleston Judge Waties Waring's "philosophical conversion to the point of no return."²⁶ Was history rewritten then, when the Board changed the name from Old Main to Tillman Hall? What is the effect on a college campus, on a student body, when we memorialize white leaders who were known as virulent racists?

I am taken with what Judge John C. Hayes said recently when he vacated the sentences for the Friendship Nine, those courageous African-American students who refused bail and went to jail for their 1960 sit in protest in Rock Hill: "We cannot rewrite history, but we can *right* [my emphasis] history."²⁷ In South Carolina we now have the opportunity to create history because we want to do something about issues of race and to make things better in South Carolina. Clemson graduate Harvey Gantt reminded us if we cannot appeal to the morals of a South Carolinian, we can appeal to his manners.²⁸ Gantt, against the obstacles put in his way by the white establishment in South Carolina, peaceably and with his own personal dignity, and that of his NAACP attorney Judge Matthew Perry, integrated Clemson in 1963, the first African American to integrate public schools in South Carolina since Reconstruction. Still today, we can pay attention to his heeding. If we are injuring folks' feelings, we need to deal with it, or come to terms with the issue. Segregation and white supremacy hurt many of our citizens, and

when we can do something about it, as we did with the Confederate flag, we should.²⁹

These are complicated issues, and may require compromises. I would be comfortable if we changed the name of Tillman Hall, but my suggestion is to add Harvey Gantt's name, and have Gantt-Tillman or Tillman-Gantt Hall as a compromise, a way to both recognize our past history and how we are changing and becoming more inclusive.³⁰

How we have memorialized controversial white leaders is not confined to South Carolina. Many historians are now debating this very issue of renaming buildings. Yale University is considering renaming Calhoun College, and Princeton University students and some faculty are calling for renaming the Woodrow Wilson Center and Wilson College (where, from 1972-75, I lived and served as the assistant master—an unfortunate sobriquet for a white southerner in the residential college that housed the largest number of African Americans than any other living area at Princeton). As I have thought about this and watched the fascinating conversations develop at Yale and Princeton, it strikes me that Calhoun and Tillman, the two central political leaders in South Carolina of their era, are ideal figures to prompt conversations about our difficult history since their virtues as well as their flaws are too prominent to be dismissed.³¹ We need to own and analyze their complicated legacies, to understand the historical context of the times, and to understand the complexities of human nature.

While Calhoun today is known primarily as the propagator of the pro-slavery theory and architect of secession, he is much more, the “iron man” was a major statesman of antebellum America. During his brief stint as a state legislator before his election to congress, Calhoun, then a Jeffersonian, chaired a committee to amend the South Carolina

constitution to allow universal white male suffrage, making our state the first to do so. In 1844, well into Calhoun's sectional phase, when President Tyler nominated Calhoun as Secretary of State, he was confirmed by a unanimous vote, which was a rare thing and a measure of how much Calhoun's colleagues respected his foreign policy expertise. Moreover, Calhoun is extraordinarily significant as one of the first modern theorists of secession, what political scientists are now calling "political divorce," (I was introduced to the term "political divorce" by University of South Carolina Historian Don Doyle in his important edited collection on secession as an international phenomenon) in the age of the nation-state. Obviously secession/separatism has not gone away. Scotland and Catalonia are recent examples (not to mention more horrific examples in Chechnya and Africa), as well as some suggestions from Texans and Californians. How to navigate these conflicts is now a major concern in the fields of legal studies and international relations. Calhoun is one of the first modern thinkers to reason his way through that issue. His theory of the concurrent majority considers minority political rights. He was concerned about the minority of white southern men in the larger United States, but now minority rights tend to mean African American and Hispanic. With changing demographics, of course, some whites are again worrying about their minority status. When in 1957, C. Vann Woodward replied to then the junior senator from Massachusetts John F. Kennedy's request for five United States senators to "be portrayed in the Reception Room," he included "John C. Calhoun for his contributions in constitutional theory."³²

Similar complexity unsettles the role in history of Governor Benjamin Ryan Tillman, who, like the Confederate flag, means one thing to white South Carolinians and another to African Americans. Tillman was a

devoted family man. He supported public education and fair representation for upcountry whites. I believe he is most responsible for modernizing the state and a number of what we call Progressive Era reforms, railroad and banking regulations, and his South Carolina dispensary was an important development in the era of prohibition. Tillman was so popular among national Democrats, he was seriously considered a contender for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1896. In the United States Senate, he sponsored the Tillman Act of 1907, the first campaign finance law (which the United States Supreme Court threw out in *Citizens United* in 2010). He was also, however, a national spokesman for white supremacy, one of the most outspoken racists and champions of segregation, leader of the disfranchising of African Americans, and even a braggart about murdering African Americans.³³

In any discussion of Tillman, we in the academy need to examine our own culpability. The history and social science of Tillman's day was extraordinarily racist (take another look at the Dunning School group of histories), and one can understand how a reader and thinker like Tillman could reach the conclusions he did by the logical extension of scholarly arguments. Please understand that I am not trying to excuse Tillman. Even within a racist society, he made his own choices. There were white champions of African-American citizenship rights—the Tolberts of Ninety Six, for example. Enraged that a local coalition of African Americans and their white Republican allies under the leadership of the Tolberts challenged South Carolina's December 4, 1895, disfranchising constitution and persisted in voting, white vigilantes went on a terrorist rampage in the Phoenix riot in 1898. The violence, intimidation, and murder continued sporadically for a year, until in August 1899, Ben Tillman spoke at the county seat of Greenwood telling local whites to

cease their “devilment” or the federal government might intervene. He suggested instead, “If you want to uproot the snake and kill it, go and kill the Tolberts.”³⁴

In his own day, Tillman was controversial among whites. It would be difficult to rate who was more racist, Governor Cole Blease or Tillman. Handwritten across a copy of Massachusetts Senator Henry Cabot Lodge’s Senate tribute to Tillman is Governor Blease’s pronouncement that Tillman is a “poor old reprobate.” According to Blease, “Tillman was a liar and ingrate....He was always first for self....His claim to have established Clemson and Winthrop College is a Plain common lie.... He was a dirty dog thru his career.”³⁵ Southerners, more than others, tend to revere past elected officials, especially governors, and ignore the divisions and detractors of the governors’ contemporaries. By the way, where would professional historians find such literary gems if not for public archives and libraries, like our wonderful Caroliniana?

And where does the general public learn history? Not from the books that scholars write (if they did my grandchildren would have a better college fund), but from what they see memorialized. People learn from museums, historical markers, and monuments. When I grew up in Ninety Six we had a historical marker celebrating Edgefieldian Preston Brooks’ caning of Charles Sumner in the United States Senate. It is no wonder we were state champions in football: every boy knew that the way to get a historical marker was to beat the fire out of someone! We send an important message in South Carolina, arguably our most important messages, by whom we choose to memorialize on the State house grounds.

There are five statues to South Carolinians on the State House grounds, just down the street from the Caroliniana Library.

J. Marion Sims, the “father of gynecology,” a slave owner who repeatedly surgically experimented without anesthesia on enslaved women such as Anarcha, Betsy, and Lucy.

Wade Hampton III, Confederate general and Civil War hero, Governor and Senator. One of the richest men in America as the owner of enslaved people and the leader of the overthrow of a duly elected interracial government.

Ben Tillman, as mentioned above, to African Americans he is the epitome of racist demagogue, championing disfranchisement and rigid segregation, for many whites, the champion of the common white man in a state that had been dominated by a self made and self defined white aristocracy.

James F. Byrnes, Tillman protégé, self-made man, and one of the state’s most brilliant and respected politicians and leaders. But as governor he led the state in support of segregation and led the fight against *Brown v. Board*.

Strom Thurmond, one of the most talented leaders of South Carolina who exemplified constituency service, and after the Voting Rights Act of 1965, for black as well as white South Carolinians. But he also ran for president on the 1948 States’ Rights Democratic (Dixiecrat) party platform of segregation and states’ rights and is forever associated with his 1957 filibuster against Civil Rights.

Every single monument on our State House ground is to a white male who supported slavery, Civil War, segregation or white supremacy!

There is a controversy over “toppling” statues, a tradition that goes back to the Revolution and removal of statues of George III. We do not have time to discuss that issue here, but I will add that with current technology—barcodes, mobile devices such as smart phones, and

augmented reality—historical sites and monuments can present a more accurate and complete assessment, including lectures by historians, of the people memorialized.³⁶

I used to say that not one African American was singled out by name on the State House grounds. That has changed, however: the Thurmond family is to be commended for adding Essie Mae Washington to the names of Senator Thurmond's children on his monument.

In 2001, a monument to now one-third of the citizens of South Carolina was installed as part of the compromise to move the Battle flag of Northern Virginia from the dome of the statehouse to the Confederate monument. Although this beautiful sculpture was paid for by private donations, the commission for the project insisted that no individual be depicted, in case "controversial" African Americans like Denmark Vesey might be included. Once again we have our double standards for black and white South Carolinians, as controversial whites are definitely allowed to be memorialized on the State House grounds. With a close look, one might surmise a Judge like Mathew Perry or Ernest A. Finney, Jr., or an astronaut like Ronald McNair, but where are the individual heroes acknowledged?

South Carolina has been at the center of United States history at two distinct points. Secession and Civil War began here, and all can see the Confederacy memorialized on many courthouse squares. But South Carolina can also take pride in overcoming segregation and expanding liberty and equality for all. In what became *Brown v. Board*, the case against segregated schools, *Briggs v. Elliott*, started with country families in rural Clarendon County. What a marvelous history is that! Would not it be wonderful to have a monument on the state grounds for the Reverend Joseph De Laine, Levi Pearson, or Harry and Eliza Briggs, or any of the

brave men and women who risked everything for their children?³⁷ (This lecture is not about the need for memorials of other whites, but we do need memorization of some of those white heroes who fought against the grain and were on the right side of history such as Judge Waties Waring, the first federal judge to rule against separate but equal and for integration, or Laura Townes one of the founders of Penn School.) Scholars agree that citizenship schools were a “profound contribution” to the emerging civil rights movement.³⁸ South Carolinians Essau Jenkins, Bernice Robinson, and Septima Clark founded these freedom schools. What about a statue to them? What about a memorial to another Edgefieldian to face that of Ben Tillman, Benjamin E. Mays, the spiritual godfather of the Civil Rights Movement and mentor to Martin Luther King, Jr. (One can argue that without Mays we might not be celebrating King today)? Monuments to people are important; they become role models. While several portraits of South Carolinian African Americans have been hung in the State House, still there is not a monument to a single black South Carolinian on the State House grounds.

Or what about a monument for Robert Smalls? My first experience researching in the Caroliniana Library was in 1968-69 for my history senior research paper on Robert Smalls for my Furman professor Albert Sanders. As a graduate student in 1971, I wrote a hundred-page research paper on Smalls for Dr. James McPherson, and I conducted research at the Schaumburg Library in New York City and at the South Caroliniana. From these libraries, I learned that during the Civil War, the enslaved Smalls, a harbor pilot, commandeered the Confederate vessel *The Planter* and sailed it out of Charleston harbor. With his face shadowed in the dark of night, he stood firm in the white captain’s customary posture. Giving the correct military signals, he sailed past

Confederate Fort Sumter to deliver the vessel to the Union. He then again saved *The Planter* from the Confederates in a battle. A genuine Union Civil War hero, and held up as an example of why African Americans should be allowed to enlist and fight as Union soldiers, Smalls toured the North, first encountering segregation not in South Carolina but on streetcars in Philadelphia, the city of brotherly love. He met with Lincoln for more than an hour. Lincoln asked Smalls why he risked his life and his family's and men's lives stealing *The Planter* and delivering it to the Union fleet, and Smalls gave him a one-word answer—freedom, which one year later Lincoln echoed in the Gettysburg address. Smalls was also a hero during Reconstruction and introduced the legislation to create a public school system in South Carolina. He was elected to Congress, and during Reconstruction an African American proclaimed Robert Smalls was the greatest man who ever lived, his companion challenged him, arguing that was more likely to be Jesus Christ. The first replied, "Smalls is young yet." Dr. McPherson strongly encouraged me to do my Ph.D. thesis on Smalls, but then in 1971, Dr. Oken Edet Uya published the first scholarly biography of Smalls, *From Slavery to Public Service: Robert Smalls, 1839-1915*. I was also conflicted with the then current issue of whether white scholars could write African-American history, and instead I turned to a case study of Reconstruction in Edgefield. (Originally I planned to do a comparative study of Edgefield and Beaufort.)³⁹

Given the history books available in Jim Crow South Carolina, one can understand how the great jazz musician Dizzy Gillespie, who attended Robert Smalls school in segregated Cheraw, was dismayed that he did not know who Robert Smalls was until decades later after he left the South. "The school that I attended, which was named after this great

black man, never taught us three words about him. I was over forty years old before I found out.” Now there are a number of books written about Robert Smalls, but still many people still do not know who he is. After a SCETV program on Smalls aired during Black History month in 2016, on Facebook, a meme on Smalls went viral. One person posted, “Never heard of him. If this is a true story then the American Educational System has failed me....again.” Another wrote, “Stories like this never made it into our biased public school curriculum. Until now, I've never heard of this man or his amazing story.” Clearly we need that monument of Robert Smalls on the State House grounds.⁴⁰

Historian Yael A. Sternhell warns that “historians of the United States tend to look through archives, but rarely at them.” She believes archives “lie at the center of our work as historians....and defines and differentiates us from fellow humanists, gives credence to our claims for knowledge, and enshrouds our narratives with an aura of truth.”⁴¹

As a center of our work, the South Caroliniana has always been a resource for white South Carolinians. One reason, however, both our professional historical interpretation and the general public's understanding of Reconstruction was/is so wrong-headed for so long is that sources for the African-American perspective were not available to historians. In 2014, I published *Penn Center: A History Preserved*. But our state and the University of South Carolina was not very helpful in preserving the amazing and inspirational history of this remarkable school founded on St. Helena Island by abolitionists for former enslaved people and that was so critical to Reconstruction (Robert Smalls was centrally involved) and became essential to Martin Luther King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Citizenship Schools, and as a meeting place for civil rights and progressives throughout the South.

Penn Center today continues as a community center and has just been designated a national historical site, part of the first national recognition of Reconstruction commemoration. Around 1963, about the time of integration of the University of South Carolina, the records of the Penn Center were offered to the South Caroliniana Library with the stipulation that the collection be open to all researchers. Director Les Inabinett happily accepted this treasure trove of African American and South Carolina history. Higher ups in the University administration, however, overrode Director Inabinett and rejected the Penn Center archive. These incredible historical records are now housed in the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina instead of where they should be.⁴²

Even when rejecting the papers of African Americans, the Caroliniana Library was an important resource for smart scholars to study African-American history in South Carolina, using nineteenth-century plantation records, diaries, journals, ledgers, etc., that are primarily white sources from which to tease out black history.⁴³ For example, historians used these sources to write about slavery, but until 1972 they were not writing about the enslaved people. And, this is a critical difference.

In addition to the lack of sources to allow an alternative interpretation or perspective from the white based sources, there were very few perspectives from African-American historians. And one reason for that lacuna was segregation in the South. Seven years after the Supreme Court had decided *Brown v. Board*, in his 1961 presidential address to the Southern Historical Association, University of Kentucky historian Clement Eaton argued for desegregation. Dr. Eaton was widely criticized in newspapers. At the Southern Historical Association annual meetings, African-American scholars like the great historian John Hope Franklin,

even when presenting papers, could not stay at the segregated hotel where the convention met. And lest we forget, libraries and archives were also segregated. Dr. John Hope Franklin recounts in his autobiography, that when he arrived at the North Carolina State archives in 1939 to research his Harvard Ph.D. thesis, he presented a problem to the segregated public archives in Raleigh, North Carolina. Archives director Dr. Christopher C. Crittenden, himself a history Ph.D. from Yale, told Franklin he needed a week to make segregated accommodations. When the eager graduate student looked surprised/upset by this, Crittenden said he would only need half a week. Dr. Crittenden provided Franklin a key to the archives and set up a desk for him inside the archives so that white archivists would not have to assist Franklin. Within a few days white researchers expressed jealousy of Franklin's arrangement and insisted on a key to the collections; the archives moved Franklin into the regular research room.⁴⁴

And what about the state whose population was majority African-American for most of its history and the state with the most important history of Reconstruction, South Carolina and our beloved Caroliniana Library? With the help of Dr. Allen Stokes and Dr. Thomas Johnson, we are trying to piece our story together. We have confirmed that Dr. Robert L. Meriwether, then Director of the Caroliniana, allowed an African American to do research at the library, sometime between 1948 and 1953 when Harvey Teal worked at the Caroliniana.⁴⁵

In 1963, the University of South Carolina desegregated and all were openly welcomed to research in the treasures, though almost all white-based, housed in the South Caroliniana Library. When Dr. Allen Stokes was a graduate student at the South Caroliniana in 1968-69, he remembered Dr. Lawrence C. Bryant who taught at South Carolina State

regularly researched published materials in the library, and dates on some of his publications on Reconstruction African-American leaders suggest he was researching there earlier: *Negro Legislators in South Carolina, 1865-1894: Preliminary Report* (Orangeburg, 1966), *Negro Legislators in South Carolina, 1868-1902* (Orangeburg, 1967), and others, suggesting ongoing research that culminated in his important *South Carolina Negro Legislators: a Glorious Success; State and Local Officeholders; Biographies of Negro Representatives, 1868-1902* (Orangeburg, 1974).⁴⁶ From 1970 to 1976, at least fifteen African Americans have been identified from the list of researchers using the Manuscript Division, including Dr. Thomas Holt who replaced Dr. John Hope Franklin at the University of Chicago, and whose book *Black Over White: Negro Political Leadership in South Carolina During Reconstruction* was awarded the Charles S. Sydnor prize from the Southern Historical Association in 1978. Dr. Daniel C. Littlefield's *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina* is an important book in the history of slavery as well as in the history of South Carolina. Littlefield's scholarship pioneered African ethnicity and the acculturation and influences of European culture on Africans and Africans on European in the new world and is at the very cutting edge of historiography. From the first African-American graduate student at Johns Hopkins University to research in the Caroliniana, he is now Carolina Professor of History and Director, Institute for African American Research at the University of South Carolina.⁴⁷

In 1993, Dori Sanders was the first African American to address the University South Caroliniana Society annual meeting; her lecture was entitled "A Writer from Filbert: Her Own Place." The first African American to serve on the University South Caroliniana Society Executive

Council was Dr. Barbara W. Jenkins in 1990. The second African American was Dr. Valinda Littlefield in 2003.

In the 1970s the South Caroliniana began a major effort to collect African-American research materials. The critical turning point came with the hiring of Dr. Thomas Johnson. Johnson, who had degrees in History, English, and Theology, functioned effectively as an “archival detective” and was interested in archival preservation in a number of collecting areas including a huge intrinsic curiosity about what years ago was termed “popular culture.” Johnson, then a Ph.D. student in the English Department at the University of South Carolina, was writing a two-volume dissertation on the devout Southern Presbyterian Sumter farmer James McBride Dabbs (1896–1970). Dabbs drafted key social-issue documents on behalf of his denomination, served as president of the Southern Regional Council from 1957 until 1963, and wrote important books on race relations and the South such as *Haunted by God* and *Who Speaks for the South?* Dabbs said of black and white southerners, “Through the process of history and the grace of God we have been made one people.” Johnson greatly admired Dabbs’ thought and writings and knew about his long association with the South Carolina Council on Human Relations (SCCHR), a local affiliate of the Southern Regional Council. Johnson had also come to know Alice Spearman Wright, the executive director who was looking for a way and a place to preserve the organization’s records. Johnson approached Kenneth Toombs, Director of the Library, and explained that the collection was essential in documenting the modern history of civil rights, integration, racial justice, and human relations in South Carolina. At Johnson’s urging, Toombs acquired the papers of the SCCHR. (*For Penn Center: A History Preserved*, I used this incredible collection.) In 1973, Toombs

subsequently created the position of field archivist at the South Caroliniana Library and hired Johnson to fill it. Dr. Johnson took as one of his collecting priorities the acquisition of research materials relating to the history of African Americans in South Carolina, focusing largely on the twentieth century and including issues of race relations and social justice. Dr. Johnson brought this mandate with him to the Caroliniana, and on the job professionally confirmed for himself his collecting mandate to include specifically African-American collections. Dr. Johnson executed his mandate with the approval and support of both South Caroliniana Directors Les Inabinett and Allen Stokes. Now the South Caroliniana excels in what was in the 1970s Dr. Johnson's new priority and endeavors to keep expanding the African-American collections.

With the 1976 publication of Alex Haley's blockbuster novel *Roots*, and the TV miniseries the following year, more and more African-American researchers were welcomed into the library in search of their family history. Thanks to the efforts of many who have followed Dr. Johnson's priorities to develop the library's African-American sources, these researchers found important records. Now the South Caroliniana has one of the best collections of research material pertaining to the state's African-American experience and to its twentieth-century history of race relations of any library in the country, and certainly one of the best, if not *the* best, in the South. Moreover, University Libraries has announced that it is creating a Center for Civil Rights History and Research, which, with South Carolina Political Collections, provides extraordinary resources for the study of South Carolina's Civil Rights Movement. And, in Charleston, former Mayor Joe Riley, is realizing his dream of an International African American Museum (IAAM), the amazing site will tell the story of

America's "original sin," and the Director is Michael Boulware Moore, great-great-grandson of Robert Smalls.⁴⁸

Our state has come a long way, but we have a long way to go, and the Caroliniana has helped move us toward our better angels. The research and truth that has come from the Caroliniana is changing attitudes for the better. But at times there has been pushback and even resistance. In 2012, the Military Order of the Stars and Bars, held their annual Wade Hampton dinner at the Caroliniana. For black history month, the Caroliniana foyer housed a very professional exhibit which educated visitors on African Americans and race relations in South Carolina. That evening, my friend and Clemson colleague Dr. Rod Andrew, the definitive biographer of Wade Hampton III, gave the dinner's keynote on Reconstruction. Professor Andrews presented a more nuanced view of Reconstruction than most members of the Sons of Confederate Veterans were used to. He explained that while Hampton often seemed to have noble instincts and acted more than once to prevent or curb racial violence, "In the last half of his life, Wade Hampton was the hero of white supremacy to South Carolinians of his own race. He was the earthly Redeemer and savior who had rescued them from degradation, humiliation of "Negro rule" and carpetbagger tyranny." But hearing the truth from a historian is not always pleasant, or for that matter, effective. That night one of the attendees wrote "Coon" in the booklet for the African-American exhibit in the foyer.⁴⁹ We must continue to be vigilant and champion the Caroliniana's and historians' efforts to get the truth out to the public.

My first publication was on the antebellum free black community in Edgefield, South Carolina. Relying mainly on the United States manuscript census records, I came across the Bugg/Quarles family. In

1850, this family of land-owning free African Americans was headed by Rebecca Bugg, a mother of ten, and in 1860 the family was headed by George Quarles.⁵⁰ Now that the South Caroliniana, and other archives, have expanded to include African-American history, Harris Bailey of Greenwood has been able to mine the records to provide a much deeper understanding of this Edgefield family, and also of our complicated and complex history. Bailey documents that Rebecca Bugg bought her enslaved husband, George Quarles, in 1851. Bailey discovered that son Henry Bugg enlisted on March 7, 1864, in the Twenty-third Regiment, United States Colored Infantry, in Washington, D.C. He was assigned the rank of third sergeant and attached to Company E. Another son, Richard Quarles, was the cook for Edgefield Company D of the Confederacy's South Carolina Fourteenth Infantry Regiment.⁵¹

On the ninth day of the Battle of Spotsylvania Court House, and sixty-eight days after his enlistment, Sergeant Henry Bugg and the 23rd Regiment became the first African-American troops to engage Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia in direct combat. About two months later, July 30, 1864, he fought at the Battle of the Crater. On the Confederate side was Colonel Fitz William McMaster, who had been librarian and treasurer at the South Carolina College. He rallied the Confederate troops, including those from Edgefield, to hold the line against waves of Union attack that included Bugg and two other Edgefield African Americans, Samuel Johnson and Elbert Samuel. Both Johnson and Samuel survived the war, but Bugg was killed in action. Richard Quarles was nearby in Petersburg with the 14th South Carolina when his brother was killed. He remained with the 14th until the end of the war, when he returned home to Edgefield to farm with his father. When his father died he took over the farm. The family to this day still lives on the farm, the

Buggs on one part of the land and the Quarles on another. In 1923, African-American Quarles applied for and received a pension for serving in the Confederate army.⁵²

In having the history of white and black South Carolinians told together we get a much more complete and richer narrative. We have heard of white brothers fighting on opposite sides in the Civil War, but this story of antebellum free African-American brothers complicates history. We would not have such documented stories if not for work collected by libraries and archives. Now, we have to wonder what life was like for Richard Quarles and what happened to this family and to Union veterans Samuel Johnson and Elbert Samuel during Reconstruction. African Americans were not allowed to apply for the State of South Carolina Civil War pensions until 1923, and only African Americans who served as servants to Confederate units were eligible; enslaved laborers who had been impressed into service were excluded from pension eligibility. A total of 311 men applied, and they had to have two white witnesses to affirm that their claims were true.⁵³ What were these African-American stories during Reconstruction and the stories of the local whites who sponsored their applications? Such local stories are, I believe, where historians will conjure up most of our new questions on Reconstruction and race. We need to move Reconstruction studies to the close scrutiny of particular struggles South Carolina, and the records in the Caroliniana can help us do just that.

Just thinking of the historians I have met while they researched at the Caroliniana would provide a “Who’s Who” of Southern history. William Freehling professed the Caroliniana is “more my alma mater than Harvard College, or the University of California, Berkeley.” There he learned “how to be an historian” and in researching discovered that

“specific people started emerging, specific incidents, specific houses, specific lordly titans, specific lowly slaves.” Freehling remembers Avery Craven’s Caroliniana address dwelling “on what he called friends he had met at the South Caroliniana, meaning long-dead characters who came alive as you read their letters....”⁵⁴

Freehling’s musings echo the spiritual aspect of the Caroliniana mentioned earlier. And yet, the papers, the manuscripts, the books are collected in an actual building. The design and construction of the Caroliniana Library building fit the context of a developing young nation in the early nineteenth century. By the standards of that time, Robert Mills, the architect for the Caroliniana, as well as Governor George McDuffie, legislator Joel Poinsett (who directed internal improvement programs in South Carolina while in the legislature and who, while United States Secretary of War, was also involved in the creation of the Smithsonian Institution), and South Carolina College president Robert Woodward Barnwell were progressive thinkers tied into national circles, and the Caroliniana building reflects South Carolina leaders’ understanding of their constituencies and their own aspirations. Mills, born in Charleston, traveled to Washington, D.C., where he met Thomas Jefferson, who befriended and encouraged him and introduced him to the well-known architect Benjamin Latrobe, who designed the White House. Mills and Latrobe subsequently worked together in D.C.⁵⁵

In 1820 the state legislature appointed Mills to supervise and design public construction in South Carolina. Mills modeled the Caroliniana building after the Library of Congress and supposedly Thomas Jefferson's library at the University of Virginia. Mills' architecture for what becomes our South Caroliniana Library symbolized the institutionalization of the nascent American state, solidarity and state consolidation, as well as the state's responsibility to its citizens, a central focus of a community. The Caroliniana is a source of memory, both for the records it holds and the events that took place within its walls, and it is also a source of nostalgia—a point of pride, longing, and symbol of home.⁵⁶

As far as I know, there is no documentation that enslaved laborers built the Caroliniana. The primary labor force of the time was enslaved labor, however, and historians in recent years concluded that the University of South Carolina campus was constructed by enslaved persons owned by contractors. One enslaved person regularly cleaned the books and shelves in the college library.⁵⁷ One of the ironies of South Carolina's, and America's, history is the quest for liberty alongside the dependence on the ultimate unfreedom of slavery.

In conclusion—I was told to always say that to give the audience hope—our beloved South Caroliniana Library, the crown jewel of the University of South Carolina's library system, will soon be restored, refurbished, and modernized. That reminds me of a story about a woman, about 89 years old, who heard a distinct voice of the Lord. So she asked the Lord how much longer she had to live in this world, and God told her 25 more years! She was astounded she had that much more life to live, so she immediately went to a special spa and got a tummy tuck, a nip here, a nip there, breasts enlarged, Botox injections. She told them to fix her hair and they did it light brown with blonde

highlights. When she left the spa, she was heading to the mall to buy a new wardrobe when she was hit by a bus and died instantly. Well, when she was before the Almighty God, she was pretty irritated and asked God why she did not live another 25 years. God said, "Oh, was that you? I did not recognize you."

Just so, libraries may now have botoxed computer labs and spray tanned book shelves, and as libraries may need to nip and tuck here and there, and as library after library gets cuts in funding, remember and be warned by what happened to our newly minted venerable lady, when even God did not recognize her. Libraries and librarians must never lose their important and precious identity.

The staff at the Caroliniana has always welcomed faculty and students. Without sacrificing professionalism, the staff also exhibits southern charm and hospitality. When I was a graduate student researching my Ph.D. dissertation on Reconstruction in Edgefield, the South Caroliniana librarians were exceptionally supportive. The legendary Dr. Allen Stokes guided me to collections and resources, mailed copies to me at Princeton and later Illinois. Assistant manuscripts librarian Loulie Latimer Owens (1912–1998), a descendant of Arthur Simkins, the founder of Edgefield, not only helped me decipher handwriting, but insisted that instead of driving back to Ninety Six every evening, I stay with her and the Reverend Ollin J. Owens.

As director, Henry Fulmer carries on this Caroliniana legacy and ensures the great tradition of constituent service (although none of us will expect you to provide hotel service, Henry).

But we do appreciate that Henry is dedicated to preserving the truth and our total history.

The Caroliniana Library is my archive of record, and I credit the South Caroliniana Library for providing research for a balanced history of South Carolina. What a treasure the South Caroliniana is! This Library and this Society are essential for our history and understanding our state, both in the past, the present, and for our future.

Thank you very much for having me.

NOTES

¹Catherine Seltzer, *Understanding Pat Conroy* (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2015); Pat Conroy, *The Prince of Tides* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1986); Pat Conroy, *Beach Music* (New York: Doubleday, 1995).

²Francis B. Simkins, "Tolerating the South's Past," *Journal of Southern History* 21, no. 1 (1955): 14.

³The building officially turned 175 years old in 2015, but we celebrate during the academic year 2015–2016.

⁴Orville Vernon Burton, *The Age of Lincoln* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007).

⁵Before the Supreme Court's ruling, only Mississippi and South Carolina had legally disfranchised African-American voters. In 1895, the South Carolina constitution had disfranchised African Americans and mandated legal segregation.

⁶William A. Dunning, *Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York, 1904) and *Reconstruction: Political and Economic, 1865–1877* (New York, 1907).

⁷James Shepherd Pike, *The Prostrate South: South Carolina Under Negro Government* (New York: Appleton, 1874); John W. Burgess,

Reconstruction and the Constitution (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902); William Archibald Dunning, *Reconstruction, Political and Economic, 1865–1877* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1907).

⁸See Burton, *Age of Lincoln*.

⁹See my discussion in *Age of Lincoln*, p. 299, and Carole Emberton, *Beyond Redemption: Race, Violence, and the American South After the Civil War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), p. 14.

¹⁰Mary C. Simms Oliphant, *The History of South Carolina* (River Forest, IL: Laidlaw Bros., 1964), pp. 278–282.

¹¹Burton, “Black Squint,” pp. 170–171. Until the 1930 census, African Americans comprised a majority of the population.

¹²C. Vann Woodward, “An Expert,” *New York Times Book Review*, 5 December 1965, Section 7, p. 54; Orville Vernon Burton, “Defining Reconstruction,” pp. 299–322 in *The Blackwell Companion to the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Edited by Lacy Ford. (Boston: Blackwell Publishers, 2005); Jennifer Schuessler, “President Obama Designates First National Monument to Reconstruction,” *New York Times* January 12, 2017 (https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/12arts/president-obama-designates-national-monuments-to-civil-rights-history.html?_r=0 , last accessed February 17, 2017).

¹³Among others, William Sinclair, William D. Crum, Thomas Miller, and T. McCants Stewart, Arthur Simpkins, and, at the State Normal School based on campus, Celia Dial Saxon and Clarissa Minnie Thompson.

¹⁴Perspectives, *Newsweek*, March 2, 2009, p. 17 to Department of Justice employees at an event celebrating Black History Month.

¹⁵“The New Deal—Jonathan Chait,” *The Colbert Report*, March 16, 2009. (<http://www.colbertnation.com/the-colbert-report-videos/221837/march-16-1009/the-new-deal—jonathan-chait>).

¹⁶Brennan Center for Justice, *States With New Voting Restrictions Since the 2010 Election* (2015), <http://www.brennancenter.org/new-voting-restrictions-2010-election>, such as restrictive photo identification requirements for voting at the polls or cuts in the length of the early voting period. In order to prevent the enforcement of these restrictions, minority plaintiffs have continued to file voting rights lawsuits, utilizing Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act.

¹⁷Orville Vernon Burton, "The Black Squint of the Law': Racism in South Carolina," pp. 161-185, in *The Meaning of South Carolina History: Essays in Honor of George C. Rogers, Jr.* Edited by David R. Chesnut and Clyde N. Wilson. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991); see Walter B. Edgar, review of *The Meaning of South Carolina History: Essays in Honor of George C. Rogers, Jr.* in *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 93:1 (January 1992), p. 67.

¹⁸Jack Burden speaking in Robert Penn Warren, *All the King's Men* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1974), p. 435.

¹⁹Mark Berman, "'I forgive you.' Relatives of Charles church shooting victims address Dylann Roof," *The Washington Post*, June 19, 2015;

²⁰Francis Butler Simkins, "The Rising Tide of Faith," in *The Lasting South: Fourteen Southerners Look at Their Home*, edited by Louis D. Rubin, Jr., and James J. Kilpatrick (Chicago: Regnery, 1957), 84.

²¹John M. Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag: America's Most Embattled Emblem* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005).

²²*Smith v. Allwright*, 321 U.S. 649 (1944); V.O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), p. 627; Burton, "Black Squint," pp. 170–171.

²³Jerome V. Reel, *The High Seminary: A History of the Clemson Agricultural College of South Carolina* (Clemson, S.C.: Clemson

University Press, 2011).

²⁴A.D. Carson, http://seestripescu.org/?page_id=70 ; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t11cSgbnZTo>

²⁵Mark Hings, "Tillman always: Why we should change ourselves, not Tillman Hall," *The Tiger News*, February 29, 2016.

²⁶*Annual Report for 1947* (New York: NAACP, June, 1948), 84–85: Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice: The History of Brown v. Board of Education and Black America's Struggle for Equality* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), 298–299, 304.

²⁷Greenwood, SC *Index Journal*, Thursday Jan. 29, 2015, p. 3A, columns 1–4.

²⁸Gantt is quoted in *Jack Bass, Porgy Comes Home: South Carolina After 300 Years* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1972), p. 8.

²⁹Orville Vernon Burton, "Dining with Harvey Gantt: Myth and Realities of 'Integration with Dignity,'" pp. 183–220 in *Matthew J. Perry: The Man, His Times and His Legacy*. Edited by W. Lewis Burke and Belinda F. Gergel. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004). ³⁰SC Heritage Act 2000.

³¹Wilson also, but I will exclude him since he was in South Carolina only briefly and is claimed by Virginia and Georgia, and, of course, New Jersey.

³²Don Doyle used the term "political divorce" in the introduction, but it was not his coinage; originally it was used by Allen Buchanan. Doyle, *Secession as an International Phenomenon: From America's Civil War to Contemporary Separatist Movements* (Athens: University of Georgia, 2010). On Calhoun see Irving H. Bartlett, *John C. Calhoun: A Biography* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1993); Margaret L. Coit, *John C.*

Calhoun: American Portrait. Reprint. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991); John Niven, *John C. Calhoun and the Price of Union: A Biography* (New edition, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993); Charles M. Wiltse, *John C. Calhoun*. 3 vols. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1944–1951); C. Vann Woodward to John F. Kennedy, February 25, 1957 in Michael O'Brien, ed., *The Letters of C. Vann Woodward* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), p. 161.

³³For Tillman see my foreword and Francis Butler Simkins, *Pitchfork Ben Tillman: South Carolinian* reprint edition of the Southern Classics Series of the Institute for Southern Studies (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002 [original ed. 1944]; Steve Kantrowitz, *Ben Tillman and the Reconstruction of White Supremacy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Randolph Dennis Werner, "Hegemony and Conflict: The Political Economy of a Southern Region, Augusta, Georgia, 1865–1895" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1977); Kevin M. Krause, "A Different State of Mind: Ben Tillman and the Transformation of State Government in South Carolina, 1885–1895" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Georgia, 2014).

³⁴*Yorkville Enquirer*, August 19, 1899; Mays, *Born to Rebel*, pp. 329–335; George Brown Tindall, *South Carolina Negroes, 1877–1900* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1952), pp. 256–258, Tillman quote on p. 258. (George Brown Tindall told me years ago that he was fascinated by the Tolberts, especially Tieless Joe, and that someone needed to do a biography or study of this Republican family.) Unfortunately for historians, the voluminous family papers were not given to the South Caroliniana Library, but instead Tieless Joe Tolbert's widow burned the papers.

³⁵Cole Blease, December 18 and December 23, 1919, Governors'

Papers, South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

³⁶James W. Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your High School History Textbook Got Wrong* (New York: The New Press, 1995), pp. 434–435, calls for the toppling of 20 monuments; number 15 on the list is Ben Tillman on the South Carolina State House grounds. Loewen write, “State capitols are public buildings maintained by and intended for all the citizens of the state. Tillman’s statue in a place of honor in Columbia says otherwise.”

³⁷Orville Vernon Burton, et al., “Seeds in Unlikely Soil: The *Briggs v. Elliott* School Segregation Case,” pp. 176–200 in *Toward the Meeting of the Waters: Currents in the Civil Rights Movement of South Carolina during the Twentieth Century*. Edited by Orville Vernon Burton and Winfred B. Moore, Jr. (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2008).

³⁸Aldon Morris, *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Free Press, 1984), p. 149.

³⁹Orville Vernon Burton, *The Age of Lincoln* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2007); Until Okon Edit Uya, *From Slavery to Public Service: Robert Smalls, 1839–1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), the only book available was the children’s book by Dorothy Sterling, *Captain of the Planter: The Story of Robert Smalls* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1958); Edward A. Miller, *Gullah Statesman: Robert Smalls from Slavery to Congress, 1839–1915* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995); Andrew Billingsley, *Yearning to Breathe Free: Robert Smalls of South Carolina and his Families* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007).

⁴⁰Dizzy Gillespie and Al Frasier, *To Be, or Not...to Bop* ([orig. 1979] Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), p. 8.

⁴¹Yael A. Sternhell, "The Afterlives of a Confederate Archive: Civil War Documents and the Marking of Sectional Reconciliation," *Journal of American History*, vol. 102:4 (March 2016): 1025–1050; quotes p. 1025.

⁴²Orville Vernon Burton, *Penn Center: A History Preserved* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2014). The Librarian at the time was Alfred Rawlinson. Speculation is that the rejection of the records came from higher up in the University of South Carolina administration.

⁴³Some of which were microfilmed early and made available to scholars around the world.

⁴⁴Clement Eaton, "Professor James Woodrow and the Freedom of Teaching in the South," *Journal of Southern History* 28 (February 1962), 3–17; John Hope Franklin, *Mirror to America*, pp. 83–84.

⁴⁵Thanks especially to Dr. Allen Stokes who confirmed this story with Harvey Teal who was there and witnessed the event. Nicholas Meriwether, "Robert L. Meriwether and the South Caroliniana Library," *Provenance: Journal of the Society of Georgia Archivists* 21 (January 2003), pp. 5–21.

⁴⁶Orangeburg *The Times and Democrat*, Obituary of Dr. Lawrence C. Bryant, June 15, 2010. Lawrence C. Bryant, *Autobiography of Lawrence C. Bryant* (Orangeburg, [original from University of Michigan, copy in TathiTRust Digital library] 1971).

⁴⁷Thomas C. Holt, *Black Over White: Negro Political Leadership in South Carolina During Reconstruction* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977); Daniel C. Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981).

⁴⁸"Cobblestones and Bones: Charleston's New Museum," *The Economist*, 422: 9022 (January 7, 2017), p. 24.

⁴⁹Dr. Rod Andrews, lecture notes, in Andrews' possession (and copy provided to me); interview with Dr. Allen Stokes, Director of South Caroliniana Library, May 23, 2012.

⁵⁰In 1850 the family owned a 300-acre farm worth \$500 and livestock valued at \$200. In the 1860 census, free black George Quarles headed this family with real estate worth \$1,000 and personal property valued at \$600.

⁵¹Free black Quarles not listed among the Confederate soldiers, Edgefield District provided three companies to the Fourteenth South Carolina Regiment formed in July 1861 outside of Columbia.

⁵²Harris M. Bailey, Jr., "No Longer Forgotten: Tales of Ordinary Men and Extraordinary Accomplishments." Unpublished manuscript. McMaster took charge when the severely wounded General Stephen Elliott fell. Samuel Johnson served in the Second Brigade with Henry. He was in Company E. He enlisted in December 1863 and in March 1864 he was promoted to the rank of sergeant. He survived the Battle of the Crater and was discharged from the army in May 1865 with a physical disability. Elbert Samuels was in Company E of the Twenty-ninth Regiment of the Second Brigade. Like Johnson he survived the Battle of the Crater. He served under a Captain Penion. Pension Request of Richard Quarles to the County Pension Board, May 7, 1923, McCormick County, vouched for by J.M. Mims and Joseph Brunson.

⁵³Alexia Helsley, *SC African American Confederate Pensioners, 1923–1924*. Published by the South Carolina Department of Archives and History and based on surviving pensions filed with the Office of the State Comptroller General.

⁵⁴William W. Freehling, "South Carolina's Pivotal Decision for Disunion. Popular Mandate of Manipulated Verdict?" Keynote address to

sixty-fourth annual meeting of the University South Caroliniana Society, May 13, 2000.

⁵⁵Courtney Tollison Hartness, "South Carolinian Joel Roberts Poinsett planted lasting cultural seeds," Charleston *The Post and Courier*, December 25, 2012.

⁵⁶Laura F. Edwards, *The People and Their Peace: Legal Culture and the Transformation of Inequality in the Post-revolutionary South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 207–208, 215; John M. Bryan, *Robert Mills: America's First Architect* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2001); John M. Bryan, chapter 2, unpublished manuscript, kindly shared with me by the author. One of Mills's first designs in South Carolina was the public records office where state records were preserved, and which is now the Fireproof Building and home to the South Carolina Historical Society.

⁵⁷"*Slavery at South Carolina College*"

<https://delphi.tcl.sc.edu/library/digital/slaveryscc/index.html>

Correspondence with Elizabeth Cassidy West, University Archivist, South Caroliniana Library, March 8, 2016 (email). The college used a hiring out system with local slave owners to obtain a variety of services from enslaved persons, including construction projects, carpentry, and building repairs. African Americans were on the University of South Carolina campus from its beginning. The library's contractor, Charles Beck, owned slaves. The 1830 census records him living with three white male servants, two white females, two black male slaves, and two black female slaves; the 1840 census lists eight slaves by his name.

**REPORT OF GIFTS TO THE LIBRARY BY MEMBERS OF
THE SOCIETY DURING THE PAST YEAR**

**PAPERS OF THE CANTEY FAMILY,
1748–1913, 1930 AND UNDATED**

The South Caroliniana Library's holdings of correspondence and other papers of the Cantey family of Kershaw District (South Carolina) have received a significant enhancement with a gift of 1,174 manuscripts featuring correspondence, bills and receipts, and land and legal papers. The private and public lives of several generations of family members from the eighteenth century to the first decade of the twentieth century are represented in the collection.

Dr. Joseph S. Ames prepared a detailed genealogy of the Cantey family that was published in the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* in 1911. The first Cantey to settle in South Carolina was George who came from Barbados in 1670. Two years later, he was joined by his father, Teige Cantey, who also came from Barbados. Members of the Cantey family served in the Commons House almost continuously from 1696 to 1775. Ames noted that members of the family "were vestrymen or founders of St. James' Goose Creek, of St. George's, of St. Mark's and of St. Stephen's." Canteys participated in defense of Charleston against the French and Spaniards in 1706, against the Tuscaroras Indians in 1712-1713, and against the Yemasses in 1715–1716. They served in the militia and participated in Lyttleton's campaign against the Cherokees in 1759 and 1760. Joseph Cantey, born around 1704, and his wife, Mary, located in St. Mark's Parish by the 1750s.

Sons Joseph, William, and John Cantey were appointed as commissioners for the establishment of St. Mark's Church in 1757 along with Richard Richardson, Matthew Neilson, Isaac Brunson, and James McGirt. The church was constructed in 1764 on 150 acres donated by Richard Richardson. Richardson married Mary Cantey, and before her death in 1768, the couple had seven children. He was commissioned in the Black River Head Company in 1757. Richardson participated in campaigns against the Cherokee and against a Tory force in the Snow campaign. He was commissioned a brigadier general in 1778, but with his advanced age he did not see action after 1775.

Members of the Cantey family acquired vast acreages in Camden District (South Carolina) before and after the Revolutionary War. In September 1784 Josiah Cantey acquired 640 acres "in Camden District at the fork of Lynches Creek East." A January 1787 survey of a one thousand-acre tract "laid out unto James Cantey...on waters of town Creek" was bounded by lands of Burwell Boykin, John Chesnut, and John Bush. In March 1788, a survey of an 824-acre tract "Laid out unto Zachariah Cantey...situate upon the waters of Pinetree Creek" was bounded by lands of Thomas Sumter, Samuel Reynolds, and John and Joseph Kershaw. Between 1789 and 1811 Zachariah Cantey acquired 17,264 acres in Kershaw District (South Carolina). Like Canteys before him, Zachariah Cantey (1759–1822) was active in the militia and surrendered to the British at Charleston in 1780 with his brother James. Both were paroled but returned to active service when British cruelties against the civilian and military population persuaded the brothers and other parolees that they were no longer bound by the terms of their parole.

Over the 1790s Zachariah Cantey joined with Duncan McRa to form McRa, Cantey & Company in the mercantile and milling business. McRa's letters, 3 August 1801, from Trenton (New Jersey), and 10 August, from Philadelphia, advise Cantey "to buy all the Cotton you could in the seed," report that the wheat and corn crops are "good from this to Boston except Jersey owing to the dry Season...but their crop of english grain as they term it was never Better," respond to Cantey's favorable account of his crop, recommend sending his flour to market "as there is not the least doubt of its falling as the new Crop comes to market," and tell of parting with his son Powell "in tears since which I hear he is very much pleased with the school and likes Mr. Barker very well."

Cantey served Lancaster and Kershaw Districts in the South Carolina Senate in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Assemblies, 1804–1808. He served also in the state militia as lieutenant colonel in the Thirty-fifth Regiment from around 1794 to 1804 and as brigadier general of the Eighth Brigade from 1804 to 1814. In a letter of 1 December 1807, from Winnsborough (Fairfield District, S.C.), Jeremiah Cockerill informed Cantey that his delay in replying was caused by "a number of officers in my Regiment having no Commission." In his capacity as commander, Cantey had to be concerned with various requests such as Fred[eric]k Mayer's that officers of the Thirty-third Regiment wanted "to change their uniform in Homespun, also the long Coats into short" (9 January 1809). An opinion issued by Attorney General Langdon Cheves outlined his opinion "for the Governor" that "aliens are entitled to hold Commissions under the Law of the State" (21 February 1809).

A document dated 17 November 1810, is the oath of James Hopkins and Thomas Heath to "carry on the Election for Lieut. Col[one]l of the

33rd Regiment in Richland District.” Results of the voting were disclosed in a subsequent communication.

A little more than a month before Congress declared war on Great Britain on 18 June 1812, Adjutant General B. Earle issued general orders for the Eighth Brigade concerning the quota of five thousand men for South Carolina and ordering “an immediate draught...throughout the respective Regiments for the number of men that shall be allotted to each... unless the requisite number of officers & men shall volunteer from each Regiment respectively” (1 May 1812). Samuel Dunlap of Lancaster advised General Cantey, 13 June 1812, that “I and my under officers with our Company... are all very desirous to take the field in defence of the rights & Priviledges of our Country” and requested “to know of you my dear General...whether the whole of my Corps cannot be accepted of which consists of thirty one or two & the balance to be made up from the respective Companies of the 32d Batalion of the Regiment aforesaid.” William Simpson, lieutenant colonel, Thirty-fourth Regiment, Eighth Brigade, conveyed to General Cantey on 13 June 1812 a muster roll of 140 names who “turned out as Volunteers in Defence of their Country.”

Zachariah Cantey died in 1822. A document dated 22 March 1824 outlines terms of an agreement between Duncan McRa and executors James S. Deas, John Boykin, and Zachariah Cantey for settling a debt of \$4,480.45 owed McRa by the estate as well as agreement involving a plantation and “about one hundred and eighty [slaves] and all their future increases.” Several days later, 26 March, the parties signed a “Settlement of open demands existing between Duncan McRa and the Executors of Gen. Zach[ariah] Cantey” and included “Zachariah Cantey

in Account Current with McRa & Cantey Co.," September 1806–March 1815.

Brothers John (1786–1854) and James Willis (1794–1860) Cantey served military before notable careers as planters and public servants. John participated in the War of 1812 with state troops at Charleston. James Willis served as a sergeant and fought against the Creek Indians in 1813. Returning from Milledgeville (Georgia), to Camden (S.C.) in 1814, he was elected sheriff of Kershaw District in 1821. A letter, 27 July 1821, to James Cantey from Richard I. Manning concerns his negotiations to purchase a plantation owned by Captain Starke and related activities of a drama group in Clarendon— "The *Thespian Society* is gradually maturing and we fully expect our first appearance, to astonish, confound and petrify the natives of Manchester." Manning inquired if they should assign a role to Cantey.

When the Kershaw Anti-Duelling Society was organized on 14 February 1829, John Cantey was one of many prominent citizens as a member. The organization of the Society was likely in response to a recent duel between Henry D. Nixon and Thomas Hopkins on 15 January 1829. The principals journeyed to the Sand Bar Ferry near Augusta, Georgia, to settle their differences, and Nixon was mortally wounded. While the community was lamenting his death, there was an ongoing affair that involved William O. Nixon, the younger brother of Henry Nixon. John Cantey saved all the correspondence relating to the affair. Nixon and Dr. William Whitaker engaged in a heated argument, and Whitaker remarked that Nixon "was not worth fighting." Nixon took offense and issued a challenge. A contemporary copy of a letter, 27 November 1828, written by John Cantey specifies "all the essential parts the balance of the articles will be mere matter of etiquette which we can

agree upon at any time.” The “essential parts” were “a pistol single ball & smooth bore distance fifteen paces (say forty five feet) with the privilege of advancing three paces each & to fire between the word fire & the count ten which will be given are you ready fire...each word & number to be distinctly enunciated & to be repeated to the principals before they take their stations.”

Two weeks after specifying the “essential parts,” Cantey notified Nixon’s friend D.E. Reid “that there is no *absolute* necessity for the dispute between himself & Dr. Whitaker and Major Nixon being pushed to the last extremity.” Cantey proposed referring the matter “to a Board of Honor” (10 December 1828). When Reid replied to Cantey on 29 December, he related a conversation with Nixon who “requires, before the difficulty between himself & Dr. Whitaker can be adjusted, a written recitation of the remark injurious to him as a man of honor & a gentleman.” Cantey responded on the same day “that more is required of my friend [Whitaker] than can be acceded to.” It therefore was necessary for the two parties to meet on 29 January “on the North Carolina line dividing Lancaster District & that State.” Cantey drew up “Articles governing an intended meeting of Honor between Doctor W. Whitaker and Major W. Nixon” (ca. January 1829). Another document apparently composed at this time is a detailed statement of the relationship between Whitaker and Nixon and a chronology of communications (ca. January 1829). William Nixon’s brother Henry was mortally wounded on 15 January, and a week later, William McWillie conveyed to Cantey Nixon’s request “that the time of adjusting the difficulty...should be postponed for two or three weeks, owing to the late melancholy occurrence in the family.” Cantey agreed (22 January 1829).

Members of the Board of Honor were former governor David R. Williams, former governor Richard I. Manning, and United States Representative William Campbell Preston. A letter, 25 January 1829, of Manning to Whitaker cites the “melancholy termination” in the Nixon-Hopkins duel and advised, “It seems to us very desireable that the chance of another such event should be avoided, that this in all probability can only be effected by the exercise of some degree or moderation or forbearance on your part may be practiced with no loss of honor on your part, but rather an increase of it.” The suspension of “the difficulty...on a point of Etiquette” was the subject of a letter, 6 February 1829, William McWillie addressed to Cantey. Nixon, according to McWillie, challenged Whitaker “for certain offensive expressions without having called for an explanation before the challenge.” McWillie supported continuing negotiations “with a view to a final adjustment, being mutually of the opinion *that the* matter has been already substantially settled, and that such contest, as the one contemplated, should never take place for a point of Etiquette.”

Preston acknowledged that he was ignorant of the situation between the two men, but his greater concern was “to place this matter on higher and more substantial grounds than the mode of form & procedure.” As to a “point of etiquette,” he explained, “I am ready to admit that in affairs of this kind the *consciousness* of rectitude which is all sufficient to regulate our conduct in all other particulars—must be sustained by public opinion” (8 February 1829). After conversing with Preston, B.F. Taylor informed Cantey of his regard for Dr. Whitaker and observed “that under ordinary, in affairs of this sort, the position taken by Dr. W. was the proper one but that the *peculiar circumstances* of the present one would justify a departure from it and that such a course would place him [Dr. Whitaker]

upon very high ground" (10 February 1829). Several exchanges of correspondence on 22 February brought the affair to a close. McWillie informed Cantey of the decision of Williams and Preston "that the challenge should be first withdrawn" and advised that it was done "with a view to the further adjustment proposed." Cantey responded to McWillie withdrawing Whitaker's statement to Nixon and concluded, "the acceptance of the challenge by Dr. Whitaker was an acknowledgment that he did entertain the opinions he had hastily expressed." McWillie acknowledged Cantey's communication and considered "that justice thereby has been honorably done to the feelings and character of Major Nixon, I hereby as a friend say to you, that you may view the affair...as finally adjusted."

In addition to vast holdings of land and slaves in Kershaw District (S.C.), the Cantey brothers owned plantation properties in Georgia and Alabama. James Willis Cantey accompanied his father James to the vicinity of Milledgeville (Georgia), when the latter sold his Kershaw property to John Chesnut in 1798. James Willis returned to Camden (S.C.) in 1814, three years before his father's death.

By the late 1820s sectional differences over the tariff were surfacing. The first letter to mention regional concerns over the tariff occurred in a communication from Williams Rutherford (Milledgeville, Georgia), to John Cantey. Rutherford noted the saga of runaway slave Hardy who had been returned: "Hardy has disappointed himself with all his *smartness*, for before he had gotten home I had dispatched his family to the State of Louisiana to be sold on my account." A letter to Rutherford from James Sunderland Deas, who represented Kershaw District in the state Senate, related his participation in a "warm electioneering campaign," and prompted Rutherford to observe that "you Carolinians seem to me to be

fighting the good fight against the Tariff.” He anticipated repeal—“It must be done by such Legislative steps as will go to convict the *Northern Power* of its wrong & total want of Principle as well as to stress the impolicy of unprincipled measures in Government, as in Individuals” (26 October 1828).

From Milledgeville (Georgia), W[illiam] Boykin informed James Cantey of the political climate in Georgia and suggested that the nullifiers in South Carolina adopt “a more moderate course [which] would have caused less division among you & very much less personal excitement between those for & against nullification.” Boykin’s letter is a reminder that Georgia was still a frontier where relations with Indians was a concern. He regretted [William] Smith’s loss to [Stephen Miller] in the senatorial election: “I have a high respect for his honesty & patriotism. Calhoun & the ultra nullifiers are an overmatch forhim. I now tell you, your State will sooner or later repent it” (22 January 1831).

By the winter of 1831, the question of nullification was a public issue. Postmaster David George informed John Cantey that Colonel Levy and Major McWillie planned to discuss nullification at the Flat Rock meeting where he intended “to collect every man in this quarter...friendly to our cause, and march down in solemn column” (26 December 1831).

John Cantey advised Governor Robert Y. Hayne in a letter, 12 January 1833, that he had been “busily engaged” in raising “volunteers of minute men.” Cantey tendered his “services to you, individually, begging to be assigned any position in defence of South Carolina.” Although he described himself as a volunteer minute man, he assured Hayne that he would not await “the organization of a Company in a District so thoroughly *Submission* as this.” E.H. Maxcy, Deputy Adjutant General, informed Cantey of his selection to a board of officers “to

examine all the laws now in force for the organization & Discipline of the Militia and to suggest such alterations & improvements as may be then deemed proper" (29 August 1833).

The Cantey family's connection to lands near Milledgeville (Georgia), apparently began when James Cantey (1755–1817) sold his property in Camden (S.C.) and moved to Milledgeville. Son James Willis remained with his father until he returned to Camden in 1814. As a young man in Milledgeville, he participated in a war against the Creek Indians. The state of relations with the Creeks was addressed in a letter, 23 September 1833 (Columbus, Georgia), Ja[me]s B[oykin], to John Cantey. He noted, "*Indian Lands all intruders that have no farms are to be removed forthwith, no exceptions whatever...that is the dose to make Nullifiers & it has the happy effect, our prospects are brightening every day.*"

John Cantey acquired land in Russell County (Alabama), in December 1833. Six documents, 13 December 1833, record Cantey's purchase of lands from members of the Creek nation and another document lists the names of the Indians, identifies the location of the lands, and denotes prices. S.G. Benton, Fort Mitchell (Alabama), informed him of the land purchased from the Creek Indians and advised, "If you can leave your business you had better come out I think" (12 January 1834). With John Cantey's acquisition of lands in Russell County, James S. Deas emerged as a frequent correspondent. James S. Deas (1784–1864) served Kershaw District in the state senate from 1820 to 1831. Offering for re-election to the Thirtieth Assembly, Deas, a nullifier and proponent of states' rights, lost to unionist James Chesnut. This defeat strained relations with his Chesnut in-laws and prompted Deas to move his family to Alabama, in 1835. Deas's letter of 14 July 1835 (Letohatchie, Alabama), was written after a visit by Cantey and his family. Deas also

noted visits by William McWillie, Charles Edwards, and the Elmore family.

The family's health was good "but we have had some slight touches of fever among the servants and there have been several severe cases in the neighborhood and we are not without much anxiety." He was pleased with his crop, "the most abundant I have ever made." He apprised Cantey of crop lands, advancing prices, and his own transactions. Deas was not hopeful of building or renting a home in Mobile since "The disposition to settle in that place is very great." He was hopeful of another visit from the Cantey family as "we are very much without society and the ladies feel it more than the gentlemen" (14 July 1835).

Deas requested assistance from John Cantey concerning an enslaved "negro boy" purchased from John Reardon in Sumter (S.C.). Suspecting that he might have run away to his former residence, he sought Cantey's help "to try & procure him for me and increase the reward." Deas had plans to go to Red River—"My people are on the road & I hope there but I have not heard from them & I feel very anxious." Writing from Lowndesboro (Alabama), and waiting to hear when their "hired house in Mobile" would be ready, Deas notes, "Property of all kinds is still very high here too high to make a large purchase at this time." There was much interest in railroad projects "but funds are so advantageously applied in Lands & negroes there is but little that can be spared for rail road stock" (16 January 1836).

With extensive holdings of land in Georgia and Alabama, John Cantey depended on friends and overseers to keep him apprised of crop conditions, health of the labor force, and prices. Overseer V.P. Rocquemore, Russell County (Alabama), advised Cantey on the health of the slaves and the crop—"as good as the prospect warented when you left,"

mentioned problems with the Indians, commented on James Cantey's crops, and noted that "the health of the negroes [was] not so good" (12 August 1835). Ja[me]s Boykin, Columbus (Georgia), reported that Cantey's cotton sold at 17 cents "but through the *obstinacy, carelessness, forgetfulness or industry* of [James] Rocquemore, he did not have a *bale* at the landing when the *boat* passed." Boykin anticipated a fine crop for Cantey "but you had better come out and give it *your* personal attention" (19 October 1835).

Joseph Kershaw, writing John Cantey from Roanoke (Stewart County, Georgia), mentioned the area "in the neighborhood of your plantation" where two Indians were killed and the Indians retaliated by killing two white citizens. Kershaw was of the opinion that "there is a great deal of excitement among the Indians at this time. More so than at any time since I have been here, a good many of the Creeks have gone down into Florida" (28 January 1836). While visiting property near Columbus, Georgia, John Cantey received a communication from P.A. Stockton, of Camden, inquiring about an enslaved man named Charles—"it is difficult for me to say what price I will take for him, not knowing the state of his eyes or the state of the market in that section" and seeking his assistance "in getting my hands either on the negro or his value—if I once get hold of him I will take at least \$500 out of his hide" (13 December 1837).

Powell McRa, Jr. (1814–1844) was a grandson of Duncan McRa who was Zachariah Cantey's partner in the mercantile firm of McRa, Cantey & Company. Powell McRa, Jr's financial affairs and property were managed by James Hamilton. Letters, 30 April and 24 June 1837, Charleston, to McRa in Manchester and near Stateburg (S.C.), concern his financial affairs, cotton, and a receipt paid to factor John Kirkpatrick &

Co. While in Macon (Georgia), attending to his planting interests on the Savannah River and the Chattahoochee, he advised McRa regarding funds applied to reduction of a note (6 May 1838). In a clipping dated 13 July 1838, Hamilton offered for sale “thirty thousand acres of LAND, situated in the Fork of the Flint and Chattahoochie Rivers, in the counties of Lee, Sumter, Baker and Early, State of Georgia.” Hamilton responded to McRa’s interest in acquiring land in a company of which he was a trustee—“I purchased *extensively* and am now planting about 200 acres of cotton.” He also listed other properties and presented terms for purchase (6 November 1839).

A letter to Abner Jackson, Greenwood Plantation, introduces “my friend Powell McRa...who visits Baker with the view of looking at the Country and of examining our Plantation to ascertain whether its purchase could suit him” (7 November 1839). A similar letter was sent to J. Cowles, Macon, Georgia (9 November 1839).

The collection does not offer any evidence about McRa’s visit or even if he did inspect to property, but by 1841 McRa was an inmate in McLean Asylum for the Insane (Massachusetts General Hospital). Ten statements for his board are dated from 1841 to 1843. James Willis Cantey acted as his guardian. A letter [1843], addressed to Singleton requested “a conversation with you at any time you may appoint and that you will afford me such information concerning his property as may facilitate me in the discharge of my duties.

By January 1844 McRa had returned to South Carolina and was a patient in the Lunatic Asylum on Bull Street in Columbia. James Cantey’s Charleston factor approved of Cantey acting as guardian for McRa—“I am well pleased that you have entered into an arrangement with Col. Singleton for the adjusting of poor Powell’s aff[f]airs” (18 January 1844).

In a document dated 12 February 1844, Cantey notified his cousin Richard Singleton of closing his fiduciary arrangement “towards our poor deceased Relative [Powell McRa].” Powell McRa’s mother, Mary Martha Singleton McRa, preceded him in death while a patient in the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane.

James Willis Cantey’s appointment in March 1841 as adjutant general marked the culmination of a long career of various positions in the militia. Prior to his appointment as adjutant general, he held the rank of brigadier general in the Fifth Brigade. One of the duties of the adjutant general was a periodic inspection of militia units. On 22 September 1841 he wrote his wife from Edgefield (S.C.) where the party arrived after leaving Abbeville (S.C.) in the rain. The traveling party included Cantey, Governor John P. Richardson, George McDuffie, and Louis Wigfall. Cantey noted that supper was not served them until 12:00 a.m. when “the old woman” was roused. He remarked—“come to find out they were a new married couple, she about 65 or 70 & he about 20 or 25.” The young husband, according to Cantey, went to Abbeville (S.C.) the next day “& told the cursedest tale you ever heard. Said that the Governor, Genl. McDuffie, Genl. Cantey & Col. Wigfall were so drunk that they had to go to bed, that there were but two of the party that were tolerably sober.” McDuffie entertained the party by singing—“he began to sing & dance for an hour by himself—the beauty of the tale, he had no spirits, and we had but a bottle for the whole & how we got drunk none of our party can imagine.”

A letter of 17 September 1842 to John Cantey from James Deas, Spring Hill near Mobile (Alabama), provided information on the activities and location of their children and noted—“My wife and I have passed the period in life to make strong friendships or short acquaintanceship and

tho' the society is good and agreeable it can never be a substitute for the loss of the friendships of our earlier days." He had become more engaged in businesses other than his plantations but son John "will make a first rate planter and sticks very closely to business." Deas regretted to learn "of the distractions in Camden—Divisions in so small a society where from necessity you are thrown so much together must make it very unpleasant. I have no adequate idea of the difficulties about the bank, having seen no one to converse with."

A vibrant mercantile and professional community flourished in antebellum Camden (S.C.). There were merchants who specialized in dry goods, groceries, and hardware and others who handled a variety of goods. Phineas Thornton was a stationer who also served as postmaster. Mrs. C.F. Carpenter and Miss Holmes operated a millinery and mantua making shop. John Whitaker was a blacksmith and farrier, and Samuel Shiver worked as a farrier. Drs. E.H. Anderson and L.H. Deas provided medical services for the family of John Cantey and his enslaved workers. Eli W. Bonney worked as a tailor. Hale Johnson was a carpenter. General merchants with whom John Cantey traded were James Dunlap, Alexander Young, Moses Drucker, Christopher Matheson, J.M. Gamewell, A.M. Kennedy, James F. Sutherland, and George Alden. John Cantey occasionally shopped at auction as he purchased household items on 15 March 1832 and made payment to Francis Cook. Cantey purchased a table and settee at auction for \$10.50 on 25 January 1844.

At the time of John Cantey's death in 1854, there is no indication of his total land holdings among the estate papers. For James Willis Cantey, who died in 1860, there is an undated "list of the Lands belonging to the Children of the late Genl. J.W. Cantey." Several documents compiled at

different periods list names of enslaved African Americans owned by John Cantey in South Carolina and Georgia. A list prepared for the 1832 tax return lists eighty-three slaves for John Cantey. For land the notation is "same as last." The estate of H.T. Cantey reported two numbers, thirty-one and twenty-three slaves. A free woman was also listed. A separate list was compiled "of Negroes sent to Georgia the Taxes having been paid by J. Cantey for one year commencing first October 1832." "John Cantey's Tax Return for the year 1822" has a listing of forty-nine slaves, twenty-nine women and children and twenty men. Land was reported "same as last year." Five undated documents have lists of slaves and include a draft of a document apparently for a census.

Many of the prominent families in Camden (S.C.) participated in breeding and racing horses, and General Zachariah Cantey and John Cantey were officers of the Camden Jockey Club. Races were held in January. Kirkland and Kennedy in *Historic Camden* state: "The Cantey's were for generations conspicuous among the breeders of race horses and patrons of the turf in the state." John Cantey provided two mares for three years, 1837, 1838, and 1839, to James Chesnut's "Imported Doncarlos Jack" (1837–25 April 1840). In 1838, 1839, and 1840, "the jack" bred with one of Cantey's mares each year. Cantey signed a note for \$350 "for a pair bay horses 10 Hands high and six years old" purchased from W[illia]m T. Huronymous (25 February 1839). Cantey purchased saddles and other items from the Charleston firm of Love & Wienges, Saddlery and Harness Manufacturers. There are a number of statements for services rendered by local farrier Samuel Shiver. E[lisha] Warfield, a physician and breeder of Lexington, Kentucky, operated a stud farm by the name of The Meadows. His statement, 9 June 1836, reviews the pedigree of the filly Maid of the Meadows. The horse was

sold on that date for \$1,500 to W[illia]m Porter who in turn sold the filly on 6 March 1837 to Wade Hampton II for the same amount. Hampton raced the horse under the name Milwaukie and on 23 May 1839 “put her in the possession of my friend Major Cantey, to breed on shares.”

The Camden Jockey Club was suspended during the American Civil War and reorganized in 1874 with the publication of the *Constitution and Racing Rules of the Camden Jockey Club*. Notes of meeting of the club were apparently taken around 1874. James Chesnut was elected as president and John Cantey as vice-president. A clipping, December 1876, has the results of the races, 13–15 December.

In November 1860 forty-seven enlisted men and two officers signed a following statement:

The Election of Lincoln to the Presidency of the United States has destroyed the hopes of the South in this government. It is an open manifestation of the Northern hostility to Southern rights. There, we, the Officers and Members of the Kershaw Troop in view of the necessity of the secession of South Carolina from the general government and the difficulties which may arise, *do solemnly pledge ourselves* as a volunteer corps to the Governor of So. Ca. to be ready to obey any command he may give in defence of our state.

In the spring of 1861 there was some confusion as to the unit assignment of the Kershaw Troop. A letter of 2 May 1861 from John Cantey to “My Dear Ned” notified him that General Hampton “would be very glad to receive your company as one of the (4) Corps of Cavalry forming the Legion,” and related—“I think the Legion is to consist of 4

Corps of cavalry, 6 of the Riflemen not mounted, & 1 of Flying Artillery.” Two weeks later, 17 May, Captain E[dward] B[revard] Cantey informed Colonel J.B. Kershaw of the rejection of their application to be enrolled in Kershaw’s regiment. Cantey “confess[ed] my inability to account for such strange proceedings.” He cited Hampton’s offer to enroll in the Legion, but “we considered ourselves irrevocably pledged to you, and a part of your regiment. By some unexplicable means we are deprived of our position there and have likewise lost the opportunity of getting into Hampton’s legion.” Kershaw responded, 20 May, that he currently had ten companies, four rifle and six infantry and advised—“You are aware that I could not refuse to receive any company ordered to report to me by the Governor.”

Officers and enlisted men in Cantey’s unit signed on 18 June “to enter the Confederate service unconditionally for twelve months.” Orders to report to the Second Regiment, South Carolina Volunteers, were received from Adjutant General S.R. Gist on 25 June. Cantey received his commission as captain of the Kershaw Troop on the same day. In July and August 1861 the Kershaw Troop were located at Camp Quitman, Manassas Junction. By 28 July the unit was assigned to the Ninth Regiment at Camp Pettus.

Having suffered wounds in both legs, Cantey received a furlough on 4 October 1862, and in January 1863 he was assigned to enrolling service with the Camp of Instruction in Columbia. In August 1863 he was appointed Enrolling Officer in Richland District (S.C.) with the rank of major.

A circular issued around 1880 by W[illiam] M. Shannon “To the Citizens of Kershaw County” reported on “receipts and disbursements” for the Wateree Free Bridge which suffered extensive damage from a

flood in 1878. Shannon addressed the public for the purpose of responding to assertions in the *Camden Journal* “devoted to dissemination of libels against me.” With the *Kershaw Gazette* declining to publish personal communications, Shannon explained—“I am left no mode of reaching my fellow citizens, but the one herein adopted.” A *Kershaw Gazette—Extra*, issued on 9 July 1880, four days after Shannon was killed in a duel with Colonel E.B. Cash, published “Correspondence in Full Between Col. Shannon and Col. Cash.” **Gift of Mrs. Jane McCutchen Brown.**

**PAPERS, 1861–1865, OF ALEXANDER MCNEILL
AND
ALMIRAH HASELTINE SIMMONS MCNEILL**

An intimate view of the everyday life of a Civil War soldier is captured in an extraordinary unit of 276 letters, 6 May 1861–22 April 1865, between Alexander “Sandy” McNeill (1832–1889) and Almirah Haseltine “Tinie” Simmons (1836–1899) who were married in October 1862. Sandy and Tinie resided in rural Abbeville District (S.C.). Communities mentioned in the correspondence are Phoenix, Cokesbury, Hodges, New Market, and Ninety Six.

Alexander McNeill was the son of John McNeill and Sarah Lewis Youngblood. In the 1850 census, eighteen-year-old McNeill was listed as a clerk. His father was a coachmaker with assets of \$1,150.00. In the 1860 census Alex appears as a clerk with assets of \$3,000.00, which suggests that he was a partner in a mercantile business, especially as his residence was the home of William White Waller, a merchant of Greenwood (S.C.).

Although McNeill and Tinie shared a relationship from their time as school mates, she first married James Franklin Watson who died tragically in June 1860. The couple had one son, "Jimmie," who figures prominently in the correspondence. In addition to managing agricultural property and supervising the work of enslaved people, she was active in the community and helped to organize the Ladies' Soldiers Aid Society of Mt. Moriah Baptist Church.

Less than a month after South Carolina passed the Ordinance of Secession, the legislature enacted on 7 January 1861 an act for placing the newly independent state on a military footing. Alexander McNeill enlisted in the Secession Guards on 17 April 1861 in Greenwood (S.C.). The Secession Guards were originally attached to the Seventh Regiment, South Carolina Infantry, but before departing for Richmond on 30 April 1861, the unit switched to the Second Regiment, South Carolina Infantry, which merged with other regiments into Kershaw's Brigade.

Addressing Tinie as "Dear Madam," on 6 May 1861, in a letter written from Camp Charleston (Richmond, Virginia), McNeill conveyed his esteem for her as a friend, but confessed that "now I feel stealing over me a feeling which tells me that you are now held in higher estimation than that of a friend." He apologized for "this liberty and if your heart does not incline you to look favorably upon my proposals that you will attribute it to its proper cause and not accuse me of a want of courtesy."

He informed her that the Second Regiment departed Charleston on a Tuesday night and arrived in Richmond on Thursday. Traveling by rail through Wilmington (North Carolina), and Petersburg (Virginia), the unit received welcomes along the route. "The fair daughters of the Old North State and the Old Dominion," he suggested, "vied with each other in their attentions to our company. The finest rank, beauty, and intelligence

turned out at the stations and conversed with us as though we were old friends." The James River flowed within a few hundred yards of their encampment, which was located near the tomb "of the Patriot President James Monroe," buried at President's Circle in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond.

Not many days passed between letters to Tinie as he made use of leisure hours in "writing to a dear and much loved friend." His spare time in Richmond was spent viewing places of interest around the "Capitol & Capitol grounds." He admired the equestrian statue of Washington "surrounded by lesser satellites—Jefferson, Henry, and Mason." Not unlike many soldiers, he considered the Second Regiment "the finest regiment of men I ever saw in the field" and "the Secession Guards...will challenge comparison with any company in the regiment" (12 May 1861).

The Secession Guards remained in Richmond until moving out on 25 May 1861. While encamped in Richmond, he explained that activities commenced "at daylight." Roll call was followed by time "to put our tents in order and wash our faces." Beginning at 5:30 in the morning they drilled for an hour and adjourned for breakfast. More drills were conducted between 9:00 to 10:00 and 11:00 to 12:00. The call "to dinner" sounded at 1:00 with more drill from 3:30 to 5:00 and a dress parade at 6:00 which was followed by "supper." After roll call at 9:00 the men retired to bed. "The Soldiers life is a hard one," McNeill contended, "but we must take a soldiers fare and do all the duties required of a soldier....Our cause is the holiest that man ever battled for. And any sacrifice on our part is small in comparison with the responsibility that rests upon us."

McNeill's uncertainty about his relationship with Tinie was resolved by his undated response to her letter of 17 May 1861. He declared, "I pray

that I may ever prove to you that your love and confidence has not been misplaced... you cannot conceive how happy you have made me and a lifetime will be too short to repay you for your confidence." A man "without female influence," McNeill likened to "a ship at sea with her masts and rudder gone; no directing influence to keep him from shipwrecking upon the many shoals of temptation."

The Secession Guards was ordered to make preparations for deploying to Manassas Gap (Va.) on 21 May 1861. Their duties included erecting batteries and securing the gap. McNeill agreed with the strategy of "repel[ling] the enemy from our border and if necessary, carry[ing] the war into the enemies country" (22 May 1861).

While traveling by rail to Manassas Junction (Va.), there was a collision when the train carrying troops was struck by a train traveling south. Among the casualties were several men in the regiment but none in the Secession Guards. McNeill concurred with what he considered to be the opinion of many witnesses "that the engineer of the train going south ran in to us intentionally and it was an abolition scheme to destroy us." Whatever the reason, the engineer subsequently disappeared.

In these early letters there emerges a theme that is constant throughout McNeill's correspondence. A deeply spiritual person, he often commented of the spiritual environment of the unit. He was encouraged by their departure from the city to a more rural setting which removed them "from all dissipating influences and the men more willingly discharge all the duties, besides, now they have no desire to absent themselves from the camp." He noted the "sobriety and gentlemanly deportment of all, but still," he wrote on 28 May 1861, "I can see that the contaminating influences of city life was not without its votaries in our company."

Correspondence over the month of June 1861 centered around military activities in the vicinity of their location near Fairfax (Va.) and his anxiety as he awaited a definitive statement from Tinie concerning their relationship. On 4 June he related their work of “throwing up redoubts” which he confidently expected would enable a force of ten thousand to hold off an opposing force of twenty-five to thirty thousand. He offered his “humble opinion” that there would be no battle until after the Fourth of July as Lincoln would await action by the Congress. The following day he shared news of a report “most widely circulated in our camp” that Federal forces were advancing beyond Alexandria. He was hopeful “that the North will study their own interest well before they rush into a bloody war with us.” Two weeks later, he commended President Davis’s concentration of forces near Washington prior to the convening of the United States Congress. “Yes,” he declared on 18 June, “the smell of Southern gun powder and the gleam of our bayonets will have more effect upon the cowardly politicians of the North than all the eloquence of the South.”

In letters such as that of 4 June 1861, McNeill made it clear that he regarded Tinie as “a portion of my very being, the soul of my soul, the heart of my heart...the very life-tide of my existence rippling along my veins, the ocean of the river of my thoughts which terminates all.” It was “with great anxiety” that he awaited her decision, for if “denied your love, I would no longer have anything worthy to live for,” he wrote on 11 June 1861. Should he “lay down my life upon my Country’s altar,” he assured Tinie, “the assurance that I possessed your love would give me sweet consolation in my last moments.” If otherwise, “an unfavorable termination of our relations will forever sound the death Knell to my happiness” (16 June 1861). Writing while on picket guard, McNeill’s

frustration was such that “[t]he thought of our pleasant relations being broken off gives me far more uneasiness than all the boasted threats and tauntings of old Abe” (16 June 1861). Responding to her letter of 25 June on the 30th, he was clearly gratified. “Now I feel confident of your entire love and besides, as you say mutual confidence is now established. And there is nothing conduces so much to a perfect and happy union as entire confidence of husband and wife” (30 June 1861).

No letters are present between the 6th and 24th of July. During that time the Second Regiment relocated from Fairfax to Vienna (Virginia). As was his custom, McNeill did not send Tinie a detailed and graphic account of the Battle of Manassas or of the participation of the Second Regiment in the battle. He did assess what he considered to be the effect of the battle. “We do not know what movement is now going to be made by our troops, but it is certain that the invading hordes will soon be driven from our soil. May God grant that the complete defeat of their Army at the Battle of Bulls Run will show them how futile and impossible their task of subjugating us [is]” (24 July 1861).

For several months after the battle at Manassas, both armies engaged in what Felix Gregory de Fontaine referred to as the “picket war.” During most of this time, the Second Regiment was camped near Vienna, Fairfax, and Manassas. The overall health of Kershaw’s Brigade deteriorated. McNeill informed Tinie that of “near four thousand” men, “we have not exceeding 1600 men for service which shows that over half of our men are sick.” Exposure contributed to contraction of various diseases. Measles was the principal cause of death. One death was recorded in the Secession Guards, and ten fell sick the previous day, he reported on 12 August 1861. McNeill attributed the heat and regimen of camp duties as responsible for “making our young friends anxious for a

speedy close of the war. The war-like and war-loving spirit is fast cooling down, but do not understand me to say that our boys are anxious to leave the ranks as long as their country is in peril" (7 August 1861).

Samples of uniforms being sewn at home were received in August to the dissatisfaction of "the majority of our boys" since the cloth was cotton, "and we need heavy woolen goods for this Northern region." Even though he was not entirely satisfied "with the goods," he accepted that "in the present condition of our Country we must be content with such as we can get" (18 August and 3 September 1861).

On Sunday, 25 August 1861, McNeill attended a regimental prayer meeting, "a solemn scene to see hundreds of soldiers collected around a solitary light in an open field and to hear the praises of God sung by thankful hearts." He was not so moved by a service conducted by an Episcopal clergyman as "I must confess that the formality of this denomination always tires me so that I can never enjoy the sermon. I cannot imagine why this denomination has so much of the formal Catholic style about it" (22 September 1861).

While stationed on picket duty not far from Manassas, McNeill visited the site of the Battle of Blackburn's Ford which took place on 18 July 1861, three days before Manassas. He observed that in a clump of trees, "the enemies dead lie buried." He noted that "their bones are thickly strewn everywhere bleaching upon the soil that they came here to desecrate and devastate." The Union dead were buried several days after the battle and from the exposure to a July sun the bodies were in a putrified condition and our men buried them as best they could." Heavy rains and curious soldiers had caused further deterioration." Fit resting place," McNeill observed, "...for the ruthless invaders and desecraters of

the soil that even refuses to cover their cowardly corpses" (20 October 1861).

Between 25 October 1861 and 11 August 1862 there are no letters, the apparent cause of the gap in correspondence being that the engagement of Sandy and Tinie was ended. His letter of 25 October 1861, written in camp near Manassas, provides a brief account of the Battle of Ball's Bluff, a Confederate victory, with significant Union casualties and prisoners taken. A fragment of a letter, 11 August 1862, with McNeill in the South Carolina Hospital, Manchester (Virginia), was written in response to a letter to a letter from Tinie that he found in the pocket of his shirt. McNeill had been in hospital several months suffering from diarrhea. He closed the letter "with every confidence that your heart will point you to the course that you should pursue in reference to the matter that these two letters of yours and mine will necessarily and unavoidably bring to your consideration." He briefly rejoined his unit, but "my disease returned upon me with a renewed violence, and I now find myself much worse than I have been for a long time." Having addressed his letter to Mrs. Watson, he encouraged a reply "so that I may know your conclusions" (22 August 1862).

Writing Mrs. Watson from Phoenix (South Carolina), on 16 September 1862, McNeill considered himself in a "delicate situation" as he had not received a reply to his letter of 22 August. McNeill's friend Johnson Sale, who "is perfectly acquainted with all the circumstances of our former engagement," agreed to deliver the letter in preference to a visit from him. The letter, McNeill assured her, "is a true and full exposition of my feelings.... I beg of you let your own good heart decide my fate." If she agreed "to renew our former engagement, then I am thrice happy and will ever strive, God being my helper, to prove to you that your confidence

has not been misplaced.” Sandy McNeill and Tinie Watson were married on 2 October 1862, and he wrote “My Dear Wife” on 15 October 1862.

From camp near Winchester (Virginia), McNeill reported on 24 October 1862 that news of their marriage preceded his arrival. He was pleased that Chaplain A. Pickens Smith had been assigned to the Second Regiment for “no place so much needs the earnest efforts of the preacher as the army, and I find that although our boys have again passed through dangers of every kind, still their wickedness has in no wise abated.” In a letter of 16 November 1862 he related observations after an hour’s visit to “places where gambling is carried on in our Brigade.” He was distressed by much of what he saw: “I saw many barefooted men there throwing away their hard earnings that should have been used to comfortably clothe them. A short visit was enough to gratify me, and I turned away with loathing and disgust.”

The Second Regiment relocated with Kershaw’s Brigade from Winchester to Culpeper (Va.) with a march that commenced on 31 October 1862. From camp near Culpeper, McNeill reported on the regiment’s new uniforms which were a source of dissatisfaction “on account of the poor quality and style of the uniform. In response to Tinie’s suggestion “that the Ladies were desirous of infusing new life into the Soldiers Aid Society” and intended directing their efforts to assisting the Secession Guards, McNeill commended their intention. He recalled that Tinie had “been badly used by the members of the society and what assurance would you have that you would not receive a like treatment again.” He was not impressed with such societies where “those most interested usually contribute the least” (6 November 1862).

Subsequent to their marriage, McNeill took a greater interest in his wife’s affairs. He regretted that she was having a problem with Henry, an

enslaved man. Henry, he advised, “should be taught such a lesson as would do him good” when he was returned. The situation with Henry was apparently resolved with the discovery of a “den found before completed.” McNeill advised, “When he finds that he must obey and respect you, then he will cease to give you trouble” (2 December 1862).

Both Union and Confederate armies were located near the town of Fredericksburg (Va.) on opposite sides of the Rappahannock River in November. The armies were separated by 200 yards. Perhaps sensing their being caught in the middle, women and children were leaving the city by carriages, wagon, carts, and on foot. McNeill reported that three shots had been fired the previous day at the railroad where cars were loaded with women and children, and an apology was sent (22 November 1862).

The anticipated battle between the two armies occurred over a period of several days between 11 and 15 December 1862. McNeill apprised Tinie two days after the battle that Kershaw’s Brigade “occupied a conspicuous place in the engagement, and for the honor of Carolina, I am glad to say that her sons fought as valiantly as ever men did. The Secession Guards did not sustain a fatality, but seven were wounded” (17 December 1862).

Writing on a Sunday, three days after Christmas, McNeill noted that it was quiet and orderly: “Not a man in our Company was the least under the influence of the fiery liquid, and I doubt whether even a single glass was consumed by the whole Company.” There had been no worship service either: “our Chaplain I fear...has grown tired of sojourning among soldiers and followed the too frequent example of his predecessors and gone home” (28 December 1862).

The Secession Guards began the new year in the vicinity of Fredericksburg (Va.). They could celebrate with the receipt of two month's pay, which, McNeill observed, some of the men "squandered...in less than twenty-four hours." The "young and unwary" were especially susceptible: "it takes the sharper but a little while to fleece the fledgings of their mites" (6 January 1863).

The two armies remained facing each other on either side of the Rappahannock River. The Union army was "reported to be building huts and otherwise preparing to make their present position their base of operations for the balance of the winter." Recent wet weather had hindered transportation on the roads and delayed deliveries of rations and other supplies (25 January 1863). A member of the company, Jonathan Hutchinson, was returning home for two months and was being replaced by his nephew Fletcher. McNeill turned over to Hutchinson all the letters he received from Tinie since his return from home. He anticipated deriving "much pleasure from the reperusal of our old correspondence when peace is again restored and we are allowed to return to our homes." He relished reviewing her letters "for everytime I found something that afforded me fresh pleasure" (27 January 1863).

Snow began to fall by the end of January 1863. McNeill had never witnessed "so great a fall of snow before," and noted that although the ground was saturated from rain, there was as much as twelve inches of snow. What began as a snowball fight between the Secession Guards and another company escalated to regimental- and brigade-level activity. The fights went on for two days and prompted McNeill to declare, "This has been decidedly the grandest snowballing ever witnessed, and you would be amused to see with what eagerness and delight many of our prominent officers participate in it" (31 January 1863).

Tinie wrote on 12 February 1863 from Hard Labor Creek [now McCormick County, S.C.] discussing her plans for spring planting. She intended "to plant a full crop of cotton" before the legislature passed an act to prohibit more than three acres. Given the restriction, she would increase the acreage devoted to corn and plant sugar cane for molasses. She related the saga of Albert, her mother's slave, whom she sold to Alan Vance, only to have him run away and return to her mother. Albert sold for \$1,300.00 but subsequent to the sale prices had risen in the area. McNeill responded to her letter on 20 February 1863 and advised that she plant the full three acres of cotton "to each hand." He agreed that planting sugar cane for syrup and "as much corn as possible" was advantageous. He invited advice from Tinie on his investigation regarding the position of sutler to the army. "I know your good judgment will aid me," he observed, in determining what course will be best for me to pursue."

His interest in pursuing a position as sutler came to naught when his friend Johnson Sale advised that the substitute under consideration could not be hired. Another option under consideration was finding a substitute so that he could transfer "to the Cavalry service in South Carolina or elsewhere" (10 March 1863).

Writing on 2 March 1863 from near Fredericksburg, McNeill expressed concern about the prospects of assaults on Vicksburg and Charleston. Speculating regarding the loss of both cities, he observed, "Should Vicksburg go under then the entire Mississippi River is gone to us. But should our own City fall I dread to think of the indignities and wrongs that would be perpetrated upon the Citizens of our own State....we hope for the sake of humanity as well as justice, that the gallant Beauregard may drive the immense Armada from Charleston."

McNeill was not aware of where the Second Regiment's next campaign would take them, but he asserted that they were "all prepared to look for a more desperate campaign than ever before....We will do our duty as becomes the ever victorious Army of Northern Virginia and we trust that we may strike the enemy such a blow in the impending struggle as will bring him to a just appreciation of the impossibility of our subjugation" (19 March 1863).

Late in March, a vacancy occurred in the Secession Guards when Lieutenant John Maxwell received an appointment as assistant surgeon. McNeill's rank was orderly sergeant, but he became a candidate for the slot of third lieutenant. A number of candidates initially came forth but withdrew so that it became a contest between McNeill and another sergeant. McNeill offered the opinion that those who withdrew from the race did so "for the sole purpose of defeating me." The election took place on 25 March 1863, and McNeill prevailed by a vote of thirty-nine to twenty-five. As third lieutenant the salary was eighty dollars a month, "but I have to pay for my rations and uniform." He did derive pleasure "because my election is so mortifying to some individuals in our Company" (25 March 1863).

Following a brutally cold winter the weather was improving by early April. The strong winds rendered the roads more passable. Drills resumed, "and the boys, after so long a rest, reluctantly return to the formal drills of a soldier." But as for the countryside, "We see no preparations in this section for farming, the Army has laid waste the whole Country." "A large portion of the state will be uncultivated for years to come," McNeill asserted, "and a large portion, too of the most fertile land of our Southern Country is laid waste and now nothing more than a barren waste" (3 April 1863).

McNeill's letter of 30 April 1863 related troop movements by the Union forces, including a successful crossing of the Rappahannock River. He was of the opinion that "the great battle must soon come off and many of our gallant men must fall." The Chancellorsville campaign raged over the first week of May with thirty thousand casualties, the bloodiest day being 3 May 1863. The Second South Carolina Regiment counted only thirteen casualties, two of which were fatal. In the fragment of a letter, probably written on 9 May 1863, McNeill reviewed the movements of his company. According to one source, the Second South Carolina logged approximately forty-five miles between their departure from camp on 1 May and return to the same camp on 6 May.

At camp near Fredericksburg, McNeill noted on 3 June 1863 that they were making preparations to move out at dark. He also responded to Tinie's report of more problems with Henry, who apparently had stolen a number of hogs, "the most wholesale stealing, I have heard of at anytime." Henry's recent behavior, McNeill suggested, "seems to have turned all of his attention to deeds of rascality....he is exerting such a bad influence upon younger negroes."

The Second Regiment was near Culpeper on 9 June 1863 when McNeill reported on the participation of South Carolina Cavalry troops at Brandy Station. The troops were under the command of Matthew C. Butler who was wounded and lost a leg. The son of Wade Hampton III, Lieutenant Colonel Frank Hampton, was mortally wounded. On 15 June 1863, near Culpeper, the regiment was awaiting supplies by railroad and preparing to resume their advance toward the Shenandoah Valley in the direction of Winchester. Their ultimate destination was Gettysburg. Writing on 21 June 1863 from the north bank of the Shenandoah River, McNeill referred to the oppressive heat in the middle of the day.

Hundreds fell from exhaustion and there were deaths from sunstroke. Several men were missing from the Secession Guards, and surgeons estimated “the number of sick and exhausted men at five thousand and this from only one third of the Army.”

Orders were circulated on the 21 June 1863 to cross the river, which was swollen from recent rains and without a bridge or ferry. After fording the river, they marched to the top of a mountain. They had crossed the Shenandoah three times as McNeill wrote on 23 June 1863. Three days later, they were near Williamsport on the Maryland shore of the Potomac. McNeill recognized that “Genl Lee is making a bold stroke and one in which our future success rests, but we have every confidence in the sagacity of our leader and we go forward confident of success.” McNeill reviewed their movement after leaving Williamsport and stopping near Chambersburg. He noted the “high state of cultivation” in the area through which they passed which gave no appearance of having “suffered at all from the war.” He stated that their commanders urge “the troops to respect private property...but impress horses, cattle and everything else that can be of use to the Army...” (26 June 1863).

The army was headed south near Hagerstown (Maryland), on 7 July 1863 when McNeill acknowledged “that I have passed through the severest battle of the war unhurt....The best blood of old Carolina has been shed and that freely, in this battle.” Unlike his usual review of military actions, McNeill offered detailed descriptions of the battle from the perspective of a soldier in McLaws’s Division. The Second Regiment sustained 181 killed and wounded out of 350 men. He listed the names of those in the Secession Guards who were either killed or wounded. The company remained twenty-four hours on the battlefield, recovered their wounded, and buried their dead. The Gettysburg campaign did not

dispose McNeill “to hope for an early termination of this war.” As for the population in the region through which they passed, “I can see no disposition...to put a stop to this useless flow of blood” (7, 8 July 1863).

A week later, they had reached Martinsburg ([West], Virginia), where he received Tinie’s letter of 4 July. Two days later they were encamped near Bunker Hill (Virginia).The recent reverses at Gettysburg, Vicksburg, and Port Hudson, McNeill recognized,” have a tendency to dampen the ardor of our gallant soldiers” and produced a despondent mood among the troops. Comparing northern and southern landscapes, the northern “fields were every where golden with the ripening grain and green and luxuriant with the corn” while below the Potomoc “the equally fertile fields were fenceless and overrun with weeds and grass.” McNeill was critical of the “invasion policy” and did not think it would be attempted again. “It is an insane idea and I do not think it would have been undertaken now but to try and counteract the fall of Vicksburg would have both at home and abroad” (17 July 1863).

A period of relative inactivity set in when the Second Regiment returned from Gettysburg. They encamped near Culpeper until they relocated between Orange and Fredericksburg (Virginia), early in August. McNeill remarked that “I have never witnessed more complete inactivity in our Army at any time than now.” The Army of Northern Virginia, he understood, “was smaller than ever before and there are thousands whose names are upon our rolls away from their commands trying by every means in their power to skulk and shirk duty....It is said that nearly one half of our Army is now absent without leave” (16 August 1863). In view of the recent reverses on the battlefield that had affected the morale of the army, McNeill wondered if “We have grown too self reliant and vain glorious, trusting too much in our strength and forgetfull

of the divine agency in this struggle as in all things else” (21 August 1863).

The Second Regiment relocated to a camp near the North Anna River on 23 August 1863. They were situated in a good site, but a major problem was the scarcity of water (24 August 1863). By the first of September, the Second Regiment moved again to a camp near Frederic Hall (Virginia), where they remained until 7 September. They were on the move again by 13 September 1863 as they traveled by rail through North Carolina and South Carolina, with their eventual destination being northern Georgia and Chattanooga (Tennessee), as reported in a letter of 15 September. McLaws's and Hood's Divisions under General James Longstreet were shifted from Virginia to northern Georgia to reinforce the army of General Braxton Bragg which had been pushed out of Tennessee to northern Georgia after the fall of Knoxville. Two days after arriving on the evening of 18 September, the Second Regiment became engaged in combat on the slopes of Snodgrass Hill. Among those mortally wounded was McNeill's close friend John Wesley Johnson. McNeill listed the names of eleven men in the Secession Guards who were wounded. Two of the wounded were in his mess, "leaving only myself and Alex Reynolds unhurt." The problem that the wounding of George McKellar created was that the cook accompanied him home. McNeill lamented, "I can't do without someone to cook for me and I am at a loss to know what arrangements I can make" (22 and 27 September 1863).

Following the fight at Snodgrass Hill, the Union army established defensive positions in Chattanooga, and the Confederates lay siege to the city on three sides. While on siege duty, McNeill noted that they were located "in the crooked and tortuous Chattanooga Creek without

anything at all to do. We do not even have a roll call to change the constant monotony. I have never seen so quiet a time when so near the enemy" (9 October 1863). Friction between Braxton Bragg and subordinate generals escalated in October to the point where Jefferson Davis visited the army in the second week of the month.

Bragg's principal critic was General James Longstreet. In the first week of November Bragg deployed Longstreet toward Knoxville. Bragg wanted to attack the Union force in Knoxville, reopen the railroad line to Virginia, and rid himself of his principal critic. On 10 November 1863 the Second Regiment was near Sweetwater (Tennessee), "about sixty miles from Chattanooga and forty-five miles from Knoxville." McNeill was pleased with the appearance of the country, but "pained to record the fact that a great majority of the people here are strongly union in sentiment." He considered this population "traitors, for *traitors* they surely are," and referred to instances of "*Bushwacking*." As they marched towards Knoxville, McNeill expressed uncertainty about "how large a force will be sent in this direction," but "we have *Longstreet* and his *Virginia heroes* and we expect nothing but victory unless we are thrown against a force too largely our superior in numbers" (10 November 1863).

By 20 November 1863 the Second Regiment was deployed "In line of Battle in front of Knoxville Tenn." There is an absence of letters between 20 November and 7 December 1863 as the army had abandoned the siege of Knoxville. Longstreet was aware that the Union army defeated Bragg at Chattanooga and that a force commanded by William T. Sherman had been dispatched to defeat his army. When McNeill wrote Tinie on 7 December 1863, the Secession Guards were about thirty miles above Knoxville. One of the company died before they left Knoxville, three wounded were left, and one man remained behind to

attend to the wounded. The Secession Guards participated in a “little *fight*” which was not anticipated “as we thought operations were at an end for the winter.” The weather was very cold in the mountains, and McNeill recognized “that our Army is very poorly prepared for this weather as quite a number of them are barefooted as well as poorly clad” (7 and 18 December 1863).

Winter quarters for the Second Regiment were established near Russellville (Tennessee), located about fifty miles from Knoxville. McNeill informed Tinie that he and others “have been very busy...building a cabin.” With the completion of the chimney, he noted, “[we] are getting quite comfortably situated.” Although he acknowledged having “a comfortable bed...and enough covering to make out very well,” he recognized that “many of our men are all in a very bad situation” without shoes or “without any other clothing.” The railroad that would bring in supplies was not completed (28 December 1863).

McNeill welcomed the new year with a letter on 2 January 1864. Still in camp near Russellville, he anticipated receiving a furlough. So certain was he that he purchased a horse for \$500. His hope of a furlough waned, however, when the adjutant general could not locate the paperwork. He sold the horse to Elisha Brooks, “which relieved me of the uneasiness I felt about the horse, but leaves me in a situation that should I get a furlough, I will be compelled to walk home” (24 January 1864). By the end of January, the Second Regiment had relocated to a camp near the French Broad River in Tennessee.

There is a gap in the correspondence between 2 February and 7 March 1864, the result of his receiving a furlough. Recalling his time at home, McNeill observed, “it does seem like ages have already passed

since I parted with you. The twenty days spent at home seem to me as not a tithe of the time since we parted" (12 March 1864).

When McNeill wrote to Tinie on 7 March 1864, the Second Regiment was located at Petersburg (Virginia). Several days later, 10 March 1864, they had moved to a camp near Greenville (Tennessee). Another relocation took them to Bristol, on the border between Tennessee and Virginia, where they remained until mid-April when the Second Regiment under Longstreet's command returned to Virginia. In response to Jefferson Davis's declaration of "a day of Humiliation and prayer throughout the Confederacy" on 8 April 1864, McNeill observed, "...I trust that one united prayer may go up all over our land for our final success and for a speedy close of this unholy war....I cannot but look upon this war as a great National scourge sent upon us because of our open rebell[ion] against God's Holy laws" (8 April 1864).

The next phase of active fighting has been characterized as the "Overland Campaign." McNeill referred to Longstreet as "the *drudge* horse of the team." "No matter how dangerous and important the work," he noted, "he is always called upon to perform the lions share" (21 April 1864). The Overland Campaign took place over a period of six weeks in May and June. One hundred thousand casualties in five major battles made it "the bloodiest campaign in American history," according to military historian Mac Wykoff.

McNeill participated in only two of the battles known as the Wilderness, 5–6 May 1864. While he did not recount the battle in detail, he did inform Tinie that the Secession Guards lost four killed and ten wounded (7 May 1864). The second battle commenced on 8 May at Spotsylvania, and on that day McNeill suffered a wound "through the lower part of the left testicle and through the left buttock" (9 May 1864). Four days later,

having been transferred from the field hospital to Jackson Hospital in Richmond, he considered that he was improving as the “wound has pained me very little but I am unable to leave my bed” (13 May 1864). He informed Tinie on 22 May 1864 that he had been “before the examining board and they have recommended me a sixty day furlough.” In his letter of 30 May 1864, there remained some uncertainty about his furlough, but it was eventually granted.

McNeill returned to duty on 5 August 1864 in Richmond before joining his unit the next day near Culpeper. “That parting, the last parting,” he wrote to Tinie in a letter dated 10 August 1864, “is so indelibly impressed upon my heart time will never efface it....If this cruel war would but close, then I should be happy.” He received a letter from Tinie on 10 August 1864 and responded on the following day as she apparently suffered an injury while he was at home. An additional concern was her pregnancy. “I would not have had anything to have befallen you in any way for worlds,” he responded the following day, “for nothing could make me happier than to be a father.”

While McNeill was recuperating at home, Jubal Early’s Corps was dispatched to the Shenandoah Valley to drive out the Union army. Early’s force experienced success initially and even reached the outskirts of Washington. General Lee ordered Kershaw’s Division along with other units, including Anderson’s cavalry division, to support Early in the valley. On the same day that the Second Regiment left for Culpeper, Grant ordered General Sheridan to the valley to defeat the Confederates and to destroy agricultural production. South Carolina units fought numerous small engagements while in the valley. The Secession Guards participated in one such action as they “drove the enemy...from near Winchester to the heights overlooking Harpers Ferry” (23 August 1864).

While "On Out Post Near Harpers Ferry," 25 August 1864, McNeill referred to the good time they were experiencing: "We get a pound of flour and beef each per day and then we can get plenty of apples and roasting ears, and you know there is nothing much better than nice apples and plenty of green corn." Another engagement occurred when they were on picket duty near Winchester. They did not become aware of the Union troops until "they poured a heavy volley of musketry into us." The Secession Guards eventually had to withdraw, and while crossing an open field, they presented an easy target. Five were wounded and three were missing, McNeill reported on 27 August 1864.

During the campaign McNeill was much concerned about his wife's health. "I do sympathise with you in your sickness," he wrote in a letter of 25 August 1864, "and I do so wish that I could be with you to watch over and nurse my darling during her spells of sickness." He hoped for "long and interesting letters" when her health allowed (30 August 1864). He feared the worst when others received letters and he had received none since 15 August.

On 8 September 1864, he was relieved by the receipt of letters of 21 August and 1 September. The receipt of two letters of 9 and 15 September brought sad news regarding the prospect of losing the child. Tinie's letter of 21 September 1864 reported that she had seen Drs. Park and Taggart, and "still it seems like they have not done me any good for I am still threatened with a miscarriage and I fear that I will miscarry in spite of all that can be done." He apprised Tinie of receiving a letter from her sister Emily. He was relieved to have a report that "my dear afflicted wife is fast improving" (9 October 1864). McNeill's letter of 18 October 1864, datelined from Fishers Hill, confirms that she lost the child and acknowledges their shared grief "on account of the misfortune which so

completely destroys our fair prospect of soon being the happy parents of a sweet and darling little baby... my joy is proportionately great because in that misfortune I still have left to me one far dearer than all else of earthly creatures.”

Over the weeks that McNeill agonized over the physical condition of his wife, Confederate forces in the valley suffered calamitous defeats. A significant number of the Fifteenth Regiment was taken prisoner on 26 August 1864. McNeill was writing Tinie on 13 September 1864 from Winchester (Virginia), when he was interrupted to go to the picket post to respond to an attack by Yankee cavalry. That force captured a Confederate cavalry regiment and advanced on the Eighth South Carolina Regiment “capturing all of them except two small companies.” McNeill pointed out that if the attack had occurred a day earlier, “I would now be wending my way towards a Yankee prison instead of writing to you...It was a very unfortunate affair for our little army. We lost, it is said, nearly the whole of three Regts., only one, however, from our Brigade.” With the fall of Atlanta between these two defeats, McNeill thought that any hope of a peaceful resolution was diminished. He also anticipated his home turf “will yet be made the theatre of war” (8 September 1864).

McNeill did not respect the leadership of Jubal Early. At the Battle of Cedar Creek (Va.) on 19 October 1864, the Confederate forces suffered “one of the most mortifying disasters of the war.” The initial attack took the Union army by surprise as their troops were in bed “and were awakened by the volley of our musketry pounding into their half-formed lines.” While the Federals were driven back in disarray, success turned to misfortune with “the unfortunate giving way of one Brigade of Early’s Army which forced the whole line to fall back.” McNeill declared that

“never has it been my misfortune to behold such an utter rout and confusion in the stampede” (21 October 1864). He considered “old Early” unfit to command a separate department. “I also abhor the idea,” he wrote on 29 October 1864, “of being led by such a libertine and drunkard.” McNeill had no confidence in Early as a leader and asserted, “I am completely sickened with Early as a Genl and the valley has been fraught with so many disasters of late that I would gladly go to another field of operations” (12 and 18 November). Sheridan’s army achieved both objectives of the campaign in the valley, driving Early’s force out of the valley and disrupting the flow of foodstuffs to Lee’s army.

McNeill’s wish to transfer to another field of operations was realized on 15 November 1864 when Kershaw’s Division received orders to rejoin Lee’s army in the area of Richmond and Petersburg. They did not know as yet where they would be assigned, possibly to establish winter quarters, he noted on 22 November 1864. McNeill was aware of Sherman’s success in Georgia and reported that another division had been dispatched to impede the advance. He doubted that “the small force which we can spare from this department will be unable to drive back Sherman’s columns.” He sought from Tinie some sense of “the feeling at home now” on 26 November, and after hearing from her about the hiring out of Wade and Wellman and having at home Peolar, his wife, and three children, he expressed concern about increasing the number of mouths to feed. If Wade and Wellman were hired, he responded on 29 November 1864 that she should insist upon “a written agreement that they should not be sent upon the coast.... We have not land enough for all of our hands and then the fences are in such bad repair that I do not know what to tell you to do.”

The weather turned very cold in December with rain and snow. Winter quarters were being constructed, McNeill informed Tinie on 4 December 1864. His letter of 18 December noted that their third Christmas anniversary was approaching and that they as yet had not celebrated a Christmas together. He closed his letter before retiring to supper with “but a little fat bacon and bread to sit down to.” “Oh will this war never cease,” he opined, for “I so do long to have done with it and be allowed to spend the remainder of my days with you.” The days after Christmas he observed some of the company “building chimneys to their tents and the ground where they will be compelled to raise their tents is already covered with water several inches deep.” He lamented, “so cheerless a prospect...if we are forced to spend the winter in this miserable place.” Their location and their situation fueled McNeill’s sense of despair. He thought that “signs of the times all point towards our defeat,” but all would be well, he declared in a 26 December 1864 letter, “If our men would but stand to their Colors...but alas, there are too many craven wretches constantly throwing down their arms and going either to the enemy or their homes.”

When McNeill addressed Tinie on 10 January 1865, he was situated in St. Andrew’s Parish near Charleston. He was certain that Tinie was aware of their transfer to South Carolina. It was a bitter cold night on 3 January 1865, with snow on the ground and more falling and McNeill on picket duty, when the Second Regiment received information that they would depart the next morning for South Carolina. They boarded the train in Richmond “and proceeded on our journey without anything worthy of notice until we reached Charlotte N.C.,” where they observed a fire in a government warehouse. Upon their arrival in Columbia (S.C.), they “were received with one general manifestation of delight.” At city

hall, the mayor addressed them, their colonel responded, and they were served “an ample supper of cold meats and bread,” after which Governor A.G. Magrath “made...a soul stirring and patriotic address.” The governor acknowledged that he despaired of stopping Sherman with the few troops that were available, but “now that our old Brigade so well tried in scores of battlefields, were here, he felt confident that the invader would not be allowed to advance over one foot of So. Carolina soil without paying dearly for it.” McNeill admitted to sharing a few glasses with friends but assured her he would not have indulged elsewhere “or under any circumstances than in Columbia.”

McNeill’s correspondence does not reveal whether he had any prior experience in the low country of his native state. Writing on 12 January 1865, he described the landscape in great detail and stated his preference for the mountain scenery “to this low flat somber-looking country.” Four days later the Second Regiment was located on the Salkehatchie River. Although McNeill thought it “a very good position” if they were attacked from the front, he acknowledged that with the superior forces of the Union army, they could “flank us out of most any position.” And he also recognized and was disappointed at what he sensed to be a “universal feeling of despondency.”

McNeill apprised Tinie of a recent act of the legislature that regulated the impressment of slave labor for work on fortifications. The law required that owners of two road hands must send one to the coast for two months. “Our people have furnished thousands of slaves for labor upon the fortifications of our State,” McNeill asserted, “and I fear that all of that work will in the end prove useless for it is daily growing more plain to me that Charleston and all of our Seaboard must soon be abandoned to the enemy.” McNeill admitted that it pained him to admit that a state of

hopeless despondency” was evident among the people and was infecting the military. The sense that “many good and true men believe this war must speedily end in our defeat,” he wrote on 17 January 1865, “...causes my heart almost to grow cold within me, and if something is not speedily done to dissipate this feeling...we are gone up.” The men of the Secession Guards, McNeill regarded as “true and devoted but yet many of them begin to entertain doubts of the issue of this war,” he wrote two days later. With the fall of Fort Fisher in January, McNeill anticipated Wilmington’s fall which would force the evacuation of Richmond.

The Confederate forces camped on the banks of the Salkehatchie River had to contend with flooding from the constant rain but were also aware that the Union army was in the vicinity. McNeill took this to mean that the absence of activity meant that they were confident in their ability to act on their timetable. He directed his letter on 24 January 1865 to Augusta (Georgia) as the normal rail route was not available. He received Tinie’s letter of 28 December 1864 with the arrival of a shipment from Virginia.

Late in January, McNeill commented on the three Confederate commissioners who were dispatched “to meet with the same number of Yankee commissioners.” He was not sanguine that they would make any progress towards peace. Even though there seemed to be optimism over the rumors of peace, McNeill was not of that persuasion. He could not imagine why “the Federal Government after repeated successes such as have attended their armies for some months past will offer us any terms such as we could accept.” In case of defeat, he wrote on 31 January 1865, he expected nothing better “than a return to the old Union and then stripped of all our property.... although long sense tired of this wretched war yet, I will say fight on rather than accede to such terms.”

McNeill devoted considerable space in his letter of 2 February to discussing “the Consolidation Bill as amended and passed by the Confederate Senate,” then before the House for consideration. He explained that the bill would allow officers to volunteer in the branch of service “they may desire provided they may select their Companies within thirty days” after which he could select cavalry or artillery. McNeill weighed the dangers of the infantry which “are without question greater than in any other branch of Service and now I agree that this war has attained such magnitude that it is the duty of every soldier to his family, to say nothing of himself, of every privilege allowed him.”

While on picket duty near Blue House on 10 February 1865, McNeill reported that there had been no appreciable activity by the enemy except for occasional skirmishing. He thought that the Union army would focus on Augusta and the railroad junction at Branchville (S.C.). Any advance toward the latter location could not be impeded with the few troops that the Confederates had in place. The Second Regiment was in the direct line to Charleston but could not hold off a considerable force. “Something must be done and that speedily,” McNeill realized, “or else our own proud old State will have been completely overrun, our homes laid waste, and families left without wherewith to sustain life.” McNeill did not assign blame to the generals “for what can they do against a powerful foe with but a hand full of men.” He did fault the fortitude of the people, especially those who “will resort to any subterfuge to keep out of the army so say nothing of the number daily deserting to the enemy.”

Four days later, on 14 February 1865, the Second Regiment was on the move back to St. Andrew’s Parish. McNeill was aware that Sherman’s army was approaching Columbia (S.C.). He advised Tinie that “...if the Yankee *raiders* come through our Country” she should

“remain at home and not endeavor to get out of their way. Those who remain at home fare much better than those who try to get out of their way.” The Second Regiment was situated at Kingstree (Williamsburg County, S.C.) on 24 February 1865 awaiting cars of the Northeastern Railroad to carry them to Cheraw (S.C.). When Charleston was evacuated on the 18 February 1865, cotton and other stores were burned and “a number of poor women and children were killed by the explosion of shells placed among the cotton.” News of Columbia’s fate had reached them. He reported that subsequent to their leaving Charleston, scores of men were deserting. The desertions were particularly heavy in the Twentieth Regiment, McNeill wrote on 24 February 1865.

The Second Regiment was located near Cheraw (S.C.) on 28 February 1865. On the way to Cheraw, a night was spent in Florence (S.C.), where McNeill visited with his brother Elmore. News arrived that General Joseph E. Johnston replaced Beauregard in command of the army. Writing that same day, McNeill observed, “We find that our whole army distrusts our leaders and when this is the case, no important results can be looked for. Something must be done and that speedily or else the whole South will be overrun and a large portion of it laid waste.” He regretted the separation from his wife and related reports of the destruction of property by Union raiding parties, although “we cannot trace one of them to any creditable source.” In line of battle four miles from Cheraw (S.C.) on 2 March 1865, McNeill considered that they were in a strong position. He acknowledged that “we are satisfied that Sherman’s object is not to encounter a determined enemy behind an entrenched position” but rather to adopt “a flank movement by which he

is able to avoid a battle and at the same time extend his line of desolation.”

The army continued moving northward, and on 7 March McNeill addressed Tinie, while “On the March, Montgomery County, N.C.” He wrote, “during the temporary halts....as theirs was an army almost constantly on the march since we left Charleston about sixteen days ago.” The anticipation was that the march would continue until they united with Beauregard near Greensboro (N.C.). Numbers of men were deserting “and if it does not cease our Army will soon cease to be more than a mere handful.” He confided to his wife, “I have but little confidence in our army and I fear when the hour for the grand struggle arrives, they will prove themselves unworthy representatives of so worthy a cause.”

Two weeks elapsed before he sent Tinie a “hurried note” from near Smithfield on 23 March 1865. They had engaged the enemy twice without any decisive result, and, McNeill noted, “the grand battle yet remains to be fought.” The Second Regiment remained encamped near Smithfield from 23 March until 22 April, when they were near Greensboro (N.C.). They were deployed in battle at Averasboro and Bentonville on 16 and 20 March, respectively. In the latter battle the unit was situated in “an almost impenetrable swamp where the mud and water was from knee to almost waist deep.” The scene was one of total confusion, “badly managed as well as badly planned,” he reported on 27 March 1865.

In the face of insurmountable difficulties, McNeill took notice of a bill passed by the Confederate Congress on 13 March 1865 to draft African Americans into the army. He did not approve of the legislation, noting in a letter of 29 March 1865, “I hear of officers who are anxious to be allowed to go home to raise Negro commands but as for me, I shall use every effort to have nothing to do with them.” In the same letter he

mentioned passage of the Consolidation Bill, "but as yet it is not determined how and when it is to be put into effect." He expressed a preference for being a private in the cavalry rather than an officer in infantry. Both legislative measures were irrelevant in less than a month.

His letter of 22 April 1865 cited "the terms agreed upon between Johnston and Sherman." The agreement allowed "that we are, first, to return to the Union; secondly, free pardon is to be granted to all parties engaged in the war and, thirdly, that we are to be guaranteed our property and rights under the Constitution." The agreement outlined by McNeill was signed on 18 April 1865 but was later rejected by the United States Congress on the grounds that Sherman had exceeded his authority by signing what amounted to a reconstruction policy. A subsequent agreement on 26 April acknowledged surrender on strictly military terms.

McNeill must have sensed relief "that the war will speedily have an end" when he wrote on 22 April 1865 that "I have, for years now, looked forward with the greatest satisfaction and a constant yearning for the termination of this war and it has afforded me moments of the deepest pleasure to imagine our meeting after this work of carnage was over." He urged Tinie to settle any debts in Confederate currency and not to accept Confederate currency when selling anything. He assured her that "I will be true and faithfull to you and labor all that is in my power to contribute to your comforts." **Gift of Mrs. Linda Starling Hammond, Mr. Hubert Starling, Jr., Mr. James G. Starling, Mrs. Mae Starling Timmerman, and Mrs. Elizabeth Starling Wells.**

**MACK FAMILY PAPERS,
1912–1948 and 1957**

Four generations of Macks generated the correspondence that comprises the Mack family papers, presently with more than 3,750 items, housed in the South Caroliniana Library.

William Mack (1807–1879), Princeton Theological Seminary graduate and, for almost fifty years a Presbyterian minister and educator, was the first contributor to the collection. His son, Joseph Bingham Mack (1838–1912), also a Presbyterian minister with pastorates in South Carolina, North Carolina, and Georgia, was the author of most of the letters written from the 1870s until his death in Fort Mill (South Carolina), in 1912.

Although primarily directed to his wife, Harriett (Hattie) Hudson Banks (1845–1937), the daughter of Presbyterian minister William Banks (1814–1875) and his wife Mary Elvira Harrington (1823–1905), Joseph's letters were also sent to his children, to friends and colleagues, especially other Presbyterian clerics, and he preserved many of the letters he received. A description of that portion of the family collection was included in the 2016 University South Caroliniana Society annual report of gifts. After Joseph's death, the majority of the correspondence was generated by Francis Murray Mack (1887–1979), Hattie and Joseph's youngest son, and a member of the third generation of Macks. In February 1915, Murray Mack married Elizabeth (Betsy) White Nims (1894–1973), and their four sons—Francis Murray Mack, Jr. (1915–2009), Frederick Nims Mack (1918–1998), Joseph Bingham Mack (1922–1976), and William Mack (1926–2009)—represent the fourth generation of Mack correspondents.

Murray Mack was an inveterate writer and, when away from home, he frequently wrote to his parents, especially while at college, and later,

after he married and was in military service, to his wife. Murray had joined the local unit of the South Carolina National Guard, the Fort Mill Light Infantry, as a young man and was called into active service in 1916 when the First South Carolina Regiment was ordered to the Mexican border as a result of the incursions of Pancho Villa and his men into New Mexico. A few months after his regiment returned to South Carolina in December 1916, Murray was recalled to active duty, in April 1917, when the United States joined with the Allied nations in the World War. After his regiment was federalized, Murray became a member of the 118th Infantry Regiment, and as part of the Thirtieth (Old Hickory) Division, served in Belgium and France with the American Expeditionary Forces for almost nine months during 1918 and 1919. The letters he exchanged with his wife, and others, chronicle his life, thoughts, dreams, and fears during his frequent absences from home and family and, even after his return to Fort Mill in 1919, detail his struggles to establish a successful farming operation, while also working, from 1921 to 1938, as superintendent of the Fort Mill graded school, in order to support his growing family during the difficult decades of the 1920s and 1930s.

After peacetime service in the Reserve Officers Corps from 1921 to 1941, Murray Mack once again entered the army in September 1941, as the United States prepared for possible involvement in the on-going European war. He was assigned to military posts within the United States, first at Camp Shelby (Mississippi), as the commanding officer of the Special Training Battalion located there, and then from September 1944 until June 1946, he was Post Executive at Fort Moultrie (South Carolina). After the war ended, he sailed for Korea, in July 1946, where, as part of the Ninety-ninth Military Government Group, he was military mayor of the city of Taegu [Daegu, South Korea] for almost a year before

returning to the United States in September 1947. Although he was on active duty for less than ten years during a military career that totaled thirty-seven years, the majority of the letters in the Mack family papers for the years 1912–1948 were generated while Murray was away from home on active duty.

After the death of his father in May 1912, twenty-four-year-old Francis Murray Mack assumed sole responsibility for running the family's farms, now the property of his mother, Hattie Banks Mack. During the previous two years, Murray had acted as farm manager, but Joseph Mack had continued to control all farm operations. Without his father's guidance and detailed directions, Murray enjoyed more autonomy in making decisions about the daily operation of the farms, even though his mother and his brother Will were also involved in major decisions concerning the selection of tenants, the purchase of livestock, and expenditures for capital improvements. Because Murray was the only Mack brother directly involved with the farms, he continued to correspond with both Will and Edward Mack in order to keep them informed about important issues that developed in Fort Mill. Until his mother's death in 1937, Murray was the family member who accepted primary responsibility for her welfare, and that meant providing an income from the farming operations that would allow her to live a comfortable, worry-free life. The dominant theme evident throughout the correspondence from 1912 through 1937 is the effort of Murray, and his siblings, to keep their mother happy and financially stable.

Even with his responsibilities to his mother, Murray still found time to correspond with his extensive network of relatives and friends, especially with Elizabeth "Betsy" Nims. During the summer of 1912, while Betsy

visited with friends in Chester, and Pacolet (South Carolina), and with family in Mount Holly (North Carolina), Murray and Betsy wrote lengthy letters to each other. After she returned home in September, her letters stopped, but Murray's correspondence with others, cousins and nephews in particular, continued.

For example, he wrote to and received letters from Winthrop College student Annie Augusta Wilson (1893–1991), a cousin whose grandmother Annie Janette Harrington (1825–1901) was the sister of Murray's grandmother Mary Elvira Harrington Banks (1823–1905). Another cousin, Helen Woods (1889–1976), from Darlington (South Carolina), and also a student at Winthrop College, was a frequent correspondent before her graduation in 1913. Murray exchanged letters with friends from his student days at Davidson College and Cornell University, and also corresponded with three nephews who had started their college careers. Joseph Bingham Mack, the son of Alex Mack, was beginning his freshman year at Davidson College when he wrote Murray on 6 September 1912, with a brief report on his first week at school. He ended his letter with a plea to "write me," but insisted, "I am not homesick but I want to hear from you all."

Murray's nephew Edward Mack was enrolled at Princeton when he wrote his uncle Will on 6 November 1912, the day after the presidential election that had pitted Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt against the incumbent, William Howard Taft. Will enclosed Ed's letter in his own letter, dated 9 November 1912, because he "thought it might interest...[Murray] and other members of the family, especially Lizzie and Mary." Ed reported on the "big time in Princeton last night," as the election results were reported. "About 11 o'clock," he wrote, "when Wilson's election seemed assured," the students "paraded around to

Jack Hibben's and called him out." John Grier Hibben had been elected Princeton's president earlier that year and, as Ed Mack pointed out, he "was very strong for Taft..." President Hibben attempted to make "a little speech," but was frequently interrupted by the cheers of the students whenever he mentioned Wilson. "The boys didn't think he was enthusiastic enough, so they suggested, and finally demanded, that the next day be a holiday. Jack came across." Ed worked that night as a messenger for Western Union "and carried messages to and from" Wilson's house. "Most of the time, however," he remarked, "I was inside with a bunch of reporters in a back parlor." Ed had "a good many glimpses" of Wilson during the evening, and was standing "about 2 feet from him when he read T.R.'s message of congratulations." The evening ended when "about 12:30 Wilson cleared everybody out, said he wanted to close up the house, but before we went, everybody was treated to coffee, sandwiches and candy."

Early the next year, just before Woodrow Wilson's inauguration, in a letter to Murray dated 7 February 1913, Ed described the eagerness of the Princeton students to take part in the event. About a thousand students "are going to 'escort' Woodie Wilson from his home here to Washington, and be his body guard there on the 4th," he reported. "We are also getting up a student band, just to show those high-browed D.C.s that the Tiger can toot and blow as well as growl." Ed hoped to attend the festivities in Washington, "if my pocket book will come across," he joked.

Another of Murray's nephews, Joe Belk, although not in college, spent the school year 1912-1913 in Cincinnati (Ohio), where he lived with his uncle Ed's family, and enrolled in a local high school. In a letter written 24 September 1912, he asked Murray to send him "the clippings of the Sunday papers about football" because he would not "get much

information about southern foot-ball up here especially the colleges in the Carolinas." He and his cousin Joe Mack were on the high school team; Joe Mack played quarterback and Joe Belk left halfback. When he wrote to Murray again, on 29 October 1912, he was still focused on football and devoted most of his letter to his team. "We have played four games and haven't been scored on yet," he bragged. "Our team is light, but very fast." After football season ended, Joe found very little to interest him. He complained to Murray, in a letter dated 15 February 1913, "[s]chool life is awful when a feller has to study all the time and can't have any fun." He was even disappointed in the Cincinnati girls. "Murray, these girls up here are not as sweet and pretty as the Southern girls. I have made some of them up here popping mad by telling them the Southern girl is the prettiest and sweetest on earth..., but still all of them like me." He ended his letter with an admonition to his uncle: "Please hurry up and get married."

Joe's brother William Belk prepared for college with his great-uncle Alex Banks in Columbia (S.C.) in the spring of 1913 and then entered Clemson College in the fall. After Clemson had won, the annual football game against South Carolina by a score of 32 to 0, William sent Murray a postcard, dated 3 November, with the image of a tiger devouring a chicken, captioned "I've just eaten the Gamecocks and the feathers tickle!" At the bottom of the card, William wrote, "This is a Fair specimen of the game don't you think so[?]" Writing a month later, on 7 December, William was more reserved in his comments. He observed, "Thanksgiving was an unlucky day for our foot-ball...Tech beat us 34-0 and Furman 40-0."

Although Murray and Betsy Nims continued to attend social events together and, when apart, wrote each other frequent letters, there was no

indication that their romance had developed to the point where marriage was a possibility. In a letter Murray addressed to "Dear Little Sunbeam," dated 22 March 1913, and directed to Betsy in care of Roy Spratt, her uncle, who lived in Mount Holly (North Carolina), and in whose home she was visiting, Murray informed Betsy that she had missed the visit to Fort Mill of Ruffner Campbell, Murray's friend from Asheville (North Carolina), who had spent two days in town. "I wanted you to meet him, and was thus surprised and sorry to learn that you had run away." Ruffner, he continued, "is a born musician and entertained us with songs on the guitar and piano." Murray had also been involved in music making the previous evening with the "quartet," he informed Betsy. "We paraded the streets and worried the sleepy inhabitants with our harmony (?) 'till almost twelve o'clock. (No cake or other refreshments were served, showing how little Fort Millians appreciate really first class music)," he joked.

While Betsy was away in July visiting Bessie Rankin, her aunt, who also lived in Mount Holly, she and Murray exchanged letters again. Mount Holly, she informed Murray, was "dull...because everybody has left the place," and she was "lonesome" and planned to return home soon. This letter she signed "with love, Betsy." When Murray wrote Betsy on 17 July 1913, he had just received a "nice long" letter from her which gave him "a great deal of pleasure." He then relayed some of the Fort Mill news, including his attendance at a party on "Tuesday night, the first one I've been to in a long, long time." He had learned that Betsy's "crowd had a hilarious time down at Aileen Barber's Monday night. And it was your crowd that was mostly in evidence at the club house yesterday."

It is impossible to trace Murray and Betsy's courtship after the summer of 1913 because none of their letters are in the collection, until after their

marriage in 1915. The majority of the twenty letters in the collection dated 1914 are from Murray's cousin John McMullen Banks (1892–1958), the son of Alex Banks and his wife Sarah (Sallie) McMullen, who spent some time in Fort Mill with the Macks that year. John, in a letter to Murray dated 28 September 1914, indicated that he was aware of the his cousin's courtship. "May you have good progress with your love affairs, and may another summer not come until Mrs. F. Murray Mack will be gracing the home at Rocky Knoll." John Banks' wish for Murray's marital happiness was realized on Wednesday evening, 17 February 1915, when, according to the account published the next day in the *Fort Mills Times*, "[an] event of much social interest in Fort Mill and the community...the marriage of Miss Elizabeth Nims and Mr. F. Murray Mack...took place at the home of the bride's parents...two miles south of town." "[A] large crowd of relatives and friends of the couple" witnessed the ceremony, which was performed by the Reverend W.A. Hafner, pastor of the Fort Mill Presbyterian church. "Mr. Mack" was described as "one of the township's most progressive young farmers."

After their marriage, the couple lived in the Mack home, along with Murray's mother, Hattie Mack, and eleven-year-old Billie Mack, Hattie's grandson. After the death of Minnie Mack in 1909, William Mack had entrusted his son to the care of his mother, and she became, in essence, Billie's mother. When Murray was away for the first time after his marriage, Betsy was left in charge of some of the farm chores. She wrote to Murray, who was in York (South Carolina), on 12 April 1915, with the assurance that "[e]very thing is all right." She had "mixed the hog feed" that morning, and had ridden the pony, and she commented, "we got along much better this time." At the end of the letter, Betsy lamented, "this is the first time *you* have left *me*....I'll miss you more to-night."

During their next separation, occasioned by Murray's duty as a member of the First Infantry, South Carolina National Guard, to spend ten days in July in camp near Charleston, Betsy and Murray exchanged letters almost daily. Betsy's letters typically chronicled her daily activities, detailed the state of crops and livestock on the farm, mentioned the weather, and sometimes repeated the day's menu. In her letter dated 23 July 1915, Betsy observed, "[i]t's delightfully cool here and we have more good things to eat. We had fried chicken for dinner. Plenty left for supper. The neighbors send us watermelons and cantaloupes and there are plenty of peaches, horse apples and figs on the place."

Murray's letters were filled with vivid descriptions of camp life, stories about the men in his regiment, often humorously written, and directives about tasks that needed to be completed at the farm. Murray arrived at the camp site, located on the Isle of Palms, across the harbor from Charleston, in advance of the most of the men in the companies because as the regimental quartermaster sergeant, he was responsible for preparing the camp for occupation.

In his first letter to Betsy, written on 20 July 1915, and facetiously headed "Camp Hades, Isle of Pains," he recounted his tedious trip to Charleston, unloading supplies, ferrying the equipment to Mt. Pleasant, "and here loaded the same stuff on flat cars which carried it to camp ground." The next day, his job was to supervise setting up camp. "All today we have been sorting out and placing tents, poles, pins etc. where the companies can get them as soon as they get here," he explained. He had already discovered the difficulty of living on a sandy island. "Just as fine as flour, the air is full of it all the time, [it] gets in your eyes, clothes, shoes, and every bite you eat is seasoned with sand." Sand, however, was only one of the plagues Murray cited in his letter. "There are

skeeters, and then more skeeters, and finally all the mosquitoes in the world are holding an international convention, a world congress, the chief object being, it seems, to demonstrate the most effective and deadly methods in vaccinating us poor humans,” Murray lamented. The only way to escape the mosquito bites at night, Murray discovered, was to head to the beach, which he did about midnight, where he, along with some other miserable soldiers, “walked the beach till about four o’clock & then went in and covered up with water[,] all except our heads[,] till sun-up...” By the time the troops arrived on the night of 20 July, “the wind changed...and blew the mosquitoes all back into the marshes, so that I missed the golden opportunity of seeing & hearing the consternation & cussing I was expecting to enjoy so much,” Murray admitted to Betsy. “It was a sight to see the camp this morning, a city sprung up in a night. It was good to hear the band on the beach, right at the ocean’s edge, at dress parade this morning.”

While Murray fought the sand and mosquitoes at Camp Manning, the name bestowed on the National Guard training site on the Isle of Palms, Betsy dealt with her husband’s extended absence. In her letter of 22 July 1915, she confessed, “[y]ou don’t know how much I miss you....There has been an empty aching place in my heart since Sunday afternoon.” She was also troubled by Murray’s absence for another reason. She planned to spend the time until Murray returned home at her mother’s house, she explained, “for your mother’s is not home to me when you are not there....Mother [Mack] is much better pleased with me away and ma *wants* me with her.” The day before the summer encampment ended, Murray wrote to Betsy, in a letter dated 29 July 1915, “I’ll be home tomorrow (Friday) night, if nothing happens to delay us.” The captain of the Fort Mill company, Thomas Benjamin Spratt (1878–1938), “gets busy

today at noon, moving camp to [the] railroad cars in Charleston," he continued. "The regiment is off on a hike or sham battle now leaving us unattached fellows in camp."

In late September 1915, Hattie Mack and Billie began an extended stay with Ed Mack in Richmond (Virginia), while Mary Ashley, Ed's wife, who had been ill with tuberculosis for several years, was a patient in the Loomis Memorial Sanitarium for Consumptives, located in up-state New York. Mrs. Mack and Billie remained there until June 1916. Mary Ashley had returned to her parents' home in Goldsboro (North Carolina), during the final stages of her illness and died there on 11 May 1916. Hattie did not return to Fort Mill (S.C.) until late June, just after Murray's National Guard unit had been called to active duty for service on the Texas-Mexico border.

Hattie Mack's letters to her son Murray written during the nine months she was in Richmond document the difficulties of farming during a year marked by crop failures and low cotton prices. Although Murray's letters are not present in the collection, the farm problems that he reported—tenants who failed to pay rent, charged purchases to Mrs. Mack, and failed to do their work—are evident from his mother's responses in her letters. In most of her letters to Murray, Hattie commented on her surroundings, her and Billie's activities, and the most recent news on the state of Mary Ashley's health.

In her letter dated 4 October 1915 she expressed concern about Billie's school work. "He studies very little at home, says he has time at school as it is nearly three when he gets out...." In an eight-page letter written on 11 October 1915, Hattie complained, "[i]t is costing Billie & me much more to live here than at home." She was also "lonesome & homesick & suffer from the cold....In fact I wish I was at home." Hattie

was also concerned about the lack of sufficient income from her farms to pay off her obligations. "You ought to realize that I must get something out of...[the farm you rent]. I let you have the most of last year's & the year before rents, & I do think it is my time to get something....Can you not pay me anything?"

The need for money also dominated Hattie short letter to Murray written 5 December 1915. "I need money badly & must have some, to bear my part of the expenses here & there are bills to pay in Fort Mill, besides taxes & three more notes," she lamented. The same theme ran through her 15 December letter. "I have not money enough to pay my own bills," she noted, "& if all is paid, where is there anything for me to live on[?]" Hattie insisted that her late husband "did not intend that I should be dependent on my children for a living & I will not." Will, she admitted, had helped her financially, "but I do not want any more help from him." Then she pointedly remarked to Murray, "[y]ou are the one to help me, if you will, by trying to pay up something that you owe me."

Murray had, in fact, found a way to supplement his income. He had learned that there would be an opening for a rural mail carrier beginning in 1916. Apparently, he had written to his mother about that possibility, for she replied, in a letter dated 23 October 1915, "Will is here now & he says & I say so too, that you had better get the mail circuit if you can, but so many are applying, I fear you will miss it." And in her next letter to Murray, dated 27 October 1915, she reiterated her previous advice: "I hope you will get the mail route, if you are *sure* you can with it, attend to the farms.... It will be a big help to you in...meeting some of your debts & I trust you will let it all go that way."

On his birthday, 13 November 1915, Murray Mack took the competitive examination necessary for employment as a mail carrier. It was not until

the following year, however, that he learned that he had been selected and would begin work on 13 March 1916. In the meantime, Murray and Betsy were looking to the arrival of their first child. Hattie, in a letter dated 20 December 1915, informed Murray that “[y]our letter this morning as also one from Lizzie informed me of the arrival of the youngster at your house—a Christmas gift. Glad the mother & child are doing well. My love to the mother.” The youngster, a boy, was born 15 December 1915.

Apparently the parents were still considering a name for him when Hattie wrote her son, on 2 February 1916, “I would be so pleased to have the boy named for your father, yet I will not say give him the name. It has always been my rule not to interfere with the naming of the grandchildren.” But she strongly suggested that “[i]f Elizabeth wants to call him for you, all right[,] only call him Francis so there will be no confusion.” With the addition of the baby to the Mack household, Hattie insisted that when she and Billie returned to Fort Mill, “the house will have to be divided—you take part & do your own housekeeping, & I mine, unless Lizzie will take Billie & me to board.” She also touched upon another subject that was a frequent topic in her letters to Murray, her debt and how she could meet her financial obligations. She thought she might sell some of her stock to liquidate her debts. “The minority stockholders of the Fort Mill Mfg. Co. met in Charlotte Monday,” she wrote. “Col. Springs offers us only 25 cts on the dollar, & it is this or nothing, & they decided to sell at that if I will. If I do not agree to sell, neither can they.” The advantage of selling, she revealed, was that she could “easily pay...[all her debts], if I sell my stock—all except Will, and you know I owe him about \$5,000.00.” She did sell her Fort Mill Manufacturing Company stock and, in her 22 February 1916 letter to Murray, she remarked that she had “received a c[hec]k from Leroy

Springs for \$1,475.00, & it will take about all of it to pay me out, & not touching what I owe Will.”

Murray Mack’s financial situation also improved when he began his job as a mail carrier on a rural route near Fort Mill (S.C.). Hattie congratulated him on his prospects when, in a letter dated 4 March 1916, she wrote, “I am glad for your sake” that he was hired by the post office. Even though she knew that her son would “make good,” she also was certain that “it will take a mighty lot of work on your part.” Murray continued to look after all the tenant farms, as well as his own, in addition to the added labor of working the mail route six days each week. Springtime was especially busy for Murray because the tenants were preparing their fields for planting and Mrs. Mack, as the landowner, was expected to pay for fertilizer, seed, and other related costs. Hattie was shocked, she informed Murray, in her letter of 13 March, that “Cal & Sam would owe me so much.” Her tenants, she insisted, “are fed & kept up from year to year...[and] get more than I do.” In the future, she added, “I absolutely refuse to run any accounts for the tenants.”

Even though Hattie devoted much of each letter she wrote to Murray during the spring of 1916 to farm matters, she always noted the latest word about her daughter-in-law's health. Mary Ashley had been moved from the Loomis sanitarium to her mother’s home in Goldsboro (North Carolina) in early March. Her condition worsened in late April and, when Hattie wrote to Murray on 8 May, she reported, “Mary Ashley is much worse.” When she again wrote Murray, five days later, she had “just arrived from Goldsboro, [after] a long, hot dusty trip & I am very tired,” she related. “Mary Ashley,” she continued, “was from Monday until Thursday dying—a hard painful struggle....She went at last quietly, &

gently.” After Mary Ashley’s funeral which was held on the morning of 12 May 1916, she was buried in Willow Dale Cemetery in Goldsboro (N.C.).

In her letter to Murray written on 23 May 1916, Hattie outlined her plans for the remainder of the summer. After Billie’s school ended on 16 June, the two of them would leave for New York “to visit Harry & Will....” Will and Billie would set off “on a trip thru the North west...for ten or more days, & after their return we propose to go to Fort Mill the last half of July.” Hattie, like many other Americans, saw her plans change suddenly and unexpectedly in June 1916. When she wrote to Murray on 20 June, she had just learned that the National Guard “have been called out & may go in a few days.” She had already decided to alter her previous plan to visit New York and would instead “send Billie to his father & ...[then] go directly home,” because she had assumed that Murray would want her “home to stay with Elizabeth & help carry on the work.” She was, she continued, “sorry if you have to go, for you are more needed at home, than on the border, & I know you are sorry to leave your little boy.”

The members of the Fort Mill company had only a scant few days to prepare for their departure, for Governor Richard I. Manning had issued orders for preparation for possible deployment of National Guard troops on Monday, 12 June 1916, which was followed, on 18 June, by the governor’s mobilization order. The Fort Mill company, part of the First South Carolina Infantry, commanded by Colonel Edgeworth M. Blythe (1872–1945), had already arrived at the troop mobilization site, located about seven miles southwest of Columbia (S.C.), by the time Murray Mack, who served as a sergeant in the regiment’s supply company, got to Columbia late on the afternoon of 23 June. He described his first day at Camp Styx, in a letter to Betsy written 24 June 1916. He first offered an apology, of sorts, to his wife. “Don’t feel bad Girlie because I didn’t

kiss you goodbye. It hurts me to think how you may feel about it." He had caught a ride with "Capt. Doyle, Quartermaster 2nd regi[men]t, who brought...[him] out in a Buick Six at 40 miles per hour." He "[f]ound camp all torn up, nothing but a cut-over scrub oak field—sandy land, healthy all right." He also learned that his twenty-man supply company had "no equipment, nothing." He "managed, after trying all day[,] to secure 12 cots & 12 blankets for them." He also named some of the men he had encountered and commented that there "were several good singing groups operating last night," one of which he joined "and made some harmony."

Murray added a new heading to his letter of 26 June 1916. Camp Styx, the name commonly used for the national guard training site since 1913 when it was established, was replaced by "Camp Moore," in honor of South Carolina's adjutant general, William Woodbury Moore (1868–1921). "I have been delivering ice and wood for two regiments of infantry and one troop of cavalry," Murray informed Betsy. Two of his company, Marshall Boyce and Will Crane, had "been superintending the hauling of supplies & lumber from the station a mile and a quarter from here," he continued. "We had ten freight cars to unload."

In his next letter, dated 28 June 1916, Murray related that "Tom Spratt was yesterday appointed a major of 2nd Battalion, 1st regt. [and] Capt. Seybt is captain of our supply company." Thomas Benjamin Spratt (1878–1938) was a founding member of the Fort Mill Light Infantry when it was organized in 1900 and worked as a cashier for the First National Bank of Fort Mill. "I hate to lose Tom but am also glad of his promotion," Murray wrote. "Seybt is a very good man," he continued, and "had charge of commissary at Isle of Palms encampment last summer." Wyatt Aiken Seybt (1879–1958), was a Greenville, South Carolina, native

whose experience as a merchant stood him in good stead as captain of the supply company. Murray, in a letter to Betsy, dated 29 June, continued his detailed chronicle of his camp experiences. "The doctors are examining the men now. Today, they turned down 33 per cent of all they examined," he observed. "Most of these were under weight." He was concerned that only thirty members of the Fort Mill Light Infantry would qualify. "So don't be surprised," he warned Betsy, "to see some of your brothers or cousins come home soon." Murray also remarked that "Postmaster Massey writes me [that] he has orders to hold my pay vouchers until further orders." He hoped that meant that he would receive pay for all of June, or that the Post Office would pay him for the entire time he was away on military duty. The first payday for the troops at Camp Moore was 13 July, and Murray immediately wrote Betsy and enclosed a money order for twelve dollars. He had received \$28.50, he informed his wife, but after paying off debts he owed to fellow soldiers, he had only \$2.00, which he assured Betsy, "is plenty to keep me going till August 1st. In the meantime we ought to hear something from the Rural Carrier's pay."

"We are getting a hurricane in full force," were the first words Murray wrote in a letter dated Friday, 14 July. "Rain & wind from the north and northeast are sweeping the camp. Tents are blowing down. Hats performing aeronautic stunts. Sand and smoke fill the air. Wonder what you are doing at home?" At 4:00 p.m., Murray resumed his letter and reported that it had been raining steadily since he wrote the first page. The wind had continued and, as a precaution, Murray had buried his tent pegs two feet below ground level. And, at that time, he and his tent mates were "just as dry and comfortable in here as one could wish."

When he wrote Betsy the next day, he complained, "we sure had some storm last night, wind & rain both, our tent leaked and we slept in wet beds, resulting in fresh colds this morning." Perhaps fearing the worst, he asked, "How about the river? It must be on a 'razoo,' out in the bottoms, telling goodbye to our corn crops, etc." Betsy's letter, written Saturday, 15 July, was far from reassuring when Murray read it. "Things are looking pretty bad around here," she began. "It has been raining since yesterday noon and the fields look like rivers. The house is leaking in every room except the library....It rained on my bed nearly all night...[and] I couldn't get out from under the leaks," she related.

Betsy wrote Murray on Monday, 17 July, after she had been able to get down to the Catawba River and see some of the flood damage. She and Hattie had driven the pony "down to the brickyard and from there to the river bridge...When we got to that spot at about four thirty we could see the windows and roof of the Club House. It was off its pillars then....At six o'clock when we were on the way home we just could see the top....At seven-thirty just after the train passed it broke up and was swept away." When Betsy left the bridge, she could see "tree trunks and other debris make the [trestle] quiver when they passed under[,] yet people walked the bridge and the trains went over as usual. Crowds of people from both Ft. Mill and Rock Hill were there." The next morning "about four-thirty," she had learned, "the bridge gave way....Everything in the way of a bridge or house on or close to the Catawba is on its way to the Atlantic," she surmised.

Even before he knew the full extent of the damage to his crops, Murray directed Betsy, in a letter dated 17 July, to have the river bottoms, where corn had been planted, sowed "in peas just as soon as the flood recedes so as to have feed during the winter." He also knew

that his “corn crop on the home place...[was] now doubly important...,[so] be sure to have it worked out well.” Even with all the difficulties that he and his wife faced with the loss of so much of his crop, he still encouraged Betsy to “Cheer up. Life is still worth living. I have about ceased to worry about anything, and feel better for it.” Murray made a quick visit to Fort Mill on 24 and 25 July, spending time with his family and also looking at the flood damage on the farms before returning to Camp Moore to prepare for a series of examinations that could qualify him for promotion to officer rank.

On 28 July, Murray wrote Betsy “I’ve been studying hard for my examinations. Last night Geo. Potts, Dick Fulp, and I came in [to Columbia], got a room at the Hotel [Jerome], and studied until 2 o’clock in the morning.” He was confident that he had done well with the afternoon exam, but feared he had “busted” the two he had taken in the morning. The next day, the thirty applicants for promotion would be examined in four more subjects. “Then Sunday, all the applicants will be required to drill a company for ten minutes each,” he concluded.

In his next letter to Betsy, written 2 August, Murray reflected on his chances for promotion to second lieutenant. “I have little hope of getting the place, my examination was only fair,” he believed. Although he was not totally pleased with his performance in the drill exercise, he thought his “*character*” was in his favor, and his “voice was good too.” He had never “drilled a company and was unfamiliar with the commands,” but as a way to compensate for his lack of knowledge, he “bellowed...[his] commands out as if...talking to a deaf man 100 yards away.” Also, he enjoyed another advantage, he believed: “Some of the candidates have been caught talking to loose women, that also is a point they can’t bring against me.” Murray also mentioned two of Betsy’s brothers who were

members of the Fort Mill company. "Fred and Willie [Nims] are well and doing fine. They won boxing & wrestling [matches] last night. Frederick smashed Marshall Barnes' nose, and Willie threw Corry Patterson in a wrestling bout." Murray's nephews, Joe and William Belk, were also members of the Fort Mill company. Joe, who had been sick for much of his time in camp, now "shows all round improvement," Murray thought, and William, who coached the men on the rifle range, "is well, and 'sassy.'" In his next letter to Betsy, written on 3 August, Murray described the lighter side of camp life. "Last night Dorian Yarborough brought a half dozen young ladies out from Columbia and had supper" with some of the Fort Mill soldiers. "The girls brought the rations, chicken, cake, sandwiches, etc., also three big watermelons. I got in at the close, the watermelon part," Murray related. After supper, "they had a square dance and sang a little." An account of the party that first appeared in the *Columbia Record* was reprinted in the *Fort Mill Times*, on 10 August, and provided a more detailed version of the event than did Murray's letter. Miss Yarborough, who lived in Columbia, organized the party for the men of Company G, because "she knew a number of the Fort Mill members." She clearly knew Betsy because, as Murray remarked to Betsy, she "asked to be remembered to you, [and] said you were so pretty & such a fine girl...."

After two leisurely months of training at Camp Moore, the South Carolina National Guard troops were finally ordered to Fort Bliss, near El Paso, Texas, in early August, and at ten o'clock on Monday morning, 7 August, the first troop train pulled away from the station at Styx with Murray Mack on board. He sent Betsy a post card the next day, written at 8:00 a.m., while the soldiers were off the train "for exercise" at

Chattanooga, Tennessee. Murray mentioned that he had seen “Lizzie, Ben Ardrey, & Mrs. Tom Spratt at the switch in Columbia,” as the cars passed through that town. “All the boys have health and are alright, well fed and apparently happy,” he noted.

Murray wrote two more postcards while traveling to Texas, but the first letter he sent home after his arrival at El Paso is not present in the collection; however, Betsy allowed the editor of the *Fort Mill Times* to print it in the 24 August issue of the newspaper. The letter was written on 12 August and Murray described the trip just completed the previous day, and also recorded his first impressions of Fort Bliss. “The people in Union, [South Carolina,] came out to let us go through, as did the people of every town we passed through all along from Styx to El Paso,” he remembered. Murray’s comments focused on the changing scenery as the train moved farther west, the state of the crops he saw, and the kindness of the people in the towns where the train stopped. Murray recalled that in “[e]very town we passed through the boys got off the train and talked to the girls, gave the girls their names, and already bushels of letters are coming in from the girls.” Murray was particularly impressed by the Texas plains. “The scenery was so new and strange and beautiful,” he wrote. “Our train climbed up and up to over 4,000 feet above sea level, and we rode for over 24 hours on the high table plains.” He found that he liked Fort Bliss “better than I thought I would,” even though it “is extremely dusty, which is natural on account of the dry soil—no rain here for months, and the fact that there are 52,000 troops here.” Most of the soldiers there were from the states of Texas, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts. There were “[t]ents in every direction as far as you can see.” The camp itself was on “a level plain at the foot of a high range of mountains, six or eight miles north of El Paso....” By the time he sat

down to write to Betsy the next evening, 13 August, he had more experiences to tell her about. "Capt. Seybt has placed me in charge of all the quartermaster stores for the 1st Regt., some job it is too," he related. "We are getting organized, and getting some system into our work. This place won't be so bad if it rains enough to keep the dust down." In addition to his comments about his work and surroundings, Murray also described an unusual scene he had witnessed the previous evening. "Did you ever see a rainbow at night?" he asked Betsy. "[W]e saw one here last night after the rain [and] it was perfect, not quite as plain as in daylight, but the colors were there." It was caused, he informed her, by "[t]he moon in the east [which] shone on the rain cloud in the west."

Betsy's first two letters, both dated 11 August, arrived at Fort Bliss five days later, on 16 August. In the shorter note, Betsy mentioned that she had been "up town and settled bills until the money gave out and then of course had to stop." In her second letter, she described her difficulties with Simon, one of the tenants, and listed all the bills she had paid. She had, she thought, "about four dollars in the bank...." After Murray read about Betsy's problems, he responded, in a letter dated 17 August, "[y]ou are having so much trouble it nearly breaks my heart." Murray offered to "try to get out of the army," if Betsy wanted him to come home and take over the management of the farms. Even the prospect of promotion to second lieutenant was, he believed, "at the best...a long way off." He might get a commission "eventually" if he remained in the army, he speculated, "but in the meantime, you and mother are suffering, my business is in bad shape for want of money, and I could be making the money carrying the mail."

Two days later, Murray was optimistic about the likelihood of his promotion because of changes that had just occurred within the officer

ranks in the First Regiment. He explained to Betsy, in a letter written 19 August, that there were “two vacancies in 1st Lieutenants,” which meant that two second lieutenants, “[p]robably Dick Fulp and Hiram Hutchison will go up [and] that will leave two vacancies in 2nd lieutenants, and it ought to send me up.” His former company commander, Major Tom Spratt, “seemed very hopeful that I would soon get a place,” he reported.

When he next wrote Betsy, on 24 August, he could assure her that he was “going to have [more] money in October,” because he would be promoted to second lieutenant, effective 1 September. He would take Lieutenant Hutchison’s place, just as he had expected. Before the news of his promotion reached Fort Mill, Murray’s sister Lizzie, in a letter written on 24 August, related that she had read in the newspaper about the two available lieutenant positions in the First Regiment. “I trust and pray you will come in for one of the positions left vacant” because, she believed, “[i]t will be a help in a financial way, and I imagine the work is not so arduous as you now have.” If he did get the position, she suggested that he should use the additional salary to “pay Elizabeth’s board either in her parents’ house or in mother’s & relieve her of so much responsibility.” Lizzie remarked that Betsy “looks thin & unhappy—& mother is not satisfied” with the current living arrangements. After Lizzie alerted him to their mother’s unhappiness with sharing her house with Betsy and Murray, Jr., Murray, in his letter of 28 August, asked Betsy, “[a]re you having any friction with mother in running the house, etc.? Please be frank and tell me if there is any,” he insisted. Her answer would determine how he would “arrange matters.” Betsy accused Murray of “blessing...[her] out” in her letter of 2 September in which she answered his question about her relationship with her mother-in-law. “If mother has been dissatisfied about anything I think she should have told

me[,] not someone else, but things, in the household at least, are running smoothly as far as I can see.” Betsy, without mentioning a name, suggested that the person who wrote about disharmony at home was “the same person that dropped a few subtle hints to me yesterday, the gist of which was[,] that I wasn’t wanted here and never had been.” Murray reacted to Betsy’s comments in his letter of 7 September. “Your letter was a distinct shock to me,” he began. He acknowledged that his sister Lizzie was his “informant,” and enclosed her letter to him as proof that “she expresses nothing but love and concern for you and the boy.” He also asked his wife “not to quarrel with any of my family.” In her reply to her husband, in her letter of 12 September, Betsy revealed her own discontent with her current living arrangements. She recounted, in detail, how she felt about living in the same house with Murray’s mother. Murray had told her, before they moved in, that “mother wanted us,” Betsy recalled, “but I found out before I had been here a month that such was not the case.” She claimed that she “didn’t feel at home....[and] was the stranger within the gates.”

Sergeant F. Murray Mack became Second Lieutenant Mack when Governor Richard I. Manning authorized his appointment on 2 September 1916. In a letter to Betsy written on 3 September, Murray detailed the steps that had finally resulted in promotion. After Lieutenant Chandler received his release from the army on Friday, 1 September, Colonel Blythe, the First Regiment’s commander, on Saturday “wired Gov. Manning to commission me 2nd Lieut. at once, also to promote Hiram Hutchison to 1st Lieut.,” Murray recounted. The reply to that request “came this morning...[and] the Colonel sent for me and told me the good news: that Gov. Manning authorized him to appoint me at once,” he continued. With the promotion, he would be transferred “to the

Rock Hill Company [and] I like Capt. McFadden fine and I am very well pleased with my assignment," he added. His sister Mary was the first person to congratulate him by letter, dated 6 September, which she addressed to "Lieut. F. Murray Mack." She wanted him to know that "we are all so glad for you to have the honor, and the good pay too." Although he had been appointed an officer, he could not be commissioned until he was formally discharged from the enlisted ranks. That occurred, he wrote Betsy in a letter dated 13 September, the day before. He had passed a physical examination that morning, he continued, and would "go into El Paso after dinner today to get mustered in, sworn, commissioned, etc." After his promotion, he found that his daily life had changed when he added a lieutenant's insignia to his uniform. "I can notice a big difference in...[the boys] attitude toward me, a sort of deference," he noted in a letter to Betsy written on 15 September. "Even the supply sergeants I have been associated with so long on terms of equality, now act queer when I come around." Murray feared that the enlisted men would think he was "stuck up" after he was commissioned as an officer.

Murray's new rank as a second lieutenant may have altered his relationship with his enlisted friends, but it did mean that he would be able to pay off some of his debts with his increased salary and thus remove some of the financial pressure that both he and Betsy felt. Another issue, however, developed while he was away that would force a dramatic change in his and Betsy's living arrangements. Murray apparently wrote his mother about continuing to live with her, with Betsy and Murray, Jr., in her home, as they had before he left for military service. Betsy reported a conversation she had had with Hattie Mack, after she had received Murray's letter, in her letter to Murray dated 16

September. Hattie Mack had told her, she wrote, that “she doesn’t want to keep house except for herself and Bill,” and had offered to remodel one of the tenant houses and give Murray and Betsy some of her own furnishing so that they could begin keeping house on their own. Betsy liked the idea and begged Murray to write her “at once about this.” Murray’s mother also extended her offer “to fix up the house Arthur is living in—put on new roof and re-plaster,” and allow her son and his family to live there. “I think a very nice house could be fixed out of it & it is certainly a pretty place,” she explained. “What do you think of it,” she asked. “[L]et me know.” She also insisted that “Elizabeth wants to be to herself and you can’t see it.” In his letter to Betsy, dated 21 September, Murray responded to his mother’s proposal with an emphatic refusal to even consider moving into the tenant house, and vowed to “pitch a tent and cook over a camp fire” if he had to leave his mother’s home. He clearly did not want to leave the house where he had lived for much of his life. “It is a pretty home, and I feel such a heart-full of love for the old home, it will be hard for me to leave,” he confessed. “I played all around under those big trees when a child and grew up there, dreamed my dreams there, and formed my ideals of life there,” he reminisced. “But if what you say is true, there is nothing to do but get out.”

On 1 October, the First South Carolina Infantry, as part of a twenty thousand troop contingent, marched from the camp they had occupied since their arrival and began an exercise that was intended to provide training in combined maneuvers. Murray chronicled the first day’s march from “Somewhere in New Mexico,” in a letter to Betsy dated 2 October. After marching fifteen miles, the men pitched camp “in the Rio Grande valley, on both sides of the river,” tired from marching “on cement &

asphalt pavements mostly all the way,” which resulted in “bad blisters...for lots of the fellows,” he wrote. Murray thought it “a beautiful sight to...see the thousands of camp fires all up and down the river” the previous evening. Murray continued his narrative on 4 October with a letter to Betsy that praised the South Carolina regiments because, they were “the only ones that didn’t have any men to drop out yesterday. Some of our men had very bad feet but they hobbled on, just a case of pure bull dog grit.” He also informed Betsy that he had been temporarily assigned to Company G, the Fort Mill Light Infantry, because of the illness of one of that company’s officers. “I like being with the home boys alright, but they sure have a sorry company,” he admitted. “Laziest, most worthless set of roughnecks in the whole regiment, leaving out our sergeant.”

When Murray wrote Betsy on 6 October, he was in Las Cruces, New Mexico, the army’s destination. He was clearly proud of his South Carolina comrades and relayed to his wife the remarks of General Charles Gould Morton (1861–1933), the commander of the Tenth Division, which comprised the American army in Texas. The General informed the colonel in charge of the South Carolina-Florida brigade, “that the S.C. troops were the best hikers and the best disciplined troops on the border.” Two days later and still near Las Cruces, he described for Betsy a two-hour-long mock battle “against an imaginary enemy” the troops had fought the previous day which involved “rushing through deep sand and sharp thorns that were far from imaginary, and charging a steep hill knee deep in sand that was very real.”

The soldiers arrived in camp a day earlier than planned, Murray wrote Betsy on 14 October, because they “made two days march in one day.” The men had marched in the rain, “shoe-mouth deep in mud...[and] were

glad to reach camp and comparative comfort once more.” Although Murray had expected to learn something definite about the expected return to South Carolina by the time he returned to El Paso, he reported that many rumors, none from reliable sources, however, floated around camp. In the letter that followed two days later, Murray feared that the South Carolina troops would not “leave for home before January first.” He speculated that because the men had been issued overcoats the previous day, already had their tent stoves, and would get their “heavy underwear in a few days,” that they would remain in Texas through much of the winter. “Yet I *hope*,” he confided to Betsy, we “will soon go home.” In the meantime, Murray related in his 19 October letter to Betsy, the officers were busy, spending their days drilling the soldiers. “We are starting all over again in drill....drilling the soldier & the squad in the simple squad movement, etc., but going after the details and the fine points as the National Guard has never done before.” He also had returned to Company H, and had “changed...[his] boarding place back to Capt. McFadden’s table, which lacks the quantity and variety of Capt. Parks’, but is more wholesome...”

Another rumor had just made it rounds through camp, Murray related to Betsy in a letter dated 31 October, but it did not pertain to the timing of the soldiers’ return home; instead, this one predicted an invasion of Mexico. In fact, Murray continued, the “rumor also states that two regiments of National Guards are going to follow the regular troops, and that those two regiments are S.C.” Although he admitted that “[t]his rumor may be all B.S.,” he did believe that “in a very few days we will make a move,” either to Mexico, or back to South Carolina, because the officers of each company had been “very suddenly... ordered...[to] straighten out...the company accounts, and a final and complete

settlement made with the government on all clothing and supplies.” Murray also outlined for Betsy his theory about the real reason that American troops had been ordered to the border in the first place: “I believe the bandits across the border are financed and encouraged by Americans along the border wanting to keep us down here, or by the enemies of Wilson seeking to embarrass him and defeat him for reelection, or by the capitalists owning property in northern Mexico who wish to mine their vast wealth under the protection of the U.S. government.” He was particularly critical of the “Texans along the border... [who] carry on their chief pursuit of pocketing the golden stream of money flowing...” from the soldiers who frequent the shops, restaurants, and other businesses of El Paso. Murray had changed his mind about an imminent invasion of Mexico by the time he wrote to his wife on 2 November. “Another train load of Massachusetts cavalry left for home just two hours ago,” he noted. “That doesn’t look like a campaign in Mexico, does it?” Murray clearly hoped that Mexico was not his next destination. “I want to go home to you, the kid, and the farm,” he wrote. But, he also realized, that he must find some way to “pay off our debts.” He blamed his “foolish ignorance, and...poor training for life” for his accumulation of debt. “You and I have one thing in common perhaps,” he informed Betsy. “We were both spoiled in our youth, and not brought up properly....All we ever did was to run around and have a good time, while somebody else paid the bill, or somebody else performed *our duties*,” he confessed. “[P]erhaps we can make a new start and learn our business and make a success of it yet. Let’s try.”

For the most part, however, the correspondence between Murray and Betsy focused, as it usually had, on the incidents of daily life that each experienced. Betsy reported on the farms, crops and tenants, and

Murray related stories of the people he had met, the places he had visited, the books he had read, and even confessed when he had failed to exercise good judgment. On 10 November, in his letter to Betsy, Murray described his misadventure of the previous evening and prefaced his narrative with, "You were looking at me with disapproval last night." He and a friend had walked "up the railroad a mile to the new 'Army Theatre,' pictures and vaudeville. The pictures were fine, but the vaudeville was cheap and the kind you don't allow me to see." Even though he claimed that he and his comrade Bill "were innocent victims," the two remained in their seats long enough to see the girls dance out on the stage "in skirts exactly 3 inches long," or in actuality "they didn't have any skirts, only a ruffle." After the lights dimmed, Murray continued, "the boys raised a rough house," a reaction not unexpected, since the soldiers were mostly "North Carolinians, and the toughest set of rough necks on the border." Murray occasionally wrote about his duties as a lieutenant. In a passage in his letter of 14 November, he bragged about his ability to drill his men. "I'm getting military and mean as h--l too. You ought to hear me drill a company. I have to make up in noise what I lack in military knowledge."

After weeks of speculation about the timing of their return to South Carolina, the soldiers learned on 16 November that they would soon be on the way home. "I guess you will hear the news in the morning State, Friday's edition," Murray wrote to his wife in his letter of 17 November. When the announcement was made "at 3:45 yesterday afternoon just as we were going out on parade," Murray related, "[t]he boys went wild for a time...[and] the band played Dixie and everybody danced." The men of the First South Carolina Infantry would leave "as soon as cars can be provided," he continued, but "the 2nd S.C. stays here! My, but those

fellows are mad.” Even before she read the Friday’s *State* newspaper, Betsy had heard the news. One of her friends had received a wire from a soldier on the border, and she called Betsy on the phone. Betsy immediately started a letter to her husband, dated 17 November, and confessed that she couldn’t “think of anything else. It seems too good to be true.”

That same evening, Murray wrote another, longer letter to Betsy, with more details than the one written while he was on guard duty that morning. Even though he did not know the date of the regiment’s departure, he was aware, as he explained to Betsy, “that we must get *all* our accounts and papers clear and straight before we can move a step.” Murray confided, “I hate to think of having to carry mail again, but everything will be alright if I have you to come home to at night.” The letters that followed during Murray’s remaining days at Camp Stewart in El Paso were all upbeat. On 21 November, he admitted, “I am living in a state of excitement now,” and three days later, he used a few minutes before breakfast to give Betsy “the latest developments.” The troops were scheduled to leave El Paso on 25 November and arrive at their camp at Styx five days later. “We may be kept in camp and not allowed to go to...[Columbia] until all the paper work is completed....however,” Murray promised, “I’ll climb the back fence and go to you.”

Murray telegraphed Betsy early the morning of 29 November from Birmingham, Alabama, during a brief stop, to inform her that the train would arrive at Styx sometime the next day, but that he would be “confined closely to camp until mustered out.” He still thought he would be able to slip away to see her if she wanted “to come down to Columbia....” Another telegram followed on 1 December, after his arrival at Camp Moore, in which Murray let Betsy know that he would be home

in a few days, so she should wait for him at home. Murray followed his telegram with two letters, written the same day, in which he explained the reason he thought it best for her to remain in Fort Mill. He had, he wrote, spent almost all of his cash on the telegram and could not afford to “go into town with you....It would be wiser to wait until we get home and have our meeting there,” he reasoned. The people of Columbia wanted to entertain the troops with a barbecue on the following Monday and the troops would be expected to parade through the town but, Murray wrote, “officers and men alike are strongly against it. Columbia has done so little for us before that we have no love for her, and then too it will delay our freedom for a day.” In his final letter from camp, dated 4 December, Murray described the hard work he had done to muster out the soldiers in Company H. The other lieutenant was ill, and the captain “doesn’t know anything, so the first serg’t and I have it all to do,” he explained. He closed his letter with “[w]hen this reaches you Wednesday morning I will follow it in 12 hours! Betsy, have supper ready when I get there.”

Although the correspondence between Murray and Betsy ceased with his return home, an article in the 14 December edition of the *Fort Mill Times* documented the reception the troops received upon their arrival: “On Wednesday afternoon [6 December] the greater number of the boys returned to Fort Mill and were received at the station by a large number of the townspeople, but a number were unable to get away from Styx before the following night, a part of them being the regimental supply corps which was also recruited at Fort Mill.” The chamber of commerce sponsored a formal reception and banquet for the members of the Fort Mill contingent on Friday evening, 8 December. After several of Fort Mill’s leaders welcomed the soldiers home with short speeches, Major Thomas B. Spratt “expressed the appreciation of the company at their

reception and told in a most interesting manner of their experiences along the border.” Captain Sam W. Parks and Lieutenant F. Murray Mack also spoke that evening. The members of the company were then entertained at the Majestic theater, and later enjoyed “a dance in the armory....”

The men of the First Regiment, South Carolina National Guard, who were welcomed home in December 1916, remained there for only four months. On 2 April 1917, President Woodrow Wilson called upon the United States Congress to declare war against Germany in view of Germany’s practice of attacking merchant shipping the war zone that encircled western Europe. Five American merchant vessels had been sunk by German submarines in March alone. Congress voted for war on 6 April, and within a week, on 12 April, the First South Carolina Infantry was ordered to mobilize in order to provide protection for vital communications and transportation within the state.

For the first week, the regiment’s companies remained at their armories, scattered across the state. The majority of the men arrived at Camp Moore, at Styx, on 16 April, but Murray was delayed and, according to his letter to Betsy, written Thursday night, 19 November, did not get to camp until “about eleven o’clock this a.m.” His trip out to Styx from Columbia, as he related it, was an adventure. Not wanting to pay the two dollar fare from Union Station, he hitched a ride with an express on its way to deliver packages to the camp, but “about a mile out we had a ‘blow out,’ so the driver hailed a passing car and transferred me, my baggage and the express to it.” Two girls, on their way to Styx, were riding on the back seat of the car. “They stopped the car three times to light cigarettes and drank a pint of whiskey,” he related to his wife. “[S]o you can see what a ‘sport’ I am already.” When he reported for duty, the

commander of the First South Carolina Infantry, Lieutenant Colonel Peter K. McCully, Jr., who had recently replaced Colonel Blythe, the previous commander, assigned Lieutenant Mack to the regiment's supply company, "until further orders." Murray found that little had changed in the four months since he was mustered out of service. "Styx is the same place, and the boys are the same, [but] it is harder to get used to the hardships of camp life however." He also wrote his mother a letter his first evening in camp and reported that he was "already at work." Because Betsy was ill and unable to look after the farm when he left, he asked his mother to take over that responsibility and "write me every day or so about the progress on the farm."

Hattie Mack's grandsons, Billie and Joseph Mack, lived in her home and she relied on them to help around the house, but the farm work was handled by two tenants, Arthur and Harry. Hattie's letters to Murray were frequent during the spring planting season, and she typically detailed all of the work done on the farm. For example, in her letter dated 22 April, she noted that "Arthur got thru planting the corn & started on the beans, but did not finish....[and] Joe & Billie help[ed] me put out cabbage & beet plants yesterday...." Her letters about the progress of farm work provided Murray with the information he needed to continue to direct the work, even though he was not there.

In his letter of 25 April, he emphasized three points that required immediate attention. "Be sure to have Arthur get the cotton in right away," he noted, and also gave specific directions about how the ground should be prepared and the cotton seed planted. In fact, he continued to manage farm operations for Rocky Knoll Farms, the name of his agricultural business, while he performed his duties as an officer in the army.

On 28 April 1917, the headquarters of the First South Carolina Infantry moved from Camp Moore at Styx to the state fairgrounds located near Rosewood Drive and Bluff Road, about a mile from Columbia's city limits. Columbia's mayor, Lewie A. Griffith, M.D. (1866–1926), worked for some weeks to convince Colonel McCully to consider the new location, which was much closer to key transportation lines, and already had a number of buildings on site that were adaptable for military use. The city also agreed to extend water lines for the use of the regiment.

Murray described the new camp to his wife in a letter dated 29 April 1917. "I like the new camp better [than Camp Moore] in a good many ways....We have water, sewerage, shower baths, electric lights, [and a street] car line within 100 yards." The camp site was "just back of the big steel building on a green grassy slope, almost an ideal camp, [except for] flies and mosquitoes," he continued. "There are about 300 men & officers here now, 2 line companies and 4 auxiliary companies."

The next day, in a letter to Betsy, Murray confessed that he had "just quit the Supply Co. and started back with [Company] H again, [y]et I have received no official order to do so." Captain McFadden had decided to use Murray to drill "rookies," an assignment that pleased him because it would provide needed experience. His job that day, however, was to position some of the men from Company H at their assigned guard posts and make provisions for their food and housing. National Guard soldiers were called into service to provide protection for key transportation points, especially railroad bridges.

Lieutenant Mack left Columbia (S.C.) by train early in the morning, he wrote Betsy, with two squads of men in tow. "One squad I left at a certain bridge, and then went on to the next bridge with Marshall Boyce and eight men. We got off the train and immediately found a beautiful spot to

pitch camp, he continued. The men would sleep in tents, but would not be expected to cook their own food, so Murray “set out to look for a farm house to board my boys.” He arrived at the home of “Mr. Lightner” [Leitner], after a walk of about two miles, explained what his men required, and the farmer “agreed at once to my proposal.” His men were “tickled to death at the prospect” of good food, with the “river nearby, fishing good and everything just fine.” He also “had about the same good luck with the next squad, and got back to camp at 2:30, some tired but happy with work well done.”

Even though Murray Mack was focused on the job that the National Guard had been assigned, in his letters to Betsy he occasionally mentioned the war in Europe and the possibility of being sent there. “I see that the French commissioner in Washington wants us National Guardsmen who saw service in Texas to be sent right over to France and get the finishing touches within the sound of the cannon right away,” he observed in his 1 May 1917 letter to Betsy. “The chances are that the 1st S.C. will soon be drafted into the regular army and lose identity as a South Carolina regiment,” he speculated. “Then we officers will be under the same status as the officers in the regular army.”

Promotion up the officer ladder was a frequent topic in his letters home. He explained to his mother in a letter, also dated 1 May 1917, that he would “like to come home very much of course, but cannot do so without hurting my chances of promotion which are very slim at best, not being a military man.” A promotion would mean an increase in pay, and, he stressed, “I need the extra salary and will work hard to deserve promotion.”

Murray was able to take a few quick trips to Fort Mill (S.C.) during May, and Betsy visited him in Columbia (S.C.) for almost a week. He

considered another trip to Fort Mill, he informed his mother in a letter written on 28 May 1917, to convince some of the young men who were eligible to be drafted to join the National Guard instead. "I can't understand why the boys at Fort Mill don't hasten to join the National Guard[, because] if they wait until they are drafted, they will be put in with strangers perhaps and it will go harder with them than if they joined the Guard now so they can be with the home boys." Time was short, Murray continued, for we "have orders not to recruit any more after...June 5th."

The first national registration of men for military service, mandated by the Selective Service Act passed by the United States Congress on 18 May 1917, was held on 5 June for men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one, and with the establishment of a national army, the future of the National Guard was uncertain.

On 7 June 1917, when General Leonard Wood addressed a public meeting in Columbia (S.C.), the soldiers from the First South Carolina Infantry participated in a parade, just before the speech. Murray described the scene in his letter to Betsy dated 8 June 1917. "We left...[the fairgrounds] in street cars, they carried us on Main way past the P[ost] O[ffice] building, then we marched to the capital and around it to the side facing the Union Station where the Speaker's stand was. Gen. Wood made a clear direct talk," he concluded. That evening, the general spoke at a banquet given in his honor, and even though Murray did not attend that event, he reported a fellow officer's take on the general's talk. "Joe Hart says that the General sure got them told....Joe says he never believed before that we were going to France, but he believes it now." Murray added, "I have thought all the time it was a more serious situation than we ever dreamed."

The letters exchanged by Murray and Betsy Mack reflected this new reality. It was evident that the status of the National Guard soldiers would change from protecting South Carolina's transportation network to a more intensive effort to prepare for combat in the European war. In the same letter of 8 June 1917, in which he characterized the militant nature of General Wood's speeches, Murray also noted, "[w]e are beginning to take off the guards on the bridges. I haven't any idea when we will be drafted into the regular Army and go into training, nor where we will go." He hoped, however, that "it will be right here at Columbia, so that you and I can see as much of each other as possible."

In another letter, written on 9 June 1917, he elaborated on his previous brief comments about the changes in his situation that would certainly follow. "I am very well content to remain here at Columbia all summer and winter," he wrote Betsy, "just a little less than a hundred miles from you and the boy. *But* the chances are in favor of our being sent to France or somewhere in Europe before the snow flies again." Before that could happen, Murray knew that "our training will necessitate our being kept strictly in camp, either here at the Columbia Cantonment or at Chickamauga, or some other designated point."

The Columbia military facility that he mentioned had been recently authorized by the war department and the site, a few miles east of Columbia, had already been chosen. Murray continued to cite reasons in his letters home that very soon the role of the National Guard troops would change drastically. "We have taken in our posts at Littleton, Montgomery, Alston and Smith's Branch," he mentioned in his letter to Betsy written 13 June 1917. The places noted marked the locations of bridges on the Southern Railroad track that paralleled the east bank of the Broad River, north of Columbia (S.C.). "Captain McF[adden] says he

will take off the one at Shelton soon...[which] will leave only the ones at Parr, C.N. & L. bridge (Elmwood cemetery), and one at Cayce's (over Congaree)." Relieved from guard duty, the soldiers would then "go into hard training," Murray speculated. Even though there were rumors that the regiment would be ordered to another location for training, the men were still at the fairgrounds at the end of June.

Murray reported to Betsy, in his letter of 30 June 1917, that "two companies came in today, and pitched tents between the Machine Gun row and the street." The companies from Cheraw and Spartanburg (S.C.) were reunited the regiment in preparation for the next phase of training; however, the long-expected move to another site did not happen until mid-July.

Murray's letter of 11 July 1917 contained "another piece of news," but along with it the admonition, "hush don't say anything." He had learned that the second battalion of the First Regiment, which included companies H, G, F, and E, under the command of "our new Major Heyward," would move to the site of the new cantonment near Columbia (S.C.) "early Friday morning to do guard duty." Murray was pleased with the prospect because he would still be close to Fort Mill for visits, and he would also be able to see his friends and relatives in Company G, the Fort Mill Light Infantry, especially "Fred and Willie [Nims] & the Belk boys...." After he closed the letter, he added a brief note that indicated his battalion would move to the new camp the following day.

The next day, the soldiers left their old camp at the fairgrounds and were transported in eight army trucks about seven miles to the east of Columbia where they set up camp "on a high sand hill, in what was once a field of corn" but, as Murray wrote in his letter to Betsy, dated 12 July 1917, "it is tramped into a field of dust now." He was impressed with

transformation of the site from forests and fields into a military camp. "Already a score [of barracks] are nearly completed," he added, and the "car line is almost there, and auto transfers and trucks are coming & going all the time. I think we shall like it." Just after the move, Murray, along with the other officers from his regiment, was required to complete a series of examinations specific to the officer's rank.

Murray explained to Betsy, in his letter of 14 July 1917, that "the second lieutenants had two easy little exams yesterday....I think I got through alright." He also mentioned that he had read in the newspaper that the first sergeant of his company, James C. Dozier (1885–1974), had been promoted to second lieutenant of Company G, and that other officers had been promoted and moved to other companies. "They are shooting all around me," he joked, "but haven't touched me yet. I think I am safe."

On Saturday, 14 July 1917, he completed his last test, which was, he informed Betsy in his letter of that date, "to drill a platoon five minutes to show whether I could handle" the job. "I think I passed...." That afternoon at the new camp site, he began a tour as officer of the day while his company was on guard duty. If there was trouble, he believed "Co. H has...what it takes to stop trouble. We are tough guys."

Even though Murray was proud of Company H, he still felt an affinity for the Fort Mill company and, in a letter to Betsy, written 17 July 1917, he explained a change that was in the works. "In a day or two, I will no doubt be the 2nd Lieutenant of Company G, as Dozier and...[I] agreed it would be for the best interests of both companies that he stay with H and I go to G," he wrote. "Dozier is really indispensable to Co. H....and Capt. McF would catch h--- without him." Murray believed that Company H was "the best company" and he was reluctant to leave, but he wanted to do

what was “the best” for all concerned. Although he would soon change companies, he would remain in the Second Battalion, under the command of Major Robert Clarence Heyward (1878–1960), an officer that he had concerns about, he confessed to Betsy. “I hear so much talk of Major Heyward’s being so strict and unreasonable that I am...worried for fear that I won’t see much of you in the next few months.”

On 18 July 1917, the day that the War Department issued the order that officially designated the cantonment near Columbia (S.C.) as Camp Jackson, Murray used that name in the heading of his letter to Betsy, and within a few days, she used that name on her letters to him. All through the summer of 1917, Murray continued to comment on the rapid pace of construction at Camp Jackson. “This is the biggest piece of construction I ever saw,” he remarked in his 18 July 1917 letter. “There are about a hundred or more buildings under construction today, and hundreds of acres of ground covered with lumber waiting to be used.”

Even with all the feverish building at the camp, the barracks were not ready for the men to occupy until the end of the month. Murray, in his letter dated 31 July 1917, mentioned that “all the other companies moved to the barracks today” and thought that his company would move in the next day. He also planned “to go to ‘G’ tomorrow,” he wrote, if Lieutenant Dozier, who had been away from camp for a few days, “gets in tonight.”

Lieutenant Mack was granted weekend leave from Friday, 3 August 1917, until the following Monday, and spent the time with his family in Fort Mill (S.C.). Betsy’s letter of 2 August 1917 demonstrated her eagerness to see her husband. “We are expecting you Friday night if possible, Saturday sure. We have killed the fatted calf and are waiting to welcome the soldier home,” she continued. “Would it were for all time.”

After he returned to camp, Murray reflected on his life on the farm compared to his life as a soldier, in his letter to Betsy dated 7 August 1917. "I could do so much at home if I were there now," he insisted. "Here I only eat and sleep and read a little and go on guard about once a week....I was so happy all the time I was at home...."

Murray's monotonous life in camp was relieved, from time to time, by the unexpected problems that he faced, especially when he was officer of the day and was responsible for disciplining wayward soldiers. He recounted one such episode, in detail, in a letter to Betsy written 10 August 1917. The day before, as officer of the day, he had had "a half dozen cases of disorder to deal with." In the most significant incident, "four soldiers got into trouble with a Mr. Hampton [Frank Hampton (1856–1926)] who lives about two miles from camp. He caught them in his melon patch and chased them into the woods. Two ran away, but the other two stood their ground. Words passed & one of the soldiers cracked Mr. Hampton's head with a stick. Mr. H. is an old man about 60 years and a relative of Gen. Wade Hampton. He lives on the old Hampton estate near the ruins of 'Millwood' the Hampton home." Murray quickly "rounded up the guilty parties and confined them in the guard house." Mr. Hampton rewarded him by sending his son "Frank [Frank Hampton (1896–1982)] to bring me a cart load of melons...."

Murray handled many other similar cases during August and September while on duty as officer of the day. He complained, in a letter to Betsy, dated 11 September 1917, that during the previous night he was awoken at midnight by a soldier who complained that "somebody had stolen his \$40.00 and wanted me to see about it." He had wasted much of his time that morning "running around looking for the man that stole the money." Murray joked that "when I get out of the army I will

apply for the job of policeman somewhere [because] I will be well trained in the art of hunting down evil doers.”

When not dealing with police matters, Murray drilled the soldiers in his company; however, he had been transferred to Company E, a fact he noted in his 11 September 1917 letter. He also mentioned that his battalion commander, Major Heyward, had been assigned to duty with the provost guard which had “begun operations in town.” A few days later, he learned that his regiment would leave for Camp Sevier in Greenville (S.C.) on 24 September 1917. He explained the implications of the move in his 14 September 1917 letter to Betsy. The First South Carolina Infantry, he had learned, would be “brigaded with a Tennessee regiment, Blue-grass and Palmetto.” The new designation for the combined units would be the 118th Regiment, which would be included in the Fifty-ninth Brigade of the Thirtieth Division. “Of course we are all enthusiastic over the prospect of getting into real training and learning something about this war we have been hearing so much about,” he confided.

On Monday evening, 24 September 1917, Murray Mack wrote Betsy from Camp Jackson with news that “all our baggage is loaded in freight cars tonight...and leave camp at 8 o'clock...in the morning....” He was also pleased that he would “go back to Co. ‘G’ in the morning.” From Camp Sevier, Murray sent Betsy a letter written 26 September 1917, the day after he had arrived there, with a narrative of the events of the previous day. The train arrived at four o'clock, Murray had his company's baggage unloaded by six o'clock and, he bragged to Betsy, “we had our tents pitched and supper cooked before any of the [other companies].”

The new, enlarged company was authorized to “have three first lieutenants and two second lieuts....some chance for me to go up, I

hope." The camp location was in the woods, but as soon as the trees were cut, there would be a company street and about twenty open acres for drilling the troops. Camp Sevier was "5 or 6 miles from Greenville,...3 miles to the P[iedmont] & N[orthern] line,...3/4 mile to Paris station on the Southern railroad," and jitney fare to the city was only twenty-five cents. Another officer, Dick Fulp, was "arranging to secure a boarding place in Greenville for" his wife, Murray related, so "why don't we live in Greenville?" Murray made a hurried trip to Fort Mill over the last weekend in September, and got to camp, he wrote in his letter to Betsy dated 1 October 1917, at "2 a.m.," that morning after a long ride on crowded trains. He "stood up all the way to Charlotte, managed to get 1/2 a seat from Charlotte to Greenville, but was too crowded to stretch out."

In his letter dated 3 October 1917, Murray outlined his week's work: "Monday we drilled all day. Tuesday we dug stumps...Today [Wednesday] we were on guard, [and] I was busy working the prisoners. I guess we will drill tomorrow [and] Friday we take a long hike in heavy marching order." Murray was also assigned special projects, in addition to his normal duties. In his letter of 7 October 1917 to Betsy, he related that "[t]he Colonel [McCully] delegated me to build a system of trenches to represent the enemy line, with dummy Germans all along." In order to make the training for the troops as realistic as possible, he made "four lines of parallel trenches with wire entanglements, hurdles and all kinds of obstructions in between."

Later that day, in another letter home, Murray again discussed the "Final Assault Course" that he had been assigned to complete. He supervised while the men of Company G "dug two trenches and built three scaffolds to hang dummy Fritzes on." The commander of the Fifty-

ninth Brigade, Brigadier-General William S. Scott, "came over and watched us for an hour, and gave us a few pointers." Even in the midst of all his responsibilities, Murray arranged for Betsy to visit Greenville for a few days, returning to Fort Mill Sunday, 14 October 1917.

Following his return to work on Monday, Murray wrote a long letter to Betsy, dated 16 October 1917, in which he detailed another duty he had been given. "Over 5000 drafted men came in today," he wrote, and "[o]ur company will get 123 more men tomorrow [which]...will give us a total of 216 men." In a postscript added to his letter, he informed his wife that he was selected to train the new recruits assigned to Company G. "I am to make a sort of separate company out of them and be their company commander until they catch up with the old men." Seven assistants, including his nephews Joe and William Belk, would help with the training.

On Friday of that same week, Hattie Mack and Lizzie Belk traveled to Greenville (S.C.) for a week's visit with Murray and the Belk boys. Hattie's grandson, Joe Mack, Edward's son, was also at Camp Sevier as a member of Company A, 105th Regiment of Engineers. In his letter of Saturday, 20 October 1917, Murray informed Betsy that "Joe, Wm., & I went in to supper at Mrs. Stewart's...Mother & Lizzie are having a big time with cousin Lou Mayes [Frances Louise Hudson Mayes (1859–1923)], Mrs. Sturdivant & Mrs. Stewart."

After the visitors left, Murray once again immersed himself in his camp duties. He complained to Betsy, in his letter of 26 October 1917, that "[w]e have to put so much work into 24 hours that I scarcely have time to eat." There were, however, rewards for the hard work. "I am getting fond of my 'rookies,' and their being so dependent on me makes me feel like a father with a hundred children," Murray admitted. "These boys are very interesting to me. Some are pathetic. Others are mean, and others do

pretty well," he continued. "We have all kinds of men here." New arrivals continued to add to the number of men Murray had to train. "We received 26 new men yesterday from the old 2nd Tennessee Infantry," he wrote in his letter to Betsy dated 28 October 1917, and that "puts our strength to 219 men and four officers."

On 1 November 1917, Betsy arrived in Greenville (S.C.) for a week's visit but, as Murray explained in his letter to his mother, dated 3 November 1917, "I have seen very little of her since then, but will get off at 2:00 P. M. today for 36 hours." When he next wrote his mother, on 10 November 1917, he reported that Joe Belk, along with six or seven other men, were confined to the base hospital with measles. He planned to accompany Betsy to Fort Mill no later than the beginning of the following week; however, he was concerned that he might "take measles or get quarantined so that" he could not leave camp. If he could get leave for a week, he believed that he could help his mother "settle up everything while at home," including writing contracts with tenants for the farms for the following year.

When Murray returned to Camp Sevier on 18 November 1917, he found that the "whole camp is quarantined." In his letter to Betsy written the next day, he described the restrictions that were in place. No visitors were allowed to enter the camp, the members of Company G were not allowed to go beyond the company street, and the entire camp was under guard to make sure the rules were obeyed. "Co. 'G' is in hard luck,"

Murray wrote Betsy in his letter of 21 November 1917, "[t]he whole company had to move out of camp and out to the woods, officers and men. We are cooking and eating in the open air, and our tents are pitched beneath the tall, lonely pines." The company was ordered out of

the camp by the doctors who were bound by “the so very strict rules” concerning the disease rampant among the soldiers, including “measles, pneumonia, & meningitis.” Murray conveyed another bit of news to Betsy that had, on one hand, made him proud, but at the same time meant that he would not be able “to get home Xmas or New Years” to see his family. He had just been ordered to report to Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on 1 December 1917, for “four weeks instruction in automatic rifle work....[with] the old Lewis ‘machine gun.’” Even though he admitted that this “is quite an honor for me, and all the young officers say I am lucky to get it,” he was sorry he would be “so far away from” his wife.

After a hurried trip home, Murray caught the train in Charlotte on Wednesday, 29 November 1917, spent much of the next day in Memphis, after his train arrived too late to board the Oklahoma City train for the next leg of his journey, but used the time to explore Memphis and then wrote a long letter to Betsy with details of what he had seen that day. “When we got to Memphis, I...walked over to the River [and]...stood on the Bluff a long time looking up and down the Big Waters,” he remembered. Although he had crossed the Mississippi River the previous year when on his way to Texas, he “was much impressed at the size of the Mississippi this time....It looked about three times wider than the Catawba.”

Murray arrived as scheduled at Fort Sill at 12:30 a.m. on 1 December 1917, and later that same day, described his situation, in a letter to Betsy, after a full morning of activities. “There are 20 of us in a wooden barracks, men from all over the U.S. [and] we have a large ‘wash’ house (bath, lavatories, & w[ater] closets) just back of us, 30 feet distant,” he wrote. After a full breakfast, the men marched to the school where the thirty-five men in Murray’s “school of automatic arms” class received their

books and other study materials. "We are going to do some hard work," Murray predicted, "and I am glad of it." The men, he continued, were "on duty from 7 a.m. to 10 p.m...on week days. 14 hours!"

In his next letter, written on 4 December 1917, Murray informed Betsy that he had learned that his course would last for six weeks, instead of four as he first believed, which meant he would not be able to leave Fort Sill until about the middle of January. By the time he penned his letter of 8 December 1917, he had been at Fort Sill for a week, had just taken his first exams, and had learned to "take a mach. gun all apart & put it together blindfold[ed], name every little part (there are very many), explain its action, and do a lot of other things I didn't know before I came here."

Although Murray wrote most often to Betsy, he also sent his mother an occasional message while he was in Oklahoma. His Christmas letter, dated 24 December 1917, included the typical topics he discussed in letters to his mother; the weather, his experience at church the previous evening, the food that the men enjoyed during Christmas week, and his training. "I hope to get away from here by the 10th or 12th of January, and also hope to get a 10 day leave of absence to visit my family in Fort Mill," he explained. "The course here is so exhausting that they give nearly all graduating students such a leave. I am trying to make good here, but it is hard work." After wishing his mother a merry Christmas, Murray mentioned her son and grandsons who were "serving their country. With six or seven in active service, you are indeed blessed above most mothers or grandmothers." Murray, of course was the son he referred to, and Hattie's grandsons in service at the time were the Belks, Joe and William; two of Edward's sons, Edward and Joseph; and Alex's sons Paul and Joe.

Murray's final letter from Fort Sill, dated 5 January 1918, focused on his imminent return home. "I am thinking of going home, nothing else," he informed Betsy. "I leave here on the 12th. Home on the 14th!!" Apparently Murray returned home on schedule, and remained in Fort Mill, on leave, and then left for Camp Sevier on 26 January 1918. He had received his diploma from the Fort Sill course as soon as he got to camp, he informed Betsy in his letter of 30 January 1918, and it certified that he was "Qualified as Instructor in Divisional School of Automatic Arms," which was, "the highest grade." He also confirmed that he had been promoted to first lieutenant on 13 November 1917, but his pay increase would not take effect until 28 January, the date of his acceptance letter. In addition to the increase in salary due to his promotion, he also expected to receive a ten percent increase in pay because he had reached the five years of service mark on 5 August 1917, dating from his enlistment in the National Guard in 1912. With more money coming to him each month, Murray wanted to use the increase to rent an apartment or house near Greenville (S.C.) so that Betsy and Murray, Jr., he could spend as much time as possible with his family. In the same letter to Betsy, he indicated that he had just learned that "married men [were permitted] to spend three nights in town during the week, Saturday all night, all day Sunday and Sunday; also one other night...."

Murray often mentioned his and Betsy's relatives in the Fort Mill company, and on occasion provided details about their progress as soldiers. For instance, in a letter dated 8 February 1918, Murray remarked, "our boys here in 'G' [company] are doing well." His nephew, Joe Belk, "has 'waked up,' [and]...there is certainly a great change in him. He is bayonet instructor for the company and a good one too." His brother, "William B. goes on Tuesday to the snipers' school for two

weeks...[and] Capt. Parks is hoping he will also wake up." Betsy's brothers were also effective soldiers, Murray believed. "Fred [Nims] is the first sergeant in every sense...[and] *the force* on the company street." Will Nims is our expert...[and] stands well with the captain too."

In a letter to his mother written 11 February 1918, he added a note about Betsy's brother. "Fred Nims has been called up by General Tyson for examination for 2nd Lieutenant. Fred deserves it for he is the best 1st Sgt. in the regiment." Murray also informed his mother that "Betsy and the boy came yesterday and are now at home in their new quarters" in the home "of Mrs. Dick Sullivan, Jr., corner of Richardson and College St[reet]s." He felt she was "very well located" because she was near his mother's friends Mrs. Stewart and Mrs. Stur[d]ivant and also near the houses where the wives of two other army officers rented. Unfortunately, however, Murray was unable to see his family as often as he wanted because he was, he wrote, "working harder than ever now, if that's possible." He was "teaching the battalion auto rifle school, taking a bayonet course, and attending an officers' school for an hour and a half every night," in addition to his regular job of drilling his men. In a later letter, dated 2 March 1918, Murray mentioned that Betsy and Murray, Jr., had moved from Greenville (S.C.) to a four room house located near to camp, about three miles away, which she shared with Mrs. Lemert, a "very nice and refined" former teacher at Greenville Woman's College. "I walk over there to see them when I get a chance, and they put me to work chopping wood or carrying water," Murray remarked. "Elizabeth is delighted with the place," Murray thought.

By late April, Murray had heard rumors that the Thirtieth Division would soon be of the way to France, so he wanted to visit Fort Mill to see his mother and other friends before he shipped out. In a letter to his

mother, dated 25 April 1918, he explained that he had attempted to get away from camp on the three previous Saturdays, but had been prevented from leaving. As “instructor in the Chauchat (Automatic Rifle) School,” he could not leave except on weekends, but he planned to make a quick trip the next Saturday and Sunday.

On 30 April 1918, after his return to Camp Sevier, he reflected on his visit in another letter to his mother. “I have told all of you goodbye now, and I want to hurry up and go across. The hardest part is over, the goodbyes.” His nephews, Joe and William Belk, he continued, “seem ‘tickled’ at our chances at our getting into the great adventure.” By 3 May 1918, when he typed a brief note to his mother, he was making plans for the few days remaining before he left Camp Sevier. “Elizabeth and the boy are well and will soon be at home...[and] I am thinking seriously of sending for...[her] to go to New York and stay a few days at Will’s,” he concluded.

The train carrying the soldiers of the 118th Infantry stopped in Charlotte (N.C.) for half an hour on Saturday 4 May 1918, Murray wrote on a postcard to his mother from Hempstead (New York), dated 6 May 1918, “[s]orry I did not wire you to meet us there.” He also commented that “[p]eople in North very demonstrative in their patriotism—solid line of people lined tracks through the northern states.”

Betsy joined Murray in New York, arriving on 7 May 1918 according to a letter from Will Mack to his mother dated that day. Will had visited Camp Mills the previous day where he “saw Murray and Joe and William Belk.” The boys are in good physical condition, splendid spirits, and are anxious to sail,” Will observed. In a letter to his mother written from Will’s apartment on 8 May 1918, Murray explained why he had encouraged his wife to join him for a few days in New York. “I told Elizabeth goodbye in

Greenville and I'm not going to tell her goodbye again, but I wanted her to see New York and I wanted to show it myself."

After a day of sightseeing and a dinner with Will, Betsy and the Belk boys, who came into the city from Camp Mills the evening of 8 May 1918, Murray hurried back to camp. Murray wrote Betsy as soon as he had boarded the ship that would transport the 118th Regiment to England. The stationery he used was engraved with the trademark of The Cunard Steamship Company Limited, although the ship's name was not imprinted and Murray never mentioned the ship's name in the letters he wrote during the crossing. This letter was also the first to pass through the military mail censor who apparently erased the date of the letter. In a note included with the letter, Murray implored his wife to "[t]ake extra good care of yourself and the boy and the one not yet born. If it is a girl remember to name it Elizabeth, the sweetest name I know...." He also warned Betsy not to "pass my letters around to be read by others, except possibly the family....Do not above all things let any word or letter of mine get into *print*."

The correspondence in the collection from the time that Murray left the United States in May 1918 until he disembarked in Charleston (S.C.) on 27 March 1919, along with the rest of the 118th Regiment, almost without exception, originated with him. He did not save the letters he received from Betsy, he explained when he wrote her on 9 August 1918: "Just read about 8 of your letters over again but can't make up my mind to burn them up, yet can't carry them around with me much longer as we are down to bed rock on baggage." Letters from his mother, and others, likely were also destroyed; however, Murray's wife and mother did preserve his letters. Hattie Mack's letters from her sons Edward and Will, as well as occasional letters from her grandsons Joe and William Belk,

and Joseph, Edward, and George Mack, Edward's sons, as well as Paul and Joe Mack, Alex's sons, are also present in the collection. Although those letters provide brief glimpses of the lives of the writers while in the military, they do not chronicle the daily actions of a soldier as do the frequent letters from Murray to Betsy. Murray was restricted in what he could write about by the rules of censorship in place, but he managed to detail many of his adventures without specific reference to time or place. Taken together, his letters tell a remarkable story of an officer in the American Expeditionary Forces who was present at the time of the pivotal breach in the Hindenburg Line by the American Thirtieth Division.

During the voyage to England, Murray Mack wrote two letters to Betsy, one to his mother, and also kept a brief account of his experiences in diary form. His first entry, written on the 5th day out, about 15 May 1918, noted that "nothing of especial importance has occurred....[and] the sea is still wonderfully calm." In his next entry, written after a week at sea, Murray observed that we "have had some seas since I last wrote...[and] most of us were and are still sick." Murray admitted that he was "about the sickest of all." When he went on deck that day, the first time he had ventured out in three days, he saw "breakers...mountain high, tossing us about like a chip of wood." Even so, he felt "much better and hope to attend the concert tonight," he recorded. Harry Lauder, the famous Scottish entertainer who had just concluded a very successful American tour, was on board and would perform. Murray described the event in his diary. Before Lauder was introduced by Lord Aberdeen, who presided, "there were various songs and recitations, all good, and then Harry Lauder walked out in his plaid kilties. He was rich and kept us laughing for an hour. Then he became serious and said a mouthful about the war and his trip in America. He had us all singing his famous Scotch song; 'I

love a lassie, A bonny hieland lassie, She's as pure as the heather in the dell.”

There was plenty of other entertainment on board. Murray described the shipboard music in a letter to Betsy dated 12 May 1918: “The 117th band plays twice a day. An orchestra selected from this band also plays for our dinners. A Y.M.C.A. quartet is good, and there are others too.” Murray enjoyed the food on board ship, as well as the entertainment. “We have good fare,” he informed Betsy in his letter of 12 May 1918. “All the officers feed first class,” while most of the sergeants dined second class, and “the line sergeants, corporals and privates are 3rd class,” he continued. “I was made mess officer for the boat...[and] my duties are to look after the men's mess, 3rd class mess.” Murray took his meals “at table with Colonel Spence of 117th, Capt. Gillespie, Bill Huey, Lieut. Simpson, and Capt. Swartz of the 117th,” the officers “that run the ship.”

When Murray wrote his first letter, dated 26 May 1918, after the troops arrived in France, there was very little that he could write about. “I am not going to tell you anything about where we are and what we are doing,” he began, but he did let Betsy know that “we are getting along fine and in good hands.” He did indicate that he was so close to the front that “every night I hear the big guns booming,” and wanted to “soon be in the battle and striking the decisive blow.” By the time he wrote a thirteen-page letter to Betsy, over the course of 7–8 June 1918, he had had several front-line experiences that he felt he had to share with Betsy. “I don't think I will betray any military secrets...when I tell you that I have been ‘in the trenches,’” he confided. “I spent 3 days and 3 nights in the front line,...then a day and night back in the supports, learning all about it so I can teach my boys and take them some day.” The American Thirtieth Division was assigned to the Second Corps which was attached to the

British army for training. Lieutenant Mack was impressed by the bravery and experience of his trainers: "The English officers I was assigned to were exceedingly good to me....I lived as they live, and I admire their cool courage, war worn veterans though they are, still there is something grand in their coolness in the midst of constant danger." Murray had been "shot at," he related to Betsy, while on patrol close to the German lines. "Being under direct fire was a rather creepy feeling at first but not near so bad as I had imagined," he confessed. When he continued his letter the next day, he added a detailed narrative of his experience on his first patrol between the lines in the company of an English lieutenant and two "Tommies":

Every time a machine-gun started we dropped in a shell hole (there were plenty). When a flare went up, we froze, perfectly motionless....For an hour we walked about in No Man's Land, quietly, carefully, but just walking about; not snaking along on our bellies, or crawling on hands & knees as I had imagined it was done. We were crossing some wire, I was in the middle of it, so was one of the Tommies; a flare went up, and there we were outlined against the sky. The boshe saw us and opened up. It was pretty hot for 30 seconds, and I regretted exceedingly that the wire prevented me from flattening out on the ground. When the flare died out, I lost no time getting out of the wire, and received several nasty cuts for my haste. It quite took my breath away..., but after all is over I am rather glad I had the experience.

After cautioning Betsy that there was no need "to worry about me," Murray insisted, "I am going to be careful as far as I can....., but I hope

and believe, now that I have been in some of it, that I will be able to do my part in crushing the...[enemy.]”

Murray spared his mother the details of his adventures between the lines, in his letter to her, dated 9 June 1918, and instead, focused on his living situation and the French countryside. “We are billeted in a lovely French village, the people are good to us, and we have everything we could want,” he began. “I have a room in an old farm house, not so clean as I would like..., but the two old people are good to me. They are poor peasant folk, but goodhearted and not different from our own people.” He also appreciated the entertainment provided to the Americans by their English friends. “Last night I went to a show given by the ‘Tivolies,’ a group of real British Tommies who were actors, artists and entertainers in civilian life, and now use their talent to entertain the soldiers in the evening,” he explained. “They are as good as any I ever saw.” He did mention to his mother, in passing, that he had “spent a night in a dug out,” and that he had “done a lot of work on the front,” but that “being under fire is not so bad. The Civil War veterans haven’t got so much on me now.” Murray repeated much of what he had written to Betsy and his mother in a letter to his brother, Will, dated 11 June, but added a claim that he had not previously made. “I spent 5 days and 4 nights in the front line trenches and was under fire several times, both artillery and machine guns....I think I have the distinction of being the first man in my regiment to be under the fire of Boshe guns, [and] perhaps the first to set foot in No Man’s Land,” he informed Will.

Although Murray was deeply involved in training his platoon in preparation for combat, he still retained the eye of a farmer, and conveyed his impressions of the fields and countryside around him that he found so beautiful. In a letter to Betsy dated 15 June 1918, he

described what he had seen on a six-mile walk he had just taken by himself when he had the leisure to “enjoy the beautiful scenery”:

There were fields of wheat, just heading out, so smooth & even; fields of sugar beets in narrow rows requiring lots of hand labor; [I]rish potatoes, rye, barley; chicory which they grind into coffee; tobacco almost ready to bloom; alfalfa, clover, and grass fields with poppies, wild mustard and daisies all sprinkled in. Pastures with great fat red cows. The flowers are so bright here, one grass field where we drill is yellow with buttercups. The streams are clear as crystal, and swarming with fish....The woods & trees alive with birds. No wonder the French love their land so.

When he wrote his letter to Betsy on 1 July 1918, Murray Mack had already spent fifteen days in the front lines, much of that time as a member of a patrol in “No Man’s land.” He assured his wife that the “front line is not so bad. We eat good food, sleep comfortably, and live a fairly easy normal life.” But, he continued, “we are under shell fire often, and I have had some close calls—had dirt tossed on me and picked up hot pieces at my feet—but we get used to it, and learn to dodge a little quicker next time.” He also assessed the abilities of his friends and relatives in Company G. “Will [Nims] is much improved and ought to be an officer for he knows more than some officers and is a good...fellow. So is Fred [Nims], though Fred knows less than Will. Joe Belk is about the best bayonet man in the regiment. He is a wonderful instructor and a fine figure of a man...[and] makes splendid talks to the men.....William

Belk has spent 9 days at the front, doing observation and intelligence work." Murray was obviously very proud of the men in his company, and on occasion, when Captain Parks was away from camp, he was the commanding officer of the men. In fact, Murray confided to Betsy, he had "turned down one offer of a place already because...[he] wanted to stay with the Fort Mill company."

In his next letter, written on 8 July 1918, he continued to focus on the accomplishments of the men in his company. "We are busy training still, & I am giving my boys all I can of it...[and] they are getting better every day," he professed. His goal, he explained, was to make certain that "[w]hen we go into battle...we will make a good show, as will all the 118th Regiment." He also claimed that the Thirtieth Division "is considered already one of the best, and it certainly has the best manhood in America," with the majority of the soldiers from the Carolinas and Tennessee.

Even though he continued to head most of his letters with "France," without any reference to location, he either intentionally, or inadvertently, revealed the name of a town near his camp when he enclosed a receipt for a meal from a restaurant in Tournehem, a small village about thirteen miles southeast of Calais. In another letter, this one written 15 July 1918, and addressed to his mother, Murray offered another hint about his location. The 118th Regiment had crossed into Belgium during the first days of July, and Murray indicated the change by posing a question in his letter. "You have seen many pictures of the big old four bladed windmills, haven't you? They are common here...." He also contrasted the land with the French area he had described in such loving detail in his earlier letters. "The country here is not as pretty as it is back where we were billeted in June. That was a paradise of scenic beauty, [but]

here it is flat and ugly.”

In a letter written on 30 July 1918, Murray remarked that he had been sent “to a nice quiet, English school...[where] there are several of us here together, all lieutenants.” Even though he admitted that it was difficult “to keep awake during lecture,” he did like the company of the English officers, and acknowledged that he was “getting Anglicized, unconsciously,” to the point that he liked “tea, marmalade, and jam” and found himself “talking with an accent sometimes.” A week later, he was “still at school and learning very much,” he related in his 6 August 1918 letter to Betsy. “I am seeing the inside of war, the scientific side of it.” His trip in an observation balloon, a few days earlier, was an entirely new experience for him and he marveled at how the “country lay spread out...in a wonderful pattern of color.” He had also visited an “aerodrome” and was impressed by “the ‘birds’ and the bird men.” His time at school would end soon, he mentioned, but believed it had been worthwhile and that he had “learned a little about Intelligence work....”

Just before he completed his course, he speculated about his future assignment, in a letter to Betsy dated 9 August 1918. “I do not know whether or not I will go back to Co. G or to Regimental Headquarters.” Even though he would “hate to leave the company,” he was eager to “serve and do my best...[w]herever they put me...,” he promised. He liked “Intelligence work as it gives play for the imagination and you know I have some imagination,” he joked.

On the day his training ended, 11 August 1918, Murray wrote his mother about his recent experiences and expectations for his new assignment. He had had “2 weeks of good instruction,” enjoyed trips to “various towns and different headquarters,” with “a very nice time thrown in for good measure,” during the time that he was trained to be a staff

officer. In a postscript, dated the next day, he noted that he had spent the previous night with his old company and that the “boys are all well”; however, he had learned that he was “moving up to Regimental H.Q.” and was sorry to leave his company, but would still be able to “keep an eye on the boys.” Company G, he continued “has a new set of officers now,” with only “Capt. Parks & Lt. Simpson left.” Among the new officers he listed were two from Illinois, one from Wisconsin, and one from Mississippi. The only South Carolinian among them was James Dozier, from Rock Hill, who was transferred from Company H, a few days later. Lieutenant Dozier took command of Murray’s former platoon.

By the time he penned his next letter to Betsy on 16 August, Murray had taken over his new job as regimental intelligence officer. Although the new position did not mean “increased pay or higher rank,” it did increase his responsibilities. Three first lieutenants and about one hundred men reported to him, he related, and he was in “charge of all scouting, patrols, observers, and snipers.” The former intelligence officer, Lieutenant Robert E. Lee, was, according to Murray, a “grandson of the great general...” The two officers tented together, and Murray described his new friend as “a fine fellow, very jolly and good hearted. It’s ‘Murray’ and ‘Bob’...and I hope he stays with us.”

Murray’s new position demanded that he work “night and day” and sleep when he could, he stressed to Betsy in his letter dated 23 August 1918. “The more I learn of my job, the more important I find it to be,” he continued. “My department is the eyes of the regiment,” he explained. And one of his recently acquired skills, riding a motorcycle, allowed him to race “hither & thither...across the field of battle.”

In a letter to his mother written 27 August 1918, Murray added more details about his new job. He explained that his “business [was] to collect

and disseminate information” through the chain of command to the officers who needed it. “In my new capacity, I am a sort of Aide to...[the colonel], and an encyclopedia of information,” he continued. In order to gather useful information, Murray “circulate[d] all over the regiment and other regiments too....” The new job was also “important enough to make it necessary [that] I have an office,” he explained, “and it is so popular that I have scores of visitors every day coming in to find out what is happening.”

In early September, the 118th Regiment was ordered to move to another section of the battle front in preparation for a long-planned offensive against the Hindenburg line. From the vicinity of Poperinghe (Belgium), where the troops had been quartered since 21 August 1918, the men of the regiment traveled in boxcar during a fourteen-hour trip to the northern French town of Anvin (Pas-de-Calais department). Murray briefly described the relocation in a postscript to a letter to Betsy dated 5 September 1918. He had “changed quarters,” he related, since he finished his letter, and he was “among fine people, out of sound of cannon for [the] first time since July 4.” In his next letter to Betsy, written 10 September 1918, he provided more details about his living quarters, the country, and his work. Murray was billeted in a brick house, slept on “linen...sheets and pillow cases” on a bed with “springs and mattress...three feet thick,” and he had only to “turn a switch at the door” and the electric light came on. “About 500 yards down the road is my office, the two front rooms of a little brick dwelling,” and “300 yards still further...is our Headquarters mess....” Later in the letter, he recalled the trip by train to the new location: “We had been packed in box cars so thick you couldn’t sit or lie down...just had to pile up somehow or other.” Then, after the soldiers detrained, Murray “had to guide Headquarters,

Machine Gun. Co., and each Battalion to their billets, each one in a separate town, and several miles apart, scattered everywhere, and...I had only a map to guide me." After working "all night and till noon the next day," he had "everybody safely tucked in." Apparently before the move from Belgium, Murray had been involved in a "recent scrap" that he had just read about in "a few English papers...." He wanted to describe it to Betsy in case "the U.S. papers had it too." He had been "up the line on a visit to another regiment preparing to take over in a few days..." when the regiment advanced nearly a mile over the course of two days' of fighting. "I was lucky to see it all, and regret I didn't get a chance to take part in the actual fighting," he remarked. Some of his men, however, who manned a forward observation post, did come under enemy fire and were forced to move "down the trench about 50 yds. and put the telescope up and went to work again, shells hitting all round us," he remembered. Murray's hard work and reliability as Regimental Intelligence Officer eventually paid off.

In a letter written on 13 September 1918, he informed his wife that he had been "recommended for a captaincy" that day, which, he believed, meant he had done a good job in his new position. But he warned Betsy to not "say anything about it to anyone for it is doubtful if I get it." His doubt was warranted this time. In his next letter, dated 20 September, he wrote, "[b]y the way, my recommendation for captaincy was turned down, cause: no vacancy." With the birth of his and Betsy's child approaching, Murray referred more frequently to the expected event. In the same letter, he expressed his agreement with Betsy's choice for a name for the baby. "Well, dear, if you want the baby named after your pa, if it is a boy, it's alright with me[,] but if a girl, remember she must be Elizabeth," he insisted.

Even though he could not mention the fact in his letter, when he wrote Betsy on 29 September 1918, he was writing from the front line, while the men of his regiment occupied the trenches, face to face with the enemy. On 22 September 1918, the 118th Regiment had moved from Toulencourt to a position near Tincourt Woods, about five miles behind the front line trenches.

During the early hours of 24 September 1918, the companies moved forward and relieved other troops occupying the forward positions. That was why Murray had had “no sleep for 5 nights and 5 days,” as he announced in his letter of 29 September. He had been “very busy indeed,” coordinating the first sustained battle action in which the 118th Regiment had been involved. The letter, actually penned “about noon, 9/29/1918,” described Murray’s reaction to the success that the soldiers of the 118th Regiment, as part of the Fifty-ninth Brigade of the Thirtieth Division, had had that morning in breaching the Hindenburg Line. British, Australian, and American troops had pushed through the formidable German defensive position at the St. Quentin tunnel and had driven the Germans out of Bellicourt and Nauroy, capturing or killing most of the enemy’s soldiers. Murray had “kept going on coffee, excitement, and pride,” and he emphasized, “a desire to do as much as I can for my regiment, my commanding officer, and the Great Cause.” He reported that “Joe, William Belk, & Will Nims are O.K. now,” and “all our Fort Mill people are O.K. at this writing—no one hurt so far as I can learn.”

In his next letter, dated 4 October 1918, Murray provided Betsy with more details about the events of the past few days. “Talk about breaking the Hindenburg Line,” he began, “our boys did it. They faced it for 3 days, sized it up good and then went over and took a slice two miles deep.” Murray, much to his regret, “was in comparative safety during the

action, back at Regimental H.Q., and my conscience hurt me, thinking of my boys (my old platoon) out in the fight." The Fort Mill company, "G. Co. only lost 4 men killed, & 15 wounded," he informed Betsy, but "you don't know any of them, except Bob Bennett, who was slightly wounded." Murray also had another reason to be pleased that day. "I got my promotion today," he wrote, "and am now *Captain* [and] still Intelligence Officer."

On 12 October 1918, in a three-page letter to Betsy, Murray included more details of the continuing push against German resistance. "Well, we've been on the go now for a good while and still going," he recounted. Our troops go so fast, the headquarters can't keep up." He commented that Betsy's brother, "Will Nims did some fine work, and was slightly wounded [but] only a cut on the knee." His nephew, "Joe Belk led his platoon for 3000 yards to their objective, taking charge when Lt. Dozier took command of the company. Joe was wounded, not seriously I think, for he did not go to the hospital for half a day." Murray, in his position as part of the regimental headquarters, had not been involved in combat, but expressed his hope that he would get "back to a line company and do a little fighting before it is over." When Captain Parks was slightly wounded, Murray pleaded with the colonel to let him "take Co. G...but nothing doing," he lamented.

Murray Mack left out of the letter his own narrow escape from serious injury, or death, that had happened only a few days before. An article in the 29 July 1921 issue of the *Yorkville Enquirer* provided details of the episode. On 6 October 1918, Murray was in a "party of officers and non-commissioned officers who had been instructed to select a position for the Fort Mill and other companies of the 118th Infantry, who had been ordered closer to the Front." The men were riding in a truck near the

German lines when a “German shell came over on the American side of the road,” exploded near the truck, “[and] killed or wounded practically every one of its occupants.” Captain Mack, who had been gassed the day before, “was huddled in the bottom [of the truck] because he was sick.” The two men who were sitting on a bench above him were “killed instantly[,] their blood trickling down on Capt. Mack who escaped injury.” The newspaper account of the incident was printed at the time the body of one of the soldiers killed by the explosion, Corporal Erwin Clark Graham (1898–1918), was returned from France and reinterred in Rose Hill Cemetery in York. Captain Mack was one of Graham’s many comrades who attended the burial service.

Letters from Will Nims and Joe Belk in the collection provide their firsthand accounts of the battles in which they were wounded. In a letter to his mother, written from a hospital in France and dated 11 October 1918, Will narrated the events that had happened “just a few days ago...” His company was “having a *show* when a shrapnel got me in the...thigh but it was only slight and I went on,” he began. “[L]ater the officers were wounded and I commanded the company until we reached our objective, [d]riving the Boshe...like a big rabbit hunt...” For him, the worst part of the assault was “coming back over the ground that has been gained— that’s enough.” The citation that accompanied the Distinguished Service Cross that was awarded to Willie Harrison Nims adds more details to his story. The award was presented to him “for extraordinary heroism in action near Montbrehain, France,” on 8 October 1918. “After all his company officers had been wounded, Sergeant Nims, though himself wounded in the leg by shell fire, assumed command and led his company with remarkable dash through heavy machine-gun fire. Using a stick as a crutch, he continued forward until the objective was

reached and the position consolidated, when he consented to go to the rear for treatment.” In fact, Nims earned his citation in the same action in which another member of Company G, First Lieutenant James C. Dozier, was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor. Lieutenant Dozier was wounded in the shoulder by a sniper’s bullet just as Company G began its attack on the German position directly in front of the Americans. Lieutenant Dozier, however, continued to lead his two platoons until he was forced to stop by heavy machine-gun fire. He then, with one volunteer, Private Callie A. Smith, attacked one of the machine-gun positions and killed all seven members of the crew with grenades and a pistol, which allowed the company to continue its advance. Just after Lieutenant Dozier was carried off the field on a stretcher, Sergeant Nims assumed command of Company G. Joe Belk was seriously wounded, apparently during the same assault on the German lines in which Willie Nims and James Dozier were also hit.

Joe wrote his mother on 24 October 1918 from the Bristol Royal Infirmary in England where he was recovering from a bullet wound in his left side and from influenza. Although he had “been very sick,” he was a great “deal better and on the road to recovery,” he assured his mother. Joe requested his mother to give a message to one of his friends. “Tell Dr. Kirk one of these Germans got me after all my dodging, but I laid four down before I was hit.” He felt fortunate, he wrote, that he had only been wounded, because “I have seen them die—I mean Americans—on the battle field one right after the other.” Murray also described Joe’s bravery and leadership in a letter he wrote to his brother Will on 25 October 1918. He had, he explained, heard “the story from two men who were with Joe, and I think it is straight.” After Company G’s captain, Sam Parks, and all the other officers were wounded, “1st Sgt. Willie Nims was

leading the company on, and Joe found himself in charge of the 4th platoon (my old platoon). He *led* them forward, cleaning out several M.G.'s. About a thousand yards short of the objective he was hit by a bullet in the stomach...[however], he went on to the objective, and was standing up, motioning his men to take cover from the fire, when he was struck in the back by a shell splinter. The boys dressed his wound and sent him back to the Aid station." Murray also claimed that the "Fort Mill company did more hand to hand fighting than any company in the Regiment [and] this Regiment...is the star outfit of the Division."

While Murray was with his regiment, busy with the details of war, his second child, a son, was born, on 21 October 1918, when Betsy was under the care of Dr. William W. Fennell (1869–1926) in his infirmary in Rock Hill (South Carolina). Because of the difficulty in communicating, Murray did not learn of the event until several weeks after Frederick Nims Mack was born. In his letter to Betsy written on 29 October 1918, Murray expressed his frustration with the lack of news from home. "Dear, I haven't recd. that cablegram you were to send me and I know something must be wrong....I can only wait here for some word from you, and God grant that it won't be much longer in coming to me." Murray continued to faithfully write to Betsy, and even though he was anxious about her condition, his letters were cheerful and full of the everyday details of his life.

On 30 October 1918, in a letter to Betsy, he announced, "I'm working pretty hard now, book work, paper work, do a lot of running about & visiting the battalions, and also managing the victorious 118th athletic team." His 4 November letter to his wife contained news of the continued recovery of his wounded comrades, the athletic competition between the Thirtieth and Twenty-seventh Divisions, and his own work as a staff

officer. Peace and the end of fighting dominated his 11 November letter to his mother. "The peace news sounds good, doesn't it?...I can't realize it at all..., and I can't believe it is all over." Even with the prospect of peace, his daily routine had changed very little. Although he was no longer Regimental Intelligence Officer, he was "handling all the training & schools in the regiment."

Finally, Murray learned, from a letter that Betsy wrote on 25 October 1918 and that he received on 15 November, that he was the father of another son. "I'm surprised, but pleased and relieved beyond words," he wrote. Previously, he had indicated that he hoped for a daughter, and he was "a little disappointed," he admitted. Murray asked Betsy, in his letter of 17 November 1918, "How is the new baby and its mamma today?" He also wanted to know how Murray, Jr., liked "his little brother." Then he wrote, "Gee, I want to be at home now." But in a letter to his mother, written the following day, he refused to speculate about when that day would come. "You ask when do I expect to get home. I must say, I never even think or attempt to figure out anything that far ahead." He insisted that "my time is *all* taken up, and I don't have time to think much about the future."

Although Murray had described the area where his regiment was sent on 24 October 1918 to rest and recuperate after the rigorous campaign earlier in the month, he never named his location; however, in a letter to Betsy dated 27 November 1918, he apparently no longer felt constrained by wartime secrecy and provided a brief account of his recent movements. From 24 October until 21 November 1918, he had lived in the village of Baizieux "in a palace with all the windows broken out by shell concussions," produced by artillery fire when the occupying Germans were pushed out of the nearby village of Albert in August 1918

by American and Australian troops. "We moved down here [to] Montbizot and joined the American army for the first time since we left the states," he continued. Murray's party of five officers, two colonels and three captains, moved into the chateau of M. Dagoreau, a "kind & hospitable host." Murray insisted that he had "never in my life...tasted such food, and so...appetizing...." While at the chateau on the previous Sunday, Murray and his fellow officers spotted an American airplane circling overhead. "It came closer & closer," Murray related, "then almost to the tree tops, frightening the cattle & horses in the pasture, then another turn or two and it skimmed along the ground alighting almost in the back yard. We ran down to see what was the matter and shook hands with 'Dub' Adams and Ken Easley, two officers who were once in the old 1st South Carolina Inf." The aviators had learned that men from their former unit were nearby and "they had simply called around to see us...." While stationed in Montbizot, some of the men from the 118th Regiment were granted leaves to travel to other parts of France. During the time when Captain Francis Beatty was "away on a well deserved leave of about 2 weeks," Murray also handled Captain Beatty's responsibilities as adjutant. "It is plenty of work," he explained, "but the experience will do me good if I can hold it down satisfactorily."

His work was apparently satisfactory because, as he related in his letter to Betsy dated 5 December 1918, Colonel Orrin R. Wolfe (1869–1959), his commanding officer, tried to persuade Murray to apply for a commission in the regular army. "He says I can make good, get an appointment as 1st Lt., with good chances to go up," Murray added. "I feel rather complimented, for the old man has advised only two officers to try to get in the Regular army, Maj. [William D.] Workman & myself"; however, Murray admitted, "both of us are applying for full and

immediate separation from the service." Although he had already requested separation from the service, he did express his reservations about his decision to his wife. Even though he had "lost nearly 3 years of...[his] life already" to military service, he was "drawing more money now as captain than...[he] would at home." His major concern, he confided to Betsy, "is to get *all* my debts paid *in full*. Maybe I should stay in service until that is done."

Perhaps it was Murray's hard work and dedication to his job that won for him a choice assignment in Paris. He was one of five officers chosen "to collect all the 30 Division baggage in the city & take it back to the Division," he informed Betsy in a letter written on the stationery of the Hotel Continental, where he stayed, and dated 13 December 1918. "We have been working hard all day & having a big time at night," he wrote. "I have a big touring car at my disposal and have been all over the city in it. We go to a show every night." Murray considered himself very lucky to be able to see Paris because, as he informed Betsy, "no American can get leave in Paris without Gen. Pershing's permission"; even those soldiers who passed through the city "can only stay here 24 hours," he added. His Paris adventure, however, had cost him "beaucoup francs." The hotel room cost eight dollars per day, his meals added six to ten dollars, plus the theater, and other incidentals. He was also impressed with the notables he saw or met. He had dined one evening at the next table to the "King of Hajez...and his court," he related [the Sharif of Mecca Hussein bin Ali, who had declared himself King of Hejaz in 1916], and "last night...[he] sat in the Theatre next to Fouck [Rene Fonck (1894–1953)], the most famous French airman." Fonck, who was credited with seventy-five victories, was, according to Murray's account, "loaded down with medals," and had complained that wearing them on

his uniform “made him stoop shouldered...” The American captain from Fort Mill was clearly enthralled by meeting “a lot of famous people...” in Paris.

Murray chronicled the remainder of his time in Paris in two more letters, one to his mother, dated 14 December 1918, and the final one to Betsy, dated the next day. In his letter to his mother, he described the reception President Woodrow Wilson received from the French people when he arrived in Paris that morning. “The big cannon boomed out 21 in his honor, millions of people thronged the Champs Elysees to see him go past.” The five American officers parked their car in the Place de la Concord and enjoyed a good view of “Mr. & Mrs. Wilson, Gen. Pershing, President Poincare and all the others.” That afternoon, he and his comrades drove around the city, and saw “Mr. Wilson & his wife again on their way from lunch with Pres. Poincare, to Prince Murat’s house where they are staying.” The party then visited Versailles “and went through the Royal Palace and the wonderful gardens,” before returning to Paris for an evening at the Apollo Theater where they had tickets to “a musical comedy.” Even though it had cost him “about 25 to 35 dollars a day at the least to live here,” he thought the price was justified by the “treasures” he had stored in his memory. A brief note to Betsy, written on Sunday, recounted his theater experience of the previous evening. He and his friends had seen “a comic opera, ‘La Reine Joyeuse,’ [and the] music was beautiful and costumes and dances good too.” The costumes worn by the Russian dancers, he noted, were “mostly conspicuous by their scantiness.” When they left the performance, they found the “streets...full of bands and dancers...[and] everybody was dancing and shouting until 2:00 A M or later.”

“I fought the ‘Battle of Paris’ and won out, came through without a scratch, but lost the biggest part of my pocketbook,” he humorously remarked to Betsy in his letter written on 20 December 1918 after his return to Montbizot. When he returned from Paris, he found his work piled up and had been “working hard night & day to catch up.” Not only was he overworked, but he was also disappointed because his regiment had “lost our good Colonel, Orrin R. Wolfe...[who] was transferred away yesterday.” Murray was certain that he had “made a better regiment of the 118th.” His successor, Lieutenant Colonel Walter F.L. Hartigan (1878–1924), Murray described as a “polished gentleman” and “genial associate.”

In a letter to Betsy written on the last day of 1917, Murray reflected on the events of the past year and also looked to the future. “Beatty and I often talk about how we were looking forward to trying out some of our oft-practiced schemes for attacking Bosche machine gun nests, and both of us [were] taken away from our companies and put into headquarters, ‘bomb proof’ jobs,” he recalled. “But it seems to be all over now [and] we are longing to get back home and to work again. It is no use regretting the past; [i]t is the future we should be looking to.” Murray had just returned from a regimental review held at Soulignie, a nearby village. “As I sat on my horse behind the General and watched those men go past, platoon after platoon, heads in the air, perfect step, lines straight as a ruler, my heart sure felt big,” he proclaimed. “I felt so proud to be a member of the regiment and associated with these men, even if I didn’t get a chance to ‘go over’ with them.”

Murray had the good fortune to spend six weeks in January and February 1919 in a chateau that he described to Betsy in a letter written 3 January 1919 as the “most beautiful dwelling house I’ve ever seen.”

The property [located in the former province of Maine, now Sarthe département] belonged “an old man [who] lives in Le Mans, a city 8 or 10 miles away, and comes out sometimes to visit his American guests, bringing beaucoup champagne for a big feast.” In a later letter, written to Betsy on 10 January 1919, Murray identified the owner as Armand Chappee (1835–1922), the head of an iron foundry company that produced “all sorts of things[:] pipes of all sizes, machine castings, radiators, big shells (this was transferred over to making ammunition during the recent hostilities).” Monsieur Chappee and his wife, their sons, daughters-in-law, and two grandsons joined the seven American officers billeted in the chateau for a Sunday dinner, cooked by the family’s chef and served by their butler, on 19 January. The dinner, accompanied by three wines, one of which was a “rare *old* wine that...[had] been lying in the cellar so long it was almost forgotten...,was sure great.” The band from the 118th Infantry “played all during the meal.” Murray also noted that on Sunday afternoon “the Chappes had a presentation of Christmas presents to the children of the iron workers...[and] there were several hundred of them.” He also remarked that the family had “a model community for the employees of their iron works, [with] a theatre, church, school house, play grounds, modern houses, and a very modern up-to-date bath (showers & tubs)....” In the same letter, Murray described the “big show,” the review of the troops of the Thirtieth Division by General John J. Pershing that had taken place that day. The troops in the division were “spread over a wide territory, some units 8 or 9 miles apart, but...[there was] not a hitch all day.” Murray praised the performance of all the regiments, but claimed “everybody says the 118th was absolutely perfect and better than any other regiment....” General Pershing, “a big man, every inch a soldier,” spent an hour and a half inspecting each

company. For Murray, it was a great day “for the Old Hickory” division. “Imagine a field of smooth velvet green of 100 acres,” he wrote, “perfectly square, and filled with a mass of soldiers, battalion after battalion in perfect alignment.” The commanding general “himself pinned medals on about 50 of our heroes, a very impressive ceremony.”

On occasion, Murray would mention individual soldiers in his letters, especially if Betsy knew the man. He noted, in his letter dated 14 January 1919, that he had ridden over to the Second Battalion that afternoon and he “saw Jim Dozier [for] the first time since he came back from the hospital. He has the Military Cross (British medal) for rushing a m[achine] g[un].” Another friend, Peter K. McCully, the former commander of the First South Carolina Infantry before it was incorporated into the national army, also rejoined the regiment. Murray mentioned to Betsy in a letter dated 12 January 1919 that “[o]ur old original Col. McCully came in today.” In fact, Murray pointed out, “that makes 4 commanders we have had since Dec. 16th, Wolfe, Hartigan, Healy & McCully.” Two other fellow officers, Lindsay C. McFadden and James E. Poore, M.D., had “applied to stay over here and yesterday got orders to report to 3rd Division on the Rhine,” Murray wrote. Although he sometimes mentioned remaining in the army in order to continue his captain’s salary for as long as possible, he apparently never seriously considered that option. In a letter to Betsy written 30 January 1919, he made his intention very clear: “No more war or army for me. *Never again.* I’ve got *enough.*”

When he wrote Betsy on 10 February 1919, Murray headed his letter “Forwarding Camp, Le Mans,” but joked that his new location should be called “Detention Camp” because, he complained, “[w]e are stuck here, maybe for a month.” Three days later, in another letter to Betsy, he

confessed he was “too blue and lonesome & homesick to write.” The soldiers were ready to go home, he continued, and the “waiting is awful.”

The next day, in a more cheerful mood, Murray presented his view of life once he returned home to his wife, family and community: “I want to go to church again and get back my religion, and open negotiations again for the welfare of my soul. I want to feel free again and be happy and I want to think that there really is something in life worth living for.”

By 22 February 1919, when he addressed a letter to his mother from “Detention Camp,” his pessimistic mood had returned, perhaps because he had just finished a letter to the sister of a soldier in his regiment who had killed himself. Discussing the suicide, Mack observed, “It was a letter of sympathy and explanation,” he informed his mother, because “I happen to know more of the events that led up to the tragedy than perhaps anyone else.” In an earlier letter home, Murray had discussed the death of his unnamed successor as regimental intelligence officer who, under the stress of his responsibilities in the midst of a horrific war, had taken his own life. “It is hard to write those letters which you know will open raw wounds of sorrow and degraded family pride.”

Murray’s sour mood continued as long as he was stuck in the Le Mans retention camp. He admitted in his letter to Betsy, written 28 February 1919, that he had “been writing such gloomy, silly, crazy letters lately” and asked her “to destroy them at once....” His problem, he believed, was his loss of interest in his work. After the fighting ended, the officers who commanded the regiment set a poor example for their men. One of the colonels “was so selfish and lazy that he didn’t take any interest in anybody but himself”; another colonel thought only of “going to town at night and playing around with nurses and Red Cross women.” Murray confessed that he had gotten to the point that “didn’t care” and did so

little work that he was “ashamed to draw...[his] pay.” And the fact that he had been “sidetracked here, and getting lousy & dirtier every day” did not improve his outlook on life. One other division had already sailed for home, he reported, while another was in the port of Brest ready to embark. He promised, however, that “[t]his is the last grouchy letter I will write. If I can’t write cheerfully, I won’t write at all.”

True to his word, the tone of his next letter, dated 5 March 1919, and headed “Forwarding Camp,” was cautiously optimistic. The reason for his cheerfulness was that he knew that the regiment had been ordered to leave camp on 9 March, proceed to the port of embarkation, and sail for home by 16 March 1919. He was cautious because he knew that “orders may change as they have changed in the past.” This time the orders were not changed and Murray wrote Betsy on 8 March 1919 that he had “just finished loading the 2nd & 3rd Battalions on a troop train for St. Nazaire...[and] tomorrow we load the rest of the regiment and leave ourselves.” To Murray, it seemed “to[o] good to be true.” When the troops arrived in St. Nazaire, they were informed that they would board the U.S.S. *Kroonland* and sail for either New York or Newport News, Virginia, the next day. “[S]uddenly we were changed,”

Murray wrote in a letter to Betsy on 11 March 1919, “& are now being held to wait for a boat or boats that can go into Charleston, S.C.” He blamed the delay on “political influence” from someone “who has been at work to have us go to Charleston.” The men, he claimed, “would rather go to New York because that means a quicker trip in bigger boats.”

Murray’s next extant letter was written aboard the U.S.S. *Mercury* on 26 March 1919, when the ship was almost in sight of Charleston. Even though the voyage had been “so far a fortunate one...[with] only a day or so of rough weather, and that not very bad,” Murray wrote, he had been

“pretty sea sick nearly all the way across, until today,” he continued. “There are 3050 soldiers, 79 officers, & about 500 sailors on the ship” which was “an old German liner built...for good service, and a good ship it is too,” he explained. It had taken only twelve days for the 3,700 mile trip from St. Nazaire, the French port from which they sailed on 15 March 1919, to Charleston, an average of “about 315 miles per day,” he concluded. Murray also described the ship’s amenities to Betsy: “We have excellent cuisine on board, something different every meal and well cooked & served....Every night there are 3 movies on board, two for the men & one for the officers....We box, wrestle, run, jump, & walk the promenade deck for exercise. There are lots of good books & everybody has one or two....All of the latest magazines are on the table, and two big bands furnish lots of music.” In his letter written from Camp Jackson on 28 March, the day after he landed in Charleston, Murray described the enthusiastic welcome the soldiers received when they arrived. “They gave us a great time in Charleston. The trip up the harbor was a triumphal procession...[and then] we got off the boat right onto the trains.” When the train passed through Sumter on the way to Columbia, the citizens were “out in force to greet us, a nice reception,” he recalled. Even though he expected to get home by Tuesday of the following week, Murray encouraged Betsy to come to Columbia (S.C.) in time for the parade of the returning troops scheduled for Monday because he wrote, “[t]he parade will be something to remember.”

After the parade in Columbia on Monday, 31 March 1919, Murray returned home on leave. While in Fort Mill (S.C.), he had the opportunity to attend a gala reception for the members of Company G, 118th Infantry, organized by members of the town’s Red Cross chapter. *The Fort Mill Times* published an account of the event on 10 April 1919. The

members of the company assembled at the town's armory, then marched to Confederate Park where the soldiers were welcomed home by the town's mayor and by W. Ben Ardrey, Murray's brother-in-law, who, according to the article, delivered a speech "in his characteristic vein." Lieutenant Colonel Thomas B. Spratt, who had returned from France the previous November, and Captain Sam W. Parks, the company's commander, responded to the welcome on behalf of the company's members. Medal of Honor recipient Lieutenant James C. Dozier spoke about the experiences he had had while campaigning in Belgium and France. Mrs. J.B. Elliott, the leader of the Red Cross chapter in Fort Mill, then read the list of names of all of the local soldiers killed in action during the war, including the seven members of Company G who had died during the assault on the Hindenburg line. Before his leave expired, Murray spent two days in New York with his brother Will. After Murray returned home,

Will commented to his mother, in a letter written 16 April 1919, that Murray "seems to be very anxious about getting some land so as to build up a home for himself and family..., but I suppose he will take the matter up with you." When his leave from the army was over, Murray returned to Camp Jackson where he planned to remain in service until May, but as he explained to Betsy in his letter dated 5 May 1919, earlier that day when he was ready to accept his discharge, the adjutant gave him the option of remaining in service for a few more weeks. "I thought of the extra money I would get and how we need that money to buy a farm and run it, and to pay mother every cent we owe her, so on the hasty impulse of the moment I said 'yes,'" he confessed. He hoped, he added, that he would "stay in 'till June 1st [but] I have no doubt I could stay longer if I want to, because they are short of officers here now." Betsy reluctantly

accepted Murray's decision, as she noted in her letter written on 8 May, because "there doesn't seem to be anything for me to say about you staying in 'till June [since] you have already signed up..." After having very little to do during his first few weeks at Camp Jackson, he was assigned to work as "inspector and assistant manager of all the camp Exchanges, seven of them," he wrote to Betsy on 12 May 1919.

Since his return from France, Murray had discussed with both his mother and his brother Will his desire to purchase part of the land that made up the "home place" so that he would be able to build a house and farm the land. In a letter to Betsy, written on 8 May 1919, he outlined, in detail, his plans for their future. He wanted to "buy 150 acres of the home place, leaving out the town property"; rent "all the other farms" his mother owned, "paying her a fair rent and then sub-renting them on shares to good tenants"; rent his sister Lizzie's house, "or the upstairs rooms," "build a cabin (one or two rooms, your idea)," or "buy some adjoining piece of land...that can furnish us a temporary house"; work the home place with "wage hands"; and, if possible, return to work carrying mail on a rural route. Murray pursued his plans for a farm and home during his remaining time in service. He sent Will a letter about 15 May 1919 to explain his desire to acquire part of his mother's farm and continued to ask Betsy her thoughts on the type and size house they would need.

He asked Betsy, in a letter written 19 May 1919, "what kind of house do you want, 3, 4 or 5 rooms?" He felt that they should make a decision soon about the house because he "want[ed] to close the deal on the farm and start to work....in July," when he expected his discharge from the army. His brothers, Harry and Will, however, objected to the plan to sell part of the home place to Murray, and Will informed his mother in a letter dated 19 May 1919 that "Harry wishes me to tell you that he bitterly

opposes...selling the part of...the old homestead...on the other side of the road to Murry." Both brothers believed that their mother had "done enough for...[Murray] already," and Will saw "no reason why he should not do the way the other boys have done—go off for himself and make his own living." Will also invoked his father's wishes for the property and recalled a conversation he had with his father "a short time before his death." Will remembered that his father wanted the homestead to remain intact during his widow's lifetime, "and for that reason he insisted upon my taking a mortgage upon it, so that I might in this way protect it." His father, Will affirmed, "also said that he did not wish Murray to have" any of the homestead's land. He also informed his mother that if "you still wish to dispose of the home and it must be broken up, please be considerate enough of Harry's ambitions and feelings, as well as of mine, to give each of us an opportunity of bidding higher than the price asked." Will offered his mother five dollars more per acre for the land that Murray wanted to purchase for \$25.00 per acre, and also assume responsibility for satisfying the mortgage his brother held.

Murray's mother, in a letter to Murray written on 21 May 1919, described Will's letter as "a most disappointing one." She had understood, she explained to Murray, that "Will was willing for me to sell you part of this place," but that was clearly not true; therefore, she wanted him to know the situation as soon as possible so that he might make "other plans...." Hattie Mack obviously would not act counter to the wishes of Will and Harry, but she admitted to Murray, "oh how I hate to think that you may not be near me....I must have someone with me to care for me & what I have." Murray's major concern was, as he stated in a letter to his mother written 29 May 1919, "where Elizabeth and I are going to stay when I get discharged...." He insisted that "we are not going

to 'sponge' on the Nims, nor on you, [so] the only thing for us to do is to build, or rent a house or rooms in town."

Murray made another appeal to Will to drop his opposition to the proposed sale of part of their mother's home place to him. In a three-page typed letter dated 14 June 1919, Murray explained in great detail his "reasons for wanting to *purchase this farm*." He argued that he better than anyone else could "make more money and reach success quicker" because he "knew every foot of it," knowledge gained since he "took it over in 1910." The farm was "conveniently near to markets, schools, and churches" and also close to his mother and sisters, as well as Betsy's parents, siblings, and cousins. Perhaps his most persuasive point was his assertion that "mother needs one of us at home to take care of her farm business and take care of her." Harry, he asserted, had not even considered his mother's request that he move to Fort Mill and assume management of the farms, and he knew that Will was also unwilling to leave his business in New York. Murray expressed his eagerness "to get a definite understanding...in the matter," for as he wrote to Will, "I want to settle down on my farm and build a home for my wife and babies, and try to amount to something even if I am late in getting a start."

In a frank and direct letter to his mother, written 17 June 1919, Murray acknowledged that he had written to Will about the farm matter, "altho' it hurt my pride very much, but as my happiness and your comfort are more or less at stake, I wrote him as calmly as I could and tried to explain everything." He also claimed that "[i]f I had foreseen all this opposition and apparent attempt to run me out of the family, I would have stayed in Europe." Will's opposition to Murray's plan softened, as evidenced by his reply to Murray's letter. He wrote, on 23 June 1919, that neither he nor Harry would "stand in your way of purchasing the

home place...provided you are willing to pay as much as Harry or I will..."

Murray was prepared to move ahead with the purchase, he informed his mother in a letter dated 27 June 1919, "if we can get together on a 'trade,' as the tenants say." Perhaps part of his eagerness to acquire his own farm was because, as he mentioned to his mother, "cotton was 35 cts. in New York yesterday."

Cotton prices peaked during the summer of 1919, however, and declined in 1920 to an average of 15.9 cents per pound. For the remainder of the decade, prices per pound fluctuated between 12 and 15 cents. Murray informed his mother in his letter of 5 July 1919 that he expected to get his discharge from the army the following week and he would then "go home and work in the garden, and do a lot of things that need to be done around the place." Apparently Murray was unable to purchase outright the land that he desired for, Ed Mack, in a letter to his mother, dated 28 July 1919, mentioned that he was happy that she and Murray had "agreed upon a practical and fair plan...for [a] several years' lease" of the farms.

After Murray returned to his family and no longer corresponded with Betsy or his mother, the focus of the Mack family papers shifts to other members of the family. Most of the letters dated during the remainder of 1919 and during 1920 are from Edward or Will Mack, who wrote regularly to their mother with family news. Hattie Mack also received occasional letters from some of her grandchildren, especially her grandsons, and from other family members.

Edward Mack, in a letter to his mother dated 27 June 1919, conveyed news of his wife and children. After his first wife died in 1916, Edward married, on 4 June 1918, Lenore Tinsley (1887–1972), the youngest

daughter of James Garland Tinsley (1843–1920) and his wife Pattie Winston Jones Tinsley (1843–1911) of Henrico County (Virginia). Edward and Lenore planned to go to Pence Springs, a resort in West Virginia, “for a month’s absolute rest,” before Lenore would return to Richmond “to stay with her father,” while Edward would “settle down in Huntington, West Va., for six weeks, as supply of the First Church.” His daughter, Mary Green, who had married a naval officer, Theodore Thomas Patterson (1892–1966), had visited with Edward and Lenore for two weeks in Richmond, and planned to spend the rest of the summer in the “Connecticut mountains” while her husband was “on a cruise to Cuba and Panama.” Edward’s sons Edward, Jr., and Joseph were both still in the army in Europe, but were expected to return “home in July or August.” George, the youngest son, “and two college-mates signed up to work on transatlantic steamships this summer...[and] sailed from Newport News today for Hull, England,” he continued.

Will Mack, in his letters to his mother, focused on making arrangements for his son Billie to enroll in Porter Military Academy in Charleston (South Carolina), in September 1919. He wanted his mother to make sure Billie had “all the necessary linen and clothing” he needed but, as he wrote in his letter dated 13 September 1919, Billie would “need no civilian clothes, as he must wear [a] uniform in Charleston.”

Billie MAck, however, begged his grandmother to give him “permission to go home,” after only two weeks in Charleston. In a letter dated 7 October 1919, he complained about the “rotten” food and the fact that he had been placed in the eighth grade there, but in his previous school in Fort Mill, he had been promoted to the tenth grade. He also promised that if allowed to return to Fort Mill, he would not “run all over the country” as he did the previous school year, but “would stay at home and

study....” Billie also pleaded with his father to allow him to return to Fort Mill to live with his grandmother. Will, however, as he related to his mother in a letter dated 9 October 1919, believed that his son “should take life seriously and make up for lost time in his studies,” even though his “life in Charleston must be considerably harder than that in Fort Mill....”

Hattie Mack spent much of October in Decatur (Georgia), with her daughter-in-law May Lucas Mack, and for a brief period, Murray resumed writing to his mother with farm news. On 16 October 1919, he wrote that “cotton is 35 cents here today,...[and] according to your instructions, I am selling your few bales of new cotton.” The extended Mack family expected to celebrate a merry Christmas in 1919, especially with the return home of most of the members who had served in the military back home in time to enjoy the season.

Edward explained to his mother in a letter dated 6 December 1919 that he and Lenore would not be able to join other members of the family in Fort Mill for the holidays because they expected their sons and daughter in Richmond: “Edward writes that he expects to arrive in Richmond on Saturday the 20th; and George is planning to come. Joseph writes...that he may be ordered home...to spend Christmas with us too. Mary Green expects to give birth to her son (?) some time Christmas week. So you see I have much to keep me in Richmond this year.”

Even so, the family gathering in Fort Mill included Will from New York, Billie from Charleston, Hattie Mack’s nephew, John McMullen Banks from Columbia (S.C.), and the Fort Mill siblings; Mary Ardrey, her husband Ben and their children; Lizzie Belk and her children; and Murray, his wife Betsy, and their two young sons. Hattie had also learned

that another member had been added to the family with the birth of her first great-grandchild, Mary Kirby Patterson, who was born to Mary Green and Ted Patterson in Richmond on 22 December 1919.

Two deaths in the family marked the beginning of the new year. Hattie Mack's brother, Alexander R. Banks, died in Ridgeway, South Carolina, where he was in charge of the local school, on 25 February 1920, after a brief illness. His funeral was held in Fort Mill and he was buried in Unity Cemetery, near the graves of his parents. One of his sons, John M. Banks, wrote to his aunt Hattie from his office at *The Columbia Record*, on 28 February 1920, just after he returned from the funeral. "You are such a dear, brave woman," he reflected. "You have such a big heart that you have room to give everybody a place." John's sister, Hattie Banks Long, who lived in Abbeville (South Carolina), also wrote, on 15 March 1920, to her aunt and thanked her for her love and support after her father's death. "You were all so kind and good to us & we all fell in love with every one of you," she remarked.

The other family death occurred on 4 March 1920 when Mary Elizabeth Mack, Hattie Mack's sister-in-law, died. Will Mack, in a postscript to a letter to his mother dated 5 March, related that he had just received a telegram from Mary's brother, Edward G. Mack, "telling me of Aunt Mary's death. I shall advise him to go ahead and bury [her] in Columbia cemetery & charge expenses to me." Will followed that brief note with a longer letter to his mother, dated 16 March 1920, in which he summarized the contents of another letter from his uncle. "Uncle Ed and a Columbia Herald gave information as to the funeral and interment of my aunt's body in Columbia, Tennessee, in the family plot," he wrote. "I am glad that you did not make the trip to Columbia as the weather was very inclement, according to Uncle Ed's letter."

The letters that survive from the remainder of 1920 are from Hattie Mack to Murray written while on a trip to visit her sons Edward and Will, accompanied by her granddaughter, Harriett Mack, the daughter of Alexander and May Lucas Mack. In a letter to Murray, dated 10 May 1920, Hattie described a visit to the home of Lenore's father, just outside of Richmond. "It is one of the prettiest places I ever saw... [with] a yard full of chickens [and] a number of turkey hens setting," as well as guineas, pigs, and one lamb, she recalled. She and Harriett planned to leave Richmond for New York in a few days so Harriett "could visit her cousins on the 15th & attend a college dance."

On 15 May 1920, Hattie informed Murray that she and Harriett had arrived safely, and that she was enjoying Will's "fine big house" at 49 South Elliott Place in Brooklyn, located only seven blocks from his office. Hattie remained in Brooklyn until the middle of July, then stopped for two weeks at Ed and Lenore's farm near Orange, Virginia, before returning to Fort Mill in early August.

Although none of Murray's 1920 letters are present in the collection, it is nonetheless possible to conclude that he devoted most of his time to running his mother's farms. The letters to him from Hattie Mack would indicate that he was in charge of all aspects of the farming operation. Even so, he was also active in several local organizations and devoted much of his time to honoring his fellow veterans from the Great War.

Murray, along with Colonel Thomas B. Spratt and Sergeant William Belk, attended the first reunion of the soldiers from the Thirtieth Division held in late September 1919 in Greenville (South Carolina). When some of the members of Company G, 118th Infantry, sponsored a dinner at the Palmetto Hotel in Fort Mill, Captain F. Murray Mack, according to an article published the *Fort Mill Times* on 13 November 1919, had been

present. He was apparently instrumental in organizing a Fort Mill post of the American Legion that evening and was selected to serve as temporary commander of the post.

When the local post held a memorial service on 22 February 1920 to present certificates of valor from the French Republic to relatives of seven Fort Mill soldiers who were killed during the World War, Captain Mack presided over the services, which were held in the Masonic hall. After the memorial services were over, the members of the Fort Mill post who were present, formalized and made permanent their organization. Robert H. Ardrey accepted the office of post commander, Samuel W. Parks was selected vice commander, Arthur C. Lytle became adjutant, and Francis M. Mack served as historian.

A year later, in May 1921, when Captain Mack proposed changing the name of the local post to honor Eli Bailes, one of the members of Company G, who died in the war, the other members unanimously adopted his suggestion. Murray had served as a pallbearer when Sergeant Bailes' body had been reinterred in Fort Mill's Unity Cemetery on 27 March 1921.

Another one of Fort Mill's sons had already been honored when a new unit of the National Guard was named the "Tom Hall Guards" in recognition of the sacrifice made by Thomas Lee Hall who was posthumously awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for his valor. Murray also joined the Tom Hall Guards and, on 6 September 1921, was elected to fill the position of first lieutenant in that organization. Murray also wanted to honor his comrades in Company G by writing a history of that unit.

Early in 1921, he sent letters to a few former members of the company requesting help in his endeavor. Clive Higgins (1896–1979) of Easley,

South Carolina, replied to Murray's request, in a letter dated 19 February 1921, and agreed "to send...[a] copy of ...[his] diary and any other information that would be of any help...." Another member of Company G, D[ixon] R[oy] Simpson (1885–1940) of Laurens (South Carolina), also responded and, in his letter dated 10 March 1921, expressed his delight that Murray had "decided to write [a] history of Co. 'G' [and] I will be glad to help you in any way that I can." Murray also contacted Sam J. Royall, who had published in 1919 his *History of the 118th Infantry, American Expeditionary Force, France*, and enquired about the expenses incurred in getting his history in print.

In his reply, addressed to "Dear Mack" and dated 21 February 1921, Royall acknowledged that he had "lost a little money on the books." The State Company in Columbia had printed 1,000 copies of the book for \$800.00, and Royall received \$700.00 for the books he sold.

Murray also ordered a copy of *The History of the 105th Regiment of Engineers, Divisional Engineers of the "Old Hickory" (30th) Division* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1919) from the regiment's former commanding officer, Colonel Joseph Hyde Pratt. Colonel Pratt, in a letter dated 28 March 1921, informed Murray that he would send a copy of the book in exchange for "a copy of your history when published, if the cost comes within the difference of cost of the 105th Engineers history,...there will be no additional cost to you for our history." That book, Colonel Pratt stated, had cost \$8.01 to print and sold for \$10.00.

Even though Murray solicited material from former members of Company G, he also had first-hand knowledge of the men and movements of the organization, both as a member himself and as an officer in regimental headquarters who was cognizant of the operations of all units in the 118th Infantry.

Murray Mack demonstrated his ability to recall episodes from the days when the regiment was in combat in a letter he wrote to another former regimental officer, Francis J. Beatty (1893– 1983), on 21 February 1921. "I learned last week of a chance to get a citation for Col. Spratt, if only someone will take it up," he began. Murray noted that "Cols. Spence, Minor, & J. Van B. Metts," the commanders of the 117th Infantry, 120th Infantry, and 119th Infantry, respectively, "have each received citations," and he believed "that Col. Spratt deserves this honor more than...the gentlemen named above." To support his assertion, Murray cited two examples of Colonel Spratt's bravery and leadership: "On the morning of 26 September Col. S made his way to company H.Q. of B Company in the Hindenburg Line...in plain view of the enemy...who laid down a heavy artillery barrage through which the Col. had to pass to reach his destination [where he] explained in detail the attack to be made that night on the German trenches...." Murray also wrote that "Col. S many times visited and inspected the front line trenches which were under severe shell fire (most of this was in Belgium, [and] I was with him on one occasion when we visited the front line of the 119th Inf. at Voormezeele, which I doubt if Col. Metts ever saw)." Murray then suggested that Beatty write "up Col. S [as] you may know of a better case of 'heroism' than the ones he gave. The efforts of Murray Mack and Francis Beatty to secure the recognition that Colonel Spratt deserved did result in Colonel Spratt's nomination for the distinguished service medal by Brigadier General Lawrence D. Tyson (1861–1929), who had commanded the Fifty-ninth Brigade which included the 118th Infantry.

The editor of the *Fort Mill Times* published General Tyson's complete letter, which had been addressed to the war department, in its 9 June 1921 issue. After specific citations of Colonel Spratt's distinguished

service record, General Tyson stated his opinion of the colonel's contributions to the regiment: "I have always felt that the 118th infantry would never have attained its great success had it not been for the initiative, devotion to duty and invaluable aid of Col. Thomas B. Spratt." Even after General Tyson's strong recommendation, Colonel Spratt's name was not added to the list of recipients of the distinguished service medal.

In an election held in June 1921, Captain Mack of the Tom Hall Company of the reconstituted South Carolina National Guard was a candidate for major of the Third Battalion, which included the companies located in Rock Hill, Fort Mill, Camden, and Hartsville. Initially, Murray was the only candidate for the position, however, A[lfred] M[oores] McLeod (1893–1946), the captain of the Camden company, in a letter dated 4 June 1921, informed Captain Mack that "[a]lthough I had pledged you my support if I did not run..., [s]ince seeing you I have decided to run for Major of the third battalion myself." He asserted that his "company officers and other friends have persuaded me in doing so. Hope you will understand."

Two votes were taken later that month and, in each election, the two candidates tied with six officers supporting each. Eventually, James C. Dozier was appointed major of the Third Battalion by Governor Robert A. Cooper, while both Murray and Captain McLeod remained with their local companies. Murray also made an important decision about his civilian career during the summer of 1921.

Hattie Mack returned to New York in July for a visit with her sons Will and Harry and in a letter to Murray, dated 14 July 1921, she wrote that "Will says he is glad you are to teach, & he either has written, or is going to write you to that effect." Earlier in July, Murray had been elected

principal of the Fort Mill high school by the trustees of that institution, apparently with the understanding that he would complete the requirements for a college degree. Although he had accumulated course credits at both Davidson College and Cornell University, he was not trained as an educator. Murray attended the Winthrop College summer session and completed courses in High School Administration, Methods, Language and Literature, and Algebra, according to a letter of certification from Winthrop's registrar dated 12 August 1921.

Even though he would teach full time, he also planned to continue his work on his mother's farms as well. His mother alluded to that fact when, in a letter dated 31 August 1921, and written from Berrybrook, Ed and Lenore's farm near Orange (Virginia), where she had stopped for a visit on her way from New York, she expressed the hope that "you have the farm in such shape that it will run on even if you are teaching..." When the school's superintendent, Clifford Calhoun Stewart (1889–1953), who had been chosen superintendent in June, was forced to resign for health reasons, the school's trustees choose Murray to serve as acting superintendent. Murray took charge of the school when the academic year began on 6 September 1921. The York County (S.C.) superintendent of education, John E. Carroll, in a letter to Murray, dated 13 September 1921, noted that he was "sorry that it is necessary to begin [the school year] without a superintendent, but feel sure that the school will not suffer in your hands."

One of the first major decisions that Murray made as superintendent related to sports, not academics. After the Fort Mill high school football team lost to the visiting Chester high school squad, Superintendent Mack informed, by letter, Professor R.C. Burts, the president of the Catawba Athletic Association, the organization that supervised high school sports

for the area that included both Chester and Fort Mill, that Fort Mill high school would “sever athletic relations with the Chester high school,” according to a story in the *Fort Mill Times* of 20 October 1921. The reason he cited for his decision was “the very vile language” used by “certain Chester players...which a majority of those present could not help but hear.” Superintendent Mack insisted that neither the final score, 93 to 0, nor the accusations that the Chester players had been “unnecessarily rough, engaging in slugging, illegal use of hands, feet, etc.,” had anything “to do with our decision to sever athletic relations” with the school.

Murray's performance as superintendent apparently pleased the members of the board of trustees, and he was reelected to the position for the 1922–1923 session at a board meeting held on 13 April 1922, according to an article published in the *Fort Mill Times*. Enrollment had increased under his leadership, noted the writer, and “Mr. Mack's friends are pleased that he will direct the school's affairs for another year.” Shortly after his reelection, Superintendent Mack announced that Fort Mill High School would add an eleventh grade, effective with the 1922–1923 session. An article published in the *Yorkville Enquirer* on 9 May quoted his statement: “As matters now stand, the boy or girl who holds a tenth grade diploma from a high school finds himself or herself very badly handicapped in entering college....Trustees and patrons of the Fort Mill High school realizing this fact have made provisions for the addition of an eleventh grade....”

Few of the letters in the Mack family papers relate directly to Murray's work as school superintendent, a position he retained until 1938. In fact, most of the letters originated when family members were away from Fort Mill visiting, as was often the case with Hattie Mack, who spent much of

each year in New York with her sons Will and Harry, or in Richmond and Orange (Virginia), with son Edward and daughter-in-law Lenore and their son Tinsley, who was born 13 August 1924, or with her daughter-in-law May Lucas Mack in Decatur (Georgia), or with other relatives.

Murray and Betsy exchanged letters while he was away during the summers of 1922–1926, while taking classes during summer sessions at the University of South Carolina in Columbia, or training with Company K, 118th Infantry, South Carolina National Guard during the annual two-week encampment. He spent the early part of the summer as a student at the university, and the last two weeks of July as a soldier at Camp Jackson with his company, where he was when Betsy wrote to him on 19 July 1922, with news of their three sons. The youngest, Joseph Bingham, had been born 20 May 1922 and named for his grandfather Mack. “Joe seems to gain a pound a day and gets sweeter all the time,” she wrote. “Frederick’s sore foot is not painful but is healing very slowly. Murray is fairly running over with curiosity... [and] will meddle with things that he has no business with.”

While at camp, Murray was among a number of officers from the South Carolina National Guard who received permanent federal recognition, which allowed the officers to receive the same pay per day of active duty as an officer of the same rank in the regular army. Hattie Mack continued her habit of visiting her children and grandchildren during the summer and fall of 1923. She spent six weeks, from late June until August, in west Tennessee, visiting with numerous cousins who lived just north of Memphis in the area around the town of Atoka. A newspaper clipping that Hattie enclosed with a letter to Murray dated 13 July 1923, noted “the annual family reunion...held...June 29 at the home of Mr. H.O. Banks, of Brighton,” included, among the sixty-eight present,

“Mrs. J.B. Mack, of Fort Mill, S.C., who is making her first visit to relatives in the Salem and Brighton communities....”

Hattie, in a letter to Betsy, written 24 July 1923, mentioned that “last night there were four sets of...second cousins, different mothers & fathers...[but] all uncle John Banks’ descendants.” John Banks (1798–1859) was Hattie’s father’s oldest brother and had moved, with his wife Esther McCreight Thompson Banks (1800–1870), from South Carolina to the Salem community in Tipton County (Tennessee), before the Civil War. She then traveled to Decatur (Georgia), to spend several weeks with her daughter-in-law, May Lucas Mack, and her children. By the middle of November, she was in Richmond (Virginia), where she celebrated Thanksgiving with Ed and Lenore Mack.

On 27 November 1923, she wrote Murray about her plans for the rest of the year. From Richmond she would travel by train to New York, stopping in Washington (D.C.), for a short visit with her granddaughter, Mary Green Mack Patterson, and then spend Christmas with Will and Harry in New York. She also informed Murray that “this is my last long trip from home, so you must make up your mind to put up with me the rest of my life.” From Will’s home in Brooklyn, Hattie wrote Murray on 9 January 1924 and expressed her concern that he had “to be worried over the farm problems, & I wish...we could find someone to take it all from you.” She would be accompanied to Fort Mill by Will, she wrote Murray on 1 February 1924, who had to attend an event at Davidson College on 16 February 1924.

Murray’s triple roles as educator, soldier, and farmer had not lessened, as his mother had hoped they might, if he could find a responsible person to take charge of the farm operation, and as evidenced by his letter to Betsy, dated 22 June 1923, he continued to direct the work on

his mother's farm. "Keep the plows going every day—have Peter to plow your garden, my corn field, then his cotton and corn without let up," he instructed his wife. Once again, he had registered for courses at the University of South Carolina and was "already hard at it." Murray continued to send regular reports about his work and Betsy precipitated with frequent farm news.

Murray followed his usual agenda during the next summer, although there are only eight letters preserved in the collection to document the events of 1924. He once more pursued his studies at the University of South Carolina in June and July, and during August was in camp with the 327th Infantry, Officers' Reserve Corps, at Fort McPherson (Georgia), just outside Atlanta. In his only extant letter written while in Georgia, on 27 August 1924, he explained to Betsy that he had had "to detail 13 officers on guard... [when] they all wanted to go to town" and, as a result, he as the adjutant who gave them their orders, was "cussed on all sides." Unfinished work at the Fort Mill school was also on his mind. He needed to fill a vacant position for the 7th grade and was "still looking at young Logan for that..." slot, and he was also concerned about farm work. "I am not very sure about working that corn, [and] wish I could see it," he wrote.

In the fall, when school was in session, he found time to work again on the compilation of his proposed history of his former company in the 118th Infantry. Former captain P.K. McCully, who had commanded the company while it was still part of the First South Carolina Regiment, replied to a letter from Murray, in his own letter dated 5 November 1924, with regrets that he could not "furnish...the desired roster." He did, however, give advice about where to find the list, and also suggested that Murray "in compiling the company's historical sketch...go back to the

date of organization, or certainly to 1903, giving a brief description of each camp attended.”

Murray retained a copy of a letter that he wrote on 8 November 1924 and addressed to “Dear Grist” in which he listed several enclosures related to his history project. Perhaps he had asked for the assistance of the *Yorkville Enquirer’s* editor, Wood Davidson Grist (1865–1925), in compiling the History of Company G. He sent Mr. Grist letters from three officers who “were each at one time connected with G Company as their stories indicate....” Second Lieutenant Herbert Hall had written a history of the Second Battalion which he also enclosed, along with Lieutenant Hall’s letter. Oscar Farris, who had written and published a history of the 114th Machine-Gun Battalion, had promised Murray “the use of cuts that were used in the history he compiled..., [and] as we were in some of the same scraps..., these may be valuable.” Murray also reported that he had “a copy of a diary kept by Higgins the Company Clerk which is very good indeed,” and that he had “maps of the country we fought over, and will go over these with you some time.” He also admitted that there was “a good deal of other data I have lost or misplaced but can get it up again from records or memory.” There is no evidence in any of the later letters in the collection that the proposed history was ever completed.

In 1925, Murray once again registered for summer courses at the University of South Carolina and noted, in his letter to Betsy dated 20 June 1925, that he had unpacked his trunk, had signed up for “7 hours of work, most too much, but I think I can do it.” He also had “made arrangements to take the army training July 7–July 20...[which] will about pay my expenses down here.” And as usual, when away from home, he asked Betsy about the farm. “Will it hurt the cows to take away their calves now? If not, go ahead and sell if you think best. We need the

money.” In his letter to Betsy written 9 July 1925, he mentioned that he had “spent four hours at 82nd Div. H.Q. today...[and] I think I can make the double work very well, but may not be able to go home any more weekends.” In addition to his studies and military responsibilities, he also had to plan for the opening of the Fort Mill school in the fall. He explained to Betsy in his letter of 16 July 1925 that he might have to meet “two or three young men” in Fort Mill that weekend “to talk relative to job in the school.”

There are no letters written by Murray in the Mack family correspondence for the next year, 1926, even though he was away from home, once again enrolled in summer school during June and July in Columbia (S.C.). Betsy, however, did write letters to him almost every day while he was away and her correspondence reflects daily life at home. She wrote about her boys, the state of farm work, and she often mentioned the frequent visitors who spent time at the Mack home. In her letter dated 27 June, she reported, “the children are all well. William grows so fast you can almost see it.” William, their fourth son, was two months old, having been born 21 April 1926.

By the time the summer session ended in late July and Murray returned home, his mother had already started her annual visits to relatives. Her letter, written 5 July 1925, informed Murray that she was leaving in a few days “for a visit to the Decatur kin,” and letters dated in October and November and written from Brooklyn, New York, conveyed news of her visit to Will and Harry.

Murray and Betsy lived in Hattie Mack’s home from the time of their marriage in 1915 until 1927. The house was large and provided space for Murray’s growing family during the 1920s and also allowed Hattie the freedom to spend long periods of time with her three sons and daughter-

in-law who lived in other areas of the country. Murray loved the home he had lived in since birth, and even though both his mother and his wife had indicated that it would be wise for them to have their own home, Murray resisted the idea.

In August 1927, however, while Hattie Mack and Lizzie Belk were visiting with Ed and Lenore Mack in Virginia, the issue of the shared house created a crisis that resulted in Murray and Betsy and their four sons leaving the family home. Ed wrote Murray on 3 August, announced that his mother and sister had arrived safely, and broached the subject of his mother's house. "I have been intending to write you," he began, "that your decision, at mother's request, to move to a house of your own is the good and wise thing to do. It has been rather long deferred, for the happiness of all involved." Ed also outlined plans "for repairing and renovating the house," but he realized "that repairs can be made better when the house is vacant." Murray apparently wanted to rent part of the Belk house, the home his sister had lived in since her marriage, but which Ed Mack had purchased, perhaps to help his sister financially, at some previous time. Ed had sold his interest in the house to Lizzie's daughter and son-in-law, Hattie and George Potts, but, as George explained in a letter to Murray, dated 15 August, he had failed to make the last three payments and, according to the terms of the contract, "Dr. Mack could dispose of the house as he saw fit." He suggested that Murray "get in touch with Mrs. Belk and Dr. Mack" with regards to renting the Belk house. Murray pressed Ed on the question, writing two letters and sending a telegram on the subject, which Ed acknowledged in a letter to his brother dated 26 August. Ed wanted to look out for the interests of all concerned, he wrote, but was especially concerned about his sister's financial situation. "Lizzie has no other source of income,

except the house and land, which I intend to hold for her for a term of years," he stated, "and to rent at the very best possible figure in her behalf." Lizzie already had been offered thirty dollars per month to rent "the first floor only of the house, with yard and garden, but not the farm." However, he continued, "[i]f you can match that offer, she and I are willing to pass over the prior applicant, in your favor." A day later, Ed sent Murray a telegram that retracted the offer to rent part of the Belk house to Murray: "Disregard letter Lizzie has made other plans without my knowledge." In a letter that followed, also written on 27 August, Ed apologized because he was afraid that his "letter and telegram to you may have started you on the wrong track in your plans for a house." Even though Ed thought Lizzie had left "the whole matter" in his hands to settle, she had sent word to the person who had agreed to rent her house that he could have it. In a letter to Ed, dated 29 August, Murray confessed that he was "somewhat disappointed in not being able to rent Lizzie's house for several reasons." It met all of his requirement for space and convenience and it would allow him to "keep cows, pigs, and chickens, & plant a fair sized garden, all of which enterprises are good to keep my boys at work." In addition, the Belk house "is also near enough so that I could see a good deal of mother and be able to look after her comfort and convenience." Murray also acknowledge that living with his mother had "not been a bed of roses" and had involved "some sacrifices and inconvenience to Elizabeth" and his family. He had not known, he assured Ed, "until this summer...that Elizabeth and my boys are 'persona non grata' in this house." As soon as he realized that, he had "resolved to move out" as soon as he "could find a suitable place to go to," and he "was very much gratified when Lizzie consented to stay with mother." In the end, Murray rented the house from Lizzie, "on the terms agreed on

between you and me," he related to Ed in a letter dated 3 September, after the person Lizzie first offered the house to had declined to rent it. "Although I am second choice," he continued, "I am glad to swallow my pride and try to make at least a temporary home for my family." He planned to move in the following Monday and would pay his sister thirty dollars per month, which he considered "excessively high rent" for only five rooms. Murray also speculated that Lizzie's reluctance to rent rooms in her house to him was her concern that his "children will deface or damage the property," and her hesitancy "to take...[his] place" by moving into their mother's house and caring for her.

There are no letters in the collection for the years 1928, 1930–1932. In 1929, Hattie visited relatives in Cedar Key and Jacksonville (Florida), and wrote to Murray and Elizabeth five letters containing details of her trip. Also, there is one letter from Ed Mack to his brother Harry with birthday "wishes for many returns of the day in health and happiness."

Beginning in 1933, the volume of correspondence in the collection substantially increased primarily because Francis Murray Mack, Jr., entered Davidson College in North Carolina and, for the next four years, wrote his parents regularly while away from home. His younger brother, Frederick Nims Mack, joined him at Davidson as a freshman in the fall of 1936. Murray typically described his course work and grades, made observations and comments about his professors, frequently mentioned his finances, and discussed Davidson's sports teams, especially the freshman football team, of which he was a member, and the wrestling team which he joined as a sophomore. In a letter written 2 November 1933, Murray, Jr., noted that Vanderbilt University's prominent English professor "Dr. Edwin Mims gave a lecture [and] all the freshman English classes attended because they had to take notes on it and write it up."

The night before the Wake Forest-Davidson football game, played in Charlotte on Thanksgiving day, he participated in a pep rally at Davidson, he informed his father in a letter dated 1 December. The day after the game which he had attended, "we paraded down main street, went up in front of Chambers, gave a few yells, then shirttail paraded out to the bon fire [where] we took an effigy of the Wake Forest deacons and threw [it] in the fire." Young Murray had watched the game as Davidson capped off a successful season with a 20 to 13 victory over Wake Forest.

When he returned to college in January 1934, after spending Christmas vacation with his family in Fort Mill, he resumed writing about his life at Davidson. He informed his mother, in his letter of 13 February, that he had "made the rifle team after all," although he doubted that he would remain part of it for very long. Most of his letter was devoted to a detailed description of a radio he had just built. Even though it did not work at first, he eventually added "a little more aerial and ground and...[that] did the trick." He was able to listen to programs broadcast from "Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Louisville, Chicago and Charlotte" and was "well satisfied with" the reception.

When he wrote his mother on 13 May, he was constructing a short-wave radio transmitter and planned to build a receiver "almost entirely from parts I already have." He had joined the Photographic Club and was "learning the art of taking, developing and printing pictures," and he also wanted to spend "\$3.50 or \$4.00" to buy parts to make "a six inch reflecting telescope." For the first time since Murray Mack became superintendent of the Fort Mill school in 1921, there are number of letters, both original letters received and carbon copies of letters sent, that relate to his school work. Murray often wrote letters of recommendation for teachers he knew who were applying for jobs in

other towns, and in one, written to Superintendent J.W. Ballentine, of Batesburg, South Carolina, on 22 March, he explained the situation that had resulted in a competent teacher losing her place in the Fort Mill school. "If I had been allowed to do so, I should have recommended her for the same work she is now doing..., [but] the Fort Mill trustee board prefer to elect teachers, not giving the superintendent or principal any voice in the matter." He added that the board had "put...a home teacher...in her place."

In the few letters written by Edward Mack in 1934, he mentioned the medical condition of Murray and Elizabeth's son Joseph. When he wrote Murray on 23 February about repair work on a tenant house located on his mother's farm, he remarked that "we are glad to hear better tidings of Joe...[and] think of him daily and our sympathy goes out not only to him but to you and Elizabeth in the great strain under which you have suffered."

On 19 June, Dr. Elias S. Faison responded to a postcard from Betsy Mack and invited her "to bring Joe Friday or Saturday morning" to his office in Charlotte because he was "anxious to see whether or not any progress has been made." In April 1935, Betsy Mack traveled to Washington, D.C., with Joe, who required a wheelchair, for diagnostic tests at Garfield Memorial Hospital, in an effort to determine the exact nature of the illness that had affected his mobility.

After Joe returned from Washington, he continued his visit to Dr. Faison who, in a letter to Betsy dated 15 November, concluded that Joe had improved and allowed him "to be on crutches...." On 25 August 1936, Dr. Faison, after consulting with other physicians, wrote Betsy Mack that, in his opinion, she "should take Joe back to Washington for more treatment." She accepted his advice and in October drove to

Washington where Joe received additional treatments over a ten-day period. It was not until April 1937 that the Macks learned the exact nature of Joe's disease. In a letter to Samuel R. Shillman, the executive secretary of the Crippled Children Society of South Carolina, in Sumter (S.C.), written 26 May, Murray explained that Joe and his mother had spent two weeks in April in Boston where Joe "was under observation by a group of noted doctors" who determined that Joe had "Allbright's [Albright syndrome] disease, very rare, only about a dozen cases on record, cause and cure unknown, similar to parathyroidism for which it was at first mistaken." Joseph was recovering from a recent spinal operation he had recently had in Charlotte, Murray continued, and "is doing very well now, still in a cast, but at home and apparently cheerful and making good progress physically, mentally and spiritually."

The spring of 1937 proved to be a stressful time for the Mack family for reasons other than Joe's diagnosis and operation. When the trustees of the Fort Mill school met in early April to elect school personnel for the 1937–38 school year, they did not reappoint Murray as superintendent. Zelma Phillips, a long-time Fort Mill teacher, wrote Murray on 7 April, just after the school board meeting. "I cannot tell you just how I feel about the action of the Board," she began. "After all these years we have worked together, I cannot think of the place without you."

Perhaps because of the reaction to the board's refusal to appoint Murray as superintendent again, James H. Hope, the state superintendent of education, directed John G. Kelly, a state high school supervisor, to spend two days, 28 and 29 April, observing the teachers and students at the Fort Mill high school. His report, dated 1 May, cited several ways that the "school's program could be improved..." but was not critical of Superintendent Mack's leadership. "All of the matters

touched on in this letter were taken up with Superintendent Mack and the suggestions for improving the program at Fort Mill were worked out with him cooperatively," Mr. Kelly concluded. On 5 May, J.P. Coates, secretary of the South Carolina Education Association in Columbia, received a telegram from B.D. Culp, the secretary of the Fort Mill school board, which Coates quoted in a letter he wrote to Murray on 6 May: "Our school board wants applicants for superintendent of school. Will you please see that we get applications by Monday May tenth." This was the first news that Mr. Coates had heard of an opening in Fort Mill, he wrote, and wondered "what it is all about—if you have decided to retire or if something has flared up." Even though there were educators interested in the position, the board of trustees evidently reversed their course and reappointed Murray for another school term.

John G. Kelly offered his congratulations to Murray in a letter dated 14 May. "Your letter this morning brought the best news I have heard in a long time," he stated. "I have been distressed over the situation at Fort Mill and it is a relief to know that it has cleared up and that you are to be there again next year." A few days after the good news that his superintendent's position had been assured, Murray learned that his mother had suffered an accident and had fractured a bone. He immediately wrote to his brothers Ed, Will, and Harry informing them of Hattie's condition.

Edward responded to Murray's letter "telling...of mother's unfortunate and distressing accident" on 19 May and offered to "come to Fort Mill, should I be needed in any way whatsoever...." Will wrote on 20 May that he would "try to leave New York for Fort Mill tomorrow"; on the same day, Ed in his letter also promised to hurry to Fort Mill; and Harry, in a letter written 24 May, also mentioned an early visit to Fort Mill. As Hattie

Mack's condition continued to worsen, Murray's initial optimism about her recovery changed. In an undated retained copy of a telegram sent to his brothers Will, Ed, and Harry, his sister-in-law May, and nephew Joe, he repeated his mother's doctor's evaluation of her condition: "Doctors say she has very little chance to live...." Ed, in a postcard to Murray, dated 28 May, responded to the reality of his mother's imminent death. "I can come on any notice from you," he assured his brother. "I pray for mother a quiet, painless passing into peace and joy beyond." Hattie Mack died on 29 May 1937, aged ninety-two, and was buried the next day in the family plot in the Unity Cemetery in Fort Mill.

Murray Mack remained superintendent of the Fort Mill school until the end of the school year in 1938, but the board of trustees had not reappointed him for the following year. As soon as his school duties ended, he left Fort Mill to spend two weeks in military camp as a major in the reserves. During the months that followed his return from camp, he continued to supervise his farm and also apparently worked on at least one special project in the interim between jobs. On 7 February 1939, he wrote Betsy from Georgetown (Kentucky), where he was working under the direction of William Gill Nash, long-time professor of physics at Georgetown College. Even though Murray did not disclose the exact nature of the work he was doing, he did mention that "Prof. Nash says there is work enough here to keep me till May 1st, but I may be home in 2 weeks if things don't go well."

Murray did not remain in Kentucky for very long, but returned to Fort Mill to accept the position of veterans' service officer for York County (S.C.). Betsy notified him of his selection in a letter dated 14 February 1939. The commanders of the four American Legion posts located within the county had supported him, she wrote, and the "delegation will

confirm this very soon, I am told, so by the time you get home you will probably go right to work." The role of the county service officer was to assist local veterans with problems they encountered and to provide information on services that were available to the former soldiers; however, none of the correspondence in the collection relates to that period of Murray's life.

The letters that do exist for the years 1939–1941 are mostly letters from Murray Mack, Jr., and Frederick Mack to their parents while they were away from home. Murray, Jr., who had graduated from Davidson College in June 1937, with a B.S. degree in physics, worked for a year before applying to several schools for admission to a graduate chemistry program. He then enlisted the aid of his cousin Edward Mack, Jr., who himself taught in the chemistry department of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, in his attempt to secure an assistantship or fellowship at the Georgia School of Technology. Ed Mack, in a letter dated 18 August 1937, informed his young cousin that he had "just written a letter to Dr. Daniel at Georgia Tech. on your behalf. It seems to me like a fine opportunity and I hope very much that you will land the job."

When Professor John L. Daniel replied to Murray, Jr.'s application, in a letter written 1 September 1937, he regretted that he "had not been able to find any place" for him because an assistantship "would demand more training in chemistry [and] you have apparently have had only a year of Freshman chemistry." Apparently, however, Murray, Jr., did find a job at Georgia Tech as an assistant in "a chemistry class at the night school." He wrote his father on 11 October 1937 that he was in charge of the chemistry stock room during Tuesday and Thursday evening classes.

Murray continued to write his parents during his stay in Atlanta with news of his course work and his life as a student.

On 3 July 1939, he outlined his plans for the remainder of the summer in a letter to his father. "I am planning to take qualitative analysis with the co-ops and if the schedule is favorable I will take the second half of my organic in the summer school," he explained. At the end of the summer, in a letter to his mother dated 31 August 1939, he speculated about the best course to pursue in his quest for an advanced degree in chemistry. "I've often wondered whether it would be wise to try to get another job with more pay and then I could save enough to go to regular school. This is slow business the way I am going now but it may be the only way," he surmised.

In September 1939, Frederick Mack decided to follow his brother's example and return to school; however, he did not return to Davidson College where he had dropped out after his freshman year, but decided that he would enroll in the school of forestry at the University of Georgia. With the assistance of his uncle Will, who agreed to loan him money for school fees, Frederick was able to register, pay his fees, and start classes, he informed his mother in a letter written 27 September 1939. In a letter to his father, dated 18 October 1939, Frederick described the forestry cabin where he and five other students lived a rustic life, away from the main part of the campus. "I like it out here....," Frederick wrote, "[and] we have good food and good bunks." However, during the winter, "we [will] take our baths at the dairy barn for we have only a cold water shower out here. There is a wood stove in the cabin for heat, and Aladdin lamps, which give good light, for studying."

A steady flow of letters from Frederick and Murray, Jr., dominate the correspondence through the end of 1941. Frederick had met most of the

course requirements for graduation from the University of Georgia when he wrote his mother on 10 January 1941, at a time when many young men were concerned about their futures as they watched western Europe engulfed in war. Frederick wrote that he was taking "extra classes in military every Thursday night & Sat. afternoon which aren't compulsory but very vital in...learning all I can in military now." He reasoned that the students in R.O.T.C. "won't have time to learn by experience & maneuvers when we graduate as those in former years, so we'll have to learn it here if we can."

Murray, Jr., had accepted a job in a plant in Atlanta and, in a letter to his mother written 7 February 1941, explained what he hoped to accomplish in his work. "If I use my common sense as well [as] my chemical knowledge and show any ability in operating the plating plant[,] that will increase my chances of getting a good job somewhere else."

When the chances of America's entry into the European war increased during the spring and summer of 1941, many men from the reserve officers corps were called into active service. Major Mack joined the regular army on 1 September 1941 and was assigned to Camp Shelby (Hattiesburg, Mississippi), first as provost marshal and then as post special services officer.

The first letter to Murray in the collection, after he left Fort Mill (S.C.) for Mississippi was written by William Mack, youngest son of Murray and Betsy, who addressed his letter, dated 8 October 1941, to "Major F.M. Mack, H.Q. & Station Complement, Camp Shelby, Miss." William filled his letter with news about the church choir, the high school football team, and comments, some critical, about his teachers and classes, all topics that he thought would interest his father. Even though Murray certainly wrote to his family on a regular basis during his time at Camp Shelby,

there are no letters from him in the collection until September 1942. In fact, there is a gap in all correspondence from October 1941 until May 1942, just before Murray, Jr., entered the army as a second lieutenant on 6 June 1942 and was then ordered to report to Camp Gordon, near Augusta (Georgia).

Letters from Murray Mack, Jr., and Frederick Mack to their mother are the only letters preserved in the collection for May—August 1942. While at Camp Gordon, Murray, Jr., was assigned to the Forty-second Field Artillery Battalion. On 6 September 1942, he wrote his mother that he was “still battery motor officer and...still going to school regularly.” Betsy visited her husband in Mississippi for two weeks during September and took her son William with her, and immediately upon her return, on 24 September 1942, wrote Murray with a narrative of the news from Fort Mill. The status of the crops on the farm was of primary interest. Henry R. Stegall, the tenant in charge of the Macks’ farming operation, “had ginned 4 bales [of cotton] and has three more picked,” she informed Murray. “He hasn’t sold any cotton but wants to sell as he gins. It is around 19 [cents per pound] here now [, but] I’d like to wait for 20; however our loan is due Nov. 1st.”

In her letter to Murray, dated 27 September 1942, Betsy wrote, “I know that you are going to miss the associations you had in the other work,” which suggests that he had assumed his new duties at Camp Shelby as commanding officer of the special training battalion. In the same letter, Betsy also mentioned, “I hope to hear soon that you have gotten both teachers and pupils and are busy all day....” Betsy’s 3 October 1942 letter to Murray contained the good news that “Stegall brought me a check for four bales this morning, \$426.99, which I deposited....He says he will make 15, six more than he has picked.”

Betsy's 13 October 1942 letter included an "ultimatum" delivered by Henry Stegall. "He says he can't work the place this year without a tractor," she informed Murray. There was one for sale in Rock Hill (S.C.), "a John Deere, reconditioned, at \$500, [and] a used disk harrow (International) [for] \$150...[with] 40% down and 12 monthly installments." Even though Betsy was not in favor of the expenditure, she did point out that, if he left, "good farmers can't be had any more...." In her next letter, written 16 October 1942, she indicated that she had "about \$245.00 cotton money" in the bank which would "be almost enough for the down payment on the tractor & disk if you decide in favor of it." Even though she wrote that "[t]here is very little to say about us," she proceeded to describe the daily routine at home: "Joe makes pictures [photographs] and sits in the sun when he can. William is at school or football practice practically all day. He has his lunch at the cannery—is home for an hour between school and practice—comes in late to milk and feed. I do as much housekeeping and cooking as we can get along on—no more."

Murray decided to purchase the tractor and disk harrow and, in her letter dated 25 October 1942, Betsy related that she and Mr. Stegall had gone "to Rock Hill yesterday...to get a good look at the used disk plow...and found it in such bad repair that we refused it... [and] are getting a new" one, even though that would mean that she would "have to go before the ration board in person and make application for it." The tractor was not yet ready, she continued, for it still needed "a few small parts..."

With one son already in the army, Murray and Betsy Mack learned from Frederick that it was likely that he would also be called into service as soon as he graduated from the University of Georgia. In a letter to his father, written 25 October 1942, he explained two options that he could

choose from in order to graduate and then fulfill his military obligation as a senior military student. The university had offered to grant any student who entered the armed forces up to twenty-one hours of credit without taking any additional courses and graduate on 19 December 1942. Frederick also had the option of remaining “through the winter quarter, until March[,] and complete all my work toward my degree,” he continued. “In either case,” he informed his father, “I will *not* receive my commission on leaving here but after successful completion of a three months course at Fort Riley.”

In a letter to his mother, dated 4 November 1942, Frederick wrote that he “wanted to finish in December. If this isn’t what you thought best I’m sorry I hurt you by deciding the way I did.” Betsy, in her letter to Murray, written 6 November 1942, explained why she was disappointed in their son’s decision. She admitted that the “primary reason back of my argument [for him to finish his course work]...was to keep him (shall I say safe) a little longer. It is hard to see any brightness ahead [for] I can’t see any chance of the war ending for years.”

After a quick trip to Hattiesburg where she spent a week with her husband at the end of November 1942, Betsy was back in Fort Mill on 1 December 1942 when she informed Murray by letter that she had “found every thing all right at home.” Both Murray and Frederick were home for Christmas, although Murray, Jr., could not get away from Camp Forrest, in Tullahoma (Tennessee), where he was in the Fortieth Field Artillery. Betsy wrote to Murray on 31 December 1942, just after he had boarded the train to return to Camp Shelby, so that her husband would not have “to wait as long as I did for a first letter last time I left you.”

With only one letter dated 1943 in the collection, there is very little information available about the activities of the Mack family during that year. Murray wrote his son William from Camp Shelby on 12 June 1943 in reply to a letter he had just received from him. Murray complimented William on his ability as a letter-writer. "Enjoy your letters, as you have a gift of easy expression, light, free and clear," he observed. "You should develop it, write all you can...[s]tudy words, the shades of meaning expressed by different words...[and] use words as an artist uses color to picture the different shades and tones and depths," he advised. He was also interested in his son's choice of a college. Although he did not encourage William to choose the University of South Carolina, Murray did remind him that he had earned "a degree from there, A.B. in Education, Cum Laude." Murray expressed his hope "that you can get to the Univ. of G[eorgia]." Other records provide a few details about Frederick. After his graduation from the University of Georgia on 19 December, he was in Fort Mill for about ten days before reporting to Officer Candidate School at Fort Riley (Kansas), where he was commissioned as a second lieutenant of cavalry on 25 March 1943.

In June, he joined the 101st Cavalry Regiment at Fort Meade (Maryland), and spent the next eighteen months as part of the force defending the east coast from Maryland to South Carolina from possible enemy landings. While stationed at Fort Meade, he married, 16 July 1943, Anne Coile (b. 1922), whom he had met while both were students at the University of Georgia. Major Mack remained at Camp Shelby (Mississippi), until September 1944, when he was ordered to Fort Moultrie, near Charleston (South Carolina), where he served as post executive officer, with the rank of lieutenant colonel. Murray had left

Betsy in Hattiesburg to finish packing while he settled into his new duties at Fort Moultrie.

In his letter to Betsy Mack, dated 24 September 1944, he mentioned his commanding officer, "Col. Goeppert, regular army," and described Fort Moultrie as "a coast artillery post now, & Charleston Harbor Defense," and noted that he had "a vast amount of reading to do to get oriented on the job." Even though Colonel Goeppert had offered him quarters to house his family, he decided to move into the "B.O.Q. (Bachelor Officers Quarters) on the sea front," but with the promise that he could "be assigned family quarters later." In closing, he sent his "love to Joe, Murray & William." Murray, Jr., had been discharged from the army 21 April 1944 and was apparently working and living near Hattiesburg (Mississippi).

By the time he sent his next two letters to Betsy, dated 27 and 30 September 1944, Murray had learned more of the duties and responsibilities of his job and shared the information with his wife: "My job here is exacting, long hours, much reading. I am supposed to take the load off the C.O. by handling dozens of routine matters each day, & to help him in making decisions on the non-routine matters by investigations, conferences, checking regulations, etc., before he gets to the decision point." And, in the second letter, he added, "I find that my duties as Exec. require that I know everything that goes on here, and that I stick a finger into every pie, and there are all sorts cooking. I may catch on, in time, [but] right now, I am very confused." Murray's work load did not permit frequent weekend visits to Fort Mill, although he did make an occasional trip to visit his family. He responded to one of Betsy's letters "urging...[him] to go home this weekend," by citing all of

the work that had to be finished before a scheduled "Inspector General inspection, the annual one, next week..."

In addition to the preparation required before that visit, "my desk is piled up with letters & circulars, etc., to be read, some to be acted on, others commented on, but *all* to be read," he complained in a letter to Betsy written 5 November 1944. Betsy was especially eager for Murray to spend a weekend at home before Frederick's wife Anne, and infant daughter Judy returned home to Athens (Georgia), where they lived with her parents. While his wife and daughter were in Fort Mill, Frederick, as a second lieutenant in Company F, 116th Cavalry Reconnaissance Squadron, sailed from New York and landed at Liverpool on 12 November 1944.

From there Frederick's unit moved to Camp Anty-Cross, in northern England, near the Scottish border. On 20 November 1944, he wrote his mother from that location to let her know that he was "all right." He assured her that "we are eating very well and as promised we will all get turkey this Thursday...." and also asked her to "write often and by air-mail or V-Mail if you can." Murray was unable to leave Fort Moultrie for Thanksgiving and thus missed seeing William, who had joined the navy and was at home for the holiday from the United States Naval Training Center in Bainbridge (Maryland). Murray also spent Christmas day at Fort Moultrie, but spent a few days in Fort Mill at the end of the month in order to have time with William, who was at home again on leave for the New Year's holiday.

Murray Mack remained at Fort Moultrie for all of 1945, and Betsy and Murray continued to exchange letters for half of the year. When Betsy and Joe moved to a house on the post on 12 July 1945, their letters ceased; however, letters from Murray, Jr., Frederick, and William, along

with letters from friends and other relatives, continued. Frederick wrote to his father on 9 January 1945 from "Southern England," near the village of Barton Stacey in Hampshire, where his unit had moved a few days previously. He mentioned that he had "seen quite a bit of the country," and listed some of the towns he had visited, including "Liverpool, Dalton-in-Furness, Barrow-in-Furness, Preston..., London, and Weymouth." The list was a virtual itinerary of his movements while in England, included perhaps in order to give his father an idea of his travels thus far on his way to France and the front lines.

In a letter to Betsy, dated 21 January 1945, Murray mentioned the letter from Frederick and speculated that because he wrote from "southern England...does that mean that he is about to go into France?" He answered his own question and assumed that he "is there by this time, probably." Another letter from Frederick, dated 26 January 1945, indicated he was still in "Southern England," and also that he had been promoted and was "1st Lt. Mack now." The promotion order was dated 1 January 1945, he added, "and I was already a 1st three weeks before I knew it." Frederick's squadron sailed from Southampton on 29 January and landed at Rouen (France), on the Seine River, two days later. In a V-Mail written 8 February from France to his mother, Frederick described the French countryside as not "too bad a looking place," but the "towns are as you've read of them; all shot up."

Ten days later, in another V-Mail to his mother, he revealed, "I'm in Germany with the 7th Army" and the next day, 19 February 1945, he repeated some of the same information to his father, but added, "[d]oing pretty well, living in houses and eating well." Murray apparently anticipated the battles his son would soon face and, in a letter to Betsy, dated 23 February 1945, noted that "Patton's 3rd Army is being paced by

mechanized cavalry. Wonder if Frederick is in that drive? Wish I were there, too. That is the kind of fighting army I'd like to be a part of."

Frederick continued to keep his parents informed of his well-being as the 116th Cavalry Reconnaissance Squadron pushed further into Germany. On 6 March 1945, he sent his dad a two-page air mail letter headed "Germany, with 7th Army," in which he responded to a comment Murray had made in one of his letters, apparently expressing his desire to transfer to Europe and join the fight against Germany. "About your coming over here," Frederick began, "...I wouldn't advise you to try to get over here." He then pointed out that "you were here in the last war and know how it is and saw it all, so I don't think you should have to, or want to[,] come back." Frederick also assured his father that he was well and enjoying a few conveniences while pushing the German army back. He was "living in a house now that was left in good shape," and eating "in a dining room my plat[oon]. Sgt. fixed up...and named...'the Stork Club.' It has bright decorations and makes us feel more at home for a short time each day." Murray was occasionally able to visit Betsy in Fort Mill, even though it meant that he would be behind with his work which demanded so much of his time.

On 20 March 1945, just after he returned from a weekend in Fort Mill, he complained, in a letter to Betsy, that his "basket [was] running over with papers to work over." He also was concerned because he had learned that "we are to cut down personnel, a big slice," and feared that "I shall probably be one of the officers to go." Murray worried about the uncertainty of army life: "[I] hate to be always on the move, where I don't know. Maybe out (discharge as surplus); or maybe overseas, I hope."

A few days later, however, Murray's tone had changed. He wrote Betsy on 24 March 1945 that he "was told today that I am to stay—

'final'—want you here to take the load off my shoulders, relieve me of a lot of details," Colonel Goeppert had apparently decided that Murray was indispensable. Even so, Murray looked for other career opportunities in case he was among those who were separated from the army. On 11 April, he wrote to Betsy that his "application for the Personal Affairs School was disapproved by Atlanta," but he had "been juggling the idea in my mind of applying for the Civil Affairs School for the Far East." If accepted, the job would mean "about 8 months of college training in this country before being shipped out to the far east, China, the islands or where it may be out there." He wanted to know Betsy's opinion about that possibility. Betsy reacted to Murray plan in her next letter, dated 13 April 1945. "I'll leave the decision of the far east entirely to you," but she reminded him, "that will mean complete and absolute separation for several years you know."

In her letter to Murray, written 17 April 1945, she noted that she had "just talked to William at Norfolk" by phone. "He is leaving this afternoon for Camp Shumaker, Cal....I could see that he wasn't eager to go and my heart is heavy too." Betsy was also concerned about her husband who had been confined to the station hospital at Fort Moultrie with food poisoning. Betsy sympathized with his plight, and cautioned him to "take care of yourself....you know how dependent I am on you for comfort and companionship and love."

Betsy's next letter, dated 19 April 1945, was more cheerful because, she informed Murray, "Anne and Judy came last night." Frederick's wife and daughter planned to spend a month or two in Fort Mill, so that Betsy could enjoy being with her granddaughter. "Judy is such a big girl now that we have to get reacquainted all over again," she wrote, but "she crawls all over the place and keeps some one continually on the run." On

24 April 1945, Betsy sent her husband a telegram with the news that she had “just received word that Frederick was seriously wounded on April 10.” Betsy followed the telegram with a letter to Murray the next day. “We had a hard night,” she began, and while “well intentioned friends and relatives kept us up until twelve o’clock...the sun has come out and things seem more cheerful.” Anne, she continued, “is taking...[the news] in her stride.”

Early in May 1945, the Macks learned more about Frederick’s wound when two of his letters to Anne arrived. On 3 May 1945, Betsy informed Murray that “Anne had a second letter from Frederick written two days later, April 25, in which he said he had been up a little...” From an English hospital, Frederick wrote his mother on 2 May 1945, and Betsy received it, by air mail, in six days. “This is my first letter from Frederick,” she wrote, when she forwarded it to Murray on 8 April. Frederick described his injury and his subsequent treatment: “I was wounded on April 10 in Germany [and] was hit in the back top of the head and right shoulder by shrapnel.” After he arrived at hospital, he had “had two operations to remove debris from these places [and] will have a minor operation in a day or two on my shoulder again to sew it up...”

Frederick wrote his father a more detailed letter from the English hospital, where his treatment continued, about the circumstances of his injury, on 8 May 1945, ironically the day that soldiers and civilians in both England and the United States celebrated the defeat of the Nazis and V-E Day for “Victory in Europe.” Frederick narrated the events of 10 April 1945: “after supper...my platoon was called on to help take a small town before dark. By the time we had fired on the town a while and set it on fire it was dark. We were ordered back then to wait until daylight. As we started to pull back shells started coming in. I remember one landing

near my tank....Next thing I remember my head was ringing and shoulder burning. My gunner bandaged my head then...[and] they lifted me out of the tank, took me by jeep to a collecting point and by ambulance to the evac. hosp.” A few days later, he was “evacuated by plane...to France and then to England.”

On the same day that Frederick wrote his letter from England, Murray wrote Betsy from Fort Moultrie and recounted the commemoration of V-E day he had experienced in South Carolina. He had “just returned from Mt. Pleasant where I preached in the Episcopal church thanksgiving service.” Earlier in the day, the soldiers at Fort Moultrie “had a parade formation...at which Col. Goeppert in a few strong, well chosen words gave the troops of the garrison & civilians a clear definition of the situation and what is expected of us in the months to come.” Murray also began to focus on the future, and realized that with the war winding down, he would probably not be able to enjoy the amenities that Fort Moultrie offered for much longer. In many of the letters he had written to Betsy while he was stationed on Sullivan’s Island, he had encouraged her to not only visit him, but also to move down to be with him for as long as he remained there.

Finally, he engaged a house on the post and, in a letter dated 12 May 1945, gave Betsy all the particulars. The house he had reserved was a “front row two-story mansion...fourth up the street from the BOQ, just across the sea-wall from the officers’ mess building,” and it enjoyed “a full unobstructed view of the ocean in front...[from] a screened in upper porch....” Even though the house would “cost...about \$250 per month,” Murray thought they could “stand it for a few months,” especially since there would be room for Anne and Frederick and Murray believed, it would “be a good place for Frederick to recuperate.” Although Murray

questioned if Joe would “consent to the move,” he insisted that “it will give you two a good vacation at the sea-side, rather expensive but a chance like this comes only now and again in a lifetime.”

With the encouragement of Colonel Goeppert, Murray sent in an application for a place in a course that would prepare American officers to serve “on one of the allied commissions as military adviser” in either Europe or Asia, he explained to Betsy in his letter of 10 June 1945. He believed that his “chances are very, very slim as my rating is a shade too low..., [but] if I could get something like this it would give me something to do and think about and end this interminable monotony.”

Frederick's return to the United States and his arrival at Lawson General Hospital in Atlanta (Georgia), on 16 June 1945, provided Murray with the pleasant prospect of seeing his son soon. Betsy had talked with Frederick by phone the morning of 17 June 1945, she informed Murray by letter of the same date. Frederick had managed to get a twenty-four hour pass to visit his family in Athens (Georgia), and had told his mother he would “try to get a furlough before entering treatment...” She also mentioned that he was “intrigued with the idea of spending some time on the beach—thinks it would do him worlds of good.”

By 7 July 1945, Frederick, Anne and Judy were in Fort Mill visiting with friends and relatives while waiting for the house at Fort Moultrie to be refurbished so that the Macks could move in. Murray, also planned to spend a few days with the family in the house at Fort Moultrie. Betsy arranged for Mr. Stegall to “take our luggage and extras in the truck,” she advised her husband in her letter of 7 July 1945, but she expected Murray to “find a bed or play pen for Judy....”

After Betsy and the other family members arrived on 12 July 1945, correspondence in the collection dwindles and there are only seven

letters for the remainder of the year, most from Colonel Mack's former colleagues who have moved to other jobs. One of the letters was from one of Murray's commanding officers in World War I, Colonel Orrin R. Wolfe, United States Army, retired, who wrote from San Francisco, on 27 December 1945, in reply to a recent letter from Murray. He praised his former subordinate's contributions to the war effort: "I think you have done your share in this war, having had three sons in it, besides commanding all of those units that went over seas," while regretting that his age, "72 years at the start of the war," prevented his own participation.

By the beginning of the new year, William Mack was the only one of Murray's three sons who was still in active military service. In a letter to his father, dated 24 January 1946, he speculated that "if nothing changes I will be a civilian at least during the month of May if not sooner." Since June 1945, he had been stationed at the United States Navy base at Noumea, the capitol of New Caledonia in the southwest Pacific, but "the base now belongs to the New Zealand Army and [as] soon as we can break it up and load our big Supply Depot on ships...we will all leave...." William also responded to news from his father about his hope to remain in the military. "So you are signed up for an indefinite length of time," he began, and "[i]ts probably the best move you could have made at the present time."

A letter from Murray Mack, Jr., who had enrolled in the chemical engineering program at Georgia Tech in Atlanta, dated 26 January 1946, also addressed his father's future. Although he thought his father was "still undecided about whether to stay in the army or not," he suggested that unless Murray Mack, Sr., was assured "of a good permanent job" in the civilian sector, he should "stay in" the military service.

Frederick Mack had received a medical discharge from the army on 4 February and almost immediately accepted a job with the South Carolina Commission of Forestry. In a letter to his father, dated 26 March 1946, and written from Spartanburg (S.C.), he described his work in the upstate. "I have been very busy for the last ten days... working near Greenville in Paris M[oun]t[ai]n State Park on a timber salvage job," he began. He had driven "between Greenwood and Greenville every day with [a] truck load of P.W. [prisoner of war] labor [and] worked 13 hrs. a day." His wife and daughter, he informed his father, were in Athens and he visited them every weekend.

A month later, on 26 April 1946, in another letter to his father, he mentioned in passing that his family would probably not be able "to get down there for a visit until about July" because he wanted to wait "to let Jr. get a little bigger so he can enjoy the trip." The "Jr." he referred to was Frederick Nims Mack, Jr., who had been born on 17 April 1946. Betsy, Joseph, and William, who had returned from his tour of duty in the South Pacific on 20 April 1946, returned to Fort Mill (S.C.) early in May, and the correspondence between husband and wife resumed on 7 May 1946 when Betsy and Murray each wrote letters to the other. Betsy wondered if she "should have left" Murray alone at Fort Moultrie, but Murray assured her that "the food is good at the B.O. [Batchelor Officers] mess" and that he was "eating like a pig...." Murray remained at Fort Moultrie on his own for only a few weeks and by June was in Fort Mill, with his family, awaiting his next duty assignment.

When he left Fort Mill on 15 July 1946, he was on his way to the overseas replacement depot at Fort Lawton (Washington), where he would remain until he shipped out for the Far East to join with the American occupation forces already stationed in that part of the world.

He completed his cross-country rail trip on 19 July 1946 when he arrived in Seattle, and in an hour more was at Fort Lawton, he informed Betsy by letter that day. For the first time he learned of his likely destination. "Rumor has it that the men on my order are going to Korea," he related, but did not yet know his sailing date.

Murray had been at Fort Lawton for nineteen days when he wrote Betsy on 6 August 1946 that "we leave here tomorrow...for Stoneman and will probably go from train to ship..." In a letter written on his last day at Fort Lawton, 7 August 1946, Murray reflected on his decision to request a foreign duty post. "We should be comfortably ensconced in a big house facing the Atlantic O[cean] at F[or]t Moultrie, S.C. until my term of service is out next summer, or fall," he lamented, but "there were two things that more or less pushed me into this: one, I needed rest. I felt I was on the verge of a breakdown; and second, our expenses were running too high and this way we can save money."

After he arrived at Camp Stoneman (California), he reported that he would "leave here on Tuesday, 13 Aug. on a Victory Ship," but planned "to get down to San Francisco tomorrow...no hurry, as we are to be here 4 or 5 days." By the next day, when he once again wrote to Betsy, he knew that he would "embark Friday on the 'Chanute Victory' [and the] rumor is that it must stop at Hawaii to re-fuel as victory ships cannot carry enough fuel to make the long trip over."

When he wrote his 18 August 1946 letter to Betsy, Murray could claim, "[w]e've been over 2 days on this ship and I'm not sick yet—but let's not boast as it may happen yet." He also noted that "there are about 100 officers and 1500 or 1600 enlisted men on board...this ship [which] was built for a freight ship and converted to a troop carrier—certainly not built for comfort."

On 21 August 1946, the S.S. *Chanute Victory* sailed “quietly into Honolulu harbor after dark,” Murray wrote in his letter of the same date to Betsy, “a sight that can not be equaled anywhere—millions of sparkles spread over a wide expanse of shore, city and mountain sides in all directions. While the ship refueled and loaded food and fresh water in Hawaii, Murray explored the island of Oahu. After a bus ride across the island, he returned to Waikiki Beach and watched “the men and girls riding the surf boards.” He was impressed by “one couple [who] pulled an aerobatic stunt, one man standing on another’s shoulders all the way in...for some 200 or 300 yards....” He continued his narrative in another letter to Betsy, this one written on 24 August, after the ship was back at sea. He spent the last morning in Hawaii exploring the sites associated with the events of 7 December 1941. He “[h]itched a ride to Schofield Barracks, [an] army post high up in the hills, 30 miles from the city. With a “kind gentleman” who had picked him up at the bus stop serving as his personal tour guide, he “[s]aw Pearl harbor, Hickam Air Field, old Sea Bee camp, Wheeler Air Field, and lots of army & navy installations.” Murray continued his letter, with updates every few days, until 5 September 1946 when he reported that the ship was “anchored in the harbor of Jinsen, near Seoul, Korea, where he was “eager to get ashore and to work.”

Colonel Mack spent his first few days in Korea at the United States Replacement Depot, at Yong Dung Po [Yeong Deung Po], where all arriving Americans were processed and then assigned to their duty stations. In his letter dated 6 September 1946, Murray described his first impressions of the country where he would spend the foreseeable future. Many of his observations, to be expected, given his farming experience, were related to the agricultural practices he saw. “The farming is done by

hand & in small patches, even the rice paddies are small [and] irrigation plays a big part, though the methods are crude," he reported. "They raise, besides rice, some beans with sorghum planted every 5 feet in the row, radishes, turnips, peppers, onions, squash, melons, just about the same as we do." The most unusual practice he noted was in "peach orchards, [where] they bag the peaches to protect them from insects & birds." Murray mentioned that some of his fellow soldiers had received their assignments and he "hope[d] I get into Military Government rather than troop training, [and] prefer some job in the Ministry of Education!"

In his next letter, written on 8 September 1946 from Seoul, Murray was happy to report to Betsy that when "an order came through assigning 75 of the 150 officers in my shipment[,] I was the only one assigned to Military Government, altho every one of them wanted it." While the other officers "rode off to their new stations in army trucks, a staff car, sedan, called by to pick me up. I got a big kick out of the surprise & comments of the other boys."

After Murray arrived at his assigned post, which was Taequ, the largest inland city in southern Korea, he wrote Betsy, on 15 September 1946, "a gloomy letter," in which he characterized what he had observed during his first week in the country: "Morale is lower here than any place I ever saw, or at any time since Pearl Harbor....[H]aving spent 5 days in Seoul, seeing all the neglect, indifference, selfishness, inefficiency and pitiful confusion so evident everywhere, [that] sort of got me down." Although he "had not been assigned to a job yet...since I am here, I am going to do the best I can." Two days later, however, he wrote Betsy a more optimistic letter. Partly because he had moved into "a much better house...[with] better toilet & bath arrangements than at the other place," but especially because he had been named "the mayor of Taegu, a city

of *about* 300,000 people,” he was in a much better state of mind. “It looks like a terrific job...[but] the size of it and the responsibilities appall me,” he admitted. He had three interpreters and, when he met with the department head the previous day, he had “made a little speech of appreciation,” which one of his interpreters, “Chang, properly embellished.” There was also a possibility that he would have use of the mayor’s house. “Several serious problems face us,” he explained, “such as the water supply, the cholera epidemic, street repairs, refugee housing and feeding, etc.”

In his next letter, dated 18 September, Murray Mack, Jr., stated that his job as military mayor of Taegu “seems more hopeless than ever...[because] it appears impossible to get anything done.” He complained to Betsy that the military government officers in Korea were not “decently supported and supplied by our government.” He used as an example that fact that “medicine and chlorine...to purify the water...were requisitioned (or requested) months ago from the Army Supply sources but they ignore us, just as they ignore us when we ask for PX supplies, beds, etc.” Murray continued to express his frustration with the lack of supplies and support from the American government in many of his subsequent letters.

When he wrote Betsy on 24 September 1946, he cited the number of cases of cholera in Taegu. “For the week ending 21 Sept. there were...426 new cases and 231 deaths or an average of 61 new cases & 33 deaths per day,” he recounted. “It is so exasperating to try to do anything here—no, transportation, no funds to repair what few vehicles we have, no funds to buy gasoline; can’t clean the streets of filth and trash, no funds to hire laborers or operate trucks, sometimes dead animals lie in streets for days.”

Betsy's letters to Murray were frequent during his Korean tour of duty and, since their letters were always sent by air mail, with a typical transit time of eight to twelve days, the events each described were remarkably current. Betsy's letters contained news of family members, especially their sons, described her daily household activities, and mentioned the frequent visitors who came for a meal or to stay. Her father, Frederick Nims, Sr., often stayed in the Mack home for extended periods, but also other relatives also visited. She also discussed financial matters, especially the rapidly increasing cost of food and other necessities, and generally reported all bills that she had paid and the status of the family's finances. Often she mentioned farm-related issues as reported by Mr. Stegall, the tenant in charge of running the farm.

In her letter to Murray written on 8 September 1946, Betsy mentioned their son William's departure for Columbia (S.C.) and the University of South Carolina that afternoon. He and his cousin John Belk (1925–1985) took the family's car with their luggage, and Joe Belk (1924–1990), John's brother, who had attended the summer session, promised to return the car to Fort Mill before he started classes the following week. All three cousins had just returned from military service and attended college with financial support from the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, generally known as the G.I. Bill. She also noted that "the house is in a state of upheaval following William's departure...."

After Joe returned to Fort Mill with the car, he remained at the Mack's home until he left for Columbia just before Betsy wrote her husband on 13 September 1946. Joe played trombone in the college band and had a practice scheduled that evening, Betsy explained. "I hope William and John don't get a ride up this weekend," she confessed to Murray, since "I need a breathing spell."

William Mack and the Belk brothers returned to Fort Mill for weekend visits during the fall and Betsy often commented on their class work at the University, but it not until 6 December 1946 that William wrote a letter to his father with a firsthand report of his first semester at college. "Well, I certainly did take my time writing you didn't I?," he began. He reported his mid-term grades, two A's, a B+, and a conditional grade on history, "which...is the hardest subject, or one of [the] hardest at the University." He, along with Joe and John, had gone "to all the football games" as members of the band, and William also sang with the university chorus. In addition, William wrote that he had "sung around town a few times with bands and Joe has kept us going financially with his horn." His classes ended 21 December 1946 and resumed on 3 January 1947, which would give him "time to chop that wood and see a little bit of a little girl friend who will be home from school too."

As the military mayor of Taegu, Colonel Mack faced another crisis that threatened to destabilize not only his city, but also much of southern Korea. Often referred to as the autumn riots of 1946, the unrest and violence that affected Taegu, and other cities and rural areas, began on Tuesday, 1 October 1946, when a large crowd of Koreans staged an anti-American protest at the railway station in Taegu. Murray, in a letter written 3 October 1946, mentioned "our situation here," and assumed that Betsy had "read in the papers a complete account of it by this time." Murray then recounted the events of the previous three days from his perspective. "It began in my office Tuesday morning when my adjutant and my sergeant clerk protected a wounded policeman who came to us for protection from a mob of women. That night several policemen were beat up by the mobs and a rioter was killed. Since then," he continued, "30 or more police have been killed by mobs, only one soldier has been

killed and that was an accident.” Murray also mentioned that martial law was in effect in Taegu and that “the soldiers have control”; however, he also admitted that he could not “tell all I know” because “we are restricted to our own little area around Taegu.” He also acknowledged that he had been “carrying around...[a] carbine” since the previous evening, although previously he “went everywhere unarmed....”

In his next letter, dated 5 October 1946, Murray Mack, assured Betsy that “[t]hings [are] fairly quiet now, altho rather tense, in the city.” He also revealed that he had been given added responsibilities by the military commander of the region, Colonel Potts. Not only was he the military mayor of the city, but he was “acting as head of all national police in Talsong County which includes the city of Taegu.” Although he did not know how long he would continue in that role, he hoped it would be only “a short time.”

On 7 October 1946, Murray added a handwritten note to his typed letter. “Things much better. Getting order all over city & outside too. Also getting my feet on the ground (a little).” For the first time Colonel Mack labeled the unrest in southern Korea as a “Communist uprising” in his 10 October 1946 letter to Betsy. “We know a lot about it which I do not think I should put in a letter at this time, altho I can say that I do not believe any harm was intended for an American, as much as the Communists may hate us.” The mob violence, he continued, was directed at fellow Koreans. “So many Koreans were killed, and brutally, most of them clubbed to death, by the rioters, [but] so far...I have heard no one was killed or wounded by Americans,” he declared. In a letter dated 15 October 1946, Murray declared that “[m]y status has changed for the better since I last wrote.” As “special staff officer under Col. Potts,” his duties were “to direct all police activities & to pass on Col. Potts’ orders

to police[,] but I no longer have the actual direct control and command and dirty work of running the police districts." Now, Major Slattery, "an experienced police officer, and his officers," had taken over those duties. Although Murray was pleased to have been relieved of the day-to-day operation of the national police, which had meant, he noted, "running around inspecting police stations and giving orders to police captains and raising hell all the time," he did claim that under his direction, he had "stopped the brutal beating of persons arrested by police." Murray pointed out that the current Korean police force had been trained by the Japanese who had used physical force "here for 40 years...to make... prisoners... 'confess' their guilt." He then described three cases that had occurred during his first week he was in charge of the police. One policeman he fired, and another accused officer was scheduled for trial which, Murray hoped, would result in "a jail sentence."

When Murray Mack wrote his next letter, dated 18 October 1946, the city, he informed Betsy, was returning to normal: "We arranged to begin the operation of the city busses, to open on Monday[,] the 19 primary schools, and to authorize the 19 Protestant and 4 Catholic churches to hold regular services again, all of which activities have been suspended since the riots of 2-4 October and the declaration of Martial Law."

Further evidence of the return of stability to the city was an election held in Taegu on 24 October 1946. Murray spent the evening after the voting had ended at city hall, and while waiting for the votes to be tallied, typed a three-page letter to Betsy. In it he explained the complicated process by which the Koreans selected the seven representatives who would represent the province in the National Legislature that would convene in Seoul on 4 November 1946. "Military Government is keeping hands off as much as possible," Murray commented, "our only concern

being to insure against cheating, intimidation and irregularities that would give any party an advantage over another.” He felt that the Americans had been fair in their supervisory role, even giving “the Communists every equal chance with any other party.” In a later letter to Betsy, dated 27 October 1946, Murray again commented on the recent election. “The elections went off fine, better than at home, quiet, orderly, no contests, people all satisfied, apparently,” he observed. “Amazing, considering it was their first experience in such.”

After the election was over and, with the return of relative calm of in Taegu, Murray Mack devoted more of his time to his routine duties as the city’s military mayor. As a result, he had little local news of interest to write about, so he devoted more space in his letters to his reactions to news from Betsy, both family and general, included in her letters. He also focused on the timing of his retirement from the military, and the impact that would have on his family.

For much of the time since he reentered the army in 1941, he designated part of each month’s salary to the retirement of his debts, primarily the mortgages on his home and farm, and beginning in August 1946, he began purchasing stock in stable corporations for the benefit of his son Joe. In his letter to Betsy dated 3 November 1946, he listed all the past purchases of stock shares, and projected future purchases of stock, so that Joe would be assured of a regular income from stock dividends. He also wrote her that he was “sending to you all I can as I want you to invest all you can for Joe.” Murray was concerned, however, that his army career would end sooner than he had anticipated, and he would not be able to continue to add to Joe’s stock holdings. “The wise ones here say it is likely that many of us older men will be *discharged*

soon, as the army *must cut down* to fit the reduced budget allowed by Congress," he emphasized.

In his next letter, dated 5 November 1946, Murray continued with the same theme. He noted that "morale here has reached bottom," and as a result, a number of officers had requested separation from the army. "I would do the same if I had only saved enough to get Joe's investment fixed up," he lamented. "I am out here to make money and mend the family finances which have been & still are in a hell of a mess."

Murray, in his 30 November 1946 letter to Betsy, let her know that he had decided to remain in Korea for another year. He had, he wrote, made that decision for "several reasons, chief of which is perhaps the financial one." Another was his belief that he was "beginning to catch on here and can be of more service from now [on] than I was in the past months."

Within a short time, however, he expressed his regret at his decision to stay. In a letter to Betsy, dated 8 December 1946, he wrote: "I have been wishing for a week that I had applied for return to the states and discharge..." The cause for his change of heart was because, he related, "I am unhappy most of the time, as my city government is bogged down, mostly because of lack of funds, partly because of idiotic interference from higher headquarters and entire ignorance of and lack of sympathy with the Korean people, their customs, ambitions, etc." He feared that the "continued thoughtless, selfish and unsympathetic attitude of the American occupation forces has about turned a friendly people into a people who resent us, distrust us and I fear who are beginning to hate us." For three days, during the absence of Colonel Alexander Adair, the provincial military governor, Murray had been acting governor, and was "glad he is back to take the steering wheel during the holidays," Murray

wrote to Betsy in his letter of 22 December. Although “very little happened” while Colonel Adair was away, Murray had feared that an attack might have come from the “Communists...[who] have a habit of striking on holidays, hoping to catch us off-guard.” Colonel Adair had given Murray another assignment, he explained to Betsy, as “S-2 for the province, duty being to collect intelligence of subversive nature from all over the province, interpret it and recommend action to counter the enemy plans & actions.” Even though his job as mayor consumed most of his time already, he willingly accepted his new responsibilities because, as he informed Betsy, “you know it is not my habit to protest, but to go ahead and do the best I can.”

When he wrote Betsy again on Christmas eve, snow was falling, which he predicted would “assure us a ‘White Christmas.’” He also detailed “an alarm last night,” prompted by rumors that the Communists “would strike at midnite....” As a result, the “guards were doubled, everybody alerted, the 3rd Battalion First Infantry Regiment stationed near here paraded through the streets at 10:30 PM with tanks and trucks filled with armed men; the police ran trucks full of policemen all thru the city at 1:00 AM; and detectives were scattered all over the city...but nothing happened.”

Betsy Mack, along with sons William, Joseph, and Murray, celebrated Christmas with visits to family and also hosted numerous visitors during the holidays, so many in fact that she wrote in her 27 December 1946 letter to Murray, “I hardly get through one meal before I must start another.” Murray, in his letter dated 26 December 1946, recounted the events surrounding his Christmas in Taegu. “Our party was a great success...[and] the boys, and girls too, seemed to enjoy themselves in a boisterous way, [with] much loud singing and talking.” Murray had also attended a performance by “some Korean actors” who performed “magic

tricks, singing and dancing.” That evening, he planned to see “a musical comedy by the USO troupe which arrived yesterday, 11 ‘lovely girls,’ included.”

Murray discovered a charitable cause to which he devoted much of his spare time during the early months of 1947. In his letter to Betsy dated 5 January 1947, he mentioned that the local “orphanages received several packages from the states during X-mas week, mostly from women’s clubs and churches [but] there were none from South Carolina.” He encouraged Betsy to get “our church, or your church circle, or the boy scouts... [to] send a package every month.” The children needed “sox & stockings, gloves, shoes, underwear...,and pencil tablets for their school work.” He had been appalled by the conditions he observed when he visited “the so-called ‘Presbyterian’” orphanages in Taegu. The children “barely exist, ill-nourished, poorly clothed, [and] just huddle in a miserable little group. The place is hardly worthy of the name ‘refuge’ or ‘orphanage.’” Murray, and other Americans, were working “to raise the standards of such places.”

Murray sent letters to six of his friends in South Carolina, and retained a copy of one, addressed to Joel E. Dendy, Anderson (South Carolina), dated 9 January 1947, in his files, in which he explained the dire needs of the orphans of Taegu. Only one of the three orphanages in the city, the Catholic one, “administered by the French Sisters... is really the only one worthy the name ‘Orphanage.’” In the two others, the buildings “are in a...state of disrepair.., the staffs are inadequate..., [and] the children are poorly clad....” Murray listed the most pressing needs of the children, and asked for “one package per month” be sent directly to him which he would “deliver...in person to the orphanage thus insuring against diversion to wrong channels.”

He reiterated his request for “a box of clothes etc. for my orphans” in a letter to Betsy, dated 12 January 1947, and asked, “Can you buy them cheap at Pennys or Belks or some place like that?” Betsy responded to Murray’s efforts to help the Taegu orphans by presenting the request to Lee Carothers, the principal of the Fort Mill graded school, and also by asking Mr. Bowles, the minister of the Presbyterian church, to encourage the congregation to donate the needed items. In her letter dated 26 January 1947, she informed Murray that “it would do your heart good to see how your friends took hold of the request for ‘the bundles for Taegu orphans.’” In fact, she had already dispatched the first box filled with “baby soap, a few shirts & sox and a dozen tablets.”

While soliciting necessities for the Korean orphans, Betsy had another concern, as she explained in her letter to Murray written on 29 January 1947. William Mack had been forced to withdraw from the University of South Carolina and seek treatment for persistent tonsillitis at the naval hospital in Charleston. “William looks bad,” Betsy wrote, “[and] is thin and pale....” William returned from Charleston with instructions from the doctor who examined him “to go home and get well enough to have the operation,” Betsy related to Murray in her 2 February 1947 letter. William, in a letter written 10 February 1947, assured his father that he felt “a great deal better” and should be able to schedule a tonsillectomy “in about a month..., if my luck holds out....”

During the time when his son was battling tonsillitis in Fort Mill (S.C.), Murray was taken ill with influenza in Taegu (Korea). At the end of his 16 February 1947 letter to Betsy, Murray casually mentioned that he had “been laid up with ‘flu’ for a week but much better now.” By the time he mailed his letter dated 22 February 1947, he was back at work for a few hours each day and had, he informed Betsy, submitted his formal

request to return to a duty station in the United States. Even though he believed it had only “a slim chance” of approval, he could still demand his release from the army within sixty days. “Of course I’d rather stay in the service and keep the salary, and thus prefer a *transfer* to the continental U.S.,” he continued. But he also mentioned another possibility: “there is another law which provides [for] retirement (without pay) at age 60...[and] I’ll be 60 next November!”

When Murray wrote Betsy on 18 March 1947 to announce that he had just received eleven boxes of clothes for the children at the orphanages, he admitted that he worked for half-days only, partly because he had not totally recovered from his illness, but also because he was “not needed here now as much as before.” He explained that “yesterday, the Governor turned over to our Korean counterparts all direction of government affairs, [and] the Americans are now to act as advisors only.” In essence, Murray’s new role was to serve as advisor to the Korean mayor of Taegu City, thus relieving him of many of his previous responsibilities.

When Murray wrote Betsy on 15 April 1947, he was in the Seventy-first General hospital in Pusan [Busan, Korea], recovering from food poisoning that he, and several other officers, had contracted after eating at the officers’ mess. Although Murray recovered quickly from his bout with food poisoning, he remained in the hospital until 1 May 1947, when he was released and returned to Taegu.

Murray enjoyed his stay in the Pusan hospital, he explained in his 17 April 1947 letter to Betsy, because he ate “heartily of 3 square meals per day,” drank “no coffee at night and therefore sleeps soundly,” got “a back-rub with alcohol by Nurse King nearly every night...,” and had “a chance to catch up on my reading and letter-writing....” When Murray

returned to work, he discovered “some changes in personnel at City Hall.” The former mayor had resigned, “two departments heads have gone, one fired and one transferred out of the city..., [and] there are only 2 Americans left at the City Hall, Capt. [Jerome H.] Mamber & me,” he related to Betsy in a letter written 2 May. He also detailed his timetable for returning to the United States for Betsy. “At best I cannot stay here longer than about 1 August as I must be out of the service not later than 30 November this year, on account of my age, [and] 60 is [the] statutory age of retirement,” he wrote. His sixtieth birthday would be on 13 November 1947, and he assumed the army would send him “home in time to get all of my 60 days of terminal leave completed before 30 November.”

Murray Mack continued to outline plans for his return to civilian life in his 6 May 1947 letter to Betsy. After he spent a week in Japan on his scheduled seven-day leave, he would return to Teagu and prepare for his departure, perhaps as early as mid-June; however, he suggested that he probably would “give up the idea of meeting” Betsy on the West Coast and returning home together because he would be required to go directly to Fort Bragg (North Carolina), for his discharge. Once out of the army, Murray wanted the two of them to “take our honeymoon trip in the car.”

As the time for his departure drew closer, Murray often reflected on the places he had visited and the things he intended to do, but had not done. In his letter dated 23 May 1947, he asked Betsy to save his letters, if she thought they “are worth saving for re-reading some day” and acknowledged that he had “had the idea...of pick[ing] out the bits here and there that would make a readable diary, or account...” of his time in Korea. “I have no grandiose ideas other than to make up something for my own amusement, illustrated with the camera snapshots,” he wrote.

Murray wrote Betsy from Seoul (Korea), on 26 May 1947 where he waited for a flight to Japan, scheduled for 9:00 AM the next morning. He reported that he expected to be processed for his return to the United States after he returned from Japan and expected to “be on shipping list for July, or late June.” Although he was “kind of excited to think of” his return, he also expressed sadness at the prospect of leaving his friends in Taegu.

After arriving at the Biwako Hotel, in Otsu (Shiga Prefecture, Japan), the first stop on his brief tour of Japan, he recounted his flight from Korea in a letter to Betsy dated 28 May 1947. “Took off in a C-47...[with] 14 people in party, including 1 bird Colonel, 3 leaf colonels (Lt. Col.), several junior officers & 5 women...[and] flew southeast over Taegu & Pusan, across the Straits, then northeast over Japan to airport at ITAMI, then by bus to Kyoto and the hotel at Otsu,” he related. The hotel, he wrote, “is on a 45 mile long lake [Lake Biwa]” and offered sailing, “horseback riding, fishing, biking, tennis, etc.” Murray enjoyed a busy agenda while at the resort, with a party planned for Saturday night, followed by a Sunday night dinner dance, and a sightseeing tour of Kyoto’s shrines on Monday, before returning to Seoul on Tuesday.

Once back in Taegu, Murray sent Betsy a telegram, dated 6 June 1947, in which he announced his safe return from Japan and followed that with a long letter written the same day. “Somehow, I have taken root here—[f]eel happy to be at home again,” he acknowledged. Betsy continued to send her husband letters filled with news of family and acquaintances, and with an occasional remark about his return home. In her 21 June 1947 letter, she expressed her eagerness “to hear in the next letter that you have your orders to sail for home....I’m sorry you are coming so reluctantly.”

Murray shared the good news that he had received “orders dated 1 July 1947 directing...[him] to report to the Repl[acement] Depot as of 6 July” with Betsy in his 5 July 1947 letter; however, he had to stay in Taegu a few days longer in order to “clear up...a few matters” and “also orient the officer” who would replace him. A few of his friends, including Mr. Kwun, the former mayor, had dropped by to tell him goodbye. “I am really loathe to leave my good friends here,” he confessed. When he reached the replacement depot at Yong Dong Po [Yeong Deung Po], Murray learned that he was too late to board the transport ship scheduled to leave that day, and would have to wait until about 12 July 1947 for the next scheduled sailing. “Until this morning,” Murray wrote on 10 July 1947, “it looked as if we would not get on this ship ‘General Blatchford,’...[b]ut several families failed to show up, leaving 14 spaces for those at top of waiting list.” He was “happy to get on the ship” because the next departure was a month away. The United States Army Transport *General R.M. Blatchford* had been in service since 1944 and was a relatively large vessel, 522 feet in length. It had been used to transport troops during the final year of the war and, after that, ferried military personnel to and from their duty stations.

Murray wrote Betsy on 15 July 1947 and described his first days at sea: “We left Inchon, Korea...on 11 July [with] 222 troops aboard, about 60 officers and dependents and a few W[ar] D[e]partment civilians....Many of us were sick the first 2 days, [b]ut...we gained our normal health very quickly.” The ship was scheduled to stop at Guam the next day, Murray wrote, “to take on more troops,” before sailing on to Honolulu, which would require another nine days. He expected to reach San Francisco about 5 August 1947.

Just before the ship docked in Honolulu, Murray continued his trip narrative in a letter to Betsy written 27 July 1947. He noted that “we took on 1001 troops at Guam, some families and a lot of ‘gooney birds’ or civilian workers. They all say Guam is a regular hell. In comparison, Korea is a very heaven.” Murray mailed a letter in Honolulu, written just before the ship sailed, and dated 1 August 1947, in which he recounted for Betsy a visit “to a swanky nite club” the previous evening: “I ate for the first and last time a famous dish—sea turtle steak. They say those animals live to be hundreds of years old. I think this one was the grandfather patriarch of the turtle tribe—tough but no flavor.”

On 3 August 1947, four days before reaching San Francisco, Murray began a letter to Betsy in which he projected his arrival in Fort Mill (S.C.) by 16 August, but before he started for home, he planned to “ask for a thoro[ugh] physical check-up and they may put me in a hospital for several days.” He continued his letter on 8 August 1947, the day after he landed in San Francisco, with news that he would remain at Camp Stoneman until he had completed all the needed medical tests, which might delay his departure “a few days, or a few weeks.”

Murray was not satisfied with the physical examination that he had had the previous day, he noted in a letter written to Betsy on 10 August 1947. “It was a farce, given by incompetent dis-interested enlisted men mostly,” he complained, “and [I] am going to protest tomorrow and ask for a real going over.” Murray’s demand for a more complete examination resulted in a diagnosis of gastrointestinal amebiasis, a condition common with soldiers returning from Asian countries.

Murray wrote Betsy on 18 August 1947 with the unhappy news that he would have to remain in the hospital “at least until 4 or 5 Sept., maybe longer.” Treatment would require two courses of medications, each

lasting for a week or ten days. "It seems this is a stubborn trouble, this amoeba," Murray related. "The doctor does not want me to go out of hospital for fear of spreading the bugs among the population," he continued. Even though his return home would be delayed indefinitely, Murray insisted that Betsy call him if she planned to travel to California to be with him. "I would hate for you to get out here and have to sit down then in the hotel for two weeks with nothing to do."

Given the uncertainty of the length of time Murray would be hospitalized, Betsy joined him in California in early September. She regularly wrote her sons, Joe and William, with updates on their father's treatment and her own daily activities. On 5 September 1947, she advised Joe that "Dad has just gone over to Letterman Gen[eral Hospital] with four other officers from Korea...."

On 10 September 1947, in a letter to William, she mentioned, "there are no new developments in our situation," but she speculated that his treatment would last for several weeks. She offered to advance William sufficient money to cover his expenses when he returned as a student to the University of South Carolina. Apparently, William and his cousin Joe Belk had arranged to rent a room from Frederick Mack, who had moved to Columbia (S.C.), with his family, when he was promoted to a position at the headquarters of the South Carolina Forestry Commission.

Murray was formally released from the United States Army on 3 October 1947, and Betsy sent a letter to Joe with the news that "Dad is out today." They planned to travel through the northwest while on the west coast and visit Portland (Oregon), Seattle (Washington), and part of Canada before returning to San Francisco. "You may now address Dad as Col. Mack. He gets his eagles today," she concluded. After they completed their tour of the west, they returned home by way of New

Orleans. Betsy wrote Joe from there on 3 November 1947 with instruction to have someone meet them in Charlotte the following Sunday, 9 November 1947.

Although Murray had been released from active duty in October 1947, he did not officially retire until 29 June 1948, after thirty-seven years of military service. His final duty was as an umpire for the military maneuvers that were held on and around Camp Campbell, in an area along the Kentucky-Tennessee border in May 1948. "Exercise Assembly" involved elements of both the Army's Fifth Corps, including the Eighty-second Airborne Division, and units of the Tactical Air Command's Ninth Air Force, with combat units and air squadrons drawn from seven southeastern states.

While Murray Mack was away from Fort Mill (S.C.) for two months from April to May 1948, he and Betsy corresponded as they always had during periods of separation. Murray traveled by train, in early April, from Fort Mill to Camp Campbell (Kentucky), the headquarters of the umpire control group, composed of experienced senior officers who were to implement and umpire the various stages of the complex training exercises that would take place from 8–26 May 1948.

Betsy's first letter to Murray was written on 4 April 1948 and included news of the family, a report on the crops, and comments about the cold weather, a pattern that she continued during Murray's absence. Murray, in his letter dated 13 April 1948, described Camp Campbell (Kentucky) and compared it to Camp Shelby (Hattiesburg, Mississippi), a place Betsy knew well. The camp, he wrote, "is spread out, much like Camp Shelby, built for 2 divisions & the usual special troops, about the size of the original Shelby in 1940–41." He also noted that his "assignment was changed today to the 325 Infantry Regiment," a duty that would prove

more difficult than his previous role which was on the corps level. Murray mentioned that there were three South Carolinians in the 325th Regiment, Col. Cockran, Major [James A.] Grimsley & Major [Wayne Robert] Culp, each of whom commanded a battalion. "There will be a month of school & training for us umpires to prepare us to direct the different phases of the games [and] it looks like we'll be very busy beginning next Monday, until it is all over," he related to Betsy.

Murray spent the remainder of April attending lectures and practicing techniques that would be employed during the coming maneuvers. In a letter to Betsy written 27 April 1948, he mentioned that he was ready to "take my 40 officers into the field for a day of practice using the loudspeakers with which each one is equipped, & practicing the announcements of battle situations by means of which the umpires control the operations of the troops."

Murray, along with his forty-two officers and eleven enlisted men, had flown from Camp Campbell to Fort Benning (Georgia), in four C-47 airplanes on 5 May 1948, he informed Betsy in a letter dated 7 May 1948, in order to join the 325th Infantry Regiment and accompany the troops to Camp Campbell where they would begin their participation in "Exercise Assembly." The convoy would leave the next morning, he continued, and arrive at Camp Campbell three days later, bivouacking each night along the highway, which meant "sleeping in pup tents, on the ground, eating from mess-kits, etc." The opening phase of the games actually began on 8 May 1948, when the 505th Regimental combat team parachuted into Campbell Air Force Base and recaptured it from the aggressor forces that occupied it.

After the 325th Infantry joined the fight on 11 May 1948, and pushed westward, expanding the area the army troops controlled, and ended the

first phase of the field exercise the next day. Murray had just enough time on 13 May 1948 to post a brief note to Betsy in which he asked her to keep writing, even though he would “not have time or opportunity to write” her. On Sunday, 16 May 1948, Murray took advantage of a day off to write Betsy a three-page letter in which he explained his job as umpire in “Exercise Assembly.”

My group is made up of 40 other officers, each one attached to a platoon, company or battalion of the 325th Inf. Regiment. When the regiment goes out in the field to play battle games, my umpires and I run the games, using all kinds of devices, gadgets, & control by voice, depicting actual battle situations. The troops & their leaders then re-act to the situations we give them, usually in a normal, logical manner. If it is not logical then we control it by assessing casualties or giving new situations....The aim is to train troops under conditions as near a real battle situation as possible. We use fire crackers, sound trucks playing phonograph records of machine gun, mortar or artillery fire (very realistic), or by rockets into the air whose burst simulates bursting shrapnel overhead; hand grenades, mines, etc., etc., or actually firing blanks in guns or shot gun shells from the cannon. Quite a play!

When Murray wrote his wife on 22 May 1948, he had returned from “a reconnaissance of the ground we are to fight over during the 3rd & last phase. It is about 35 miles long & 15 miles wide..., as long as from Ft Mill

to Charlotte and as wide as from Catawba River to...Pineville.”

Murray had just completed the final phase of the war games when he wrote Betsy a letter on 26 May 1948. “We have lived, breathed & eaten thick fine dust for 3 days, the worst I have ever experienced,” he recounted to her, “[but] I stood the hardships well, better than most of the younger men.” He was eager to return home, and would ride with Captain Vassez as far as his home in Gaffney (South Carolina), where, he explained to Betsy, she should “wait for...[him] at the best (and only) hotel there.”

A few letters, dated after Murray returned home in late May, remain in the collection. Three letters from his nephew Ed Mack (1893–1956), a chemistry professor at Ohio State University, relate to the visit to Ed's cabin, on Cat Tail Creek, near Pensacola, in the mountains of western North Carolina, that Murray, Betsy, Murray, Jr., and Joseph made in late summer. Ed, in a letter written on 26 September 1948, after he had closed up the cabin and returned to Ohio State for the fall semester, remembered the visit of his uncle Murray and family as “the nicest part of the summer....”

Four letters and a postcard from Florence Schoenborn, of Long Island City, New York, written during the summer of 1957, advised Murray of his brother Harrington Mack's illness. Mrs. Schoenborn urged Murray, in a letter dated 1 August 1957, to find a nursing home for Harry in South Carolina because “a good one [in New York] is \$300 a month which I definitely cannot afford.” Harrington, however, died on 3 August 1957, and was interred in Unity Cemetery in Fort Mill (S.C.).

Although correspondence in the Mack family papers ends with 1957, there are a few brief biographical sketches, an obituary, and Bill Bradford's editorial from *The Fort Mill Times*, published just after

Murray's death, in the collection that provide details about the final thirty years of his life. Murray Mack and his wife, Elizabeth [Betsy], continued to live together in the house they built in the 1930s on Confederate Street in Fort Mill until Betsy died in 1973, and Murray remained active as a farmer until 1976, when his health forced him to retire from a vocation that he had loved since his college days at Cornell University, where he had pursued agricultural studies.

Bill Bradford, in his tribute to Murray, published just after his death, which occurred on 29 July 1979, cited Colonel Mack's accomplishments as "a soldier, educator, religious leader, historian and patriot." Bradford, after listing the colleges he attended as a young man, pointed out that Murray's "quest for knowledge never ceased...[and] at the advanced age of 87, he traveled daily to Rock Hill (S.C.) to take college courses." Bradford claimed that Murray "knew more about local and area history than any other man or woman," and he used that knowledge when, "singlehandedly, he organized the Col. William Bratton Chapter...of the Sons of the American Revolution...and personally traced the lineage of most of those wishing to join..." Murray's "strong religious belief" sprang from his boyhood as the son of a Presbyterian minister, Bradford pointed out, and he remained a member of Unity Presbyterian Church until his death. He sang in the church choir even after he turned ninety, and "loved to sing and listen to the old hymns," Bradford recalled, "and at slight provocation would turn suppers and other meetings into a sing-along." Murray Mack was buried in the family plot at Unity Cemetery in Fort Mill (South Carolina). **Gift of Mr. & Mrs. James Ardrey.**

Letter, 29 November 1842, from **F[rancis] M[ayrant] Adams (1821–1884)**, Pendleton (S.C.), to his uncle, the Reverend S[ewall] Harding, E[ast] Medway (Massachusetts), was written during the time Adams was teaching and practicing law in Pendleton. It thanks Harding for informing him of the death of his maternal Grandfather Wheeler. The writer asked that Harding “administer my consolation to my afflicted Grandmother” and “assure her of my heartfelt sympathy.” He also commented on the amount of time he was spending in replying to and sending correspondence.

The letter further explains that Adams, who noted that he was entitled to one-seventh of his grandfather’s estate, wanted his mother to have access to the interest from an investment of one thousand dollars, with the principle by law remaining in the bank until his youngest sisters came of age. Adams closed the letter by stating that his “fingers are split open by the cold, so that it is exceedingly painful to write” and again expressed his “kindest regards to my afflicted Grandmother” as well as to his “other relatives.” **Gift of Mr. Henry G. Fulmer.**

Letter, 1 January 1864, from Governor **Milledge Luke Bonham**, Columbia (S.C.), to W.C. Bee, president of the Importing and Exporting Company of South Carolina, discusses the types of goods he would like Bee’s company to import, namely “blankets, shoes, clothing, arms, ammunition, machinery and the usual agricultural implements which we cannot manufacture.” Bonham also references correspondence with Charles Manning Furman related to the Confederate government’s requirement that blockade runners carry cotton as one-third of their cargo when leaving southern ports. **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

Letter, 1 January 1861, from **Cornelius J. Colcock (1845–1911)**, Charleston, to S.D. Contany dates from the period between South Carolina's secession from the Union and the firing on Fort Sumter. Colcock advised that the "movement of Anderson in occupying Fort Sumter has greatly complicated and perplexed our officers and I fear will result in what we must and overtly desired to avoid—an issue of blood." Affirming that the South "cannot permit Fort Sumter to be reinforced if we can possibly avoid it," he wrote that he and others were "preparing to resist that contingency should it occur and I fear the effort will be made to do. If blood flows a heavy responsibility will rest on Andersons head." He expressed concern that "the turn of events" has gotten "beyond the construct of wise and prudent men," but reasoned that "God alone can direct the issue and in Him we place our trust believing our cause is just and will triumph in the end."

Cornelius Colcock was the son of United States Representative William Ferguson Colcock (1804–1889). He enlisted in the First South Carolina Infantry at the beginning of the war, but then joined Company H of the Third South Carolina Cavalry, under command of his relative Charles J. Colcock. **Acquired with dues contributions of Dr. & Mrs. William R. Gilkerson, Dr. & Mrs. Jeffrey J. Hubbell, and Mr. & Mrs. Richard L. Shealy.**

Document, undated, history of **Company C, Second Regiment, South Carolina Infantry**, gives a brief history of the "O.M. Doyle Company," including the names of several commissioned and non-commissioned officers. The company formed 19 October 1861 and mustered into the Confederate States Army on 2 November 1861.

The document tells of the unit's movement to Sullivan's Island on 16 November 1861 before relocating to Camp Evans on 21 January 1862. On 5 February 1862, the Company moved to Wadmalaw Island and Lieutenant Dendy was promoted to captain. The document then details movements to Johns Island, Camp Pemberton, and Camp Price by the end of March. On 28 and 29 March, Company C joined Companies A, B, and D in battle on Edisto Island. The Confederates killed eight Union soldiers in the engagement and took nineteen prisoners. Two men of Company C were wounded, with one losing an arm. **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

Letter, 27 January 1838, from **Thomas Cooper** (Columbia, S.C.), and addressed to "Dear Sir" expresses Cooper's fears that Governor Pierce Mason Butler will sign "the bill of Keeps, Donjons, Bars, Bolts, and safety vaults." The bill, he asserted, "has one damning feature; *it increases the power and patronage of the Executive*, which has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished."

Cooper shared his opinions regarding a recent controversy with England, most likely the emerging dispute over the Oregon Territory. He asked, rhetorically, "Have we not commenced this unpleasant business? And tho' we have done nothing to justify their breach of territory, have we not done much to excuse it? Must England and America—that is, the civilized world, go into rancorous hostility on account of the folly of a few ultra radicals on the one side, and a few aristocrats on the other? God forbid. Moreover, the whole thing is now at an end; why give it new life?" He also referenced the assertion and hope of John Quincy Adams that "the next war with Great Britain will be a servile war."

The letter closes with the statement that "we are the allies of England,

bound by mutual wants and supplies” and the admonition to “think on this my friend.” **Acquired with dues contributions from Mr. Terry W. Lipscomb, Mr. David B. McCormack, Mr. & Mrs. Phillip L. Martin.**

Eighty-one letters, 24 September 1862–10 November 1866, primarily consist of correspondence from **Sergeant George Gordon DeGroot (1841–1865)**, of Canarsie in Brooklyn (New York), to his family. DeGroot served with the 127th Regiment, New York Infantry, also known as the Monitors. Just before enlisting, DeGroot married Elizabeth A. O’Neill (1847–1924). At the time of his earliest letters, the 127th was stationed at Chain Bridge, Virginia, just across the Potomac River from Washington. The 127th saw little fighting during this time, spending most of their time drilling or foraging for supplies. In a letter dated 9 November 1862, DeGroot wrote that “us boys tore down a nice house” so that they could have wood “to floor our tents with.” DeGroot was weary of the drudgery of army life, writing in a letter dated 19 November 1862 that “a soldier is Uncle Sams’s nigger, and it don’t much matter where or what they do with them.”

By 16 January 1863 DeGroot had achieved the rank of orderly sergeant. His life went on much as before, however. He sought to disabuse his relatives of any romantic notions regarding life in the army. In a letter dated 11 February 1863 he wrote that “Bill Murphy cut two of his fingers off with an axe. This is soldiering in reality.” He believed he deserved an officer’s commission because he thought himself “just the man to drill conscripts and niggers,” but this commission does not seem to have materialized. Even military successes did not bring DeGroot pleasure. On 26 April 1863 he wrote that his regiment captured “a few prisoners every day,” as well as munitions. DeGroot echoes one officer’s

sentiment, however, that it was no “great feat to capture a few half-starving men, and what belongs to us, as it seems the guns were captured from us at Bull Run.”

On 12 July 1863 DeGroot wrote from Frederick, Maryland. His regiment had moved north to reinforce General Meade. They did not stay in the area long, however. DeGroot was in Charleston for the failed attempt to retake Fort Sumter, although he does not appear to have taken part in the attack. He wrote on 9 September 1863 that “the rampart and fort looks more like a badly damaged cheese than old Sumpter.” DeGroot saw little fighting after September. His letter of 12 January 1864 contains a sketch of the front and back of his small “shanty” on Coles Island. Two months later he was eager to get into battle, writing that “to run a rebel through with a bayonet is fun and I could do it with a clearer conscience than I could killing a pig.”

On 2 May 1864 he wrote that he had “nothing to do in the day time but sleep.” He did, however, “walk over to Wagner, it is a splendid fort, and has bomb Proffs which will hold a garrison of 3000 men.” He claimed that it was “impregnable,” and he included a small sketch of the fort. He described bodies strewn along the beach and explained that he had “picked up several small bones of the human body outside the fort, which I will send to you with other relics if you will send stamps to send them with.” By that time, DeGroot and the 127th had moved to Morris Island, where DeGroot saw his first battle. In this disastrous amphibious assault on Ft. Johnson, DeGroot saw “a much better chance for our lives and victory besides in landing than to row through their heavy fire against the tide with the name of defeat besides.”

DeGroot’s letter of 3 September 1864 tells of a severe illness that ultimately resulted in a furlough. By 29 November 1864 he wrote from

Beaufort that he was “down in Dixie again and feel[ing] quite well.” Over the next month he fought in the battles of Honey Hill and Tulifinny. He was wounded in the latter battle and never fully recovered. He died on 13 January 1865 at military hospital on Hilton Head Island. His son, John William DeGroot, was born four months later. DeGroot was survived by his wife as well as a daughter, Georgia Gordon DeGroot (1864–1905).

The collection also includes several letters, presumably to DeGroot, from his friend Alexander J. Fisher of the 127th Infantry. One letter from DeGroot’s friend William H. Newberry, also of the 127th Infantry, discusses the return of personal items after his death. **Acquired with dues contributions of Ms. Joyce M. Bowden and Mr. Adam M. Lutynski, Dr. William J. Cain, Jr., Ms. Joanne Flowers Duncan, Mr. Millen Ellis, Mr. & Mrs. William F. Guerard, Jr., Dr. William S. Johnson and Mrs. Suzanne Parfitt Johnson, Mrs. Charles W. Joyner, Mr. Nicholas G. Meriwether, Mr. & Mrs. Samuel Fraser Reid, Jr., Dr. Ann Russell and Mr. Brad Russell, and Dr. William Weston III and Mrs. Elise Verner Weston.**

Twenty-five items, 1837–1859, document the lives of the Frazier family, who wrote from LaGrange (Georgia), Louisiana, and Alabama. The majority of the collection are letters written to **Marshall Frazier (1806–1870)**, who remained in Edgefield (S.C.). These letters deal primarily with financial concerns including the prospects and sales of crops, the transfer and payment of promissory notes, and the purchase and sale of enslaved persons.

Marshall Frazier’s father, Benjamin C. Frazier, and his brother, also Benjamin Frazier, settled near Minden, Louisiana, by 1838. On 11 August of that year the young Benjamin Frazier wrote to his brother and

reported that they were “Clearing Land and bilding at this time,” though because of the dry weather “Crops has suffered a great deal.” Another brother, William, settled near Montgomery, Alabama, and wrote to Marshall Frazier on 13 January 1841 that he was “9 or 10 miles to the town,” and that he was “delited with my Situation.” He declared his land “the best land in the county.” It was located within “one mile of [the] Steam boat landing,” making it very “convenient to market.” William Frazier wrote again on 13 May 1845 from Montgomery, after he had returned from Minden where he was apparently helping to settle their father’s estate. Part of the settlement was William Frazier’s purchase of an enslaved man named Qurd (or Gurd) and “Cliff’s boy,” both of whom were presumably still in Edgefield. Marshall Frazier had indicated in an earlier letter that he wanted Qurd and his brother asked “what sort of a trade you wish to make.” William also inquired when he would “have the boy ready to deliver for Cliff,” as he needed to make arrangements to “bild this sumer & fall.” If Marshall Frazier did not intend to keep Qurd, William indicated that he would send “Old Biley[,] Mays Negro Man a very trusty old Fellow after them.”

The most significant letter in the collection, dated 6 May 1855, was written by Hal Frazier, a formerly enslaved man who had been owned by Benjamin Frazier, to a “Mr. Brookes” who was to pass the letter on to Marshall Frazier. Hal Frazier indicated that he had been accused by Marshall Frazier of “having the money which it is alledged disappeared at the death of my old master Col Benjamin Frazier.” Frazier denied the charge and indicated that though he was “born a slave...by industry & economy saved money enough to pay for myself & wife,” and “some two or three years ago the Legislature of Louisiana passed an act in my favour by which, I was made a free man.” Upon Benjamin Frazier’s death

it was "known and provable" that Hal Frazier had eight hundred dollars, as he "owned one half of a mill which has done in the course of ten or twelve years a considerable business." Hal Frazier further specified that he was "prepared to meet the charge," as "my character is worth too much to forfeit it by paying Col Frazier one dime," and concluded his letter by indicating that he hoped the tone of the letter was respectful, but that it was also "intended to speak in plain terms that I shall be ready for investigation and prepared to submit to the result."

In addition to the letters, the collection also contains miscellaneous land papers; receipts and promissory notes written to Marshall Frazier; bills dated 1841 and 1844 to Captain F. Fraser for medical service rendered by E. Witsell to "little Abraham," Mily, Sary, John, "Hetty & three children," Cato, Daniel, Isaac, Thomas, Hardy, Suckey, March, and "Philis' Child;" a bill of sale, 1848, for enslaved woman Sally and her son, John Henry, sold to Sally Ann Frazier, wife of Marshall Fraizer, by her grandmother Jemima Lipscomb, and to be held in trust by William Frazier; an account, 1850, between the estate of Benjamin Frazier and D. Murrell; and two cased ambrotypes, one cased daguerreotype, and one carte-de-visite of unidentified women. **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

Two letters, 20 January 1864 and 2 June 1864, from **Charles Manning Furman**, president of the Bank of the State of South Carolina in Charleston to Governor Milledge Luke Bonham in Columbia (S.C.), discuss the blockade runners *Alice* and *Fannie*. Jefferson Davis had previously ordered that one-third of each blockade runner's cargo consist of Confederate cotton. Furman expressed his hopes that these two ships, owned by the Importing and Exporting Company of South

Carolina, whose president was W.C. Bee of Charleston, would be allowed to carry cotton only from South Carolina. He also was hopeful that the *Chicora* be granted similar privileges. **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

Letter, 3 December 1862 from **J.L. Grisham**, Camp Lamar (Charleston, S.C.), to "Dear Sister," discusses various aspects of military life, such as his transfer to Company C of the Eighth Georgia Battalion and his collection of seashells that he planned to send home when he had a chance. He also writes that "the Yankees come up Stono River twice lately in two or three boats landed some men the place they landed at is about a mile and three quarters from us." He thought an attack on Ft. Lamar was imminent, but "if they take this Fort they will have to bring 50 000 men we think it is safe the Fort is just where the Yankees fought here last time it was just a simple battery at that time they made a charge on it several times but could not take it."

Grisham speculated that "the war will close this Spring." He had heard "accounts of our soldiers leaving of the army in Tenn. and Va. And going home" and believed that "if the war holds much longer our people will see hard times." **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

Letter, 28 January 1861, from **John F. Hunter** in Claytons Mill to W.C. Clayton in Davisville (Kentucky), states that there is no interesting news in South Carolina "except the difficulty in regard to the election of Lincoln to the Presidency of the United States (or rather what use to be the U.S. for the union is now dissolved. Five states has all ready seceded.)"

Hunter writes that “the South is making every preparation for war. *God* only knows what the consequence will be, [for] unless there is a compromise, there will be bloodshed.” Hunter feared that his letter might not reach Clayton before mail service between South Carolina and the United States has ceased. He also related that two companies of volunteers were drilling in his area. Hunter has been “strongly solicited to take the field, on account of my past services, [but] what I will do I do not know.”

The correspondent’s address, Clayton’s Mill, was located near Easley (Pickens County, S.C.). **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. Terry W. Lipscomb, Mr. David B. McCormack, and Mr. & Mrs. Phillip L. Martin.**

Letter, 29 December 1864, from **James H. Nash**, Secretary of the Confederate Senate, to Jefferson Davis, informs the Confederate president of a Senate resolution. The Senate resolved that Davis “be required to inform the Senate, in secret session, as to the state of the finances in connection with the payment of the troops; the means of supplying the munitions of war, transportation and subsistence; the condition of the army and the possibility of recruiting the same; the condition of our foreign relations, and whether any aid or encouragement from abroad is expected, or has been sought or is proposed.” The Senate desired “a clear and exact view of the state of the country and its future prospects, and what measures of legislation are required.”

John H. Nash of South Carolina served as Secretary of the Confederate Senate from 18 February 1862 until 18 March 1865. He therefore held his position from the first day of the Confederate Senate until the last. **Acquired with dues contributions of Dr. Thomas J. Brown, Mr.**

& Mrs. Hunter L. Clarkson, Mr. & Mrs. Pat Gambill, Mr. Manton M. Grier, Mrs. Alexia Jones Helsley, Mr. & Mrs. Bryan F. McKown, and Mr. Grainger McKoy.

Letter, 27 December 1837, from United States Senator **William Campbell Preston** in the city of Washington (D.C.) to his mother, Sarah Preston, in Columbia (South Carolina), conveys Preston's deep affection for his mother and expresses his hope that he "may be able to be a support and comfort to you for a long time yet to come." Preston's letter reports the arrival of "James McDowell and Susan with Mary & Margaret" but expresses unhappiness that he would not see them much since they "are staying with Col. [Thomas Hart] Benton."

Preston noted that he "quarreled with [Benton] about Mr. Calhoun," but now that Preston was preparing to leave office, he had "some notion of reestablishing a passing intercourse with Benton." In closing, Preston wrote that he had "renewed my acquaintance with Mrs. Madison," presumably referring to his Sarah Preston's long-time friend and former First Lady Dolley Madison. **Acquired with dues contribution of Mr. Terry W. Lipscomb, Mr. David B. McCormack, and Mr. & Mrs. Phillip L. Martin.**

Manuscript volume, 14 September 1863–2 May 1864, kept by Anderson (South Carolina), native Sergeant **Charles S. Robinson**, commissary sergeant for the Second South Carolina Rifles constitutes a record of random thoughts on the weather but also a detailed chronicle of troop movements and casualty totals. Robinson also sometimes noted the names of those killed or wounded. When he began keeping his diary, the Second South Carolina Rifles were part of Jenkins' Brigade moving

from Gettysburg to eastern Tennessee, where they would take part in the Battle of Wauhatchie, 28–29 October 1863.

By the time of their next battle near Knoxville, two weeks later, they had been transferred to Bratton's Brigade. At the time the diary closes, the Second South Carolina Rifles were preparing for the heaviest fighting of the Wilderness Campaign. Although not recorded in the diary, Robinson was present when the Army of Northern Virginia surrendered at Appomattox.

After seventy pages, the narrative ends when it meets Robinson's account of supplies issued from the commissariat. The record of accounts commences on the last page of the volume, in writing that is upside down with respect to the narrative portion of the diary. Robinson survived the war, but his activities after the war are unknown. **Acquired with dues contributions of Mrs. Mickey S. Cassidy, Mrs. Suzanne Collins Matson, and Mr. Clyde E. Stokes.**

Manuscript volume, 15 September–16 December 1864, diary kept by **William Pinckney Sparks (circa 1842–1872)**, a corporal in Company H, Eleventh Regiment, Iowa Infantry, while imprisoned at Florence Stockade (a Confederate military prison near Florence, S.C., in the Pee Dee area) describes the experiences and hardships endured by Federal prisoners of war in the closing months of the Civil War.

Sparks began his account on 6 October 1864 when he arrived in Florence after being held in Charleston for an indeterminate amount of time following his transfer from Andersonville Prison in Georgia. From that day through 16 December 1864 he recorded brief daily entries describing life in the "bull pen," rations received, and his hopes for exchange or parole.

His initial impression of the Florence Stockade, written on 6 October 1864, after he had "laid all night out side of stockade," was that it was a "hard place but far superior to Andersonville." On 10 October he began construction of a "mud house." By 29 October 1864 he had completed the house which he described as four feet in height with sides "built of mud." The roof was "composed of sticks and covered with mud," the floor "covered with pine boughs about 6 inches deep." Sparks slept in the structure with two other men, "tight squeezing, but that makes it all the warmer," on a bed of pine boughs and "one and a half woolen blankets, & 2 gums." They then "spread our coats on the bottom," and used "our shoes for a pillow." Sparks admitted that "it is a hard old way of living but I think I could stand it untill I am released." On 3 November 1864 the men tried cooking in the house, but "the smoke very near killed us." Ten days later they added a chimney, and Sparks noted that "it works splendid."

Inadequate shelter was not the only hardship endured by Sparks and his companions. Rations, blankets, and clothing were also scarce. Beginning on 11 October 1864, rations were a constant source of complaint. On that day he noted that he had not had "meat of any kind for 12 days," and was subsiding on "flour, meal, & Beans." Sparks mentioned the inconsistency of rations over the following three days, and these entries provide examples of typical entries found in the remainder of the diary. On 12 October no rations were received until "after 9 o'clock at night," and Sparks "went to bed without supper, pretty hungry." No rations were distributed on 13 October, and the following day prisoners "received rations at dark. Meal, Beans, & Grits," but Sparks was forced "to by rations to satisfy my hunger."

Early November did bring some relief. On 2 November 1864 he

received rations of "Beef & Salt," which they boiled and "made mush in the soup." Sparks and his bunkmates "considered that an *extra good* supper." Four days later, on 6 November, he noted that they had "been drawing so much molasses...that we could not use it, so we make candy, pull it white, & have a gay time eating it." Blankets and clothing were rare, and on 13 October Sparks witnessed a man receiving "25 lashes by the police for stealing a blanket from a sick man."

A week later, on 20 October, some blankets were distributed by lottery, but only four per one hundred men. Sparks was "not lucky enough to get one." "Red-Pants coats drawers, shirts Hats & socks...sent to us by our government" were distributed on 22 October, with each man getting "from 1 to 2 Articles of a kind."

Death was a constant worry. On 27 October 1864, Sparks claimed that the camp averaged "75 to 100 per day," not from "general disease, but actually starved to death, and from exposure." A "dead line" also ran around the inside of the stockade, and "any one getting over that is shot down in cold blood." Spark witnessed "several men lay down in the mud & die," and heard rumor that "150 died of cold in one ward at the Hospital" on the night of 23 November.

Sparks commented constantly on fellow prisoners who took loyalty oaths to the Confederacy, outside politics and war developments, and the possibility for exchange. On 9 October 1864 he noted that many men had taken oaths, but were "compelled to do it," for they had "no shelter or clothes to keep them warm." Sparks admitted that before the winter was out he "may be forced to it."

On 6 November 1864 he further explained that these men "are not thought anything of by the John's & are designated or styled by them as Galvanized Yanks & by some few, as d----d traitors." The presidential election brought some distraction to the prisoners, and they held their own election in the camp. Sparks noted that on the morning of 8 November the "Sergt of each Hundred would have all the Lincon men march to the right & the McClellan men to the left." In his own Hundred, the vote was "97 for Old Abe & 3 for Little Mc." One of his bunkmates then "traded off some breast buttons for a small piece of pork to the Johns, he then traded the pork for some sweet-potatoes." They then had "big dinner in honor...of the election of Old Abe," and Sparks "enjoyed the dinner as well as I ever did a meal in all my life."

Parole and exchange for the prisoners began in earnest on 5 December, and two days later Sparks's "1000 was examined." Though only "20 out of my 100" were taken, Sparks was chosen for parole "being a 100 Sergt." He stayed outside of the stockade on the night of 8 December with no guards and could not "sleep a wink, my brain being busy thinking."

The following day he boarded a railroad car for Charleston, and on 10 December 1864 arrived in the city "got on a reb steamer at 12 A.M. sailed outside of Sumpter & met our boat." He was immediately given "a

new suit of clothes entire & a good supper” of coffee, hardtack, and boiled pork. He passed his voyage to Annapolis “on deck most of the time looking at the Porpoises & other sea fish that were following the ship,” and on 15 December the ship arrived in Annapolis and the men put into barracks. Sparks made his final entry on 16 December 1864, a day spent “draining clothes & washing.” His turn finally came at 10 o’clock that night, and Sparks concluded his account of imprisonment by noting that he “had a good bath put on clean clothes & felt Bully.”

Acquired with dues contributions of Dr. & Mrs. Robert K. Ackerman, Mrs. Louise Dabbs Bevan, Mrs. George E. Chapin, Dr. Peter A. Coclanis, Dr. Roy Bradford Whitney, and Dr. Stephen R. Wise.

Printed manuscript, “Ode to the Meeting of the Southern Congress,” by **H[enry] Timrod (1829–1867)**, was probably printed in Charleston in 1861. Timrod won a following for his work through publication in *Russell’s Magazine* and is often considered the poet laureate of the Confederacy despite his mixed African and European ancestry. A romantic, formal poet, Timrod explored themes of southern nationalism as the Civil War approached.

This particular ode celebrates the birth of the Confederate government, opening with the line: “Hath not the morning dawned with added light?” Timrod continued to exult, “At last we are a nation among nations,” then explored the rectitude of the Southern cause before he mused on the bright future that awaited the Confederate States.

This particular copy of the Timrod broadside was taken from the personal effects of a Private David E. Pendleton, a member of Company A, Seventh Regiment, Virginia Cavalry, who was captured at Reams Station on 25 August 1864 and then exchanged as part of prisoner

release on 15 February 1865. **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. Kenneth L. Childs, Mr. & Mrs. Flynn T. Harrell, Mrs. George C. Hart, Mrs. Walter Earle Hayden, Dr. Paul A. Horne, Jr., Mr. Ben F. Hornsby, Jr., Mr. Kenneth E. Love, Mr. Constantine Manos, Mrs. William Francis Marion, Mr. Sam E. McCuen, Mr. Dean E. Owens, Miss Melba Shealy, Mr. Alan Thigpen, Mrs. Amelia Wallace Vernon, and Dr. & Mrs. Gaillard F.S. Waterfall.**

SELECTED LIST OF PRINTED SOUTH CAROLINIANA

Thomas Clarkson, *Grito de los Africanos contra los Euopeos, sus Opresores ó sea Rápida Ojeda sobre el Comercio Homicidia llamdo, Tráfico de Negros [The Cries of Africa to the Inhabitants of Europe, or, a Survey of that Bloody Commerce Called the Slave-Trade]* (Barcelona, 1825). **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

Joseph Cross, *Camp and Field: Papers from the Portfolio of an Army Chaplain* (Columbia, 1864). **Acquired with dues contribution of Ms. Beth Crawford, Dr. Suzanne Hurley and Dr. Jack Hurley, Dr. & Mrs. S. Robert Lathan, and Mr. & Mrs. George E. Linder III.**

Graham's Lady's and Gentleman's Magazine, volumes 18 and 19 (Philadelphia, 1841). **Acquired through the Robert I. and Swannanoa Kenney Phillips Libraries Endowment.**

Archibald Rutledge, *The Egret's Plumes* (Columbia, 2016). **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. James E. Elliott, Ms. Harriet Leanne Griffith, and Mr. Horace E. Harmon, Jr.**

Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, *An Account of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Established by the Royal Charter of King William III with their Proceedings and Success, And Hopes of Continual Progress Under the Happy Reign of Her Most Excellent Majesty Queen Anne* (London, 1706). **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. & Mrs. Weston Adams, Dr. & Mrs. William Walker Burns, Mrs. Merlene H. Byars, Mr. & Mrs. Joseph Russell Cross, Jr., Mr. Julian Brewer Culvern, Mr. Charles Denton, Dr. Cole Blease Graham, Jr., Mr. John C. Hall, Dr. & Mrs. Edward W. Haselden, Jr., Mrs. Lillian Bollin Lawrence, Dr. & Mrs. Joab M. Lesesne, Jr., Mrs. Elizabeth B. Moseley, Ms. Catherine Palmer, The Honorable Rodney A. Peeples, Mr. & Mrs. William L. Pope, Ms. Mimi Sansbury, Mrs. G. Anne Sheriff, and Dr. & Mrs. Frank J. Wyman.**

William Walker, *Southern Harmony and Musical Companion* (Philadelphia, 1854). **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. & Mrs. Jack W. McKittrick.**

PICTORIAL SOUTH CAROLINIANA

Pastel portrait, circa 1840s, of a child with a coral necklace painted by Julia Clarkson Dupre of Charleston. The pastel painting in a gilded oval frame is of a young child wearing a dress with lace collar and pulling on a coral necklace. The child is possibly Sally Coward. Dupre was an artist and musician, active 1830–1860; she studied in Paris, operated a school in Charleston, and married miniaturist Henry Brintnell Bounetheau in 1844. The family sought refuge in Aiken during the Civil War but later returned to Charleston. **Acquired with dues contributions of Ms. Nancy V.A. Cooper and Dr. John C. England.**

Daguerreotype, circa 1851, of Sarah Walter of Columbia by Leigh, Tucker and Perkins (1850–1853), Augusta, Georgia. The sixth-plate photograph shows a woman in a bonnet, seated and holding a book, with a purse on her forearm and her other elbow resting on a table.

John Leigh worked in Abbeville in 1849 and Edgefield in 1850. In 1851 he joined with Isaac Tucker and J.W. Perkins in Augusta. Returning to Edgefield often, Leigh opened a store in 1856 as a base for his itinerant operations. Leigh worked with other photographers in South Carolina, among them Lyon in Laurens and Chalmers in Edgefield.

Isaac Tucker began his photographic career in Augusta with his partnership with Leigh and Perkins. Tucker bought out the firm in 1853. He worked also in Columbia in 1854, taking over the gallery after the death of Solon Jenkins, Jr., and bringing in John Usher, Jr., to run it. Tucker returned to Georgia, appearing in Augusta and Athens from 1860 to 1870.

J.W. Perkins moved from Connecticut to Georgia and joined with Leigh and Tucker to establish a large photographic business that also supplied photographers in Georgia and South Carolina with equipment and chemicals. He worked around Georgia after 1853 and may have returned to Connecticut in 1856. **Acquired through the Rebecca R. Hollingsworth South Caroliniana Library Endowment Fund.**

Miniature portrait, 1858, of Charles Heyward Manigault (1826–1856) by Henry Brintnell Bounetheau (1797–1877) of Charleston was painted on ivory, from a daguerreotype, and is housed in a leather half-plate case. Manigault, shown facing the front with a full beard and watch chain and fob on his vest, was the son of Charles Izard Manigault (1795–1874) and Elizabeth Manigault Heyward Manigault (1808–1877). **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. Charles L. Dibble, Mrs. Frances R. Jeffcoat, Ms. Joyce Plyler and Mr. Mark Horoschak, Dr. Ann Russell and Mr. Brad Russell, and Dr. Allen H. Stokes, Jr.**

Lithograph, 1861, "Secession Exploded," is a satirical vision of Union defeat of Confederate forces depicted by Uncle Sam lighting a giant cannon pointed at a monster from whose mouth demons (seceding states) are flying; General Winfield Scott and a bald eagle are rising a United States flag like a carpet. South Carolina is represented prominently as a coffin. Tennessee, Kentucky, and Virginia are represented by two-faced bodies, showing the internal division over secession in those states. John Bell, 1860 presidential candidate, has a bell-shaped body and is floating with the demons. **Acquired through the William A. Foran Memorial Fund.**

Lithograph, circa 1862, "U.S. Steamer 'Planter,' 300 Tons," by W.H. Rease, Philadelphia. The caption below the image reads: "Carrying supplies from Folly Island to Morris Island, under fire from the Rebel Battery at Secessionville, when she was deserted by her Captain and brought safely through by Pilot Robert Smalls, for which act he was promoted Captain. This is the same vessel captured and brought out of Charleston Harbor, by Pilot Smalls, with a crew of Eight men and His family—May 13th, 1862." The lithograph shows the steamer heading up river while shots land in the water. Secessionville is in the distance.

Robert Smalls (1839–1915) of Beaufort, South Carolina, was a slave and the pilot of the transport ship C.S.S. *Planter*. He took his family and eight others through the blockade and surrendered the boat to the United States fleet in 1862. Smalls later served in the South Carolina House of Representatives (1868–1870), South Carolina Senate (1870–1875), and in the United States House of Representatives (1875–1879, 1882–1883, and 1884–1887). He founded the Republican Party of South Carolina and worked to establish free and compulsory public schools in the state. Smalls was one of the organizers of the Enterprise Railroad in Charleston. **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

Photograph, circa 1870, of Benjamin R. Tillman (1847–1918), by C.M. Bell, Washington, D.C. Tillman is standing and looking where his left hand is pointing, while his right hand holds a roll of paper. Tillman was Governor (1890–1894) and United States Senator (1895–1918). **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. James H. Addison and Mr. & Mrs. Thomas H. Pope.**

Lithograph, 1875, *Clasping Hands Across the Bloody Chasm: love and tears for the blue, pity and tears for the gray*, a centennial souvenir produced by Robt. & Geo. R. Brine Clothiers, Boston. The print combines the Revolutionary War and the Civil War. First used by Liberal Republican and Democratic presidential nominee Horace Greeley in 1872, the slogan “clasping hands across the bloody chasm” continued to be used for several years. This print shows the reunion of Civil War soldiers, with a Massachusetts soldier and a South Carolina soldier, their hands held by a seated Lady Liberty. Shields in the upper corners commemorate the Battle of Bunker Hill, with dates June 17, 1775, and June 17, 1875, and Boston is pictured in the background. **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. W. Jefferson Bryson, the Reverend Dr. & Mrs. James H. Nichols, and Dr. Wade H. Sherard III.**

Fifty-eight photographs, circa 1880s–1930s, of the Richard family of Columbia relate specifically to John Elie Richard, Jr. (1864–1938), his first wife, Emilie Estelle Cooper Richard (1868–1911), and their sons, Harry Elie Richard (1889–1941), William Albert Richard (1893–1976), and Malcolm Mason Richard (1902–1969). John and Emily Richard had six children, five of whom survived childhood.

John Richard was the first automobile dealer in the South, according to his obituary, selling from his shop beside his home on Pickens Street as early as 1903. He then became superintendent of the Palmetto Ice Company. There are photographs of John and son Malcolm with a 1905 Oldsmobile on Pickens Street. John also appears to have been an avid cyclist, as shown in a cabinet photograph of John and Fred Germany with their bicycles after a trip to the North Carolina mountains in 1893.

He and William Mixon owned a bicycle repair shop in the 1890s, with John taking over operation of the business in the early 1900s.

Many of the other photographs relate to Harry Richard's career as a stock car "mechanician" and his participation in several races in the early 1900s. Harry rode with William Knipper in a Chalmers at the 1909 Vanderbilt Cup Race and the Cobe Trophy Race. He rode with Bert Dingley in a Pope at the 1905 Vanderbilt Cup Race and in a Chalmers at the 1909 Fairmont Park Race. Other photographs show Harry testing cars near the Packard plant in Detroit.

Columbia photographers represented in the collection include Columbia Photo Studio, Hennie's Studio, Hollands Studio, Howie Studio, Lindler Studio, Radcliffe's Studio, William A. Reckling, Sargeant Studio, and Toal's Studio. **Gift of Mr. & Mrs. George Chamblee Williams.**

Crayon portrait, circa 1915, of brothers Vernon Dixon "Dick" Sikes (or possibly Charles Culpepper Sikes), Vann Sikes, and Enoch Walter Sikes standing outside of a house. The brothers were three of the ten children of John Cuthbertson Sikes (1836–1906) and Matilda Jane Sikes (1839–1909) of Union County, North Carolina. Vernon Dixon (1873–1948) was mayor of Monroe, North Carolina, and Vann (1875–1923) was a planter in the Monroe area.

Enoch (1868–1941) married Ruth Wingate (1875–1959) in 1900, and they had two children. Sikes graduated from Wake Forest College and Johns Hopkins University. He taught history and political science at Wake Forest, rising to the position of dean. In 1916, Dr. Sikes became

president of Coker College in Hartsville. He held that position until becoming president of Clemson College in 1925. Sikes retired from Clemson in 1940 and died unexpectedly in January 1941. He was so respected that the South Carolina legislature adjourned and declared a day of mourning. Over 2,000 attended his funeral in Clemson. The administration building Sikes Hall, bears his name. **Gift of Mr. Robert A. Ragan.**

Ten photographs, circa 1940s, of John McDowell and Sally Dixon McDowell were taken by street photographers on a city sidewalk, probably on Main Street, Columbia, South Carolina, near Carolina Shoe Rebuilders, Walgreen Drug Store, and Burns Shoes. Sally, a school teacher, married John, a rural mail carrier, around the time that the photographs were taken. Both were from Blackstock, South Carolina. **Gift of Mr. Brent Breedin.**

One linear foot of negatives, slides, and film, circa 1940s–1970s, of the Rockton and Rion Railroad, created and collected by Ben Roberts. The images show engines, rolling stock, and rail in Fairfield County, South Carolina, as well as a few images from other railroads. The line began at Rockton from a connection with Southern Railway and ran to Rion and the Anderson Quarry. From completion in 1897 until 1978, the line carried blue granite for the Winnsboro Granite Company. Today, the South Carolina Railroad Museum operates five of the original twelve miles.

This collection was once part of a larger collection of Southern Railway images, sound, and film belonging to Ben Roberts. The Library acquired most of the South Carolina images in 2009. Roberts worked as a pipe

fitter for Southern Railway, 1939–1956, and then for the Air Force in building maintenance. **Gift of the South Carolina Railroad Museum.**

Two postcards, circa 1950s, of Folly Beach, South Carolina, one showing Folly Pier with a large Coca Cola sign on the roof and people on the beach, and the other, “Palm Lined Boulevard Entrance to Folly Beach,” picturing a straight concrete road through marsh. **Acquired with dues contributions of Dr. Patricia Senn Breivik and Dr. & Mrs. Carl A. White.**

Oil portrait, undated, of Sophia Watson Boatwright (1814–1890), painted by William Harrison Scarborough. Posed sitting on a red chair with her left shoulder forward, she is looking straight at the viewer and is wearing a dark dress with a small lace collar held by a brooch. Sophia was the daughter of Elijah and Chloe Wimberly Watson of Ridge Spring, South Carolina. She married planter Burrell Thomas Boatwright and lived in Ridge Spring. The couple had seven children. **Gift of the family of Mr. Mark Toney Boatwright through Mrs. Elizabeth Boatwright Darnall.**

Daguerreotype, undated, of Charleston physician Joshua Barker Whitridge (1789–1865), by an unknown photographer. The faint photograph shows Whitridge, his elbow on a book and his head resting on his hand, while holding paper in the other hand. Whitridge’s second cousin, Worthington Whitridge, may have taken the photograph, as he worked as a painter and daguerreotypist.

Whitridge was a native of Rhode Island, graduated from Union College in 1811, and earned his medical degree from Harvard in 1815. During

the War of 1812, he served in the regular army. Dr. Whitridge settled in Charleston, South Carolina, by December 1815 and practiced medicine there until March 1846. In retirement, he lived as a planter on his cotton plantation called Rose-Bank on Wadmalaw Island, South Carolina, which he inherited from his first wife, Sarah Bailey McLeod (1798–1845). He married second Caroline Hammond (1818–1905).

Dr. Whitridge served twice as president of the Medical Society of South Carolina and held a leadership role at the Medical College of South Carolina. He died in Greenville, South Carolina, having sent his family to Boston and leaving his plantation after its confiscation by Union troops in 1861.

From the collection of Rebecca Norris. **Acquired through the Rebecca R. Hollingsworth South Caroliniana Library Endowment Fund.**

Other gifts of South Caroliniana were made to the Library by the following members: Mr. Sigmund Abeles, Mrs. Cordelia Apicella, Mr. Richard B. Alexander, Mr. Steve Armfield, Dr. George F. Bass, Mrs. Ivey Nexsen Bouknight, Mrs. Joyce M. Bowden, Dr. Ronald E. Bridwell, Mrs. Jane Gilland McCutchen Brown, Mrs. Homer Legare Calhoun, Dr. Rose Marie Cooper, Dr. Tom Crosby, Mr. Joseph A. De Laine, Jr., The Right Reverend & Mrs. Charles F. Duvall, Mrs. Gayle Edwards, Mrs. Patricia Foster, Dr. Benjamin Franklin V, Mr. Henry G. Fulmer, Mrs. Sarah Calhoun Gillespie, Dr. Ophelia De Laine Gona, Mr. Brent H. Holcomb, The Honorable Michelle Manigault Hurley, Dr. Thomas L. Johnson, Mr. C. Robert Jones, Ms. Nell Joslin, Dr. James E. Kibler, Jr., Lista's Studio of Photography, Mrs. Harriet S. Little, Mrs. Sarah Graydon McCrory, Mrs. Patricia G. McNeely, Mr. M. Hayes Mizell, Ms. Sheila Morris, Mr. Julian J.

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Life Memberships and other contributions to the Society's Endowment Fund were received from the Lucy Hampton Bostick Residuary Trust, Dr. & Mrs. William Walker Burns, The Honorable Mark W. Buyck, Jr., Mrs. Dianne T. Culbertson, Mrs. Jane Crayton Davis, Mr. Millen Ellis, Mr. Henry G. Fulmer, Mr. & Mrs. Gaston Gage, Mr. Wyndham M. Manning III, Mr. M. Hayes Mizell, Miss Louise Pettus, Ms. Joyce Plyler and Mr. Mark Horoschak, Ms. Catherine Sease, Dr. Allen H. Stokes, Jr., Taylor Foundation of Newberry, Inc., and Dr. & Mrs. Tom E. Terrill.

**ENDOWMENTS AND FUNDS TO BENEFIT
THE SOUTH CAROLINIANA LIBRARY**

The Robert and May Ackerman Library Endowment provides for the acquisition of materials to benefit the South Caroliniana Library, including manuscripts, printed materials, and visual images.

The Deward B. and Sloan H. Brittain Endowment for the South Caroliniana Library provides support for the acquisition of manuscript and published material of permanent historic interest, the preservation of the collection, internships and assistantships allowing students to gain archival experience working with the collections, the professional development of the staff, and outreach to excite interest in research in the collection via exhibits, publications, and other areas.

The Elizabeth Boatwright Coker Graduate Assistant at South Caroliniana Library Fund honors the noted author who established this assistantship to encourage and enable graduate history students to advance their professional research skills.

The Edwin Haselden Cooper Director's Fund at the South Caroliniana Library provides support to be expended at the Library Director's discretion.

The Orin F. Crow South Caroliniana Library Endowment honors the memory of Dr. Crow, a former University of South Carolina student, professor, Dean of the School of Education, and Dean of the Faculty. This endowment was established in 1998 by Mary and Dick Anderson, Dr. Crow's daughter and son-in-law.

The Jane Crayton Davis Preservation Endowment for South Caroliniana Library has been created to help fund the preservation of the irreplaceable materials at the South Caroliniana Library. As a former

president of the University South Caroliniana Society, Mrs. Davis is keenly aware of the need for a central repository for historical materials and of the ongoing obligation of the Library to maintain the integrity of its collections.

The William Foran Memorial Fund honors this revered University of South Carolina history professor and funds the acquisition of significant materials relating to the Civil War and Reconstruction, areas of particular interest to Professor Foran.

The Rebecca R. Hollingsworth South Caroliniana Library Endowment Fund provides support for the acquisition of daguerreotypes, ambrotypes, ferrotypes, and albumen prints (circa 1840–1880) for the Visual Materials Division at the South Caroliniana Library. This support will also be available to provide for processing, cataloging, digitizing, exhibiting, outreach, and conservation for the Visual Materials Divisions as well as student assistants to work with these efforts. These funds will also support an annual display at the University South Caroliniana Society's Annual Meeting.

The Arthur Elliott Holman, Jr., Acquisition and Preservation Endowment was established in honor of Mr. Holman on 19 August 1996, his eightieth birthday, by his son, Elliott Holman III, to strengthen and preserve holdings in areas of Mr. Holman's interests, such as the Episcopal church, music and the arts, Anderson County, and other aspects of South Carolina history.

The Arthur E. Holman, Jr., Conservation Laboratory Endowment Fund provides support for the ongoing operation of the conservation laboratory, for funding graduate assistantships and other student workers, and for equipment and supplies and other related needs.

The John C Hungerpiller Library Research Fund was established

by his daughter Gladys Hungerpiller Ingram and supports research on and preservation of the Hungerpiller papers and acquisition of materials for the South Caroliniana Library.

The Katharine Otis and Bruce Oswald Hunt Biography Collection Library Endowment provides for the purchase of biographical materials benefitting the South Caroliniana and Thomas Cooper Libraries' special, reference, and general collections and the Film Library.

The Lewis P. Jones Research Fellowship in South Carolina History honors Dr. Jones, esteemed professor emeritus at Wofford College, by funding a summer fellowship for a scholar conducting serious inquiry into the state's history.

The J.A. Kay South Caroliniana Library Intern Endowment Fund provides support for internship(s) for graduate or undergraduate students in an appropriate discipline to work with rare and unique research materials and learn state-of-the-art conservation techniques and other professional library skills. The award will be presented as funds are available for a student to work in the South Caroliniana Library.

The Lumpkin Foyer Endowment Fund at the South Caroliniana Library provides support for enhancements and maintenance of the Lumpkin Foyer as well as unrestricted support for the Library.

The Governor Thomas Gordon McLeod and First Lady Elizabeth Alford McLeod Research Fellowship Endowment Fund was established in 2001 and provides support for a research fellowship at the South Caroliniana Library to encourage the study of post-Civil War politics, government and society, with an emphasis on South Carolina history. This endowment was established by the family of Governor and Mrs. McLeod in recognition of their contributions to the Palmetto State.

The William Davis Melton University Archives Graduate

Assistantship at the South Caroliniana Library benefits University Archives by providing graduate students with invaluable experience while promoting the care, use, and development of the University's historical collections, with particular focus on oral histories. The endowment was established by Caroline Bristow Marchant, Walter James Bristow, Jr., and William Melton Bristow in memory of their grandfather, president of the University of South Carolina from 1922 to 1926. An additional gift of property from General and Mrs. T. Eston Marchant fully funded the endowment.

The Robert L. and Margaret B. Meriwether South Caroliniana Library Fund will support the South Caroliniana Library in memory of Library founder, Robert L. Meriwether, and his wife and colleague, Margaret B. Meriwether, who also worked on behalf of the Library. The fund was created to receive gifts in memory of their son, Dr. James B. Meriwether, who died 18 March 2007.

The John Hammond Moore Library Acquisitions and Conservation Endowment Fund established in honor of Dr. Moore provides support for acquisition of new materials and conservation of existing holdings at the South Caroliniana Library.

The Lanny and Sidney Palmer Endowment Fund at the South Caroliniana Library provides support for the Lanny and Sidney Palmer Cultural Arts Collection and related collections. Funds can be used for processing, preservation, programming, and publications as well as for materials and staff to support increased use of and access to the collections.

The Robert I. and Swannanoa Kenney Phillips Libraries Endowment was established in 1998 by their son, Dr. Robert K. Phillips, to honor his parents and his family's commitment to generations of support

of the University of South Carolina. It provides for acquisitions and preservation of materials in the South Caroliniana Library and the Thomas Cooper Library. Priority is given to literature representing the various majority and minority cultures of Britain and America to support undergraduate studies.

The Nancy Pope Rice and Nancy Rice Davis Library Treasure Endowment has been established to strengthen the ability of the Dean of Libraries to make special and significant acquisitions in a timely fashion for the University of South Carolina libraries. These funds allow the Dean to purchase books and manuscripts to enhance the special collections held by South Caroliniana Library and Thomas Cooper Library.

The Hemrick N. Salley Family Endowment Fund for the South Caroliniana Library was established to provide support for the care and preservation of the South Caroliniana Library.

The John Govan Simms Memorial Endowment to Support the William Gilmore Simms Collections at South Caroliniana Library provides support for the Library to maintain its preeminent position as the leading and most extensive repository of original source materials for the research, analysis, and study of William Gilmore Simms and his position as the leading man of letters in the antebellum South.

The William Gilmore Simms Visiting Research Professorship, established by Simms' granddaughter Mary C. Simms Oliphant and continued by his great-granddaughter Mrs. Alester G. Furman III and other family members, recognizes and honors the noted nineteenth-century American literary giant.

The Ellison Durant Smith Research Award for the South

Caroliniana Library was endowed through a gift from the estate of Harold McCallum McLeod, a native of Timmonsville, Wofford College graduate, and veteran of World War II. This fund was established in 2000 to support research at the South Caroliniana Library on government, politics, and society since 1900 and to pay tribute to “Cotton Ed” Smith (1864–1944), a dedicated United States Senator from 1909 to 1944.

The Donna I. Sorensen Endowment Fund for Southern Women in the Arts provides for the acquisition of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and other materials covering fine arts, music, literature, performing arts, and the decorative arts to enhance the Library’s collections pertaining to Southern women. Such support will document women’s contributions to the state, the American South, and the nation.

The South Caroliniana Library Alcove Endowment Fund provides support for the renovation and maintenance of the Library.

The South Caroliniana Library Fund is a discretionary fund used for greatest needs.

The South Caroliniana Library Oral History Endowment Fund supports the activities and programs of the Oral History Program, including equipment, supplies, staff, student training, and publications as administered by the South Caroliniana Library.

The South Caroliniana Library Portrait Conservation Endowment Fund provides support for ongoing and future conservation needs of the Library’s priceless portrait collection. Proceeds from these funds will be expended first to address the greatest needs of the collection and for ongoing and future needs.

The Southern Heritage Endowment Fund supports and encourages innovative work at South Caroliniana Library and at McKissick Museum.

The Allen Stokes Manuscript Development Fund at South Caroliniana Library established in honor of Dr. Stokes provides for the acquisition of new materials and the preservation of collection materials housed in the Manuscripts Division at the South Caroliniana Library.

The War Years Library Acquisition Endowment Fund is used to purchase regional and state materials from the World War II era, individual unit histories, and other materials related to World War II.

The Louise Irwin Woods Fund provides for internships, fellowships, graduate assistantships, stipends, program support, preservation and/or acquisitions at the South Caroliniana Library.

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Members of the Carolina Guardian Society share a commitment to the future of the University of South Carolina, demonstrating their dedication and support by including the University in their estate plans. Through their gifts and commitment, they provide an opportunity for a future even greater than Carolina's founders envisioned two hundred years ago. Membership is offered to all who have made a planned or deferred gift commitment to the University.

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MR. THOMAS F. MCNALLY

Dean of Libraries