

4-28-2018

*Caroliniana Society Annual Gifts Report - 2018 (216
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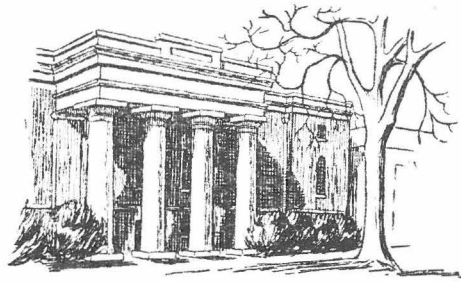
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University South Caroliniana Society. (2018). "2018 Caroliniana Society Annual Gifts Report." Columbia, SC: The Society.

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The
South Carolina
College Library
1840



The
South Caroliniana
Library
1940

THE UNIVERSITY SOUTH CAROLINIANA SOCIETY

EIGHTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA
Saturday, April 28, 2018
Mr. Wilmot B. Irvin, *President*, Presiding

Luncheon 12:00 p.m.
Capstone Campus Room

Business Meeting
Welcome
Reports of the Executive Council Mr. Wilmot B. Irvin

Address Dr. Barbara L. Bellows

2018 Report of Gifts to the Library by Members of the Society

*Announced at the 82nd Meeting of the
University South Caroliniana Society (the Friends of the Library)
Annual Program
28 April 2018*

- **World War I: A Century Later** – 2017 Keynote Address - Mr. A. Scott Berg
- 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
1987–1990	Flynn T. Harrell
1990–1993	Walton J. McLeod III
1993–1996	Jane C. Davis
1996–1999	Harvey S. Teal
1999–2000	Harry M. Lightsey, Jr.
2001	Ronald E. Bridwell
2002–2005	John B. McLeod
2005–2008	Steve Griffith
2008–2011	Robert K. Ackerman
2011–2017	Kenneth L. Childs
2017–	Wilmot B. Irvin

WORLD WAR I: A CENTURY LATER
81ST ANNUAL MEETING ADDRESS

ADDRESS BY MR. A. SCOTT BERG
(Presented 22 April 2017)

It is a genuine pleasure being back in Columbia, where I addressed some of you a few years ago on the subject of favorite son Woodrow Wilson. This afternoon, I will talk about the most crucial event in his life and, in many ways, the most important but least known event of the last century—World War I.

For the last two or three years, every country in Europe has been commemorating this catastrophe, while here in the United States, there has been virtually no conversation on the subject, despite our nation's entering the war exactly one hundred years ago this month. For Americans, I'm sorry to say, the First World War has become an almost forgotten incident; and I find that neglect historically criminal.

Wars are game-changers—each with milestones that mark turning points in history. World War I has left the United States the most lasting legacy of all the wars in modern times—more reminders than any event in the last century, changes that affect our very identity—who we are as a nation. And yet, it steadily recedes in the public memory. I will take these next few minutes as an opportunity to recollect our past as we reconsider the present.

In order to appreciate the impact of this great cataclysm, it bears my recalling a few significant points about Woodrow Wilson, who was not only the most commanding voice of the age but also, in my opinion, the most influential figure of the Twentieth Century. Beyond the fact that I consider his the most dramatic personal story ever to unfold in the White

House, his influence continues to be felt in this country and around the world to this day. In order to understand the ways in which his influence flowered, it would help to consider his roots, not least of all those in this city's soil.

Above all, one needs to know that Woodrow Wilson was the most religious president this country has ever had. Now, I know we have had a lot of presidents who were religious—usually about once every four years, when they got *very* religious. Woodrow Wilson was religious every moment of his life. This was a man who got on his knees twice a day to pray, who read Scripture every night, and who said grace before every meal. Every thought, every deed, every word Woodrow Wilson ever spoke was informed by his religion. As many of you in this city know, he was descended from generations of Presbyterian ministers; and if you ever have any question about how his religion came to him, go to his boyhood house here in Columbia and then step into the glorious First Presbyterian Church nearby. Sitting in a pew up front, one can easily imagine the sermons delivered in his father's booming voice and how a boy would think he was listening to the voice of God.

The second thing to remember about Wilson is that after the Civil War, he was the first Southerner to be elected President of the United States. This was a monumentally historic fact, because, until that election in 1912, it appeared as though the United States of America might never be truly reunited. The country began coming together because of the Southernness of Woodrow Wilson—something often overlooked or simply forgotten:

Woodrow Wilson was born in Staunton, Virginia, in 1856, and was raised in Augusta, Georgia, and then here in Columbia. He spent about a year in Wilmington, before going to Davidson College in North Carolina. Not until he went to Princeton, New Jersey, for his four undergraduate

years, did he leave the South, toting its history and lore with him.

Wilson's first memory—one he talked about for the rest of his life—lingered from when he was three and a half and living in Augusta, in November of 1860: he heard somebody say, "Lincoln just won the election. There's going to be a war." Young Woodrow Wilson—called "Tommy" in those days—carried that memory with him for the rest of his life. Beyond that, he remembered the war in Augusta and how it had struck his family. He remembered the devastation, the deprivation, and, ultimately, the degradation of that war as the Wilsons moved to Columbia (S.C.).

He remembered Reconstruction, which troubled him deeply, recognizing that the era was fraught with corruption and that many of the governmental institutions had become a mockery. Thus, this period—especially his years in Georgia and South Carolina—shaped Woodrow Wilson; and how could they not? He never shook his bitter memories of the war, all of which were haunting enough to make him fight with every fiber to keep his country out of the First World War, as you will soon hear. Woodrow Wilson, you should remember, is the only President of the United States to have grown up in a country that lost a war—the Confederate States of America; and like several succeeding generations of Southerners, he carried those psychic wounds.

The third major point to remember about Wilson is that he still stands as the most educated president the nation has ever produced. After his false start at Davidson, he attended Princeton where he proved to be a tireless and brilliant scholar. He read law at the University of Virginia and then attempted a legal career in Atlanta, at which he proved to be quite terrible. Actually, that's unfair—he probably would have been good at practicing law, had he only been able to procure any clients. Actually, that's not quite true either: he did have one client—his mother, who came

to him with a real estate matter. Needing some deeds sorted out, she hired her son, as any good mother would. But he soon realized he wanted to pursue his passion, and that was academia.

At age twenty-six, Woodrow Wilson went back to school—to Johns Hopkins University, which boasted one of the finest graduate programs in America at that time. Wilson began his studies in a new field, something we now call Political Science, and became one of the first political scientists in this country. As a result of his studies, he would write almost a dozen books, including a biography of George Washington. He wrote hundreds of articles. He was a constitutional scholar, methodically studying the governments of every country in the world since the recording of history. So—by the time this man reached the White House, he was fully versed in government, law, and American history: he understood the profession he was about to practice better than anybody who had ever preceded him in office or who has followed.

And I should add that until our current President, Woodrow Wilson enjoyed the most meteoric rise in American history. After many years as a college professor—first at Bryn Mawr College and then at Wesleyan College and finally at Princeton—he became the thirteenth president of Princeton University. In October of 1910, he was still the president of this small men’s college in the middle of New Jersey; and in November of 1912, he was elected President of the United States. In between he served as the governor of New Jersey, successfully realizing an extremely progressive agenda. Theretofore known as little more than a public intellectual from the Northeast, he rapidly ascended from virtual political obscurity.

Once in the White House, Wilson worked just as energetically as he had in Trenton, driving an ambitious domestic agenda with great speed. He immediately set about forwarding many great progressive ideas,

including a revamping of the American economy, starting with the creation of the Federal Reserve System. Numerous bold programs in the realms of trade, labor standards, and anti-trust laws followed.

But within fifteen months of his moving into the White House, the Great War broke out in Europe, pitting Germany and Austria-Hungary against Great Britain, France, and Russia, and putting the entire world on alert—that chaos lay ahead. President Wilson asserted that the United States must remain neutral—even in thought. Over the next few years, the conflagration spread, affecting everything in this country, as it would ultimately change virtually everything everywhere.

On May 7, 1915, the Germans torpedoed the *Lusitania*, a British luxury liner, taking the lives of some 1200 souls, 128 of them American. This action ignited the neutral nation's first major conversation about its role in this war, one of the great defining debates in its history. Former President Theodore Roosevelt became the loudest voice to urge America's immediate entry into the battle; Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan insisted we must do everything we could to stay out and that we should even be more lenient with Germany, which Great Britain was blockading.

Wilson needed nobody else's opinion. Despite his own private Anglophilia, he continued to argue against choosing sides in the war. He told his nation of immigrants, "No matter where you come from, you're all Americans now, and we must now all be thinking of our neutrality." In fact, he coined a phrase during this period which we're now hearing again—as we heard it just before World War II: "America First."

Today that connotes our dominating in world affairs and of our always thinking of our nation's needs above those of all others—of being winners; in 1940 it was used to name a movement committed to nonintervention, to our avoiding the war in Europe and defending our

national borders while the European nations fought amongst themselves. Wilson's use of the term meant something altogether different: "We must think of our country before anything we do," he said. "Before our jobs, before our family. We must be thinking of America first. We must—that's the way we can prove our Americanness and our goodness in this world." In essence he was putting country before any personal gain. As he was saying this, he was already conjuring a plan that might ultimately put the United States out front in the world with a selfless vision for its future.

As the isolationist United States of 1914 sat comfortably protected by oceans on each side, Wilson was far-sighted enough to pay attention to the fact that four major dynasties were in the process of collapsing: the Hohenzollerns in Germany; the Habsburgs in Austria-Hungary; the Romanovs in Russia; and the Ottomans in and around Turkey. These huge crumbling empires covered great masses of the globe; and no matter which powers emerged victorious, vast territories would be up for grabs. Wilson was beginning to think about the limitlessness of promoting American values and that it was perhaps inevitable that his country would become involved. New challenges arose daily:

One of the first involved American ships transporting passengers and products overseas. In January of 1917, shortly after his re-election, there arose what was called the Armed Ship Bill, which Wilson wanted passed and which then faced defeat at the hands of a successful Senate filibuster. This so infuriated Woodrow Wilson, he insisted upon a change in the rules in the United States Senate. He believed in debate; but he would not stand for a "little group of willful men, representing no opinion but their own...[rendering] the great government of the United States helpless and contemptible." A quaint tradition, he thought of the filibuster, but one that had to change. And it did, as the upper house of Congress adopted a rule of "cloture."

Wilson eked out re-election in November, 1916, largely because—as his campaign slogan said—“He kept us out of war.” But by early 1917, the Germans continued to torpedo ships and take American lives. The Germans did not faithfully respond to any of Wilson’s diplomatic entreaties, which forced the President to consider drastic measures.

And then the Zimmermann Telegram surfaced, a communiqué from Germany that suggested to Mexico that if it entered the war against the United States, a victorious Germany would reward its new ally with its old territory—California, Texas, and other parts of the Southwest. This was the last straw for Woodrow Wilson.

One month after his second inauguration in March, 1917, Woodrow Wilson called a joint session of Congress and delivered what I consider the most important foreign policy speech in American history, certainly in the last century. Embedded within that speech on April 2, 1917, were eight words that forever changed America’s very identity: “The world must be made safe for Democracy.”

Practically all American foreign policy for the last hundred years has been based upon that concept. Almost every incursion—whether it’s been Korea or Vietnam, whether it’s Syria or Iraq—goes back to this Wilsonian notion. Sometimes succeeding presidents have used these words, and sometimes they have abused these words to defend their actions. Whatever the case, whether the United States is spreading democracy, nation-building, or just policing the world, these policies begin with Woodrow Wilson and World War I.

Those eight words marked the first time a president had introduced a moral component to American foreign policy. Our strategy was no longer one of striking back when struck. Wilson formulated this policy when the United States was sitting in splendid isolation far from the battlefields. His army had fewer than 150,000 soldiers, ranking 17th in the world,

somewhere between Serbia and Portugal; and with that, Wilson was suggesting that there are sometimes philosophical reasons to fight. He asked Americans to consider its growing wealth and its great agricultural strength, and if the nation did not have to act. Could Americans read in the newspaper about Belgium being trampled and starved to death and then do nothing? Didn't this bountiful country have to send food, at least? Shouldn't we be taking military action against what were clearly atrocities? Despite this isolationist country having thrived so long by avoiding foreign entanglements, the United States voted resoundingly to go to war. And in that moment, the sleeping giant rose and shone, ultimately emerging from battle as the first modern superpower.

With that great awakening, the United States found more than its new place in the world, as its national character had changed in radical ways. And most of those identifying traits have remained for the last century. Consider the following:

A few years ago, author and broadcaster Glenn Beck compiled a list of the ten worst people in history, and Woodrow Wilson topped his list. (Adolph Hitler sat in the middle of the pack, along with Pontius Pilate.) Beck's basic argument, I believe, was that President Wilson's leading the United States into the war required a massive overhaul of the way the nation functioned, one that demanded that its government expand to an unprecedented degree. Overnight, the country had an alphabet soup of federal agencies, commissions, and boards everywhere—thousands of them. Woodrow Wilson brought dozens of the biggest men in business to Washington—including the likes of Bernard Baruch, who headed the War Trade Board. While the phrase had not yet been coined, this moment marked the beginning of what we now call the Military-Industrial Complex.

The American economy changed drastically. In his first years as President, Wilson not only introduced the Federal Reserve but he also

lowered tariffs and introduced a new tax system. He did not invent the income tax, but he certainly changed it—introducing surtaxes at a level no American had ever seen. Before the war, the income tax in the United States was generally 1% on \$3000 worth of income; and it might rise to 2% on the thousands beyond that. Wilson introduced war profits taxes, some of which soared as high as 67 percent. Such drastic moves were necessary to offset a federal deficit that suddenly rose from \$1 billion to \$9 billion.

More than economic numbers soared. The army of 130,000 would swell within a year to two million soldiers and would double the year after that. And they all had to be transported across an ocean by a navy. With this rapid military growth came escalated costs—which Wilson chose to defray by floating war bonds.

Hollywood was in its infancy during the First World War, and a number of its demigods responded to Wilson's bugle call to help raise support for these bonds. Charlie Chaplin, Douglas Fairbanks, and Mary Pickford enlisted to speak at rallies, as did the popular cowboy star William S. Hart. This action marked the first time members of the Washington and Hollywood communities joined forces, thereby enhancing the reputation of both "industries."

The successful bond drive also led Wilson to devise something we now call a "debt ceiling." Because he needed Congressional permission every time he wanted to float a bond, the President suggested to Congress that it set a limit under which they could all work, so that the Administration would not have to return to the legislature every time the White House wanted to sell another billion dollars' worth of bonds. That elasticity enabled the rapid thirtyfold expansion of the armed forces.

Having to rely on conscripted servicemen more than volunteers, Wilson initiated the Selective Service System. Drafting young men in

such unprecedented numbers fell upon local boards dotting the country, and they became great equalizers. Sending sons of plutocrats and farmers to share the same trench proved to be a great means of unifying and democratizing the nation.

With the government now responsible for feeding millions of young soldiers—as it continued to feed much of Europe—agriculture became of supreme importance. The United States became the bread basket of the world. Once again, the moral lessons Wilson learned in the Presbyterian Church here in Columbia found their way into American foreign policy, as food became part of politics, another way America could help make the world safe for democracy. Wilson hired a successful businessman named Herbert Hoover to oversee the production and distribution of all American foodstuffs.

Realizing an extra hour of sunlight every day would allow farmers to harvest more crops, Wilson instituted Daylight Saving Time. That particular procedure, of course, has remained ever since the war.

Soldiers in the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) in World War I—called “doughboys”—did not see much more than six months of actual combat. The United States declared war in April, 1917, but not until the following spring were they trained and transported to the front lines. By then, the fighting forces on both sides had proved to be perfectly and lethally matched, resulting in a perpetual stalemate. Millions of soldiers died in battle, sometimes fighting from their trenches for months, only to have gained a few inches of ground. And millions died of disease and horrible new methods of destruction, including the extensive use of poison gas.

Onto the fields of exhausted armies arrived one battalion of American soldiers after another—fresh-faced and freshly trained and in brand-new

uniforms. After six months of bloody war, in which the United States suffered tens of thousands of casualties, the Germans realized this was just the first wave of American soldiers, with endless fleets of soldiers prepared to fill the ranks.

Germany surrendered in November, 1918, fulfilling President Wilson's dream. His army having won the war meant that he would go to Paris to help write the peace. Toward that end, Wilson had been considering for months—if not most of his life—exactly what that peace should be. He codified his grand vision into a number of specific points—fourteen of them, to be exact.

Most were practical dictates, largely about territory; but the Fourteenth Point was most crucial, something he called a League of Nations—a quixotic, if not Arthurian, notion that there should be a permanent association of all countries dedicated to political independence and territorial integrity. It could keep disputes from becoming wars by insisting upon all League members' bringing their problems to the table before resolving them on a battlefield. Furthermore, if a matter could not be settled diplomatically, any country going to war would come up against all the other member nations. Thus, collective security was born in the aftermath of the First World War. And Germany, for example, was made to understand that if it attacked England in the future, it would also be taking on a hundred other members of the League.

Wilson believed that if a League of Nations had been in place in 1914, World War I would not have occurred, that the inciting incident for the war—the assassination of a lesser European royal—would never have resulted in tens of millions of men being sent to fight and die.

With the collapse of those four great dynasties, the war's victors redrew the map of the world, especially those vast swaths of land that comprised much of Eastern Europe and the Mideast. Imagine the scene

in Wilson's residence in Paris, when Clemenceau of France, Lloyd George of England, Orlando of Italy, and Woodrow Wilson were all on their hands and knees, with a gigantic map of the world on the floor before them; and they pulled out their pencils and started drawing borders of countries old and new. Throughout the peacemaking process, America's role remained singular. Where the other countries insisted upon their shares of territory and treasure, Wilson fought only for ideals that might guarantee a peaceful future.

In the meantime, the war catalyzed two huge social movements back home. The first concerned race relations. Some 400,000 black soldiers served with the AEF, and some 40,000 were killed. This posed a genuine dilemma for African Americans in this country. They had to ask themselves why they were fighting for freedom thousands of miles away when they did not possess as much at home. Most of those 400,000 black soldiers wanted to prove they were red-blooded Americans entitled to the same rights and respect that the white soldiers received. Having seen the magnificent parades that greeted their white counterparts, the black soldiers thought they too would be hailed as conquering heroes. But they returned with little ceremony, finding conditions just the same as those they had left, if not worse; and the frustration for those who returned in the spring of 1919 fueled what became known as "the Red Summer"—because during those hot months, two dozen bloody race riots broke out in all corners of the country—not just in the South, but even more in the Northeast, the Southwest, and the Midwest. The modern civil rights movement began that moment, when, for the first time, the American Negro felt empowered.

The war's second seismic shift involved gender. During the war, more women entered the workplace than ever before, leaving the house and filling jobs in offices and restaurants and even in professions that were

predominantly male. And the war directly led to women getting the vote. The country had been debating and struggling with this issue for decades; but once Woodrow Wilson got Congress to declare war on the German Empire, he called upon the legislature to grant suffrage to women. During the years of heated debate, a majority maintained that enfranchisement was a states' rights issue; Wilson now contended that this had become a national matter, a war measure that demanded action. He argued that women had been playing important roles both within the house and without; they were keeping the home fires burning. Beyond that, Wilson heard the same protests that African Americans had made, as many wondered why the country should be fighting for freedom "over there" when half this nation remained disenfranchised. Even with his urging, the vote for women did not come right away; but shortly after the war, they were perceived as having earned a new position in society, and the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution was adopted.

One final point should be made about this war's impact, specifically about the delegation of brilliant young men who accompanied President Wilson to Paris for the peace negotiations. It included, among many others, two brothers named Dulles, Herbert Hoover, and young Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Assistant Secretary of the Navy. Most of America's leadership for the next generation came from that contingent that sought to ensure that the world had just fought the war to end all wars.

A parting exhortation: Remember World War I—not just because of the millions of Americans who offered their lives but also because whether you understand it completely or not, whether you approve of its mission or not, whether you question the value of America's involvement or not...make no mistake about it—one hundred years ago, that terribly tragic war defined the very world in which we live today.

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

**BUSINESS RECORDS OF JAMES BULGIN AND JONATHAN COIT,
MERCHANTS OF CHARLESTON (SOUTH CAROLINA),
1796–1853**

Thirteen ledgers, day books, account books, journals, and letter copy books document the business activities of Charleston merchants James Bulgin (circa 1750–1803) and Jonathan Coit (1771–1855) who, in 1796, formed a business partnership which continued until 1803.

Jonathan Coit, a native of New London (Connecticut), relocated in 1802, to Charleston where he lived for more than twenty years and operated a business enterprise under his own name, J. Coit & Company. The company's financial transactions are recorded in the ledgers, day books, and journals. The collection also includes letter books for 1796, 1802, 1803–1805, and 1805–1807, which provide details about the process of acquiring merchandise, transporting purchases, financing operations, and maintaining relationships with merchants in England, New York City, Philadelphia, Boston, and other commercial centers in the United States.

The partnership of James Bulgin and Jonathan Coit from 1796, when they first entered into an informal business agreement, until 1803, the year the partnership ended with Bulgin's death, is the primary focus of this collection. The records also document Coit's long struggle, as the active executor of his partner's estate, to unravel the complex business and personal affairs of a man who had accumulated debts and obligations over the course of a career in Charleston that spanned two decades. Coit devoted twenty pages in a journal titled "Acc't Jonathan Coit with Estate of J. Bulgin," to record his efforts to settle his former

partner's estate, a process that began on 25 October 1803 and continued until 28 December 1815.

Coit also acted as a merchant in his own right during the years he remained in South Carolina. While in partnership with James Bulgin, Coit had been particularly attentive to the satellite stores that the company established and maintained in Cheraw (South Carolina), and Augusta (Georgia). Located at the upper limits of navigation on the Pee Dee River, Cheraw served as a shipping point for cotton grown in South Carolina's Pee Dee region and a distribution center for supplies shipped from Charleston to Georgetown where, beginning in 1818, the steamboat *Pee Dee* transported merchandise up river and cotton downstream to market. Coit, one of the stockholders in the Pee Dee Steam Boat Company, also acted as agent for the company.

The records preserved by Coit provide valuable information about the intricate mercantile relationships during the early national period of South Carolina's history that help illustrate the growth of the state's economy, which was closely tied to the expansion of the cultivation of cotton. In addition to cotton, Jonathan Coit & Company also bought and sold rice and indigo; arranged for shipment of those crops to markets, both in the United States and Europe; and imported merchandise from American and European sources for sale in Charleston, Cheraw, and Augusta.

The partnership between Jonathan Coit and James Bulgin was preceded by partnerships that James Bulgin had formed, and later dissolved, with other Charleston-based merchants. Bulgin, an Englishman by birth, with strong ties to Bristol, a seaport on England's southwestern coast, arrived in South Carolina during the turbulent days after the end of the American Revolution and joined the other British merchants who had thronged to Charleston after that city surrendered to British forces in May 1780. Bulgin was granted state citizenship on 5

December 1785 and, by that date, had already established his business in Charleston. On 3 December 1785, Bulgin published a notice in a Charleston newspaper, directed to “all persons that are indebted to LAWSON, PRICE and Co.,” and requested that they settle their accounts immediately with him at No. 11, Broad Street. On the same date and in the same newspaper, he announced that he was the administrator of the estate “of the late Mr. JONATHAN LAWSON, Merchant, deceased,” and would expect payment of all debts due to the estate by 22 February 1786.

Lawson, who died on 17 November 1785, one of the British merchants who had settled in Charleston in 1783, was associated with two other English-born merchants, William and David Price, in the mercantile firm. On 1 February 1790, Bulgin advertised, in a Charleston newspaper, items for sale at No. 12, Bay Street. The “Fresh Goods,” consisted of an assortment of textiles, including “Jeans and jeanets, Printed calicoes, Printed linen and fine bordered lawn handkerchiefs,” as well as a variety of cotton goods.

By March 1793, Bulgin had moved his business to Tradd Street and advertised for sale in the local press “An assortment of dry goods, on reasonable terms [and]...a few puncheons West India rum, gin in cases, brandy in pipes and hogsheads, and excellent London bottled porter in hampers of six dozen each” under the name James Bulgin & Co. Bulgin had joined another Charleston merchant, Scottish-born Angus Bethune (circa 1764–1813) in a partnership that continued until 10 May 1796. A notice published in a Charleston newspaper in March stated that the “copartnership of Bulgin and Bethune of London, and James Bulgin and Co. of Charleston will be dissolved on the first day of May next...” *The Times* of London carried a similar announcement in the 11 June 1796 edition: “Notice is hereby given, that the Copartnership of ANGUS BETHUNE and JAMES BULGIN, carrying on Trade under the firm of

Bulgin and Bethune, of St. Martin's-lane, Cannon-street, London, and of James Bulgin and Co. of Charleston, South Carolina, merchants, dissolved on the 10th day of May last, pursuant to the Articles of Copartnership." E. John Collett, signed his name in type and acknowledged that he had inserted the notice in the newspaper "By Power of Attorney for James Bulgin."

Ebenezer John Collett (1755–1833), an English-born merchant, landed in Charleston in December 1780, as he noted in his petition for citizenship which he presented to the Senate of South Carolina on 24 February 1783, "with a Considerable Cargo of Goods and has made several Importations Since." He requested citizenship so he could remain in the state to collect on the "extensive Credits" he had extended to his customers. As a partner in the firm Newcomen & Collett, at No. 50 Bay Street, he remained active in Charleston until he returned to England, probably before 1790, and certainly by 1795, when he was married in the Parish of St. Saviour (Southwark, London). Collett established his mercantile business in London and continued to correspond with Bulgin, who apparently represented Collett's interest in South Carolina. Bulgin detailed his financial transaction with Collett in a manuscript volume titled "E. Jno. Collett A/C't." with entries from 1 July 1796 to 1 January 1799.

During that period, Bulgin paid on Collett's behalf more than 43,000 pounds and incurred a debt due to Collett of 5,440 pounds. Bulgin handled insurance for ships that Collett either owned or chartered and added the cost to Collett's account. For example, he recorded, in an entry for 9 March 1798, "Insurance p. *Pallas* London to Charleston: Goods 1700 [pounds]; Ship 1000 [pounds]; Freight 300 [pounds], for a total of 3000 [pounds] @ 15 Guineas, Commission & Policy." The total cost for insurance was 491 pounds.

Bulgin was one of the incorporators of the Charleston Insurance

Company, organized 10 June 1796, which issued marine policies, and according to an advertisement in the 18 June issue of the *Charleston City Gazette*, the eighteen listed subscribers would “continue to underwrite, INDIVIDUALLY, as usual.” Another vessel that appears in entries charged to Collett was the *Minerva*. On 22 July 1797, Bulgin “paid Captain Payne at sundry times for Expenditures, Repairs, &c. &c. on *Minerva*” more than 900 pounds. After James Bulgin’s death, Jonathan Coit continued to correspond with Collett, particularly in regard to his late partner’s estate.

Jonathan Coit began his association with James Bulgin and Company in May 1796 and, a month later, traveled north to look after the company’s business. In “J. Coit’s Letter-Book,” he copied the content of the letters he sent while on his journey, primarily to Bulgin in Charleston, from 30 June, two days after he arrived in New York City, until 2 November 1796, just before he departed Boston to return to Charleston. Although Coit spent most of his time in New York City, he also traveled to Philadelphia, Boston, Connecticut (New London and New Haven), and Newport (Rhode Island), on various matters of business.

Coit’s duties while in the northeast were considerable. He was involved in collecting money owed to James Bulgin & Company; selling commodities consigned by other Charleston merchants, most notably indigo, rice and tobacco; and buying items listed on a memorandum, prepared by Bulgin, to sell either in Charleston or in the Augusta (Georgia) and Cheraw (S.C.) stores.

In addition, Coit carried with him a number of shares in the companies that had purchased land from the state of Georgia in the Yazoo sales beginning in January 1796. The Georgia legislature had passed legislation that promoted the sale of millions of acres, located in present-day Alabama and Mississippi, to four land companies that had persuaded

Georgia's legislators, often with cash or promises of large tracts of land, to enact the self-serving law. Even though the backlash against the fraudulent actions of the legislature forced the repeal of the land act in February 1796, the directors of the land companies had already managed to sell large tracts of Yazoo lands to speculators scattered across the United States and in England. A brisk trade in land scrip, documents that entitled the owner to a specific acreage owned by a company or individual speculator, flourished in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston during the mid-1790s.

Coit tried to sell the land scrips in his possession, some owned by James Bulgin and some owned by others, while in the North. In his first letter from New York, he explained to Bulgin that "my time has been almost wholly devoted to obtain the best information [about scrip] and am sorry the result is not more favorable. At present there appears but one Broker in this place who will make any offer, and the utmost he will give is 1500 Dolls." Even so, he continued, "I have concluded to sell 3 of Mr. Coopers Shares at this price to settle the bill of 2500 Dollars" that was owed in New York.

Coit also benefitted from the presence in New York of James Warrington, a Charleston merchant and major investor in Yazoo property, who had confided to Coit that he believed that "this [is] the top of the market at present." Coit persisted in his efforts to sell scrip in New York, but found the market for the speculative paper almost non-existent.

In his letter to Bulgin, written from New York on 8 July 1795, he noted that the only person who was interested in the remaining shares in his possession was Ashbel Stanley, "a Speculator from the Eastw[ar]d, said to be concerned in the Boston purchase," who "now offers but 800 Dollars, Cash." The shares, he wrote, he had "delivered...to Mr. [Thomas C.] Butler to sell for what he can get." As was the case with the land

shares, he found selling other merchandise also very difficult. "The wire I find a very unsalable size. I intend to have it sold for what it will fetch, and as for Indigo, I can do nothing with Mr. Henry's, or the five casks with Mr. [Thomas W.] Satterthwaite at present." The only encouraging news he had to relate to his business partner was that Thomas C. Butler had settled his debt of \$2,500 with notes that would be due in 35, 50, and 60 days. Coit had spent a few days in Philadelphia in mid-July, he informed Bulgin in a letter written on 19 July, after he had returned to New York. "I tarried there...principally occupied in endeavoring to obtain every information respecting the G[eorgia] M[ississippi] Shares," he noted. "People in that place view this property as so much dead paper for the present and will have nothing to do with it, [although] I might indeed have sold 2 or 3 shares to one man @ 700 Doll. ea[ch], and this was more than others would give," he concluded.

Jonathan Coit remained until August in New York, where he continued with his efforts to settle accounts and make arrangements for shipping merchandise he had purchased to Charleston. He informed Bulgin, in a letter dated 11 August, that he was sending him "a small parcel" by Captain Taber, master of the sloop *Mary*. "I had some idea of purchasing Cap. Taber's Sloop and drawing on you, alth'o I had not your orders so to do," he wrote. "If I could have done anything with the Notes, or scrip, I certainly should have bo[ught] her," Coit remarked. "[I]t is not probable that I shall have it in my power to purchase till I get to Boston, therefore there will be time for you to inform me whether you have purchas'd or not, and *I will wait to get this information before I venture on a Vessel,*" he concluded. After he arrived in Boston, Coit intensified his efforts to purchase and ship goods for James Bulgin & Company. In one purchase, he had been "extremely fortunate" in that he had paid for the goods "with Porters two notes," he informed Bulgin in a letter dated 13 October. The

merchandise included "Cotton Cards," valued at about 100 pounds, along with a variety of textiles, including "Hosiery, silk h[andkerchiefs], & Callico...[which he had] shipp'd...on board the Schooner *Alex[ande]r*, Cap. Newcomb to sail for Charleston in ab[ou]t 5 days." He also included "a Trunk of Mens, Boys, & Girls shoes." The entire cargo had cost about \$2,050, but Coit decided not to insure the goods; however, he warned Bulgin if the vessel does not "arrive soon after rec[eipt] of this [letter], I think it would be well to insure." A week later, on 20 October, Coit announced to Bulgin that he had just purchased a vessel, a sloop named *Mercury*, for \$4,000, payable in bills drawn on Philadelphia at 75 and 120 days." More details followed in Coit's letter to Bulgin, dated Boston, 1 November. Since his previous letter, he had, he wrote, "been very much engaged with the *Mercury*, which Vessel I have now the pleasure to inform you, is ready for Sea, and only waits a fair wind." Already loaded on board, Coit continued, was merchandise that had cost \$6,534.73, "the disposal of which I leave entirely with your self to do as you think proper...a considerable part of the goods...I presume will be wanted for Messrs. Herbert & Course, & I hope will sell." Isaac Herbert (1751–1827), the Augusta storekeeper, and Isaac Course (1759–1837), who performed the same role at Cheraw, received the major portion of stock for their stores from James Bulgin & Company. "The tea, shoes & paper I hope will prove salable and afford a good profit," Coit remarked, "& the gin, chocolate, salt petre, barrels & salt I presume will pay a good frieght." He also informed his partner that he had employed "Thos. Kemball...[to command] the Sloop, but this man proving a miserable careless Fellow, I was obliged to discharge him & the mate & was at considerable trouble to get others, and even sailors on such a voyage." The new crew, however, appeared more reliable. "Cap. S[tephen] Butman who has sailed in Mr. Tunno's employ and came well recommended, will hand you this [letter],

and has promis'd to render every assistance as to discharging [the cargo] etc." To the "mate, who appears a very steady clever Fellow," Coit had promised that Bulgin "would assist him in getting a berth in some other vessel should Brown not want him." Coit, not wishing to risk the company's investment, had "insured all the property in this place," for \$11,000. He also sent to Bulgin, he explained, the "Bill [of] sale of the Sloop to me, & my Bill [of] sale to you so that you can get out a Coasting License." In a post script to his letter, added on 2 November, Coit indicated that he would "take two Passengers in the Fore Castle...[and] they are to pay 10 Doll: ea[ch]." He also mentioned two other passengers by name. "Mrs. Cambridge has a few Barrels fruit on board...[which] can be ent[ere]d as stores....[R]especting the Negro Fellow Saml., the Cap. will give you the necessary information to prevent any difficulty." When the sloop arrived in Charleston on 19 November, after a voyage of fifteen days, the local newspaper listed the passengers on board as "Mrs. Cambridge and child, Mr. T. Craft, Mr. E. Thayer, Mr. Bailey, and Mr. and Mrs. Whitlock, comedians." Elizabeth Kemble Whitlock (1761–1836), a member of the noted English family of actors, the Kembles, and her husband Charles E. Whitlock (d. 1822), performed in a number of plays in the newly-opened Church Street Theatre in Charleston during the 1797 season.

James Bulgin and Company was involved in a multitude of business transactions and maintained a complete set of records that tracked those activities. Although not all of the cash books, ledgers, account books, day books, and letter books survive in the collection, the ones that are extant provide an overview of the kinds of commercial activities that a typical merchant house pursued in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Charleston. In a "Statement of Bonds Payable at Custom-House," the name of the vessel, its port of origin, the master's name, the kind and

quantity of goods on board, the amount and month due, and the total amount of each entry are recorded for eight vessels that arrived in Charleston from 21 May 1795 until 11 April 1796. Similar in form and recorded in the same volume, the company's clerk listed all "Bills Payable" from 1 July 1795 to 5 September 1796 and recorded the name of the bills' drawer, usually entered as "Ourselves," the name of the individual or firm "To whom Payable," and "for what drawn, etc.," the due date, the amount of the obligation, when paid, and "How and to whom paid, &c." "Bills Receivable," with the same information, are also listed for the period 1 July 1795–21 February 1797.

The company's letter copy books are the most useful, and interesting, sources for information regarding the nature of the relationships that existed between the company and its customers, both individual purchasers and other merchants. As with the other records, the extant letter copy books do not cover the entire period that James Bulgin and Company, or its successor, Jonathan Coit and Company, operated. Bulgin's letter copy book for the period from 27 February to 20 November 1802, however, reveals the difficulties of operating a mercantile and commission business that relied on credit transactions for both purchases and sales in the unsettled days after the quasi-war with France that ended in 1800. In the first of six letters to his London merchant friend, E.J. Collett, dated 27 February 1802, Bulgin commented on the impact that the quasi-war had on merchants in the United States: "[T]he sudden return of peace has been materially felt by the commercial people of America[.] [M]any Houses in this City have stopped payment and it is seriously to be apprehended that the majority have been trading on flimsy capitols supported by credit from the Banks, who take all possible care to be secured in case of accident." Bulgin himself was besieged by lawsuits emanating from his previous partnership with Angus Bethune. "I now

come to the old and very unpleasant business of Bulgin & Bethune," he observed, "what you may have done further in this cursed business I know not," but he had been "very pressed for a settlement" by several creditors of the old firm. "I am willing to pay what is justly due," he asserted, "the moment I have it in my power. [I]f the gentlemen are in a hurry to get their money, they have adopted a very improper method to effect it....I cannot bear the Idea of being pestered with Law Suits & I always feel a Tremor on approaching a Court House." Many of the claims against Bulgin & Bethune were from merchants in England who, Bulgin asserted, did not understand the American legal system and could never "recover...in any court of justice in this country...." To one of those merchants who had brought suit against Bulgin & Bethune, he was even more forceful. In a letter dated 2 April and addressed to Julius Samuel Rich, who represented "the Estate of Messrs. Rich & Heapy," Bulgin assured his creditor "that my disposition to pay my debts has been and now is fully equal to your own...and I am using every endeavour in my power to bring the concerns matters to a close," but since "you have thought proper to wage a ferocious Law war against me, conscious of my own integrity, I am determined to resist *persecution* to the utmost in my power."

James Bulgin and his partner, Jonathan Coit, in addition to their usual mercantile enterprises, were also the owners of several ships during this period. In a letter to E.J. Collett, written on 3 August 1802, Bulgin expressed the hope that "the Ship Port Mary...is long since this safe arrived with you and sincerely wish that both her & Wade Hampton are sold at some price." He also had an interest in the *Heriot* and apologized to Collett for "not mentioning that Mr. Richard Price of Bristol might possibly give some information relative to the Heriot's papers. [H]er not being sold is a circumstance I much regret. I was in great hopes she

would have fetch'd from 500 to 700 [pounds]." He also was disappointed that her rice cargo had been damaged in transit. "[T]he gloomy acco[un]ts you give me of our produce on your side the water are sufficient to sicken a person from becoming or continuing to be a Ship Owner."

In his following letter to Collett, dated 31 August, Bulgin's concern for his marine investments was still apparent. Collett had informed him that the *Port Mary* had arrived safely and that he had not sold her, but was sending her back to Charleston. Bulgin commented that he was "sorry to find she is coming out However if I succeed in a plan contemplated..., I hope to give her quick dispatch and manage so that she shall be sold. I hope her last cargo will leave something handsome in your hands particularly under the circumstance of it being the last parcel prior to the duty taking place." The *Heriot*, he continued, had not yet arrived. "[I]f she sail[e]d at the time intended I am apprehensive some accident has befallen her. I hope in every event the Capt. & crew are safe." The unhappy sea saga continued in Bulgin's 10 November letter to Collett. After he last wrote, "both the Port Mary & Harriot are arrived here. [I]n addition to the unpleasant sight, both captains were soon after laid down with the fever, which contributed not a little to my perplexity. Collins had a very narrow escape indeed being (to use his own phraze) three weeks on his beam end—however they both recovered and I have since dispatch[e]d the Brig to the West Indies to windward with a cargo which I hope will do tolerable well." The captain, he wrote, "has also my power Att[orne]y authorizing him to sell and my injunction not to bring her back." Bulgin, even with his friend Collett's help, had difficulty ridding himself of the financial burden of ship ownership. He thanked Collett for his "friendly attention to the business of the Wade Hampton and not a little pleased at your having succeeded in procuring the freight without any *further* trouble." The ship, he had learned, was "on her arrival immediately

furnish'd with French Papers [and] I sincerely hope it would facilitate an advantageous Sale and that you are long since in possession of my moiety of the nett proceeds." The cargo the ship carried, however, had not sold to advantage. "The losses sustain'd on both Mahogany & Coffee are insupportable and from my present temper I do not believe that I shall ever be induced to touch a log or grain of either Article again," he lamented.

In the final letter in the letter copy book, Bulgin, on 20 November, wrote British merchant John Price, the brother of Charleston merchant William Price, with an account of the state of South Carolina's crops. Cotton prices were strong in Charleston, he remarked, a fact that would "prove a strong inducement for the planters to sell," however, "the crop of Sea Island [cotton] is very short indeed of what was expected owing to the dreadful devastation of the Catterpeller and it is generally supposed that it will be considerably short of the crop of last year. [T]he up Country production is extremely abundant, Tobacco none raised worth mentioning either in this State or Georgia, Rice the crop is pretty good, but the price is not yet broke....there is very little new at market." Bulgin also noted the pattern of maritime traffic that carried the produce of South Carolina to market in England. "[Y]ou will no doubt wonder at the few Ships arriving from this [port] at the Port of London. Liverpool bears the sway. [T]he cotton selling as well there owing to its contiguity to the manufacturer and the great difference in the expenses attending a shipment to the two ports."

Jonathan Coit, although privately involved in James Bulgin's mercantile activities since May 1796, relocated to Charleston in April 1802 and entered into a public partnership with his friend. A notice, published in the *Charleston City-Gazette and Daily Advertiser* on 20 July 1802, announced that James Bulgin and Jonathan Coit had "entered into Co-

partnership on the 1st...[July], their business will hereafter be conducted under the firm of J. COIT & Co." In the same advertisement, Bulgin called for all persons indebted to him "to settle their accounts without further delay, and those to whom he is indebted are requested to send in their demands for payment." Bulgin's failing health, which he mentioned in his 31 August letter to E.J. Collett, ("sick under the operation of Medical assistance"), as well as the onerous task of settling the old debts from his former partnership with Angus Bethune, his involvement with the Charleston Insurance Company, and his service as a director of the Bank of South-Carolina for 1800–1801, required that he rely on someone who could help him with current business operations. Coit, the son of Thomas Coit, M.D. (1725–1811) and his second wife, Mary Gardiner (1744–1824), was born in New London, Connecticut, into a family whose sons favored careers as merchants. Jonathan's older brother David (1769–1849) entered into business in a mercantile firm in New London as a young man; his brother Henry (1780–1876) clerked for a dry goods importer in New York City as a teenager and spent his long career as a New York merchant; and his youngest brother, James (1786–1827), followed in the footsteps of his siblings and removed to Cheraw, South Carolina, in the early 1820s, where he joined Jonathan as a partner in J. & J. Coit. Jonathan's eldest brother, Thomas Coit, M.D. (1767–1840), although not a merchant, was also involved in business transactions with him, as were brothers Henry and James. His correspondence with his siblings comprises much of the contents of his letter copy books for the years 1803–1807 and 1823–1824.

When James Bulgin sailed from Charleston to New York in the brig *Resolution* in late June 1803, he left Coit in charge of all their joint business affairs, as well as his own old obligations from his previous mercantile activity. A New York newspaper noted the arrival of the

Resolution, Cornelius White, master, on 4 July, after a seven-day voyage. The vessel was loaded with rice consigned to Archibald Gracie & Company. The passengers listed were "Messrs. Thomas Western and lady, Charles Kershaw, Bold, Banks, Sinclair, Bulgin, Poinsett and daughter, and Mrs. Charles." Coit explained the circumstances of his partner's departure and his serious illness in a letter to E.J. Collett, dated 14 October. "It is with infinite sorrow...that I have to announce to you Mr. B's continued ill health. Our accounts from him are as late as the 27th of last month [and] he was then at Boston, and so feeble as to be unable to write himself," Coit wrote. Bulgin, he continued, had received "a serious shock by the Death of his intimate Friend Doctr. E. Poinsett, which took place a few days before in that Town...[and] gave a serious turn to Mr. B's complaint, which has at length terminated in a fix'd Consumption, and he is now...gradually wasting away by ounces." James Bulgin had known Dr. Elisha Poinsett (1742–1803) and Dr. Joel Poinsett (1751–1788) since the brothers had been partners in a drug and apothecary business in Charleston which they had started about 1784.

As late as 1795, Bulgin had served as joint attorney for Joel's widow Frances (Fanny) Poinsett in an effort to settle both Joel's estate and the former business owned by the Poinsett brothers. Bulgin's physician, Coit continued, had advised a sea voyage to Portugal or Madeira as an aid in his friend's recovery, but unable to secure passage to either of those destinations, Bulgin "had engag'd his passage in a vessel for the Bahamas as his last hope...." Bulgin, however, determined to forgo the voyage to the Bahamas and decided to return to Charleston as quickly as possible. Coit recorded the details of his friend's efforts to return home in an undated, hastily drafted entry in his letter copy book. "James Bulgin left Boston on the 7th Oct. 1803 (Friday) in the Schooner Mary Ann belonging to Mr. W. Price (Capt. Winter) and Died on Monday Evn'g the

10th. on the following day Tuesday the 11th of Oct. his Body was committed to the deep. !! [H]e left a will and named J. Coit & W. Price Executors & F. Poinsett Executrix. Will Dated at Boston, 3d Oct. 1803. Passengers in the above schoo[ner]. Mrs. Frances Poinsett & her Daughter and Mr. Wm. Grogen.”

The *Mary Anne* arrived at Charleston on 18 October 1803 and the next day the *City Gazette* printed a notice of Mr. Bulgin’s death. After a narrative of the events preceding his demise, the obituary’s writer commented on the deceased’s place in the community: “A residence of near twenty years had acquired to Mr. Bulgin a large and respectable acquaintance in this place, who in his death have to lament the loss of a valuable and entertaining friend and acquaintance.”

Jonathan Coit immediately set to work on letters to Bulgin’s business associates, especially those to whom Bulgin was indebted, to assure them that he was determined to fulfill the role entrusted to him as executor of the estate in a fair and just manner. To E. John Collett he wrote on 25 October 1803 and, after recounting the facts of Mr. Bulgin’s death, he assured Collett that “it was [Bulgin’s] last anxious wish to survive so long as would enable him to bring completely to a close all matters relating to his commercial affairs. [T]his however has not been the case, and the task, the arduous task, devolves on me.” His affairs, Coit explained, “have been extensive, various and as you well know, extremely complicated, so much so indeed that I cannot at present pretend to give any opinion on the subject [and] the difficulty...of doing so is increased by my own affairs being so interwoven with his that it will require much time and infinite labor to bring every thing to a final close.” Coit added a postscript and reminded Collett that even though the “Copartnership between Mr. Bulgin & myself terminates of course by his Death, I shall in my own name pay due attention to any of your or your

friends commands and feel grateful for any future favors.”

On the same day, Coit wrote to Isaac Course, the Cheraw store keeper, and outlined his plan, as one of the executors, for settling Mr. Bulgin’s estate. “My first object (it’s my duty and is of the first necessity) will be to pay off the Bank accounts, and such other money debts as will leave me unencumbered to attend more closely to the winding up and final adjustment of all our affairs.” He also requested Course’s help in providing an “account of stock and such statement of the affairs of the concern as will enable me to form a tolerably correct idea of the amount [of money] I may calculate on in the course of the coming winter.”

In an effort to clarify several legal issues, Coit submitted a list of questions, recorded in his letter copy book on 24 October, to attorneys Joseph Peace (1771–1826) and Langdon Cheves (1776–1857), who were partners in a very successful firm that flourished from 1801 to 1809. The attorneys responded with guidance for issues involving the duties of executors, the nature of co-partnerships, ownership of goods, the proper form for an inventory, and the sale of Bulgin’s private estate. Bulgin’s will was proved in Charleston’s Court of Ordinary on 28 October and Coit qualified as executor on the same day. William Price, however, chose not to serve in that capacity, but Fanny Poinsett agreed and appeared before the court and qualified as executrix on 11 November 1803.

In his will, after granting bequests to his sister and niece, Bulgin had given the “residue and remainder of my Estate both real and personal to be equally divided between my Executor Jonathan Coit and my Executrix F. Poinsett share and share alike....” Although both Coit and Poinsett jointly signed one letter that related to the Bulgin’s estate, there was no other indication that she took an active role in the settlement of the estate. She had left Charleston during the summer of 1804 and, in a letter to his brother Thomas, in New London, dated 9 September, Coit warned

him that “Mrs. P. is now at the northward, perhaps in Boston, [and] it is also necessary to add that we are not on the most friendly terms....She has qualified as Ex[ecutri]x but she has prudently declined acting, except to serve herself, and to embarrass and give me trouble....I regret extremely the misunderstanding which unfortunately exists between the Lady in question & myself, and the more so as her Daughter is a charming Girl.”

Jonathan Coit recorded all expenses and receipts associated with Bulgin’s estate in a separate book labeled “A/ct. Jonathan Coit with Estate of J. Bulgin” in which he documented the tedious nineteen-year-long process of settling the estate. Beginning with an entry of 21 October 1803, when Coit paid \$100 cash to “Peace & Cheves...for Law advice on various matters relative to the Estate,” and ending on 9 May 1822, when he paid James D. Mitchell, the judge of the Court of Ordinary, \$4 in “Fees for Certified copies of all the acco[unt] to this day,” the account book provides an overview of the intricate and interlocking financial arrangements that were commonplace among merchants operating within the Atlantic world at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In addition to the ordinary expenses connected with disposing of Bulgin’s personal property, which included \$10 “for Carts & Labourers moving Furniture &c from House in Broad Street to the City Theatre place of Sales” paid on 31 December 1803, there are other examples of the convoluted process of collecting old debts that involved several individuals or mercantile firms. On 19 June 1807, for example, Jonathan received from his brother Henry Coit, \$7,000 “for Debt against Thayers & Sturgis, arising from Bills drawn by Jonathan Russell, on James V. Murray, London & endorsed by said Thayers & Sturgis per his a/c, compromised for \$7250.00, less H. Coit’s com[mission], &c.”

This obligation fell upon the partnership of Williams Thayer (1760–

1826), James Thayer and Josiah Sturgis (1765–1834), Massachusetts-born merchants who were active in Charleston during the 1790s and who had endorsed the bills of New York merchant Jonathan Russell (1771–1832). Payment of the bills, however, was the responsibility of London merchant James V. Murray when presented. Murray failed to do so and, as a result of his refusal, Coit brought suit against the Thayers, the endorsers of the bills. The partial payment of the money due from the Thayers, who had long since resettled in Rhode Island, demonstrated Coit's determination to recover every debt owed Bulgin's estate, even if the effort required, as in this example, more than a decade to realize.

Another example of Coit's perseverance related to stock that Bulgin had acquired in one of the Yazoo land companies about 1795. In an entry in the Bulgin estate account book, dated 17 January 1818, Coit noted the receipt of \$4,450.10 "for \$5235.37 in Mississippi Stock being the sum recd. from the Government of the U. States for 3 Georgia M[ississippi] certificates agreeably to a Law of Congress Settling those claims...." After the United States Supreme Court decided in *Fletcher v. Peck* in 1810 that the Yazoo land sales created legally binding contracts, many owners of land company stock claimed that the United States government, which had assumed ownership of the Yazoo lands in 1802, should reimburse them for their losses. In 1814, after Congress had agreed to pay five million dollars to settle the claims of the owners of land company shares, Coit established Bulgin's claim, and more than twenty years after the purchase of the land scrip, received compensation. When Bulgin's estate was finally closed in 1822, there still remained \$53.00 due Coit.

In a letter written to his brother Thomas, on 15 December 1803, Coit exclaimed that Bulgin's death had "plunged me into difficulties that I fear I shall never surmount, or get disentangled from....I am ruined, a Bankrupt,

friendless & miserable." He was, he continued, "in a worse situation than I was 11 years ago. I had then no money. I have *none* now, and have lost 11 of the best years of my life!!" To James Warrington, one of the principal creditors of the partnership of Bulgin and Coit, Jonathan presented a very different reality. When he wrote him on 2 January 1804, he assured him that he had "a well-founded expectation of being able to pay you ultimately....[Y]ou are not therefore to calculate upon the loss of your demand, but only on being delayed in the recovery of it for a short time...." He also reminded the impatient claimant that "putting together the Bank debts and yours will make the amo[un]t about \$50,000, of which your demand constitutes nearly 1/4th, and as monies of the concern come into my hands the 1/4th shall be appropriated towards the reduction of your Debt."

When he wrote English merchant John Price, the brother one of the other executors named in Bulgin's will, on 28 January 1804, he described his difficulties, especially the recent unpleasantness with James Warrington: "Mr. Warrington is here. We owe him money. I am sorry for it and wish he was paid. He has no patience. He is in fact a Gent[leman] of unrelenting passions. The Stock of the milk of human kindness within his breast is dried up [and] has (I believe) never yet been broached to allay the misery of his fellowman, and as I am his Debtor I can hardly expect it will be suffered to flow for my relief."

Coit sought relief and assistance from another person to whom Bulgin's estate was indebted to a considerable degree, Ebenezer John Collett. He entrusted a letter addressed to Mr. Collett, dated 19 March 1804, to Roger Heriot, a former partner in the firm G. & R. Heriot of Charleston, who was on his way to England. Coit also sent documents with Heriot that would demonstrate the financial condition of both Bulgin's estate and his own business and, in a letter to Heriot, also written 19

March, he asked his friend “to plead my cause in such a manner as will tend to awaken in...[Collett’s] breast a sentiment of commiseration.” Coit also reminded Heriot that “my happiness or my misery depend very much on Mr. Collett’s friendship or his enmity.” Coit, in his letter to Collett, was forthright and frank. Bulgin’s estate, he believed, was “insolvent” and his own case, he confessed, “is truly a hard one.” His financial problems “have been occasioned by no improper Conduct of my own,” he argued, “unless indeed my Connection with Mr. Bulgin may be consider’d as such, for from this source grow all my troubles...” Coit, however, did not think that Bulgin had intended to “wrong” him, but he had, nonetheless, “cruelly deceived me.” He also acknowledged that he had “unfortunately made myself responsible for all his Bank Debt which with that of J. Coit & Co., the Bond due Mr. Warrington, and some other Cash Debts amo[un]ts to upwards of 60,000 Dollars and all the property of my own with that of the concern’s fall short of 70,000 Doll[a]rs, yet if I am bless’d with a continuation of health and am tolerably successful, I hope in about 2 years to pay all off...” He planned to “leave Town in a few days for the backcountry to look after delinquents and make collections, & shall be absent probably 6 or 8 weeks,” he concluded.

From Augusta (Georgia), the first stop on his journey to investigate the company’s assets, he wrote E.J. Collett on 4 April 1804 with news of the state of affairs there. “I came to this place with a view to make collections, and to endeavour to wind up and close the old concern here, [but] am disappointed in all my expectations,” he lamented. “[O]f money there is none, and the...remnant of shop worn goods on hand here will not sell,” he added, and the “House & Lott are in the same predicament and could not be sold at this time without a vast sacrifice.” In the inventory of Bulgin’s estate, recorded in Coit’s letter copy book, the Augusta property was described in more detail: “[T]he original purchase of this property

was made by J. Bulgin in 1795, and cost 550 [pounds]. Since which, and during the time J. Coit was a Partner with the said J. Bulgin, a large Dwelling House, and other buildings and improvements have been put on the said Lot.” Although the news from Augusta was not encouraging, Coit did cite one positive recent development in his letter to Collett. He mentioned that he had seen James Warington just before he left Charleston, on 21 March 1804, and discovered a welcome change in his approach to collecting the \$11,500 that Coit owed. Even though Coit had been able to pay only the interest on the debt and \$250 towards the principal, Warington “in the *fullness of his mercy* tho’t proper to abandon his threatened suits, which at one time (to use his own words) he ‘swore before almighty God, he would prosecute to the last letter and stretch of the Law, and to my utter ruin and destruction,’ unless I would come forward & pay, or secure him first and in preference to all other demands whatsoever.”

Coit did manage to settle the accounts of the Augusta store, one major objective during his visit to Georgia. He explained, in a letter to Seaborn Jones (1759–1815), prominent Augusta attorney, written on 5 May 1804, that “Mr. Herbert & myself have at length effected a complete final & amicable close of all old business and have executed more papers on the occasion than is usual or perhaps were necessary.” Just before he left Augusta, however, Coit in a 9 May letter to J.A. Yates admitted that during his trip he had “been cruelly disappointed in all my expectations and have met with more troubles and difficulties than it was possible I could have foreseen.” By 21 May 1804, Coit had arrived in Cheraw where he had hoped to settle the affairs of the Cheraw store with Isaac Course before he returned to Charleston.

From the time of Jonathan Coit’s return to Charleston, on 31 May 1804, the letters in his letter copy books pertain almost exclusively to his

efforts to recover the debt owed by the Thayers, Williams and James, formerly of the mercantile firm Thayers & Sturgis. Jonathan had involved his brother Thomas, who lived in New London (Connecticut), and also employed attorney William P. Cleveland [Cleaveland] (1770–1845), a Yale College graduate, class of 1793, to pursue the case against Williams Thayer, a resident of Rhode Island and the person most likely to have sufficient property to recover in a legal action. In a letter to Thomas, written from Charleston on 9 September 1804, Jonathan confessed that “my affairs are yet in travail...[and will] be long in painful labor, and may ultimately bring me forth a pardon.” His greatest hope for deliverance from his creditors rested on his expectation of success in the pending suit against Thayer. “[S]hould Thayer’s business ultimately produce something handsome, I shall no doubt have it in my power to make tolerable terms for myself.”

Coit copied twenty-six letters in his letter copy books, written to either his brother or Mr. Cleveland, between 9 September 1804 and 6 January 1807. A final letter, dated 7 January 1807, was directed to Coit’s brother Henry in New York with information relative to the expected settlement of the suit because, by June 1806, the strain of the long and tedious legal process had caused a rupture in the relationship between Coit and his brother Thomas. Jonathan Coit had addressed the issue in a letter to Thomas dated 28 June. When their brother “James arrived here from N[ew] Y[or]k,” he wrote, “he gave me a mem[orandum] from you requesting him to communicate to me the Substance of it &c—this I took kind in you, not so however your declaration never to write me again.” Cordiality between Coit and his attorney had also dissipated. On the same day that he wrote Thomas, Coit acknowledged, in a letter to William P. Cleveland, the receipt of his letter dated 10 June. “I have read it attentively, reflected on it seriously and cannot view it otherwise than as

the production of a man not in his right Senses,” Coit asserted. Fortunately for him, he had received the money from the settlement with Thayer on 19 June, days before his caustic letter to attorney Cleveland would have reached him.

Without extant letter copy books for the years from 1807 until 24 January 1823, when the final letter copy book begins (with letters dated through 4 June 1824), the account, cash and day books and Ledger A (1803–1822) are the primary sources for the activities of Jonathan Coit and Company for the intervening years. Perhaps the most useful source for an account of the financial transactions of the firm is the book titled “Jonathan Coit’s Day Book Commencing Charleston So[uth] Carolina 25th Octo[ber] 1803” and continuing until 28 December 1815. The day book records daily transaction that include those for J. Coit & Co., the estate of J. Bulgin, and Coit & Fraser. Coit & Fraser was established 1 July 1806, according to an announcement in a Charleston newspaper, and was operated as a factorage and commission business.

John Fraser (1777–1854) was a native of Scotland who continued in business with Coit until at least 1815. In the day book, the clerk recorded each transaction and provided a brief description. For example, on 5 November 1806, Coit & Fraser was credited “for the following [navigation] Books sold by them to Bailey & Waller. 97 [copies] American Navigator & appendix [and] 82 [copies] [American] pilot.” After a discount of fifty percent, the firm received \$292.75 for the books. J. Coit & Co. also frequently bought, sold and shipped cotton to New York during these years and there were also infrequent payments by the Estate of James Bulgin for legal matters. A new company name, James Coit & Co., appeared in the day book for the first time on 25 May 1814. Jonathan’s siblings, James and Susan Coit, had visited Charleston in 1811 and Jonathan noted in his day book, on 15 June, that he paid one hundred

dollars for James' and "Susan's passage on board the Ship Belle, Cap. Lawson for N[ew] York." A year or two later, James returned to South Carolina and took charge of the Cheraw store.

On the first page of Ledger A, there is recorded a copy of a settlement of the accounts of the Cheraw store and a distribution of twenty-one thousand dollars, the "N[et] Gain to Cheraw Store," with each subscriber credited with one-third of the total. The three partners, Jonathan Coit, John Fraser, and James Coit, "settled this day and agreed, Charleston 25 May 1814." In the same ledger, a new account titled "James Coit & Co. Cheraw Hill" was initiated in May 1814 and continued until April 1824 when the company's credit balance of \$37,763.98 was transferred to Ledger B.

Jonathan Coit's long experience in the mercantile business in Cheraw (S.C.), his brother's residence there after 1814, and the profitability of the town's cotton trade were all factors that contributed to his participation in the local effort to develop steamboat transportation on the Pee Dee River. The age of practical steam navigation began in 1807 when Robert Fulton designed and operated the first commercially successful steamboat on the Hudson River in New York state. Twelve years later, on 31 May 1819, Jonathan Coit, as "Agent for the President & Directors of the Pee Dee Steam Boat Company," entered nineteen names of investors, along with the amount of money each invested, in his small account book, and thus became involved in an effort to provide Cheraw with reliable steamboat service to the port of Georgetown.

Listed among the investors were Charleston merchants Charles Edmondston (1782–1861), John Robinson (1776–1849), James Adger (1777–1858), Simon Magwood (1763–1836), William Aiken (1778–1831), and John Fraser (1777–1854), one of Coit's business partners; local

lawyer James Jervey (1784–1845); John Geddes (1777–1828), South Carolina’s governor, 1818–1820, and Joel R. Poinsett (1779–1851), the president of the state’s Board of Public Works, 1819–1821, and a family friend of Coit’s former business partner, James Bulgin. Coit noted in the account book that “all paid & Entd. in the Pee Dee Steam Boat Compy’ Bank Book & J. Coit’s Day Book...June 11, 1819.” The account of the Pee Dee Steam Boat Company in Coit’s ledger documents that the company received \$16,250 from April to July 1819 and spent \$12,480.60 during the same period.

Much of that money was used to construct the steamboat that the company planned to use on the Pee Dee River. Appropriately named the *Pee Dee*, the steamboat was launched on 29 September 1819 “from the Ship Yard of Messrs. Marsh and O’Neal,” according to an article published in the Charleston *City Gazette*. The vessel “has handsome accommodations, and is intended to tow a freight boat. Her model and workmanship have not been surpassed, it is said, by any Steam Boat in this state—and from the appearance of her Engine, lately arrived from Philadelphia...there is no doubt of her answering the end for which she was intended.”

In December 1819, John Taylor, Junior (1769–1848) of Cheraw (S.C.), as president of the Pee Dee Steam Boat Company, and on behalf of the stockholders, which included James Coit, petitioned the South Carolina legislature for incorporation. Taylor mentioned that the company had “built a Steam Boat and three tow boats, which will soon be in operation....” Jonathan Coit continued his involvement with the company, but the only extant record for the period 1819–1822 is Coit’s ledger which provides few details about the operation of the Pee Dee Steam Boat Company. However, other sources contribute additional information about the steamboat *Pee Dee*. When the citizens of Cheraw petitioned

the General Assembly in November 1820 to incorporate their village, under the name Chatham, the author of the petition described the flourishing community on the Pee Dee River. The village, with about 250 inhabitants, contained “70 or 80 houses, stores, shops, and tenements, fifteen of which are now occupied as places of mercantile business, and others are in preparation for the same purpose...[and] a Steam Boat of 40 horse power, and other river Boats navigate the Pee Dee River up to...[the] village,” which was situated at the “head of Steam Boat navigation on the Pee Dee River.”

Both James and Jonathan Coit signed the petition for incorporation. The company hired Captain Moses Rogers (1779–1821), one of the pioneers of steam navigation, to command the *Pee Dee*. Rogers had been captain of the *Phoenix* in 1809 when she made the first ocean voyage ever by a steamboat from New York to Philadelphia; in December 1817, he was master of the steamboat *Charleston* when she made her first trip from Charleston to Savannah; and in 1819, he commanded the *Savannah* on the first transatlantic crossing by a steamship. Although not her first captain, Rogers was in charge of the *Pee Dee* during the fall and winter of 1820–1821; however, during the first voyage of the *Pee Dee* from Cheraw to Georgetown (S.C.) during the 1821–1822 freighting season, Rogers was stricken during the trip down river and died on 15 November 1821 in Georgetown of yellow fever.

Jonathan Coit’s receipt book, with receipts dated 4 March 1822–22 June 1824, includes numerous references to the steamboat *Pee Dee*. On 20 March 1822, for example, Coit paid Edward Lomas \$72.81 “for Repairs done to the Pee Dee Steam Boat’s Engine, going to Cheraw & returning including expenses at & from Georgetown.” Edward Lomas (1791–1824), born in Manchester (England), was a Charleston engineer who was commemorated after his death with an inscription on his

tombstone that honored him as “an able engineer and ingenious mechanic.”

Coit's day book for 1 March 1822–14 June 1824 also contains entries that provide details about the operation of the *Pee Dee*. The Pee Dee Steam Boat Company was charged, on 20 March 1822, \$2,277.19 “for loss sustained on 69 bales Cotton damaged in the Pee Dee River by sinking of the Tow Boat.” The company recovered \$1,245.70, however, when 51 bales of the damaged cotton were sold at auction, which left the company with a loss of \$1,031.49. The company had borrowed money to pay the expenses incurred in operating the business and, as Coit recorded in his day book on 15 March 1823, he had paid \$525.42 from the company's account to Charles Edmondston for “his advances to renew note of \$3000 [to] Union Bank.”

A notation in the day book dated 10 June 1823, confirmed that the Pee Dee Steam Boat Company had lost money during the previous year. John Fraser acknowledged that he had been present during a conversation between “Mr. Jno. Taylor Jun. of Cheraw & Mr. J. Coit...relating to the affairs of the Pee Dee Steam Boat Company.” Coit had urged Taylor “to join him and take a share in the Said Boat....Mr. Taylor declined taking any such interest, but mentioned that it would be wrong that Mr. Coit should pay all the loss in the event of the Boat not selling for Sufficient to pay the Debts against her, which Mr. Coit had assumed.” Taylor offered, Fraser continued, “in the event of loss [he] would pay to Mr. Coit one thousand Dollars,” of the anticipated loss of two thousand dollars or more. Coit was forced to add to the company's debt when he was presented with additional bills payable on the company's account. On 11 June 1823, he paid \$650.06 to “Mr. A. Marvin of George Town” for his account, and the next day paid \$600.00 to James Marsh & Son “for work done in George Town on...the Pee Dee

Steam Boat[s] three Tow Boats.” The company sold the *Pee Dee*, according to a day book entry of 26 June “in Geo. Town at auction...to Mr. Cheesb[orough]” for eleven thousand dollars. On the same day, Coit recorded the sale of shares in the “Steam Boat Pee Dee Company.” J. & J. Coit purchased ten shares for \$500 each for a total of five thousand dollars; Henry N. Miller paid \$1,000 for two shares; John W. Cheesborough signed a note payable in October for \$2,500 for five shares; and John Robinson and Charles Edmondston each signed notes payable in October for \$1,250 for two and a half shares. The total for all the shares was eleven thousand dollars; however, the company, originally indebted to Edmondston for \$10,659.60, was credited with payments that totaled \$9,809.24, leaving a balance of \$850.36 due to him.

The sale of the *Pee Dee*, to satisfy old debts and the repurchase of the steamboat by several of the merchants previously invested in her, paved the way for a organization and eventual chartering of a new company, the Cheraw Steam Boat Company. Jonathan Coit spent the months from August until late November 1823 in New London (Connecticut), where several of his siblings and other relatives lived. He noted his return to Charleston with an entry in his day book. “J. Coit returned to Ch.ton Sat. Eving. Nov. 22d via Cheraw & George Town.”

When he resumed the entries in his day book on 28 November 1823, he recorded expenses for the Cheraw Steam Boat Company, the name the investors in the *Pee Dee* had chosen for their new organization. On 6 December, “The owners of the Steamboat Pee Dee per Jonathan Coit...” paid Grimke, Legare & Grimke, attorneys at law, “Fifty Dollar for an opinion on sundry questions submitted to us, also for 2 petitions for Incorporation and the Act of Incorporation,” according to a receipt in Coit's receipt book for 1822– 1824. The petitions for incorporation that

the attorneys prepared were dated 5 December 1823 and were presented to each house of the General Assembly. The signers, James Coit and Henry N. Miller of Cheraw, and J.W. Cheesborough, Charles Edmondston, and John Robinson of Charleston, were the shareholders in the vessel.

In the months that followed the organization of the new company, Coit continued to record payments made on behalf of the Cheraw Steam Boat Company. On 2 March 1824, he paid \$105.00 to “Jas. Marsh for 70 days work of 2 Negro’s on Tow Boats at Geo.town.” Although the expenses recorded in Coit’s day book were not substantial, Coit revealed, in a letter to “Mr. [Rufus] Bunnell, written on 4 May 1824 and transcribed in his letter copy book 1823–1824, that the *Pee Dee* because of the difficulties she experienced “in the early part of this year...will little more than pay for her expenses....” Connecticut native Rufus Bunnell (1777–1826) was a partner with Joseph D. Beers (1780–1863) in Beers, Bunnell & Co., a brokerage business in New York City. Bunnell moved to Charleston in 1823 and established an office there. The company engaged in the cotton trade and also operated two steamboats, the *Columbia* and *Maid of Orleans*. Coit, in his letter, offered to unite with Bunnell in an effort to maximize the profits from the freighting business on the Pee Dee River for the benefit of the owners of the *Pee Dee* and *Columbia*. Coit explained that the *Pee Dee* was “now running with nearly full freight up & down [the river] with the prospect of Continuance for [the] balance of the Season.” He was also optimistic about the prospects for growth in the freighting business for the foreseeable future. He cited the on-going work by General David R. Williams and Mr. Gregg to clear obstruction from the Pee Dee River, “and the Bridge (a noble structure) [over the river at Cheraw] being already finished,” as factors that provided “the prospects of a good business” for the following year. He predicted “that the next

Season will give Cheraw at least 20 thousand bales of Cotton with an increase of up Freights." He informed Bunnell that "the P[ee] D[ee] cost the present owners \$11,000 with her 3 tow Boats, cabin Furniture & complete & is divided into 11 shares." After listing the share owners and the amount each had paid, Coit offered "to sell you half of our Stock [,] say 2 1/2 shares and will take \$2000 for it..." J. & J. Coit owned five shares for which they had paid \$5,000, but Coit was willing to sell half that interest at a loss. His object, he explained, was "in this way with our joint force to secure the Boat a certain good business and I have it further in view to form a line from Charleston to Cheraw by your pulling the Maid of O[rlleans] in, to ply between Geo town & ...[Charleston] for the main object of carrying freights round for the P.D. and to bring here all her Cotton."

Shipping cotton from Cheraw to Georgetown (S.C.) on the *Pee Dee* typically required two or three days, but the cotton then had to be transferred to a schooner or sloop for the voyage to Charleston. Even though the trip could be completed in a day or two, it was sometimes difficult to find a reliable captain. Coit, in a letter to Georgetown commission merchant Moses Tuttle (1790–1859), written from Charleston on 10 January 1824, explained that "Capt. Howren (a poor Sort of a Capt.) has just landed 36 Bales Cotton having losed one Bale, Stolen as he says off his deck." Robert Howron (1790–1849), was master of the schooner *Burrows* of Georgetown. Coit insisted that Tuttle "hereafter...ship no Cotton for me by any other of the Coasters than Capt. Wood or Baker & should neither of them be at Georgetown at the time you may have my Cotton in hand, keep it...until one of the said Captains can take it."

Steamboat service between Georgetown and Charleston would provide a more reliable means of transportation of cotton from that port

and would also expedite freight shipments between the two cities and then on to the Coits' store in Cheraw. Although there is no evidence that Bunnell accepted Coit's proposal to join forces, an advertisement published in the Cheraw *Intelligencer* in November 1824 indicated that Bunnell and the Cheraw Steam Boat Company cooperated on another venture. Henry N. Miller, agent for the Cheraw Steam Boat Company, and Beers, Bunnell & Co., agents for the steamboat *Columbia*, announced that the *Pee Dee* and *Columbia* were "now running their first trips...between Cheraw and Georgetown...and will hereafter, as far as is practicable, leave the above places regularly and alternately: a Boat to arrive at, and one to leave each place every three to five days."

Jonathan Coit recorded in his receipt book for 1822–1824, "left Charleston 23d June, gave up the Store & Keys to Mr. Kiddell." Although he continued with his usual business activities until he left town, the only mention of his approaching departure was in a letter, dated 3 June, to the Liverpool firm Crowder, Clough & Co. "I leave this in a few days for N[ew] York where hereafter, and until advised to the contrary, you will please address me to the care of Henry Coit," he wrote. Entries in his day book indicate that Coit settled his business accounts with his brother James, and thus ended their partnership, before he sailed to New York. On 31 May, he noted that the balance of the account of J. & J. Coit was "transferred to...James Coit per agreement at Cheraw 27 Apr[il] last for which his note [for] [\$]21,669.92 is Rec[eive]d."

A few days later, on 4 June, two day book entries document that, as a result of the 27 April settlement, an additional \$37,763.98 due James Coit & Co. was paid to James Coit, and that Jonathan Coit was due \$42,534.52 for his "half stock on hand at Cheraw," for which he had received a note payable in three years with interest. On 22 June, he settled two debts he owed the Second Independent Church in Charles-

ton: he paid fifty dollars, the “amount of his subscription for [an] Organ to be bought for” the church, and an additional \$6.60 “in full for 1/2 Pew Rent to April 1st 1824.” The next day, as he noted in his day book, “Jona[than] Coit left Charleston...in Ship Empress, Capt. Sinclair, and arrived in New York on...27 June.” He apparently remained in New York until at least 8 December 1826, when he received \$176.35 for the account of the “Estate James Bulgin.” In the final day book entry, dated 10 August 1843, and headed New London, he credited \$673.60 to the account of James Bulgin’s estate “being the proceeds of Sale of Georgia audited certificates belonging to said Esta[te] of an old date....”

Jonathan Coit apparently remained active in business after he left Charleston. Notations that he made in three of the volumes that he previously used for his South Carolina businesses indicate that he invested money, perhaps the profits from his previous mercantile ventures, in the maritime trade. On some of the blank pages of his receipt book used in Charleston 1822–1824, Coit recorded his investments in twenty-six vessels between 1832 and 1851 which he made after he returned home to New London (Connecticut). Many of the ships in which he invested were part of New London’s whaling fleet which, by the 1840s, was second only to New Bedford (Massachusetts), in the number of active whaling vessels. In most cases, Coit purchased a share in each voyage a vessel made and was responsible for paying a percentage of the cost of outfitting and supplying the ship for the trip to the whaling grounds. When the ship returned, he shared in the profits derived from the sale of whale oil, bones and other byproducts, according to the percentage of his investment share.

The ship *Phoenix* was one of the ships in which he consistently invested. He purchased one-eighth interest, equal to four shares in the ship’s impending voyage, on 26 March 1834 for \$1,250, and also paid

\$3,913.64 as his percentage of the cost for outfitting the ship. Other expenses, including interest and payments to the ship's agents, N. & W. Williams, brought his outlay to \$7,269.33; however, his proportion of the sale of 7,550 gallons of whale oil brought him only \$5,689.00 which resulted in a loss of \$1,580.33 on his investment. With other ships and voyages, he sometimes made modest profits. When the whaler *Charles Henry*, a vessel in which he purchased a one-twenty-fourth interest in July 1845, returned from the Indian Ocean by way of the Falkland Islands, it ran aground near Montauk Point, New York, on the way to her home port and was lost. Coit, however, recorded a gain of \$785.40 on his investment because the ship was insured and, as a result, he "recov[ere]d 1343.55 from [the] underwriters."

In 1832, the year Coit recorded his first investment in a whaling voyage, he also began, in June, an account titled "Hobran Land, House &c," in a small volume he had previously used while in Charleston. Coit noted two payments, that equaled \$2,300, he had made on 23 June for "purchase due this day" and an additional \$.25 "paid [for] Recording Titles." He also noted a payment to "Robertson for making East wall and filling in &c, 1830 &31," and payments to workmen for "making Fence" and "washing Fence." Also in November, he purchased from Robert Coit "Lumber & nails for Fence." The last entry, dated 1 December 1841, was for \$300.00 he had received "for 1 Lot sold Weaver & Rogers." Another small leather-bound book is titled "Jonathan Coit in a/c with Robert Coit & Co." and in it Coit recorded his purchases, mainly coal, lumber, nails and other hardware, from 1846 until November 1854. Robert Coit, although distantly related to Jonathan, had married Charlotte Coit, Jonathan's niece, the daughter of his brother David and his wife Betsy Calkins, in 1821.

James Coit, Jonathan's brother, remained in Cheraw (S.C.) and

continued in business until his death on 19 July 1827. In 1825, he married Frances Taber (circa 1800–1865), originally from New London (Connecticut), but a resident of Fayetteville (North Carolina), at the time. One son, James Jonathan Coit, was born in Cheraw on 26 March 1827, only a few months before the death of his father, which occurred on 19 July 1827.

Although James's widow and son later moved to Louisiana where she married, as his second wife, wealthy landowner John Buhler (1786–1866), two other Coit families settled in South Carolina, likely influenced in their decisions by the presence of their relatives, Jonathan and James, in the state. John Calkins Coit (1799–1863), the son of Jonathan's brother David and his wife Betsy Calkins, moved from New London to Charleston soon after he graduated from Yale College in 1818. He continued his law studies in Charleston and was admitted to the South Carolina bar in 1822. On 27 April 1822, he signed a receipt, preserved in Jonathan's receipt book for 1822–1824, by which he acknowledged that his uncle had paid him fifty dollars the previous February and another fifty dollars that day. A few days later, on 11 May, he received an additional \$200 from Jonathan. By the time Jonathan paid William H. Berrett's account "against J.C. Coit Esq." for \$354.19, on 26 April 1823, his nephew was living in Cheraw. John C. Coit's brother, David Gardiner Coit (1800–1837), who had graduated from Yale College in 1819, then studied law in New London, and was admitted to the Connecticut bar, relocated to Marlborough District (South Carolina), in 1822, about the same time John C. moved to nearby Cheraw. David was admitted to the South Carolina bar in 1823. The brothers were both married in 1825: John C. to Ann Maria Campbell (1800–1831) and David G. to Maria Campbell (died 1846). Each couple left prominent descendants scattered throughout the Pee Dee region of the state.

Jonathan Coit lived among his relatives in New London until his death on 17 December 1855. According to contemporary newspaper accounts, he left an estate valued at three hundred thousand dollars. While much of that amount was bequeathed to female relatives, probably his surviving sister Susan Coit (1783–1856) and his nieces and cousins, he also remembered the churches of New London to which he left a total of thirty thousand dollars, with a decided preference to the town's two Congregational congregations. Another \$18,500 was specified for local benevolent institutions and five thousand dollars was designated for the American Colonization Society. The writer of an article which appeared in the New London *Star* praised Coit's choice of recipients for his generosity: "those charities are most judicious and Christian like, and give the fullest satisfaction. Indeed, they are well worth the emulation of wealthy and benevolent people everywhere. Many will bless the name of Jonathan Coit." **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

**TOLLIVER CLEVELAND CALLISON PAPERS,
1944–1948**

The South Caroliniana Library's existing holdings of the papers of Tolliver Cleveland Callison (1884–1966) have been augmented by a gift of 188 items documenting the founding of Blue Cross in South Carolina. The materials consist chiefly of correspondence between T.C. Callison and the other founding members of the Blue Cross board as well as official documents relating to the establishment of the organization.

Following passage of a 1939 act, a five-county hospital service was organized and headquartered in Greenville (S.C.), and beginning in 1941, the hospital and medical associations in the state, joined by local business leaders, lobbied for a new act allowing for a statewide nonprofit

hospital service plan. Afterward, the first bill introduced in the legislative session was not passed “due to parliamentary proceedings which we feel were caused by certain opposition,” according to the information the organizing group mailed to prospective board members in late 1944.

In a letter dated 28 September 1944, J.B. Norman (1906–1978), Greenville General Hospital superintendent and chairman of the informal Blue Cross organizing committee, acknowledged that larger hospitals were experiencing financial strain as the result of their treatment of patients from nearby counties without adequate medical facilities. He stated that hospital managers, laymen, and legislators agreed that hospitals should be reimbursed “through a state charity program” and noted the attempt to establish a “Blue Cross Hospital Plan.” The South Carolina Medical Association executive director, M.L. Meadors (1904–1980), concurred that the attempt to organize a Blue Cross plan fit well with the Medical Association’s “Ten Point Program” and said they would do “whatever is necessary to pave the way for the Blue Cross plan.”

The organizing committee coalesced more formally in November 1944 as a directorate and mailed letters inviting twenty-five hospital representatives, physicians, and business leaders to join this board. The invitation letter includes background on the national Blue Cross movement, stating it began with the 1936 efforts by Baylor University teachers and the university hospital. The plans proliferated and by 1944 had fifteen million people enrolled and had paid more than five million hospital bills amounting to more than \$250 million dollars. The American Hospital Association inaugurated a commission to “use as a stamp of approval of these plans the stamp that is so widely known today as ‘the Blue Cross Stamp.’” As of the writing of the letter, there were eighty plans in operation and membership was growing at more than one million subscribers a year.

The letters from J.B. Norman ask invitees to give “serious consideration to this request of your valuable time for a service to the citizens of this state.” All but one accepted and the responses were overwhelmingly positive. R.W. Arrington (1893–1947), of Greenville (S.C.), accepted and noted that he was “very much interested in low cost hospital and medical services for the masses and hope the efforts being put forward along this line will head off anything resembling socialized medicine by the federal government.” Dr. George H. Bunch (1879–1950), of Columbia (S.C.), wrote, “I beg to say that as far as I can determine the plan as outlined is both desirable and feasible. I shall accept a place on the board of directors if it is tendered me and I promise to cooperate to the best of my ability in making the undertaking a success.” Regarding the success of the invitations, Norman remarked, “I am quite pleased with the response to this proposal, feeling in the beginning that a 50 or 60 percent acceptance would be excellent. I might state, that the lay members are business men of the highest caliber in this state, and an acceptance to serve on their part means a considerable sacrifice.”

Norman described the upcoming inaugural directorate meeting as an “educational and ‘booster’ type meeting,” and asked for any literature, posters, and promotional materials “to decorate the room,” and had already had distributed articles from the *Wall Street Journal*, *Nation’s Business*, and *Business Week* in the original letters to the proposed board of directors. In preparation for the meeting, Norman prepared a document that outlined the eight objectives of the board: pass enabling legislation; set up an organization by committees that could be approved by the national Hospital Service Plan Commission as a Blue Cross plan; select a name; secure minimum capital of \$25,000; cover the entire state with at least fifty percent enrollment; write contracts; select an executive secretary to administer the plan under the board of directors; and make

satisfactory contracts with approved hospitals “possibly paying the entire hospital bill of the subscriber.” Norman also suggested the organization of the directorate include a chairman, vice chairman, secretary, treasurer, and eight committees.

J.B. Norman began communicating with Dr. W.S. Rankin (1879–1970), director of the Duke Endowment, which had helped fund the original five-county Greenville (S.C.) plan, and invited Rankin to attend the inaugural directorate meeting. “Your presence at this meeting,” Norman wrote, “would certainly add prestige to the meeting and your advise (sic) would definitely be of tremendous value to us in this new venture. We hope to proceed rather fast with this organization, however we are very anxious to organize and operate it on a sound and economical basis.” Rankin declined but responded that he was “especially impressed with the representative and influential group that are to serve...If this idea can be carried into effect, it will unquestionably prove of tremendous benefit to the people of South Carolina and mean much in the support and development of adequate hospital care.”

The first directorate meeting was held on 30 November 1944 at the Wade Hampton Hotel in Columbia (S.C.). The group heard a presentation from the secretary of the Cincinnati plan on organizing and operating a Blue Cross plan, and nominations for officers were made. Board officers and the Executive Committee were elected by secret ballot, and the Executive Committee met the next morning and appointed subcommittees.

The group needed to raise a minimum of \$5,000 to incorporate so they drafted a master letter to be sent to prospective donors. The letter stated that starting a Blue Cross plan in South Carolina “will take thousands of our less fortunate people off of the charity hospitalization rolls, and place them on a self-respecting paying basis, as it has already done in our

neighboring states of North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama and Georgia.” The money would be raised from the citizens of South Carolina who “have the welfare and advancement of the state at heart.” The solicitation letter also includes a list of the officers and directors elected at the inaugural meeting.

On 30 November 1944 the Associated Press published a news article titled “Hospitalization Plan Proposed” with a subtitle that read, “Pre-Payment Program Under Blue Cross Symbol Favorably Received.” The article reported that the statewide pre-payment plan was proposed at a meeting in Columbia, and that the proposal required enabling legislation, professional sponsorship, nonprofit organization, and financial solvency. “The gathering was the first of a series which the group proposed to hold through the state to build up sponsorship and obtain necessary legislation.” The article also named the board officers and the Executive Committee members.

The Blue Cross Hospital Service Plan Commission, Chicago, provided copies of three pamphlets and specimen charter, by-laws, contracts, a directory of contract provisions, the approved national contract for employed groups, and a proposed model law as a suggested enabling act.

In 1945, the Executive Committee asked the South Carolina Medical Association to urge its membership to support passage of the enabling act with their legislators. To defray expenses of the legislative campaign, A.B. Taylor (1885–1963), of Spartanburg (S.C.), donated \$1,000 which was deposited in the company’s first account at South Carolina National Bank.

In preparation for the 30 January 1945 hearing before the state Senate’s Banking and Insurance Committee, the directorate members contacted their senators and others who might be influential. They

expected that “a determined fight (from commercial insurance companies) on the bill will doubtless be made in committee and a great deal depends upon its being reported out favorably at the earliest possible date.”

John Williams (1901–1982), a former Senate president who had served for more than twenty-five years in the legislature, phoned the Reverend George Lewis Smith (1904–1987) and claimed that “he was so interested in this bill that if [Smith] or Mr. Callison let him know who is holding it up he will personally telephone to them.” Williams also said they should “get a good Columbia lawyer to go to the Legislature each day and push our bill through.”

House Bill 49/Senate Bill 408 was read for the first time in the House on 14 March 1945. The bill required that these non-profit and non-stock organizations have at least \$5,000 in assets, and that they would be declared to be charitable and benevolent and would be exempt from taxes. When the bill was passed, the Blue Cross committee thanked the medical association for its support. A letter describing the efforts to pass the legislation states, “This was an up-hill fight and much credit is due not only the Legislative Committee but all others who participated in this effort.”

James E. Stuart (1897–1968), executive vice president of Hospital Care Corporation in Cincinnati, Ohio, wrote to Norman after reviewing the bill: “on the whole I think this is a good piece of legislation if you can hold all your hospitals in line. In some respects it is even stronger than our enabling act.” However, he and other leaders from the national Blue Cross commission had concerns about the legislation limiting salaries to \$4,000. Greenville (S.C.) mayor C.F. McCullough (1922–1988) wrote and offered Greenville as “the ideal solution” for the Blue Cross headquarters, “being in the center of the thickly populated industrial area of our State, in

which area most of the policies would be written.”

It remained uncertain throughout 1945 whether the governor would sign the legislation. M.L. Meadors wrote to T.C. Callison: “The attitude of the governor seems to be somewhat more in doubt just now than it was immediately following the close of the legislative session.” A letter from Governor Ransome J. Williams (1892–1970) to Meadors states, “I want to sign the Blue Cross Bill. From a moral standpoint, I think it will mean a lot to the poor people, however it isn’t a perfect bill, and I am quite sure that it will have to be amended a great deal next year. I have just been waiting to get some legal advice on the matter.”

The hopeful response prompted a flurry of letters and meetings through the summer and fall about the future of the Blue Cross. Callison called the Blue Cross directorate to meet again on 11 December 1945 at the Wade Hampton Hotel in Columbia (S.C.), “with a view of determining what course should be taken in anticipation of the Blue Cross Hospital law actually becoming a law in the near future.” Minutes of the meeting document that the attendees covered a number of pertinent points. Callison explained that the governor had promised to sign the Blue Cross bill at the opening of the General Assembly in January. The governor would recommend amendments eliminating the \$4,000 salary limitation and eliminating a provision disallowing commercial insurance companies from operating under this act.

The group voted to move forward by establishing a five-person committee in charge of developing a plan to apply for a charter. They discussed the possibility of starting with the existing organization of the five-county Hospital Benefit Association in Greenville (S.C.) and this discussion detailed some of the costs and fees associated with that organization: new policies cost \$0.75 monthly for single persons and

\$1.50 for families and surgery could be added. Surgery premiums were \$3.00 for ward coverage, while the average charges by hospitals in that five-county area were \$3.10/day for ward and \$1.85 for “extras” and the Hospital Service Plan agreed to pay \$5.00 for complete ward coverage for twenty-one days. After five years of operation, that association had nine thousand members, paid about \$60,000 in claims, and had \$32,000 in the bank.

The next step for the charter committee was to compile research and determine the exact structure Blue Cross would take. They suggested a name and principal place of business, gathered proposed bylaws, sample contracts with hospitals, and sample contracts with subscribers. Their research would facilitate discussion and resolution by the directorate. The Hospital Service Plan Commission in Chicago provided more specimen constitutions and bylaws from previously organized Blue Cross plans and sent documents from the plans in Philadelphia, Colorado, and Rhode Island. Norman cautioned his cohorts that crafting the best contract between hospitals and subscribers “is quite a problem and probably should not be done without considerable thought and effort.” The coordinators of the local Greenville plan had spent months studying this problem and now had what was considered “ideal” contracts, according to some correspondence.

Throughout these discussions, the directorate still waited for the governor’s signature. A letter in January 1946 to E.H. Agnew (1894–1977), who was serving as South Carolina Farm Bureau president, from J.B Norman explains the “four-year” movement to develop a state Blue Cross plan, and asks Farm Bureau representatives to express support to the governor. He wrote, “We are very anxious to get this in operation as soon as possible and firmly believe that the backing of your organization will have a strong effect on it. We also desire to include members of the

South Carolina Farm Bureau as among the first of the contracting groups." Agnew responded that the matter would be discussed at a meeting of the Farm Bureau's state directors on 11 January in Columbia, and remarked that he was "anxious that the South Carolina Farm Bureau with its more than eight thousand members, all of whom are farm people who really need this service to adopt this plan at the earliest possible date."

In a letter to the other members of the directorate dated 17 January 1946, T.C. Callison (acting as chairman) reported that the governor signed the bill, but requested no organization "be perfected" pending amendments he hoped to have passed in the current legislative session. Callison wrote, "I do not feel that I can assume the responsibility for delaying action in this matter as requested by the Governor, and am calling a meeting of the entire personnel of the proposed membership of the organization in order that they may take such action as they think advisable." He set the meeting for 24 January at the Columbia Hotel. "This will be a vitally important meeting, and I urge every one who expects to participate in a permanent organization to be present." Those present and those who indicated in writing that they could not attend "will constitute the initial personnel of a permanent organization."

In this meeting the directorate made several key decisions about how to proceed in light of the governor's request. Buchanan reported that he had been in close contact with the governor between the legislature's passage of the enabling act and the governor's signing it on 10 January 1946. The joint House/Senate committee appointed to study the insurance code had expressed interest in introducing amendments to the act, and Callison reported that the governor, in comments reported by the media, had requested that no group organize under the act until amendments could be passed to improve it. The attendees voted to move

ahead with plans for organization but to decide later when to apply for a charter. The chartering committee proposed by-laws, which were discussed section by section. The members recommended changes, and the attendees voted to accept the bylaws with the suggested revisions after Meadors, Callison, or Bennett reviewed them for legal corrections.

The "By-Laws of South Carolina Service Plan, Inc.," as revised in this meeting on 24 January 1946, is an eleven-page document outlining twenty articles. It addresses such points as non-profit status, purpose, membership, meetings, voting, board of directors make-up, fiscal year, and future amendments to bylaws and articles of incorporation. Five members were appointed to nominate board members and recommend the number to be nominated and the duration of terms of service. A minimum of twenty-five percent were to be from hospital administrators and trustees, physicians and the public, each. A committee was appointed to meet with the executive committee of the Greenville Hospital Service Plan "with the idea of making it the nucleus of the state-wide plan."

In April 1946, Callison wrote that the legislature adjourned "without disturbing the Blue Cross Hospital law passed a year ago. It is now time to perfect our organization and apply for a charter." He set 26 April at the Wade Hampton Hotel as the date for a meeting to "perfect our organization" and enclosed a list of names proposed for the new board. "Please remember the date and place of meeting and lay everything aside in order to attend as this will probably be the most important meeting yet held by those interested in the organization of the Blue Cross Hospital Plan."

The minutes of the meeting were mailed to fifteen people addressed as "board members" and named the ten members who were present at the meeting. The record reports who was elected, the length of their terms,

and who represented physicians, the public, or hospitals. Members also were elected to the finance, charter, and publicity committees, as well as a committee to recommend an executive director. Roger Huntington (1884–1954), president of the board, explained the possibility of the statewide plan merging with the existing plan in Greenville. It was agreed to visit the board of the Greenville plan and to finalize the location for the home office of the new plan.

J.B. Norman, mailed a copy of the contracts used in the Greenville-based plan and noted that the Blue Cross Commission, Chicago, “has endorsed this contract very highly and it is now being studied by several of the Blue Cross plans with the idea of using it in these plans.” He asked for the charter members’ review of the document. The contract states that the Greenville association would pay \$3.00 per day for ward accommodations, \$3.00 per day for semi-private or private room, \$2.00 per day for “all other services as specified in the member’s certificate” and \$7.50 for emergency room care. Should the association show an operating deficit, each contracting hospital would share equally in covering the deficit via deductions from future amounts owed to the hospitals by the association, and any surpluses would be paid back to the hospitals. The association would only cover up to twenty-one days hospitalization per person per year. Rates were subject to approval by the state’s insurance commissioner. The hospital could cancel the contract with six months’ notice, and the association could cancel the contract with sixty days notice. By signing the contract, the hospital “hereby applies for membership in said Association.”

They also examined the Greenville plan’s subscriber contract. It states that the association would pay \$3.00 per day for hospitalization for up to twenty-one days during any twelve-month period, it defines various terms, states that the contract would be cancelled if fees are not paid within

thirty days after due date, defines member hospitals, and identifies services covered. Maternity benefits were payable only on a family policy and after ten months from enrollment. It defines services not covered, such as mental disorders, venereal disease, and alcoholism or other addictions. Should a member obtain care from a non-member hospital, the association would pay \$4.00 per day.

A document describing the history of the original Greenville-based plan shows that their first year's premiums were ten cents for individuals and twenty-five cents for families, payable weekly. The Duke Endowment, which had studied American and European approaches to remediating average citizens' inability to afford hospital care, played a major role in its founding, along with forty-eight Greenville civic leaders. The board was able to secure a total of \$10,000 in funds to establish the organization from the city and county of Greenville (S.C.) and the Duke Endowment.

A.C. Mann (1918–2002), of Mann & Arnold attorneys, Greenville, helped determine the legal needs for transforming the Hospital Benefit Association of South Carolina (i.e., Greenville Hospital Service Plan) into the new statewide plan. A letter of several pages details whether the existing five-county association would have to recharter or if they could operate under their current charter and amend their documents.

Throughout the Spring of 1946, board members continued their efforts to set up the statewide Blue Cross organization. In May, M.L. Meadors reported that the South Carolina Senate approved of the House amendments to the act, which was informally called "the Blue Cross bill," and the governor indicated that he would sign. The board met again on 24 May in the Poinsett Hotel in Greenville (S.C.) to study the operation of the Greenville-based plan, receive committee reports, and confer with representatives of the American Hospital Association Blue Cross. At this meeting, they voted to adopt the contracts then in operation with the

Greenville-based plan. In June, Callison mailed a declaration of charter to Roger Huntington to be signed by the latter as Blue Cross president and by the secretary and treasurer. Callison also suggested that the required three-days public notice be placed in a Greenville newspaper, the planned location of the home office.

In addition to completing the necessary paperwork, the board needed to solicit the start-up operating funds. A report to the board dated 21 August 1946 from Roger Huntington details that the organization had received \$1,341.66 from five directors to be put toward the initial capital of \$5,000 necessary to incorporate, with one member successfully soliciting donations of one hundred dollars each from prominent friends. Huntington encouraged all to continue their efforts. "The early completion of this solicitation is very important, both from the angle of obtaining our charter without further delay, and for the assurance it will convey to the Duke Endowment of our own State backing." J.B. Norman, then treasurer, reported in a 31 October letter that donations totaled \$2,016.66. "We have very good reason to believe that the Duke Endowment will make an adequate contribution as soon as we raise \$5,000 in this state." He urged the rest of the directors to move forward: "This is holding up our application for charter and it must be made within the next thirty days if we expect to begin operation around the first of January."

Minutes of the board meeting on 20 November at the Wade Hampton Hotel in Columbia indicate that the board voted to ask one of their committees, headed by A.B. Taylor (1885–1963), to work with the Greenville Hospital Service Association to merge with the statewide plan. They read a letter from the South Carolina Hospital Association stating that it would give \$1,000 toward the salary of a part-time executive secretary for the association for six months. Half of the required \$5,000 had been raised and they discussed how to raise the rest. They voted

that each hospital be asked to contribute since “the Blue Cross plan had been sponsored from the beginning by the South Carolina Hospital Association.” The next board meeting would be 5 December 1946.

Progress toward establishing a fully functional Blue Cross continued when T.C. Callison received a letter, dated 6 December, from Mann & Arnold attorneys, of Greenville (S.C.), which contained a copy of the notice for charter. The attorneys scheduled the notice for publication in the *Greenville Piedmont* newspaper on 6 December. It enumerates the fifteen members who intend to file a written Declaration of Charter on 10 December to the South Carolina Secretary of State asking that a charter be issued to the “South Carolina Hospital Service Plan.” It would be organized under authority contained in Act 417, approved 10 January 1946.

The official South Carolina charter document was submitted to the secretary of state on 10 December 1946. It names the fifteen petitioners; establishes the name of the organization as the “South Carolina Hospital Service Plan Inc.,” with principal place of business in Greenville; states its purpose; and names its officers—Roger Huntington, president, and George Buchanan, vice-president. The charter states that they successfully raised \$5,300 in cash on deposit at South Carolina National Bank in Greenville and that they had published the notice of intent in the *Greenville Piedmont*.

Following the charter, the company had to be licensed and set up to begin operating. There was an effort to transfer the previous Greenville-based subscribers to the new statewide plan as well as to recruit new subscribers. Surviving documents suggest that operations officially began in April 1947, and the Blue Cross board of directors reported enrollment and financials data as early as that May. This report shows the new plan had a net enrollment of 13,068 subscribers, of which 2,286 had

transferred from the Greenville plan. The company transferred \$15,229.96 in reserves from the Greenville plan. The new plan had \$3,470.44 in income and \$4,308.17 in expenses. The balance sheet shows \$22,720.84 in total liabilities, including \$1,280.50 in hospital bills.

Board meetings on 14 May and 18 August, at the Wade Hampton Hotel in Columbia, marked the beginning of their quarterly meetings. At the August meeting, J.B. Norman reported that the Duke Foundation had donated \$10,000. The company's new executive director, Allen D. Howland, said enrollment was at nineteen thousand persons and twenty-four member hospitals. Six field sales representatives had been hired and business was steady despite heavy competition from commercial insurance companies.

The five-county Greenville-based Hospital Benefit Association would terminate as a corporation as of 1 October 1947. Also during this meeting, the board dealt with the company's first hospital dispute. A letter from Roper Hospital in Charleston was read in which hospital management regretted their inability to participate because the hospital would incur financial losses. Roper Hospital representatives requested that the Blue Cross board consider a revision to their plan. The board agreed that they should not allow special contracts for a particular hospital. They established a committee to discuss the matter with the Charleston County delegation, Roper Hospital commissioners, and state and public authorities.

In January 1948, Roger Huntington, president, mailed a letter to T.C. Callison stating that the first annual meeting of the membership would be held on 11 February 1948. At that meeting, directors would be elected to replace those whose terms would expire, and he asked Callison to serve on the nominating committee and to prepare a slate of names.

Executive Director Allen D. Howland (1910–1999) gave the first year's

operations report to the annual members meeting. The report covers the period between 1 April and 31 December 1947 and highlights the merger of the Greenville plan with the statewide Blue Cross plan, enrollment, financial experience, member hospitals, and future plans. With the merger, the City of Greenville (S.C.) authorized transfer of its original contribution of \$2,000 to the new statewide plan, the County of Greenville was expected to do the same with its original \$4,000 contribution, and the Duke Foundation would authorize transfer of its \$4,000 original contribution.

The six field representatives were divided across the South Carolina communities of Greenville, Spartanburg, Columbia, Camden, and Charleston. A branch enrollment office was opened in Spartanburg in December 1946 and there were plans to open another in Columbia. Enrollment steadily increased through the year, and the Plan showed a profit in November and December that was almost enough to pay off the accumulated deficit (final deficit was \$414.93). There were twenty-seven letters she had received and news of neighbors and acquaintances. One ore hospitals have not agreed to participate.”

As of April 1948, a full year after operations began, the company had net enrollment of 40,882. They had \$84,468.08 year-to-date earned income, \$60,504.40 in hospital expenses, \$20,385.25 in operating expenses, for net income of \$3,578.43. They also had started noting reserves and surplus: \$2,532.75 in reserves and \$1,045.68 in surplus.

At the 14 May 1948 board meeting, held at the Fort Sumter Hotel in Charleston, the treasurer reported that the reserve transferred from the Greenville plan had been invested in insured savings and loan associations in Sumter, Beaufort, and Greenwood. The Committee on Hospital Reimbursement reported in detail at this meeting. The board agreed that reimbursement based on billings or costs could not be considered at this

point but they encouraged an increase in payments as soon as possible. They recommended the establishment of stop-loss figures. These would be inducements to bring more hospitals on board. With some adjustments, the board voted to approve the committee's recommendations, notify all hospitals, and secure the approval of the insurance commissioner. The national Blue Cross Commission had re-approved the South Carolina Plan and urged bringing in more hospitals.

Dr. Julian P. Price (1901–1990) reported that enabling legislation for the formation of a medical and surgical plan had been passed by the legislature and that the South Carolina Medical Association had appointed a committee to study organizing such a plan. This would eventually become the Blue Shield plan, later to merge with the Blue Cross plan. **Gift of Ms. Elizabeth Hammond.**

**MACK FAMILY PAPERS,
1840, 1843, 1853, 1854 and 1859–1972**

An addition of 891 manuscripts of the Mack and Banks families in 2017 increased the South Caroliniana Library's holdings of the papers of those two families to over 4,600 items. While the earlier acquisitions of Banks and Mack letters, in 1992–1993 and in 2015, focused mainly on the period after 1865, the most recent family archive included a few antebellum documents as well as scattered late nineteenth- and twentieth-century items, but much of the correspondence in this addition was generated between 1860 and 1868. Those letters chronicle the courtship and engagement of Harriet (Hattie) Hudson Banks (1845–1937), the only daughter of Presbyterian minister William Banks (1814–1875) and his wife Mary Elvira Harrington (1823–1905), and Joseph Bingham Mack (1838–1912), who graduated from the Columbia Theological Seminary with the class of 1861 and then assumed the pastorate of the Salem Black River Presbyterian Church in Mayesville, Sumter District, South Carolina.

Although this donation focuses on Joseph Bingham Mack and Hattie Banks Mack, it also includes letters from the parents and siblings of both correspondents, as well as numerous cousins and other relatives. Joseph Mack was a Presbyterian minister who served churches in South Carolina, North Carolina, and Georgia for over fifty years, and the correspondence reflects his pastoral duties and his connections with Columbia Theological Seminary, in South Carolina's capitol, where, in the 1880s, he served as financial agent and member of the board of directors. Joe's father, William Mack, a graduate of Princeton Theological Seminary and a life-long Presbyterian minister, helped mold his son's traditional Calvinist theology. Hattie Banks joined her father's church as a young girl, and frequently engaged in discussions centered on her

religious convictions in her letters to Joe Mack during the years they were engaged. Her mother, Mary Elizabeth Harrington, was also the daughter of a Presbyterian minister, the Reverend John Harrington (1790–1859), pastor of Mt. Zion Presbyterian Church, in Sumter District, South Carolina, during the 1830s. Hattie, was named for her grandmother, Elizabeth Harriet Hudson Harrington (1804–1898), and often visited her grandparents, and other Harrington relatives, in Sumter District during her childhood. Hattie's cousin, Henry Howard Banks (1839–1878), the son of the Reverend Alexander Robinson Banks (1808–1890), her father's brother and yet another Presbyterian minister, was a frequent visitor in the Banks' household while he attended Columbia Theological Seminary.

Joe Mack was Henry's classmate and it is probable that he met Hattie when Henry invited him to accompany him on a visit to the Banks family. It is little wonder that the tenants of the Presbyterian faith, including efforts to convert family members and friends, concerns about personal lapses in daily life and the consequences of sin, were often topics for comment and discussion in the letters written by members of the Mack and Banks families. Because both Joe Mack and William Banks served as chaplains during the Civil War, their letters frequently conveyed their observations about the state of religion in the Confederate army. The majority of the letters in the collection, however, simply repeated family news, including the state of health, or illness, of household members, births and deaths of relatives and friends, progress in school and college studies, and weather and its impact on crops and livestock.

From 1861 through 1865, family letters often detailed the war's impact on the small, rural communities where the letter writers lived, especially after the young men joined companies that were sent off to fight battles in distant places. Hattie, who attended both Yorkville Female College and Laurensville Female College, frequently described her experiences as a

student in small South Carolina towns during the war years in her letters to her parents, her brother Alex, and to Joe Mack. After Joe and Hattie were married in December 1864, their letters focused on domestic concerns, household duties, and Joe's ministerial duties, but after the births of their first two children, William in 1866 and Alexander 1868, the children's health and well-being dominated much of their correspondence.

Joseph Bingham Mack was born in New York on 24 December 1838 while the family lived in Rochester where the Reverend William Mack was pastor of the Third Presbyterian Church. Joseph's mother and father had married on 2 November 1835 in New York City. Their first child, Sarah Frances Mack, was born 3 November 1836, but died less than a year later, on 23 September 1837. She was buried in Rochester. The third child, Mary Elizabeth Mack (1841–1920), was born in Knoxville, Tennessee, where the family lived from 1840 until 1843 while William was pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church. By December 1843, the family had moved to Columbia, Tennessee, where William preached for the congregation of the First Presbyterian Church and also served as president of Jackson College.

Two more children were born there: William Luther Mack (1845–1899) and Cornelia Mayes Mack (1848–1867). Elizabeth Mack died 7 July 1851 and three years later, William married, on 25 October 1854, Sarah Ann Boardman, the daughter of a Vermont Congregationalist minister, the Reverend Elderkin J. Boardman (1791–1864) and his wife, Anne Gookin Boardman (1797–1842). Sarah, along with her sister Louisa, had moved to Pulaski, Tennessee, about 1850, where they both taught school. Two children were born to this marriage. Edward Gookin Mack (1857–1928) and Walter Mack who died as an infant on 10 August 1863.

The earliest letter in this addition to the collection was written by

Elizabeth Scoville Bingham Mack to her husband while he traveled in Tennessee, apparently seeking a new location to continue his ministry. Posted on 20 January 1840 in Coventry (Connecticut), and signed as “your *own* and *only* Libby,” the letter detailed Elizabeth’s activities while in Connecticut, where she and thirteen-month-old Joe had gone to visit family members, which included her widowed mother, Sarah Church Scoville Bingham (1785–1856), and her mother’s sister, Elizabeth (Betsey) Scoville Calhoun (1789–1857), and her husband, the Reverend George Albion Calhoun (1788–1867), the pastor of the Congregational Church in North Coventry. Her father, Luther Bingham (1782–1830), had died a decade earlier. “Aunt and Uncle are extremely kind and leave nothing untried to make the time pass pleasantly,” she wrote. During the previous week, she and her aunt and uncle had visited East Windsor, the location of the Theological Institute of Connecticut, of which the Reverend Calhoun had been a trustee since the school’s founding in 1833. “It is a ride of fourteen miles from Coventry,” she began, but “we started early in the morning and found that it was the coldest day we have had this winter, the thermometer being seventeen degrees below *Zero*. We were so warmly clad with bricks at our feet and *stones* in our laps that we rode with *some* degree of comfort. We dined at Dr. Tyler’s a delightful family and met all the professors at Mr. [Erastus] Ellsworth’s...[at] tea.”

Bennet Tyler (1783–1857) had served as president of Dartmouth College from 1822 through 1828, then pastored a church in Portland (Maine), before he participated in a movement to oppose the progressive theology championed by Nathaniel W. Taylor, the head of the Yale Divinity School, through the establishment of a seminary at East Windsor with a more traditional Calvinist view of God and theology. Elizabeth’s visit occurred just at the time when the Reverend Calhoun had joined in the on-going war of words between the contending schools of theology,

which had been labeled “Tylerism vs. Taylorism” in the press, by penning a series a letters addressed to the Reverend Leonard Bacon, the pastor of the First Congregational Church in New Haven, whom Calhoun accused of attacking the work of the Theological Institute. “Uncle’s letters are causing quite a sensation,” she observed. The president of Yale College, Jeremiah Day, she continued, “thinks Mr. Bacon will scarcely be able to reply to them.” She demonstrated her sense of humor when she repeated a conversation she had had with Dr. Tyler. “I told Dr. T. that you thought by the time I saw you in the spring, I should be opposed to Taylorism [and] he laughed heartily.” In her letter, she also described some of the traits their son Joe exhibited while away from home. She noted that Joe “has some temper likewise [and] I have had to whip [him] several times.... He does not talk yet, occasionally he sings... pretty loud and fights the little coloured girl who is two year the oldest. He is a *boy* in every *sense* of the word.” The letter was addressed to “Rev. William Mack, Pulaski, Tennessee,” but when it arrived there, William was no longer in town, and the letter was forwarded to Blountsville and then Knoxville.

William Mack had left his church in Rochester (New York), late in 1839 and was apparently traveling through Tennessee as a missionary and preaching occasionally. Libby referred to one of her husband’s recent letters: “You speak of only preaching once. Was that in reference to your mission or agency [?]” She then cautioned him to “be extremely careful of the cold weather as I before told you [and] keep warm, nights, if possible.” She was confident, however, that he would “meet with hospitality and kindness from southern housekeepers” and asserted that “[t]here is no lack of liberality in this respect and you will avail yourself of it, I hope, so far as your health demands it.”

The earliest Banks family-related letter in the collection is dated 30

August 1843, addressed to Mrs. Mary E. Banks, Hazlewood P.O., Chester District (South Carolina), and was written by Jane Harris Gregg (1824–1865), the wife of the Reverend George Cooper Gregg (1814–1861), the pastor of Salem Presbyterian Church in Sumter District (South Carolina). Jane and Mary were childhood friends, and both were recent brides of Presbyterian ministers. Jane and George Gregg married in December 1842 while Mary and William Banks had wed a year earlier, in December 1841. Jane not only shared news of her family with Mary, but also described her feelings about married life and her role as a minister's wife. She explained to Mary that "in writing to you I always feel as if I must be very personal; it is our old way, and the best way between friends." In keeping with that sentiment, she devoted a page of her three-page letter "in discussing *ourselves & our affairs*." After assuring Mary that she and her husband were "very happy with each other [and] so far all is harmony & love," she admitted that she had "to contend with... my temper (you know that too much temper is my infirmity) but Mr. Gregg is patient & forbearing....On the spur of the moment I have several times spoken harshly to him, he never says a word even in vindication of himself, but quietly waits till I am calm...[and] then says, 'well Jane one of us must give up, now which shall it be?'" Jane Gregg encouraged Mary Banks to "write as often as you can" and visit whenever she had the opportunity. "Your mother is very anxious to see you, and so are we all. Your father is very feeble, tho perhaps a little better for a week past."

Six letters, dated 1853 and 1854, illustrate the interests and character of Joe Mack as a teenager. Three of the letters were from Thomas Hart Benton Hockaday (1835–1918), Joe's friend who lived in Spring Hill, a dozen miles northeast of Joe's home, and all were dated 1853. "You are (I presume) still heels over head in love with H[?] Go it Joe, or stand back, 'blush and say nothing,'" he teased in a letter written 26 January

1853.

In two subsequent letters, dated in September and October 1853, he continued in the same vein, but with regard to another girl. "I have seen Lucy several times since you left, but have had no opportunity of conversing with her; but I have sent a bushel or two of your love to her," he remarked in his September letter. In a letter written on 7 October 1853, he mentioned to Joe that he had recently attended two camp meetings and at one had seen "*your dear beloved Lucy*." "She looks as pretty, as handsome, as amiable and as pleasant as ever," he continued. "But alas! for Miss L... perhaps you have been so captivated, so charmed and so enchanted by some other fair one, that you have not thought of her!!!" The other three letters from 1853–1854, were from Joe to his sister Mary.

With the death of Elizabeth Bingham Mack on 7 July 1851, her husband was left with four young children to care for. The eldest, Joe was twelve, Mary ten, Willie six, and Cornelia three. When it was necessary for him to travel, he had to make arrangements with others for his children. When Joe wrote Mary on 7 November 1853, she was in Rochester (New York), staying with friends of the family. Joe mentioned that their sister Corny was living with "Aunt Sarah" and that when their father was "going in two or three months to travel...Willie is going to stay at Mr. Thompson[']s] and I at Miss Parilee's."

In another letter to Mary, dated 12 January 1854, Joe detailed the local news, commented on the recent eight inch snowfall, and outlined his plans for his upcoming school vacation: "My business is to *eat, sleep, work, study & read novels!*" Joe wrote a much more serious letter to Mary on 21 October 1854. The Reverend William Mack planned to marry Sarah A. Boardman on 25 October in Pulaski (Tennessee), a small town in Giles County, where Sarah had lived with her sister Louisa (1825–

1910) for four years while both taught school.

Louisa Boardman had returned to the north and had married, earlier that year, and settled in Salem (Massachusetts), where her husband, David P. Carpenter, lived. Thirteen-year-old Mary, who was still living in Rochester, was not happy about her father's decision to remarry and encouraged Joe to stay away from the ceremony. In his letter, Joe responded to Mary's reluctance to accept Sarah Boardman as their step-mother. "I received your letter which requested me not to go to Father's wedding...[and] I shall accede to it but I will call her *Ma*," he asserted. Joe then attempted to persuade his sister that she should gracefully accept their father's decision to marry again. "My Dear Sister, one of our parents sleeps in the cold embrace of the grave, and shall we embitter the happiness of our remaining parent, our father, by doing what we know would make him feel unhappy?," he wrote. Joe then stated, in a systematic argument, that the marriage would be beneficial for their father and the children as well: "Would it not be more pleasant for us to be together and not be parted? Do you not think that it is best for Father to marry a pious well educated lady than to live single[?] His being a preacher demands that he should be a married man." Apparently, Mary had insisted that she would not call her step-mother "mother." Joe suggested to her that "you need not say *Mother* but *Ma*" and encouraged her to "call her so for a month or two and if she is not kind to you as a *Ma* should then you need not call her so." He also reminded her that "by being stubborn you give Willy and Cornie a bad example and not only make yourself unhappy but also those who love you best." Joe also suggested that by accepting her father's wife she would show her "love for *your own dearest Mother* by obeying *her dying request*."

In a letter written on 28 February 1859, William Banks provided a glimpse of his thirteen-year-old daughter while she was attending school

in Sumter District (S.C.). In a sermon he had delivered at Pleasant Grove Presbyterian Church the previous Sunday, he had “preached about the importance of the children & youth of the land being converted to God, especially those in schools, academies & colleges,” he wrote. “And my dear Hattie we hope and pray that you are trying to serve the Lord, & grow in grace as well as improving in your studies at school,” he continued. “Now is the period when your character will be formed for life, for good or for evil. Now you are planting & working that crop which will yield you in after life & through Eternity a harvest of happiness or misery.” He also commented on her younger brother’s progress in school: “Alex is studying harder this year than he did before. I reckon he [is] almost equal to you in parsing: and in Arithmetic he is in Decimal Fractions. He says *you can’t beat him there.*” While in Sumter, Hattie boarded in the home of her cousin, Andrew Flinn Wilson (1810–1881), and his family and studied at a school taught by Margaret Saye (1838–1895), the daughter of Presbyterian minister James Hodge Saye, the pastor of Fishing Creek Presbyterian Church in Chester District (S.C.). Hattie’s schooling in Sumter ended in June 1859, and she returned home to Hazelwood for the summer; however, in the fall she entered Yorkville Female College, an institution chartered in 1854 under the auspices of the Bethel Presbytery which was, in 1856, joined by the Presbytery of the Associate Reformed Synod of the South in proprietorship and administration of the institution.

Letters to and from Hattie while she was a student in Yorkville dominate the collection from 1860 until June 1862, when she returned home. In January 1863, Hattie returned to school, but enrolled in the Laurensville Female College and remained there until July, when she graduated with the senior class. Both parents wrote letters to Hattie that were filled with local and family news, but also demonstrated their

interests in their daughter's studies and social life. From "Home," on 14 February 1860, Mary Banks addressed a four-page letter to Hattie in which she responded to Hattie's own recent letters. "You don[']t mention Mary Saye in your letters [so] I suppose she is not rooming with you this session," she remarked. "Are the Sumter girls in the same floor with you? You mentioned in your letter to brother that Sue & Mary Shaw were in your class in Latin. Are they not in their other studies?" Because Hattie had complained about her "scarcity of news" in a recent letter, Mary suggested that she "Write me the names of all the girls who are boarding at Mr. Anderson's [;] indeed everything about yourself & school will be interesting to your fond parents." Mary also provided an array of news that she thought would be of interest to her daughter: "We are having a new kitchen put up to-day and the old one torn down; It will soon be time to send you your Spring dresses....Do you think you must have a new bonnet?; Henry H. [Banks] has been obligated to leave the Seminary on account of his health. He is in the neighborhood trying to recruit [and] has improved some and speaks of returning Saturday to try it again; Does Mr. A[nderson] take the Southern Presbyterian? [I]f you will look in last week's number you will see your grandfather's [the Reverend John Harrington] obituary written by Mr. Reid." Mary also mentioned that she had "promised to correct all your misspelt words—here is one 'speach.'"

In her next letter to Hattie, dated 18 May 1860, Mary Banks continued to encourage her daughter to pay close attention to her letters. "I am glad to see some improvement in your writing, but you father says your y's & g's look as if their backs were broken; and that you must take mine for your model. I received a letter from your aunt Mary a few days ago [and] she thinks you have improved very much in your writing & composition. I tell you this not to flatter you, but for your encouragement."

While at Yorkville Female College during 1859–1860, Hattie boarded in

the home of the Reverend John Monroe Anderson (1821–1879) and his wife, Margaret Neal (1821–1896), because the college did not have a dormitory for students. According to an advertisement in the 8 December 1859 edition of the *Yorkville Enquirer*, the Reverend Anderson, the college president and Professor of Mental and Moral Sciences and Evidences of Christianity, would provide “Good Board...at Fifty Dollars per session, exclusive of lights” in his home, which was only “fifty steps from the College Building” for “forty young ladies.”

When Hattie returned to York (S.C.) in September 1860, after three months at home during the summer months, she wrote to her brother Alexander, on 12 September 1860, even though she claimed “I have nothing to say hardly.” She did mention that “we have six new scholars and I reckon they will come on till we get a hundred,” and that “Mr. A[nderson] has 20 boarders now....” She had not yet started a “composition for tomorrow...and I dread it so much.” Although she did not mention the subject, she did indicate that it was “for Mr. Schorb to correct.”

German-born John R. Schorb (1818–1908), professor of Astronomy and Belles-Lettres, had taught at Mt. Zion Academy in Winnsboro (S.C.) before he moved to Yorkville in December 1853 and, the next year, joined the faculty of the newly-established college. Schorb had developed a keen interest in photography while a student of Charles Avery, Professor of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy at Hamilton College in New York, where he had studied in the 1840s. In addition to his work at the Yorkville Female College, he was also a professional photographer and photographed Hattie at least one time while she was in college. On 19 November 1860, Hattie’s mother, in a letter written from “Grandmother’s” near Mayesville, in Sumter District (S.C.), mentioned the recent national presidential election and its local impact. “There is a great

deal of excitement here and all throughout the South about Lincoln's election," she stated. "But you should not have any fears," she assured her daughter, because "the Lord reigneth." She believed that "all we have to do is to remain quiet, commit ourselves into His hands and pray that He would....avert from us the horrors of war." In a postscript, she admonished Hattie to "take more pains with your writing."

Joe Mack and Hattie Banks knew each other as early as January 1861, and as Hattie confessed to Joe in a letter dated 18 January 1862, "I dearly loved you *then*..." Hattie reminded Joe that "[a]bout this time last year Mary & myself received your letter with the piece of music that you sent us." At the time Hattie and Mary, probably Mary Shaw (1845–1868), Hattie's roommate while they were in Yorkville, received the joint letter from Joe, he was in his last term at Columbia Theological Seminary. In a letter to his father, dated 27 March 1861, he explained that "[a]bout three or four weeks ago I did not feel very well but kept on studying until I saw that I must stop and so last Thursday I gave up the habit of going to recitations as a bad one." His time, however, was fully occupied, he added, because "every Sunday I preach twice in some of the churches in this state [and] next Saturday I will go off and stay in a country congregation for ten days[,] preaching at the same church two Sabbaths." His frequent forays to fill pulpits while still a student had resulted in several offers from congregations seeking a pastor. "Last Monday I had an invitation from a church to be S[tated] S[upply] for a year at \$900 salary....They hope by that time I will give up my missionary notion and become their pastor. If I will do so now they will call me and give \$1000 salary." He had also received an "invitation from the Concord Church with \$800 and parsonage," an offer he declined because "then I had not determined to stay in this country for a year."

Some of the uncertainty about his future course was clearly related to

the political rupture that had occurred the previous December when the members of South Carolina's secession convention had voted to leave the Union. "Dr. Adger wishes me to remain and go as a Missionary of the 'Southern Church,'" he remarked. John Bailey Adger (1810–1899) had joined the faculty of Columbia Theological Seminary in 1857 where he was professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Polity and apparently exerted a strong influence upon Joe.

In his younger days, John Bailey Adger had served for twelve years as a missionary to the Armenians of Smyrna, in Turkey, before returning to South Carolina where he worked among the African-American population, both free and enslaved, of Charleston. Dr. Adger apparently encouraged Joe not to make a decision about his future until the Presbyterian churches of the South had separated from their Northern brethren and formed their own church, which they did in the fall of 1861. With such uncertainty about his future, Joe urgently solicited his father's advice: "Write to me immediately...and tell me if there are any fields close to you where I could labor for a year or two. If not, tell me your opinion about my accepting an invitation to preach in this state or North Carolina, as it is probable that I may have one from each." Joe casually mentioned that he had preached "in two congregations in the district of Sumter," one of which was certainly that of the Salem (Black River) Presbyterian Church, located near Mayesville, in northern Sumter District (S.C.). The pastor of that church, the Reverend George Cooper Gregg (1814–1861), had suffered a debilitating illness that had kept him out of the pulpit for months before his death on 28 May 1861, and Joe had likely preached in that church during his last year in the seminary. After the Reverend Gregg's death, Joe continued to minister to the people of Salem Church.

Mary Shaw, who lived near Mayesville (Sumter County, S.C.), but attended Mount Zion Presbyterian Church, which was located about

twelve miles northwest of Salem, near Bishopville (S.C.), wrote two letters to Hattie during the summer of 1861 and in both of them mentioned Joe Mack. On 3 July 1861, Mary wrote that "Mr. Mack is going to change pulpits with Mr. Reed [and] if I can I will speak a good word for you."

In her 31 August 1861 letter, Mary reported to Hattie that Joe, along with two friends, John M. P. Otts, a student at Columbia Theological Seminary, and Anderson Mills, a South Carolina College student who attended Salem Church, "came over [and] we had a very pleasant night. [A]s might be expected sat up until twelve o'clock....you were the topic of conversation." She also conveyed a request from Joe. "Mr. M. says I must beg you and Sallie [and] Maggie to come down and spend the winter vacation *so Do come.*" Two months later, Joe enlisted the aid of Sallie Mills, Anderson Mills' sister, in his campaign to entice Hattie to visit Salem during the winter. Sallie wrote Hattie from her home near Mayesville on 29 October 1861 and, after apologizing for not writing sooner, she stated the purpose of her letter. "Hattie I promised someone (Mr. Mack for inst[ance]) to write to you some time ago but have neglected until now," she explained. "I have not time to give you all the *good* messages he sends[,] they are so numerous, but he told me to tell your mother to come down this winter & be sure to bring Miss Hattie with her, [and] he would rather see her than anybody else in the state, so Hattie you must not disappoint him." She then admitted that "I love to tease you about him & love to tease him about you, he takes the jokes very well."

Twenty-two-year-old Joe Mack was clearly taken by sixteen-year-old Hattie Banks. He had had opportunities to see and to correspond with her since his January 1861 letter, although his first letter to her preserved in the collection was not written until 14 October 1861. In the first section,

Joe wrote: "I have just finished writing a letter, telling...your father that I love you & that you 'sorter' loved me too." He also indicated that, during a recent visit to their home at Hazelwood, he had tried to tell her parents the same thing, but simply could not do so for fear that "they would think that I was joking...." When he resumed his letter two weeks later, he added four pages in which he narrated his constant state of unease until he received the Reverend William Banks' reply, ten days later. After he read the letter, he confessed to Hattie, "it made me feel good all over for I interpreted its meaning to be 'you can have my daughter, if you *wait*.'" Joe also explained his reasons for including such a long and detailed account of the events of the previous few weeks. "What I have written will give you the whys and wherefores of all I have done in this affair & also an idea of how I felt while doing it," he indicated. "If I understand your Father's letter[,] he has no objection to our present engagement & future union provided we *wait* awhile until you are older & your education is finished, i.e: not less than two nor more than four years." Joe Mack also noted that he had written another letter to William Banks in which he asked for "the privilege of a correspondence between us," and "believing that will not be so devoid of reason, common sense, humanity & kindred qualities as to deny the request, I have written this letter," he concluded.

The Reverend William Banks replied to the second letter on 13 November 1861, immediately after he had returned to Hazelwood from a meeting of the Presbyterian Synod in Abbeville (S.C.). In giving his own consent to Joe's request to correspond with Hattie, Banks opined that the matter should "be left with yourselves," provided that it would be "conducted with propriety and a Christian spirit...." He added that "[w]hile it cannot but fill our minds with deep and anxious solicitude for the welfare [of] our only and dearly beloved daughter, in consenting to her engagement, it is with the confident expectation that it is with one who will

prove himself worthy of the trust committed to his care.”

Unfortunately, Joe’s reply to Hattie’s father’s letter caused a brief, but deeply troubling rift between the two. Joe admitted to Hattie, in a letter dated 20 November 1861, that “your father’s [letter] made me hot, even in this cold weather.” Joe had intended to write a “bitter” response to the Reverend Banks’ letter, but after praying over the matter, “all my angry feelings were removed.”

To William Banks, however, Joe’s “angry feelings” were still very much in evidence in his choice of words. After asserting, in a letter written 30 November 1861, that Joe’s “mind is laboring, evidently, under a deep and dangerous mistake,” the Reverend William Banks assured “Brother Mack” that “in giving my *consent*, it was *free & hearty* and not ‘forced,’ nor ‘reluctant.’ It *was & is* a *whole souled* and not ‘a half way measure.’” Banks, in an effort to smooth over Joe’s ruffled feelings, wanted to “now be done with this misunderstanding,” and indicated that “[i]f, as you intimate in your last, ‘our correspondence s[houl]d terminate with this,’ I s[houl]d regret it.” And as a final act of reconciliation, he invited Joe for a visit to Hazelwood: “As we hope to have Henry H. Banks with us Christmas, we w[oul]d be glad to have you come & spend some time with us. If you will indicate the day when you will arrive at Blackstocks, I will send the buggy for you.” The Reverend Banks also congratulated Joe on his elevation to the position of permanent pastor of the Salem congregation. “Hattie tells me you have consented to accept the pastoral charge of the Brick Church. Your fields of labor especially among the colored part of the congregation must be large, & full of encouragement as well, as among the white portion.”

Joe had shared the news of the desire of the leaders of the church to secure his services as permanent pastor in his letter to Hattie dated 20 November 1861. “On the second of this month..., a committee consisting

of Squire [Matthew P.] Mayes, Capt. [Samuel] Cooper & Mr. [William E.] Mills waited on me & said that it was the *unanimous* wish of the congregation that I should be their pastor—if I could not do that I would be their S[tated] S[upply] next year, Salary \$1000. I told them I would consult my father & that just as soon as his letter came they would have an answer, & not before. They cheerfully agreed to it. I could have answered them in two hours, & if I had been the headstrong & self willed chap your father thinks me, it would have been done.” Joe Mack had received his father’s response to his question in a letter that day. “He says,” Joe continued, “‘Become their pastor.’ Tomorrow, I inform the committee that I will accept a call properly made out.” In a postscript, Joe noted that “Dr. J.L. Wilson wrote a letter urging me not to become Pastor of Salem. My mind however was made up, & the letter came too late, my reply to the committee was already written.”

John Leighton Wilson (1809–1886), a well-known former missionary to west Africa from 1834 until 1853, had recently returned to his native Sumter District (S.C.) where he settled at the Wilson home place in the Mount Zion community. Apparently, he objected to Joe accepting the charge of Salem Church because he wanted him to follow his original intention of becoming a missionary. Joe had started his supply work at Salem Church in May 1861, but had received no salary until late December when the church held its semi-annual congregational meeting. In his letter to Hattie dated 28 December 1861, Joe informed her that the church “owed me for 8 months (\$666.66) & paid me \$425 of it. They said that \$100 more will be paid in a week. So, you see, I’m *flush*—can write to you every week if I want to.”

The number and length of the letters exchanged between Joe and Hattie increased as time passed and, during 1862, the first full year of

their engagement, forty of their letters, almost evenly divided, survive in the collection. Because their visits with each other were so infrequent, their letters were the primary vehicle by which they could learn more about each other, their respective histories, and their hopes and dreams for the future.

Joe Mack frequently, and often dramatically, stressed the importance of Hattie Mack's letters to him. In his letter dated 9 January 1862, he devoted a page and half to a description of his emotional state while waiting for a letter from his sweetheart. "Although there was a meeting of the Presb'y here today—although I was examined, ordained & installed—although it was near sundown when we got through—still, being confident that there was a letter in the office from you, I went to Mayesville (6 miles) & came home (eight & a half miles). As I expected[,] the letter was there. My hand trembled as I received [it] & I had to get out of the store before I had nerve enough to open it & see whom it was from. I tell you, Joe was 'joyful, joyful, joyful,' when he found out that it was from that girl, 'Who, of all the girls that he ever saw, Is just the girl for Joe.'"

The next day, 10 January 1862, Joe continued his letter with a narrative of the events that had transpired the previous day and his reaction to a slight that had almost caused a postponement of his installation as Salem's pastor. "Yesterday I went to church to place myself under the care of Harmony Pres'by & to be examined, ordained & installed. When I arrived Mr. Sam Cooper informed me that 'Tom English had sent orders for this meeting to be postponed & for me to [be] ordained at the regular meeting next April, & that Mr. Reid would soon be here to carry out such instructions.'" The Reverend Thomas Reese English (1806–1869) became the evangelist for Harmony Presbytery in 1858 and the Reverend William Moultrie Reid (1798–1884) was the long-

servicing pastor of nearby Mount Zion Presbyterian Church. Joe, however, refused to postpone his installation and, as he explained to Hattie, he prevailed. "Your sweetheart told him [Sam Cooper, one of the elders of the church] that if they didn't do it today, they would not get a chance to do so next April, for he would not put himself under the care of Pres'by if that was the programme. The session & the whole church supported me & said I was right. They disregarded the emphatic orders of King Thomas, & that day I was examined, ordained & installed & now you are engaged to the Reverend Joe Mack[,] a regularly ordained minister of [the] Pres. Ch. C.S.A." His reason for providing such a detailed account, he wrote, was "to show you that the quick temper, pride, rashness & stubbornness of your sweetheart came very near getting him in a scrape[,] for if the session & Pres'by had agreed to postpone it, I should probably have quit the church & left the Pres'by immediately. After awhile you will find out that I am none too good."

Hattie's father had decided to send her back to the Yorkville Female College for the spring term, she explained to Joe in a letter dated 18 January 1862 and, as a result, she might be unable to write as frequently as she would like. "As to writing once a week, I most willingly consent to do it, though I would like to hear from you even oftener than that. I don't know about writing so frequently myself, for father expects to send me to Yorkville Monday week [and] Mother is afraid that thinking so much of [you], and writing so often to you will interfere with my studies."

Joe responded to the news that Hattie was returning to school in his letter dated 27 January 1862. "I am glad you are going to Yorkville," he wrote, and also offered her advice. "Study *hard, hard, hard*," he admonished. "Let your aim be to pass your hours *not pleasantly, but profitably*." He acknowledged that he was "not fitted for a minister's duties

& I am afraid you are not fitted for those of a minister's wife. Do all you can to fit yourself while at Y[orkville,] for the better educated you are the better you will be & the more your husband will prize & love you." Joe also asked Hattie about the best way to send letters to her while she was away at school. "If you stay at Mrs. J[ohnson]'s, will there be anything to prevent my getting Henry [Banks] to mail my letters to you or even mailing them myself, or will you be under the same rules about correspondence that you were last winter?" In his letter, Joe also recounted his recent visit to Hattie's aunt and uncle, William and Ann Wilson, who lived in the Mount Zion community near Bishopville (S.C.). "I was up to see Mary Shaw week before last, (or rather your picture)," he continued. Hattie had given Mary a recent photograph that she had had taken while a student at Yorkville the year before. "Your Dutch music teacher [John R. Schorb], I believe, can take pretty good pictures [and] I want you to have one taken for me," he announced. "I want the case of the same size as the one Mary Shaw has [and] would prefer to have the hands taken." He also insisted that she have her father arrange for the photograph "when he takes you to Y[orkville], so that *he* can mail it to *me* from there, or Chesterville....only remember that I *must* have it, & I would like it as soon as possible."

Mary Shaw confirmed Joe's interest in Hattie's photograph, during his recent visit, in a letter to Hattie dated 1 February. "Whenever Mr. Mack comes up he takes your [daguerreo]type and looks and keeps looking and then asks me what I think of it [and] I tell him it is very good...[but] he thinks you so much prettier than that."

Hattie mentioned Joe's request for her photograph in her letter to him dated 7 February 1862. "I will go to Mr. Schorb's the next clear Saturday," she promised. "I expect it will be best for me to send it home first, and it will be sent from there to you." She also assented "to having cousin

Henry [serve as] the medium of correspondence between us....for then I shall get your letters sooner." She assumed that the rules restricting correspondence had not changed, even "though they are not [as] strict as they were because now there are no Cadets here."

The King's Mountain Military School, established by Citadel graduates Asbury Coward and Micah Jenkins in 1855, had closed its doors in late 1861 after both of the founders had joined the Confederate Army. The military situation in the state had apparently also affected the Yorkville Female College. Hattie confessed that she was "almost sorry that I came here, for the school is so small that the teachers do not seem to take much interest in it—only twenty scholars—two Seniors, one Junior, one Sophomore and all the rest are small girls." Hattie, as one of the two seniors, was especially impacted by the disorganized state of the school. "Mr. Adams had gone to Va. when I came," she wrote, and only "returned yesterday afternoon." The Reverend James McEwen Hall Adams (1810–1862), who had served as pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Yorkville for many years, was also the Professor of Mathematics at the college. He had been called to Virginia by the serious illness of his son, Robert Burton Anderson, while on duty with the Fifth Regiment, South Carolina Infantry, at Centreville (Virginia). "During his absence," Hattie explained, "there was but one teacher for the higher classes, and he could not regulate my studies without the assistance of Mr. Adams."

In his letter of 19 February 1862, Joe explained how his own life was increasingly impacted by the events on the battlefronts. "The news from the army is very distressing," he observed, "but I do not despond *in the least* [because] God can make us triumphant if he sees best, & *he knows what is best*." He was concerned that "[i]t may be, (if the news about the taking of Nashville be true)...I shall go out to Tennessee this spring, & if I go it may be my duty to enlist, & thus stand a chance of getting killed....If

the news was certain I could soon tell what was my duty, but where we have conflicting accounts, it keeps a person's mind at fever heat all the time, & yet does him no good." While Joe was distressed by the news from Tennessee, Hattie had suffered from "bad weather and sickness [which] has kept me in the house for two weeks." She wrote Joe on 26 February 1862, two days after receiving his letter, the first she had had in "more than three weeks," that "I had what was thought to be the measles...." She had "wanted to go to school last week but Mrs. J[ohnson] thought it prudent...not to venture out too soon." Even though she had been in Yorkville for a month, "all the days that I have gone to school would not amount to more than a week." She believed, however, that since her courses were few, "Geometry, Algebra, Astronomy and Latin," she would be able to study diligently and make up for the time lost to illness. She did expect to "take music lessons also and...to commence Botany in the spring." Joe began his 1 March letter to Hattie with a complaint and followed that with a threat: "This makes the third letter that I have written to you since receiving one from you. Unless there is some good reason for it, I can inform you that it is the last that you will receive from this place until you see fit to reply." His mood was, perhaps, determined by his decision "to start day after tomorrow" for Tennessee. "When or how I shall come back, I cannot say," he continued, but "[p]robably at the close of the month & it may be with both my sisters." He was also writing the letter at "11 o'clock Saturday night & I have not yet finished my sermon for tomorrow." Hattie, in her next letter to Joe, written on 6 March, defended herself against his criticism. "Dear Joe, you wrongfully accuse me. I think my reasons for not writing sooner were good ones," she asserted. Again, in a later letter, dated 25 March, Hattie returned to the subject of Joe's harsh treatment. "That letter in which you *scolded* me for not writing to you made me feel bad and I will not rest

satisfied until you take it all back for it was not through will[ful neglect that I did not write," she reminded him. The spat, however, soon faded away, and the two continued their correspondence with a renewed sense of affection.

While Joe was in Tennessee with his family, he wrote Hattie on 12 March 1862 from Columbia (Tenn.), to let her know that he had "arrived here safe & sound." On Monday, 3 March, he "arose at 1/2 past 3 A.M. & from that time till Wednesday [5 March] 3 P.M. it was go, go, go; not a bit of rest except what could be gained in a crowded car." When he arrived home, his family was quite surprised to see him and he found condition there not as threatening as he had feared. "As [Albert Sidney] Johnston has fallen back to the Tenn. line[,] there will be no fighting in this part of the state," he informed Hattie. "The Yankees say they that they will not interfere with private individuals at all, & as it is probable that they will not pass through or occupy this place; father thinks that it is best for my sisters to remain here." Joe planned to remain with his family in Columbia (Tenn.) until about 24 March 1862 before beginning his journey back to Mayesville (S.C.).

During the brief time he had been at home, he had formed some strong opinions about his fellow Tennesseans: "I am disgusted with Tenn. There are a great many Union men in it. Many are willing to take the oath of allegiance in order to save their property. A craven, covetous, selfish spirit seems to pervade all classes. Thousands of the young men however are in the army." Joe also recounted some of his experiences while in his boyhood home. "On Sunday [9 March 1862] I preached at my father's church about 7 miles from here....It was the first time that he ever heard me preach. Happy old man! He was so full of joy, that when he made the closing prayer he broke down once or twice & wept." A visit to his mother's grave, in a graveyard where "[e]verything was going to

decay, the [fence pickets] had been torn down & the cows were quietly feeding on the grass,” caused him to “feel very sad, as I thought of many changes since she died,” he reflected. Since her death almost eleven years earlier, he had experienced “[t]hree years of College life, four years of wandering & toil, three years of Seminary life & one of ministerial labor....” He had, during those years, lived in “four states, & engaged in 5 or 6 different pursuits.”

Although he did not write to Hattie again before he left Tennessee, he included a recitation of his “doings” there, in the first letter he wrote after he arrived back in Mayesville on 24 March 1862. In the four-page letter, dated 7 April 1862, Joe first apologized to Hattie for “all the scolding that I gave you” about not writing for “you didn’t deserve a word of it....” He had finally received two letters from Hattie, “one dated Feb. 26th, the other March 6th,” a few days before. “They were together & had been sent by Cousin Henry to Tenn., & then forwarded, by father, back here to me.” Joe acknowledged that the “letters explain everything,” and he admitted that he had “in thought & by pen, wronged my little Hattie & I ask pardon, promising to be more careful next [time].” During his last few days in Tennessee, Joe had witnessed the arrival of Federal troops just outside Columbia (Tenn.) and barely managed to escape before the town was occupied. In his narrative, Joe first described his seventeen-year-old brother Willie’s dangerous voyage down the Duck River in a canoe. A heavy rainfall on 14 March 1862 had caused the river to rise, overnight, some twenty feet, “higher than it had been since 1847.” When Joe walked down to the river bank the next morning, he “heard someone say ‘there’s a boy in the river.’ His canoe had been overturned by the wind & he thrown into the river.” After the boy, with the help of another person in a canoe, finally made it to shore near where Joe was standing, he was shocked “to see that it was Willie!” The next afternoon, 16 March 1862,

just after the mid-day meal, Joe heard an “unusual noise [and] on looking I saw a great smoke in the direction of the river & everybody running towards it.” He quickly discovered that the bridge across the Duck River “was being burnt by our own men to arrest the progress of the Yankees who were within two miles....The ‘Yanks’ had made a rapid march from N[ashville] on Saturday night & moved so rapidly as to prevent our men from burning or giving the alarm until they were within 4 miles of C[olumbia, Tenn.].” Joe also related the involvement of his younger brother in that episode: “Willie, true to his instincts, was in the scrape. There was another bridge about 4 miles above C[olumbia], towards which it was said, the enemy were moving, in order to cross & capture our men. Col. Scott wanted it burnt, & inquired of a crowd, if anyone knew the way. Two or three knew, but were afraid the Yankees would get there first, & destroy the whole party that went to burn it; so they refused. W[illie] volunteered to go & did go & guided the squad, & they burnt it & stopped the advance of the enemy.” Willie was involved in another “scrape” with the Yankees the next day. When they sent out pickets to the river’s bank, near the site of the burned bridge in Columbia (Tenn.), the Confederates responded “& about 150 shots were exchanged,” Joe remarked. He was “just below the firing & could see & hear it all.” Willie was in a canoe on the river when the engagement began “& the enemy fired their first shot at him. He soon got to the bank, & jumped upon the abutment of the bridge & shouting, waved his hat. They then fired again & came very near hitting him. It didn’t have much effect, for in 10 minutes he was in the canoe again, & that too while the firing was going.”

Joe completed his narrative of his Tennessee trip in his 14 April 1862 letter. On Tuesday morning, 18 March 1862, Joe’s father drove him in his buggy out of town as the “Yankees were crossing the river, two miles below town at the time & were momentarily expected.” William Mack left

his son at Lynnvilleville, about twenty miles from Columbia, where Joe had been told the “cars were to pass over the road to Pulaski that evening for the last time (as all the bridges beyond Pulaski were burnt that night).” Joe made it safely to Pulaski, then to Decatur (Alabama), and, after much delay, reached Huntsville. From there he traveled to Chattanooga (Tenn.), then to Atlanta (Georgia), and on Sunday, 23 March 1862, reached Augusta (Georgia), where he attended the Presbyterian Church. That evening he “went to the M[ethodist] E[piscopal] Ch[urch], & for the first time in five nights slept in a bed.”

On Monday morning, he Joe left Augusta on a train that also carried William Lowndes Yancey, who was on his way to Richmond to take his place as a Confederate senator from Alabama, and he also shared a seat with former governor Joseph W. Matthews of Mississippi. Yancey “made a little talk” when the train stopped at Sumter (S.C.), Joe related. “I arrived at Mayesville...that afternoon at 5, much to the surprise & apparent joy of all.” Joe’s next letter, dated 28 April 1862, contained news of his continuing efforts among the African-American members of his flock. “Last Sabbath six Negroes applied for admission & were put in the instruction class. While this [is] encouraging, the gross immorality of some of my members fills me with sorrow, deep & bitter.” Joe also mentioned that Hattie’s cousin Henry Banks planned to “leave Columbia on the 10th of May, so if you send any letters to him after that they may be lost.” Henry had served as the conduit through which letters from Hattie to Joe were transmitted, in an effort to prevent unwelcome gossip about Joe’s romantic interests. Joe reminded Hattie that without Henry to forward letters to him, “our correspondence must be carried on through your father, & I don’t intend to send a letter to Hazelwood more than once or twice a month.” Joe’s natural optimism about the future of the Southern cause had been dampened by recent events: “Dark days are ours at this

time, for every week some evil tidings reach us. The taking of N[ew] O[rleans] has just been confirmed, & what is to be the end of these things, none can tell." He was able, however, to end his letter on a more positive note. "Your Uncle Dwight is on the Peninsula [and] a letter received last week stated that he was well." Dwight W. Harrington (1832–1862), Hattie's mother's brother, served as captain of Company F, Ninth Regiment, South Carolina Infantry, from 4 July 1861 until April 1862. His wife, Mary Flinn Cooper Harrington (1836–1908), remained in the Salem community while her husband was in the army.

In his letters to Hattie Banks, Joe Mack regularly discussed his ministerial duties, referred to sermons he preached, and detailed his efforts to minister to the African Americans who lived in the vicinity of Salem Church. On 6 May 1862, he wrote that he had gone "up to Mt. Zion last Thursday & stayed that night at Mr. Robt. Bradley Wilson's (Sallie was well & as pretty as ever) [and] the next day Wm. Wilson preached for Mr. Reid in the morning & I in the evening, from Ja[me]s 1 chap & latter clause of 17th verse....Next morning I preached from John 3:14–15 & your uncle [William Wilson] [preached] in the evening." He also related the news that "next Sunday I expect to begin my 'Wood's Mill' experiment, which is this. About 11 miles from Salem is a Missionary preaching point called Wood's Mill," which had been established as a project of the Presbytery's Domestic Missionary Committee, but which was much neglected. Joe wanted to revive interest in the effort "by supplying" the mission. "Every other week, after preaching at Salem (about half past twelve), I will go there & preach." He had enlisted the aid of two friends from the Columbia Theological Seminary, Robert L. Douglas (1835–1866) and William A. McDonald (1831–1887), in preaching to his congregation and at Wood's Mill. "Last Friday Bros.

McDonald & Douglas came down to see me," he mentioned to Hattie in a letter written on 14 May. "Dug preached to the whites for me on Sunday....[and] McDonald preached to the blacks in the morning & in the afternoon we went to a missionary station...where he preached again."

For the rest of the summer, Joe attended to his small congregation at Wood's Mill. He described his experiences there in a letter dated 10 June 1862. On Sunday, 1 June, "after preaching at Salem, I went to Wood's Mill & preached on the words, 'He that believeth not is condemned already,' John 3:18. The attention was remarkably good....About 40, old & young, black & white, were present....I came back the same evening that I went down, & thus drove 27 mile & preached 3 times in 10 hours." Joe also reported the recently received news about the local soldiers who had been involved in the Battle at Seven Pines on the Chickahominy River near Richmond, Virginia, on 31 May 1862. "Your Uncle Dwight [Harrington] passed through the battle...unhurt. Robt. Cooper was wounded in the hand (slight), Isaac Bradley in the arm & Leander Shaw in the foot. The rest of the boys were unhurt I believe."

When William Banks wrote Hattie on 12 June 1862, he listed for his daughter the soldiers from his neighborhood who were also casualties from the fighting at Seven Pines. "You have undoubtedly seen from newspaper accounts of the late battle near Richmond that the 6th Regiment suffered severely," he observed. "We attended last Friday evening the burial of Capt. [Joseph] L[ucius] Gaston and his brother [William Hall Gaston]. It was a sad, sad sight to behold." The Reverend Banks also noted that another soldier, William L. McDaniel, who had been wounded in the battle at Seven Pines on 31 May, had died a few days later and "was buried the following Sabbath at Hopewell." Three other soldiers from the area had been seriously wounded in the same battle.

The term at Yorkville Female College ended on 19 June 1862 and, in Hattie's letter written four days later, she informed Joe that "I am now at my own sweet home...." She urged him to visit as soon as possible and related that "Mother sends her love and says she is much obliged to you for that letter and will answer it when you come up." In keeping with Joe's request that she should not address letters to him in her own hand, she apparently asked her father or mother to pen Joe's address on the envelope.

Joe wrote separate letters to Hattie and her father on 30 June 1862. To William Banks, whom he addressed as "Dear Uncle William," he begged forgiveness for the tone of a letter he had sent some weeks before which, he admitted, he had written "in a rough, offhand manner" because he believed that there existed "a little coolness between us." He acknowledged, however, that William Banks' reply had "convinced me that all the coolness was *on my side*, & I feel heartily ashamed of my past actions & feelings." He asked for forgiveness for the past and pledged, "I'll try & do better." In a postscript, dated 1 July and written from Sumter (S.C.), he noted that he had "just met [the] enrolling officer & claimed exemption as minister &c." In some of his earlier letters to Hattie, he had mentioned the possibility that he might enlist in the army and fight the enemy; however, he obviously had determined not to pursue that path and intended, instead, to remain as minister to his congregation at Salem. He then added that he had just learned from a dispatch "from Va. that [Alexander] Colclough's company in which is Dwight H[arrington] has 13 wounded—none killed; none of the wounded are mortally so. Only one of the wounded known, viz. Wm. Mayes. He is wounded in leg—amputation perhaps necessary."

The Battle of Gaines Mill, fought on 28 June 1862, involved many

South Carolina soldiers, including those from the Salem community in Sumter District (S.C.) and the Hazelwood section of Chester District (S.C.). Alexander Colclough (1839– 1869), a twenty-two year-old Sumter resident, had volunteered for military service in April 1861 and joined Company D, Ninth Regiment, South Carolina Infantry, as a lieutenant. In June, he was promoted to captain of the company and served for a year in that capacity. Hattie's uncle, Dwight Harrington, also commanded a company in the same regiment, but upon reorganization of his unit in April 1862, he was not reelected captain. Along with many of his men, he enlisted in Captain Colclough's company which was later transferred to a new organization, the Palmetto Sharpshooters.

Captain Colclough's company suffered more casualties on 30 June 1862, when the Palmetto Sharpshooters, along with other South Carolina regiments, in Colonel Micah Jenkins' brigade, charged the Federal position near Frayser's farm, southeast of Richmond. The resulting battle, one of the last of the Seven Day's Battles, 25 June–1 July 1862, produced horrendous losses in the ranks of the South Carolina troops engaged that day.

Joe Mack, in a letter written on 8 and 9 July 1862, reluctantly announced to Hattie "the sad fate of your uncle Dwight." Joe had learned from Dwight's family that he had been wounded by a "ball [that] entered one shoulder & lodged in the opposite lung. The wound was a mortal one." Mary Flinn Cooper Harrington, Dwight's wife, had been told by her doctor "that her baby, Willie Dwight," was close to death, when the news about her husband's condition reached her, Joe continued. Faced with a ces from their act. Photographs and promotional materials suggest that arted for Richmond...at 5 o'clock" on Thursday, 3 July 1862, accompanied by her father Sam Cooper (1802–1876), but would spend "at least one day on the route," Joe reasoned.

Dwight Harrington, however, had died as a result of his wounds on 2 July. According to a later letter that Joe sent to Mary Banks on 30 July 1862, "on account of his being an officer," Dwight Harrington's "remains were put in a nice suit of clothes & then placed in a neat coffin & buried decently. Mary Flinn & her father went to the grave. When things become settled, she expects to bring the body home." Joe had "learned some of the particulars of Dwight's death" that day when he "went up to Mr. Sam'l Cooper's," he continued. "On Monday, before 5 o'clock P.M. he was shot down, & lay on the field till Tuesday morning, about sunrise....Rob't Cooper [Mary Flinn's brother] was with him from Tuesday morning till Wednesday at noon. He was then removed to Richmond, & died that evening." Just before he died, he told Robert Cooper that "he wished little Harry to have his sword & Willie Dwight, his pistol," Joe wrote. "Both however were stolen—the sword before his wife reached R[ichmond] & the pistol, when she lost her trunk." Joe then commented on his uncertainty about his own future in a postscript to Mary: "If I go to V[irginia] I shall stop [at Hazelwood]. I know not whether I shall get a position. I greatly desire one, & hope to get it. Do not be surprised to hear of my going as a volunteer, for if I can't pour the oil of gladness into the hearts of my people, I desire to pour a harder & more destructive material into the heads of Yankees."

Although Joe, as a minister, had been granted an exemption from military service, the carnage of the recent battles in Virginia that had brought death or injury to so many men from the Salem community had caused him to consider joining the army. In his letter to Hattie of 8 July 1862, he devoted two pages to enumerating the men who had been either killed or wounded from the local area. "Truly this congregation is in 'the house of mourning,' the first cup of woe that this war has filled for us,

is now at our lips.” Among the dead were: William Mayes (1838–1862), the son of Matthew P. Mayes, an elder in Salem Church, who had “his leg below the knee...shattered in the fight of the 27th [at Gaines Mill]; two of Mr. Well’s sons were killed; Wes McCoy; Capt. Lee’s son Dozier; Leonard Bartlett; Murrith Dick whose brother lives in my congregation.” The wounded included “all of Capt. Colclough’s company except 5; thirteen were wounded in the fight of Friday & on Monday 5 killed & 22 wounded, several mortally—only 45 went into battle, the rest were on sick list.” Joe had planned to visit Hattie in early July but, after detailing the losses that members of his congregation had suffered, he decided that “[i]n consequence of these things my visit must be postponed, & it is a great disappointment to me, I can assure you.”

During the last week of July 1862, however, he was able to visit Hattie and her family in Hazelwood where he spent four or five days. After his return to Mayesville (S.C.), he wrote, on 30 July 1862, a letter to Hattie in which he outlined several things that had displeased him while with his fiancée. First of all, his trip to Chester (S.C.) had been long, hot, and tiresome, and after he arrived, he informed Hattie, he found that “[t]here were two things in you that disappointed me.” He complained that it had taken her “so long to become a woman.” He could see little change in her since his previous visit in December 1861: “you have the same girlish look, the same girlish action, the same girlish looking up to me as if I was your superior. You don’t act positive enough. But time will of course cure all that.” The second issue that had “cost...[him] hours of intense anguish” was hearing “you talking...about other boys.” Even though Joe admitted that he had “a fault—a grievous one, of teasing those I love, & the unfortunate way in which I tease you is by talking about other girls,” he demanded that Hattie “never...retaliate in that respect” by mentioning other boys who had courted her. Joe ended his letter with the news that

Hattie's friends "Mary Shaw & Sue Montgomery left here with Mrs. Dr. Shaw yesterday on a trip to Chester" and cautioned her "[d]on't you tell Mary anything, except that I was up there." Joe was adamant that members of his congregation not discover that the two of them were engaged.

Unfortunately for Hattie, Joe's letter did not arrive in Hazelwood before Mary Shaw's visit and Hattie admitted, in her letter to Joe written on 7 August 1862, that she had "already told Mary" about their relationship before she knew of Joe's concern. "I could not keep from telling her [and] [i]t can't be helped now." When Joe read those words in her letter, he was furious and, in his caustic response of 12 August 1862, warned that "if we fall out, we will *never* fall in again" and their engagement would end. "For one or two reasons, known only to myself, I desired our engagement to be a secret," he wrote. "A little jealous of your love for Mary, I asked you not to tell even her, & was delighted when you promised not to," but he felt she had betrayed his trust when she confided in her friend.

The letters they exchanged over the following months revealed that their relationship continued to suffer the repercussions of Joe's anger. Hattie's infrequent letters, Joe complained in his letter of 9 September 1862, caused him to be "a little afraid that you were about to give me the mitten [and] I tried to think what I should do if you wrote to be released from our engagement." Even during this time of discord, however, Joe continued his usual news summary from the Salem community. By the time he wrote the early September letter, Joe had learned the names of some local soldiers who had been killed or wounded during the Battle of Second Manassas, fought in late August 1862. "Anderson Mills was severely wounded at Manassas, Dwight Shaw slightly," as were Miller LaCoste and John Montgomery. "None killed that we have heard of as yet," he concluded. But in a postscript, he added, "[i]t is reported that

Capt. [John Shaw] Whitworth, Jane Bradley's husband, was killed at Manassas."

Only six letters exchanged between Joe Mack and Hattie Banks are present in the collection for the months between October and December 1862; however, one written by Hattie on 26 December 1862 illustrates her feelings after she received one of Joe's critical letters: "I hope you have found out at last what kind of a girl you have chosen for your companion....You ought to have found out something more about me before you paid your address....If you are ashamed of me (as I know you have a right to be) surely you have time yet to tell father he can keep his daughter...." She also indicated that even if he wished to visit her, she would not be at "home until sometime in July [because] Father gave me permission to take my choice, either to go to Columbia or Laurensville to school, [and] I prefer the latter place and will go week after next, or as soon as I can prepare." Even so, she left open the option of writing. "What shall we do about writing? Shall the correspondence be carried on via Hazelwood or direct?"

Joe, fearful that his criticism of Hattie, particularly of the misspelled words in her December letter, would cause her to break their engagement, wrote letters, not present in the collection, but received on 10 January 1863, to both Hattie and her mother in which he apparently expressed his concern about his harsh tone. Both responded in separate letters, dated 12 January 1863, and mailed together in the same envelope. Hattie reassured Joe that she "never had one thought of discarding" him; in fact, she stated, "I love you too much to do it and it shall never, never be done unless you desire it." She also warned Joe that "mother has written you a letter [which] Father and...[I] have both pronounced...to be a severe lecture, more so than the one you gave me."

Mrs. Banks quickly focused on "the subject of your letter" when she

wrote to Joe and vigorously defended her daughter against Joe's criticism of her mistakes in spelling which he had apparently reiterated in his letter to Mrs. Banks. "I feel mortified that H. should have made such a mistake; but I must think, it was from carelessness and not *ignorance*. And my dear friend to be candid with you I think you too were somewhat to blame....[Y]ou dealt with too much severity. It is a pretty hard pill to swallow for one's betrothed to tell her 'he is ashamed of her, or her letters....'" Mrs. Banks had "tried to smooth over matters [with Hattie] and I don't think it required much eloquence to plead your cause; tho' I found her feelings had been deeply wounded by the manner in which you wrote to her." Although she appreciated Joe's motives, she did not believe his "method of administering reproof was the best...." She also acknowledged that it might seem to Joe that "instead of scolding H[attie], I am giving it all to you; however, she insisted that "I mean it kindly and I hope you will take it so." In his letter to Mrs. Banks, Joe had also argued that he and Hattie should marry as soon as possible and not wait until the war ended. "I had hoped to keep my child with me two or three years after she graduated, to enjoy her society and to instruct her in domestic matters," Mary Banks reminded Joe. "And [even] then, is it not hard for a mother to give up her child just when she is fitted to be a companion for her?" Another reason that Hattie's parents had cited to counter Joe's desire for an "early marriage" was Hattie's age. In fact, Joe had apparently countered that concern in his letter to Mrs. Banks by reminding her that she had been "young & inexperienced" when she married, a fact that Mrs. Banks readily acknowledged. Because of her own experience as a young bride, she wanted to "save her child the trials & mortifications thro which she had to pass." "Experience is sometimes a sad teacher," she noted. Joe had also questioned Mrs. Banks about the response of her sister and brother-in-law, Ann and William Wilson, when

she told them that Hattie was engaged to Joe Mack. She reported that “both had heard the common rumor thro’ the country, but disregarded it on account of Hattie’s age.” Others who lived in the Salem community who had heard the same rumor gave Mrs. Banks “all sorts of instructions as to how I must train Hattie &c.” She asked her perspective son-in-law, “what will your matronly dames say to their minister marrying such a young inexperienced bit of a child? They seem to be very anxious for you to get a good wife.”

Hattie and her father left Hazelwood in January 1863: Hattie to Laurensville via Columbia (S.C.) to attend college, and Mr. Banks, Mary Banks informed Joe in her 12 January 1863 letter, “goes to Pocotaligo as Chaplain of the 6th. Regt. of S.C. R[eserves].” Both narrated their experiences away from home in January letters. Hattie, in her 15 January 1863 letter, described the trip to Columbia by train, her arrival there, and her new town and college. While in Columbia, she visited with a number of her friends who were students at the Columbia Female Academy, an institution headed by the Reynolds sisters, Jane H. Reynolds (1831–1895) and Sophia M. Reynolds (1838– 1901), and a place that Hattie had considered attending. “The girls all looked so happy at Miss Reynold’s,” she observed. “I almost wish I had gone there.” She was not impressed, however, with her college surroundings: “Laurens is decidedly the ugliest place I ever saw....I have not seen one pretty house or yard [and] the college is not a very handsome building, neither is it large.” She boarded next door to the college in the home of the college’s president, Dr. Ferdinand Jacobs (1808–1894), along with thirteen other girls. Two friends from Sumter District (S.C.), Lou Gregg and Eliza English, and her cousin Ellen Wilson lived in the same house.

In a letter to her father written 20 January 1863, Hattie repeated much

of the news she had shared with her mother, and her impression of the school and town had not changed. "I never was so disappointed in a place in all my life—town, school, my boarding place and everything connected with it," she lamented. "I don't find the kind friend in Mr. Jacobs that I found in either Mr. Anderson or Mr. Adams [at York, S.C.]." Even though formal classes ended "at half past two and we have the rest of the day to study and walk," Hattie did not "expect to walk any for I cannot, while I have four or five pages of Butler's Analogy to memorize word for word, which we are obliged to do." The only other subject that she, as a member of the senior class, studied was "Geometry which the class are now reviewing, in the fourth Book." In addition, to those two courses, she informed her father, that "[w]e have to write a composition once a month and read them in the Chapel before the whole school and the teachers."

In his letter to Joe Mack, written from Camp Walker (Pocotaligo, South Carolina), on 26 January 1863, William Banks described his new life as an army chaplain. "I came down to the 6th. Reg. S.C. Reserves about two weeks ago and (D.V.) [*Deo volente*, "God willing"] expect to remain here as chaplain until the Reg. is disbanded, which we expect will be about the middle or latter part of Feby." He was, he wrote, "pleased with the camp, and find many opportunities of usefulness...in preaching the Gospel & in visiting, conversing & praying with the sick." In the two weeks that he had been there, he had "preached five times, lectured once, assisted at the service of another chaplain once, and attended some prayer meetings [and] [p]reached once in Col. Elford's Reg. half a mile from our camp." The Reverend William Banks was pleased that his regiment "has a good many ch[urch] members—Presbyterians, Seceders [Associate Reformed Presbyterians], Methodists & a few Baptists &

Independents.” He also discovered “quite a number of most excellent & praying Methodists, Seceders & others, whose example & influence for good is great in the camp.” In fact, he was so impressed with some of the members of other denominations that he vowed that he would “hereafter, love & prize more highly all the people of God of whatever name or order.”

When William Banks left for Pocotaligo on 13 January 1863, he had carried with him the two letters that Hattie and her mother had just written to Joe; however, when Mrs. Banks read a letter from Joe to her husband on 12 February 1863, she learned that Joe had never received those letters. As a result, he had not responded to either Hattie or Mrs. Banks. In her letter of 13 February 1863, Mary Banks urged Joe “to write to...[Hattie] immediately, and put an end to her torturing suspense,” and suggested that he “send her a letter direct,” rather than via Hazelwood which would take “two weeks longer before she could receive a letter from you.” When Mrs. Banks sent Joe a brief note on 19 February, she was able to inform him that “[t]he mystery of the missing letter is all explained.” The Reverend Banks had returned home two days before and “the next morning when he opened the Bible for family prayers, behold! there was the letter snugly laid between its leaves,” she explained. She assumed that “Hattie put it there for safe keeping, and in the hurry of starting thought she had given it to her father.”

Joe had apparently mentioned in his letter to the Reverend Banks that he planned to join the army as a chaplain. In her note, Mrs. Banks wrote that her husband wanted Joe to “be sure to let us know when you receive an appointment [and] where you are going &c.” On 21 February 1863, Hattie wrote two letters, one to Joe and one to her mother. “To my great joy, I received a letter from Joe yesterday morning,” she exclaimed to her mother, and to “Dearest Joe” she asked, “[i]magine my joy when I

received your letter yesterday morning.” She confessed to him that “[f]or more than a month I have been perfectly miserable. Yesterday and today are the only happy days that I have spent since coming here.” In both letters, after the initial expression of her great joy at the receipt of Joe’s letter, she filled the remaining pages with news of her life at college. “I entered Senior class, study Butler’s Analogy, which has to be memorized, ‘verbatim, literatum et punctuatum,’ Trigonometry and Natural Theology with Music,” she informed Joe. “I have to study very hard and I think it is a great pity that father did not send me here sooner.”

In the letter to her mother, Hattie conveyed news from the Harrington family. From Lou Dargan, another one of the Sumter (S.C.) girls, she had heard that “Uncle Johnnie [Harrington] is to be married soon to Miss Nettles....I hardly know whether to credit it or not.”

John Wilson Harrington (1829–1904) had entered Confederate service in April 1861 as captain of Company G, Eight Regiment, South Carolina Infantry, and had received a slight wound at First Manassas, but continued to serve as captain until May 1862 when the regiment was reorganized and he joined another organization. He married Mary Ann Nettles (1839–1908) in Darlington (S.C.) later that spring.

William Banks, whose duty as chaplain of the Sixth Regiment, South Carolina Reserves, ended in February, when the reserve troops were dismissed after the threatened Federal attack on the coastal railroads failed to materialize, sought another regiment where he might serve in the same capacity. In early March, he enquired of Colonel Fitz William McMaster (1826–1899), the commander of the Seventeenth Regiment, South Carolina Infantry, about joining that regiment. Colonel McMaster’s response, dated 19 March and headed “Camp near Wilmington, [North Carolina], addressed several issues of concern that the Reverend Banks

had raised. "I will cheerfully wait until the middle of April for you," he assured the minister. Banks had asked about the chaplains' uniforms, the advisability of bringing a servant along, and the availability of a horse for his use. McMaster had "only seen one or two chaplains uniformed in the army," others "put 3 stripes" on their coat "to pass sentinels &c, but some do not even have that." He also noted that "[s]ome chaplains have horses, others not. Same with regard to servants. We have now three servants in our mess of 5 [and] can easily attend to two or three more."

The Reverend William Banks decided to forgo that opportunity, perhaps because of a recent death that had affected his household. For a number of weeks in early 1863, Mrs. Banks' seven-year-old niece Mary (Minna) Wilson, the daughter of Annie Harrington Wilson and her husband, the Reverend William W. Wilson, the pastor of Bishopville Presbyterian Church [now in Lee County, S.C.], visited in her home. Hattie, in a letter to her mother written 14 March 1863, acknowledged the receipt of a letter from her father "containing the sad news of dear little Minna's death." Minna's older sister, Ellen Wilson, attended college with Hattie and "had not heard" the news until Hattie told her. "I knew not how to tell her best," she informed her mother. "She took it very hard."

In a letter to Joe, dated 28 March 1863, Hattie explained the circumstances of Minna's death: "She was staying with mother and died while with her. Father took her remains to Sumter and arrived there before...[her parents] had heard of her sickness."

Mrs. Banks also added her thoughts about Minna's death in a letter to Joe dated 7 April 1863. "I suppose you have heard of the sore bereavement we have experienced in the death of our dear little niece, Mary Wilson," she began. "Had she been our own child I don't think the trial could have been much greater, [f]or besides the loss of the child which we deeply feel, it was almost heart-breaking to send her home to

her parents a pale and lifeless corpse, instead of the merry-hearted, healthy little girl she was when she left them." Mrs. Banks also expressed her concern for Joe's health. Joe had experienced a severe sore throat, a condition that had prevented him from preaching for several Sundays. "If you receive the appointment as chaplain, how can you stand preaching in the open air? Will it not be very unwise in you to attempt such a thing?"

Apart from an occasional mention of "this cruel war," which Mrs. Banks included in her 7 April 1863 letter to Joe, very few letters in the collection contain first-hand comments or observations about the conflict. Letters from soldiers in the field are almost nonexistent; however, there are a few examples of passing references to soldiers scattered through the correspondence. When Hattie's friend Mary Shaw wrote on 10 April 1863 from "Carters Crossing" in Sumter District (S.C.), she discussed the recent visit of a "handsome" member of Garden's Artillery. "These war times...[are] certainly very dry times, except occasionally when a soldier comes home on furlough," she remarked. When the anonymous artilleryman stopped by "3 weeks ago," she had had "quite a pleasant 'take on.'" She also mentioned an exchange of gifts: "He gave me a relic taken from the battle field of Fredericksburg, & in return [I] gave him a pair of gloves that I knit[ed.]" Although she would not name him, she teased Hattie by writing, "*Perhaps* I will tell *somebody* some of these days."

Perhaps he was the soldier who addressed a letter to "My dear friend" from his "Camp near Petersburg Va." on 6 April 1863. The recipient was Joe Mack, and the writer was, no doubt, Lieutenant George E. Coit (1838–1863), an officer of the Palmetto Light Battery, which was commanded by Captain Hugh Richardson Garden (1840– 1910) of Sumter (S.C.). The four-page letter, which unfortunately is incomplete,

without the signature of the writer, was written “to comply with the promise I made you in Sumter.”

The identity of the writer, however, was revealed in another letter written to Joe Mack a month later. From “Head Qrs., Palmetto Light Battery, Near Richmond, Va.,” Captain Garden informed Joe that he had received his “last letter to Lieut. Geo. Coit, relating to the Chaplaincy of our Battalion.” He also stated that “[w]e had hoped to have had you with us e’er this, and are sorry that the answer to your first letter was not sufficiently explicit. We are entitled to a Chaplain, have long felt the want of one, and it will be a great gratification to all, to have a minister amongst us.” Although the writer of the 6 April 1863 letter does not mention the chaplaincy in the extant portion of the letter, other internal evidence points to George Coit as the author.

A letter from Captain Garden to Lieutenant Coit, filed with the latter’s service record in the National Archives, and dated 27 February 1863, directed him to go to South Carolina to recruit horses for the battery. Garden suggested that sixteen were needed and mentioned that “Gen. [John Bell] Hood says that they can be sent on over land in charge of Sergt. Wilson and some recruits.” The writer of the 6 April 1863 letter described the same mission that Lieutenant Coit had performed. “On my route across the country with horses for the Battery...I encountered a severe snow-storm, the heaviest I think that I ever saw,” he wrote.

Lieutenant Coit, as an officer, would have been in a position to know the situation in the army and thereby pen the detailed account of the state of military affairs in Virginia and anticipate the nature of the summer’s campaign which was included in the 6 April 1863 letter to Joe: “A few months ago, all were buoyant with the idea that peace would return, that the hard fighting was over, but now the settled conviction seems to be that desperate battles will be fought during the coming summer, and that

the troops must submit to trials and hardships greater perhaps than any they have been called upon to undergo," he predicted. "Our army has the prestige of Victory, and with full confidence in the commanding Generals and the justice of our conflict[,] will never fail to do its duty."

Joe's interest in serving as a chaplain was realized in April 1863, when the ministers of Harmony Presbytery, which included Salem Church, voted to choose by ballot five of their number for service as chaplains in the Confederate army. In a letter to Joe, written 25 April 1863, Hattie informed him that, although his letters were infrequent, "I hear all about you through various sources before I can get a letter from you." She had just learned that at the recent "meeting of Presbytery...you were among the five appointed as Chaplains, and as I 'feel slightly interested' about your affairs, you may guess how I longed to hear from you." If "you are really thinking of going as Chaplain, I would rather you go to V[irginia] where I can hear from you oftener, but of course you will go where you can get a good place or where the way is open for you to do much good," she reasoned. Joe could have joined Garden's artillery company, which was stationed near Richmond, and satisfied Hattie's desire that he serve in Virginia, because the position was still open.

In a letter of 10 May 1863 to Joe, Captain Garden closed with "Hoping soon to welcome you in our midst," but the letter also carried the sad news of the death of Lieutenant George Coit, who had been killed near Suffolk (Virginia), on 3 May 1863. Captain Garden recounted that "[h]e fell while gallantly discharging his duty, and after rendering very great assistance in repelling an attack of the enemy" and concluded that it "is a mournful reflection, that the noblest & best are rapidly falling around us, but we can feel reconciled in the thought that *the Cause* demands such sacrifices and is worthy of them; and in this our individual loss, we have the consolation of knowing that our friend lived, and died, a Christian."

The two men that Hattie loved most left South Carolina in May 1863 to serve the Confederate cause as army chaplains. She expressed her complete surprise, in her letter to Joe of 20 May 1863, that he "*had gone*." "Although you wrote me in your last letter that you would go to Tenn. soon, yet I was not expecting, or thinking of such a thing as your leaving so soon....I was completely overcome...[and] cannot describe my feelings." Her father's departure had also contributed to her unhappiness. "You and father both *far* away and I know not where either of you are," she lamented. The Reverend William Banks "was offered the Chaplaincy of the 17th Reg., Col. McMaster" and, because "he has a great many acquaintances in that Reg., [including] one of his Elders," James Beaty (1823–1883), the captain of Company D, and Colonel McMaster, he decided to accept the offer, she wrote; however, because the regiment "has been ordered to the West, probably Vicksburg,...[he] was uncertain whether he would follow." Although Banks did follow the regiment on the trek west, he did not long remain with the Seventeenth.

In a letter to Hattie, dated 1 June 1863, he recounted his experiences after he left home: "So unexpectedly, going off with the 17th Reg. to Miss[issippi], giving out on the way, when we had to begin to march afoot & lie out without tents. returning home, travelling day & night until I reached Hardeeville. There finding the Reg[iment] *broke up* while I went to visit & all the companies moved off to McPhersonville, near Pocotaligo, thirty miles away." He had, he calculated, "travelled 12 or 13 hundred miles & have seen new countries & faces," but returned to South Carolina "*worn out*."

Banks continued his narrative in another letter to his daughter written on 18 June 1863, after he had returned home to Hazelwood. "On the coast I have been spending time since my return from Mississippi distributing tracts, visiting hospitals, conversing & praying with the sick

and especially preaching to the soldiers, wherever I could find a congregation from 15 or 20 men up to a whole Regiment." Most of his time was spent, he continued, "with Col. Rutledge's Reg. cavalry at McPhersonville, near Pocotaligo. There I preached two Sabbaths in the Presbyterian ch. of the village, about half a mile from camp, [which was] always crowded with soldiers...."

The Fourth Regiment, South Carolina Cavalry, often referred to as "Rutledge's Regiment," so named for its commander, Benjamin Huger Rutledge (1829–1893), a native of Stateburg, in Sumter District (S.C.), was organized in December 1862 and remained in South Carolina's low country until March 1864, when it was assigned to the Army of Northern Virginia. Company B of that organization, commanded by Captain Osmond Barber, was recruited largely from Chester District and Fairfield District (S.C.) and included many men William Banks knew. He had mentioned, in his 1 June 1863 letter to Hattie, that "Poor John Rawls died a week ago at the Hospital [in] Hardeeville...of typhoid Pneumonia....Capt. Barber, Jason Hicklin & a good many of that company are now home on furlough."

For Hattie Banks, June 1863 marked the end of her formal education, and she was eager to return home to her family. From Laurensville (S.C.), she wrote her mother one final letter on 24 June 1863, a few days before graduation. "All is stir and excitement," she exclaimed. "The Seniors are free for the rest of the time until Commencement. Mr. Jacobs excused us from Evidence, we have finished Astronomy, and will finish Criticism today." Hattie explained that due to the inability of the music teacher, Mr. Fisher, to borrow pianos from local residents to use during commencement, "I do not think we will have but one *good* one." As a result, "Mr. Fisher let Ellen Wallace and myself off from our duet [and] I will have only two right hand pieces to play." That pleased her because

she did “not think that the graduates ought to play at Commencement.” Although she feared that her parents would be unable to attend her graduation ceremony, she still expressed “the hope of seeing you all soon....”

Hattie Banks had returned home in Chester District (S.C.) about two weeks before, she wrote in a letter to Joe Mack dated 17 July, and “was glad enough to get here....” As a graduate, she claimed to be “a young lady’ now, though I don’t feel any more like one than I did this time last summer.” Since her arrival at Hazelwood, she had received two of Joe’s letters, “one the night I reached home which I was *almost* as glad to receive as to get home,” she remarked. She also related the trials her father had experienced on his way to Mississippi and after his return to South Carolina and observed that, “I wish for your sake that he could have remained in Miss. Then I could have heard from you much oftener, and it would have been very pleasant for you to be so near each other.” By July 1863, Joe was the chaplain of the Fifty-fifth Regiment, Tennessee Infantry, which was, according to the address on the envelope that carried Hattie’s letter, a part of “Maxcy’s Brigade, Jackson, Miss.”

Although there are no letters in the collection written by Joe from the time he left South Carolina for Tennessee the previous May to document his movements, it is likely that he spent most of the time with his family in Columbia (Tenn.) while he sought an appointment as chaplain to a Tennessee regiment. The Fifty-fifth Regiment, Tennessee Infantry, had participated in defending Jackson, Mississippi, during the Federal siege that began on 10 July and ended a week later with the withdrawal of Confederate troops from the city.

Later that year, the regiment was ordered to Mobile, Alabama, where it remained for several months. The only clues to Joe’s movements during the late summer of 1863 are contained in letters written by Hattie and her

mother, and not from Joe himself. Only two letters from Joe, both written in December, survive in the collection, although Hattie, in a letter to her father, dated 13 August 1863, mentioned that "Joe writes to me quite often....He has received only one letter from me since I came home, while I have received six from him." In his most recent letter, he had indicated that he "was very well and had pretty good fare," she continued, but he "could not stand the long hard marches and had purchased a nice little pony which he calls 'Stonewall.'"

In a letter to Joe, dated 20 August 1863, Hattie responded to the news contained in Joe's recently received letter that he had been ill. "I had expected that your health would fail, but not so soon," she remarked. "You have a great deal to do, enough I think to break down any constitution...." Joe had apparently asked for Hattie's advice about what he should do in view of his illness. "Of course, my heart says for you to come back," she answered. "I want you to come and I think you ought to come. No use for you to stay if you can't preach without killing yourself." Mary Banks, in a note to Joe dated 12 September 1863, expressed her sorrow upon hearing that he had "been so unwell," but was pleased by the prospect of a visit from him within a week or two. Joe apparently had returned to Mayesville (Sumter District, S.C.) to recover from his illness and planned to travel to Hazelwood to pay Hattie a visit. "We will expect you the 21st and if anything should detain you, so that you cannot reach Blackstock Monday night, I will send again Tuesday morning," Mary promised. Hattie, who had gone to York (S.C.) to visit a friend, would return home on Monday, she continued. Before she left, she had been "wearing a long face for some time as each mail day came without bringing a letter from you."

Only one letter written during October 1863 is preserved in the collection, indicating that Joe had indeed returned to South Carolina and

convalesced with the Banks family at Hazelwood. The letter, dated 7 October 1863, was written by Willie Mack to his sister Mary from Cleveland (Tennessee). It was then probably sent by Mary to Joe so he could know about his brother's situation. Willie had joined the Ninth Regiment, Tennessee Cavalry, under the command of Colonel Jacob B. Biffle in January 1863 and was with that unit in late September 1863 when, as part of General Nathan Bedford Forrest's cavalry division, he fought in the Battle of Chickamauga.

In the letter to his sister, Willie Mack described his own involvement: "Our regiment got there just as the fighting commenced on Sunday [20 September 1863]. Our brigade was sent around to the right and dismounted. About three o'clock...we were ordered to charge two pieces of artillery and a battalion who were supporting it. We double-quickened three quarters of a mile, and got within one hundred yards of the battery when our skirmishers saw ten or twelve tents, and thought it was a Yankee hospital and would not fire on them, when all at once the Yankees raised the tents and opened on us with two batteries and with four regiments of infantry to back them. We staid there about five minutes, and then fell back to let the infantry get hold of them. We lost one man killed, and two badly wounded in our regiment." Willie also named the casualties that he thought his sister would know. "Billy Webster was mortally wounded in the Maury Gr[a]ys and eight or ten others were slightly wounded, and among them were Bill Strong and John Tucker," he added. "The Rifles lost two killed Taylor and Dick Gilmore [and] Ed O'Neal, Legard Frierson, Tom Bennett and several others were wounded." William Henry Webster was in Company H, First Regiment, Tennessee Infantry, and William E. Taylor and Richard Gilmore served in Company B, Second Regiment, Tennessee Infantry. All three had lived in Columbia (Tennessee). "The fighting was awful on

both sides," Willie continued. "The portion of the battle ground that I passed over was full of dead Yankees and horses....After the fight was over, we were sent up the East Tennessee Railroad to drive [Union General Ambrose] Burnside's forces from Charleston, [Tennessee] which we did, and drove them as far as Loudon." Willie ended his letter with a pledge to continue to fight. "I sometimes wish I was out of the army and at home but that is only when I am half staved, or half froze, but as long as I can do anything for my country, I am willing to do it....Never be discouraged but always look on the bright side, for you will hear from old Bedford and his brigade before long."

Joe Mack was able to visit Hattie during his trip to South Carolina. She informed her father, in a letter written 13 November 1863, that she had "not heard from Mr. M[ack] since his departure for Mobile." She also mentioned that "[o]ur engagement has been *renewed*, or at least if I say the word it is." Mary Banks commented on the circumstances of her daughter's broken engagement when she wrote to Joe on 24 November 1863, a few days after receiving a letter from him announcing his "safe arrival at Mobile." She was pleased, she informed him, that he had "restored things to their old state as the other was a very unnatural state of things," so unnatural in fact that it had caused her to act "very strangely towards you the last evening of your stay." She was, she confessed, "taken very much on surprise....[and] could not believe you had really broken your engagement and when at last I was convinced of the fact I hardly knew what to say or do....I had some ado to explain matters to Mr. B." Hattie, she related, "has gone to Sumter on a visit; hence there will be some delay in her writing to you." Mrs. Banks explained to Joe that her "brother's wife was coming over to Sumter, and Flinn sent us a very urgent invitation to meet her there and become acquainted with her." She, however, could not leave Hazelwood at that moment, but "did the

next best thing I could do, I sent Hattie." Flinn Harrington, the widow of Dwight Harrington, extended the invitation to Mary Banks because she had not been present at the marriage of her brother John Harrington to Anna Nettles earlier that year. Hattie anticipated "a very pleasant visit," Mrs. Banks related to Joe, "and I know one of the chief elements of pleasure would be hearing about *you* constantly."

When Hattie Banks wrote Joe on 2 December 1863, after receiving his letter, forwarded by her mother, she had "been in Sumter nearly two weeks and so far have enjoyed myself so much." She was staying with the family of "Cousin Sam [Cooper]" where Joe was frequently the subject of conversation. "I came here to see aunt Anna Harrington [who] is on a visit to aunt Flinn and other relatives," she wrote. "I am highly pleased with aunt Anna. I think she is a lovely woman and the *very one* for uncle Johnnie." In addition to the family news she conveyed to Joe, she also discussed her feelings about their broken, and then restored, engagement. "I didn't want our engagement broken off but I couldn't help myself," she confessed. "You have such an influence over me that I cannot but do *everything* you ask me, [b]ut I think it is best that it was broken for it has showed how much I *really love* you." She also assured him that "[i]f the engagement is broken off again I won't do it. You will have to do it yourself."

While Hattie spent the last two weeks of November and all of December 1863 with her family and friends in Sumter (S.C.), Joe Mack was in almost constant motion. In two letters written in December 1863, he provided an outline of his activities and itinerary, beginning with his departure from South Carolina after his October visit. In a letter to William Banks which he wrote on 19 December 1863 while in camp near Dalton (Georgia), he narrated his recent experiences, especially his efforts to

preach and minister to the soldiers in his regiment. "I left Mayesville on the 3rd of Nov., & found my command at Mobile on the Friday following [6 November]. The work of grace which had been going on when I left was almost dead & I only came to see it die." The problem, Joe related, was the movement of the Fifty-fifth "to a place called Hall's Mills," which was ordered the day he "started home." Before the move there, a location that "was very unhealthy & more than half of the men became sick," the men "were in a fine spiritual condition." When he returned, however, he found that the protracted meeting in a nearby church that had attracted an overflow crowd before he left was, on the first night he attended, "but little over half full." There was nothing he could do, Joe explained, because he was "unable, on account of a slight attack of dip[h]theria, to preach for about ten days." After he recovered, "the fever of religious excitement had subsided," the weather was unfavorable for preaching in the church, and about half of his regiment was "ordered to Pascagoula, about 40 miles off, & of those that remained more than half were in the city [Mobile], doing guard duty." An even bigger problem, he professed, was that "[m]any of the men were completely enchanted by the lewd women of M[obile]. The enchantment was complete & I soon saw that it was not by preaching that the spell was to be broken." He could understand why the men who had been "[d]eprived to a great extent of female society for about two years...rioted in the indulgence. The impetuosity of their passions resembled the rush of a dammed river as it bursts its barriers." Under those circumstances, he explained to his fellow minister, "I rejoiced when we were ordered to leave M[obile]."

The Fifty-fifth Regiment, Tennessee Infantry, had been assigned to the brigade of recently-commissioned Brigadier General William A. Quarles (1825–1893) just before the brigade was ordered to join the army of General Braxton Bragg at Chattanooga, in anticipation of a Federal

offensive against the Confederate positions in the city and those on Missionary Ridge to the south. In his letter to William Banks, Joe indicated that “[w]e arrived at Chickamauga the evening of the fight, & hence only joined in the retreat.”

However, in a letter to Hattie written on 5 December 1863, he provided a more detailed account of his movements since his arrival in north Georgia. In a previous letter to Hattie, not present in the collection, he indicated that he had “spoke[n] about our retreat from Chickamauga to Ringgold.” From Ringgold the soldiers had marched to Tunnel Hill where “we could distinctly hear the battle of 27th when the enemy were repulsed by Gen’l Cleburne.” At Ringgold Gap (Georgia), Confederate troops commanded by Major General Patrick Cleburne had thwarted an attempt by pursuing Federals to catch up with Bragg’s retreating army. “About that time,” Joe continued, “my feet began to blister & the march of 7 miles to Dalton was anything else than pleasant.”

The regiment arrived at Dalton (Georgia) late on the afternoon of 27 November 1863 where Joe found his baggage on a railroad car heading south. He “got aboard” and “the conductor of the train took us to C[alhoun] & there left us. We remained there from Friday (27th) night until last Wednesday night [2 December 1863].” No longer with his regiment, Joe found “several of...[his] friends,” visited “the camps of 1st Tenn. Cavalry & see some of my old schoolmates—find out that Willie is up in East Tennessee, in Dobbins’ Brigade & Armstrong’s Division,” and one morning he had enjoyed “a real, old fashioned Tennessee breakfast, viz., pork & cornbread.” On 3 December, Joe recorded: “Go up to the Reg’t this morning. Six of us are to occupy one tent. We have no room to spare; no, not a particle.” He also learned that Quarles’ Brigade was assigned to “Bates’ Division, Breckinridge’s Corps.” The next day, he visited the camp of the Tenth Regiment, South Carolina Regiment, “to

see Bro. Richards” who was, he learned, “at home on a forty days furlough....” The Reverend John G. Richards (1828–1914) served as pastor of Liberty Hill Presbyterian Church from 1858 until 1863 when he became a chaplain. Joe was invited by the regiment’s commander, Colonel James F. Pressley to “stay & dine with” him. He learned that Pressley “was at one time a member of the Indiantown Church” and declared that “I like him very much on short acquaintance.” He noted on 5 December: “Slept so thick last night that when one wanted to turn all had to do so. The command to ‘right face,’ & ‘left face’ were given several times during the night.”

On occasion, Hattie’s letters to her father or mother added details about Joe’s health and plans because she would provide news from Joe’s letters that are now missing from the collection. She informed her father, in her letter of 16 December 1863, that “Cousin Sam [Cooper] received a letter from...[Joe] last night dated Dec. 11th....His health is splendid [and] he thinks he will be home soon.” Joe had been “detailed for several weeks to purchase socks for the men of his Reg’t.” and he planned “to come to S.C. to get [them],” she explained.

Joe completed his mission in late January 1864 and, after “a flying visit last week,” Hattie informed her father in a letter dated 29 January 1864, left Hazelwood (Chester District, S.C.) for Dalton (Georgia), on 25 January 1864. While at the Banks’ home, he “bought a barrel of flour from Mr. Caldwell and wanted to take it down with him....” Her brother Alex had received a letter from Joe the previous evening, she continued, with a request that he “try and get some more flour, and several gallons of brandy for Mr. McBride, who is still very feeble.” James Samuel McBride (1841–1864) was a prominent planter of the Salem community and a member of Joe’s congregation. From the time he became pastor of the Salem church, Joe had boarded in the home of McBride and his wife,

Sophia Warren McBride (1839– 1915).

After Joe left South Carolina to rejoin his regiment, he learned that the Fifty-fifth Regiment, Tennessee Infantry, had been ordered to return to Mobile (Alabama). In a letter to Mrs. Banks, whom he addressed as “Dear Aunt Mary,” dated 2 February 1864, he described the new camp site and the conditions he found upon his return: “We are encamped about 6 miles from the city, on a stream known as Dog River. It is a very pleasant place—the water is tolerably good....At present we are living high. We have sausage, butter, sugar, ham & cornbread, [b]ut when my box of provisions gives out[,] then we will have hard fare certain.” He also mentioned that he had “brought a [N]egro boy out with me who is a great help, & gives me more time for writing &c.” Joe also explained to Mrs. Banks the distribution of the socks he had bought in South Carolina. “I arrived here with 480 pr. of socks, of which I have distributed about 330 pr. leaving in my hands about 150 pr. These I will either give to another Tenn. Reg’t or else place in the Q[uar]ter M[aster]’s hands.” The men were very appreciative of the “timely present,” he informed Mrs. Banks. “You ought to have heard some of the compliments paid to the Palmetto ladies.”

Two days after he wrote Mrs. Banks, he wrote a very different letter to Hattie. Instead of news about his camp and the disposition of his cargo of socks, Joe focused on his desire for “a speedy end to our engaged life [and] our becoming one.” Joe stressed that “Life is short even when long, our position is a painful one, we have all the embarrassments without any of the advantages of a married couple.” He also complained, “This engaged life has lasted a long time, it is somewhat uncertain, [and] I am tired of it.” If Mr. Banks approved of an early marriage, Joe planned to request “a furlough with this end in view.” In a postscript, dated 6 February, Joe wrote, “We are now at Meridian, Miss....The report is that

Jackson has again fallen into the hands of the enemy [and] I expect that we will be into a fight in a day or two.”

Joe’s expedition to Mississippi was of short duration and, on 22 February 1864, he wrote Hattie from Mobile (Alabama), four days after the soldiers had returned. The regiment had returned to Camp Cummings, “the most desirable camping ground about Mobile. It is high & dry, & *well* supplied with good water.” At the camp, Joe had “obtained a neat little house....of one room which is ten by fourteen.” His cabin-mate was Colonel Robert A. Owens, the commander of the Forty-sixth and Fifty-fifth Consolidated Regiments, Tennessee Infantry. “Yesterday was Sabbath but I did not preach; the whole regiment being ordered to do guard duty for twenty four hours,” he noted. “Consequently, I went to the city,” where in the morning he attended services at the “Catholic cathedral,” and in the evening, he “attended the funeral of Brig. Gen’l Baldwin, who was suddenly killed by a fall from his horse on Friday evening.” He promised Hattie that he would provide more details of the funeral service in his next letter.

As he had promised, he did write an extended account of the general’s funeral. William E. Baldwin (1827– 1864), although born in Stateburg (South Carolina), had lived most of his life in Mississippi and had been colonel of the Fourteenth Regiment, Mississippi Infantry, before his promotion to brigadier general. Joe, in his letter to Hattie written 1 March 1864, described the general’s funeral and burial, events he had witnessed on Sunday afternoon, 21 February 1864. The First Presbyterian church “was crowded & the street for several hundred yards was full of people,” he recalled. “I did not like the sermon for the burden of it was praise of the deceased, & he in hell!” The burial, however, “was very imposing.” The procession to the cemetery was led by “a band playing a funeral dirge, then a reg’t of infantry with arms reversed, then

artillery, then a company of cavalry, then the hearse, on either side of which were four pall-bearers, three of whom were generals, then carriages, citizens &c.” After the coffin was placed in the grave, “the reg’t fired three salutes.” Joe compared the burial of the general with another he had “attended in that cemetery.” On that occasion, two privates were laid to rest. “Treated differently in life, there was the same difference at & after death,” he remarked. “In the eyes of men, what a gulph between them, to the mind of God, how near alike their condition. Man honors or neglects—God is no respecter of persons.”

Although Joe Mack’s letters to Hattie Banks, written during the spring and summer of 1864, usually included his observations and comments about his duties as chaplain and descriptions of the places he was stationed, the major theme of each one was, invariably, his love for his fiancée. He closed his 4 February 1864 letter with a romantic allusion to thoughts of his sweetheart: “This morning, while sleeping in the woods, I awoke before day, & as I looked at the stars above me, I mused about her who is the star of my earthly hope & whose smile lightens many a dark hour & who, I feel is as sure in her love to me as the light of the star to the night. Though both stars were far away, yet I could & did delight in [the] bright face of each.” And again, in his letter of 1 March 1864, he reminded her that she was always in his thoughts. “I love to sit with closed eyes & bowed head, & forgetting all around to think about the happy past & call up visions of a happier future.”

On occasion, Hattie shared Joe’s letters with her mother. Mary Banks, in her letter to Joe, dated 11 March 1864, mentioned that “Hattie allowed me to read your first letter written after your return from Meridian,” and observed that it “is a wonder that the spirit of the soldiers does not break down under such accumulated hardships.” Even without reading their correspondence, Mary certainly realized the love that Joe and Hattie had

for each other. Joe had evidently expressed that sentiment in a letter to Mary, no longer in the collection, in which he also asked for her thoughts on moving up the time for his intended marriage to Hattie. "Now to the chief subject of your letter, how shall I answer you? How shall I counsel you when I have not made up my own mind as to whether it would be prudent to marry during the war or not?" Mary's thinking, she confessed, had changed over time. When Joe first mentioned the possibility of marrying immediately, during one of his visits to Hazelwood, Mary "thought it was folly even to think of such a thing." Now, she believed that "in some cases...it would be quite proper to marry at once, and perhaps your case is one of them." She acknowledged that all of Joe's arguments in favor of an early marriage had merit, except one, "i.e., that you 'are both growing old.' Truly you are both getting very *antiquated* at 18 & 26. I wonder if your heads are not becoming sprinkled with grey!" She then pointed out other serious issues that the couple should consider before their marriage, especially the separation that Joe's obligations as an army chaplain would entail, and the additional cost they would incur as a result of supporting a household. She finally conceded that "if you & Hattie desire that your union shall take place soon, I will not oppose it, and I think I can speak for my husband." She then added, "In freely giving you my child, Mr. Mack, I give you the highest proof a mother can give of confidence and affection. You can ask no greater boon, and I can bestow no greater. May you never prove recreant to the trust! I have already taken you to my heart as a son."

After she had finished her response to Joe, Mary showed her letter to her daughter, and Hattie, in her letter to Joe, written on 16 March 1864, confirmed its contents: "she told you the same that she told me, excepting of course that she was more free with me....She thinks that I am wholly unprepared for entering the married state." Her prime objection

was “that then I could not pursue my studies as I ought to do, that I had better be studying and learning a little common sense instead of getting married.” Even with her stated objections, Hattie believed her mother was “perfectly willing that we should marry if we wish.” For Hattie, however, the decision rested with Joe. “I give up to you and will do whatever you wish, as you know that your wish is my wish.” In the same letter, Hattie stood her ground in regard to Joe’s habit of teasing her. She insisted that Joe would have to agree to stop writing in his letters about “an ‘old Tenn sweetheart,’” or she would “never give...[him] permission to come to ‘Shady Side,’” the name sometimes used for the Banks’ home. “[Y]ou have either to tell me when you see me, without teasing me, or stay away. I believe you would rather stay away, [f]or you would not be enjoying yourself if you could not tease me.”

While the epistolary courtship of Hattie Banks and Joe Mack unfolded during 1864, interrupted by only a few, brief visits that Joe made to “Shady Side,” the Reverend William Banks was away, attending to his duties as chaplain of Colonel Rutledge’s regiment of cavalry. A few of the letters exchanged between the two Confederate chaplains remain in the collection and cast light on the interests and ministerial concerns of both the Reverend Banks and the Reverend Mack.

In a letter written from his camp at Pocalaligo (Beaufort District, South Carolina), on the first day of 1864, William Banks expressed his concern over the spiritual state of the soldiers that Joe had described in a recent letter. “Very sorry to hear of the immoral condition of your regiment, and all the circumstances of discouragement which you mentioned,” he began. “Many things seem to be against you, suited to depress your spirits and abate your zeal in the cause of our Blessed Redeemer.” His advice to Joe, as an older and more experienced minister, was sound:

“While duty is ours[,] results belong to God; we need not, therefore, be discouraged, tho’ we do not at once see the fruits of our labors manifested in many souls being turned to the Lord.” William Banks also noted the state of religion among the men of his regiment: “Our Reg., about two months ago, moved to a new camp; and as we have no tents, we had to build cabins of pine or cypress poles. We are pretty well fixed up now, with chimneys to our cabins &c., [b]ut the confusion incident to the moving & fixing up has, I fear, had a bad effect upon our spiritual interests.” In addition to the move, Banks also mentioned the retirement of the “Episcopal minister & the Baptist who were laboring with me in this field” as another contributing factor in the lessening of “religious interest.” He did cite, however, an endeavor that gave him another opportunity, in addition to preaching, to minister to the soldiers. “The Garrison Guard House for our Military District, with all its occupants & the guard, near our camp, affords an interesting field of labor & is open to me as often as I choose to visit it,” he explained. “Here are confined two poor men of our regiment *condemned to be shot* on Monday 4th. Janry! They need daily spiritual instruction & prayer. It is a mournful duty to attend them.” Even so, Banks felt it was his responsibility to remain with the troops. “I have applied to my ch[urch]s for permission to continue in the army at least until Spring but have not yet recd. an answer.”

Hattie and her father often exchanged letters while he was away from home. Her letters to him were typically filled with family news, and with references to letters she had received from Joe. Her letter of 24 February 1864 conveyed the “sad, sad news” that “Mother received a letter from uncle William [Wilson] yesterday evening telling us of the deaths of his three youngest children, Lucia, Wimmie & Charley” who all died of “that dreadful disease Scarlet fever.” Lucia and Charley had both died on 12 February 1864 and Wimmie two days later. “What sweeping desolation!”

She was especially concerned about her cousin and former classmate at Laurensville Female College, Ellen Wilson who, when she returned home, would “no more hear the sweet prattle and merry laugh of her dear departed little brothers and sisters! *Three* sisters now she has in Heaven and *two* brothers.” Hattie then reported the deaths of two more friends before promising her father to “leave these sad scenes and go to some more cheering.”

William Banks returned home the last week in March 1864 on a thirty day furlough because he “was so unwell,” Hattie wrote in a letter to Joe dated 6 April 1864, but she was unsure “whether he will go back to the coast or to V[irginia].” when his furlough expired. “The Reg’t of which Father is Chap. has had orders to remove to Va. and take the place of the 1st. and 2nd. [cavalry] Reg’ts that have come to S[outh] Carolina to recruit their horses, but Gen. Beauregard has sent a petition to Richmond for it to stay at Pocatigo.” Although Hattie and her mother were reluctant to see him leave with the regiment for Virginia, her father was “determined to go...[and] thinks he will be much more needed there than here....”

William Banks left for Virginia on 7 May 1864, Hattie informed Joe in her 20 May 1864 letter. When she wrote him again on 28 May 1864, she had just received a letter from her father, “written at Danville, Va. while on his way to Richmond with his Reg’t.” The regiment had “stopped a week in Greensboro [North Carolina],” her father had written, and then “all the Reg’t but Capt. Barber’s Company rode from there to Richmond horseback.” Her father, she continued, had “borne the trip very well” and had had the good fortune to take the train with Captain Barber’s men “as he had no saddle, expecting to get one in Richmond.” Although Banks frequently wrote to his wife and daughter while in Virginia, few of those letters survive in this collection; however, Hattie usually reported the most

recent news from him in her letters to Joe. She had learned from his last letter that his regiment “had been in two very bloody and destructive battles, in one of which it lost 19 killed with 106 wounded and missing....Father said he could tell us of a great many miraculous escapes that the men made.” He had also recounted his visits to the wounded in the Richmond hospitals. From his camp, he had “to walk 10 and 12 miles every two or three days...without any dinner, and nothing but an ashe cake and a cup of water for supper.” The two battles he had mentioned, Haw’s Shop on 28 May 1864 and Matadequin Creek two days later, had pitted the relatively inexperienced Fourth South Carolina Cavalry against battle-tested Federal cavalry and resulted in heavy casualties among the South Carolinians.

Hattie had read in “the Guardian” that Captain Barber’s company had “lost 35 killed, wounded and missing” in recent battles, she related to Joe in her 4 July 1864 letter. A few days later, she informed Joe, in a letter dated 11 July 1864, that she had not received any recent letters from her father, but had learned from a soldier returning from Richmond that it was reported there that “Father was a little sick at a private house.” Hattie had more reliable news about her father’s health when she wrote Joe on 25 July. In his most recent letter, written on 15 July 1864, William Banks had related that he had “been at the Hospital, or rather the Huguenot Springs, for a week or two,” after he had been “broken down by fatigue and labor....” The springs provided “excellent” water, “pretty good” fare, and the “600 soldiers there...have excellent attention.” Hattie and her mother, she concluded, “can bear his absence a great deal better, and feel truly thankful that he is there.” She added, “Mother is almost herself again....”

In May 1864, the same month that the Reverend William Banks had

left South Carolina for Virginia, Joe Mack followed his regiment to north Georgia where Quarles Brigade had been ordered to join the growing Confederate forces arrayed against General William T. Sherman and his troops. The Confederate army, commanded by General Joseph E. Johnston, was positioned between Sherman and Atlanta and fought all summer to fend off the advancing Federals.

Before he left Mobile, however, Joe penned two letters to Hattie. In the first, written from Camp Cummings on 7 May 1864, he recounted some of the episodes of his recent trip to South Carolina. After he left Hattie, he traveled by train to Kingsville, located in lower Richland District (S.C.), where he waited for the train that would carry him to Mayesville (Sumter District, S.C.). While there, he wrote, he had "met a Tenn. chap who had just seen Willy...[who] represented him to be 'as fat as a bear & as hard as a pine knot.'" The day after he reached home, he went to Mt. Zion Church where he preached "in the afternoon from the words 'At evening time, it shall be light,'" even though he was "so sick...[he] could scarcely finish."

In the second letter, dated 19 May 1864, he wrote about "two or three things [that] have occurred to sadden & rejoice the heart." One of the sad events happened on "Sunday, May 8th. [when] a member of my regiment committed suicide by shooting himself directly through the heart...." Joe recounted for Hattie the troubled, unnamed soldier's history: "He was about forty years of age & had a family. He had enlisted at the beginning of the war but had been discharged. Returning home, he took the oath of allegiance to the U.S. The enormity of this deed preyed upon his mind, until at last he came out of W[est] Tenn. & about two months ago enlisted in our regiment. This however gave him no peace, & his mind became so affected that he determined to die." After several failed attempts to kill himself, he finally succeeded in what Joe labeled as "a horrible crime &

an enormous sin, [which] sometimes...God does permit His children to do...." On a more positive note, Joe reported that "about half a dozen have joined the ch[urch] from my regiment" as the results of a "protracted meeting in progress at a church about two miles from camp." Because "the other chaplain in the brigade is off on sick furlough, I have all the labor on my shoulders," he remarked. "I have preached five times this week, & expect to do so three or four times more; yet if there was another chaplain here, there would be work for him also."

A few days after he mailed this letter, he left Mobile with his regiment and by 26 May 1864 was in Marietta (Georgia), just north of Atlanta, he informed Hattie in a letter written from "Camp, near Lost Mountain," on 1 June 1864. In a previous letter, he had "mentioned our tramp last Thursday night from Marietta to the front. It took us the livelong night to march sixteen miles [and] I do not know how I should have made out, but fortunately I got into a wagon twice, riding two or three miles each time. With this help & also that of a drink of whiskey, I made the trip." Joe described the military situation in north Georgia and then speculated "that there will be no general engagement here for some time unless we make the attack." He observed that "[b]oth armies are entrenched, & the party making the attack will suffer severely, unless the other party is surprised. The country is thickly wooded, with quite a profusion of undergrowth, making it very bad to fight in." After enumerating the ten Confederate infantry divisions in General Johnston's army, listing the names of the generals commanding them, and adding the cavalry divisions also present, Joe estimated that "our force at this point is...fully sixty thousand men, perhaps more [while] Sherman's force is perhaps a third or a fourth larger." Joe had spent two or three days after his arrival at the front "at the Hospital," which he found to be "a terrible place." "About thirty five of our brigade have come in wounded, but shocking as were their wounds,

they were nothing to those of about thirty Yankees who were wounded by Granbury's brigade & left by the enemy on the field. Twenty were wounded in a limb, & of these eighteen had either an arm or a leg amputated," he related. He also described, in detail, what he had witnessed as the surgeons operated on the wounded soldiers. The surgeons performing the amputations were "Joking & laughing with perfect indifference to everything except the neatness of the job. They would stand around the table & cut flesh & saw bones as if they were at work on a piece of wood & not on a fellow creature." Although he tried "two or three times" to "witness an amputation," he "invariably turned away & went to the jug of whiskey."

In the midst of all the pain and suffering Joe had witnessed, there was an unexpected, and joyful, meeting with his brother Willie Mack, which he also described in his letter to Hattie. "Day before yesterday (Monday) as I started to the front, I struck up with Willie," he began. "He came to exchange horses with me." Willie had captured his horse "from a Dutch Yankee Captain about ten months ago, & she had carried him safely through many a difficulty since." Evidently Willie had ridden her on a visit to his home in Columbia (Tennessee), where his sister Mary "had taken a fancy to her & he had named her Molly, & promised to give her to...[Mary] whenever he returned home," Joe continued. The horse, however, "had sprained her foot... [and] is of no more use as a cavalry horse," but would answer Joe's needs for transportation. He, however, "had become very much attached" to "Stonewall," his pony, and with "deep regret" let his brother have him.

In his next letter, written from "Camp near Marietta" and dated 10 June 1864, Joe mentioned that he had "staid with the wagon train almost all

the time” since he wrote his previous letter on 1 June 1864. “In my ministerial capacity, I have done the next thing to nothing since we left Mobile,” except to distribute “a few papers, tracts, &c, & talked privately to one or two persons,” he confessed. He also informed Hattie that, during Willie’s recent visit, he had showed him Hattie’s picture. Willie “concluded that you were a downright good looking girl,” he teased. “He professes to have a very poor opinion of S.C., saying that all the girls wear brogans. All that he knows is what he saw in his trip from E. Tenn. to N. Georgia. He passed through the upper portion of the state.” Joe concluded his letter on a note of optimism about the future. After lamenting his infrequent, and short, visits with his fiancée, he expressed the “hope that there is a better time coming, a time when absence from you, will be as seldom & as short as there is now presence with each other. Happy time, come soon!”

Hattie’s letters to Joe continued to follow the same pattern that had always characterized her correspondence. She commented on things that interested her in Joe’s most recent letter, conveyed news of her family, especially her father’s health, detailed her own activities, and also, on occasion, commented on the progress of the war and its impact on her community. When she wrote to him on 13 June 1864, she had just received his letter of 1 June which conveyed the story about the horse swap with his brother. “I was very glad to hear of your meeting with Willie, [but] I expect I know nothing of the pleasure that you felt then,” she wrote. “I have a great curiosity to see that wonderful brother of yours,” she confessed, but wondered “if I ever will see him!” She also expressed her concern about her brother’s future if the war continued. “I hope the war will close before Alex is old enough to take a part in it...[which] will be in a year from now.” Alex had already expressed his desire to join the cavalry, but his mother “wants him to go to the good ‘old Sixth,” Hattie informed

Joe. Many of the family's friends and relatives had enlisted in the Sixth Regiment, South Carolina Infantry. "When Father is away, he feels more anxious about Alex than anyone else," she continued. "He knows he is a wayward boy, and trembles to think what would become of him if he should enter the army." Hattie was also concerned about her uncle, John Hemphill, who had married her mother's sister, Sarah (Sallie) Harrington, in 1861 in Arkansas, where several members of Hattie's extended family had moved. Hattie asked Joe to try to "find uncle John H" because, she explained, "we have not heard from him since the fighting commenced in Ga. and do not know but what he might have been killed or wounded." He served in Company I, Second Regiment, Arkansas Infantry, and was in Govan's Brigade, Cleburne's Division, she added. Another relative, Banks Thompson, was also in an Arkansas regiment, and Hattie wanted Joe to find him as well. "After you get well acquainted with him, I think you will like him very much."

In Hattie's letter of 11 July 1864 to Joe, one of three she wrote that month and the only one still present in the collection, she asked, "Have you found uncle J[ohn] yet? If so, how do you like his majesty? I hope you will be good friends." When Hattie wrote Joe on 5 August 1864, she had just received a letter from him, the first one "in nearly five weeks," which made her "so rejoiced that...[she] could scarcely read it." She then shared with Joe the news that John Hemphill had been killed in the Battle of Atlanta on 22 July 1864 when General John Bell Hood, who had just replaced General Joseph E. Johnston, attacked the Federal forces that ringed the city. In one of the bloodiest days of the war, the Confederates suffered over eight thousand casualties. The Second Arkansas Infantry, Hemphill's regiment, was in General Daniel C. Govan's Brigade, which was decimated during a frontal assault on entrenched Federal troops. Govan estimated that his brigade lost fifty percent of the one thousand

men who had gone into battle and seventy-five percent of the field and company officers. Her mother had been stunned by the news, Hattie related to Joe, because "Uncle John felt that he would pass through the war safely and had written to Mother to that effect, so of course she was impressed with the same idea." Although "we doubted" the news "at first, as it was not telegraphed, but was said to be only a rumor," she continued, "we soon found that there was not the least room for doubting."

Dr. John Randolph McFadden (1835–1916), a native of Chester District (S.C.) and a surgeon in Govan's Brigade, sent a note to John Hemphill's uncle in Chester (S.C.), "informing him of the sad intelligence." Hattie expressed her sympathy for "Poor Mrs. Hemphill [who] has given all that she can to her country—two sons and a son-in-law." Jane Wilson Brice Hemphill (1818–1886), the widow of David Hemphill, lost both her younger son, Robert Hemphill (1840–1862), a member of Company F, Sixth Regiment, South Carolina Infantry, who was wounded at the Battle of Seven Pines on 31 May 1862 and died as a result, on 15 June, and her son-in-law, Joseph Lucius Gaston (1829–1862), the captain of Company F, who was killed on 31 May in the same battle.

Joe, however, had already learned of John Hemphill's death and apparently discussed the circumstances in his letter to Hattie written on 24 July 1864, for she wrote that "I am glad that you know where uncle John's grave is [and] that he and Col. Murray are lying together." She also mentioned that "the former is a cousin of Kate Caldwell's and the latter a very dear friend. Kate seemed to be much moved when she heard that they were buried in the same grave," Hattie observed. John E. Murray (1843–1864), the colonel of the Fifth Regiment, Arkansas Infantry, was killed leading his men in the attack on the Federal positions on 22 July 1864. His remains were removed from the Atlanta grave site in 1867

and reburied in the Mount Holly Cemetery (Little Rock, Arkansas). Later in the same letter, she again stressed the impact of the war on her family and community.

After she learned that a Federal mine had exploded the previous week, under the Confederate lines at Petersburg (Virginia), which became known as the Battle of the Crater, she was concerned about the safety of her cousin Robert Banks. Even though a resident of Arkansas, he had enlisted in the Seventeenth South Carolina Infantry, a regiment in Elliott's Brigade which had, Hattie wrote, "lost severely" in the explosion. "One young man from this neighborhood in the 23d. Reg't was killed," she remarked. But, the brother of her close friend Mary Stevenson, who had been wounded "while on Picket," was expected home any day. "There is destruction all round us and when will it cease? Both at home and in the army there is great distress and anguish of mind," Hattie observed.

Hattie's stress and anguish about the casualties of the war had been somewhat lessened by the time she next wrote Joe on 15 August 1864. Her father, she explained, had returned home, unexpectedly, on 5 August 1864. When she saw him riding up to the front gate, she did not recognize him because "he was so changed. He was so greatly reduced both in strength and flesh that he could hardly walk, and then he had a *mustache* and whiskers which changed his appearance very much." His furlough from the army was for forty days, however Hattie did not think he would be "well enough to return in that time."

In her letter of 22 August 1864, Hattie Banks reported that "Father is but slowly improving....He gets so much better every three or four days that he can walk all about, but being rather too imprudent in eating he soon gets as bad as ever," she lamented. Joe, in the meantime, had witnessed the results of the Battle of Atlanta, fought on 28 July 1864, and in his letter of 5 August 1864, written from "Quarles Brigade Hospital," he

described to Hattie the death of one of the casualties of that engagement. William C. Richardson, the major in the Fifty-third Regiment, Tennessee Infantry, was severely wounded in the battle and lingered near death until the morning of 1 August. The major, Joe related, was “either out of his head, or else slumbering every few seconds, [h]ence there was no opportunity of having any conversation with him about religion.” Previously, the major had expressed the belief that religion was only “formality & morality,” and had “once said that he was good enough;” however, after he was wounded, he “said that it was ‘too late.’” After his death, “a nice coffin was made for him, he was washed...& interred in a neat grave.” Joe, in his capacity as chaplain, officiated at the burial, which took place “half an hour after dark, in a thick woods, beneath a large hickory tree, with several whites & two blacks” present. Joe spoke about “the close of our own lives, & then offered a prayer that the event might be blessed to the good of his family, of his associates, & of those present.” Joe then contrasted the major’s death and burial with that of a private soldier who had been wounded the previous evening, “not in battle, but by a stray shot,” and who had then died the afternoon of 5 August 1864. When “Parson McNeilly went to him & began to speak of the promises of God,” he discovered that the dying soldier’s “trust in Jesus, & only him, was so great...that Mac felt that he was not wanted” or needed. The Reverend James Hugh McNeilly (1838–1922), a Presbyterian minister before the war, was chaplain of the Forty-ninth Regiment, Tennessee Infantry, which was in Quarles Brigade. “This morning,” Joe continued, the soldier “was in heaven,” while “his body unwashed, uncoffined, & uncared for, was interred in a grave three feet deep.” Joe remarked that “[o]nly four persons, besides myself, were present at the burial, but Oh! how different the prayer then from that at Major R’s grave.” In an 8 August 1864 postscript, Joe noted that it was

Sunday morning and that “McN[eilly] preached at Hospital, & last night, I preached at the Brigade....I slept last night in the trenches & slept well. My congregation was about 200, the rest being on picket or else doing fatigue duty, i.e., digging ditches, or making obstructions.”

Joe was still near Atlanta when he wrote Hattie on 24 August 1864, again from “Quarles Brigade Hospital.” After he mildly reproached her for neglecting to write to him “for so long a time,” he related the latest news from his brother Willie, which had been included in a recent letter from him. “He is not with Wheeler as I supposed, but is at Griffin, Ga.,” he explained. “About a month ago, he went off on a scout within the enemy’s lines & did not return until after his Reg’t had left. He went off on foot & captured a good mule & pistol; but alas! he came back to find his horse, saddle, bridle & clothes all gone, as also the man with whom he left them.” Much of the remainder of the letter was copied from his diary and in those entries he presented the basic facts of his daily activities: “16th. Today I distribute papers in 3 Brigade Hospitals....Tonight I go out to the Brigade & preach....250 persons present, 50 of whom stood up to be prayed for, & among them Gen. Quarles. 19th. Preach funeral of Dickerson of my Reg’t, killed last night.” After filling a half sheet with diary entries, he commented, “But you are tiring of this & so am I—when I fill 4 pages of my diary I will enclose it to you & you can read it if you wish, but try & preserve it for me to read & expatiate upon hereafter.” He also mentioned the receipt of two letters from Mayesville (S.C.), both of which gave “a rather bad account of affairs which makes me desire to go home to stay.”

The military situation in Georgia changed rapidly after General Hood ordered his troops out of Atlanta on 1 September 1864 and the city was occupied by Federal forces the next day. Joe apparently accompanied

Quarles Brigade to the south, and on 5 October 1864, he was admitted to Ocmulgee Hospital, in Macon (Georgia), suffering from laryngitis. Released on 11 October 1864, he probably returned to South Carolina.

Although none of the letters Joe wrote during the fall of 1864 survive in the collection, two from Hattie to Joe, dated 3 September and 2 December 1864 are extant, and document some of Joe's movements during that period. In her September letter, Hattie listed the letters she had received from Joe "since the 25th of June—dates, July 16th, 19th, 24th, Aug. 3d, 5th, 12th and 14th." Of those, only the one dated 5 August 1864 is preserved in the collection. She also reflected on "the pleasure that we will have in reading and talking over our old letters, *yours* particularly." Most of all, she wanted Joe to return to South Carolina: "It is time for you to think about coming home. If you are not thinking about it I am, and almost counting the days." She reminded him that the Presbyterian Synod would soon meet and that she remembered that "you were in Sumter this time last year, and oh how I wish you were there now!"

In her 2 December 1864 letter to Joe Mack, Hattie Banks chronicled her days since Joe left after a recent visit. "Your visits all have done me a great deal of good, but none so much as the two last ones," she wrote. Apparently, Joe had left Hazelwood (S.C.), at the end of his second visit, about a week before Hattie wrote to him. He had probably returned to South Carolina soon after he was released from the Macon hospital and had divided his time between Mayesville and Hazelwood. Although Joe had not resigned his chaplaincy, he enjoyed a lengthy furlough from the army at a time when his regiment was decimated during the disastrous battles at Franklin, Tennessee, on 30 November and at Nashville on 15 December 1864.

During those days at "Shady Side," Joe and Hattie decided to marry as

soon as possible, instead of waiting for the war to end. The wedding, certainly performed by the bride's father, took place in the Banks' home on 15 December 1864. Mrs. Banks, in a letter to her daughter, written on 21 December 1864, lamented "how much we all miss you." She could "scarcely realize yet that I have given you up for good." The ceremony was witnessed by only a few family members, and possibly some neighbors. Hattie's grandmother, Harriett Hudson Harrington, who had just returned from Arkansas, was visiting at Hazelwood, but Hattie's brother, seventeen year old Alex, was in Florence (South Carolina), at the time of the wedding. He had enlisted in Company E, Third Battalion of State Troops, in September and had joined his unit in Florence in early December 1864.

Mary Banks remarked to Hattie in her 21 December 1864 letter that "[w]e received a very affectionate letter from Alex yesterday addressed to you. Poor boy! he will be very much hurt when he hears that his sister is gone." In her first letter to her mother after her marriage, written from "Sleepy Hollow" and dated 27 December 1864, Hattie also mentioned Alex's reaction to news of her marriage. "I often think of him, and wonder what he thinks of our suddenly changing our minds and getting married." She added that "Mr. Mack is going to Florence Thursday and will see Alex." Her husband's throat, she continued, "was almost well until within the last two days [when] he suffered a little...." The reason for his visit to Florence, she implied, was to request an extension of his leave from the army, but she would not "know what his fate will be until his return," she added, and "I hope that he will get off for a while longer." Hattie then commented on married life and her role as the wife of the pastor of Salem Presbyterian Church. "I am enjoying married life very much, though my experience for the first few days was rather a trying one, for as I could not sleep on the cars nor at Kingsville which with the fatigue of travelling you

know would almost break me down.” The first Sunday [18 December 1864] she and her husband attended church was also difficult because, as she explained to her mother, “I knew that all eyes would be on me or my husband....A great many did not know that we were married until they went to church, hence you can imagine the surprise that was created, though the most of them pretended not to be surprised at all....I think I was cordially welcomed here by the good people of Salem (on Mr. Mack’s account, of course.)” Joe added a few lines, addressed to “Dear Parents,” to Hattie’s letter. He mentioned his upcoming trip to Florence where he would “report & obtain (I hope) 14 days more of home influence & convivial enjoyment.” He also acknowledged the kindness of his congregation. “Today they paid me fifteen hundred dollars as my salary, & furthermore appointed [a] committee of three ‘to confer with Mr. Mack & ascertain his views concerning a settlement &c.’”

When Hattie wrote to her father on 4 January 1865, from “Myrtlewood,” the plantation home of Thomas Hasell Dick (1837–1911) and his wife, Margaret M. Scott Cooper Dick (1841–1868), and the place where Hattie and Joe boarded, she shared the good news that “Mr. M. got off for two weeks longer—I wish it was two months.” Her letter also included the complete text of Mr. Mack’s report which the Salem Church committee had asked him to write. He began the report by affirming his strong affection for the church: “When I first came here my mind was fixed upon going to a foreign field, but in May 1864, I found out the strength of the tie which bound me to my people & so I determined to stay here for life unless sent off by some marked Providence of God.” His immediate plan was “to preach to our soldiers during the warm weather as long as the war lasts, but I will resign my chaplaincy this spring if I conclude to go to Va. & next August if I conclude to stay in the Army of Tenn.” He also

informed Captain Cooper and Mr. Witherspoon, two members of the committee, that "I have made arrangements for my family until next November, after that time I have not provided for, [but] I desire to stop boarding as soon as I can & hence if you build upon the parsonage ground[,] it will meet with my cordial & grateful approval." After he had copied his report in the letter, he added a few comments about the state of his church. "Last Sunday was our examination day & nine new applicants for ch[urch] membership came before the session, making 27 in all. There is a work of some kind going on among the blacks. I hope that it is the spirit of God, for if Sherman passes through this state, the religious element is the strongest hold that we will have upon the blacks."

Joe continued his discussion of the impact that Sherman's march would have on the enslaved African-American members of his congregation in a letter written 9 February 1865 to his mother-in-law: "What the effect of Sherman's march on the negroes will be[,] I cannot tell, but I fear to know. He seems to be steadily moving forward & perhaps ere long we will find out. O, if religion was only sufficient to keep them from the Yankees, what ocean of joy would be mine!" Joe also pointed out that "[a]mong the negroes there is apparently much religious interest. Thirty-five are applicants for ch[urch] membership." Joe's furlough, even with the two week extension, would soon end and he planned to leave Mayesville on 22 February 1865, "if military movements do not prevent," and return to his corps which was in Mississippi. "What a long & terrible trip," he observed. In a postscript, written on 12 February, he mentioned that he had received a telegram, sent from Florence, that indicated that Alex was ill, but that did not reveal the severity or nature of the illness. Instead of waiting to begin his journey, Joe planned to take the train for Florence (S.C.) that evening to look after Alex. "If he can be moved, I will let you know & also have him comfortably fixed up & brought

to Mayesville,” he assured Mrs. Banks. Alex recovered from his illness and served with the state troops until the war ended.

By the time Hattie wrote to her mother from Myrtlewood on 5 June 1865, the war had ended. In all likelihood, Joe had never returned to his regiment and, instead, remained in Mayesville (S.C.). Hattie’s letter described a just-completed trip from her parents’ home in Hazelwood to Mayesville. “The short visit home cheered me up a great deal [and] I enjoyed it so much and hated leaving worse than I ever did before,” she informed her mother. Even though “Mr. Mack feels tired and broken down, he preached Sunday.” The Macks had made the three-day trip by buggy on account of the destruction of the railroads in Sumter and Kershaw Districts (S.C.) as a result of the April raid by Federal General Edward Potter and his force of 2,500 soldiers.

Instead of remaining in Mayesville during the hot months of summer, Joe and Hattie spent July through September at Bradford Springs, a village located in the High Hills of the Santee in northwestern Sumter District (S.C.), which had served as a refuge and summer resort for planter families from the surrounding districts since the 1820s. Hattie described the location in her letter to her mother dated 12 August 1865. “I do not think that on the whole this is a pretty country[,] but there are some beautiful situations for summer residences where you can have fine views, indeed there are places where persons once lived, and I wonder that they do not spend the summer here now—and besides there are so many fine springs of cool water.” Hattie and Joe had come to Bradford Springs with three other families from the Salem community. When she described the house they lived in, she also listed the other friends they were with. “The house is very large and comfortable [with] 11 rooms. Mr. Mack & I occupy two, a sleeping room and dressing room. Mr. & Mrs. Dick three besides one for a nursery. Dr. Dick’s family one—he has only

one of his children up, & Mr. & Mrs. Petrie one, thus leaving one bedroom for company, [and] a large parlor and a very large dining room....It might be called a hospital sometimes which has two Chaplains, one Dr. and two or three nurses. I say hospital because there has been sickness ever since we have been here.”

The Macks boarded in the home of T. Hasell and Maggie Cooper Dick in the Salem Community, the “Mr. & Mrs. Dick” mentioned in the letter. Dr. Leonard White Dick (1834–1882) was Hasell’s brother, both being sons of Dr. Thomas Morritt Dick (1804–1858) and his wife, Mary Elizabeth White (1806– 1852). George Laurens Petrie (1840–1931) had recently married Maggie Cooper Dick’s sister, Mary Jane Cooper (1843–1917), called “Pet” by Hattie in her letter. The Reverend Petrie had served as chaplain in the Twenty-second Regiment, Alabama Infantry, until his resignation on 15 March 1865, hence the reference Hattie made to “two Chaplains.” She characterized the inhabitants of the house as “a social crowd indeed.” She also described the arrangement in place for the performance of household duties. “The ladies have determined not to bother with housekeeping and none of the gentlemen seem disposed to act in that capacity except Mr. Dick, so we style him housekeeper, and a very good one he makes too.” The party had brought along two former slaves, Primus, who was “installed cook and he fills his place remarkably well,” and Cretia, who was “kept busy washing and ironing.” They enjoyed a wide variety of local produce, with “an abundance of...watermelons, peaches, figs and sometimes grapes and apples.” Their vegetables came from the near-by Morgan farm. “Miss Mag Morgan is very kind in sending such things to us,” she remarked.

In 1853, a Presbyterian minister and educator, Gilbert Morgan (1791–1875), a New York native, and his wife, Maria McArthur Gilbert (1802–1862), had outfitted the old Bradford Springs hotel as a college for young

women. Harmony Female College [a site now located in Lee County, S.C.] flourished for a decade before a fire in 1863 destroyed the college building. Hattie observed that “Harmony is a dreary looking place now— what a pity the College was burnt!” Even though the Morgans “lost every one of their servants during Potter’s raid,” they persevered and “did their own work” with “old Mr. Morgan and his son [Gilbert Morgan (1828–1903)]...in the field & Miss Mag [Margaret Johnson Morgan (1832–1903)] & Miss Em [Emily Morgan (1837–1869)] [doing] the cooking &c.” Hattie, in her conversations with members of the family, had learned that “they will continue to live South,” rather than move back North.

Hattie Banks Mack confided to her mother that she was very concerned about the state of her husband’s health, which she labeled “very feeble. I think he looks worse than I ever saw him,” she observed. “Friends have been trying to persuade him to give up preaching for 2 or 3 months and try to recruit himself [and] he is partly following their advice.” Both she and Mr. Mack had experienced “chills and fever” since arriving at Bradford Springs, but had taken quinine “which stopped them,” she continued. Sickness was also rampant in the Salem Church congregation, she informed her mother. “Miss Sue Montgomery, one of its best and most useful members...died after a long and painful illness....One by one they are going....This makes the seventh death in the congregation this year.” Even though the war had been over less than four months, Hattie included only a few incidental references to the lingering effects of the conflict. She mentioned the presence of Federal troops in both Chester and Sumter (S.C.), as well as the movement of many emancipated slaves from the farms and plantations where they had been enslaved. “The [N]egroes here are generally doing very well—a good many went off from Salem, [including] nearly all of cousin Harrington’s and a good many of Mr. Witherspoon’s, besides some from

almost all the other places, [but] the greater portion of those who remained willingly signed the contract." She also remarked that "all the gentlemen in this house have gone to Sumter and taken the oath [of allegiance to the United States]." The final topic that she covered in her eight-page letter was her pregnancy, although without mentioning the term. "Mother, I do not think I can possibly go home for you to nurse me, though I certainly would rather do so. If the cars were running I would not for a moment hesitate, so then if you *can* I would like you to come down between the first and the middle of October."

Joe also invited Mary Banks to come to Salem (S.C.) in time for the expected birth of Hattie's first child. In a letter to the Reverend William Banks, written from Bradford Springs on 14 August, he announced that "[b]y the middle of next October...you may be a grand dad. If mother can, let her come the 10th of next October to see us." With the prospect for an addition to his family, Joe apparently felt compelled to share with his father-in-law his "future prospects." He planned to remain "for the present" at Salem and expected to receive his year's salary, or "at least the most of it." The following January, he planned "to go to housekeeping," albeit "it will be on poor folks scale." He wanted to "settle 3 or 4 [N]egro families of the right stamp" on the "350 acres of land in the parsonage tract...& thus secure my bread for next year." And he wanted "two servants, one to cook and wash, & one to nurse the baby (counting chickens &c)."

In a letter to her brother Alex Banks, written from Bradford Springs (S.C.), on 20 September, Hattie indicated that she was "still pleased with our summer retreat, though it is not quite as pleasant as it was a few weeks ago. Our family is somewhat diminished which takes away part of the pleasure." Mr. and Mrs. Petrie had returned to Alabama, and "Dr. Dick and his family go away though they stay but a short time," she explained.

She and Mr. Mack planned to leave for Salem on 1 October and stay at "cousin Sam Cooper's...until Mr. Dick goes home."

As the time approached for the birth of Hattie and Joe's first child, the unsettled conditions within the state made it difficult for William and Mary Banks to communicate with their daughter and son-in-law in Salem. Without regular mail service, which had collapsed with the destruction of the railroads by Sherman's and Potter's men during the previous winter and spring, letters had to be delivered by some traveler headed by horseback or buggy to the area where the recipients lived.

Mary Banks wrote to her "Dear Children" on 30 September because she had "an opportunity of writing to you again by Mr. [Hugh] Strong, who leaves next Tuesday for Sumter." She also stated that "I think you hear from us almost as often as if we had mail communication, much oftener than we do from you." The lack of rail service also complicated Mary's planned trip to Salem to nurse mother and baby after Hattie's delivery. "Sam Banks speaks of going to Bishopville in two or three weeks," Mary wrote, "perhaps he may take me down, but I think it doubtful...I regret exceedingly that I cannot go sooner, and I may not be able to go at all." Even travel by buggy was uncertain, she asserted: "Chester is full of Yankees and they are taking all Govt. horses they can lay their hands on belonging to either side. You know both of ours belong to that class. They have issued an order demanding them to be given up." Not only were horses in danger, she continued, but "they are stealing from the Chester people almost everything they can get their hands on, in the eating line. Oh, the thieving scamps, they protect us with a vengeance!!"

Hugh Strong's visit to Chester (S.C.) offered another opportunity for the Reverend and Mrs. William Banks to send a letter to Joe and Hattie. Dated 6 October, with a lengthy postscript written the following day, the letter was a cooperative effort by both parents. William Banks wrote

extensively about Synod business for Joe's benefit, while Mrs. Banks speculated about her daughter's situation. "I suppose you have been staying with Aunt Flinn this week, and have been very busy in that room upstairs." Although no letter in the collection announced the arrival of William Mack, the namesake of both grandfathers, he was born in Sumter District (S.C.) in the home of his great aunt, Mary Flinn Cooper Harrington, the widow of Dwight W. Harrington, on 24 October. When Mary Banks wrote her daughter on 30 December, she spent most of her time with the usual family news and with comments about other current concerns. "The Yankees have been after our horses again, the fourth time I think. And your father went up and made a plain statement of facts and got leave to keep them, and also a receipt that secures them in future." She also announced that "we will have regular mail next week," and asked Hattie, "Have you engaged servants yet?" When she closed the letter, she sent "Love to Mr. Mack, and ever so many kisses for Willie. I want to see the darling little boy so much, I don't think I can wait till next summer."

While much of the correspondence from 1866 focused on young Willie Mack and the state of his health, there are also many observations and comments about the reestablishment of religious, social, and economic relationships in post-war South Carolina. Mrs. Banks described her experience with the transition from enslaved servants to her reliance on freed men and women to do the household and farm chores for the family in her 20 January 1866 letter to Hattie: "Well, I suppose you are anxious to know how we are getting along with our new servants. Lymus & Betsey are doing just as well in their line of work as could be expected. They have signed the contract, and L[yimus] is more obedient & respectful than ever he was—does cheerfully anything I ask him to do. Lizzie tries very hard to learn, says she wants to please me, but she has many things to

learn.” Mary Banks had taken on many of the household chores. “I sweep the house, make up beds, wash the clothes, besides assisting in the kitchen more or less every day. Now don’t you think your old mother has quite a busy time of it?” Money was also an issue for the household. “The Congregations have had their annual meetings and have raised a little over \$260 for your father’s salary. I think it is a shame[,] for he labored faithfully for them last year,” she observed. “Your father is willing in the present state of things to relinquish half his salary for last year, and I think that is as much as he ought to do.” The Reverend William Banks was also “seriously debating in his mind whether it is not his duty to leave these Congregations and seek a new field....He has his attention turned again to the ‘Far West.’”

The Macks, after they moved to their own house, also needed help with the tasks associated with housekeeping. Joe explained, in a letter to his father-in-law, dated 8 March 1866, that he had employed “a little boy to be about the house, so that I now have 4 hands in the field, a cook, a nurse & a houseboy.” He admitted that it “is going into farming deeper than [he] ought” because he believed a minister “is set apart to a particular work...[and] has no business to entangle himself with worldly business.”

Hattie Mack, when writing to her brother Alex Banks on 19 March 1866, indicated that, in addition to the time he spent looking after his livestock and farming, “Mr. Mack has a great deal to do now with preaching & teaching.” He taught some of the freedmen in his congregation “three nights in a week, two hours each night...and the freed people are exceedingly anxious to learn to read.” Hattie informed Alex that she also taught “our servants every Sabbath afternoon” and had progressed “through with the large letters.”

Joe Mack presented a more detailed account of his and Hattie’s work

schedules in a 12 April 1866 letter to his brother Willie, who had enrolled at Hanover College, a Presbyterian-affiliated institution, in Hanover (Indiana). First, Joe described his plans for his farm: "I have about 42 acres which will be planted in this way—cotton 12 acres, rice 5, potatoes 3, peas 2, corn 20. I expect as my share of the crop 2 1/4 bales of cotton, 50 bushels of rice, potatoes & peas enough to do me next year & 120 bushels of corn. All of my outlay has been paid except my mule, so that the cotton & 1/2 of the rice will be clear gain....Hattie has a fine garden, & plenty of strawberries, grapes & figs. Besides we have a young orchard, which will give us some fruit." Joe then outlined his ministerial responsibilities. "I must prepare 2 sermons a week, devote 2 days a week to pastoral visitation, teach a class of 35 negroes 3 nights a week, expect soon to have two white boys to teach every morning, am on two very important Presbyterian committees, which require about 1/8 of my time, for I visit the various churches to present the subjects to them." He added, facetiously, "have to nurse the baby occasionally & semi-frequently listen to a scolding from Mrs. J.B. Mack." His congregation had been very generous during the difficult previous year with gifts of furnishings for his house, food and other necessities and he expected his full salary at the end of the year. Even so, he confessed, he longed "to live out West." Because his "opinions so often clash with S[outh] Carolina prejudices, & as I stand almost alone, it is very unpleasant. If they had reasonable opinions, I could argue with them, but prejudice is formed without reason & hence cannot be removed (except very rarely) by reason." Another problem that troubled him was the racial unrest and violence that had roiled the state. Although the African American freedmen were "working very well in this community," he accused the Freedman's Bureau of "making a bad state of things in some places." As examples, he cited Marion (S.C.), where "the negroes attacked the

Yankee garrison, & they had a sweet time of it—one Yankee was killed & a negro schoolhouse burned,” and Darlington (S.C.), where “the ill will between our black skinned & blue coated friends resulted in the burning of about 40 houses.”

Joe Mack devoted much of his time during the spring of 1866 to the work of the Domestic Missions Committee, of which he was chairman, which had been charged at the March meeting of the Harmony Presbytery with the implementation of a report that the group had adopted in “relation to the freedmen....” In his letter to William Banks, written on 25 April 1866, Joe claimed that the committee’s report was “pretty much ‘my baby,’ though some things in it I endured for the sake of pushing through the rest.” In Joe’s summary of the committee’s recommendations, he emphasized that the Harmony Presbytery had agreed to “urge all ch[urch] members, Sessions & Pastors to promote...[the] intellectual advancement” of African Americans, “to instruct ch[urch] sessions to pay special attention to the marriage of negroes & their covenant relation as parents, to order the D[omestic] M[issions] Com[mittee] to organize missionary stations, [with the congregations] at these stations having their own Deacons, ch[urch] building, S[unday] School & times of worship... & that Rev. J.R. Dow be selected as a D[omestic] M[issionary.]” To his father, William Mack, in a letter dated 7 May, Joe reported that his committee “has promptly & vigorously moved in the matter,” even though “[t]here is a great deal of opposition to our work.”

The opposition arose partly because of “Southern prejudice & bitterness,” and partly because of “peculiar issues” within the Presbytery that related to personnel. In his own congregation, Joe had witnessed “quite an appearance of interest among the blacks,” with four joining “by certificate & 12 on examination” at the spring communion.

The arrival of summer, however, not only curtailed the committee's work, but also marked the beginning of the "sickly season" in much of the state, especially in areas where mosquitoes and malaria flourished. The Macks' home adjoined Cowboy swamp, and was considered to be unsafe during the summer season. Hattie requested her father, in a letter dated 16 June 1866, "to send for me by the 1st of July," so she and Willie could escape the dangers of the season. "Mr. Mack is very urgent about it, as I am getting no better, and Willie is sick so often," she continued. However, she wanted Alex to arrive "in time for us to leave here the 4th. or 5th. of July," because, she explained, "I have to be here on the 3d. to prepare a dinner for the Com[mittee] of D[omestic] M[issions] which is to meet in this house."

Joe Mack, in a letter to his father written on 5 July 1866, lamented that "Hattie & Willie have gone! Her brother came for them & they left today." The eighty-five mile trip by buggy would, he explained, require three days to complete. "They will travel by such short stages that neither H[attie] nor W[illie] will be exhausted." Hattie, he noted, "is far from well and...needed the change so much." Joe did not reveal, however, that Hattie was expecting their second child early in the following year. Joe planned to remain at Salem (S.C.) until the beginning of August and then "join H[attie] in Chester, & in a week thereafter, we expect to join you in Tenn[essee]." He looked forward to a change of scenery and a chance to escape the harsh realities of life in South Carolina where the "crops [were] very poor [and] collisions between the two races, frequent." He despaired for his adopted state. "The doom of this country [for] 20 years is sealed. Neither with whites nor blacks can I 'harmonize.' I may go to Brazil."

After spending July at "Shady Side," in Chester District (S.C.), Hattie, Joe Mack, and Willie Banks boarded the train at Blackstock (S.C.) for the

trip to Tennessee to visit with Joe's family. On the way, Joe stopped in Atlanta in an effort to locate the grave of John Hemphill, who had been killed in battle two years earlier. Mrs. Banks, in a letter to Hattie, dated 13 August 1866, provided a few details that would help identify Hemphill's corpse. She had learned from Kate Wylie, a Hemphill relative, "some things by which I think the bodies could be identified if Mr. M[ack] should be so fortunate as to find the grave at all." Colonel Murray, who was buried with John Hemphill, was "a much taller man than Johnnie and being an officer I suppose was buried in his uniform and that is probably preserved," she reasoned.

William Banks, in a letter dated 3 September 1866 and directed to Joe at his father's home in Columbia (Tennessee), added some new information relative to John Hemphill. "Robert Hemphill told me yesterday that he heard that probably the ladies of Atlanta had removed the remains of Col. Murray & J. Hemphill to Atlanta. If so, John's mother & Sallie wish John's [body] to remain there," he advised. When the Macks returned to South Carolina in early September 1866, Hattie and Willie remained at Shady Side and Joe returned to Salem (S.C.) to resume his ministerial duties. Although he did not write to Hattie while she with her parents, Joe did send a letter to his father-in-law in which he vented his frustration with his life in South Carolina. "I have about come to the conclusion to leave S. Carolina," he began, and then listed some of the reasons for his unhappiness. "First, on account of *health*. Hattie does not seem to be suited to this locality, & may have to leave every summer. Now I cannot stand this; neither its expense, nor its terrible inconvenience." Later in the letter, he returned to the "inconvenience" of his separation from Hattie. "Who would stay where his wife must needs go off & stay three months every year leaving him whom she was to cleave to till death, to live a dog's life in an old, lonely, desolate house,

with no one...to care for him whether well or sick, dying or dead?" He then stated his second reason for considering leaving the state: "I am not 'en rapport' with the political & ecclesiastical views of the people. These are hateful to me. Two hundred years will form prejudices which nothing but time together with a new order of people & things can change." In the west, however, he believed that "things are formative & I prefer working on heated & not on cold iron."

When Hattie returned to Mayesville (S.C.) by train in early October 1866, Joe was not at the station to meet her. In a letter to her brother-in-law, Willie Mack, whom she had met while visiting in Tennessee, written on 10 October 1866, Hattie described her homecoming. "Of course Joe was not at home, so I staid with some of my friends near Mayesville until Sunday, when I met my '*better half*' at church and came home. I do not wonder at Joe for having the blues so badly, and being terribly put out with me for not coming home with him, for the place did look so dreary and desolate when we got here. Why, it gave *me* the blues to see how things looked."

A few days later, however, Hattie reported to her father, in a letter dated 15 October 1866, that "Joe is a *great deal* more cheerful, though he made a *very poor* corn crop [and] will probably make 3 bags of cotton which will be doing *well*." Perhaps part of the reason for his uplifted spirits was the arrival of his sister, Mary Mack, who had taken a job in the home of William J. Muldrow (1828–1903) as his children's teacher. Mary often visited with her brother and sister-in-law and attended Salem Church.

When Joe wrote to his brother Willie on 5 November 1866, he was elated because on the previous Sunday six people "professed faith in Christ [and] one of these was our Sister. Oh! the joy of that day! How great! How great!" Hattie was also delighted to have Mary as a neighbor. She wrote Willie Mack in a letter dated 3 December, "I tell you Willie, you

have a treasure of a sister in Mary....I cannot let more than two weeks pass without having her to see us....I am very glad that she is pleased down here, and that her employers like her so much." In the same letter, she observed that "our quiet sober people are coming out a little." On the previous Friday, she had "witnessed a [jousting] tournament at Mayesville...which was very largely attended, and was both a very interesting and novel thing to me. The young man who took the ring oftenest, crowned a young lady and those next to him called out the maids of honor. Following the tournament was a large party at which I was not present."

By the middle of December 1866, Hattie was planning for the birth of her second child, expected sometime during January. In her letter to her mother, written on 14 December 1866, she recounted her efforts to secure a nurse to help with the delivery of the baby. "Old Sally," her first choice, was "rather doubtful," but she thought she could get "another old woman, who is said to be a *splendid* nurse in such cases." Her mother had promised to come down and help with the household duties for a month or so, which delighted Hattie. "Do not disappoint me now by any means," she insisted. Joe announced in a letter to his brother, written on 28 January 1867, the birth of his second son: "No doubt you have heard from Mary of our time on Saturday the 19th. That evening about 6 o'clock another child came into this world to call you 'Uncle William.' It was a boy, a great big boy, a 10 pounder, dark-blue eyes, black hair & plenty of it...We have determined to call him Alexander (Allie, for short) after Hattie's only brother." Hattie, he continued, "had a quick & easy time, & since has had no drawback."

The year 1867 was an eventful one for the Mack family, not just because of Allie's birth, but that was the year that Joe decided to leave his Salem (S.C.) congregation and accept a greater challenge as the co-

pastor of Zion Presbyterian Church in Charleston, a church that included both white and black members, who, although part of the same congregation, worshipped in separate buildings.

The Reverend John L. Girardeau, the pastor of Zion Church, invited Joe to join him as co-pastor, in a letter dated 9 April 1867. He provided Joe with a brief overview of the church's recent history. "It is perhaps known to you that the Zion Church Edifice in Calhoun Street which was erected for the religious instruction of the Coloured People of this city, and which was held for a long time by the Freedmen's Committee of the O.S. General Assembly of the Northern church, was, in December last, restored to the corporation," he recounted. "Since that time regular services have been held in that building [and] the coloured congregation has been in a measure re-gathered." He explained to Joe that the "white membership of Zion Church, worshipping in Glebe Street, have nobly resolved to support, according to the ability given them, the coloured work in Calhoun Street...[and] have resolved to secure, if possible, the services of a *co-pastor* for the joint work." Girardeau had suggested Joe Mack to the church session and that body instructed him "to apply to you as the man" to fill the position. He then asked, "Will you consider our application to become co-pastor of this church?" He explained the limited degree of influence that the African-American members of the congregation would have on church affairs because "they are debarred from holding office;" however, the "leading men...[of the congregation] expressed themselves as satisfied...." He also emphasized that the "pulpit is to be occupied by the white pastor or pastors." Girardeau also was "[s]o far, notwithstanding the political agitation...encouraged in the work, and hope that, aside from the spiritual results that may flow from it, it may also exert a conservative influence upon the sentiments of the coloured population."

A month later, on 13 May 1867, Girardeau, wrote Mack to invite him “to come down and see the field for yourself.” He assumed that since he had “not yet heard” from him about “becoming the Co-Pastor of Zion Church” that he was still “holding the subject under consideration [and] I sincerely trust that you may see your way clear to cast your lot with us.”

Joe Mack accepted the invitation to visit Charleston and, in a letter to Hattie written on 21 May 1867, described his reception there. “I went to Bro[ther] Girardeau’s house [where] he greeted me very cordially [and] took my hand in both of his, & said that he could almost hug & kiss me.” He asked Joe to preach that evening to a prayer meeting at his church, one of a series of meetings that Girardeau had conducted for a week. After preaching on prayer the first night he was in town, Joe preached a second sermon on “he that believeth not is condemned already,” after which Girardeau decided “to continue his meetings another week,” and Joe “consented to remain & preach.” He confided to his wife that “I may move here next fall.”

During the summer, however, he continued to pastor the congregation at Salem (S.C.), while also engaging in evangelical work with a number of other churches. In a letter to his sister Mary, written on 9 September 1867, he complained that “for the last 5 or 6 months I have been over-worked...[and] am now broken down.” For him, he continued, life was constant “work, work, work.” He was overwhelmed by his responsibilities: “The sick to visit, the afflicted to comfort, the impenitent to warn, the quarrelsome to appease, the wayward to watch & restore, the missionary work to carry on, & preaching about 6 times a week besides.” Although Joe insisted that he “had no difficulty with my people [and] my influence in the Presbytery has doubled this year,” he confided that “still I think of leaving here this winter.” Joe, however, did not mention Charleston as his likely destination. Instead, he claimed, “I am a Western man, the West

needs ministers more than here, but few will go West.”

By the time that Hattie wrote to her sister-in-law on 21 October 1867, Joe had decided to leave Salem. She related that “the congregation held a meeting yesterday at which the people loudly protested against Joe’s leaving them.” Although Hattie was not at the meeting, she had “heard that several able speeches were delivered, among which was one by Dr. Hudson, who is not a member of the church, but said he would soon be one of its members, if Mr. Mack remained.” Joe, she believed, “see[s] it his duty to go to Charleston.” Even the anguished letter of J.H. Cooper, a prominent member of the congregation, could not persuade Joe otherwise.

In his letter dated 6 November 1867, Mr. Cooper asked, “Was not the scene on Sunday last enough to make you doubt the propriety of leaving your people?” He had, he wrote, never “witnessed anything to equal it....It was the unutterable wail of a broken hearted people....” Before the year ended, Joe has taken up his duties in Charleston and Hattie, Willie and Allie had left Mayesville for Hazelwood (S.C.), where they remained with her parents until they joined Joe in Charleston early in 1868.

The remaining correspondence, a total of 511 letters scattered over the years from 1868 until 1900, with an additional 126 dated from 1901 through 1972, for the most part, supplement the letters that were donated in 2015. As a result, that correspondence does not substantially enhance the details provided in the collection descriptions published in the University South Caroliniana Society annual reports of gifts for 2016 and 2017. There are, however, letters to and from Harrington Mack (1874–1957), especially correspondence with his sister Mary Mack Ardrey (1872–1962), that provide additional details about his life from the 1920s until his death.

A small collection of twenty-one family photographs, circa 1870–1935,

are also included in the donation, along with thirteen photographs that document a visit to St. Augustine (Florida), in 1925. Three of the family photographs are of unidentified family members posed in front of the Mack home in Fort Mill (South Carolina), while other images are of soldiers in camp during World War I. The only identified image is a carte-de-visite of Jennie Hall Coward (1862–1964), the daughter of Colonel Asbury Coward and his wife, Eliza (Elsie) Corbett Blum, taken by Quimby & Co., Photographic Artists, Charleston, South Carolina, circa 1868. Another carte-de-visite of a unnamed gentleman, circa 1865, was made by Wearn & Hix, Columbia, South Carolina. The St. Augustine photographs were mailed to Mrs. E.M. Belk, Fort Mill, South Carolina, by Carl Neils Hartung (1897–1965) from his home in Chicago and depict various scenes in the city. **Gift of Mr. & Mrs. James Ardrey.**

**PAPERS OF ISAAC DONNOM AND
MARGARET E. WRIGHT WITHERSPOON,
1820–1944**

Born in York District (S.C.), the son of Isaac Donnom Witherspoon (1803–1858) and Ann Reid Witherspoon (1811–1877), Isaac Donnom (1833–1901) was the third of ten children. His father was a distinguished attorney who studied law under Thomas Williams, was admitted to the bar in January 1826, and subsequently entered a partnership with Williams. The elder Witherspoon represented York District (S.C.) as a member of the South Carolina House in the thirty-second and thirty-third assemblies (1836–1839). Elected to the state Senate in 1840, he served until 1855. While in the Senate, Witherspoon served as a trustee of South Carolina College (1845–1857) from which his son graduated in 1854.

There is a single letter in the collection written while the younger I.D. Witherspoon attended South Carolina College. Writing on 7 February

1854, his mother was hopeful of the letter reaching him on the eighth, “the anniversary of your 21st birthday.” She recalled “the pliant little boy on whom a Mothers fondest hopes & expectations were fully entered in & when I could look forward in the vista of years it was that this precious boy on whom a father so fondly doted...& who filled a Mothers eye & who all through life was so gentle so fond & so affectionate & teachable would someday compensate them for all this treasured up hopes & joys.” She would “feel thankful if he is *only pious* and in his daily walk & conversations shews forth the doctrine & example of our beloved Saviour...who put in the heart of my boy to choose ‘first the kingdom of righteousness having the promise of this life & the life to come.’”

The Euphradian Society selected Witherspoon to commemorate its forty-eighth anniversary in 1854. His address with nineteenth-century literary eloquence—“When the rugged path of life has been bravely patiently & nobly trodden, when prosperity has smiled upon us, when virtue has upheld us amid the worlds temptations & when fame has bound her laurels around us, may we all with one accord invoke the choicest blessings of Heaven upon our Alma Mater & pray that the light of science with the purity of virtue may long preside within her walls.”

In 1855, Witherspoon wed Jeannette Amelia Reese, the daughter of George and Mary Witherspoon Reese. His wife died 10 August 1856 in Yorkville (S.C.) of puerperal fever following childbirth. Mother and infant were buried in West Point (Georgia). Subsequent to his wife’s death, Witherspoon established himself as an attorney in Montgomery (Alabama), where he remained until he returned to York (S.C.) in 1858 after his father’s death at White Sulphur Springs ([West] Virginia).

Two letters, 26 and 27 October 1857, written from Canton (Mississippi), suggest that Witherspoon was making inquiries about relocating to Mississippi. A.P. Hill advised that “prospects of the

profession are not very bright in Mississippi” and suggested that he “come on & visit your relatives and you would be the better able to judge for yourself.” Hill conveyed some political news and his business situation and related a stroke suffered by Witherspoon’s grandmother Mrs. Reid. Witherspoon’s relation James S. Reid observed—“I scarcely know how to advise you,” although he did anticipate “(after the moneyed Panic which is upon us)...a considerable business at the Bar.”

Witherspoon may have visited relatives in Mississippi, but his father’s death in 1858 necessitated his return to York (S.C.). In that year he established a law practice with his father’s former partner, William Blackburn Wilson (1827-1894). Their practice was located in the same office next to the court house where his father practiced. An appraisal of the “personal property” of his father was conducted at the Miller plantation in York District (S.C.) on 29 September 1858.

While in Alabama, Donnom, as he was known to family and friends received a letter, 11 February 1857, from Ferdinand Jacobs in Charleston apparently concerning another business option. Jacobs listed business houses that “agreed to have you use their names,” advised that he list references on his business card, and related the recommendation of Hugh Banks, “our oldest, most wealthy, and most respectable wholesale dry-goods Merchant, now retired from business, [who] spoke of the great importance of *promptness* in a Collecting Agent.” Jacobs included a list of references and firms in New York and Charleston to which Witherspoon might send his business card.

Witherspoon married Margaret E. Wright in March 1861. She was a graduate of Limestone College in 1855 and ward of her uncle William Wright, a merchant in Yorkville (S.C.). Five months after their marriage, Witherspoon left Yorkville with other young men in the Palmer Guards.

His only prior military experience dated from his membership in the South Carolina College Cadets. Writing his wife, 25 August 1861, from Lightwood Knot Springs (a small resort east of Columbia, S.C.), "on the first Sabbath spent in camp & to one of pious training there is much parade & pomp to be regretted, yet it comes under the head of military necessity &c." Chaplain Hall was preaching in the evening—"The soldiers all appear anxious to hear him & give good attention." He complimented servants Jeff and Dan who "serve up our food in first rate camp order." When mustered into state service, Lieutenant Witherspoon noted that the men "are beginning to experience some excitement upon the organization of our Regiment." R.G.M Dunovant assumed command of the Twelfth Regiment, South Carolina Infantry, and Witherspoon was enrolled in Company A under the command of Captain W.H. McCorkle. The regiment consisted of companies of men from the following South Carolina Districts: three from York, three from Lancaster, two from Pickens, and one each from Fairfield and Richland.

During September and early October 1861, the Twelfth Regiment remained in the vicinity of Lightwood Knot Springs in central South Carolina. Letters from Donnom to "My Dear Mag" convey their experiences with life in camp. Commenting on regulations pertaining to furlough, Witherspoon acknowledged—"We have surrendered our individuality & must therefore submit to discipline." Uncertainty remained as to their destination, and he was not so upbeat when he wrote on 29 September—"If I ever live to be restored to you...I can give you a sad commentary upon my present mode of life. With no privacy which you know I so much appreciate, no comforts that will bring repose to my wearied frame, and surrounded by all the disgusting filth which a camp alone can furnish you will admit from me a protest against a protracted war." Measles and other diseases were prevalent in camp. He reported

“seventy five...invalids of this regiment at the hospital in Columbia.” Another concern was Mag’s health. He was “thankful that your health continues good, but as the time draws near I become very restive & uneasy” (5 and 7 October 1861).

Witherspoon’s company was stationed in Beaufort (S.C.) when he wrote on 30 October 1861, eight days before the Federal fleet entered Port Royal Sound. Walking the streets of the town, he “was called into the ladies Sewing Society where I spent an hour very agreeably.” “This Society, he observed, “is doing a great deal & reminded me of your efforts in the good work of ameliorating the condition of the poor soldiers.”

By mid-November 1861, having fled Beaufort, Company A was located at Camp Lee near Pocotaligo (Beaufort District, S.C.). He told of their retreat from Beaufort and of “two Yankee officers who came up the River to Port Royal ferry under a flag of truce...they requested to say to the *loyal* citizens of Beaufort that they could return to their homes as they (the Yankees) had no idea of desolating their homes or of interfering with their negroes. What they intend to do with those that are not *loyal* we know not.” On leaving Beaufort, Dan brought off the “balance of my clothing...thirty five miles on his back.” Dan apparently achieved some notoriety, at least with Donnom—“Dan is a good mimic and takes off nearly every officer in the regiment—and I assure you that some of his observations are truly laughable” (16 November 1861).

A day later, 17 November 1861, Witherspoon explained that he “was arguing all day with my conscience as to the propriety of writing on the Sabbath, and have reluctantly determined to commune with you.” Mag offered “to send any thing to make...[Dan] comfortable...he is so kind & faithful to you” (22 November 1861). She could not understand why her husband was up at night on picket duty—“I did not know that an officer had that duty” (25 November 1861).

Witherspoon's mother, Ann, writing from Coldstream plantation in Sumter District (S.C.) on 29 November 1861, expressed pity for "dear Bud feeling he has always been so shielded from hardship & so kind in his nature & so refined in his feelings as to know he has no disposition for camp life, for its associates, for its fare, or promiscuous intercourse, but this is a part of the cruelty of this unnatural war." Grateful for Donnom's safe removal from Bay Point, she "ascribe[d] it to all the goodness of God & in answer not only to your prayers but of those at home who were sending up their petitions for your safety."

As the time for Mag's delivery approached in December, she observed—"I know your thoughts tonight are much about me and how I'm feeling about this time, as my day of grace seems to be almost out" (9 December). He responded—"My anxiety and solicitude is all absorbed in you and the result of your present condition but the Lord has been too kind & merciful for me to permit myself to distrust his goodness" (11 December 1861). He wanted his mother "to have old Harriet (from the plantation) sent for if you are safely delivered as she is an excellent nurse for an infant, & I desire you to secure every advantage to your health possible" (16 December 1861).

On the same day his wife reported that she was up and feeling well—"But I cannot possibly be much longer, I never have a pain, or suffer any inconvenience." Isaac Donnom Witherspoon III was born between the sixteenth and nineteenth of December 1861. Ann Witherspoon conveyed "the joyful news of the birth of a nice little boy, whom every one says is your image & others like John." She added that Mag is "very well was only sick about 5 hours & bore her sickness so well" (pmk. 19 December 1861).

Writing from Camp Pemberton on 19 December 1861, Donnom

acknowledged a “telegraphic dispatch...[it] offers full compensation for all of my suffering & solicitude in your behalf....as I think of you as the fond & devoted wife and now the young & affectionate mother doting upon the first fruits of a happy marriage.” He added that he had received “abundant congratulations on all sides but in the excess of my joy feel anxious to find some quiet retreat where I can reveal my heart to a merciful God.”

Their baby was not immediately given a name. He delegated to Mag responsibility for naming their child although he let his preference be known—“I have no objection to the middle name *Donnom* but protest with horror against the *Isaac*.” He dispatched Dan to Yorkville (S.C.) on 22 December 1861 “with instructions...to give me a full detail on his return Saturday.” Of Dan, he observed—“He is intelligent, truthful and communicative and I shall anticipate his return with no ordinary pleasure.” Ann Witherspoon challenged her son “to feel so grateful...for God’s great mercy to you although you have still rebelled against him, yet His loving kindness has been so great, he gave you a prudent affectionate wife & now a *son* just as you wished & all doing well” (23 December 1861).

Service along the coast in December 1861 appeared to be a standoff. Confederates were digging entrenchments, Donnom reported, and the Union forces were “equally as diligent.” He remarked—“The sentinels sometimes hail each other with taunts of cowardice &c and it will not be long before they will commence taking the range of their rifles, but at a distance of three hundred yards there is but little danger of the musket & there can be no accuracy in the shooting” (14 December 1861). He commented on the removal of enslaved people from “plantations on the River” for relocation to Chester District (S.C.), and Witherspoon anticipated “some instances [where] the owners will have great trouble with them” (19 December 1861). He took a long walk with friends “visiting some beautiful residences as well as rice plantations made desolate by

the approach of the enemy” and lamented “what a great change has been brought about in a few weeks” (25 December 1861). On New Year’s day around three o’clock, there was “brief fire between our pickets—as usual they took to flight and ran under the fire of their Gun Boats back to the River” (2 January 1862).

Their campsite, Camp Blake, received a “general cleaning up...in pursuance of the order of Genl [Maxcy] Gregg who seems disposed to preserve any sanitary precaution for the benefit of the soldiers health. All the filth & rubbish has been removed or burnt and my eyes are sore tonight from the amount of smoke blowing in every direction.” Speculation that his unit might be sent to Virginia or Kentucky concerned Witherspoon—“This matter I confide to you & would not have you to speak of, but with my present views & keenly sensitive to the unnecessary hardships & privations imposed upon me on being separated from you at this interesting period, I shall consult your feelings as well as my own before leaving the state” (6 February).

The Twelfth Regiment did depart South Carolina for Virginia in April 1862, but Witherspoon did not accompany the unit. Facing a surgeon’s recommendation that he have an operation, he returned to York (S.C.) around 15 April 1862. In a letter to Mag written on 13 April 1862 and headed “Camp Look Out,” he explained that he was not liable for picket duty “& the men all seem to appreciate my condition & do not expect anything from me.” He lamented the fall of Fort Pulaski, “a most deplorable affair to think of so many gallant spirits sacrificing their independence as all were captured who were not killed.” A furlough enabled him to leave for Yorkville, but he cautioned his wife—“Don’t speak of my movements as it is the stern necessity of my condition alone that would authorize me to be at home at this important crisis.”

Donnom Witherspoon was in Columbia by 22 April 1862, and he

resigned his commission on 30 April 1862. At some point he received a commission as captain assigned to the South Carolina Commissary General's Department. Witherspoon was appointed commissary of Division No. 3, which included York, Chester, Fairfield, Lancaster, and Richland Districts. Each of the Division Commissary officers was "furnished with the power of impressments, and will, when necessary for the subsistence of the army, impress subsistence stores within their Divisions bought for sale, paying according to the rates fixed by the Schedule of the Impressment Commissioners."

Within a year of the firing on Fort Sumter, in this instance, the Confederacy had created an extensive and far-reaching bureaucracy. Witherspoon was responsible for provisioning troops who passed through Columbia (S.C.), several hospitals, Federal prisoners, and teamsters and others who worked for the Commissary Department. His initial impressions were conveyed to his wife in a letter of 22 April—"Everything is as scarce here as in our little village & in fact I have discovered that the people are practicing rigid economy & do not seem to feel the want of former luxuries." "I had but little idea of the undertaking," he noted, "but have resolved upon the faithful discharge of all of my duties." One duty he found annoying was applications for positions. Two days later, 24 April, he complained of applications and especially those "from such sources as compel me to write a long letter."

Prices for commodities over the spring of 1862 were volatile. Unfavorable news from New Orleans prompted "a speculation in sugar and other necessary provisions." He advised Mag that salt could not be had at any price, but he did purchase a hundred-pound bag of sugar at twenty cents per pound and a two-hundred-pound bag of rice at five cents a pound. He also managed to acquire two sacks of salt for which he paid \$35.00. A dispatch from Richmond led to "a great effort among speculators"—"Salt

is selling in Richmond and Charleston for forty-five dollars per sack.” He anticipated the arrival of twenty-five Federal prisoners the next day which “will give Tom [Jefferys] & myself additional labour” (2 May).

Over the summer of 1862, there seemed to be a steady flow of troops through Columbia (S.C.). His letter of 23 June 1862 informed Mag that “I have just fed an Ala[bama] Regt on the way to Petersburg, Va. One thousand men & horses (Partisan Rangers) are expected next week and then the conscripts *en masse*.” One of the soldiers leaving Columbia was Witherspoon’s brother, John Alfred, who was serving under John Hugh Means.

In a letter of 22 July 1862, Donnom observed—“Ma will have to submit to the trials that many mothers are experiencing.” With large numbers being called into service, looking out his office window, he witnessed “large crowds calling on Col [John S.] Preston for a special favour. The whore[s] of Jerusalem have put in a claim but to no purpose if I am to judge from the expressions of their Countenances.” “The population of Columbia,” he remarked, “especially the foreign element appear to be considerably exercised in view of the conscription” (26 June 1862). In mid-July nine regiments were ordered to Virginia from the coasts of South Carolina and Georgia. Conscripts continued to arrive in large numbers—“Poor fellers!,” Witherspoon commented, “they all have excuses but not sufficiently valid to exempt them” (18 July 1862). Witherspoon observed “that town and country for five miles is filled with conscripts” and departures were delayed for want of transportation “much to my annoyance as they will have to be fed” (22 July 1862).

Family responsibilities also demanded Witherspoon’s attention. Thanking his wife for “the very happy effect produced by your cheerful letter,” he replied that he was looking for a “white nurse to relieve you of the pressing demands made upon you” (18 July 1862). One prospect was

a “nice, clever Irish girl who offers herself in the capacity of a nurse & seamstress” (22 July 1862).

Death, both personal and within the Confederacy at large, is frequently discussed in the letters. Two months after his brother left Columbia (S.C.) for Virginia, Donnom received the sad announcement in a dispatch that “John cannot recover.” He acknowledged that “I was totally unprepared for the issue. Oh, it is so sad & painful to contemplate. No one will ever know the tender and ardent attachment existing between the dear fellow & myself” (12 September 1862). The following day, 13 September, Witherspoon wrote his wife referencing “the death of our dear babe,” Isaac Donnom Witherspoon III.

In December news arrived that General Maxcy Gregg was severely wounded and was not expected to survive (15 December 1862). The legislature adjourned on 17 December 1862 to go to the railroad depot to receive “the remains of Genl Gregg,” “whose death has cast a gloom of sadness over this community.” “All business was suspended” on the twentieth, “and the tolling of bells and roar of cannon indicated the arrival of Genl Gregg’s remains.” The eulogy by Dr. Benjamin Palmer was delivered before “one of the largest assemblages I have ever witnessed” (21 December 1862).

Between early November and mid-December 1862, Mag joined her husband in Columbia (S.C.). When she returned to Yorkville, Donnom expressed relief “to know that you are safely at home as the collisions & accidents on R[ail] Roads are becoming so common as to excite very great apprehension” (15 December 1862). As the new year opened, Witherspoon expressed “how badly I feel on account of our separation. I am quite as unhappy without you now as I have been whilst on the coast and satisfied that I can never become accustomed to such an unhappy life” (4 January 1863).

Plans were underway early in June 1863 for Mag to return to Columbia (S.C.). Donnem related a conversation with Mrs. McMahon, who said, "I must make every effort to have you come down next week as she could no longer decline the number of applications for the room." He enumerated all the items that would have to be delivered from Yorkville (S.C.), including "an easy *rocking* chair, for the benefit of the babe [William Isaac]" (5 June 1863). In a communication two days later, he insisted that "you must be charitable to my apparent fickleness of purpose and remember that our views plans and designs are controlled altogether by the chapter of *circumstances* that surround us." He did offer, however, that "on this first visit I will promise you in advance a handsome dress of your own selection here" (7 June).

The most detailed record of the work of the Commissary Department, Division No. 3, commanded by Captain Witherspoon is contained in a record book, July 1863 – July 1864. Included in the records are lists of beef, bacon, flour, meal, and hard bread received and issued to the following sites and recipients around South Carolina: Hospital #1, #2, and #3 in Columbia; Way Side Hospital at Kingsville [a railroad transfer station in lower Richland County, S.C.]; Second North Carolina Hospital; Camp Hospital; conscripts and troops passing through Columbia; Federal prisoners; guards transporting deserters to Wilmington, Atlanta, and other places; soldiers discharged from hospitals; "Negro Teamsters" and "negroes (slaves) emply'd by govermt."

In August 1863 Witherspoon complained that circumstances made it difficult "to procure Beef for the Hospitals & I am much annoyed in the disappointment of all my plans & arrangements to procure it" (31 August 1863). A year later, 10 September 1864, he anticipated "a large arrival of yankee prisoners...and having had no notice we are entirely unprepared which has caused many telegraphic dispatches and considerable anxiety

and apprehension. How they are to be subsisted is more than I can tell as I have not a sufficient amount of meat for two days rations." He reported on the following day—"We are still very much exercised about providing for the large number of prisoners expected daily to arrive and the unexpected demand upon us will require diligent efforts and you know how anxious I always am under such emergencies to meet all requirements" (11 September). A change in plans for visiting Yorkville (S.C.) was attributed to a shortage "in a meat ration which will have to be gathered in...as it would be very unpleasant for the troops to be without a ration whilst I was at home" (19 October).

Witherspoon's letters seldom detailed news of military actions. Over the summer of 1863, he was concerned about developments in Charleston. Before going to Charleston on 15 July 1863, he informed Mag—"There is a regular guard on each train to prevent the male citizens from leaving the city." Wounded Confederate and Union troops were being sent to Columbia (S.C.), which prompted him to declare—"Matters are not very cheerful about the safety of the city but I trust yet that all will be well" (14 July 1863). He supposed that she had read "the sad account from Fort Sumter which is either demolished or evacuated by this time. It is peculiarly humiliating to our natural pride and will cause general exaltation at the north" (21 August 1863). There was, he advised, excitement in the streets of Columbia "by the execution of Genl Beauregard's order to the Quarter Master to *impress* three hundred horses (pleasure) for the Western Army." Carriage horses were impressed on streets "and the ladies were *permitted* the use of the horses to return home." He exclaimed—"Trenholms, Mrs Kelly & Boozers and many other of the *fine bloods* are now at the Government stables awaiting transportation to the western army" (5 October 1863).

There are no letters exchanged between husband and wife during the

period from 10 December 1863 to 7 August 1864. The likelihood is that they were residing together in Columbia. In his letter of 9 December 1863, Donnom complained—"The failure to procure a car from the York Road has damaged all of my plans. I can now make no calculations of your future movements." He conveyed his concern that she had packed hurriedly and "will forget many articles that will be indispensable on your arrival here." A letter the following day in response to hers discusses plans for her travel to Columbia (10 December 1863). Having just returned from a trip in August 1864, he advised—"I felt quite blue in the solitude of our dear little home, for which I cherish a fond attachment by the associations of my dear wife and sweet babe whose absence was a sad reality....I hope with special good care you will soon be able to return and gladden our humble fireside which needs the influence of your presence to render my happiness as complete as it has been" (7 August 1864).

Witherspoon made arrangements to engage a nurse whom "I think you will find...very serviceable for a young child as she has had the experience of several years." The Witherspoons were awaiting the birth of a second child—"We have so much that I do not think you ought to dread the approach of your confinement" (4 September 1864). He had forwarded an application for furlough to Richmond. This requirement was a new regulation, he explained, and "I suppose it is all right that the Government should rigidly enforce such regulations as being necessary for the good of the service" (23 September 1864). The following day, he informed Mag that "There is great rejoicing and congratulating among our friends here over the arrival of the little daughter [Leslie] and all wish to know how Master Willie likes the company of his sister" (24 September 1864).

Witherspoon had received no response from Richmond as of 5

October 1864. "Richmond is so much threatened," he advised, "that all of the departments are in the trenches and we are having no mails which will necessarily delay the return of my application for leave...for some time to which we must cheerfully submit and be thankful that the war is exacting from us no greater hardships." President Jefferson Davis passed through Columbia (S.C.) the previous day "and delivered a stirring [address] with which all were highly pleased." Davis also met with James Chesnut (5 October 1864).

Donnom Witherspoon's final letter during the war years is dated 25 October 1864. The couple seemed to be making plans for Mag and the young ones to return to Columbia (S.C.). He mentioned terms of a prospect for renting and plans for renting their lands in Yorkville (S.C.) on shares "by which we can do better than we have done for the past year." He was pleased that you "have made up your mind to be here on *bread* and *water* as it may be our experience as the old cow is now sick having lost *her curd*" (19 October 1864). In his letter of 25 October 1864, he was negotiating for a room at \$5,000 from 15 November 1864 to 1 October 1865. Witherspoon remained with the Commissary Department for the duration of the war.

After the war, Donnom Witherspoon resumed his law practice in Yorkville (S.C.) with his former partner, William B. Wilson, until 1869 and later with Charles E. Spencer (1849-1921). The bulk of the correspondence in the year 1867 concerns Witherspoon's investment in bonds of the Mississippi Central Rail Road. In response to a letter from Witherspoon concerning the Mississippi Central, A.F. Brown of Holly Springs (Mississippi), wrote—"The Road is utterly unable to meet its liabilities and a proposition will soon be made to the Bond Holders to suspend payment of the interest on the 1st Mortgage Bonds for 12 months and on the 2nd for four years" (25 October 1867). Witherspoon, a

holder of \$6,000 in second mortgage bonds, did not receive a sanguine opinion from anyone. W.A. Goodman, of Memphis, advised that there was no prospect for a sale or negotiated settlement of Mississippi Central securities "& from all that I can learn the bonds could not be sold for more than 30 cts on the dollar, perhaps for not more than 25 cts" (11 November). E.W.C. Maybin, of New Orleans, reported, "there is no market for them here at the present time." Sellers far outnumbered buyers in the market (20 November). The New York firm of Manning & DeForest advised "Miss[issippi] C[entral] Bonds are in very bad repute in this market at present—by not paying their interest" (27 December 1867). A circular issued by the firm gave "Quotations for Southern Securities" (8 January 1868). Another New York firm, Lawrence Brothers & Co., informed him "2nd mtge Bonds are very dull & the closest quotation for them that we can give at this time is 20 cts Bid and 25 cts asked" (18 January). In 1877, J[ohn] J. McLure, president of the National Bank of Chester, informed Witherspoon that he "forwarded to New York for sale \$6,000 of your Bonds (2nd Mortge Miss Cen RR Co)" (17 July 1877).

Isaac Donnom Witherspoon won election to the state Senate in 1876 and served in the General Assembly until 29 November 1881, when he was elected judge of the Sixth Judicial Circuit. He served in this capacity until he retired on 14 February 1898. Court filings and other documents serve to document his service as attorney and judge.

Two congratulatory letters in 1893 suggest some public discontent with the state's judicial structure. Judge James Aldrich (1850-1910), of Aiken (S.C.), congratulated Witherspoon on re-election while "regret[ting] that the newspaper should see fit to speak of you and I as they have done." Aldrich observed—"A judge is a helpless official when self is involved, custom, and the nature of a judge's duties, require him to endure much." Aldrich called it "simply nonsense to talk about you or I being partisan

judges.” He was disappointed “that so many of our brethren failed of reelection; but if they had been reelected, the press would have treated them as it has us” (5 December 1893). A letter marked “confidential,” from Thomas B. Fraser, of Sumter (S.C.), agreed “that the whole story as to your vote at the last election was untrue; and I am glad to be able to say so on your own authority.” He continued—“When the courts rule against the administration as it is called there is a shout of triumph. The fact is that the bench has been used by the press as a weapon” (8 December 1893).

In addition to the volume documenting work of the Commissary Department, genealogical information is found in Jos. G. Wardlaw, *Genealogy of the Witherspoon Family* (1910), and D.L. Wardlaw, *An Account Genealogical, and Somewhat Biographical of the Family, and Other Families with Which It is Connected* (1891), both of which include manuscript annotations and additional genealogical information.

Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment, the John C Hungerpillar Library Research Fund, and the Lumpkin Foyer Endowment Fund.

Forty-six items, circa 1900–1950, augment the South Caroliniana Library’s existing holdings related to the **Armstrong family**, a collection which documents the lives and careers of this family of African-American magicians. The “Celebrated Armstrongs” consisted of J. Hartford Armstrong (1886–1939), his wife, Lillie Belle Armstrong (1893–1947), and their daughter, Ellen E. Armstrong (1914–1979). The family traveled throughout the eastern United States, performing magic acts which included sleight of hand, mind reading, and card tricks. Reviews and

referrals extant among the collection suggest that the Armstrong family successfully performed for black and white audiences.

The most recently acquired items consist primarily of studio portraits of family members and photographs showing the Armstrongs with props or set pieces from their act. Photographs and promotional materials suggest that Ellen began performing with her parents as a child and continued the act into adulthood as a solo performer. Two photographs possibly depict J. Hartford Armstrong's brother, H. Armstrong, who sometimes performed with the former. Posters and flyers describe the family's performance as "clean-clever-classy" and "one big night of music, mirth, and mystery."

Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.

***Thirteen letters and two essays*, 1862–1864, relating to **Julia Walker Baskin (1844–1920)**, provide a glimpse into the education of young women in the South during the Civil War, as well as the course of the war and its effects on the Palmetto State.**

The earliest letter, dated 24 February 1862, is from A[braham] Walker in Lowndesville (Abbeville County, S.C.) to his daughter Julia Walker, who was away at Reidville Female College near Spartanburg (S.C.). Confederate Army chaplain, Mr. Burkhead, the letter writer suggests, is "proud of the Abbeville Companys." For his own part, Mr. Walker urged Julia to study "embroidery and painting" and to "keep up with your other lessons." The same letter also notes that John I. Presley will "preach for us next Friday 28th which is fast[ing] day appointed by President Davis."

The second letter, dated 10 June 1862, is signed simply "E." It tells of a tableau vivant recently performed at a church in Lowndesville in which the writer of the letter had played the part of Naomi in the story of Ruth. The church raised "upwards of a hundred dollars," with the proceeds

going to General P.G.T. Beauregard as well as to soldiers stationed in Virginia. The remainder of the letter discusses family and friends who had recently enlisted or planned to enlist, and it reports that a friend named Pam Caldwell had “died happy and his only regret was that he could not get home.” His family rejoiced that “his life was sacrificed on the altar of his country.”

A series of three letters, also addressed to Julia, are from one of her former teachers, Mary A. Galloway. In her 9 September 1862 letter, Galloway informs Julia that she was now the “mistress of thirty odd pupils” in “the little town of Eatonton” (Georgia). She hoped that Julia might join her after the end of the school year. In a letter dated 2 March 1863, Mary apologized for the lapse in correspondence of “many weeks and even months,” explaining that she had “been totally unfit for letter-writing, and almost unfit for living, since the receipt of your last kind favor.” Continuing, she wrote that she has been “sad, very sad and it seems now, as if I should never know complete happiness again.” Although the writer asserted that Julia knew “full well the cause of all my sadness and grief,” she did “not enter into so painful a theme.” She shared news of a smallpox outbreak in Eatonton and complained of “a thoroughgoing Methodist” who had begun a rival school in the same town. The last of the three letters from Mary, 19 August 1863, again discusses aspects of her work in the school and relates news from friends and family.

A letter of 15 November 1863 was penned by an unnamed cousin who shared details about letters she had received and news of neighbors and acquaintances. One of the cousin’s correspondents, identified in the letter only as William, “had the pleasure of meeting President Davis but thought he was a very ordinary man.”

Writing on 4 January 1864, Julia’s father took up the matter of some

unspecified “trouble” relating to her schooling. He admonished, “I am always pleased to see you enjoy yourself with young people. But my dear child, there is such a thing as running to extremes in this thing.” The situation apparently had led Mrs. White, who also was associated with the Reidville school, to say “some hard things to me, I think I may safely say insulting.” Julia’s father did not elaborate, however, as he “would rather say verbally than to write it.” Before closing his letter, he cautioned Julia not to “think all Gold that shines, to learn to judge of friendship by the deportment of those who profess friendship for you, rather than by their professions.”

In a letter dated the next day, 5 January 1864, Mary Galloway again wrote Julia, wishing that she “were here tonight to enjoy with me my cozy little room with its snow white walls and blazing fire.” Mary boasted that her “prospects are very flattering,” but at the same time complained that “she cannot teach properly for want of books” and that she doesn’t “know where school books are to come from this year,” inferring that war conditions were making it difficult to procure textbooks for students.

Two items of interest appear to relate to someone with whom Julia had a romantic interest. That dated Valentine’s Day 1864 and signed “Exile,” is a twelve-line poem entitled “Miss Julia.” It closes with the following lines: “Tis my wish my whole design / To be they only Valentine.” The next, dated 1 April 1864, and sent from an unnamed correspondent to “Miss Julia,” contains a number code puzzle with hints to decipher the meaning of each line. The first line, for example, reads “My 11.12.18.15.30.10.18” and has written beside it “Is a distinguished statesman.” Another hand, presumably Julia’s, wrote the answer “Stephens” in pencil above the verbal hint. There are thirteen lines of code, followed by the statement, “My whole was the language of Juliet.” The puzzle is signed “Sam Fiddle Sticks.” In pencil at the bottom,

someone has written, "If thou lovest me pronounce it faithfully," which appears to be a misquotation of a line from Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, Act 2, Scene 2. Beside it, written in the same hand, are the words, "You are crazy if you expect me to tell you if I lovest you."

A native of Lowndesville in Abbeville District (S.C.), Julia Walker married John Thompson Baskin (1842–1925) in 1868 and the couple lived out their married lives in Lowndesville. They are buried there in Providence Cemetery. **Acquired with dues contributions of Dr. Judith W. Alexander, Dr. & Mrs. Jack W. Chandler, Jr., Dr. & Mrs. Larry A. Jackson, The Honorable Alexander Stephens Macaulay and Mrs. Macaulay, Dr. Kibibi V. Mack-Shelton, Ms. Elizabeth Robeson, Dr. DeWitt B. Stone, Jr., and Mrs. Rose S. Thomas.**

One hundred items, 28 October 1838–14 January 1943, consist primarily of correspondence written to **Belle Taylor Black (1859–1948)**, of Pacolet (South Carolina), and her oldest daughter, **Anna Black (1885–1973)**. Most of the letters, which describe daily life and provide updates on family and friends, were sent by friends and family members living in South Carolina, North Carolina, and Georgia.

The earliest letters in the collection were addressed to Belle before her marriage to John Charles Black (1855–1924) in 1884 and provide glimpses into social exchanges during the late nineteenth century. In an 1883 letter, Hallie Wilson Crane shared sewing patterns and garden updates but also spoke with candor:

"Besides you know how Aunt Anna & I enlightened your innocent mind. I know you will be grateful to us in days to come. You need not be afraid to write anything in your letters that you feel like as the professor never

reads my letters from my girl friends he does not think them profound enough. You understand.”

When Belle married, the timing of the event drew criticism from some of her friends. A 1 September 1884 letter reads, “So you have concluded to make ‘single blessedness’ a thing of the past? Accept my *hearty* congratulations, and very *best* wishes. May you live long and happily. I wish I had something more *substantial* than *well wishes* to offer you, but to be frank, I’d no idea you expected to be married before November, so was unprepared.”

Belle gave birth to the family’s first daughter, Anna, in 1885. The letters reference two additional children, Milton (1888–1955) and Marie (1895–1972). Anna received a number of letters in the collection as a young adult. These letters are similar in tone and content to the missives sent her mother. Friends detailed their efforts to grow enough food for their families, passed along updates about mutual acquaintances, and sent well wishes for relatives.

A 1907 letter from Anna’s Aunt Sallie, describes the latter’s efforts to help her family recuperate from whooping cough. “The children had something, but if it was measles it was the mildest I ever saw they are out of school now and I scarcely know what to do with them, they had whooping cough in school for several weeks and now the three girls who were going are coughing terribly while the two at home are not, and Eugene stopped school to help work some, so I am certain we will all have it.”

In 1914, Belle spent a lengthy vacation in Mt. Airy (Georgia), leaving her daughters and husband to tend to their home. Marie sent multiple letters to her mother in Mt. Airy and reassured her that the family was doing well and keeping the home in order. In one letter, Marie made a point to detail her dinner in full, “We have just finished dinner. And Mr.

Epton ate with us. He told us how to fix a little door to put at sleeping porch. We had fried potatoes, fried corn, peanut butter sandwiches, chocolate pudding, fresh buttermilk, and Lutie gave us some peas and canned sweet potatoes so we had a decent dinner. The biscuits were good so I hope Mr. E— enjoyed it.” These letters also describe the daughters assisting their father with the store, mention trips with friends into town, and share her thoughts on potential suitors.

The collection contains three letters sent after 1920, and the final two pieces of correspondence reflect a noticeable shift in tone as Belle and her peers were growing older. Writing in 1940 and 1943, Belle’s friends relayed updates about their declining health, visits to the doctor, and the loss of loved ones. Eight letters without dates, eight handwritten copies of songs and poems, and six envelopes round out the collection. **Acquired with dues contributions of Mrs. John H. Boineau, Mrs. Duncan C. McIntyre, and The Honorable Lucille S. Whipper.**

Manuscript volume, 1840–1849, details the activities and general expenses of the proprietors of the “**Cabins Tract**” in Abbeville District (South Carolina), purchased for use as a local summer resort.

The first entry, dated 20 October 1840, describes the project as common tract of land, co-owned by the listed proprietors, “to be used by [them] only as a summer retreat.” The first five proprietors, Thomas Parker (1793–1844), James Taggart (1793–1870), Charles T. Haskell (1802–1873), Robert M. Palmer (1806–1872), and Thomas Walter Thomas (1798–1855), were among the wealthiest landowners in Abbeville in the 1840s. Organizing themselves to operate along the lines of an exclusive society, the five co-owners resolved to hold a meeting every October and call more meetings as needed. The record book outlines the criteria required for any prospective members of the Cabin

Tract including an application, a two-thirds vote of approval from the existing members, and a \$160.00 entry fee.

However, the minutes of a subsequent meeting show that the rules were modified at times depending upon the desirability of prospective members. In 1840, James Calhoun (1779-1843) requested that he be allowed to build on the tract without paying the fee because he expected to soon sell his land in Abbeville and migrate elsewhere. He stipulated that if his land has not sold in two years, he would then pay the \$160.00 dues. The following year, the group officially resolved to build more structures on their land. The minutes from 21 October 1842 note that "Mr. Haskell and Mr. Taggart were appointed to a committee to contract for the completion of a nine pin [bowling] alley."

Financial accounts within the record book indicate the proprietors provided enslaved individuals from their personal estates to perform the labor. Annual meeting minutes are typically brief, listing where the meeting was held and who was elected to the joint position of Secretary and Treasurer. Some entries refer to the site as the "Cabin Tract." Though no annual meeting was held in 1848, a meeting was organized in July of 1849 to correct this oversight. The latter half of the record book includes a series of financial accounts listing each member and balances owed or owed them. **Gift of Ms. Ruth Bacon.**

Three hundred twenty-four manuscripts, 1807, 1821, 1823–1931, constitute a significant addition to the South Caroliniana Library's holdings of **Cantey family** papers. Members of the Cantey family acquired vast acreages in Camden District (S.C.) before and after the American Revolution. Their military service predated the American Revolution, and the Canteys remained in active service in various capacities through 1865. Canteys were prominent in mercantile and

milling enterprises, and like many of their contemporaries engaged in planting, politics, and public service.

In addition to extensive acreage in Kershaw District (S.C.), their landholdings extended to Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. Seventy-five manuscripts, 28 March 1823–9 January 1860, Kershaw District and Yalobusha County, Mississippi, relate to the indebtedness of John Williams, who was also known as J. Williams and Jack Williams. James G. Kelly's service as executor for Williams is documented through business accounts and other papers. Williams' indebtedness involved members of the Cantey family. A document, 1852–1858, concerns "John Williams Sr's Negroes In trust for Camilla F. Cantey & others in the hands of James G. Kelly, Agent of Zach Cant[e]y Trustee &c." In a document dated 30 December 1858, James W. Cantey, "Executor of the Last Will & Testament of John Williams late of the District and State...deceased" granted power of attorney to Richard M. Cantey "to Receive the possession and custody of all the negroes now in the possession of James G. Kelly on Mississippi, which are subject to the provisions of a deed of Trust...for the benefit of the children of Joseph J. Exum deceased and Camilla F. Cantey wife of James W. Cantey of Camden." A document executed 15 January 1859 provides "a list of Notes and Judgments paid over and delivered to Zach Cant[e]y Trustee &c in full settlement of all matters between him and myself [James G. Kelly] as his agent."

The Canteys relied on Charleston factors to market their crops. John Cantey's "pinder" crop of 150 bushels was sold by John Kirkpatrick at \$.75 per bushel. His cotton was unsold, but Kirkpatrick advised—"we are endeavouring to Close sales this month" (23 May 1829). Writing on 19 January 1832, Kirkpatrick expressed gratitude to "your good Lady for some articles," advised that H.T. Cantey's cotton "is found to be rather

mixed in quality and for this description, there is not a Current demand at present,” and sought instructions for John Cantey’s note for \$3,000 which was payable 5 February.

James Boykin watched over John Cantey’s property in Georgia. Writing from Columbus, 28 March 1833, Boykin related that his obligations prevented his attending to “your affairs” and suggested “the necessity of your coming out *sooner than possible*.” He did mention that cotton had been shipped to Liverpool. W[illia]ms Rutherford, of Milledgeville (Ga.), sought Cantey’s assistance with Harman Smith, “a Carolinian near Camden.” He explained that he had assisted Smith who “was in distress for a horse, his own lame &c &c, on his way from Alabama.” Rutherford provided Smith a horse, “took his lame one and this note and his word for mine.” Smith subsequently failed to fulfill his obligation (27 May 1834). Mansfield Torrance, of Columbus (Ga.), communicated with John Cantey whom he understood “wished to purchase a settlement on the river.” Torrance was offering a tract of 1,000 acres, located below James Boykin’s land, and offered to visit the property with Cantey and Boykin “as He is, or ought to be a good judge of river land” (30 May 183[0s]).

James Willis Cantey attended South Carolina College in the 1840s. Seven manuscripts, circa 1843, are essays likely composed by Cantey, who died in 1847 in the Palmetto Regiment’s assault on Chapultepec during the Mexican-American War. Another casualty in that action was Pierce Mason Butler (1798-1847), commander of the Palmetto Regiment. Before leaving for Mexico, Butler informed Camilla F. Cantey, mother of James Willis, that “it is a source of pride as well as safety to see such reliable *Sparks*—from the original flame—as Canteys—Browns—Taylors & others.” As for her son, he assured her, “I will put him upon his metal

for one of the Non commissioned staff appointments” (8 December 1846).

Correspondents during the American Civil War include General R[obert] J. Henderson, who commanded the Forty-second Georgia Regiment. Acknowledging his daughter’s letter, he mentioned the army drilling and “a great many ladies are frequently upon the field...with their plumed hats, and mounted upon their caparisoned steed.” Henderson advised his daughter to “make every effort to have your head cured this spring and do not hesitate to submit to any treatment likely to affect it,” and he also encouraged her to study and to practice writing while “devot[ing] to fishing and frolicking only your leisure hours” (21 March 1864).

A postwar letter to Henderson from C[arter] L[ittlepage] Stevenson, of New Orleans, requested an exchange of images—“I am seeking the likenesses of those kind friends with whom I was so pleasantly associated during the war.” Stevenson was in search of employment but recognized—“The officers of the old army who joined the south are particularly unfortunate; they have lost their profession & but few seem to have *effective* sympathy for them.” As for himself, he was limited until “restrictions against me in the amnesty proclamation have been removed.” Cotton and sugar, he advised, “are over in this section”—“Poor corrupt, foolish and unfortunate Dixie” (20 August 1865).

Confederate veteran E.B. Cantey is among the principal postwar correspondents. W[illiam] F[ord] DeSaussure congratulated him on the birth of a son—“He has come into a rough world at a rude time, but will be better able to buffet its stormy waves than a helpless girl would be” (2 June 1868). Writing from Flat Rock, North Carolina, DeSaussure offered condolences on the death of Cantey’s son and noted that he “survived all

my 11 children but two”—“We must submit to these dispensations with Christian resignation, &...with the firm belief that a merciful God means all things for the best, tho' we cannot fathom his councils” (31 August 1868). DeSaussure complained of “sweltering during this heated term and chafing still more at Yankee domination, and still more at the taxation of these carpet baggers, which seems to be likely to consume what little property remains to us” (21 July 1869).

James R. Pringle & Son was the Charleston factorage with whom the Canteys conducted business after the war. A letter, 19 December 1870, gives an account of the sale of nine bales of cotton, but Pringle & Son could not offer an advance for the next crop—“From the very low price of cotton money is going to be very scarce.” John Cantey, Brickton plantation, requested \$150 “to pay off Cotton Pickers and repairs of Gin.” In anticipation of the crop to be harvested, he needed “between five and six hundred dollars to pay for Extra labor to gather it” (13 September 1871).

Twenty-four manuscripts, 1871–1872, are accounts with James R. Pringle & Son. In a document dated 17 January 1887, E.B. Cantey contracted with laborers. H.B. Cantey informed “My dear Harry,” 6 January 1912, that he was meeting in Savannah “some Pittsburg capitalist who propose buying from me 32 thousand acres an island off the coast of Ga. for a hunting preserve.” **Gift of the estate of Mr. Roderick H. Cantey.**

Printed manuscript, 1869, announces the opening of **Claflin University** in Orangeburg (S.C.). Missionaries from Massachusetts founded Claflin with the aim of educating newly freed African Americans and their children. The missionaries and school operated under the aegis of the Freedman’s Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The announcement states that the university was scheduled to open on 20 October 1869 and also describes the four departments the institution offered. The College Proper was “where the usual four years’ course of College studies will be pursued under able Professors, and Diplomas awarded to those who complete the course.” The Normal Department was designed to train teachers. The Baker Theological Department, formerly the Baker Theological Institute in Charleston, was designated to train those members of the Methodist Episcopal Church who wished to pursue the ministry and were approved by their Presiding Elder. The Preparatory Department admitted a “limited number of bright and promising children of both sexes” for academic studies.

Clafin University did not charge tuition or rent and offered “wholesome rations” for two dollars per week. The announcement advises that all students were expected to adhere to strict Christian discipline. The announcement also states that housing was available for up to two hundred, and requests that community members donate the money needed to purchase furniture. The announcement advises those seeking more information to contact the Reverend T. Willard Lewis (1825–1871) or the Reverend A. Webster (1818–1887). **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment and the Arthur Elliott Holman, Jr., Acquisition and Preservation Endowment.**

Printed manuscript, 1879, announces that the “**Colored Baptist Sunday School** will give a second Concert of the Sacred Music.” Printed by the *Courier-Journal* office, the broadside is likely associated with Aiken County (S.C.) due to the fact that the *Aiken Courier-Journal* was in operation at the time. The concert, to benefit the Sunday School, was to consist mainly of “spiritual or jubilee songs,” and the broadside provides the programme of music to be performed. **Acquired with dues contribu-**

tion of Dr. Marianne Holland.

Two documents, 21 November 1864 and [1864], assert that an enslaved man named Tom belonging to Dr. Nathan Henry (1820– 1897) of Laurens District (S.C.) died after returning home from a term of service building fortifications around Charleston. Dr. Henry sought remuneration for this “stout, healthy and intelligent, and likely” enslaved servant. The second document reveals that the South Carolina General Assembly awarded Dr. Henry \$3,000 “for compensation for a slave lost.” **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. & Mrs. Warren A. Darby, Dr. Janet Hudson and Dr. Lacy Ford, Col. & Mrs. Lanning P. Risher, and Mr. Delmar L. Roberts.**

One hundred forty-nine items, 1882–2004, describe the lives of **Cornell Alvin Johnson (1882–1970)** and his family, prominent members of the African American community of Columbia (South Carolina).

The bulk of the collection consists of letters from Johnson to his wife, Alice Hodges Johnson (1892–1993), with other family correspondence and family records constituting the rest of the collection. The letters primarily detail the daily lives of family members, while the records track the family’s scholastic and professional accomplishments. The papers from C.A. and Alice Johnson and their six children offer insight into the lives of a respected African-American family from South Carolina in the twentieth century.

C.A. Johnson devoted his professional life to bettering the quality of education for African-American students. He worked as a teacher and principal for City of Columbia Schools before his 1936 appointment as the first Supervisor of Negro Schools. In a draft of a 1936 editorial written for the *Charleston News and Courier*, Johnson asserted that “the Negroes

are entitled to first rate schoolhouses and teachers. Not only are they taxpayers, but heavy taxpayers... They are probably contributing decidedly more to the support of the state than they are receiving from it.” In 1950, the city of Columbia dedicated C.A. Johnson High School in honor of his contributions and dedication to education in South Carolina. Alice Johnson obtained her teaching certification in 1940 and worked for twenty-five years as an elementary school teacher.

The couple instilled their passion for education in their children and urged them to pursue college degrees. A 1931 letter from the Johnson’s eldest daughter, Maud (1914–2002), describes her daily life as a student at Fisk University. Her updates suggest that she was a high-achieving student. She recounted that, “almost all the people in my math class are upperclassmen, only three freshman girls. The upperclassmen don’t know as much about the work as a cat.” C.A. Johnson’s autobiographical notes attest to the importance he placed on education and list the degrees each child earned and their respective professions.

By the mid-1950s, the Johnsons’ youngest daughter, Willis (born 1934), had relocated to California and begun a family. Alice made multiple trips to Pasadena to assist her daughter with her pregnancies and care for the newborns. While she was away, C.A. Johnson and the other daughters wrote frequently to Alice and sent her regular updates on their activities. Their letters mostly contain general updates about their Columbia acquaintances, but one brief letter from 1959, written by daughter Kathlynn (1918–1997), recounts a weekend spent with Maud in New York—“last night we went to a party for Langston Hughes and Bontemps. Langston is as interesting in conversation as he is in writing.” While not all letters describe such encounters with notables, the numerous letters sent to Alice document the close ties the family maintained even as their children became adults.

After C.A. Johnson's death in 1970, Alice continued to send regular updates to her children. Her letters reveal that she continued to be active and independent, only showing signs of physical decline as she approached her mid-nineties. A letter she wrote to Maud speaks of her own perception of her frailties. "Your mama is a pretty bad creature now," Alice wrote. "I'm not a pleasure to myself. Can't remember days, dates, or anything. Being old is a pain." Despite her frustrations with old age, Alice celebrated her hundredth birthday in 1992 and lived to be 101.

The documents within the collection chart the lives of Cornell Alvin Johnson, Alice, and their six children over more than a century. C.A. Johnson built a professional reputation that earned him respect in both black and white communities, and the numerous certifications within the collection chart his successful career. The letters between family members provide a more familiar and look into the routine lives and interactions of the Johnson family. **Gift of Mrs. Willis Johnson Charles.**

Letter, 9 July 1846, from **Duncan J. McDonald (b. 1819)**, writing from Marion (S.C.), to Robert C. Hamer (Harleyville, S.C.) augments the South Caroliniana Library's collection of Hamer family papers. In the letter, McDonald responded to a letter from Hamer inquiring about his interest in the hire of an enslaved woman, Rose. McDonald stated that he "would prefer buying her to hiring," and suggests that in the future "we may make a trade to some effect." **Gift of Mr. Scott M. Wilds.**

Printed manuscript, 8 January 1856, broadside advertising the sale of forty-four enslaved African-American men, women, and children, formerly belonging to the estate of **C. Mims** of St. James Goose Creek Parish (S.C.).

Shingler Brothers, exchange brokers in Charleston operated by

brothers William Pinkney Shingler (1827–1869) and Thomas J. Shingler (1829–1861), conducted the sale. The broadside includes names, ages, and occupations of all forty-four enslaved individuals, with all but two being listed as field hands, the exceptions being two young “house girls.” Annotated with winning bids ranging from \$235-\$400 for the oldest field hands, \$600-\$1080 for the younger field hands and house girls, and \$450 or under for each member of the six families grouped together, with the exception of a twelve-year-old sold for \$610. **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

Charter, 9 September 1946, bearing the foil seal of the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** and the signatures of NAACP Chairman of the Board Louis T. Wright and Secretary Walter White, granting official status to the **Shelton Branch** of the NAACP in Fairfield County (S.C.). **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

Two hundred fifty-two photographs, five photograph albums, and eight scrapbooks, 1851–1993, added to the South Caroliniana Library’s significant holdings of papers relating to the **Thomas family** of Ridgeway (Fairfield County, S.C.), further document the lives of five generations of the family.

The majority of the loose photographs depict descendants of John Peyre Thomas (1795–1859) and his wives, Harriet Jane Couturier (1810–1835) and Charlotte Henrietta Couturier (1817–1892), of Mt. Hope plantation, and Samuel Peyre Thomas (1804–1854) and his wife, Jane Fears Rosborough (1811–1883), of Magnolia plantation. These two families united in 1870 when John Peyre Thomas’s son, Charles Edward Thomas (1844–1887), married Samuel Peyre Thomas’s daughter, Anne

Cubit Thomas (1840–1916). The family of the couple's youngest son, Robert Charlton Thomas (1877–1951) and his wife, Rosa Woodruff Taft (1879–1941), are heavily represented in the photograph collection.

Their children were Charles Edward Thomas (1903–1995), Eleanor Thomas (1906–1998), Henrietta Couturier Thomas (1908–2001), Robert Walton Thomas (1910–1987), and Rosa Taft Thomas (1914–1997). Also included among the loose photographs are images of the Mt. Hope plantation house constructed in the late 1830s, the Magnolia plantation house constructed in 1854, and the Robert Charlton Thomas family house constructed in 1906. The photographs of Magnolia show it before and after the addition of a second floor about 1898.

The albums consist of a cartes-de-visite album, 1851, compiled by Harriet Couturier Thomas (1835–1922), the youngest daughter of John Peyre Thomas and his first wife, Harriet Jane Couturier; "First Kodak Book, Christmas 1916" of Charles Edward Thomas (1903–1995); album, 1930s–1950s, compiled by Robert Charlton Thomas (1877–1951); album, 1935–1938, compiled by Jane Couturier Thomas (1879–1975), including pictures taken in Washington, D.C., Virginia, and Ridgeway; album, 1944–1945, documenting the first year of the life of Rosa Taft White (1944–2005) and compiled by her great-aunt Jane Couturier Thomas (1879–1957).

Eight scrapbooks, 1832–1995, contain chiefly news clippings documenting local, national, and worldwide news, with an emphasis on local stories involving members of the Thomas family and the two World Wars. Of particular emphasis is a scrapbook compiled by John Nathan LeMaster (1901–1970), the son of John Nathan LeMaster (1866–1946) and Annie Lee Thomas (1875–1936). In addition to clippings, this scrapbook includes nineteenth-century documents regarding land transfers in Fairfield District; correspondence, bills, and receipts of John

Peyre Thomas (1796–1859); and original photographs of the house at Valencia plantation and members of the Thomas family in the 1930s. **Gift of Ms. Eleanor Jones, Ms. Peggy Jones, and Ms. Betsy Ludwig.**

SELECTED LIST OF PRINTED SOUTH CAROLINIANA

[Thomas A. Branson], *Jack Morgan Songster* (Raleigh, 1864).

Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.

Confederate Baptist, 8 October 1862; 1 July, 4 November, and 16 December 1863; and 24 February and 1 June 1864 (Columbia). **Gift of Mr. Robert F. Brabham, Jr.**

James Dickey, *The Early Motion: Drowning with Others and Helmets* (Middletown, Conn., 1981). **Acquired with dues contributions of Dr. & Mrs. Philip N. Racine.**

Evening Post, 6–8 November 1716 (London). Announcing the resignation of South Carolina governor Charles Craven and naming Robert Johnson as his successor. **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

General Evening Post, 23–25 September 1779 (London). Describes British troops attacked at Stono Ferry, South Carolina, by “the whole rebel army,” and provides details of the skirmish. **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

William Rawle, *A View of the Constitution of the United States of America* (Philadelphia, 1829). **Acquired with dues contributions of Dr. & Mrs. William McAlhany Davis; Ms. Rebecca A. Epting; Mrs. Evelyn C. Marion; Mr. & Mrs. William A. McInnis; and Mr. Henry Sutton Sinclair.**

J. Scheibert, *Mit Schwert und Feder* (Berlin, 1902). **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

South Carolina Club, *Regulations of the South Carolina Club* (Columbia, 1888). **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

Southern Illustrated News, Vol. 1, Nos. 31–33, 11, 18, and 25 April 1863 (Richmond). Includes installments of William Gilmore Simms' serialized novel *Paddy McGann; or the Demon of the Stump*. **Acquired through the John Govan Simms Memorial Endowment to Support the William Gilmore Simms Collections at South Caroliniana Library.**

Sun, 5 March 1794 (London). Includes an extract from the proceedings of the South Carolina House of Representatives concerning a report of armed forces in the state “under a foreign authority” and detailing the House committee authorizing Wade Hampton to secure papers for parties named within the report. **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

Pat Tailfer, *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony* (Charles Town, 1741). **Acquired through the Deward B. and Sloan H. Brittain Endowment for the South Caroliniana Library.**

Working Christian, 3 January and 28 March 1871 (Yorkville). **Gift of Mr. Robert F. Brabham, Jr.**

PICTORIAL SOUTH CAROLINIANA

Portrait, circa 1800, of Gabriel Gignilliat (circa 1770–1803), in the primitive style. Gignilliat was the son of Gabriel (1724–1782/3) and Elizabeth Cahusac Gignilliat. He married Marianne Palmer (1781– 1835), daughter of Captain John Palmer, of St. Stephen's. They lived at Walnut Grove in St. John's, Berkeley, and had no surviving children. The painting hung at one time in the Marion home, Belle Isle. **Acquired with dues contributions of Ms. Joyce M. Bowden and Mr. Adam M. Lutynski.**

Two portraits, 1855, of Francis Lieber (1798–1872) and Matilda Oppenheimer Lieber (1805–1890) by William Harrison Scarborough. Francis is seated with quill in right hand and arm on top of a book on desk. Matilda wears a white lace cap and is seated in a red chair and has her left hand at her jaw. Francis Lieber was professor of history and political science at South Carolina College, 1835–1856. He is best known for his *Lieber Code* (1863) which became the basis for the Geneva Conventions. Matilda Oppenheimer of England married Francis in 1829; they had three sons: Oscar, Hamilton, and Norman. **Gift of Dr. William A. Lieber.**

Lithograph, 1856, *A Pro Slavery Incantation Scene, or Shakespeare Improved*. Political cartoon of U.S. politicians in a scene reminiscent of Macbeth. James Buchanan stands with a copy of the Ostend Manifesto in his hand, and Stephen A. Douglas is on a raised seat next to him with a whip and manacles. Others with pro-slavery documents crowd around a cauldron labeled "Double, double, Free State trouble, Till Fremont men are straw & stubble," and anti-slavery documents fuel the fire. One man holds Preston Brooks' cane used in the attack on Charles Sumner on the

Senate floor. Bubbles appear above their heads with Shakespearian rhyme. Lithographed by David Claypool Johnston. **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

Ambrotype, circa 1855, of Samuel E. Stratton (circa 1842–1917) and his brother, Walter S. Stratton (circa 1847–1919), of Columbia. The quarter-plate ambrotype is a full-length view of Samuel seated with his arm on a table and Walter standing beside him. The photographer is unknown, but it was possibly made at the Jenkins Gallery or the Palmetto Daguerrien Gallery in Columbia.

Their father, Samuel Stratton, was from Connecticut and worked as a saddler and then as the proprietor of the Washington House at the northeast corner of Gervais and Assembly Streets. Their mother, Martha W. Stratton (d. 1891), of Columbia, continued as proprietress of the Washington House after Samuel's death in the late 1860s or early 1870s. Both boys remained in Columbia. Samuel E. worked as a clerk, junk dealer, and trial justice. Walter was a clerk and later a foreman with the railroad. **Acquired through the Rebecca R. Hollingsworth South Caroliniana Library Endowment Fund.**

Carte-de-visite, circa 1863, of Lieutenant Geo[rge] H. Gamble, Adj[utant], Eighth Regiment, Ill[inoi]s Cavalry, showing a bust view of a man with his hair parted slightly off-center and wearing a U.S. uniform coat. Gamble enlisted on 25 August 1861 as a private in "Batty A" Company in the Illinois 1st Light Artillery and transferred to Field & Staff Illinois 8th Cavalry on 18 September 1861. He was listed as a prisoner of war on 30 July 1864 and escaped from Columbia, South Carolina, on 22 November 1864. **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

Glass plate negative, circa 1863, of Stephen Dill Lee (1833–1908), showing him in uniform and seated sideways in a chair with one arm over the top of the chair. The small wet plate is a double exposure from a multi-tube camera, possibly made by E. & H.T. Anthony, of New York. The original photograph may have been made by Perkins Gallery, Augusta, Georgia.

Lee was born in Charleston and reared in Abbeville. He graduated from West Point and served in the United States Army before resigning his commission to join the South Carolina Militia. As aide-de-camp to General Beauregard, he delivered the demand to evacuate Fort Sumter to Major Anderson on 11 April 1861. Lee saw many military engagements with the Army of Tennessee during the war and was the youngest lieutenant-general in the Confederate Army.

Lee settled in Mississippi after the war and became the first president of what is today Mississippi State University. Lee was also president of the Mississippi Historical Society and a trustee of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History. **Acquired with dues contributions of Dr. & Mrs. Reid H. Montgomery, Jr.**

Photograph and stereograph, 1860s, picture Union military activity along the South Carolina coast. The photograph, picturing a group of Union soldiers seated in a tent, with an African-American servant, is an early copy of a photograph taken by Haas & Peale, Morris Island and Hilton Head. "General Stryker" is written in pencil on the verso. Stryker was with the Fourteenth Regiment, New Jersey Volunteers, and an aide to General Quincy Gillmore, who was headquartered in Hilton Head. After the war, Stryker became New Jersey's adjutant general. The stereograph of Fort Moultrie, Charleston, No. 747 in "Southern Stereoscopic Views" by D.J. Ryan, Savannah, Georgia, shows a group of workmen in the yard

with various buildings and piles of materials and powder magazine visible in the background. **Acquired through the South Caroliniana Library Fund.**

Photograph album,, circa 1882, created by William Main (1845–1918), of New York, with photographs taken by Main during the late 1860s through the late 1870s. Educated with engineering degrees from University of Pennsylvania and Polytechnic College of Pennsylvania, Main followed the gold fever and opened the first assay office in Colorado at Central City in 1866. The first seventeen prints in the album show the town of Nevadaville and the Colorado Central Railroad line as it cut through Clear Creek Canyon; there is also an interior view of a parlor with piano and rocking chair near stove.

In early 1873, Main relocated to the copper mining region of the Great Lakes, and there are four snowy pictures that relate to his brief time there. He returned to Philadelphia to work as an analytical chemist, but was soon offered the professorship in chemistry and geology at the University of South Carolina. Main moved to Columbia in 1873 to join the desegregated Reconstruction-era university faculty, sharing a duplex with Richard T. Greener, the school's first African-American faculty member. Twenty photographs show the Horseshoe and its buildings, including the original President's House, interior of the library, and Longstreet, as well as faculty members and their families.

The end of Reconstruction in 1877 saw the termination of the faculty and the temporary closing of the university in order to re-segregate. Main and his family returned to New York City, where he built a laboratory and focused on researching electrical devices, water filtration, and photographic films. The final five photographs relate to this period and show an electrical bulb and filament that he probably invented, a stone

church in the snow, a cow, a dog, and a walled garden. Main died in Piermont, New York. **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

Carte-de-visite, circa 1873, of the Carolina Singers from Fairfield Normal Institute in Winnsboro (S.C.). Taken by Bogardus in New York, the photograph captures the group of eight singers on a tour of northern states to raise funds for the school. **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. & Mrs. Warren A. Darby, Dr. Janet Hudson and Dr. Lacy Ford, Col. & Mrs. Lanning P. Risher, and Mr. Delmar L. Roberts.**

Boudoir photograph, circa 1900, of African-American jockeys on the front steps of a building in Aiken (South Carolina), possibly at leisure as some are in costumes. Photograph by O.N. Cripps, Aiken. **Acquired through the Robert and May Ackerman Library Endowment.**

Three photographs, circa 1880s–1920s, of P.F. Harley: cabinet photograph shows Harley in a Confederate uniform and is a copy of earlier photograph; studio portrait of Harley as an older man; and photograph of Harley with his grandson, Ray, standing beside a cannon at Missionary Ridge. **Gift of Mr. Foster Yarborough.**

Six portraits, circa 1890 and 1941, of the Norwood family, of Darlington County and Greenville. Portrait of George Alexander Norwood (1831–1909) by an unknown artist shows him with white wavy hair and full beard and seated with his right arm resting on a wooden chair arm. Portrait of Mary Louisa Wilkins Norwood (1836–1913) by an unknown artist shows her in a black dress with small lace at collar and cuffs and seated with hands clasped in her lap. George grew up in Society Hill and

attended St. David's Academy, Wake Forest University, and Furman. He served with the Eighteenth Regiment, South Carolina Volunteers, during the Civil War. He became a cotton broker in Charleston, then opened a bank in Marion in 1884 followed by The Peoples Bank in Greenville. Mary Louisa, of Darlington, married George in 1858, and the couple had nine children. They are both buried in Greenville.

Portraits of John Wilkins Norwood (1865–1945) and Fannie Conyers Norwood (1882–1964) were painted by Henry Rittenberg in 1941. John, at age seventy-six, wears glasses, dark suit with a blue tie, and a watch chain. Fannie has arms crossed at the wrists and wears a blue dress with white collar, pearl brooch and buttons, and a wristwatch. John was a banker and businessman in Greenville and was involved with several cotton mills, including Newberry Mills. He was the son of George and Mary Louisa Norwood and founded Norwood National Bank of Greenville in 1907; it merged with Bank of Charleston and Carolina National Bank to form South Carolina National Bank in 1926. Fannie was John's third wife, and they had four children.

The John Wilkins Norwood, Jr. (1908–1994) and Margaret Dial Norwood portraits also were painted by Henry Rittenberg in 1941. John, Jr., at age thirty-three, wears a dark suit with a slant-striped tie. Margaret wears a summer dress with white skirt and floral top. John, Jr., was the son of John and Fannie Norwood and served as a first lieutenant with the U.S. Army Air Corps during World War II. Margaret, of Columbia, married John in 1933.

Artist Henry R. Rittenberg (1879–1969), a native of Latvia, traveled from New York City to Greenville to paint the Norwoods. He was respected for his portraiture and best known for his painting of President Harry S. Truman with Clement Attlee and Joseph Stalin at the Potsdam Conference in 1945. **Acquired through the University South**

Caroliniana Society Endowment.

Photograph, circa 1900, of students and teachers standing in front of the Old Dorange School in Branchville, South Carolina. Daisy Elizabeth McMillan, later Mrs. J.F. Senn, stands at the right-hand side of the group in a light color blouse. The image was produced in large format and as a postcard. **Gift of the Taylor Foundation, Inc., of Newberry.**

Photograph, circa 1900, of the exterior of the Taylor Goodwyn Staple and Fancy Groceries store, Greenwood, South Carolina: two white men standing in the doorway, an African-American man standing in front of the window, and a bicycle leaning against another window. **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

Six photographs, 1907, of Clemson Agricultural College students, photographed by Wheeler and Son of Greenville, South Carolina, on Clemson mounts: Archer Kennedy Britt, of McCormick, South Carolina; Stanley Israel Bond, of Beaufort, South Carolina; Arthur Millwee Klugh, of Greenwood, South Carolina; George DuPree Sanders, of Fairfax, South Carolina; "Stub" Stevens, of Greenville, South Carolina; and an unidentified student, of Gadsden, South Carolina. Britt, Bond, Klugh, and Sanders were all members of the Class of 1907 at Clemson Agricultural College. Each photograph is inscribed to "Heavyweight," who is Eddings T. Hughes, of Marion, South Carolina. Hughes was the first vice-president of the Clemson Alumni Association for the year of 1907 as well as a member of the Class of 1901. **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

Two hundred photographs, circa 1911–circa 1958 and undated, of Edward Granville Seibels (1866–1954) and Rosamond Kershaw Seibels

(circa 1877–1960), of Columbia. Granville was the son of Edwin Whipple Seibels and Marie Jane Smith. He graduated from University of South Carolina in 1885, and photographs show reunions held in 1930, 1935, 1940, and 1945. Granville followed his father into the insurance business, now the Seibels Bruce Group. In 1898 he invented the vertical filing system but was denied a patent on the grounds that it was only an idea and not yet a device. Granville and Rosamond married in 1917; they had no children.

Granville and Rosamond Seibels lived in several homes in Columbia, including Laurel Hill. Photographs show the interior and exterior of the grand house and the garden, which was Rosamond's love. In the 1940s, the Seibels renovated an early Columbia home at 1332 Pickens Street. There are many photographs of before and after renovations and of the garden. They also had homes in Myrtle Beach and Biltmore, North Carolina, and photographs show them at these homes as well.

The Seibels enjoyed traveling, and trips in Europe and the United States during the 1950s are documented in the photographs. The earliest photographs are of a steamboat trip in Europe in 1911 and on the sailing ship *Reliance*. Extended family photographs include Granville's brother, Dr. Robert Emmet Seibels (1890–1955), also of Columbia. Robert and his first wife, Alice C. Doughty (1888–1968), built a large home on Heathwood Circle in 1929. It was designed by J. Carroll Johnson with landscape design by E.S. Draper, of Charlotte, North Carolina. Copies of these plans are included in the collection. **Gift of Mr. Robert E. Seibels II.**

Ninety-four photographs, photograph album, and artwork, 1850s–1930s, of the Witherspoon family of Yorkville, South Carolina. Most of the photographs relate to Isaac Donnom Witherspoon (1833–1901) and his

second wife, Margaret Elizabeth Wright (1838–1928). Donnom's first wife, Jeanette Amelia Reese, died in 1856. Donnom graduated from South Carolina College in 1854, served with the Palmer Guards and then with the South Carolina Commissary General's Department in Columbia during the Civil War. After the war, he returned to his law practice in Yorkville, served in the South Carolina Senate from 1876 to 1881, and sat on the Sixth Judicial Circuit Court between 1881 and 1898. Donnom and Margaret married in 1861 and were the parents of William Irwin Witherspoon (1863–1927) and Lesslie Donnom Witherspoon (1864–1959). A son, Donnom, died in infancy.

The early photographs include an ambrotype copy of a photograph of Donnom's father, Isaac Donnom Witherspoon (1803–1858). The elder Witherspoon also practiced law and served in the South Carolina legislature and as Lieutenant Governor, 1842–1844. A half-plate daguerreotype by Joseph Zealy shows Donnom in his South Carolina College cadet uniform. Other daguerreotypes of children may be of his siblings, Louise and John Alfred. A daguerreotype of a couple may be Donnom and Jeanette after their marriage.

Four glass plate negatives are included in the collection. One is of "Old Nurse Betty," an African-American woman who is pictured seated in a chair. The envelope in which the negative was housed was from the J.R. Schorb Studio, Yorkville. The others show the Judge Witherspoon house, Donnom's mother Ann Witherspoon (1811–1866), and Judge Witherspoon. The bulk of the photographs are of family and friends, with some identified. The photograph album holds twenty-five cabinet photographs, six cartes-de-visite, two tintypes, and six loose photographs of friends from the area, especially Newberry. Of interest is a candid photograph of Colonel Asbury Coward in front of his house.

The artwork is by Lesslie Witherspoon. There is a sketchbook and self-

portrait in graphite from the 1880s when she was at Packer Collegiate Institute in Brooklyn, New York. Lesslie executed a later self-portrait in a similar pose but in watercolor. She never married and was active in the community, including presiding over the King's Mountain Centennial Association. **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

Other gifts of South Caroliniana were made to the Library by the following members: Mr. Sigmund Abeles, Mrs. Cordelia Apicella, Mr. Clarence Ashley, Mr. Franklin D. Beattie, Ms. Elizabeth P. Bilderback, Dr. Hendrik Booraem V, Mr. Robert F. Brabham, Jr., Mr. Tad Brown, Dr. Ronald E. Bridwell, Mrs. Jane Gilland McCutchen Brown, Mr. Perry Carrison, Ms. Catherine Smith Clegg, Mr. & Mrs. John Cloyd, Columbia Garden Club, Mr. Jordan Thomas Cooper, Dr. Rose Marie Cooper, Ms. Roberta VH Copp, Mr. Brian J. Cuthrell, Ms. Bratton DeLoach, Mr. Graham E. Duncan, Ms. Pam Durban, Mrs. Ann Edwards, Mr. Robert M. Ellis, Jr., Professor Dargan Frierson, Jr., Mr. Henry G. Fulmer, Ms. Katherine Gavenus, Ms. Nancy C. Gibbes, Ms. Vicki Grant, Dr. William B. Gravely, Dr. Scott J. Gwara, Mr. Herbert J. Hartsook, Mr. & Mrs. Gedney Main Howe IV, Mr. Brent H. Holcomb, Dr. Thomas L. Johnson, Mr. C. Robert Jones, Ms. Nell Joslin, Dr. W. Don Kay, Dr. James E. Kibler, Jr., Mr. Edward B. Latimer, Dr. Joab Mauldin Lesesne, Jr., Lista's Studio of Photography, Mrs. Harriet S. Little, Mrs. Sarah Graydon McCrory, Ms. Gabrielle Palmer Smith McIntyre, Dr. Ed Madden, The Honorable T. Travis Medlock, Mr. M. Hayes Mizell, Ms. Jane D. Moffett, Mr. Ellis Pearce, Dr. Jacob Rivers III, Mr. Boyd Saunders, Dr. Nathan J. Saunders, Dr. William C. Schmidt, Jr., Dr. Patrick Scott, Ms. Alexa McColl Smith, Mr. Julian Barrett Smith, Dr. Allen H. Stokes, Jr., Mr. & Mrs. William E. Sudduth III, Mr. Harvey S. Teal, Mr. & Mrs. Lee Thomas, Ms.

Jane Vernon, Ms. Nancy H. Washington, Mr. James R. Whitmire, and Mr. Foster Yarborough.

Life Memberships and other contributions to the Society's Endowment Fund were received from Ms. Deborah Babel, Mr. Jack Bass, Mr. Johnathan W. Bryan, Dr. & Mrs. William Walker Burns, Ms. Armena E. Ellis, Mr. Millen Ellis, Mrs. David A. Epting, Jr., Dr. Drew Faust and Dr. Charles Rosenberg, Mrs. Elsie T. Goins, Dr. Susan H. Guinn, Mr. C. Robert Jones, Mrs. Daisy Woodside Barron Leland, The Honorable Walton J. McLeod III and Mrs. McLeod, Mr. M. Hayes Mizell, Dr. Mary K. Neuffer and Dr. Francis H. Neuffer, The Reverend Dr. James H. Nichols and Mrs. Nichols, Dr. Patricia Causey Nichols, Mr. & Mrs. Charles S. Norwood, Jr., Professor Ellen Douglas Schlaefer, The Reverend William M. Shand III, Dr. James G. Simpson, Ms. Linda C. Stewart, Taylor Foundation of Newberry, Inc., Mr. Michael Tribble, Mr. & Mrs. James J. Wheeler III, and Mr. Scott M. Wilds.

**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 W. Mullins McLeod South Caroliniana Library Endowment Fund provides support for the processing of manuscript collections at the South Caroliniana Library, with emphasis on the McLeod family papers and related manuscript collections, including published or unpublished

material relating to the history of railroads in South Carolina.

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 the 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 Harvey S. Teal South Caroliniana Library Fund provides for the acquisition of new manuscripts and visual materials and the preservation of collection holdings housed in the manuscripts and visual materials collections at the South Caroliniana Library. The fund was established in recognition of the contributions of Mr. Teal, a former South Caroliniana Library student assistant and president of the University South Caroliniana Society, whose decades of devoted friendship to the Library beginning in the 1940s have resulted in the acquisition of many thousands of unique items for the collection.

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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Anonymous for the South Caroliniana Library

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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Johnson, Ms. Lise	Greenville	Parris Island Historical and	
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T. Travis	Columbia	Wilds, Ms. Ellen	
Merritts, Mr. William	Emeryville, CA	Sheffield	Silver Spring, MD
Miller, Dr. P. Allen.....	Columbia	Wirth, Ms. Margarita E.	Columbia
Nelson, Mr. Roger R.	Mount Pleasant	Wright, Mr. & Mrs.	
Olivas, Mr. Michael A.	Houston, TX	John H., III	Charlottesville, VA
Otto, Mrs. Elizabeth.....	Jacksonville, FL	Yarborough, Mr. Foster	Columbia
Palmetto Garden Club		Young, Mr. Allan.....	Hollywood, FL
of South Carolina	Charleston		

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