

4-6-2019

# Caroliniana Society Annual Gifts Report - 2019 (370 pages)

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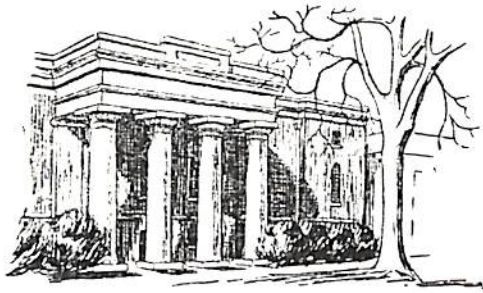
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**THE UNIVERSITY SOUTH CAROLINIANA SOCIETY**

*EIGHTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING*

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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA  
Saturday, April 6, 2019  
Mr. Wilmot B. Irvin, *President*, Presiding

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Luncheon ..... 12:00 p.m.  
Capstone Campus Room

**Business Meeting**

Welcome

Reports of the Executive Council ..... Mr. Wilmot B. Irvin

Address ..... The Honorable Richard M. Gergel

**2019 Report of Gifts to the Library by Members of  
the Society**

*Announced at the 83rd Meeting of the  
University South Caroliniana Society (Friends of the Library)  
Annual Program  
6 April 2019*

- **Chance Encounters: Serendipity and the Writings of *Two Charlestonians at War*** -- 2018 Keynote Address by Dr. Barbara L. Bellows
- 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](mailto: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
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2008–2011 .....	Robert K. Ackerman
2011–2017 .....	Kenneth L. Childs
2017– .....	Wilmot B. Irvin

**CHANCE ENCOUNTERS: SERENDIPITY AND THE WRITING OF *TWO  
CHARLESTONIANS AT WAR***

*82ND ANNUAL MEETING*

*ADDRESS BY DR. BARBARA L. BELLOWS*

*(Presented, 28 April 2018)*

I am grateful to Dean Lacy Ford for his introduction. His kind words mean the world to me. Lacy and I were graduate students together in USC's department of history. Having him here today contributes to my feeling of coming home to Carolina. When I began my work, Lacy was already the acknowledged "oracle" of the Caroliniana Library. His work ethic was daunting and provided a challenging model for the other students. We did not have Google in those days, we had Lacy. He had seemingly read everything and knew everyone, could speak with equal fluency about the Gini co-efficient of inequality as well as the cultivation of tobacco, and was already giving papers at academic conferences.

Always prepared to point other students in the direction of new sources and ideas, Lacy displayed the qualities that would later make him such a fine teacher. His mild-mannered conciliatory temperament helped diffuse scholarly agreements that arose from time to time and would later make him such an effective administrator. In one realm only

did his equilibrium falter. In his advocacy of Gamecock sports; he took no prisoners.

During the early 1980s when we were both writing dissertations, the South Caroliniana Library was our intellectual home and the center of our working world. A treasure trove of primary documents burdened its shelves and enticed eager young scholars seeking to unravel mysteries of the past. But first, we had to convince a dubious Mrs. Eleanor Richardson that we were serious and knew what we were about. Next, further scrutiny behind the desk in the manuscript room came from young Henry Fulmer, who then looked about twelve years old. Already possessing his elegant manners and speaking with the nineteenth century eloquence of a Jane Austen novel, he took his charge seriously and was quite ready to deny access to the unprepared with the alacrity of a bank manager refusing a loan to those with bad credit. I well remember hopefully handing Henry my call slips and holding my breath to see if *this* time I had correctly translated the arcane hieroglyphics from the card catalogue. But no. He would sigh, patiently correct my errors, and after a while return heavy laden from the stacks. "Only one item at a time," he cautioned giving me another hard stare before relinquishing his hold on the folder, still unconvinced of my worthiness.

Looking back on those years, I am a bit ashamed how we took the library for granted. As students, we never gave any thought to the

generations of selfless, dedicated individuals who emptied their pockets and broke their hearts to safeguard South Carolina's shared history in very troubled times to build a foundation for our more enlightened future. Libraries are among the sacred places of our civil society. Indispensable as repositories of our past follies as well as our hard-won wisdom, they offer an alternative to fake news and fake scholarship. In preserving the disintegrating books and letters of earlier generations, we also preserve another fragile commodity, the truth.

Other students filling those alcove desks and study tables at the SCL, also became my friends and valued colleagues. Each became expert in the topics of their dissertation that later became books with honored places on the shelves of the reading room. Among them were Stephen R. Wise, Carol Reardon, William Piston, Alexander Moore, and Tracy Power.

As students of history understand, timing is everything. We were fortunate to be working at the SCL during a "moment" when the study of the South was shifting from the old defensive, filiopietistic, apologetic history and becoming part of the larger national and global movement that looked at the past through the lens of race, gender, and class.

The SCL became the holy grail for nationally known scholars anxious to mine its untapped riches. South Carolina's women, factory workers, free people of color, slaves, poor whites, and its intellectual life, politics,

military history, economics all became subjects of intense and original scholarship. One never knew from day to day what luminary might be crowding around the card catalogue with us and combing through those laboriously typed, even handwritten, entries. Carol Bleser, James Roark, Michael P. Johnson, Eric Foner, Leon Litwack, Charles Joyner, Michael O'Brien, and Charles Royster all came to do research and left impressed both with the collections and the staff. Some befriended the star-struck graduate students, shared their insights, and occasionally even sought our opinions. I am afraid it took the recognition of scholars from outside the South to make us realize the potential value of our own state and local history.

We felt as if we were part of an important enterprise, not just going through the motions of academic busywork of cranking out a dissertation. We were not just apprentices, passively *studying* history, we were *doing* history sifting through primary sources, making discoveries of new facts, and testing our own theories, pursuing research, rather like advanced chemistry students working on their own experiments in their labs across the campus.

While finishing his masterful study of family and community in Edgefield County, fashion style-setter Vernon Burton also made cameo appearances on the Horseshoe. Donned in denim overalls, he looked more like the nineteenth-century upcountry farmers about which he was



writing that a recent Ph.D. from Princeton. I always secretly believed that on that campus, he wore tweeds, sported a bow-tie, and affected a pipe. Promising graduate students from other universities, such as Peter Coclans and David Carlton, also contributed to the intellectual buzz at the SCL.

At times, the USC students felt a bit provincial because we were not trained in the arcane fashions of Critical Theory nor able to quote Jurgen Habermas or Herbert Marcuse with the facility of our confident peers from other graduate schools who were putting their own twist on southern history. In retrospect, though, I am grateful our professors threw us into the deep end of the research pool demanding that we go directly the primary sources unburdened by theories to confirm, and open to the serendipity of discovery.

I am here this afternoon to speak about my most recent book, *Two Charlestonians at War: The Civil War Odysseys of a Lowcountry Aristocrat and a Black Abolitionist* that is an example of the opportunities in the unexpected. Years ago, while researching my biography of Charleston poet and novelist Josephine Pinckney in the South Caroliniana Library, I decided at the end of a long day to quickly scan a copy of her father's wartime memoir. Thomas Pinckney's [1828-1915] earnest recollections followed the same patterns as so many, justifying secession, defending slavery, praising the military prowess of the

Confederates against overwhelming odds, and railing against Republicans and Radical Reconstruction.

But there was something that caught my eye. At one point, Pinckney recounted how when he was a prisoner of war on Morris Island in October 1864, one of his guards, a black sergeant named Joseph H. Barquet [1823-1880] of the 54th Massachusetts Infantry came to his tent, and introduced himself as his fellow Charlestonian. Barquet engaged the surprised Pinckney in a friendly and lively discussion about South Carolina politics, his early life in Charleston, and his odyssey in the northern states. His volunteer enlistment in the army brought him to Morris Island just in time for his hastily trained regiment to be in the forefront of the tragic and futile frontal attack upon the heavily fortified Confederate Battery Wagner in July 1863 (of the movie *Glory* fame). After having to help bury the dead, he dug ditches in the summer heat for the ultimately successful land siege against the great sand behemoth.

My serendipitous discovery of their chance encounter inspired my dual biography of these two rather anomalous Charlestonians, both born during the 1820s, one mile and two worlds apart. Pinckney, a trained physician and rice planter in the Santee District, was the scion of one of America's founding families and the closest approximation of a New World aristocracy. Eliza Lucas Pinckney, of indigo fame was his great grandmother. One of her two famous sons, General Thomas Pinckney

was the captain's grandfather; the other, General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. Both made their mark on the new republic through their wartime service, statecraft, and elevated their personal fortunes through rice plantations and strategic marriages to wealthy brides. Supporting South Carolina's secession in 1860, Captain Pinckney fought with the 4th South Carolina Cavalry to preserve the agrarian world of the Old Republic forged by his family.

Joseph Humphries Barquet was the free-born son of a French-speaking, mixed-race father who had escaped the turmoil of the 1793 revolution in Saint Domingue. The sergeant belonged to Charleston's educated "colored elite" and trained as a brick mason. With the legal status of free people of color constantly being challenged by increasingly restrictive state laws, he left Charleston about 1846 to first travel north of slavery, then west of slavery in a futile search of the rights and privileges of an American-born citizen. He was a patriot seeking for a country to love, and that would love him back. He finally settled in Galesburg, Illinois, the home of Knox College and a center of abolitionist sentiment in the west and started a family. Believing that risking his life as a soldier in service to the Union would remove all impediments to his claims for citizenship, at age forty he crossed the country and volunteered for the Massachusetts 54th Infantry, the first regiment opened to free black men of the North.

I starting out thinking of these two men in binary terms: black and white, the Blue and the Gray, artisan and aristocrat, abolitionists and slaveholder, Republican and Democrat. Over time, though, I realized how inadequate those terms are when considering the complexities and overlapping interests of these individuals. I began to see how each life illuminated the other. Both men struggled with issues of identity, disenfranchisement, the parameters of citizenship, family dynamics, and what it meant to be a patriot, an American, and a man in the nineteenth century.

As sons of Charleston, Pinckney and Barquet were both shaped by the multiple cultures that shared, not always comfortably, the narrow peninsula that had once been a cosmopolitan capital of the Atlantic world. Their fates were inextricably intertwined. Proximity bred both familiarity and an inevitable level of contempt and competition. For better or worse, they knew and understood one another.

I concluded that these two men, simultaneously enemies and fellow sufferers, stranded together on "Coffin Island," that wispy bar of shifting sand, might best be understood as a symbolic allegory of the long fraught, yet interdependent relationship between the races on Charleston's narrow peninsula. I walked all over the city noting that the places important to both Barquet and Pinckney were only blocks apart. Thinking of Barquet, the stonemason, and the free artisan class, and

Pinckney, whose family commissioned some of the most stately in the city, brought to mind John Ruskin's *Stones of Venice*. Ruskin writes that the stones of Venice bear silent witness to the past and link artisans to their patrons who commission their work, so too must the bricks of Charleston.

Over time, the two men became fixed in my mind like a nineteenth-century tableau vivant, or a Matthew Brady photograph. Here was lanky Captain Pinckney, diminished by malaria and starvation rations, with wan eyes sunken in the gaunt face nearly obscured by his unruly gray-streaked, lice-inhabited beard. Fleas burrowed in the seams of his filthy, ragged uniform. Sergeant Barquet, swarthy and squared away in Union blue, fighting fit and muscular from the hard labor of camp work, sat next to him in the sand. The prison was a 1 ½ acre open pen insidiously located beachside directly in front of the rebel guns of their brethren on James Island. As they spoke, the tent canvas flapped in the harbor breeze, cannon boomed, marauding mosquitoes buzzed, and the aching clarity of the Carolina's October light reflected off the churning gray waters of Charleston Harbor.

Their conversation about life and politics in their hometown before the war took place as the old city's civilian population was under siege by Union artillery – 587 days in total. Both men still had friends and relatives stranded on the narrow streets of the peninsula. The old city of their

childhoods, they knew, would soon be, like their lost youth, only a memory.

That the authority of Barquet's uniform trumped all the old ancient distinctions, both men well understood. Having long ago cast aside the old rituals, the virtual forelock tugging, head-bowed racial etiquette necessary in his Charleston youth, Barquet now surely now looked Pinckney straight in the eye. For his part, Pinckney no doubt returned his steady gaze. Having noted the sergeant's "soldierly bearing," the prisoner wondered perhaps if he was experiencing the foreshadowing of a counter-revolution ignited by South Carolina's bold secession. The guards kept their prisoners in ignorance about the progress of the war, but catching bits and pieces of the camp gossip, Pinckney feared General Sherman was in Georgia, grinding his way to the Santee and the sea.

In the early autumn of 1864, Barquet's spirits had been particularly low when he sought out Pinckney. Seeing Pinckney's distinguished old lowcountry name on the prisoner roster had piqued Barquet's interest. In the depersonalized military environment designed to strip away individualism, Barquet, who had been an anti-slavery leader among free blacks in Galesburg, Illinois where he had finally settled, suffered from the anonymity of being considered just one among a sea of dusky faces by his white officers from New England, who secretly suspected that

most of their regiment were runaway slaves. The feeling that their officers did not care for them in the same way as did those with white regiments only confirmed the feeling of estrangement that educated men, such as Barquet, had felt in the North:

Our white fellow-countrymen do not know us. They are strangers to our character, ignorant of our capacity, oblivious of our history and progress, and are misinformed as to the principals and ideals that inform us as a people.

Doubts about the sincerity of the government's commitment to them weighed upon their spirits. Promises about black officers and equal pay with white soldiers were also broken. The men of the 54th agitated to get off Morris Island and into the fighting war where they could demonstrate the bravery of the black man. On the one occasion where they had been involved in an off-island expedition in February 1864, they had been called up to the front at the last minute after the commander of the operation committed a fatal strategic blunder at Olustee. In a heroic effort requiring marching 102 miles in 108 hours including a 5-hour combat engagement with the enemy they "saved the army" by allowing the other regiments to retreat to safety. The 54th incurred heavy losses before they too could exit the field. Barquet and his fellow fighters agonized over leaving their dead and wounded behind. The survivors reveled in the

army's celebration of the "fighting black cusses." An article in the Charleston press reported "the Yankee darkies fought like devils." The joy of their success was tempered by the knowledge that all that death and pain might have been avoided. "A great fault rests somewhere," Barquet concluded, when so many men to be "slaughtered in a poor country that no one seemed to know anything of or care about." The black soldiers suffer and receive no justice!" he wrote. Contractors grow fat and saucy; we grow poor." The order to return to Morris Island deflated the regiment where tensions between the black soldiers and their white officers escalated, sometimes involving insubordination and physical attacks.

Barquet and other non-commissioned black officers kept up a steady stream of letters to newspapers and journals protesting the inequality of their pay, that their wartime service was mostly hard labor; that their officers treated them with disrespect, and that they had been poorly trained, poorly led and put into situations where battlefield success was impossible.

In August 1864, just before the Confederate prisoners arrived, Barquet had been court-martialed creating a negative public impression about their condition. In the spirit of fun, he had written a humorous letter about the camp's poor food, a soldiers' complaint from time immemorial, to the *Weekly Anglo-African* in New York and signed his own name. He



protested that he had always tried to be a “good and faithful soldier” and only told the truth about the spoiled hardtack and salty coffee in the spirit of fun rather than malicious insubordination. His captain testified that he had always been as a steadying force among the hot-headed younger black soldiers. The panel found him guilty. The sentence was light, but the blow bitter.

For the most part, the men of the 54 chosen to guard the Confederates were restrained in their conduct toward them. Unlike new black recruits in some POW camps who tormented the rebel captives for sport, the 54th had seen their share of battle, death, and deprivation. Burnished rather than embittered by their own suffering most developed a soldierly deportment, soldierly compassion, and soldierly restraint and returned civility for civility and abuse for abuse. They took no pleasure in tossing rotten bits of bacon to broken men. They enlisted in the army to be liberators, not jailors. In fact, the assignment increased the resentment among the black troopers toward their officers. If the prisoners had been deliberately placed in harm’s way of incoming Confederate fire, so were they as their guards.

Barquet sought out Pinckney confident that he would see him as an individual with a family, a tradition, and history of his own. He knew that Pinckney understood the complex color and caste system within the black community and the dramatic diversity defined by the many

variations of shades of color, ethnicities, wealth, opinion and character with the full range of humanity with all its successes and failures.

Barquet's attitudes toward the white upper classes had been shaped in part during his Charleston youth, when he had belonged to a "Negro band" of musicians that had on occasion followed the governor and played patriotic tunes on his annual review of the local units of state militias. He had heard most of the prominent men of the day. Through this experience, Barquet became enamored with politics—the sport that rivaled horse racing as the favorite sport among Carolinians—and adopted citizenship as his life's goal.

Rather than being forever the victim of politics, perpetually excluded from the civil decisions that affected his life, he determined to master them. Mesmerized by the spectacle at the hustings, he received he received a first-class education in the power of words and how to use rhetoric and bombast to move an audience. He also gained valuable insights into the mind of the southern leadership and noted their veneration of the Constitution, the fervency with which they argued that the republic was a compact of states, and that white liberty depended upon black slavery.

After leaving Charleston and becoming an advocate for black civil rights and abolition, his speaking skill won him the sobriquet of "the Colored Demosthenes." The heartbreaking hardships, dangers, and

rejections he encountered during his northern odyssey first stoked his anger, then taught him humility. The surging river of America's great black struggle swept Barquet up in its powerful current and over time washed away his feelings of superiority to the dark-skinned, the enslaved, the poor, and the illiterate. He took the cause of the chattel as his own, believing that racism had its roots in black slavery. In an impassioned speech to a small group in Cincinnati, he urged people of color to unite for their common protection:

...forget everything like feelings of animosity, forget that  
you were freeborn, forget whose parents wore chains,  
[and] all differences between you.

At the first Emancipation Proclamation Day anniversary celebration on January 1864 on Morris Island, he delivered a powerful speech warning his black comrades in arms on Morris Island, especially those recently drafted freedmen from the Sea Islands, that "many excellent southern men had been forced by public pressure to embrace the "monster secession" and cautioned his audience against future blind allegiance to those politicians who claimed to be the black man's best friend. Many elected officials in the North, he asserted, only adopted "the abolition platform... for political power, or to gain some advantage over their fellows.... Neither the Republicans nor the Democrats had a monopoly on public virtue."

Barquet had been right in his assessment of Pinckney. “As soon as I heard Barquet’s name,” Pinckney recollected in his memoir, “I located him at once.” Correctly guessing the soldier had been born into that “most useful class [of] free mulattos, chiefly of French, Spanish, and Portuguese extraction,” who were the mechanics and butchers, tailors and barbers, dressmakers and caterers of the city, “generally property holders, and many of whom owned slaves.” He added that this “colored elite” had proven their loyalty to their city in 1822 when one of this class had “nipped in the bud” a slave attack upon the city putatively planned by freed slave Denmark Vesey, understanding that they too had a great deal to lose and little in common with the black enslaved.

What Pinckney could not have known was that the tinsmith William Pinceel, who urged the slave who had caught wind of the plan to alert his master, was the best friend of Barquet’s father, John Pierre Barquet. Having served together in their youth as buglers in the local militia during the War of 1812, they were later invited and to join the highly selective Brown Fellowship Society, a confirmation of their membership in “colored elite” of the city.

Although viewed by many contemporary historians as a quisling, Pinceel held the same status as Paul Revere in Barquet’s household. They chose to celebrate the man they believed saved the city from destruction, rather than the one who was accused of planning to burn the

city down. The truth of Denmark Vesey's role in the slave plot, or even if there was such a scheme, remains a matter of historical dispute, but the legend of Pinceel shaped young Joseph Barquet's world view. He too wanted to change the world, but he wanted to do it in a legitimate fashion, as a soldier of the United States, not throwing torches in the night.

In his memoir Pinckney claimed that Barquet considered his youthful years in Charleston the happiest of his life. Born a child of relative privilege, he surely enjoyed his greatest sense of financial security in his Meeting Street home, a haven in what was often a heartless and circumscribed world for free persons of color. When he was born, about six percent of the city's population of 25,000 were free people of color. Of those, only a small percentage of the children lived as he did with both their parents. They worked together manufacturing and repairing umbrellas. An array of relatives, teachers, godparents, and caring family friends enriched Joseph's life and that of his six siblings. For all headwinds Barquet faced in Charleston, he also enjoyed the incalculable advantage of being loved, and feeling himself a person of worth, even potentially of power.

Barquet also had slaves in his family. His mother, Barbara, was the unacknowledged daughter of Scottish merchant Adam Tunno, who became one of the city's wealthiest men in part through the slave trade. Her mother was a black enslaved woman. The Barquets' rise into what might best be called the petite bourgeoisie was made possible by his modest transfers through a maze of trusts to them of cash, real estate and even slaves. Barbara Barquet owned as many as ten slaves at any one time, hired them out in the city, and took their wages. Tunno's lawyers were charged with keeping their client's kinship to them a secret, but stood ready to defend the Barquets should the ever-narrowing definitions of freedom during the 1820s threaten their liberty. Tunno's refusal to publicly claim Barbara and her children as his own, even though he never married and had no other direct descendants, proved exquisitely painful to all the Barquets, for the free community of color valued respectability above all.

Barquet's striving to belong, to be recognized as part of the American family and part of the American narrative of liberty was ignited, I believe, by this youthful hurt. With the backing of Tunno, called by some in Charleston "the King of the Scots," everything might have been different for him. He could have been a merchant prince overseeing the old man's extensive holdings when he died in 1832. Other Scots, Barquet knew, had sent their mixed-race sons away to northern or British schools and

later incorporated them in their global business enterprises or secured them postings with the East India Company.

In his later years as an abolitionist, Joseph would have to reconcile how he had benefitted from the “peculiar institution.” So too would he have to come to terms with his status as a mixed-race man in America. Barquet raged against his legal status as a person “Of African descent,” incapable of ever becoming a citizen. With Europeans comprising at least half his ancestry, Barquet asserted his right to an “elective affinity,” the term coined by historian Henry Louis Gates, professing his right “to experience a humanity that is neither colorless nor reducible to color.” He struggled with what W.E.B. DuBois later described as the “double consciousness” of being an American and a black. In his case though, he faced the greater challenge of how to be black and a Charlestonian; not a slave; yet not entirely free.

Barquet wanted to both embrace both his “Nubian cheek,” and his father’s French heritage linking him to the democratic ideals of the Haitian Revolution and Enlightenment thought that elevated him as a class apart and a caste above local Charleston blacks. He did not want to “pass” as some of his own light-skinned brothers did in the North, but to enjoy his birthright as a native-born citizen who embraced multitudes. He sought his identity among “We the People,” claiming America’s history and literature as his own.

Barquet freely discussed with Pinckney his bitter disappointments with life in the “so called” free states where he found racism pervasive and virulent. In New York, where he first moved about 1848, Irish immigrants dominated the building trades and would not even let Barquet, a skilled stonemason, carry a hod. Shoppers in the city refused to be served by black clerks. In the new western states, he recounted, slavery was outlawed, but the settlers claimed the nation should be a “white man’s republic” and passed punitive “Black Laws” to keep free blacks and self-emancipated out. Being banned from voting or jury duty angered him, but that in Galesburg, Illinois, a center of abolitionist activism, his little children were banned from attending public school because of their race and would not be able to get even the same level of education he had received in Charleston broke his heart. Pinckney, always ready to hear critiques of free society, noted his “many grievances” with care, and, as it turned out, with accuracy. Nearly a decade after leaving the South, Barquet wrote “What have we done to engender such malicious hate from our fellow man....?”

Stranded together on an island of shipwrecked dreams; hopelessness washed over Pinckney and Barquet like the incessant waves of the rolling surf. Both men felt isolated and heavy burdened with regret. Death and dishonor felt much closer than glory. Most crushing of all, they were men without countries. Pinckney had relinquished his American



citizenship when he pledged an oath to the Confederacy. How long that embattled nation would survive, no one knew. Camp rumors warned of Sherman's approach through Georgia to the sea. Barquet could die for President Abraham Lincoln, but still not vote for him. That fall of 1864, sufficient Northerners had so tired of the war that the president could lose office to a candidate promising a negotiated peace with no guarantee of the emancipation of southern slaves.

As he prepared to leave to start his shift, Barquet expressed his sympathy for all of Pinckney's unnecessary suffering. The island had abundant food. Barquet offered to bring him some fresh bread from a new oven he had recently helped build from scavenged brick. Repulsed by his daily ration of 3 wormy hardtack, Pinckney quickly offered to pay the sergeant as he had paid other guards for favors, knowing the soldier took a chance of punishment if he were caught. Like any southern gentleman, Barquet refused to speak of money. "No, no," he replied. "I can take no pay, but when I have a chance, it will be my pleasure to send it to you." As he was taking his leave, he rooted around in his haversack for some shortcake which Pinckney "gratefully accepted notwithstanding the source whence it came!"

The two men never met again.

A few days after their conversation, Pinckney was shipped off to yet another prison camp in Georgia. Not long thereafter, Barquet and part of

the 54th finally left Morris Island for to join the Coast Brigade that would follow in the wake of one of General Sherman's armies, then around Pocatalico turn east toward Charleston burning and looting plantations along the way.

On February 27, Barquet experienced the thrill of a hero's welcome in the city of his birth and taking part in a victory parade that passed the site of his old Meeting Street home. On the evening of August 21, 1865, he crowded into a troop transport heading north once again leaving the battered once proud city in the mourning crepe of darkness. On the train ride home from Boston, he allowed himself to believe that the new dawn coming for the enslaved of the South would also shine its light on the black working men of the North.

After a special exchange, Pinckney by mid-March had made his way back to his greatly reduced regiment preparing to engage in the last futile attempt to stop Sherman from rendezvousing with the Grant's Army of the Potomac at Bentonville, North Carolina. Captain Thomas Pinckney was included in the surrender of General Joseph Johnston's army in Durham, North Carolina on April 26 and limped back to his Abbeville [District, S.C.] farm where his family had fled in 1862 when the Union forces threatened their Santee River plantations.

According to the terms of his surrender, Pinckney's first duty upon returning home in late May was to tell his more than sixty slaves that

they were free and could leave whenever they liked. Embarking on this untrodden territory, he prepared himself for the full range of contingencies from wild whoops as they threw down their tools and danced away down the road, to their turning on him and venting a lifetime of wrath upon the whole family. His commander General Wade Hampton had predicted “a train of horrors” for the South. Instead after his announcement silence filled the yard.

Then Pinckney spoke again. For those willing to stay on and help get in the cotton crop just budding up in the field, he promised to share one-third of the cash he received at the gin and take them back home where he planned to restart his plantation operation with free labor. How and with no cash, he did not know. More than two hundred miles from their home on the Santee, and without any clear idea of what freedom meant, most stayed. When the Pinckney acres were white with cotton, the men and women who had been enslaved when they sowed the seeds, fell to their dreaded prickly, back-breaking chore of harvesting as free people. They brought a new spirit that had some kinship to joy to their onerous task. Every third boll, they plucked for themselves; every third penny the factor paid, would go into their pockets... and this made all the difference. They felt somehow that they had moved into history, like the Israelites, and become part of God’s plan.

The family's bondsmen had all been uniquely well versed in scripture, for during Tom's youth, his father, C. Cotesworth Pinckney had embarked upon a radical departure in the traditional attitude about the relationship between masters and slaves. After experiencing a conversion from his gloomy agnosticism during the great religious revival that swept the state, indeed the nation, around 1832, he joined a group of like-minded planters and ministers advocating a new Christian paternalism toward their slaves.

Motivated in part by the Biblical dictates of stewardship and in part by the desire to promote a more acceptable public image of the South's peculiar institution, the paternalists dropped the empty arguments about slavery being a positive good and worked to end the traditional practices that attempted to control slaves through harsh treatment and stripping away their personality and will, from the enslaved.

Pinckney and the Christian paternalists argued that slaves must be treated as fellow humans and brought under the patriarchal umbrella. The phrase "our family, black and white" entered their common parlance. The blacks, it was understood, assumed the place of children in the family structure, who would be treated well if they behaved well. Pinckney never sold slaves or broke up their families, except for a particularly heinous offense and hired Methodist ministers to preach the gospel to them. From time to time, Cotesworth conducted the services

personally and had his children teach their own Sunday school lessons to their enslaved counterparts.

Neighboring planters had railed against Pinckney's "crazy" plan citing the known connection between black churches and black rebellion. By praying with slaves, they also pointed out, fellow sympathy would naturally seep in and distort the natural order of things. And, of course, it did. But it was not Christian ideals that broke the South and would bring his family to its knees, but the reckless political tactics Cotesworth, also unquestioningly, endorsed; first nullification in 1832, then South Carolina's secession in 1860.

The elder Pinckney fell ill upon hearing the news of General Lee's surrender in April 1865 and lingered on just long enough to see his son Tom safely cross his threshold. The doctor said the old man might have lived, but no longer wanted to. His daughter Caroline envied him and dreaded the hell to come. It was not the inevitable loss of the slaves that she mourned but the Confederate nation: "We have lost our Country.... Did ever such universal ruin descend on a people at one blow in the history of the world."

On the eve of the new century and after years of encouragement from his family, Thomas Pinckney started writing his memoir of his Civil War and Reconstruction years. Anticipating the 1899 Confederate Veterans Reunion to be held in Charleston also spurred him on. The gathering

attracted 10,000 to that war-worn old city that had not repaired a number of its streets since the paving stones had been taken up to build fortifications during the war. Although in the midst of an agricultural depression, the city fathers allocated \$30,000 to build Thomson Auditorium, which many older Charlestonians remember as the city's museum at Calhoun Street and Rutledge Avenue.

Pinckney pulled out his old wartime notes before meeting up with the handful of survivors among the Immortal 600, as the men who shared his suffering on Morris Island came to be called. At the heart of all flag waving and romantic imaginings about the Lost Cause lay a great reservoir of grief that sharing made somewhat easier to bear. The grim postwar hardship so many experienced compounded the sense of unmitigated pain.

Although Pinckney had been spared the extreme economic deprivation suffered by so many in the ragged postwar economy by his fortuitous 1867 marriage to the daughter of a wealthy tobacco magnate from Richmond, the loss of five of his six little children and his wife to disease made putting up his front of genial bonhomie a great strain.

As Pinckney began his memoir he made choices as he reflected upon what sort of person he had been before the war, and what sort of person had he become after. Choosing to intertwine his story with that of Joseph

H. Barquet in 1900, at the height of the Jim Crow reaction in the state is intriguing. He could not have known that his life had taken a tragic turn after he returned to Illinois. Barquet's claims that black soldiers were responsible for winning the war had created animosity with white veterans. His agitation to end segregated schools and have Illinois blacks enjoy the same political rights being exercised by former slaves in Reconstruction South Carolina made local Republicans label him a troublemaker. His family had fallen into great want and disarray after his long absence and his difficulty in getting any work other than day labor put him under tremendous economic pressure. The horror of his wartime experiences haunted his dreams. Barquet died of alcoholism in 1880 and was buried in a pauper's grave in Iowa; a promising life wasted many said.

In Pinckney's account, however, he kept Barquet's name alive in the context of one of the sergeant's finest moments when he displayed of grace and humanity toward the vulnerable rebel aristocrat, whom a lesser man might well have enjoyed tormenting.

In his memoir, Pinckney blended together the two Charlestonians' contrasting stories and united them in the "Everlasting If," to borrow Bernard DeVoto's formulation about the alternative possibilities after

Gettysburg. Their “If,” however, ponders whether their moment of civility could not somehow have been translated into future race relations. What If, economic reforms rather than political revolution had been the first postwar national priority or civil rights for all black Americans instead of only the newly freed been the goal. What If the northern politicians and the compassion of Barquet and realized vindictiveness was no solution. Or, if the southern politicians had the wisdom of Pinckney to realize the possibility of a harmony of interests between blacks and whites as they surely shared a mutual destiny. What If, other choices had been made, as Pinckney wrote in concluding his memoirs and South Carolinians

...could have found a way to live without the lynching  
and murders that stain the annals of our fair land.

What if Joseph Barquet had returned to Charleston after the war, when initially the leaders of the free black community first stepped into the power vacuum left behind by the defeated Confederates He would have seen his desire of citizenship and exercising the franchise come true years earlier, and may well have been elected to the state legislature during the Reconstruction era and seen his plans for emancipated slaves reduce the chaos and violence of the postwar transition.



Even into his ninth decade, Captain Thomas Pinckney could still be seen strolling High Battery, the Charleston bayside promenade, back straight, head high, tipping his hat to ladies, and gazing out into the harbor. Arrayed before him were Fort Moultrie, Fort Sumter, Fort Johnson; all quiet now. Straining, he could see Morris Island in the far distance. Admirers spoke of the patrician Pinckney as embodying the “life and spirit of the old South,” a symbol of a time and a generation “almost extinct.”

Morris Island and the memories of what happened there seemed drifting into extinction as well. Nibbled by the tides, etched by swirling currents, “Coffin Island” was by then only a fraction of its 1864 size. Battery Wagner, where so many good men suffered and died for no good reason, had been swept away years before. White soldiers and black, Confederates and Yankees, at last liberated from their shallow sandy graves, intermingled together in the eternal sea.

**2019 REPORT OF GIFTS TO THE LIBRARY BY MEMBERS OF  
THE SOCIETY DURING THE PAST YEAR**

**2019 Gifts of Manuscript Caroliniana**

- **Abbeville (S.C.)** Merchants, [Vow to Withhold] “Provisions or Supplies...” [1876]
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- William **Ashley** Papers, 1823-1868
- Volume, 1850-1871, Added to the **Boulware** Family Papers
- Invitation, 20 June 1850, to Alexander Hamilton **Bowman**
- Letter, 25–27 September 1863, from Marsh S. **Bryson** to “Jude”
- Letter, 1 April 1846, John C. **Calhoun** to the Honorable Louis McLane
- Addition, 1846–1973, to Hallie **Covington** Papers
- Addition, 1840–1873, to the Papers of **Cunningham and Blakely** Families
- Annie Simons **Gammell** [Waring] Papers, 1912-1913
- Letter, 9 August 1783, Nathanael **Greene** to Charles Pettit
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- Letter, 28 July 1833, from J.E. **Holmes** to John Ball

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  - Plantation journal, 1823–1826, Added to Papers of Davison **McDowell**
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  - Abraham A. **Massias** Papers, 1824–1848
  - Jane Brooks Marshall **Mays** Papers, 1951-1953
  - Richard Kidder **Meade** Letter and Photograph, 1861
  - **Monts** Family Papers, 1928–2000
  - **Mount Pleasant Home for Destitute Children** Brochure, 1883
  - Claude Henry **Neuffer** Papers, 1943–1948
  - **Rutledge** Family Papers, 1795–1906
  - Addition, 1848-1865, to the William Harrison **Scarborough** Collection
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## 2019 Gifts of Manuscript Caroliniana

**Abbeville Merchants, [Vow to Withhold] “Provisions or Supplies...”**

[1876]

**Document**, [1876], agreed to by merchants of Abbeville (South Carolina), in which the undersigned pledge to withhold “provisions or supplies of any kind on credit” beginning on 1 January 1877 except to those “whom we find to be our true friends — who prove themselves in every way worthy of our confidence.”

Dating to the months following the violent and contested gubernatorial election of 1876 that ended Reconstruction, the item apparently documents economic reprisals aimed against South Carolinians who had supported the Republican Party during the years following the Civil War. Signed by the following firms or individuals: W. Joel Smith, Barnwell & Co., Cunningham & Templeton, McDonald & Hadden, A. Bequest, J.T. Robertson, T.P. Quarles, W. Rosenberg, J. Knox, White Brothers, Wardlaw & Edwards, E.A. Douglass & Co., J.M. Gill, J.F.C. DuPre, A.M Hill, and Parker & Perrin.

***Gift of Mr. Gene Pruitt.***

**Letter, 6 August 1847, Francis Mayrant Adams to John M. Harding**

**Letter** written at Sumter (South Carolina), 6 August 1847, by Francis Mayrant Adams (1821–1844), to his cousin John M. Harding in Andover

(Massachusetts), addresses Adam's life, personal issues and future plans.

Adams informed his cousin as to status of his family's health and his plans to travel to Michigan, where he would resolve some business affairs of his late father, The Reverend Dr. Jasper Adams (1793–1841). Adams regretted that he would not have the opportunity to visit his cousin in Massachusetts. Adams also confided that he felt misanthropic and was discouraged with the study of law: "I am entirely unable to say what are my prospects in the law. I think I could do well, if I could get along for ten years, and get into some old lawyer's office." Instead of being a lawyer, Adams felt much more encouraged to enter into mercantile life in New Orleans, a city that he planned to visit on his way back from Massachusetts.

In 1847, Adams was still a bachelor since he had no home or business, but admitted to Harding that he wished to find a wife:

I have often been accused of matrimonial intentions. But I am not yet guilty of matrimonial execution. I must, however, acknowledge that I would like nothing better than a good wife, with a moderate fortune, and good business and health for myself. It is easy enough get a woman, but not as easy to obtain a wife.

Adams also revealed that his attachment to the South had grown stronger and that the conduct of the North had been a “continued attempt at aggression.” Lastly, Adams mentioned improvements in the quality of life in his home of Sumterville [Sumter, S.C.] had improved and how his house also changed by being enlarged.

***Acquired with dues contributions of Dr. & Mrs. Allen Coles, Mr. & Mrs. John Corbacho, Ms. Ann Bay Goddin, and Mr. & Mrs. Miles Loadholt.***

#### **William Ashley Papers, 1823-1868**

***Five manuscripts***, 21 January 1823 - 18 July 1868, detail purchases and transactions of William Ashley (1797-1879), a planter of Barnwell District (South Carolina).

The earliest documents are two receipts in Ashley’s name for the purchase of one enslaved female for \$345 and an enslaved man named Albert for \$725. A land document dated 16 October 1847, details the 179 acres in Barnwell District (South Carolina) bought by William Ashley. A title dated 8 May 1855 documents two tracts of land in Barnwell District (S.C.) measuring 2,000 and 508 acres sold by John B. Burgess to William Ashley for \$3,016. The final item, a letter dated 18 July 1868, addresses Ashley’s investment in a mill. The letter writer, identified as B.F. Evans, explained that the project was not viable and that they

planned to try to sell the mill before they sustained further losses.

William Ashley lived in the extinct jurisdiction known as Barnwell District (S.C.), which encompassed a larger area than the region defined by the current boundaries of Barnwell County today. Portions of this district are now included within Aiken County, Bamberg County and Allendale County. Presumed to be William Ashley (1797-1879), a resident of Barnwell District (S.C.), thought to be the son of Nathaniel Ashley (1752-1816) and Elizabeth Wilson Ashley (1774-1835). During his long life in South Carolina, William Ashley was married, first, to Mary Sylvania Lucky Stallings Ashley (1798-1833), with whom he had at least four children, including William Ashley, Jr. (1830-1894); and second, to Harriet A Moody Weathersbee Ashely (1808-1859).

***Acquired with dues contribution of Ms. Armena E. Ellis.***

**Volume, 1850-1871, added to the Boulware Family Papers**

***Journal and Memorandum Book***, 1850, 1852-1853, and 1866-1871, added to the South Caroliniana Library's holdings of Boulware family papers, documents the life of Thomas McCullough Boulware (1829-1889) and his wife, Mary Jane Vinson (1832-1912).

Although this "blank book" includes recipes, copies of popular poems and writings, household cures and tips, and cyphers, the volume was most frequently used as a daily journal for Boulware and his wife. The

newlywed couple began alternating entries in "Our Journal" on 26 January 1850, when they moved to Shelby (Cleveland County, North Carolina). They spent much of their time in North Carolina enjoying leisure activities such as visiting friends, hunting and horseback riding through the Blue Ridge Mountains, picking fruit and fishing, and attending church and temperance meetings.

On March 28, 1850, Thomas Boulware joined the Sons of Temperance, and Mary Jane wrote that it was "the best news I have heard in a long, long time." The Sons of Temperance was a strict organization and often expelled members for drinking alcohol, as recorded in an entry of 8 August 1850, reporting the expulsion of John Dawson. Mary Jane had family in Shelby, and on 27 February 1850 her sister Emma gave birth to "a daughter, very good looking child. Some dou[b]ts about its living."

In late 1850 the Boulwares removed to Rossville (Chester County, S.C.), where Mary would give birth to their first child, John Thomas Boulware, on 30 August 1850. In their journal, Mary referred to their son as "little bud" and "buddy." Also of note is an entry dated 7 October 1850 recording Thomas' attendance at a meeting of the "southern rights association," during the secession crisis of 1850-1851.

There is a gap in the journal from October 1850 to March 1852, at which point Thomas became the sole author. He used the book to track daily agricultural tasks on his plantation near Chester (S.C.) called New



Ground. Federal census records and slave schedules in 1860 indicate that Boulware kept more than one hundred enslaved persons at the plantation.

Boulware raised hogs, and grew cotton, potatoes, corn, oats, and watermelons. Like most planters, Boulware wrote frequently about the freshets and floods and their effects on travel and trade by river. On 24 December 1852, he was “initiated in the order of free masonry as far as a craftsman, one of the most solemn s[c]enes that I ever witnessed.”

Apart from the birth of his daughter Nancy Margaret on 25 January 1853 and a trip to New York City, Niagara Falls, and Boston from June to August of 1853, the journal primarily details the harvest until entries cease on 6 September 1853.

After the Civil War, during which Boulware served as a member of the Sixth Regiment, South Carolina Infantry, he continued his journal, beginning 1 February 1866. In an entry of that date, he confessed that the “plantation was in a bad fix” and the household was reduced to his family, a few hired hands who “do very little work,” and a tutor for his children named Eliza Alexander. Though their wealth and property were severely depleted, the Boulwares continued to frequently call on their neighbors, attend Catholic Presbyterian Church in Chester (S.C.), and even attend dances like the “party at Strouds Mill” in July 1867.

Boulware seemed an attentive father and husband and marked his

anniversary on 7 June 1870 by stating, "Twenty one years ago, I was fortunate enough to marry my dear Wife." His ten living children seemed a constant presence, so much so that when he found himself alone on 29 May 1870, with "not a child here but baby," he felt "lone-some: lonesome."

This devotion comes across most strongly in 1867 with the death of Matilda Watson Boulware, or Tillie, at the age of four. Boulware's normally brief and dispassionate daily logs are suddenly disrupted by two entries written on 6 and 7 September 1867 by a grieving father:

My dear little daughter, Tillie, died last night about eleven or half past eleven o'clock. She was my favorite child and I did not love her more than she loved me. She was loved by all who knew her. She was the most beautiful child I ever saw and one of the best. She always preferred my company to anyone's else; even to her mother. I cannot tell how good and kind she was. I can hardly realize the loss I have sustained, but I will miss her on all occasions for she was always with my when about the house.

Boulware was still unable to control his sadness the next day, and wrote,

I deposited my dearest treasure... in the grave yard at Catholic [Presbyterian Church (Chester, S.C.)] today. My

poor little Tillie is dead and buried, it seems like a dream to think I will never see her again and hear her sweet voice call herself 'Papa's Baby' never again receive little kind attentions from her, or be entertained by her sweet prattle while at work. Only each future day can make me conscious of my irreparable loss.... No one knows or ever can know the void her death has occasioned in my heart and how it will ache for many a day by seeing things that will recall the happy moment we spent together. No matter where I go, I see things associated with her, and think of her childish question and answer. She will never run to meet me at the gate again. I must quit writing about her but I could fill this volume about her. Age 4 years & 8 months.

Boulware did not mention Tillie again.

Despite their brevity, Boulware's entries also help to illuminate the lives of newly-freed African Americans in Chester County (S.C.). Freedmen insisted upon voting every election year, and they forced a holiday on the Fourth of July, as shown in this entry from 1867:

The negroes or Freedmen have quit work today with the exception of three, I suppose to celebrate our military rule.

In 1868, they celebrated Independence Day by going hunting. Boulware also noted on 20 June 1866 that freed people often held picnics, and that “all hands went and seem to enjoy selves.”

The nature of the relationship between Boulware and the hands changed dramatically after emancipation and he struggled to adapt. On 21 February 1867, he noted, the “Hands refused to signed contract,” although the next day the labor contract was signed.

On 22 July 1867, field hands went to town to “report to the Yankees,” perhaps the Freedmen’s Bureau. Boulware noted when hired hands quit, as shown in a one-line entry of 11 April 1870, which reads simply, “cook quit us.” The journal also identifies a laborer named Lucinda, who was paid \$1.00 a month for “milking” starting 22 February 1870.

Additionally, the journal records details of local politics, both black and white, in Chester (S.C.). Boulware noted when freedmen took off work to vote as well as when former Confederates took the Oath of Allegiance to the Union on 1 May 1867. From June to November 1869 Boulware served as constable for Chester County (S.C.) and wrote several entries like one of 28 July 1869, which detailed the arrival of “prisoners to be bonded for the Peace.”

In 1868, Boulware was active in the formation of the Chester Democratic Club and reported on 22 August 1868 that though “we had some hard feelings” they “roused the Chester people to action,” even noting that

“eight negroes joined the club.” Boulware also attended politicians’ speeches during this election year, including on 15 September 1868 when [former U.S. Congressman and Governor Zebulon B.] “Vance of North Carolina... spoke about 2 ½ hours & held the crowd of about 2000 spell bound. Everything passed off [f] pleasantly except a fight or two.

Likely disappointed with the 1868 gubernatorial victory of Republican Robert Kingston Scott (1826-1900), a native of Pennsylvania, Boulware wrote on 3 November 1868 that “All hands went to the election. All the Freedmen voted who could, so we will have to get white labor, or do without or perjure ourselves.”

Boulware’s journal records evidence of the racial violence rampant in Chester County (S.C.) in 1871. The first hint of discord came in late 1870, when Boulware and his son Tommie went to hear prominent South Carolina politicians and candidates speak. Matthew Calbraith Butler, candidate for lieutenant governor; Attorney General Daniel Chamberlain, Adjutant General Henry W. Purvis, and State Auditor Reuben Tomlinson spoke in Chester (S.C.) on 19 August 1870. African American residents of Chester (S.C.), however, “raised a row” and refused to let Union Reform Party gubernatorial candidate Richard B. Carpenter speak.

On 8 March 1871, Boulware described a “Great stir & some fighting in Chester; some negroes killed. Negroes gave up their guns.” On 9 March

1871, he continued, "Troops have been sent to Chester, all quiet here and have been. Men from Union County did the fighting at Chester." Though Boulware's home may have been quiet, on 12 May 1871 he wrote that "Ervine P" arrived to confiscate arms from African-American residents and explained that:

...whites & negroes have been fighting some and they are taking their guns. Some of the Negroes were killed.... Things quiet now. From 5 to 15 said to be killed.

Boulware avoids mention of the Ku Klux Klan's involvement in this clash between whites and the black militia that occurred in the spring of 1871. To compromise with the white population of Chester (S.C.), Governor Robert Kingston Scott disbanded African American militia units, and the Enforcement Act of 1871 (or Ku Klux Klan Act) was signed on 20 April 1871 as a direct consequence of this and other instances of racial violence in South Carolina that year.

The final journal entry, apart from recipes and clothing lists on the last few pages of the book, was penned on 9 April 1871.

Thomas McCullough Boulware, planter and Confederate soldier, was born on 19 December 1829 in Chester County (S.C.) to Muscoe Boulware, Jr. (1798-1832) and Elizabeth McCullough (1808-1854).

Muscoe Boulware, Jr., died when Thomas was three years old, and in 1834 Elizabeth married Daniel R. Stevenson (1813-1880). In his writings, Thomas Boulware refers to Stevenson as "Pa."

Boulware married Mary Jane Vinson (1832-1912) on 7 June 1849. They were the parents of twelve children: John Thomas Boulware (1850-1853); Martha "Mattie" Elizabeth Boulware (1851-1953); Nancy "Nannie" Margaret Boulware (1853-1929); Thomas "Tommie" McCullough Boulware (1854-1944); Mary Jane or "Minnie" Boulware, whose twin Sally died the day after her birth (1856-1954); Gray Boulware (1857-1952); Emma Vinson Boulware (1859-1875); John Musco Boulware (1861-1938); Matilda "Tillie" Watson Boulware (1863-1867); Taloula "Lulu/Lula" Marshall Boulware (1865-1927); William "Willie" Richardson Boulware (1868-1930); and Aubrey Franklin Boulware (1870-1954).

***Gift of Mr. Benjamin A. Johnson.***

**Invitation, 20 June 1850, to Alexander Hamilton Bowman**

***Dinner invitation*** addressed to engineer, military educator, and career officer Alexander Hamilton Bowman (1803-1865), for a meal, 20 June 1850, hosted at the Moultrieville Town Council Hall on Sullivan's Island (S.C.).

As a military engineer, Bowman had lived in South Carolina for more than a decade by this time, where he supervised construction of Fort

Sumter and other coastal fortifications to better defend Charleston Harbor. Moultrieville was the community adjacent to Fort Moultrie. A native of Wilkes-Barre (Pennsylvania), Lieutenant Colonel A.H. Bowman graduated from the United States Military Academy at West Point, Class of 1825. In his capacity as an officer in the United States Army Corps of Engineers, Bowman was assigned in 1838 to improve fortifications for Charleston Harbor. Bowman held this post until 1853, although he accepted an appointment to teach at West Point, 1851-1852, as instructor of practical military engineering. Bowman also served as Superintendent of the United States Military Academy during the American Civil War.

***Acquired with dues contributions of Ms. Marie S. Ellis and Mr. William J. Schumpert.***

**Letter, 25–27 September 1863, from Marsh[all] S. Bryson to “Jude”**

**Letter** written from a camp near the Rapidan River in Orange County (Virginia), by Marsh[all] S. Bryson (b. ca. 1839), 25–27 September 1863, to his sister “Jude” describes fortifications and activities in camp, requests provisions from home and reports an officially forbidden conversation with Union soldiers while on picket duty.

Bryson writes at how glad he was to receive “good news from home.”

He informed her that “the big fight has not come off here yet,” but thought



the Union army commanded by George C. Meade would soon attack. Though their “will seemed good,” Bryson was confident in “good old daddy Lee’s veterans—men who know nothing of defeat.” He then updated his sister about his movements and feelings regarding the progress of the war: “the news from Bragg in the west has sent rays of hope to restore confidence to the people in our final success.”

On a recent picket duty he and his fellow soldiers “concluded we would talk to them [Union soldiers] awhile,” and “had a chat about the skill of our mutual generals, our past battles, &c. &c.” The Union soldiers claimed that “whenever old Abe sent negroes into their army they would all go home,” but “seemed to think however that they would succeed in conquering us.”

Bryson requested that his sister send him “2 Shirts (nice checked) 1 pr drawers 2 pr socks...boots, one blanket & big yellow quilt, a uniform coat & pants” by the first of November. The letter then resumes two days later because “the drums were beating away and orders give to pack up immediately.” Bryson concluded his letter by describing his new location, “a perfect wilderness, nothing hardly but woods, brush and undergrowth for miles,” and wishing he was home to “go to preaching to Salem or to Zion’s Church.”

Census records indicate that Marshall S. Bryson, a native of North Carolina, was a painter living in Spartanburg in 1860. He enlisted in

Company K, Palmetto Sharpshooters, on 20 March 1862 in Spartanburg.

***Acquired through the South Caroliniana Library Fund.***

**Letter, 1 April 1846, Added to the John C. Calhoun Papers**

**John C. Calhoun letter**, 1 April 1846, to the Honorable Louis McLane (1786-1857), then serving as United States Minister to Great Britain, introduces Mr. [Charles] Serruys.

Calhoun explained that Serruys, who had served as the Belgian Charge D'affaires from 1838-1845, was en route to Europe and returning home from his duty in the United States. Calhoun requests that McLane extend his hospitality to Serruys.

In the letter, Calhoun praised Serruys and noted he had “conducted himself with so much propriety in his private character, as to secure the esteem and respect of all who have the pleasure of his acquaintance.”

The brief letter concludes with Calhoun’s assurances that he considered McLane’s attention to Serruys a personal favor.

***Gift of the Hubert Oliver Williamson Trust.***

**Addition, 1846-1973, to Hallie Covington Papers**

***Eighty-five items*** comprise an addition, 1846-1973, to the existing collection of the papers of Miss Hallie Covington (1887-1973).

A native of Marion (South Carolina), Covington graduated in 1907 from

the College for Women in Columbia (S.C.) and she received a master's degree in religious education from the Biblical Seminary of New York in 1936 [which, for this thesis, spells her name as Hallis Covington].

Between 1917 and 1941, Ms. Covington worked as a missionary in Korea under sponsorship of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

This accession includes eighteen letters from Covington's ancestors and extended members of the Covington family, dated between 1846 and 1973, along with five manuscript volumes.

The volumes include notebooks from Covington's sister Henrietta Aycok Covington. In one of the notebooks, dated 1912-1913, Henrietta Covington listed memorable events, jokes, and the names of classmates from her college years in Columbia (S.C.). Among the notes on alumnae, she quipped:

...Dorothy Meares, our other past graduate, is spending the winter at home, 'rearing chickens of a highly intellectual order.' She has great faith in higher education for chickens, and expects great success to crown her efforts.

One of the journals consists entirely of a poem, decorated with clippings, probably written by one of Hallie Covington's sisters before her departure to Korea. The poem gives a brief and playful overview of

Hallie's life, home, and family. The verses even include the family cat and several references to Hallie's tendency to be talkative. The circa 1917 volume reads, "She's a rep[utation] for talking far and near, and it goes rather fast. Her talk-box's never out of gear, for it was made to last." Included also are a number of visual materials. Twenty-four photographs and one photograph album consist chiefly of images of Hallie Covington as a young adult.

In addition to the photographs, the library received two hand-embroidered silk hangings mounted on rice paper. The hangings were a gift made by Hallie Covington's students and presented to her before she left Korea.

***Gift of the Estate of Lenora Townsend Collins.***

**Addition to the Papers of the Cunningham and Blakely Families**

***Eleven items***, 1840-1873 and undated, added to the South Caroliniana Library's papers of the Cunningham and Blakely families relate primarily to the family of Henry Cunningham (1807-1871) of Laurens County (S.C.) and his wife, Elizabeth Teague Smith (1801-1892).

Three items date from the years 1840 and 1841. Two are letters written from Mississippi by Henry's father, Robert Cunningham (1786-1843), and discuss crops and the price of land in Monroe County and inquire as to whether Henry and his sister Margaret were planning to move west.

The third is “An Equivocal Epistle,” a rejection letter that Margaret most likely copied from the newspaper in 1841. Within it, the spurned suitor writes that “I find myself in every sense disposed and determined to hate you.”

Of special interest are the five Civil War letters between Henry and Elizabeth and their son John Smith Cunningham (1833-1916), a member of the Nineteenth Regiment, Mississippi Infantry. A letter dated 21 May 1861 from Henry to his son, John, describes the dissatisfaction among the South Carolina volunteers, who were “turned over by the Gov by the Southern Confederacy and forced to go under officers appointed” rather than elected. John, or “Jack,” in turn wrote four letters to his parents in 1862 and 1863, detailing camp conditions, his health, and provisions. In his letter of 4 October 1862, John described fighting in battles at Harper’s Ferry, “Frederick Town” and at Sharpsburg (Maryland) “where we had one of the hardest fights that we have ever fought” [17 September 1862; also known as the Battle of Antietam].

This addition contains but one postwar letter, 1873, to Fannie Blakely, of Clinton (Laurens County, S.C.), asking whether she would soon marry.

***Gift of Ms. Ruth Martin.***

**Annie Simons Gammell [Waring] Papers, 1912-1913**

*Nine letters*, 26 March 1912 - 21 August 1913, were written by Annie Simons Gammell (1879-1954) from Paris (France), and Edneyville (Henderson County, North Carolina), to her fiancé, attorney J[ulius] Waties Waring (1880-1968) in Charleston (South Carolina) during the year and a half before their marriage.

The couple had been courting for some time before Annie sailed from New York on 12 March 1912 bound for Boulogne, a French port located near Calais. By the time she had settled in Paris, she had already written four letters to Waties and, in her fifth, dated 26 March 1912, she related the events that had transpired since she last wrote:

The long letter I wrote you on the steamer I gave to the Purser Thursday expecting to be put off the next morning at six o'clock at Boulogne [but] we were called at four o'clock and when I was dressed and ready to leave they informed us that the sea was too tempestuous to land us, so we were taken to Rotterdam where we arrived too late to reach Paris that night. [Four of the passengers], "the Count & Countess Stirum and Monsieur Henri Martin, went to the Hotel de France together and the next morning at ten o'clock (after many warnings & adieus from the Stirums) Monsieur Martin

and I started off for Paris together—a little embarrassing  
in Europe as everyone thought we *must* be married.

On her first night in Paris, Gammell and a friend attended the theatre for  
a performance by a famous actress:

[We] went to see Madam Sarah Bernhardt, as it was the  
last time she was to play 'Esther' by Racine. The play  
was interesting from an artistic point of view and  
because it was given exactly as it was given in the time  
of Louis XIV. But I did not like Mme Sarah in it, and I  
was disappointed.

Annie Simons Gammell, a friend and admirer of Sarah Bernhardt for a  
decade, also mentioned that the famed actress:

...invited me to lunch with her the next day, but it was  
very unsatisfactory as she was giving a recitation and  
had to swallow her lunch whole, [e]ven leaving before  
two of the courses had been served....

Annie commented that she had not seen the actress since the  
lunch:

...because she is so busy that I hate to take up a  
moment of her time, [but] I will tell you what she is doing,  
to give you an idea. [She was] Rehearsing a new play  
Elizabeth of Angleterre which is to be put on by the

eleventh of April — Rehearsing 'La Samaritaine' which has not been played since last year and which will be played tomorrow matinee for the first time — Rehearsing 'Lorenzaccio,' which she had not played for ten years, and which must be given in matinee within the next two weeks, and besides all that playing every night and Sunday matinee La Dame aux Camelias. Rather a full life isn't it [?] and she looks tired, and I love her.

In her next letter, Annie attempted to explain her conflicted feelings for Waties, especially after she feared that he had fallen ill:

In those six miserable days when I thought you were ill, I realized how frightful it would be to lose you, and how absolutely empty my future would be. I felt like a drowning man, and I was all ready to rush back to Charleston by the fastest boat. Then perhaps you would have married me without waiting for me to decide!!

Annie believed, however, that she could not make him "understand the condition of my mind and heart for I believe I love you and yet I am afraid." Other people, she continued, "must be talking about us, and discussing our relations etc. and it fills me with horror and pain that they should do so." She cited a letter from her "Aunt Annie Simons which came this morning" and illustrated her point by quoting the relevant part:



“What are you treating Waties so badly for? [H]e is a fine fellow, [you] never will see or know a better one.”

By this time, Mrs. Annie Ancrum Simons (1835-1919), who was the sister of Annie's deceased mother and the widow of Charleston attorney and newspaper editor Thomas Young Simons (1828-1878), had made her home in Savannah (Georgia), with her daughter Harriet Horry Simons Porter Shackelford (1857-1940), her son-in-law Lee T. Shackelford (1859-1939), and her grandson Francis. The author of these letters, Annie Simons Gammell herself, also lived in this same household in Savannah, along with Annie Simons Porter (1879-1954), Harriet's daughter from her first marriage to James Gray Porter (1851-1879), who was perhaps Annie Gammell's closest confidant. Annie also noted a “sarcastic” remark in a recent letter from an unnamed sister [probably Bessie Gammell Woolsey (1870-1951)]: “My latest news of you is through Waties who kindly let me know of your safe arrival in Paris,” she quoted from her sister's letter, and also confided the sense of mortification she felt at becoming the topic of gossip:

...there is one thing I have always hated more than anything else — that people[,] even my own family[,] should discuss my affairs... that is one of the reasons why I dread to live in Charleston, because everybody knows more about you than you know yourself.

In the same letter, Annie relates some of her adventures in Paris, and plans for another visit with Sarah Bernhardt:

Raymonde Glaenzer and I are going this afternoon to see Madame Sarah. She has asked me to bring Mr. Crichton's paintings for her to see. I see more of Raymonde than anyone else as my dear friend Mrs. Bull has gone to Switzerland. I have met some very delightful and amusing people at her house.

Mlle. Raymonde Coudert Glaenzer (b. ca. 1888) divided her time between New York City, where her parents lived, and Paris. Susan Montague Caldwell Bull (1859-1949) was a native of Columbia (South Carolina). The wife of George Joseph Bull, M.D. (1848-1929), Mrs. S.M.C Bull frequently traveled to Paris. Annie was sorry, she wrote, that Mrs. Bull "couldn't come here the other day to meet Warrington Dawson" and another friend, whom she "had invited to a very tiny tea [because] I wanted her to meet some Charleston people."

Warrington Dawson (1878-1962), a journalist and novelist and the son of journalist Francis Warrington Dawson (1840-1889), long-time editor of the *Charleston News and Courier*, had enjoyed himself immensely at her party, she wrote. He "drank three cups of tea and ate dozens of cakes and brioches — the others behaved in a manner a little less starved."

In her letter to Waties, written from Paris on 5 June 1912, Annie finally

gave her answer, albeit indirectly, to his earlier proposal. First she teased him. “[I]f you were here you could have your answer to-night!” Then she explained that she could not “write it” because I cannot deny myself the joy of *saying* it to you.” Then she exclaimed, “Oh! my dear, my dear, why did I ever leave you all these months that we could have been together[?]”

By the time she wrote her next letter to Waties, on 1-2 July 1912, all of her uncertainty about the future had vanished. “I wish you could realize how happy and contented I have been since I have given you my answer. It is like the calm after the storm.” Sarah Bernhardt was expected to return to Paris by the end of the following week, she noted, and “I shall be so happy to see her again, though I know it will be very unsatisfactory as she will be in a rush to get off to Belle Isle. Still I must see her, and I think I shall tell her about you, if I find courage!!!” She ended the letter with a reminder that she planned to sail on 13 July 1912 and asked Waties to:

Please have a letter waiting for me at the Holland  
American Line, Hoboken — Steamer ‘Ryndam.’ My  
feelings are mixed with joy at the thought of going back  
to you and sorrow at leaving Madame Sarah.

In her final letter from Paris, which she began on 7 July 1912 and continued to add to until the 10th, Annie focused on her marriage and

her future life with Waties. She agreed with his view, expressed in his last letter, “that it would be very foolish to think of marrying before the fall and yet sometimes I can’t help thinking that we are wasting so many months that we might be happy together.” But she also realized “at some calmer moments” that she was “not accustomed to the heat of Charleston and would very probably be made ill by it.” There was also another concern she had about marriage, she confessed:

It’s about that very subject *business* and money which makes the world go around after all. Do you think you can afford to get married or afford *me* at least[?]

She reminded Waties that luckily, she did have:

...a little of my own [money] and I would hope to share expenses with you as much as possible, but it isn’t very much and up to the present I have spent every cent of it selfishly on my own pleasures, and I must confess to you that I am very extravagant and I have to have pretty clothes and to be well dressed, and it costs a lot.

When Annie resumed her letter the next day, she mentioned that she had just had lunch with “Madame Sarah” Bernhardt, who “only came back last night from her tour of France and is to leave tomorrow night for Belle Isle.”

Unfortunately, quiet conversation was thwarted by the size of the party:

...[t]here were fifteen people at table so you can imagine that I didn't have a chance to tell her about my own affairs, but afterwards when I was leaving, she was so adorably affectionate to me that I couldn't resist saying that there was something I wanted to tell her but could not do so then.

Madame Sarah Bernhardt "instantly wanted to know why I could not tell her then, why I couldn't whisper it in her ear." Annie resisted, but promised to tell her the next day. Before they parted, Annie kissed her friend "good-bye" and later, after dinner, decided to share her news with a letter instead of a visit:

I wrote Madame Sarah a letter telling her that I was engaged to you, but that we did not want to announce it until October, that my sisters even did not know (something that I am afraid the [F]rench mind won't be able to comprehend) but that as I loved her better than anyone else in the world, except you, I wanted her to know first, [and] that I could not leave France without telling her of my happiness.

Annie closed her letter by assuring Waties that she was happy to know that she was “coming back to be nearer” to him, even though she feared she would be unable to see him immediately. “I am happy enough just to know that we love each other and before many months are passed we will be together, for always!”

The three remaining letters in the collection, however, reveal that the expected marriage did not take place as soon as Annie had hoped. A year after she returned from France, Annie wrote Waties from Edneyville (Henderson County, North Carolina), a small village a few miles east of the summer resort town of Hendersonville, where she was spending the last days of summer at a small inn owned by Mark L. Edney.

Annie described her day’s leisurely routine in her letter to Waties written on 8 August 1913: “I sat around and talked for hours after breakfast this morning then decided to go to the village about a mile and a half away,” she began. After shopping for a few necessary items in the village store, she returned to the inn and

played Bridge for hours before the one o’clock dinner bell rang.... [During dinner] it rained as usual... and Mr. Edney says it will continue for forty days. It’s some comfort to know that about fourteen of them are gone.

In her next letter, written on 20 August 1913, Annie begged Waties to leave Charleston the following Friday on his planned visit to see her,

rather than wait until Saturday or Sunday. If he could not get away Friday, Annie promised to meet him in Hendersonville (N.C.) on Saturday. "Cousin Willie Shackelford is going in that morning," she explained, "and I can go in the hack with him." Another cousin, Annie Porter, was also staying at the inn. Apparently, Annie and her cousins had previously spent summers in the North Carolina mountains at Edneyville. In her last letter from France, written the year before, Annie mentioned that she might visit "Cousin Hattie and Annie Porter at Edneys" after she returned home.

In her final letter to Waties, written on 21 August 1913, she mentioned a "most successful masquerade last night" where the participants dressed up and "danced and had a very gay time." Even though the two were engaged to be married, Annie reminded Waties that "[i]f I come to you at the station that will be the only way that we can tell each other of our love."

*The New York Times* printed a notice of the Waring-Gammell wedding on 6 November 1913:

On Thursday, Oct. 30, 1913, at Christ Church,  
Bronxville, N.Y., by the Rev. A.D. Wilson, Annie  
Simmons, daughter of the late William A. Gammell, to  
Julius Waties Waring of Charleston, S.C.

The couple chose Bronxville (New York), as the place for their wedding, rather than Charleston, where the Waring family lived, or Savannah, where Annie had lived with her relatives. Annie's sister, Hallie Gammell (b. 1874), however, lived in Bronxville.

After the wedding, the couple settled in Charleston and renovated the small house that Annie owned at 61 Meeting Street to which they moved in 1915 [Built approximately 1750, this two-story brick structure originally served as the stable of the adjacent Branford-Horry House at 59 Meeting Street, prior to its renovation as a residence, 1913-1915]. Annie continued to live there for the next thirty years, until 1945 when she and Judge Waties divorced.

The Honorable J.W. Waties who had been appointed a federal district judge in 1942, remained in the house, with his second wife, Elizabeth Avery Hoffman (1895-1968), whom he married in 1945, until he retired from his judgeship in 1952 and he and Elizabeth moved to New York City.

***Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society  
Endowment.***



**Letter, 9 August 1783, Gen. Nathanael Greene to Charles Pettit**

**Letter** written from "Charlestown" (South Carolina) by General Nathanael Greene (1742–1786) on 9 August 1783, to Charles Pettit (1736–1806) in Philadelphia.

Greene reports his upcoming departure from South Carolina and discusses a recent controversy, and inquires if his wife, Mrs. Catharine "Caty" Greene, had already left Philadelphia and advised that, if she had not, "I think she may as well stay until my arrival unless she has got tired of the diversions of the City."

The remainder of the letter deals with a financial controversy involving Greene, Pettit, as well as "the financier of the Revolution," Robert Morris (1734-1806) and Greene's aide-de-camp, Icabod Burnet (1756-1783). [Burnet served General Nathanael Greene from January 1778 through the end of the war].

At issue were the debts owed to Morris incurred by Greene in his capacity as Quartermaster General of the United States during the American Revolution. Greene reiterated that he "would not choose to put my self in... [Morris'] power or give the world any handle against me," as "Envy is sufficiently loaded with misrepresentations without a shadow of cause. Give but occasion and it will burst on all sides." Greene concludes

by assuring Pettit that "I shall see you soon and doubt not of getting the business accommodated to your wishes without exposing either to censure."

***Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society  
Endowment.***

**Addition, 1916-1918, to the Richard Theodore Greener Papers**

***Eight letters and one postcard***, 5 September 1916 - 28 April 1918, augment the papers of African American lawyer, educator and U.S. Civil service agent Richard Theodore Greener (1844-1922) and further document his later life.

Born in Philadelphia in 1844, Greener rose to relative prominence early in his academic career, as the first black graduate of Harvard University in 1870. Three years later, he accepted a position at the University of South Carolina, where he taught philosophy, Latin, and Greek and served as the school's Librarian during Reconstruction. The first and only African American member of the faculty, Greener served until 1877, when newly elected Governor Wade Hampton III closed the university. During his years in South Carolina, Greener also earned his law degree from the University of South Carolina and was admitted to practice by the South Carolina Supreme Court.

Following his departure from the university and South Carolina, Greener took a position as a law professor at Howard University and eventually served as the Dean of the Law School. In 1880, he began a two-year stint as a law clerk to the first comptroller of the United States Treasury. After a series of other civil service positions, Greener was appointed the United States Commercial Agent in Vladivostok (Russia).

Greener's personal life was marked by frequent upheaval. In 1874 he married Genevieve Ida Van Vliet Fleet Greene (1849-1941), a native of Georgetown (District of Columbia). Together the couple had six children. Greener and his wife separated when he relocated to Russia, and he became estranged from his family. Mrs. Greener changed both her surname to Greene and her maiden name from Fleet to Van Vliet. With her fair complexion, she passed as white. Her daughter, Belle da Costa Greene (1883-1950) would become the personal librarian to the financier J.P. Morgan and after his death, served the first director of the prestigious Pierpont Morgan Library.

In Vladivostok, he took a common law wife, Mishi Kawashima, and had three children. When his diplomatic position ended and returned to the United States, Mishi and the children remained and eventually settled in China.

By 1917, Greener made his way to Chicago, where he moved in with distant relatives. Greener died in Chicago on 2 May 1922.

These papers consist of eight letters and one postcard, written by Greener to his oldest daughter by Kawashima (also named Mishi). Within his correspondence, Greener detailed his daily life in the United States, offered the younger Mishi advice about school, and asked often about her two younger brothers.

The papers expand the South Caroliniana Library's existing holdings, most notably Greener's University of South Carolina Law School diploma and his law license from the South Carolina Supreme Court. The entire collection has been transcribed and digitized, guaranteeing researchers across the globe access to these materials.

***Gift of Ms. Evelyn Bausman.***

**Papers, 1907–2013, of Willie Lloyd Harriford, Jr.**

***Two and a half linear feet***, 1907–2013, document the life and career of African American archivist and educator Willie Lloyd Harriford, Jr. (1935–2018). During his later career at University of South Carolina, Harriford founded the African American Studies Program and served as Associate Dean in the College of Arts and Sciences.

A native of Kansas City (Kansas), Harriford moved and graduated from the public schools of Sioux City (Iowa). A career scholar, Harriford began his education at the University of Kansas, where during the period 1952–1956, he earned his Bachelor of Arts in History with a minor in

Economics. He continued there for an additional year to study Business Administration.

Harriford began his career as an archivist at the Harry S. Truman Presidential Library, 1957–1958, in Independence (Missouri), becoming one of the first African Americans to serve in the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) system. During this time, he also served in the U.S. Army and completed a brief tour in Taiwan, returning to the Truman Library in 1959.

Following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in 1968, Harriford relocated to Atlanta to become the archivist and assistant director of the Library-Documentation project, the institution now known as the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Library and Center for Social Change.

In 1971, Harriford retired from the King Center and joined the faculty at the University of South Carolina, where he founded the school's Afro-American Studies Program (now the African American Studies Program). He also organized the Theta Nu Chapter of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc. at the University. Founded in 1906 at Cornell University, AΦA was the first intercollegiate Greek-letter fraternity established for African American Men.

This collection documents Harriford's career as an archivist and educator and includes reports drafted for the Truman Library and specimen

essays from students. Items from his time at the King Center include documents relating to the Center's founding, the establishment of the Library-Documentation Project, floor plans for the building, budget and planning reports, records documenting staff turnover, and correspondence between staff members.

Family papers attest to Harriford's responsibilities in caring for an African-American family in the aftermath of integration, as he and his wife, Fosteen "Tina" Ward Harriford, were the parents of three children. Other files reflect his father's experience with the United States Department of Agriculture. A small unit of photographs provides visual documentation of Harriford's career.

***Gift of Dr. Willie L. Harriford, Jr.***

**Letter, 28 July 1833, from J.E. Holmes to John Ball**

***Letter*** (Saint Augustine, Territory of Florida), written 28 July 1833 by J.E. Holmes to John Ball in Charleston (S.C.), describes his life in northern Florida at a date that was two years prior to the Second Seminole War and more than a decade before statehood in 1845.

Holmes' letter conveys news of mutual friends, Mr. Turnbull and Mr. Simons. Holmes writes that he was saddened to learn of Ball's sickness

with fever and noted that “one of the evils of being away from home is the uncertainty in which we are left with respect to the health of your own friends.”

Regarding the quality of life in Saint Augustine, Holmes laments the dull nature of his new home, and notes the historical significance of Castillo de San Marcos and references one South Carolinian’s incarceration during the American Revolution:

There is no commerce, no amusement, nothing entertaining. The streets are narrow, the homes are low and the only object of interest are the orange groves and the castle, where general Gadsden was imprisoned during his exile from Carolina.

Captured by British troops when Charleston fell in 1780, Brigadier General Christopher Gadsden (1724-1805) endured forty-two weeks in solitary confinement as a prisoner of war in Saint Augustine, in a cell where “the walls are dark and mouldy.”

In conclusion, Holmes briefly mentions politics and the Nullification controversy: “I do not see any union candidate announced in opposition” and “nullification must be the doctrine of the south before many years.”

However, he did not feel he was able to opine about it, for “what have I do with politics in this luxurious climate? I must leave it and its stripes to the Broad Street Gentleman.”

***Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. & Mrs. Curtis Campbell, Mr. & Mrs. A. Jennings Owens II, and Mr. & Mrs. Steven D. Tuttle.***

**Dorothea “Dot” Maudlin Jackson Papers, 1973–2014**

***Eight and three-quarters linear feet***, 1973–2014, document the personal, journalistic, and literary life and career of Dorothea “Dot” Maudlin Jackson (1932–2016).

A writer and journalist, Jackson wrote for *The Charlotte Observer* along with several other newspapers. Accolades for her career include induction into the South Carolina Academy of Authors and the North Carolina Journalism Hall of Fame. A winner of the National Conservation Writer of the Year Award, Jackson received the Order of the Silver Crescent and was nominated for a Pulitzer Prize.

Chiefly composed of correspondence, this collection but also includes newspaper clippings, books, essays, photographs, cassette tapes, financial records, and numerous literary manuscripts. As a whole, these materials illustrate the wide variety of interests Dot Jackson held and her caring, humorous nature.



Born in 1932 to William Walter Woodin Maudlin and Doretta Eulalia Thode Mauldon, Dot Jackson spent much of her early childhood in Miami (Florida), before eventually moving to the Southern Appalachian region where she would forge a lasting regional connection.

Awarded a scholarship to attend the University of Miami for the study of music and dance, she dropped out of school in her junior year to marry her boyfriend and childhood sweetheart, Bill "Willie" Jackson, who was a psychologist. Their marriage produced three children, Frederick Walter Jackson, Thomas Julian Jackson, and Johanna Katharine Jackson.

Though a dedicated mother, Jackson still found time to dedicate to a burgeoning journalistic career. Over the course of several decades, she worked for *The Charlotte Observer* (N.C.), *Greenville News* (S.C.), and *Anderson Independent Mail* (S.C.). During her long career in journalism, she won numerous awards, but her two Pulitzer Prize nominations may stand as her most impressive achievements.

In the course of her journalistic work, Jackson had opportunities to assist in the conservation of lands and bodies of water as well. It was this pursuit as well as her commitment to writing that led her and three others early in the twenty-first century to purchase an historic property near the base of South Carolina's fabled Table Rock in Pickens County for use as a private retreat. The goal later became a public one: to serve other writers, artists, and musicians as a haven for creativity and the

preservation of Appalachian identity in her own artists' colony. It was here that Dot Jackson wrote the majority of *Refuge*, the 2006 novel that would mark the milestone of her literary career.

Though several critics of Southern literature have remarked on how *Refuge* will be Jackson's posterity, her legacy continues to live on through the many materials she left behind. This collection contains previously unseen letters exchanged by Jackson and an array of correspondents, including politicians, authors, artists, singers, and journalists.

In particular, the correspondence between Dot Jackson and Gary Neil Carden (1935- ) is substantial and shows the connections between two of the most prolific voices in Appalachian storytelling in North Carolina. Carden was reared by his grandparents near Sylva (Jackson County, North Carolina), and was influenced by tales of humor and intrigue at a young age. Throughout his life, he would maintain a fascination with stories, eventually teaching literature and drama for nearly two decades. Carden's books include *Mason Jars in the Flood*, *Belled Buzzards*, and *Hucksters and Grieving Spirits*. Carden has also written plays, including *The Raindrop Waltz*, *Land's End*, *Birdell*, and *Outlander*. He has won many awards for his contributions to Appalachian storytelling, but the 2006 Brown-Hudson Award from the North Carolina Folklore Society, the 2012 North Carolina Award for Literature, and the honorary doctorate

awarded by Western Carolina University rank amongst his most prestigious.

Carden's letters to Jackson relate almost entirely to Appalachian identity and distinctiveness, writing, and revision. Carden appears to have placed a high value on Jackson's revisions and sought out her thoughts on many of his manuscripts, which are included in this series. Though there are no annotations on the manuscripts, researchers may be intrigued by Carden's early drafts as well as the esteem in which he held Dot Jackson.

Spanning nearly a decade, the correspondence between Dot Jackson and Tom Johnson contains exclusively letters, cards, and manuscripts from the latter. Thomas L. Johnson is a retired librarian emeritus from the South Caroliniana Library at the University of South Carolina, where he also taught English. He received a Ph.D. in English from the University of South Carolina. In addition to being an ordained Presbyterian minister, Johnson's literary work has won the Porter Fleming Award for Poetry and the Southern Regional Council's Lillian Smith Award. Johnson has also made major contributions to the culture of the Carolinas, including the Hub City Writers Project, the Spartanburg Art Museum, the Birchwood Center for Arts and Folklife, and the Poetry Society of South Carolina.

Johnson is also a life member of the board of governors of the South Carolina Academy of Authors. Of particular interest are letters from Johnson which offer drafts of his poetry.

Though small in number, Susan Marie Pierson's correspondence, in the form of letters and email, may offer some intriguing possibilities for the breadth of Dot Jackson's cultural and artistic interests. Pierson is a renowned opera singer with a soprano / mezzo-soprano vocal range. She is widely known for her Wagner and Strauss heroines and has been hailed by international critics for her beautiful, clear voice, musical expression, and powerful stage presence.

Throughout her career, Pierson has held forty leading roles with thirty-seven opera companies across the globe and has been featured in performances of *The Ring*, *Elektra*, *Bluebeard's Castle*, *Erwartung*, *The Sound of Music*, *Salome*, *Tristan und Isolde*, and nine different Ring Cycles. Pierson's detailed focus on her performances and traveling in her communications are of note due to Jackson's keen interest in concepts of place and identity. The ways in which Pierson discusses her craft, especially that she writes as if Jackson knows these operas well, may be useful to researchers, as Pierson's focus on these matters suggests that Dot Jackson held a fascination with operatic performance. One of the most intriguing units in the collection, Dot Jackson's correspondence with Dennis Pipkin, includes a host of incoming letters

and emails. The majority of these letters focus on the legacy of Jack Falls, a naval airman whose plane crashed in Japan during WWII. Many of Pipkin's letters illustrate his involvement as a mediator between Jackson and Mr. Shigeaki Mori (1937- ), a Japanese historian based near Hiroshima (Japan), who has written multiple books on the World War II era.

A man named Masayoshi Kubota contacted Mori about a watch he had found as a child at the crash site of a B-24 from the 494th Group of the United States Army Air Force. In seeking to return this artifact, Mr. Kubota, Mr. Mori, Dennis Pipkin, and Jackson appear to coalesce in a fusion of local and international history that is fascinating to encounter while reading these letters and emails. Researchers may be intrigued by these communications due to importance of community, archaeology, and preservation, all of which Dot Jackson held in high esteem.

The collection also contains manuscripts of novels, articles, and essays written by Jackson, including the manuscript of *Refuge*. Though there are very few annotations in the text, it is remarkably well preserved and only shows a few signs of water stains and slight creasing on certain pages. This 2006 text is a setting forth of Jackson's complicated world view that was focused on Appalachia, and in many ways the book is an epic tale of the struggle to return to one's ancestral place and the way of life once embraced by one's forebears.

Even the seemingly miscellaneous items in the Dot Jackson collection point to her varied interests and inquisitive nature. There are numerous awards and certificates, audio materials, digital mapping materials, financial records, maps, newspaper clippings, photographs and captions, smoking pipes, tax returns, and even materials on unidentified flying objects (UFOs).

Audio files include recordings of various events: the funeral of Jack Arlington Knight (1927-2004) of Charlotte; a brewery tour in the Bavarian region of Germany; a series of interviews with Fred Weaver and three other individuals in the North Carolina section of the Appalachian Mountains; and a series of interviews conducted on a steam-powered train. Jackson only appears on the audio recording with Fred Weaver and the three other individuals as well as the interviews conducted on the steam-powered train. In the course of these interviews, Dot Jackson frequently asks about the past and origins of her interview subjects, often remarking about their home places and trying to draw connections between herself and them.

The materials related to the Birchwood Center for Arts and Folklife (Pickens County, S.C.) consist primarily of administrative files and include budgets, advertisements, brochures, legal documents, aerial maps, and directories. Established in 2005 as a public non-profit organization, this Appalachian artists' colony prospered thanks to the

work of Dot Jackson and her co-founders: Gayle Edwards (a retired high school teacher from Anderson, S.C.); Tom Johnson (retired field archivist from University of South Carolina); and award-winning writer, editor and teacher Starkey Flythe, Jr. (1935-2013), of Augusta (Ga.). Founded with the mission to preserve and promote the arts, folklife, history, and conservation of the Blue Ridge region, the Birchwood Center for Arts and Folklife, serves as a lasting tribute to the legacy of Dot Jackson.

***Gift of Ms. Katharine Gavenus.***

**William Miltimore McArthur Papers, 1863–1865**

***Eighty-five items***, 1863–1865, consist chiefly of Civil War letters written by Union Army soldier William Miltimore McArthur (1832–1917) to his father, Arthur McArthur (1790–1874), updating him on the movements and activities of the Eighth Regiment, Maine Infantry.

McArthur's letters from the South Carolina coast, chiefly Hilton Head Island, focus primarily on camp life and bureaucratic issues within the United States military. In April 1863, for instance, McArthur drafted an official complaint against commanding officer Colonel John D. Rust (1825-1890), writing that:

...his treatment of the officers of the regiment is ungentlemanly and tyrannical," and that "he applies the epithet of 'scoundrel' and 'fool' to officers of the line... he

has frequently made the statement that he has no confidence whatever in any officer of man in the regiment.

This petition, however, was misread as a resignation for the officers that signed the petition, leading to months of frustration and confusion.

McArthur wrote to Colonel Charles G. Halpine (1829-1868) as well as to the governor of Maine, Abner Coburn (1803- 1885), asking for the reinstatement of Lieutenant Colonel Joseph F. Twitchell (1838-903) and Surgeon J[oseph] D[avis] Mitchell (1823-1893) [a native of York (Maine), Dr. Mitchell had moved south for his health and resided in Jacksonville (Florida) for a decade prior to his military service]. McArthur reiterated that the petition signed by the men was not a letter of resignation. The loss of Mitchell seemed to hit the regiment hard, as McArthur wrote home on 19 April 1863 that he was “the best surgeon in the Dept and one of the best of men” as well as “a Christian and gentleman.”

The vacancy caused by Twitchell’s departure led McArthur to hope for a promotion, and many of his letters found throughout the collection relay his hope for promotion and disappointment when it did not occur. In the midst of his update on 12 June 1863 about Colonel Rust’s arrest, he still took the time to inform his father of the many men who signed in favor of his promotion.



By February 1864, McArthur seemed less optimistic about his chances for promotion, writing that “I have learned that money paid to influential men to act as attorneys to military aspirants secures all appointments.” That being said, McArthur wrote in the same letter of his willingness to pay a man “several hundred dollars” if “he could go to Augusta [Maine] and engineer my case through.”

McArthur also wrote to his father about camp life, including reports given by superiors about the cleanliness of his regiment’s camp. In a letter of 7 November 1863, he expressed strong opinions about camp etiquette, complaining about the “great bother” and “imposition on the service” of inviting wives to camp amidst the “hurry and rush.” These feelings extended to one Joe Smalls and his desire to invite his sister to camp:

...for a boy like Joe to send for his sister to come is simply ridiculous. What on earth does an officer think he is here for. I am sure if an officer can’t live without having his family around him the best thing he can do is to resign.

While on Hilton Head, McArthur’s duties included serving on several courts martial and this collection includes several items related to military discipline. He was also responsible for writing home to the parents of fallen soldiers in his command.

On 27 March 1863, a grieving father, Samuel Grey, wrote to McArthur thanking him for his consideration:

...informing me concerning his [son's] death and for the good opinion that you intertained in regard to him accept my most heartfelt thanks and believe me my dear Sir when I say that it is my earnest wish that the most choice of Heavens blessings may ever rest upon you.”

In June 1863 McArthur became provost marshal of Hilton Head Island and ran a “custom house” on the island. He remained at this post until his relocation in November 1863.

Letters from May 1864 onward detail the combat witnessed by McArthur and the Eighth Maine in Virginia. Letters dated, 26 May to 5 June 1864, report his actions near Bermuda Hundred (Henrico County, Va.), and describe how he built earthworks while under fire:

I rallied my reg[imen]t.... threw them forward in extreme edge of woods, made them lay down & under fire.... with bayonets & tin dippers (the men carving) threw up a fortification.... so that the men could stand up.

These earthworks allowed the Union forces to gain ground, and “our erection of a fortification under such difficulties elicited the applause of all.”

Throughout the conflict, McArthur marveled that he had not been shot, and credited his faith in God:

I trust it all with Him and go anywhere without a particle of fear. I don't know what it is. Love of glory I hope is in no part of the incentive. Nothing is so weak foolish & wicked as to expose ones' life for such a motive.

McArthur's luck ran out shortly after - two days later, on 7 July 1864, McArthur wrote to his father from Chesapeake Hospital. His wound, which healed quickly, nonetheless kept him away from the front until August 1864.

In his letters home from Appomattox and Richmond, McArthur could hardly believe that peace had been achieved. "The war is over indeed," he wrote on 21 May 1865. "How strange it seems to us in the field - so quiet - no alarms. Only the soldier can appreciate peace." When his brother Malley graduated from West Point on 4 June 1865, William expressed his regret at not receiving the desired promotions during his military service:

...after four years trial I am convinced the fates have determined I shall not succeed in [the military profession].... I don't suppose I could get a Captaincy in the regular service.

After Richmond, McArthur wrote to his father while serving as provost marshal at Manchester (Chesterfield County, Virginia), and eventually from a sickbed at Fortress Monroe (Hampton, Virginia), where he had contracted malaria. His letters home reiterate that though he desired to return home to Maine, he was unsure of when his regiment would be mustered out. McArthur mailed his final letter in the collection on 13 December 1865.

Collection also includes four reports issued by the U.S. Army's Department of the South, containing the results of courts martial that McArthur oversaw.

Born in Limington (Maine), to Sarah Prince Miltimore McArthur (1805-1881) and Arthur McArthur (1790-1874), a farmer and United States pension agent, William McArthur graduated from Bowdoin College and started a law practice in Limington before the war. In September 1861, he joined the Eighth Regiment, Maine Infantry, and remained with the unit until they mustered out of service in January 1866.

McArthur and the Eighth Maine saw service in Georgia, on the coast of South Carolina, and in Virginia. The unit participated in the successful bombardment of Fort Pulaski in Savannah (Georgia) in April 1862, and McArthur's capable commanding of a battery during this siege earned him a promotion to Lieutenant Colonel. His regiment then moved to

Hilton Head Island (South Carolina), where they remained until spring 1864.

In May 1864, the Eighth Maine was sent to Virginia to join the Bermuda Hundred Campaign, a series of battles fought outside Richmond, Virginia, under Major General Benjamin Butler (1818-1893) and the Army of the James. It saw battle at Hatcher's Farm, White House Landing, Cold Harbor, Petersburg, and eventually the successful Appomattox Campaign that concluded with the surrender of General Robert E. Lee on 9 April 1865.

McArthur received commendation specifically for his actions at Cold Harbor and White House Landing on 3 June 1864, when he oversaw the construction of earthworks that helped hold the Union line under heavy artillery fire. McArthur was wounded during an assault on Confederate earthworks, a charge later dubbed "a brilliant affair."

After Lee's surrender, the Eighth Maine remained in Virginia until the men finally received payment and were discharged at Fortress Monroe in January 1866. Upon returning home to Limington in New England, McArthur succeeded his father as pension agent and served as postmaster from 1866 to 1907. In addition to running the family farm until his death in 1917, William McArthur served in Maine's House of Representatives (1867) and Senate (1869).

In 1885, he received eighty-five thousand dollars in the Louisiana state lottery after inheriting his late brother's property. William used the money to purchase land on Peaks Island, Maine, where he built the Eighth Maine Regiment Memorial Lodge. The Lodge still operates today.

***Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.***

**Plantation journal, 1823–1826 (Added to Davison McDowell Papers)**

***A plantation journal volume***, 1823–1826, records the agricultural activities of Davison McDowell (1783–1842), a successful rice planter in South Carolina.

A native of Newry (Ireland), McDowell immigrated to the United States around 1810, settling with other family members in Georgetown District (S.C.). Davison's father, James McDowell (b. 1749), had arrived in South Carolina in 1786 and died in 1787 on the Pee Dee River; his mother, Agnes Davison McDowell (1758–1827), arrived shortly after her husband's death and later married Robert Kirkpatrick (1719–1798).

Associated with a number of plantation properties between the time of his arrival in America and his death in 1842, McDowell acquired Asylum plantation in 1819 and owned the property until 1836. Other tracts owned or planted by McDowell included Lucknow (the Pee Dee region plantation at which he died); Rice Hope; Hoogley; Strawberry Hill; Pee Dee; Springfield; Oatlands; Sand Island; and Woodville.

McDowell served on the vestry and building committee of Prince Frederick Episcopal Church, Winyah, and represented Georgetown District (S.C.) as a delegate to South Carolina's Union convention of 1832 during the Nullification Crisis.

In 1822, McDowell married Mary Moore (1792-1822), who died within the year. In 1827, he married Catherine DuBose McCrea Witherspoon (1799–1887), widow of Robert Sidney Witherspoon (1794–1819). She and McDowell had eight children, four of whom died in infancy or early childhood. Davison McDowell died in 1842 at the age of fifty-eight and was buried at All Saints Episcopal Church, Waccamaw, near Pawley's Island (S.C.). After her husband's death, Catherine McDowell gave up the family's lowcountry plantation, moving to her own plantation near Sumter (S.C.).

McDowell's plantation journal details his struggles and successes at Asylum plantation from 1823 to 1826, after which he began another journal. As expected, journal entries detail the yearly planting and harvesting of rice, as well as sustenance crops such as potatoes and corn. McDowell also kept meticulous records of his loans and sales to fellow planters in the form of corn, cottonseed, nails and tools, and enslaved workers. At Asylum, McDowell raised cattle, hogs, and sheep, and in 1825 purchased a foal named "Meg Merriless" after the eponymous John Keats poem.

Like most planters, McDowell did not live year-round at his rice plantation, and this journal details his movement between various destinations identified as: Asylum, "Court," Charleston, and in the South Carolina Upcountry with his mother to preserve her health in the hot summer months.

As is typical with plantation journals, the volume contains a systematic record of weather observations. Most detrimental to McDowell's crop was the "fresh" or freshet of 1824, which caused the riverbank to flood over twenty acres of his rice fields and rendering his rice "rotten ripe." This flooding lasted over a week, and McDowell's enslaved workforce labored in the rain to harvest the rice. If not for the assistance of his friend Dr. [William] Allston (1756–1839), who sent twenty-five hands and an overseer during this frantic harvest, McDowell doubted he would have had any viable rice crop.

This journal preserves substantive information on the enslaved population working McDowell's land holdings, including some whose labor McDowell had hired but who were owned by others. The volumes includes yearly lists of allowances for the enslaved and details concerning those who performed specialized, skilled tasks such as barrel-making, food preparation and management of livestock, as well as employment of overseers. The entry for 13 December 1824 reveals that McDowell "put Stepney and Abram to learn to be coopers," and an entry



for 25 January 1825 lists “hired negros” including Old Friday the “cow minder,” Hesta the cook, and Mansa, a driver. In 1823, McDowell also hired Joseph Holmes as an overseer for one hundred dollars’ yearly salary, and carpenter Ephram Nye for thirty dollars a month.

Asylum plantation had its share of runaways, noted by McDowell, some of which documented apparent instances of “petit marronage,” as seen in an entry of 13 February 1824, in which McDowell wrote that Terry returned after running away because he and another enslaved man were caught killing a cow. The entry notes that an enslaved woman also returned after running away earlier that week. McDonnell does not list any punishments.

McDowell’s 1826 tax return lists seventy-seven enslaved persons, two hundred acres of swamp, two hundred acres of “high” land, and four hundred eighteen acres of “pine land.” The return also lists the large estate of Robert Kilpatrick, his stepfather.

The journal ends in March 1826, with a note from McDowell that he started a new day book for April 1826. The front and back covers of the journal include the dimensions and diagram of a shed, as well as what McDowell dubbed “Hints-acquired by Experience” from his planting. His lessons learned from the flooding damage sustained in 1824 are

featured heavily, and include how to protect future crops, namely, “If you apprehend a Fresh[et], don’t cut much Rice down. I was caught this year-20 acres.”

Also of interest is a detailed record of a shooting that took place during McDowell’s absence. His entry of 4 July 1825 reports that General Carr’s overseer Mr. Hanington was shot by a Mr. Wells, who was “aiding the deputy sheriff in taking some of Gen[era]l Carr’s Negroes.” Wells was acquitted in court. McDowell also recorded his gloomy views of the future on New Year’s Eve, writing at the close of 1823 that “God only knows who shall live to see the next [year] concluded. We the survivors have this year seen many of our dear friends, who were in the enjoyment of many blessings this time last year now in their silent toomb. May God prepare us to follow them.”

***Gift of Ms. Dorothy Westmoreland.***

**Records, 1920–2014, of Manigault-Hurley Funeral Home**

***Fifty-seven and a half linear feet and 14 volumes***, ca. 1920–2014, consist of business records of the Manigault-Hurley Funeral Home, an African-American owned family business located in Columbia (South Carolina) for almost a century.

William Manigault (1885-1940), a tailor, along with his spouse, Annie Rivers Manigault (1893-1954), initially offered funeral services at a

location on Washington Street, but by the late 1920s, they had moved to the 700 block of Main Street south of Greene Street. In 1930, the Manigaults founded the Congaree Casket Company, one of the largest employers of African American South Carolinians during the Great Depression.

In 1959, the funeral home relocated to a facility on Two Notch Road that also included a chapel where services could be held.

The business remained in that location until closing in 2014 and was recognized at that time as the oldest family-owned funeral home in Columbia (S.C.). Four generations of family members successively operated this funeral home. These included Anna Mae Manigault-Hurley (1907-1976), the first female embalmer to be licensed in the state of South Carolina, her son Anthony Manigault Hurley (1935-2015), who headed the business with his spouse, Alice Wyche Hurley, until its closing, and their daughter Michelle, although the business hired various other family members employed at times.

The collection consists of 14 volumes of business ledgers and funerary records, 1921-1971, and 46 cartons of business files, 1956-2014, containing funeral planning documents, financial information, death

certificates, and funeral service programs. Select portions of this collection will be sealed per state law until 50 years after the creation date.

***Gift of The Honorable Michelle Manigault Hurley.***

**Abraham A. Massias Papers, 1824–1848**

***Twenty-one manuscripts***, 1824–1848, chronicle the final quarter of the life of Major Abraham A. Massias (1772-1848) and focus primarily on his military career which spanned the years 1808-1842.

A New Yorker by birth, Massias served in that state's militia from 1802 until he was commissioned a first lieutenant in the First Rifle Regiment, United States Army, on 3 May 1808. Promoted to a captaincy in the same regiment, he served with that regiment through the War of 1812, until November 1815.

For ten months, beginning in July 1812, Captain Massias served as Civil and Military commander of Amelia Island, in Spanish-owned East Florida, with headquarters at Fernandina. The island had been seized in March 1812 by a small group of Americans, led by Georgia's former governor, General George Mathews (1739-1812), who wanted to secure all of east Florida for the United States. By May 1813, President James

Madison, decided that the risk of a war was too great if the occupation continued, and ordered the withdrawal of the American forces to St. Mary's (Camden County, Georgia), a few miles north.

Captain Massias commanded the fort at Point Petre (Georgia), on the American bank of St. Mary's River, when a British force attacked on 13 January 1815, and captured the fort [a site also known as Fort Point Peter]. After a few weeks the British abandoned the area, and Captain Massias remained in command of United States troops in the area until November 1815, when he was discharged from the army.

Appointed in December 1820, as one of the paymasters of the army, with the rank of major, and stationed at St. Augustine (Florida), Major Massias subsequently served as paymaster in St. Louis (Missouri), Charleston (South Carolina), and New Orleans (Louisiana) and, on occasion, became involved in the politics of military service. On 10 November 1834, Brevet Brigadier General Abraham Eustis (1786-1843), the commander of Fortress Monroe (Virginia), replied, from New York City, to a letter he had just received from his friend Major Massias:

I *advise* you by no means to resign immediately... for to make you resign is the whole object of the order. My informant said it was in consequence of your political opinions, & at the suggestion of the Union men in

Charleston, who hoped to drive you out of service, &  
make a place for one of them, supposed to be Ogden  
Hammond.

Ogden Hammond was a New York-born merchant who apparently, during the Nullification crisis, supported the Unionist faction in Charleston and rejected John C. Calhoun's concept of nullification of federal tariff laws. Eustis emphasized that Major Massias should not resign his commission, "but rather go to New Orleans for the winter, if they insist on it, & trust to your own exertions & your friends to get back in the Spring." Two years later, Congressman Henry Laurens Pinckney (1794–1863), at the request of Major Massias, drafted a statement on 5 December 1836 in Washington (D.C.), in which he provided some context for the 1834 incident that had forced the major to consider resigning from the army. Major Massias had requested Pinckney "to state whether to my knowledge he had any participation in the federal or state elections which occurred in Charleston two years ago." Pinckney responded that:

I know of my own knowledge, that he not only took no part in the political contest then carried on in that City, but that he was absent from the State during the whole time of the canvass, and at the time of the elections.... I make this declaration with great pleasure, believing it to be an act of common justice to a meritorious public

officer, and one whom I know to be sincerely devoted to republican principles and preservation of the Union.

While stationed at Jefferson Barracks in St. Louis (Missouri), Major Massias met Thomas Hart Benton (1782–1858), who served as United States Senator from Missouri, 1821 until 1851, and was a native of North Carolina. Benton also served as chairman of the Senate Military Committee for many years and remained a strong supporter of the United States Army. Benton replied to a letter from Major Massias on 19 January 1836 and wrote:

[I]t will give me great pleasure to be of service to you in any way.... Mrs. [Elizabeth Preston McDowell] B[enton] and the little ones all thank you for your remembrance and desire me to return theirs to you.

Writing from the U.S. Senate chamber on 27 December 1836, Benton informed Major Massias that:

Your nomination came in today, and the Senate having gone into the consideration of Executive business before it adjourned, your name was called up, and the nomination immediately and unanimously confirmed.

Major Massias's term as paymaster expired on 12 December 1836, and President Andrew Jackson nominated him for reappointment on 27 December 1836. The President's nomination was referred to the

Committee on Military Affairs, Mr. Benton from the committee supported the nomination, and the Senate “resolved unanimously... to advise and consent to the appointment,” according the Senate’s Executive Journal of that date.

While Major Massias was furloughed from his post in St. Louis (Missouri) after his term expired, his friend and comrade, Major Joshua B. Brant (1790–1861), deputy quartermaster of the United States Army at St. Louis, apprised him of the news from Jefferson Barracks in a letter dated 6 January 1837:

I am requested by General Jesup to join him [in Florida].... I hardly think I have a great regard for him and zeal for the service but conclude that it would be against both public & private interests to pull out at this time from St. Louis.

Major Brant also speculated about who would replace Lewis Cass (1782-1866) as Secretary of War in the administration of the recently elected president, Martin Van Buren:

Who will be secretary of war[?] This should be a man of no party. Can General [Thomas] Jesup be supported for it as an army man[?] He will make a good one and we may get a much worse head.... Do what you can towards this office being well filled.



Quartermaster General of the United States Army, Major General Thomas S. Jesup (1788-1860) would have been a strong candidate to replace Cass, but as the United States government remained embroiled in the Second Seminole War (1835–1842), Jesup remained on duty in Florida in command of the army. With Jesup unavailable, the position went to South Carolinian Joel R. Poinsett (1779-1851), who was confirmed as Secretary of War in March 1837.

A letter from fellow Army officer, Major Adam D[uncan] Steuart (1796-1867), the paymaster who had been stationed at St. Louis prior to Major Massias' posting there, also demonstrates the degree to which military officers of the day took an active interest in lobbying efforts to ensure passage of bills before Congress that would benefit them. Writing on 12 February 1838 from Washington (D.C.), Steuart informed Massias on the progress of his efforts:

We shall succeed, I am confident, in getting a law passed to allow us Cavalry or Staff pay. Major Kirby will remain in this city till the Committee on Military Affairs report, & longer, if necessary. Please write to your friends in Congress, & urge them to advocate our bill.

On 27 August 1842, the Adjutant General of the Army issued General Orders No. 57 which announced that, as a result of an act just approved by Congress, three Paymasters, two Surgeons, and ten Assistant

Surgeons would be discharged from the army. Major Massias received a copy of the printed order because he was one of the paymasters who would be retired from service, effective 23 September 1842.

An old friend and fellow army officer, Major William H. Case (1798–1870), wrote Major Massias on 8 September 1842 from Chasefield, his plantation near Pensacola (Florida), and extended his support in light of the major's forced retirement:

If this procedure against an old and most faithful officer of the army, puts you in a humour to receive the sympathy of your friends, I beg you to be assured that mine are very sincerely offered.

Major Chase had served in the Army Corps of Engineers since his graduation from West Point in 1815 and was in charge of building and maintaining military fortification along the Gulf coast from New Orleans (Louisiana) to Key West (Florida):

With the knowledge I have of your character, which I believe to be without reproach, and of your services which I know have been most faithfully performed through a long term of years... I profess myself at a loss

to understand the principle that governs the President in selecting you to be discharge[d]...whilst younger, less experienced & more recently appointed Paymasters were retained.

Major Massias, however, was not embittered by his discharge from service, for when war with Mexico loomed in 1846, he offered his services, not as a paymaster, but as a former field officer, to his country. From his home in New Orleans, he sent a letter Adjutant General Roger Jones (1789-1852), on 19 May 1846, in which he noted the recent call for “a volunteer force, not exceeding 50,000 men, to use in defending the country in the present” crisis:

I hasten to offer my services to raise a regiment, or battalion of artillery to serve at the Barracks and Forts on the Lakes specially, and perform all necessary duty at those posts, for six months, or during the war, in the absence of the regular Artillery.

He admitted that as a septuagenarian, he was unable “to encounter the active and hardy service of the field,” but argued that “I feel myself fully competent to perform garrison duty.” In fact, he stated that “General Gaines was anxious that I should act at once, and accordingly, tendered to me the charge of Forts Pike & Wood...” Major Massias, however, decided that he should follow regular procedures and seek an

appointment from the adjutant general, rather than accept the general's offer to take charge of the two forts, both located near New Orleans, and risk having his actions "called into question under any circumstances that might arise."

Major General Edmund P. Gaines (1777–1849), the commander of the United States Army's Western Department, headquartered in New Orleans, throughout May 1846, without any authority to do so, had recruited volunteers to join General Zachary Taylor's army which had come under attack by Mexican troops in the area north of the Rio Grande River. General Gaines was later court-martialed for his actions and temporarily removed from his command.

Although Major Massias' efforts to rejoin the military proved unsuccessful, as a decorated veteran, he continued to seek benefits from the government for his military service during the last years of his life. On 8 January 1847, Massias had written a letter to Congressman Henry Johnson (1783–1864), who represented Louisiana in the United States Senate. In a reply dated 1 February 1847, the Senator acknowledged Massias' earlier letter and his many contributions during his career and the legitimacy of his request:

Believing that your services in the American Army give  
you strong claims upon the favorable consideration of

the Government, it will afford me great pleasure to use every effort in your behalf.

A year later, on 14 February 1848, Senator Johnson responded to another letter from Major Massias, and agreed again that the retired officer deserved remuneration:

...the favorable consideration of the Government” [but was convinced] “from a conversation with a prominent member of the committee which reported the bill... that such an amendment as would provide for you, will be strongly opposed.

Four months later, on 28 June 1848, Major Abraham A. Massias died in Charleston. A member of the Jewish faith, iMassias made the bequest in his will to Congregation Beth Elohim conditional on the Temple’s continued loyalty to the recent Reform movement in Judaism. The following words were engraved on his memorial marker as his final tribute:

To the Synagogue of Kadal Kadosh Beth Elohim or House of God, he was, by his last will, a generous benefactor and after a provision for several relatives, the bulk of his estate was bequeathed to friends in Charleston, So[uth] C[arolin]a, the home of his choice.

These Massias manuscripts were preserved among the Rutledge family papers by James Rose (1793–1869), the son-in-law of General John Rutledge (1766–1819). Even though the recipient of these letters was not a relative of the extended Rutledge family, Massias' long-time friend, James Rose, who served as an executor of Massias' will, and was also a beneficiary of his estate, apparently saved the major's papers, along with a belt buckle engraved "Major A.A. Massias, U.S.A.," and incorporated them into his own family's archive.

***Acquired through University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.***

**Jane Brooks Marshall Mays Papers, 1951-1953**

***Seventy-two items***, 28 June 1951–20 March 1953, detailing the service of Jane Brooks Marshall Mays (1924–2018) with the American Red Cross and her travels through Korea, Japan, and Europe.

This collection consists almost entirely of letters written by the future Mrs. Mays (using her maiden name, Jane Brooks Marshall) and sent to her parents, John Quitman Marshall (1898–1972) and Helen Claire Bruton Marshall (1902–1961) in Columbia (South Carolina).

When she joined the American Red Cross, Mays was initially sent to Japan to await her permanent assignment in Korea. In a letter of 28 June 1951, she informed her parents:

As you have read the cease-fire talks seem to be nearing some realization, and for that reason, plus the heavy guerilla war-fare, the military does not want women going into Korea, all have been stopped and the club at Pusan with its' staff of 14 is the only one in operation – they may be yanked out.

The delay proved short-lived. On 26 July 1951, she received orders that she would be working in the canteen at K-2 Air Force Base in Taegu (Korea). While waiting for her trip to Korea, Mays and a few friends attempted to climb Mount Fuji, an adventure documented with a hand-drawn map included by Mays in her letter home, showing her progress in her hike.

Upon arriving to her new quarters in Taegu (Korea), Mays was quick to update her parents with observations on first impressions of the area. In a letter of 8 August 1951, she described the city as something her family would be completely unfamiliar with, noting the relatively simple buildings and crowded streets. She also reported that her lodgings were located in

a former Presbyterian Mission School compound, and that the women from ARC were fortunate enough to get a clean, out-of-way building as their dormitory.

Once settled in, Mays sent regular updates to her parents about her ARC duties, the new people she met, and her explorations of Korea and Japan on her days off.

Mays and the other ARC women served as hostesses in the canteen and oversaw daily operations. Letters discuss daily life for Mays and the other women employed by the American Red Cross as part of a service designed to provide entertainment for, and lift morale among, United States service men. A letter dated 22 August 1951 reports the volume of servicemen visiting the club:

...3,300 (average) men come in a day, 7,500 donuts a day, 150 gals. of coffee a day, 105 gals. of iced tea or lemonade a day (if we get ice).

As Mays became more adept at her job, her responsibilities and duties expanded. She and another coworker were placed in charge of the mobile canteen program, which required her to obtain a military driving permit. When the American Red Cross closed the club in Taegu, Mays was sent back to Pusan, and then eventually to a club near Seoul.

A trip Mays took with a friend to visit a Buddhist monastery marks one of the more notable adventures from her time in Korea.



Military authorities required that her traveling companion for the day, Major Sandifer, obtain special permission in advance to drive the eight miles to the site of a Buddhist shrine. Upon nearing the site, they encountered a young priest-in-training who spoke English and offered to escort them to the monastery. After agreeing, their guide informed them that the major must leave his firearm. According to Mays,

Here the adventure thickened to a real thrill, we had no idea whether this was some trick, or that he was really going to lead us to what he said, he could have been almost anything and many people have been lost in these mountains Sandy was hesitant but I said yes I wanted to go, if this were a trick we were already cooked, if not we would feel very silly.

Mays described the subsequent visit as both awe-inspiring and humbling, observing that even the sights and sounds of the mountains seemed to change amidst her serene surroundings.

Mays's letters frequently discuss other excursions of note. As part of their contract, the Red Cross guaranteed that workers received rest and relaxation time in Japan, where Mays enjoyed first class accommodations, scheduled tours, organized activities, and decadent meals.

During 1952, the nature of Mays' work shifted as the federal government decided to place Special Services in charge of the recreation facilities and remove the Red Cross employees. In her letter of 2 May 1952, she informed her parents of the change and expressed her desire to join the Special Services for a six-month contract, which would pay \$2,100.00. Before closing her letter, Mays wrote, "My spirits are better than I can remember since college and I feel more than equal to the job." Mays also noted the differences between her old job and her new duties. While working under the Red Cross, they took a more proactive role in providing programming and evening entertainment for the soldiers. Under Special Services, her jobs focused more narrowly on overseeing the amenities in the recreation area, a task she found difficult while their food services were delayed. Her 29 June 1952 letter reports:

I shall be more than happy when we get a snack bar in -  
for the men miss their food. Active, robust men in service  
must be reached either by (A) wine and women or (B)  
food - since we can only answer one of those needs we  
should answer it well.

Mays' work challenges continued as she tried to schedule games and dances for the troops. In a letter of 28 October 1952, she wrote of the difficulty she found organizing dances when American or European women were relatively scarce:

Korean women naturally don't have a clue about western dancing - they don't dance together here - and the few girls who've learned to 'G.I.' dance are you-know-whats -  
- so we're in a spot.

As her six-month contract neared completion, Mays sent letters to her parents that detailed her travel plans for her leisurely voyage home: a two-month journey on a British freighter that would take her through multiple destinations across southeast Asia followed by a short stay in Europe while visiting friends. From Japan, Mays' itinerary featured stops in Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia, Ceylon [Sri Lanka], Aden (Yemen), and Saudi Arabia, before traveling through the Suez Canal and landing in Genoa (Italy).

Letters from Europe describe such adventures as skiing in the Swiss Alps and touring Paris while she visited with friends.

While in Europe, Marshall reconnected with fellow South Carolinian, Marshall Trammell Mays (1924-2013), who was serving with the United States Navy, living in Frankfurt (Germany) and assigned with the European Command Headquarters. In June 1953, the couple married in Germany and subsequently lived in Germany and France during the following two years. Returning to South Carolina and civilian life, they settled in Marshall Mays' hometown of Greenwood (S.C.), where he

practiced law and they raised their children. In later years, the family lived in Alexandria (Virginia), 1969-1994, after which they returned to Columbia (S.C.).

***Gift of Mrs. Jane Brooks Marshall Mays.***

**Richard Kidder Meade Letter and Photograph, 1861**

***One letter and one photograph***, 21 March 1861 and [8 February] 1861, respectively, describe the experiences of the United States Army forces stationed at Fort Sumter, and under siege, during the early months of 1861 following South Carolina's ordinance of secession on 20 December 1860.

U.S. Army Lieutenant Richard Kidder Meade (1835-1862) wrote this letter to his sister Julia Meade (1830-1906), who lived at the family home in Petersburg (Virginia). Meade describes the relative calm at his posting as he and the other troops awaited further orders, noting only a single incident:

Nothing of importance has transpired since my last letter with the exception of that accidental (?) shot fired from one of the batteries on Cummings Point. It was thought rather close for an accidental one; but as they promptly apologized for it, we could not return the compliment and

consequently accepted their apology & disassociated

them with the injunction 'go & sin no more.'

A native of Virginia, Richard Kidder Meade, Jr. (1835-1862) was the son of U.S. Congressman and diplomat, Richard K. Meade (1803-1862) and Julia Edmunds Haskins Meade (1811-1891). Ranked second in his class, Meade graduated from the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1857. The U.S. Army assigned Meade to Charleston (South Carolina), where he remained in service as the secession crisis progressed.

In his letter, Meade encloses a recent undated photograph taken [8 February 1861] by peripatetic photographer George S. Cook (1819-1902), a Connecticut native who had lived in Charleston more than a decade by this time. Meade appears in the photograph along with Major Robert Anderson (1805-1871), and the seven other U.S. Army officers serving under Anderson's command at Fort Sumter.

The image is mounted to a larger backing which lists the names of the nine officers, who, in addition to Anderson and Meade, include: Samuel Wylie Crawford (1829-1892), Jefferson C. Davis (1828-1879), Abner Doubleday (1819-1893), John Gray Foster (1823-874), Truman Seymour (1824-1891), George W. Snyder (1833-1861) and [James] Theodore Talbot (1825-1862).

Although Meade described his portrait as “taken for private use,” reproductions of at least two of Cook’s photographs taken that day appeared in the national press and, when produced for sale in the carte-de-visite format, proved popular with the public, north and south. By the time that Meade’s sister received this letter, a lithograph copy of Meade’s photograph would have already appeared on the cover of the 23 March 1861 edition of *Harper’s Weekly*.

Despite the relative fame this image would earn, Meade seemed to doubt the quality of the photograph:

It was taken under very disadvantageous circumstances in one of our casemates, consequently not well executed; but you will readily see that the ‘good looks’ of the subjects amply compensate for the bad execution of the artists.

The rustic photography shoot that produced Meade’s portrait required a series of negotiations with the South Carolina government authorities before Cook received special permission to access the besieged Fort. During January 1861, at least two photography firms based in Philadelphia and New York had written to Cook, promising that any portraits of the defenders of Fort Sumter would enjoy brisk sales in the northern states. One correspondent, Edwin Mayall, an employee of New York photographer Thomas Faris, even reported that he had written to

Major Anderson with the request that he visit Cook's studio in Charleston to sit for a portrait. With such an excursion outside of the fort no longer possible for Major Anderson in the midst of the secession crisis, Cook negotiated a sitting within Fort Sumter instead, and accomplished his mission. Published accounts of his visit appeared soon after in the *Charleston Mercury*, 11 February 1861, and the *Charleston Daily Courier*, 14 February 1861 (also discussed at length in the 2017 book, *Silent Witness: The Civil War through Photography and its Photographers*, by Ron Field, pages 38-42).

Cook sold photographs of the U.S. Army officers of Fort Sumter at his shop in Charleston, as did vendors elsewhere in the United States. A February 1861 broadside advertisement from one of Cook's New York correspondents hawks copies of the portrait of Major Anderson for sale and identifies February 8<sup>th</sup> as the date of the photographer's sally into Fort Sumter.

This broadside (held by the Library Company of Philadelphia), was printed for E. & H.T. Anthony, the Manhattan studio of Edward Anthony and his brother, Henry. It also appeared in the New York City press on 25 February 1861, and hooked consumers with its provocative headline, which played on tensions over the ongoing standoff in Charleston Harbor. Using a clever extended metaphor, the broadside frames Cook's carefully planned arrival to photograph Anderson and take only his

likeness as if it were instead a surprise military conquest of the Fort by “Col. Cook” and the “Charleston Photographic Light Artillery” (a martial analogy that Cook himself is said to have utilized in an earlier letter to Edward Anthony):

*Important from Charleston. / Major Anderson taken! /  
...New Yorkers implicated!... / On the 8th inst[ante  
mense]... under cover of a bright sun, Col. George S.  
Cook, of the Charleston Photographic Light Artillery, with  
a strong force, made his way to Fort Sumter.  
On being discovered by the vigilant sentry... [and] The  
gate of the Fortress being opened, Col. Cook  
immediately and heroically penetrated to the presence of  
Maj. Anderson, and levelling a double barrelled Camera,  
demanded his unconditional surrender in the name of E.  
Anthony and the Photographic community....*

Soon after sending his sister this letter, Lieutenant Meade resigned his commission in the United States Army and joined the Confederacy, declaring his loyalty to his home state over the United States. He accepted a commission as Major in the Provisional Army of the Confederate States, and served on the staffs of Confederate Generals



John B. Magruder and James Longstreet respectively. The following year, Meade died from typhoid fever on 31 July 1862 while recuperating at Petersburg (Virginia) and was buried at Blandford Church.

***Acquired through the Rebecca L. Hollingsworth South Caroliniana Library Endowment Fund.***

### **Monts Family Papers, 1928–2000**

***Two hundred seven items***, 1928–2000 and undated, document the history of the Monts family, African-American landowners and farmers in Prosperity (Newberry County, S.C.).

Majority of surviving letters in the collection span 1928-1958, and are addressed to Eula Mae Monts (1922–2012). Topics discussed include routine updates about the daily lives of friends and family members, cultivation of crops and harvesting of timber, economic challenges and family medical issues, and business letters discussing payments for life insurance and other expenses of operating the farm.

A letter, dated 19 June 1952, details numerous health problems plaguing the family:

Bud is cripple and have ben for some years there is something wrong with one of his legs he cant hardly walk and cant stand to ride any long distance. I have bleeding piles have had them bad for more than five

years. Robert have Ruementism. [Mannie] have big tumors of the stomach... Bessie says she has fallen out spells.

Later letters indicate the family faced disputes over use of their land which would threaten their home and livelihoods. A letter of 3 March 1959 from a cousin, L.M. Monts, discusses the disagreement:

Now, Eula Mae, in your letter you mention about Eris trying to take some of your land, and also having some of our own timber cut down. I am hoping that I can get two or more of the boys to come down with me. And if they do, we will be in a car this time. You can tell that Eris we are going to make him smoke this time if any of our land or our timber have been cut down.

Collection also includes additional letters from businesses, receipts, and other documents that provide insights into the economic and social conditions faced by rural, working-class African-American families during the mid-twentieth century. The remaining materials contain photographs, five World War II rations books, and genealogical resources.

***Gift of Ms. Elmira Monts-Rutherford.***

**Brochure, 1883, for *Mount Pleasant Home for Destitute Children***

**Printed brochure**, June 1883, for the “Mt. Pleasant Home for Destitute Children” describes the role of the institution and provides a brief history and a statement of the institution’s financial condition.

Established by Abby Munro (1837-1913) just after the Civil War, the M[ount] Pleasant Home aimed at saving “children from ignorance and crime and to make them intelligent, honest, and industrious citizens,” according to Christian teachings.

This brochure (which joins another held by the Library from 1884) indicates that the institution was founded after a number of orphans or destitute children started coming into the city in 1881 and 1882:

The children do most of the household work. As soon as they are old enough they are taught to cook, wash, iron, knit, sew and mend, and all the duties of a household.

The brochure also documents the financial situation of the institution in 1883 and indicates how donations were expended in that year.

Additionally, there is a handwritten notation regarding the financial status in 1886. The brochure also includes a list of trustees.

A native of Bristol (Rhode Island), Miss Abby Davis Munro settled in South Carolina during Reconstruction to teach recently emancipated African Americans. Initially teaching in Charleston, she soon after joined a school in Mount Pleasant (S.C.), where, in 1869, she began serving as

administrator of the Laing Normal and Industrial School (founded 1865), a post she held for almost forty years.

***Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.***

**Claude Henry Neuffer Papers, 1943-1948**

***Two diary volumes, one letter, and enclosures***, 1943-1948, document the military service of Claude Henry Neuffer (1911-1984) in the China-Burma-India Theater during World War II.

After being previously rejected for service on 5 August 1942, Neuffer enlisted on 2 April 1943 and was subsequently inducted on 9 April 1943 at Fort McPherson (East Point, Georgia). He served in the United States Army's 761st Signal Corps (which was later combined into the 559th Air Warning Battalion) until the end of the war, receiving his discharge on 6 November 1945. Apart from two aerial bombings, Neuffer did not directly encounter any combat.

The son of Dr. Gottlob Augustus Neuffer (1861-1935) and Florence Rebecca Henry (1874-1961), Claude Henry Neuffer was born in Abbeville (S.C.) on 2 November 1911. He graduated from Clemson College (present day Clemson University) in 1933 and received his M.A. from the University of South Carolina in 1938. Neuffer married Irene LaBorde (1919-2004) on 1 March 1953, and together they had three

children, Rene LaBorde, Francis Henry, and Pierre LaBorde. A beloved professor of English at the University of South Carolina for over thirty years and known for his work *Names in South Carolina*, Neuffer's legacy was honored with the naming of the Claude Henry Neuffer Professor of Southern Studies chair at the University of South Carolina after his death.

Neuffer's diary, which chiefly covers the years 1943 through 1945, begins with a nineteen-page listing of addresses. Among these are included the contact information of Neuffer's fellow servicemen and six family members, Francis Henry Neuffer, Maria Neuffer, John M. Neuffer, Henry H. Neuffer, Andrew M. Neuffer, and Sarah Neuffer. Frequently updated addresses of the four men trace their various military postings during the war.

Diary entries begin with several short impressions from basic training. In an entry dated 9 July 1943, Neuffer expressed his disappointment with the attitude of his fellow men, noting that "they are more interested in some petty incident affecting their rank than in the purpose or outcome of the war." Neuffer would repeat this theme numerous times in later entries.

Neuffer's travels began in earnest on 23 October 1943 when he left Camp Patrick Henry in Warwick County (Virginia) to ship-out via the nearby port of Newport News, boarding a Liberty class ship the following

day. Writing about the conditions on the ship, Neuffer detailed the seasickness, cramped conditions, and social life of the men, as well as literary and philosophical thoughts, positing at the time that his “intellectual and artistic life has quickened.” Similarly, he believed the other men benefitted “because of the impossibility of their indulging in their accustomed diversions such as cheap movies, barbaric ‘Jitter bug’ dancing, bad liquor and bad women.” Continuing on, he observed, “about the only entertainment available onboard ship is reading.... They read in latrines, on deck, in bed, standing in chow lines.”

Among Neuffer’s social circle who appear in his writings was Kalbaz, a French educated Syrian who “gave me an inspiring reading of *Cyrano de Bergerac*” and a “dramatic interpretation of *Julius Caesar* and *Romeo & Juliet*.” Neuffer also met artist Jim Brooks (1906-1992), who had “painted the murals for the LaGuardia Air Port” [Brooks completed “Flight,” his 235-foot circular mural, in 1938, inside the Marine Air Terminal]. Another of his fellow soldiers was a Serbian who found himself “a member of the U.S. Army technically at war with his native land.”

By 12 November 1943, the ship had passed through the Straits of Gibraltar and into the Mediterranean and reached Oran (Algeria) in North Africa. In Oran, Neuffer described the local scenery, traders, *épiceries* [grocery stores], bars, American and French clubs, churches, military ceremonies, public baths, and the municipal theater. He noted that the

“Arab youngsters feel a class resentment towards the French,” and as one child put it, “French soldiers have trucks and automobiles; Arab have nothing but donkeys.”

Another entry on 14 December 1943, lists a series of soldier slang expressions and their abbreviations. On Christmas and New Year’s, the service men celebrated with a turkey dinner for Christmas, and on New Year’s Eve “free wine was provided.”

After nearly two months in Algeria and regretting his necessary departure, Neuffer embarked upon the British ship T.S.S. *Aronda* on 10 January 1944. Commenting on both the physical and social conditions, Neuffer observed that the men on this vessel found themselves:

...packed in even tighter than... the Liberty Ship.... Men sleep on the floor, on the eating table, under the table, and in the aisles....

The British make a far greater distinction between officers and men than we do [and] [t]his does not please the American soldiers at all.

Neuffer’s journey proceeded through the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal, with brief stops at Port Said (Egypt), and Aden (Yemen). After finally disembarking in Bombay (India), on 1 February 1944., Neuffer’s diary recounts the crowds and vendors offering knives, souvenirs, and snake charming performances, among other things. Neuffer departed

Bombay via the railroad, passing “hundreds” of beggars, and subsequently boarded a local boat to travel up the Brahmaputra River. While in India, Neuffer wrote briefly about the various aspects of Indian culture he observed such as the practices of “coolie laborers,” and the sacredness of the cow. Neuffer noted of the “Hindu coolies” that “they live an almost sub human existence” and often engaged in “drinking orgies... [of a] concoction colloquially called ‘Bamboo juice.’” He also expressed surprise at their seeming lack of ambition, writing, “he speaks of himself always as a coolie, and he accepts this position in the social and economic scale as being eternal and inexorable.”

On 17 May 1944 Neuffer left India, flying in an airplane (a first for Neuffer) from the Dinjan Airport to Tingkawk Sakan (Burma [later Myanmar]). There, he once saw General Joseph "Vinegar Joe" Warren Stillwell (1883-1946), known for both his caustic personality and his proficiency in foreign languages, including Chinese. Neuffer observed:

I am convinced that the ‘Old Man’ is doing a great job in keeping China in the war actively on our side as a loyal friend and ally.

He also met a British Chindit, a member of the special forces Long Range Penetration Group [also known as the 3rd Indian Infantry Division], with whom he discussed the various fighting abilities and tactics of the Japanese, Chinese, and Gurkha soldiers. Together with his



peers, Neuffer often engaged in discussions with his fellow soldiers praising their home states with “Yankees” and Southerners “tak[ing] sides with humorous zest!”

Neuffer remained in Tingkawk Sakan until 5 October 1944, when he moved to a post at Myitkyina elsewhere in Burma: “I saw everywhere almost total destruction.... There was no rejoicing by the Burmese at being delivered from the Japs. We had utterly destroyed their city,” he wrote. Myitkyina was also the location where Neuffer first experienced Japanese bombing.

The diary continues with his move to Calcutta (India), on 8 November 1944 where he visited and described the landmarks, temples, churches, and schools. At some time later he returns to Burma, with entries written from Myitkyina, and on 27 December 1944, from Bhamo. On 30 March 1945, he left Burma for the final time, moving to Kanjikoah in the state of Assam (India).

There was often little work to do. In an entry dated 7 July 1945, Neuffer remarked, “most of the men are listless and lazy, since we have nothing useful or constructive to do.” He rarely wrote about his work, but instead about the people he met and the events he attended. Speaking generally of India, Neuffer observed, “the great body of farmers and shopkeepers, their family life, their children, their diversions are basically... the same as ours.”

Among the local residents encountered working near or with the United States military installations, Neuffer also described a number of young helpful boys of various ethnic and social backgrounds with whom he often interacted. One event depicted in especial detail is a “Sardi,” on 10 May 1944, an Indian wedding celebration that Neuffer summarized as an event that “seemed to embrace the entire social life of the people, their feasting, playing, dancing, and their convivial gatherings.”

During his time in India and Burma, Neuffer recorded his thoughts on a variety of topics. As a professor of English, he held literature in high esteem and noted that “of the things which are eternal, unchangeable, and everlasting... the greatest of these things is literature.” Neuffer often alluded to and referenced literary works in his diary and regularly discussed the works he was reading, among them *Paradise Lost*, *Jean-Christophe*, *Return of the Native*, *Plato’s Republic*, *Walt Whitman An American* (the biography by Henry Seidel Canby) and *Ramayana*, the epic Sanskrit poem attributed to Valmiki.

In some of his entries, Neuffer also included original verse, among them a poem dated 8 May 1945 - the date popularly called “V.E. Day” to mark the victory in Europe after the official announcement of Germany’s surrender. Neuffer also enjoyed learning other languages, practicing his limited French and Arabic with locals in Oran, learning Chinese from an interpreter, and ordering a German course from the University of

Wisconsin. In various places, the diary records lists of the words and phrases he learned.

Religion and Christianity were also central to Neuffer's life and world view. When it came to literature, he wrote, "[o]ver and above all eternally stands our English Bible source of our spiritual life first of all." However, he regretted the state of Christianity at the time. In an entry dated 18 May [1945], he wrote:

It seems strange and contradictory to me that so few Christians even remotely follow the precepts of Christianity. I heartily agree with Romain Rolland that out of the millions of professed Christians there are only a very few followers of Christ.

He felt disappointed that Christians had forgotten "fundamental precepts" and "only retained the ritual forms... of the Church."

Neuffer's passion also fell upon his strong sense of duty in the war. He believed he was "only paying a debt which we owe our God, our country, and our conscience," and he expressed his frequent disappointment with his peers. He feared that their morale was "built purely upon the incentive to go home." Near the end of the war, on 21 April 1945, the members of Neuffer's company were asked if they wished to "get out of the Army after Germany's surrender." Neuffer responded that he would prefer to stay, but he expressed disappointment with his peers,

especially as they were “non combat outfits” and “their life ha[d] been infinitely easier than a combat soldier.”

Although morally compelled to serve, Neuffer conveyed mixed feelings about the U.S. Army itself. On 10 June 1945, he described it as:

...a strangely unorthodox military organization, which often appears grossly inefficient and extrava[ga]ntly wasteful, [yet w]hen it becomes necessary to coordinate and synchronize men and machines, our army moves forward together with as much efficiency as the Reichswehr.

He also criticized the Army for “its failure to reward a man for excellency of character.”

Among other topics, Neuffer wrote about race relations at home in the United States, which he termed the “Negro Problem.” In an entry dated 25 August 1944, he acknowledged that slavery “was morally wrong and could never be reconciled with Western humanism or Christianity.”

However, he argued that the “original evil” of the “slave trade can not be laid to the Southerner. Our worthy, Puritanical New Englanders must bear the... foremost responsibility for this.”

On 2 September 1945 Japan formally signed its surrender, but among the men “there was no brilliant bright, spontaneous celebration because events had moved along gradually, toward the real surrender,” and:

...[e]ven the great satisfaction of knowing that the whole mess was over lost a little of its joy since the terrible possibilities of the Atomic bomb had arisen to trouble [their] minds and souls.

Neuffer was finally processed to return home on 24 September 1945.

While contemplating what life would be like after returning home, he wrote, "we will soon get back to the life in which man is judged by his character, intelligence, and breeding." Throughout the month of October 1945, he described his journey home, down the Hoogly River, stopping in Calcutta (India) and Colombo (Ceylon) [now Sri Lanka].

Like the one before it, the return journey's travels involved crowded ships and bitterness of the unequal treatment of officers and enlisted men.

Neuffer surmised that "this whole system of better quarters & food for officers is built upon the old professional army, and it will never be popular with a democratic, American civilian army." Neuffer also expressed his disappointment at the sights he passed:

These great, famous landmarks... never measure up to our imaginative expectations. Gibraltar, Suez Canal, the Red Sea, the Mediterranean have not seemed as picturesque or enchanting as the little village of St. Louis in Algeria.

Neuffer also lamented “the prevailing camera craze” which he felt was “an indication of the superficial manner in which we look at the world today.”

On 3 November 1945, Neuffer arrived in Fort Bragg (Cumberland County, North Carolina) to be processed for discharge. He concluded his regular entries on 5 and 6 November 1945 with a subdued and anticlimactic tone. Although back home in the United States, he was “mentally & emotionally... struggling for a foothold.... There are too many thoughts, hopes, presentiments racing through our conscious and subconscious minds.” He observed the “dismal attitude” of the troops regarding the aftermath of the war in Europe. On the way home, he was placed with no one whom he had “soldiered with before,” and upon arriving in Columbia (S.C.), he was unable to get “first class accommodations” at either the Wade Hampton or the Jefferson hotels. In closing, he wrote, “I was home but lost. As I crossed Main Street, I saw a large banner ‘Welcome 30th Division.’ This seemed hollow and futile.” Three brief entries dated 1946 and 1948 conclude the diary. The first of the three, dated 6 October 1946, reads:

It seems strange to me how small inconsequential occurrences can easily change the course of a man’s life. A white dog, a jukebox a change in my rooming to a new room. A lady gone for the week end.

It is followed by an entry dated 16 November 1946:

Why is man's soul so often tormented by a senseless  
desire for something which his logical reasoning tells him  
he can never have?... What good is philosophy or  
reason when attractive women are involved?

Finally, in an entry dated 20 April 1948, is written a single sentence: "A  
man can at least maintain his character and his courage despite the loss  
of much else as he grows older."

In addition to the diary, a letter addressed to Neuffer and signed "Aunt  
Etna," 8 October 1944 expresses condolences for the death of Neuffer's  
friend identified only as David and the wounding of John [M. Neuffer],  
and relays short updates on various family members and friends.

***Gift of Dr. Francis H. Neuffer.***

#### **Addition to the Rutledge Family Papers, 1795–1906**

The South Caroliniana Library's collection of Rutledge family papers was  
substantially expanded with the addition of a significant archive of the  
papers of John Rutledge, Jr. (1766–1819), his wife Sarah Motte Smith  
Rutledge (1777–1852), and their children John Rutledge (1792–1864),  
Robert Smith Rutledge (1793–1833), Emily Smith Rutledge (1797–  
1827), and Julia Rutledge (1801–1873).

These manuscripts, including letters, receipts and invoices, as well as bound volumes (bank transaction records, account books, and published pamphlets) further document the lives of members of one of South Carolina's most noted political families during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The items in this collection represent members of the third, fourth, and fifth generations in North America of this influential South Carolina family. The first generation of South Carolina Rutledges had included Andrew Rutledge (ca. 1709–1755), an Irish-born lawyer who had been admitted to Middle Temple in London in February 1725 / 26, four years before he landed in South Carolina where he rapidly ascended to the ranks of the economic and political elite. His brother John Rutledge (ca. 1710–1750) arrived in the colony a few years later, established a medical practice, and followed his brother's model for success. He married into a prominent family and won a seat in the Commons House of Assembly but, unlike his brother who remained childless, John Rutledge (I) was the father of seven children, three of whom were admitted to Middle Temple in London—John (II) in 1754, Hugh in 1765, and Edward in 1767—and were later prominent lawyers and jurists in South Carolina.

One of the earliest manuscripts in this addition to the Rutledge family papers, dated 18 May 1795, bears the signatures of two members of the second generation: John Rutledge (II) (1739–1800), South Carolina's



Revolutionary War governor, a prominent member of the convention that drafted the United States Constitution, and later a United States Supreme Court justice, and his brother Edward Rutledge (1749–1800), the youngest signer of the Declaration of Independence and, from 1798 until his death on 23 January 1800, the thirty-ninth governor of South Carolina. This document is a promissory note in which John Rutledge pledged “to pay to Edward Rutledge Esqr. or his order Seven hundred & ninety two Dollars for Value rec[eive]d” sixty days after the date of the note.

In the second document in the collection, another sixty-day promissory note, dated 29 October 1795, John Rutledge (II) promised “to pay to John Rutledge, Jun[io]r, Esq[ui]r[e] or his order Two Thousand eight hundred Dollars for Value recd.” By the time this note was signed, John Rutledge, Jr., (III) had emerged as the political star from the third generation of Rutledges. He was a member of the bar, an active planter, the owner of Cedar Grove and other plantations, located in St. Peter’s Parish (Beaufort District, S.C.), where his father had acquired land as early as 1765, and a budding politician. The elder Rutledge had developed his property, located on the South Carolina bank of the eastern most branch of the Savannah River, labeled on eighteenth-century maps as “Back River,” and opposite the north end of Hutchinson Island, into a thriving rice plantation. Poplar Grove was likely carved from

a portion of the older plantation. As a local land owner, John Rutledge (III) qualified to represent the area in the General Assembly and, in December 1792, he began his career in politics when he won a disputed election for a seat in the South Carolina House of Representatives from St. Peter's Parish.

With so many of his Rutledge relatives in both the law and politics, it was perhaps only natural that John Rutledge (III) would follow in their footsteps. He had read law with his father and, about 1787, was admitted to the South Carolina bar; however, rather than enter into practice immediately, he decided to sail away on a grand tour of Europe. Young Rutledge had apparently accompanied his father to Philadelphia where, on 25 May 1787, the convention that drafted the United States Constitution held its first session.

A few days later, on 6 June 1787, George Washington wrote three letters of introduction for Rutledge, published in *The Papers of George Washington*, to four influential friends in France: the Marquis de Lafayette, the Marquis de Chastellux, Count d'Estaing, and Comte de Rochambeau. To Lafayette, Washington explained that

Not till within this hour was I informed of the intention of Mr Rutledge (son to the Governor Rutledge of South Carolina whom I believe you know) to embark in the Packet for France, or that he was to set out in the

morning for New York, to take shipping the day after.

Tho' totally unprepared (immersed as I am in the business of the convention) I cannot let this Gentleman depart without a remembrance of my friendship for you.

After his arrival in Paris, Rutledge met Thomas Jefferson, the American ambassador to France, and until his return to America in June 1790, Rutledge wrote Jefferson frequent letters soliciting advice about his travel plans. Jefferson responded with suggested itineraries and, on one occasion, loaned Rutledge money until he could replenish his funds with an advance from his father. The two men developed a friendship that continued even after Rutledge returned home to Charleston.

Once back in South Carolina, Rutledge settled into a life that was patterned on that of his father, his uncle, Edward Rutledge, and other older relatives who combined their professional careers with their planting interests, and who also held political office.

When John Rutledge (II) found it impossible to meet George Washington in late April 1791 at the boundary of South Carolina and escort him to Charleston during Washington's southern tour, John Rutledge (III) represented his father and performed that duty in company with Revolutionary War generals William Moultrie (1730-1805) and William Washington (1752-1810), a high honor for the twenty-five-year-old lawyer.

Young Rutledge apparently also spent considerable time during that same year courting, and then marrying, on 26 December 1791, three weeks before her fifteenth birthday, Sarah Motte Smith, the daughter of the Reverend Robert Smith (1732–1801), and his second wife, Sarah Shubrick Smith (1753–1779).

After her mother's death, which happened when Sarah Motte Smith was two years old, she probably lived with relatives until her father remarried, in 1782 at Philadelphia, where he had been exiled, along with many others, after Charleston fell to the British in 1780. Sarah's step-mother, Anna Maria Tilghman Goldsborough Smith (1753–1792), was the daughter of Edward Tilghman and his wife Elizabeth Chew Tilghman (1751-1842), both members of prominent Maryland families. Anna Maria was the widow of Charles Goldsborough Jr. (1740-1774) and the mother of two sons, Charles Goldsborough (1765–1834) and William Tilghman Goldsborough (1766–1786). Four more children were born to the Smiths, with two sons, Robert Smith (1786–1847) and William Mason Smith (1788–1838), reaching adulthood.

The Reverend Robert Smith had not only served as rector of St. Phillip's Anglican Church in Charleston since 1759, but had also accumulated considerable property in several parts of South Carolina, including Brabant plantation, which his first wife, Elizabeth Padgett (1742–1771), had inherited from her father, and which encompassed more than 5,000

acres in St. Thomas & St. Dennis Parish [Berkeley County (S.C.)].

At the time of his daughter's marriage to John Rutledge (III) in 1791, Smith presented his daughter and son-in-law substantial property. In his will written in 1798, Smith recorded that he had:

...given to my daughter Sarah Motte Rutledge at the time of her marriage to John Rutledge Junior in money and City-Lots, a sum equal to six thousand one hundred pounds, as a marriage portion....

He instructed his executors to have all of his property appraised after his death and, if the amount already given to Sarah did not equal one-third of the total value of his estate, "then my will is that my said daughter be paid out of such bond and notes as I may die possessed of" until her share equaled the shares of her two brothers.

With the advantages that accrued from his father's dominant role in South Carolina's political life during and after the American Revolution and his own fortuitous marriage to the daughter of the first Episcopal Bishop of South Carolina, young John Rutledge (III) was poised to assume a dominant role in the political, social, and economic life of his state and nation when he returned home in 1790 after his European adventure. Despite his connections and education, Rutledge's great promise was never fully realized.

Although his early friendship with Thomas Jefferson indicated an affinity for Jefferson's political philosophy, John Rutledge eventually was drawn to the ideology of George Washington, John Adams, and Alexander Hamilton and he became a staunch Federalist after the politics of the 1790s divided the nation into two groups with decidedly different political viewpoints. He was left behind, politically, after the election of Thomas Jefferson as president in 1800, and deserted by the voters in his election district who had sent him to the House of Representatives in the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Congresses (1797–1803). Aware of the declining fortunes of Federalist politicians in his state, Rutledge declined to run for another term. His decision to retire from public life was also likely influenced by the increasingly bitter political climate that enveloped Washington (D.C.).

In 1802, John Rutledge became embroiled in a controversy over the "Geoffrey Letters" which had been sent, anonymously, to President Jefferson in August 1801. When published a year later in a newspaper that supported the president, John Rutledge was accused of sending these letters in an effort to undermine the president. The Republican press lambasted Rutledge and responded by publishing a pamphlet in which he defended his innocence in the matter, but it failed to convince his enemies. Rutledge blamed Congressman Christopher Ellery for

instigating the partisan attacks against him. A Democratic-Republican and strong advocate for President Jefferson, Ellery served in the United States Senate at the same time that Rutledge was a member of the House of Representatives.

According to newspaper reports, when the two men encountered each other in December 1802, John Rutledge attacked Ellery and had to be pulled away from his fellow legislator. The string of unfavorable publicity continued the following year, when Rutledge challenged Dr. Horace Senter (1780-1804) a young doctor from Newport (Rhode Island), to a duel.

Returning from London via South Carolina, Dr. Senter appeared at the Rutledges' home in 1803, at which time Rutledge accused Senter of having made improper advances towards Mrs. Rutledge during the family's annual summer sojourn in that New England resort. Rutledge pursued Senter to Savannah (Georgia), the two fought a duel. Wounded in the exchange, the doctor died a short time later of lockjaw as a result of his injury. After that unfortunate episode, Rutledge and his wife separated and never reconciled.

Although Rutledge never won elective office again, he continued to support the Federalist cause. He remained a strong supporter of the *Charleston Courier*, a newspaper that began publication in January 1803 as an advocate of the Federalist cause in South Carolina, for which he

wrote a number of articles. Rutledge also continued to correspond with prominent Federalist politicians from other areas of the country.

The majority of the manuscripts in this collection, however, do not illuminate John Rutledge's (III) involvement in politics at all, but instead focus on his business and planting interests. The few extant political letters date from the first decade of the nineteenth century and include single letters from important Federalist politicians Fisher Ames (1758-1808) of Massachusetts, in 1801; Robert Goodloe Harper (1765-1825) of Maryland, in 1805; Killian K. Van Rensselaer (1763-1845) of New York; and Henry William DeSaussure (1763-1839) of South Carolina, in 1808; all of whom discussed with Rutledge the prospects for the Federalists in national and state elections.

On the other hand, the collection includes many letters, account books, bank books, land records, and receipts that document Rutledge's business and planting interests. The earliest record in this addition, created by John Rutledge (III), is an account and memorandum book started when he arrived in Newport (Rhode Island), on 16 June 1801 to begin his summer retreat at that resort, an annual tradition since 1797, when he had first entered Congress.

John Rutledge's initial entry, dated 20 June 1801, was for \$130 he had paid to Captain Northam "for passage of my family." Captain Stephen T. Northam (1768–1856) was a prominent Newport merchant who had



probably made the arrangements for Sarah Motte Rutledge and her children to sail from Charleston to Newport. The next month, Rutledge made another payment to Captain Northam, this time for \$108.81 “for Wood, Porter, &c supplied my family.”

Other entries recorded payments during the summer for: “house expenses”; “to the nurse of my child”; “Carriage hire”; and to local merchants and shopkeepers, including the butcher, the shoe maker, the postmaster, and the hair dresser. One payment of \$8.59 was to “Rogers Schoolmaster,” probably for tutoring his older children. Under date of 27 July 1801, Rutledge noted that he had paid \$12 to “Jeffroy for articles b[ought]t” and, in a separate entry, recorded that he had paid \$12.12 to “Jeffroy for Candlesticks.”

In late July 1801, he also spent \$130.28 for “going to Boston &c &c,” but did not include any additional information about the purpose of the trip. In November 1801, he noted that he paid “Dr. [Horace G.] Senter” \$30, perhaps for visits to Mrs. Rutledge who was expecting a child. Congress was scheduled to convene in Washington on 7 December 1801, but Rutledge remained in Newport with Sarah until the birth of their daughter, named Julia, who arrived on 9 December 1801. After tarrying in Newport for a fortnight, Rutledge traveled to Washington where he took his seat in the U.S. House of Representatives on 22 December 1801. He recorded in his account book that he “Brought with me from NewPort in coming to

Cong[ress]s [\$]175” and had paid “S[arah] M[otte] R[utledge] when I left her [\$]100.”

Congressman John Rutledge was an active participant in the business of the U.S. House from the time he arrived in Washington until 15 March 1802, when he requested permission, to “have leave from the service of this House for the remainder of the session.” The Congressman hurried back to Charleston to look after pressing business that required his immediate attention. His father-in-law, Robert Smith, who had died on 28 October 1801, had named Rutledge as one of the executors of his will, and he wanted to qualify for that responsibility in order to look after his and Sarah’s interest in the estate.

A receipt in the Rutledge family papers, dated 4 May 1802 and signed by Charles Lining (1753–1813), Charleston attorney and one of Smith’s executors, acknowledged that he had received from John Rutledge \$9,772.55 “for the Balance of his account due to Bishop Smith’s Estate....” Three days later, on 7 May 1802, Rutledge also qualified as one of the late bishop’s executors, and before the end of the month, he was in Savannah to settle his account with the mercantile firm Mein, Mackay & Company.

The proceeds from the sale of Rutledge’s rice crop, after “deducting such pay[men]ts as he directed,” left a balance of \$1,046 to his credit; however, on the same day, 21 May 1802, Rutledge borrowed \$10,280.75

from the Savannah firm. The recent payment to the Smith estate, along with the cost of financing another year at Newport (Rhode Island) and Washington (D.C.), plus his plantation expenses, probably required the infusion of additional funds.

“Yesterday morning, arrived here from New-York, the Hon. John Rutledge, Esq., member of congress, from the State of South Carolina,” the editor of the *Newport Mercury* announced in the 15 June 1802 issue. Two weeks later, Rutledge paid to Peleg Wood, Jr., \$152.62 “for one years House rent of Mrs. Warners House lately occupied by Mrs. Randolph,” according to a receipt recorded in Rutledge’s account book. Two weeks later, however, the family moved to another house, the same one they had occupied the previous year, and Rutledge recorded that he had paid, on 16 July 1802, \$200 for house rent to George Lawton, agent for Miss [Susanna] Mumford.

Apparently, Rutledge intended to remain in Newport until Congress began its next session, scheduled to commence on 6 December 1802. There is an entry in his account book, dated 16 October 1802, of the payment of \$100 for “one Quarter rent due this day.” Unfortunately for Rutledge, however, two letters, written to Thomas Jefferson, dated 1 and 7 August 1801, and signed “Nicholas Geffroy,” which were printed in the

*Newport Rhode-Island Republican* on 18 September 1802 under the heading “Rutledge’s Letters To the President of the United States,” had altered the direction of his future life.

The editor of the newspaper, Oliver Farnsworth (1775 - 1859), accused the congressman from South Carolina with writing the letters in an effort to create dissension in the ranks of the Republicans and discredit Jefferson, if he acted on the information in the forged letters. The publication of the letters ignited a brief partisan newspaper war between the editors of the *Rhode-Island Republican*, a staunch Jeffersonian paper, and the *Newport Mercury*, the local Federalist journal. Farnsworth not only printed the Geffroy letters, as they were subsequently labeled, in his paper, but he also printed sworn affidavits from prominent local Republicans who had examined the original letters and found them very similar to letters and notes signed by Rutledge.

Two days after the letters were published, Rutledge’s Federalist friends swore before a local magistrate that they also had looked at the same letters, which Mr. Farnsworth had secured in his newspaper office, and found, in the words of Charlestonian Jacob Read (1752–1816), who had known Rutledge “from his early infancy,” and had served in Congress with him, that he did not “believe such letters are in the hand-writing of the said Rutledge.” Other friends, including South Carolinians Nathaniel Russell, Cleland Kinloch, Thomas Lowndes, Major Tobias Bowles, John

Ladson Frazer, and William Price, who happened to be in Newport at the time, also testified that they did not think the letters were in Rutledge's hand. Rutledge himself signed an affidavit in which he swore "that the letters exhibited at Mr. Farnsworth's office, signed 'Nicholas Geffroy' and 'Nics. Jeffroy,' were not written by him."

The uproar over the letters, however, continued unabated, and newspapers scattered across the nation, Charleston included, republished the letters along with the sworn statements from both Rutledge's accusers and defenders. When the residents of Newport learned that Rutledge planned to return to Charleston, over one hundred citizens of the town signed and then presented a letter of apology to Rutledge on 25 October 1802, the day he sailed from Rhode Island, aboard the Brig *Angeronia*, bound for Charleston. The letter, printed the next day in the *Newport Mercury*, expressed the regret of the signers:

...that a gentleman, every where else honored and respected for his talents and his virtues, should here be treated with indignity, and even denied an undisturbed enjoyment of the benefits of our climate....

Rutledge thanked his friends in Newport for "this act of kindness" and explained that he was called away "by domestic interest, and... public duty..." Apparently his wife and children remained in Newport while Rutledge spent time in South Carolina, attending to his crops and

planting interests, before returning north to join his colleagues in Washington (D.C.) on 17 December 1802 for the second session of the Seventh Congress.

During a brief Christmas break from his legislative duties, only a week after he took his seat in Congress, Rutledge, through his friend Lewis Richard Morris (1760-1825), a Federalist congressman from Vermont, challenged Rhode Island senator Christopher Ellery (1768-1840) to a duel.

Rutledge suspected Ellery to be the culprit responsible for the conspiracy to identify him as the author of the Geffroy letters, and he demanded satisfaction. The challenge was delivered while Ellery was on a visit with friends in Port Tobacco in Charles County (Maryland). Ellery refused to accept and threatened to bring the entire matter before Congress.

On their way back to Washington, the two men stopped for breakfast at the same tavern in Piscataway (Prince George's County, Maryland) the morning of 28 December 1802. There the South Carolinian confronted the senator and, in a private dining room, struck Ellery with his cane repeatedly, until the two were separated by the tavern keeper who heard Ellery's cries for help.

Shortly after news of the Ellery incident became public knowledge, Rutledge decided that he would not run for a seat in the next Congress and, in a circular letter, addressed to his "friends and Fellow-Citizens" in

“the United Districts of Beaufort, Orangeburgh, and Barnwell,” and published in the Charleston *Courier* on 2 February 1803, he explained the reasons he would “retire from public life.” Rutledge mentioned that his “private affairs” had suffered because for six years he had devoted most of his time to his “public duties,” but now his planting interests demanded his undivided attention, “especially since the venerable friends who heretofore took charge of them... have been torn from me by death.”

In passing, John Rutledge II (1766-1819) also alluded to the fact that the Republican-dominated South Carolina legislature had changed the election district he had represented by replacing Orangeburgh District with Edgefield District, which was less likely to support a Federalist candidate. Rutledge also noted that with the ascendancy of the Jeffersonian party on the national stage, he found that “None but those of the dominant sect are admitted to any share in public affairs.” After he announced his decision to retire, he continued to fulfill his duties in the House for a short time, but did not remain until the end of the session on 3 March 1803. His last vote was recorded on 18 February 1803 and he was probably back in South Carolina by 7 March 1803, when his account book reflects a payment of that date made on his note to Mein, Mackay & Company.

Although he was no longer a congressman, he could not escape the partisan wrangling that had been generated by the Geffroy affair. William Duane (1760-1835), a rabid supporter of Thomas Jefferson and the editor of the Philadelphia *Aurora*, the nation's pre-eminent Republican newspaper, had written and printed a pamphlet, in January 1803, titled *An Examination of the Question, Who is the Writer of Two Forged Letters, Addressed to the President of the United States: Attributed to John Rutledge, Esq.*, in which he recounted the entire controversy over the Geffroy letters and presented the evidence that he claimed proved Rutledge's authorship.

In an effort to refute Duane's accusations, John Rutledge also produced a pamphlet, published in May 1803 that presented his side of the story. His work, titled *A Defense Against Calumny; Or, Haman, in the Shape of Christopher Ellery, Esq. Hung Upon His Own Gallows*, was printed in Newport (Rhode Island), and included many of the favorable accounts that had been published in the *Newport Mercury* during the previous year. Rutledge also provided a sympathetic description of his encounter with Senator Ellery and other information that refuted specific claims made by Ellery or Duane.

John Rutledge (III) spent part of the early summer of 1803 in South Carolina. On 11 May 1803, in an entry written in his account book at Brabant, the plantation formerly owned by his late father-in-law [in



Berkeley County, S.C.], he included a census of the livestock on the property: "There are here this day 43 Hogs little and big, 14 sheep, 11 oxen, 1 Bull, 6 Cows, 5 Calves, 4 Mules, 1 Filley," and an assorted mixture of geese, ducks, turkeys along with "Fowles 60 & some of the Hens still sitting."

On 5 June 1803, however, he and his wife and family arrived in New York from Charleston and then traveled to Wethersfield (Connecticut), rather than Newport (Rhode Island), where they spent the remainder of the summer. Perhaps it was during that summer or early fall that Rutledge began to hear warnings from some of his friends that Horace Senter, the young Newport physician he had known since the summer of 1801, had become enamored with Sarah Motte Rutledge and the two had developed, in the view of one observer, a "connexion [that] was carried to too great [a] familiarity."

Dr. Horace Gates Senter (ca. 1780-1804), the eldest son of Dr. Isaac Senter (1753–1799) of Newport, had graduated, in 1796, from Rhode Island College [now Brown University] with a Bachelor of Arts degree and was later awarded a Master of Arts degree from the same institution. In London, he pursued a medical degree and in 1800 was admitted to membership in the Royal College of Surgeons. In November 1800, he returned to Newport where he established a medical practice and, according to his advertisement printed in the *Providence* (Rhode Island)

*Gazette* a year later, offered to perform “the Operation for the stone in the Bladder, and the Extraction of the Cataract from the Eye,” and, he claimed, neither procedure had ever “been performed by Surgeons residing in this State.”

In addition to acting as family physician to the Rutledges while they were in Newport during the summers of 1801 and 1802, Dr. Senter also supported Rutledge during the controversy over the Geffroy letters. He signed a deposition, on 14 October 1802, that disputed one of the claims that had been made by Rutledge’s accusers.

When the Rutledge family did not return to Newport for the summer of 1803, Dr. Senter became the attending physician to Harriett Simmons Kinloch, the wife of Cleland Kinloch (1759–1823), who were both friends of the Rutledges and residents of South Carolina. Dr. Senter agreed to accompany the Kinlochs to England in an effort to improve Mrs. Kinloch’s health and, accordingly, embarked in late July 1803. Both Mr. Kinloch and Dr. Senter applied, in October 1803, to James Monroe, the United States ambassador in London, for a passport, apparently to facilitate their travels back home. Rather than sailing home to Newport (Rhode Island), however, Dr. Senter landed in Charleston, just before New Year’s Day.

After he learned about Senter’s arrival from a friend, John Rutledge was convinced that the doctor had designs on Sarah Motte Rutledge. In an

effort to prevent Senter from continuing any relationship with his wife, Rutledge sent the doctor a challenge to a duel. The messenger, however, returned to Rutledge with word that the doctor had gone to visit Mrs. Rutledge in the country. Rutledge hurried to his home and, when he arrived in the evening, found Senter conversing with Sarah in the hallway of the house. Not waiting a moment, Rutledge fired his gun at Senter, wounding him slightly in the hand. Senter escaped through a rear entrance, fled into the surrounding woods, and made his way back to town where Rutledge found him the next day.

Senter agreed to accept Rutledge's challenge to a duel, and promised to remain in the state until arrangements could be finalized but that evening took passage in a pilot-boat for Savannah. Rutledge followed him there, and on 10 January 1804, the two met near the town, accompanied by their doctors and seconds. Dr. Senter fired first, grazed Rutledge's coat, without injuring him. Rutledge's ball struck the doctor's right leg, just below his knee, shattering the bone. A gentleman from Charleston described the sequence of events that culminated in the duel in a letter to a friend in Newport, dated 14 January 1804, and published in the 11 February 1804 edition of the *Newport Mercury*:

The cruel business has been the means of destroying  
Mr. R[utledge]'s peace of mind, and ruining his wife's  
character forever.

At the time, the letter-writer did not know that the affair had also cost Dr. Senter his life. He never recovered from his serious wound and died of lockjaw on 19 January 1804. Another commentator, Simeon Baldwin (1761–1851), a Federalist congressman from Connecticut, in a letter to his wife written from Washington (D.C.) on 2 February 1804, related the circumstances of the duel and then observed, “R[utledge] & his wife have separated—Such are the cursed fruits of unlawful amours—.”

Although they never divorced, the couple lived apart for the rest of their lives. In 1809, the two agreed to a formal settlement in which Rutledge promised to pay his wife, according to a statement in his will, “an Annuity or yearly Sum of Four hundred and fifty pounds Sterling... in quarterly payments for and during the term of her natural life.” After his death, the payments would continue, he specified, and would be paid from the dividends realized from:

Public or Private Stock, of this State or of the United States or in good Bonds, which shall be sufficient to produce the amount required....

Initially, Sarah Motte Rutledge probably lived with family members in Charleston after she and John separated but eventually she decided to live in England.

The Rutledge children— three sons, John Rutledge (IV) (1792–1864), Robert Smith Rutledge (1793–1833), and Edward Mason Rutledge

(1800–1809), and two daughters, Emily Smith Rutledge (1797–1827) and Julia Rutledge (1801–1873)— however, remained with their father and he provided for their care and schooling. In his receipt book (ca. 1807–1816), Rutledge recorded payments, under separate headings, for sons Robert Smith and John, that probably represent expenses incurred for their educations. In June 1807, he noted an outlay of \$300 “By Ehrick’s Bill on Jones at Providence [Rhode Island] in favor of Mr. Otis,” as well as similar payments through July [1810] under the heading “John Rutledge jun[ior]” In May 1808, he listed an expenditure of \$200 “By my draft favor of Mr. Otis on Willings & Francis” for Robert, and another in October of the same year of a similar amount. In the same receipt book, L[ouis] DeVillers signed a receipt for \$142.50 received from John Rutledge “in full for tuition in music of his young Lady,” and W.A. Leverett acknowledged Rutledge’s payment of \$10 on 26 June 1811 “for one quarter tuition of Daughter Julia.”

After his separation from Sarah Motte Rutledge, John devoted himself to his planting and business interests. As one of the executors of Bishop Smith’s estate, he was involved in carrying out the directives of his late father-in-law’s will. Although Smith had left his real property to his two sons, the executors of the estate announced, in the *Charleston Gazette* in the spring of 1809, that two plantations “belonging to the estate of the late Bishop Smith” were for sale. Brabant, with its 5,021 acres of prime

rice and cotton lands, located twenty miles from Charleston in St. Thomas Parish, and Point Hope, with 800 acres on the Wando River, including “an establishment for brick making,” and eight miles from Charleston, were available for purchase.

Rutledge also supervised his own rice plantation on the Savannah River, where in 1810, he listed thirty enslaved people in St. Peter’s Parish [Beaufort County, S.C.]. He also owned another plantation in Colleton District (S.C.) where 112 enslaved persons labored. In an undated entry in a notebook, probably written in 1816, Rutledge recorded that:

My overseer Robert McIntosh is to receive for managing my concerns at Union, Poplar Grove & Egypt Plantations Eight Hundred Dollars.

On the same page, he noted that “At Poplar Grove I work... 55 full hands, At Egypt 55 full Hands, at Union 7....” When he wrote his will in 1819, he stated that “the nett annual proceeds of my crops... have for some years past averaged at Thirty & forty thousand Dollars....” His four surviving bank books in the collection document both his income and expenses for the years 1812, 1812–1813, 1815–1817, and 1817–1819. By the end of 1815, for example, he had deposited into his account at the Bank of South Carolina \$28,250.61, and the next year his deposits totaled \$23,893.55.

John Rutledge Jr. also maintained accounts with the State Bank of South Carolina and the Bank of the State of South Carolina. Although his income was substantial, Rutledge was also heavily in debt. In one of his notebooks in which he recorded miscellaneous information, he entered a "List of all John Rutledge's debts to the best of his belief, June 1<sup>st</sup> 1816." He owed \$25,890 to "the different Banks" and smaller sums to a number of individuals for a total of \$46,325.99.

In addition to his planting and business concerns, Rutledge also devoted much of his time to his duties as an officer in the South Carolina militia throughout his life. From the time he received his captain's commission in 1792 until his death in 1819, with the exception of his congressional years, he remained active in the Charleston regiment. From about 1806 until 1816, he served as lieutenant colonel of the Twenty-eighth Regiment, and from 1816 until 1819, as brigadier general of the Seventh Brigade.

During the first year of the War of 1812, Lieutenant Colonel Rutledge commanded a newly-organized active-duty regiment, composed of Charleston companies drawn from the Twenty-eighth and Twenty-ninth Regiments of South Carolina Militia, as well as militiamen drafted from other parts of the state, and designated the Third Regiment of South Carolina State Troops. Stationed at Haddrell's Point, directly across the harbor from Charleston, in June 1812, the regiment, often referred to as

“Rutledge’s 3d Regiment of State Troops,” remained in a strategic position with the ability to move quickly to defend any point near the city threatened by British troops.

Rutledge’s service at Haddrell’s Point ended before the year expired, and Rutledge and his men, numbering almost 700, resumed their former militia status. Because of his military service, Rutledge was often addressed by his correspondents as “Colonel Rutledge” while he held the rank of lieutenant colonel, or colonel, and “General Rutledge” after his promotion to the command of the 7th Brigade in 1816.

In 1817, John Rutledge seized an opportunity to expand his land holdings and thus increase the revenue realized from planting rice in the Savannah River watershed. In a letter addressed to General John Rutledge and dated 21 and 29 April 1817, Charles R. Simpson, a member of the Liverpool mercantile firm Simpson, Davison & Company, commission merchants with a long association with Rutledge, solicited the general’s help in finding a purchaser for a rice plantation located on the Savannah River near Rutledge’s own Poplar Grove plantation in St. Peter’s Parish [now in Beaufort County, S.C.].

This property belonged, Simpson explained, to the Reverend Thomas Penny White (1778-1845), a clergyman of Soberton (Hampshire, England). Simpson characterized White as someone who



...is not only not a man of Business, but [is] a clergyman, an abolitionist of slavery, peculiar in his opinions, very *cautious*, perhaps I ought to add suspicious and is well acquainted with the *value of money*.

Simpson wrote that he had already sent Rutledge a power of attorney to act on behalf of White and “a letter from Mr. White conveying...his instructions and acquainting you with his Expectations....” Simpson also informed Rutledge that a current offer proved unacceptable:

Mr. Williamson has lately made an offer of \$60,000 for this Property and [I] cannot help thinking this price little more than the half of its value.

Rutledge was certainly familiar with the property and, in an undated copy of a letter that he wrote to White, probably in June 1817, he conveyed his opinion of the property, and the enslaved people working there:

I consider it as a valuable property, but not quite as you do (as appears from your letter).... The negroes (altho they have been greatly neglected) I believe are orderly & well disposed, but in the gang there is not one mechanic....In every gang of Negroes there is generally a proportion of Carpenters & Coopers. This is not the case with yours. Still I believe it to be a valuable gang. Most of the fellows are known to me, as some of them

(from our plantations adjoining) have married some of my female Slaves, & some of my males are connected with your females.

Rutledge also pointed out some of the difficulties presented by the land itself, which would require a significant investment of time and labor to prepare for the cultivation of rice:

There is not, as I believe, one third part of your land cleared, & the labour & expense of clearing river swamps & rendering them plantable are immensely great. That part of your land which lies on the River, & that situated on a bold creek which runs into it, are very valuable.

Even though there were no buildings on the plantation except the “Negro Houses,” Rutledge thought “it probable you may obtain for the land & Negroes 20,000 [pounds] sterling.” Rutledge suggested that “to sell the lands to advantage they must be divided into two or three tracts, [since] it would be difficult to get one purchaser for the whole.” He also promised to make every effort to sell the property for White.

[I]f I have not an offer at private sale, [I] will expose the Estate at Public Auction [and] shall endeavour to effect a Sale before the month of Jany, so as to save you from the enormous Tax to which absentees are liable.

For almost a year, from June 1817 until May 1818, Rutledge acted in White's behalf as his agent in supervising the property while it remained for sale. A document in the collection, titled "The Reverend Thomas P. White, as proprietor of the Estate of Channing, under the management of the Honble. General John Rutledge, of South Carolina, In account current with Williamson & De Villers, Factors, in Savannah, Georgia," showed a net credit, or profit, of \$1,561 for the year. Mr. Davison reported, in a letter to General Rutledge, headed Liverpool, and dated 6 September, that even though he had stressed to White "the necessity of decision in the offer of Purchase of this Estate which you had submitted to him," he had received "no reply, & in consequence we remain in perfect ignorance of his determination...."

In the meantime, Davison continued,

...we have understood that he has been offered in behalf of Mr. Tho[ma]s Young of Savannah, and also by Mr. William Mein, for *some friends*, as he says, the same sum, namely seventy thousand dollars, and by both parties payable *in cash*.

In the same letter, Davison mentioned that William Mein (ca. 1768–1835), previously a commission merchant in Savannah and a member of the firm Mein, Mackay & Company, had arrived in Liverpool, after selling his Georgia property, including valuable rice lands near Savannah.

White, in a letter to General Rutledge, written from southern England, at “Soberton, near Alton, Hampshire” on 26 September 1817, provided a narrative of his efforts, unsuccessful to that point, to sell his South Carolina property to Mr. Mein. Even though he had authorized Rutledge to sell the plantation and had sent to him a power of attorney for that purpose, White determined, after asking the advice of Mr. Davison, that he could “certainly treat with Mr. M[ein]” directly, which he had done. White had, he related to Rutledge, refused two offers from Mr. Mein because both, one for cash and the other on credit, were “much less than I considered the Estate worth.” White explained another issue of importance in finding a buyer for the Savannah River plantation related to a request from the enslaved residents of the property. Mr. Mein had brought with him a letter:

...from the Negroes requesting they might be sold to Mr. Mein if sold at all, & expressing themselves perfectly satisfied with his Treatment of them.

Especially because of that request, White wanted to sell his property to Mr. Mein:

...rather than to anyone else; & would have let him have them at a much less sum than anyone else: but he offers me so much less than what I conceive the value of the Property to be[,] that I cannot accept his offer.

In one or more of Rutledge's four letters to White, which were written during the previous June and July 1817, the general had evidently explained his own views on slavery, and White, in response, wrote that

I feel most happy in the sentiments you express on the subject of slavery, & I am persuaded you will direct & see that the poor people be used with Kindness, & not have greater Tasks assigned them than they can perform with Comfort to themselves, & I *particularly* request that they may have every facility afforded them for the free Exercise of their Religion, & that all who can read may be supplied with Bibles.

White also informed General Rutledge that he would forward to him "1000 yards of Welsh Plains... for the Negroes" and reporting that he had already:

...sent some handkerchiefs as a *present* for the men, & some caps as a present for the women; & hope they may be told they come as *Presents*, from Mrs. White, as well as myself.

In addition, White also mentioned that the:

...Negroes have been accustomed to have two fat Bullocks given them, every Christmas, which custom you will please to continue & I have desired Messrs. Davison

& Simpson to send out a cast of Porter for the Overseer  
with my Compliments.

On 19 November 1817, White resumed his letter and informed General Rutledge that although he had continued to negotiate with Mr. Mein in an effort to effect the sale of the plantation to him “in compliance with the wish of my poor negroes,” he was not able to finalize an acceptable agreement. He had even reduced the price for the property from the “70,000 dollars whi[ch] was what I asked him” by ten percent. The problem, he continued, was that Mr. Mein “at last would pay down not quite one third; & as he offer’d no security that I would accept for the Remainder, the business broke off....”

As a result of his failure to make the sale, White admitted that

...a sale in America for ready money, seems from your letters to be a most improbable Event, & as I seem to have overrated the value of the Estate, it will be proper that I should send you fresh Instructions on this point.

White had determined that

...18,000 [pounds] sterling... [was] the lowest sum I would accept for the Property, 6,000 [pounds] being paid down at the time of purchase, & the remaining 12,000 [pounds] being left (on Mortgage of the Estate) at the usual Carolina Interest, to be paid off in two equal

payments of 6,000 [pounds] each annually, so that the whole may be paid off in two years from the time of Purchase.”

Expressing faith in the economic future, White's terms were, he reiterated,

the *lowest*... I wo[ul]d take” for he believed that “If Peace continue (& there seems every Prospect of it) America *must* rise in wealth & power, & consequently this Estate must every year become of more & more value. The Commerce of the Country will pour riches into it, & persons will be more able to afford to give you a good price for it.

At some time during the winter of 1817–1818, General Rutledge accepted the Reverend Thomas Penny White's terms and agreed to purchase the plantation. He carefully recorded the details of his purchase in a small notebook, preserved in the collection:

1000 Acres of land, with 90 Negroes, I purchased of the Revd. Mr. White in England on the 14<sup>th</sup> day of February 1818 for 18,000 [pounds sterling]. Payable 1/3 Cash upon Titles being delivered to me & the remaining 12,000 [pounds sterling] in one & two years after with Interest of 7 percent payable 1/2 yearly.

Davison & Simpson, operating from London, wrote General Rutledge on 29 April 1818, to inform him that:

Mr. White has signified to us that your proposals would be accepted, & that he would direct the remittances to be made into our hands, as his agent, should the Contract [be] compleated.

The firm also took some credit for White's decision:

Your conduct has been every way so handsome & honorable, as respects the Property on Savannah River, that we gave it as our opinion to Mr. White... that the Property ought to be yours.

The purchase money, the writer continued, could be remitted "in Bills of Exchange or produce...." Mr. Simpson assured Rutledge that he had purchased "a very fine property and has been under the direction of this House for 35 years past." He had, he remembered, been "on the Plantation in 1790 when 600 Tierces Rice was shipt to this House," and during the same year, he told Rutledge, he had "had the pleasure of... meeting you at dinner at your Fathers in Charleston...."

The plantation that Rutledge purchased from Mr. White had previously belonged to White's wife's father, John Channing (1731– 1792), who had emigrated to South Carolina around 1750 from Soberton, an English village in Hampshire on the southern coast of England. In 1755, he



married Johanna Gibbes Izard (ca. 1733–1788), the widow of John Izard (1730–1754), and soon established himself as a prominent and successful planter.

John Channing's step-daughter, Elizabeth Izard, who inherited a large estate at the time of her father's death, married in April 1769, Alexander Wright (1751–1794), the son of James Wright, Georgia's royal governor. In that same year, John and Johanna Channing left South Carolina, and moved to London where they resided for the rest of their lives, except for John's brief trip, in 1782, back to South Carolina where he retained ownership of two plantations. Johanna Channing died in London in December 1788 and was interred in a vault in St. Paul's Cathedral. The next year, John married Charlotte Eliza Perkins (1761–1796), and in 1791, a daughter, named for her mother, was born. John Channing died shortly thereafter, in April 1792, and his widow died in 1796, leaving five-year-old Charlotte Eliza Perkins as the heiress to much of her father's estate.

When the Reverend Thomas Penny White (1777-1845) married Charlotte Eliza on 3 December 1812, during the year she reached the age of twenty-one, he took over management of his wife's properties. Later, when the couple decided to sell the Savannah River plantation, Davison & Simpson, the firm that had handled the sale of the rice produced on the plantation since 1782, acted as agent for the sellers.

Davison & Simpson informed General Rutledge, in a letter from London written on 10 August 1818, that Thomas Higham (1776–1863), a Charleston merchant,

...expects to embark towards the end of next month...  
[and] will carry the power [of attorney from Mr. White]  
(for him to grant Titles) & put you in its possession.

Rutledge docketed the letter with the notation:

Simpson & Davison advising that Mr Higham would soon  
leave England & that I was expected to make the first  
pay[men]t (6000 [pounds]) to them in Bills or produce.

The letter was sent on board the *Isabella*, a Charleston-based ship captained by Daniel McNeill (McNeal), who made frequent trips between London and Charleston. Not only did Captain McNeill transport the letter to John Rutledge from Davison & Simpson, he also carried one from Sarah Motte Rutledge, of the same date, to her son, the first letter from her to survive in the Rutledge family papers. She wrote:

These few lines are merely to request—having in a  
previous letter written the other day—which goes by this  
same opportunity, the *Isabella*, entrusted to Captain  
McNeal, for you [that] your future letters, [and] Emily's  
and Julia's, may be addressed to the care of Mr.  
Crocket, No. 22 Throgmorton Street, London.

She hastened to add she could write no more because the captain was “on the point of leaving town for Gravesend, where his Ship is to embark for Charleston.”

General Rutledge took control of Mr. White’s plantation and work force during the summer of 1818. Savannah merchant Petit De Villers, in a letter written from Savannah on 25 August 1818, acknowledged the receipt of Rutledge’s letter, dated 3 August, which contained

...the very agreeable tidings...of your having compleated  
the purchase of Mr. White’s property on our River....

A French aristocrat who had lived at Saint-Domingue [Santo Domingo on the Caribbean island of Hispaniola; now Haiti], Francois Didier Petit de Villers (1761-1841) fled Haiti in fear of slave uprisings and was naturalized as an American citizen in Baltimore, Maryland in 1796. He arrived in Savannah, Georgia, in approximately 1803, where he began a long successful career as a commission merchant and factor. De Villers’ letter suggests that Rutledge had requested a report on the state of his plantations on Savannah River. Accordingly, De Villers invited Robert McIntosh, Rutledge’s overseer, to his home in town where he described the condition of the crops, the land, and the labor force, as well as the negative impact of a drought on progress of the 1818 growing-season. In a two-page letter, De Villers presented a detailed account of affairs on Rutledge’s three plantations, Union, Poplar Grove, and the one recently

acquired from Mr. White, in which he acknowledged its former owner, referred to as "Plantation ci-devant Channing."

At the Union property, De Villers cited the "backwards" state of the potato and corn crops "on account of the dry weather," but noted the "10 acres of close Pease...looks very well." The rice crop at Poplar Grove plantation, De Villers wrote, was "much retarded for the want of Tides; otherwise good & promising to yield about 1300 Tierces of Rice." He also outlined the repairs and building on which the plantation carpenters were working.

Part of the carpenters are now employed on the big Flood-gate; & the others are building two Flats: The two old ones have been put in as good a state of repair as they were susceptible of.

The carpenters had also recently completed a barn, replaced the sills "under the mill," and finished "3 new [N]egro houses..., except the chimneys: McAlpin says he can furnish neither Bricks nor lime." The field hands, he continued, "are employed raising the Banks where wanted." At the Channing plantation, De Villers, described the repairs recently completed. The carpenters had "Put up a plat-form & steps at the landing and a new fence of cypress boards... round the Barn-yard" while the field hands were "employed raising the Dams." At both Union and Channing properties, "All hands well & in good spirits," he observed, but for Poplar

Grove, he gave more details about the health of the enslaved labor force, including pregnant women:

All the *Femmes enceintes* are doing well; & Maria, the wife of Brutus, has been delivered of a healthy daughter." [All the others] are in good health & spirits, except Hannah, the wife of Gibbon, who is afflicted with a kind of palsy on the left arm & leg.

Overseer Robert McIntosh followed De Villers' report with two letters to Rutledge, and in the first, dated 5 September 1818, repeated much of what De Villers had written; but in the second, written on 4 November 1818, after completion of the harvest of rice and crops at the three plantations, speculated that he would produce more rice than he had the previous year, even if he did not include the harvest from Channing's tract, which he estimated at 500 barrels, in the total. McIntosh, however, informed Rutledge that he would not continue in his employ the following year. His father-in-law had just died a few weeks previous, McIntosh explained, and had left his property to him. If that had not happened, he informed Rutledge, he would have "been willing to continue in your Bus[i]ness."

In his memorandum book for 1817–1818, John Rutledge recorded the terms of employment for Robert McIntosh as his overseer for 1818. He paid McIntosh \$1,000 in salary, up from \$800 the previous year and, in

addition, allotted ten barrels of rice for each of “five field hands” that the overseer provided. Rutledge also paid McIntosh fifty dollars a year “for his woman Sarey who is an Half Hand... & for his house servant one hundred dollars.”

After Rutledge agreed to purchase the property, he immediately divided the 1,000-acre plantation into two parcels and sold them, apparently in an effort to generate income that would allow him to pay off his obligation to the Reverend Mr. White for the land. In an untitled memorandum book, Rutledge recorded, apparently in 1819, the details of his transactions related to the Channing estate:

The crop I made at the place I bought of Mr. White last year amounted to 467 tierces [and] gave a Nett proceed of \$15,349.29. Part of the land I bought of Mr. White I sold to T[homas] Young Esq. of Savannah for \$22,000 pay[a]ble in 1, 2, & 3 years, the remainder of the parcel of this land I sold to Robt. Smith Esq. for [\$]15,350.00 in Cash & his Bond for \$26,000 payable in 1 & 2 years.

He calculated that the total he would eventually realize from the initial crop and the subsequent sale of the property was \$78,699.29.

Although Rutledge already considered the Channing plantation his property, he did not complete the purchase until he paid one-third of the

purchase price and received the title to the property. Rutledge continued his narrative of the purchase in his notebook:

On the 14<sup>th</sup> of June 1819 titles were delivered to me by Mr. Kershaw & Mrs. Fife, agents of Mr. White, & on the same day I paid to them 6000 [pounds sterling] with Interest from the 14<sup>th</sup> May 1818 to the 1<sup>st</sup> Oct. 1819.

He then listed the bills of exchange he used in making the initial payment of 6,000 pounds sterling, which totaled, in dollars, \$30,413.41:

At the same time, I gave Mr. Kershaw & Mr. Fife my bond for 12,000 [pounds] British sterling payable with interest half yearly in two Annual Installments.

On 16 June 1818, James Fife and Charles Kershaw, in behalf of "the Trustees of T.P. White & wife," signed a receipt for "Six thousand one hundred & Sixty Eight pounds 15/6 stg," in "Bills of Exchange on London & Glasgow," plus \$1,900 in cash, which included interest due. Payment of the principal and interest on the remaining 12,000 pounds due on the purchase, however, fell to the administrators of General Rutledge's estate.

The general died on 1 September 1818, less than three months after he purchased Channing plantation and John Rutledge (IV), John Parker, and James Rose, as the administrators, struggled for more than a decade to meet the semi-annual payments of interest and principal.

On 14 February 1831, the estate still owed 6,121 pounds sterling on the original debt. In order to satisfy the bond still held by representatives of Thomas Penny White, the three administrators refinanced the debt, and James Rose, in his capacity as one of the estate's administrators, drafted, on 1 April 1831, "A statement of the late transaction with Mr. Potter on his loan of \$24,000 at 2, 3 & 4 years," to explain the complicated financial transaction that had just been completed. General Rutledge, according to Rose's commentary, had sold the 1,008 acres he had purchased from the Reverend Mr. White in two transactions; one parcel to his brother-in-law Robert Smith, the other to Thomas Young of Savannah. Because his property was still mortgaged when he purchased it, Robert Smith took a mortgage on Rutledge's 665-acre plantation Poplar Grove, which was, in Rose's words "to indemnify him for his property being mortgaged..." to White. With the \$24,000 loan from John Potter, the administrators of the estate paid off the obligation to White, which eliminated the mortgage on Smith's property, and Smith then transferred his mortgage on Poplar Grove to Potter.

A native of Ireland, John Potter (1765–1849) had arrived in Charleston in 1784, made a fortune as a merchant, and retired to Princeton (New Jersey), where he lived out his life. However, when he signed the articles of agreement for the loan to the administrators of General Rutledge, on 31 March 1831, he was identified as "John Potter of Charleston,



Esquire.” Eighteen years later, on 27 July 1849, when John Potter added a codicil to his will, the Rutledge estate still owed him \$2,540, according to the “last statement.”

In addition to finalizing his purchase of the Channing plantation in 1819, John Rutledge was also present at the marriages of two of his and Sarah Motte Rutledge’s children. John Rutledge (IV) and his sister Julia both married members of the Rose family of Charleston; John Rutledge and Maria Rose (1801–1881) were married on 28 January 1819, and Julia Rutledge married Maria’s brother James Rose (1793–1869) on 27 May 1818. The Rose siblings were children of Hugh Rose (1758–1841) and his wife Susannah Read (ca. 1759–1815), paternal grandchildren of John Rose (1722–1805) and Hester Bond (1734–1776), and maternal grandchildren of James Read (ca. 1722–1778) and his wife Rebecca Bond (1730–1786), kinships that connected the Roses to several prominent South Carolina and Georgia families.

The Bonds were sisters, two of the eight daughters of Captain Jacob Bond (1695–1766), a Cornish mariner who settled in South Carolina about 1715, and his wife Susannah Maybank. Susannah Read and her two brothers, Jacob Read (1752–1816) and William Read (1754–1845), spent their formative years in Savannah where their father was a merchant and a member of Georgia’s Royal Council. The siblings moved back to South Carolina after the American Revolution where Jacob

launched a political career that culminated with his election, in 1794, to the United States Senate, a seat he held until 1801. William Read, a physician who trained with Benjamin Rush in Philadelphia, served as deputy surgeon general during the American Revolution and, after the war ended, practiced medicine in Charleston. He was also a member of the state legislature, was an active member of the South Carolina Society of the Cincinnati, and owned Rice Hope plantation near Charleston.

Although Scottish migrant John Rose accumulated a sizeable fortune in South Carolina in land and slaves, during the decades after his arrival in 1749, he lost much of his property because of his Loyalist sympathies during the American Revolution. His son, Hugh Rose, however, managed to salvage a portion of his father's land and owned plantations in Christ Church Parish [Charleston County, S.C.] and St. Thomas Parish [Berkeley County, S.C.].

John Rose retired to England in the 1780s, lived well, and in 1794, the year after his grandson, James Rose, was born, bequeathed to him 4,000 pounds sterling, which Hugh Rose used to add to his holdings in land and slaves. One letter written by John Rose survives in the collection. In that letter, dated 20 December 1802 and written from London to his daughter Hester Rose Tidyman in Charleston, John Rose

responded to a letter from her in which she had indicated a desire “to know something” of the Rose family history, to which he replied:

My Father’s name was Hugh & so was his Father’s name. [H]e was a branch of the Kilravock Family, which is as good a familie as any in Scotland & the first of the name. My father was always directed to as Hugh Rose of Clava, that was the name of his Estate. My mother’s name was Margret Irvine a daughter of Alexr. Irvine of Drum, which was a most respectable familie, and the first familie of that name in Scotland.

John also assured his daughter that his health was good and claimed that “at my farr advanced time of life I am very well... [and] walk... five or six miles to see my children and grand children without fatigue every day.”

Emily Smith Rutledge (1797–1827) had already linked the Rutledge family to another long-established South Carolina political family with her marriage to John Parker, a man ten years her senior, on 16 April 1812, six weeks before her fifteenth birthday. John Parker (1787–1849), the fifth bearer of that name, was the son of the John Parker (1759–1833), of Hayes plantation, on Goose Creek, in St. James Parish [Berkeley County, S.C.] and his wife Susannah Middleton Parker (1760–1834), the daughter of Henry Middleton (1717–1784) and his wife Mary Williams

Middleton (1716–1761), and the sister of Arthur Middleton (1742–1787).

John Parker Rutledge and Emily Smith Rutledge were both connected by family to signers of the Declaration of Independence: John was the nephew of Arthur Middleton and Emily was the niece of Edward Rutledge.

By 1819, when her siblings married, Emily Rutledge and her husband were already the parents of six children. When Sarah Motte Rutledge learned of her son John's plans to marry, she was both excited and surprised. Writing from the Vale of Health, in Hampstead Heath, London, on 7 January 1819, she thanked John for his letter of 12 July 1818, with its announcement of his planned marriage to Maria Rose, and noted the favorable reports received of his intended:

The very flattering accounts I have from different persons been favored with concerning Mr. Rose's youngest daughter, are such in my opinion calculated in every respect to contribute to your felicity, and I fervently hope your future lives may be extremely happy and prosperous.

Her surprise, she continued, arose from hearing that John was "on the eve of entering the pale of matrimony— ever thinking you purposely designed for an old Bachelor." Sarah also shared news of a trip to

Argentina by John's brother, Robert Smith Rutledge, and expressed hope for success in his future endeavors:

Your brother Robert sailed this week for Buenos Ayres... South America— fervently do I wish his expectations may be fully realized on his arrival at that outlandish region, by soon being enabled to procure a lucrative situation, that will be the means of contributing to the future exertions and development of talents he undoubtedly possesses.

Sarah confessed "*to you only*," she wrote John, that she had ...been much disappointed in my sanguine hopes of finding in my decline of life a companion and comforter in... [Robert], but young men search for pleasure and variety. Mothers and old women have no right therefore to expect much attention at their time of life.

Even so, she hoped that Robert's removal to South America would prove ...to be more conducive to his advantage, than remaining without occupation in this enticing, dissipated, most expensive metropolis, a place that requires nearly an endless purse to gratify every thoughtless desire.

Next, she focused her comments on her youngest daughter, eighteen-year-old Julia. "[N]ot one line have I received from Julia since Captain

McNeal's last visit to England," she complained. She had heard rumors from friends during the previous summer that Julia was considering marriage, but more recent reports had contradicted the earlier news which had come "from good authority." Nothing would please her more, regarding her daughter's prospects, she admitted to John,

than hearing of her being well-settled in the matrimonial state, united to a worthy domestic man possessing *great firmness* of character, strict honour and integrity and who in *every way* would have an *undisputed* sway over my too volatile child.

She also wished for Julia a future where "no dark cloud may intervene hereafter to obscure the sunshine of her present bright prospects[,] clear and alluring *now*, as *mine once* were...." Clearly, in her comments about her daughter's future, Sarah was looking back at her own troubled domestic life:

Julia's elevated situation in life will expose her to more dangers and temptations from which, in my opinion, the more retired are generally exempt. Your sister unfortunately has an ardency of disposition which *decks* all fair that seems so— her mother likewise formerly did the same, and heedlessly rushed on the roses of pleasure, blind to the thorn that lurked beneath, until

wounded memory aches over the delusion it *then*  
cherished.

In her next letter to John, written after she had received one from him, arrived via Captain McNeal, who had once again sailed the *Isabella* from Charleston to London. The captain had personally related the details of John and Maria's wedding and, in her letter, Sarah described her reaction to his account:

Each eye glistened with a tear at the description of the gay scene, produced by different reflections on the occasion, one of pleasure, the other pain; your own heart can be at no loss to solve this enigma, the reason why those opposite sensations predominated in my heart.

She also confessed that "my health and spirits have been but indifferent lately" and, as soon as she caught up with her correspondence, she planned to depart from her lodgings at Hampstead Heath in north London for some time at a popular resort on the south coast. She vowed to:

...quit my sweet little cottage in the Vale of Health [and] take wing for Brighton, to remain some weeks for the benefit of my mental disease, *lowness of spirits*, which too frequently asserts entire dominion over me and when

*overpowered* by its influence, my usual distressing  
companion, restlessness, torments me....

Her constant movement from place to place was, she believed, her impulse to seek “for comfort in change of place, though well convinced, I shall find in it but change of pain, bearing that within, which precludes all hope of obtaining sweet, soothing peace on earth.”

A letter to General Rutledge from Thomas Young, dated 27 March 1819, which related to Young’s desire to purchase part of the Channing plantation on Clydesdale Creek, also raised a question about Rutledge’s health. Young wrote in reply to a letter from Rutledge in which he had rejected Young’s monetary offer for the land as “too small... to accept...” Young understood the rejection because he realized “what a valuable appendage they will make to those which you have improved contiguous to them.” He regretted to learn from Rutledge’s letter, he continued,

...that you had suffered much sickness and pain from a  
severe attack of catarrhal fever and that you were still  
confined to your house & recovering your health very  
slowly.

John Rutledge traveled north after the June 1819 wedding of his daughter in an effort to recover his health and, in August, he was joined by his son John. While her husband was away from Charleston, probably for the first time since their marriage in January, Maria wrote him



frequently, and in her first letters, addressed to New York and dated 21 August 1819, she confessed that since his departure:

...it has been my only pleasure to sit and think of you  
and in imagination live over the last few days you were  
with me.

She also acknowledged a letter she had just received from her absent husband. "I was rejoiced to hear that your father's health was improved by his visit to Staten Island," she wrote, and she insisted, "do not leave him my Dear husband but stay and return home[,] for consider my pleasure will be double to see you both at the same time...." In the meantime, she planned to "amuse" herself with reading. "Mr. Drayton's visit to the north lies on my mantlepiece. I shall read that and give you an account of it."

From New York, John Rutledge and his father traveled to Philadelphia in late August 1819, where the younger John wrote a letter, on 31 August 1819, to his sister Emily Parker at Newport (Rhode Island), where her family had spent the summer, with encouraging news about their father's health. In response to that letter, Emily wrote her brother on 4 September 1819, that she was "truly happy to learn that so favorable a change in my Fathers disorder has taken place...." She admitted that she had been

...extremely uneasy about him before you came on,  
particularly as he would not allow my Husband to remain

with him whilst he continued at Staten Island, nor consent to my visiting him, although I both wished it & urged it repeatedly.

For their return journey to South Carolina, the Parkers had:

...not yet determined in which way we shall return to Charleston. Mr. P[arker] wishes to sail from New York, and my desire is to go from Providence in the Amelia, which I understand is a most excellent Brig— the point still remains to be settled between us.

Maria Rutledge, in her 4 September 1819 letter to her husband, lamented the loss that Charleston had sustained with the death of prominent attorney and close family friend Keating Lewis Simons (1775-1819), who had died on September 1st. In fact, Simons was related to the Rutledges by marriage. His wife, whom he had wed in 1812, Anne Cleveland Kinloch Simons (1788–1857), was the daughter of Martha Rutledge Kinloch (1764-1816) and Francis Kinloch (1755–1826) of Charleston; and A. C. K. Simons was also the niece of General John Rutledge (1766–1819).

In her next letter to her husband, written from Charleston on 10 September 1819, Maria Rutledge attempted to console her husband in the loss of his father. She had learned the previous day, she wrote, “that our beloved parent was no more.” He had died in Philadelphia, also on 1

September 1819. A newspaper report made note of the deaths of both men: "Hon. Keating L. Simons and Hon. John Rutledge of S.C., two of the most brilliant men of the bar and intimate friends, died at the same hour and day." Maria regretted, she wrote to her husband, that she was not with him and urged him to spend time with family in Rhode Island to recuperate: "for if I could not alleviate I might at least share with you this heavy affliction...." She pleaded with John to

...go to New Port to your sister and remain with her until you can come out to Charleston with safety, for to come now would be certain death.... you can have no idea of the sickness of Charleston....

Maria wrote again on 15 September 1819 that it

...was with the greatest pleasure... that I yesterday heard that you had accepted the invitation of our kind friend Dr. Tidyman. [H]e is a most excellent man and I have no doubt will do every thing in his power to render your visit agreeable.

Maria's cousin, Dr. Philip Tidyman (1776–1850), was the son of Philip Tidyman and Hester Rose Tidyman (1755–1841), and he apparently was in Philadelphia for the summer. Maria reported that her:

Aunt Tidyman was good enough to send a letter which she received from Cousin Hester for us to see in which

she says that you are quite well and your spirits  
apparently good.

The reference to “Cousin Hester” was likely Hester Tidyman Drayton (1797–1873), the daughter of former South Carolina governor John Drayton and his wife Hester Rose Tidyman Drayton. Maria continued to post frequent letters, often filled with news of friends, neighbors, and relatives who were ill.

In her letter dated 4 October 1819, she mentioned that “our neighbor Miss Hamilton has been ill with the yellow fever” and also noted that others, his sister included, were not well. When she replied to a letter from her husband that had just arrived on 11 October 1819, she complimented him on his “improvement as a correspondent” and apologized for her recent complaint about his infrequent letters. She was also delighted that he planned to return home soon, and remarked that “I shall see you by the first week in November” and would “most anxiously... count the days until then.”

John Rutledge had returned to Charleston by 12 November 1819 for, on that day, he, along with his brothers-in-law John Parker and James Rose, qualified as executors of the elder John Rutledge’s will. Rutledge had written his will before he departed for the north in the summer of 1819. Dated 21 June 1819, it provided Rutledge’s executors with all the

information required for them to fulfill his wishes concerning the distribution of his estate.

The first issue he addressed was the “Annuity or yearly Sum of Four hundred and fifty pounds Sterling, to be paid to... [Mrs. Sarah M. Rutledge] in quarterly payments for and during the term of her natural life” that he had agreed to “in and by a certain Instrument of Writing.” He wanted his executors

to raise a fund... either out of the Interest and Income of my Estate, or by a Sale of a part thereof, and to vest the same... in the Public or Private Stock, of this State or of the United States or in good Bonds, which shall be sufficient to produce the amount required for the aforesaid Annuity.

Rutledge made it very clear that Mrs. Rutledge was not entitled to dower rights or any other “claims and demands of what kind so ever which she can possibly have to or against my Estate real and personal....” General Rutledge bequeathed to his son Robert “the Sum of Four thousand Pounds with Interest thereon from the time of my death,” all of which would be paid within three years. He also specified that his executors pay all of his “just debts,” which he then enumerated:

...the Sum of Twelve thousand Pounds to the Revd. Mr. White of Great Britain, the Sum of—(at present not

recollected) to one of the Banks at Savannah, the Sum  
of Two thousand Dollars to the Estate of Bowman...

plus several other smaller obligations. The remainder of his estate, he  
left:

...to my Son John Rutledge and my Daughters Emily  
Parker, the wife of John Parker Junr. and Julia Rose, the  
wife of James Rose, share and share alike, as tenants in  
common.

However, he insisted that money or property already advanced to each  
heir would be counted as part of that person's share of his estate. He  
had already given his son John \$20,000 on his wedding day earlier that  
year as an advance on his inheritance and, likewise, when his daughter  
Julia married James Rose, he had advanced his son-in-law an equal  
sum, but when his daughter Emily married in 1812, he had given her  
husband, John Parker, fourteen enslaved individuals who were valued at  
\$500 each, for a total of \$7,000.

Finally, Rutledge instructed his executors to avoid selling any property to  
pay his debts, if possible, and rely instead on the income realized from  
the sale of his crops:

...which have for some years past averaged... Thirty &  
forty thousand Dollars... [annually, or the] Bonds of

Robert Smith & Thomas Young Esquires, which amount  
to about Thirty thousand Dollars....

In addition to writing his wishes for the distribution of his estate, General Rutledge also made notes in his memorandum book regarding his business affairs, land and enslaved persons:

My titles & plats of Lands on Sava[nnah] River are in my  
Tin Case; a Round tin Box contains very interesting  
Letters recd. from very interesting men; a mortgage from  
J.R. Smith, of one hundred & fifty Negroes, is in my Tin  
Box; my will is in my square tin Box.

He also recorded that "To my sons John & Robert I make each an allowance of one Thousand Dollars, To Mrs. Rutledge I pay quarterly & in advance four hundred & eighty three dollars.

As one of the executors of his father's will, John Rutledge (IV) assumed responsibility for paying his mother's annual annuity. Many of the letters that passed between mother and son that survive in the family collection relate to her annuity or her financial situation. Sarah, in a letter to her son written from London on 14 April 1820, acknowledged the receipt "of a copy of General Rutledge's will." She admitted that she

...did hope a trifle might have been — in token of  
reconciliation — may I well say justice — added thereto,  
considering the increase of your father's large property,

and its origin to the good substantial notes and bonds  
obtained through mine.

Sarah also acknowledged that she had years before:

...from the urgent advise of my Uncle [Thomas]  
Shubrick, by a written deed... given up my widows  
dower for the punctual payment of four hundred and fifty  
pounds sterling annually during life.

Her income did prove “sufficient for the actual comforts of life,” she continued; however, she believed her son Robert “has been unjustly deprived of a handsome fortune” by his father’s “unchristian sentiment... extended towards him.” In closing her letter, she suggested “that it would be advisable to keep Robert regularly supplied with the interest to his bequest until he apprizes you what he desires on the subject.” And with a mother’s admonition, reminded him that Robert “is your *only* brother, a near, and *ought* to be, a dear tie.”

In a letter to his brother, written on 25 July 1820 in Philadelphia, Robert Rutledge addressed his treatment at the hands of his father. His sentiments on the subject, however, differed from his mother’s:

I am perfectly satisfied with what our father has  
bequeathed to me & I assure you that I feel very grateful  
for the legacy. I am thoroughly convinced that my  
behaviour to him must have in a great measure weaned



his affections & if my name had been struck out of the will I could not with strict justice have found fault.

Whenever I have reflected on my behaviour, which has been very often, it has given me a great [deal] of pain & the only excuse that I have to offer was severe illness which completely unhinged my constitution & rendered me unfit to act like a gentleman.

In December 1820, in a letter written from Lisbon (Portugal), Robert Rutledge explained his precarious financial situation to his brother. He announced his safe arrival “after a short passage of twenty-eight days,” and related his intention of remaining in Lisbon during the winter before visiting “our mother in England & afterwards God only knows what I will do.” He confessed, “the life I lead is most unpleasant. I wish I could procure some occupation & make a little money, any thing that is decent would be far preferable than this idling away my time.” Perhaps he would return to America, he mused, “turn farmer & settle in the Western country.” But, for the time being, he needed money. “When do you suppose the estate will pay my legacy,” he asked. “I hope to receive it (or a part) at the end of the third year.” Robert did visit his mother in Bath (Somerset, England), where she had passed the winter, in the early spring of 1821.

In a letter written from Belle Vue Cottage in Bath (England) on 24 March 1821, she acknowledged the receipt of John's letter of 5 October 1820 with the enclosed bill of exchange for her quarterly annuity payment. She also sent her regards to her daughter-in-law. "My affectionate love to Maria, who I hope with yourself and little folks are in the enjoyment of perfect health," she continued. By this time, John and Maria Rutledge were the parents of two children; John, born 4 October 1820, the fifth in the line of descendants of the immigrant John Rutledge to bear that name, and Sarah, born a year later and named in honor of her grandmother Sarah Motte Rutledge. Again, however, the major focus of her letter was "my poor Robert" and her concern for his welfare. To help alleviate his persistent financial problems, she requested that John, in the future, deduct:

...fifty pounds... from my annual income... and [add it] to that of my son Robert, which I truly hope may serve the purpose intended, to make him through that means *feel* more comfortable & independent.

Robert had left for Liverpool the previous day, she informed John, and she was certain "he will write informing you *where* his next remittance is to be sent." Sarah also needed more money, she explained to John in her 12 June 1821 letter, written from London where she had "so many demands on my purse in this very expensive country...." She reminded

her son of the “two hundred Dollars I accommodated you with when at college” and asked him to repay her. For him, now “basking in the sunshine of prosperity,” the money would be “as a drop of water in the Ocean.” She also emphasized his good fortune, especially when compared to his brother’s situation: “Your brother Robert arrived last week in London, destitute quite of the means of support, without money, except what he borrows.”

Robert Rutledge reinforced his mother’s depiction of his condition when he sent John a short note, in triplicate, dated London, 15 June 1821, and expressed the hope that his brother would “be punctual in remitting” his next payment, due 1 September 1821, “as travelling is expensive & rather ridiculous for a person with small means.”

Apparently, the interest payment failed to reach Robert by 1 September 1821 and Sarah, as she explained in her letter of 2 October 1821, from the Channel-side resort town of Brighton (England), found it necessary to borrow fifty pounds from Messrs. Davison & Simpson on Robert’s behalf by signing a

Bill drawn on the executors of General Rutledge....  
promised to be answerable for *this* debt... incurred by  
me, in his *behalf*, and sincerely hope it will be the last  
time he will be so inconsiderate as to oblige me to do a  
thing so extremely repugnant to my feelings.

On 1 April 1822, Emily S. Rutledge Parker, John's sister, wrote her brother from Cedar Grove, the plantation owned by her father-in-law on Ashley River [in Dorchester County, S.C.], in an attempt to find a solution to the problems presented by their brother Robert. "

Since I last saw you, I have received letters from Mama, wherein, she expresses so strongly her desire that Robert should return to America, that I think it advisable for us to hold out to him, if possible, some inducement that may bring him over.

Emily promised to write to Robert and also encouraged John to do the same. She thought they should both stress "the impropriety of his conduct, & also to state the absolute necessity for him to fix himself in some judicious employment." She observed that "he does not appear desirous of attending to any business & the idle, rambling life he is now leading will ultimately prove his ruin." Although Emily believed that the interest Robert realized from his legacy should "prove adequate to his real wants, but according to his present mode of life, he will before long find himself compelled to encroach upon the principal." Although she felt that her arguments would "have but little weight with Robert," she hoped that "our united efforts, though almost hopeless, may not fail entirely of success."

Robert Rutledge did return to the United States and, on 26 May 1822, wrote to John from Philadelphia with a request for money:

I should like to return to Charleston through the western country & as I have not money sufficient to last for three or four months will thank you either to enclose me a draft or a note of the branch Bk. for One hundred dollars.

Over the course of the next year, Robert regularly corresponded with his brother, and each letter focused on his travels and frequent need for cash. In a 17 June 1822 letter, headed Philadelphia, he discussed previous loans John had made and also outlined his travel plans:

I shall leave this place in the course of a week & go to Nashville & from thence to Charleston & think it probable that I will arrive there the latter part of October.

From Athens (Georgia), on 23 August 1822, he wrote about repayment of thirty dollars he had borrowed from Henry Rutledge in Nashville (Tennessee), and also asked his brother to forward fifty dollars to the town of Washington (Georgia), where he planned “to pass 4 or 6 weeks, [in] a healthy place & so avoid the sickly season in the Low country.” After spending the winter of 1822–1823 in South Carolina, Robert Rutledge spent the following summer in the north and, from Philadelphia, wrote John on 21 July 1823 to inform him that he had “drawn on you in favor of Mr. [John] Vaughan at Ten days sight for Three hundred dollars.”

He had, he continued, “purchased a horse & sulky & shall leave here for the springs of Virginia in a day or two & return home slowly by land.”

Sarah confessed, in a letter to John, written from Bath on 29 August 1823, that she was

...extremely glad to find by a letter from Robert that he is spending the summer at the northward, far away from the dreaded fevers that generally so alarmingly prevails in the hot summer months at Charleston.

Robert Rutledge continued the practice he had established since his return from England, spending the winters in the south and the summers in the north, for a number of years. From Savannah (Georgia), on 24 February 1824, he wrote John with the request that he receive

...the interest of my legacy every six months [rather] than at the expiration of the year. On the 1st of next month there will be due me Six hundred dollars & will thank you either to remit me that sum here or request some person to pay it me.

On 18 April 1824, Robert requested his brother to “call on Doctor Simons & pay him for his attendance on me... The amount of Dr. Simons bill you will deduct from what will be due me on the 1st Septr....”

Almost a year later, on 20 February 1825, Robert wrote from Philadelphia to inform John that he would “draw on you in the course of a

few days for the 300\$ that will be due me on the 1st of March....” He also wanted his brother to pay his “allowance quarterly [rather] than half-yearly & as it can make no difference to you, [I] wish that you wd. *write* permitting me to draw on you every 3 months for 300\$.”

Robert Rutledge explained in a 15 May 1825 letter to his brother, again from Philadelphia, that “Drawing on you is attended with some inconvenience as I cannot negotiate a bill without an Endorser.” John had suggested, in a previous letter quoted by Robert that he would arrange for Peter Bacot, cashier for the Bank of the United States in Charleston, to pay his allowance every three months. Robert now wanted John to follow that procedure and instruct Mr. Bacot to remit the funds to him in Philadelphia. Robert added a post script, apologizing for the brevity of his letters:

My letter or letters to you have been short & solely on money as you will know. I am not much in society [and] have said or can say nothing to entertain you, however with you the case is different & whenever you feel disposed to take up a pen I shall always feel happy to hear from you.

John Rutledge’s bank record books for the Charleston office of the Bank of the United States for the years 1818–1830 reflect the frequent

payments he made to his brother Robert, especially during the years 1822–1825.

John Rutledge, as one of the executors of his father's estate, was responsible for the successful and profitable operation of his father's rice plantations on the Savannah River basin. He personally supervised plantation activities, including planting and harvesting of the crops, as well as marketing the rice. As one of the three owners of the property, along with his sisters Emily Rutledge Parker and her husband John Parker, and Julia Rutledge Rose and her husband James Rose, Rutledge was obligated to maximize the return on the land he and his siblings had inherited.

Rice was in great demand during the 1820s and found a ready market in Savannah and Charleston, as well as in England. A state tax return of General Rutledge's estate, filed on 25 April 1825, for the year 1824, indicated that his heirs owned 560 acres of first quality rice fields, and 840 acres of less valuable uplands in St. Peter's Parish in Beaufort District (S.C.), and two hundred ninety-two enslaved people were employed on the property. The tax bill for both land and slaves was \$276.75. The income generated by the Savannah River rice plantation, according to the terms of General Rutledge's will, would be shared by his three children. Perhaps the profits that Emily and John Parker received from the estate were used to finance the trip the Parker family, children



included, took to England and the continent, a journey that spanned the period from May 1825, when they sailed from Charleston, until they returned home in December 1826.

On 27 June 1825, Sarah Rutledge wrote to John from Liverpool, where she had been “for several days anxiously expecting the arrival of the *Majestic* from Charleston, which vessel...will...bring to me my own dear Emily.” She hinted that one reason for the trip was “Mr. Parker’s distressing depression of spirits.” Emily, in a letter to her brother, also written from Liverpool, on 7 July 1825, briefly described a few of her experiences since landing and promised to send later

...a minute description of every thing I have seen. At present, it would be folly to make the attempt. I feel so completely bewildered that I am afraid it will be a long time before I shall be adequate to the undertaking.

Their mother she “found... looking better & handsomer than I have ever seen her.” However, when she greeted her mother “at eleven o’clock at night, she seemed quite horror struck at my ghastly appearance.” Mr. Parker, she related, “has recovered most astonishingly & I never in [my] life saw him in finer spirits.” Her sons, Francis Simons Parker (1814–1867) and John Rutledge Parker (1817–1856), she wrote,

...were very much laughed at when they first arrived, in consequence of their collars being frilled & turned over

the jacket. The little Boys in the street would call out as they walked along — ‘look at ruffles — hold up your head my little fellow & don’t be ashamed of your ruffles.’ Rutledge would join in their merriment, but poor Francis’s mortification was so great that he said ‘he would not go out at all until he should be completely *Englishified*.’

Even the adults were subjected to comments in the street. “[S]everal times we have distinctly overheard ‘they must be strangers,’ & upon one occasion, ‘I am sure they are from Carolina.’” Emily’s mother recorded her shock upon first meeting her daughter upon her arrival in a letter posted to John from Liverpool on 13 July 1825:

You who have been accustomed to see the dear creature frequently have no idea of the alteration perceptible in her whole person — thin as a skeleton, pale, emaciated to the greatest degree — sadly do I fear my poor child is not long for this world.

On the other hand, she described Emily’s husband as “in perfect health.” He was, she continued, “delighted with Liverpool, and never tires of rambling through its beautiful environs. If thus pleased with this part of England, his rapture on beholding other places, particularly the little world of London, must be unbounded.” Sarah also outlined the itinerary

that she had planned for her daughter's family, which included a visit to a popular spa town in Gloucestershire:

We quit Liverpool next week for Cheltenham, Mr. Parker being desirous to try those justly extolled waters for their beneficial properties to persons residing long in warm climates.... Then to London previous to returning to my favorite Brighton for the winter.

Before the party left Liverpool, however, Sarah wrote again to her son, on 13 July 1825, and informed him that she was sending him an English cheese by Captain Page, the commander of the *Majestic*, who planned to sail for Charleston in a few days.

Mr. Parker chose it for me and tells me... [it] is given into the captns. private care.... I hope it may be taken care of, delivered safe, and without causing you, my son, much trouble...

As she had often done in previous letters, she asked John to "give me some account of poor Robert...and let me know if his income proves adequate to his expenses...."

At the time that his mother enquired about his welfare, Robert Rutledge was in Boston, where on 18 July 1825, he sent a letter to John Rutledge in which he acknowledged the receipt of a check for \$300 on 1 June

1825, while in Philadelphia, and also requested that he send his next remittance, due 1 September 1825, to Boston. His plans, however, had changed, as he explained in a letter from Philadelphia, dated 6 August 1825, and that he had already drawn on John “from this place at fifteen days after Sight for 300\$.”

Sarah Rutledge, however, experienced a financial crisis of her own, in the late summer of 1825, when she learned that the bills of exchange by which John would pay the, 1 September 1825, installment on her yearly annuity had been drawn on Crosby, Clough & Company of Liverpool, a firm that had failed and, as a result, was unable to pay her the money due. In a letter to John written from Cheltenham on 24 August 1825, she told her son that the company’s bankruptcy had placed her “in a situation truly distressing.” The firm also had a presence in Charleston, operating as Crowder, Clough and Company, a fact that had previously facilitated the conversion of bills of exchange in England. Sarah implored John Rutledge and James Rose to relieve her “embarrassment occasioned through this unexpected” loss. When Sarah wrote her next letter to John, on 10 October 1825, she was in London where she had

...been in daily expectation since the commencement of the present month hearing either from you, or Mr. Rose concerning the loss sustained by the failure of the firm of

Crowder, Clough & Co. on whom my last unfortunate  
bills of Exchange were drawn.

She did not mention Emily or any of her grandchildren, or share any of  
their future plans.

Emily Rutledge Parker, however, wrote to John a few days later, on 18  
October 1825, with news of her husband and children. She admitted to  
her brother that although she had

...been [anxious] for years past... to come to England, I  
must confess that I very[,] very often find myself sighing  
after my comfortable home in Charleston [and] the  
children are constantly expressing the same feelings....

Her husband, she believed, was the most eager of the family to return.

“[H]is unfortunate speculation in cotton has proved a sad business  
indeed — it will however teach him more prudence in future.” Emily  
expressed her surprise in learning, from John’s recent letter, that their  
brother Robert Rutledge had returned to Charleston. She asked John to  
“say to him that there are few things that would afford me more pleasure  
than to see him again,” and also offered him the use of the Parker family  
home, Cedar Grove plantation on the Ashley River, while they were  
away. Emily described her family’s living arrangements in London.

Although in the same house, we are not residing with...  
[Mama] as you seemed to imagine. We have our own

apartments consisting of two drawing rooms (one of which we convert into a dining room) & three bed chambers, for which we pay at the same rate that we paid for very inferior lodgings at Newport, [Rhode Island].

Her mother lived in “a parlour & bedroom. I see her every day & two of the children generally take their meals with her.” Her children, Susan Middleton Parker [Lowndes] (1818–1900) and Arthur Middleton Parker (born ca. 1815) “have improved very much since being here — they look as rosy as if they were painted,” she continued.

Emily’s letters to her brother were infrequent while away from home, but Sarah Rutledge, in her letters, often commented on the health and activities of the members of daughter and other members of the Parker family, even though she typically focused on financial matters. In her 30 December 1825 letter, she acknowledged the receipt of two letters from John, both of which had arrived after an unusually quick month’s passage across the Atlantic. He had sent two bills of exchange which she hoped, would “obviate my embarrassment [that] the unfortunate failure of the firm of Crosby & Clough might occasion.” She then commented on the improved health of all members of the Parker family:

Mr. Parker’s health is wonderfully improved — he looks infinitely better than he did on his first arrival in this

bracing country.... Perhaps I have not correctly appreciated John Parker's character. Strongly by prejudice have my feelings been biased towards him..... He is as you say devoted to my darling Emily. I *then* shall indeed love and bless him.

Emily Parker was better, she observed, and "little Arthur...is the fattest, finest, loveliest child I ever saw [and] the other children are well, looking the picture of health, with cheeks like roses."

Sarah Rutledge informed her son, John, in her letter of 3 January 1826 that she and the Parkers planned to spend the approaching spring in France. "We have not decided what part of the continent to wing our flight — more of this at a future period," she wrote. In her letters of 1 February and 8 March 1826, Sarah continued to discuss details of the upcoming trip and Emily Rutledge Parker, in a letter written 21 March 1826, urged John to immediately send the money that she had previously requested from him. The family would leave London in ten days, she wrote, so she directed her brother to send the remittance to her husband in Saint-Servan, a small village in northwest France on the Brittany coast.

When Sarah wrote John Rutledge from London on 13 April 1826, she expressed her concern that he had not responded to his sister's urgent request for her share of the year's profits from their father's estate:

I know that both... [Emily] and Mr. Parker have for some time been daily expecting to receive remittances from... [you]. The dread of pecuniary embarrassment considerably affected Mr. Parker's spirits, entertaining the idea I suppose of being without money.

Mrs. Rutledge had loaned her son-in-law one hundred pounds to relieve his distress, but she feared "it will not be in my power again... to do so, as I found... my own income *in England* sufficient only for necessary expenses." Mr. Parker asked her to remind John that he and Emily

...ought, & must from the estate, through your hands, be supplied with money [as] soon as possible, and I beg you on their account not to be dilatory complying with this very necessary request.

From Brighton (England), on 26 April 1826, Sarah reminded John Rutledge of the instructions she had already sent in regard to the payment of her annuity. "The first and second Bills of Exchange — sent direct to Messrs. Davison & Simpson — the third to me in France," she directed.

The first letter Sarah wrote her son from France was dated 30 July 1826 and headed Saint-Servan, but she gave no indication of how long she and the Parkers had been there. Her chief concern was that neither she nor Emily had received any letters from John, either with bills of



exchange, or with an explanation about his failure to remit the funds requested by his sister. "So careful have you been respecting my having this money when due without loss of time, I was at a loss to conjecture the reason you now are this dilatory," she complained. She also lamented the fact that the Parkers planned to return to Charleston in the fall:

The separation from my child I shall severely feel,  
particularly when I reflect that it is for life. Providence will  
enable me, I trust, to support with resignation this last,  
severe trial.

After the Parkers embarked for home, she had decided to either "return to England, or winter in France." In successive letters written from Saint-Servan on 7 and 20 August, and on 7, 12, 17 September 1826, Sarah Rutledge pleaded with her son John to send her payment, due 1 July 1826, to her immediately. To illustrate her dire circumstances, in her 17 September 1826 letter, she claimed that ten pounds

...are remaining from what proved the source of support,  
for weeks past — a trifle obtained by the sale of  
productions of my pen, done for amusement, and not  
gain....

When she wrote her next letter on 30 September 1826, she had moved to Honfleur, "a small place two hours sail from Harve-De-Grace," located

on the south bank of the Seine River in Normandy (France). Still without funds, she had been unable to accompany Emily and her family the previous day to Le Havre, where they would embark for Charleston; however, according to her letter to John, dated 2 October 1826, and also written from Honfleur, she had “parted with my Emily this morn[ing] at seven o’clock — *to me*, the parting has been dreadful.”

A few days later, the Parkers boarded the *Jupiter* and sailed for home. John finally replied to his mother’s frequent entreaties with a letter written from Charleston on 10 December 1826 in which he offered an excuse for his procrastination. In the retained draft in the Rutledge family papers, John blamed Thomas Young of Savannah, who had promised in his letter of 24 April 1826,

...to make a payment of some money by the first of June last, [and] if this expected payment had been made as we were led to suppose..., your remittance would certainly have been made at the proper time.

He promised that he would send a bill of exchange “for you payable in Havre... for \$1000 the amt. of your semiannual pay[men]t due 1 Jan[ua]ry. 1827” by a ship scheduled to sail for that port the following week. John added that

...Emily, Mr. Parker & their family arrived here all well about a fortnight ago after a long passage of 41 days & a

very disagreeable one owing to the Captn. who was any thing but what he ought to have been. Mr. Parker's health, I think much improved, his spirits are good & he is looking very well. [T]here is less alteration in Emily's appearance... she is looking much the same except being [a] little stouter. The children have all benefitted by their trip across the Atlantic & all present a picture of high health.

A Charleston newspaper reported the arrival of the French ship *Jupiter*, Captain Le Netrel, from Le Havre on 23 November 1826. Among the passengers were "John Parker, Jr., esq., lady, six children and nurse." Sarah Rutledge remained in France after the Parkers sailed to America and, on 20 and 21 January 1827, in duplicate letters, she informed John that she had received the bills of exchange for \$1,000. John, in his draft letter to his mother, written from Charleston on 31 March 1827, remarked that he had received her two January letters, and had shared the contents with Emily. His sister, he related, would write soon with news of

...her increase of family by having presented Mr. Parker with another Daughter & [I] am happy to say that she & her dear infant are both perfectly well.... E[mily] has passed all the winter in town, I believe, in expectation of

this late event & also for the purpose of sending her children to school.

Mrs. Rutledge had decided to gift her granddaughter and namesake, Sarah Parker, with the "United States Stock with the Dividends" that she owned, and John advised her that

...the proper step for you to take now will be to send out a *power of attorney* to Mr. Parker authorizing him to have a *Transfer* of the Stock & Dividends made to Sarah.

John also addressed the repayment of the loan of one hundred pounds "which was made to you from my father's Estate." His mother had previously requested that the money be paid "with the dividends due from my six per cent stock." The dividends, however, as John pointed out, could not be used for that purpose since "they have been given by you to Sarah." Instead of using the stock dividends for repayment to the estate, it would now be necessary to deduct twenty-three pounds from "each remittance till the debt is paid."

For the next six months, Sarah toured France, with stops in Ingonville, a neighborhood within Le Havre; Rouen, where she spent much of April and May 1827; and then to Paris, where she remained until early in November. From Rouen, on 14 April 1827, in a letter to John, she mentioned a literary project, her memoirs, that she had worked on for

many years. "I am writing my life, or more correctly speaking, finishing what at times for years had occupied my pen," she informed him. She also had claimed, previously, that she had sold some of the "products of her pen." None of her writings, however, survive in this unit of family papers.

John Rutledge responded to his mother's letter of 14 April on 5 July 1827 and addressed only the financial issues that she had raised, but did not mention his mother's biographical efforts. He did, however, provide news of his, Emily's and Julia's families:

Emily & her family are all well & her baby (who is to be named after Julia) is as stout in proportion to her age as Arthur was when you saw him. Julia & Mr. Rose & Hugh have gone to the North to pass the summer. We have just heard of their arrival in Phila. after a long & unpleasant passage of 10 days.... Maria with our little folks are at present all well tho' my daughter Susan has been extremely sick with a fever which she took in the country previous to coming to town & was confined to her bed for three weeks....

Emily Rutledge Parker's good health, however, did not continue for long. John's draft of a letter to his mother, dated 12 October 1827 and preserved in the Rutledge family papers, chronicles the illness and death

of his sister Emily. Reporting that she succumbed to yellow fever on 9 October 1827 of yellow fever, John memorialized her life:

As a wife, she was devoted; as a mother, kind and attentive; a dutiful Daughter & an affectionate Sister. Her life, tho' short, has been from childhood to the close checkered with trouble & difficulties; all of which she met & sustained with uncommon prudence & energy of mind.

Mr. Parker was not with her during her final days, John wrote, having "sailed from here in the steamer for Phila[delphia] & from thence to the Sweet Springs in [Monroe County, West] Virginia...." When he learned of his wife's death and funeral, John expressed his concern that:

It will be a blow that will either destroy him or may... cause him to exert himself for the sake of his children to make him a new man....

The funeral service was read at her late residence, Wednesday afternoon [10 October 1827] & the following morning early her body was carried into the country and interred at the place of Mr. Parker Sen[io]r near Goose Creek in accordance to his wish.

Sarah learned of Emily's death from the letter she received on 9 February 1828 from her daughter Maria Rose. Unable to respond to the

news the letter brought, she asked her companion, Elizabeth Cottingham, a young woman who had lived and traveled with her for some time, to write to her daughter-in-law, Maria Rutledge, and acknowledge that she had received “the mournful intelligence of her beloved Daughter’s death.” The impact of her daughter’s death upon Mrs. Rutledge “has almost felled her to the earth — her sufferings are indeed severe, and her mind too much discomposed to pen even a line on the distressing subject,” Elizabeth explained. Even before she heard the news, Mrs. Rutledge had “been for two months [confined] to the sofa, [because] of some inward complaint” which had required “medical aid from two Physicians and a Surgeon.” Elizabeth requested, on Mrs. Rutledge’s behalf, details about Emily’s demise:

Mrs. Rutledge wishes particularly to know who was with Mrs. Parker at her dissolution, if Mr. Parker had returned from the North, [and] in what month, and on what day, taken from the world.

Four days later, Elizabeth addressed a letter to John Rutledge in which she requested the same information about Emily’s death she had asked of Maria Rutledge.

I have witnessed grief, but never such as this.... No person in this Country can offer her the slightest

consolation — who then, Sir, should she receive it from  
but her own family.

In Sarah Rutledge's first letter to her son-in-law written after Emily's death and dated 24 April 1828, she wrote: "I commit papers to your care of some consequence to those dear children so fondly cherished by *one* I most fondly loved." Apparently, she returned letters, or other writing, by Emily to her children. She also expressed her own love for her recently deceased daughter:

Poor Emily, her life was indeed chequered with trouble and difficulties. Blessed Saint, she now is I trust, & firmly believe, in the *full* enjoyment of Bliss supreme, perfect Eternal happiness, that considered, who would wish her back upon earth, not her mother.... Heaven's the fittest place for so pure and meek a spirit.

Writing to her son John on 27 May 1828, Sarah Rutledge complained that:

nearly four months have elapsed since letters were written to Charleston, [with] no answers except by Mr. Parker. Tell me the reason of your silence.

She discovered the problem two months later when, as she explained to John in a letter of 24 July 1828, she had just received John's letter, dated 29 March 1828, the day before. It had been "directed to the care of



Messrs. Davison & Simpson," who forwarded it to her in France, even though she asserted that she had notified the firm in February that she had returned from the continent. As a result of their failing to forward her mail promptly, she decided she would no longer use the services of Davison & Simpson. All letters to her, in the future, should be addressed to her residence, 13 Compton Street, Brunswick Square, London, she added.

When the next payment of her annuity was due, John sent the bills of exchange directly to her, as she had instructed and, in her letter of 18 August 1828, she informed him that

...your favor & that of Mr. Rose bearing date 18 & 19th July came to hand on the 16th of this month... [along with the] bill of Exchange on Messrs. Baring Brothers & Co., which is accepted & the money paid.

Now that the regular pattern of her semiannual payments had resumed and her expenses decreased after she returned from the continent, she asked John to

...do me the favor to place into my Grand-daughter Emily's hand (whom I have desired to execute a trifling commission for me) one hundred dollars to be deducted with interest from next Jan[uary's] semiannual payment.

The favored granddaughter, fifteen-year-old Emily Rutledge Parker (1813–ca. 1870), responded to her grandmother’s generosity in a letter written from Charleston on 10 November 1828. “Many, many thanks my dear Grand Mama for your affectionate letters & handsome present accompanying that of August 18th,” she began. After a profuse apology for allowing a “long space of time... to elapse, without sending you a single line” after her family had returned to Charleston, she proceeded to comment on Charleston’s “pleasant” summer, without the usual heat or “many cases of Yellow Fever,” and the state of her siblings’ health:

The children are all quite well. Julia & Arthur have had bad colds... but are much better, & Julia is as fat & lively as ever. They have all grown very much, Brother & Sarah particularly. Rutledge is the same mischievous, troublesome Boy that he ever was; I cannot say that he is much improved. Arthur is a very clever, handsome little fellow, but cannot yet speak plain. I suspect it was owing to confounding the two languages before he spoke English that makes him so backward.

Her father’s “health & spirits are both bad, though on our account he makes many exertions to throw off a load of misery which presses him to the earth,” she continued. Also, she reported the recent tragedy in John and Maria Rutledge’s family with the loss of their:

little Boy Edward between two & three years of age,  
[who] died a few days ago. Aunt Maria... & Uncle John  
are very much distressed; he was a very fine little Boy, &  
just of an interesting age.

In closing, Emily Rutledge Parker expressed the desire to see her  
grandmother again someday:

...nothing would give me, (or rather us) more real  
pleasure, than to see you once more," "But, at the  
same time, we must not consult our own wishes only,  
but your health, for I think I have heard you say, that this  
climate did not agree with you....

Sarah Rutledge spent the winter of 1828–1829 in Brighton (England),  
and it was from there, on 14 January 1829 that she wrote Maria Rutledge  
a long letter of sympathy, two days after she had learned from her grand-  
daughter Emily's letter about the death of Maria and John's young son  
Edward. Remembering her own loss when her nine-year-old son, also  
named Edward, died in 1809 of yellow fever, Sarah wrote her daughter-  
in-law:

...on such an occasion, the heart of a Mother only can  
feel a Mother's anguish. Early indeed has the dear  
baby's earthly career closed, translated from a world of  
woe, to an Eternity of bliss.

When she wrote John Rutledge a letter that focused primarily on business matters, on 7 February 1829, she also extended to him her condolences in the loss of his son, observing that the “dear babe [was] removed from a world of suffering to a Heaven of Eternal rest.” John, in a draft letter to his mother written from Charleston on 3 April 1829, expressed his own feelings on the death of his son. Edward Mason Rutledge, remembered as:

...a most lovely and endearing infant and the only consolation left us is, that it has been the decree of God to take him in infancy in a state of perfect innocence from this world full of temptation & woe.

John’s letter of 3 April 1829, in which he enclosed his mother’s semiannual payment, which had been due on 1 January 1829, did not reach her until the middle of May, she informed her son in a letter dated 25 May 1829. Part of the difficulty in communicating her wishes to John in regard to the sending the bills of exchange in a timely manner was the fact that “from Brighton there is no direct conveyance to America. I have either to enclose letters to London or Liverpool for embarkation.” Henceforth, she intended to send her letters from London “by the New York Packet, which Packets sail twice a month from thence.” In her next letter to John Rutledge, written from London on 27 June 1829, she directed “by way of New York, should no vessels be up for

Charleston.” This letter, Sarah Rutledge devoted primarily to her grandchildren. She asked her son to encourage his eighteen-year-old son, John, to write his grandmother a letter:

I can give no reason why I thus feel, but the fact is my heart yearns more towards that boy of yours than y[ou]r other dear children. Tell him I will send a small writing desk to entice him to commence a correspondence, & tell Julia’s son [Hugh], I shall be most glad to hear from him likewise.

Concern for the financial welfare of her Parker grandchildren, however, prompted her to provide periodic monetary gifts to the older ones. She wanted John to present Francis Parker seventy dollars to be deducted from her next annuity payment:

Young people of this age require to be possessed of pocket money, and... from a sentence in Julia’s last letter concerning Mr. Parker’s pecuniary circumstances, I conjecture he cannot well afford to supply them with cash. I therefore shall, [as] far as my limited ability allows, assist them in that way.

This she did, she wrote, because “they are the children of my own departed Emily....”

While still in London, on 1 July 1829, Sarah Rutledge wrote an introspective letter to her son. “Since coming to London, I feel much better.... [A] change of air at times is certainly serviceable, not only to the body, but the mind.” Before she left Brighton, she continued, “my only consolation for months past has been listening to the Revd. Mr. Maitland.” Charles David Maitland (1785– 1865), who had assumed his responsibilities at St. James’s Chapel, Brighton, in 1826 and remained there for the remainder of his life, had a profound impact on Sarah’s religious life:

Oh! d[ea]r John would you hear that revered man...  
Never did I listen to such a one — never receive such  
advice as comes from his truly pious lips.... With a  
humble, contrite heart I regularly attend Devine services  
at his church. Unknowing & *unknown* I am at Brighton for  
*peace*. [T]hat blessed peace, I mean, the world or  
people of the world can neither give or deprive me of. I  
have but one solid refuge—in religion.

The next day, 2 July 1829, she wrote another, but very different, letter to John Rutledge, occasioned by the unexpected “arrival of Mr. Rose & my d[ea]r Julia in France.” She expected them in England in about six weeks and, uncertain about her own whereabouts, urged John to forward her

next bill of exchange to either “Messrs. Tinsley, Hodgson & Co. or the Messrs. Barings.”

When Sarah wrote John on 30 September 1829, the Roses had arrived in London and she was often with them, but she was distraught because her July payment had not arrived which had left her finances in disarray. She also dreaded the imminent departure of her daughter.

Mr. Rose, I believe, leaves England this week for France to embark from [Le] Havre to America. I make no enquiry concerning the precise day, come when it will, it will arrive much too soon. Every time we meet, I think it is for the last, and dread the final word, adieu.

The Roses sailed to France in early October 1829 to await passage back home, but left Sarah in London still waiting for the receipt of her July semiannual payment. When she wrote John on 21 October 1829, she noted that she had just received a letter from Julia Rutledge Rose, written after she arrived in France, in which her daughter quoted from a letter she had received from Maria, dated 3 September 1829:

Your brother requests you to say to your mother that he cannot at this time produce a bill on England — soon as he can he will attend to her request.

Sarah Rutledge remarked, sarcastically to John, “strange that a bill of Exchange for Mr. Rose, one he did receive, *could be produced*, but not one for me.” If she had had her payment, she would

...be in France to embark *this present month* with my most dear Julia, once more (should Providence permit) for my native land, [where] I trust to breathe my last in the presence of some of my dear children.... For New York I quit England... soon as you allow my doing so by forwarding July’s payment — until it arrives...I shall remain in England.

Sarah Rutledge’s plan to return to America, however, was postponed by her illness, as she explained to John in a letter written in London on 24 March 1830. “I have been confined to my room seriously ill [which] has to this period [prevented] departure,” she wrote. Even though much better, she was “far from well,” but her “faithful Betsy, who resided with me ten years” had returned and was “again with me,” she continued. In the same letter, she affirmed her intention of returning to America and mentioned her efforts to find ships that were scheduled to sail in the near future. She decided, however, to remain in England “during the hot weather in our country,” she informed John in her letter of 23 June 1830.



She would wait to sail until the late summer which would allow her to land in New York sometime in October where she expected “to be fixed for life.”

On 27 November 1830, she wrote from London and described to John the overwhelming depression that prevented any thoughts of departing for America. “Often I feel so thoroughly overcome with sadness... a malady since the death of my own cherished, lamented child, that instead of diminishing, increases after thousands of tears.” She doubted that her children wanted her to return to America:

You say nothing to my remaining here, or fixing there....

Do you not wish to see me[?] I cannot help persuading myself that you do, & will be glad to hear of my arrival in that quarter.

John’s response to that question did not satisfy his mother and, in her letter written from Brighton on 4 April 1831, she expressed her disappointment. “Your last letter, my dear John, convinces me all ideas of being sheltered under y[ou]r roof, there residing for the remainder of... [my life], must be given up,” she acknowledged. He had apparently refused to move, with his family, to “the Northern states” for his mother’s comfort. “Warm weather suits not my constitution,” she complained, “[and] I cannot... consent to live in a place so intensely hot” as Charleston, she continued. She did intend, however, to visit her children

during the next year. "The coming May I look to sailing for New York when the weather is milder than at present period." In a postscript, she noted that "some writings of Mr. Parker's [were] forwarded to my care to have published," a task she "must attend to 'ere leaving England." She asked her son to tell John Parker "that being at Brighton, I wrote immediately on the receipt of my g[ran]ddaughter's letters specifying particulars thereto to his friend Mr. Verey." If she did not receive an answer from Mr. Verey in a few days, she promised to "write to Mr. Murray on the subject."

John Murray (1778–1843) served as the head of a very important London publishing company that had been responsible for publishing the works of Lord Byron and other literary figures. Sarah may have known him because of her own literary interests. "It really would gratify me exceedingly to be enabled to have them (if approved by the Editor) published to advantage."

John Rutledge, in response to his mother's 4 April 1831 letter, explained why he could not leave South Carolina:

With regard to my residing in the Northern states, my dear Mother, & having you with me, I assure you it would afford me much happiness; but there are too many

obstacles, not the business of the Estate alone for that is attended to in the winter; but my family now is large & don't think I could move with them.

He suggested that rather than considering a permanent relocation to South Carolina, she consider visiting:

Charleston to see all your grandchildren... during the winter; & pass your summers in any part of the northern states most agreeable.... I shall anticipate with sincere pleasure the time I shall see you again.

Sarah Rutledge finally visited her family in the United States in 1831. An entry under "Shipping News" in a Baltimore newspaper noted the arrival in New York, on 4 September 1831, "of Mrs. Gen. Rutledge, of S.C." aboard the packet ship *Hibernia*, which had sailed from Liverpool on 1 August 1831. In a frantic letter to John, undated but postmarked 7 September 1831, she wrote:

In a strange place landed, surrounded by strangers, & not one of my family as expected to meet *me*. There is something inexplicable I cannot fathom — go where I will in every direction am watched, followed, and certainly think they have made a prisoner of *me* in my present residence.

Her plight was made even more difficult because she feared to travel to Charleston during the summer months:

To Charleston I cannot go, even should they permit me,  
which I doubt, 'til the month of Nov[ember], as there  
seldom is a frost before that season.... Heaven bless you  
my children — you know not how I long to see you all.

Apparently, James and Julia Rose traveled to New York in October 1831 and accompanied Mrs. Rutledge to Charleston. The *Charleston Courier* printed a list of the passengers who had sailed from New York aboard the ship *Martha*, and disembarked on 3 November 1831 in South Carolina. The names of “Mr. Rose and Lady,” along with “Mrs. Rutledge and servant” appear on the list. Sarah Rutledge remained in Charleston during the summer of 1832, but lived in a rented house on Sullivan’s Island, away from the city.

On 28 July 1832, Julia Rutledge Rose posted a letter to “Mrs. S. M. Rutledge, care of John Rutledge Esq. Charleston, So[uth. C[arolin]a,” from Spartanburg (S.C.), where she had stopped to rest while on her way to spend the summer in Flat Rock (North Carolina). After Julia described her disagreeable journey in “intense heat,” she tried to persuade her mother to remain in Charleston with her family. “If you can be satisfied anywhere in Carolina, it must be where you now are, it is so much more natural to be with your children than strangers.” She also

assured her that her son John “will do everything in his power to make you comfortable & happy.”

Sarah Rutledge remained in Charleston for another year, until late September 1833. Accompanied by Julia and James Rose, Sarah returned to New York where she embarked for England during the first week of November 1833 aboard the packet ship *Hannibal*. Her daughter and son-in-law traveled overland back to Charleston and reached their home on 15 November 1833.

The day after she arrived in Charleston, Julia Rose received the shocking news of the death of her brother, Robert Rutledge. Julia related the details in a letter to her mother, dated 20 November 1833:

[A]s we were preparing for Church, Aunt Harriott called & put into my Brother’s hand the following copy of a note from her son Frederick.

Harriott Pinckney Horry Rutledge (1770–1858), was the widow of General John Rutledge’s brother Frederick Rutledge (1771–1824), and lived at Hampton plantation on the Santee River [in northern Charleston County, S.C.], along with her son Frederick (1800– 1884), and also maintained a house in Charleston. The note, which Julia quoted in its entirety, carried “the melancholy tidings” of Robert’s sudden demise. Frederick wrote that he had:

...returned to Hampton about 3 o'clock today, where the enclosed note from Mr. Petrigu was brought me. It informed us of the death of our cousin Robert Rutledge... who was drowned last night on Lynah's causeway.

He had asked his neighbor Dr. Philip Porcher Mazyck (1792-1860) to examine Robert's body and the doctor concluded "that his death may have happened accidentally." Frederick also asked his mother to inform John Rutledge

...of the melancholy event as soon as possible, [and] if he is not in Town either Mr. Rose or Parker may come to give directions as to his funeral.

Because Julia believed that "it would be more satisfactory [for her mother] to be thus informed," she continued with a detailed description of the events that followed her brother's death:

My husband & Brother John immediately took the stage & proceeded immediately to Hampton, the burial service was performed by Mr.[Paul Trapier] Keith, the minister from Georgetown & the interment took place at the church, within a mile or two of Hampton [plantation].

Robert Rutledge was buried in the cemetery of Saint James Santee parish church and his grave appropriately marked with a tomb stone

likely placed there by his two surviving siblings, John and Julia. Julia also related that:

The countenance of my poor Brother was perfectly placid & a gentleman who had seen him at Georgetown [S.C.] only the day before his death, observed that he was well dressed & looking better than he had done for years. Truly it may be said of him, he was no man's enemy, but his own & I firmly believe the habit he indulged in for the last few years, was induced more from the mind praying upon itself & not at all times sane, than from any other cause.

She assumed that her mother's voyage to England was "now drawing to a close" and that it "has been so far favorable...."

Julia Rutledge Rose followed her letter announcing the death of her brother with another, written on 17 December 1833 from Fairlawn plantation, the Roses' country estate [located on the upper Wando River], in which she intended to give her mother "a detail of domestic concerns." She reported that her thirteen-year-old son, Hugh, was "well & delighted to have me at home again, his Holidays commencing earlier

than usual enabled me to leave Town the last of Nov[em]ber.” Her  
“Brother John & his family are spending the winter at Poplar Grove”  
[located in Beaufort District, S.C., his rice plantation on the Savannah  
River in St. Peter's Parish]:

I requested him to send on your remittance immediately.

He told me it should be done as soon as the rice was  
sold, which would be in a few days....

Julia Rutledge Rose had returned to Charleston by early March 1834,  
where on the 6th, she wrote her mother that she had learned of her safe  
arrival in England the day before, when she had received “en masse”  
five long letters from my dear Mama.”

In one of the letters, her mother had asked about a prayer book that she  
had left in Charleston. Julia promised to look for it “in the trunk... & get  
Hugh’s Schoolmaster Mr. Cotes, who goes to Europe in the Spring, on a  
visit to his parents, to take charge of it.” Christopher Cotes (1794–1855)  
ran a school in Charleston that Hugh had attended since 1830. Before  
Sarah returned to England, she had given Julia one hundred dollars to  
be distributed to her grandchildren. Julia described for her mother how  
she had divided the money among the eight children. To John Rutledge  
and Hugh Rose, she gave \$20 to each, and:

...10\$ to the two Susan’s, [Parker and Rutledge]; 5\$ to  
little Hugh, James,[and] Emily [Rutledge] & Arthur



[Parker]. They were all much pleased with the remembrance, & spent it in necessaries.

Mrs. Rutledge's namesake, Sarah Parker, "was delighted with" her gift and "she intends writing her thanks."

Julia Rutledge Rose, in her next letter to her mother, headed Charleston (S.C.), 9 April 1833, acknowledged the receipt of an undated letter from her in which she had written about her daily routine. Julia was pleased that she was "comfortably settled in London with dear good Betsy [Cottingham] as your companion." She also shared news of Charleston with Sarah:

I am sure you will be sorry to hear that the sea is making dreadful inroads on our Sand Bank, Sullivans Island.

The house you occupied last Summer is now not habitable, the Boathouse, fence, platform, all gone. The Breakwater so far from protecting those Houses, has been of great distress, the current being changed, it is now forcing its way in the direction of Mr. Gaillards & Stoney's House.

She had found the prayer book that her mother had left behind and told her "Hugh's Schoolmaster, Mr. Cotes, takes charge of this letter as well as your prayer book."

In an undated letter written from Brighton, probably in July 1834, Sarah Rutledge acknowledged the receipt of Julia's letters of 9 April and 30 May 1834 and expressed her dismay that her daughter planned to remain in Charleston for the summer. "Oh! how I regret ever leaving my child," she exclaimed. The remainder of her letter she devoted to her depressed state of mind. She mentioned the loss of her daughter Emily and then "poor Robert's untimely death" as reasons for her current depression. She asserted that Robert's difficulties in life "were produced by the unfortunate separation of his Parents," and also claimed that "Robert, although you believe not, possessed his mother's feelings."

In an undated 1834 letter to her mother, Julia Rutledge Rose referred to concern about her mother's state of mind, as reflected in her recent letters and her behavior while visiting in Charleston:

It distressed me greatly also to hear that you still...  
allowed your judgment in yielding to the great  
despondence you indulged in to such an extent here &  
which I attributed (in part) to the debilitating effect of our  
climate, trusting that the change you so ardently longed  
for, when once accomplished, would have done more  
towards your restoration to health & spirits than anything  
else.

In another letter to her mother, undated but probably written in December 1834, Julia Rose returned to the same theme: her concern for Sarah Rutledge's mental and emotional wellbeing. After reading her mother's most recent letters:

...my delight when a letter is brought me... is instantly damped by a perusal of the contents, for I find that the feeling of dissatisfaction & unhappiness that so unfortunately took possession of you have, to the exclusion of every thing like peace or enjoyment, still exists there. You still speak of injurious treatment, suspicious circumstances, mystery &... things that only exist in imagination, & from their continuances (no matter where you are or whom with), I wonder... the inconsistency & improbability of its reality, has not at time struck even you.

Julia also reminded her mother that "it was the same when here.... you were not happy & conceived yourself neglected by all...." Julia pleaded with her mother:

...to... strenuously endeavour, whenever these... feelings come over ou, to say this is imagination, *my child* says so & she would not deceive me.

Julia concluded her letter with the happy news that her niece, and her mother's granddaughter, Emily Parker, had "married a very clever man, extremely amiable & devotedly attached to her." Her husband, Theodore Marshall Gaillard (1808–1850), was the son of Theodore Gaillard (1766–1829), an associate judge of the Court of General Sessions and Common Pleas at the time of his death, and his wife Cornelia Marshall Gaillard (1768–1851). Emily's brother, Rutledge, Julia continued, "is engaged to his pretty cousin, Susan Lining." Her son Hugh, she informed her mother:

...is well & has just left me for the country. He has grown so tall I think you would scarcely recognize [him]. [His] father has applied to the Government for a birth at West Point, if successful, he will commence his studies there the next summer.

Julia Rose, in her first letter of the new year to her mother, written on 4 January 1835, acknowledged the receipt of "two very long & affectionate letters from My dearest Mama & right glad was I to see they were written in a more cheerful strain than the [other recent ones]." Julia shared family news with her mother, including word "that Maria has had an increase to her family, a... little girl about a fortnight [ago]." Maria Rutledge, her mother's namesake, had been born on 17 December 1834. She also mentioned that "Mr. Cotes has returned & I hope soon to

receive a visit from him, as he saw you so short a time since, the sight of him will afford me real gratification....” Sarah, in a previous letter, had apparently commented on Mr. Cotes’ visit and had been rather critical in her remarks. Julia, perhaps as a counter to her mother’s negative impression, praised her son’s schoolmaster as a man who,

...possesses a well cultivated mind, with a great deal of natural urbanity & is a decided confirmed Disciple of our Saviour.... [Someone] induced him some years since (by way of bettering his fortunes), to cross the Atlantic, & his industries have been crowned with success. He is the principal of the best & most select school in Charleston.

Julia also shared her plans for the summer with her mother. “[I]f we succeed in obtaining a birth for Hugh at We[st P]oint,” she and James planned to spend time in the North and visit their son at the United States Military Academy. From Hugh’s application file, found among the records of the United States Military Academy, it is clear that James Rose had contacted John C. Calhoun about an appointment for his fourteen-year-old son late in 1834 and, as a result of Calhoun’s request, had procured a statement from Christopher Cotes, Hugh’s recently returned schoolmaster, attesting to his son’s academic preparation. He forwarded the letter to the South Carolina senator in January, along with his own note, in which he explained that even though Hugh was very

young, “His growth & strength are premature, giving him the appearance of a boy of 17 rather than his real age.”

Educator Christopher Cotes, in his letter of support for young Rose, dated 12 January 1835, reported that Hugh Rose,

...is now nearly fifteen years of age” and had been his student since August 1830. “[He] has made considerable progress in the Latin & Greek Languages & is tolerably conversant with the French.... he is well acquainted with the principles of Arithmetic & has for some time been studying Algebra which he understands thoroughly....[and] has paid attention to History, Geography & the usual Branches of an English Education.

In her next letter to her mother, written 20 March 1835, Julia Rose on her son’s good news, “Hugh has at last received an appointment at West Point & is under orders to be there by the first of June.” Her husband, she explained:

...will probably take him on by the middle of May & if I go, which is more than probable, will follow in June with Francis [Parker, her nephew] & he says I *must* go to the falls of Virginia & show him a little of the world....

Francis, who was engaged to be married, had confided that on his return from his trip “early in Dec[ember] the day he is of age,” he would bid “adieu to a life of single blessedness.” Other family news concerned recently-married Emily, whose:

...first trouble is at hand; her Husband leaves her in May or July for Alabama to look for lands, during his absence Emily takes up her abode with his mother & I believe in September there is a promise of an increase to their... [family].

By the time Julia Rutledge Rose next wrote to her mother, on 30 May 1835, Hugh had left home for West Point and, she confessed, “my poor heart has felt as though it was breaking ever since.” Julia and James Rose had suffered the loss of their second son, John Rutledge Rose (1821–1822), at age seven months, and the departure of her surviving son for college, caused her to suffer “a great deal in my mind,” she told her mother. She planned, however, to see him later in the summer. “I hope to go on [to the North] in July & if I could, would make it my headquarters during the term of my son’s scholastic studies.”

From Newport (Rhode Island), Julia wrote her mother, on 15 August 1835, to acquaint her with her itinerary since leaving Charleston in mid-July:

After paying my heart's treasure a visit at West Point, returning to New York & making a short sojourn there (in order to give the milliners & mantua-makers a little... [business]), we proceeded to New Port, where we now are & propose six weeks longer. We are at our old friends the Gardiners & every room in the House filled, besides constant applications to be taken in. I feel quite at home, there are so many from Carolina here, our friends the Coffins in the same House with us; the Pinckneys, Izards, Rutledge's, besides a number of others, from home.

Before departing for Charleston in October, the couple planned to visit Boston, "then return again to West Point, where we hope to make some little stay with our son...." After Hugh completed his studies at West Point, Julia continued,

I hope it may be in our power to send, or accompany, him to Europe & two years in some University at Germany will complete a thorough education.



Julia Rose began her first letter, 12 November 1835, to her mother after she returned home to South Carolina with a lament:

After a very pleasant 3 months' sojourn at the North...,  
now we are again in dusty, disagreeable Charleston, the  
last place in the world choice would lead me to, but it is  
my Husband's will & I must obey.

She had visited her son Hugh at West Point, as she had planned, and she related, "I left my dear Boy well & with less reluctance than I could have supposed...." She was "looking forward to a happy reunion the next summer." The cadets, she continued, begin their "vacation... in July & I left him anticipating the time for visiting his friends at home." She also shared some melancholy family news with her mother:

[Y]ou will be shocked to hear of the deaths of Harleston  
Rutledge & his mother, the former of consumption five  
days since & the latter yesterday of general dropsy, both  
I believe aware of their approaching end & quite  
resigned.

Nicholas Harleston Rutledge (1809–1835) was Julia's cousin, the son of her father's brother, Edward Rutledge (1767–1811) and Jane Smith Harleston Rutledge (1773–1835). She also shared more pleasant news of her brother's family:

I found my Brother's family well & preparing to go to Housekeeping; they have taken a House in St. Philip Street... near St. Paul's church. Little Robert, your favorite, is the express image of John & a nice good tempered little fellow he is.

Robert Smith Rutledge (1832–1902) had been named for his uncle, Sarah's "poor Robert," who died in 1833. Julia's mother had, apparently, indicated that she did not wish to hear about the Parker children, but Julia insisted on telling her "that Emily is the mother of a sweet little girl, the picture of what she was at that age, [even though] I know [it] is a forbidden subject..."

In an effort to make up for not writing more frequently during her summer in the North, Julia Rose wrote another letter to her mother, Sarah Rutledge, just two weeks after her last. Julia again complained about Charleston, in the letter dated 25 November 1835, because the

...weather continues oppressively warm, flannels & all warm garments discarded for summer clothing & the nights even with open windows, extremely debilitating & mosquitoes swarming beyond endurance; indeed, I feel as though I never could be satisfied with Charleston again & am more fully convinced than ever that we are on the wrong side of the Atlantic.

Julia also reported that “there has been & still is, some talk about the academy at West Point being broken up by government, in which case, we should be puzzled where to fix Hugh. [!]t would be a good opportunity for me to urge his going to Germany, [for] I have the highest opinion of the schools there.”

On 1 March 1836, in a letter to her mother, Julia described an incident that had caused her “great uneasiness on my Husband’s account,” and had been the reason she had not written sooner. James Rose, who had boarded the steam packet *William Gibbons* in Charleston on 17 January 1836, bound for New York, had “very narrowly escaped with his life,” Julia reported, when “the steam packet burst her Boiler & six men were killed.” Her husband, she continued:

...providentially with some others had[,] a short time before the explosion took place[,] left the cabin, or they all would have fallen victims to the carelessness of the Engineer, who knew before [they] left this port of the dangerous state of the machinery. Since hearing of this dreadful accident, I have been in a state of misery, until a few days back when Mr. R. returned.

After recounting the near-tragedy of the steam packet accident, Julia focused on the contents of her mother’s last two letters. She remarked that:

...from the tone of [your recent letters], I am almost at a loss how & what I am to write about... for if I mention any little Incident, a double meaning is immediately attached to it or something more inferred than the mere words could imply, which is not at all the case.

In a previous letter to her mother, Julia had described an incident when “an old Beggar about 90 years of age... [had] introduced herself to me as an old acquaintance of the family, having been married by Bishop Smith.” Julia quoted her mother’s response to the reference to the Smith family’s servant:

‘Twice Julia have you mentioned Mary Brooks and that she tells a very plain story. Why not mention what that story *is*[?] I am very sure I cannot even grasp, and will you allow me to say, that to speak without explaining your meaning... [as you] have done often before, is not correct.’

In an effort to allay her mother’s suspicions, Julia expanded the narrative of her interaction with Mary Brooks and assured her mother that the former servant only “spoke in exalted terms of the Bishop’s kindness.” She then asserted that “I verily believe in every thing that is said or written no matter by whom, your imagination will put a different construction than was intended.” Then she reminded her mother

...of how miserable you were in America, placing confidence in no one, doubting & mistrusting all, declaring you were more at ease with strangers than your own children & longed day & night to return to England.... Our happiness I am firmly convinced depends on ourselves.

In Julia's next letter, the final one to her mother in the collection, she again scolds her mother because of the contents of her letters. Julia wrote from Charleston, on 29 March 1836:

In your last letters my dear Mama you tax me with unkindness, now I am at a loss how or in what way I have been so, if because I refrain from asking you to return, all I can say is 'a burnt child dreads the fire.'

During her mother's previous visit to Charleston, Julia remembered, she had often been "blamed... [and] reproached for acting in... such a manner, as you always termed it." Furthermore, she continued,

If it is your wish to return to this country, what is there to prevent it? [T]here are vessels always sailing direct for this Port from London & here you would be sure of meeting with friends & relations.... I cannot see what the difficulty is in getting a suitable person where you are & coming direct to Charleston where there is not the

slightest fear of being among strangers. [H]ere, where you have children, Brothers & other relatives, there can't be the dread on your mind there was when you last returned to this country.

Julia once again pointed out that her mother seemed to have lost touch with reality:

So many strange fancies now possess you Dear Mama that I cannot help saying on the receipt of each letter 'well nothing can surprise me after this,' but every successive one calls for the exclamation of wonder.

Perhaps as an example for her mother to emulate, Julia observed

...that dear old Aunt [Harriott] Rutledge... [is] enjoying a charming green old age. I never knew of such equanimity of disposition. Her house is now a pleasant resort for the young as well as old.

Sarah Rutledge, eventually persuaded by her daughter's pleas, decided to return to her family in Charleston. A New York newspaper recorded that among the passengers who had arrived in early January 1837 was "Mrs. Rutledge, of Charleston." She was accompanied by her long-time friend and companion, Elizabeth "Betsy" Cottingham. The pair sailed

from New York on 11 January 1837 and, according to a notice published in the *Charleston Courier* on 18 January 1837, arrived there the day before aboard the “line ship Calhoun.”

The final letter in the collection to Sarah M. Rutledge was written on 2 December 1842, by her granddaughter, Susan M. Parker, and was addressed to her grandmother in “Care of James Rose, Esqr., Charleston, So[uth] Carolina.” From the context of some of Susan’s comments, Sarah was apparently living with her daughter and son-in-law. The letter was headed Combahee, the plantation home of John Parker and his unmarried children, located in Colleton District (South Carolina), about ten miles south of Walterboro, the county seat. Susan Middleton Parker (1821–1911) mentioned her sister Julia Parker (1827–1911), her brother Arthur Parker (born ca. 1822) and also noted that:

...we left Rutledge in possession of the establishment at Goose Creek, [where] he is to spend the winter all alone. You had better get a Carriage & ride up to see him.... but I tell you where you ought really to go... it would be just a nice drive for you up to the Farm to spend the day with Sister [Emily]. On a bright day it is a sweet spot,

with a beautiful view of the river & nice little children. I'm sure you would enjoy it much & it would certainly be of service to you & then Sister would be very glad to see you.

Her father, she continued, was well, but "has had a great deal of worry with this place & nothing to reward him yet, in the way of good crops, though the Lands are considered very valuable."

Sarah Motte Rutledge lived the final fifteen years of her life with members of her family in Charleston. She died 14 January 1852 and her remains were buried in St. Philip's Episcopal Churchyard where, according to the inscription on her tombstone, she shared the same grave with her son Edward Mason Rutledge, who had died, 1809, during childhood.

Although no letters chronicle the last years of her life in Charleston, two documents in the collection relate to her estate. A copy of "Letters of Administration, By M.T. Mendenhall, Esquire, Ordinary, the State of South-Carolina, Charleston," issued to Hugh R. Rutledge, of Charleston, and dated 20 March 1852, for "Mrs. Sarah M. Rutledge, dec[ease]d., late of Charleston, [widow]" is present. Acting as administrator, Hugh placed a notice in the 31 March 1852 issue of the *Charleston Courier* that requested:



All persons having demands against the Estate of Mrs. Sarah M. Rutledge, late of Charleston, deceased... to present them properly attested, and those indebted to the same, to make payment to [him].

There is also a copy of a document titled "Limited Administration of the effects of Mrs. S.M. Rutledge, dec[ease]d, dated 10<sup>th</sup> July 1852," which states that Charles Francis Cobb had appeared before the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (Kent, England) and indicated

...that Sarah Motte Rutledge formerly of Brighton... but late of Charleston, South Carolina in North America... having whilst living and at the time of her death Goods Chattels or Credits...sufficient to...[fall under] the jurisdiction of our said court, died intestate leaving behind... John Rutledge Esquire on of her natural and lawful children who hath in and by a special Power of Attorney under his hand and seal nominated and appointed James Alexander Simpson and the said Charles Francis Cobb jointly and severally his Attorneys for the purpose of obtaining Letters of Administration of the Goods Chattels and Credits of the said Sarah Motte Rutledge.

The two attorneys were members of the law firm Simpson, Cobb, Roberts & Simpson of London and were connected with Simpson & Davison, the firm that had long served members of the Rutledge family. Charles Francis Cobb was the son of Frederick Cobb (1796–1883) who had married Eleanor Davison, the daughter of Crawford Davison (1761–1836), General John Rutledge’s friend and agent in England.

It was necessary for John Rutledge to turn to the English attorneys to reclaim shares of stock in the Bank of England that had belonged to his mother, but that had been transferred to the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt, sometime after 5 July 1836, the date when Mrs. Rutledge last claimed a dividend. A notice, published in *The Times* of London, on 23 July 1852, stated that:

...three months from this date the said STOCK will be TRANSFERRED, and the dividends thereon paid, to CHARLES FRANCIS COBB, Administrator to the said Sarah Motte Rutledge, deceased, who has claimed the same, unless some other claimant shall sooner appear and make out his claim thereto.

The sum involved was 1,250 pounds and, according to the inventory of her estate, filed in Charleston during the summer of 1852, that amount, along with twenty shares of bank stock and \$1,833.33 on deposit in the Southwestern Railroad Bank, all together totaling \$8,274.21, comprised

her estate. It is likely, however, that by the time she returned to live in Charleston in 1837, any property left in General Rutledge's estate had been divided among his children and, as a result, there were few assets left that could provide the funds for her annuity. Apparently, her children and grandchildren helped support her during the last years of her life. When her son-in-law John Parker drafted his will in 1845, he mentioned one daughter who "for several years... did not contribute (as did the rest) to her grandmother's annuity."

Three small segments of letters and documents within the larger collection chronicle the lives of grandsons of John Rutledge and Sarah Motte Rutledge. John Rutledge (V) (1820–1894) was appointed acting midshipman in the United States Navy in 1835 and more than thirty documents and letters provide an overview of his career until 1861, when he resigned from the United States Navy and joined the Confederate Navy. Ten additional items document his career as a Confederate officer from 1861 until 1865.

Hugh Rose Rutledge (1823–1915) graduated from the Medical College of the State of South Carolina in Charleston in 1846, the same year the American War with Mexico began and, in the late summer of 1847, he volunteered as a surgeon in the United States Army. More than one

hundred items trace his career in the military, his courtship and marriage, in 1853, to Amelia Waring Ball (1854–1892), and his early life as a physician.

A third brother, Robert Smith Rutledge (1832–1902), attempted to continue to plant rice on Rutledge family land, as his father and grandfather had done, after he returned home from the Civil War. A ledger book, receipts, and other business-related records, document his efforts to produce a profit from the remaining acreage within the family plantation, Poplar Grove, on the Savannah River in Beaufort County (S.C.).

The manuscripts and letters that relate to Hugh Rose Rutledge, M.D. (1823–1915) begin with his service during the Mexican-American War and continue to chronicle his life after he returned home, especially his courtship and subsequent marriage to Amelia Waring Ball on 12 May 1853.

In a partially printed letter, dated 11 September 1847, John Young Mason, Acting Secretary of War, notified Hugh that the President of the United States had appointed him Assistant Surgeon in the service of the United States. He was instructed to:

...fill up, subscribe and return the oath enclosed  
herewith to the Adjutant General.... [If you accept your  
commission], you will immediately proceed, *via* Bravos

Santiago, to join the 1st Regiment, Indiana Volunteers,  
now serving with the Army under Major General Taylor.

On 17 September 1847, James Gadsden (1788–1858), the president of the South Carolina Railroad Company, penned a letter of introduction for Dr. Rutledge to Brigadier General John E. Wool (1784–1869) who was with the American army in Mexico. Dr. Rutledge was, Gadsden wrote, “Asst. Surgeon to the Indiana Regiment which has orders to join Genl. Taylor’s division, [and] may possibly fall under your command.” Dr. Rutledge, he continued, is “a Gentleman of high character” who bears a name which “must be familiar to you as identified with the history of South Carolina; and the surest guarantee of the character which he will sustain abroad.” Gadsden also congratulated General Wool on his

...successful march and able cooperation with Gen[era]l  
Taylor in the distinguished battles he has fought. We  
have all regretted the *necessity* of your late inactivity, as  
a movement on San Luis Polosi, while Scott was  
advancing on Mexico, must have given an earlier and  
more brilliant result to operations which are to ‘Conquer  
Peace.’

Another letter of introduction, although undated, was probably also written in September 1847. J[ohn] Rutledge Parker, informed Col.

William S. Harney (1800–1889), the commander of the 2nd Dragoons,  
that his

...marked civility to me during my short service in the  
Army, has been the repeated subject of my thoughts;  
and I take pleasure in introducing to you my cousin....  
Any kindness you may have it in your power to show  
him, will be much appreciated.

Dr. Rutledge's orders were altered slightly by a directive issued by  
Adjutant General R[oger] Jones on 20 September 1847 when he was  
instructed to join the Indiana regiment at Veracruz, instead of proceeding  
to Brasos [Brazos] Santiago.

Almost three months later, Dr. Rutledge informed Henry L. Heiskill, the  
Acting Surgeon General of the United States Army in Washington, in a  
letter dated 8 December 1847 and written from Mexico City, that unable  
to find "the Regiment here to which I was originally assigned, I have  
reported to the Medical Director of this place, and was informed that I  
would be very soon assigned to duty."

Almost a month later, on 3 January 1848, Dr. Rutledge learned of his  
new assignment to another volunteer regiment. In Special Order No. 1,  
Lieutenant H[enry] L[ee] Scott, Acting Assistant Adjutant General and  
aide-de-camp to Major General Winfield Scott, directed "Asst. Surgeon  
Rutledge... [to] report for duty with the 2d. Penn[sylvania] Volunteers."

From January through May 1848, Hugh Rutledge worked as a surgeon and was attached to the Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers. Headquartered in San Angel (Mexico), a rural area six miles southwest of Mexico City's center, Rutledge cared for the sick and wounded of his regiment. His quarterly report, dated 31 March 1848, indicated that during the previous three month period, he had treated 185 soldiers, twenty-nine of whom suffered from the venereal diseases "Syphilis or Gonorrhoea."

A reassignment in May 1848, placed Dr. Rutledge with the Georgia Battalion of Mounted Volunteers, as documented by a document dated, 15 May 1848, and titled, "Invoice of Medicines, Instruments, Books, &c belonging to the Hospital of the Georgia Battalion... left at Cuernavaca by Dr. Joseph Glenn." A month later at Jalapa (Mexico) on 13 June 1848, Dr. Rutledge received "medicines [and] Hospital stores &c," including ten pounds of Arrow root and five bottles of brandy.

On 17 August 1848, Rutledge turned over the few remaining medical supplies still in his possession to Surgeon T[homas] G. Mower (1790–1853) in New York City. Items listed on his "Invoice of Medical Supplies" included a tent, packing boxes, medicine chest, and the same five bottles of brandy he had received in Jalapa (Mexico). The following day, Rutledge mustered out of the service and returned home to Charleston later that summer.

As a result of his time spent in the army during the war, he qualified, under the terms of an act of Congress of 28 September 1850, for a “grant of a Quarter Section of land,” and in a letter to the Secretary of the Interior, Alexander H.H. Stewart, written from Charleston 15 January 1851, he applied for “a warrant for the same,” which was based upon his service as:

Assistant Surgeon in the Medical Staff of the Volunteer  
Division of the U.S. Army... [from] 10th Sept. 1847, (date  
of appointment,) and expired on the 18th day of August  
1848.

Dr. Rutledge pursued the issue and, on 9 November 1853, signed a declaration before a notary public attesting to his service and qualification to receive 160 acres from the United States.

Upon his return to Charleston, Hugh moved back into the family home where, according to the 1850 United States census, he resided with his parents, along with his eight siblings, whose ages ranged from ten to thirty-six. Although he was listed as a “Physician” on the census return, he apparently did not immediately establish a medical practice. Hugh Rutledge probably assisted his father in the management of his rice plantation, Poplar Grove, near Savannah.

In February 1850 and again in August 1853, Hugh Rutledge’s name appears listed in the *Charleston Courier* as one of the passengers



returning to the city by steamer from Savannah. Much of his time, beginning in 1851, was occupied with his courtship of a young Charleston woman, Amelia Waring Ball (1832–1892). When he wrote to her on 21 December 1851, Hugh was elated:

I have never taken up my pen with as much pleasure as I do at the present moment.... [I]n addressing you by letter for the first time, I could not commence a correspondence so highly interesting, more suitably, than by expressing the happiness I now experience at the relationship which exists between us.

The couple had apparently decided to marry just before Amelia left town with her mother to spend Christmas in the country. “I hope that I may ever prove myself in every respect worthy of your entire love and confidence,” he continued. Hugh considered his future mother-in-law, also named Amelia, “to be one of my warmest friends, and for her I will ever cherish feelings of the deepest interest and affection” and asked his fiancée to “remember me affectionately to her, and to all the rest of your family.”

Hugh Rutledge, along with his sister Emily, also planned to celebrate the holidays in the country. Emily had reported that she and her party “had suffered very much, and were almost frozen when they arrived at their journey’s end.” Hugh expected “to join the party on Wednesday next,

with the intention of spending a few days with them. He also shared the good news of his “Father’s improved health.” He had “returned from Savannah yesterday, and is both feeling and looking much better, than when he left us.”

In a short note, undated but probably written during Christmas week, 1851, Hugh’s mother, Maria Rutledge, graciously welcomed Amelia to her family:

Most sincerely do I rejoice[,] dearest Amelia[,] at the intelligence given me by my son of your having consented to become one of our family. You have long been sincerely loved, and will now claim an equal share of affection with my other children.

As a member of the Ball family, Hugh’s fiancée descended from one of South Carolina’s wealthiest lineages, whose members owned rice plantations scattered along the course of the Cooper River. Established in the colony by Scottish emigrant Elias Ball (ca. 1676–1751) who arrived in South Carolina about 1698, the family prospered, and by the time of Amelia’s birth in 1832, members of the third and fourth Ball generations owned more than a dozen estates in Berkeley County (S.C.).

Amelia’s father, Elias Octavus Ball (1809–1843), apparently inherited Kensington plantation, located on the western branch of the Cooper River in St. John’s Parish (Berkeley County, S.C.), from his father, John

Ball, Jr. (1782–1834), who had inherited it from his father, John Ball (1760–1817). When John B. Irving described the Cooper River plantations in his book *A Day on the Cooper River* (Charleston, 1842), he identified Kensington as “the hospitable and elegant seat of Mr. Elias O. Ball.”

After the death of her father in 1843, however, Amelia’s mother found it necessary to sell Kensington and, in 1846, the property passed from the Ball family, after more than a century of ownership. Only a few manuscripts from Amelia’s family survive in the Rutledge family papers, but those that are extant provide insight into Amelia’s early life, her family and the impact that her father’s death had on her.

Like her father’s progenitors, Amelia Ball’s maternal ancestors, the Waring family, had also settled in colonial South Carolina during the last years of the seventeenth century. Benjamin Waring (1665-1713) arrived in South Carolina in 1683, and by the time of his death, had acquired almost four thousand acres of land in Berkeley County (S.C.).

His descendant, Edmund Thomas Waring (1779–1835), was Amelia Waring Ball Rutledge’s grandfather. Although a native of Charleston, E.T. Waring moved to Rhode Island as a young man, studied medicine with Dr. Isaac Senter (1755–1799), who was the father of physician Horace Senter, represented elsewhere in this collection. Waring remained in Newport and practiced medicine there for more than thirty

years. At his 1803 wedding in Trinity Episcopal Church (Newport, Rhode Island), he married Miss Freelove Sophia Malbone (1780–1823), the daughter of Francis Malbone (1759–1809) and his wife Freelove Sophia Tweedy (1763–1823). Francis Malbone had served in the United States House of Representatives from 1793 to 1797 and, at the time of his death, held the office of United States senator from Rhode Island. Amelia Waring (1812–1870), the sixth of ten children born to Dr. Edmund Thomas Waring (1780-1835) and Freelove Sophia Malbone Waring (1780-1823).

Amelia Waring lived in Newport until her marriage there to Elias Octavus Ball on 3 June 1830. The young couple moved back to South Carolina where they divided their time between Kensington plantation and their house in Charleston. Amelia Waring Ball, the first of their four children, was born 15 May 1832. She was followed by brothers Elias Nonus Ball, in 1834 and Hugh Swinton Ball in 1836 and, in 1837, her sister, Sophia Malbone Ball, was born. The Federal census of 1840 listed E.O. Ball and family in the city's fourth ward and, in addition to four children, the household included ten enslaved African Americans among its members. Mrs. Amelia Ball Rutledge preserved a few of her own and her family's papers after her marriage that are now incorporated within the Rutledge collection. The item of earliest date is a contemporary manuscript notice of her grandmother's death in 1823:

Died, on Sunday last, Mrs. Sophia F. Waring, wife of  
Doct. Edmund T Waring, and Daughter of the late Hon.  
Francis Malbone, of this town, aged 35.

This document, signed at the bottom by “Mary,” is a copy of the obituary which was published in the 26 March 1823 issue of the *Newport Rhode-Island Republican*. Appended to the brief death announcement was a longer, personalized remembrance of Mrs. Waring’s life and character:

An affectionate wife—the best and kindest of Mothers—  
ever rejoicing in the happiness, or, sympathizing in the  
sorrow of others—ready alike to mingle in the mirth of  
the innocently gay, or to minister consolation to the  
distressed....Her death has blasted the peace of a  
numerous family, and left woe and desolation behind.

Amelia also saved a poem which was addressed “To Mrs. E.O. Ball on her child’s birth-day.” Signed “Amicus” and dated “Charleston May 15th 1833,” the poem celebrated Amelia Waring Ball’s birth a year earlier:

See the fond mother to her breast  
Clasp close her lovely infant child  
Pray to her God it might be bless’d  
And Kiss her darling as it smiled.

On the verso of the second page, the poem is attributed to “William Ogilby Esqr HBM Counsel for So[uth] & No[rth] Carolina.” William Ogilby

(b. ca. 1800) was appointed British consul at Charleston on 2 November 1829 and assumed his post in the summer of 1830 where he apparently became a friend to Elias and Amelia Ball. Popular with the citizens of Charleston, Ogilby remained in the city until he retired from royal service in 1845.

Amelia's father and mother apparently spent their summers away from Charleston during the early years of their marriage. Among the passengers returning to Charleston from New York aboard the "Line ship William Drayton" on 5 November 1831 were "Mr. E O Ball and lady." Elias's brother, Hugh Swinton Ball (1808–1838), was also a passenger, according to the Marine List published in the *Charleston City Gazette* on 7 November 1831. The following year the Balls once again spent part of the summer in the North. A notice in the 7 November 1832 *Charleston Courier* announced that "Mr. E.O. Ball, lady, child and 2 servants" had arrived in Charleston the previous day "Per line ship *Niagara*, from New-York."

During the 1830s, the decade of their children's births, the couple apparently lived in Charleston, except for visits to Kensington during the fall and winter months. Elias Ball, who had been educated in England, along with his brothers Alwyn Ball and Hugh Swinton Ball during the mid-1820s, filled his Charleston house with fine furnishings, a large library, and an impressive array of paintings. The appraisal of his personal

effects at his death in 1843 listed 182 volumes in the library, including David Ramsay's and John Drayton's works on South Carolina history, a dozen paintings and engravings, a piano forte and flute, 193 bottles of wine, and twelve enslaved house servants.

Elias Ball's most prized painting, listed in the inventory as "Spalatro, oil by Allston," was valued at five hundred dollars. His brother, Swinton, commissioned Washington Allston (1779-1843), a native of Georgetown County (S.C.), to paint any subject that he wished. In 1832, Allston presented him with the finished painting, titled "Spalatro, or Vision of the Bloody Hand," which in later years Allston ranked as his best painting. This oil painting depicts two men in a dimly-lit passage planning to commit murder. Both figures represent characters from the 1797 gothic novel, *The Italian; or, The Confessional of the Black Penitents. A Romance* - written by Ann Ward Radcliffe (1764-1823). [Later owned by John Taylor Johnston of New York, this painting was sold in 1876 for \$3900 to H.R. Bishop, but was lost in a fire at his country home on the Hudson.] Swinton Ball left the painting to his brother in his will and after his death in 1838, "Spalatro" joined two "Large Landscapes" by Charleston artist Charles Fraser (1782-1860) and a number of Newport (Rhode Island) scenes in Elias's house.

During the decade of the 1830s, Elias O. Ball's two brothers died: Alwyn Ball in July 1835 and Hugh Swinton Ball in June 1838. As one of the

executors of each estate, E.O. Ball's legal and familial responsibilities to oversee his brothers' extensive properties occupied much of his time, for the remainder of his life.

Alwyn Ball left his estate to his widow, Esther McClellan Ball (1808–1880) and his surviving children, Caroline Ball, Isaac Ball and Alwyn Ball, Jr., with a provision that if his plantation, Elwood, located on the western branch of the Cooper River near Strawberry Ferry, could be sold for its full value, the executors should do so. As a result of that provision, the plantation was later sold and thus passed out of the Ball family.

E.O. Ball's role as co-executor of Swinton's estate, however, provided a greater challenge because of the circumstances of his brother's death and the complicated legal proceedings that prevented a rapid settlement due to the lawsuits filed by several of the claimants. Swinton Ball and his wife, Anna Elizabeth Channing Ball (1809–1838), both perished when the steamship *Pulaski* sank thirty miles off the North Carolina coast after the explosion of the starboard boiler. Only about sixty of the approximately 180 persons on board survived the explosion and sinking which happened about 11:00 P.M. on 14 June 1838. Swinton and Anna Ball along with a nurse and their young adopted daughter Emma, and perhaps another servant, had boarded the vessel at Charleston where it had stopped after departing Savannah on 13 June 1838. By 3 July 1838, the date Swinton's will was proved in court and E.O. Ball and Thomas



Waring qualified as executors, there was no doubt that neither Swinton, nor his wife, had survived the wreck. The question, however, was whether he or his wife had died first, an issue that would be eventually decided in court.

Not only was Swinton Ball very wealthy when he married Anna Elizabeth Channing in 1827, but his wife was an heiress in her own right. A month before her marriage on 8 March 1827, Anna's father, Walter Channing (1757–1827) died, leaving to his three daughters considerable property in Boston (Massachusetts) and Newport (Rhode Island), his native city. In a series of court cases and appeals that began in the South Carolina Court of Chancery in the January 1840 term and continued until March 1845, when the Equity Court of Appeals confirmed the earlier decisions, the courts determined two major issues.

First, Judge J. Johnston held, based upon the evidence presented, that Mrs. Ball, after the explosion occurred, was still alive and calling for her husband, and thus he ruled that she had inherited all his property, except for the grants to others specified in his will. Secondly, he ruled that Swinton's brothers, Alwyn Ball and Elias O. Ball, were entitled to receive the income from the sale of one-half of the produce from his plantations until E.O.'s son, Elias Nonus Ball, reached age twenty-one. At that time, Elias Nonus would receive those same benefits, as his uncle had decreed in his will. At Mrs. Ball's death, even though it may have

occurred only minutes after her husband's, her inheritance would go to her next of kin.

In fact, the original suit was argued by Hugh Swinton Legare, the attorney who represented Mary Anna Channing (1803–1866) and Catherine Smith Channing (1797– 1856), her surviving sisters. Both sisters had married before Anna and Swinton Ball married in 1827; Catherine to Captain Thomas Edmund Barclay (1788–1838), son of the former British consul in New York City, in 1821; and Mary to George W. Sturges (ca. 1800–ca. 1832) in 1824. After the deaths of their first husbands, the sisters married for a second time: Catherine, in 1840, while she was still involved in litigation over the Ball estate, to Albert Sumner (1812–1856), and Mary Anna to Ferris Pell (1790–1850) of New York in 1827. Sumner, the brother of United States senator Charles Sumner, and Pell, a New York City lawyer, were both involved in the efforts of their wives to secure a portion of the Ball estate.

In the final decree of James W. Gray, Master in Equity, who issued his decision on 23 November 1843, the property of Hugh Swinton Ball, valued at just under \$200,000, was to be sold and the money realized divided between Elias Nonus Ball, who would receive one-half of the estate, while the remaining moiety would be equally divided between “Mrs. Taveau and... Mrs. Pell and Mrs. Sumner....”

By the time this decision was rendered, Elias O. Ball was dead, but his widow, Amelia, resisted the order of the court to sell the plantations and slaves, as her husband's administratrix and as guardian of her minor son, Elias Nonus Ball. Although she was able to force a postponement of the sale Swinton's "three valuable PLANTATIONS, adjoining, called Pimlico, Mepshaw and Kecklico, situate in St. Johns, Berkeley, on Cooper River," and the 166 enslaved persons resident on those plantations, who according to the advertisement of the proposed auction, published in the *Charleston Courier* on 6 March 1844, were "accustomed to the culture of rice and provisions," she could not prevent the eventual dispersal of the estate.

When Elias Nonus Ball reached his twenty-first birthday in 1855, he received his share of the estate of his uncle. In the spring of 1857, he was able to purchase the Cooper River plantation known as "Dean Hall," which belonged to the estate of William Carson who had died the year before, for \$50,000, paying \$15,000 in cash.

Amelia Waring Ball celebrated her eleventh birthday on 14 May 1843, a week before her father died. Later, she wrote about the impact of the death of the father of a family in a short essay titled "The Old Time Piece." Although she did not use names or identify places in her writing, she clearly based the story on her own experiences when her father died. Told from the perspective of the clock that "stood in the large Hall

of our country house,” the story focused on the:

...little girl who sometimes passed by — her blue eyes filled with tears — spoke softly to her brother, ‘Papa is sleeping, don’t make a noise.’ Then I knew it all. The Father, the Husband was near the gates of Death, none knew how nearly.... After a few days they sadly bore him to his sleep, his last resting place on earth, then the little girl wept bitterly.

The events that followed the father’s death also paralleled her own experience and described the setting:

Soon after the Father’s death the afflicted family left their home for the city. They continued for a few years to visit their loved place.... The house stands on a green, two old towering oaks stood in front, beyond them the Dairy, & a long and beautiful avenue. West of the house was another avenue, to the public road, on either side large moss-covered oaks. On the east was the road leading to the fields & north a little pond round which the weeping willow had been planted in olden times.

The inventory of the Charleston house, taken just after the death of her father did not include a clock, but the appraisal of the “personal Effects of

Elias O. Ball at Kensington plantation [included] 1 clock \$10.”

A few weeks after her husband's death, Amelia Ball qualified as administratrix of his estate. She, along with “John C. Ball, planter, Olney Harleston, planter, and Thomas Waring, factor, all of Charleston,” signed a \$40,000 bond as security that she would properly administer the estate, which was estimated to not exceed \$20,000 in value.

In August 1832, Thomas Waring (1805–1860), Amelia's older brother, had married her husband's sister, Lydia Catherine Ball (1816–1858).

Another older brother, Francis Malbone Waring (1804–1837) had also married into the Ball family. In October 1827, he married Lydia Jane Ball (1807–1841), the daughter of John Ball, Jr. (1782–1834) and his wife Elizabeth Bryan (1784–1812). John Ball, Jr. was a half-brother of Amelia's husband, the daughter of John Ball, Sr.'s first wife, and cousin, Jane Ball (1761– 1804).

At the time of his death, Elias O. Ball owned fifty-five enslaved African Americans, twelve of whom were servants at his Charleston house, while the remaining forty-three worked on Kensington plantation. The appraised value of all of his property was \$17,421.81. However, the income from Kensington plantation was apparently insufficient to support Mrs. Ball and her four young children.

Six months after her father's death, eleven-year-old Amelia began to write her thoughts on religion in a series of journals, the first of which she

started in January 1844 and continued the practice until at least 1848.

Five bound and three unbound volumes span those four years and all of them, with one exception, are filled with her expositions on specific Bible verses or her thoughts on religious topics.

A notable exception is her unbound journal for the period October 1846 through March 1847. Amelia, then a teenager, also used that volume as copybook for her letters to friends and relatives, but even her letters are dominated by religious references and allusions. In a letter written from Charleston and dated 31 October [1846], she wrote to an unnamed friend that “we have received accounts of the awful hurricane at Key West.... So many ships, & buildings destroyed & above all so many lives lost.”

She quickly passed over the storm’s impact on property in the Florida Keys and turned to the:

...most dreadful subject... the death of so many mortals,  
& no doubt of many souls. Has not the mighty God  
spoken to his people out of that storm[?] Has he not  
blessed us in preserving us from such a war amid the  
elements? [The survivors] ...are spared to hear [the  
gospel's] blessed sound & double will be their guilt if

after the appal[ing] scene they have so lately witnessed  
they still persist in their sins & refuse to devote their lives  
to God.

She ended the draft of her letter with a reference to the Mexican-  
American War that had been underway since the previous April 1846:

We have not received any important news from Mexico  
of late, but the scenes there also call forth our pity &  
sorrow—the sufferings of the army, the death of  
thousands.

Another letter, written to “My dear Uncle” and dated 5 November 1846,  
also stressed her devotion to her church. After she mentioned that “it is  
thanksgiving day, but so very unpleasant that we cannot go out  
[because] it has been raining steadily for some time,” she explained that  
the weather had kept her from “hearing a sermon from Mr. Barnwell.” On  
the previous Sunday evening, she had been in his congregation when he  
“delivered one of the most beautiful sermons I ever heard... on the words  
‘Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth.’” Because of the  
inclement weather, the minister had “extemporized in the lecture room,  
which was nearly filled,” instead of the church sanctuary. The Reverend  
William H.W. Barnwell (1806–1863) was the first minister to fill the pulpit

of St. Peter's Episcopal Church, located on Logan Street in Charleston, when it was dedicated in December 1835 and continued to serve that congregation until destroyed by fire in 1861.

The uncle to whom her letter was addressed was her mother's brother, Julius A. Waring (1813–1869), who had enlisted in the United States Army in Philadelphia in July 1844, and had been assigned to the Third Artillery as a clerk. Amelia mentioned him in a letter to an unnamed cousin and dated 25 January 1847. She had received a short letter from "Uncle Julius" two weeks before who, when he wrote, "was quite well, & seemingly in good spirits." As an army clerk, she surmised that "His payment is small & I think not enough when his labor is considered [because] he is working from daylight until one o'clock A.M. almost every day." He had also informed her that although he remained in New York City Harbor, and had hoped:

...to join a company for Mexico, & did receive permission to go but they afterwards refused, saying they could not spare him, that he was doing more for his country in his present situation, than he could were he to fight as a private soldier; therefore he remained & by his last account was still on Governor's Island...

In another letter to Julius A. Waring, this one dated 29 January 1847, Amelia thanked her uncle for his recent letters to "Sophy & myself" and



apologized for promising that her two brothers would also write to him. “[T]hey *did* say so,” she insisted, “but like other boys, they would put off until the holy days passed, then they went to school & were obliged to study.” Her brothers Elias and Hugh, aged twelve and ten, respectively, apparently attended a local preparatory school. Amelia and Sophy, on the other hand, were probably taught at home, perhaps by their mother or a private tutor. Amelia described her attendance at the “farewell concert given by Henri Herz & Camillo Sivori” where she heard:

...the most delightful music.... [I] went with Col. & Mrs. [Augustus Oliver] Andrews, & after we obtained seats the people began to assemble, & in a short time the Hibernian Hall was filled.

The series of concerts given by the two performers, with Herz on piano and Sivori on violin, dazzled the Charleston audiences with “the most brilliant and triumphant musical entertainment ever proffered to the Charleston public,” according to a review published in the *Charleston Courier*.

In addition to her uncle Julius A. Waring, Amelia also wrote with regularity to her friend Maria, otherwise unidentified. When Amelia wrote to her on 10 November 1846, she devoted half of the letter to a detailed description of an acquaintance identified simply as “M.” Orphaned at an early age, and cared for by her aunt, “M” was sent her to boarding school

where, at age sixteen, she fell “prey to Consumption.” Even though ill, she worked as

...a private teacher... [and] instructs Mrs. B’s children who are very fond of her, & she of them. She is a delightful companion & although she appears serious, even sad, at times, yet she is a lovely and interesting creature.

She also confessed to Maria her sadness at the sale of Kensington plantation which had been finalized that year:

I can scarcely believe that I am not to visit Kensington again. When I think of my favorite walks, I feel that I must go there again. To stroll down the avenue of such aged and venerable looking oaks, or walk through the paths in the woods where the jasmine sheds its fragrance, such pleasures I cannot again enjoy.

Amelia Ball hesitated to write more because:

...these & many other thoughts must not, or should not be put on paper — if you have ever left a sweet home to which there is no possibility of your ever returning, you can judge what my emotions are.

Interspersed among the copied letters, she also recorded her thoughts about various topics, including “Ambition,” “The New Year,” “Prayer,”

“Contentment,” “History,” and “Astronomy.” Amelia also composed short character sketches of young women, either based on girls she had met, or entirely imagined, and copied them into her journal:

In the beautiful village of L, there resided two young & beautiful girls, but their stations in life were very different, Matilda H. & Eleanor F. The latter was very rich & resided with her father in one of the most beautiful edifices in L, while Matilda dwelt with her parents in a small cottage & supported them by the work of her hands.

In her story, the two girls became fast friends, even though their relative societal positions were very different.

The other journals are all devoted to Amelia Ball’s commentary on the scriptures and, in the later volumes, especially the one dated 1848, the Biblical explications tend to be sermon-length. Her reflections on Psalms chapter 127, verse 2, “He giveth his beloved sleep,” extended for eleven pages and also incorporated three lines from a hymn that appeared in an 1845 edition of *The Book of Common Prayer* used in the Protestant Episcopal Church in America.

Amelia Ball also preserved, apart from her religious journals, two manuscript sermons. The earliest, dated January 1846, and titled “Remember *now* thy Creator,” was signed at the end of the text

“Amelia.” There was no other attribution attached; however, the sermon title was almost identical to the title of a sermon that the Reverend Mr. Barnwell delivered in St. Peter’s in the fall of 1846 and mentioned by Amelia in her letter to her uncle Julius Waring written on 5 November 1846.

There is no doubt about the authorship of the second manuscript. It was titled “Sermon preached in Charleston 29th Dec. 1855, by the Rev. J.A. Shanklin.” Joseph Augustus Shanklin (1822–1856) served as St. Peter’s rector for less than two years before his death from yellow fever in September 1856. The presence of the Shanklin sermon among Amelia’s papers indicates that she continued to attend St. Peter’s even after her marriage to Hugh Rutledge, whose family had been associated with another Episcopal church, Saint Paul’s on Coming Street.

Hugh Rutledge was apparently also a devoted member of the Episcopal Church. Even while in New York City, where he had accompanied his aunt Julia Rose and uncle James Rose, on a spur-of-the moment trip in July 1852, he devoted a portion of his first letter to his fiancée, dated 25 July 1852, to a description of two Episcopal church services he had attended that day, with comments on both the sermons and the architecture of the gothic style Trinity compared to the Romanesque St. George’s.

Accompanied by his aunt and uncle and by “young Manigault, a son of Mr. Cha[rle]s Manigault, who came on with us... on board of the steamer,” he had first heard “Dr. Tyng preach” that morning. Stephen H. Tyng (1800–1885) was a minister noted for his evangelical sermons who spent most of his career at St. George’s Episcopal Church, which was located on 16th Street. Impressed by Dr. Tyng, Hugh reported that the minister “gave us an admirable sermon... from Proverbs, the 14 ch[apter] & 9th v[erse].” The minister was both “a forcible preacher, and also a good speaker.” Commenting on the architecture of this new building, Hugh Rutledge was also:

much struck too with his church... [which] is remarkably neat and pretty. I prefer it to Trinity where I went this afternoon and heard a very good discourse....

Founded during the colonial era, the congregation of St. George’s had recently relocated to this more fashionable uptown address, and by the time Hugh’s visit, had nearly completed construction, 1846–1856, of their new building, recognized as one of the first examples in the United States of Early Romanesque Revival church architecture.

When Hugh Rutledge next wrote Amelia Ball, on 4 August 1852, he and the Roses were in Sharon Springs (Schoharie County, N.Y.), a resort

noted for its mineral water, located about fifty miles west of Albany (New York):

There are a number of Carolinians here... Col. Arthur Hayne & lady, Mr. & Mrs. Rawlins Lowndes & daughter, Mr. & Mrs. Singleton, and a number of young men.

Hugh rated the appeal of the town as:

...a very pretty place, the finest view is from the Pavilion Hotel... [which] is situated on the top of a hill... above the railroad and commands a very magnificent view of the Mohawk valley.

The restorative powers of health resort proved beneficial, as Hugh reported that both his aunt and uncle:

...have improved much since our arrival, [planned] to remain here a week or ten days longer, and then to visit the White Mountains, stopping on our way at Saratoga for a few days.

Preserved in the collection is a broadside advertisement, dated 1 July 1852, for the "Northern Railroad, (New Hampshire.)" that featured a transportation map of New York and New England which Hugh apparently used during his northern excursion. One of the trips promoted by the advertisement was "Saratoga Springs to White Mountains" via

Lake Champlain to Burlington (Vermont), and then by rail and stages to the mountains.

After Hugh Rutledge returned to Charleston from his summer excursion, he and Amelia Ball had no occasion to write each other until Amelia left town for a Christmas holiday in the country. In his letter to his absent fiancée, written 20 December 1852, Hugh accepted Amelia's invitation, delivered that morning by Mr. Simons, to join her and her mother at the Simons home on the Cooper River. After he expressed his concern about Amelia's health, he detailed the church service he and his sister Susan had attended the previous day. He had been:

...so much pleased with [the Reverend Paul Trapier] that I remarked to his cousin, whom I met on coming out of church, 'I wish he would remain with us & take a charge here.' I know of no one whom I prefer to him. He is so simple and impressive.

His experience with another minister, during the Sunday afternoon service, however, proved less satisfactory:

Mr. Spear officiated in the afternoon, and if you are at all curious to know what effect he produced upon his audience, I must refer you to S[usan]; her remark to me

was 'you breathed so hard, I felt very much like throwing a book at you, for I thought the next thing would be a snore.'

Members of the Rutledge family, Hugh related, "are gradually dispersing, & will all have left by Christmas eve, [leaving] Rosa & the Old Folks at home." Hugh followed suit and soon joined Amelia at the Simons' home in the country.

Following his return to Charleston, Hugh dispatched a note to her, dated 28 December 1852, in which he recounted his uncomfortable trip back. Mr. Simons had loaned Hugh his overcoat to keep him warm on the journey:

...it proved of good service; for soon after we left you, we had a drenching rain to contend with...so I made an apron of the coat, which I found very serviceable.

His own family, he continued, was slowly drifting in from their holiday celebration at Fairlawn plantation [on the upper Wando River]:

Robert returned this afternoon, says he left them all quite well & enjoying themselves very much... [Another brother] is still at Fair Lawn [and] you will probably meet him on board of the steamer on Thursday, Emily also and Miss Manigault: the rest remain with Mrs. R. until Monday.



The steamer *Col. Myers*, made regular trips, twice a week, from Charleston to Lewisfield landing on the Cooper River near Moncks Corner, "calling at all intermediate Landings," according to a December 1852 announcement published in the *Charleston Courier*.

During the spring of 1853, Hugh Rutledge and Amelia Ball were busily planning for their May wedding. A few letters from this period document that event. In an undated note, probably from March or April, Hugh wrote, "I have just seen Mr. Spear, dear Amelia. He says he will perform the service for us with pleasure."

In another undated note, Hugh sent a list of the groomsmen he wanted for the wedding and mentioned, "You observe (*entre nous*) that I keep James in reserve, in case John should be prevented from being with us." Hugh was concerned that his brother, Lt. John Rutledge of the United States Navy, would not be able to get leave to attend the wedding, so he did not include his brother James in the list, but would ask him to serve as the eighth groomsman if John was unavailable. He did include his brother Robert and Amelia's brother Swinton Ball. The remaining attendants were chosen from among Hugh's friends and relatives: Dr. Arthur M. Parker, Dr. Benjamin H. Read, Mr. Francis G. Ravenel, Mr. Lewis VanderHorst, and Mr. John B. Irving.

Three letters and one card in the collection accompanied gifts to the bride. On 7 May 1853, Amelia's friend Minnie presented her with a gift

which had been “Mr. Simons’s selection” and asked that she “Send for me when I can see your pretty things.”

The day before her wedding, 11 May 1853, her soon-to-be brother-in-law John Rutledge presented Amelia with “a watch & chain; & also my best wishes for much health & happiness thro’ life.” He had arrived in Charleston two days before aboard the S.S. *James Adger*, which had made the trip from New York City in fifty-three hours.

On the day of the wedding, 12 May 1853, Amelia received a gift from Hugh’s aunt, Susan Rose Rutledge Hanckel (1790–1874), the second wife of the Reverend Christian Hanckel (1790–1870), the rector of St. Paul’s Episcopal Church on Coming Street in Charleston [now the Cathedral Church of St. Luke and St. Paul]:

...a little Jewel Box for your Toilette Table... as a token of the affection I am sure I shall feel for you as one who will... so soon be united to a beloved Nephew....

On the verso of her calling card, Susan R. Rutledge, Hugh’s sister, offered Amelia a “token of love & with it my heart’s best wishes & fervent prayer that God will bless you both.”

After they were married, Amelia and Hugh Rutledge lived together in his parents’ house on Calhoun Street, along with eight of Hugh’s unmarried siblings.

Life in the Rutledge household was complicated even more with the birth of Amelia Waring Rutledge on 25 September 1854. Living in the same house with Hugh's family strained Amelia's relationship with her Rutledge in-laws, especially with Hugh's teenage sister, Julia Rose Rutledge (1841–1899). Julia, in a letter to Amelia, dated 7 September 1855, described one incident that had contributed to the disharmony in the family:

I said to you one day in your chamber, 'I know you go home and tell everything to your Mother,[] and your reply (to my recollection) was 'Of course I tell her everything, who else do you suppose I tell everything to.'

Julia admitted that she repeated the conversation with Amelia to "Aunt Julia, sister, and perhaps others" and then later confirmed her view of the exchange when asked about it; however, she apologized for her actions:

If I misunderstood you, and by so doing have caused mischief, or unpleasant feelings to you, I am sorry for it, and shall rectify the mistake, and hope you will forget and forgive all unpleasant feelings I have caused.

In a note written at the top of the letter at a much later date, Amelia reflected on the influence of Hugh's family during the early years of their

marriage: “Your Aunt J[ulia Rose], & [sister] Emily, but for *them* I might have been a happy wife.” Amelia retained the draft of her response to her sister-in-law’s letter.

Although undated, it was clearly written just after Amelia read Julia’s 7 September 1855 letter. Amelia forcefully refuted Julia’s claim that she had gossiped about family matters:

I need not say anything to exonerate myself, being satisfied in my own mind that no such speech was made by me to you; and of the private affairs of the family I have never spoken to my mother or any one else, as your brother has told you.

She also pointed to the “very strange and at times unkind” treatment she had “received from you & your sisters, excepting Sarah,” but stressed that Julia’s parents had “never... treated me, but with kindness” and professed that she would “ever love them.” Amelia also promised to forgive Julia for “making mischief, & causing painful feelings,” but that forgiveness, she continued, “will depend on *your* future conduct.”

A note written in pencil on the verso of the page, signed “A.W.R.” and dated 8 June 1869, expressed the bitter feelings that Amelia still harbored almost fifteen years after the events she had described:

Here you may read the beginning of the end. God only knows *what the end* will be. I have been most *cruelly* &

*unjustly* dealt with. If you refer to *your* letter, Hugh, of  
Sept 6th 1855, you will see how you *once* took my part.  
May God forgive you all, but you have destroyed me.

In an effort to alleviate the friction that existed between his family and his wife, Hugh Rutledge determined to move away from Charleston and establish a medical practice in an area that needed his services. Hugh, Amelia and their baby spent the summer of 1855 in the mountains of North Carolina, however not at Flat Rock, the village that had attracted many Charlestonians as a summer resort, beginning in the 1820s, but rather in the French Broad River valley near Dunn's Rock, an area already home to several members of the Johnstone family from the South Carolina low country.

After Hugh returned to Charleston in early September 1855 to resume his work as the assistant cashier to the deputy collector of Customs, Amelia remained in the mountain community, apparently in the home of Francis W. Johnstone (1813–1882) and his wife Eleanor Ball Simons (1816–1880), a family indirectly connected to Amelia Ball Rutledge. Eleanor Simons Johnstone's brother, Keating Lewis Simons (1820–1866) had married Amelia's aunt, Augusta Melanie Taveau (1825–1906), and she likely invited her niece and family to join her while she visited her sister-in-law mountain home, Montclove.

On his way to Charleston, Hugh Rutledge stopped in Greenville (S.C.) and, in a letter of 4 September 1855 to his wife, described his journey down from the mountains, reporting that he:

...found the first part of the ride very rough but much easier on horseback than it would have been in the buggy.... Caesar's head was more like an ape's this morning than any thing else I could compare it with. I stood upon his crown & took a view of Table Rock but could not see much farther in either direction it was so cloudy. The view in clear weather must be sublime.

Hugh stayed with his parents in Charleston while awaiting the return of Amelia and their daughter. On 8 September 1855, a day or so after Hugh returned to Charleston, his mother wrote Amelia a letter, ostensibly to thank her for her recent "affectionate letter which I had no right to expect and therefore prized it the more." She was also:

...truly thankful to have my dear Child return to me so much improved in health, and I think were you and the dear Baby with him I should be even more sensible of the benefits he had derived [from his time in the mountains].

Maria Rutledge also commented on her son's desire to move his family from Charleston. "[Y]ou are right dear Amelia in thinking he is the best

judge of his future plans," she conceded, but "it is a delicate matter," nonetheless:

Hugh's judgment is excellent, and I know he never acts from impulse, so much so that to some, that appears a want of energy of character, but I think (laying aside the partiality of a mother) those who will candidly await the results, will find he acts under the restraint of a well balanced mind, and I believe you will ever find his Character one of decision, when well assured that he acts according to conscience.

Beginning on Monday, 10 September 1855, Hugh Rutledge compiled a record of his daily activities, including his work at the Custom House and his visits with friends and relatives. He frequently commented on Charleston's hot, unpleasant weather, decried his separation from his wife and child, and begged Amelia to write to him more often. At the end of the week, he mailed his completed diary, as a letter to Amelia. On Tuesday, 11 September 1855, Hugh visited "a Daguerrean Gallery" where he "sat for a likeness as promised." On Wednesday, he noted that his brother:

John has just returned from Flat Rock.... He says our circle at Lain's is broken up; some of the R[utledge]'s

have left, and Dr. Means has gone to the Virginia Springs.

On Thursday, he alluded to his and Amelia's desire to leave Charleston and settle in the French Broad Valley of North Carolina:

If I had a sufficient sum now at command, I would say select your site, and if it could be bought, we could build a cottage after our own fancy, and live on some pretty spot, free from the jarrings of the world, & happy. For believe me Dearest, a country life is far more honest & independent, than life spent in the city, & health is essential to happiness.

On Friday, Hugh lamented that the "heat has been exhausting today...." Hugh's subsequent letters followed the same pattern. He discussed the news from Charleston, including the latest gossip, in his 17 September 1855 entry:

Miss Richmond is also reported engaged to Hopson Pinckney. They are near you at Flat Rock, so you may know more of it than I do.... Miss Frost's engagement to Dr. Geddings, I believe you have been informed of...



In his entry for 24 September 1855, however, Hugh turned to a more significant subject. He had just read a letter from Amelia in which she had asked about his future plans. “[W]hen I returned here,” he explained,

I found that the Broker had not disposed of that property which I had placed in his hands, to my great regret... so that I am baffled in my plans for the present. But you know my desire is to establish ourselves quietly in a comfortable cottage in the country, as soon as I am able; and where you are now are pleases me more than any where else that I have been, & I like Mr. & Mrs.

J[ohnstone] very much. Have you seen any spot that you have taken a fancy to? Our friend Mr. J. knows of two very desirable farms, I should like to have, when it is in my power to purchase.

Amelia’s host family included Robert McKewn Johnstone (1811–1894), who had purchased a large tract of land on the French Broad River in North Carolina in 1853. Together with his brother Francis Withers Johnstone (1813–1882) and their nephew William Clarkson Johnstone (1829–1865), they established extensive farms in the river valley. The Johnstone brothers were sons of William Johnstone (1776–1840) and Anna Maria Pinckney (1778–1853), both of whom were members of

South Carolina's low country aristocracy and, like many others from the area, they established summer homes in the mountains of North Carolina.

Before Hugh and Amelia Rutledge could complete plans for their own cottage, they had to determine where they would live after Amelia and baby returned to Charleston from the mountains. Hugh, in his 2 October 1855 entry in his weekly letter, announced that he had "sallied forth this afternoon" to Sullivan's Island where he inspected "the Misses Mitchells' house; which I am informed is the best boarding house, & very well kept." He intended, he continued, to

...take a chamber there on Friday or Saturday afternoon.

I hope this arrangement will please you. I wish you to be quiet, and keep well, Dearest.

Hugh Rutledge continued his job in the Collector's Department of the Charleston Custom Service until August 1856. By that time, he had decided to move his family to North Carolina. He purchased land near the Johnstones, built a house, and by October 1856 was comfortably situated in his new home. To celebrate the event, Amelia composed a poem she titled "Our Home" and presented it to "My dear Hugh" on 12 October 1856. The first verse revealed Amelia happiness with:

The humble little cot:

Dearest, at last we've found

A resting place on earth

A hallow'd spot of ground

That we may call 'Our Home!'

Named Ingleside, the Rutledges' cottage represented one of a half-dozen residences scattered along the French Broad River Valley mentioned in an article titled "Summer Travel" and published in the *Charleston Courier* on 22 June 1858. The anonymous writer, who signed the piece "Blue Ridge," described a trip that he had taken a month earlier to the North Carolina mountains. Inspired by "the commencement of the hot weather in Charleston," he set out for Asheville (North Carolina), but instead of following the usual route by way of the Saluda Gap Road, he decided to follow the recommendation "of a friend, whom I stumbled upon in the comfortable public room at the Mansion House, in Greenville [S.C.]," and chose instead "the Jones' Gap Road, lately constructed..." The traveler followed that road to Cedar Mountain, just across the state line in North Carolina, and from there proceeded to a "valley which is here about a mile and a half wide and as level as a rice field." After

...continuing for a mile or two down the valley, I came to a rich body of land, in the hands of several gentlemen, and, judging from the number of houses visible here and there from the road, I should imagine this to be the most settled part of the valley.

From the road, he “caught a glimpse of the residence of Mr. Hume, which was, apparently, receiving the finishing touches of the builder.” The “gently rising ground” afforded him “a magnificent view of the distant mountains,” while the “tortuous and eccentric bends of the French Broad add greatly to the beauty of the scenery of the region.” The post office, which is scarcely a quarter of a mile from Mr. Hume’s farm, is situated at the foot of a picturesque, overhanging rock, called, from the name of a former old time mountaineer, Dunn’s Rock.... Near the post office, is the resident Physician, Dr. H.R. Rutledge, and within five minutes walk of the church. The Episcopal Church, which has only lately been erected, commands an equally eligible situation.... Here, within a circle of a mile and a quarter, are seen the residences of Rev. J.S. Hanckel, Dr. Rutledge, Capt. Johnstone, and Mr. F.W. Johnstone.... Two miles farther on I again came to evidences of low-country occupancy, in the residence and farm of Mr. Gadsden.

Beyond that farm, he saw the “extensive rich meadow lands” owned by McKewn Johnstone whose home, reached “by a winding and skillfully planned road...” and located “on an elevated knoll, commands a lovely... view and an almost boundless horizon.”

Three other South Carolinians, Joshua Ward, W.C. Johnstone, and Henry Ewbank, also owned farms in what the traveler termed “the French Broad Valley low-country settlement.” The community offered, the traveler noted,

...an Episcopal Church, a physician resident during the entire year, a classical and mathematical school, kept by Mr. Ewbank... and last, although not least, a proverbially healthy climate.

The members of the small colony in the French Broad River valley all had South Carolina connections, and in some cases, family ties. In some ways the new settlement represented an extension of the older summer resort at Flat Rock, which was about twenty-three miles southeast of the French Broad Valley community, known locally as the “Johnstone settlement.”

Andrew Johnstone (1805–1864), the eldest of the Johnstone brothers and the owner of Annandale plantation on the Santee River in Georgetown District, built his summer home, Beaumont, in 1839 at Flat Rock, soon after he purchased land there. The Reverend Christian Hanckel, who in 1842 married Hugh Rutledge’s aunt, Susan Rose (1790–1874), as his second wife, owned a house in Flat Rock before his

son, the Reverend James Stuart Hanckel, built his summer home in the French Broad Valley on property he purchased from Frank Johnstone in 1856.

Hugh Rutledge already knew many of Flat Rock's residents and several of his Rutledge and Parker relatives had homes there. His father's first cousin, Frederick Rutledge (1800–1884) had purchased land near Flat Rock in 1829 and he and members of his family, including his son Colonel Henry Middleton Rutledge (1839–1921), were frequent summer residents. Hugh's late uncle, John Parker (1787–1849), the husband of his aunt, Emily Smith Rutledge (1797–1827), had purchased land near Flat Rock in 1834, built a house he named Rockworth, and upon his death left the property to his children.

Soon after the couple settled into their new home, a second child joined the Rutledge household. John Rutledge, who was born on 30 November 1856, represented the sixth generation of South Carolina Rutledges to bear that name. Four months after John's birth, the family was devastated by the death of Amelia, the eldest child, on 14 March 1857. Preserved in the Rutledge family collection is her obituary, clipped from an unidentified newspaper:

DIED, at Ingle-side, French Broad, on Saturday morning,  
March 14th, of Membranous Croup, after and illness of  
only thirty-six hours, Amelia Waring, daughter of Hugh

and Amelia Rutledge, aged two years, five months and  
nineteen days.

Although none of the correspondence that survives in the collection mentions Amelia's death, the collection includes a small slip of paper with two verses of a poem, "Dedication," by Henry W. Longfellow, transcribed on it, and slightly modified by her mother to fit her daughter. Dated "Ingleside May 31st, Sunday," the poem's fragment was thus rendered:

...on earth I never shall behold  
with eye of sense *her* outward form and/ semblance,  
Therefore to me she never will grow old  
But live forever young in my remembrance.

Because the Rutledges were rarely apart by this time, the collection includes only a few letters written during the late 1850s. On two occasions, however, Amelia visited her family in Charleston and, while she was away, Hugh followed his earlier practice of writing every day and then sending the results of his musings at the end of the week. He posted two letters, with sixteen total pages, provided a daily synopsis of his activities for 4-15 December 1858 while Amelia and their son Johnnie

were in Charleston. On 6 December 1858, Hugh explained to Amelia that:

...the temptation to seize my pen and communicate (thus) with you is irresistible; and I feel all the time, as if I could scribble, scribble, scribble, but it won't do Darling! for, I feel less reconciled even, to the separation from you and my beloved Boy, whom I miss sadly, being so much cooped up too, in these four walls; having had much fewer calls since your departure, and much bad weather to contend with.

When he wrote on 11 December 1858, he had just received Amelia's letter, which delighted him, and which he quoted at length:

'You say a week or two has satisfied you; that you are home-sick; that you cannot say that you are enjoying your visit; that I must pray with you that God may soon reunite us; that you are ready now to come back to Ingleside, our dear peaceful little home.'

Once again, in 1858, Amelia visited her mother, brothers and other relatives and friends in Charleston, and again Hugh was eager for her return. In an undated note addressed to his wife at Dean Hall [located on the west side of Cooper River, near Pine Grove in Berkeley County,



S.C.], the plantation recently acquired by her brother, Elias Ball, Hugh announced his arrival in town:

Here I am Darling (in *Charleston*,) to take you and our dear Boy Home; and at great sacrifice of my interests, without baggage, and a pair of horses on livery in Greenville [S.C.].

In a clearly irritated tone, he pointed out that *You* have been *from me*, and with your relatives for a *month*. I would like to see mine in the city; therefore you cannot expect me at Dean Hall.” In fact, he announced,

I will make no arrangements for you but will be at the Depot of the R.R. (North Eastern) tomorrow on arrival of the down train. If Swinton is not disposed to trespass upon his limited holiday, just get into the Cars with your nurse & come. It is a short ride.

When Maria Rutledge wrote her daughter-in-law, Amelia, on 30 November 1860, she expressed her hope that “you are now feeling well enough to read [a letter] without injury to your eyes. I know how very weak one feels [even] after the best confinement....”

Six weeks earlier, on 12 October 1860, Amelia’s third son, Elias Ball Rutledge (1860–1939), named for Amelia’s father, had been born. He joined John, the eldest child, who was almost four years old, and fifteen-month-old Hugh Rose. Maria had remembered her eldest grandson’s

birthday. "This is dear little John's birth day, 4 years old today," she noted. At the end of her letter, she added "a few lines to my dear little Grandson," and, in closing, she reminded John to "Kiss your dear Parents for me & your little Brothers."

Early in the following year, the simple life the Rutledges enjoyed in the French Broad River valley of North Carolina was threatened by events that transpired in Charleston. Delegates to a convention that met in that city in December, enacted the Ordinance of Secession that declared that South Carolina was no longer a part of the Union. The Federal garrison scattered around Charleston, withdrew to Fort Sumter, in the harbor and the state prepared for the war that many feared was coming.

James Rose, who was married to Julia Rutledge Rose, wrote to his nephew Hugh from Charleston on 15 March 1861 with an account of local preparations for the expected showdown over Fort Sumter. He also referred to an apparent request from Hugh for an appointment in a military unit, probably in the medical department, as a surgeon:

Mr. Rhett says that he will do his best for you, that if there is no War it will be difficult to get an appointment — 15 applicants from this City. You have Miles & Rhett working for you & are as likely to succeed as any other applicant.

James, however, questioned the wisdom of his nephew's desire to serve his state. "As I have already said, I doubt the policy of a movement from a settled home to be sent perhaps to parts unknown," he cautioned.

Hugh, although living in North Carolina, obviously felt the tug of his ties to Charleston, the city of his birth. His uncle described the ongoing military preparations to force the surrender of Major Robert Anderson and the Federal garrison that occupied Fort Sumter:

Our batteries are increasing every day & if necessary the  
F[or]t will be shelled from so many points, that soldiers  
will have to keep close in their casements.

He also mentioned that the former steam tug recently acquired by South Carolina had been armed "with [two] 24 pounders & the Gov. has christened it the Lady Davis after the President's wife." Another addition to Charleston's defenses:

Hamilton's floating battery which we call the Boomerang  
is completed [and] has just fired her guns. Whether her  
destination will be the Fort or Stono Inlet is uncertain.

Hugh's brother, John Rutledge, James Rose continued, "telegraphed me last night from New York [and] says he will be on shortly...." Lieutenant John Rutledge, United States Navy (1820–1894) had resigned his

commission on 23 February 1861 and, after his return to Charleston, was commissioned, on 26 March 1861, First Lieutenant in the state's naval forces.

A month later, Hugh Rutledge was in Charleston when he wrote to his wife from the Mansion House hotel, on Monday evening, 15 April 1861, and described the events of the previous few days:

After a hard cannonading for fifteen hours..., the honor of So. Ca. has been fully vindicated [and] Fort Sumter is in our possession...

He was grateful that the victory had been "a bloodless...[one] for us," although after the bombardment there were:

...two killed & four wounded by the explosion of a gun at Sumter.... accounts are not as complete as we desire but sufficiently so to state the facts in the main....

Anderson & his command were completely exhausted when the firing ceased at 3 o'clock on Saturday [and] said they could not breathe at times without falling flat on their faces.... [T]he floating battery[,] so much condemned[,] was a complete success [and] it was mainly owing to the combined efforts of it & Steven's Iron battery that the Fort was breached.

Amelia had asked Hugh to bring back some items from Charleston when he returned to Dunn's Rock but, as he explained,

I am sorry I cannot send you what you desire because Mr. J. told me he intended to send something by James, but has decided to keep the carriage here & send him back on mule back with one to lead[,] so you see how I am situated.

His letter was delivered "By James." Hugh Rutledge had owned five slaves in Henderson County (N.C.) in 1860, according to the census of that year, and one was a twenty year old male, probably the "James" mentioned as the bearer of the letter.

The letters that survive in the collection from the Civil War years are few and, for the most part, are letters of sympathy addressed to Amelia after the deaths of three of her children. When two-year-old Hugh died on 25 November 1861, she received a note from her neighbor, Annie Ewbank, dated 26 November 1861 and written from Melrose, her nearby home.

You have my heartfelt sympathy, and earnest prayers. I knew nothing of your sorrow until yesterday, not even of your darling's sickness, it was quite a shock [and] it has greatly impressed my little ones who are all the time talking of your precious Angel child.

Another neighbor, the Reverend James Stuart Hanckel, the pastor of the local Episcopal Church, St. Paul's In The Valley, during the summers when services were held there, wrote to Amelia, on 29 November 1861, from Camden (S.C.), where, during the academic year, he served on the faculty of the recently established Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church:

From my soul," he began, "I sympathize with our dear Doctor & yourself in your bereavement of which last Ev[enin]g's mail brought me the intelligence.... Truly glad am I that the Doctor was not absent at such a time as you might have felt that all had not been done that man could do.

From Charleston, Amelia's sister Sophie offered words of comfort to the grieving parents in a letter written on 1 December 1861:

I *do* feel deeply for you both, though it may be impossible for me to enter fully into the depth of your parental grief, but I know the void in your loving hearts must be very dreary & sad, yet darling Sister what comfort is there in the words, 'Lo! / am with you *a/ways!*'

At the end of her letter, she mentioned that her mother and brother, Swinton, had gone to church that day, "but I was not well enough to go out today." She also informed Amelia that:

W— went last Wednesday to Pocotaligo where he has an office in the Quarter Master's Department.... He will sympathize deeply with you, darling for he has learned to love you & always speaks affectionately of you.

"W" was likely William Henry Odenheimer (1840–1864), Sophie's husband, whom she had married earlier that year.

Among the other sympathy notes she received, one was from her sister-in-law, Sarah Rutledge, who wrote from Charleston on 16 December 1861 and apologized for the lateness of her letter. Although she had "often thought of" Amelia in her "late & sad affliction," she had been "completely absorbed by the terrific calamity to our unfortunate City." A few days before, a wind-driven fire swept across the peninsula, burning a swath from the Cooper to the Ashley River, and destroyed many of the elegant mansions in the southwestern part of the city:

We watched the fire all night, not knowing who would escape for the wind blew a perfect gale. The flakes of fire blew over Charleston like burning hail stones, & now the City resembles those pictures one sees of old ruins, with spectators walking in their midst.

Fortunately the Rutledge family home on Calhoun Street had been spared, and Sarah reported that "Aunt Julia's house was in great danger, but they have escaped unharmed." Only after she had thoroughly

described the “scene of utter ruin & desolation” did she turn to the death of “little Hugh,” who:

was a fine, interesting child.... God has taken him from a world of sorrow & suffering... [and] out of the reach of all dangers, & in times like these, parents must feel so anxious, as to the future of their children.

On 27 June 1862, Hugh and Amelia welcomed another child to their mountain home when Marie Rose Rutledge joined brothers John and Elias; however, eighteen months later the family once again was devastated by the death of seven-year-old John on 6 December 1863.

On 13 December 1862, Amelia’s brother-in-law, William Henry Odenheimer, wrote a letter of condolence to her from aboard the “C[onfederate] Steamer ‘Palmetto State,’” anchored in Charleston Harbor:

A letter which I received from Sophie to-night, my darling Sister, gave me the sad information that it has pleased our Heavenly Father to take to Himself your eldest child. My Sister, my heartfelt sympathy you have, and I can the more feel for you [now] that Sophie and I have been blessed with a son.

Named for his father and grandfather, the son mentioned in the letter arrived in 1863. His grandfather, the Right Reverend William Henry



Odenheimer (1817–1879), served as the Episcopal Bishop of New Jersey from 1859 until 1874. Two of his children, William H. Odenheimer Jr., and Annie Randall Odenheimer, married members of the Ball family. Annie (ca. 1844–1895) married Amelia's brother Elias Nonus Ball in 1861 and William H. married her sister Sophia the same year. Three months after her brother-in-law expressed his sympathy to Amelia for the death of her son, William H. Odenheimer was lost at sea on a blockade runner en route to the Bahamas. Serving on the Confederate steamer *Juno*, renamed *Helen*, and used to run the Federal blockade, William and his crew slipped out of Charleston harbor on 9 March 1864, loaded with cotton and bound for Nassau, when they encountered a gale off the coast and broke in half the next day. The ship lost eight officers and twenty of her twenty-two man crew.

Maria Rutledge sent her daughter-in-law a belated sympathy letter, written from the Rutledge's plantation, Sycamore Grove, located in Burke County (Georgia), and dated 20 February 1864. She thanked Amelia:

...for the kind consideration which prompted you to give me a full account of my now sainted little grandson, but a severe spell of sickness detained me in Oxford [Georgia] long after Mr. Rutledge, Emily, Sarah & Rosa left for the Plantation.

Her son John Rutledge, on leave from his duties with the Confederate navy, “arrived a few days after & remained & nursed me until I was sufficiently recovered to join them.” Apparently, many of the enslaved people from the Rutledge plantation on the Savannah River had been moved inland, and were

...delighted to have us once more amongst them & we are able in some measure to contribute to their comfort. On Sunday evening we collect[ed] about 30 children whom we instruct & a more orderly & grateful set I have never seen.

She asked Amelia to tell Maria, an enslaved woman in Amelia’s household, that “her Sister & Brother are of the number” that had been removed to Sycamore Grove, but:

...her Mother I have not yet seen as she & her Husband are among the number who were sent to Savannah River.

Maria and John Rutledge apparently remained at Sycamore Grove in Georgia during the summer of 1864, along with their unmarried daughters.

Three of their sons, however, were in active military service, and were absent, except for short periods of time when on leave. James Rose Rutledge had enlisted in Captain E.L. Parker’s Company, Marion Light

Artillery, in June 1862 as a private, but spent much of his time on detached service. According to his military service record, in October 1862 General P.G.T. Beauregard granted him leave “to remove Negroes from Plantation,” and again in November 1863, when he requested:

...a special leave of absence for thirty days ... to enable me to get a rice crop to market, to furnish the Government its proportion of the same, and to provide the Negroes with winter clothing & remove them to a place of safety. There is no overseer or other member of my family who can attend to this.

From July 1864 until at least January 1865, he was the Superintendent of Labor on Sullivan’s Island and Mount Pleasant where he directed the work on fortifications performed by enslaved laborers. Although his brother, Robert Smith Rutledge, had enlisted in Holcombe’s Legion as Sergeant-Major in November 1861, he also spent much of the war on detached duty. In early 1862, he was granted leave “to move Negroes from Savannah.”

During the summer campaign of 1862 in Virginia, Holcombe’s Legion fought in the battles of Second Manassas (28-30 August), and in Maryland during the following month, the battles of South Mountain

(14 September), and Antietam (17 September). Robert was later hospitalized in Richmond and in late November 1862 granted a furlough to his father's plantation near Oxford (Georgia).

During 1863 and 1864, Robert Rutledge worked under the direction of Captain John McCrady (1831–1881), Chief Engineer of the State of Georgia, “on the River Batteries as a Superintendant of Negro Labour, in which capacity his services have been valuable,” McCrady wrote in September 1863 to his superior officer when he asked that Rutledge's duties continue. During the final months of the war, however, Robert fought with Holcombe's Legion in the trenches around Petersburg (Virginia), and was slightly wounded in early April 1865 in one of the last engagements of the war.

One of the brothers was with the family at Sycamore Grove on 13 October 1864 when Sarah Rutledge wrote to Amelia and Hugh, thanking them for their recent “kind, sweet letters”:

We have had so much sickness in the house, and  
yard.... Brother, and Emily are quite unwell — I feel  
myself badly today.

Most of Sarah's letter was devoted to her father's death which had occurred six weeks earlier, on 25 August 1864:

God has dealt kindly, gently with us. Our precious Father died so peacefully, that we have the consolation that he is in a better world, where troubles and sorrow never come.

She also expressed her hope that:

the children and yourselves have been well.... Ma sends love, says she hopes you received her letter [because] she forgot to put forward [on it.

By the time Sarah wrote her letter, Hugh, Amelia and their children had moved from their North Carolina home and returned to South Carolina. Their daughter, Kate Waring Rutledge, who was born 22 April 1864, claimed South Carolina as her birthplace, so the family may have left North Carolina by late 1863. In 1864, in a report to the Convention of the Episcopal Church, the Reverend J.S. Hanckel, the minister who served St. Paul's in the Valley during the summer months, noted the "sad and I fear in great measure a permanent change... in this neighborhood" since the previous September:

Of the 13 Low-Country families, 7 have removed permanently; others are now absent, and their return (at least in several instances) is doubtful, and the probability is, that by Fall not one will be left in this valley.

Only Hanckel and his family remained in the settlement. The people were driven from the valley by the lawlessness perpetuated by the bands of thieves and robbers, many of them deserters from both Union and Confederate regiments, who roamed through the mountain districts of North and South Carolina unchallenged by any authority. Hanckel also reported that

...within a fortnight our Church has been entered at night by robbers, and stripped of carpets, cushions, hangings, surplices, &c. The books alone are left. The Communion Service I had at my house.

The South Carolinians from the valley generally moved back to their former homes in the low-country or found safety in up-country South Carolina towns. Hugh Rutledge and his family settled in Anderson (S.C.) where, in May 1865, he was listed on the Internal Revenue Service Tax Assessment List as the owner of silver plate, a gold watch, and a buggy, and a year later, his name appeared in *The Anderson Intelligencer*, on 3 May 1866, as one of the members of the “Anderson District Medical Society.”

A few years later, on 11 November 1868, he placed an advertisement in the same newspaper offering for sale:

...that Desirable and well-known Residence, on Main Street, with twenty acres of land attached, in the Town of

Anderson, near the Court House.... Terms and particulars made known on application to Dr. H.R. Rutledge on the premises.

The family, however, remained in Anderson (S.C.) for at least another year. Hugh Rutledge, on 13 October 1869, wrote a letter from Anderson to his aunt, Julia Rutledge Rose, in which he expressed his sorrow upon learning of the death of her husband, James Rose, which had happened three days before in Charleston:

You have much to be thankful for, my dear Aunt, in this hour of sorrow, & separation from one who was so truly affectionate, & devoted to you through life, in the happy reflection that he possessed in full measure, the love, & esteem of all whose privilege it was to know him.

Hugh remembered his uncle as a man of “noble character; endowed with many virtues, & a gentle disposition, which enabled him to perform well, & faithfully his part in life....” By August 1870, when he and his family were enumerated in the federal census of that year, Hugh and Amelia, with their five children, were living in Greenville (South Carolina), where he had established his medical practice.

Only a few letters in the collection survive to chronicle the lives of members of the Rutledge family after 1870. Amelia Rutledge, however, preserved two letters that were written to her. One, dated 22 February

1878, was from the Reverend Frank L. Norton (1846–1891), an Episcopal minister in Troy (New York), who responded to a request from her for monetary assistance, apparently for the Sunday school at Christ Church, the church that the Rutledge family attended in Greenville (S.C.). After reading an article that had appeared in “Leslie’s Magazine,” Mrs. Rutledge, and many others, had assumed that Norton had funds available for worthy projects:

That unfortunate article... has done me much injury, in that letters from Maine to the Gulf and between both oceans, have simply poured in upon me; every conceivable request has been presented to me. The facts are simple, that I love children and have a very good Sunday School, but no pecuniary resources like what that wretched article intimated.

He rarely replied to such requests, he continued, “but yours is so very lady like and, from your standpoint, so entirely proper that I can but answer it.”

The other extant letter to Amelia Ball Rutledge was from her uncle, Augustin Louis Taveau (1828–1886), the son of Martha Caroline Swinton Taveau (1785–1847) and her second husband, Augustus Louis Taveau (1785–1859), whom she married after the death of her first husband, John Ball (1760–1817). He was, therefore, the half-brother of Amelia’s



father, Elias O. Ball. Mrs. Taveau had inherited property in Charleston and on the Cooper River from John Ball, and apparently her husband remained an active rice planter until a few years before his death in 1859. Augustin, the son, received a classical education, then studied law with Charleston attorney James Louis Petigru (1789-1863), and was admitted to the South Carolina Bar in 1850.

While on an extended tour of Europe in the mid-1850s, A.L. Taveau met and married, on 15 August 1854, Delphine Sprague (1832-1911), the daughter of Horatio J. Sprague (1784–1848), who had served as United States Consul in Gibraltar from 1832 until his death. The couple returned to South Carolina where Taveau, instead of resuming his law practice in Charleston, turned to rice planting on the Pon Pon River [South Edisto River] in St. Paul's Parish (Colleton County, S.C.). After a brief period as a cavalry officer at the beginning of the Civil War, he served for much of the remainder of the war as an aide-de-camp for General Nathan G. "Shanks" Evans (1824-1868).

In 1866, Taveau moved his family to a farm in St. Mary's County (Maryland), because conditions in post-war South Carolina proved unacceptable for him. From his home, "Palmetto Hall," near the village of Chaptico in southern Maryland, he responded to Amelia's letter of 29 August, which he had just received, with his letter dated 17 September 1879. He reminded his niece that even though he had "answered

immediately... your kind and affectionate letter of several years ago," he had "never had any reply." Her recent letter, he noted, he had read "with much interest" because it concerned Augustin's mother's family, the Swintons:

I... take pleasure in furnishing you with a copy of the Swinton Genealogy, taken from a MS. work once projected by me, for the preservation of the History of Carolina Families; but I met with so much hypocrisy and mock modesty in the matter, that I abandoned the subject in disgust.

He also granted her permission to allow "any proper person to take a copy of my MS., but, on no account, part with it, but hold the MS. subject to my order."

Amelia and her uncle apparently continued to correspond and, in 1883, Augustin sent his niece clippings from *The Sunday Herald*, a Baltimore newspaper that had published, in weekly installments from January-March 1883, a romantic epic poem authored by Taveau. "Aben-Rey, A Tale of Granada," related the story of "Aben-Rey, a young Moor of ordinary nobility... in love with Zoraya, a lady of high rank." The serialized poem had first appeared in print in *The Magic Word* (Boston: J. Monroe and Company, 1855) by "Alton," a pseudonym used by Taveau. Filled with poems inspired by places and tales encountered during his

European adventures, Taveau dedicated the book to his wife Delphine in the introductory poem. The version published in *The Sunday Herald*, which includes manuscript corrections by Taveau, appears to be an updated version of the original. Amelia also preserved, in the family collection, an obituary clipped from the 5 May 1886 issue of the Baltimore *American* which honored his memory, and characterized her uncle as “A noble soldier, a cultivated gentleman and a genial and gifted man....”

Amelia Ball Rutledge died at her home in Greenville (S.C.) on 14 August 1892, aged sixty, and was buried in the churchyard of Christ Episcopal Church in Greenville (S.C.). Survived by her husband, three daughters and two sons, while of her siblings, only her younger brother, Hugh Swinton Ball (1836–1900) remained still alive. Her sister Sophie (1837–1891) had died the year before and her brother Elias Nonus Ball (1834–1872) had died in Pennsylvania not long after he left South Carolina during Reconstruction. There are no letters of condolence in the collection after Amelia’s death.

The collection includes only two letters, both dating to 1893, from Hugh Rutledge to his brother Robert. The first, dated 27 February 1893, and headed Greenville [S.C.], concerned Hugh’s efforts to “find another

servant for John, who would be willing to go down to Charleston, to take Brister's place." Hugh was disappointed by Brister's return to Greenville (S.C.) unannounced because:

...he was to remain... as long as wanted, so I did not anticipate his return; on the contrary, I laid great stress upon his remaining with the Captain as long as he wished him....

Captain John Rutledge never married and lived with his unmarried sisters, Julia, Rosa and Emily, in the family home at 274 Calhoun Street in Charleston, but needed help from Hugh to secure the services of a servant. In the letter to Robert, Hugh expressed his surprise "about your allusion in your letter to the interview with a lawyer, & he thought the best plan would be to 'sell the tract for taxes.'" The family still owned property on the Savannah River that had formerly been productive rice land, but which was no longer profitable. Hugh suggested that the brothers employ workmen to

...cut & cord wood alongside the line of the railway; and sell this wood to some wood-dealer in Savannah.... This would command ready money without doubt, and be a great help to those so much needing it like myself.

Hugh Rutledge confessed that he had "not yet paid a dollar of rent on the house we occupy for the year 1892!" The people of Greenville (S.C.)

were beginning to feel the impact of the Panic of 1893 which adversely affected Hugh's medical practice. "I cannot collect money that is owing to me," he complained, "and subsequently cannot meet my obligations." Hugh followed his February letter to Robert with another, dated 22 March 1893, on the same subject. He argued that the property should be sold as soon as economic conditions permitted. "Such sale would give two thirds of the proceeds to the Rutledges for distribution amongst ourselves," he suggested. There was an outstanding claim against one-third of the property, Hugh continued, but even if the claimants appeared to demand their share of the proceeds from a sale, a portion of the sum realized could be deposited "in [a] bank to satisfy such claims." Hugh was also

...sorry that this matter was not fully discussed (as understood) long ago.... As things are, in their present *stagnation*, you & I will never reap any benefit from the property.

One other letter in the collection concerns Hugh Rutledge. United States Senator Benjamin Ryan Tillman informed Rutledge, in a letter dated 31 May 1906, and written from Washington (D.C.), that

Your bill was reported from the Committee on Pensions on May 28th and is now on the Calendar. It will probably pass the Senate either this week or early next week.

Tillman enclosed copies of bill H.R. 18510, "An Act Granting an increase of pension to Hugh R. Rutledge," which had passed the House of Representatives on 11 May 1906 and that had been "Read twice and referred to the [Senate] Committee on Pensions, May 28, 1906." As written, the bill would place on the pension roll,

Hugh R. Rutledge, late assistant surgeon, United States Army, war with Mexico, and pay him a pension at the rate of twenty dollars per month in lieu of that he is now receiving.

Hugh Rutledge lived his remaining years in Greenville in upstate South Carolina, where he died on 6 May 1915, in his ninety-second year. The writer of an obituary that was published in *The State* newspaper the day after his death described him as a:

...delightful conversationalist, although but few persons were fortunate enough to enjoy his confidence. He seldom if ever talked of his war record, was reticent concerning his age and was extremely averse to any publicity. His distinguished lineage was not a matter of spoken pride to him.... a man of commanding appearance. He stood 6 feet 4 or 5 inches... and his white beard, immaculate dress, dignity of manner and

general bearing made of him a figure which would tend to make men look back the second time when he passed.

After the death of Captain John Rutledge in Charleston in 1894, the documents relating to his naval career were probably preserved by his sister Emily who continued to reside in the family's Calhoun Street home until her death in 1916. Rosa, the last surviving sibling, died in Columbia (S.C.) the following year.

Although there are only a few of John Rutledge's personal letters in the family collection, the extant official correspondence from naval officials in the United States and Confederate military documents his career at sea from 1835 until 1865. Fourteen-year-old John Rutledge was appointed "an Acting Midshipman in the Navy of the United States" on 9 April 1835 by Mahlon Dickerson (1770–1853), Secretary of the Navy; however, only after "your commanding officer shall, after six months of actual service at sea, report favourably of your character, talents and qualifications," would he receive a "Warrant... bearing the date of this letter." Although the reason that young John decided on a career in the navy is unclear, he and his cousin, Hugh Rose (1820–1863), the son of James Rose and Julia Rutledge Rose, both applied for military service in 1835; Hugh for admission to West Point and John for an appointment as a midshipman in the navy.

Fourteen months after his appointment (and six months after the outbreak of the Second Seminole War), Acting Midshipman Rutledge was ordered, again by the secretary of the navy, in a letter dated 1 June 1836, to “proceed to Pensacola [Florida] and report to Comd. Dallas for duty in the West India Squadron.” When John arrived in Pensacola, Commodore Alexander J. Dallas assigned him to the U.S.S. *Constellation*, a frigate that had been in service since its launch in 1797, where he remained until September 1836, when Commodore Dallas reassigned him to the U.S.S. *Boston*, a smaller warship that was part of the same squadron.

Seven months later, on 3 April 1837, the commander on the U.S.S. *Boston*, Bladen Dulany (1793–1856), wrote a glowing report to Secretary of the Navy Dickerson about Rutledge’s service aboard his vessel:

I do with pleasure give my testimony to the undeviating rectitude, the high moral character of Mr. Rutledge as a gentleman, and to the zeal, ability and activity which has always distinguished him as an officer and I beg to recommend him... as a highly meritorious and promising young officer who richly deserves his warrant, and as one who gives the fairest prospects of his being an ornament to the profession he has adopted.



On 4 May 1837, Secretary Dickerson forwarded Rutledge's warrant as a Midshipman in the United States Navy to date from 9 April 1835.

Rutledge continued to serve on the U.S.S. *Boston*, which remained at Pensacola, until he received an order from fellow South Carolinian Captain William Branfort Shubrick (1790–1874), dated 22 March 1839, which directed him to report for duty aboard the U.S. Frigate *Macedonian*. While serving aboard the U.S.S. *Macedonian*, Rutledge prepared for his appearance before the navy's Board of Examiners to take the examination required for promotion to lieutenant. An applicant for promotion was also required to provide letters from officers with whom they had served testifying to their character and conduct. Captain Beverley Kennon (1793–1844), Rutledge's commander while he served on the *Macedonian*, wrote in a letter to the nineteen-year-old midshipman dated 1 April 1840,

...by your good behaviour, you have put it in my power to say you have fully merited my approbation, and I am flattered with the hope that on the day of your examination and throughout your Naval Career, you will not discredit the *Macedonian* or her Captain.

On 25 April 1840, Captain Shubrick ordered Rutledge to report to Commander J. D. Williamson for service on board the U.S.S. *Ontario*. In May, the ship sailed for New York where she arrived in early June 1840

after having spent three years with the West India Squadron. Rutledge was granted a leave of absence for three months after which he applied for permission to attend the "Naval School at the Naval Asylum at Philadelphia," a request granted by Secretary of the Navy J. K. Paulding in a letter dated 17 September 1840. James Biddle, the director of the establishment, noted on the letter that "Mr. Rutledge reported this day... 5 Oct. 1840."

The school, a predecessor of the United States Naval School which was established in Annapolis (Maryland), in 1845, and five years later was renamed the Naval Academy, trained young officers for eight months before they took their formal examination for midshipman. On 3 June 1841, eight months after Rutledge entered the school, he was notified by George E. Badger, the Secretary of the Navy, by letter that "The examination of Midshipmen, embracing your date, will take place at Philadelphia on the 14th instant. You are expected to attend." The day after the examination, James Biddle wrote Rutledge with the results:

I have the pleasure to inform you that you have passed  
your examination in Seamanship, Navigation and  
Mathematics. Your attendance is no longer requested by  
the Board.

Rutledge's first assignment as a "passed Midshipman," an interim status which simply meant that he would be considered for promotion to

lieutenant when a vacancy occurred, was to the Florida Squadron, a small flotilla of vessels used in the coastal waters of South Florida and the Florida Keys during the latter stages, 1840–1842, of the Second Seminole War.

On 30 June 1841, George E. Badger enclosed, in a letter to Rutledge, his “Warrant as a Passed Midshipman in the Navy of the United States... assigning you rank from the 22d. day of June 1841, and numbered nineteen....” Secretary Badger, on 26 July, directed Rutledge, then in Charleston on leave, to “proceed without delay to New York and report to Capt. M.C. Perry for duty in the Florida expedition.” Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry (1794–1858), recently appointed as commandant of the New York Navy Yard, acknowledged, on the verso of Rutledge’s orders, that the young officer had reported “for duty agreeably to the within orders” on 11 August 1841.

During the winter of 1841-1842, the *Flirt*, along with four or five other schooners, and with a detachment of marines, sailed along both coasts of south Florida in an effort to block supplies from reaching the bands of Indians on the mainland.

By late spring, 1842, with the Florida War winding down, the *Flirt* and several other vessels sailed north and arrived at Norfolk (Virginia), in late July. A.P. Upshur, the secretary of the Navy who followed George Badger’s brief term in office, wrote John Rutledge, at Norfolk (Virginia),

on 30 July 1842, that “you are hereby detached from the Sch[ooone]r Flirt” and also granted a three months leave of absence.

Rutledge had spent almost a year of active duty on the *Flirt* before he left her on 3 August 1842. His next assignment, communicated by Secretary Upshaw in a letter dated 10 December 1842, while Rutledge was still on leave in Charleston, sent him to a less demanding post. He was ordered to “proceed to Boston and report to Comm[odore] Nicolson for duty on board the U.S. Store Ship Erie.” Once on board, Rutledge was handed a manuscript document with the “Internal Rules & Regulations of the U.S. Store ship Erie” with the admonition that “you will cause the above Rules & Regulations... to be carried into effect.”

One of Rutledge’s duties as the junior midshipman was to “take charge of the signals & lanterns & have them kept in order for service....” The three-masted U.S.S. *Erie*, which first entered service in 1813, had been rebuilt at Boston and converted into an armed store ship and embarked on 9 February 1843 for duty in the Pacific.

After dropping off supplies to American ships stationed in Brazil and Peru, the U.S.S. *Erie* sailed into the Pacific Ocean and reached Honolulu in the Sandwich Islands [Hawaii] on 6 November 1843. She cruised through the Hawaiian and Society Islands until June 1844, and then sailed for New York. During part of the voyage, Rutledge had been appointed acting sailing master of the U.S.S. *Erie*, according to a letter

from A.O. Dayton, the auditor of naval accounts in the Treasury Department, dated 7 May 1844 to Rutledge.

In a letter to Dayton, written on 22 February 1844, Rutledge had requested a pay increase commensurate with his new title, but Dayton replied that the “appointment of itself is not sufficient to entitle you to an increase of pay.” Before the U.S.S. *Erie* returned to the United States, Rutledge was ordered, on 30 April 1844, to join another vessel, the sloop *Warren*, which had recently joined the Pacific Squadron in Hawaii. He served as acting fourth lieutenant for more than three years, until 29 September 1847, when he was transferred to the U.S.S. *Erie*, the vessel he had served on in 1843 and 1844.

During his extended tour of duty on the *Warren*, Rutledge was an active participant in the California phase of the American-Mexican War. The American Pacific Squadron concentrated off the Mexican coastal city of Mazatlan (in the state of Sinaloa) during the spring of 1846, in anticipation of a possible war with Mexico.

After news of the American declaration of war, enacted by Congress on 13 May 1846, reached Commodore John D. Sloat, he ordered the ships of the fleet to seize the settlements along the coast of California. In April 1846, the U.S.S. *Portsmouth*, commanded by John B. Montgomery (1794–1872), had anchored in Monterrey Bay and by June had moved to San Francisco Bay just off the small village of Yerba Buena, later named

San Francisco. In July 1846, Montgomery sent a detachment of Marines to the pueblo's plaza where they raised the American flag and claimed the area for the United States. Some local residents, however, resented the American presence and resisted the occupation.

On 18 November 1846, Montgomery, as Commandant of the Northern Department of California, wrote Lieutenant Rutledge from aboard the U.S.S. *Portsmouth*, anchored in the harbor at Yerba Buena, and requested his assistance in suppressing local discontent:

Intelligence having reached me this morning, that a man by the name of Soloman [Salomon] Pico, has been for several days past, concealed in, or about the quarters of the Priests at the Mission of Santa Clara [de Asis], having come from the Southard, with the evil intent of stirring up revolt, and preparing the people of this Department, for open resistance to existing authorities.

And from another source, "a Californian near the Pueblo of San Jose," Montgomery had learned:

...of an intention on the part of Californians now collected in the Middle Department, to attack and destroy all American residents at the Mission of San Joseph [Jose], Santa Clara, and the Pueblo; soon after

the removal of Troops from that point to Monterey, which has already taken place.

Montgomery ordered Rutledge

...to proceed (in a boat of the Warren's) with twenty seamen of her crew all suitably armed, to the embarkado of Santa Clara, and from thence to the Pueblo of San Jose; and notifying Mr. Charles M. Weber in command thereof said reported purpose, and take the necessary steps for apprising without delay, all American residents at the aforesaid Missions & other places within your reach, of the eminent danger to which such movement must inevitably expose them; and recommending the immediate removal of their families to the Pueblo, and an organization of their strength, to co-operate with the small body of Volunteers now under Mr. Weber, for the general security.

The commodore also directed Rutledge to capture Pico, if possible, and bring him to the American post at Yerba Buena, but cautioned him to not reveal his plan to anyone except "Mr. Weber (who may greatly assist & guide you in the operation)." Rutledge was instructed

...to search the House & Premises of the Priest of Santa Clara, in the most delicate and inoffensive manner,

which the nature of the duty will admit of; for Soloman Pico, the reputed emissary alluded to, and if he is found, to take & keep him securely until he can be forwarded as a Prisoner to this Post.

After Rutledge had completed his mission, he was to “return to this place, and report to Commander Jos. B. Hull, who is about to relieve me in the command of the Northern Dep[artment],” Montgomery concluded. Although no other letters in the collection relate to this expedition, other evidence reveals that Salomon Pico (1821–1860) escaped capture and, beginning in the early 1850s terrorized Southern California as a bandit. Charles M. Weber (1814–1881), a native of Germany, followed the overland trail to California in 1841, assisted American forces during the Mexican-American War, and after the war founded the town of Stockton, named to honor Commodore Robert F. Stockton, the naval officer who commanded the Pacific Squadron after Commodore Sloat retired in July 1846.

Lieutenant Rutledge served aboard the U.S.S. *Warren* until 29 September 1847, when he was transferred to the U.S.S. *Erie* by order of W. Branford Shubrick, who had succeeded Commodore Stockton as Commander of the Pacific Squadron. The *Erie* remained with the Pacific



Squadron until January 1848 when it sailed for New York, stopped briefly at Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), and arrived at New York on 24 June 1848, with Acting Lieutenant Rutledge on board.

Before Rutledge landed in New York, Secretary of the Navy John Y. Mason dispatched a letter, dated 29 March 1848, which informed him that on 22 March 1848 he had been appointed to the rank of Master. Mason also noted that the “warrant is numbered *one*, and is in no wise to affect your claim to promotion to the rank of Lieutenant.” His chances for promotion in the near future, Mason intimated by underscoring the warrant number, were excellent.

Three days after his arrival, Master Rutledge was officially notified by Secretary Mason that “you are hereby detached from the Store ship *Erie*” and on 30 June 1848 he left the ship. Rutledge spent the fall of 1848 on leave in Charleston before returning to duty in the spring of 1849. On 7 January 1849, Rutledge was promoted and when he began his next assignment he wore a lieutenant’s insignia.

In the late spring, he joined the United States *Mississippi*, a steam paddle wheel frigate commissioned in 1841, which was being fitted at the navy yard at Gosport Shipyard (Virginia). [Located at Portsmouth, across the harbor from Norfolk; this facility is now known as Norfolk Naval Shipyard, or the Norfolk Navy Yard.]

The frigate would voyage to the Mediterranean Sea where it would become part of the American squadron there.

An article in the 9 May 1849 issue of the Boston, Massachusetts, *Weekly Messenger* listed the officers who in charge of the vessel, who included Captain John Collings Long (1795–1865), a veteran of the War of 1812, and John Rutledge, serving as one of the six lieutenants on board when the frigate sailed from Norfolk on 5 June 1849. The writer of the newspaper article noted that the

Mississippi goes out to Gibraltar as the flag ship of Commodore [Charles W.] Morgan, who is to succeed the late Commodore [William Compton] Bolton (d. 1849) in command of that squadron. She is a noble ship. Her principal armament consists of four Paixhans guns of eight inch caliber and two of ten inch.

One letter from John Rutledge to his brother Hugh, written on 14 March 1850, while aboard the “U.S.S. Mississippi, Constantinople,” is preserved in the collection. John hastily wrote Hugh to inform him of his safe arrival in Italy:

...a report is in circulation that this ship was lost between Naples and this place, and for fear that it might reach home, and cause anxiety, I mention it to show that it is without foundation.

...we arrived here some ten days ago, brought Mr. Marsh, our minister to this court, and as his audience took place the day before yesterday, think that we shall get off about the latter part of this week, return to Naples, there to receive new orders from the comm[odore].

George Perkins Marsh (1801–1882), a Whig Congressman from Vermont, had been appointed by President Zachary Taylor on 29 May 1849 as minister resident at Constantinople [Istanbul, Turkey]. Although he did not sail for Europe until September 1849, he boarded the U.S.S. *Mississippi*, probably in Naples (Italy), and completed the last leg of his journey on the American warship. In closing his letter, John briefly described his impression of Constantinople:

My visit... has been a pleasant one; the city, especially presents a handsome appearance, but you are woefully disappointed the moment you put your foot on shore. [T]he streets are narrow and filthy, houses badly built but nevertheless everything is strange and new, and consequently pleases for a while. [I]ts population is about 500,000... and consists of a mixture of all nations.

He promised to give a “full account when I return home, but no time to say more.”

The U.S.S. *Mississippi* remained with the Mediterranean Squadron until the autumn of 1851 when it was ordered to return to the United States; however, the frigate's captain, John C. Long, was directed by Commodore Morgan to return to Constantinople and take on board Louis Kossuth (1802–1894), the exiled leader of the failed Hungarian Revolution of 1848, along with his family and more than fifty of his fellow revolutionaries who had been held in Turkey for almost two years. President Millard Fillmore had offered refuge in the United States for the Hungarians and, on 10 September 1851, the U.S.S. *Mississippi* rendezvoused with a Turkish frigate at the Dardanelles and took Kossuth and his party on board. After brief stops at Smyrna [Izmir, Turkey], Spezzia [or Spetse, Greece, an island in the Argolic Gulf], and Marseilles (France), the warship reached Gibraltar in October and Kossuth, his family, and a few others, left the American ship, boarded an English vessel and sailed for England, while the *Mississippi* continued its voyage to New York with the remaining exiles. On 10 November 1851, the frigate docked at New York City. Even though Kossuth was not among the passengers, local newspaper reporters went on board to ask about published rumors that their famous guest had caused problems for the ship's captain and officers. The 10 November 1851 issue of the New York *Evening Post* included a

statement from a reporter who had spoken to some of the ship's officers that contradicted some of the previously published stories:

The officers of the Mississippi are indignant at the accounts which have been given of the conduct of Kossuth....Kossuth, they say, is a noble man, and makes friends of all who came in contact with him.

After his return from duty with the Mediterranean Squadron, John Rutledge remained in the United States for two years before once again embarking on an extended assignment abroad. During the summer of 1853, Lieutenant Rutledge commanded the schooner *Madison*, which along with the schooner *Gallatin* and the sloop *Dobbin*, was engaged in conducting a survey of Nantucket Sound. When the field work was completed in the autumn, Rutledge and his fellow survey officers were assigned to the coast survey office in Washington (D.C.).

In 1855, John Rutledge was ordered to report to the navy yard in New York where the U.S.S. *San Jacinto* was being readied for a voyage to the Far East. An article headed "Naval Intelligence," in the 24 October 1855 edition of *The New York Herald*, noted that the ship would depart under the command of Commodore James Armstrong (1794-1868), with a

scheduled stop in South Africa before crossing the Indian Ocean for scheduled stops in Malaysia, Thailand and Japan:

U.S. steam frigate *San Jacinto* [was] anchored off the Battery [at the southern tip of Manhattan], previous to sailing for the East India station, where she will be the flag ship of the squadron, under the command of Commodore James Armstrong, Commander-in-Chief. She will go via Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, Penang and Siam

While at Penang (Malaysia), Townsend Harris (1804–1878), the recently-appointed first United States Consul General for Japan, would come aboard for the final leg of his journey to Japan following completion of diplomatic business in Siam [Thailand], for which, the newspaper reports, Harris “has been empowered to form a treaty with the Siamese government.”

A New York merchant who had relocated to California in 1848, Harris became familiar with the customs and cultures of several Asian countries during the following six years of frequent trading voyages to China and the Dutch and British Indies. During this period, Harris had also served for a time as American vice-consul at the Chinese treaty port of Ningpo. The newspaper reported that Townsend would “then proceed in the *San Jacinto* to Japan, via Hong Kong.”

Lieutenant Rutledge was among the 260 officers and crew who sailed from New York on 25 October 1855. Five months later, on 22 March 1856, the frigate arrived at Penang (Malaysia), in the straits of Malacca south of Thailand, where Townsend Harris boarded the vessel. In April, the consul general completed negotiations on a commercial trade treaty at Bangkok [Thailand] with the King of Siam, Luang Wisut Yothamat (1804-1868). Also known as Rama IV, this English-speaking monarch reigned as King Mongkut of Siam from 1851 to 1868.

Harris then rejoined the *San Jacinto* for the final leg of his passage to the Japanese port city of Shimoda (on the southeastern Izu peninsula, in Japan's Shizuoka Prefecture), where they arrived on 21 August 1856, after several unexpected delays.

Several weeks later, Consul General Townsend Harris established the first American Consulate in Japan, housed at the temple of Gyokusen-ji in Shimoda. This milestone occurred approximately three years after the gunboat diplomacy of Commodore Matthew Perry compelled the Tokugawa Shogunate to re-open Japan to foreign trade. Rutledge's own former ship, the U.S.S. *Mississippi*, had served among the steam-powered "Black Ships" utilized by Commodore Perry on his expedition and had initially served as his flagship during the first six months of his trip. In September 1856, some of the crew of the *San Jacinto* raised the American flag in front of the newly designated consulate at Shimoda.

Soon after, Rutledge and the frigate sailed for Shanghai (China).

In November 1856, a brief incident related to the unrest created by the beginning of the Second Opium War in China involved the U.S.S. *San Jacinto*, including Rutledge and his crew. During the Battle of the Barrier Forts, several American ships attacked four Chinese forts on the Pearl River near Canton (China) [now called Guangzhou, the capital city of the province of Guangdong in southern China].

For the next eighteen months, the frigate sailed along the China coast, looking out for American interests and shipping, and frequenting the ports at Hong King and Shanghai, before returning to the United States. After the frigate arrived at New York on 24 August 1856, the officers received three months leave of absence and Rutledge returned to his family in Charleston.

After a stint on the U.S.S. *Pennsylvania*, a ship permanently stationed at the navy yard in Norfolk (Virginia), served as housing for sailors awaiting assignment to active duty on other vessels, in August 1859 the Navy ordered Rutledge to a post at Charleston (South Carolina). In a significant change from his previous duties serving far from home in distant ports, Rutledge would instead serve as lighthouse inspector for the 6th district, which stretched from New River Inlet (Onslow County, North Carolina), south to Jupiter Inlet [now located in Palm Beach County, Florida]. Rutledge, however, served only briefly from 5



September until 21 November 1859. Secretary of the Navy Isaac Toucey (1792–1869), in a letter dated 11 November 1859, acknowledged the receipt of Rutledge's request to be relieved of his duty as a lighthouse inspector and informed him that:

...you will regard yourself as detached from duty as Light House Inspector... upon the reporting of your successor....

The election of Abraham Lincoln as president in November 1860 and the subsequent secession of eleven southern states, South Carolina included, made it difficult for many army and naval officers from the South to remain in the service of the United States. John Rutledge ultimately decided to cast his lot with his native state and did so in dramatic fashion.

In late August 1860, Lieutenant Rutledge was ordered to join the United States steam frigate *Powhatan* which had docked at Philadelphia on 14 August 1860 after a cruise to the Far East that had lasted two years, eight months. The vessel was hastily prepared for another tour of duty and, in September 1860, the *Powhatan* sailed for Vera Cruz (Mexico), where it joined the Home Squadron.

From October 1860 until January 1861, the *Powhatan* cruised the Mexican coast. On 19 January 1861, Captain Samuel Mercer, the ship's commander, received orders to return to Florida, and about the same

time, the news reached the crew of South Carolina's secession from the Union. On 4 February 1861, the *Charleston Mercury* reprinted a note from another newspaper which stated that:

...we have reliable information from Vera Cruz, that immediately on the receipt of the intelligence of the secession of this State... [that lieutenants John Rutledge and Philip Porcher of the *Powhatan*] "tendered their resignations.

The *Powhatan* arrived in New York on 13 March 1861 and a few days later, on 19 March 1861, the *Charleston Mercury* once again mentioned Rutledge and Porcher and the circumstances of their resignations from the United States Navy:

These gentlemen, both members of families which are among the oldest and most respected in our state... now that their vessel has returned, they come to share the fortune of their native state.

John Rutledge's Confederate naval career began on 26 March 1861 when he was appointed a lieutenant in the fledgling naval force of the South. His first active involvement in the war, however, was not at sea, but on land during the bombardment of Fort Sumter in April 1861. General P.G.T. Beauregard, in his official report on that action, mentioned that:

Lieut. Rutledge was acting Inspector-General of Ordinance of all the Batteries, in which capacity, assisted by Lieut. Williams, C.S.A., on Morris Island... was of much service in organizing and distributing the ammunition.

By late summer 1861, Lieutenant John Rutledge was in command of his own vessel. On 18 September 1861, Josiah Tattnall (1795-1871), Flag Officer in charge of a small fleet of ships that defended the coast of Georgia and South Carolina, ordered Rutledge to the waters off Beaufort District (S.C.): "Lt. Comdg. J. Rutledge [to] proceed at once to Port Royal, and anchor between the Forts until my return from the north." In a note at the end of the letter, Tattnall instructed Rutledge to

Confer with the Comdts. of the Forts with the view of operating with them, in such manner, as your judgment may dictate.

The two forts, Walker and Beauregard, guarded the entrance to Port Royal Sound (S.C.), located at the mouth of the Broad River and four other major watersheds, while Tattnall, aboard his flag ship, the *Savannah*, used a few small gunboats to patrol the coast from Savannah (Georgia) to Charleston (South Carolina). Although Tattnall in his letter to Rutledge does not name the vessel the lieutenant commanded, it was probably the *Lady Davis*, a small, lightly armed, converted tug boat.

Rutledge served as commander of that steamer on 7 November 1861 when a Federal naval flotilla, under the command of Flag Officer Samuel Francis Du Pont (1803-1865), attacked the forts and the small Confederate fleet protecting them. Although the forts were abandoned under heavy Union fire, the *Lady Davis* escaped and returned to Charleston.

Lieutenant Rutledge continued in command of the *Lady Davis* in Charleston until January 1862, when he was ordered by Flag Officer Tattnall, in a letter dated 15 January 1862, written from the Commandant's Office at Savannah (Confederate States Navy Station, Georgia and South Carolina), to

...proceed to Savannah, Geo. as soon as possible, with the officers and crew under your command attached to the steamer *Lady Davis* with the exception of the 1st Lieutenant, two Midshipmen, the Engineers and their crew, and one seaman, which you will leave on board for her protection.

When John Rutledge and his men arrived in Savannah (Georgia), he was ordered to take command of Cheves Battery, located on the

Savannah River near Fort Jackson, where he served until 23 March 1862. Tattnall, in a letter of that date, transferred to Rutledge

...as Senior officer... By order of the Secretary of the Navy... the command of South Carolina and Georgia Naval Station.

Rutledge's appointment proved temporary and after Commodore

Thomas W. Brent (1808–1875) replaced him in the early summer of 1862, Rutledge resumed command of the naval batteries on the Savannah River and was also in charge of the Confederate steamer *Savannah* which was anchored near Fort Jackson and used as a receiving ship.

In September 1862, Rutledge was named the commanding officer of the newly-commissioned ironclad ram *Palmetto State* and was present, along with a large gathering of Charleston's ladies, gentlemen, and military officers, when, on 11 October 1862, the boat was officially christened. The orator of the day, Richard Yeadon Jr. (1802-1870), in the course of his speech, addressed Lieutenant Rutledge and reminded him of the crucial role played by his "illustrious ancestor," Governor John Rutledge, in the defense of Charleston during the American Revolution. In his speech, Yeadon expressed confidence that Rutledge would

produce a similar result during the present conflict. Of Rutledge and his gunboat, Yeadon asked for "a harbor defense that will both give safety to our city and immortality to her defenders."

In the early morning hours of 31 January 1863, the *Palmetto State* earned Yeadon's accolades when, in company with her sister ram C.S.S. *Chicora*, she attacked and disabled the U.S.S. *Mercedita*, one of the

Union ships blockading Charleston's harbor. Lieutenant Rutledge also remained in command of the *Palmetto State* on 7 April 1863 when Admiral Du Pont's fleet made an unsuccessful foray against the forts that protected Charleston.

In August 1863, Lieutenant Rutledge and Lieutenant Alexander F. Warley (1823–1895), who served as the commanders of the *Palmetto State* and *Chicora*, respectively, penned letters to John R. Tucker (1812–1883), Flag Officer of Confederate Forces Afloat in Charleston harbor. Tucker enclosed his officers' correspondence in his letter to Confederate Secretary of the Navy Stephen R. Mallory. In his reply, dated 11 September 1863 (a copy of which was preserved by Rutledge), Mallory acknowledged the receipt of the letters from Rutledge, Warley and Tucker and explained that the

...Department knows and regrets the feeble steam power of your vessels, but it also knows the judgment, zeal, & ability of yourself & officers, and looks to these with confidence for all that can be accomplished with the means at your command.

Perhaps because of illness, James Henry Rochelle (1826–1889) replaced Rutledge as commander of the *Palmetto State* sometime after March 1864.

On 3 March 1864, John K. Mitchell, Commander in charge of the navy's

Office of Orders and Detail, sent a letter in to Rutledge, addressed to "First Lieut. John Rutledge, C.S.N., C.S.S. 'Palmetto State,'" which indicated that he remained in command of that vessel. The letter, however, was marked "Forwarded by your ob[edien]t Ser[ven]t, J.R. Tucker, Flag Officer Afloat," which would indicate that Rutledge was not on his ship.

Another letter, this one dated 2 June 1864 and written by Secretary Stephen Mallory, which shows the same routing information, informed Rutledge that he had been appointed a first lieutenant in the Provisional Navy of the Confederate States, "to rank from the 6th day of January 1864." Rutledge's career as an officer in the Confederate Navy apparently ended sometime in 1864.

The collection includes one other letter to John Rutledge. Although undated, it is presumed to have been written approximately 1870. Addressed to "My dear old friend," the letter originated with Thomas G.

Corbin (1820–1901), an officer in the United States Navy who had known Rutledge in the days before the Civil War:

It is needless to assure you, my dear Rutledge, how much I regret your resignation, but sympathizing entirely with the cause of your state, which however, I think acted too precipitately, I cannot upbraid you for



abandoning a service, its associations and, doubtless many dear associates, to which and whom you must ever revisit, in the pleasures of memory, with almost a distressing sadness.

By this time, attached to the United States Naval shipyard in Philadelphia, Captain Corbin, reports that he had learned Rutledge was in town and wanted to see him before he left. "I have much to talk to you about," he concluded.

One other Rutledge family item preserved in the collection consists of agricultural accounts recorded during Reconstruction that document the challenges of farming large tracts of land under the new social order, with sharecroppers and paid laborers. This portion of the collection preserves a detailed record of labor expenses, crop sales, and notes on planting, recorded by R[obert] S[mith] Rutledge (1832–1902) for Poplar Grove plantation in Beaufort County (S.C.) from 1 February 1869 until 5 January 1872.

Robert took over the management of Poplar Grove plantation on the Savannah River after the death of his father, John Rutledge (IV) in Burke County (Georgia), in 1864. In February 1869, Robert began an account book in which he recorded labor expenses, planting details and rice shipped from the plantation.

For February 1869, Robert listed a total of \$96.25 for "contract, or

monthly labor, paid to eight men, including \$25.00 paid to "Stephen & Josh for repairing House." He also hired day laborers, both men and women, and paid them by the week.

In his list of contract labor for March 1870, he added job titles to a few of his workmen. To Ned, the foreman, he paid \$20.00; Cain, the engineer, received \$10.12; while Friday, Jonas, and Joe, all plowmen, received \$12.00, \$10.50, and \$11.25, respectively. At the end of July's payroll for his monthly workers, Robert noted that "all hands paid \$1.50 per acre for plowing & harrowing their ground." After using only the first names of his workers, beginning with the March 1871 payroll for his day laborers, he includes surnames for most of the names on the list, a practice that continues, haphazardly however, through the end of 1871.

Robert also recorded the shipment by flats of the Poplar Grove rice crop "to Savannah Upper Rice Mills consigned to Messrs. R[obert] H[abersham] & Co."

During October, he sent seven cargos, consisting of 6,051 bushels of rice; one shipment each in November and December; and one in May 1870. For the year, he sold 8,950 bushels in Savannah. The next year, 1870, his crop was smaller, 6,823 bushels of rice, some of which he sent to R. Habersham & Co. in Savannah, but he also consigned almost half of his crop to James R. Pringle & Son, which he shipped to Charleston

on the schooner *Charles*.

For his 1870 crop, Robert listed the number of rice fields with the acreage for four of them that he had planted. Ten fields were named with acres, "Planters Measure," noted: "Settlement, 22 1/2; Cypress, 14 3/4; Simons, 21; and Half Moon, 15." The others, however, were simply listed. Even though the total acreage he planted is not included in his account book, the agricultural census for 1870 records that each Rutledge brother, Robert and John, owned 200 acres of land in Beaufort County (S.C.).

In addition to the account book, sixty-eight receipts and checks document Robert Rutledge's planting endeavors on the Savannah River from 1874 through 1882. On 19 December 1874, Tison & Gordon of Savannah settled their account with Robert Rutledge for the sale of 40 1/2 casks of rice. After deduction of fees for storage and commission charges, Rutledge received \$1,422.28 for his rice crop from the commission merchants.

In addition to family correspondence, the collection includes several printed items of note. A copy of an *Address and Rules of the South-Carolina Society, for promoting and improving Agriculture and other Rural Concerns* (Charleston, S.C. : 1821); *Constitution of the Agricultural Society of South Carolina, Revised and Confirmed October 15th, 1833*, (Charleston, S.C.: 1834); a map, "Sketch E, Showing the Progress of the

Survey of Section V, From 1847 to 1852,” taken from A.D. Bache’s *U.S. Coast Survey, 1852* (which shows the South Carolina coastline from Daufuskie Island north to the state boundary with North Carolina); and *A Genealogical Deduction of the Family of Rose of Kilravock* (Edinburgh, 1848), which likely belonged to James Rose.

**Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

**Addition, 1848-1865, to the W.H. Scarborough Collection**

*Two volumes, three manuscripts, and seven sketches*, 1848–1865 and undated, added to the papers of portrait painter William Harrison Scarborough (1812–1871), document his travels in Europe in 1857 and financial matters relating to his career as an artist.

In 1857, Scarborough undertook a grand tour to England and Europe, with an itinerary that included time in Paris, Florence, Rome, and Naples. A letter, written in September 1857 from Manchester (England) to his daughter, Sarah E[lizabeth] Scarborough (1842–1885), recounts the beginning of his trip overseas. He noted that he had left Liverpool two days earlier and after traveling forty miles “through a country cultivated like a garden” with “neat, comfortable, and pretty brick and stone Cottages” arrived in the industrial city of Manchester [which by this time, boasted some 95 cotton mills and 1,724 warehouses]. The city he found

“filled with Smoke,” with “High Chimneys or Stacks... in all directions.”

Most of the remainder of the letter documents differences in social customs in England, including women who “do what only men would do in our country,” dining at “the Table de Hote, where hundreds promiscuously eat or in what is called the Coffee room,” being waited on by white servants, and women’s fashion. Scarborough also commented on the poverty he witnessed in both Liverpool and Manchester, where he had “never seen so many *dirty* poor looking women before.” He spent his days viewing art, including the “great exhibition of Works of Art,” apparently a reference to the Art Treasures of Great Britain in Manchester.

This exhibition displayed over sixteen thousand works from May to October 1857 and attracted over one million visitors. Scarborough could “not attempt a description,” but did note that he was “highly pleased with many paintings by Masters whose works I had not before seen.” Not surprisingly, art would be a central focus for the remainder of his trip, which would conclude in Italy.

A diary volume, spanning 27 October–16 November 1857, describes part of Scarborough’s stay in Italy—primarily in Rome. The first entry details his departure from Florence, a “City of *one eyed women*, splendor, dirt-poor people, rich Dukes, fine Gardens, well paved streets, [and] substantial public works.” While there he noted that he had visited the

“Pitti and Uffizzi palaces,” which contained “immense treasures of art” including “the Venus de Medici, the Wrestlers, Michelangelo’s only easel painting in oil, Litinus’ two Venuses and so much else of excellence we must refer to books for descriptions.” In addition, he “found interests and pleasures in being at other places—the Statue of David, Night and Morning &c. by Angelo.” While in Florence, he visited the studio of fellow American, sculptor Hiram Powers (1805–1873), who he found “very affable amidst his own excellent works.”

The remainder of the volume was filled while Scarborough was in Rome, and describes visits to ancient ruins, art galleries, and studios of contemporary artists. The day of his arrival in the eternal city, 31 October 1857, he visited the Colosseum, the “Greatest Ruin in the World,” and declared that it “could not be forgotten.” On 6 November 1857, he was similarly impressed with the Vatican, where he found everything “on a scale of greatness and excellence, which cannot be described nor any proper idea conveyed.” Clearly overcome by seeing the “best Paintings in the World... in the Gallery of Pictures,” he made a hurried list including:

The Crucifixion of St. Peter (head down) by Guido Reni,  
The Entombment of our Savior, by Carravagio, St.  
Sebastian, pierced with arrows, Titian, Transfiguration,  
Raphael, The Communion of St. *Jerome*,  
Dominichino.... Enough!! Returning to my lodgings with

almost adelled brain after such a day of Sight Seeing. So  
much Splendour, so much excellence in art.

He was less impressed with artwork elsewhere. On 31 October 1857 he noted that he did “not admire” Titian’s *Madonna and Child*, describing it as “very small,” and “Leonardis Vanity & Modesty” [Modestia et Vanitas] as “not evincing much knowledge of working in oil.” Scarborough was especially put off by Salvator Rosa’s *Torture of Prometheus*, which he viewed on 7 November 1857. He described it as “horribly natural,” declared that there could be “no possible good derived from painting such a picture,” and wondered how “can any one care to exhibit it so prominently?” However, as a portraitist himself, he deemed the “portrait of Pope Innocent Xth by Velasquez... excellent.”

Scarborough spent many days with the expatriate art community in Rome, and visited the studios of Edward Sheffield Bartholomew (1822–1858), George Loring Brown (1814–1889), Chauncey Ives (1810–1894), Joseph Mozier (1812–1870), William Page (1811–1885), Peter Frederick Rothermel (1817–1895), Frederick Wilton Litchfield Stockdale (1786–1858), John Rollin Tilton (1828–1888), Thomas Worthington Whittredge (1820–1910), and others— often commenting on his impressions of their work.

The other volume in the collection is an account book, 1848–1865, in which Scarborough recorded charges and payments for portrait commissions, painting lessons, and other expenses. Included are accounts of James Hopkins Adams (1812–1861), Peter Samuel Bacot (1810–1864), Milledge Luke Bonham (1813–1890), William Ford DeSaussure (1792–1870), the Euphradian Literary Society at South Carolina College, Thomas Jefferson Goodwyn (1832–1870), J. Eli Gregg (1805–1873), William Gregg (1800–1867), Wade Hampton III (1818–1902), Maximillian LaBorde (1804–1873), Louisa Susanna Cheves McCord (1810–1879), John Hugh Means (1812–1862), William Mazyck Porcher (1812–1902), John Smith Preston (1809–1881), Henry William Ravenel (1814–1887), Alexander Ross Taylor (1812–1888), and James Henly Thornwell (1812–1862).

Collection also includes a letter [1848], written by Rufus Kilpatrick Porter (1792–1884) to Francis Lieber (1800–1872), a professor at South Carolina College informing that he had “visited...Mr. Scarboroughs rooms,” and “came away much pleased and entirely satisfied with the admirable picture, and *perfect-likeness* executed by the artist.” Porter was a member of the Euphradian Literary Society at South Carolina



College, and his letter is apparently in reference to the portrait of Lieber commissioned by the society in 1848. Undated resolutions passed by the Columbia Athenaeum expresses their:

appreciation of the valued Portrait of their venerable  
President Hon. W.C. Preston, executed and presented  
by our fellow townsman, and artist W.H. Scarborough...

and presents the artist with "Winklemann's History of Ancient Art." The seven sketches, attributed to Scarborough by a later family member, consist of six portraits, one of which is identified as "Miss Murrell," and a house with trees and outbuildings.

A native of Dover (Tennessee), William Harrison Scarborough, studied art in Nashville and then with Horace Harding (1794–1857) in Cincinnati, before settling in South Carolina in 1836. By 1846 he had made Columbia his permanent home, where he enjoyed considerable success as a portrait artist. Scarborough died in 1871 and is buried in Ridge Spring (South Carolina).

**Gift of Ms. Mary Dubose Watson Black, Ms. Miranda Watson Kelley,  
and Mr. Jerrold Watson.**

## SELECTED LIST OF 2019 PRINTED SOUTH CAROLINIANA

- Joseph Bartetti, *A Dictionary, Spanish and English, and English and Spanish: Containing, the Signification of Words, and Their Different Uses; Together with the Terms of Arts, Sciences, and Trades; and the Spanish Words Accented and Spelled According to the Regulation of the Royal Spanish Academy of Madrid*, inscribed by W.S. Kennedy, J.Y. Snowden, and Yates Snowden (London, 1800). **Gift of Mr. Frank D. Callcott.**
- Philip Brooks, *The North & South Carolina Almanac, for the Year of Our Lord 1801* (Salisbury, N.C., [1800]). **Acquired through the John C Hungerpillar Library Research Fund.**
- John Henry Cammack, *Personal Recollections of Private John Henry Cammack, a Soldier of the Confederacy, 1861–1865* (Huntington, W.V., n.d.). **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**
- William Elliott, *Carolina Sports, by Land and Water; Including Incidents of Devil Fishing, &c.* (Charleston, 1846). **Acquired with dues contributions of Dr. Robert Elder, Mr. John W. Foster, Ms. Martha Dabbs Greenway, Dr. & Mrs. Earl B. McFadden, Jr., Dr. & Mrs. Jack A. Meyerk and Dr. Phillip Stone II.**
- *First Annual Colored County Fair, Edgefield, S.C., November 7<sup>th</sup> to November 9<sup>th</sup>, 1916* ([Edgefield, 1916]). **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. Millen Ellis and Ms. Joyce M. Bowden and Mr. Adam M. Lutynski.**

- George W. Park Seed Company, *Park's Supplementary (1936) Flower Book* (Greenwood, [1936]). **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. Robert F. Brabham, Jr., and Dr. & Mrs. Robert J. Moore.**
- George W. Park Seed Company, *A Valuable Catalogue of Practical Advice on Seed-Sowing, Culture, Etc.* (Greenwood, [1936]). **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. Robert F. Brabham, Jr., and Dr. & Mrs. Robert J. Moore.**
- Albert Theodore Goodloe, *Confederate Echoes: A Voice from the South in the Days of Secession and of the Southern Confederacy* (Nashville, Tenn., 1907). **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**
- Henry Harrisse, *Discovery of North America: A Critical, Documentary, and Historic Investigation with an Essay on the Early Cartography of the New World, Including Descriptions of Two Hundred and Fifty Maps or Globes Existing or Lost, Constructed Before the Year 1536, Etc., Etc.* (London, 1892 ). **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**
- DuBose Heyward, *Half Pint Flask*, limited presentation edition inscribed by Heyward (New York, 1929). **Acquired with dues contributions of Ms. Karen Beidel and Dr. Gregory Carbone.**
- John Lawson, *The History of Carolina, Containing the Exact Description and Natural History of that Country, Together with the Present State Thereof and a Journal of a Thousand Miles Traveled Through Several Nations of Indians, Giving a Particular*

*Account of Their Customs, Manners, &c., &c.* (London, 1714).

**Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

- Douglas A. Levien, *The Case of the Slaver Echo. History of the Proceedings, with the Arguments of Counsel and Decision of the Court in the Case of the United States vs. R.T. Bates & Others, Indicted for Piracy on the High Seas, before the United States Commissioner, and in the United States Court for the District of South Carolina* (Albany, N.Y., 1859). **Acquired with dues contribution of Mr. Douglas Faunt.**
- Charles H. Olmstead, *Reminiscences of Service with the First Volunteer Regiment of Georgia, Charleston Harbor, in 1863. An Address Delivered before the Georgia Historical Society, March 3, 1879* (Savannah, Ga., 1879). **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**
- Daniel Alexander Payne, *Recollections of Seventy Years* (Nashville, Tenn., 1888). **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. Charles Denton, Dr. Susan H. Guinn, Dr. Michael P. Johnson, Mr. Constantine Manos, Mrs. Elizabeth M. Smith, Mr. Sidney K. Suggs, Dr. & Mrs. William Weston III, and Mr. Frank J. Wideman III.**
- Caroline E. Rush, *Robert Morton, or the Step-Mother: A Book Founded on Fact* (Philadelphia, 1850). **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

- Squire of Krum Elbow [Howland Spencer], *Toward Armageddon* (Charleston, 1936). **Acquired with dues contribution of Mr. Daniel H. Koon.**
  - *Telephone Directory / Spring-Summer Issue / 1930 / Charleston, S.C. / Also Listings at Mt. Pleasant, S.C.; Sullivan's Island, S.C.; and Isle of Palms, S.C.* (Charleston, 1930). **Acquired with dues contribution of Mrs. Rose T. Wilkins.**
  - Alvin C. Voris, *Charleston in the Rebellion: A Paper Read Before the Ohio Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States March 7, 1888* (Cincinnati, 1888). **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**
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## 2019 PICTORIAL SOUTH CAROLINIANA

- ***Daguerreotype***, ca. 1850, of Henderson Scarborough (1813–1854) and his wife, Martha James Scarborough. Henderson was the brother of the portrait painter William Harrison Scarborough. The quarter-plate photograph shows the Scarboroughs seated and holding hands. Henderson was a merchant and postmaster in Dover, Tennessee. William probably used this photograph to paint the portrait of Henderson, which is still owned by the family.  
**Gift of Ms. Mary DuBose Watson Black, Ms. Miranda Watson Kelley, Mr. Jerrold Watson.**
- ***Two portraits***, ca. 1857, of Samuel Steen Marshall (1789–1861) and his wife, Elizabeth Clopton Foster Marshall (1797–1870), painted by William James Hubbard (1807–1862). Each is sitting on a red chair and dressed in dark clothing. Samuel holds a book in his lap, and Elizabeth holds her pince nez in her right hand. She also wears a lace bonnet and has lace collar and cuffs. Samuel emigrated with his parents from Ireland in 1791, living in Boston, then Charleston, and finally in Newberry District by 1793. He later was a doctor and planter in Abbeville District. Samuel and Elizabeth had eight children: Jehu Foster Marshall, Samuel Steen Marshall, Joseph Warren Waldo Marshall, Margaret Elizabeth Marshall Sproull, Mary Jane Marshall Orr, John Hugh Marshall, Kittie Frances Marshall Williams, and George Washington Marshall.  
William James Hubbard was a British-born artist specializing in silhouettes and portraits. He lived and worked first in Boston, next in New York, and finally in Richmond. He was a well-known

artist. Hubbard died in an accidental explosion at a munitions factory in Richmond. **Gift of Mr. J. Quitman Marshall.**

- **Engraving**, ca. 1857, of John C. Calhoun by Thomas B. Welch. The engraving is taken from the portrait commissioned by the Clariosophic Society of South Carolina College and painted by William Harrison Scarborough. Published as the frontispiece in *The Carolina Tribute to Calhoun*, by John Peyre Thomas. **Gift of the Hubert Oliver Williamson Trust.**
- **Carte-de-visite**, ca. 1860, of James Simons (1813–1879), Speaker of the House of Representatives, by Quinby & Company, Charleston. The full-length photograph shows Simons wearing his robes of office. During the war, he served as brigadier general of the South Carolina Militia Fourth Infantry Brigade. Simons graduated South Carolina College in 1833 and was admitted to the bar in 1835. He was elected to the House in 1842 and became Speaker in 1850. Simons married Sarah Lowndes Wragg and with her had five children. **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment, John Hammond Moore Library Acquisitions and Conservation Endowment Fund, John C Hungerpillar Library Research Fund, Deward B. and Sloan H. Brittain Endowment for the South Caroliniana Library, and Orin F. Crow South Caroliniana Library Endowment.**

- ***Two cartes-de-visite***, 1861, of Fort Sumter after the bombardment. “View of a portion of the south face of Sumpter with sally-port, three days after evacuation by Maj. Anderson” shows the exterior with men standing beside the entrance, waiting to go inside; possibly taken by Osborn and Durbec of Charleston.

“View showing the appearance of that portion of the officers qrs to the left of the gate way, of that portion of the men’s qrs nearest the powder magazine (the entrance to which was in the junction of these two buildings) and also the gate way, the doors of which were burned & had fallen before Genl Wigfall came to the Fort” has a backmark for E. Anthony of N.Y., but was probably taken by Osborn and Durbec as well. An accompanying handwritten note describes the scene, including the oyster boxes, the lighthouse lantern, and the main gate. **Acquired through the Rebecca R. Hollingsworth South Caroliniana Library Endowment. Fund**
- ***Ambrotype***, ca. 1863, of Sarah Hester Norwood (1817–1887) of Abbeville. The sixth-plate ambrotype shows Sarah in a plaid dress with lace collar and sleeve trim, black lace gloves, large brooch at neck, and gold chain at waist. Sarah married planter James A. Norwood, and in 1868 they purchased the Armistead Burt house, where Confederate President Jefferson Davis briefly stayed after fleeing Richmond in 1865. **Acquired with dues contributions of Dr. & Mrs. William D. Anderson, Jr.**
- ***Four photographs***, ca. 1864, of Beaufort County plantations and military camp. Two large format oval albumen prints show



an unidentified "Sea Island Plantation, Hilton Head" with people and farm transports near cotton barn, stables, and other outbuildings. Two rows of slave cabins appear in the distance in one photograph.

A third large format oval print shows the residence of Lt. Charles Russell Suter, Topographical Engineers office, and other wooden buildings used by the Union forces at Port Royal. Suter was in charge of Department of the South Engineer Operations at Hilton Head Island and Port Royal from December 1863 through March 1864. He also was involved in the attack on Fort Sumter and siege of Fort Wagner earlier in 1863. He returned to South Carolina later in 1865, having attained the rank of Brevet Major, and remained until July 1866.

A rectangular large format albumen print of "The Jenkins Plantation residence, pleasure gardens, St. Helena Island" shows a two-storey clapboard house with three quarter porches on both levels. The planned garden in front has two large gazebos; outbuildings include a brick structure with slanted roof and two large wooden buildings. This was probably the home of Dr. William Jenkins. Photographs possibly taken by Osborn & Durbec in Charleston. **Acquired through the Rebecca R. Hollingsworth South Caroliniana Library Endowment Fund.**

- ***Four photographs***, ca. 1860s–1910s, of the Darby and Hogg families of Newberry County. A ninth-plate ambrotype of Mrs. Darby by Wearn & Hix, Columbia, is possibly Nancy Darby, mother of Susan Darby who married Newton Thomas Hogg, son of Lewis Hogg and Catherine Hefflin Hogg. A sixth-plate ambrotype of Sgt. Lewis Hogg shows him in uniform with two

pistols and a knife in his belt. A photograph in postcard format of two men in WWI-era uniforms standing together identifies one man as Clarence, possibly Clarence Shealy, descendent of Lewis Hogg. **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

- ***Fifty-nine photographs***, ca. 1880–1930s, of people and places in South Carolina. Of interest are a photograph of the Walnut Camp No 14, W.O.W., Pelzer, ca. 1910, with men wearing regalia and ribbons. Also a photograph of the Winthrop Normal and Industrial College at the 1895 Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta, with large group of teachers and students in front of the Hotel Alcazar with their traveling cases and umbrellas.

This collection contains the work of photographers from around the state, including the South Caroliniana Library's only photograph by J. Ferdinand Jacobs, Laurens Court House. Most of the people are unidentified and appear unrelated. **Acquired through the dues of Mr. Millen Ellis, and Ms. Joyce M. Bowden and Mr. Adam M. Lutynski.**

- ***Three photographs***, ca. 1895, of the E.B.C. Cash family cemetery and plantation house at Cash Depot in Chesterfield County, and of an unknown single-storey home associated with the Cash family. The cemetery photograph shows two large headstones and a cenotaph in a row inside a wrought iron fenced plot; the house can be seen in the distance. The photograph of the Cash plantation home shows a two-storey clapboard home with central porch and balcony. An unidentified

man and dog are on the front steps. The third photograph is of a one-storey clapboard home with pillar foundation, front porch, and flanking additions. A horse and buggy stands in front of the home and young family with servants are on the porch. **Gift of Mr. Harvey S. Teal.**

- **Photograph**, ca. 1900, of the Sword of State and Royal Mace. The photograph shows both pieces standing upright on a carpet covered table. While this mace still presides over the House of Representatives, the sword went missing in 1941. It had a double-edged flamberge blade, cross guard with finials in opposite directions, and round pommel. A replacement sword was presented to the State in 1951 by E.F.L. Wood, the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Halifax. This is the only known photograph of the sword, which remains on the FBI's national stolen art list. **Acquired with dues contribution of Mr. Henry G. Fulmer.**
- **Panorama**, 1917, of *Last Review of 7th N.Y. Inf. by Brig. Gen. Philipps, Camp Wadsworth, Spartanburg, S.C., Oct. 5<sup>th</sup> 1917.* Taken by P.E. Witte, the photograph shows the regiment in formation on drill grounds. In the foreground are horses, trucks, and cars with license tags for Chief of Staff, Judge Advocate, and other officers at the camp. Another photographer has his camera set up on the field to the right. Beyond the regiment can be seen the tents and other amenities of the camp. The 7th New York Infantry trained at Camp Wadsworth before shipping out to Europe in 1918. It became the 107<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment during World War I, joining with transfers from the 1<sup>st</sup> New York Infantry. The unit saw heavy action, including fighting

Germany's Hindenburg defenses during the Somme Offensive. Almost two-thirds of the men were killed or wounded before the regiment was relieved on 12 October 1918. **Acquired with dues contribution of Mr. Edward Brandt Latimer.**

- ***Six photographs***, ca. 1925, showing social activities in the Mollohon mill village, Newberry. Part of the Addison-Dedman family photographs, these images capture the Mollohon Concert Band in uniform and with instruments in front of new school and standing by stone pillar entrance to park; Von Dedman was a member of the band. A photograph of the Mollohon baseball team in uniform also shows people in stands behind them, separated by chicken wire. The photograph of the Mollohon fire department shows men standing by and seated on fire truck. The photograph of tables set up under trees and laden with food, people on far side and one man standing on bench to address crowd, also shows a dormitory and other buildings in background; "Flossie Addison" is written on reverse. A copy photograph of the Mollohon mill has railroad tracks and small trees in front of the building and "Mollohon Manufacturing Company" stenciled on water tank. **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. & Mrs. William R. Delk, and Mr. & Mrs. Robert E. McElveen.**
- ***Two etchings***, ca. 1956, by I.C. Sease (1881–1957) of Greenville. One print shows Echols Street in Greenville from a business corner and looking at a row of one-storey clapboard

houses. The other print is of the old mill near Taylors, showing a clapboard structure with stone lower level behind a waterwheel and small wooden bridge. Ivan Christopher Sease was born in Newberry and worked as a railroad clerk and timekeeper and a druggist in Greenville. He married Marguerite Branigan and had four daughters. **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. Millen Ellis, and Ms. Joyce M. Bowden and Mr. Adam M. Lutynski.**

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**Other gifts of South Caroliniana were made to the Library by the following members:**

Mr. Sigmund Abeles, Mrs. Cordelia Apicella, Dr. George F. Bass, Mrs. Joyce M. Bowden, Dr. Ronald E. Bridwell, Mrs. Jane Gilland McCutchen Brown, Dr. Rose Marie Cooper, Mr. Tom Moore Craig, Jr., Dr. Tom Crosby, Mr. Henry G. Fulmer, Ms. Rebecca S. Gramling, Mr. Harlan M. Greene, Mrs. Cornelia N. Hane, Mr. Brent H. Holcomb, Dr. Thomas L. Johnson, Mr. C. Robert Jones, Dr. James E. Kibler, Jr., Lista's Studio of Photography, Mrs. Harriet S. Little, Mrs. Patricia G. McNeely, Mr. M. Hayes Mizell, Dr. Robert L. Oakman, Ms. Ruth Parris, Dr. Eric Plaag, Ms. Elizabeth Revelise, Mr. Hemrick N. Salley, Jr., Dr. William C. Schmidt, Jr., Dr. Patrick Scott, Mr. Charles W. Smith, Mr. Michael S. Swindell, Dr. Allen

H. Stokes, Jr., Mr. Harvey S. Teal, Dr. Michael  
Trinkley, Ms. Nancy H. Washington, and Mr. James  
R. Whitmire.

Life Memberships and other contributions to the  
Society's Endowment Fund were received from Mrs.  
Josephine B. Abney, Ms. Deborah Babel, Ms. Karen  
Beidel and Dr. Gregory Carbone, Ms. Joyce M.  
Bowden and Mr. Adam M. Lutynski, Dr. & Mrs.  
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Sigma Alumni Association of South Carolina,  
Raymond and Gloria McDaniel Quasi Endowed  
Donor Advised Fund, The Reverend William M.  
Shand III, Dr. James G. Simpson, Taylor Foundation  
of Newberry, and Mr. & Mrs. James J. Wheeler III.

**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 (ca. 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 Reseach 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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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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Hadley, Mr. Jonathan .....	New York, NY	Watson, Mr. Jerrold.....	Ridge Spring
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Dean of Libraries