

Fall 2016

Caroliniana Columns - Fall 2016

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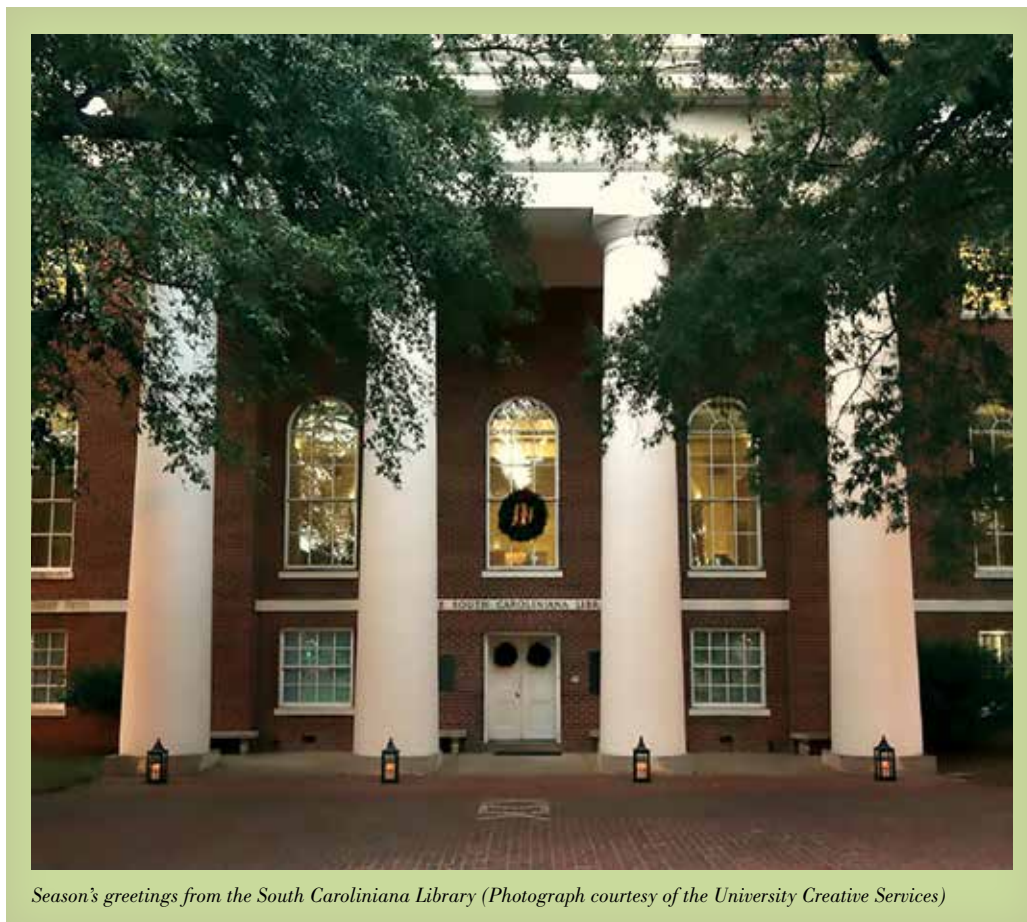


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Recommended Citation

University of South Carolina, "University of South Carolina Libraries - Caroliniana Columns, Issue 40, Fall 2016". <http://scholarcommons.sc.edu/columns/40/>

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Season's greetings from the South Caroliniana Library (Photograph courtesy of the University Creative Services)

SUMMER SCHOLARS FIND TREASURES IN THE SOUTH CAROLINIANA LIBRARY

The South Caroliniana Library serves many constituents, sharing its unique collections with University students and faculty, local historians and genealogists, and a multitude of researchers from around the world both in person and via its online resources.

Each summer the Library welcomes budding researchers to its Summer Scholars program which includes visiting fellowships and professorships from several sources. This summer the researchers and their assistantships included:

Jacob Clawson, Ph.D. candidate, Auburn University, Governor Thomas Gordon McLeod and First Lady Elizabeth Alford McLeod Research Fellow

Kevin Collins, Professor of Language and Literature, Southwestern Oklahoma State University, William Gilmore Simms Visiting Research Professor

Mandy L. Cooper, Ph.D. candidate, Duke University, Lewis P. Jones Research Fellow

Lauren Haumesser, Ph.D. candidate, University of Virginia, Lewis P. Jones Research Fellow

Amanda Kleintop, Ph.D. candidate, Northwestern University, Governor Thomas Gordon McLeod and First Lady Elizabeth Alford McLeod Research Fellow.

Essays detailing the research projects of all of these 2016 Summer Scholars are included in this issue of *Caroliniana Columns*, beginning on page 32.

Being a member of the South Caroliniana Library staff in a time of transition such as that in which the Library presently finds itself only naturally engenders many responses. Though they may range from anxiety to excitement, they are summed up almost always in our unwavering belief in the bright future of this institution and the landmark building which in so many ways is the public face of the collection to which it has been home for many decades now.

How, in the midst of such times, when we find ourselves pondering the coming relocation of user services and facing the uncertainty of who will end up working where, knowing that it will be in a largely unfamiliar place, do we maintain our own equilibrium and guarantee that the Library remains a dynamic organism?

I believe we do so by centering our lives professionally in the mission of the Library and focusing upon the work in which we are engaged. We seek constantly to reinvent ourselves in the effort to better accomplish those goals. And, most significantly, we continue to collect, to preserve, and to make accessible books, maps, newspapers, manuscripts, visual materials, and oral histories through which the story of South Carolina and its people of all times and places may be told.

What's Old is New and What's New is Old

Even though the Caroliniana's collection is no longer on site, and access to the landmark building will soon be limited, the Library's research statistics remain steady. The curators continue to be involved in supporting the University's curriculum, and the staff still welcomes researchers and fields queries from across the United States and around the world.

Library staff members also continue to seek out and acquire exciting new collections. Those who speak with us about the transfer of collection materials often ask whether they should wait to make such contributions until the building is fully renovated. Nothing could be further from what we intend or expect. Some of our most interesting collections have come from donors who are pleasantly surprised that their family materials are of value and would provide information of interest to scholars. New additions help keep the collections vital and strengthen the Library's position as a unique research institution.

For a small but eye-opening sampling of the types of

material the Caroliniana has continued to acquire in recent weeks, please consider the breadth of the following: photographs, correspondence, and genealogical research relating to the Boatwright and Alexander families from Ridge Spring; a cased watercolor miniature on ivory of low country planter Charles Heyward Manigault painted posthumously from a daguerreotype by Henry Brintnell Bountheau; texts for more than 500 sermons preached by Civil Rights activist and A.M.E. Church leader Joseph A. De Laine Sr.; five Civil War diaries of Confederate soldier Robert Allison Caldwell; eighty-seven letters to Reconstruction governor Robert Kingston Scott; literary archive of Anderson resident Peggy Brock, whose poems and articles were published in newspapers, magazines, and journals and whose plays enjoyed success Off-Broadway; an archive of World War II letters, family photographs, land papers, and oil portraits of the Crum family of Orangeburg County; and a framed oil on

canvas portrait of Sophia Watson Boatwright painted by William Harrison Scarborough.

And to those of you who play a vital role in support of the Library, we encourage you to take an active role. Search out the long forgotten or often celebrated pieces of your family, your community, your favorite organization or cause. You may be surprised just how many hidden treasures you may find. When you find them, I encourage you to make certain they are preserved,

wherever that may be, but know how pleased we would be for you to bring them to this very special place, which truly seeks to be a library for and of the entire state of South Carolina. Here they will be cataloged, cherished, and protected forever.

Reaching Out in New Ways

As it explores new ways to remain relevant, the Library recently has established a blog, "Behind the Columns." The name reflects not only one of the distinctive architectural features of the Caroliniana but the focus of the online publication as well. Blog posts will provide a behind-the-scenes look at the work performed by our staff and student employees. The blog also will be one of several social media platforms through which, in addition to more traditional print media, the Library can publicize exciting new acquisitions and feature time-relevant portions of our existing collection.





Watercolor miniature on ivory of Charles Heyward Manigault painted from a daguerreotype by Henry Brintnell Bounetheau

The first post, “Mapping the Future: Digitizing the Map Collection of the South Caroliniana Library,” was authored by Ann Merryman, a former graduate assistant at the Caroliniana and currently the Coordinator of Archives and Special Collections at USC-Upstate. In her blog post, Ms. Merryman describes her work on the project to provide better access to the Library’s maps through digitization. Future posts will include a joint University High School oral history project between Oral Historian Andrea L’Hommedieu and Professor of Education Christian Anderson as well as graduate assistant Sam Alexander’s work with the Palmetto Education Association records.

We invite you to visit the blog page at <http://library.sc.edu/blogs/caroliniana>

In another public outreach venture, the Library is now offering guided history tours of the historic Horseshoe. University Archivist Elizabeth Cassidy West leads these lively tours which touch on student life and significant historical events that have occurred on the original campus of the University of South Carolina, including student pranks and protests, war, and desegregation. The tour also steps inside the Caroliniana itself, introducing first-time visitors to the nation’s oldest freestanding academic library. Tours are free and meet in front of the South Caroliniana Library at noon on the second Thursday of each month. Contact Elizabeth West at 803-777-5158 for more information.

The Beat Goes On

Whether it is welcoming summer scholars, picking up new acquisitions, answering reference queries, interacting with our donors, or lining up a speaker for the Society’s next annual meeting, the work of the South Caroliniana Library goes on, a heartbeat of life that brings balance to our lives, even in times of change and what some might characterize as uncertainty.

Always, we are thankful to you for your involvement in helping us preserve the history and culture of South Carolina.

SAVE THE DATE

The University South Caroliniana Society’s 2017 Annual Meeting will be held at 12:00 noon on Saturday, April 22, 2017, at The Palmetto Club, 1231 Sumter Street, Columbia, SC 29201.

The speaker for the occasion will be prize-winning biographer A. Scott Berg. His work titled *Max Perkins: Editor of Genius* won a National Book Award in 1978. His biography of aviator Charles Lindbergh, *Lindbergh*, was a *New York Times* Best Seller in 1998 and won the Pulitzer Prize for Biography or Autobiography in 1999.

Berg’s other works include *Goldwyn: A Biography* (1989) about Samuel Goldwyn; *Kate Remembered* (2003), a life of Katherine Hepburn; and *Wilson* (2013), a biography of Woodrow Wilson.

The South Caroliniana Library on the University of South Carolina’s Historic Horseshoe will be open to the Society’s members and guests between 10:30 and 11:30 a.m. Light refreshments will be served.

Letter from the DEAN OF LIBRARIES

The South Caroliniana Library had an exciting year during the 2015-16 academic year as we celebrated the 175th anniversary of the construction of the 1840 landmark building. The events concluded with the memorable visit of Cokie Roberts to campus in May.

Recently, an open meeting was held for architectural firms to come and learn about the renovation of the Library. Based on several factors and following state procurement guidelines, a committee considered the firms' proposals and selected the one best suited to undertake this delicate renovation.

The firm will be given several months to develop a plan and to estimate the costs of the project. It is my sincere hope that we will have accumulated enough money to begin the renovations by the time the architects have completed their work.

In any event, we will relocate user services for the South Caroliniana Library at the conclusion of the 2016-17 academic year in anticipation of beginning renovations, and there will be

limited access to the building. Even if we do not have enough money to begin the renovations we must limit access to the building to protect the structure and the dedicated staff members who work there. As I am sure you have heard me say, the building was wired for lightbulbs and not the vast array of devices now in use in the building every day. The risk is great, and the fire experts have told us they could not stop a fire once it began.

How will you gain access to the collections? The Graniteville Room in the Thomas Cooper Library will become the temporary Caroliniana reading room.

Henry Fulmer and the staff of the Caroliniana have done what was needed to save the collections. Now we will do what is needed to save the building.

Please join me in giving serious thought to ways in which you and those you know who love this library and who value the history and culture of our great state can assist in the preservation of this grand old building.



Tom McNally

SOUTH CAROLINIANA LIBRARY RECEIVES GRANT FROM THE SAMUEL FREEMAN CHARITABLE TRUST

The Samuel Freeman Charitable Trust has awarded the South Caroliniana Library a grant in the amount of \$30,000 to create a dedicated portal to enhance access to "The American Revolution in South Carolina within the South Caroliniana Library Collections." This website, developed with input from subject experts in Digital Humanities, will allow the unpublished, rare published, and visual materials bearing on South Carolina in the American Revolution to be accessed online and will play a critical role in providing pertinent content within the humanities curriculum.

The digitization project will include the following collections, with special emphasis on the papers of Henry Laurens.

- **Papers of Henry Laurens.** President of the Continental Congress (1777-1778) and a member of the delegation to the peace conference that drafted the Treaty of Paris, 1783. This collection of 700 items is one of the most important Revolutionary War collections in the country, coming to the Library as part of the Kendall Collection.
- **Papers of William Moultrie.** Revolutionary War general and governor of South Carolina (1785-1787; 1792-1794).
- **Papers of Francis Marion.** Revolutionary war hero; including his order book from the Continental Army.
- **Papers of Thomas Sumter.** Revolutionary War hero and statesman.
- **Papers of Pierce Butler.** Signer of the Constitution from South Carolina.

- **Letterbook of Charles Lee.** Revolutionary War general serving along the South Carolina coast.
- **Papers of William Irvin.** Revolutionary War-era planter in the Camden area.

These papers include letters penned by family members detailing everyday life and journals containing personal emotions and recollections. Land and business papers are included documenting not only business transactions but also subjective observations shedding insight into the actions of the country's leaders.

These are only a few of the Revolutionary War-era collections housed at the South Caroliniana Library. These documents complement the digitized collections of the papers of Baptist minister and Patriot recruiter Oliver Hart and his Congregationalist colleague and Patriot speaker William Tennent. Holdings of personal papers from the Colonial and Revolutionary periods are very sparse in libraries throughout the state.

This project holds special promise because it creates the potential for collaboration with other repositories, such as the South Carolina Historical Society. A portal focusing on "The American Revolution in South Carolina" therefore has the potential to bring together the documentary history of the American Revolution in the Palmetto State in one place online.

This web site could eventually be expanded to include the early Colonial period, critical to shaping the character of the state of South Carolina. As such, this work will help bridge the gap from the state's infancy to the early national period and the emergence of Revolutionary studies through William Gilmore Simms and David Ramsay.



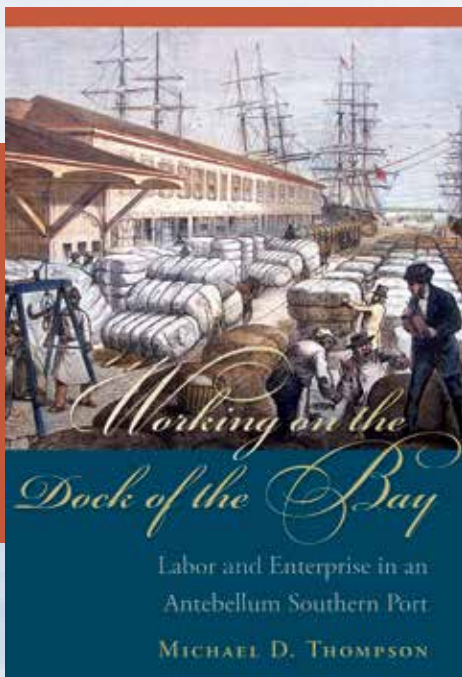
This issue of *Carolinana Columns* includes images of three holiday post cards (Thanksgiving, Christmas, and New Year's Day). They are from a collection of cards donated to the Library by Jerry A. Kay of Atlanta and Dillard, Ga.

Mr. Kay established the J.A. Kay South Caroliniana Library Intern Endowment Fund which provides support for internships 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.

These post cards were collected by Jerry Kay's grandmother Sallie Isabella Robinson Kay (1875-1935).

There are no attributions, dates, or other publishing information on the cards. However, it is noted that the cost to mail such a card to locations in the United States, Canada, and Mexico is one cent. For all other countries the cost is listed as two cents.

The penny post card was in existence in the United States until 1918 when the price was increased to two cents during the course of World War I (1917-1919). After the war the price reverted to one cent. The cost was raised again from 1925 to 1928. It was returned to one cent in 1929 where it remained until 1951 when it was raised to two cents again.



From a “Savoury Smell” to “A Most Notorious Thief”: The South Caroliniana Library’s Contributions to *Working on the Dock of the Bay*

BY
MICHAEL D. THOMPSON

On a clear and crisp Saturday morning this past February, I had the pleasure of presenting an Open Gallery Talk at USC’s Ernest F. Hollings Special Collections Library. My book, *Working on the Dock of the Bay: Labor and Enterprise in an Antebellum Southern Port*, was published by the University of South Carolina Press in 2015. It explores the history of waterfront labor and laborers—black and white, enslaved and free, native and immigrant—in Charleston, S.C., between the American Revolution and the Civil War. I was excited to present my research findings in Columbia due to the central role the South Caroliniana Library and its staff played in this project’s development. Thanks to the generous support of a Lewis P. Jones Visiting Research Fellowship, as well as a travel grant and short-term fellowship from USC’s Institute for Southern Studies, I spent about ten weeks at the South Caroliniana between 2006 and 2008. During that time I examined hundreds of collections and read through thousands of manuscript pages searching for shards of information about the workers and their labor experiences. Guided by the expertise and assistance of Henry Fulmer, Allen Stokes, Graham Duncan, Brian Cuthrell, and Robin Copp, I explored sources including letters and diaries, business and personal papers, receipt and account books, ship logs, and plats. Ultimately I utilized seventeen collections or items from the Library’s manuscripts collections—and several more from the published materials and visual materials holdings—in the writing of this book. Though the research process was long and arduous, I hit pay dirt often enough to later synthesize a coherent historical narrative.



Charleston and its vicinity, 1862

Waterfront Unions

The principal aim of *Working on the Dock of the Bay* is to explain how a predominantly enslaved workforce laid the groundwork for the creation of a robust and effectual association of wharf laborers, most of whom were black, shortly after emancipation. Waterfront unions were rare in antebellum southern ports. Certainly no formal organization of dockworkers existed in Charleston before the Civil War. And yet, less than two years

after the collapse of the Confederacy and the institution of slavery upon which it was built, many of the South Carolina port’s workers joined in walkouts and formed the Longshoremen’s Protective Union Association. The state legislature granted incorporation to this union in 1869, and by January 1875 the *Charleston News and Courier* reported a membership of 800 to 1000 black workers in Charleston. In his book *Black Charlestonians*, Professor Bernie Powers of the College

of Charleston contended, “During Reconstruction and throughout the remainder of the [nineteenth] century, the longshoremen launched the most ambitious, aggressive, and well-organized campaign to secure their interests as workingmen,” and “were a force to be seriously reckoned with on every wharf in Charleston.” Other scholars have pointed out, “It was among the longshoremen that the first successful Negro labor organizations were formed,” and shortly after the war this union “was referred to in the press as ‘the most powerful organization of the colored laboring class in South Carolina.’ ”

Great
Letter

Mr. David Olivier

New Orleans

Charleston 28th July, 1807

Dr Sir:

By the schooner Milly you will receive two negromen and a negro woman which I have shipped to your address as per inclosed bill of lading. These negroes you will please sell on a credit of six months for approved notes such as would discounted in your bank, provided this credit will enable you to obtain a better price and when in funds for these negroes you will remit me in Bills, Specie or Cotton as you may deem most to my interest. Jim is an African and has been about two years in this country. He is a very sensible handy fellow and can turn his hand to any work but is a most notorious thief and as I wanted him on the wharf I found he would not answer that employ. Sambo is a new negro. I have had him about four months. In that time he ran away three times. When at home he worked well. The wench Jenny I cannot say much for. She can speak for herself. If Mr. Ryan is there remember me kindly to him. His friends here are all well.

I am your assured friend.

Transcription of a Christopher Fitzsimons letter

How was such an effective association, predominantly made up of former slaves, possible so soon after the Civil War? Southerners' deep commitment to the extensive ownership and employment of black slave laborers, as well as racial, ethnic, social, political, and occupational divisions among workers, had precluded the formation of waterfront labor organizations in antebellum Charleston. Though these rifts and contests at times persisted after the Civil War and the abolition of slavery, the city's postbellum dockworkers united—and struck—often and long enough to extract employer concessions ranging from regular work hours and higher hourly wages to overtime pay and the exclusive use of union members. Even on the eve of the Civil War a few years earlier, such explicit workplace demands and negotiations remained muffled and latent, and such tangible and collective advances proved unattainable. But far from passively accepting their exploitation, those toiling along Charleston's waterfront and elsewhere in the urban and maritime Old South audaciously set the stage for astounding triumphs in the otherwise tragic New South.

Like their postbellum counterparts, those laboring on the wharves and levees of antebellum cities—whether in Charleston or New Orleans, New York or Boston, or elsewhere in the Atlantic World—were indispensable to the flow of commodities into and out of these ports. Despite their large numbers and the key role that waterfront workers played in these cities' pre-mechanized, labor-intensive commercial economies, too little is known about who these laborers were and the work they performed. Though scholars have explored the history of dockworkers in ports throughout the world, they have given little attention to waterfront laborers and dock work in the pre-Civil War American South or in any slave society. *Working on the Dock of the Bay* relocates waterfront laborers and their work from the margins to the center

of the southern and American past—reframing their role from being mere observers to critical actors in the region's and nation's antebellum history. It is my contention in this book that by viewing crucial events and historical developments through the street-level experiences and perspectives of working people, the ability and intrepidity of recently unshackled freedmen to swiftly organize and take on the challenges of their new yet familiar postbellum employment environment is not so surprising and puzzling after all.

Writing in the twilight of the colonial era, a Royal Navy officer named Captain Martin vividly captured in verse many of the harsh realities of waterfront labor and life in South Carolina's principal *entrepôt*. Rebuffing many other visitors' idyllic depictions of refinement, opulence, and gentility among the low country elite, this British commander instead described his maritime surroundings in unromantic and uncensored terms. In addition to "unhealthful weather," fevers, mosquitoes, and cockroaches, one also had to beware sharks, alligators, and other "[f]rightful creatures in the waters." Those struggling to earn a living along the water's edge—whether black or white, enslaved or free—plainly faced daily drudgery, discomfort, and danger. Assisted during the first half of the nineteenth century by only the most rudimentary of equipment and techniques, waterfront workers toiled long hours hauling goods to and from the wharves, unloading and loading vessels, and stowing cargo into cramped and stifling ships' holds. They sang work songs to hasten the passage of time and to synchronize and energize their efforts, but also as an outlet for their collective lamentations and grievances about their labor conditions and environment. Not just taxing and unpleasant, wharf labor was exceptionally dangerous, with a great many ways to become injured, maimed, or even killed.



Steamer Planter



South Carolina Railroad Company, fare ticket

James Carr Papers

The South Caroliniana Library's James Carr Papers assisted immensely with chronicling the risks, rigors, and routines of waterfront work in antebellum Charleston. Carr was a New England ship captain who in August 1815 delivered a cargo of lumber from Bangor, Me., and then oversaw the loading of his vessel with cotton bound for Liverpool, England. Keeping a diary of his travels, the captain recorded the lyrics of several work songs he heard on Charleston's docks. "As you approach the wharves," the observant visitor wrote, "the Song of the negroes at work greet your ear [*sic*] cheerfully from every quarter." After discharging the lumber, the captain rented four jack screws and hired four gangs of five slave dockworkers for five days to "work on board the ship stowing cotton."

Carr accompanied the slaves into the hold, where he facetiously remarked upon "the savoury smell that may be supposed to arise from twenty negroes using violent exercise in warm weather, in the hot and confined hold of ship and you may imagine what a delicious treat I enjoyed." But the singing "made such an impression on my mind, as to enable me to give a few specimens [*sic*] of the African working songs in Charleston." When toiling in gangs, Carr noted, the slaves "work & sing with all their might & whither hoisting, hauling, rowing or heaving at the jack screw, they keep in perfect time in all their motions—this gives them more force as they are united & simultaneous in their exertion." Down in the sweltering hold amid the cacophonous singing, the captain vividly recalled how "it often happened that they all had their throats open at the same time as loud as they cou'd ball." But he added, "The blacks having remarkable [*sic*] nice ears for music, are very correct in their time & pauses." The value to scholars of such unique and well-preserved documentation as the James Carr papers cannot be overstated.



"Negro types" from *With Thackeray in America* by Eyre Crowe (1853)

drivers on interior plantations. It would be erroneous, though, to imagine unregulated and autonomous slaves roaming the city's thoroughfares, docks, and alleyways entirely unchecked. Though living and laboring for wages in an urban and littoral environment unquestionably bestowed tremendous opportunities, bondsmen in southern coastal cities were not left unmolested and unconstrained. In fact, an incessant contest was taking place for the control of black dockworkers' time, movements, earnings, and culture. State and municipal authorities—who usually were also local slaveowners and employers—continuously passed laws and implemented policies designed to subjugate the port's most essential laborers and their most subversive conventions.

Aimed primarily at blacks, the practice of roaming the wharves and seeking the most favorable task and pay was eroded and replaced by restrictive slave badges, specified hiring stands, and fixed wages. The freedom to accept or refuse employment or a particular employer was stripped under pain of punishment. Work hours, commutes from hiring locations to job sites, the number and length of breaks and meals, and even the volume and lyrics of work songs like those documented by James Carr all were regulated. Meanwhile, the labor itself became increasingly onerous and hazardous as the cotton bales and rice barrels became weightier.

But, often unsuccessful, these restrictions were met with day-to-day, and sometimes clever and intrepid, resistance from many of the city's enslaved dockhands who fought to preserve their long-held customary rights as urban wage earners. Though Charleston's white master class of slaveowners, city councilmen, and employers struggled to maximally exploit and control large numbers of essential but enslaved dockworkers, these waterfront slaves defiantly pushed back by doing things like working without a required badge, refusing to hand over wages to their masters, declining a job offer despite the law requiring them to accept, altering the pace of labor to their own advantage, feigning illnesses, singing loudly, driving recklessly, or overcharging for their services. By doing so, I argue that the port's black waterfront workers were cultivating the embryonic seeds of robust postbellum labor organization and class formation that only fully germinated after the Civil War and emancipation.

The antebellum South's bustling wharves and levees offered slaves more than the capacity to hire out one's own time, earn wages, and claim a measure of autonomy. Situated on the western rim of the Atlantic World, slaves toiling along Charleston's

Waterfront Work

Charleston's commercial wharves clearly were neither a safe nor easy place to make a living. Waterfront work did have some advantages, however, especially for the city's enslaved blacks who dominated common dock labor along Charleston's waterfront from the colonial period through the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Hiring out one's own time and collecting cash wages along the frenzied and cosmopolitan seaboard was, after all, far preferable to picking cotton under the watchful gaze of whip-wielding slave masters, overseers, and



Rush of cotton, Union Wharf, stereopticon image

seaboard also were afforded ample occasion to interact with northern and foreign mariners, stow away in dockside vessels and abscond to northern ports, and steal or pilfer valuable commercial goods. These labor and life experiences were in many ways unique. Due to the nature of their indispensable work, enslaved dock laborers in this coastal port were daily subject to outside influences and presented with remarkable opportunities and enticements not accessible to most plantation slaves or even other bondsmen not employed along the water's edge. Not even the slaves of New Orleans's crowded levees or those manning the hundreds of steamboats plying the Mississippi enjoyed quite all of the potential and inherent benefits of perpetual exposure and access to oceangoing vessels of the nearby Atlantic and their crews. Consequent legislation such as South Carolina's free black sailor laws (the so-called "Negro Seamen Acts") and an 1841 ship inspection law aimed to further control the communications and movements of the city's bondsmen. But as with those measures censoring work songs and prescribing slave badges, hiring stands, and fixed wages, enslaved dockworkers were not so easily dominated and found ways to resist and circumvent such restrictions.

Christopher Fitzsimons Papers

Among the South Caroliniana's many irreplaceable manuscript collections are the papers of Charleston wharf owner Christopher Fitzsimons. From 1799 to 1813 Fitzsimons maintained a letterbook of his business correspondence with fellow merchants, factors, and ship captains. Though the original volumes are in fragile condition, the letters have been microfilmed as well as transcribed. Packed with evidence ranging from the speed at which merchants strove to fill vessels with the maximum number of cotton bales, to the perils of loading cargo in snow, cold, and ice, Fitzsimons's letters also recorded the travails of managing an enslaved waterfront workforce. Far from the contented and docile bondsmen of slaveowners' imaginations, three of Christopher Fitzsimons's slaves confronted the harsh limits to their urban and waterfront prerogatives in July 1807. "By the schooner *Milly* you will receive two negromen and a negro woman," the Charlestonian wrote to a Mr. David Oliver in New Orleans, continuing, "These negroes you will please sell on a credit of six months for approved notes." Though a good laborer, the slave Sambo was sold for running away three times within four months. Joining Sambo on the *Milly* was an African-born bondsman named Jim. "He is a very sensible handy fellow and can turn his hand to any work," Fitzsimons explained to Oliver, "but is a most notorious thief and as I wanted him on the wharf I found he would not answer to that employ."

Prior to the 1840s, blacks, mostly slaves like Jim, indisputably dominated menial dock work as well as the transport of goods

to and from Charleston's commercial wharves. During a visit to South Carolina in early 1808, Englishman John Lambert observed, "There are no white servants in Charleston. Every kind of work is performed by the negroes and people of colour." "From the nature of our Society," members of Charleston's Chamber of Commerce affirmed in 1826, "menial occupations are necessarily confined to colored persons—White men disdain and are unwilling to undertake them." Even as late as 1842, visiting Briton Charles Lyell wrote unequivocally, "the slaves have at present a monopoly of the labour-market." But soon thereafter the city's waterfront workforce revolutionized as millions of Irish and other white immigrants crossed the Atlantic and settled in port cities all along the Eastern Seaboard and Gulf Coast. By the eve of the Civil War, dock labor in Charleston no longer was cornered by one race or invariably avoided by another. Significant friction, and sometimes violence, accompanied the racial and ethnic transformation of this most vital workforce, as white newcomers endeavored to reduce or eliminate their free black and enslaved competitors. But aside from violence—and the electoral power of universal white male suffrage—the more skilled and articulate of the white workingmen, known as stevedores, employed legislative petitions and public appeals in the effort to gain occupational protections and make further inroads against black rivals. Unfortunately and frustratingly for these white stevedores, lawmakers in Columbia and Charleston rejected their petitions, and they had to continue competing with slaves for labor on Charleston's docks until the Civil War.

A New Order

When the 567-day Union bombardment of Charleston ended and the dust of the Civil War settled, more than waterfront warehouses and wealth had been toppled. Also smoldering in the ruins was the institution of slavery and the port's antebellum labor system. Constructed primarily of enslaved blacks since the city's founding in the late seventeenth century, a new order of labor relations arose in the immediate aftermath of emancipation and the Civil War. Much about the work and its many dangers and difficulties persisted. But in place of mostly subtle or latent defiance against exploitative and controlling slaveowners, employers, and local and state officials, a formal and formidable association of essential waterfront workingmen that was centuries in the making manifested from its antebellum roots. Dominated by former slaves, members of the emerging Longshoremen's Protective Union Association took direct and bold action as early as January 1867 to better their labor conditions and lives. Though this union was open to whites, the unshackling of over 400,000 slaves in South Carolina and nearly 4 million blacks nationwide largely stemmed the tide of white immigrants able and willing to conduct "negro work" on Charleston's docks. Even some of the port's most firmly entrenched prewar white workers ceased competing for wharf labor in the postbellum environment, either leaving the city or taking on other means of employment. But others stayed, resuming their roles in the waterfront's abiding and abundant struggles, and braving the seismic shifts of the New South. After reading *Working on the Dock of the Bay* a fellow scholar wrote, "This book is a testament to the power of diligent archival research to recover America's working-class history." But I believe that it is just as much a testament to the work that institutions like the Caroliniana do every day to acquire, preserve, and make available—as the Library's website states—"one of the largest Southern manuscript collections in the United States and one of the most important American history collections."

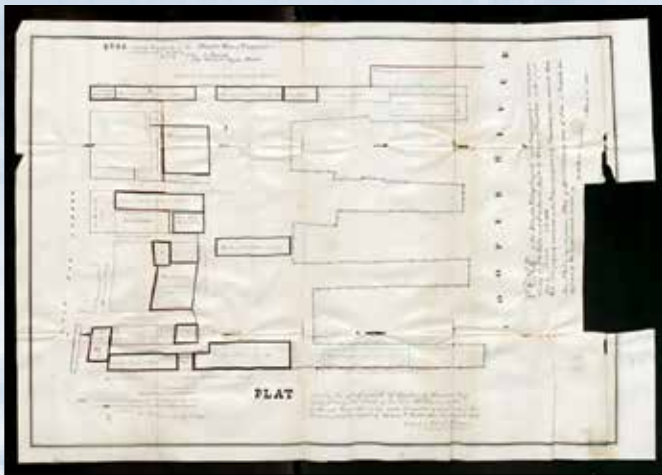
My mentor and graduate advisor James L. Roark, who also influenced this project substantially, agrees: “One would be hard pressed to identify a single significant book on Southern history published recently that did not exploit the resources of the South Caroliniana Library.” An undisputed state, regional, and national treasure for more than 175 years, the Caroliniana is fully deserving of not only accolades but also financial support amid the ongoing renovation.

— *Michael D. Thompson is a UC Foundation Associate Professor of American History at the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga. He holds Ph.D. and M.A. degrees from Emory University and a B.A.*

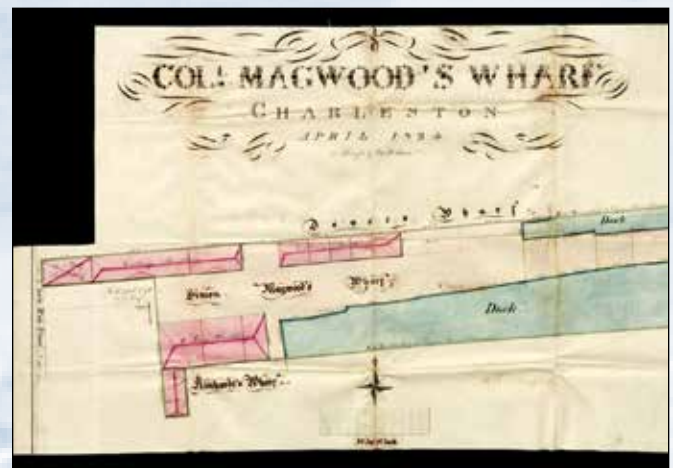
from the University of Michigan. He is working now on a project that examines how racialized perceptions of disease susceptibility impacted labor and working people in the urban antebellum South.

Portions of this article have been reprinted from Working on the Dock of the Bay with permission from the University of South Carolina Press.

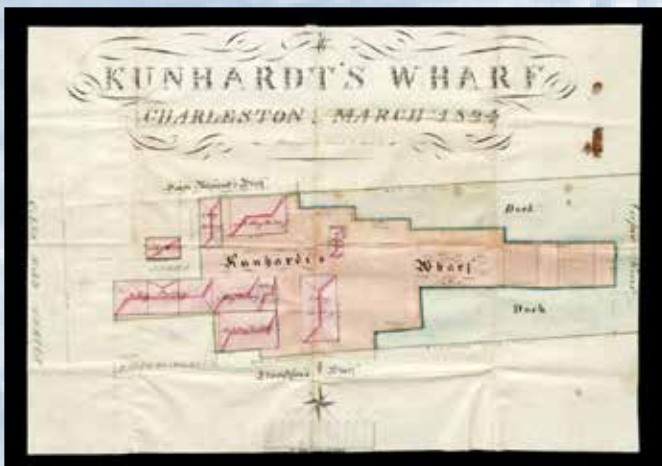
The manuscript for this project was awarded the 2011 Hines Prize from the College of Charleston’s Program in the Carolina Lowcountry and Atlantic World (CLAW), and the book was a finalist for the South Carolina Historical Society’s 2015 George C. Rogers Jr. Award.



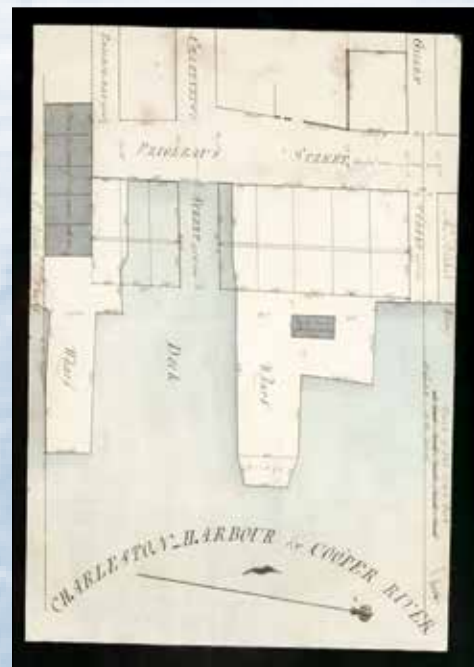
Atlantic Wharf, 1859



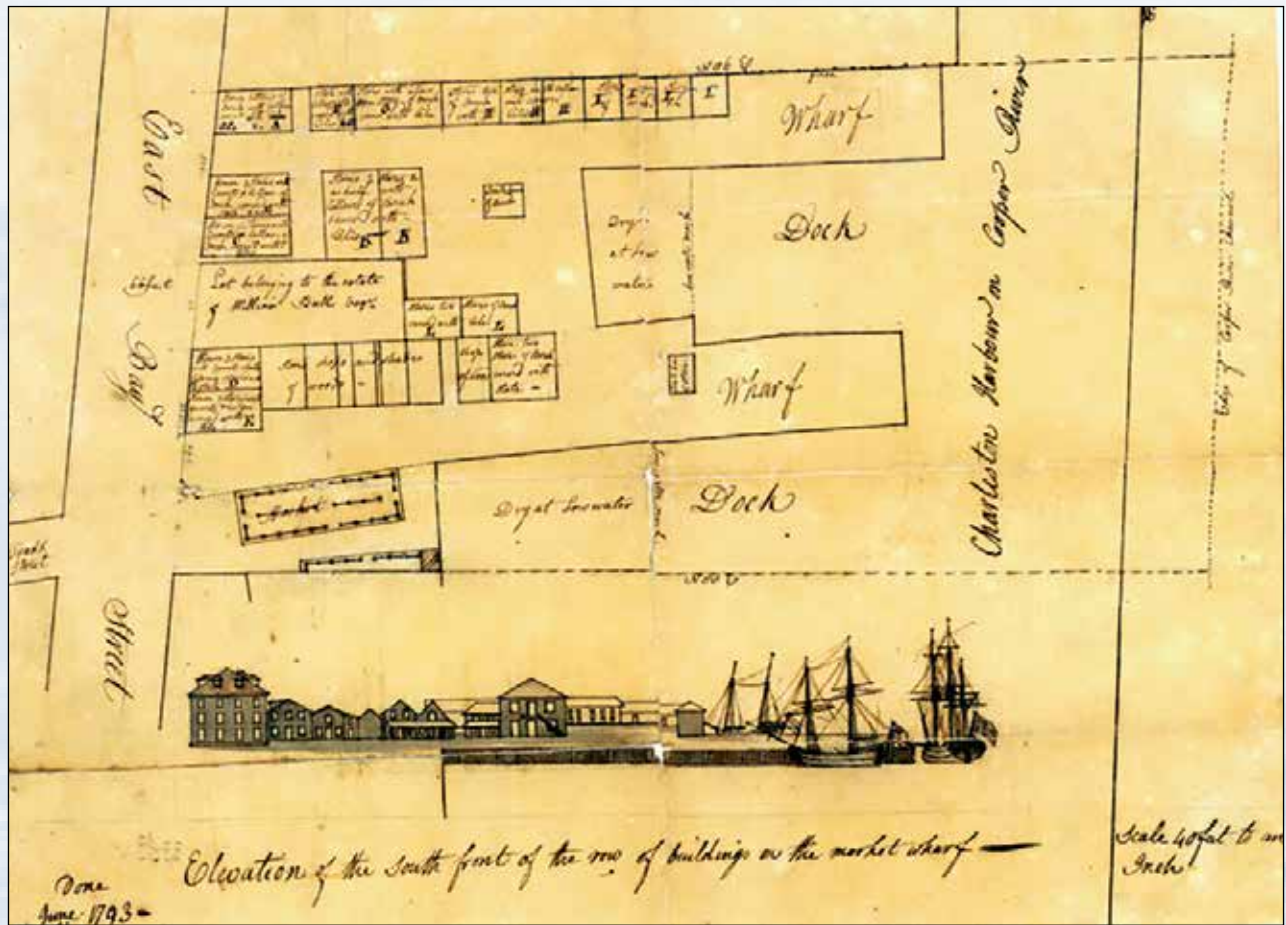
Col. Magwood's Wharf, 1824



Kunhardt's Wharf, 1824



Champneys's Wharf, 1790



Craft's, Motte's, and Greenwood's Wharves, 1793

South Caroliniana Library resources used for this article include the following:

- Anonymous Charleston Merchant Account Book, 1849-52.
- Charles Barron Letters, 1839.
- James Carr Papers, 1811-16.
- Daniel Deshon Letters, 1796.
- Christopher Fitzsimons Letterbook, 1799-1813.
- James Gadsden Papers, 1820-58.
- Hazard & Ayrault Company Receipt Book, 1796-1805.
- Edward Hudson Papers, 1823.
- Lebby Family Papers, 1826-1940.
- John Lucas Letters, 1840-43.
- Simon Magwood Papers, 1810-70.
- Marine School Ship Lodebar Log Book, 1861-62.
- John Wroughton Mitchell Lawyer's Receipt Book, 1817-35.
- Thomas Napier Papers, 1803-60.
- Ogilby, William. "British Counsel Report on Trade and Shipping in Charleston, S.C., 1833 June 29."
- William Mazyck Porcher Letters, 1836.
- John Schulz Account Books, 1812-24.

The Pinckney Papers Projects: Editing the Papers of One of Revolutionary--Era South Carolina's First Families

BY
CONSTANCE B. SCHULZ

Since 2008, a team of editors at the University of South Carolina and I have been reading the mail of one of the most prominent families living in South Carolina during the American Revolution and early national period, the Pinckneys of Charleston.

We are carrying on a long tradition of scholarly historical editing at the USC Department of History, which from the 1950s until the early 2000s hosted and supported *The Papers of Henry Laurens* (University of South Carolina Press, 1968-2004) and *The Papers of John C. Calhoun* (University of South Carolina Press, 1959-2003).

Our two editions, *The Papers of Eliza Lucas Pinckney and Harriott Pinckney Horry* (University of Virginia Press, 2012) and *The Papers of the Revolutionary Era Pinckney Statesmen* (University of Virginia Press, 2016-), bring together documents from more than ninety manuscript collections and early published sources. Since 2013, they have been funded by the the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), and also since the fall of 2016 by the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC).

Like the Laurens and Calhoun Papers editorial projects, the Pinckney Papers projects have relied heavily on collections and published library resources at the South Caroliniana Library, and have received financial support from the University South Caroliniana Society.

The Pinckney Family

Most readers of *Carolina Columns* probably don't need to be introduced to the Pinckneys. The first South Carolina member of the family, Thomas Pinckney Sr. (1666-1705), arrived in Charles Town in 1692 at the age of 26, built a successful export/import business and bought land. He and his second wife, Mary Cotesworth, had three surviving sons: Thomas, Charles, and William. Their middle son, Charles Pinckney (1699-1753), became a man of considerable importance in the colony as a leading lawyer, member of the Commons House of Assembly and Royal Council, and (briefly) Chief Justice. (Readers are urged to pay attention to those birth and death dates, as there were three successful

Pinckney men bearing the name Charles in the eighteenth century and it is easy to confuse them!) His second wife, Eliza Lucas Pinckney (1722-1793), was an extraordinary woman. Her father, George Lucas (d. 1747), brought his family to South Carolina from the island of Antigua in 1739 when Eliza was still a teenager. When he had to return to Antigua almost immediately to take up military responsibilities there, he left Eliza in charge of three plantations.

Thanks to her detailed letters reporting to her father her activities as a plantation manager, published by one of her descendants, Elise Pinckney, as *The Letterbook of Eliza Lucas Pinckney, 1739-1762* (University of North Carolina Press, 1972), Eliza became for late twentieth-century scholars and students the best known of colonial South Carolina women. She has been credited as the first successful producer of the indigo dye, which along with rice cultivation, laid the foundation for colonial South Carolina's great wealth. She and Charles had three surviving children, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney (1746-1825), Harriott Pinckney Horry (1748-1830), and another Thomas Pinckney (1750-1828). Both their sons played important military and political roles in South Carolina and the nation during the American Revolution and afterward in the creation and growth

of an independent United States. Thomas Pinckney Senior's younger son, William Pinckney (1704-1766), married into the influential Brewton family; the second son of his twelve children was also named Charles (1732-1782), and he and his son Charles (1756-1824), like their cousins, were key players in the American Revolution in South Carolina.

The Papers of Eliza Lucas Pinckney and Harriott Pinckney Horry

These are the men and women whose extensive if widely scattered papers are the subjects of the two Pinckney Papers Projects. From the beginning, we designed our editions as "born digital" transcriptions of the surviving documents. That means that users of the editions do not see facsimiles or images of the original manuscript documents, but the texts of the documents are rendered as accurately and as close to



Charles Cotesworth Pinckney from a painting by Chappel, published by Johnson, Fry & Co., N.Y., 1862

the original as possible in a type font, and made available only online over the internet rather than in bound books on library shelves. We published first *The Papers of Eliza Lucas Pinckney and Harriott Pinckney Horry* in 2012 through the University of Virginia Press's Rotunda "American Founding Era Collection."

Eliza and her daughter Harriott Horry illustrate the many ways in which elite southern white women lived their lives and contributed to their communities. In addition to raising children, managing plantations, and corresponding with friends and family, both kept "receipt" or recipe books, which are part of our edition of their papers. Browsing through Eliza's recipes one can discover not only interesting food preparations, as our Assistant Editor Rachel Monroy demonstrates on her blog, Eliza's Kitchen. [See sidebar on page 16], but such items as "To Cure a Sore Throat Tho a Quindsey" for which Eliza advises us to take "The flower of Holly Howks boyle them in Water a good hand ful drink some of the Water & bind the flower to the neck also. This cured a Horse that was given over."

Eliza continued recording her correspondence in her letterbook through the five years that the family lived in London between 1753 and 1758, and again after she and Charles returned to South Carolina, leaving their two sons behind to complete their schooling. Charles died of malaria shortly after their return home, and Eliza's later correspondence records her management of the education of her boys from across the Atlantic. An interesting archival detective story concerns the letterbook: there is a significant gap between the last entry Eliza made of a letter to her father just before her marriage to Charles in 1744, and the entries that begin again with her arrival in London nine years later. As staff used our editorial document management data base system (called "DocTracker") to study the documents we had acquired, we noticed that the format in a collection of Eliza Lucas Pinckney letters at the Duke University Libraries seemed remarkably similar to those in the letterbook. The South Carolina Historical Society, which owns the beautiful leather-bound book in which Eliza copied her letters, allowed our staff to examine it closely, to photograph the watermarks on its blank pages, to count and analyze the "signatures" of which it is made, and to meticulously measure the size of its pages. We sent that data to Elizabeth Dunn, the Duke archivist, and the paper in both collections proved to be a match! The Duke collection of letters fills in the gap in Eliza's life in our editing of the now "virtually reconstructed" letterbook.

Not all of Eliza's correspondence made it into her letterbook. One of the most interesting surviving letters from Eliza's years in England tells an unknown recipient of the visit she, her husband, Charles, and five-year-old Harriott made, shortly after their arrival in London in 1753, to the royal palace at Kew to bring Carolina birds as gifts for the young princes and princesses, the oldest of whom was the future George III. As Eliza and the dowager princess Augusta sat amidst their children and discussed the raising of children and the practice of putting infants out to nurse, Eliza reported to her Carolina friend that the "princess Augusta [was] surprised at the suckling blacks the princess stroakd H[arriot]t cheek sayd it made no alteration in the complexion payd her the compliment of being very fair and pretty." Near the end of her letter Eliza remarked that the description of visiting royalty "must seem pretty extraordinary to an american," the first time in her correspondence she so described herself and her fellow South Carolinians.



Charles Pinckney, etching by Albert Rosenthal, Philadelphia, 1888

Harriott Pinckney Horry's Travels

Harriott Pinckney Horry, like her mother, was widowed while still in her thirties, and spent the rest of her life managing her late husband Daniel Huger Horry's Hampton Plantation on the South Santee River for her son, Daniel Horry, who, after marrying the Marquis de Lafayette's great-niece, never returned from France to live on his property. Twice Harriott made

lengthy overland journeys northward, keeping a daily journal recording her travels. These travel journals are an important component of the Pinckney/Horry edition. Her first journey in 1793 began with a sea voyage to take her mother to Philadelphia, unsuccessfully seeking a cure for Eliza's painful breast cancer. After Eliza's death there on May 26, Harriott traveled further with her daughter and two of her brother Charles Cotesworth Pinckney's daughters to New York. From there they went up the Hudson River, across the White Mountains, through Connecticut to Massachusetts and Maine before returning to South Carolina overland, a remarkable journey featuring visits to a number of Revolutionary War battle sites in Pennsylvania, New York, and New England. Harriott made a second overland journey in 1815, visiting farm fields in Virginia and comparing what she saw to the productivity in South Carolina of beans, corn, and cows. She went up the Hudson again, this time on a Fulton steam boat, everywhere taking tours of factories that produced nails, bricks, machinery, and textiles (where she observed and described the use of indigo dye).



Major General Thomas Pinckney, engraving by W.G. Armstrong from a miniature by J. Trumbull

Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Thomas Pinckney, and Charles Pinckney

Since 2012, the Pinckney Papers Project has turned from editing documents of the women to gathering together and preparing for publication the far more extensive documentary records produced by the three younger Pinckney men: brothers Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and Thomas Pinckney and their cousin Charles Pinckney (1756-1824). We have acquired more than 8,000 additional documents beyond the 700 that appeared in the Pinckney/Horry edition, of which we will only be able to publish approximately 3,000 in four volumes between now and 2021. The documents not selected for publication, many of which are already available online in the scholarly digital editions of other founding fathers such as Presidents George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and Andrew Jackson, and Chief Justice John Marshall, will be included in the digital table of contents with citations to their manuscript, print, and digital sources. Because the University of Virginia Press American Founding Era Collection also contains most of these digital editions, users who subscribe to the license for the collection will be able to search simultaneously across most of the papers of the founding generation.

The Papers of the Revolutionary Era Pinckney Statesmen

The first volume of *The Papers of the Revolutionary Era Pinckney Statesmen* covering “Revolutionary War and Early Republic, 1770-1792” is scheduled for digital release by the University of Virginia Press in the American Founding Era Collection by the end of 2016. In addition to the 500 fully edited documents, it includes an additional 620 calendared documents. Volume 1 documents the careers of Charles Cotesworth and Thomas as young Revolutionary officers in the Continental Army and as members of the South Carolina Provincial and then the General Assembly. Thomas Pinckney as Governor 1787-1789, and then his cousin Charles who succeeded him as Governor from 1789 to 1792, helped to shape the functioning of early national South Carolina government, and our edition publishes for the first time many of the documents in the “Governors Messages” to the House and Senate, preserved in the records of the South Carolina Department of Archives and History in



“A NWbN view of Charles Town from on board the Bristol Commodore Sir Peter Parker,” 1776



“Charleston, S.C. in 1780,” published by G.P. Putnam, N.Y., 1850

Columbia. Among the items forwarded by the governors to the South Carolina Legislature are colorfully-spelled letters from Andrew Pickens describing troubles with Creek and Cherokee tribes as well as neighboring citizens of Georgia and North Carolina on the state’s western frontier, and an account of the process of moving the state capitol and all the records of the state from Charleston to Columbia. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and Charles Pinckney represented South Carolina at the 1787 Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia and all three Pinckney men played important roles in South Carolina’s ratification of the new federal constitution and in writing a new constitution for their state in 1790.

We are hard at work transcribing and verifying the 1500 documents planned for Volume 2, “The Diplomatic Years 1792-1798,” which is scheduled for publication at the end of 2018. It will cover Thomas Pinckney’s mission as U.S. Minister Plenipotentiary to Great Britain, 1792-1796, and his brief appointment as a special envoy to Spain in 1795 where he negotiated the Treaty of San Lorenzo, better known as Pinckney’s treaty as well as his brother Charles Cotesworth Pinckney’s appointment as Minister Plenipotentiary to France in 1796. When the French revolutionary government of the Directory refused to receive him, he and his second wife, Mary Stead Pinckney, retreated to Amsterdam awaiting further orders from Congress and the Secretary of State. An important source for the turmoil of that mission are her lengthy letters to her Manigault and Izard cousins that are among the collections at the South Caroliniana Library. The exile to the Netherlands ended when President John Adams appointed Charles Cotesworth to head a delegation including

John Marshall and Elbridge Gerry to return to Paris to seek peace, an attempt that ended with the infamous XYZ Affair. Charles Pinckney’s mission as Minister Plenipotentiary to Spain between 1801 and 1805 and Thomas Pinckney’s command of the Southern Army during the War of 1812 will be documented in the 500 documents of Volume 3, “National Political Leadership, 1798-1815.” The fourth and final volume of 500 documents, “Senior Statesmen, 1816-1828,” will complete the remarkable life stories of these important South Carolina men and their families.

The Department of History maintains a web page at <http://artsandsciences.sc.edu/hist/pinckney-papers-projects>



"An Exact Prospect of Charles Town, the Metropolis of the Province of South Carolina," painted by Bishop Roberts in 1739 and engraved by William Henri Toms for London, 1782

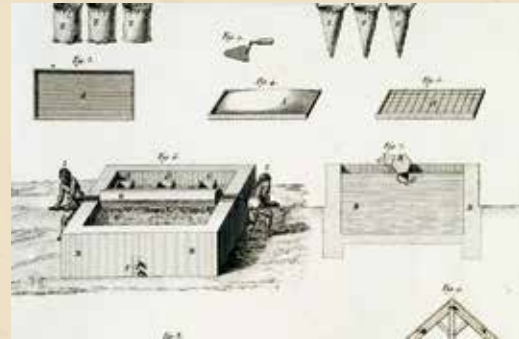


"Siege of Charleston," engraving after Chappal, published by Johnson, Fry & Co., 1860

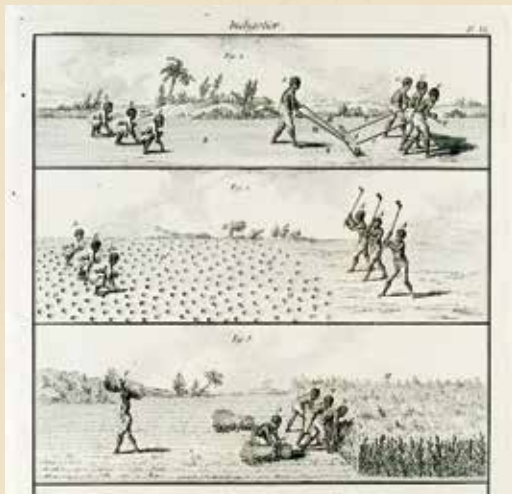
which tells more about the two editions, and we have our own Facebook page, The Pinckney Papers Projects, which we invite all those reading this article to "friend."

The team that has accomplished all this are regular users of the rich resources at the South Caroliniana Library. Associate Editor Mary Sherrer has been with the Pinckney Papers Projects since we began work on the Pinckney/Horry edition. Assistant Editor Roberta V.H. Copp joined us almost immediately after her retirement as the Curator of Published Materials at the Library. Associate Editor Bob Karachuk joined us in 2014 after a distinguished career as an editor at the *Documentary History of the Supreme Court*, the *Papers of John Adams*, and the *Papers of Ulysses S. Grant*. Rachel Love Monroy, who while she earned her Ph.D. at USC also worked on the Pinckney/Horry edition, has stayed on as a part-time Assistant Editor. Two volunteers, Peggy Clark and Debbie Bloom, have contributed many hours to completing transcriptions. We have been fortunate to have wonderful graduate research assistants, currently Gary Sellick, a history department Ph.D. student. Other graduate and undergraduate students who have worked (and in some cases are still working) on the project include Casey Lee, Nicholas Schauder, Brooke Alexander, Andy Smith, Kelly Gregrow, and Katherine Saunders.

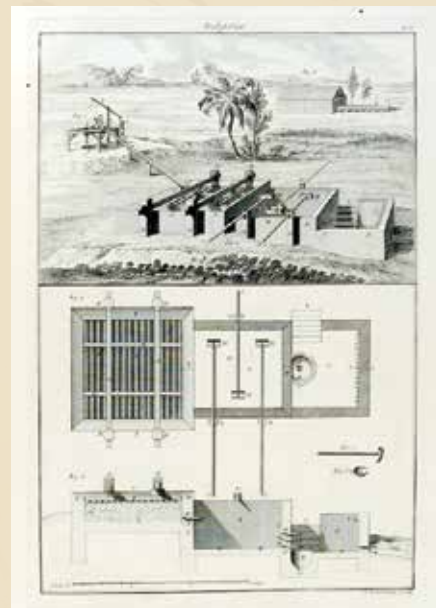
— Dr. Constance B. Schulz is Project Director and Senior Editor of the Pinckney Papers Projects.



From *L'Art de L'Indigotier* by M. de Beauvais-Rasseau, 1770, Plate 5, close-up of the dye vat



From *L'Art de L'Indigotier* by M. de Beauvais-Rasseau, 1770, Plate 9, planting and harvest of indigo



From *L'Art de L'Indigotier* by M. de Beauvais-Rasseau, 1770, Plate 4, processing to extract the dye



Hampton Plantation

Dr. Rachel Love Monroy, who as a graduate research assistant helped prepare a new and more accurate transcription of Eliza Lucas Pinckney's well-known letterbook for *The Papers of Eliza Lucas Pinckney and Harriott Pinckney Horry*, has been experimenting with cooking in a modern kitchen the recipes from Eliza's "receipt" book.

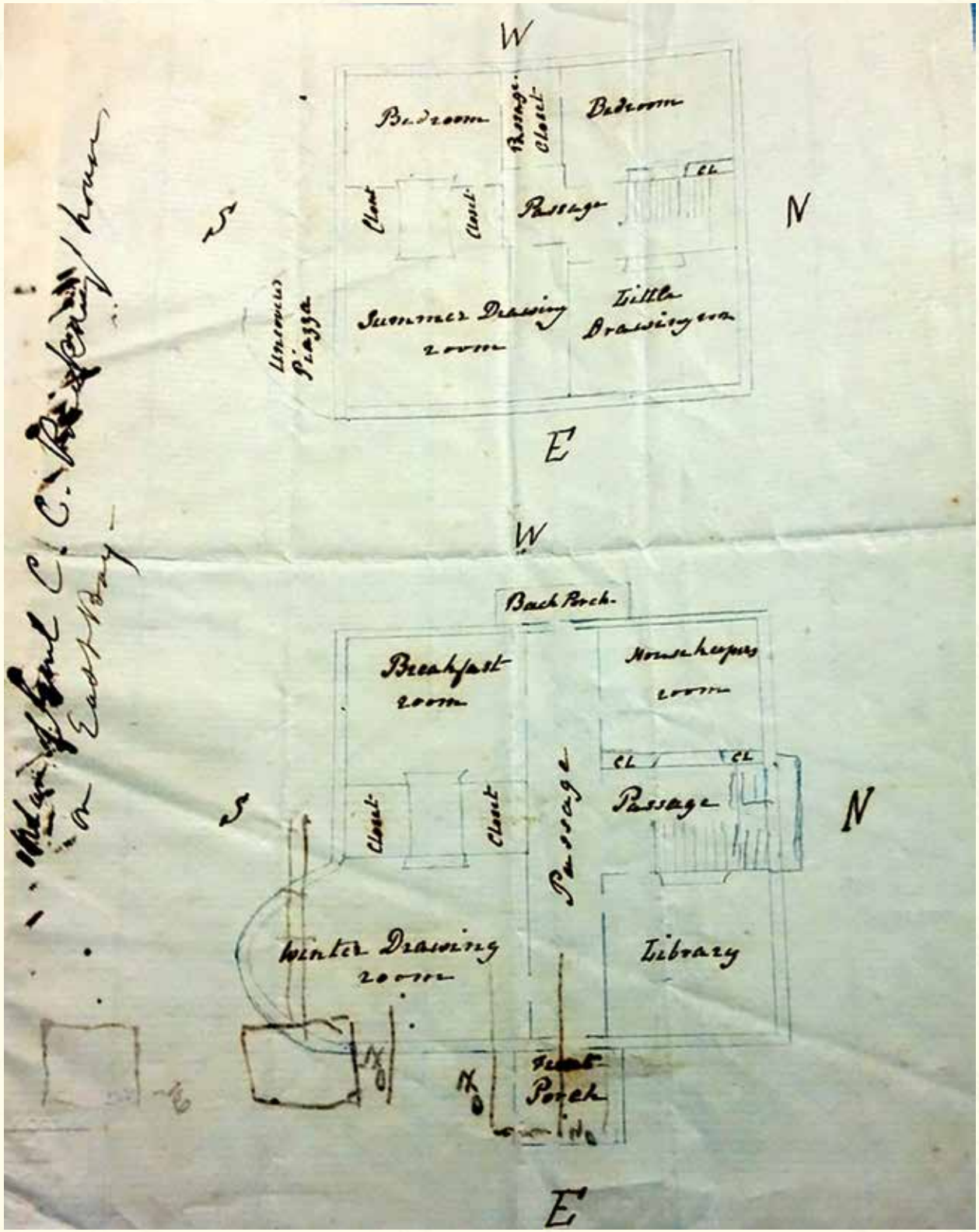
She reports the results of her efforts in a blog called Eliza's Kitchen [<http://elizapinckneyskitchen.wordpress.com>], illustrating the process with photographs and supplementing the description of what she did to achieve results with a curious historian's research into long-ago cooking processes and what the eighteenth-century terms meant.

In the blog, Monroy says, "Eliza's recipe book is a mixture of traditional recipes, both savory and sweet, as well as medicinal remedies. What we would commonly call a cookbook today was usually referred to as a receipt book during the eighteenth century. Because of her enthusiasm in all other areas of her life, her recipe book was likely an expression of that same appetite for learning, entrepreneurial spirit, and lively spirit. As a plantation mistress, managing the seven plantations left to her after Charles' death, Eliza was also a slaveholder. Therefore, she probably developed her recipes alongside her slaves in the kitchen. It's also likely that

the African slaves working in Eliza's kitchen may have altered or adjusted Eliza's recipes to make up for unavailable ingredients, changing weather conditions, or to achieve better results. The men and women working in her kitchen may have actually known the ins and outs of Eliza's recipes better than she did, although we may never know their exact role in the surviving receipt book."



Eliza's cake



Blueprint for The C.C. Pinckney house which once stood on East Bay Street in Charleston, S.C.

The South Caroliniana Library: A Photo Essay

BY
NANCY H. WASHINGTON

The South Caroliniana Library has been a witness to the development of the University of South Carolina for more than 175 of the University's 215 years of existence.

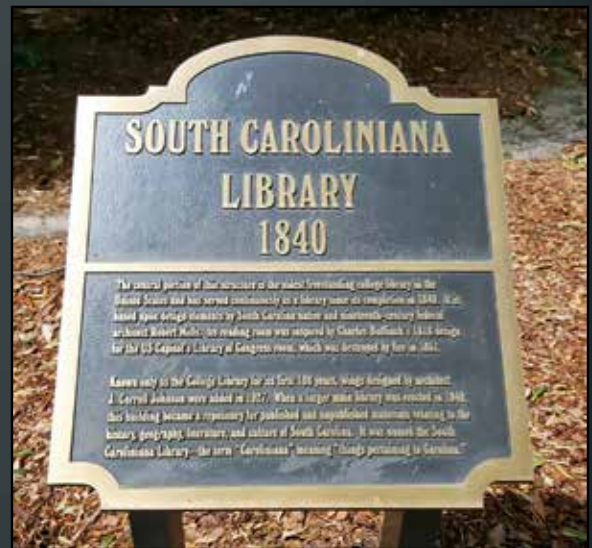
Even though the Library's collections have been moved to other locations for safe-keeping until needed renovations can be made, the building and its grounds still give testimony to its elegance and to its importance in the history of the University and the state.

This photo essay provides images of some views of the Caroliniana which many visitors pass by unseeing, but which help the Library tell its story.



THE
SOUTH CAROLINIANA
LIBRARY

THIS WAS THE FIRST SEPARATE COLLEGE LIBRARY BUILDING ERECTED IN THE UNITED STATES. THE ARCHITECT OF THE EXTERIOR IS NOT KNOWN, BUT THE READING ROOM IS COPIED FROM BULFINCH'S LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. THE CENTRAL PORTION WAS COMPLETED IN MAY 1840, THE FIRE PROOF WINGS WERE ADDED IN 1927. THE BUILDING SERVED AS THE LIBRARY OF THE COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY UNTIL 1940, WHEN IT BECAME THE SOUTH CAROLINIANA LIBRARY.



SOUTH CAROLINIANA
LIBRARY
1840

The central portion of this structure is the oldest freestanding college library in the United States and has served continuously as a library since its completion in 1840. It is based upon design elements by South Carolina native and nineteenth-century federal architect Robert Mills. Its reading room was inspired by Charles Bulfinch's 1818 design for the US Capitol's Library of Congress room, which was destroyed by fire in 1851.

Known only as the College Library for its first 100 years, wings designed by architect J. Carroll Johnson were added in 1927. When a larger main library was erected in 1940, this building became a repository for published and unpublished materials relating to the history, geography, literature, and culture of South Carolina. It was named the South Caroliniana Library--the term "Caroliniana" meaning "things pertaining to Carolina."



The Library's tall front columns demand the attention of anyone walking on the Horseshoe grounds. The building both harmonizes with and stands apart from its neighboring structures.



To the left of the Library's front door is the grave of J. Rion McKissick. The gravestone reads:

JAMES RION MCKISSICK

OCTOBER 13, 1884

SEPTEMBER 3, 1944

SON OF

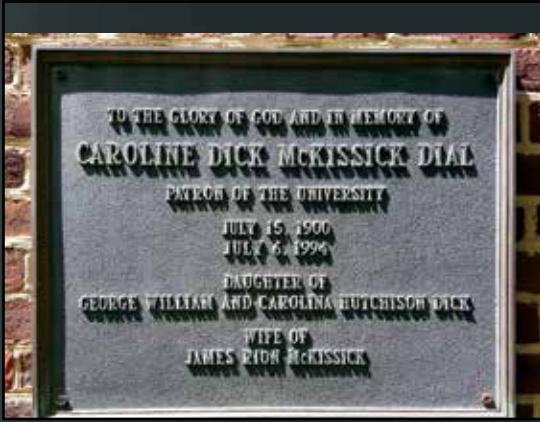
ISAAC GOING AND SALLIE FOSTER
MCKISSICK

NINETEENTH PRESIDENT
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA

"I HAVE KEPT THE FAITH"
II TIMOTHY 4:7

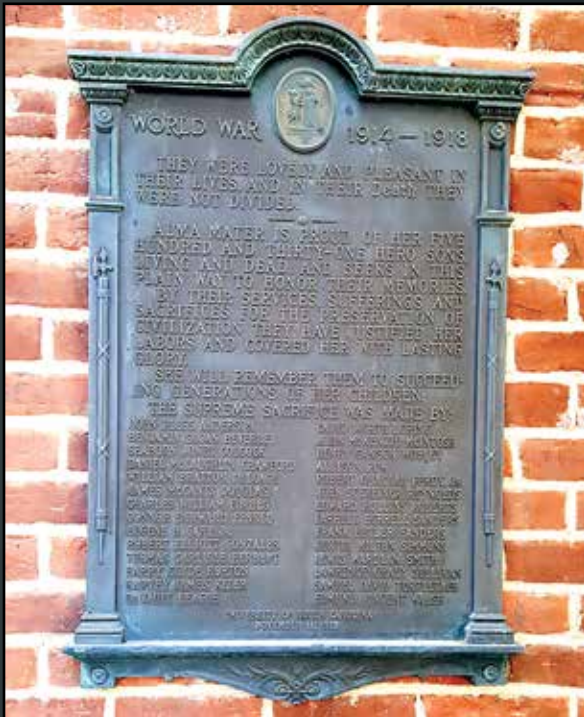


Shown is a life-sized cut-out image of J. Rion McKissick.



On the Library wall near the McKissick grave is a plaque which reads:

TO THE GLORY OF GOD AND IN MEMORY OF
 CAROLINE DICK McKISSICK DIAL
 PATRON OF THE UNIVERSITY
 JULY 15, 1900
 JULY 6, 1994
 DAUGHTER OF
 GEORGE WILLIAM AND CAROLINA HUTCHISON DICK
 WIFE OF
 JAMES RION McKISSICK



Also on the Library wall to the left of the front door is a plaque which bears the South Carolina state seal and reads:

WORLD WAR 1914 - 1918
 THEY WERE LOVELY AND PLEASANT IN THEIR LIVES, AND IN THEIR DEATH THEY WERE, NOT DIVIDED.
 ALMA MATER IS PROUD OF HER FIVE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-ONE HERO SONS, LIVING AND DEAD, AND SEEKS IN THIS PLAIN WAY TO HONOR THEIR MEMORIES. BY THEIR SERVICES, SUFFERINGS AND SACRIFICES FOR THE PRESERVATION OF CIVILIZATION THEY HAVE JUSTIFIED HER, LABORS AND COVERED HER WITH LASTING GLORY.
 SHE WILL REMEMBER THEM TO SUCCEEDING GENERATIONS OF HER CHILDREN.

THE SUPREME SACRIFICE WAS MADE BY:

JOHN PLUSS ANDERSON
 BENJAMIN SLOAN BEVERLEY
 SEABORN JONES COLCOCK
 DANIEL McLAUGHLIN CRAWFORD
 WILLIAM BRATTON DeLOACH
 JAMES McCANTS DOUGLAS
 CHARLES WILLIAM FORBES
 CONNOR DURWARD FENNEL
 EUGENE B.GARY, Jr.
 ROBERT ELLIOTT GONZALES
 THOMAS CARLISLE HERBERT
 HARRY CLYDE HORTON
 HARVEY JAMES KIZER
 De VAULT LEAGUE

DAVID WORTH LORING
 JOHN McKENZIE McINTOSH
 HENRY GANSON MOBLEY
 ALLISON POW
 ROBERT OBADIAH PURDY, Jr.
 JOHN SCHREINER REYNOLDS
 EDWARD ROLLINS ROBERTS
 FARRELL BURRELL SANDERS
 FRANK BUTLER SANDERS
 CURTIS MILTON SIMMONS
 LEWIS WARDLAW SMITH
 LAWRENCE GRADY SULLIVAN
 SAMUEL DAVID TURELETAUB
 EDMUND VINCENT WALSH



When required, the Library's tall, wide front doors could accommodate both a gentleman in a stovepipe hat and a lady in a hoop skirt.

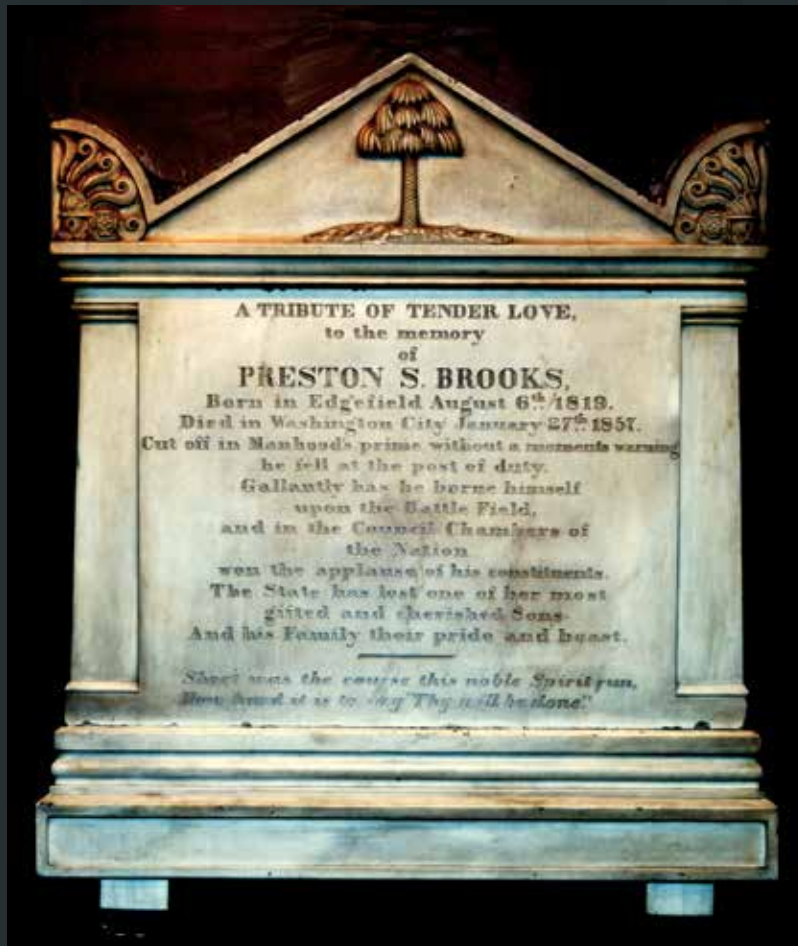


The Library's foyer holds exhibit cases and display panels highlighting treasures from the collections. A plaque in the foyer reads:

LUMPKIN FOYER
2005

Since colonial times, each generation of the Lumpkin family has helped shape the history of South Carolina through vocations as authors, educators, politicians, clergy, business leaders, community activists and civic entrepreneurs.

Since this historic building houses collections documenting all aspects of the State's history, dedicating the South Caroliniana Library foyer in their honor is most appropriate and befits the legacy of this distinguished South Carolina family.



Affixed to the wall in the foyer is a plaque commemorating Preston S. Brooks, a native son in South Carolina best known nationally as the man who attacked Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner with his walking cane in the Senate chambers on May 22, 1856.

*A TRIBUTE OF TENDER LOVE,
to the memory
of
PRESTON S. BROOKS,
Born in Edgefield August 6th 1819.
Died in Washington City January 27th 1857.
Cut off in Manhood's prime, without a moments warning
he fell at the post of duty.
Gallantly has he borne himself
upon the Battle Field,
and in the Council Chambers of
the Nation
won the applause of his constituents.
The State has lost one of her most
gifted and cherished Sons -
And his Family their pride and heart.

Short was the course this noble Spirit run,
How hard it is to say "Thy will be done."*



Shown is a life-sized cut out image of Olin D. Johnston in front of the desk which he used in his U.S. Senate office. The desk remains in the ground-level Johnston Room.



A graceful spiral staircase rises from the foyer to the second floor, passing a window which looks out on the fountain in the Library's back garden.



Above the landing at the top of the stairs hangs a brass chandelier made in the Netherlands in the 18th century.



Just outside the Reading Room doors are two rather imposing swan's neck hallstands. They were made in about 1854 by Milo Hoyt Berry specifically for the College library.

The South Caroliniana Library is one of the few libraries in the state and probably in the country which still keeps a card catalog. Although the card catalog is no longer updated, most of the information on the cards is still accurate because the Library, unlike circulating libraries, seldom removes materials once they are added. Newer acquisitions are found only in the online catalog.

A set of cards for each acquisition was painstakingly typed and filed.



Plate from John James Audubon's *Birds of America*, "Carolina Parrot with Cockle-bur"



Shown is the hand-written catalog card for the University's Birds of America by James John Audubon. The work included plates depicting the various species of birds the author had painted as he traveled throughout the country. The plates were acquired between 1827 and 1838 as they were produced by the author. The plates and the catalog card are now housed in the Irvin Department of Special Collections located in the Ernest F. Hollings Special Collections Library.



An old display stand keeps this unabridged dictionary of the English language at the ready in case the internet goes down.



A glimpse into the now-empty stack area



The Reading Room has been emptied of its valuable collections, but it is visited daily by researchers who request items that are obtained for them from storage and then are returned to safety each afternoon.



One of the three massive chandeliers which grace the upstairs Kendall Room



Behind the library is an inviting garden. its main feature is a three-tiered fountain.



A plaque located on the rear wall near the fountain reads:

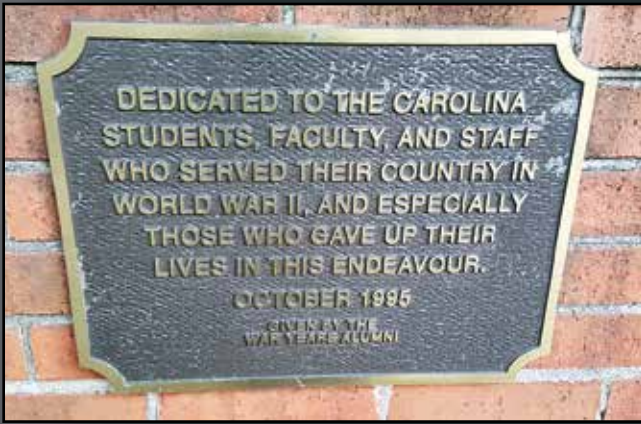
THIS FOUNTAIN IN HONOR OF
THE CAROLINA PATRIOTS
WHO FOUGHT IN
THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GIVEN BY THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION BICENTENNIAL
RICHLAND COUNTY COMMITTEE

THE UNIVERSITY SOUTH CAROLINIANA SOCIETY

THE LUCY HAMPTON BOSTICK CHARITABLE TRUST

MAY 30, 1986



Another plaque on the back wall reads:

DEDICATED TO THE CAROLINA
STUDENTS, FACULTY, AND STAFF
WHO SERVED THEIR COUNTRY IN
WORLD WAR II, AND ESPECIALLY
THOSE WHO GAVE UP THEIR
LIVES IN THIS ENDEAVOUR.

OCTOBER 1995

GIVEN BY THE
WAR YEARS ALUMNI

Other items located in the garden have connections to the South Carolina State House. These include the capital from a pilaster, a cannon ball, and the capitals from two columns.

The Composite capital from a marble pilaster was stored in a wooden shed on the grounds of the State House waiting to be installed in the new capital building on the night of February 17, 1865. When, on that fateful evening most of downtown Columbia was destroyed by fire, the sheds holding this pilaster and other marble items burned to the ground. While the marble did not burn, the moisture in it evaporated rapidly in the high heat, causing cracks and fissures which rendered the items unusable for construction. The pilaster capital which eventually came to the South Caroliniana Library's garden is almost identical to the one located on the west side of the north portico of the State House.



The iron cannon ball on its concrete stand has graced the garden of the South Caroliniana Library for many decades. It appears identical to several others which were unearthed during the renovation of the State House in the 1990s and which were determined to be of the Civil War era.

The two marble capitals which now serve as planters were also housed on the State House grounds during the burning of Columbia in 1865 and suffered the same fate as the Composite pilaster.



Glancing back at the Library one can see the subtle but still clear demarcation between the bricks which form the original 1840 building and the ones that were used in later construction.





The garden's main exit is enclosed by graceful wrought iron gates, shown here with their echoing shadows.



A plaque on the outside of the garden wall reads:

IN MEMORY OF
THE
CHALLENGER ASTRONAUTS
LOST IN FLIGHT JANUARY 28, 1986
MAY THEIR EFFORTS NOT BE IN VAIN
AFROTC / AAS DET 775
SPRING 1987

—Nancy H. Washington retired from the University as Distinguished Librarian Emerita in 2010. She is the editor of Caroliniana Columns.



Kevin Collins
Southwestern
Oklahoma State
University
William Gilmore Simms
Visiting Research
Professor

There have been exceptions, but nearly all of the scholarly work concerned with the cultural identity of William Gilmore Simms, including much of my own, focuses on the author's identity as a southerner, a South Carolinian, or a Charlestonian. My work this summer—which began in earnest seven months ago but which is in some senses a twenty-year project—focuses on Simms's American identity and the role he played in shaping the collective American identity of the twentieth century. This project traces the degree to which most of Simms's writings, but especially his *Border Romances*, anticipate the Frontier Thesis of Frederick Jackson Turner, first enunciated in 1893.

FRONTIER THESIS

Turner's Frontier Thesis became so widely accepted at the start of the twentieth century that it is easy to forget that it severely challenged the professional orthodoxy that came before it. Though nearly all American academics of the nineteenth century were hesitant to associate their names too closely in public with that of Charles Darwin, Turner's private writings make clear that he was a passionate proponent of the theory of natural selection, and the center of the Frontier Thesis was that the free land available on the American frontier attracted pioneers to an environment that killed many of them but to which the survivors and their offspring adapted, effectively accelerating evolution and making Americans different from the peoples of the parent cultures from which they were drawn. Among the traits that the frontier environment developed in Americans were increased physical strength, energy, restlessness, optimism, materialism, practicality, coarseness, and the instincts for both democracy and violence. Whether Turner's Frontier Thesis was pure reason, jingoistic nonsense, or—most likely—something between these two extremes, the startling and unprecedented American accomplishments of the twentieth century, "The American Century," demanded precisely the traits that Turner described and that were repeated for most of a century not only in university

classrooms, but in grade schools and street corners as well. (My space is limited here, but just the short list is startling: mass production of the automobile; the construction of the interstate highway system; the communication systems of film, radio, and the telephone; making the decisive difference—starting essentially from zero—in both world wars; the responses to influenza, polio, and H.I.V.; the atom bomb; the moon landing; the Civil Rights Movement; and the Internet.)

Turner certainly deserves credit for formulating and enunciating the Frontier Thesis, especially considering the fact that he was contradicting the conventional academic wisdom of his time. Nevertheless, it was perhaps inevitable in 1893 that *somebody* would announce something like the Frontier Thesis: The U.S. Census Bureau had just announced the closing of the American frontier, academics in all fields were becoming fascinated by Darwinian theory, and Americans of all levels of education were obsessed with the West, as evidenced by the decades of success of the wild West show, the western dime novel, and—in the years to come—in the western silent film.

SIMMS'S BORDER ROMANCES

Fully two generations before 1893, William Gilmore Simms began producing his *Border Romances*, novel-length tales set on the southwestern American frontier. In these works, newcomers from the East would either succeed or fail on the frontier. The most decisive factors in their success were their abilities to adapt, to develop the physical strength, the energy, the restlessness, the optimism, the materialism, the practicality, the coarseness, and the instincts for both democracy and violence that Turner would describe in 1893. Though the pattern is not quite as startling, Simms depicts comparable adaptations to earlier frontiers in his *Colonial and Revolutionary Romances*.

Unlike Turner's, Simms's vision was not affected by popular fascination with the frontier. The geographic center of the U.S. population was still on the eastern slopes of the Appalachians when he published the first of the *Border Romances* in 1834, and wild West shows and dime novels were still unknown. Especially significant in light of Turner's fascination with the theory of natural selection, Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* was not published until 1859—after all but two of the *Border Romances* had been published—and there is little evidence that Simms read it even then.

Even as the Frontier Thesis became second nature to even the harshest of its late twentieth-century critics, Turner came under fire, among other reasons, for presenting the American frontier as a boy's club in which women were irrelevant and Native Americans were nothing more than another force of nature to be overcome. On Simms's fictional frontiers, on the other hand, women were central figures—often enough the protagonists—and whereas minority characters were burdened with the stereotypes that even minority authors couldn't seem to avoid before the Civil War, the humanity of Simms's Native American and African American characters generally shone through even the stereotypes.

Among the implications of my work will be the warning that there are consequences to exiling authors from the canon for political reasons, Simms's fate after the Civil War. Who knows how the intensity or duration of the American Century would have been affected had the reading public been as familiar with the works of Simms as they were with those of, say, Hawthorne or Melville?

SPIRITS, BENEVOLENT AND OTHERWISE: MUSINGS OF A LITERARY RESEARCHER

Near the end of the summer of 2015 I received an email from the acquisitions editor of the history division of Lexington Books asking if I might have a proposal. (This was the work of benevolent spirits: I did have exactly one proposal, prepared nine years earlier, and it was perfectly appropriate to the history division. What in the world was he thinking when he emailed a literary scholar? But I digress.) I sent my proposal, and two months later, he sent me a contract for a book tentatively titled *William Gilmore Simms, Frederick Jackson Turner, and the Myth of American Exceptionalism*. It asks for the manuscript in January 2017. Though I am not certain I can meet this schedule, it is not as unreasonable as it may seem: the project has been ongoing for nearly twenty years and it has been visited for its entire life by spirits, benevolent and otherwise, including during my Simms Visiting Research Professorship this summer.

The project began during my doctoral program at the University of Arkansas when my mentor, Jack Guilds, and I discovered that each of us knew far more about Turner and the Frontier Thesis than perhaps a literary scholar ought to know. After seminar sessions, I would spend time in Guilds's office analyzing with him in the Turnerian terms that might have bored my classmates the texts we'd just discussed in more general terms. We talked about co-writing a book on the subject after his retirement. I prepared a proposal for the University of South Carolina Press. Jack's retirement came earlier than he'd planned when a traumatic injury—he slipped on the ice, tore multiple tendons in his knee, and was immobile for nearly a year—forced him into a long-term hospital stay (one of those other-than-benevolent spirits, in the form of an Arkansas black-ice formation). I thought for a while that perhaps the enforced immobility might allow him to work on our project, but when it became clear that this was not to be, I asked for his permission to submit the idea as a forty-page journal article. The article appeared in a Simms-themed number of *Studies in the Literary Imagination* organized and edited by Matt Brennan. Jack was very pleased with it, and I thought that my adventures with Frederick Jackson Turner had come to an end.

RESEARCH AGENDA

When I came to the South Caroliniana Library this summer I had both a research agenda and a writing agenda. The former was focused first on Simms's considerable works—most published decades later—based on his eyewitness accounts of events related to the forced relocations of southeastern American Indians. Simms had observed some of these events as a very young man on his visits to his father on the Mississippi frontier, so they at least arguably form parts of his authorial ego in the same way that the Revolutionary Romances based on his grandmother's tales of the Revolutionary War do. I also discovered a document I'd never seen before, Simms's reflections on the 1828 presidential race between John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson, the latter the person more responsible than any other for the relocation of the Indians. While this document will not be very helpful for this current project, I will be revisiting it for future projects.

With this work behind me, the bulk of my remaining research entailed work with Simms's published texts themselves, beginning with his *Border Romances*. Because of the new storage system at the South Caroliniana Library, Todd Hoppock had asked me to use the Thomas Cooper Library when I could to check out published books, and the Cooper had nearly all of Simms's titles.

So while I returned to the South Caroliniana occasionally to drink in the atmosphere, my new base of operations became the second floor of the Thomas Cooper Library. This was not my choice. My choice was to return to my hotel room where I had Internet access. The benevolent spirits who had been hovering over this project for years, though, decided on the second floor of the Cooper. I had checked out a few *Border Romances* and rejected both the fourth floor and the third as too crowded before settling on the desolate second floor. After taking notes for a couple of hours, I took a break, wandering through the stacks and noticing that the second floor was the home of history texts. I found several new works on Turner, thumbed through some, read a few, and found passages that I needed for the chapter one that I'd thought for months had been finished. (Thanks, spirits!) This experience made me feel a warmth for the second floor that lasted long after I stopped looking for Turner sources. Even without this Turner serendipity, I far exceeded my expectations in terms of my research agenda for the summer.

WRITING AGENDA

My writing agenda, on the other hand, did not go as swimmingly. During the spring semester, I had completed a preface that I knew needed some revision, a chapter one, on Turner, (with which I was quite happy until my discoveries on the second floor of the Thomas Cooper), and portions of a chapter two concerning Simms's youthful connections to the frontier. My plan for the summer was to complete the draft of chapter two and to produce as much as I could of a draft of chapter three on the *Border Romances*, *i.e.*, to write up the results of the summer's research. After less than a full day at this project, on the Fourth of July, I dove into the hotel pool and, misjudging its depth, banged my head on the concrete bottom. I wrote two pages later that day which, when I read them following day, made no sense at all. I visited a storefront physician who referred me for a CT scan and told me that I'd sustained a mild concussion. The doctor told me, verbatim, not to read, write, or think for a week. While I couldn't quite follow those directions, the doctor's instructions and the foul play of those familiar malevolent spirits were a significant setback.

I used my time on the disabled list to visit with local Simms scholars Sam Lackey, Todd Hagstette, and Raymond Yi, a visiting Ph.D. candidate from China. Part of my proposal for the Simms professorship concerned working with Yi, who is comparing Simms's *Vasconcelos* with a twentieth-century kung-fu novel by Jin Yong entitled *The Book and the Sword*. Having both produced the scholarly edition of that fairly obscure Simms novel for the Arkansas press and written the introduction for the USC press, I know *Vasconcelos* about as well as any other living scholar, and—apart from Yi—I may be the only Simms scholar who has read *The Book and the Sword*. Raymond absolved me of that responsibility on my second day in Columbia, though, when I mentioned the online translation I'd read, and he interrupted me to call that translator a butcher. We did manage to have some fruitful discussions about *Vasconcelos*, other Simms works, the Simms conference this September in Georgia, and the upcoming global issue of *The Simms Review*.

My condition improved notably during my final week in Columbia, and while I wasn't able to make up for all the time I'd lost to my accident, I finished a draft of chapter two and got a start on chapter three.

I am not at all certain that I will complete the project by the deadline of January 15, 2017. It will depend to a degree on the aid of some familiar benevolent spirits and deliverance from their malevolent cohorts. I am absolutely certain, though, that I would not have made the deadline had I not had the opportunity presented by the William Gilmore Simms Visiting Research Professorship.



Jacob Clawson
Auburn University
Governor Thomas
Gordon McLeod and
First Lady
Elizabeth Alford
McLeod
Research Fellow

In July of 2016, I had the privilege to spend a week conducting research at the South Caroliniana Library as a Governor Thomas Gordon McLeod and First Lady Elizabeth Alford McLeod Research Fellow. I am currently a Ph.D. candidate in history at Auburn University, focusing on the Civil War and Reconstruction. South Carolina plays a prominent role in my work, and the South Caroliniana Library provided a wellspring of evidence for my dissertation, entitled “Militias, Manhood, and Citizenship in Southern Reconstruction.”

The generosity, helpfulness, and friendliness of the library’s staff—including Mr. Henry Fulmer, Mr. Todd Hoppock, and the numerous archivists who assisted me—made my sojourn in Columbia as comfortable as it was productive.

COMPETING VISIONS OF CITIZENSHIP

My research explores the relationship between institutional violence, manhood, and citizenship throughout Reconstruction, with a particular focus on how southerners used militias as forms of political participation and expression. Stressing the important connections between institutional violence and political ideology, I argue that black and white southerners defined and defended competing visions of citizenship and manhood through their militias. Black southerners used militia service to stake their claims to manhood and political participation while forging a new biracial democracy on the ashes of the old Confederacy. Conservative white southerners utilized paramilitary violence to reinstitute a form of *Herrenvolk* democracy based on racial subordination. The holdings of the South Caroliniana Library speak to each of these projects and, by extension, the implications of racial violence today.

Investigating white violence and its meanings after the war, I examine the process of institutional adaptation that occurred during Reconstruction as white southerners used numerous types of violence to express their own claims to manhood and citizenship while simultaneously denying African Americans the full fruits of their newly acquired freedom. Through local police forces, reformed slave patrols, the Ku Klux Klan, and rifle clubs, white southerners created myriad institutions that provided them with access to collective violence. In particular,

the Library’s holdings provide valuable records related to the state’s various rifle clubs. The records of the Richland Rifle Club, the Governor’s Guards, and the Georgetown Rifle Club, as well as the firsthand accounts of men such as Benjamin R. Tillman and Martin W. Gary, demonstrate how white Carolinians utilized their militia organizations as social clubs, civic organizations, modes of patriotic expression, memorial organizations, and symbols of white supremacy. They allowed white southerners to reconstruct their shattered sense of manhood and citizenship following a failed war effort and an emancipation that undermined the Old South’s most vital shibboleths.

BLACK MILITIAS

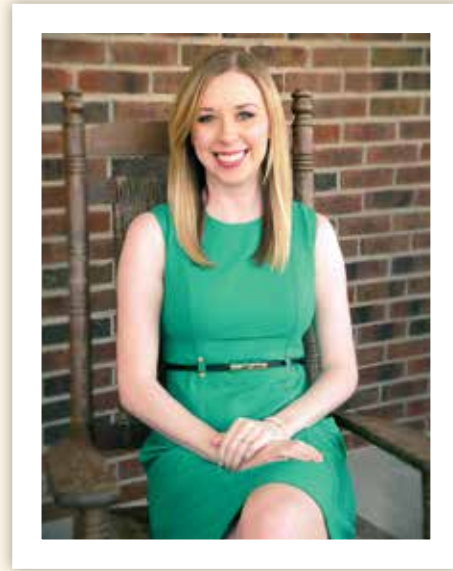
More complicated is my rendering of black militias. In the aftermath of the recent shootings of black men in Ferguson, Baltimore, and Charlotte, historicizing and understanding black racial violence is a perilous endeavor.

As I write, I struggle with how to integrate black violence into the narrative of Reconstruction, how to contextualize it next to the most abhorrent acts of white terrorism, and whether all forms of violence are morally equivalent. Yet, these difficulties aside, recognizing that black southerners utilized institutional violence throughout Reconstruction—both preemptively and as a means of self-defense—tells us a great deal about the era’s politics and black political life. One needs look no further than the militia rolls from Chester County to see how widespread enrollment in Governor Robert Scott’s black militia was. Furthermore, white testimony from Reconstruction, however problematic, speaks to the nature of black militia service, and the South Caroliniana Library’s collections abound with these sources. Tillman wrote with disdain after Reconstruction regarding how black political leaders such as Ned Tennant were often accompanied by armed guards and scouts. In other instances, Tillman lamented that the membership of the Sweet Water Sabre Club, a paramilitary group in Edgefield, were periodically “fired on by some of the Negro militiamen who were concealed” in the woods while these white men were out on patrol. Elsewhere, this violence was more overt, as white and black southerners used their militia organizations to engage in a form of street politics that saw each battle over the use and ownership of public spaces. Prior to the Hamburg massacre, Gary related that black militiamen drilling in the streets refused to cede the road to a white man, Robert Butler, and instead fastened their bayonets and threatened to charge him rather than move aside. Scribbling in his notebook during a legal hearing related to the matter, he noted that when Butler returned with armed white men to right the indignity he had suffered, the black militia fired on his party. To be sure, the Hamburg massacre that stemmed from this incident was one of the great tragedies of Reconstruction. Nonetheless, these freedmen’s willingness to resort to force spoke to their faith in the political efficacy of institutional violence.

The testimony of men such as Tillman and Gary must be read, of course, with a discerning eye. The stories they told, however, are hardly exceptional. Indeed, one need look no further than the Ku Klux Klan reports produced by Congress, or the various congressional investigations on the Vicksburg riot, the Cainhoy riot, and the Colfax massacre to find other examples of black self-defense and a willingness on the part of the freedmen to engage in militia politics.

The holdings of the South Caroliniana Library are indispensable to my research in that they provide complementary evidence to what is a complex web of historical narratives and counter-narratives regarding the meaning and prevalence of racial violence after the Civil War. The generous support I received from the South Caroliniana Library allowed me to pursue these questions and, by extension, their lingering importance.

Mandy L. Cooper
 Duke University
 Lewis P. Jones
 Research Fellow



Thanks to the generosity of the South Caroliniana Library, I was able to spend time in August 2016 as a Lewis P. Jones Research Fellow. While in residence, I conducted research for my dissertation at Duke University entitled “Cultures of Emotion: Families, Friends, and the Making of the United States.” Several collections of the South Caroliniana Library’s collections help to shed light on the relationship between affective labor (work related to the presence and performance of emotion) and the economic and political status of elite families, revealing the centrality of family ties to the economic and political work of nation building in the antebellum period.

While in residence at the Caroliniana, I delved into the familial, political, and business papers of the Singleton family and individuals and families connected to them, including the Deveauxs, Benjamin F. Taylor, George McDuffie, Angelica Singleton Van Buren, the Hamptons, and James Chesnut.

The wealth of material that I uncovered in these papers reveals the gendered dimensions of affective labor in correspondence while highlighting women’s active role in the economic networks of their families. Two very different documents from my research in these collections highlight the diversity of sources I found in the Caroliniana’s collections—and their implications for understanding the family and economics in the antebellum U.S.

Elizabeth Coles’s 1836 loan of \$15,000 (plus interest) to her brother-in-law Richard Singleton—for purchasing

slaves from her on credit—brings into view women’s active involvement in the complicated, multi-layered systems of credit and debt that sustained elite families. Matthew Singleton’s statement to his brother-in-law Robert Deveaux in 1842 that “men should never exhaust themselves upon small and unimportant matters” of family news reveals the ways in which the affective labor in maintaining familial connections in correspondence was heavily gendered: women focused largely on family news and men focused on economic and political concerns.

The assistance of the Caroliniana’s archivists was invaluable in helping me track down different members of the Singleton family in collections that I would not have thought to look in. Combining the family and business correspondence with notes and other statements of credit and debt that I found while at the Caroliniana will form an essential part of my dissertation, allowing me to emphasize the importance of the family to the economic and political work of nation building, firmly bring that work into the domestic world of the family, and reveal women’s active involvement in their family’s economic endeavors.

I am very grateful to the South Caroliniana Library and the Lewis P. Jones Fellowship for supporting my work. I look forward to returning to Columbia to do further research in the future.

Amanda Kleintop
Northwestern
University
Governor Thomas
Gordon McLeod and
First Lady Elizabeth
Alford McLeod
Research Fellow



With the support of the South Caroliniana Library, I visited Columbia, S.C., in August of 2016 as a Governor Thomas Gordon McLeod and First Lady Elizabeth Alford McLeod Research Fellow. I am a Ph.D. candidate in Northwestern University's history department. At the South Caroliniana Library, I conducted research for my dissertation, "The Terms of Emancipation: Conflicts over the Value of Slaves from 1862-1871."

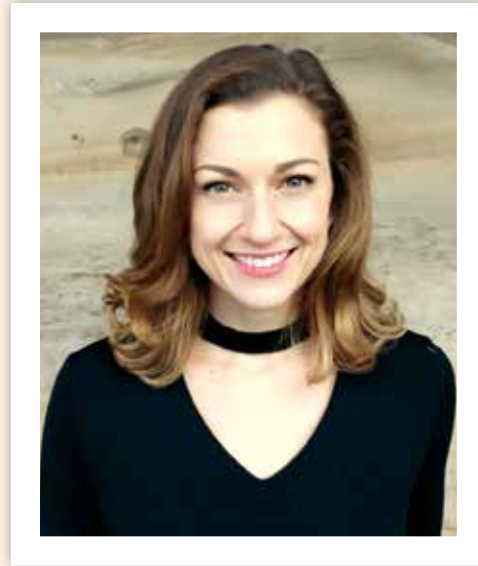
Until the Civil War, legal recognition of property rights in slaves had enabled slaveholders, slave buyers and sellers, bankers, and investors to buy and sell slaves on credit and to mortgage slaves. Uncompensated emancipation threatened to send this complex system of finance, founded on human property, into chaos. Former slave owners regularly demanded emancipation policies other than the one that came into existence: the immediate, uncompensated abolition of slavery during the Civil War. They claimed that the federal or state governments should reimburse them for the value of their freed slaves. When that failed, they argued that people who had purchased slaves on credit while slavery was still legal should not be required to repay such debts. South Carolina politicians were unusually vocal and effective in these debates.

The collections at the South Caroliniana Library revealed South Carolina politicians' schemes in the state legislature and courts. In particular, South Carolina politicians and lawyers led the movement to spare debtors from paying back their debts for the value of slaves. The state's 1868 constitutional

convention passed a clause in the Constitution that nullified contracts for slave sales. The archives of the Library hold many pamphlets relating to the convention and resulting court cases that challenged that clause. There, I read transcripts of William Whaley's arguments in a pivotal South Carolina Supreme Court case arguing for the constitutionality of the clause, *Calhoun v. Calhoun* (1870). I also read papers authored by South Carolina politicians and planters from this period to shed light on their stances on slavery's abolition in the context of their political and business networks. A printed petition from 1861 by "the Women of the North" in the Francis Lieber papers revealed more about the national debate to compensate former slave owners for their slaves. The documents I found in the Library also opened new avenues for further research in the South Carolina Department of Archives and History and the South Carolina Historical Society in Charleston, which I also accessed during my time in the state.

I am grateful to the South Caroliniana Library's staff and all of its archivists for making my research experience overwhelmingly positive and productive. Brian Cuthrell's advice led me to collections that I had not found in the Library's expansive catalog on my own. Graham Duncan's assistance enabled me to make the most out of my time in the archives. Before, during, and after my trip, Todd Hoppock helped coordinate my visit to the Library. I hope to return to Columbia for future research.

Lauren Haumesser
University of Virginia
Lewis P. Jones
Research Fellow



In June 2016, I had the privilege and the pleasure of visiting the South Caroliniana Library as a Lewis P. Jones Research Fellow.

I am a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Virginia. My dissertation is titled “Party of Patriarchy: Democratic Gender Politics and the Coming of the Civil War.” I argue that in the 1850s, the Democratic Party used hyper-masculine language to unite party members when they were otherwise divided over slavery. This worked in the election of 1856, but by the election of 1860, southern Democrats used that same gendered language against northern Democrats and Republicans alike. They accused *all* northerners of supporting leftist social movements, including women’s rights, free love, and, critically, abolition. Southerners believed they had to secede to protect the patriarchal, slaveholding South.

The research I did at the South Caroliniana Library helped me piece together the southern half of this story, and will play a central role in my dissertation. Two important themes appeared in my research.

The first: by the late 1850s, many South Carolina politicians believed that all northerners were leftist radicals. Milledge Luke Bonham, for instance, received a report in 1859 from a friend in the North claiming that “fanaticism abounds” in Massachusetts. And in 1861, Francis Wilkinson Pickens warned of general “vulgar influences” that had “debauched and demoralized the Government at Washington.” These politicians reasoned that all northerners were social liberals, and thus no northerner would be a suitable president for a nation that included the conservative South.

The second theme I uncovered: during the secession winter of 1860-61, southern men idealized southern womanhood to

justify southern nationalism. In the Henry Campbell Davis scrapbook, secession ballads cite the “beauties’ smiles” for which they “must fight, and ne’er ‘give in.” A letter to John Smythe Richardson describes a widow who encouraged her only son to join the army. And a letter from the Sumter Volunteers to churchwomen in Richmond, Va., praised them for their “untiring devotion to their country’s cause.” Taken together, these letters show that southern men idealized southern women as beautiful, self-sacrificing, and worth protecting from northern armies.

But there was a dark side to this praise for southern womanhood. Southern women had to behave in a way that merited protection. The Sumter Volunteers warned the Richmond women that “patriotic—intelligent woman has never been known as the mother of a bastard boy.” If the women truly cared about the Confederacy, they would not have extramarital relations while their husbands were at the front. Many southerners believed northern women were sexually immoral, pointing to the small woman’s rights and free love movements there. If southern women had extramarital relations, they would be no different than northern women—and thus certainly not Confederate patriots.

This is just a small sample of what I found during a very productive week at the South Caroliniana Library. The staff at the South Caroliniana was kind, knowledgeable, and helpful. They suggested sources I did not know about and would not have found on my own. They even helped me locate at another library the originals of a hard-to-read microfiche. I could not have asked for a better experience. For them, and for the financial support of the Lewis P. Jones Fellowship, I am so grateful.

IN MEMORIAM: CHARLES JOYNER

“Study the past if you would define the future.”
—Confucius

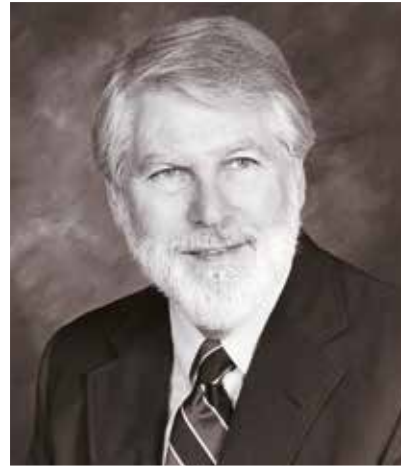
Noted historian, teacher, author, musician, and South Carolina native Charles Joyner passed away September 13, 2016, in Myrtle Beach, S.C. He spent his youth in the South Carolina low country and, though he studied and taught in numerous educational institutions throughout the country and abroad, he concluded his career where it had begun, at Coastal Carolina University in Conway, S.C.

Joyner held an undergraduate degree in history and English from Presbyterian College as well as an M.A. and a Ph.D. in history from the University of South Carolina and a Ph.D. in folklore from the University of Pennsylvania. Early in his career he taught at Coastal Carolina College, Columbia College, and Pfeiffer College as well as at St. Andrews Presbyterian College. In mid-career he held teaching positions at the University of Alabama, the University of California at Berkeley, and the University of Sydney in Australia. In 1998, he returned to Coastal Carolina University as Burroughs Distinguished Professor of Southern History and Culture. His numerous books and articles have inspired and enlightened students and researchers worldwide for many years.

Joyner’s book, *Down By the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community* was awarded the National University Press Award for a humanities title in 1984. In 2011, he was inducted into the Literary Hall of Fame of the South Carolina Academy of Authors. He also received the Governor’s Award for Lifetime Achievement in the Humanities from the South Carolina Humanities Council.

In a League by Himself

In the introduction to a festschrift, *Becoming Southern Writers: Essays in Honor of Charles Joyner* (University of South Carolina Press, 2016), the editors Orville Vernon Burton and Eldred E. Prince Jr. write, “Joyner has an impressive publication record, but it is the quality of his research and writing that makes him outstanding, not the heft of his work in printed pages. His accomplishments in cultural American and southern and African American history have had an impact across the country in history graduate programs. Joyner’s critical skills, his original and innovative perspective on cultural history, his wide knowledge of literature, especially southern letters, his



Charles Joyner (Photograph courtesy of Presbyterian College)

talent as a musician and musicologist, his expertise in folklore, his rapport with and understanding of the African American experience—all these factors place him in a league by himself.”

Henry Fulmer, Director of the South Caroliniana Library said about his friend and colleague of many years, “With the passing of Chaz Joyner, the South Carolina historical community has lost one of its most cherished members. He will be missed by many. As one of the foremost scholars of South Carolina history, African-American culture, and Southern folkways, Dr. Joyner was always a great friend to the South Caroliniana Library. He was a regular attendee at events sponsored by the University South Caroliniana Society and in 1995 gave the keynote address at the annual meeting. Dr. Joyner also graciously donated his rich research files to the Library so that future scholars can benefit from his diligent and creative work, an altogether fitting tribute to a remarkable scholar and educator.”

In his presidential address to the 2005 meeting of the Southern Historical Association, Joyner said that, “old remembered hymns and ballads, spirituals and blues, marching cadences and ragtime rhythms [reveal] authentic connections between past and present, between black and white, and between the region and the world [and] the promise of a world in harmony, a world to which the Southern past can offer illumination and perhaps even a few notes of hope.”

Charles Joyner’s family has suggested the South Caroliniana Library as an appropriate recipient of memorials in his honor.



IN MEMORIAM: SIDNEY PALMER

“Where words fail, music speaks.”
—Hans Christian Andersen

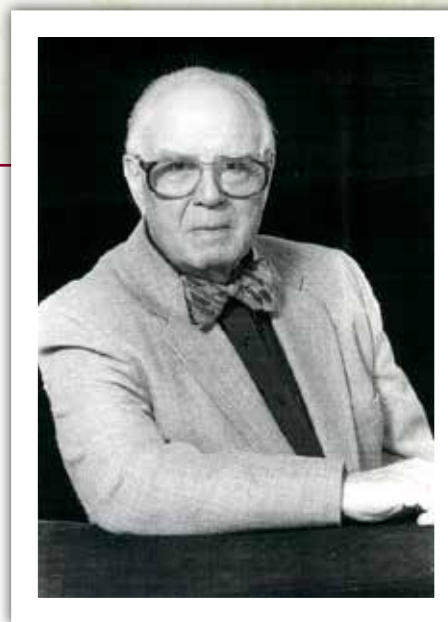
The musical and cultural community of Columbia and all of South Carolina lost a shining luminary with the passing of Sidney Jewell Palmer on August 19, 2016.

A native of Texas, Palmer began the study of music at the age of four and graduated from the University of Texas with a degree in composition and conducting at the age of seventeen. In New York he studied conducting with Maestro Leonard Bernstein and composition with Olivier Messiaen and was a teaching fellow at The Julliard School of Music.

During and after World War II, Palmer toured extensively as a concert pianist. While in New York, he became interested in the novel new form of entertainment called television. This medium brought him to WIS-TV in Columbia, S.C., where, as an Executive Producer at Cosmos Broadcasting Company, he won a George Foster Peabody Award and a Clio Award. He was nominated for an Emmy Award for his television production of the Columbia’s City Ballet’s *Cinderella*.

Palmer moved to the South Carolina ETV Network in 1979 as Executive Director for National Programming. In this role he produced such musical, dramatic and literary programs as the operas *The Consul*, *Vanessa*, and *Willie Stark* for the Great Performances series; Pilobolus Dance Theatre and The Paul Taylor Dance Company for Dance in America; and the first series of The Great American Short Story.

Locally, Palmer served for ten years as conductor of the Columbia Lyric Opera and for thirty years as Artist-in-Residence at Columbia College. He received the Elizabeth O’Neill Verner Award and the South Carolina Order of the Palmetto.



Sidney Palmer

Lanny and Sidney Palmer Cultural Arts Collection

In 2014, the family of Lanny and Sidney Palmer established the Lanny and Sidney Palmer Endowment Fund at the South Caroliniana Library to provide support for the Lanny and Sidney Palmer Cultural Arts Collection. The large collection includes audio and video recordings, musical scores, still photographs, scrapbooks, and related ephemera. Memorials to Sidney Palmer may be made to the Palmer Endowment at the Library.

An article featuring the lives and achievements of both Lanny and Sidney Palmer appeared in the Fall 2014 issue of *Caroliniana Columns*.



MEMORIALS & HONORARIA

In Memory of:

Mrs. Eleanor Godfrey Bruno
Mrs. Sloan H. Brittain
Philip M. Hamer, Ph.D.

Contribution from:

Mr. Lucien V. Bruno Sr.
Mr. Henry G. Fulmer
Dr. and Mrs. Jack W. Chandler

In Honor of:

Dr. Thomas L. Johnson

Contribution from:

Mrs. Gayle B. Edwards

**University South Caroliniana Society
CAROLINIANA COLUMNS**

Issue No. 40
Fall 2016

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Nancy H. Washington

Graphic Designer

Sherry Simmons

Photographers

Nancy H. Washington

Caroliniana Columns is published semiannually for members and friends of the University South Caroliniana Society.

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Correspondence may be addressed to the editor at Thomas Cooper Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC 29208.



(Image courtesy of Jerry A. Kay)