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Caroliniana Society Annual Gifts Report - March 2016

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THE UNIVERSITY SOUTH CAROLINIANA SOCIETY
EIGHTIETH ANNUAL MEETING

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA
Saturday, March 19, 2016
Mr. Kenneth L. Childs, *President*, Presiding

Reception and Exhibit 11:00 a.m.
South Caroliniana Library

Luncheon 1:00 p.m.
Capstone Campus Room

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

Address Dr. Orville Vernon Burton
Creativity Professor of Humanities,
Professor of History, Sociology, and Computer Science,
Director of the Clemson CyberInstitute,
Clemson University

PRESIDENTS

THE UNIVERSITY SOUTH CAROLINIANA SOCIETY

1937–1943	M.L. Bonham
1944–1953	J. Heyward Gibbes
1954	Samuel L. Prince
1954–1960	Caroline McKissick Belser
1960–1963	James H. Hammond
1963–1966	Robert H. Wienefeld
1966–1969	Edwin H. Cooper
1969–1972	Claude H. Neuffer
1972–1974	Henry Savage, Jr.
1974–1978	William D. Workman, Jr.
1978–1981	Daniel W. Hollis
1981–1984	Mary H. Taylor
1984–1987	Walter B. Edgar
1987–1990	Flynn T. Harrell
1990–1993	Walton J. McLeod III
1993–1996	Jane C. Davis
1996–1999	Harvey S. Teal
1999–2000	Harry M. Lightsey, Jr.
2001	Ronald E. Bridwell
2002–2005	John B. McLeod
2005–2008	Steve Griffith
2008–2011	Robert K. Ackerman
2011–	Kenneth L. Childs

79TH ANNUAL MEETING
**WE ARE A NATION:
THE CONFEDERATE QUEST FOR INTERNATIONAL
RECOGNITION**

ADDRESS BY DR. DON H. DOYLE (25 APRIL 2015)

Most of us view the Civil War as a contest of arms fought by American soldiers, on American soil, over issues that were peculiarly American in origin and consequence. Beyond the battlefields, however, another war was being waged in the marble courts and public squares of the Great Powers of Europe. It was a diplomatic duel that featured Southern envoys who asserted secession as an accomplished fact, “we are a nation,” and we deserve recognition and acceptance among the family of nations. Opposing them were U.S. diplomats who answered that the “so-called Confederacy” was nothing more than a treasonous domestic insurrection, and any foreign power that dares to recognize or lend aid to the rebellion would meet the United States in war.

International recognition meant more than mere diplomatic courtesy; it meant that the Confederate States of America would win all the rights of sovereign nations under international law. It also meant that the Confederate States of America would be able to make commercial and military treaties. Recognition of the South probably would have meant a world war. Secretary of State

William Seward would strike a match, slowly light his ever-present cigar, expel a huge cloud of smoke, then warn that if any foreign power dared aid this rebellion we will “wrap the world in flames.” “This civil war will become a war of continents, a war of the world.”¹ Some thought he was crazy, but for that reason, they worried that he meant it.

Most of the action in my book, *The Cause of All Nations*, takes place overseas, but today I want to tell some South Carolina tales. One involves a British journalist visiting South Carolina; the others are about Confederate agents from South Carolina, who went abroad to tell the world just what the South was fighting for.

WILLIAM HOWARD RUSSELL

William Howard Russell arrived from London in March 1861 as a special correspondent for the London *Times*. He was already famous for his riveting reports from the British front in the Crimean War and the Sepoy Mutiny in India. He was a new kind of journalist. He embedded with the troops and he told the story without any patriotic gloss or deference to the military high command. His unforgettable account of the charge of the Light Brigade at the Battle of Balaclava during the Crimean War inspired the famous poem by Alfred, Lord Tennyson.

*Theirs not to reason why,
Theirs but to do and die:
Into the valley of Death
Rode the six hundred.*

Russell was familiar with the new kind of warfare emerging between the Napoleonic wars and World War I. It involved massive conscripted citizen armies and deadly new weaponry. It also involved the watchful eye of an uncensored press whose coverage of battles, politicians, generals, and soldiers went out to the nations of the world with unprecedented speed across a vast and growing network of telegraph wires, railroads, and steamship lines.²

“The London Times is one of the greatest powers in the world,” Abraham Lincoln said upon being introduced to Russell; “in fact, I don’t know anything which has much more power,—except perhaps the Mississippi. I am glad to know you as its minister.”³ Seward took him around to meet all the leading Union generals and politicians. Mary Lincoln sent Russell a large bouquet of flowers soon after he arrived in Washington.⁴

When news of Fort Sumter arrived, he made his way to Charleston arriving on April 16 with the Confederate flag flying above the fort. He stayed at the Mills House and, over sumptuous dinners and Madeira wine he met all the leading figures of the Carolina elite.

Mary Boykin Chesnut confided to her diary: “Good stories there may be and to spare for Russell, the man of the London Times, who has come over here to find out our weakness and our strength and to tell all the rest of the world about us.”⁵

What Russell revealed in his South Carolina letters to the Times was a fierce determination to separate at any cost, and a deep hostility toward the North, not over tariffs or even slavery so much

as basic political ideology. “The state of South Carolina was founded by gentlemen” not “witch-burning Puritans” and “cruel persecuting fanatics” of the North. “If that confounded ship had sunk with those Pilgrim Fathers on board,” one of them told Russell, “we never should have been driven to these extremities!” “Believe a Southern man as he believes himself,” Russell mused, “and you must regard New England and the kindred states as the birthplace of impurity of mind among men and of unchastity in women—the home of Free Love, of Fourierism, of Infidelity, of Abolitionism...a land saturated with the drippings of rotten philosophy.”⁶

South Carolina’s planter elite seemed eager to explain that their slaves were loyal and content. “No planter hereabouts has any dread of his slaves,” Russell kept hearing from the slaveholders. “There is something suspicious in the constant never-ending statement that ‘we are not afraid of our slaves,’” he told London readers. “The curfew and the night patrol in the streets, the prisons and watch-houses, and the police regulations, prove that strict supervision, at all events, is needed and necessary.”⁷

Russell’s South Carolina witnesses were equally eager to tell him about their antipathy toward the “extreme democracy” of the North, upon whose immigrant scum and unqualified voters Lincoln and the Republican Party rode to power. What surprised him more was their gushing adulation of the English aristocracy and their expressions “of regret for the rebellion of 1776 and the desire that if it came to the worst England would receive back her erring children or give them a prince under whom they could secure a

monarchical form of government.” “If we could only get one of the royal race of England to rule over us, we should be content,” they told him repeatedly.

When Russell’s letters to the *Times* came back across the Atlantic at least a month later, South Carolina’s leaders were furious and worried about their effect on more democratic elements in the South who wanted no part of a war to defend aristocratic rule much less the imposition of European imperial power over them. Russell’s South Carolina informants protested that he had misquoted them, and then conceded these were the views of only an extreme fringe. Some of them implored Robert Bunch, the British consul in Charleston, to apply pressure on the *Times* not to publish proof of these reports. Russell stood his ground, telling his publisher John Delaney that he had not included “half of what I had reason to state in reference to the pro-monarchy sentiments.”⁸

“Russell’s letters are filled with rubbish about our wanting an English prince to reign over us,” thought Mary Boykin Chesnut. “Not we, indeed!” In the South “Every man wants to be at the head of affairs himself. If he can not be king himself, then a republic, of course.”⁹

A Confederate agent in London predicted Russell would “affect public opinion most unfavorably toward us.” He huffed that “One might hope that the narrow minded prejudice, the betrayal of private hospitality and confidence, the flippancy, arrogance, and conceit of the man would disgust every reader whose good opinion was worth having.” Such were the hard-earned lessons of

talking to the press.

Russell's early reports from America left a deep impression on the European public mind. Through his eyes the war became a contest between deeply antagonistic peoples whose temperament and political preferences reflected fundamental conflicts between democratic and aristocratic societies. Russell may have been reading European political ideas into the American conflict, but it stuck.

EDWIN DE LEON

This early experience with William Howard Russell may help explain one of the distinctive features of Confederate diplomacy. Instead of trusting foreign observers to interpret their cause, the South sought to control the message—and the messenger. Here we turn to the second of my South Carolina tales, this one involving Edwin De Leon, a native son of South Carolina. The De Leon family had descended from Sephardic Jewish immigrants who rose to wealth and prominence in Columbia. Mordecai, the father, was a successful physician who served as mayor of Columbia during the 1830s. Edwin graduated from South Carolina College, read law, then turned to journalism as an ardent champion of Young America, a literary and political movement modeled after Giuseppe Mazzini's Young Italy. By the 1850s, De Leon's nationalism was diverted into Southern rights. He moved to Washington as editor of the *Southern Press*, an ardent secessionist journal. Either to reward him, or possibly to get him and his disquieting editorial pen out of the country, President Pierce appointed him consul general to Alexandria, Egypt. There,

amid the ruins of the world's oldest civilization, he learned in early 1861 of the "death knell of the youngest of living nations."

De Leon resigned his post in Egypt and hastened to Paris where he served as an unaccredited agent of the new-born southern nation. Paris and London were teeming with "self appointed foreign agents, whose commissions were their own autographs" along with a "swarm of pecuniary patriots who only ventured into the Confederacy to bring fat contracts" from Europe.¹⁰

When the Trent crisis failed to turn in the South's favor in December 1861, Confederate agents blamed the Union's adroit manipulation of foreign public opinion. William Seward had sent over Catholic Archbishop John Hughes of New York and Episcopalian Bishop Charles McIlvaine to conduct a public speaking tour. Accompanying them was Seward's political mentor Thurlow Weed, a seasoned New York newspaper publisher and political operator who skillfully worked the press and managed to defuse the threat of war between Britain and the United States.

De Leon could see that the South was being out-funded and out-smarted by the likes of Weed and other Union "secret service" agents abroad. He headed for Richmond and after weeks of arduous travel met with his old friend Jefferson Davis in late February 1862.

There was growing impatience with diplomacy among the Confederate leadership, most of whom expected Europe to bow before King Cotton and welcome a low-tariff South as their trading partner. William Yancey, head of the first Confederate European

commission, came back from London calling for the complete withdrawal of all diplomatic missions from Europe. "We have no friends in Europe," he told the South; we must win independence on the battlefield.

Edwin De Leon felt that, far from being exhausted, Confederate diplomacy was "scarcely yet initiated." The South could not afford to wait on Europe to come to the South begging for cotton. The South must reach out to Europe, with lucrative material inducements but also with a well-funded, centralized program aimed at "enlightening public opinion" abroad. De Leon proposed to "infiltrate the European press with our ideas and our version of the struggle," to aggressively "strike at the people" by sending "ambassadors to public opinion in Europe."¹¹

He came away from his meeting with Jefferson Davis with a purse of \$25,000 to spend as he saw fit. Much of it would be spent as "inducements" to editors and journalists to buy "golden opinions." In his instructions to Slidell and Mason, Secretary of State Judah P. Benjamin explained the new program: "It is not wise to neglect public opinion, nor prudent to leave to the voluntary interposition of friends often indiscreet, the duty of vindicating our country and the cause before the tribunal of civilized man."¹²

In Europe De Leon concentrated his efforts on France. Drawing on his ample funds, he enlisted dozens of French editors and journalists, most of them among the provincial press rather than Paris. In August 1862, he also published a pamphlet entitled *La vérité sur les États Confédérés d'Amérique* (*The Truth about the*

Confederate States of America). The pamphlet adopted the knowing voice of a native Southerner, and recent eyewitness to the war, bringing the French public the real facts of the matter behind the smoke screen of “manufactured” Union propaganda. Some of it was familiar Southern boilerplate: Contrary to “Madame Stowe’s” frightful image of murderous slaves, Southern slavery was a benign domestic institution with happy slaves whose only fear was being abducted by hateful, racist Yankee soldiers. He also made the familiar argument that the North was fighting its war with foreign mercenaries made up of “the famished revolutionaries and malcontents of Germany, all the Red republicans, and almost all the Irish emigrants.”

A master of spin, De Leon all but welcomed recent Confederate military defeats in the West, including the fall of New Orleans, because these would reinvigorate the South, “which battles for its homes and lands, for its liberty and the honor of its women.”

One of the more novel aspects of De Leon’s treatise informed French readers that *the South was Latin*. Putting aside earlier claims to kinship with the Anglo-Saxon gentry, De Leon stressed deeply rooted affinities between the French and the South Carolina Huguenots, Louisiana’s Creoles, and all of the South’s “Anglo-Norman” population. Most important was the common enmity toward the detestable Anglo-Saxon Puritan zealots to the North.¹³

De Leon was enormously pleased with his pamphlet. “You will observe,” he wrote to Benjamin, “that the ground is boldly taken in that publication that the South is able to vindicate her own

independence without foreign assistance, and is rapidly doing so; that her resources are ample for her needs; that she has nothing to apologize for in her 'peculiar institution,' but has ever been the best friend of the black race."¹⁴

De Leon's effort to enlighten the French public met with painful silence in the press and outright ridicule in some circles. Paul Pecquet du Bellet, an expatriate Louisiana Creole living in Paris, thought De Leon was not quite "au fait" with French thinking on slavery. Indeed, most French editors "trembled at the mere idea of defending those 'Southern Cannibals' who breakfasted every morning upon a new born infant negro." Then there was the matter of De Leon's French, which some editors found a bit "too Americanized" and others described as "broken" and "indecipherable."¹⁵

De Leon went from supreme confidence to petulant frustration within the first year. By August 1863, he was calling for the withdrawal of all Confederate diplomatic missions and putting all resources toward victory on the battlefield. That autumn, in candid letters to Jefferson Davis, he complained that the French "are a far more mercenary race than the English, and we must *buy* golden opinions from them if at all." Unfortunately, these and several other scurrilous comments about Slidell and the whole Confederate leadership were intercepted by the Union navy and were published in Northern newspapers in November 1863. De Leon was unfazed by this embarrassing exposé. But in Richmond, his superior, Judah P. Benjamin, who had always resented De Leon's presumption, gleefully took the opportunity to dismiss

summarily this arrogant rival for the president's attention.¹⁶

It was not until early February 1864 that De Leon received Benjamin's cold letter of dismissal, and in reply he unleashed a vituperative series of insults toward Benjamin, Slidell, and the entire Confederate high command, save Davis, to whom he threatened to appeal his case.¹⁷ De Leon stayed on in Europe acting as unaccredited agent for the South and no doubt devoting some time to his own account of events, which he later serialized as *The Secret History of Confederate Diplomacy Abroad*. The scrapbook of this incomplete history lies in the rich archives of the South Caroliniana Library, with penciled notes by De Leon. It is his self-righteous account of his thankless struggle against the "old men of the old regime" to serve the Southern cause in Europe.

PATRICK LYNCH

The third in our South Carolina trilogy is Patrick Neison Lynch, the Irish-born Catholic Bishop of Charleston, whom Davis appointed special agent to the Vatican in early 1864. The Vatican mission was part of the Confederacy's "Latin strategy" aimed at aligning the South with France and Catholic Europe more generally. Bishop Lynch had entered the fray in 1862 by publicly denouncing John Hughes, the Archbishop of New York, for lending his voice to the Union cause during his speaking tour in Europe. Lynch issued a lengthy report to Pope Pius IX on how his Charleston flock was suffering due to the war. The pope followed with public letters to several American bishops calling for peace and denouncing the "unholy war" waged by the Union against Catholics in particular. The Vatican initiative coincided, not by

accident, with plans by Britain and France to offer peace mediation in 1862.¹⁸

During the 1860s, the pope's temporal kingdom was besieged by enemies. Only Napoleon III's French garrison stood between the pope and the Italian Risorgimento whose leader, Giuseppe Garibaldi, vowed to make Rome capital of a united Italian nation. Early in the war, the Union sought to enlist Garibaldi in their cause and in 1862 he issued a full-throated endorsement of America's war for Union and Liberty.

Garibaldi's nemesis, Pope Pius IX, remained officially neutral on the American question, but it was clear his sympathies were with the South as a conservative bulwark against liberalism. Pio Nono, as he was known, had become the personification of European reaction. It was his edict that declared the pope infallible. His *Syllabus of Errors* held that no Catholic could believe in freedom of speech, press, and religion, nor in rational thought as a source of truth. Separation of church and state was blasphemous, as was the very idea that the pope "should reconcile himself to progress, liberalism, and modern civilization."¹⁹

Joseph Stalin once asked mischievously: How many battalions does the pope have? Not many, it is fair to say, but the ideological value of the pope to the Confederate cause in Europe was undeniable. Earlier, the Confederacy sent envoy Ambrose Dudley Mann to the Vatican and came away with a letter addressed in Latin to the "Illustrious and Honorable, Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America." Mann proclaimed that this letter constituted the first formal recognition of the Confederacy by

any European monarch. Whatever the pope intended, his letter became a valuable propaganda tool, especially in Ireland where northern agents were surreptitiously recruiting soldiers to fight for the Union. Father John Bannon, an eloquent chaplain in the Confederate army, was sent over in 1863 to stem the tide. He had tens of thousands of copies of the pope's letter printed as a handbill, and he posted them in churches, taverns, and near the docks across Ireland as though this constituted a papal ban on Catholics going to America to fight for the Union.

The success of the pope's letter led to Bishop Lynch's mission to the Vatican.²⁰ He arrived in Rome in late June 1864 and quickly arranged an audience with the pope. The meeting was cordial, but the pope made it clear right away that he "could not say any thing directed to confirm and strengthen slavery." While he agreed sudden emancipation was "absurd," "still something might be done looking to an improvement in their position or state, and to a gradual preparation for their freedom at a future opportune time."²¹

Lynch chose not to reply. Instead, he went back to his apartment on Via Condotti and began work on an elaborate essay aimed at educating the pope and all of Catholic Europe "on the actual condition and treatment of the slaves at the South." He published it anonymously in Italian, German, and French.

Few were better qualified than Bishop Lynch to extoll the Christian benevolence of slavery. He grew up in a slaveholding family in South Carolina and as a priest, he came into ownership of some ninety-five slaves, many of whom were bequeathed by

deceased parishioners.²² Slavery, he argued in his pamphlet, was fully in keeping with the Christian mission of the church. The enemies of slavery in America, he told Europe's Catholics, were the demonic Know Nothings of the North, enemies of blacks and Catholics alike. Northern abolitionists cared nothing for the welfare of the Negro, he argued; they were only trying to ignite a Haitian-style revolution against their masters.²³

From the sunny images of contented slaves, the sinister portrayals of hypocritical abolitionists, right down to the nightmare of Haiti, Bishop Lynch was rehearsing the familiar catechism of proslavery arguments echoing through the South for the last four decades.

Meanwhile, back in Richmond, Judah P. Benjamin and Jefferson Davis realized the South was running out of men, out of territory, and possibly out of time. Their only hope lay in foreign intervention, and their only hope for that was to introduce some game-changing new policy. The idea of arming slaves and freeing those who fought for the Confederacy had set off a stormy debate in Richmond. In a highly secret plan, Benjamin persuaded Davis to send Duncan Kenner to Europe to make some promise of gradual emancipation in exchange for intervention.

When Jefferson Davis and his cabinet fled Richmond on April 2 they had still heard nothing from Kenner. Davis and the government in exile made their way southward, holding out in the hope that Europe would rescue them and rejecting all pleas from cabinet members and military leaders to surrender. On April 19 General Wade Hampton pleaded with Davis to carry on the fight: “We are not conquered If Texas will hold out, or will seek the protectorate of Maximilian, we can still make head against the enemy.” Davis wrote to his wife four days later saying he was heading for Mexico where they might “have the world from which to choose.”²⁴

During the previous four years, the Union had successfully aligned its cause with liberal foreign public opinion by embracing emancipation and making the war a trial for government by the people, it became the cause of all nations for many foreigners yearning for reform. The Confederacy gravitated in the opposite direction, aligning with monarchy, empire, and with social ideals based on inherited status, aristocratic privilege above and racial

slavery below.

What Alexander Stephens once proclaimed as the cornerstone of the Confederate nation had become its millstone. Bishop Lynch, Edwin De Leon, and most of the Confederate leadership had placed emancipation foremost on their own syllabus of errors. Even Kenner's eleventh-hour desperate mission was shrouded in secrecy, delayed for weeks, and finally subverted by Confederate envoys John Slidell and James Mason in Europe.

Four years earlier the South had claimed its place among the nations of the world with the simple declaration that "we are a nation" possessing a government of our own. Slavery had never disqualified other nations from recognition. Brazil, Spain, and the United States, not to mention Britain and France had all sanctioned slavery without banishment from the family of nations. All that had changed. Now the South found itself alone in the world. No nation dared bring itself to rescue slavery from what had become Liberty's war.

NOTES

Seward to Adams, Washington, July 28, 1862, FRUS, 1862, 154–158.

²William Howard Russell, *The British Expedition to the Crimea*, 1858; Sir William Howard Russell, *The Indian Mutiny: A Diary of the Sepoy Rebellion* (Routledge, 1860); Alan Hankinson, *Man of Wars: William Howard Russell of the Times* (London: Heinemann, 1982); Rupert Furneaux, *The First War Correspondent: William Howard Russell of the Times...* (Cassell, 1944); Martin Crawford,

ed., *William Howard Russell's Civil War: Private Diary and Letters, 1861–1862* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2008).

³Sir William Howard Russell, *My Diary North and South*, vol. 1 (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1863), 39.

⁴Crawford, *Russell's Civil War*, 27.

⁵Mary Boykin Chesnut, *A Diary from Dixie*, ed. Isabella D. Martin and Myrta Lockett Avary (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1905), 41,
<http://docsouth.unc.edu/southlit/chesnut/maryches.html>.

⁶William Howard Russell, *Pictures of Southern Life, Social, Political, and Military* (New York: James G. Gregory, 1861), 5.

⁷*Ibid.*, 23–24.

⁸Russell, *My Diary North and South*, 1:263–264; Crawford, *Russell's Civil War*, 89–90.

⁹Chesnut, *A Diary from Dixie*, 64, 66.

¹⁰Edwin De Leon, *Secret History of Confederate Diplomacy Abroad*, ed. William C. Davis (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005), 17–21; De Leon's memoirs were first published serially in the *New York Citizen*, December 7, 1867, to April 4, 1868, *Ibid.*, xxvii–xxx.

¹¹De Leon, *Secret History*, 102–104.

¹²Benjamin to Mason, Richmond, April 12, 1862, ORN, ser. 2, 3: 384–385.

¹³Edwin De Leon, *La vérité sur Les États Confédérés d'amérique* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1862), 29–31; De Leon, *Secret History*, 218–219; Robert E. Bonner, "Roundheaded Cavaliers? The Context and Limits of a Confederate Racial Project," *Civil War*

History 48, no. 1 (2002): 34–59.

¹⁴De Leon to Judah P. Benjamin, Paris, September 30, 1862, OR, ser. 4, 2: 99–105.

¹⁵Paul Pequet du Bellet, *The Diplomacy of the Confederate Cabinet of Richmond and Its Agents Abroad*, ed. William Stanley Hoole (Tuscaloosa, Ala.: Confederate Publishing, 1963), 65–74.

¹⁶"Intercepted Rebel Correspondence," *NYT*, November 16, 1863; "Intercepted Rebel Correspondence," *NYT*, November 16, 1863; "Rebel Operations in Europe, the Intercepted Correspondence," *NYT*, November 16, 1863; Charles P. Cullop, "Edwin De Leon, Jefferson Davis' Propagandist," *Civil War History* 8, no. 4 (December 1962): 398–399; Benjamin to Slidell, Richmond, December 9, 1863, ORN, ser. 2, 3: 973.

¹⁷De Leon to Benjamin, Paris, February 3, 1864, De Leon Papers, South Caroliniana Library.

¹⁸"Archbishop Hughes on the War," *NYT*, September 4, 1861; Leo Francis Stock, "Catholic Participation in the Diplomacy of the Southern Confederacy," *The Catholic Historical Review* 16 (April 1930): 1–18; David J. Alvarez, "The Papacy in the Diplomacy of the American Civil War," *The Catholic Historical Review* 69, no. 2 (April 1, 1983): 227–248; David C.R. Heisser and Stephen J. White, *Patrick Neison Lynch: Third Catholic Bishop of Charleston* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2015), 80–83.

¹⁹David I. Kertzer, *Prisoner of the Vatican: The Pope's Secret Plot to Capture Rome from the New Italian State* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 2004), 23.

²⁰Don H. Doyle, *The Cause of All Nations: An International History of the American Civil War* (New York: Basic Books, 2015), 261; David C.R. Heisser, "Bishop Lynch's Civil War Pamphlet on Slavery," *The Catholic Historical Review* 84, no. 4 (October 1, 1998): 681–696.

²¹Heisser and White, *Patrick Neison Lynch*, 111.

²²*Ibid.*, 57–72.

²³[Patrick Lynch], *Lettera di un missionario sulla schiavitù domestica degli stati confederati di america* (Rome: G. Cessaretti, 1864); [Bishop Patrick N. Lynch], *Die sclaverei in den südstaaten Nord-Amerika's: Dargestellt von einem katholischen missionär* (Frankfurt: Verlag für Kunst und Wissenschaft, 1865); [Bishop Patrick N. Lynch], *L'esclavage dans les États Confédérés* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1865); Bishop Patrick N. Lynch, "A Few Words on the Domestic Slavery in the Confederate States of America, Part One," ed. David C.R. Heisser, *Avery Review* 2, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 64–103; Bishop Patrick N. Lynch, "A Few Words on Domestic Slavery in the Confederate States of America, Part Two," ed. David C.R. Heisser, *Avery Review* 3, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 93–123.

²⁴Hampton to Davis, Hillsborough, N.C., April 19, 1865; Hampton to Davis, Greensboro, N.C., April 22, 1865, OR, ser. 1, 47; 813–814, 829–830.

**2016 REPORT OF GIFTS TO THE LIBRARY BY MEMBERS OF
THE SOCIETY DURING THE PAST YEAR**

**PAPERS OF THE BEST AND HEXT FAMILIES,
1782–1944**

This collection of approximately 1,250 items, including letters, receipts, and land and legal papers, documents the lives of the extended Best and Hext families from the South Carolina Counties of Barnwell and Allendale from the late eighteenth through mid-twentieth centuries.

The bulk of the collection is letters addressed to Selena Caroline Hext (1830–1915), who married John Austin Best (1818–1878) in 1857. Selena was the eleventh, and youngest, child of Laurence Hext (1778–1843) and Sarah Caroline Porcher Hext (1780–1833). Because her mother passed away when she was still a young child, Selena was reared in the household of her oldest brother, Laurence Porcher Hext (1808–1866). Laurence was also the father of six children who survived to adulthood. Her many siblings and nieces and nephews constitute nearly all of the correspondents represented in this collection, and the letters offer an extraordinary look into the lives of Southern women in the lead up to and aftermath of the Civil War.

The first significant series of letters in the collection was written to Selena at her brother's home in Barnwell County (S.C.) by her oldest sister, Julia Hext (b. 1816), while the latter traveled throughout the southeast in the late 1840s and early 1850s. Because their mother died when Selena was two years old, Julia,

nearly fifteen years older, assumed a parental role, and her concern for her youngest sister's future is apparent in her earliest missives.

Writing from Burke County (Georgia), on 18 May 1845, Julia implored her to "apply yourself very closely to Arithmetic, Grammar, and spelling," and nearly a year later on 16 March 1846, while in Jefferson County (Georgia), she again reminded her of "what an advantage an education would be." She continued by reminding Selena that if she were only "prepared to take charge of a school," she "might soon be in a situation to support" herself, for "you are poor, and should strive to gain what may most benefit you in procuring a living." Julia made clear that her ongoing concern about her sister's financial well-being was only due to "how much I love you, and how anxious I am to see you do well."

Julia Hext was well placed to speak to the necessity of securing an education in establishing some degree of financial independence. Throughout the 1840s and again in the mid-1850s, she served in a number of locations in South Carolina as a teacher and as a governess. In all of her travels, Julia seemed most pleased with her position at Graniteville [Aiken County, S.C.], the textile mill village built by William Gregg in 1845. Julia described the town in a letter of 8 November 1847 as one of "prettyest places I ever saw." She continued by speculating that once the cotton textile "factory was complete... it will no doubt be a flourishing place." Despite this brief year of satisfaction, Julia seemed to generally find teaching unpleasant both because of the

small compensation, and, according to a letter of 16 March 1846, of the “necessity it brings one to, for being obliged to live among strangers, for few are so fortunate as to be able to procure a school near home.”

Despite her own dissatisfaction with teaching she continued to urge Selena to consider taking up her own school, and when her younger sister did in 1855, Julia wrote to her on 3 May 1855 and advised on general rules for the classroom: “As you enter make all of the children rise to receive you. Allow no loud, or whispered studying, do not let them talk in school.... Make them learn to add, without counting fingers. Allow as little walking about as possible. Make your pupils treat you with respect, allow no intimacy.”

It may have been her desire to be closer to family that induced Julia to try her hand at operating a boarding house in Midway with her sister Margaret (b. 1827) beginning in 1849. By 23 August 1849 she and “Mag” were considering getting “Mr. Hard’s house in Midway,” a large house, “nicely improved, with a fine yard... a very pretty place.” Other advantages included it being located within two miles of a cousin’s plantation where “her negroes will let us have poultry cheap,” and in proximity to the railroad, as “a house is also much wanted at that place to accommodate those who come to take the cars.” Julia, Margaret, and an enslaved woman named Louisa moved into the house in late October and commenced operation. In a letter dated 28 October 1849, Julia informed Selena that on the way from Barnwell (S.C.) she had “stopt in Blackville & got a great many things,” including “pots, ovens, kettles, waffle irons &c with plates, knives, & forks, dishes,

[and a] coffeepot.” They were anticipating the arrival of four boarders and until then, even though “there is no one in the yard but us three, not even a dog,” they “felt the least fear since we have been here.” The three women would continue to operate the house until at least October 1850, but by January 1851 Julia had taken another position as a governess in Warsaw (Georgia).

After nearly two years as a governess in both Georgia and Edgefield District (S.C.), Julia embarked on the next phase of her life. In 1853 a volume of her poetry, entitled *Smiles and Tears: Fugitive Pieces*, was published by Walker & James in Charleston and Julia set out on a tour of the southeast to personally sell copies. She had begun to prepare for her trip by 26 December 1852 when she wrote to Selena from Aiken (S.C.) and informed her that the “Poems will be ready for sale early in the spring,” and that she would only be charged “what it will cost them for the paper &c.”

The following year she was in Columbia and wrote on 18 December 1853 that she “had disposed of a great many of my Books.” According to a receipt sent along with payment on 10 April 1854, twelve of these volumes were sold to Mary C. Townsend of Edisto Island for a total of ten dollars. From Columbia (S.C.), Julia went to Greenwood and Blackville, and by 31 March 1854 she was in Augusta (Georgia), where she had made a “very pleasant acquaintance in a young lady from Marietta, [Georgia] who told me to let her know when I got there and she would call on me.” Further, she explained to Selena, her new acquaintance’s “Father is Editor of a paper there and she

offered to get him to notice the book.”

After passing through Marietta in mid-May, Julia moved on to Wetumpka (Alabama), the following month. She would remain in Wetumpka until late September 1854, though she complained in a letter dated 27 August 1854 that she had “met with no success here,” since she had not “felt well enough to call on the ladies and have no one here as I have in Ga. to take an interest in selling my books for me.” From Wetumpka, Julia went to Tuskegee (Alabama), and wrote from that place on 28 September 1854 regarding a plan to “go to a camp meeting tomorrow,” as “several persons... have told me they will do all they can to dispose of my books for me.” She had evidently met with some success with her sales over the preceding month since at that time she had “not many over a Hundred on hand,” and hoped “to dispose of those at the meeting.” Julia’s final stop on her book tour would be Auburn (Alabama), and in a letter from there dated 16 October 1854 lamented her inability to secure another supply of books from her binder in Charleston. A combination of this inconvenience, her continued ill health, and making the acquaintance of George Riley Talley (1818–1873) led her to decide that she would “give up” on the book.

Talley, Julia informed Selena in the 16 October 1854 letter, was a Methodist minister, a “widower with one sweet girl,” and “perfectly devoted” to her as “out of the ten days which I have been in the town he has spent every day with me, but *two*.” The feeling of devotion was evidently mutual, for less than a week later on 21 October 1854, Julia wrote to her older brother Laurence

Porcher Hext (1808–1866) to ask for his consent to marry Talley. She knew that this “certain piece of intelligence” would “no doubt create some astonishment in the family,” but assured him of Talley’s standing in the community and his love for her despite “the state of my health, as well... my pecuniary circumstances.”

They were married on 26 October 1854 and continued to board in Auburn while Talley served out the remainder of his appointment and waited to hear of his next posting. Julia’s next letters from Auburn are filled with expressions of happiness about her new husband and stepdaughter, but her tone began to change once Talley was assigned to his new position in Clayton (Alabama), by the Methodist Conference. On 3 April 1855, she wrote to Selena regarding rumors that had reached her about her younger sister considering marriage to a widower. After assuring Selena of her love for both Talley and his daughter, Lou, Julia entreated her to “never to marry a man who has even *one child*,” as “it is hard to fill a Step mother’s place.”

Talley’s preaching on the circuit was also a cause of hardship for Julia. On 22 April 1855 after learning that her husband would be forced to stay overnight in Louisville (Georgia), to preach, she admitted to Selena that she “used to think that a Methodist Minister ought to devote the whole of his time to the work of Preaching & visiting his members. But I now feel very different on the subject, since I have one for my Husband.” She went on to “wish a thousand bad wishes on those Louisvillians,” for those “women are all at home, and have their husbands with them, and the men the same, so they care nothing for my feelings.” Despite

her own frustrations and troubles, Julia could not help but think of Selena's well-being in her letter of 22 April and concluded by urging her to "send to town and get Grenshaw's Ladies Lexicon," as "it will benefit you in spelling more than you have an idea." As it would turn out this bit of parental advice, coming nearly ten years after her first recommendations, would be Julia's last. By this time Selena had taken a governess position and taken charge of her own school in the Smyrna community in present-day Allendale County (S.C.), and it fell to her niece, Cally, to pass along the sad intelligence of Julia's death in a letter dated 5 June 1855. Cally lamented the death of three family members in the past year, but knew that Julia's death would affect Selena in particular as "she was really a mother to you all, and especially to you."

Selena's circle of correspondents began to grow when her sister Adeline (1818–1870) left Barnwell (S.C.) to teach in 1851, and it expanded even further when Selena herself relocated to the Smyrna community in present-day Allendale County (S.C.) to take a position as a governess and teacher in early 1855.

Unlike some of her sisters and nieces, Selena would never return permanently to her brother's house in Barnwell (S.C.). While in Smyrna (S.C.) she met John Austin Best (1818–1870), and the two were wed in December 1857. They would spend the rest of their lives in present-day Allendale County. Following her departure, Selena received regular letters from her older sisters Adeline "Addy" Hext (who split her time after 1853 between Barnwell and Georgetown County, S.C.) and Elizabeth Hext (1824–1909); nieces Mary Hext (1834–1900), Sarah Caroline

“Cally” Hext (b. 1837), and Ada Hext (b. 1841); and nephews Byron Hext (1838–1896), Robert Osborne “Ossy” Hext (1845–1914), and Benjamin Webster “Benny” Hext (1850– 1896). These constant and often amusing letters convey news — both mundane and extraordinary — and neighborhood gossip but also personal sentiments of hope and at times despair.

Selena was clearly interested in the well-being of her family, and her sisters and nieces often wrote her about their prospects for employment. Elizabeth, seemingly the only member of the family that did not leave the Barnwell homestead at some time, earned a living by taking in sewing. On 28 August 1855, she noted that “Mrs Hay brought me 10 shimmes to... be ticked and frilled, fore of them are linen the others are cotton,” a project that she declared would keep her “quite busy for a long time.” Her work dwindled the following year, and when Elizabeth wrote on 4 May 1856 she lamented that she had “no worke for any one, but the family and you know I don’t get pade for that.” Consequently she had made “but one dollar this yeare,” and was “all most bare footed and have not a cent to get a pare of shoes.”

In a letter of 18 May 1859 she hinted at one reason why seamstress work was so hard to find when she complained that there were “so many Sowing [sewing] Machines in the villag that there is no chance for me to get any work.” Adeline, like Julia, Selena, and Mary, taught around South Carolina and Georgia, with varying degrees of success. After moving back to her brother’s house on 27 April 1856, she informed Selena that, despite there being “schollars enough for me to get a large school”

in the area, she could not undertake to start one as there was no way to “get paid” and “that is all that would induce me to teach.”

By 1858 Addy was living with Mary and her husband John Thomas McConnell (1836–1880) in Georgetown County (S.C.), and on 16 February 1858 of that year she provided more positive news about her teaching when she wrote to Selena. Though her school had only six students, she was satisfied that each paid twenty dollars for the ten month term. Unusually, one of the scholars was a “*man grown*,” and though she sometimes felt “*right shamed*,” she could not help but “laugh so bad... when he comes to read.” She explained that her amusement came from the fact that when she was “sitting in a chare... his elbows come to about the top of my head.” Letters to Selena from Barnwell (S.C.) also routinely commented on the prospects of her brother’s cotton crop and Byron’s lack of success in securing a mercantile position. Byron would eventually return to his father’s plantation and work as overseer.

Along with family affairs, news and gossip about families from the “Village” (Barnwell, S.C.) and surrounding countryside was a major theme in letters to Selena. Several murders were reported, including one that Elizabeth notified her younger sister about on 24 September 1855, that was committed by “poor William Peayton, last Saturday weake... [at] a [militia] muster down at Snake pond.” Elizabeth explained that “they all got to drinking and then to fiting and William killed a man but did not intend it.” Peayton cut the man “on the arm and he bleed to death,” and afterwards “left for parts unnone.”

A little over a year later on 17 March 1857, it was Adeline's turn to report that "John Lambert killed Old Thomas" after "the former stole a *candle* from the latter." After the altercation over the candle, Lambert "threw the Old Man out of the window and broke his neck." Court was already in session when Addy wrote, and she suspected that "they will try Lambert for his life." Ada Hext commented on an execution in a letter of 26 February 1859 during which two men were hanged. She claimed that "they both took poison but one of them threw it up and the other was so far gone that they had to hold him up to tie the rope around his neck." Both men "were dressed in their grave cloths and made to ride on their coffens to the gallows," but one "was just like dead" and had to be "laid... down on his coffen to carry him." This man "died without a struggle," but "the other choaked to death." At times, violence was averted, as Elizabeth noted in a letter of 18 May 1859. Although it was claimed that "John Brown call Circlin [Kirkland] a coward and then... challeng him," the two parties "made it up an come back without *extinguishing* each other."

Fire was also a topic of constant concern, whether on a plantation or in town. On 15 March 1855 Adeline wrote that "it looked as if the fire must have fell from heaven," and that even when the fire "came to a stream of water it would apparently fly over." Selena's husband, John Austin Best, wrote to her similarly on 12 January 1861, while she was visiting family in Barnwell (S.C.), and informed her that he would have to delay his own trip to Barnwell due to "a fire which is in Blanch Flowers, new ground." He had been "hard at work all day to keep it from burning us up"

and “thought at one time that our house was in considerable danger from the winds being so very high.” By the time of his writing the winds had calmed, but he asked her to excuse his short letter as he could not write much “from having been too badly smoked.”

Before her death, Selena’s sister Julia passed along news of an arsonist’s deliberate attempt to set fire to the Globe Hotel in Augusta (Georgia), in a letter of 31 March 1854. She had just taken a room, but felt unsafe after she learned that there had been “five attempts to set fire to the house in two days.” The previous day during breakfast “it was discovered that some one had put fire among the beds in the third story,” and two further attempts were made later during the day. In all “nine beds have been destroyed,” and the hotel decided to maintain “guards stationed in every part of the house day and night.”

In January 1857 a fire broke out in the village of Barnwell (S.C.) while Selena’s older brother, Laurence, was nearby. Adeline reported in a letter dated 20 January 1857 that “there is no knowing where it would have stoped if it had not have been for *brother.*” While everyone else “*stood to see it burn down,*” their brother “said to some negroes that were standing by that if they would save that house he would give them *five dollars.*” They eventually “succeeded and that stoped the fire,” but not before “Ray’s fine shop and his stable’s and Richardsons shope and another house” were destroyed. She concluded the account by noting that even though “all the Vilage were standing round...

when he payed the moneye *not one* stept forward and said I will relieve you of *one dollar*.”

Neighborhood gossip abounded in the correspondence. Rumors of weddings and courtships were contained in nearly every letter and scandals were described in detail (one of which even reported on bigamy and a forged divorce certificate). On 23 September 1856, Adeline told the story of “Binam” who had returned “two or three months ago.” The week before she wrote the letter “his other *wife* came after him” and he “left with her a few hours after she came.” He told the woman that he was apparently married to in Barnwell (S.C.) “that his *cousin* had come and he was going part of the way back with her,” and she “did not know the fatal truth until he had left.” Addy had heard that to justify their actions “that *woman* showed a writing of *devorsement (forged by him)* and her *surtificate* of Marriage with him.”

A year later on 9 November 1857, Adeline relayed the story of “poor Emma Brown,” who, while “staying at Edward Furse” was caught by Mrs. Furse in a room alone with Edward. Mrs. Furse “took a stick and beat her and run her off,” and now “she has gon to Charleston... *destitute and friendless*.”

Descriptions of interactions with enslaved persons in a variety of locations and situations also fill the pages of the antebellum correspondence. In one of her first letters, Julia provided a description of a marriage at the home of a “Mr. Rhodes” in Edgefield (S.C.), during which “one of his negro girls was married” with “as much fuss, and expense... as if they had been white.”

The bride wore a dress of “white Satin, with hose over it and a tinsel headdress, and white gloves.” The ceremony itself was attended by “about 200 negroes” and “performed by a black preacher, at the steps; while we stood in the piazza to witness it.”

Certain, enslaved individuals—women in particular—were mentioned by name on multiple occasions and remembered with fondness by members of the Hext family. Writing from Graniteville (S.C.) on 26 August 1848, Julia wished that she “was with you at dinner time, to get... a plate *full* of the elegant soup Rozetta makes,” for she had “never come across any in all of my travels like that she makes.” She expressed her amusement when people would “sit and sip, with so much seeming pleasure a plate of the miserable thing they dignify with the name of soup,” and could “only wish they could taste Rozetta’s.” After learning of Rozetta’s death, Julia wrote on 26 December 1852, and expressed her sorrow for the passing “of the good, the cheerful, the faithful Rozetta.” She knew that Selena’s family would miss her “for she was a friend to you all, and I know we all loved her more as a friend, than a servant.” She concluded her lament by asking to be remembered to Rozetta’s husband, Will, “a pattern of a husband,” and asked “which of the negroes has taken her baby?”

According to the slave schedules of the 1850 federal census, Laurence Porcher Hext owned thirty-seven slaves, and by 1860 this number had grown to forty-six. Despite the above examples, most discussions in the correspondence regarding enslaved persons happened in the context of the Hext family’s life on this plantation in Barnwell District (S.C.), and centered on complaints

regarding behavior, including running away or fear of violence (actual or perceived). Ada Hext wrote to Selena on 8 September 1855 of “Maria... giving Cally impudence... because Cally told her that she must go to Mrs Ashleys to wash her close.” Maria seemingly responded to this command by refusing to go “unles she [Cally] asked pa.”

Cally wrote Selena a long letter on 3 March 1857 in which she detailed several “impertinences” directed at her brother Byron including “Mary run from B[yrton] the other day and deared him to shoot her to his very face,” and others making “the most awful storys on Byron you ever heard.” The “storys,” she claimed, were an attempt to get “Pa to send B off,” but “they missed it for it had a very different affect.”

There are numerous descriptions of enslaved persons leaving the plantation voluntarily. At times they were forcibly captured and brought back, and on other occasions it appears that their return was completely voluntary. In the same letter quoted above, written by Cally on 3 March 1857, she mentioned that “Elvira ran away last week, and came home this morning.” This was after “she gave Byron some impertinence and he whiped her for it and she just walked off.”

Four months later on 14 July 1857, Ada reported that “the old wood nymph and her lonely daughter Laura has been captured at last and brought home.” They were “found in an old cave nine miles from here... harboured... by the very honis[t] Ned” who “had runaway too.” Cally wrote again on 1 July 1861, and informed that “Pas runaways have all come home” after being “in the woods all

summer.” The three mentioned by name were “Tena Ceaser and Isabela,” and Cally claimed that they had “killed several of his hogs while they were out.” She named “Ceaser... the greatest wretch I ever saw,” and declared “if I were Pa he should never have come on the place again.”

From the Hext family’s perspective, the most dramatic incident involving the enslaved persons on the plantation in Barnwell was an attack on Laurence Porcher Hext and his son Ossy that Cally described in a letter to Selena dated 14 April 1856. After two men, William and Henry, had been “run a way for five weeks,” they “laid wait for Pa with grate clubs and beat him” on the night the letter was written. She claimed that his “arm is nearly broken,” and Ossy was beaten “in the face” and had “a hole through and through his mouth.” Following the attack on the road the two enslaved men went “straite hear to the house and passed through the yard and beat the dogs.” Finishing the letter the following morning, Cally reported that “Pa has sent twenty miles... for a man and his dogs to catch them,” and that “there is two men heir now that has been hunting them.”

Two weeks later on 27 April 1856, Addy wrote and assured Selena that Laurence and Ossy were “boath quite well and have been since the day after the Occurrence.” Henry and William had apparently been found for “Brother has... sold them Pender has just been hear and brought him seventeen hundred dollars for the two, they are to be sent to *New Orleans*.” Cally surely had this incident in mind when she wrote the letter of 3 March 1857, describing the various “impertinences,” and expressed the opinion

that she would “not be at all suprised if the negroes rise some of these times.” She continued, that the previous Christmas at another plantation in the community, “the negroes... came in the house... to kill their master.” He was able to find out “in time and shot two negro men and the others took fright and ran off,” but “there were two or three hundred going to meet a few miles below Barnwell at the same time and for the same purpose.”

Selena settled in the Smyrna community [now in Allendale County (S.C.)] permanently following her marriage to John Austin Best. The 1860 federal census shows them living beside his mother, Elizabeth, and lists Best’s occupation as an overseer. Though Best owned no slaves himself, the 1860 slave schedules list his mother’s household as owning ten. J.A. Best presumably oversaw these individuals and apparently hired a workforce for his land. On the eve of secession, he was considering purchasing an enslaved woman, but wrote to Selena on 6 December 1860 that he declined because the purchase price was “\$1464 which was far above her value, if our political affairs were in the soundest possible condition.” Instead, he reported in a letter of 2 January 1861 that he had gone “to the hiring at Stono’s Store and hired the same negroes that I did last year.”

South Carolina’s secession from the United States and the subsequent outbreak of hostilities had other effects on the Best and Hext families as well. In addition to news and gossip, earlier letters often spoke of leisure activities such as picnics, fishing parties, and horseback riding, but by December 1860 they had taken on a more worried tone. John Austin Best tried to put

Selena's mind at ease in a letter of 18 December 1860, two days before secession, and urged her to "give yourself no uneasiness about war." He then assured her that "if we have a war (which I very much doubt) it will not amount to much." However, when he next wrote on 23 December, South Carolina had "resumed her sovereignty, or in other words has seceded." Selena's family seems to have embraced secession, and people in the Barnwell and Smyrna (S.C.) communities began preparing for war immediately. Best reported in a letter of 16 January 1861 that already at "Maner's summer house... the volunteer company are encamped, for the purpose of drilling," and Cally described a dinner given "for the Soldiers not long ago in Barnwell" in a letter written to Selena on 15 October 1861. The Hext family had contributed "butter and other things" for the dinner.

In addition to providing support for the war effort, the Hext family's two oldest sons, Byron and Ossy, served in the Confederate army. Byron was the first to join, and Cally wrote on 26 March 1862 that he was assigned to "Youngs company" which was stationed on Wadmalaw Island, near Charleston. At the time of her writing he had not yet left home because despite his joining a cavalry regiment "he has been trying to get a horse for some time but has not succeeded yet."

A week later, when she wrote to Selena again she reported that her father "has got Byron a horse," though "it has but one eye." Byron would eventually join the other members of the Third Regiment, South Carolina Cavalry, as did his younger brother Ossy. The latter was on James Island, near Charleston, on 9 May

1863, when he wrote to Adeline and described the recent “fight at fort Sumter.” He was not involved in the fighting but was close enough to “every now and then see a shell burst and hear the balls whistle.” He thought the “bursting balls whistling and the roar of the cannon” were “awfully splendid,” and “could not help jumping up and hollering every time that they would fire.” Both Hext brothers were eventually detached to Grahamville in present-day Jasper County (S.C.), where they would see little action other than a “Sham fight with the Cavalery,” described by Byron in a letter of 9 September 1863.

At over forty years old at the outbreak of the war, John Austin Best seems to have only served in a home guard unit. In a letter to his wife written on 17 December 1862, he noted that his patrol duties had increased and were to be “performed once a week until the 24 instant, and from then until the first day of January both day and night.”

Mary Hext McConnell’s husband, John Thomas’s, unit, the Tenth Regiment, South Carolina Infantry, was more heavily involved in fighting, particularly in the western theater of the war. Cally wrote to Selena on 24 April 1862, and informed that after service on the South Carolina coast he was scheduled for a thirty day furlough, “but when he got to Charleston he was ordered right off to Corinth Tennessee.” He had already “sent his cloths home expecting to follow in a few hours,” and in consequence “did not carry one thing but the cloths he had on.” Cally concluded by expressing her sympathy for her sister, Mary, and speculated that “all her patratism is gone now.”

John Thomas McConnell was able to return home early the following year, and Mary wrote to Selena on 6 February 1863 that he had “been appointed... to hunt up and carry back all defaulters from the 10th Regmt. in Williamsburgh, Charleston, and Geo[rgetown]... Dist[ri]ct[s]. and also Conscripts who are not in service.” She expected he would stay home for “five or six weeks.”

Adeline received two letters from Robert Nesmith, an acquaintance that she made while living with Mary, who served in the Fifteenth Regiment, South Carolina Infantry. This regiment was one of the most heavily engaged units from South Carolina during the war, and participated in the campaigns of the Army of Northern Virginia from Second Manassas through Gettysburg. It was then transferred to Tennessee in 1863 before returning to Virginia in 1864. In a letter written on 4 April 1864, Nesmith described these campaigns and the hardships he and his fellow soldiers endured. They had a particularly difficult time in Tennessee where, he “had to march Barefooted and eat what I never thought any mortal could eat.” This included “hard corn just like they were going to feed hogs.” To make the corn palatable they “would parch and put it into their haversacks for the next day.” He lamented that he was serving with as “wicked men...as I ever seen,” and longed for the day that “this cruel war would end.”

The following month, in a letter dated 3 May 1864 that was apparently in response to a letter sent to him by Adeline, Robert Nesmith recounted a trip home in September 1863 during which he “runaway.” He claimed that he did not “leave the Company but was left behind and was sent on under a Lieut.” He then “gave him

the dodge and went home,” but “was not hunt for simply because they could not get a holt on me.” John Austin Best received one letter, written from the trenches around Petersburg, Virginia, and dated 24 June 1864, from a neighborhood acquaintance named W.B. Flowers. He described this as the “hardest service they have ever done,” since men were forced to “lie, day and night” in the trenches behind a breastwork. No one could leave “in the day without the certainty of being shot, and at considerable risk at night,” as “firing is kept up by details, some eight or ten men at it all the time.”

Letters exchanged among Hext and Best family members at home during the war tend to focus on their concern for husbands, brothers, and nephews in service, but also express deep concerns about strangers in the neighborhood and the behavior of enslaved persons on the plantations. On 23 November 1861, Cally described a man that “came up to Mr Andersons gate with an old ragged coat on, and a bundle in his back, and pretended as if he was foolish” as a possible “Spy in this neighbourhood.” He left after Anderson refused to board him for the night, but she continued that she thought he “aught to have been put in Jail” along with “every man that cant give account of him Self.” Her concern stemmed from the fact that Port Royal had fallen to Federal forces earlier that month and she worried that “this man might have been a Yankee just from Beaufort.” The Federally occupied territory around Beaufort also became a destination and source of hope for enslaved persons in the area, and in the same letter Cally listed several persons in the neighborhood whose

enslaved workers were leaving their plantations. One man “in Williston has eight in the woods and Mr Anderson has one,” and one on Anderson’s plantation was rumored to have said “never mind the Yankees had come to set them all free.” The following month Cally relayed a report given to her by Mary of “an awful account about the negroes” near Plantersville (Georgetown County, S.C.). She finished by claiming that “people had to shoot two or three they have got so out ragus.”

All members of the extended Best and Hext families returned safely when the Civil War ended, but like all those who had built their wealth on labor extracted from an enslaved workforce before the war their lives were changed dramatically following emancipation.

Laurence Porcher Hext, the father and father figure for so many represented in the collection, passed away in May 1866, adding to the family’s grief and hardships. Selena acknowledged these feelings when she wrote to her sister Elizabeth on 28 May 1866 that “he has been a father to us for years and his children like sisters and brothers.” Also, when he died the home and land that he lived on seems to have passed out of Hext family possession. This left Elizabeth, Adeline, Ada, Benny, Byron, and Ossy without a home. To compound matters, Cally’s husband Francis Marion Best (John Austin Best’s brother), whom she married in 1862, also died in 1866 and left her a widow with two small children. Selena in Smyrna [Allendale County (S.C.)], and Mary in Plantersville (Georgetown County, S.C.) took in various members of the family, but it was an arrangement that would not last.

On 1 December 1867, Mary reported to Cally that the McConnell's in Plantersville (Georgetown County, S.C.) were struggling and "Thomas has just made out to give us meat and bread with a few articles of necessary clothing." His provision crop had been a "complete failure this year," he was forced to turn to a "turpentine farm" to make money. He had concluded to not even try to plant the following year, but instead "devote his attention to Turpentine, and getting out stuff (such as shingles, staves, fire wood &c) for the Georgetown market." Ossy mentioned a plan of securing a house for himself, Cally, and Adeline in a letter dated 10 April 1867, but this would not come to pass, and two years later he and his brother Benny would be caught up in a dramatic episode of violence that would send them both to Georgia for years to come.

In a cryptic letter written from Sisters Ferry (Effingham County, Georgia), on 14 May 1869, Benny proclaimed, "Oh yes the negroes *all* know where we are," but that if "they attempt to arrest us over here they will find to their sorrow that they have made a serious mistake." His fear of arrest apparently stemmed from an incident described in two articles that appeared in the *Charleston Daily News* on 19 and 20 April 1869. They reported that an unnamed white man went in to the plantation home of R.C. Ashe in search of a freedman named Clarence Brown. After Brown made his escape, his assailant made numerous threats before leaving the premises. Brown swore an affidavit to the newly appointed magistrate, Julius Mayer, who issued a warrant and formed a group to arrest the unnamed perpetrator. He was

eventually found, with two brothers, by the group at the home of John Austin Best. In the course of attempting the arrest one member of the lawman's group was shot and killed and one of the brothers injured. The newspaper accounts do not specifically state that the Hext brothers were the ones involved, but in his next letter, dated 12 June 1869, Benny stated that he had been back to South Carolina recently to "find out (if possible) if those Negroes were still on Ashe's place." He claimed that "Old Ashe tells a black lie of course," and that he should be scared for "if ever we do go there woe but unto him & all in that D____d hole of Hell." No reason was ever given for the initial incursion onto Ashe's property, but there is some suggestion that the land may have been the Hext family land that passed out of their hands in 1866 following the death of Laurence Porcher Hext.

On 29 May 1869, Ossy wrote Selena that he wished that she would get his books and the "family Bible" from "that Hell Hole," in order to keep them from being "further desecrated by the polluting touch of the hands that have hitherto disgraced" them. The brothers would make periodic visits to South Carolina throughout 1869, especially to Cally (who was boarding in a house in Bamberg, S.C., where she taught school), but they were done secretly and usually at night. Cally wrote to Selena on 15 June 1869 that "Osie has been Staying with me two weeks," but he "had to Stay Shut up all day, and when night would come he would go down in the Village and meet his friends."

Benny was planning a trip two months later, and he wrote on 8 August 1869 to Selena that he would come "in the dead of night..."

so you wont know when to look for me until you hear me rap at *your window*.” He urged her to not let “even a soul know but Mr. Best,” and to warn him if “you think there will be any dangers... so I can stop my arrangements.”

The final letter on the subject was written on 2 September 1869 by Ossy, but showed that the matter was far from settled. He refuted a rumor that they “wish to make it up with the negroes at Ashes,” and stated for his part that “before I would condescend to such degredation I would starve die and rot in Georgia.” He swore that it was “war to the knife and knife to the handle, until death,” and that he would “yet wreath my vengeance.” All three Hext brothers would soon find work as clerks in mercantile establishments in Georgia.

Despite teaching in Bamberg (S.C.) in 1869, Cally and her two sons would continue to face economic hardships during Reconstruction, and in March 1870 she moved into Mary and Thomas McConnell’s house in Rome (Georgia). Cally’s situation did not improve in Rome, particularly after her sister’s family moved to the outskirts of town, leaving her to rent a room in the house they once occupied. She could find no work teaching and wrote to Selena on 3 January 1871 that she relied on taking in work “from the dressmaker when ever we can get it,” despite getting “very poor pay.” Byron, Ossy, and Benny sent her fifteen dollars per month, “but that just barely feeds us.” She lamented that she was “destitute of nearly all the comforts of life,” and had only “an old chair that is tide together with a piece of rope... an old table I made out of a thrown away bedstead... and two plates, one

broken.” Christmas had been particularly hard as their dinner was “a pot of mush and a little butter.” Her sons would “hang up their Stockings in hope that Santa Clause would put Something in them, but every morning they would jump up and look at them empty and be So disappointed.”

Correspondence among the family became more scattered throughout the remainder of the 1870s. Letters from this period are generally filled with family and business news as the three Hext brothers moved to various towns in Georgia, working as clerks, teachers, and messengers for the Southern Express Company. By 1877, Cally, Ossy, and Benny were all living in and around Lawtonville (Georgia), where Ossy had settled after marrying Emily Caroline Wright (1850–1933) in 1873. But the biggest event for Selena in the 1870s was undoubtedly the death of her husband, John Austin Best, in 1878. Few letters of condolence are extant, but one of the most heartfelt was written by Benny on 9 December 1878. He hoped that she remembered that he loved Best “almost as a father,” and realized that it would be “worse than useless for me to offer vapid words of sympathy to you.” Instead he hoped “that charity...has given him entrance to that ‘mansion not made with hands eternal in the heavens.’”

In fact, during the 1870s and 1880s, Selena’s youngest nephew Benny had become one of her most regular correspondents. In his letters, the violent tendencies that he had shown in the late 1860s began to manifest again. In a letter of 9 October 1872, written from Macon (Georgia), he mentioned a “riot here on the day of the election.” He expressed gladness that he “got away in time to

avoid being identified with the rioters,” for “God only knows I do not want any more of their blood on my hands.”

Six years later, on 30 September 1878, writing from Lawtonville (Georgia), he enquired about the particulars of what was evidently a murder in Selena’s neighborhood. He was “sorry to hear of young Allen’s death,” and wondered how the quarrel had originated. He also asked, “What did those negroes have to say?” He then advised that they “had better keep their tongues to themselves or they might “*go dead*” before they know it,” for “it would not take much for me to gather up a few Georgia boys and do for them as their father was done for.” Then, on 17 June 1882, he wrote another cryptic letter to Selena detailing his most recent “unfortunate difficulty,” that forced him to leave his home in Millen (Georgia), with his wife, Mag, for Cuthbert (Georgia). “The prejudice,” he wrote, had “rendered my stay in Millen almost impossible.” The *Southern Standard*, published in McMinnville (Tennessee), ran a brief note in their issue of 30 April 1881, that stated, “B.W. Hext and John Conner... quarreled about five cents, the latter receiving a death-wound from his antagonist’s revolver.” Benny reported in a letter of 6 August 1883, from Rogers (Georgia) that he had been acquitted of the “charge of *murder*,” and “would not go over my experience again for worlds.”

The remaining letters to Selena were written chiefly by her oldest daughter, Julia Talley Best Lafitte (1858–1937), from her home in Savannah and her son, John “Jack” Porcher Best (1865–1919), from the mid-1880s through the 1910s. Julia’s letters from Savannah give routine news of her family and her husband’s

business, whereas Jack's detail his travels around the country in pursuit of work and education. Jack eventually decided to pursue a dental degree at the University of Maryland from 1894 to 1896, and wrote to his mother frequently during those years updating her on his studies and class standing. While there he also made time to sightsee, and spent Thanksgiving 1894 at Gettysburg (Pennsylvania). He described his trip in detail in a letter of 2 December 1894, including stopping at "some springs where an elegant bronze statue representing a Yankee soldier giving a wounded Confederate soldier a drink of water stood." As he was there with a man from the North, Jack "told him it was now a southerners turn to treat," and "took out my flask and we had a drink together."

In a letter of 3 February 1896, Jack Best described a trip to Washington (D.C.), the previous month. While there he visited the Senate chambers and heard Benjamin R. Tillman, Senator from South Carolina, speak. During Tillman's two hour speech "he walked round till he was almost in front of the President's desk... and held the audience of the Senate & galleries as Clay, Calhoun, & Webster had never done."

After finishing his degree, Jack moved to Long Beach (California), in 1903 where he would start a successful dental practice and remain for the rest of his life. He continued to write to his mother sporadically until her death in 1915. Selena Caroline Hext Best is buried at Antioch Christian Church in Allendale County (S.C.) beside her daughter Lena.

In addition to the correspondence of Selena, the collection also contains a large number of receipts, detailing the purchase of household and farm equipment and documenting the sale of cotton. Early items in the collection contain land papers and bills of sale for enslaved persons, most purchased by the Colding family—John Austin Best’s maternal ancestors. Also extant is a series of genealogical correspondence addressed to Eunice Hill in the 1940s. **Gift of Mr. Michael S. Swindell.**

**WILLIAM A.B. DAVENPORT PAPERS,
1778, 1856–2011**

On the eve of South Carolina’s secession from the Union in December 1860, twenty-seven-year-old William Davenport (1833–1887) was listed in the 1860 census as residing in the Line Creek Division of Greenville District (S.C.). There were other Davenport family groups in the Line Creek Division, and very likely these several family groupings were related. William Davenport was listed with real estate valued at \$5,100.00, and his personal estate was valued at \$16,655.00. The name Davenport was often rendered in official records as Devenport, but at some point William adopted the spelling Davenport.

Of the five volumes in the collection, the earliest recorded date is 1850. Most of the entries concern the plantation and household expenses of Isaac Davenport who planted cotton and grains and raised hogs. Seventeen-year-old William attended school in Anderson District (S.C.) and boarded with the Rev. D.V. Garrison for nine months. William purchased books, including Ainsworth’s

Latin dictionary, from the school's headmaster. On 16 October 1856 William was a signatory to a document acknowledging "the evil effects of intemperance and the use of liquors that are of an intoxicating nature [and] deem it expedient and right for our own safety and example to others to solemnly bind ourselves in a pledge to abstain from there use for life entirely."

William Davenport enlisted for Confederate service on 19 June 1861. He was twenty-eight years of age, five feet eleven inches, dark eyes and hair, and fair complexion. He was enrolled in Company E, Hampton Legion, and eventually attained the rank of captain.

Among recollections of his military service is an undated manuscript to "Editor Argus" on the "battle of Bull Run." He retained "a couple of relics from the battlefield. A fine shooter and a company book from Maine." The enrollment book of the Fourth Maine Infantry Regiment (assembled in Rockland, Maine) contains the names of soldiers, their occupations, home towns, and vital statistics. The same information is recorded in the volume for Confederates who enlisted in Hampton Legion. In addition to William, five other Devenports enlisted and all gave their occupation as farmers.

William Davenport later recalled the emotions of his fellow soldiers as they approached their first action on the field at Manassas (Virginia). William remembered: "Many of us had greatly desired to know what the impression and expression would be when first summons, to our first battlefield to fight a battle for our homes and liberty &c. We did not recognize ourselves as

rebels & traitors: but as patriots whose duty it were to defend the firesides and sacred altars of our beloved ones at home.”

Davenport composed another recollection of his unit’s participation in the battle in a volume dated 1850–1867 and 1871. In his submission to the “Argus,” Davenport recalled the rout of the Federal lines: “my language is inadequate to express or describe the scene of confusion witness[ed] by hundreds of us. Along the retreating line could be seen dead and wounded men forsaken canons wagons Ambulances muskets trunks books blankets cooking utensils coats pants in fact every thing that belongs to an army.”

The company book of Company E, Hampton Legion, is included in a volume dated 1861–1867, 1870–1871 and 1879. Casualties incurred in 1861, 1862, and 1865 are recorded as well as muster rolls and casualties at the following battles: Seven Pines (31 May 1862); Gaines Farm (27 June 1862); Second Manassas (29–30 August 1862); Boonsboro Gap, Maryland (South Mountain) (14 September 1862); Sharpsburg, Maryland (16–17 September 1862); Lookout Valley, Tennessee (28 October 1863); Lenoir’s Station, Tennessee (15 November 1863); and Campbell Station, Tennessee (16 November 1863).

Davenport’s Company E was stationed in eastern Tennessee in January 1864. Davenport kept a diary from the 1st through the 20th of the month. His first entry (1 January 1864) noted that they were located approximately fifteen miles from Morristown (Tennessee) on the French Broad River. It was cold and windy, with some snow. “The ground remained frozen during the day.” Company E

skirmished “among the unionist,” likely locals who were either loyal to the Union or opposed to the Confederacy.

On 7 January Davenport went on a “visit to the Country, had a splendid dinner, [and] returned to camp late in evening.” On the 12th, one of the company was dispatched to Greenville District to collect clothing “for the benefit of the Company, as they stood highly in need of such to be made comfortable in the Bivouacks.” On the 15th they received orders “to cook up three days rations and be ready to fall in at a moments warning.” They marched only five miles in the direction of Dandridge where on the 17th, the company was involved in a skirmish with Federal troops after which Davenport prepared a muster roll and list of casualties. The final entry on 20 January records “No moments or reports in camp of interest,” but the company did receive a “large back mail.”

In the 1860 census William Davenport and other Davenport families were listed in the Line Creek Division of Greenville District (S.V.). William, aged seventeen in the 1850 census, was listed as a student in the household of Isaac Davenport. Isaac Davenport raised cotton, hogs, and grains.

Most of the volumes in the collection have information about the family’s farming operations. There also is genealogical information on the related Bolling family and births and deaths among the enslaved African Americans. After military service William Davenport returned to Greenville District (S.C.) in 1865, but the following year he sold three tracts of land (22 August 1866). The

Mill tract (430 acres) sold for \$4,500.00; the Homestead (280 acres) sold for \$1,200.00; the Roy tract (150 acres) sold for \$584.00.

A volume, 1860–1872 and 1878, contains records of cotton picked, accounts with African American “Freedmen,” and purchases of plantation and household supplies. Among the record of expenses for the year 1866 is a detailed record for moving to Texas in December. It appears that he located in or near Marshall.

Although there are extensive records for the years after 1866, it is not precisely clear when William Davenport left Texas for Crawford County (Arkansas). A letter, 27 November 1867, from a Richardson cousin in Athens (Georgia), approved of Davenport’s remaining in Texas for another year as “perhaps you will like [Texas] better after another years experience.”

In addition to William Davenport, other Davenport families from the same area of Greenville County (S.C.) also moved to Texas. “Articles of Agreement... to cultivate Land on shares” between William and Floyd and Jos[eph] Davenport commenced on 1 January 1867. Floyd and Joseph Davenport agreed “to take his farm, repair all fences necessary for the protection of his crop, cut what ditches may be expedient on the plantation, [and] prepare... and cultivate the land to the best of their judgement.” William Davenport committed to provide three mules, feed for the mules, and tools. The Davenports were to receive “one half of the Corn

Fodder such Peas and Pumpkins produced on the low ground.” The agreement also provided for sharing proceeds from wheat and oats and firewood.

William Davenport maintained accounts in the Fourth Maine Regiment enrollment book recovered on the Manassas battlefield, in a volume dated 1860–1872, 1878, and in a volume dated 1880 until the year of his death in 1887. He had moved to Arkansas by 1870 as the labor account, 1870–1871, with Lewis Anderson has an entry in March 1871, “went to Van Buren,” the county seat of Crawford County (Arkansas). The account with Anderson begins in October 1870. There are other accounts with laborers through 1873.

Other items in the collection are three ambrotypes of Davenport family members, an 1862 map of the state of Virginia, and the first volume of William Joseph Hardee, *Rifle and Infantry Tactics: Schools of the Soldier and Company: Instruction for Skirmishers*, sixth edition (Mobile, 1862). **Gift of Mr. & Mrs. Douglas Gautier.**

**MACK FAMILY PAPERS,
1863, 1868, 1870–1912**

In 1992 and 1993, the South Caroliniana Library accessioned a collection of the papers of William Banks (1814–1875), prominent Presbyterian minister and educator, who was pastor of Catholic Presbyterian Church from 1841 until 1870 and nearby Pleasant Grove Presbyterian Church from 1847 until 1870, both in Chester District (South Carolina).

Several of the letters in the papers were written while William Banks was on active duty as chaplain of the Fourth South Carolina Cavalry in South Carolina and Virginia from July 1863 until the late summer of 1864. Interfiled with the Banks papers are three letters addressed to Joseph Bingham Mack (1838–1912), Banks' son-in-law, the husband of Harriet (Hattie) Hudson Banks (1845–1937), the only daughter of William Banks and his wife Mary Elvira Harrington (1823–1905).

Two letters are from William Mack (1807–1879), Joseph's father, also a Presbyterian minister and educator. The recent donation of Mack family correspondence includes 3,764 items and greatly expands the scope and date range, 1863–1957, of the collection.

Although this donation focuses on Joseph Bingham Mack, his wife, Hattie, and their sons and daughters, it also includes letters from the parents and siblings of both Joseph and Hattie, as well as numerous cousins, grandchildren and other relatives.

Joseph Mack was a Presbyterian minister who served churches in South Carolina, North Carolina, and Georgia for over fifty years, and the correspondence reflects his pastoral duties, his connections with Columbia Theological Seminary, in South Carolina's capitol, where he was a member of the class of 1861 and later, in the 1880s, his service as financial agent and member of the board of directors.

The collection also documents his long association with Davidson College, in Davidson, North Carolina, where he served

on the board of trustees (1873–1875, 1876–1878, 1880–1888), and also acted as financial agent for the college in the 1870s.

Among his correspondents were many of the leading Southern Presbyterian theologians and ministers. John L. Girardeau, James Woodrow, B. M. Palmer, and John B. Adger, all members of the Columbia Theological Seminary's faculty, authored letters that are present in the collection.

In 1879, Joseph Bingham Mack, as secretary of the board of directors of the seminary, was instrumental in opening the public debate regarding James Woodrow's teaching of evolution in his seminary classes. A number of Mack's letters written during the 1880s include references to that controversy.

The majority of the letters in the Mack collection, however, convey family news, including the state of health, or illness, of household members; births and deaths of relatives and friends; progress in school and college studies; weather and its impact on crops and livestock; and, because sons and grandsons of Joseph and Hattie Mack were soldiers in both World War I and World War II, many letters recite the tedium of camp life and the reality of active duty on foreign soil.

Joseph and Hattie exchanged letters when they were apart, usually because of Joseph's travels to synod sessions, or while he was away on evangelistic trips which were increasingly frequent in the 1880 and 1890s. On occasion, Hattie visited her parents or other relatives and friends and would keep her husband informed

about her activities and, as the Mack family increased in number, the children's health and behavior dominated much of this correspondence.

Eleven children were born to the couple: William Mack (1865–1941), Alexander Mack (1867–1906), Edward Mack (1868–1951), Joseph Bingham Mack (1870–1871), Elizabeth Mack (1871–1962), Mary Mack (1872–1962), Harrington Mack (1874–1957), Cornelia Mack (1879–1879), Luther Bingham Mack (1885–1886), Francis Murray Mack (1887–1979), and Paul Mack (1894–1897). Even though all of the children who survived childhood are represented by correspondence in the collection, the largest number of letters were generated by the youngest son, Francis Murray Mack, his wife, Elizabeth White Nims (1894–1973), and their four sons: Francis Murray Mack (1915–2009), Frederick Nims Mack (1918–1998), Joseph Bingham Mack (1922–1976), and William Mack (1926–2009).

Joseph Bingham Mack was born in New York on 24 December 1838, the second child of the Reverend William Mack and Elizabeth Scoville Bingham Mack, while the family lived in Rochester (N.Y.) where William Mack was pastor of the Third Presbyterian Church. Joseph's mother was the daughter of Luther Bingham (1782–1830) and his wife, Sarah Church Scoville (1785–1856), both of whom were from Connecticut, and she was married to William Mack on 2 November 1835 in New York City.

Their first child, Sarah Frances Mack, was born 3 November 1836 and died less than a year later, on 23 September 1837. She was buried in Rochester. The third child, Mary Elizabeth Mack

(1841–1920), was born in Knoxville (Tennessee), where the family lived from 1840 until 1843, and where William was pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church.

By December 1843, the family had moved to Columbia (Maury County, Tennessee), where William preached for the congregation of the First Presbyterian Church and also served as president of Jackson College. Two more children were born there: William Luther Mack (1845–1899) and Cornelia Mayes Mack (1848–1867). Elizabeth Mack died on 7 July 1851 when Joseph was eleven years old, and his father married again, on 25 October 1854, near Pulaski (Tennessee), Sarah Ann Boardman, the daughter of a Vermont Congregationalist minister, the Reverend Elderkin J. Boardman (1791–1864) and his wife, Anne Gookin Boardman (1797–1842). Sarah Ann and her sister Louisa (1825–1910) were, according to the 1850 United States census, living in Giles County (Tennessee), where Louisa was listed as a teacher. Two children were born to this marriage. Edward Gookin Mack (1857–1928) and Walter Mack who died as an infant on 10 August 1863.

Joseph Bingham Mack, usually called Joe by friends and family, lived in Rochester (N.Y.) until his second year and then spent the next three years in Knoxville (Tennessee). In May 1878, Joseph visited Knoxville on his way to see his father in Columbia (Maury County, Tennessee). In a note to his son dated 17 May 1878, William expressed the hope that “you will meet with several who were children with you in K[noxville]; also others, who were more advanced in years.”

Because there are no letters in the collection earlier than 1863, little is known about Joseph's early years. There are, however, two external sources that provide brief glimpses into his life as a young man. In the 1890s, the Reverend J. B. Mack served as an evangelist for the Presbyterian Synod of Georgia and preached throughout that state. He was instrumental in the organization of the church in Winder, a small town in Barrow County (Georgia), twenty miles west of Athens, and also occasionally preached for the congregation.

After his death, someone associated with the church who had first-hand knowledge of Joseph Mack's history, wrote a brief sketch of the church's second pastor. "Young Joseph was graduated from Jackson College at the very young age of fifteen and a half years and was apprenticed to a carriage builder," the anonymous writer recalled. "Soon he became associated with the Dutch portrait painter Van Stavern [Joseph H. Van Stavoren (1818–1893)], who was introducing the new process of photographing called daguerreotype.... They traveled from town to town and it was on one of these trips, while attending a revival service that young Joseph made his decision to become a minister."

Joe Mack did graduate from Jackson College (Maury County, Tennessee) in 1854, the year after his father resigned the presidency, thus his apprenticeship and work with Van Stavoren must have occurred in the mid-1850s. The other source, Thomas H. Spence's book *The Presbyterian Congregation on Rocky River* adds the fact that Joseph attended Danville Seminary, in Danville

(Kentucky), before completing his theological studies at the Columbia Theological Seminary (Columbia, South Carolina), where he graduated with the class of 1861.

Joe had been licensed to preach the year before by the Maury Presbytery in Tennessee and preached his first sermon in the First Presbyterian Church where his father had ministered until 1858. In a letter to his son, Francis Murray Mack, dated 13 July 1910, Joseph listed his accomplishments as a young man as an example for his son. "At 15 1/2 years I graduated, at 17 1/2 had a trade, at 21 1/2 was a licensed preacher, & during that time all the aid my father gave me was 2 years board, or \$200," he wrote.

On 28 May 1861, the Reverend George Cooper Gregg (1814–1861), the pastor of the Salem (Black River) Presbyterian Church, located near Mayesville, in Sumter District, South Carolina, died. The congregation invited the twenty-three-year-old seminary graduate to replace Gregg. Joseph accepted the call and apparently began his ministry in the summer of 1861. An article printed in *The State* (Columbia, S.C.) on 31 May 1910, and partially reprinted in the *Fort Mill Times* two days later, reviewed the life and career of J.B. Mack. The editor of the Fort Mill newspaper speculated that the piece had been written by Mrs. Mack's nephew William Banks (1877–1924), the son of her brother, Alexander R. Banks (1847–1920).

William Banks was a writer for *The State* newspaper and would have known the details of his uncle's life. Banks mentioned that "Dr. Mack thinks he was the first preacher regularly ordained after the Southern church seceded in 1861." Unlike many of his

classmates who graduated and were called to churches and ordained in 1861, before the Southern Presbyterian Church was organized in December 1861, Banks explained that Mack was not ordained until 1862 “because the church that had elected him pastor was in mourning for six months for the former pastor.” Thus, when J.B. Mack was ordained as pastor of the Salem (Black River) Church in Sumter County (S.C.) on 9 January 1862, he became, he believed, “the first [pastor] ordained after the division.”

The Reverend J.B. Mack served as the official pastor of Salem Church from 1861 until 1867; however, from 1863 until the end of the Civil War, he was actively involved in the contest, not as a soldier, but as a chaplain. In April 1863, the ministers of Harmony Presbytery, which included Salem Church, voted to choose by ballot five of their number for service as chaplains in the Confederate Army. While these men were away from their churches, their pulpits would be supplied by ministers from the committee on domestic missions of the Presbytery.

Accordingly, Mack was appointed chaplain of the Fifty-fifth Regiment, Tennessee Infantry, in July 1863. He evidently chose a Tennessee regiment because he had spent most of his life in that state. Earlier in the war, the entire Fifty-fifth Regiment, except for two companies, was captured when Island No. 10, in the Mississippi River, near Tiptonville (Tennessee), fell to Union forces on 8 April 1862. The officers, including Colonel Alexander J. Brown, the regiment’s commander, and men were released on parole in September 1862 and the regiment was immediately reorganized.

By the time Mack joined the organization in July 1863, the Fifty-fifth had been consolidated with the Forty-sixth Regiment, Tennessee Infantry, and sent to Mobile (Alabama). In the spring and summer of 1864, the consolidated regiment was in Stewart's Brigade of Polk's Corps, in the Army of Tennessee, and participated in the Georgia Campaign under the command of General Joseph E. Johnston.

The Reverend J.B. Mack evidently was active in this campaign, or at least portions of it, for on 5 October 1864, a month after Atlanta fell to General William T. Sherman's federals, Chaplain Mack was admitted to Ocmulgee Hospital, in Macon (Georgia), suffering from laryngitis. Released on 11 October 1864, he returned to active duty. Although no other official records document the remaining months of Chaplain Mack's service, the writer of the Winder Presbyterian memorial recorded additional details about his Confederate service. "On account of serious illness induced by exposure and hardships Mr. Mack was furloughed from the army in the last months of the war and returned to his home in Sumter County [S.C.]. Soon, however, Sherman began his famous march through South Carolina and the young preacher joined [Joseph] Wheeler's Cavalry in order to protect his people. He had several narrow escapes during this part of his war service."

Even though Chaplain Mack was with the army in Georgia during much of 1864, he returned to South Carolina in order to marry Harriet Hudson Banks on Christmas Eve. Joseph B. Mack had probably met Hattie in the first year of his pastorate at Salem

Church. Hattie's father, the Reverend William Banks, had briefly taught school near Salem Church as a young man and later married, on 29 December 1841, Mary Elvira Harrington, the daughter of the Reverend John Harrington, who had served as minister of Mt. Zion Presbyterian church in Sumter District (S.C.) from 1826 until 1833, and his wife, Elizabeth Harriet Hudson (1804–1898). Mt. Zion, now in Lee County, near Bishopville (S.C.), was an offshoot of Salem Black River Church, located about fifteen miles south. Hattie's parents lived in Chester District (S.C.), near the churches that Banks served, but as Presbyterian ministers within the same synod, Mack and Banks would most certainly have known each other.

The earliest dated letter in the collection was written by Hattie Banks to her mother. Dated 24 January 1863, it was written from Laurens (South Carolina), where Hattie was a student at Laurensville Female College. Before the beginning of the Civil War, the college, controlled by the Presbytery of South Carolina, flourished. After the war started, however, the college was closed, but had reopened by 1863 with Ferdinand Jacobs (1808–1894) as president. Hattie had apparently matriculated at the beginning of the January term and had written her mother a letter, not in this collection, on 17 January 1863 in which she “gave a description of the school and place, but there is a great deal more that I can tell you.” She gently scolded her mother for not writing her: “I thought that a letter from you was a long time coming, and I thought it was right cruel for I am among strangers and am homesick.” Her father, however, had written to his daughter. “I received a short

letter from father last Tuesday, written immediately after his arrival in Camp. I was so glad to hear that he was well and surrounded by so many kind friends," she informed her mother.

William Banks had been appointed chaplain of the Sixth Regiment, South Carolina Reserves, on 27 December 1862 by the regiment's commander, Colonel Andrew J. Secrest, but did not join his regiment until 16 January 1863, a day before he wrote the first letter to his daughter. Apparently, Chaplain Banks served only briefly with his regiment. Hattie mentioned "how lonely you all must be..., [b]ut father will soon be with you." In addition to being homesick, Hattie was not happy with her situation in Laurensville (S.C.). "I do not like this place much better than at first," she lamented. "I have to study very hard but I cannot say that my studies are at all interesting.... I am no better pleased with my boarding place. We do not have a very good fare." She did, however, admit that there were some things she did like about college life. "The girls do pretty much as they please here any way, especially the Seniors for they are the privileged characters.... When they miss their lessons Mr. Jacobs only smiles. But he has a way of managing girls that they all endeavor to recite perfect lessons.... I like Mr. Riley very much."

By the time Hattie wrote the second letter in the collection, she had been married for almost four years and was the mother of three sons. From her parents' home, at Hazelwood, in Chester County (S.C.), on 29 September 1868, she wrote to "My dearest husband," who was in Charleston, and conveyed family news, especially details about their sons. "Eddie has grown so pretty and

fat..., & Allie has improved in every respect, & Willie is a perfect little gentleman." By this time, the family had moved from Mayesville (S.C.) to Charleston, where Joe Mack had been called, in September 1867, as the associate pastor of Zion Presbyterian Church. He was dismissed from the Harmony Presbytery when that group of ministers met in Sumter (S.C.) in early October, and by the middle to the month was preaching to his new congregation. Just before Hattie wrote to Joe, he had apparently preached to his former congregation at Salem Church. "I have been trying to follow you up in your visitings in Salem but could not think of you at any particular place, except on Sunday at church, and I yearned to be at the dear old place with you once more," she wrote.

For two years, the Reverend Joseph B. Mack worked with the Reverend John L. Girardeau as co-pastors of Zion Church. John Lafayette Girardeau (1825–1898) was born on James Island, near Charleston, attended the Charleston College and graduated in 1844, and then completed his theological studies at the Columbia Theological Seminary in 1848. He was licensed by the Presbytery of Charleston the same year. For five years he ministered to churches in the Carolina low country, where he always preached two sermons on Sundays: the first to the white members of the congregation, and the second to the enslaved African Americans from surrounding plantations. In 1853, Girardeau accepted a call to work with the African-American congregation on Anson Street, a mission of the Second Presbyterian Church in Charleston. His

sermons attracted large crowds and membership grew from thirty-six in 1854 to over 600 in 1860.

Girardeau left the church in 1862 to act as chaplain of the Twenty-third South Carolina Infantry in Confederate service. Shortly after he returned to South Carolina in 1865, after a brief confinement in a northern prison camp, Girardeau resumed his ministry in Charleston, preaching from the pulpit of the Second Presbyterian Church to Presbyterians who had remained in the city during the last months of the war, or who had returned after the end of hostilities. This arrangement continued until April 1866 when the congregation of Zion Presbyterian Church was consolidated with the congregation of the Glebe Street Church. The united congregation retained the name Zion.

In 1867, Girardeau gained control of the old Zion Church building on Calhoun Street and decided to preach once more to African Americans who had made up the majority of the pre-war Zion Church. Not wanting to abandon his Glebe Street Church members, Girardeau arranged for a co-pastor, so that services at both churches could be continued. Joe Mack was called as co-pastor of Zion Church and officially installed on 29 December 1867. A notice of the installation, printed in the *Charleston Daily News*, on 30 December 1867, also confirmed the reason for the need for a co-pastor. "The Rev. J.L. Girardeau, formerly sole pastor of this church, felt constrained to devote a portion of his time to his old... [African-American] congregation at Zion Presbyterian Church, and, on stating his wishes to the

congregation of the Glebe-street Church, they decided to engage the services of the Rev. Mr. Mack as co-pastor.” When Joseph Bingham Mack became the minister at Salem, the membership had included sixty-seven whites and 389 African Americans, so he was experienced in preaching to both blacks and whites.

An announcement published in the *Charleston Daily News* on 7 December 1867 illustrated the way in which Girardeau and Mack shared responsibilities. “Zion Presbyterian Church. The Rev. J.B. Mack, co-pastor of this church, having returned to the city, Divine Services may be expected at the House of Worship in Glebe-street, regularly every Sabbath morning and afternoon at the usual hours.” J.B. Mack was scheduled to preach the next day in the morning and J.L. Girardeau in the afternoon. This arrangement continued for two years.

In 1870, Mack served as evangelist for Charleston Presbytery. Only a few letters survive in the collection during the period the Macks lived in Charleston. A few are extant from the summer of 1870 when Hattie wrote her husband from Williamsburg County (South Carolina), while on a visit to her parents. Her father had accepted the pastorate of three churches in Williamsburg County, and the Banks family lived there in 1870 and 1871. In a letter dated 2 August 1870, Hattie recounted the difficulties her sons, including the baby, Joe, just a few months old, had with sore eyes. “Dear little Joe scarcely ever cries, though his [eyes] are very sore,” she lamented. She also related to her husband that there “is much sickness in the country. There were three funerals of grown

persons at Indiantown and two at Williamsburg ch[urche]s within five days.”

The prevalence of illness in the low country may have been a factor in Hattie’s father’s decision to move back to the upper region of the state. Three letters in the collection, dated in the late summer of 1870, are from members of the Waxhaw Presbyterian Church in Lancaster County (S.C.), encouraging William Banks to assume the pastorate of their church. He did so in 1871 and also was stated supply for Unity Church, in Fort Mill, and Six Mile Creek, near the South Carolina-North Carolina boundary, about seven miles east of Fort Mill.

Late in 1870, J.B. Mack also made a decision to accept a call from a church in North Carolina and made plans to move his family from Charleston to southwestern Cabarrus County (N.C.) where he would minister to the congregation of Rocky River Church. The church was located in a farming community, about five miles from the small village of Harrisburg. But before he could arrange for the move, his youngest son, Joseph Bingham Mack, Jr., died just before his first birthday. In a letter to his father, dated 23 January 1871, Joe relayed his sad news: “The first shadow has fallen across our home.... Joe fell asleep this morning at six o’clock.” He had suffered from whooping cough for a few days, his father wrote, and had that morning “seemed to fall into a sleep, each breath becoming shorter & shorter... [until] he ceased to breath.” With the move to North Carolina imminent, Mack had decided, as he informed his father, that “Joe will not be interred, but only put into the receiving tomb, & in two or three weeks will

be interred at Rocky River. By this means Mr. & Mrs. Banks & Alex will be able to be present.” Joseph ended his letter with a pleas to his father. “[W]rite to Hattie; poor child! That boy was her pride & darling.”

Both Mary Mack, Joseph’s sister, and his father wrote letters of sympathy to Hattie. Mary tried to comfort her, in her letter of 27 January 1871, with a reminder that “[y]our dear child too is safe with the Good Shepherd,” but was also mindful of the difficulties that faced her in the immediate future. “I am truly glad that you have the comfort of your mother’s presence, for with your trouble; sick children, moving, &c, in your present condition, you will need all her capital care and management to get through it safely.” In mentioning Hattie’s “present condition,” Mary referred to the fact that she was in her seventh month of her fourth pregnancy.

William Mack wrote to his daughter-in-law on 14 February 1871 and shared a poem he had written after the death of his first child, Sarah Frances Mack, who had died when less than a year old. He recounted that “while travelling horseback and alone through Tennessee in 1840” to begin his ministry in Knoxville, he composed a poem in memory of his daughter. The final lines echoed his Presbyterian faith:

*The flowers blooming in a brighter clime,
The gems untarnished by the mists of time,
Thank God! the angel babe is safe in heaven.*

From his new home in North Carolina, Joseph wrote his father on 21 February 1871 “to continue [the story of] our family trials &

blessings.” The family left Charleston the evening of 9 February 1871 after Joseph and Hattie’s mother, Mary E. Banks, spent the day packing “everything in the house....” Joseph explained, “I had chartered a car for Charlotte, and Mrs. B’s & my things filled it. We went from Charleston to Columbia at night, reaching Columbia at 6 a.m.” The Charlotte train departed at 1 p.m., stopped at Fort Mill, where they met William Banks and his son Alex, and arrived at Harrisburg, the closest depot to their new home, at 8:30 p.m.

On Saturday, Joseph performed his “first pastoral duty” at Rocky River Church when he assisted in the funeral service L.C. Kirkpatrick, “the leading Elder in the Church... [and] the one with whom my correspondence had been conducted,” he informed his father. He also related his experience with the interment of the body of his son. He had “expected the body of ‘little Joe’ up last Wednesday, but it did not come until Saturday night.” He, accompanied by a friend, went to the depot to bring the body back for burial. His friend “looked at the face & said that decomposition had commenced; hence I buried him yesterday morning [Monday, 20 February], no one of the family being present or knowing of it except myself.” Although his family had not yet “commenced house-keeping,” he had already “hired a cook & washer, & tomorrow expect to secure a house-servant.” The house that was provided for the minister and his family had been the home of the Ruling Elder of the church, Robert Harvey Morrison, who had moved his own family into two small houses on his farm, in order to make the new minister’s family comfortable. Joe described the house for his father: “Our house has 8 rooms & a kitchen, each of

which has a fire place. It is a two-story building, having four rooms below & 4 above. It is somewhat old, but convenient.... We are 3 miles from the church & 6 from the R.R., in a healthy place & good neighborhood." In that house, on 19 March 1871, Hattie gave birth to the couple's first daughter, Elizabeth Mack.

After ten years as a Presbyterian minister in South Carolina where he had many friends and associates, the Reverend Joseph Bingham Mack found himself part of the Concord Presbytery of North Carolina, far removed from his former colleagues. He also encountered resistance from some members of his congregation when he wanted to make changes in the patterns of worship services. He explained to his father, in a letter written 14 June 1871, "[t]he difficulties, which I had about two months ago, are all over; & I won the day." The issue was that the ministers of Rocky River had traditionally preached two sermons each Sunday, during the summer months, with Sunday School after the first one. The previous minister had "tried to change & have only one sermon, but they would not let him." J.B. Mack "saw that it was necessary & determined to have it. About one fourth, at first, stubbornly resisted; but it is all over now." With the changes in effect, Joseph informed his father, "I have S[unday] S[chool] at 10 A.M.; teaching the B[ible] Class & leading in the singing. It is an interesting time...." The sermon then followed twenty minutes after the end of Sunday school. In place of the former afternoon sermon, Joe rotated among four other locations and preached at each once each month. Among the places selected for these services were Pioneer Mills, the location of the local post office,

and the depot in Harrisburg (Cabarrus County, N.C.), “the Headquarters of rioting in this community.” He chose this plan, he wrote, because “[t]he congregation is very large — 5 or 6 miles in almost every direction. The roads are horrible, even in Summer, & there is a river & several large creeks running through the congregation. Many of the families are large & only a part can ride to ch[urch.]” He had made the effort to evangelize because the “church has been gradually going down, & 3 or 4 churches of other denominations have steadily encroached upon its outskirts.” As a result of Mack’s plan, attendance and membership of the church increased dramatically. Joe reminded his father that he “remember[ed] what you told me about your way of working at & around Columbia [Tennessee]. God is blessing the effort to be a pastor & Evangelist too... [and] is adding to our numbers, 12 by Ex[perience] & 1 on cer[tificate] in May.” He also invited his father to visit Rocky River in early September to be present for the baptism of his daughter Elizabeth. “Come out, & see us, & rest, & preach & talk to, for & with us,” he wrote. “Can you give any reason for not seeing Lizzie? *She is a great girl — pretty — good & sweet.*”

William Mack suffered a serious illness during the summer of 1871 and was not able to travel to North Carolina for Lizzie’s baptism and the communion services that followed; however, Joe kept his father informed of the progress of the church, and his family, with informative letters during the summer and fall months. In a letter written 30 August 1871, Joseph related that even though he had “not been strong” for a month, he had “averaged 5

services every week.” He had also “preached at two colored churches in my bounds, & since they find that I do not wish to interfere with their organizations, they are giving me their hearty favor.” In his own church, the “opposition to our church operations has dwindled down to one man, & he has little influence,” and even though crop yields in the neighborhood had been reduced by one-half, the Rocky Creek congregation had decided to proceed with plans to build “an eight-roomed, two-storied” parsonage on fifteen acres of land, recently purchased, adjoining the church.

In a four-page letter, dated 13 September 1871, Joe recounted the results of the twelve days of services that had just concluded at the church. Joe Mack, his father-in-law, the Reverend William Banks, and the Reverend Walter Pharr had preached a total of twenty-five sermons during the twelve days of services, which resulted in “57 additions, 2 by Cert[ificate], 51 on first profession, & 4 from other churches [who] for many years [were] backsliders.” On the first Sunday of the services, Banks preached and “[a]bout 500 communed out of 900 present,” Joe informed his father. There were “in one gallery about 125 unconverted white young men [with] about 200 colored in another gallery, & the choir (about 40 of both sexes) in the end gallery.” Joe added a bit of family news at the end of his letter. “Hattie & the boys are well [and] Mrs. Banks is with us & is well.”

However, in his next letter to his father, dated 9 October, he confessed that “Hattie & Eddie are the only real well persons in our family.” All the rest, himself included, were sick. His illness, he supposed had been triggered by his arduous summer schedule.

He had, during the past 150 days, “lectured or preached over 125 time, 40 or 50 of these were outside of my own charge.” He also reported that the congregation had “paid for the parsonage land, & were to commence building next week; but they have to re-burn the brick & hence will not commence for some time.”

The year 1872 began in a very positive way for the Mack family. Joe wrote his father on 8 January 1872 that the congregation had “voted me the \$1200, for the 11 months ending Jan. 1st 1872. I appreciate the kindness very much, as they could hardly raise \$800 for my predecessor, & have the name of being the stingiest people about here.” Joe devoted much of his next letter to his father, dated 18 January 1872, to the Reverend and Mrs. William Banks and the convenience with which they could visit the Macks. “Mrs. Banks is with us for a few weeks... [and] Mr. B. will come up in a couple of weeks. We are not very far apart.”

William Banks was pastor of two churches: Unity, “about a half mile from Fort Mill station,” and eighteen miles south of Charlotte, and Providence, located in North Carolina, twelve miles east of Charlotte. Banks had sold his home in Chester County (S.C.) and had “bought a place at Fort Mill of about 180 acres, with a pretty good house on it. He gave \$2150, \$1500 cash & the rest next Dec. He rented it out this year for \$325.” Living in Fort Mill would allow William Banks easy access to his two churches and would also put him and Mrs. Banks only four hours away from the Macks, by rail and buggy. Some trips, however, still had to be made entirely on horseback, or with horse and buggy. Joe wrote about his trip home from Davidson College in a letter to his father

dated 9 February 1872. “Just one week ago I came home from Davidson College (26 miles) in the sleet all the way. It took me 7 hours & I was frozen through—hardly warm yet.” While at Davidson, he had conducted a series of meetings that lasted almost two weeks and resulted in many of the students “openly expressing concern” about their spiritual life. With such results, the hardship of travel was a minor inconvenience.

The revival at Davidson was also the subject of a letter from Alexander Robinson Banks (1847–1920), Hattie Mack’s brother, written in response to one of Hattie’s recent letters. Alex was especially pleased that Hattie had accompanied her husband on the trip to Davidson and had enjoyed herself “ad infinitum.” Alex especially appreciated the news from Davidson because he had entered college there, after a brief stint of Confederate service during the last months of the Civil War, and had graduated with an A.B. degree in 1869.

For two years after college, he was head of the Fort Mill Academy, until he moved to Pleasant Ridge (Alabama), in 1871 and continued his teaching career in an academy there. “But the most gratifying of all the news,” he wrote, “was that the Lord has seen fit to bless Mr. Mack’s efforts, in the convincing & converting of many souls.” One of his friends at Davidson had also written about J.B. Mack’s visit. “Willie writes that the students were delighted with Mr. Mack as a man & Minister. How flattering & what a consolation to the minister to know that his efforts are acceptable in the light of the young.”

The nearness of Fort Mill (S.C.) to Rocky River (Cabarrus County, N.C.) made it convenient for Hattie to visit her parents, and the large house the Banks lived in could accommodate the four Mack children. Hattie wrote her husband on 18 April 1872 from Fort Mill, where she had been for almost a month. "Oh! how I want to see you," she told him. The children, also, especially Allie, longed "for home and father."

After the family returned home, Hattie wrote her sister-in-law, Mary Mack, on 26 April 1872, and described her time with her parents and her grandmother Harrington, who would "stay this year with mother and will make me a visit in the summer." Her parents were "living at a beautiful place just a half mile from the depot, and a most sociable neighborhood." Her brother Alex, she informed Mary, "taught school there, and they are trying to get him back. But on account of the political difficulties down there, it is wiser for him to keep away, for the present at least."

The "political difficulties" she referred to involved the violence incited by the Ku Klux Klan in York County (S.C.) in 1870–1871, which had resulted in the imposition of martial law throughout the county. Less than a week after she related to Mary the "difficulties" that kept her brother away from home, she received a letter from Alex that described the terrible misfortune that had affected him in Alabama. "[O]n the 25th, our academy was burned to ashes, by the fell hand of an incendiary, about daylight. Nothing was saved, but four desks." The entire loss, Alex believed, was \$3,500 or \$4,000; however, "the citizens nobly came to the rescue, and relieved us of further liabilities," except for about \$1,500. The

school reopened the morning that Alex wrote the letter, 29 April 1872, “in an old church which has been temporarily fixed up for our use.” Joe also mentioned the loss of the academy building in his letter to his father of 15 May 1872. Alex “will have to leave Alabama on account of chills. He lately lost about \$800 by the burning of their academy.”

During the summer of 1872, Joe Mack continued his busy schedule of travel and preaching. In early June he spent a week in Statesville, North Carolina, where he preached fifteen times with good results. About sixty people came forward during the services, “with some backsliders brought home; besides the building up of Christians, some of whom said that they never distinctly knew what was the Gospel before,” he related to his father in a letter written on 18 June 1872. He planned to “go to Davidson College next Sunday night to preach the Missionary Sermon before the Williams’ Association,” he told his father. “Pray for me, & that God may use his truth to call some of them to go to China.” Once again, near the end of the summer, Joseph invited his father to visit and assist with the communion meeting which was scheduled to begin 29 August 1872. “How would it do for you to come out, and bring Mary with you? Allie was just born when she was [last] with us, & if she will come at the end of next month she may see the first days of No 6—and if a girl, she can name the child,” he offered.

Neither William Mack nor his daughter Mary were able to accept the invitation to visit, so Joseph reported on the progress of the communion meeting in his letter of 4 September 1872. Illness

within the congregation had apparently impacted attendance, and professions of faith, during the four days of preaching. "I am very weak, though steadily discharging my pulpit duties," Joe informed his father. "I cannot keep up with the sickness, as about 100 persons are more or less sick...." Only nine people had applied for church membership during the services, but "[q]uite a number are indulging hope & one or two may come before us on Sunday next."

Joe's attention was focused on family, and the imminent arrival of his next child, when he wrote his father on 3 October 1872. "Hattie is daily expecting her confinement," Eddie and Willie were with their grandparents in Fort Mill, and "Lizzie improves daily in life, flesh, & obedience." He also reported that "Hattie's grandmother, Mrs. Harriet Harrington, is with us—a sprightly & lovely old lady of 68 years of age. She is well, & is a great help to her grand-daughter & to her great-grand-children." She was there to help with the children after the birth of Hattie's baby, which occurred on 8 October. Mary was the name chosen, perhaps to honor Joe's sister, Mary Elizabeth Mack, and the child's grandmother Mary Elvira Banks. Joe conveyed other news of family and friends: Alex Banks, who had suffered the loss of the academy he owned together with "Mr. Verner" in Pleasant Ridge (Alabama), recently wrote that "the new Academy is finished & he seems to be quite proud of the job." William Banks "is doing well. Both his churches are steadily growing, especially the one at Fort Mill." John L. Girardeau had written about his poor state of health and a trip to the mountains. "He feels lonely, & is anxious for me

to return as Evangelist.” Joe’s last letter of the year, written to his father on 17 December, was pessimistic. “Since my late spell of fever I have not been strong—indeed am weak, at times very weak—fear that I shall be compelled to leave this large field.” He also felt that “[t]he Ch[urch] is not in a good condition. Some are evidently growing in grace, while many are in a backsliding condition. Perhaps six will have to be disciplined....” Mack was clearly ambivalent about his future at Rocky River Church and was uncertain about the proper course to follow.

In a long and frank letter, dated 2 January 1873, William Banks responded to a letter from Joe, written the previous month, in which he had asked for advice about the future direction of his ministry. Apparently Joe had informed his father-in-law that two opportunities had been offered to him. He had received a call from the Presbyterian churches on James and Johns Islands, near Charleston, to become pastor to their congregations and, at about the same time, he had been asked to become an agent for Davidson College and solicit money for that institution. Banks had reservations about both offers and pointed out the problems that he felt each one presented. Because of the state of the Southern economy, he wrote, “you could not raise much money at this time.” His other objection was more telling. “I thought that your views of ministerial duty agreed with mine—that secular business is not... [the purpose] to which we have been called & set apart.... Your great business is to preach the Gospel. Besides you *need rest*—or you may break down permanently.” His chief objection to the

“Island Calls” was more personal. Banks was concerned about the health and well-being of his grandchildren. “I have thought it would be best for your family to remain in the up-country, where you can teach the boys to work, and where your presence & authority are, even now, much needed, in their control and education.” He also mentioned the prospects for “a rich and very abundant harvest” in the “large and important field” at Rocky River Church. “In any case, are you not duty bound to remain at home more with your family, and especially at this time, to care for your physical improvement[?]” But, in the end, Banks advised Joe, “you must decide for yourself....“

Even before he received that letter, Joe had written to his father, on 3 January 1873, spelled out the two options that had been presented to him, and asked, “What sh[oul]d I do?” Since his “spell of fever” the previous November, he had feared that he “could not stand another year in this charge”; however, he believed that if he and his family could move into the parsonage, that would be a sign that he should stay longer at Rocky River Church. The house had been finished and ready for two months, but the kitchen was “yet unfinished.” In early December, he had told Hattie “that there would be a call to go elsewhere... [and] she laughed at... [his] foolish feelings.” A few days later, a letter arrived from the elders of the churches on James and Johns Islands “proffering \$1300 & a house—also \$50, for part of my removal. They also said that the way was opening for work among the colored people.” He was obviously attracted by the opportunity to resume the type of ministry that he and the Reverend John L.

Girardeau had provided to African Americans living in Charleston. “Will our ch[urch] do anything for the negro?.... Is my field among blacks—or am I to labor among whites? Shortly after the first offer, he received a letter indicating that if another person declined the position, that he would “be urged to accept of an agency to collect money for Davidson College—salary \$2000, provided that so much was collected.” He saw that possibility as a sign “that God may be opening the way for sending me through the state quasi evangelist.” On the other hand, the church congregation, at their annual meeting held the day before, had urged their pastor to stay. Joe recounted some of the members’ arguments: “they have never been so united—that many old feuds will revive if I leave—that my being here is necessary to the payment of their debts—& that they are improving fast.” He then asked his father to “[g]ive advice freely & fully.”

By the time he penned his next letter to his father, on 15 January 1873, Joseph was convinced that he should stay at Rocky River Church. His family was living in the parsonage, and “the church [had] waked up,” he proclaimed. “They paid up all the old debts, made arrangements to pay my dues promptly by putting the subscription far over the mark, have gone to work to pay \$1450 still due on parsonage, raised enough to fence one yard & garden, & took a new departure.” In addition, Joe was pleased that “we are supplied at present with servants[,] [t]here is a school about 150 yards off, & soon we hope to have an Academy.”

With the immediate future determined, Joseph, in his letter dated 21 February 1873, once again invited his father to visit and

take part in the May communion service. "Come, come, & may you come by the direction of the Holy Ghost. We need a special blessing. And Mr. Banks would be delighted to have you with him. Plenty to do!"

William Mack did visit with his son in the late spring of 1873, assisted with a series of meetings which resulted in thirty-two additions to Rocky River Church's membership. He notified Joe, in a letter written from Columbia (Tennessee), 20 June 1873, that he "arrived home safely and in good general health last Friday night." Apparently, Joe had negotiated a leave-of-absence with the elders of Rocky River Church which would take effect about the first of August and continue for the rest of the year. He wanted to work as an evangelist and hold meetings with Presbyterian congregations within Concord Presbytery in central North Carolina, much as his father had done in his own ministry in Tennessee, after he had stepped down from his regular pastorate in 1858. With the support of the leaders of his church, he was relieved of his regular duties for five months in order to devote full-time to evangelistic works.

Jacob C. Barnhardt (1826–1896), an elder in the church, and also the postmaster of Pioneer Mills and a very successful merchant, reported to Joseph B. Mack, in a letter dated 25 August 1873, on the state of the church. "We have had no preaching since you left, [but] have had Sabbath School & prayer meeting every Sunday," he wrote. "Our people feel very much interest in your work and success... [and] trust that you may be abundantly blessed in your labors in building up the waste places of Zion and calling sinners to repentance," he continued.

Joe's father gently chided his son, in a letter dated 24 November 1873, for not writing him, then asked him several pointed questions: "How often do you see your family? Where are they? What, when your six months are out?" He also mentioned that he knew of his son's preaching from "the notices in the papers" and suggested "that it is exceedingly imprudent" to preach "three times a day." On 13 January 1874, Joe wrote a four-page letter to his father, and explained why he had been a negligent correspondent. "As my Evangelistic work has prevented my writing, & as it was remarkably blessed, I will give you an outline of it." Beginning with the last week in July 1873 and continuing until he returned to the Rocky River parsonage on Christmas Eve, Joe had preached, "in round numbers," 200 sermons and had given "80 lectures or addresses," that resulted in "300 additions" to the churches where he had visited; "6 churches dying & dead [were] put on a hopeful basis; while the reviving of other churches & individual Christians was a marked feature of the work." He informed his father that his evangelistic meetings had typically lasted a week, included three services a day, and "that the Gospel, i.e. immediate faith, immediate confession & immediate putting hand to the plow[,] is the thing to be preached." The constant traveling and preaching had brought him "near dying from collapse," but he had recovered some of his strength since returning home. Perhaps as a result of his successful evangelistic mission, he had received several inquiries from churches seeking a pastor. "I had an invitation from the new ch[urch] in Charleston, but declined, also from Concord & Taylorsville churches, but

declined,” he told his father. He also received a letter from a church in Covington (Tennessee), and a letter “about being Evangelist in E[ast] Texas Presby[tery]. What do you think of that?”

Invitations extended to the Reverend J.B. Mack in 1875 from several churches tempted him to leave his charge at Rocky River and move elsewhere. Even though he seemed pleased that, as he related to his father in a letter dated 16 February 1875, the church elders “had increased... [his] salary to \$1500 & the parsonage,” by including “\$300 to send my family off in summer,” he still found “several other causes of despondency.” Although there was “good attendance on preaching, & some interest in it,” there was also “some drunken[n]ess, [and] some dancing....” The chief reason for his discontent, however, appeared to have been his decision not to accept a call to a church in Murfreesboro (Tennessee). Even though his father had opposed that move, he wrote that “I sometimes fear that I made a sad mistake in not going to M.” He also mentioned that “[t]here has been a great deal of sickness here lately; mostly influenza, which has developed in many instances into pneumonia.” Hattie and “one or two of the children” were among the sufferers, as well as “Mr. & Mrs. Banks... [who had] both been sick within the last month.” Joe’s next letter to his father, dated 23 March 1875, was “the messenger of sad news.” The Reverend William Banks had died on 17 March 1875, after a brief illness. “He had been having ‘smothering’ attacks produced by heart disease for about a month,” but on the day he died, “he was out in the field seeing to the setting out of some fruit trees...

[when] he had 3 of these attacks....“ After he was brought to the house, “[h]e was conscious, but said nothing to anyone, except from time to time in prayer,” and lived only about two hours. The Macks hurried to Fort Mill (S.C.) by train and arrived in time for the “burial which took place about 4 P.M.” on Thursday, the day after he died. “A good man is gone! The loss is ours, not his!” Joe believed. In the final paragraph of his letter, Joe informed his father that the “Murfreeboro people still want me to come to them.” He had also been approached about “the Evangelistic work of Memphis Presbytery, & have been asked about going again to S.C.,” and he concluded that “[s]ickness may cause me to leave here.”

Joe had indicated in his letters to his father his intention to leave the Rocky River Church as soon as he determined whether he wanted to accept a church and remain in pastoral work, or preach as an evangelistic to many different congregations, as he had done for one year in Charleston, and for five months in Concord Presbytery. In fact, Joe had, early in 1875, asked his congregation to release him as pastor. The members of the church, however, refused to assent to his request, as did the Concord Presbytery. In May, the Reverend J.B. Mack spent two weeks preaching in Petersburg (Virginia), where, as he reported to his father in a letter written 2 June 1875, the “first week was devoted to gleaning the harvest of other weeks, but every night of the 2nd week there were from 1 to 3 new cases of interest.” When he returned home, he found that his “family... [had] been only tolerably well.” Some of

the children had suffered from “chills,” while the youngest, Harrington Mack, who was born 19 March 1874, “was threatening to teethe.” Joe was worried about him because he was “over 14 months old & has only 2 teeth as yet, can say only a word or two, & cannot walk by himself.” His older boys, Willie and Allie, would stay in Asheville (N.C.) “this summer, going to school... & boarding with a cousin of Hattie’s,” while Lizzie would live with friends in Sumter (S.C.).

Hattie had just taken Mary and Harry to Fort Mill (S.C.) for a visit, and planned to leave Mary with her grandmother. On 28 June 1875, Mary Banks wrote Hattie, informing her that “Mary is very well & very lively.” She also related that Hattie’s brother would arrive in Fort Mill about 8 July 1875 from Alabama, on his honeymoon trip with his bride, Sallie McMullen (1851–1911). Mary Banks wanted Hattie to come to Fort Mill a few days before the newlyweds arrived in order to help with preparations for their visit. “If you can[']t make the cake do save me some butter if you can. Butter & eggs are both very scarce here now.” Joe evidently planned to spend the summer away from Rocky River, while his wife, Mrs. Banks and some of the children were away in Asheville. Mrs. Banks wanted Sallie to stay with Alex in Fort Mill rather than join the Asheville group. Mrs. Banks was eager for Sallie “to try her hand at house-keeping.”

One letter written on 9 October 1875 by Hattie and addressed to her husband “Care of Rev’d J. Rumple, Salisbury, N.C.,” indicated that Joseph had continued his evangelistic services during the fall. Hattie reminded him to keep “your promise to preach but once a

day.” She also asked if he would be home the following Monday. “Perhaps you will, if you think of the congregational meeting.” At that meeting, held 14 November 1875, Joseph renewed his request that the church members support his petition to the Presbytery to release him from his responsibilities to Rocky River Church. This time the membership agreed. In a letter to his father dated 10 December, Joe announced “[o]n the 8th my pastoral relation with R.R. Ch[urch] was dissolved & I was dismissed to Bethel Presbytery [South Carolina]” by action of the Concord Presbytery. Even after this decision had been finalized, Joe confided to his father, “[i]t is with some reluctance that I leave this field, & somewhat question my doing so.” He did admit, however, that perhaps the reason for going to South Carolina, where he would pastor both Unity Church, in Fort Mill, and Waxhaw Church, for a combined salary of \$1,500, was so he could “give half or a third of my time to protracted or communion meetings. If I had an income of \$400, outside of my salary[,] I would surely do so.”

Another reason for his removal to South Carolina was related, indirectly, to the death of his father-in-law, William Banks. After his death, Hattie and her brother Alex evidently divided their father’s property. Joe informed his father that he had bought the “Home place for \$2200, or Hattie’s part of that part of the estate which has been divided & \$280.... I am putting a two story addition 36 x 17, besides a two story passage 36 x 8, to the house... [which] will make the house have 9 rooms.” The on-going work on the house would probably mean that Joe and his family would not move to Fort Mill until February, or later. Until then, the Macks remained in

the Rocky River parsonage. Not only did Joe occupy the house previously owned by William Banks in Fort Mill, but he also became pastor to the two churches that his father-in-law had previously lead. Banks had supplied Waxhaw and Unity Presbyterian churches in 1871–72, and had served as pastor of Unity Church from 1872 until 1875. At the time of his death, he was president of the board of trustees of Davidson College, and had served as a trustee from 1845 until 1874, when he became president of the board. Joe was also involved with Davidson College, and preached there on several occasions while pastor at Rocky River. In 1873, he was elected to a two-year term and, after moving to South Carolina, was selected for another two years, 1876–1878.

Joe informed his father, in his letter of 4 January 1878, “[o]n last Sunday I preached at the Columbia Church. They have two or three times approached me on the subject of being their pastor, and by a formal act of Session urged me to visit them...” He also noted, that after the visit, “[t]hings are a little more favorable there than I thought.” When he next wrote his father, on 18 April 1878, he related that “the church of Columba, S.C. has elected me their Pastor, and soon the call will be put before me.” Then, he chronicled the chain of events that had brought that result. The previous minister, the Reverend John H. Bryson (1831–1897), “found that he was not acceptable and resigned” in 1876, after serving the church for three years. “They [the congregation] soon fell into the hands of Dr. Plumer as S[tated] S[upply] at \$20 per week. Ere long they wanted me to visit them & I declined.” Dr.

William Swan Plumer (1802–1880), also served as a professor at the Columbia Theological Seminary from 1867 until 1880, and was considered one of the leading Presbyterian theologians of his time.

Joseph B. Mack did preach for the church, while attending the meeting of the Synod in Columbia (S.C.), in October 1876. After he had finished his sermon, he related to his father, “Dr. P[lumer] had me to go to his study, where he indirectly argued to make me decline, if called.” A letter followed, written “to the same effect, to which I did not reply.” Eventually, the congregation then voted on whether to elect Mack as the next pastor of their church. Forty members voted for him, and twenty-three against, including Dr. Plumer’s daughter, “who was ‘dead out’ against me & worked day & night.” The Columbia Presbyterian Church would pay \$1,500 per year, and perhaps more would be pledged as a supplement to his salary. He confided to his father that his current churches, Waxhaw and Unity, were falling behind with his salary. In Fort Mill, “there have been several failures in business & so I told them,” he wrote, “that I would take \$750 instead of \$950.” On the other hand, “I have a splendid place here—a good house & over 20 acres of land, garden & orchard & everything necessary.” Also, he added, [t]he school is near by & my influence in this section is growing.” In fact, his sons attended the Fort Mill Academy, which was first opened in February 1876 with the boys’ uncle, Alex Banks, as headmaster, and Joe Mack as the chairman of the board of trustees. Joe clearly faced a dilemma. As he confessed to his father, “I feel that God sent me here to save the ch[urch] in

Chester, to revolutionize our Presbytery, & to vindicate truth & law. But that is done. Is it a sign to leave or not?"

When his father replied to him, in a letter written 20 April 1876, he offered unexpected advise. He had "[h]oped things would be permanent for you and your family at F[ort] Mill," he wrote. "Now, for some reason, I feel different. If you see your way clear, Go, and the Lord be with you." In addition to his father, Joe had turned to his close friend, John L. Girardeau, for his insight. Now a professor at Columbia Theological Seminary, Girardeau was well qualified to provide a local prospective on the Columbia (S.C.) church; however, he was reluctant to provide counsel, but because he "was bound [to Joe] by peculiar ties,... I must say to my friend what I think, when he appeals to me to do so." Girardeau thought that Joe "ought to decline the call." He explained that "the influence of a certain family will be a thorn in your side...." He also pointed out that the church Session was "lacking in efficiency," and would rarely meet, as the Reverend John Bryson had told him, "even for the gravest business." Because the congregation included so many divergent groups—"A Southern element; A northern; Professors; Theological Students who have no identification with this particular church and sit as critics, rather than workers; Parties to the question of worldly amusements, hostile to each other"—he believed that Mack, because of his "positive views could not adapt himself to all these different elements." Even though he "should be delighted to be once more side by side with you, here and in the Presbytery," Girardeau admitted, "I do not wish to see you in hot water."

With conflicting advice from the two people he trusted most, Joe Mack found it difficult to make a decision. He told his father, in a letter written 1 May 1876, that he had “not yet decided what to do, [but] my decision must be made in a week.” Once that decision was determined, he planned to leave, on 14 May 1876, for Knoxville (Tennessee), where the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States would hold its annual meeting. After the meeting ended, he traveled to Columbia (Tennessee), to visit with his father, step-mother, and sister. Joe was able to tell his father in person that he had accepted the call to the Columbia (S.C.) church.

As soon as he returned to Fort Mill, he prepared for his move to Columbia (S.C.), where he would officially began his ministry in June 1876. Hattie and the children remained in Fort Mill, waiting for Joe to find a suitable house in Columbia (S.C.). Hattie wrote her husband from “Home” on 30 July 1876, gently reminding him that it was her birthday and that she had not received a letter from him. “I thought you were to write every other day, or you asked me to write that often,” she chided. She reported on church services in Fort Mill where “Mr. Dodge preached a very good sermon, though he read very closely,” and the health of their son—“Eddie has the mumps in real earnest.”

Joe, in his letters to Hattie, typically recounted news from Columbia (S.C.) and from his church. In a letter of 26 August 1876, he informed Hattie that he had “preached twice yesterday, [and] there were 245 out in the morning, 50 more than at any time since I have been here.... At night there were 125 out, though the

night was dark & the Washington St. Methodist Ch[urch] open.” He had found that “[t]here are many difficulties here, but step by step, God is leading and helping me. There is great work to be done here by somebody....“

It was not until 6 November 1876 that Joe was able to tell his father, “[w]e have been comfortably fixed in our new home for nearly three weeks, & I have been here for a little over four months.” Joe was pleased with the members of the congregation. “The people are very kind, & I hope are satisfied. They are doing many little acts of kindness, [and] are coming out very well to the Sunday & prayer meeting services.” He also commented on the elections that had occurred the previous day in South Carolina. Wade Hampton won re-election as governor and “the Democracy have literally swept the state.” The Democrats “perhaps would have gained a victory fairly, but it is both by fair & foul measures that the thing was done.” Once again, he extended an invitation to his father and his sister Mary to get away from Tennessee’s “very trying” climate and enjoy Columbia’s “splendid winter climate....” We “have a nice room, about 16 x 18 ft., carpeted, with a fire place, with four windows & with a nice bathroom adjoining.” Even though William had been ill, he wrote his son on 11 November 1876, “M[ary] & I expect, if I continue in pretty fair condition, to start for your place between 10th & 20th of next month.”

William Mack’s health rapidly deteriorated after his arrival in Columbia (S.C.), and he died Friday morning, 10 January 1879. His widow, Sarah, hurried from her home in Columbia (Tennessee), for a memorial service, with remarks from Dr.

Girardeau, and immediately returned, where she arrived 16 January 1879, “much fatigued with sorrow and her journey,” according to her son, Eddie, who wrote Joe a letter on 17 January 1879.

Joe’s brother, William L. Mack, wrote him from his home in Lamar (Missouri), on 21 January 1879 and expressed his shock upon receiving the news of their father’s death: “It was so sudden & unexpected that we can hardly realize that he is gone.” He also expressed his view about the burial of his father. “My voice is for... [his body] to be brought to Columbia [Tennessee] and placed in the family graveyard.... and it is fitting that he should be laid by the side of mother [Elizabeth Bingham Mack (1813–1851)] & [sister] Corny [Cornelia Mayes Mack (1848–1867)].”

William L. Mack and Joe arranged to meet in Columbia (Tennessee), on 25 or 26 February 1879, for funeral services and the burial of their father. Joe left Columbia (South Carolina), by train, with his father’s body, and arrived in Columbia, Tennessee, in time to place the coffin in the family home on 26 February 1879. The interment followed the next day. Joe remained in Columbia (Tennessee), until 13 March 1879, where, according to his sister Mary’s letter, written to Hattie, on that day, he had “worked hard while here and never left until he was certain that I had secured to me, what father’s will intended me to have.” She was also pleased that her two brothers, Joe and Willy, “enjoyed very much being together again.” She had heard, she confided to Hattie, “that everybody was delighted with Joe’s preaching, and one of the elders said ‘Columbia might well be proud of her boy.’” Joe was

eager to return to his family, especially in light of the recent birth of another daughter. Born 18 January 1879, she was named Cornelia, to honor Cornelia Mack, Joe's sister who had died as a young woman of nineteen.

After he arrived at his home, Joe corresponded regularly with his sister Mary and brother Willy about matters related to their father's estate. Mary warned Joe, in a letter written 24 March 1879, that she had angered their step-mother when she arranged for the headstone for their father. Apparently Joe had "left the business of attending to the headstone" to her, but now "Mrs. Mack," the name she used for her step-mother, was "on a high horse as being the 'proper one' to see to this...."

On 27 March 1879, Joe received a letter from his step-mother about the tombstone issue. He responded the same day, in a letter addressed to "Dear Ma," by writing that the contents of the letter had "astonished, mortified & pained" him. He was offended, he asserted, because "[y]ou have assumed to thrust me aside & to dictate in the whole matter—by your actions you have said, 'Joe is not fit to do this work; Mary shall not have anything to say about it; & so I will do as I please, regardless of my dead husband's desire & request, regardless of my own plighted word, regardless of the solemn family compact.'" Joe took advantage of the location of the annual meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, held in Louisville (Kentucky), starting 15 May 1879, to make visits to relatives in Indiana and Tennessee. His sister Mary wrote a letter to her nephew, Willie Mack, on 24 May 1879, with news of his father. She had received postcards from him while he

was in Louisville, in which he had written that “he has had a very pleasant time at the Assembly, has met many old friends and classmates, and his business has been settled in a very satisfactory manner. He was to go last Wednesday to Indianapolis for a visit, thence to this place for a few days.”

Joe and Mary’s uncle, their mother’s brother, Joseph Jenkins Bingham (1815–1896), was a prominent resident of Indianapolis, who had worked in the newspaper business and was also involved in local politics, and when he extended his nephew an invitation to visit him, in a letter written 17 May 1879, the letterhead indicated he served on the city’s Board of School Commissioners as secretary. He was pleased that Joseph would arrive when “[a]ll are at home now but Sallie, who is in Boston pursuing her musical education. You will find much to talk over and learn about your relatives.” After he left Indianapolis, Joseph paid a brief visit to his sister and step-mother in Columbia (Tennessee), in an effort to deal with some of the estate business that remained unsettled.

When Joseph returned home, he resumed his pastoral duties in Columbia (S.C.) and also turned his attention to his house and property in Fort Mill (S.C.). He wrote his brother-in-law, Alex Banks, and asked him to make his tax return on his Fort Mill property, which included the “Home place, & 63 1/2 acres of the State land...and let me know the assessed value.” Joseph apparently had purchased “State land” near Fort Mill from the South Carolina Land Commission, an agency established by the South Carolina Constitution of 1868 to sell small parcels of state-

owned land scattered across the state to encourage farmers, both black and white, to acquire property.

In an earlier letter, written on 22 January 1879, Alex had mentioned to Joe that “[t]he Government lands are being deserted partly. Some of the [N]egroes have gone to Texas; others speak of it.” Joseph also informed Alex that he had learned from a Davidson College professor that Joe’s eldest son, Willie, “can have free tuition at Davidson next year.” Both Willie and Allie had prepared for college at the Fort Mill Academy, and free tuition for Willie would enable Joe “to send Eddie to you” in the fall. Joe added a note to his letter, dated 20 June, with news about the illness of his five-month-old daughter. “Cornelia is no better but rather worse.... Her case is becoming serious.” She died a week later, and Joseph wrote a brief announcement, probably intended as a newspaper obituary, which is included among the Mack family papers: “Died, in Columbia S.C., of cholera infantum, on June 28th, *Cornelia*, infant daughter of the Rev. J.B. and Mrs. Hattie Mack, aged 5 months and 10 days.”

In the fall of 1879, Willie Mack enrolled at Davidson College, a month before his fifteenth birthday. He announced his safe arrival in a letter to his father dated 18 September 1879 and also provided a detailed accounting of the money he had already spent and listed future expenditures, which would almost exhaust the \$6.50 left from \$32.00 he had when he left home. Joe was faced with a financial challenge greater than meeting his son’s college expenses during the fall. He received a letter, dated 29 September

1879, from the Reverend John Douglas (1809–1879), the minister for Steele Creek and Pleasant Hill Presbyterian churches, located near Charlotte (North Carolina), and, like Joe, an alumnus of Columbia Theological Seminary, and a fellow member of the board of trustees of Davidson College, who expressed great concern for the financial condition of the seminary.

Joe had written to Douglas about the crisis the seminary faced, and Douglas had also had a brief conversation with Dr. Plumer who had “intimated he feared our loss, would prove as great as we were fearing it was.” Using a nautical analogy, John Douglas remarked, “Surely our poor Seminary has fallen among *the Breakers*, & we must fear a total shipwreck. Formidable and dark as things looked before, they are certainly much more so now. I do not see what the Directors can do to help the matter or to prevent the old Ship from going down.”

The two ministers were both directors of the seminary, and Joe had called a meeting of that board for 7 October 1879. Douglas promised to attend and perhaps, he wrote, “by our united wisdom we can provide the means to live a little longer.” The Reverend John Douglas, however, died after a brief illness at his home, before the directors could meet. The financial crisis that the seminary faced was precipitated by the failure of several businesses during 1879 that depleted the seminary’s endowment. Primary among those bankruptcies was James Adger & Company, a banking house in Charleston, which then brought on the failure of J.E Adger & Company, hardware dealers. Both companies were owned by relatives of the Reverend John Bailey Adger (1810–

1899), Presbyterian minister and missionary who, from 1856 until 1874, had been a professor at Columbia Theological Seminary. Newspaper reports placed the seminary's total losses from investments in failed businesses at over fifty thousand dollars.

Unable to find a way to make up those losses, the directors of the seminary, after meeting in Columbia in November, declared that the institution would be forced to close its doors at the end of the session, in May 1880, unless sufficient funds were pledged to make up the monthly deficit in the operating budget of between \$350 and \$400. Dr. Plumer declined to attempt to raise money for the school, citing his advanced age. There was very little that Joe Mack and the other directors of the seminary could do to avoid closing the institution.

The directors of the seminary were prepared to report to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, scheduled to meet in Charleston in late May 1880, that the seminary should be temporarily closed. The Reverend J.B. Adger wrote to J.B. Mack about the Assembly meeting in a postcard dated 11 May 1880. He planned to leave for Charleston at the end of the following week and, he wrote, "I hope you intend to be at the Assembly & are ready with all the facts in the case committed to us. You must take the chief management of it." In addition to the financial problems that precluded continued operations, two seminary faculty members resigned and student enrollment had recently declined. While classes were suspended, the Reverend George Howe was given charge of the vacant campus and library, and continued to earn his salary. Professor James Woodrow was not retained

during the closure, and the Reverend W.S. Plumer was named Professor Emeritus.

There was one note of optimism in the midst of the gloomy report presented to the General Assembly by the seminary's board of directors. A few days before the Presbyterian leaders assembled in Charleston, a group of seminary graduates suggested the organization of an alumni association as a means to strengthen financial support for the institution; however, the decision was made to wait until the seminary reopened, and then move forward with the association.

The Reverend J.B. Mack apparently made overtures to some alumni for support during the summer of 1880. He received a letter, dated 16 August 1880, from M[ilton] C[alhoun] Hutton, a graduate of the seminary, class of 1872, and a minister in Corinth (Mississippi), responding to a "communication" written by Mack. "I will do all I can to aid in promoting the laudable end proposed by the Alumni," he promised. He could not "pledge any stipulated amt., but hope I can do all that is asked.... My people are few & poor, but a *noble* band, especially the *Ladies*."

Mack received a dozen replies to his requests for financial contributions. A young minister living in Nashville, Tennessee, wrote on 17 September, and revealed, in his letter, the nature of Mack's solicitation. R[obert] A[lexander] Webb, had graduated from the seminary that year, had married Sarah Girardeau, the daughter of Mack's close friend, and moved to Nashville. "Your circular," he noted, "apportioning me \$60.00 to be raised toward the 'Howe Memorial,' has been... laid before the Session of Moore

Memorial Church....“ He had raised \$15.75 through a special offering taken “to assist the Seminary,” and apologized for the small amount contributed, “[b]ut the sympathy for Columbia [Theological Seminary] in Nashville is not great.” His wife, Sallie, he wrote, “is well—despises Tennessee—would give her ears to cross the Savannah again. She sends love to you & Mrs. Mack, and occasionally blesses you for sending her to this ‘outlandish’ country.”

William P[lumer] Jacobs, another friend of long standing, a seminary graduate, and the president of Thornwell Orphanage, in Clinton (South Carolina), wrote J.B. Mack about another matter, on 11 October 1880, but did acknowledge the effort to aid the seminary. “As to the Seminary, I am trying to get up an interest, but do not know whether success will crown my efforts or not,” he explained.

While Joseph B. Mack solicited funds for the seminary by letter, John L. Girardeau traveled to Tennessee and Kentucky to hold meetings in an effort to collect money. He wrote Mack on 15 December 1880 from Nashville and reported he had held a “united meeting in Hoyt’s ch[urc]h Sabbath night. Result so far about \$600.00.” Thomas A. Hoyt was the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Nashville and had been a student in the seminary for one year, in 1849. He had, Girardeau wrote, “subscribed \$100. to be paid hereafter.” In early January 1881, Girardeau was in Memphis. He asked Edward C. Jones (1822–1902), a prominent Charleston architect in the years before the Civil War and an equally well-known architect in Memphis, where he had moved in

1866, to forward money he had collected to Mack. Jones enclosed a postal check for \$21.50 in a letter dated 5 January and commented that the “Rev. Mr. G[irardeau] has made a profound impression here by his preaching. I cannot but think it is a great wrong done to the Master’s cause that he should be a Professor rather than a Preacher.” The Reverend John L. Girardeau was not always welcomed when he requested an invitation to present the cause of the seminary to a Presbyterian congregation. He sent J.B. Mack a postcard from Selma (Alabama), on 7 January 1881 with the news that “Dr. Petrie declined to permit the presentation of the Seminary cause for contributions.” George H.W. Petrie (1812–1885) was the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Montgomery (Alabama), from 1857 until his death, and had been a student in the seminary in the 1830s. Girardeau informed Mack that he expected “to leave for Atlanta according to our agreement so as to be there next Sabbath.”

In January 1881, the Reverend Joseph Bingham Mack resigned as pastor of the Columbia (S.C.) church and immediately accepted a position as financial agent for the seminary. John B. Adger wrote from Pendleton (South Carolina), on 3 February 1881, that “I am glad to hear you have undertaken the great work of re-endowment.... God bless & prosper you in the great enterprise.” When Hattie wrote to her husband on 17 February 1881, he was already in Georgia, visiting churches to solicit money. She reported that she had “handed over to Mr. Muller this morning \$836... in checks and orders” that had arrived since Joe had been away. She also mentioned that “Dr. Howe preached

again last Sunday, and had a good congregation. There is," she continued, "a great deal of talk about another preacher. Some want Dr. Palmer, some want Mr. Thornwell, some want Mr. McKay, and some want this one or that one. I am heartily glad you are away...."

While Joe was away, Hattie regularly opened his mail and either summarized, or copied, the most important letters. In a note written 7 March 1881, Hattie related that the Reverend William S. Lacy had informed Joe that he had been elected "unanimously as Trustee of Davidson College by the Alumni Association, term of office expiring in 1883." There was also a letter from her brother Alex who was negotiating the purchase of a farm near Fort Mill for Joe.

Letters with checks, for sums large and small, continued to arrive at the Mack house in Columbia (S.C.) for the remainder of the year. From Cheraw (South Carolina), attorney W.L.T. Prince enclosed a check for \$82.25 in his letter dated 11 March 1881 and indicated that amount had been "raised in our church for the Seminary." He also echoed the sentiments of many other contributors when he expressed the hope that "the Seminary will start out in the fall with renewed energy and be firmly and permanently established as an institution of our church which the Presbyterian people are not willing to let die."

In November 1881, the South Carolina Presbyterian Synod, meeting in Columbia, agreed to share responsibility for the operation of the Columbia Theological Seminary with the Synods of Georgia and Alabama. The General Assembly of the

Presbyterian Church, which had convened in May in Staunton (Virginia), had voted to restore the seminary to the control of a board of directors elected by the three Synods. The members of the South Carolina Synod elected six directors, including the Reverend J.B. Mack, D.D. Those directors would be joined by four selected by the Synod of Georgia, and two from the Synod of Alabama. While the meeting was in session, ninety-four alumni organized an alumni association on 4 November 1881 and made plans for the Semi-Centennial celebration of the seminary's founding. Mack reported to the group that \$26,200 had already been donated to the Howe Memorial Professorship fund.

While Joseph Mack crisscrossed South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama, Hattie Mack remained in Columbia and looked after her the family. During the summer, the older sons, Willie and Allie, on vacation from Davidson College, lived in the family home in Columbia (S.C.). On 26 August 1881, Hattie wrote her husband, then in Decatur (Georgia), about needed repairs to the steps of their house. She also asked Joe to allow Willie to go with the Columbia baseball club to Sumter (S.C.) for a game. His ticket would cost \$2.05 and he had agreed "to do without his monthly rations to make up the money." She noted that she had "to be very particular in the management of that boy, and not be unreasonable in refusing his desires." Even before Joe had responded to her plea, she decided to allow Willie to go with his club, she recounted in her letter to Joe, written on 1 September. "I know I did wrong to let Willie go when I knew you did not want him to go," she confessed. Other problems faced Hattie in December,

as she continued to run the household by herself. "I have had a hard struggle this week with no money at all for three days," she explained to Joseph in a letter dated 9 December. "If your check had not come tonight, I would have certainly [had to]... borrow from...Mr. McCreery.... Please do not place me in such a position any more. I think it is a very poor arrangement that the money has to come all the way from Georgia & Alabama for us to live on."

On 20 December 1881, young Mary Mack wrote to her father: "We all want to see you so bad. We are very sorry that you cannot spend Christmas with us." Hattie continued her daughter's letter and reminded her husband that she was still hard-pressed for money. "This week I had shoes to get for five of the children, the bill amounting to \$14.25." She had also paid other bills, but "I still owe Morris & Mr. Squier, and Mr. Muller a little." Her boarders, "Mr. Stewart...Johnny and Ivy," had paid her the money they owed, but she feared that Mr. Stewart would not be "staying with me again. I do not think he was satisfied." Apparently the family no longer lived in the house on Sumter Street where they resided while the Reverend J.B. Mack was pastor of the Presbyterian church, but probably resided in one of the houses on the seminary's campus.

Early in 1882, the recently-elected members of the board of directors of the seminary turned their attention to the task of re-opening the institution, tentatively scheduled for that fall. One of their most pressing concerns was shifting through the names of applicants for the vacant seminary professorships. One letter of application, addressed to the board of directors in care of Dr.

Mack, and dated 10 January 1882, signed only as “many friends,” suggested that the Reverend Thomas D. Bell, D.D. (1813–1889) was “eminently fitted by nature, education, and experience, to occupy...the Chair of Church Government and History.”

Another name mentioned for the chair of church history was Andrew Dousa Hepburn (1830–1921), who had been a professor at Davidson College from 1874 until 1877, when he was elected president of the college. As a trustee during the same period, and as the father of two sons who were current Davidson students, Mack had interacted with Dr. Hepburn on several levels and suggested that he would make an excellent candidate for the seminary position. Dr. Hepburn, however, made it clear in a letter to J.B. Mack, dated 15 February, that he was not certain that he “would accept such a place if elected to it.”

Mack had solicited the opinion of fellow Davidson College trustee the Reverend Luther McKinnon (1840–1916) about Dr. Hepburn as a scholar and teacher. He also wanted McKinnon’s comments about Hepburn’s orthodoxy, his views on church government, and his attitude toward “the Northern Church.” McKinnon addressed each question and reminded Mack that the questions he had posed were thoroughly examined when Dr. Hepburn was first elected a professor at Davidson College and that the board “was then satisfied & has never had reason to reverse the judgment.”

The members of the board of directors exchanged views and opinions about the candidates for the two open professorships through frequent letters. Hattie opened such a letter, addressed to

her husband from the Reverend Thomas Hart Law (1838–1914), pastor of the Spartanburg church and one of the seminary's directors, that she thought was "so long that I cannot give you the substance of it—I would rather copy it," she informed him in her letter of 24 February 1882. Law referred to a previous letter from Mack in which he had given a "fuller and more explicit statement...about Dr. H." Law stated that he was "ready to vote for Dr. H. for that chair," rather than the other candidate.

Hattie continued to chronicle the actions of the seminary's board of directors by her practice of copying important letters and sending the transcriptions to her husband. In her letter of 13 April 1882, she sent "copies of the long looked for letters that came today." The first was addressed to the Reverend W.E. Boggs, pastor of the Central Presbyterian Church, in Atlanta (Georgia), dated 6 March 1882, and signed by C.A. Silliman, A.W. Clisby, and W.A. Clark, on behalf of the Board of Directors of the Columbia Theological Seminary. The letter informed William Ellison Boggs (1838–1920) that he had been unanimously elected by the board, on 1 March 1882, to the position of Professor of Church Government and History and urged him to accept. Dr. Boggs replied by letter on 12 April 1882 and assured the board members that he "would try to do the work to which I am called, provided that the Presbytery of Atlanta consents to release me from my pastoral work."

On at least one occasion, the Reverend J.B. Mack, because of his work as one of the seminary directors, was the object of serious criticism. Hattie related, in a letter dated 15 May 1882, a

situation that she had heard about, but did not witness. "You were accused of doing things in a mean sneaking way," she informed him. "I am trying to get out of Mrs. G[irardeau] what was said in the graveyard Wednesday. She won't tell much." Hattie attributed the criticism to a rumor "about Dr. Howe being made Prof. Emeritus." She opined that "[t]here is something the matter with the whole crowd." In the same letter, Hattie asked her husband to "[r]emember me to Mr. Van Stavoren," the daguerreotypist Joseph had worked for as a youngster in Tennessee. Joseph planned to visit Van Stavoren's photography studio while in Atlanta.

By the fall of 1882, three of the Mack boys were enrolled at Davidson College in North Carolina. William, who had entered in 1879, was a strong student, as reflected by his grades; Alexander began his studies in 1881 and, in the beginning struggled with his studies. Hattie reported, in a letter to her husband, dated 2 January 1882, two of their sons' grades for the fall term, 1881: "Willie—Astronomy 92, Chemistry 97, Mental Science 98, Literature 98. Allie's—Latin 79, Greek 78, Mod[ern] Lan[gua]ge 80, Math 58."

Edward was a very good student at Fort Mill Academy, where he earned a 99 in Latin and 98 in Greek during the fall term of 1881. When Edward entered Davidson in the fall of 1882, he was only fourteen years old and was described as one "of the little fellows" in a letter President Hepburn wrote to J.B. Mack on 8 March 1883. Eddie had gotten into a "scrape," when he and several others had "greased our blackboards and poured molasses over the benches," but there "was nothing of meanness

or malice in it," Dr. Hepburn surmised. "We assessed them for damages done, [but]... inflicted no punishment. All your boys seem to be well. Willie holds his own bravely: his steady, earnest spirit pleases me even more than his success."

After his graduation, Willie Mack decided to join his mother and younger siblings in Fort Mill, where they had moved from Columbia (S.C.) during the summer of 1883. The Reverend Joseph B. Mack, who accepted the position of financial agent for Davidson College in September 1883, wanted Willie to look after his Fort Mill farm and help his mother manage the affairs of the household, because he would be traveling much of the time. That arrangement continued until September 1884, when Willie joined the faculty of Adger College (Walhalla, S.C.) as professor of mathematics.

Affiliated with the Presbyterian Church, Adger College opened, 1877, in Oconee County (S.C.), and by 1882 employed a five-member faculty. The Reverend Hugh Strong (1834–1885), faculty member since 1878, was a long-time friend of the Mack family. J.B. Mack had performed the wedding ceremony for Hugh Strong and Cornelia Harris Gregg at Zion Church, in Sumter County (S.C.), in 1867. As soon as Willie began teaching, he wrote his brother Eddie from Walhalla (S.C.), on 29 September 1884, with an urgent request for "a 2nd-hand copy of Wentworth's Algebra," and also added, "[a]m teaching for dear life." Willie had decided he wanted to go to law school at the University of Virginia, he informed his mother in a letter, dated 30 January 1885, and promised, "and I will [even] if I have to work mightily to do so." His

plans were suddenly interrupted, as he explained in a letter to his mother, written from Walhalla (S.C.) on 8 April 1885. "I have closed school. The Trustees did not take any action whatever and I had to do as I thought best in the matter."

Hugh Strong's death on 29 March 1885 had precipitated the closing, and it left Willie without a job or money to pay for the trip home. Law school was out of the question, at least for the time being. Willie's uncle, William L. Mack, was the clerk of the circuit court of Barton County (Missouri), and offered his nephew a position as his assistant. By early June 1885, Willie was on his way to Missouri, and a week after arriving at his new home in Lamar, he wrote his mother, on 14 June 1885, a four-page letter with details about his uncle Will and his family and the town of Lamar. "I am now awfully homesick and feel mighty bad...[but] I will be able to tough it out." This letter was one of many that he wrote regularly to his mother until her death in 1937 that chronicle William's successful career as a lawyer and legal editor.

While his sons were preparing for their life's work at Davidson College, the Reverend J.B. Mack found himself embroiled in a controversy that would absorb much of his time and energy until 1890, and would also result in the suspension of classes at the Columbia Theological Seminary for a year, 1886–1887. The Rev. Dr. James Woodrow, who had taught at the seminary since 1861, aroused suspicions about the orthodoxy of his views on evolution in the late 1870s, at about the same time that the institution faced the prospect of closing its doors because of the looming financial crisis it faced.

Mack, as a recently appointed member of the seminary's board, mentioned to Dr. Woodrow, in 1879, that he had heard rumors about the professor's classroom lectures on creation and thought it would be wise for him to dispel those concerns by writing an article for publication that would clarify what he believed and taught his students. Dr. Woodrow rejected the suggestion and replied that his only deviation from the church's view on creation was that it did not happen within six days, a belief of his that was already widely known.

There the matter remained until after the seminary reopened in 1882. At a meeting of the board in 1883, J.B. Mack proposed a formal resolution, which the members passed, that Dr. Woodrow prepare an article for publication that would "give fully his views as taught in this institution upon Evolution...." Woodrow complied with the request and in May 1884, before a meeting of the seminary's alumni association, delivered a speech that, instead of assuring his hearers that his beliefs conformed with traditional Presbyterian doctrine, asserted that he believed "that there are many good grounds for believing that Evolution is true in these respects."

During the summer of 1884, articles began to appear in newspapers, some in support of Dr. Woodrow, and some opposed to his views. In the 16 July 1884 issue of the *Christian Observer*, Dr. Woodrow defended his remarks about evolution, and the Reverend Joseph B. Mack presented the views of Woodrow's critics with "The Other Side."

Many Presbyterians agreed with Mack's traditional Presbyterian stance on the question. C. Foster Williams (1819–1893), a

Presbyterian minister who lived in Maury County (Tennessee), wrote to the Reverend J.B. Mack on 20 October 1884, with a report of the “proceedings of [the] Synod of Nashville on Evolution in Columbia Seminary.” In essence, the Synod’s resolution called for the Synods that controlled the seminary to “put a stop to the teaching of Evolution....” If that was not done, then the Presbyteries should withdraw their candidates for the seminary. Williams thought that if other “Synods who send students do the same, the dog is dead.”

Another supporter of Mack’s position, the Reverend Henry Keigwin, a minister in Orlando (Florida), and a student with J.B. Mack at the Columbia Theological Seminary in 1859 and 1860, wrote, in a letter dated 31 December 1884, “I am proud of you... for the course you have pursued and the victory you have achieved in the Woodrow matter.”

Mack had been vocal in his opposition to Dr. Woodrow’s view on evolution during the September 1884 meeting of the seminary’s board of directors and, along with two other directors, had dissented from the majority who had agreed with Dr. Woodrow. And during the Synod of South Carolina’s annual meeting in Greenville (S.C.) in October 1884, Joseph B. Mack continued his opposition with several speeches from the floor. At that meeting, a number of new seminary directors, most of them Woodrow critics, were elected and when the board met in December 1884, the majority of the members voted to ask for Dr. Woodrow’s resignation. Two Woodrow supporters, Dr. W.E. Boggs and Charles R. Hemphill, immediately resigned from the

board in protest. Dr. Woodrow refused to appear before the board and would not resign his professorship.

Dr. Mack spent most of his time away from his home and family in 1885. Hattie wrote regularly to her husband during the early spring while he traveled, raising money for Davidson College and the Columbia Seminary. After Willie Mack left for Missouri in June 1884, Hattie needed someone to take his place on the farm. Alexander Mack left Davidson College after the end of the spring term to take his brother's place, and for the next two years he looked after the family farm.

Hattie's letters to her husband during the spring of 1885, when planting commenced, chronicle the difficulties she and Allie had with Andrew, one of the farm workers, and convey her feeling of being overwhelmed by her responsibilities. On 1 April 1885, she wrote, that Andrew had left the farm just when "Allie commenced planting corn yesterday. I had to stop Harry from school to help him." As a result, she indicated, "Allie is in a terrible humor today, swearing, yelling and knocking Harry about." She concluded her letter with a plea: "Pray for me, dear, that I may have grace and patience to bear my trials. Sometimes I almost despair."

Hattie's problems continued in the fall, when her letters to her absent husband resume. On 5 September 1885, she wrote, the "well water is very bad again, both tastes and smells.... You can smell it while it is coming up." Two days later, she mentioned that the "sow had eight little pigs, but has killed two of them. No rain since you left. The water not improved." When she wrote again, on 5 November 1885, she acknowledged the telegram she received

from Joe the previous day and detailed the state of her health. "I am feeling tolerably well today—not as well as yesterday. Slept well last night, but had a bad time the night before." Joe's telegram and her emphasis on her state of health were in response to the immanent birth of another child. On 11 November 1885, Luther Bingham Mack, was born.

Hattie relied on her older children to help with the baby. In her letter dated 29 January 1886, she complimented her eleven-year-old son, Harry, who was "a great help in taking care of Luther," especially because she had "not been well for three days." Her eldest son, Willie, was her most reliable correspondent during 1886. He wrote once a week, usually on Sunday, and nineteen of his letters survive in the collection from that year. Although he devoted much of each letter to his activities, especially his efforts to study law, he also comments on his siblings, recites information gained from their letters, and always expressed his concern for "My own dear little mother," the salutation he typically used to begin each letter.

In a letter written on 21 February 1886, he dwelled on his efforts to become a lawyer. "[I]t has been so long since I have been able to read a single bit of Law, [and] I do wish I was already a good Lawyer with a good practice." His plan, he stated, was to "read away for eighteen months and then go to a Law school and go thru some way or other in one year." A week later, he described all of the work he was flooded with while court was in session. "I have written all day and tho it is too dark to write much Record I will write you my usual letter before I light the lamp to resume my

work.” Even with the heavy work load, he was pleased because, he explained, “I am beginning to be a Lawyer & that is what I came here for.” His next letter, dated 6 March 1886, was written “upon the Caligraph, [a] machine somewhat like a type-writer.” In the letter that followed, dated 14 March 1886, he explained in more detail his use of the new machine: “Instead of buying a new suit of clothes I bought this ‘Caligraph’ in order to save time for study and also to become expert and get a good position in some lawyer’s office in some place where there is a law school, so as to help me to work my way through.”

Letters from Edward, in his final year at Davidson College in 1886, were not as numerous, or lengthy, as the ones from Willie. He informed his father, in a letter dated 14 April 1886, that he had written to his brother Will of his “renewed determination to serve God & asked him to think about it for himself.”

Will did get a letter from Edward, he wrote his mother on 2 May 1886, but he mentioned only that his brother “was very busy at commencement and other extra duties that have been thrown upon his well-deserving shoulders by both the society and fraternity.” Edward had also written that he “wants to do honor to himself, his S.A.E. [Sigma Alpha Epsilon social fraternity] brothers and to his father’s name.” All of the Mack boys joined the Eumenean Society, one of the two student debating clubs at Davidson, and William Mack was one of four students, who on 20 May 1883, founded the Davidson chapter of Sigma Alpha Epsilon, although they did so in secret, because the school’s administration

did not permit fraternities on campus. In a letter dated 29 August 1886, Willie informed his mother that he planned to enter the Law Department of the University of Missouri and he asked her to send “my diploma and 'S.A.E.' badge for they have a chapter of my fraternity at Columbia [Missouri]....” In the same letter, he told his mother “to give my love to all and tell Ed to do well and write me regularly when he gets to Princeton.”

When William wrote next, on 24 October 1886, he was enrolled in the law school of the University of Missouri and was very pleased to inform his mother “that our law professor Mr. Tiedeman is a native of South Carolina and is... related to many Charlestonians where he used to live.” He wondered if his parents had “heard of him when you lived in that city.” Christopher G. Tiedeman (1867–1903) had graduated from the College of Charleston at the age of nineteen, studied law for two years in Germany, and earned an LL.B. before joining the Missouri Law School faculty in 1881. “I am getting a lot of good from the classroom of Professor Tiedeman and he is a fine teacher in every respect,” he reported. William was disappointed, however, that his A.B. degree from Davidson counted for so little, “for they do not recognize it out here and I am required to pass on all my Logic and Rhetoric and Philosophy the same as tho I had never taken them at all.”

Although William had passed the “law studies requisite for the advancement to the senior class,” he also needed to prove his proficiency in “book-keeping.” He “borrowed a book from a friend and got his ‘set’ of books that he had written up last year[,] spent

one whole day on it and the next day passed the examination," he bragged to his mother in his letter of 14 November 1886.

Alex, who had left Davidson in 1884 before he earned his degree, had decided to begin formal studies once more. He wrote his mother on 26 November 1886 from Lexington (North Carolina), where he was staying with Dr. Robert L. Payne, a physician who had offered to direct young Mack's training. "I have ample opportunity there to study Physiology, as all is so quiet...." But he complained that he was "tired of all & everything here but medicine & I love that as hard as a fellow loves his 'Ladye Love.... I long for the time when I will be turned loose with an M.D. stuck on my name & a pill box under my arm."

Hattie wrote Alex a letter, dated 9 December 1886, in which she detailed the events leading up to the sudden death of his little brother Luther, who had died three days earlier. "I know that you will want to know the particulars of dear little Luther's death, so I send you a full account, as I have to the other boys." William responded to the news of Luther's death with a six-page letter of condolence, dated 10 December 1886, addressed to "my own darling mother." He explained that he "wrote this in pen & ink, for I wanted you to feel that it was from *me*, your oldest boy, one who loves you deeply & sincerely & I feel as tho there was a coldness in a letter by typewriting on the 'caligraph."

Edward Mack wrote a cheerful letter to his mother the last day of 1886 from Princeton, filled with news of his activities during the holiday period. "All of the Southern fellows have caught the skating fever, and it must be funny to see us trying to stand up on

the ice,” he concluded. He also observed that “[s]ome of the Southern students are quite shocked at the usage to which the pulpit is put in the Northern church. On last Sunday the Pastor of the ‘First Church’ gave two historical discourses on that church, and a North Carolina student is quite indignant.”

The Reverend Joseph B. Mack continued his evangelistic duties and his work as financial agent for both Davidson College and Columbia Theological Seminary in 1887. His letters and postal cards from towns scattered across North and South Carolina and Georgia document his efforts to save souls and raise money.

From Mt. Olive (North Carolina), on 4 January 1887, Joe wrote Hattie and reported, “I preach twice a day, but the congregations are not large, though very attentive.” He confessed that “I think of you all constantly. If my children will only do well I am content. The loss of my little boy is a sad trial but.... God knows & does for us better than we could possibly do.” Two days later, he admitted to Hattie, in a letter from Mt. Olive, “I do wish that I had a pastoral charge, & could be with you all the time. It is a sad trial to always be from home, for I could be so happy there.”

Later in the month, in a letter written from Tarboro, North Carolina, on 26 January 1887, after he gave Hattie a list of things to do related to their farm work, he confided, “I will try to have you with me soon, or else will give up my travelling. I pity you in your sad bereavement for the baby must have been a joy to you doubly dear because of my absence.” He also noted that he had “sent Ed \$10, & Willie \$25—told Al he could go to Jefferson College.” The next day, in another letter written from the same place, Joseph

indicated he was “somewhat discouraged in my work” and that he feared “a bitter struggle over the Organic Union question, & to a division of our church.” He was, however, “so glad that the 3 boys are so far along in their professional preparation, & that Willie is out west & that Eddie went to Princeton this year, & that Allie was put under Dr. Payne.”

William, in fact, completed his law studies early in 1887, and Joe wrote Hattie, on 21 February 1887, “I am glad that Willie is going to Kansas City, & I hope that the way may open for him to make a specialty of real property.” Mack continued his rigorous preaching schedule into the summer, with occasional stops in Fort Mill, for brief visits with his family. When Joe wrote Hattie from Columbia (South Carolina), on 27 May 1887, both Ed and Al were at home, and he asked that they, along with Harry, look after several tasks on the farm. “Tell Al to have Lawson cut the grass on the branch when ready & engage John Reid to cut wheat & oats when ripe, and to have Harry put down some fertilizer by each stock of corn.”

In June 1887, Joe spent several days at Davidson College for a meeting of the board of trustees. “Ed has been made A.M. by a vote of the Board, & I have been elected Agent for 1888,” Joseph informed Hattie in a letter dated 15 June 1887.

On 27 August 1887, William Mack wrote his father from Winfield (Kansas), where he worked for the firm VanWormer & Bonham, “Abstractors of Title.” He explained that “there is not very much pure law practice out here. It is always mixed up with real estate,

abstracts or such like things....“ He also indicated that he planned to open his own business.

By the time he wrote to his mother, on 4 September 1887, he had launched a new enterprise. “I started into business for myself last Monday,” he began. He had hired a lawyer who had worked with him in Kansas City to abstract the titles to real estate for Cowley County, Kansas. While overseeing that project, William continued his work with VanWormer & Bonham, because he was “making a good living,” which enabled him to pay half the salary of the lawyer who abstracted the land records.

A month later, William wrote his mother, on 2 October 1887, on letterhead of Mack & Hopkins, Attorneys at Law, and he happily reported, “[w]e opened up last Monday and have already gotten a couple of cases of \$5.00 fees each.” Although he admitted that he did “not expect to make much money out of Law right away but I am happy at my calling and will still make a living at abstracts....”

Edward Mack decided, probably for financial reasons, to enter Columbia Theological Seminary in the fall, rather than return to Princeton, and it was from Columbia (South Carolina), that he addressed a letter to his mother, on 13 October 1887, in which he described returning to the city where he had previously lived and still had so many friends. “The front of the Sem[inary] is now graced with a new fence, and the grave old Institution looks quite dud[e]ish in its white border, trimmed with green gates,” he reported. Croquet was the new game on campus, and some seminarians, “desirous of getting the fair ones into their power, are meditating ‘Tennis,’ as a suitable trap.” And, he observed, “[t]here

has been quite an increase in the number of students...here. *Five* have come, & at least one more will come, making a grand total of '20.'"

In his next letter to his mother, dated 28 October 1887, Edward commented on the reactions of the seminary students to the continuing quarrel over evolution and the schism it had created among Presbyterians, especially with the prospect of the upcoming meeting of the South Carolina Synod. "Several [students] wish to attend & see the 'big fight,' & I would not object to seeing Evolution come to its last struggle. Nearly all of the students seem to have great confidence in Dr. G[irardeau], & think that if just gets his hands on Dr. W[oodrow], it will be all over." Even though Edward stood with his father against Dr. Woodrow and his supporters, Edward thought "'Dr' is a grand old fellow too. It is no little pleasure to hear him lecture & preach, & the more we see of him, the more we admire."

When the Synod of South Carolina met at Darlington (S.C.) in early November 1887, the Reverends Joseph B. Mack and John L. Girardeau both spoke in defense of the action of the seminary's board of directors in removing Dr. Woodrow from the institution's faculty. Each one argued that the four controlling synods had mandated that result, and they had no other option, but to obey the directive. Even though the voting members of the synod were divided in their opinions about Dr. Woodrow, the majority, eighty-five to sixty, supported the decision of the board to remove Dr. Woodrow.

Mack sent his son William a copy of an article from the *Christian Observer* about the action of the South Carolina Synod, and William responded with a long letter dated 23 November 1887. William analyzed the Woodrow controversy and produced what would pass for a legal brief. After declaring that he was “prone always to be on the same side with my father and friends,” he confessed, “yet I candidly do not see where you or any of the Evolutionists or non-Evolutionists have immortalized your church in the Evolution fight....” He then asked, “Is one man a worse Christian for believing in Evolution? I think you will agree with me, that he is not for that reason.”

Joe Mack had rushed home to Fort Mill after the Synod adjourned to be with Hattie, who was expecting another child. On 13 November 1887, another son was born. When Hattie wrote her husband on 25 November 1887, she reported she was “getting a little stronger.... Today I am up to going about the room a little.” The baby, yet unnamed, “cries all the time while awake.” In her letter of 9 December 1887, she informed Joe that “[t]he baby is growing, and does not cry *quite* as much.”

William, in his letter of 11 December 1887, weighed in on naming the baby: “What are you going to name the ‘young’un’? Walter? or what? How do you like ‘Banks’ or Walter Banks Mack[?]” A name still had not been chosen when William wrote his mother on 18 December 1887, and repeated his previous question: “What are you going to cal[!] that ‘young’un’ at our house?”

Hattie and Joe had decided on a name by 10 January 1888, for on that day Joe wrote his sister Mary and informed her that he had incorporated their grandmother Mack's family name in his son's name, Francis Murray Mack. She responded to the news in her letter dated 15 January 1888. She complimented her brother on choosing "a pretty name for your boy but his great grandmother spelt her name without an a—simply Murry." She had asked their father, she remembered, about the name "a few years before he died and he was very positive about this spelling."

Joe resumed his travels as financial agent for both Davidson College and the seminary soon after Murry Mack was born; however, only six letters survive in the collection from 1888. In one of those letters, written 19 January 1888, Hattie reported to her husband, then in Lumberton (North Carolina), on the state of affairs at home: Lizzie was away at school, "and likes the place more & more except the board"; she had received letters from both Edward and Al, but not Willie; "Mary is well and bright, & I do not know what I would do without her; Harry is as bad as ever...; [t]he baby is well, and growing & fattening"; but Hattie, she mentioned, has been suffering from a "sore throat ever since you left."

The next year, 1889, five letters are in the collection, and one, written by Hattie to her absent husband on 11 August 1889, reflects her gloomy mood. Her formal greeting, "My dear Mr. Mack," set the tone for the entire letter. She relates a litany of problems, and repeatedly asks Joe, "What shall we do about it?" She also reported on the health of their children, including Murry,

who was “pretty well, but really spoiled.” Their son Ed, however, was “not well.” He was, she pointed out, “suffering from nervousness. He is doing the work for both churches. I am afraid your & his ambition has ruined his health.” Hattie ended the letter with an apology. “I am sorry to write you such a gloomy letter, but I feel so.”

In her next letter to Joseph, written on 12 December 1889, her mood was much brighter. She had just returned from a trip to see her husband and she related the reception from their children when she arrived at home. “Murry was so glad to see me that he could not speak. He ran to meet me laughing, & threw his arms around my neck & kissed me.... They all seemed glad to see me except Al, & he grumbles the whole time about our running around so much, & your not staying at home.”

Joe’s frequent absences from home were due to his acceptance of the position of evangelist for the Fayetteville Presbytery in eastern North Carolina. The Reverend P[atrick] R[edd] Law (1849–1912), the pastor of the Lumberton Presbyterian Church, who had just accepted that charge, after working for two years as the editor of the Charlotte *Daily Morning Chronicle*, wrote Mack, on 9 May 1889, about his upcoming visit to preach to “my flock.” He also discussed his plans to raise money to employ an evangelist to work in the eastern part of the state. “I am chairman of the committee & propose to leave no stone unturned to raise the money,” which he expected would amount to at least \$1,200, he informed Mack.

By late June 1889, the Reverend Joseph B. Mack had been chosen by the committee, and at a meeting of the Charleston Presbytery held in Columbia (South Carolina), in September, he was formally released to the Fayetteville Presbytery, where he was already at work.

Although only three letters survive from any of the Mack children, one from Ed and two from William, during the years 1888 and 1889, it is possible, from other sources, to chronicle their activities during those years. William practiced law with the firm Butler & Timmonds, in Lamar (Missouri), during 1888, but in 1889 relocated to San Francisco (California), where he joined the Bancroft-Whitney Company, a publisher of law reports, and began his career as an editor of legal works.

Alex, the second son, enrolled at Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia, where he studied from 1887 until the summer of 1888, and then earned his M.D. from the South Carolina Medical College in Charleston in 1889. He established a medical practice in Fort Mill during the summer of that year.

Edward was licensed to preach by Bethel Presbytery in April 1888, and from June until October 1889, he supplied the First Presbyterian Church of Charlotte, while the minister, Dr. Arnold W. Miller, traveled in Europe. From November 1889 until May 1890, Ed was the minister of the Presbyterian Church in Washington, North Carolina, and was ordained there by the Albemarle Presbytery on 21 November 1889. Beginning in 1890, when the number of letters preserved in the collection increased to forty-four, Ed frequently wrote his parents. In a letter addressed to his

father, dated 3 January, written from his new home in eastern North Carolina, he observed, “[o]ur church seems to be building up & strengthening day by day. My people have asked me not to sever the pastoral relation, but to take a leave of absence for such a time as I may desire, in Germany, and to return to them. This however is very impracticable.” When he accepted the call to the Washington church, he did so with the understanding that he would leave in May of 1890 to take up the George S. Green fellowship in Old Testament Studies which he had won in April 1889, just before his graduation from Princeton Theological Seminary.

Ed carefully chronicled his experiences during his year in Germany with frequent letters to his parents, beginning with his description of his voyage aboard the S.S. *Wieland*. He began a letter to his mother on 10 May 1890, after two days at sea, much of which he spent in his stateroom, suffering from seasickness. The ship, he related, was “crowded with passengers, mostly Germans, and very little English is spoken. So much the better for me, for it will necessitate my learning the language.”

When he landed in Hamburg (Germany), he informed his mother in a continuation of his letter, dated 19 May 1890, he found a letter from his friend Paton, who urged him to join him in “his pleasant location in Berlin....” Ed caught a train to Berlin, and by 9:30 P.M. was at the train depot where he met his friend. In his next letter, dated 9 June 1890, he assured his mother that he was safe, but not as well as usual, primarily because “German food is very different from American diet, and has caused me continuous

trouble...“ Not only did he have trouble adjusting to German food, he also found the language “very hard. I toil away at it each day, but make very little progress, very probably because I hear and use too much English; it is impossible in Berlin to get away from Americans,” he observed.

In North Carolina, J.B. Mack ended a busy year as evangelist for the Fayetteville Presbytery in July 1890. During that period, he had preached at 434 services and added 464 members to the Presbyterian churches of eastern North Carolina. In the spring of 1890, he had been elected evangelist by the Synod of Georgia and began his work there in late summer. Hattie, again, remained home to look after the farm and the children who remained at home; however, that number decreased when both Mary and Harry enrolled in colleges in September 1890.

Hattie provided the latest family news to Joe in her letter of 22 September 1890. Mary had entered the Agnes Scott Institute in Decatur (Georgia), and was, in Hattie’s words, “quite pleased with her new home.” Harry had joined the freshman class at Davidson College, and Hattie had just talked with a fellow student who boarded in the same house with Harry. Harry, he said, was “doing well” and, when he left, was “playing ball with all his might.”

Joe received a first-hand report about his son’s Davidson experience a few days later when Harry’s letter, dated 29 September 1890, arrived. He claimed he was “getting along splendidly and have not been the least homesick yet.” As his brothers had done before him, he had also joined the Eumenean Society, but he rebuffed his brothers’ fraternity, the “S.A.E.’s

...who liked me very well,” and instead asked permission to become a charter member of a new fraternity on campus, Kappa Sigma. Without asking for more money, he simply noted that he had “spent all but about five... dollars of the money you gave me.”

Hattie, in a letter to Joe, written 29 September 1890, brought up the subject of their daughter Lizzie’s suitor, a man she had serious reservations about. Even though “Lizzie seems very happy [and] says she loves him & that he says that he is able to take care of her, &... they want to marry as soon as they can,” Hattie remarked that the relationship was “such a bitter disappointment to me, that I try not to think of it.”

Alex, who had also worried his parents with some of the choices he had made, wrote his father from Red Springs (North Carolina), on 8 October 1890, in response to a letter he had just received from him. “Your letter was very bitter indeed.... [and] it’s hard when a boy’s Father puts him by,” he began. He had considered returning to Fort Mill, “but as you have denied me a place in your home, you have also denied me a place in your affections, cut me off from mother, brothers & sisters... & alienated me from those I love,” he would expect nothing from his family. He proclaimed that “my resolve to return is all the stronger & I will show you and the world that I can be a man....“ Alex had already repaid some of the debts he owed, he wrote, and promised he would repay those still outstanding. And he thanked his father “for all you have done for me.” The matter, however, did not end there. Alex wrote Will and Ed with his account of the rupture in the relationship with their father.

Will responded to what he considered to be unfair and unequal treatment of Al and Ed by their father in a nine-page letter, dated 28 December 1890. He had received from Al “a good manly letter... which caused many a tear and increased prayers for him on my part” and, more recently, a letter from “my dear Bro. Ned,” which taken together, prompted him to write his father “come what may.” His criticism of his father, he told him, resulted from the fact he had “paid my college bills, society dues, etc.,” but he asked, “why did you not pay Al’s & Ed’s?” Will argued that, because the sons had not reached adulthood by the time they graduated from college, their father was legally obligated to satisfy their debts. Apparently, the unpaid debts were dues owed to the Eumenean Society, the student organization all three sons had joined while students at Davidson College. “You owe those society debts for Al & Ed, and I don’t see how Harry can go into the ‘Eu’ society while they remain unpaid,” Will insisted. In the last paragraph of his letter, Will assured his father that he was still his “devoted son” and that he prayed “especially for your success in Ga. every day.”

In a letter to his father, dated 11 January 1891, Will acknowledged receipt of “your manly, concise and meaty letter,” and then reconfirmed his previous argument that “Al’s and Ed’s legitimate debts at college while under age were your debts, and should have been paid before you gave either of them any more help....” Will excoriated Al whose “conduct has been reprehensible in the extreme..., but as long as you are tenderhearted eno[ugh] to let him ‘bleed’ you, he will do it.” Ed, who had not been involved in the unpleasant exchange between his father and brother Will,

nonetheless was the recipient of a “sound scolding,” administered by his mother in her 5 January 1891 letter. He acknowledged, in his letter to her, written from Berlin (Germany) on 20 January 1891, that he actually deserved “much more scolding” for his “manifold failings,” but in this case, he claimed he was punished unjustly. In order to refute his mother’s assertions he quoted from her accusatory letter: “You & Al have certainly excited Will’s feelings & caused him to write a letter to your father thereby causing hard feelings; I think you boys ought to be very grateful for what your father has done for you.” Ed denied that he had ever criticized his father. “I love father, honor & admire his business dealings & am deeply grateful for what he has done for his third son,” he insisted. His only role in the family dispute was “accepting Will’s offer of a loan of \$100.00,” so that he could meet his financial obligations in Germany. In an effort to make light of the entire episode, Ed joked that he had “arrived at the conclusion that I am a *spendthriftomaniac*, not responsible for my actions in that line.” One way to “bring my sorrows to an end,” he continued in the same jocular vein, would be “by marrying a rich wife.”

The Reverend J.B. Mack spent most of his time in Georgia during the decade of the 1890s where he continued his work as synodical evangelist. At the same time, he maintained his home and farm in Fort Mill, where Hattie and the younger children lived for much of the year. The quantity of correspondence in the collection varies during the decade with fewer than twenty-five extant letters for most years, except for 1891, with ninety-five, and 1896, with 126 letters present.

As was true in previous years, the Macks wrote about family news—births, deaths, marriages, schooling, and illnesses—and the movements of family members from place to place. Five of the Macks' sons and daughters were married during the decade and started families of their own: Alex married Maria (May) Williamson Lucas (1870–1949) on 23 March 1892 in Washington (North Carolina); Ed married Mary Ashley Kirby (1869–1916) in Goldsboro (North Carolina), on 22 June 1892; Lizzie married Thomas Banks Belk (1866–1908) on 26 December 1894 in Fort Mill (South Carolina); Mary married William Benjamin Ardrey (1871–1963) on 11 April 1899, in Fort Mill; and Will married Minnie F. Bayles (1867–1909) on 1 June 1899 in Port Jefferson (New York).

Eleven grandchildren joined the extended Mack family during the 1890s: To Ed and Mary Ashley were born Edward, Jr. (1893–1956), Mary Green (1894–1976), Joseph Bingham (1896–1969), and George Kirby (1899–1975); Alex and May welcomed Elizabeth Martin (1893–1973), Joseph Bingham (1895–1966), Paul (1897–1981), and Harriett (1899–1977); to Lizzie and Banks Belk were born Joseph Mack (1896–1953), William Samuel (1897–1973), Thomas Heath (1898–1978), and an infant who was born and died the same day in 1895.

Will continued to write his parents, his mother especially, during the 1890s, with news of his work and leisure activities, and he often shared his view on people and places. He wrote his mother on 1 March 1891, while she was staying for a few weeks in Cuthbert (Georgia), near where Joseph was preaching. "I am glad

that you are at last settled down near to where father is working,” he wrote, for “[w]hat’s the use of being married if you are not going to be near one another?” He also reminded his mother to “take good care of that brat of a boy, Murr(a)y, for at his age he must be inculcated with the correct ideas of health and morals.” Will praised his mother because “your old fashioned ideas were taught me when a baby boy.” He predicted that “all your children and their children’s children” will be proud that “they are descendants of that... old-fashioned southern school.... Through you we can trace our ancestry straight to Scotland; while through father we can go back to the grand old Orangemen of North Ireland....“

Will clearly missed his family and often lamented his inability to see his parents and siblings. He indicated to his father, in a letter of 31 March 1891, his desire to relocate. “Your reference to Georgia and North Carolina have not been unheeded by me, nor Texas, either,” he admitted. “I would like to enter an old lawyer’s office in a town like Ft. Worth, Dallas, Galveston, Chattanooga, Knoxville, Memphis, Atlanta, Augusta, Savannah, Greenville, Raleigh, Asheville, or Brunswick; get a living (i.e. from 4 to 6 hundred dollars per y[ea]r) guaranteed me for the work I do.... I want to come nearer home, but don’t want to come to make a failure, which many have done, from lack of money to live on till I can get a start.”

Perhaps he was thinking about his brother Alex who had moved away from Fort Mill the previous year to Red Springs (North Carolina), to open a medical practice there, but had been forced to return home for lack of financial resources. In fact, Alex, in a letter

to his mother, dated 21 January, made reference to his unhappy condition, when he noted, that he was “getting old[,] am now 24 yrs. of age, unmarried and getting poorer each year. The prospect here [in Fort Mill] is gloomy[,] but I can’t live in the swamps among snakes, flies and ‘skeeters.” Evidently Alex worked for William A. Watson’s pharmacy in Fort Mill, for in a letter to J.B. Mack, dated 2 February, Will Watson indicated, “Alex is doing very well indeed, habits very good so far.”

Hattie spent March and early April in Cuthbert, a town located in southwest Georgia, where she boarded with the Reverend Isaac Watts Waddell (1849–1935), who served as the evangelist for the Macon Presbytery, 1890–1892, and was a friend of her husband. Because Joe was preaching in towns across south Georgia, he and Hattie continued to correspond, even though both were in the same area. Writing from Cordele, Georgia, on 17 March, Joe outlined his expected itinerary and also asked Hattie to write to Ed and Will. He had been involved in the organization of a church on Sunday night, he wrote, and “I go to Rochelle today & will return here tomorrow, will go to Adel tomorrow & return next day, will then go to Smithville & then to Cuthbert.” In her next letter to Ed, she should tell him “that he can have money to visit in Europe if he wants it,” and she should encourage Will “to consider well the going to Brunswick or some other place to practice.” The next day, Joe only had time to write a postal card, after he arrived at Cordele, but he wanted his wife to know that he had “preached last night to a congregation of over 100” in Rochelle, which was the “first time a Presbyterian ever preached there, & over half of

them had never seen a Presbyterian preacher before.” Hattie continued her regular correspondence with her family and friends while away from home and received letters from Lizzie, who was visiting her grandmother Banks in Rock Hill (South Carolina); from her mother, who reported on Lizzie’s visit; and from Harry at Davidson. Before returning to Fort Mill in late May, Hattie and Murry spent several weeks in Decatur with Mary who was a student at Agnes Scott Institute. In the meantime, Joe made a brief visit to Fort Mill and wrote Hattie from there on 29 April with news that “Ed expects to come home in 4 months, expected to reach Berlin last Saturday, Lizzie is well & at Capt. White’s, [and] Al looks well, & seems very friendly...”

Hattie was settled in her home in Fort Mill where she received Ed’s letter, dated Berlin, 15 June, in which he reflected on his year in Germany. He looked forward with “joy at seeing you all again,” but regretted “leaving behind the music, art, historic scenes & jolly rollicking German days...” Before he could return home, however, he was forced to “quietly rest here until father hears some of my piteous appeals, for I’m what some people called ‘strapped,’ what others call ‘dead broke,’ & still others ‘up a stump.’” Many of his friends had already left for America and others were preparing to sail during the next few weeks, he lamented. At the same time, he wished he was already back home because, he wrote, “[i]n East Orange, N. J. on tomorrow the 16th [Evander Bradley] McGilvary, one of my old friends, will be married to [Lewis Bayles] Paton’s sister [Elizabeth Allen Paton].” His friendships with both Evander McGilvary and Lewis Paton dated from their days together at

Princeton Theological Seminary. In his final letter from Berlin to his mother, dated 13 July, Ed summed up his feelings about his time in Germany. "One year ago I had a dark life & an uncertain future; today I have a brighter life & a confidence for the future, for my faith is firmer," he related. "Some of my ideas have been reversed," he continued, "but I find them all the better turned up-side-down; for instance I once wanted to make men Presbyterians; I want now to make them Christ-like; I once dealt with jots & titles; I'd rather preach life principles now.... [W]e must be lifted from our little prejudices, & made to love God & our brethren with fuller hearts."

As soon as Ed returned home in the late summer, he was invited to fill the pulpit of the First Presbyterian church in Charlotte in early August, and he also preached to other local congregations. He then accepted a call from the Presbyterian congregation in Goldsboro, North Carolina, and in November conducted a protracted meeting in that church. His tenure at Goldsboro was brief. In February 1892, the First Presbyterian Church in Charlotte invited him to return there and serve as the pastor for one year at a salary of \$1,800 and the use of the manse. By April, he had returned to Charlotte where, his brother Harry informed their mother in a letter dated Davidson, 26 April, he had spent the previous weekend. Because of the proximity of Davidson College to Charlotte, Harry spent a lot of time with Ed, who had invited him to spend the summer with him, Harry informed his mother in a letter dated 18 May. "I will study so as to

try to prepare myself for Princeton, if I should go there,” he wrote. “Ed talks like it would be best for me to go there and, of course, I want to go, but I don’t know where the money is to come from.” Ed, however, had other plans for the summer. During his few months in Goldsboro, he had met Mary Ashley Kirby, the daughter of Dr. George L. Kirby, the director of the state hospital at Goldsboro, and the two were married, on 22 June 1892, in the bride’s home by Edward’s father. The couple resided in Charlotte, where Edward continued to serve as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church until his health forced him to step down on 1 April 1893.

Edward was not the first Mack son to marry. Alex had married Mariah (May) Williamson Lucas three months earlier, on 23 March 1892, in Washington (North Carolina), the bride’s hometown. The ceremony was performed by Alex’s brother, Edward. The couple returned to Fort Mill where Alex continued to work in Watson’s drug store. Hattie Mack mentioned to Joe in a letter dated 5 September 1892 that “May says Al is certainly going to Hawkinsville [Georgia] on a visit.” Alex wanted to find a place where he could open a medical practice, and Hawkinsville, in Pulaski County (Georgia), about forty-five miles south of Macon, attracted him. Joe Mack was familiar with south Georgia and had sought out opportunities for Alex there.

Hattie, in a letter to her husband written 24 October 1892, noted the receipt of his letter “telling of the good opening in Adel, [Georgia],” for a physician. Alex had also received a letter “from Hawkinsville...urging him to go there....” Although he had already

agreed to purchase Watson's pharmacy in Fort Mill, he would try to "honorably get out of the trade here," she informed Joe. "Al is getting a fine practice now [in Fort Mill]," but if he decided to stay, "there is no house for him to live in," she concluded. "Al is established in the drug store," Hattie wrote Joe in her letter of 29 October 1892, "but is not at all satisfied, & will get out as soon as he can." During the last week of November, Al traveled to Georgia, according to a letter from Hattie to Joe, dated 28 November 1892, where he was "taking in the country around Adel, and is pleased, & may go to Florida, & will visit Hawkinsville & Forsythe on his return. He writes to May to get ready to move." On 15 January 1893, Harry wrote to his mother from Davidson after spending Christmas with the family in Fort Mill. "The family reunion was the best time I ever had, I believe.... It was, then, really a Xmas treat to have Will with us to help enjoy the holidays after being absent for eight long years."

Al and May left soon after Christmas for their new home in Hawkinsville, Georgia, where, by the time Hattie wrote her husband, on 14 February 1893, they were settled. "May writes as if she was very happy, & especially now that her Grandma is with her," Hattie concluded. May confirmed Hattie's assumption in a letter she wrote her mother-in-law on 26 February. Not only was her grandmother there to help her as she prepared for the birth of her first child, but Will was also in Hawkinsville. May informed Hattie that "Will is quite homesick for Cal[ifornia], but he looks very well and has been quite busy all this week as it was court week." Will, however, did not remain in Hawkinsville. In her 30 March

letter to Joe, Hattie mentioned that both Will and Ed had spent a day in Fort Mill, and had left on the train, the previous evening. Will “expects to stop in Washington, [D.C.], to see Cousin Julia & family & some Western friends.” Edward Mack, after he declined to accept the call as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Charlotte, accepted an invitation to serve as assistant pastor of the Central Presbyterian Church in St. Louis, Missouri.

It was not until October that Mary Ashley, along with Edward, Jr., born on 10 May 1893 in Goldsboro, North Carolina, arrived in St. Louis to join Ed, who had been there since summer. Ed wrote his mother on 10 October, with a report of his and his family’s health. “Edward & M’Ashley are well, and my health is better than it has been in eighteen months.” Joe Mack had spent most of his time in Georgia during 1893, with only occasional visits to Fort Mill. When Hattie wrote to him, on 1 December 1893, he was in Cordele (Georgia), where he met their daughter Mary. Mary had graduated from Agnes Scott earlier in the year and apparently spent time visiting with friends and relatives. Hattie noted that on Sunday Lizzie had been invited out to dinner, “so only Mother, Murray & myself were at home, [but] we enjoyed our dinner, which was graced with a nice fat chicken.” When Harry left Davidson College at the end of the spring term that year, and did not return, Joe and Hattie, for the first time in more than a decade, did not have a son or daughter in school.

On 25 April 1894, another son was born to Hattie and Joe Mack. He was named Paul and, according to his mother, who wrote to her husband on 19 May 1894, “I think the baby is

improving.” And a few days later, in a letter dated 24 May, Hattie reported that the “baby is growing & fattening, but has the colic every day.”

For the remainder of the year, the letters from Hattie to Joe focused on family and farm issues. Harry had assumed the role that his older brothers, Will and Alex, had filled during the transition from college to their life’s work. He worked as a farmer, planted and harvested, and following instructions from his father. In a letter written 13 December 1894, he informed his father that “two men have come to rent this week.” He told both men to come back during Christmas to see his father who would be home. One of the highlights of the Christmas season was the marriage of Lizzie Mack and T. Banks Belk, which was performed on 26 December.

Will Mack, who had flirted with the idea of moving to a southern state in 1893 to practice law, decided instead to continue his editorial work, but with another company. Rather than return to California, he moved to Northport (Long Island), near New York City, and joined Edward Thompson Company, publisher of *The American and English Encyclopedia of Law* and other titles.

When he wrote his mother on 25 September 1894, Will mentioned that “[w]e are getting out our first edition of Railroad Digest, which we have been at work on since I first came here. He had worked so hard on that project that he claimed he was “about mad—dream all night about law, railroad cases & am always being drowned or burned up in proof sheets.”

Will consistently corresponded with his mother, and occasionally his father, and penned more than half of the eighteen extant letters in the collection written in 1895. Comments about his work still dominated his missives, but he also responded, often in detail, to news from home. In his letter dated 15 January 1895, he was “heartily glad” that his father was “getting out of debt, for in my remembrance he has always been weighed down with debts, mortgages, etc.... If Harry makes the farm all right, it will indeed add another great comfort and pleasure to both you and father.”

Will visited his family in October and spent time in Atlanta where he saw his brother Alex. He apologized to his mother in his letter of 16 December 1895 for his letters, which have been “a little irregular since returning here” because of his heavy work load and the fact that he had “been under the weather.” He also confessed that he had “quit drinking even a drop of malt liquor—am a *teetotaler* & have been for 5 weeks, and in fact I think my health will be better in many ways for it.” In his Christmas letter to his mother, written 21 December 1895, he enclosed a check which included “\$5 for you, \$5.00 for father, and \$1.00 ea. for Murry and the Apostle [his young brother Paul].”

While Joe was at home for Christmas and New Year’s, he apparently had a conversation with Harry about his future. In a letter to Hattie written from Smithville (Georgia), on 6 January 1896, he devoted a long postscript to his concerns about Harry’s choice for his profession, which was electrical engineering. He wanted Harry to study medicine and would, he wrote Hattie, “let

him have \$100 a year for the 3 years of his studying medicine, if he chooses that.” Among the reasons he listed for his preference for medicine was “[i]t give[s] certain & good income,” while electrical engineering was “in its infancy” and would probably mean that he “may never be a boss, but only an underling.” Joe had asked his daughter Lizzie to try to persuade Harry to consider medicine as a career, but she had apparently written her father that her brother was determined to follow his own plan. In his reply to Lizzie, in a letter dated 9 January 1896, Joe conceded that “[i]f Harry is bent on electrical engineering, find out when & where he is going, how long he must stay, how much he will need, & when he will need it. I want to help him start in the world, having a father’s love for him, no matter how he feels towards me.”

Joe continued to write to Hattie, almost on a daily basis, and the letters preserved in the collection chronicle not only his evangelistic work, but also his concern for his family at home. In a letter written from Cuthbert (Georgia), on 14 January 1896 he enumerated the problems that his children faced, and their behavior toward him. “Life has some rough paths, but the Lord is very good to us. Though lately I have been in the fire. Willie unkind to me, & then so sick, but I hope God has heard my prayers & made him a different man. Al is troubled & May is worrying him about Hawkinsville, & he writes harshly to me. Sister Mary is hurt about Ed’s treatment of his uncle. Mary is sick, & I can hear but little of her. Harry gets outraged, because he blunders & then wants to have me take the blame & I object.

Lizzie has a trial ahead, & you blame me with your hard lot. But all will be well," he opined.

Harry, however, with the support of his father, enrolled at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and, according to his brother Will, who wrote to Hattie on 22 January 1896, he spent a week in New York before leaving for Boston. He "is now at 88 Pinckney St. Boston, boarding at \$5.75 per week," he informed his mother, "he seems determined to succeed and I hope he may. There are many S.A.E.'s in Boston and I don't think he will get very lonesome." Will continued to receive letters from Harry, and always passed along the news about him to his mother. In his 14 March 1896 letter, Will related that Harry "seems to be doing nicely, complaining only of the hard study." Will, in a letter dated 6 April 1896, wrote his mother that "Harry only has about 7 1/2 more weeks in this session, and being without money is going to jump out into the cold old world all alone." Will offered to allow him to "spend any time he desires with me, but will probably try for work right away. He is very *determined* & must succeed."

Al Mack resumed his correspondence with his father and mother during the summer of 1896 with a series of letters that were both friendly and affectionate. On 22 May 1896, he wrote that "we have at last secured a house and have been housekeeping since Tuesday. Like it much better. May stay in this country." He also thanked his father for an invitation to May and the children to spend the summer in Fort Mill. He offered "to make a small payment on the note (\$200.00) I owe you," even though "[f]itting up house has nearly drained me."

In a letter to his mother, dated 5 June 1896, Al joked about naming the recent spate of babies born into the family. “Why do all of them want to name their babies Joe[?] Are they being named for their Grand pop, or for my Joe[?]” Al and May’s son, Joseph Bingham, was born in 1895, and in 1896, Lizzie and Banks Belk named their firstborn Joseph Mack, and Ed and Mary Ashley, named their second son, also born in 1896, Joseph Bingham.

Joseph Mack visited his namesake in Hawkinsville (Georgia) in June and wrote Hattie about his time there on a postal card dated 24 June 1896. “All are well,” he began. “Joe has cut 2 teeth, is a beautiful boy, & bright as a new dollar, & pretty good—you ought to see how fond Elizabeth [his older sister] is of him.” After he left Hawkinsville, he could not resist ending his postal card to Hattie, dated 27 June 1896, with “J.B.M. Jr. is a beautiful boy—has such a sweet face & merry laugh.”

Once again during the fall, Joe visited Al and his family in Hawkinsville and, on 23 October 1896, sent Hattie a full report. “May is looking well, but the cares of her family are pretty heavy. Al’s practice is good, & keeps him constantly going, which prevents his being at home very much.” He devoted most of his letter to his grandchildren: “Elizabeth is as hearty as a child can be & I do not know that I ever saw more push & energy. She is very affectionate, & a little jealous. I am very much attracted to the child.” He was even more effusive in his praise of his grandson: “Joseph is a beautiful boy—singularly like Paul, except that his hair is not so long, he looks exactly like him.... May is very proud of the beauty & sweetness of the boy, & so I think is his father.”

As usual, Joe returned to Fort Mill (S.C.) to spend the Christmas season with his family. Will had expected to join the family at home but, in a letter to his father dated 10 December 1896, he explained why a visit was impossible that year. "Our first volume of Encyclopedia of Forms and Precedents is just out, but we are in a hurry for Vol. 2. Besides I am not in good eno[ugh] financial condition to go home now." He had lost money "in a wildcat speculation; loaned Harry \$200 and have agreed to pay him \$25 per month during rest of his scholastic year," and had other unexpected expenses. He also gave his father the sad news that he had "been 'turned down' once more, and perhaps for the best, as I am thus enabled to help Harry the more." He had previously mentioned his girlfriend, Minnie Bayles, in several letters, and she had written Will's mother a letter. "I found my courting rather expensive," he confessed, "but don't regret it much, and am now surely a bachelor 'for keeps.'" Ed, Mary Ashley and their children, now three in number, did spent part of Christmas week with the family before leaving on Christmas Eve to visit Mary Ashley's father in Goldsboro (N.C.).

Harry remained in Boston, but wrote his mother on 11 January 1897 to thank her for sending him a gift. He also noted the death of M.I.T.'s president, Francis A. Walker, on 5 January 1897. "It was to his untiring efforts that the school of Technology is ranked as the highest scientific college in the land," Harry declared. "Ever since my junior year at Davidson, I had had a crowning desire to see Pres. Walker & hear him lecture," he recalled.

In another letter, this one written to his sister Lizzie on 1 February 1897, he remarked that he had been studying for examinations and that “tech is no play school... you have to keep working all the time, in order to even make a poor showing. I should like to graduate from here, but it will be utterly impossible.” When he next wrote his mother, Harry had just returned from a class trip to Lynn, Massachusetts, “to visit one of the greatest electrical works in our country.... [where] most of the motors that run our street cars are fashioned....“ He learned, he confided, “how little a student really knows about electricity until he gets into its practical workings; that theory is not all.”

After classes ended in the early summer, Harry, along with three fraternity brothers, decided to visit Europe and to pay for their passage by working on a cattle boat. In a letter from London to his brother Will, dated 29 July 1897 and headed Trafalgar Square, Harry related his experiences during the crossing and while in England. He observed, with an electrical engineer’s eye, that “[t]he English people are queer; no electric railways, very few electric lights, no tall buildings, every other person wears a beaver [hat], no stylish looking women, very few novelties, or, I should say, very few faddish things....“ He and his comrades planned to stay two months and visit France before returning to Boston.

There were other changes within the Mack family that summer as well. Ed accepted a call to the First Presbyterian Church of Norfolk in the spring, and by late May was in Virginia where he joined his wife and children, who had spent the winter in Goldsboro (N.C.), with Mary Ashley’s family.

On 3 August 1897, Ed responded to a letter from his nine-year-old brother Murry, with a long description of life in Norfolk and the activities of his three children. "I wish you could see our harbor, which often looks like a forest with masts for trees & sails for leaves," he wrote. "The great white warships are the prettiest of all. If you will come to see us, I will teach you to fish & swim, and will take you on the big steamers." Also in August 1897, another child was added to the extended family. Hattie wrote her husband on 11 August 1897 that their daughter Lizzie delivered "a fine child... a boy, but not as large or fat as was Jo, but prettier," the previous day.

Ten days later, on 21 August 1897, Paul died after a brief illness, aged three years and three months. Will sent a comforting letter to his mother, dated 23 August 1897, and on 18 September 1897, after he had returned to Georgia to continue his evangelistic work, Joe wrote his wife a similar letter, filled with positive remembrances of their son. "Paul had such a bright, sunshining life... [and] he gave so much happiness to us all!"

By the end of the year, Will and Minnie Bayles had reestablished their former relationship, and she had just returned from a visit to the Mack family in Fort Mill, when Will wrote his mother on 28 November 1897. "She is about to talk me to death about what she did and saw in Ft. Mill.... I feel as much like I had been home after talking to her...."

Although the volume of correspondence in the collection decreased significantly in the period from 1898 through 1904,

these years were marked by many changes for the scattered family, especially for the Reverend J.B. Mack.

In 1898, he reached his sixtieth birthday and had been away from his wife, family and farm for much of the time since 1890 when he accepted the call to evangelistic work in Georgia. During the summer of 1898, the poor state of his health required him to take time off from his work to rest and recover. Gordon C. Jones, of Memphis (Tennessee), in a letter dated 8 August 1898, wrote that he was “glad” that Mack had “taken a rest and trust you will be completely restored to carry on your mission work which has been so successfully carried on the past eight years.” He also noted the recent death of John L. Girardeau, but was pleased that Joseph Mack was “able to see.... [him] a week before his death.”

Mack soon resumed his work in Georgia and continued his association with the Atlanta Presbytery until he was dismissed to North Alabama Presbytery in 1902. Ed Mack, in a letter to his father dated 9 December 1901, and written from Shreveport (Louisiana), where he had moved that year to take charge of the First Presbyterian Church, noted that “the evangelistic field of north Alabama Presbytery is particularly inviting; towns are springing up that need & ask for Presbyterian churches; and a number of stray churches will be ready to support any forward work.” He also suggested “that for several years yet, you can be of more service to the Master in the active ministry than in Fort Mill. You may find North Alabama a better field than Georgia.” Ed did have one reservation. “For Mother’s sake I should regret to see you away from home again; but if you expect to take up the work

again soon, you will have few better fields, [and] [i]f you go into the evangelistic field again, I hope Mother can spend all, or a part, of the winter with us.”

When Hattie sent Joe a letter on 24 May 1902, she addressed it to him in Birmingham (Alabama), where he had gone to prepare for his new work in that state. Later in the summer, when Hattie wrote to him on 10 July 1902, he was in Guntersville (Alabama).

During one of Joseph’s trips to Alabama in the fall of the year, Hattie visited Will and Minnie in New York City, for the first time, since their marriage in 1899. In a letter to her husband, written 6 October 1902, she described her efforts to find her son and daughter-in-law’s apartment, and their plans for the next day. Harry had recently moved to New York from Boston, and she and Minnie would visit both Harry and Will in their offices. Hattie remained in New York for only a few days, and just before she returned home, she informed Joe, in a letter written 10 October 1902, that she had “not seen Central Park yet, & it is so near but too large to take it all in in a short time, & I have not been to Bronx Park & a lot of other places. Well, I’ll have to save up money & come again.”

Joe, as he always did, spent Christmas in Fort Mill and remained there until late January 1903, when he returned to Alabama. He had arrived safely in Birmingham, he informed Hattie, in a letter dated 27 January 1903, and had preached at Adger (Alabama), on Sunday “to 85 in the morning & 120 at night—found 15 Presbyterians and will probably re-organize our church.” He was encouraged by the results of his preaching. “My

work here is getting brighter, yet my plans are to stay home, if possible." A week later, Joe wrote again about his future. "Do not be worried [about money], as I am making 2.50 a day...& this year will wind up my work here, & if a good crop puts me out of debt, then I shall stay home." Even though his health was good and "people are impressed with my preaching," he felt "that old age is on me, & that my place is at home." Joe, however, continued to reveal mixed feelings about retiring from his evangelistic work. "I will not keep on at this work long, & then we can be at home together in our old age; yet people seem deeply interested in my sermons," he related to Hattie in his letter of 4 February 1903.

By late July 1903, Joe had decided to accept a call to become pastor of Providence and Banks Presbyterian churches in Mecklenburg County (North Carolina), both of which were close to the Mack residence in Fort Mill. But until her husband returned, Hattie continued to look after the home place, with the help of Murray who, at age fourteen, had assumed some of the farm responsibilities. "Murray has had his chicken yards built, & the frame is up for the [chicken] house," Hattie wrote on 21 February 1903, but complained to her husband that he "has been playing all day. I do not think he will ever make a farmer, or stock raiser—with him pleasure comes before duty." She did trust him enough, however, to leave him in charge of the farm chores while she visited with Alex and his family in Hawkinsville (Georgia), in October 1903.

Murray reported, in a letter to his mother dated 12 October 1903, that he and Henry "have nearly filled the barn with hay, and

if the frost holds off long enough, we will get more.” He also had “plowed up two rows of potatoes today, and got about 3 bushels. Have been working every day *hard* since you left. When I get through with my work I am going to hunt some. Partridges, rabbits, doves, and hawks are plentiful.” Only four letters dated 1904 are present, and all of them are from Minnie Mack to her mother-in-law and relate to a visit to New York by Joe and Hattie to see their grandson, William Bayles Mack, who was born 20 October 1903. In a letter written 16 May 1904 to “Dear Mother,” Minnie predicted, “you will be so charmed with your sixteenth grandchild it will be difficult to tear you away [from him].”

Beginning in 1905, the majority of the correspondence in the Mack collection revolves around Murray Mack, Joe and Hattie’s youngest son. Although letters from his parents and siblings continue to constitute a sizeable portion of the surviving correspondence, Murray was the most prolific letter-writer in the family, and as a result, also received, and preserved, more mail than any other Mack. For example, Murray spent much of April, May, and June of 1905 on a visit with his brother Will, his sister-in-law Minnie, and his nephew Billy, and his brother Harry in New York City. He continued his sightseeing in Niagara Falls and Toronto, before journeying to Cincinnati, Ohio, to spend some time with his brother Ed and his family in July 1905.

During that time, he wrote twelve letters to his mother with detailed descriptions of his experiences. When he wrote his mother on 9 May 1905, he informed her that he had “about seen all of New York in two weeks, although there are a few things left

to see, such as the *Tombs* [prison], *Statue of Liberty* & *Coney Island*.” He and Will had walked four miles “up to the [Polo] grounds & back again” to see a baseball game; on the previous Sunday, he and Harry “went up to Fort George & watched the river & the speedway”; and he and “Sister Minnie” had gone “through the ‘Geo. Ehret’ brewery, the largest brewery in New York.” On 15 May 1905, in another long letter, after he had chronicled his adventures with Will, Minnie and Harry, he commented, “I want to go to college this fall, so I had better hustle up & prepare.” He also mentioned that “Will has a chance to get me in Annapolis or West Point easy, but I decided against it for reasons of my own.” He also learned some things about his brother Will that he had not known. Murray related to his mother in a letter dated 24 May 1905, that Minnie’s mother, who had been invited to dinner with the family the previous evening, “was very much wrought up over the ‘cussing out’ that Will gave me.... Although Will ‘cusses’ me out regularly every night, I have found out that it is only a form of love to me.” He also mentioned in his 23 June 1905 letter to his mother that “Will and Sister Minnie and I have an argument every night. Last night it was on the Anglo-Saxon race. We stopped just this side of blows.”

When in Cincinnati (Ohio) in early July 1905 with the Ed Mack family, he encountered a very different environment. Ed had accepted a faculty position, Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Literature, at Lane Theological Seminary, the previous year. In a letter written to his father on 17 July 1905, Ed remarked

that “[w]e enjoyed Murray’s visit so much. I was glad to see him grown so well, and full of purpose for life.”

Murray was back home when he wrote, on 12 September 1905, to his mother, who was visiting with her son Al and his family. Dr. Mack had recently moved from Hawkinsville (Georgia), where he had engaged in a general medical practice, to Decatur (Georgia), where he opened a surgical practice. Murray, after reporting on conditions at home, informed his mother that he was “anxious to go to school this fall.” He realized “[i]t is now too late to enter Davidson or Clemson & Father is talking about sending me to Donald Fraser.”

Donald Fraser High School flourished in Decatur (Georgia), from 1892 until 1913, and was affiliated with the Presbyterian Church. The school had been named to honor the Reverend Donald Fraser (1826–1887), the minister of the Decatur Presbyterian Church from 1872 until his death and a member of the board of trustee of Davidson College from 1875-1878 and 1881-1885, at the same time Joseph Bingham Mack was a member. Joe Mack was familiar with the school and the town, having spent time there while his daughter Mary was a student at Agnes Scott, and probably thought that Murray would benefit from a year of intensive study before attending college. And the fact that Murray’s brother and family lived in Decatur gave added incentive for sending young Murray there.

Murray hurriedly packed for school but, as he wrote in a letter to his mother dated 24 September 1905, the day after he arrived in

Decatur, he had “left a good many things that I intended bringing.” Murray’s father sent him a letter, dated 26 September 1905, filled with advice and good wishes: “Make good use of your opportunities.... What in life you may do is before you now. If farming then learn every detail as you have opportunity. So of medicine or the ministry.”

When Murray informed his father of the levels of the classes he had been assigned, the elder Mack replied, in a letter written 29 September 1905, “[s]orry you had to enter school so low in its classes, [but] you can, with your mature mind, lead your classes....” Murray’s mother also gave advice to him, but her suggestions concerned his behavior while living in his brother’s home. “You must make... [May] as little trouble as possible & be as helpful & pleasant as you can, for it [was] very kind in them to take you in,” she reminded him in her letter of 5 October 1905.

Murray’s father visited him in early November 1905 while in College Park (Georgia), to investigate the possibility of an invitation from the church there to become the pastor of that congregation. Murray’s mother, in her letter of 6 November 1905, conveyed the news that his father “did not speak favorably of you—said you were neglecting your studies for foot-ball... [and] of course I was to blame for permitting you to join the team. I truly hope that this is an exaggeration, & that you are not falling off in your studies.”

According to his brother Alex, who wrote his mother on 9 November 1905, Murray was “so worried” about her letter criticizing him for letting football interfere with his studies that he

“allowed me to peruse the same.” Alex strongly defended Murray against his father’s accusations: “Murray is a hard student, patient, kind, unobtrusive & conscientious & contented; anything to the contrary is at variance with the facts & actually does the boy an injury.” He argued that football provided necessary exercise, and was not a distraction from his school work. “This boy wants knowledge & is working to that end,” Alex concluded.

Murray reported on another brief visit by his father when he wrote to his mother on 20 November 1905. The Reverend Joseph Mack had preached the previous Sunday’s sermon in the College Park Presbyterian church, and Murray had gone to hear him, although he found little time to talk with him because his father was so busy. Even after this visit, Murray wrote that his father was “still undecided about going to College P[ar]k.” Murray thought that his father “should give up his work... & spend his time reading & studying.” With Christmas fast approaching, Murray inquired of his mother, in a letter dated 2 December 1905, “What will Xmas mean to me?” And then he reminded her that he had “never spent Xmas away from you before.” Initially, his father refused to give his permission because, as Murray’s mother informed him in her letter dated 6 December 1905, “your father says... that you can’t be everlastingly going back & forth”; however, his father enclosed a postal order for \$12.50 in his letter of 13 December 1905 to pay for a round trip ticket home. “If you can get any cheaper rate as a pupil, do so, [b]ut come as soon as you can, for your mother will need you, & I may want to be away from home on the 23rd,” he instructed.

During the evening of 22 December 1905, the members of the congregation of the College Park (Georgia), Presbyterian church met to decide if J.B. Mack was the right minister for their church. On 23 December 1905, Lt. Col. John Charles Woodward, the founder and president of the Georgia Military Academy, located in College Park, conveyed to Joseph B. Mack the results of the meeting. "You were unanimously called to the pastorate of our church in regular order and the call is now ready for Presbytery," he wrote. He suggested that rather than have the Presbytery schedule a meeting to consider the call, it would be wiser to wait until the spring meeting "when the call will be regularly presented," because "a call meeting would be held in Atlanta and attended by those who may not be friendly to you, while our enemies will have no show in a regular meeting." Colonel Woodward also informed him that the "house will be ready for you by Jan. 20" and expressed the hope "you will begin work regularly as soon as possible."

Before Joe and Hattie moved to College Park (Georgia), their granddaughter Mary Amanda Belk died on 9 February 1906 in Fort Mill. She was the infant daughter of Lizzie and Banks Belk, and her death had a devastating effect on her parents. Joe Mack wrote Murray with the news and asked him to "write to your Sister. She is wild with grief, & it [is] her first great trial, & you may be able to say words of sympathy that will comfort." His father also suggested to Murray that he include "Banks in your letter, for it is a hard blow on him though he takes it better than Lizzie."

Less than two months after the loss of their granddaughter, Joe and Hattie's thirty-nine-year-old son, Alex, died on 31 March 1906, after a brief illness, at his home in Decatur (Georgia). Ed wrote his mother on 2 April 1906, with words of comfort and sympathy. "I have just written to May, and now my heart turns to you, for you have suffered, I know, without the comfort of seeing and helping your boy."

The Reverend Joseph Mack and Murray were already in Georgia when Alex died, and Hattie Mack, accompanied by Banks Belk, arrived in Decatur in time for the funeral and burial on Sunday morning, 1 April 1906. Hattie's brother, Alex Banks, was also present for his nephew's funeral. Hattie returned to Fort Mill after the service in Decatur and remained there, preparing for the move to College Park. By the middle of May, Hattie had joined her husband in College Park (Georgia) and in early June 1906, Murray finished his year at the Donald Fraser School.

Murray had been selected to serve as editor for the school's paper, the *Orange & Black*, for the spring semester, and he completed the last issue in June. Jno. Laurence Daniel, his mathematics teacher, wrote him on 4 June 1906, after the summer vacation had begun, with regard to the content of the publication. "If you do not have enough material[,] fill in with some good little poem or anecdote selected by yourself," he suggested. He also sent "many good wishes" and the admonition, "[y]ou must take a good rest and be ready to do as fine work next winter as you did for me."

Murray decided to continue his education at Davidson College, just as his four older brothers had done. He asked G. Holman Gardner, the principal of the Donald Fraser School, to write a recommendation attesting to his class standing and forward it to the president of Davidson College, Dr. Henry Louis Smith.

Dr. Smith responded with a letter to Murray, dated 1 August 1906, in which he inquired if he had studied Latin, or “if it is your intention to take a special course, omitting this language entirely.” Dr. Smith warned, however, that such a course of study “would not be in line for a diploma, and it would be much better, if possible, for you to take Latin.”

Dr. Smith followed his letter with another, dated 7 August 1907, in which he offered Murray a most attractive off-campus room that was available rent-free. “Mrs. Josephine Worth occupies a very pleasant home overlooking the campus, and is, herself, a most charming woman,” he explained. Her nephew, Ernest McBryde, who lived in her home, had been accepted in the freshman class and wanted a roommate to share his room. The only expense would be half of the cost of fuel and lighting.

Murray accepted and, after his arrival in Davidson, on 4 September 1907, settled into his new routine. He described his first day on campus in a letter to his mother written on 5 September 1907. He was met at the train “by a howling mob who promptly took charge of me,” and harassed him while he walked to campus, calling out ““Fresh meat.”” His roommate, Ernest, was “just such a person as I imagine Harry Mack was at the same age. The boy loves to argue and tease, and has a voice exactly like

Harry's." Mrs. Worth, his landlady, he liked "just fine." Murray registered for six courses, all on the freshman level except Latin. "I could not make Fresh Latin and so take Prep Latin instead." His expenses would include board at ten dollars per month, washing would cost one dollar each four weeks, and he estimated his books would total eight dollars. "I am highly satisfied with the prospects, and must get down to *work, work, WORK* tomorrow morning," he concluded.

Within a matter of days, however, Murray's positive mood was dampened by a critical letter he received from his father. "I am discouraged with prospects, and your letter comes instead of sympathy & encouragement," he complained. His mistake was to write his father and mother on a postal card in which he discussed his financial requirements. "I am sorry that your sense of propriety is shocked, and I will mention money matters only under seal after this," he promised. Both parents continued to correspond with their son throughout the academic year, and Murray responded to each letter. He also kept in touch with his siblings and friends, many of whom were also away at college.

Most of the letters were routine, with news of family members, but very few comments about political events; however, Joe and Hattie were in College Park at the time of the Atlanta race riot of 22–24 September 1906, and she described the impact on her family in a letter to Murray dated 28 September 1906. Mary Ardrey and her three children were visiting in College Park and wanted to visit May Mack, her sister-in-law, and children in Decatur. "We did not consider it safe to go the first of the week, for the Decatur cars

pass through the rioting districts,” Hattie related. “All is quiet now & we hope the trouble is over.... For two nights College Park was guarded. There was some trouble at East Point, but none here. The papers did exaggerate, but it was pretty bad, & the men were thoroughly aroused, & the women frightened,” she concluded.

Murray was very successful in his first semester at Davidson College. He calculated his average on all his courses and determined it to be 98 1/7 which was, he informed his mother in his letter dated 8 January 1907, “I think, the highest mark in the class.” After his parents received the report of his grades, his mother wrote, on 10 January 1907, [w]e are highly pleased & gratified with your report, & hope you will have the health [and] eyesight to keep it up.” His father added his praise in a letter of the same date and was especially pleased that Murray had joined the same fraternity that four of his brothers had belonged to. “It is a delight to know that you are an SAE—5 brothers. Is there any record better?” His father continued to send Murray the money that he needed and, occasionally, wrote about other matters as well.

In a letter dated 26 February 1907, and written from College Park, he remarked, “[m]y 1st year here is out. There were 28 members and 14 families—we have now 45 members & 26 families. 24 persons have been received, but 7 have been dismissed or have died.” He was also pleased that the congregation had paid all of his salary and the rent for his house. “I am as usual, except a little more impatient, getting old & losing the serenity of youth.”

During the first part of his summer vacation, Murray visited Will, Minnie and Billie Mack in New York City. His mother reminded him, in a letter written on 12 June 1907, to “make yourself helpful & pleasant to all....” After he returned he spent July and part of August 1907 with his parents in College Park, before returning to Fort Mill where he remained, with his sister Lizzie, until it was time to register for the fall term at Davidson.

Murray advised his mother, in a letter written 6 September 1907, that he had signed up for five classes at the recommendation of Dr. Smith who suggested that he not “try to make an honor grade, but to take it moderately and not strain my eyes.” Murray’s letters to his parents during the fall usually focused on non-academic topics. Money, and his need for it, was a consistent issue. He also discussed football in his letters. “Did I tell you,” he asked his mother in a letter written 20 October, “...I was Captain of the team (3rd team) that beat Catawba [College] 11 to 0?” In the same letter, he described his trip to Charlotte to hear a speech by populist congressman, and three-time unsuccessful Democratic nominee for president, William Jennings Bryan. “I am glad that I have seen and heard this noble and eloquent man, although I did go fast asleep in the midst of his eulogy of the common people,” he admitted. On 30 October 1907, he wrote his father, “I have just come from Fort Mill to see mother and get something to eat.” While in Fort Mill, he “went around to see Banks at the Hospital. He is getting along nicely.” Banks Belk, his sister Lizzie’s husband, had suffered from a heart condition for more than a year.

Murray resumed his studies at Davidson College, after Christmas vacation, in January 1908; however, just a week after his return, his ailing brother-in-law, Banks Belk, died suddenly, and he returned to Fort Mill for the funeral. Murray did not immediately return to school, and one of his classmates, in a letter dated 3 February 1908, asked “When will you be back[?]” Apparently, Murray’s father decided that he should remain in Fort Mill so he would be able to help his sister Lizzie and her children. His father also needed someone to look after his farming interests at home. In a series of April 1908 letters, Joe Mack gave his son specific instructions about planting crops and the tenants working his farms. “Do not let Charlie & Will have the fertilizer until they have signed the liens,” he directed in a letter written 11 April 1908, “& add 25¢ for recording [the liens.]” He also cautioned about planting cotton too early, because there “may be a big frost in about a week. Some predict it.” And again, in his letter of 14 April 1908, he warned: “Do not plant yet.”

Murray, in the meantime, explored other work options, especially jobs that would allow him to earn money that he could use for college expenses. A Davidson fraternity brother, William Henry Ruffner Campbell (1889–1960), and several other friends had developed a plan for a summer job that would bring in needed cash and would also pay for an extended trip through the Midwest and Northeast. In a letter to Murray written 3 May 1908, Ruffner Campbell described the planned itinerary. They would sell “Keystone views and one or two other things” to finance their travels through “St. Louis, Chicago, to Detroit, Cleveland,

Buffalo, Niagara, Toronto, Thousand Isle, New York City etc.,” Ruffner wrote. He enclosed a price list of “Stereoscopic Goods” offered by the Keystone View Company and noted that “several fellows in college have handled these goods and say that there is money in it.” Ruffner continued to encourage Murray to join him in early June and, in his letter dated 13 May 1908, he wrote, “I think that I can promise you the greatest two months and a half you ever spent.”

Murray evidently revealed his summer plans to his father who asked, in a letter dated 20 May 1908, “Have you heard from Mr. Campbell again? When do you want to leave Fort Mill?” But, in the same letter, he revealed his wishes for his youngest son’s long-term future: “Hope you & Harry will decide to farm, so that I need not sell my home place.” Joe was clearly displeased by his son’s summer plans. In a letter to Murray written 3 June 1908, he explained that he could go on his “tramp to please Campbell” only if Shellie Patterson agreed to look after his farms while Murray was away. ‘I did hope that you would have gone to an Agricultural School this summer, as I fear your tramp will be fruitless at least.” Even so, he did offer to give Murray the twenty dollars he had asked for.

Murray set off on his trip early in June 1908 and by the 14th, when he wrote his mother a long letter, he had reached Chattanooga (Tennessee), where he spent more time exploring the Civil War battle monuments along Missionary Ridge than selling stereo views. On 23 June 1908, Murray was in Cincinnati

(Ohio), where he stayed with his brother Ed and his family for a few days.

In a letter to his mother, Murray described in great detail Ed's four children, related stories from his travels through the middle of Tennessee, and offered several versions of his future plans. "I would like to work on a western farm a few weeks just to learn something about their methods," or "I will... go to St. Louis and go to the office of the Keystone View Co. & get some good territory", or "else I will strike for the west, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma, the Gulf Coast, Florida & then home."

Murray's July 1908 letters trace the route he actually followed. From Chicago on 6 July 1908, he related his impression of the city to his mother. "Chicago is a great city, but not near so large as New York," he observed. He sent his brother Ed a letter from Cleveland on 9 July 1908 and described his voyage from Chicago to Grand Haven (Michigan), on board the steamer *Iowa*, then a train ride to Detroit, followed by another passage, to Cleveland (Ohio), aboard the *City of Cleveland*.

His next letter to his mother was written from another steamer, the *City of Buffalo*, on 12 July 1908, on the way to Montreal (Canada), after having spent several days in Buffalo, Niagara Falls, and Toronto. In his letter to his mother written in Montreal on 18 July 1908, he was out of funds and, to remedy that situation, "I'm thinking about visiting a Pawn Shop," where he thought he could "get ten cents for my watch, and a half dollar for my pin. Ten

cents will buy me a square meal of milk and crackers and I am hungry now.”

When he arrived in New York, he informed his father in a letter dated 23 July 1908, he was “without a penny, and came to Will’s.” He needed money and asked his father to send him “at least eighty dollars[,] thirty-five for Will, twenty-five for the Keystone People, and twenty dollars to get home on....” He had borrowed from Will, who “wants me to pay him at once,” and the Keystone View Company’s bill for twenty-five dollars was “fifteen days overdue....” Murray admitted that he was “a big fool, but have learned a lesson.”

Not only did he have to beg for money from his father to settle the debts incurred during his travels, he also was harshly chastised by his brother Ed, in a letter dated 13 August 1908, after Murray returned to Fort Mill. Ed confessed that he was disappointed in Murray and Ruffner Campbell and thought that you “both ought to be spanked [and] I hope your fathers will apply the slipper vigorously, for you deserve it.” He was particularly critical of their decision to abandon “your work... to bustle around at sightseeing.” Furthermore, he continued, “I think father has been gentle and patient with you; so much so that you ought to get right down and dig out enough money to pay back what your centrifugal expedition has cost Father & Lizzie.” Ed insisted that his brother, who was “nearly twenty-one years old and have not even begun a life-work,” should “take off your coat and boiled shirt for hard work.” He no longer thought his brother needed “college years of any kind, but just about five years of diligence in the

school of the plough, the hoe and the axe, with the picnics, dress-parades and circular excursions cut out entirely.”

Murray spent the rest of the year in Fort Mill, managing his father’s farms. Hattie Mack reluctantly shuttled between College Park and Fort Mill. Just before she started for College Park, she wrote her husband from Fort Mill, on 5 October 1908, that she dreaded the trip to Georgia and believed she would “have to make a change of some kind, for I feel that my duty is here. We are needed here, and the mystery is why we ever left Ft. Mill.” She did not necessarily “love the place or the people, [b]ut our children and interest are here.... You have not the family love tie that I have. Yours is _____. Look for me Friday morning. Hattie.”

Even though Joe’s health was failing, he wanted to continue with his ministry in College Park, rather than return to Fort Mill. In a letter to Murray written from College Park, he explained that he wanted “to fix up my business so as to leave no complications at death.” He reminded Murray that “[l]ast February your eyes were affected, you needed business habits, I needed help; & you were wisely kept from school. Your summer trip taught you much. I want to set you up right to be [a] No. 1 farmer.” His older children had “plenty,” he reasoned, so he had “designed my home place for Harry or you, but Harry has set that aside, & I want you to have use of it, and eventually to have a part or all of it.” At some point, Joe wanted Murray “to go to college for one or two years,” but not to Davidson. He expected Murray to study agriculture and train to become a scientific farmer.

Murray cooperated with that desire and sent off letters to Michigan State Agricultural College and Cornell University during November requesting information about entrance requirements. He also requested, and received, a certificate from Davidson College attesting to his standing there. President Sims, in a letter dated 22 December 1908, enclosed the certificate and also addressed some questions Murray had asked, before extending his wishes "for... much success and a most profitable course of study at Cornell."

By 15 January 1909, Joseph had "arrangements completed for you to go to Cornell," he informed his son in a letter written from Charlotte. "I want you to do well, & pray earnestly for it. Do not disappoint your mother & me." Murray arrived in Ithaca (New York), on 30 January 1909, and the next day wrote his mother a letter with a narrative of his trip north, and a brief description of his new surroundings. "The university lies up on the Hill above the town. The numerous boarding houses swarm the hillsides.... By this time tomorrow, I will be a full fledged student settled in my own little room somewhere on that hillside...." To his father, he gave a more detailed account of his courses and the college of agriculture, as well a summary of the money he had spent. "The standard up here is very high, especially in the agricultural department."

During his time at Cornell, Murray continued his extensive correspondence with family and friends, attested by the fact that 139 letters are extant from 1909. From his brother Will, he learned, in a letter dated 8 February 1909, that his wife, Minnie,

had “been in failing health for several months, and on Saturday last [she] was transferred to a Sanitarium with the hope of improving her condition.”

A week later, on 13 February 1909, Harry Mack wrote Murray that “Minnie died at about 2:30 this P.M.... Will wired Father to come up, if possible, & take Billie home with him.” Hattie was already on her way to New York when the news of Minnie’s death reached Fort Mill, as she explained in a letter to Murray, written from Will’s apartment in New York, on 19 February 1909. Ed arrived in time to conduct Minnie’s funeral service, but remained in New York only for a few days. “I expect to take Billy home with me, and may go by Fort Mill to give him a chance to see the cousins there,” Hattie continued. She also informed Murray that he was “one of the last persons... [Minnie] took any interest in... [and] she was so glad that you were again at school.”

The letters that Joe wrote Murray during his year at Cornell were filled with details about the state of his farms, his opinions on farming operations, and with suggestions for Murray to consider. “I believe that raising hogs will be as profitable as anything else,” he speculated in a letter dated 24 March 1909. “Study their diseases, food, & how to pen them, or arrange for lots.”

Modern in his thinking, Joe predicted that the “use of machinery is what will differentiate the successful farmer in the South.” His comments in his 17 April 1909 letter to Murray illustrate the extent of Joe’s farming operation. “Cotton is up.... Peter plants 35 acres, Cal 25, Sam 20, Williamson 35, Mackey 15, & Charlie 10; Jack Perry 15= 65 acres of cotton. They will plant 65 or 70 in corn.” In

most of his letters, Joseph mentioned his health. In a letter dated 26 May 1909, he casually stated, “[m]y health is better, but I must soon give up regular work. One of my ears is troubling me, & Dr. Campbell does not know what is the matter.”

In an effort to complete his work at Cornell as quickly as possible, Murray enrolled in summer school in July 1909. He explained to his father in a letter written on 12 July 1909 that he was enrolled for eleven credit hours, although most students were allowed to take only seven, which made it necessary to spend all day from six in the morning until midnight with his studies. Even though he had worked hard at Cornell, his father reminded him, in a letter dated 30 July 1909, he had “received nearly \$300 since Feb. 1st” and he insisted that “you must arrange to work in the vacation between summer school & the regular term.... you must begin to make something for yourself, & not be dependent on others all the time.”

In his next letter to his son, Joe chronicled Murray’s immature and irresponsible behavior, as he saw it, during the previous four or five years. “You were a weak nervous child, petted & spoiled, & certain to be a physical wreck unless something was done. So I took you from school & gave you a farm. You did well for a while, but then quit working & preferred going to a picnic to making a crop. To get you away I sent you to Decatur, & then to Davidson. Bank’s death and my almost dying condition caused me to have you at Fort Mill. But you would not help in the store, as you went there late, & would go out to chat & have fun with the town boys. When I formed the Kimbrell Co. you were to stay for Lizzie’s

protection and to help me in collecting, & also about my business. You fretted & would not help, & insisted on going with Campbell.” After outlining this litany of failure and disappointment, Murray’s father did acknowledge that “you began to work well last fall, but I was willing to give you two years at Cornell, & then start you in a farm.” Citing his own failing strength and the fact that “my life has hung for 20 months by a thread, I want you prepared to take the Home Place & care for your mother there. But you must give up frolic & get down to business.”

As his father had suggested, Murray did attempt to find work for the weeks between the end of the summer session and the beginning of the fall term. The farmer for whom he had worked during the June recess, answered Murray’s letter of inquiry with an offer of “work from the time school is out till the first of October for the same as you did before, guess I can find something to keep busy at.” Murray, who had earned only room and board from the local farmer previously, wrote at the bottom of the letter, “*Oh! Hell.*”

Murray registered for his fall courses, and in a letter to his mother, written 10 October 1909, listed them. His schedule included “courses in Animal Husbandry, Botany, Biology, Farm Engineering, & Vegetable Gardening.” Murray was able to make a quick visit to New York in October while his mother and Billy were spending a few weeks with Will. When Murray requested money from his father, in a letter dated 21 November 1909, in order to settle an overdraft with the bank, he explained, “[t]hat trip down to N.Y. cost me a good deal.”

Joseph continued to send Murray long letters about his plans for farming, after Murray took charge of the land. On 11 January 1910, he wrote that “you must return home next summer & plan your work—where your terraces, your roads, your bridges &c, also where your cotton, corn, small grains &c for 1911” should go. The next day, in another letter to Murray, Joe urged, in order to “develop into a practical & successful farmer,” you must “utilize every acre—There are 487 on River Place, 63 in Texas & 160 in Home Place, or 710 in all, & you can begin with 50 or 100 on Home Place.”

Murray returned to Fort Mill as soon as the term ended at Cornell, and immediately assumed responsibility for his father’s farms, while the elder Mack traveled to Columbia, Tennessee, to preach an anniversary sermon at the church where he had delivered his first sermon fifty years earlier. In a letter dated 2 July 1910, after giving Murray instructions about selling his cotton, he remarked, “[y]our Uncle Ed is here & looks well, so does your Aunt Mary—having a good time with my friends.”

After Murray settled into life in Fort Mill, he took time to renew friendships with the young people he had grown up with. On 2 July 1910, a young woman he had known most of his life, Elizabeth Nims, wrote him a long letter from Mount Holly (North Carolina), where she was staying with relatives, in which she asked him if he “couldn’t walk up here again about Saturday and stay a few days.” She urged him to “[c]ancel any engagements you may have made and come for I have set my heart on this and will be very disappointed if I fail to accomplish [that] which I have started.”

Elizabeth Nims was sixteen when she wrote Murray, having been born in Fort Mill on 26 February 1894, the daughter of Frederick Nims (1862–1952) and his wife Floride Aurelia Harrison (1862–1930). The Nims family was established by Frederick Nims, Sr. (1810–1867), a native of Conway (Massachusetts), who moved to the South and worked as a civil engineer on railroad projects in Georgia, Tennessee, and the Carolinas. In 1854 he was the general superintendent of the Charlotte & South Carolina Railroad, and the next year married Elizabeth Spratt White of Fort Mill. In 1859, the couple settled at Woodlawn in Gaston County (North Carolina), where he farmed and operated a mill.

Elizabeth again invited Murray to visit her in a letter written 21 July 1910 from Mt. Holly. She signed the letter “very sincerely ‘Betsy’—my new name.” Murray continued to look after his father’s farms and crops for the remainder of the year, usually receiving frequent instructions from him. Murray, however, did not always respond to his questions as quickly as his father expected. In a letter dated 26 July 1910, Joe complained that he had not received a letter from Murray that day. “Be sure to write me on every afternoon mail the *exact* market. I want to sell [my cotton] this week or next, & your neglect may cost me much. Do not neglect anymore.”

A Cornell friend, Ross H. McLean, in a letter to Murray written in August 1910, shed light on the reason that Murray neglected his responsibilities to his father. “Was very glad to hear from you and mighty glad you’re enjoying yourself so much. I’d like to meet your friend of the ‘blue eyes that laugh at you all the time.’ She sounds

interesting. Tell me more about her.” In fact, Murray corresponded with a number of friends, both men and women, during this period, but no other female elicited the same interest as did the girl with the blue eyes.

Even though Joe Mack was pessimistic about his future and was eager to settle his affairs, he nonetheless purchased another farm to add to his holdings. In his letter of 8 August 1910, he informed Murray that he had “bought the Springs-Burwell place adjoining Mr. Jeff Withers’ place, and will crop it, if I do not rent it. There are 350 acres, or more, and it will make a capital farm for some one.” He was also enthusiastic about the potential of using a steam plow on his farms. He explained his idea in a letter to Murray dated 5 October 1910. “We ought to use machinery to prepare hard land—to sow—to reap—& to thresh,” he concluded. “With the Springs place I have 1000 acres, & an engine can pay, if I have some one intelligent enough to use it.” A few days later, in a letter dated 11 October 1910, Joe explained to Murray how he would use an engine to “revolutionize the 4 farms.” He calculated that “[i]t will take about \$2000.00 to prepare for this, but if you will fit yourself for doing the work, I can raise that.”

Joe and Hattie and their grandson Billie remained in College Park for the first few months of 1911, so that Joe could continue the radium treatments for his ear and also to allow time for the church’s new minister to arrive. In his letter to Murray written on

22 March 1911, Joe indicated that the “Presbytery meets on 27th to dissolve my pastoral relation, & I hope to move the latter part of April.” His mother also wanted Murray to plant a garden for her and, in a letter dated 23 March 1911, listed the vegetables she desired. She also admonished him “to have everything planted... [b]y Good Friday.” The Macks, however, did not move from College Park to Fort Mill until the middle of June.

On 30 May 1911, Mr. and Mrs. F.J. Merriam, members of the College Park Presbyterian Church, hosted a “farewell reception” for “this dearly beloved couple,” according to an article from the *Atlanta Constitution*, reprinted in the *Fort Mill Times* on 15 June 1911. Frank J. Merriam was the publisher and owner of the *Southern Realist*, a journal that Joe Mack relied on for his farming operations, and both Mr. and Mrs. Merriam were close neighbors and good friends of the Macks.

After the Macks returned to Fort Mill (D.V.), the letters and postal cards exchanged between Murray and his father and mother cease, and do not resume until November 1911, when Joe and Hattie traveled to New York so Joe could resume radium treatments for his ear. He described his treatment regimen in a letter to Murray, dated 7 November 1911, and also remarked, “[y]our mother is well, though at times slightly ill—for I am often an aggravation.” By the end of November 1911, the Macks were back in Fort Mill, where Joe continued his recovery.

On 22 January 1912, Joe signed an agreement that specified the terms under which Murray would work for him during the coming year. “I agree to give F. Murray Mack his board for 1912 in

consideration of his caring for his mother,” he wrote. Joe also promised to pay him one dollar “for every day he works” and to allow him the “right to work (8) eight or (10) ten acres in cotton on halves.”

Two days later, he wrote Murray from New York, where he was again undergoing treatment for cancer, that he was pleased with Murray’s recent letter, and remarked that it was “very full & definite, & helped me very much.” Hattie had remained in Fort Mill while her husband was away. In May, William visited his father in Fort Mill for a few days just before Joe had planned to return to New York for additional treatments. Before he could begin that trip, Joe died suddenly at his home the evening of 24 May 1912. His obituary, published in the *Fort Mill Times* on 30 May 1912, described him as “one of the most able and widely-known members of the Southern Presbyterian church.” His wife and his children, except for William and Harry, were present at the time of death.

When the funeral was held on Sunday afternoon, 26 May 1912, his four sons served as pallbearers, along with his son-in-law, W.B. Ardrey, and his grandson Joe Belk. The Reverend George A. Blackburn, the pastor of Arsenal Hill Presbyterian Church in Columbia and the son-in-law of Joseph Bingham Mack’s close friend the Reverend John L. Girardeau, conducted the funeral. In a brief biographical sketch published the same day, the unnamed writer described Mack as “uncompromisingly a Presbyterian. He preached with great power, and convinced and converted

thousands. His name was a synonym for strength. He was strong in faith, orthodox in every point. His sermons were noted for their depth of thought, strength and logic. As a speaker he was earnest, convincing and impressive.”

The remaining portion of the Mack Family Papers, covering the years from 1913 until 1948, with a few letters from 1957, regarding the illness and death of Harrington Mack, will be described in next year’s annual Report of Gifts to the Library. The remaining four and a half linear feet of material include the extensive correspondence of Francis Murray Mack with his mother, who lived until 1937, and his wife, Elizabeth Nims, whom he married in 1915, while he was away from home during his service with the South Carolina National Guard in Texas in 1916, and during his career in the United States Army during both World Wars. **Gift of Mr. & Mrs. James Ardrey.**

**WALSH FAMILY PAPERS,
1895, 1899, 1915–1927**

The correspondence of the Walsh and related families reflects town life in South Carolina for the period from 1915 to 1927 in York and Walterboro (Colleton County, S.C.). Two of the three Walsh sons attended Clemson, the University of South Carolina, Cornell University, and the Medical College of South Carolina. The 236 manuscripts in the collection consist largely of letters of the family and friends of the siblings.

The Reverend Thomas Tracy Walsh was born in Conway (Horry County, S.C.) in 1866, the son of Joseph Travis Walsh and Mary

Frances Congdon. Prior to coming to the Church of the Good Shepherd in York (S.C.) in 1909, Walsh served numerous Episcopal parishes in the capacity of general missionary whose duties included serving weak or vacant parishes and missions. Among the parishes he served were St. Alban's Chapel; Church of the Heavenly Rest (Estill, S.C.); Church of the Redeemer (Greenville, S.C.); and All Saints (Hampton, S.C.).

A letter, 30 January 1899, from his brother George, Groesbeeck, (Texas), anticipates Walsh's impending marriage: "I trust you have made a wise selection & she will indeed prove to be a helpmate to you. I have been all along where you are, and know with what pleasure you look forward to the greatest happiness which comes in a man's life when he is able to say 'this is *my wife*.'" Thomas Tracy Walsh and Mary Pressley Fishburne (1878–1958), of Walterboro (S.C.), were married on 19 April 1899.

The Walshes arrived in York (S.C.) in 1909 when he was appointed rector of Church of the Good Shepherd, where he served until retirement in 1935. He also supplied churches in Chester (Chester County, S.C.) and Blacksburg (Cherokee County, S.C.). A little over a month after arriving in York, he was appointed chaplain to the Church Home Orphanage, which moved from Charleston to York (S.C.) in that year. Three of the Walsh's five children were born prior to their move to York: Tracy Fishburne (1900–1990), Joseph Norman (1901–1974), and Merrick Kershaw (1903–1993). Their two daughters, Mary Pressley (1909–2007) and Charlotte Congdon (1914–2012), were born in York.

Two of the Walsh sons spent considerable time in Walterboro (S.C.) to attend school. While there, they lived with Irving and Gladys Fishburne. Tracy informed his mother, 8 September 1915, of his progress in school and noted: "I do not wish to brag, but I think that I am at the head of the class in Latin. I would probably be *near* the bottom of the class at York.... *Here* I am determined to do better and *here* I am succeeding. So don't you see that it is to my advantage to stay here?" Writing Norman on the 11th, he related that he was "represent[ing] 'Uncle Sam' in a Prohibition demonstration," but "I am glad I have not got anything to say, but just have [to] stand up and be seen." He complimented Norman for adding 'Esquire' to his name: "It shows that you have sense. You are one the few 'crackers' who know a gentleman when he sees one." He was preparing for the fair and the mile race in October and told his mother that he expected to do well in the race: "I can beat anyone in the school running that distance—all except a country fellow. Nearly all of the boys smoke, so of course, I have better wind than they have."

The literary society to which Tracy belonged "voted out all proposals to have the girls meet with us, as we do not think that we can speak good enough yet" (5 December 1915). There are no letters written by or to Norman, but his 1914–1915 seventh-grade report card confirms his presence in Walterboro (S.C.)

Kershaw apparently did not attend school in Walterboro, but he did spend time there in 1920 working in his uncle's drugstore prior to enrolling as a freshman in the College of Charleston in the fall (17 August 1920). In a letter of 12 July 1920, he informed his

mother of the work in the drugstore and of a girl "named Minnie Smoak working here. She knows the ropes. Say[s] there are plenty of good looking girls down here. All have hair bobbed. Although she did not much impress me in this line before, Elizabeth Jones is the prettiest girl here."

Writing to his brother Norman, who was working in Nebraska, Kershaw considered Walterboro (S.C.) "a pretty hard place." He provided details of a couple of public fights presumably fueled by drinking of alcohol and his impression "that the prohibition law is being broken around here" (21 July 1920). He continued citing examples of the town as a "pretty hard place" in a letter of 17 August 1920. A "drunk man" came into the drugstore and "tried to break a bottle over Eddie's head.... he told Eddie that he was going to kill him as soon as he caught him alone. This is a pretty bad place for drunk men cutting, scrapes, etc." He did concede that there were "plenty of good people here as well as bad ones." He planned on remaining in Walterboro for another two weeks as he had passed the entrance examination to the College of Charleston.

Norman Walsh may have entered Clemson Agricultural & Mechanical College in 1917, but the first letter to him in the collection is dated 12 January 1918. His mother kept him informed of progress being made with the paving of streets in York (S.C.). Some work had been started on King's Mountain Street: "They are going to work on that first as they don't want Main St. torn up until after the 4th of July" (5 June 1918).

The news of greatest concern in the fall and winter was the incidence of influenza. In October 1918, Sarah Grist related that schools and churches were closed and the football team was not allowed to practice. "Spanish Influenza," she noted, "is [the] chief topic of conversation" (6 October 1918). The flu remained a concern in January 1919 with a reported thirty-seven cases at the orphanage and a shortage of nurses and other helpers (17 January 1919). Influenza was also severe in January 1920. Mrs. Walsh advised Norman: "Flu seems to be spreading everywhere," and the weather was a contributing factor. She lamented: "This has been some weather.... In all the years I have been here I have never seen the streets in such a dreadful condition" (28 January 1920). Although there did not appear to be as many cases as in the previous year, schools, churches, and businesses were closed (10 February 1920). But later that month, his mother reported: "There is so much flu and pneumonia everywhere it keeps me very anxious about my boys" (24 February 1920). In a letter of 3 March 1920, she noted that the flu persisted: "Drs Bratton and Barron are down with it."

In the spring of 1920, a period of student unrest among Clemson cadets in March centered around the quality of food and an order by the commandant that six other students serve as waiters in the dining facility. Cases of influenza had reduced the number of student waiters. When several freshman cadets refused the order, they received demerits. Demonstrations were held and some students adopted 'Bolshevik' badges. Students who participated in the two-day demonstrations were suspended

and sent home and others walked out. President Walter Riggs took measures to improve food quality and to allow the return of students who had been suspended and those who had walked out. Freshman and sophomore students who had not participated in the strike also were sent home from 12 to 21 March 1920. A letter (21 March 1920) from Norman's brother Tracy began: "I am addressing this letter to Clemson because [I] suppose you have returned by now. Was very much interested about the 'grand walkout' especially where it concerns you." The correspondence does not clarify Norman's role or the extent of his participation, but the fact that some of his classmates later addressed letters to him as "Dear Trotsky" suggests that he may have been more than a casual observer. Norman's friend William Drakeford, who worked at the Pearle Cotton Mills in Durham (N.C.), advised him to consider transferring to the University of North Carolina: "I believe it is one of the most liberal educational institutions in the United States, certainly in the South. And it is noted over the whole world as Clemson never will be" (24 March 1920).

The summer of 1920 was a great adventure for Norman. He first took a job with a company in Georgia to sell maps, apparently pedaling around the state on a bicycle. He soon decided that this was not for him. By June he was in Oklahoma City. A letter (30 June 1920) from his mother indicated her unhappiness with his situation: "The idea of your being a thousand miles from home with \$10 doesn't exactly reach my sense of humor.... Don't go off to Kansas unless you are assured of a job when you get there.... I don't believe you could stand work in the wheat fields all day in

the hot sun." A letter of 28 June 1920 from his father related that his mother "is very much distressed at his sudden move and going so far away on an uncertainty." The Rev. Walsh also dispensed some fatherly advice: "Beware of bad women, not only is there moral consternation, but nearly all are diseased! Try to be a Christian and a gentleman."

Later that summer he was located in Lakeside (Nebraska), and there seemed to be some uncertainty about his returning to Clemson in the fall. Failure to do so, his father advised, "would probably forfeit all of your R.O.T.C. fund, and without this your chances of getting an education are very slim. Now don't be a fool and throw away your only chance for an education, just to gratify your wanderlust" (26 July 1920). His mother was gratified that he had decided to come home and reflected: "If this experience has made you realize how necessary an education is to a man who wants to amount to anything in the world, it will be worth a good deal" (9 August 1920). Norman was working in a plant that apparently processed potash. In the plant, "shower baths [were] provided so that men can keep clean." In the same letter he affirmed: "I have taken the notion again that I want to be a doctor. I don't know whether I am going to keep the notion or not but that is my present feeling. I have seen so many guys wandering around and never amounting to anything that I feel I ought to do something useful" (20 August 1920).

Norman did return to Clemson in the fall. His mother was gratified "that you seem to be more contented. It worries me when you are not satisfied" (3 October 1920). His brother Kershaw

entered the College of Charleston that fall and Norman considered transferring to the College or to the University of North Carolina. In a letter of 11 November 1920, his mother had catalogues for both institutions. She was dubious of his going to the College of Charleston: "There is no R.O.T.C. and we are pretty dependent on that to help us out." At the University of North Carolina, "they have R.O.T.C. and you also get free tuition as a minister's son." Norman and his parents remained undecided about his educational future in December, but his mother was decisive about her preference for his future career: "I want you to be a Dr. more than anything, provided you want to too and I know you will make a good one. Nothing that is worth having is easy to get" (4 December 1920).

Norman did decide to transfer to the College of Charleston, and he and Kershaw were roommates at 4 Greene Street. Kershaw came down with the mumps in January 1921 and their mother advised: "Be sure he stays in bed as long as there is any swelling" (16 January 1921). In a letter of 13 February 1921, Mrs. Walsh continued with parental advice on another subject: "I will certainly be glad when the novelty of boat riding wears off. I have very little confidence in your or Kershaw's knowledge of tides or winds or oars" (13 February 1921). The brothers' sister Pressley kept them informed of activities in York (S.C.), including her excellent grades; Jack King's Comedians, a vaudeville show in town; the York baseball team; serving as a witness to a marriage ceremony conducted by her father; and the Redpath Chautauqua coming to York (16 April and 21 May 1921).

Eldest brother Tracy traveled with his father in 1919 to Washington (D.C.), to be treated for problems with his vision. Tracy remained in Washington for his treatment. A letter to his mother in October 1919 assured her that the physician “thinks my eyes are going to get well and that eventually I’ll be able to study.” Not having ventured far from York except for his schooling in Walterboro (S.C.), Tracy informed Norman: “Washington is *some* place.... I have learned the ropes fairly well and have been to nearly all the points of interest—also a few points not of interest to the average person.” One point of interest near the hospital was “a convent for *negro* ‘sisters’” and next to the convent a Catholic church “in which negroes and whites worship together. The priest is a very nasty looking short and extremely fat Irishman who walks with a limp” (21 October 1919). Tracy mentioned plans for attending Christ School, but by November he was soliciting contributions for Volunteers of America, an organization founded in 1896 by social reformers Ballington and Maud Booth. He proudly related to his mother a most successful day of collecting. Even before he left York, Tracy had been associated with the Young Peoples Christian Alliance. In light of his recent success, he assured his mother—“Now please bear in mind that although I am very proud of my work, I do not claim the credit for it at all. God does it and no one else” (30 November 1919).

Tracy related his success as a collector in a letter (7 December 1919) to Norman. He had received treatment on his back and neck from “one of the best chiropractic doctors in Washington.” He was so pleased with the treatment that he encouraged his brother

not to “be a durn fool and study medicine, when you can come here to my doctor’s school, take a two year’s course, with NO preliminary, and come out as a full fledged chiropractor, and then let the money roll in.”

York businessman William Bedford Moore made a gift of \$2,000 to Tracy “for my education to the ministry.” His work with Volunteers of America included supervising two groups of boys and girls “who go from house to house and hold prayer meetings for people who are in trouble or are sick.” Tracy anticipated a visit from his father “to ‘take in the situation.’” The Rev. Mr. Walsh apparently was concerned over his son’s education for the ministry, and in fact Tracy was in something of a quandary as well. The Volunteers of America provided him the opportunity “to build up an efficient young people’s organization.... but does not furnish the education while the church “offers me an education but the question is, would I be allowed as a minister, to organize a Society along international lines” (4 February 1920).

Subsequent to a lengthy hospital stay in Washington for surgery, Tracy Walsh returned to York (S.C.) over the summer and in February 1921 was in Graniteville (Aiken County, S.C.) where he ministered to mill workers in the Horse Creek Valley. On a Saturday afternoon in Langley, five boys were initiated at a meeting. Tracy was responsible for drilling the group: “It was a most ridiculous process. I formed them into two lines and when I would say ‘right face,’ about half of the boys would turn to the right and the other half to the left.” On Sunday he preached at two sites in Aiken County (S.C.): Clearwater in the morning and Bath in the

evening. He preached to only a few individuals in the morning, but accompanied by an organist in the evening he preached to an audience of fifty to sixty people" (7 February 1921).

Norman Walsh was enrolled in the Medical College in Charleston in 1922, and Kershaw had transferred from the College of Charleston to the University of South Carolina. A letter (30 March 1922) related the ceremony at the laying of the cornerstone for the new school building in York (S.C.). On a sad note two local citizens had died. George Ashe hanged himself with his belt in the Asylum, and Latta Massey apparently "drank himself crazy."

By April 1922, Norman was giving thought to work for the summer. Having failed as a map salesman, neither of his parents was enthusiastic about his selling aluminum ware. His father noted that many merchants were letting clerks go and manufacturers were experiencing a slowing economy. "As to selling aluminum ware," his father advised, "forget it—you would starve as a canvasser—and I have not \$30 to spare" (18 April 1922). Norman's father did not see any likelihood of his son securing employment in a drugstore in York (S.C.). He hoped that his son would find "congenial work... but keep away from lumber camps. They are hell." On another matter, he reacted to a pamphlet, *The Bible as the Word of God*, sent him by his son. "It is about what I would expect," he surmised, "from a Southern Presbyterian." The Southern Presbyterians, he advised, "are about 50 years behind their Northern brethren.... Of course the Bible *contains* the inspired Word of God, but to say that every

word in it is such, is bunk.... God can convey truth through folk lore, myths, legends, parables and allegories. Christ's parables were myths. Did you read the article on The Bible by myself in *The Engineer?*" (15 May 1923).

Kershaw Walsh sang in the University of South Carolina glee club and toured parts of South Carolina on their spring tour. He referred to Timmonsville (Florence County, S.C.) as "a rather small hole in the ground, so I haven't much to say about it, except that the auditorium is rotten." He considered Darlington (S.C.) "a beautiful old place.... the only place I have seen that beats York for its trees." He reserved his most favorable comments for Marion (S.C.) where he stayed in the home of Mr. Horace Tilghman: "It is a sample of the other places. They have beautifully furnished houses, steam heat, hardwood floors and mantles, butlers, three-course breakfasts, four-course dinners with cigars, afterwards, etc., etc." After Marion they went to Mullins (Marion County, S.C.) and then on to Bamberg (S.C.), described in a letter of 23 April 1922. Commenting on his classroom experiences at USC, Kershaw stated: "We surely do have to work here." He was doing well in French, Math, Education, and History. He was especially pleased that he made the second highest grade "in Reed Smith's English II class, (21 men). He is the hardest man to pass on the faculty. He flunked twelve of the class" (19 February 1922).

Norman Walsh eventually secured summer employment at Randolph Mills in Franklinville (N.C.). Kershaw spent the summer in Rock Hill (S.C.). Having completed two of Bernard Shaw's works, he commented: "Both are highly philosophical and deal

with the most profound truths of mankind.... I will say that they put a very important stone in my structure of life's perspective." He was preparing a paper on the human mind, "something that no one knows anything definite about" and also had composed several poems (14 July 1923).

In addition to letters from his parents, Norman received letters from sisters Pressley and Charlotte and brother Tracy. Tracy related attending a meeting at the courthouse of educators to discuss the problem of illiteracy in the state. "The lady superintendent [Wil Lou Gray] from Laurens County [S.C.]," he noted, "made a speech and beat them all." She looks as if she were about twenty-five or six; and she sure did make some stump speech" (23 July 1923).

Baseball was the subject of a letter from Pressley. Fisticuffs occurred at a local game the day before she wrote. The fight broke out when "a man from Rock Hill (York County, S.C.) was sitting next to Mr. Willis and was saying a lot of bad things about the ladies of York." In the same game a Rock Hill player knocked the umpire down for which he paid a fine of \$23.00 (4 August 1923).

The Rev. Mr. Walsh visited Governor Thomas Gordon McLeod (1868-1932) about the scholarship in August 1923. He found the governor "very cordial if that means anything and said he was a minister's son himself and was *inclined* to give you the scholarship" (16 August 1923). Mrs. Walsh forwarded the governor's letter to Norman and urged him to acknowledge it at once: "It is a great relief to know you have it and as Kershaw's

scholarship has been renewed also, I feel we have much to be thankful for" (24 August 1923).

Norman Walsh was a resident at Roper Hospital in Charleston in 1925, and Kershaw was pursuing a Ph.D. in psychology at Cornell. Norman received letters from Medical College classmates at Jackson Memorial Hospital (Miami, Florida), and Hebrew Hospital (Baltimore, Maryland). A letter, 14 December 1925, from Kershaw, noted: "Since coming here and seeing considerable of the 'world' with its mask off, I was hardly surprised by your expressions of discontent, doubt, etc., which a year ago, might have shocked me slightly. Perhaps it is in place to say that I had been living in such a paradise at York and Carolina that actually I was quite unprepared to face the music of reality." He recognized: "The old existence has vanished, leaving its place void. You cannot imagine the emotional components of the process, but I assure you they are very intense.... I need hardly expound the virtues of South Carolinians. No one can be more bitterly aware of the unspeakable deficiencies of my state, than I am, but all the more do I appreciate those features which I love with all my heart."

In 1926, Norman Walsh began a correspondence with Clermonde Sinkler, a Chicora College student in Columbia (S.C.). Norman was hopeful of visiting Miss Sinkler when in Columbia, but he understood that college rules made "it difficult to even see over the walls." He asked her an appropriate time to put in an appearance "and how close a relative I shall have to be to get in and for you to get out" (20 September 1926). She later acknowledged "a delicious box of candy" and informed him: "We are not

supposed to dance, but of course we do. Only a few girls here lead so we quite a hard time trying to keep in practice” (1 November 1926). Norman, who had acquired a Buick, offered Clermonde a ride back to Columbia (S.C.) in a letter of 7 November 1926. She replied that she would have to make arrangements to stay with a friend in Columbia as students “are not allowed to come to the college on Sunday.” He did provide her a ride from Eutawville (Orangeburg County, S.C.) for which she was grateful: “I fear I would have shed tears when I left home if I had not had a cheerful ride to look forward to and such a jolly person to talk to” (15 November 1926). Dr. Norman Walsh and Clermonde Sinkler were married in Eutawville on 25 August 1931.

Gift of Dr. Norman Sinkler Walsh.

Five letters, 28 August 1865–27 February 1867, written by Lieutenant **Albert B. Ashley (1838–1916)** of the Twenty-first United States Colored Troops, are addressed to his sister Ella M. Ashley in Taunton (Massachusetts).

Ashley wrote the first two letters, dated 28 August 1865 and 12 August 1866, while stationed on Hilton Head Island [Beaufort County, S.C.]. The earlier of the two, a brief letter, was penned “to inform you that I still live.” He also let her know that he kept busy in his post in the Office of the Chief Quartermaster for the Department of South Carolina, “approving all passes for persons leaving the island.”

The second, a longer letter from Hilton Head, informed her that he “had been very busy shipping goods to New York.” He also related that “[t]he Cholery [cholera] has raged fearfully only a short distance from us,” specifically on Tybee Island in Georgia. On Hilton Head, he wrote, “sanitary measures are in full force here in order to keep it from us if possible.” Hilton Head residents still had time for recreation, despite their concern over the situation. Ashley wrote that “sea bathing is all the go here this summer” and “[a]ll the ladies on the beach go in daily.”

Lieutenant Ashley wrote his next three letters to Ella from nearby Bay Point Island. That of 16 December 1866 reports that his wife, “Nettie” (Jeannette Wilhelmina Miller, 1839–1924) and their baby daughter “Jennie” (Jeanne Woart Ashley, 1866–1946) were doing well, and describes visits to the area by Admiral James S. Palmer (1810–1867), commander of the North Atlantic Squadron, on board the *Rhode Island*. A letter dated 29 December 1866 claims that Jennie is the “clear image of my sister Ella.” Although Ashley was hoping to “get home in the Spring,” he invited Ella for a visit to Bay Island, where he had “plenty of house room, two nice hogs, and lots of fowl.”

A final letter, dated 27 February 1867, tells Ella that Ashley had “been recommended to Washington [D.C.], and if I choose to accept it, it will pay very well.” Although he knew that Nettie “would rather come north fearing the approaching warm weather will affect her as it did last summer,” Ashley had “no particular desire to come North, for we enjoy Bay Point very much.” His commander, Captain Rhodes, the letter notes, allowed the

lieutenant and other men under his command to use small boats to “take a trip across the Bay to Hilton head up the River to Beaufort.” There they were allowed to visit plantations “or wherever we choose to go.”

After his time on the South Carolina coast, Ashley and his family appear to have settled in Kewanee (Illinois), before moving to Brattleboro (Vermont). At the time of his death, Albert Ashley was in Henrotin (Illinois). **Acquired with dues contributions of Professor & Mrs. Robert Felix.**

Two letters, 24 September and 1 November 1863, written by Connecticut native **Halsey Bartlett (1831–1864)** from Hilton Head (S.C.) to his sister and mother, respectively, provide news of the war and descriptions of his duties.

Bartlett began the first letter by confirming that “Morris Island is all ours now... Fort Gregg Battery Waggoner is ours and all is quiet.” Speculation among the troops was that commanders would soon “have the Monitors and all the Gun Boats run up and engage Forts Moultrie and Johnson with the aid of Fort Waggoner and two or three other Batteries... and keep on Bombarding untill they are surrendered then commence on Charleston.” If the city did not surrender soon, Bartlett expected they would “throw the Hot Shot and Greek Fire in there.” He also reported that an expedition would leave soon from Hilton Head possibly “for Pocotaligo to land on Main Land and come up in the rear of Charleston.” As “the Rebs are pretty much all in Charleston,” Bartlett thought it a “good

time to attack other places.” He concluded his letter by informing his mother of the strength of his unit and expressed his pleasure that she was receiving his bounty check so “you can pay your rent... and be easy again.”

Bartlett’s second letter, 1 November 1863, informs that his company was “still in the Prison yard doing Guard duty,” and that he had “quite an easy time here.” He was on duty “one day out of four” and had “good rooms to stay in and enough of Leisure time to keep comfortable.” The only thing lacking was food—“If I could have enough to eat all the time I could get along.” He noted that during the past week “Two Hundred and ten Conscripts came here to our Reg seventeen for our company.” Assaults by Federal troops from Morris Island continued on Fort Sumter and Bartlett predicted that “Gilmore will drive the Rebs from Charleston for long,” as he had “some of them three Hundred pounders flying at them.” He did not think his chances for a furlough were favorable even though “I have been in the service of the United States two years and two months and have not seen you in that time.” He concluded his letter by asking that he be remembered to family and promised that when he got his pay he would “remember you by at least one Greenback” and would send her the next bounty check he received.

Bartlett served as a private in Company A, Sixth Regiment, Connecticut Infantry. The unit served along the South Carolina coast until April 1864 when it was transferred to Virginia. Shortly

after, Bartlett died from wounds received on 10 May 1864 at the Battle of Chester Station (Chesterfield County, Virginia), part of the Bermuda Hundred Campaign. He is buried in Killingly (Windham County, Connecticut). **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

Letter, 16 September 1865, written from Walhalla (Oconee County, S.C.) by **Roswell D. Bates (1844–1908)** to a female correspondent identified only as Luella, describes marching from Chesterfield to Charleston.

Bates was assigned to Company C, First Infantry Battalion, Maine Volunteers, and worked in the provost marshal's office. Bates describe the village of Walhalla as "the most agreeable place we have yet been." His other experiences in the South had proven less enjoyable, however. "I have seen enough... to sicken me," he wrote, adding that he had "not seen anything that looked very beautiful." The women of the South he thought especially unattractive because "they do not wear any shoes or stockings." The towns of the South were also unappealing, as "a great many of them are laid in ruins." **Acquired with dues contributions of Mrs. Ann B. Bowen, Mrs. Robert Doster, Mr. Derrill S. Felkel, Professor Dargan Frierson, Jr., Dr. Ernest L. Helms III, Mr. & Mrs. Glen Inabinet, Ms. Margaret Sease Jayroe, Mr. Bernard Manning, Mr. & Mrs. Laughlin M. McDonald, Dr. David W. Newton, Miss Mabel B. Pace, Dr. & Mrs. Kenneth E. Peters, Mr. & Mrs. Duval Cravens Ravenel, Dr. Ann Russell and Mr. Brad Russell, Dr. William C. Schmidt, Jr., Ms. Julie Petoskey**

Smoak, Dr. & Mrs. Tom E. Terrill, and Mrs. Hampton M. Williams.

Three letters, 11 December 1861–28 June 1862, written by Pennsylvania native **Ephraim Bender (1820–1902)**, describe his experiences with Company K, 100th Regiment, Pennsylvania Infantry, along the South Carolina coast.

The letter of 11 December 1861, written from Beaufort (S.C.) to his sister, Elizabeth Bender (1825–1896), in Lawrence County (Pennsylvania), a little over a month after the capture of the town by Union forces describes conditions in the area and informs where his unit would next be stationed. Bender noted that when his unit arrived in Beaufort the houses had been abandoned “with the furniture in them” and that “nearly every house had Pianno in it & the Best of furniture in it.” Slaves too had been left and were “busy baking Corn bread for us and Cooking Chickens and bringing them to us.” From letters and papers left by retreating Confederates, Bender judged that the Southerners were “in a bade Conditon here,” and he also noted that “the negroes Are very purly Clothed and the general aperence of things look so i think if we suceed in getting Charleston i think they are gon up.”

Bender’s next letter, written on 2 January 1862 to Milton Marquis, discusses skirmishes in the Beaufort area on the previous day. After much marching and multiple crossings of the ferry, Bender described “a big force” of Confederate troops coming “prety close” to his unit, forcing Federal gun boats to

commence “throwing shells” over their own troops as they lay in the field. After forcing the Confederates back, Bender’s regiment crossed over to Hilton Head Island where they “Burent all the Buildings there was there” so Confederate forces could not “hide thare any more.” Bender closed this letter by giving news of other acquaintances and remarking that this new year “was Diferent from what i am yuse to spending it.”

The final letter, written from James Island (Charleston County, S.C.) to his sister on 28 June 1862, relays news regarding the Battle of Secessionville fought on 16 June 1862, though Bender was not present during the fight as “the colonel sent me Back to Beaufort to Bring the rest of our Baggage that was left Behind.” He reported that “the thing was Badly managed” by General Henry Benham and that his regiment had ten killed and twenty wounded—leading to his prediction that “He will never comand a nother fight Here.” Following the battle Bender’s unit began “planting Sege Guns” to shell the Confederate fort at Secessionville and he noted that “our Bateries will Be ready in a few Days...then thare will Bee Somthing Don.”

The 100th Pennsylvania was transferred to Virginia in July 1862 and participated heavily in John Pope’s campaign in Northern Virginia, including Second Manassas, during which Bender was wounded. Following the war Bender returned to Pennsylvania and farmed in Lancaster County. He died in 1902 and is buried there in the Rothsville Lutheran Cemetery. **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

Printed resolutions, 30 January 1865, adopted by **Bratton's Brigade, Sixth South Carolina Volunteers**, and ordered printed by the South Carolina House of Representatives on 6 February 1865 consist of a preamble and eight resolutions. Private John B. Erwin chaired a committee consisting of two men from each regiment.

The preamble reads: "Whereas, the people of the several States of this Confederacy were forced into the present struggle to preserve the inalienable rights of freemen; and, relying upon the justice of their cause and the approval of High Heaven, pledged to each other 'their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor,' to achieve independence; and whereas, in support of their just rights, and in defence of their homes and firesides, the best blood of our people has been shed, and the bones of our dead lie scattered throughout every State of the Confederacy, whilst at every stage of the unequal conflict, the valor, endurance, and patriotic devotion of our people have secured a succession of victories of which any nation might well be proud; and whereas the contest is still undecided, and our independence still unachieved, but a proud and haughty foe, flushed with temporary success, is attempting to extort unworthy terms of submission from the timid counsels and causeless despondency of some weak minds in our midst, it becomes the citizen soldiery of South Carolina to reaffirm the sacred principles of State Sovereignty and Independence, which their State was first to announce; to reject once again all terms of union and affiliation with a base and unprincipled foe to

rebuke the time-serving policy of those who, having counted the cost, are unequal to the exigencies of the crisis, and who are so insensible to the great principles that form the ground-work of the present revolution, so unmindful of the glorious recollection of the past history, and so regardless of the memory of its illustrious dead, as to counsel and unworthy submission to the enemy, and a base abandonment of our cause; and above all, to assure the true friends of liberty at home, and our fellow-soldiers in the army, that we have never yet 'despaired of the Republic,' but that, inspired by the memories of the past, we entertain bright hopes of the future, and believe that one more determined effort is alone necessary to achieve our independence."

In the first resolution, the Brigade declared that "we renew our devotion to the principles of State Sovereignty and Constitutional Liberty." They asserted in the second that they would not abandon "a cause which has been consecrated by so many costly sacrifices, and crowned by so many illustrious victories."

In the third, they affirmed that "we owe it to ourselves to preserve...our names and memories from being a byword and reproach among the nations of the earth, by mutually working out our independence."

Fourth, they stated that "the outrages upon us by a base and unprincipled foe" had been so great that "an impassible gulf" separates "the two sections, which must forever prevent all union or affiliation between them." Fifth, they downplayed "the late reverses that have attended our arms" and urged their fellows to "renewed efforts in the sacred cause of Independence." The sixth

resolution praises Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee, while the seventh extolls the “faith and devotion” of “the lovely ladies of the South.” The eighth and final resolution includes the directive to distribute copies of the resolutions to the Columbia and Richmond newspapers as well as to Governor Andrew Gordon Magrath and Jefferson Davis. **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

Letter, 19 July 1848, written from his plantation, Woodville, near Hamburg [Aiken County, S.C.], by **Iveson L. Brookes (1795–1863)** to Elliott Estes (1795–1849) in Barnwell District (S.C.) updates Estes on his daughter, Harriet’s, educational and spiritual progress.

Harriet Estes was evidently a pupil at a small school administered by Brookes, as he invited her parents to come to Woodville the following month “to judge of Harriets progress.” Brookes further informed that there was to be no public examination owing to the fact that Brookes had no students “but my own children & your daughter.” He continued the letter by apprising Estes that Harriet now “professes to be an earnest seeker of religion,” and “has been quite serious for several months & I have been very favorably impressed with her exercises.” Though a Mr. Brantley had “conversed with her &... encouraged her to be baptized,” Brookes himself “cautioned her against making a hasty profession & when so young.”

A North Carolina native, Iveson L. Brookes graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1819 and spent his life as a Baptist

minister, educator, and planter. Harriet Estes married Brookes' son Walker in 1851. **Gift of Mr. Henry G. Fulmer.**

Printed manuscript, 13 December 1918, entitled "Daily Bulletin No. 72" and issued by the headquarters of **Camp Jackson** (now Fort Jackson) in Columbia (South Carolina), contains information on general procedures at the army base. Commanders on base were "responsible for the full compliance" of "all members of their commands of all orders published in this Bulletin."

The first section lists the grades of each section of the camp with respect to both their "Police and Sanitation" and their "Neatness and Appearance." The next section lists the conditions under which those who performed "vitally essential and self-sacrificial service" on the home front might receive the "silver chevron in the same pattern and in the same manner worn as the gold chevron by each officer, field clerk, and enlisted man, who has served for six (6) months during the present war outside the theater of operations."

A third section focuses on the transfer of records from various departments to the Director of Purchase and Storage, followed by a fourth section on the discontinuance of reports on basic Supply and equipment issued to enlisted men.

The bulletin closes with two lost and found notices, including one offering a reward for the return of a "silver snake Chinese bracelet of unusual design." The final section warns soldiers not to remove any telephones from their current location, "except in

cases of urgent necessity, in which case permission will be obtained from this Office.”

The bulletin was distributed by command of Brigadier General Danfor, Colonel W.H. Smith, Camp Executive Officer, and Colonel C.G. Milligan, Camp Adjutant General. **Gift of Dr. Michael Trinkley.**

Manuscript volume, circa 1863–1865, forty-five pages in length and compiled by an unknown Union prisoner of war held at **Camp Sorghum** (Lexington County, S.C.) and Camp Asylum (Columbia, S.C.), contains the signatures of 138 prisoners representing fifteen states, with many including their rank and hometown. Most of the prisoners were captured during the Battle of Gettysburg or during the Wilderness Campaign.

Camp Sorghum, named after the cornmeal and sorghum syrup served prisoners, housed approximately one thousand four hundred prisoners. The camp had no buildings or fences. Guards marked a line ten feet within the camp’s boundaries with wooden planks, warning prisoners that if they crossed the planks they would be shot. **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

Letter, 6 September [18]62, written by a correspondent identified only as “**Emmie**” from Camden (S.C.) to “DeS,” [DeSaussure?] refers to the battle of Second Manassas, which took place between 28 and 30 August 1862. The correspondent began her missive by stating that the “news from Virginia is most

cheering” since “the now classic plains of Manassas have been the scene of the humiliation and defeat of our insolent foes.” While extolling the tactical prowess of Confederate commanders Thomas J. “Stonewall” Jackson and James Longstreet, the letter conveys the writer’s concern with recent casualties among the troops, including former South Carolina governor John Hugh Means (1812–1862).

The letter writer went on to claim, somewhat optimistically, that, “under General Kirby Smith[,] Kentucky and Tennessee will soon be free and I trust Maryland also.” And, as for South Carolina, “now that General Beauregard is to take command at Charleston, I feel perfectly secure.” She reported having been told that “harbor defenses are a complete success” because recently, when “a vessel was towed by three steamers against the obstructions,” it “was neither able to break nor cross them.”

Despite the optimistic rhetoric, there is a note of sadness in the letter, as the writer recalled those who “have died or been killed in battle who last I met during the spring,” when all “were buoyant with health & gay spirits.” **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

Letter, 26 December 1854, written by Captain **Jeremy Francis Gilmer (1818–1883)**, from Savannah (Georgia), conveys information relating to the work of the United States Army Corps of Engineers in Georgia and along the Savannah River.

Gilmer apologized for not having responded sooner to a previous letter because he was “so much occupied by matters at

Fort Sumter” that he “was unable to reply” until he returned to Savannah. With respect to the Savannah River, Gilmer wrote that he hoped to have an associate “make a special survey of that part of the river where the dredges have been worked with a view to get an accurate chart of the improved part of the channel.”

Gilmer then turned his attention to “troubles in the financial world,” specifically referencing “Wild Cat Banks in the up country” which had retaliated against banks in Augusta and Savannah who refused to take their bills. These rogue banks, he claimed, “are buying up all of their bills (of the Augusta and Savannah banks) and presenting them for specie which they ship to New York and check against it.”

The letter concludes with news of Gilmer’s family and a postscript concerning the possibility of shipping a piece of furniture from Washington, D.C.

Jeremy Francis Gilmer was born in Guilford County (North Carolina), and was the brother of United States Congressman John A. Gilmer (1805–1868). He studied engineering at the United States Military Academy at West Point (N.Y.), graduating in 1839. While overseeing the construction of fortifications around San Francisco in June 1861, he resigned from the United States Army to join the army of the Confederate States of America. He made his way back South, where he became chief engineer of the Army of Tennessee.

In July 1862 he joined the Army of Northern Virginia as General Robert E. Lee’s chief engineer, becoming chief of the Confederate Engineering Bureau later that year. He transferred to the

Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida in August 1863 and was promoted to major general. He returned to Virginia in June 1864, later fleeing Richmond with Jefferson Davis in April 1865. After the war, Gilmer served as president of the Savannah Gas and Light Company (1865–1883) and on the board of directors of the Central Railroad and Banking Company of Georgia. **Gift of Mr. Harvey S. Teal.**

Letter, 23 March 1823, added to the papers of statesman **Robert Goodloe Harper (1765–1825)** and written to Ebenezer Walton in Albany (New York), discusses details of Harper's land holdings in the Southern Tier of New York state. Harper specified that he owned seventeen lots "between the two preemption lines" in the "S.W. and an adjoining part of the S.E. sections of Township No. 2 in Watkins and Flint purchase." Harper concluded his letter by remarking that the offer made by "Judge Smith is certainly very liberal & handsome," but felt that "it does not appear necessary for me to avail myself of his kindness."

The Watkins and Flint Purchase was a grant of nearly 300,000 acres of land made in 1794 containing land in present-day Schuyler, Chemung, Tioga, and Tompkins counties in New York. Robert Goodloe Harper was a native of Fredericksburg (Virginia), and moved to South Carolina to study law in 1786. He served as a member of the South Carolina House of Representatives from 1790 to 1795, a representative to the United States Congress from South Carolina from 1795 to 1801, and as a senator in the

United States Congress from Maryland in 1816. **Acquired with dues contributions of Dr. Cary J. Mock.**

Manuscript volume, 1859, 1861, and undated, consisting of the pages of a copy of *Miller's Planters' and Merchants' Almanac* for the year 1859, bound together with hand-written notes and pasted over by its original owner with a series of newspaper clippings, descended in the family of **George Connor Hodges (1851–1925)**, of Greenwood (S.C.). The lengthiest of the clippings is entitled “Reminiscences of Cokesbury, S.C. Manual-Labor School” and, although lacking attribution, is signed in print “By A Student of 1837.”

Other clippings relate to the Civil War, including one titled “Our Cause,” an obituary for Confederate soldier William Capers Round, and a brief article appearing under the heading of “Camp Notes.” Other clippings describe home remedies, including ones for scarlet fever, neuralgia, diphtheria, and rattlesnake bite, augmented by food recipes for preserved tomatoes and blackberry cordial.

The handwritten portions of the volume feature various cake recipes, including those for “Tea Cake” and “Silver Cake or White Mountain Cake,” as well as various puddings, including “Sponge Cake Pudding” and “Cheap pudding.” The volume also includes random household accounting notations, likely accounts with freed persons. **Gift of Mr. Hal Hodges Tribble and Mr. Michael Tribble.**

Eight letters, 1861–1865, of **Augustus Alonzo Hoit** (also identified as Alonzo Augustus Hoyt, born circa 1825), a soldier in the Eighth Regiment, Maine Infantry, serving along the coast of South Carolina, are addressed to his wife, Rebecca Guptill Hoit (1830–1901).

In the earliest letter, dated 7 November 1861, Hoit tells of setting sail from the Hampton Roads area of Virginia on 29 October 1861. After braving a hurricane that scattered the fleet, his regiment arrived in Port Royal on 4 November 1861. Hoit described the battle for Port Royal in detail. The Union ships “were met just outside the harbor by four rebel steamers which commenced firing upon us, but were soon driven in by our gun boats.” On 5 November 1861, the Union ships attacked the two batteries guarding Port Royal Sound. After “two hours brisk firing, the battery on the right side was silenced.” A storm prevented more fighting on 6 November 1861. When the weather cleared on 7 November 1861, Hoit and his companions “found that the rebels had been strongly reinforced during the night.” The Union nevertheless prevailed, giving the left battery “a perfect shower of shells.” Hoit related that “[a]fter braving the terrible storm of iron for nearly four hours with the most undaunted courage, the rebels became panic stricken and ran off leaving everything.” He exulted that “the Stars and Stripes were once more flying over the soil South Carolina.”

The scene in the abandoned fort at Port Royal “presented a most shocking sight for weak nerves.” Hoit, however, wrote that “the sight of traitor blood which could be seen in every direction, was to us, far more pleasing than shocking.” Hoit hoped that General [Thomas West] Sherman would allow his regiment to “spread ourselves soon” because he was “not disposed to let Jack Tar win all the Laurels.”

His letter of 11 November 1861, written from Hilton Head (S.C.), described how Union scouting parties had been “bringing in all sorts of things from a mule team down to a looking glass.” He told his wife that they had been feasting on “beef, mutton, pork,” and “turkeys and chickens in abundance.” “Contrabands are too numerous to mention,” he explained. He believed that “upwards of two hundred of them escaped from their masters” and that “many more of them would have come back but were shot down while making the attempt.”

When the Union soldiers arrived in Beaufort, they found the “Negros having a jolly time plundering the stores and dwellings,” while all whites appear to have fled before the Union soldiers arrived. Although Hoit knew that the Confederates were planning on counterattacking, he believed that the Union had “force enough here to hold the place.” He closed this letter with news of relatives also fighting in the Union army, and told his wife that he knew his mother worried about him, yet she hoped if he fell “it may be with my face toward the traitors.”

Hoit wrote home again on 5 January 1862, this time reporting on a skirmish at nearby Bluffton during which the Confederates

attempted to ambush Union soldiers by hiding in the rows of cotton fields. Because “the Yankees were wide awake,” the ambush failed and the Eighth Maine, along with the Forty-seventh and Forty-eighth New York, defeated the Confederates. Hoit closed his letter with detailed instructions on how to plow and plant the fields as well as his instruction that the children be taught to read and sing.

By 21 April 1864 Hoit was a captain in the Thirty-fourth Regiment, United States Colored Troops, stationed on Morris Island. He had been a part of an expeditionary force in Florida but had returned to the South Carolina low country “to relieve white troops who are going North.” Hoit believed it would “be impossible for us to make any advance upon the rebel lines at present, on account of the scarcity of troops. He was however confident “that Mr. Reb will meet with a warm welcome whenever they are pleased to pay us a visit” now that Colonel Montgomery had taken command of the forces on Morris Island. Hoit closed by telling his wife that he has been “acting major” of his regiment since Major Corwin was arrested for an unspecified crime, yet he doubted that he could receive a promotion because “there are several prominent officers trying to secure the position.”

Hoit’s letter of 27 May 1864 describes his regiment’s movements from Morris Island to Hilton Head, then south to St. Augustine (Florida), and then north to Tybee Island (Georgia). Hoit detailed an expedition up the Ashepoo River in South Carolina during which, “owing to the treachery or cowardice of the Pilot,”

the steamer *Boston* on which Hoit was traveling ran aground on a sandbar, “near a rebel Battery.” Hoit’s men were forced to swim to safety, but about twenty of his men drowned. This harrowing expedition notwithstanding, Hoit reassured his wife that he was “perfectly safe here and you need give yourself no uneasiness on my account.”

By the time of Hoit’s next letter, written on 15 December 1864, General Sherman had “invested Savannah,” and Hoit “could hear the bombardment very distinctly it not being but 40 miles from here.” At this time, Hoit was encamped somewhere “between the Coosahatchie and Tillifinney rivers.” Hoit was still in the same general area when he wrote to his wife on 16 January 1865, this time reporting on the arrival of several corps from Sherman’s army. “They burn everything as they go,” Hoit wrote, and although he did not know whether he would “go with Sherman’s army or return to Fla.,” he hoped his regiment could follow Sherman. In the final letter, dated 24 February 1865, Hoit wrote that he had finally made it into Charleston. The city was “a miserable looking place,” the “buildings are all badly shattered by our shells, and some of the broad streets are overgrown with grass and weeds.” Hoit did not say whether he had followed Sherman or gone to Florida, but he had received a commission as major on 1 March 1865. There had been “a great rivalry for the position,” but he had studied diligently and impressed the examination board.

Hoit mustered out of the United States Army on 28 February 1866. He moved to Jacksonville (Florida), where he worked as a

cabinetmaker and clerk. By 1900, he was living in Conneaut (Ohio). **Acquired with dues contributions of Mrs. Ann B. Bowen, Mrs. Robert Doster, Mr. Derrill S. Felkel, Professor Dargan Frierson, Jr., Dr. Ernest L. Helms III, Mr. & Mrs. Glen Inabinet, Ms. Margaret Sease Jayroe, Mr. Bernard Manning, Mr. & Mrs. Laughlin M. McDonald, Dr. David W. Newton, Miss Mabel B. Pace, Dr. & Mrs. Kenneth E. Peters, Mr. & Mrs. Duval Cravens Ravenel, Dr. Ann Russell and Mr. Brad Russell, Dr. William C. Schmidt, Jr., Ms. Julie Petoskey Smoak, Dr. & Mrs. Tom E. Terrill, and Mrs. Hampton M. Williams.**

Letter, 15 September 1795, written by **Peter Horry (circa 1744–1815)** to his brother-in-law, John G. Guignard (1751–1822), of Columbia (S.C.), concerns debts owed to the estate of his recently deceased brother, Hugh Horry (circa 1744–1795).

Peter Horry was “certain” that Hugh’s widow, Sarah Shackleford Horry (1745–1799), would “injure me all in her power,” even calling her his “greatest enemy.” He therefore asked that Guignard “exert yourself in my assistance and make me any payments that may be convenient.” Peter Horry hoped that he would then be able to pay off debts owed to Sarah Shackleford Horry and thereby avoid... inciting further animosity from his brother’s widow. **Acquired with dues contributions of Ms. Joyce M. Bowden and Ms. Joanne F. Duncan.**

Printed manuscript, 30 July 1849, circular letter from **T. Leger Hutchinson (1812–1883)**, intendant, or mayor, of Charleston, and the Committee of Fifty, explains the City of Charleston's response to the erection and attempted destruction of Calvary Church, an Episcopal missionary effort under the leadership of the Reverend Paul Trapier (1806–1872).

The church was intended for the benefit of the city's free and enslaved African-American population, but following a July 1849 riot among African-American prisoners at the Charleston Work House, a white mob sought to stop the church's construction. In response, Charleston leadership resolved to appoint the Committee of Fifty "to ascertain the measures that have been taken in this city and in other places, for the communication of religious instruction to the slave population and free persons of color; and on the effects which followed the different modes of instruction; and whether any and what disadvantages have been found to be connected with the same."

John Hamilton Cornish (1815–1878), rector of Aiken's St. Thaddeus Episcopal Church, was the recipient of this copy of the circular letter, which also includes seventeen questions for congregations regarding their evangelistic educational activities among the slaves. Among these are whether "the negroes hold meetings by themselves" and whether they have organized "band societies." **Acquired with dues contribution of Mrs. Andrew B. Marion.**

Broadside, 26 February 2015, signed, reprints the poem “A February Acrostic” by **Thomas L. Johnson**.

Designed by Ashley Puckett and printed at the Printery in Spartanburg (S.C.), the broadside is numbered eleven of twenty-five prints produced as a keepsake from Vandercooked Poetry Night, held 7 February 2015 in Asheville (North Carolina). **Gift of Dr. Thomas L. Johnson**.

Manuscript volume, 1840–1864, from the plantations of **James Matthews Legaré (1823-1859)**, lists daily expenses associated with running a large plantation household. The book also groups slaves under various headings, such as “Mrs. Legaré’s Negroes,” “List of Mary’s Negroes,” “List of Jane Legaré’s Negroes,” “List of Negroes taken to Savannah River in May 10th 1841,” and “List of Negroes 1st Jan. 1851.”

The lists generally include a notation describing the slave as a one-quarter, half, three-quarters, or full hand. James Legaré owned several plantations in the South Carolina low country, including Mullet Hall in Charleston District (S.C.). **Acquired with dues contribution of Dr. Allen H. Stokes, Jr.**

Five linear feet, 1822–1964, constitute a genealogical record of the **McDowell and allied families** of York County (S.C.) and document the lives of esteemed Presbyterian pastor and educator Dr. Calvin Grier Davis, Sr. (1906–1992), and his children, Calvin Grier Davis, Jr., and James McDowell Davis.

Calvin Grier Davis, Sr., was born in Drew (Arkansas), the son of Coleman Robert Davis (1878–1954) and Ollie Hilliard (1882–1974). He married Rebecca Spencer McDowell (1906–1988) in 1935. Rebecca McDowell was the daughter of Dr. James Davison McDowell (1874–1928), a United States Army physician during World War I and noted specialist in the treatment of tuberculosis, and Martha Clawson Spencer (1874–1958), of York.

The collection contains a significant number of daguerreotypes, ambrotypes, tintypes, and photographic prints, circa 1850s–1960s, capturing the friends and families of the McDowells, Davises, and Spencers. Of note is a photograph of a drawing of Davison McDowell (1784–1842), family patriarch. A photograph album documents the stay of Dr. James Davison McDowell at a tuberculosis sanatorium in Trudeau, New York, in October 1927. Most of the photographs in the collection are studio portraits, but a few show activities: Alice Spencer poses with her bicycle, Mattie Spencer is pictured driving her buggy, and James D. McDowell sports his Davidson College football uniform.

A family Bible details the genealogy of the McDowell family dating to the 1822 marriage of Irish immigrant Davison McDowell to Mary Moore in Charleston. The collection also contains a significant unit of letters written by and to Martha Clawson Spencer McDowell and Rebecca Spencer McDowell Davis, as well as numerous other notes compiled and collected by the mother and daughter on the history of the Barrett, Chenck, Clawson, Crosswell, Davis, Fraser, Hilliard, McDowell, Ramseur, Spencer, and Witherspoon families.

Other materials and a scrapbook detail the lives of the Calvin Grier Davis, Sr., family. A 1927 graduate of Davidson College and a 1931 and 1933 graduate of Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, Davis assumed the pastorate of the First Presbyterian Church of Asheville (North Carolina), in 1938. He returned to Union Theological Seminary and in 1943 earned the Doctor of Theology degree.

Papers relate to both his tenure at First Presbyterian, Asheville, until 1959 and his presidency of Montreat-Anderson College (now Montreat College) from 1959 until 1972. Clippings and other scrapbook materials, which span the period 1956 to 1964, focus on Dr. Davis and his sons, Calvin Grier Davis, Jr., a 1958 graduate of Davison College who earned his Ph.D. in Classics from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1966, and James McDowell Davis, who graduated from Union Theological Seminary in 1965. **Gift of Dr. C. Grier Davis, Jr., and Mr. James McDowell Davis.**

Printed manuscript, dated 6 February 1865, contains resolutions adopted by **McGowan's Brigade, South Carolina Volunteers**, and ordered printed by the South Carolina House of Representatives.

The document consists of four resolutions, the first being that "the war in which we are now engaged is a war of self-defense" and that "four years ago, we took up arms in defense of the right to govern ourselves, and to protect our country from invasion, our

homes from desolation, and our wives and children from insult and outrage.”

The second statement declares that “the reasons which induced us to take up arms at the beginning have not been impaired, but, on the contrary, infinitely strengthened by the progress of the war.” While at the beginning of the war “we then judged that the enemy intended to impoverish and oppress us, we *now know*, that they propose to subjugate, enslave, disgrace and destroy us.”

In the third resolution, the brigade affirmed that “[a]s we were actuated by principle when we entered the service of the Confederate States, we are of the same opinion still,” and that “[o]ur cause is righteous and must prevail.”

The final resolution begins with the statement that “[t]o submit to our enemies now, would be more infamous than it would have been in the beginning.” It continues: “It would be cowardly yielding to power what was denied upon principle. It would be to yield the cherished right of self-government, and to acknowledge ourselves wrong in the assertion of it; to brand the names of our slaughtered companions as traitors; to forfeit the glory already won; to lose the fruits of all the sacrifices made and the privations endured; to give up independence now nearly gained, and bring certain ruin, disgrace and eternal slavery upon our own country. Therefore, unsubdued by past reverses, and unawed by future dangers, we declare our determination to battle to the end, and not to lay down our arms until independence is secured. Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it Heaven!”

The Brigade passed these Resolutions only eleven days before the burning of Columbia, and only two months before the surrender at Appomattox Court House. **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

Document, 14 December 1864, added to the papers of Edgefield District (S.C.) planter **Thomas Jefferson McKie (1828–1898)**, details the assessment of tax in kind on his agricultural products by the Confederate States government.

Taxable products listed by McKie include corn, cured fodder, sorghum molasses, cotton, and peas. The document bears the signature of George A. Addison as assessor. Though the printed form stipulates that it must be returned to the District Quartermaster by 1 January, the taxable goods were evidently not received since the bottom of the form verifying receipt of the tax paid is blank. The verso of the document lists those individuals that were exempted from taxation, including each “head of the family not worth more than five hundred dollars,” each “officer, soldier, or seaman in the army or navy, or who has been discharged therefrom for wounds, and is not worth more than one thousand dollars,” and each “widow of any officer, soldier, or seaman, who has died in military service or naval service, the widow not worth more than one thousand dollars.” **Acquired with dues contribution of Mrs. Carol G. Hubble.**

Two letters, 24 and 31 January 1865, were written from the South Carolina low country by New York native **Harlan P. Martin**

of Company E, 123^d Regiment, New York Regiment, to his mother. Martin wrote first from Hardeeville (Jasper County, S.C.), thanking his mother for the “Shirts, Socks, Knife, Book, and Stamps.”

Although his regiment had left Savannah on 17 January 1865, they were “stuck fast in the mud” after a week of rain. He did not have a clear idea of where his regiment would go next, though he heard “rumors with us of force movements on the part of the rebels.” Martin did not receive mail or news regularly, although he did sometimes see the *New York Sun* and the *Weekly Times*. He asked that his mother write soon to let him know for certain that she received the money he sent her previously.

In his next letter, Martin wrote from South Carolina, just across the Savannah River from Sisters Ferry and Rogensville (Georgia). He did not expect that he would be able to write again for perhaps a month because his regiment was about to embark on a campaign. Martin did not “know what place we shall strike, for some think Augusta, Ga. and others Charleston, S.C., but I think Branchville, S.C. will be our first point, and from there to Charleston.” He believed that “the citizens have fled to safer parts of the Confederacy” because “they know retribution is close on their heels.” He noted that the whites were taking their livestock and formerly enslaved people with them, burning their own houses and outbuildings as they went. Many of the blacks, he reported, “hide out in the swamp” awaiting the arrival of the Union forces. Martin believed they had “a childish confidence in uniform.” He pitied the former slaves and told his mother that he liked “to do

them a kindness, [for] it seems as if they never had a kind act done to them before.” Some formerly enslaved people, he wrote, “came out to our camp and sang hymns and prayed for us.” The black song leader “could neither read or write” but was “smarter than a good many ordained ministers I have heard.” **Acquired with dues contributions of Mrs. Ann B. Bowen, Mrs. Robert Doster, Mr. Derrill S. Felkel, Professor Dargan Frierson, Jr., Dr. Ernest L. Helms III, Mr. & Mrs. Glen Inabinet, Ms. Margaret Sease Jayroe, Mr. Bernard Manning, Mr. & Mrs. Laughlin M. McDonald, Dr. David W. Newton, Miss Mabel B. Pace, Dr. & Mrs. Kenneth E. Peters, Mr. & Mrs. Duval Cravens Ravenel, Dr. Ann Russell and Mr. Brad Russell, Dr. William C. Schmidt, Jr., Ms. Julie Petoskey Smoak, Dr. & Mrs. Tom E. Terrill, and Mrs. Hampton M. Williams.**

Letter, 10 May 1803, written from Charleston (S.C.) by **Alexander Moultrie (1750–1807)** to an unidentified recipient, discusses debts stemming from the Yazoo land fraud scandal in the 1790s.

Moultrie reported that during a recent conversation with “Mr. Penman... he inform’d me he had been called on by you, to prove my signature to a Paper, purporting to be a Responsibility from me, on behalf of the Yazoo Company... to pay you a Debt due from the late Mr. Washington to you.” As this was “mysterious” to Moultrie he begged the recipient “to furnish me with a Copy of any

such Paper, and to inform me, what are your intentions & Expectations thereon.”

The Yazoo land scandal was a massive land speculation scheme in which the Georgia legislature transferred some thirty-five million acres in present-day Alabama and Mississippi to four companies for \$500,000. One of these companies was the South Carolina Company, of which Moultrie was a major partner.

Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.

Letter, 29 August 1863, written by **Lewis O’Neal** while onboard the ironclad U.S.S. *New Ironsides* “Off Charleston, S.C.,” describes the activities of the Union navy’s blockading fleet. O’Neal reported that “every thing looks favorable” near Charleston and that his ship was “waiting for a dark night to sink the obstruction in the channel and run the Gauntlet to the City.” Fort Sumter, nearly destroyed, was “drawing her last breath of wind” and “the side facing Morris Island... completely cut into.” Fort Wagner was so heavily besieged that the ships could not fire on it “lest we will kill our own men.” He declared that if Charleston did not soon surrender “we will burn the city down to ashes.”

Regarding his own ship, O’Neal claimed that they had “fought the 12 Battle and in all has bin sucksessful. Not a man has been killed up to this time.” The biggest hardship facing the men aboard the *New Ironsides* was “the strangling smoke & the confinement where we can get no air.” He continued that the “first thing we do

after coming out of battle is to get on deck where we can breathe a little air." Afterwards O'Neal would "retire to the store room where I am employed and there have a good wash with fresh water."

Lewis O'Neal described his position as mate to "Mr. Wilkins...the Yeoman of the Store Room." The letter is addressed to his brother, John L. O'Neal, care of "Donely & Watson, 20th Mass. Vols., Kellys Ford, Va." The U.S.S. *New Ironsides* was an experimental ironclad built by William Cramp & Sons in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, launched in 1862, and used primarily to protect wooden ships of the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron off the coast of South Carolina. The ship was decommissioned in April 1865 and was destroyed by fire in December 1866. **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

Two and one-half linear feet, 1925–1998 and undated, relate to the life and work of brothers **Max and Thomas Paine Revelise**.

Born in Aiken (S.C.), Max Revelise (1907–1962) grew up in Columbia and graduated from the University of South Carolina in 1929. An author, poet, and chemist, he was associated with Columbia Organic Chemicals as director of sales at the time of his death. He was married to the former Leah Kahn and the father of three daughters.

Tom Revelise (1912–1982), younger brother of Max, was a practicing civil engineer in Ethiopia, Laos, the Philippine Islands, Puerto Rico, and a number of other places.

The papers consist of personal and business correspondence; radio plays; poetry by Max; articles written for the Works Progress Administration’s Federal Writers’ Project, 1936–1938; news releases; and editorials. While a college student, Max Revelise kept a journal that is written in code. This volume is with the papers, as is an audio cassette of Max reading poetry from his hospital bed shortly before his death.

Visual materials include a poster-size print of his poem “Congaree” and photographs. Max Revelise’s poem “Congaree” is engraved on a marker located near the Congaree Riverwalk in Columbia (S.C.).

Tom Revelise also kept a journal between October 1959 and December 1981, chiefly recording his activities in conjunction with the inspection of existing bridges, proposed repairs, and the determination of best locations for new bridges and specifications for them. He also recorded his personal activities, remarks about co-workers, and opinions on the cultural mores of the inhabitants of the various countries in which he worked. One such entry describes an Ethiopian wedding. In journal entries dating from his post-retirement years, he wrote about his childhood in Columbia (S.C.) as well as his views on a variety of subjects.

Correspondence with reference to Tom having published a volume of Max’s poems, *I Died and Other Poems*, in 1978 is found

among the papers, along with a photograph album and a slide rule belonging to Tom Revelise. **Gift of Ms. Maxine Jacobson, Ms. Ruth Parris, and Ms. Elizabeth Revelise.**

Broadside, circa 1913, issued by **Shivar Springs Company**, touts the benefits of the company's mineral water and offers testimonials from customers throughout the southeast.

The broadside contains the results of a water analysis conducted in 1908 by founder, Nathaniel Frank Shivar, and "Chief Chemist," B. Hardin, and promises positive results for the treatment of various ailments including indigestion, ulcers, rheumatism, diabetes, headaches, and disorders of the liver, kidneys, and bladder.

The Shivar Springs Company was founded in 1907 in Shelton (Fairfield County, S.C.) by North Carolina native N.F. Shivar (1864–1922), a former shoe salesman. By the 1940s the company was bottling ginger ale, root beer, and grape and lemon drinks in addition to their mineral water. Operations ceased in 1957 following a fire at the bottling plant. **Acquired with dues contribution of Mrs. Nathaniel L. Barnwell.**

Letter, 16 September 1818, was written from "George Town near Washington City" by **Benjamin Smith (1756–1826)** to attorney Thomas S. Grimke (1786–1834) in Charleston.

Smith, a former governor of North Carolina and Revolutionary War aide-de-camp to General George Washington, requested that

Grimke look into a court judgment brought against him “without my ever being informed that I was sued.” Although the letter does not go into the details of the case, it appears to have involved the seizure of town property owned by Smith.

Smith also asked Grimke to investigate another case in which he was involved. A company, known variously as the Transylvania Company or Richard Henderson and Company, had purchased lands in western North Carolina and Virginia from the Cherokee. After selling this land, the legislature of North Carolina voided the original purchase from the Cherokee, leaving the current property owners without clear title to lands for which they had paid and apparently no way to recoup funds from the sellers, including the Transylvania Company.

Smith closed his letter by informing Grimke that he would be traveling to Tennessee and Kentucky to oversee the sale of real estate in those states. **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. & Mrs. Fred H. Gantt and Dr. Patricia G. Nichols.**

Three letters, 29 November 1861–2 January 1863, written by Private **James Bradley Sterling (1842–1864)** from present day-Beaufort County to his older brother Edgar in Connecticut provide details of the participation of his unit, Company E, Seventh Regiment, Connecticut Infantry, in the capture of Port Royal and subsequent experiences along the South Carolina coast.

The first letter, dated 29 November 1861, begins by describing Sterling's trip aboard the steamship *Illinois* from Fortress Monroe in Hampton, Virginia, to Port Royal during which the Union fleet was hit by what has come to be known as the "Expedition Hurricane" off the coast of North Carolina. The waves, which were "higher than three Ships," knocked the *Illinois* to "within one ships length of the rocks where one Ship had already struck." When they reversed, the ship "came in contact with the Ship that we were a towing," causing much damage to both vessels. Upon resuming course around 3:00 A.M., the crew of the *Illinois* spotted "a Signell light... on bord a steam boat" and "run up to hayling distance of her and found out that it was the Govenor and that in the storm she had sprung leak." The *Illinois* could offer no assistance to those aboard the floundering ship as "our Ship was loded as heavy as she would bare," but another boat "arrived just in time for as She took the last man of her deck the boat rold and down she went." Other sources indicate that the steamship *Governor* sank at approximately 3:30 P.M. on 3 November 1861 with a loss of seven lives. "After having been on the water for 3 weeks," Sterling came in sight of land during the shelling of Forts Walker and Beauregard—which guarded the entrance to Port Royal Sound—by Union gunboats. Though Sterling's ship was "within range of their guns their fire was directed towards the gunboats and the man of ware that lay along with them." Confederate forces abandoned the forts on the afternoon of 7 November and Sterling noted that "about dark we went on toward the shore." Union forces occupied the forts during the night and Sterling awoke the next

morning to “a scream that would have chilled the coldest heart.” The cause of the scream was the discovery “in one place... a mans arm in another a hand in another place where a shell had struck there was a mans skull and bones.” Sterling concluded this letter by reporting that his unit was then moved to Braddock’s Point on Hilton Head Island where they found cattle “running wild in the woods... plenty of hogs and other wild game.”

The next letter from Sterling is dated over a year later, 22 December 1862, and written while he was on picket duty ten miles from Beaufort. He reported that their winter quarters were in houses and that he was currently “sitting in the Dore of a barn up stairs in the gable and writing on my port folio” where “the sun shines very pleasant and there is nothing to disturb me.” The final letter is dated 2 January 1863 and is chiefly devoted to his opinions of the Union army’s leadership and the war in general. He began by surmising that he did not think that the young men from Connecticut would marry any time soon as “most of them are in the army fighting because a few leading hypocrites have caused a civil War in our once glorious Nation.” He then expressed his desire that the “war will soon be settled either one way or the other,” and declared that “there is not many of the Soldiers care which way it does turn so that it returns them their homes.” He specifically blamed Union generals for unnecessary loss of life, for even though the Confederate forces were “a hard race of men to scare to death,” commanding officers had “rushed our troops into danger for nothing and rushed them upon batteries with orders not

to fire on any considerations.” This was particularly the case “at James Island where our men were slauterd like Sheep and could not have the satisfaction of shooting back at them in return.” All of this had left Sterling “well in body but not in mind,” as “it makes me mad to think what men are in power in our Government.” Sterling concluded his letter by enquiring about his sister Emma and urging her “to be a good Girl and learn her books” since “I doe not know but little about writing or spelling and I want her to get so she can learn me if I ever come home again.”

James Bradley Sterling died on 25 February 1864 from wounds received five days earlier during the Battle of Olustee in northern Florida. **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

Manuscript volume, 1864, belonging to Charles S. Stringfellow (1835–1912), of Company E, Twelfth Regiment, Virginia Volunteers, evidences his military service during the Civil War. In June 1861 Stringfellow was appointed Assistant Adjutant General in the Confederate Army and served on the staffs of Generals John Breckinridge and Samuel Jones. After the war, he returned to his home in Petersburg, Virginia, and practiced law.

The volume contains several different pieces bound between its covers. The first, printed in 1864 by Evans and Cogswell of Columbia, is entitled *General Orders from the Adjutant and Inspector-General's Office, Confederate States Army, from*

January, 1862 to December, 1863, in Two Series. The title page further notes that it was “prepared from files of the Headquarters, Department of S.C., GA., and FLA.” Beginning on page 243, however, this first piece continues to list several General Orders issued during the months of January, February, and March 1864. A preface from Brigadier General Thomas Jordan notes the presence of these orders from early 1864, stating that they are not in the index, but appear with the other orders because they were “of immediate importance to the army.” The index found on pages vii to xlvi, identifies numerous topics addressed within the General Orders, including but not limited to absenteeism, officer appointments, conscription, desertion, drunkenness, prisoners, slaves accompanying soldiers, and substitutes.

A two-page printed document, pasted into the volume, appears after page 276. This document contains, first, a publication by the “Office of the Chief Quartermaster, Department of So. Ca., Ga., and Fla. Charleston, S.C.,” dated 18 August 1864. This document reprints three questions received by the Office of Chief Quartermaster related to General Orders No. 59, an order granting ten dollars per diem to Confederate soldiers traveling long distances within the Confederacy. The second item printed on this document is dated 11 August 1864 and was issued by the Quartermaster General's Office. Signed by Confederate Quartermaster General A.W. Lawton and addressed to Major Hutson Lee, Quartermaster in Charleston, the message answers the three questions regarding General Orders No. 59.

The third segment within the volume consists of handwritten notes pertaining to different matters that came before the office of Adjutant General. These include a petition from a C.T. Scarfe, a sixty-two-year-old planter from Chester who owned 110 slaves, asking for the discharge of his only surviving son, John R. Scarfe. Other issues that appear in the manuscript concern the potential discharge of a Captain McCarthy for incompetence, the discharge of other soldiers for various reasons, and the conditions under which a man might receive an exemption from military service. Most of these notes identify the place of writing as Charleston, Green Pond, or Savannah, Georgia. **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. & Mrs. Thomas C. Deas, Jr., Dr. & Mrs. Charles W. Joyner, and Mr. & Mrs. John Franklin McCabe, Sr..**

Printed circular, 6 August 1863, issued by Major General J.E.B. Stuart from "Headquarters Cavalry Division A. N. Va.," is entitled "General Orders No. 27" and commends the "gallant and spirited resistance offered by Hampton's Brigade to a body of the enemy Cavalry greatly superior in numbers, on the 1st inst.," as deserving "the highest commendation at the hands of the Division Commander."

Stuart also commends the "Horse Artillery," who "as usual, performed a part equal in heroism to its brilliant prestige, and but for its supply of ammunition on the field becoming exhausted, the enemy's losses confessedly more than three times our own, would

have been far greater.” He goes on to lament “the loss of brave spirits, and the noble wounded who for a time have left us.” He closed by calling “the sons of the Carolinas and the Gulf in Virginia” to “continue to rival the heroism of their noble comrades of Vicksburg and Charleston, remembering that every blow struck at the enemy—no matter where—is a blow for *home* and its *hallowed rights*.” The document is signed on the verso by Private L[eGrand] P. Guerry. **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

Manuscript, 13 June 1865, entitled in part “Statement exhibiting the allowance of Clothing to each soldier during his enlistment,” describes the clothing issued to Company F, Twenty-sixth Regiment, United States Colored Infantry, while they were stationed in Beaufort (S.C.) immediately after the end of the Civil War.

The form includes the name and rank of each soldier, with a signature of witness from Sergeant Jacob Sanders, an African-American non-commissioned officer. Only eight signatures, including that of Sanders, appear on the sheet. All other soldiers signed by marking their name with an “x.” The Twenty-sixth was organized in New York City on 27 February 1864, and its members mustered out on 28 August 1865 in Beaufort (S.C.). **Acquired with dues contributions of Dr. & Mrs. William D. Anderson, Jr., Mrs. Derial C.S. Jackson, Dr. Sara M. Lindsay, and Mrs. James A. Spruill III.**

**SELECTED LIST OF PRINTED SOUTH CAROLINIANA
2016**

American Tract Society, *The Christian Almanac for South Carolina* (Charleston, 1834). **Acquired with dues contributions of Dr. & Mrs. Porter G. Baron and through the Arthur Elliott Holman, Jr., Acquisition and Preservation Endowment.**

Thomas M. Bradley, *Bradley's Directory of the City and County of Sumter, Vol. 1* (Sumter, 1905). **Gift of Dr. Robert C. Brabham.**

Thomas Clarkson, *De Kreet der Afrikanen tegen hunne Européesche Verdruckers of Tafereel van den Slavenhandel* (Amsterdam, 1822). **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. & Mrs. William R. Bauer, Dr. Malcolm C. Clark, Dr. & Mrs. Jack W. Simmons, Jr., and Dr. & Mrs. L.G. Walker, Jr.**

William Faden, *A Plan of the Attack of Fort Sullivan, near Charles-Town in South Carolina... 28th of June 1776... [with] Plan D'Amboy Fort-Sullivan Charles-Town.* **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

Mary E. Hewitt (lyrics), *He Is Coming Home...Ballad Sung by Miss Catharine Hayes* (New York, 1851). **Acquired with dues contribution of Mrs. Betty Wyman.**

Independent or Congregational Church of Charleston,
Fundamental Articles of Faith, and Articles and By-Laws...
(Charleston, 1818). **Acquired with dues contributions of Dr. W.
Eugene Atkinson II and Dr. & Mrs. Charles Israel.**

W.A. King, *Grand Galop Perpetuel* (Philadelphia, 1849).
Acquired with dues contribution of Mrs. Betty Wyman.

London Chronicle, 24-26 July 1760, 26-29 July 1760 and 4-6
September 1770. **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. &
Mrs. R. Mason Blake, Mr. John W. Califf, Jr., Mr. St. John
Courtenay III, Dr. & Mrs. Benjamin Franklin V, Mr. Charles A.
Gibbs, Dr. Warren L. Griffin, and Mrs. Louise A. Steffens.**

London Chronicle, 6-8 September 1770 and 8-11 September
1770. **Acquired with dues contributions of Dr. & Mrs. S. Taylor
Garnett III, Dr. & Mrs. Robert N. Milling, and Ms. Marian J.
Woolsey.**

Lloyd's Evening Post (London), 21-23 May 1759. **Acquired
with dues contributions of Mr. & Mrs. R. Mason Blake, Mr.
John W. Califf, Jr., Mr. St. John Courtenay III, Dr. & Mrs.
Benjamin Franklin V, Mr. Charles A. Gibbs, Dr. Warren L.
Griffin, and Mrs. Louise A. Steffens.**

Ernest H. Miller, comp., *Special Advertisers' Directory* (Sumter, 1923). **Gift of Dr. Robert C. Brabham.**

The New Annual Register, 1780 (London, 1780). **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. & Mrs. R. Mason Blake, Mr. John W. Califf, Jr., Mr. St. John Courtenay III, Dr. & Mrs. Benjamin Franklin V, Mr. Charles A. Gibbs, Dr. Warren L. Griffin, and Mrs. Louise A. Steffens.**

Plan of the Approach and Attack on Fort Sumter, by the Federal Iron Clad Fleet 7 April 1863; signed in type, Wm A Walker, C.S. Eng. Corps; signed in ink, by Gen. P.G.T. Beauregard. **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

Ennis Rees, with drawings by Edward Gorey, *Brer Rabbit and His Tricks* (New York, [1967]). Uncorrected proof; two unbound signatures laid into the pictorial dust jacket. **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. & Mrs. John N. Harrison, Dr. A. Douglas Marion, and Mr. & Mrs. Hillyer Rudisill III.**

Archibald Rutledge, *Old Plantation Days* (Cumberland, Md., 1905). **Gift of Mrs. Cathy Hayes and Mr. Fred Hayes.**

Joshua W. Toomer, *Toomer's Oration* (Charleston, 1814). **Acquired with dues contributions of Dr. Hendrik Booraem, Dr. David W. Dangerfield, and Professor Ellen Douglas Schlaefer.**

Truth's Advocate and Monthly Anti-Jackson Expositor
(Cincinnati, Ohio, 1828). **Acquired with dues contributions of Mrs. Gary Hagood Brightwell, Mr. & Mrs. Gaston Gage, Dr. William C. Hine, Mr. & Mrs. Thomas Pinckney II, and Mr. Sidney K. Suggs.**

H.A. Wollenhaupt, *Grand March de Concert* (New York, 1857).
Acquired with dues contribution of Mrs. Betty Wyman.

David Young, *Carolina and Georgia Almanac...1850* (Augusta, Ga., 1850). **Acquired with dues contributions of Dr. & Mrs. Porter G. Barron and through the Arthur Elliott Holman, Jr., Acquisition and Preservation Endowment.**

Maximillian Zuboff, *The Washington Light Infantry Quick-Step*
(Philadelphia, 1842). **Acquired with dues contribution of Mrs. Betty Wyman.**

PICTORIAL SOUTH CAROLINIANA, 2016

Portraits, circa 1835, of Mary Ann Dorothy Hodges (1819–1880) and Samuel Anderson Hodges (1802–1871), oil on canvas attributed to James De Veaux (1812–1844). Both are head and shoulder portraits. She is wearing a fur-trimmed pale blue stole and a sunrise is in the distance, all within a darker painted oval. He is shown in a black coat and vest with a black tie around high collar; a soft light is breaking over the base of column in the background.

Samuel, son of Major John Hodges (1756–1834) and Frances Anderson Hodges (1777–1844), was born in Abbeville District (S.C.). He married Mary Ann Dorothy Connor (1814–1880) in 1832. Mary Ann was the daughter of Dr. Francis Ambrose Connor (1785–1836) and Mary Ann Dorothy Edwards Connor (1790–1856) of Cokesbury. Samuel and Mary Ann had eleven children. They lived in Cokesbury [now in Greenwood County, S.C.], with a temporary move to Abbeville. Samuel served as postmaster, 1841–1848, and later as sheriff and tax collector.

James De Veaux received formal training with Thomas Sully and other recognized artists, then returned to South Carolina where he painted portraits in Camden and Charleston. He died at a young age from tuberculosis. The attribution of these paintings is based on the atmospheric romantic style, stylistic characteristics related to De Veaux's teachers, and the date and place of creation. **Gift of Mr. Hal Hodges Tribble and Mr. Michael Tribble.**

Portrait, circa 1845–1850s, of Julia Ann Davie Bedon (1812–1858), oil on canvas by William Harrison Scarborough (1812–1871). The painting is a head and shoulders portrait of a young woman with dark hair wearing a black dress with lace collar and gold brooch. Scarborough was an important nineteenth-century American portrait painter. He moved to Charleston from Tennessee in 1836, then to Darlington District (S.C.) in 1839 where his work increased. Scarborough moved to Columbia (S.C.) in 1843 and for the next thirty years enjoyed the height of his career.

Mrs. Bedon was the daughter of Hyder Ali Davie (1786–1848) and Elizabeth Jones Davie and granddaughter of William Richardson Davie (1756–1820), who was the tenth governor of North Carolina (1798–1799) and one of founders of the University of North Carolina. She married Richard Stobo Bedon (1809–1890). They are buried in the First Presbyterian Churchyard in Columbia (S.C.). **Gift of Mrs. Catherine Josey Hammond.**

Sixty-one photographs, circa 1845–1920s, of the Warren R. Adams family of Richland County. The son of Governor James Hopkins Adams (1812–1861) and Jane Margaret Scott Adams (1812–1885), Warren (1838–1884) graduated from The Citadel in 1859 and taught French at the Arsenal Academy (Columbia, S.C.) and at the Hillsboro Academy (North Carolina) before the outbreak of war. He was a lieutenant colonel in the Confederate Army and commanded the First South Carolina Infantry Regiment at Battery

Wagner near Charleston and later with Hampton's Legion. In 1866 he married Nathalie Heyward (1841–1913), daughter of Nathaniel Heyward, and they had nine children, three of whom survived early childhood. The eldest, Eliza Heyward, died at age nineteen. The other two surviving children, James Hopkins Adams and Sarah Moore Adams, lived to adulthood, married, and had children. Warren and Nathalie lived at Stony Hill Plantation, near Kingville (Richland County, S.C.).

Of interest are daguerreotypes and ambrotypes of Warren Adams in military and civilian dress; his wife, Nathalie Heyward Adams; and Warren's cousins David Adams, in possibly a Mexican War uniform taken by Brady's Gallery, and Robert Adams, pictured in a daguerreotype and salted paper print of Warren with Citadel classmates.

There are also photographs of unidentified images of other relatives and friends and an unidentified member of the Heyward family. Many of the photographs were taken by George S. Cook of Charleston. Later photographs depict the Adams family property and home, named Pinopolis, near the Cooper River in Charleston; some of the family's former slaves; and the children of James H. Adams. **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

Nine daguerreotypes and ambrotypes, 1840s–1850s, of unidentified sitters by Charleston photographers Charles L'Homdieu and George Smith Cook. The sixth plate daguerreotype by L'Homdieu shows a man with a mustache and

striped tie knotted so both ends are on one side. This is one of only a few known photographs by L'Homdieu, who opened his gallery in Charleston in 1847. During his tenure, he received a patent for gilding photographs by electrolysis. He sold his gallery to Park & Company in 1853.

Of note among the cased images by George S. Cook is a sixth-plate daguerreotype in a half case of a house slave belonging to William Seabrook of Edisto Island. The older woman is seated in an upholstered chair and wears a white head scarf and white pelerine over a striped dress with tinting. The other photographs by Cook include a half-plate ambrotype of a brother and sister; a quarter-plate daguerreotype dated 1852 of a young man in a tortoise shell case with mother-of-pearl inlay; a quarter-plate daguerreotype of an older man in profile; a quarter-plate daguerreotype of two young men; a quarter-plate daguerreotype of a man with light hair and rosy cheeks; a sixth-plate daguerreotype in a thermoplastic case featuring stags of a man wearing a hat; and a sixth-plate daguerreotype in a half case of a young girl with a box-like purse on her arm. **Gift of Ms. Rebecca R. Hollingsworth.**

Ambrotype, circa 1855, of Elizabeth Smith Francisco Cook (died 1864) of Charleston. This sixth-plate ambrotype shows Cook wearing a striped dress and gilded jewelry; the facing velvet inside is stamped with "Geo. S. Cook/Artist/Charleston." Elizabeth married George Cook in 1846, and they had three children: Francisca, George LaGrange, and Huestis. The boys followed

their father in the photography trade. Elizabeth died in 1864 in their temporary home outside of Columbia (S.C.). **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

Photograph, circa 1855, of Napoleon Ellerbe (born circa 1832), framed by George S. Cook, Charleston. Heavily overpainted with charcoal and pastel, the head and shoulders portrait shows a young man with a mustache and wearing a velvet collared coat. Ellerbe was the son of Dr. William Crawford Ellerbe (1800–1831) of Cheraw, and Ephatha Moore Ellerbe (1807–1882), who married in 1826. Napoleon was the youngest of four children. He left home around 1855, and the family lost contact with him. His sister Allan Eunice Ellerbe (1828–1880) married Colonel Ellerbe Boggan Crawford Cash (1823–1888) in 1848. Cash is renowned for his role in the Cash-Shannon duel in 1880, the last duel fought in South Carolina. **Acquired with dues contributions of Mrs. Cecil H. Beeland, Ms. Lee Gordon Brockington, Dr. Felicia L. Goins, The Honorable James E. Lockemy, Mr. George K. Nerrie, and Miss Helen Ann Rawlinson.**

Photograph, 1856, of the Third and Last Committee of Conference of the Senate and House of Representatives on the Army Appropriation Bill, August 18, 1856. The large format salted paper print shows Senator James L. Seward and Representative Francis E. Spinner of New York, Representative Lewis D. Campbell of Ohio, Senator Robert A. Toombs of Georgia, Senator

Stephen Douglas of Illinois, and Representative James L. Orr of South Carolina. Taken by J.H. Whitehurst of Washington, D.C., the photograph pictures the men seated and standing, with Seward holding a hat and walking stick and Campbell and Toombs holding scrolls.

The Senate amended H.R. 153 making appropriations for the support of the Army by striking a section which prohibited the use of federal troops to enforce the acts of the legislature of Kansas. The House rebutted with an amendment that no federal forces should be used unless Congress had reviewed and approved any enactments by the Kansas legislature. The Senate disagreed to the House amendment, thus the call for a conference. After four conferences failed, the Army Appropriation bill failed for the first time in legislative history. A new bill (H.R. 616) was submitted and subsequently passed in the following session. **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment.**

Ambrotype, 1856, of Emily Marie Passailague Bollin (1827–1856) of Columbia (S.C.). The quarter-plate in a full Eichmeyer case is a close-up portrait Bollin in death, with her head resting on a pillow and her face framed by a soft cap tied by a silk ribbon. She was the daughter of Louis Passailague and Marie Eulalie Caye of France. She married Charles James Bollin (1821–1871) of Columbia and had five children. **Gift of Mr. Charles Frederick G. Day and Mrs. Mary G. Day.**

Portrait, 1856–1857, of Emily Marie Passailaigue Bollin (1827–1856), oil on canvas by William Harrison Scarborough (1812–1871). The painting is a head and shoulders portrait of a young woman with dark hair and eyes, gold earrings and brooch, and black dress with lace collar. Scarborough used a posthumous ambrotype and the coloring and features on her two daughters to create the likeness. The portrait was rescued from the family home during the burning of Columbia in February 1865 and spent the night with many city residents in the churchyard of St. Peter's Catholic Church on Assembly Street. **Gift of Mr. and Mrs. H. Bland Hammond III.**

Photograph album, 1862–1863, of U.S. Navy Lieutenant Emanuel Mellach of Trenton (New Jersey), with photographs by Henry P. Moore of Concord (New Hampshire), and Good & Stokes of Trenton (New Jersey). The photographs document the Port Royal area of Beaufort County (S.C.) during the Union occupation. Included are the Seabrook house and gardens, the James Hopkins plantation (misidentified as Tybee Island), and the headquarters of the Twelfth Massachusetts Cavalry on Edisto Island; General Thomas Drayton's house, slaves, and slave quarters on Hilton Head Island; officers, sailors, and marines on the U.S.S. *Wabash*; the pivot gun crew on the U.S.S. *Pocahontas*; and the Signal Corp station, Port Royal.

Other photographs include Lieutenant Mellach and his family with Union soldiers in Trenton (New Jersey), by Good & Stokes of Trenton; Naval Club and General Palmer's residence in New Bern

(North Carolina); and Martello Tower (Tybee Island, Georgia). Henry P. Moore visited Hilton Head Island in 1862 and 1863 to document the Union occupation of the Port Royal area, especially the Third New Hampshire Regiment. Moore was also an artist, lithographer, and musician. **Acquired through the University South Caroliniana Society Endowment, Robert and May Ackerman Library Endowment, Deward B. and Sloan H. Brittain Endowment for the South Caroliniana Library, William Foran Memorial Fund, Rebecca R. Hollingsworth South Caroliniana Library Endowment Fund, John C Hungerpillar Library Research Fund, Lumpkin Foyer Endowment Fund at the South Caroliniana Library, John Hammond Moore Library Acquisitions and Conservation Endowment Fund, and Southern Heritage Endowment Fund.**

Portrait, 1865, of Lillian Wilson Wright (Bollin) (1863–1925), oil on canvas by William Bush Cox (1836–1882). The painting shows a young girl with short blond hair and wearing a patterned dress and red necklace with dark pendant, seated on a rock with a hat nearby and goats in the distance. Cox specialized in portraits, but during the Civil War sketched his surroundings during his years of service. He was captured in late 1863 then exchanged in March 1864. He went to Richmond where he worked as an artist. It is uncertain when before 1870 he returned to Missouri, but it was during his time in Richmond that he painted the Wright portrait.

Wright was born in Richmond (Virginia), the daughter of William Alexander Wright and Sarah Loretto West Wright. The Wrights

operated a hotel in Columbia (S.C.), first called the Nickerson Hotel and then Wright's Hotel. Lillian Wright married John Hodge Bollin (1850–1919) in 1880, and they had six children. They built a home at 2328 Taylor Street in Columbia which they called Oakley after the old Bollin family farm in lower Richland County, near Kingville. Bollin was the son of Emily Marie Passallaigue Bollin and Charles James Bollin. He worked for the railroad and then went into real estate and insurance in Columbia. **Gift of Mr. H. Bland Hampton III.**

Seventy-nine stereographs, 1860s–1890s, comprise the Housworth Stereograph Collection. Mainly views of the South Carolina towns of Aiken, Beaufort, Charleston, and Columbia, the images include churches, streets, historic buildings, everyday life and work of African Americans, and images pertaining to agriculture, the textile industry and the Union army in South Carolina.

Some notable items in this collection include a hand-tinted image taken by Strohmeyer and Wyman of approximately eighteen African-American workers (mostly women and children) aboard a rice raft. The Aiken area images taken by J.A. Palmer depict the cotton agricultural industry with workers in cotton fields and operating a cotton gin.

Stereographs by Sam Cooley include images of a Union army camp in Beaufort, as well as images of the buildings used as offices for the Provost Marshall and Adjutant General. The series of stereographs by Underwood and Underwood show workers at

the Olympia Cotton Mills in Columbia (S.C.). These images also show several young children working in the mills. An image by Jesse A. Bolles of Charleston shows small children playing in front of rows of cannon that are guarded by soldiers.

Other photographers include J.H. Anderson, E. & H.T. Anthony and Co., G.N. Barnard, George LaGrange Cook, A.J. Fisher, O. Pierre Havens, Keystone View Co., B.W. Kilburn, Rufus Morgan, F.A. Nowell, Quinby and Co., C. Seaver, S.T. Souder, Strohmeyer and Wyman, and Wilson and Havens. **Acquired through dues contributions of Mr. William C. Boyd, Mr. and Mrs. Stephen Hoffius, The Reverend William M. Shand III, Mr. Thomas S. Tisdale, Jr., Dr. and Mrs. Robert M. Weir, Mr. William Boyce White, Jr., and Mr. Scott M. Wilds.**

Four boudoir photographs, circa 1885, of views around Aiken (S.C.) by J.A. Palmer. "No. 414 Highland Park Hotel" shows the entire front of the hotel taken from a lower drive. "No 616 Cabins" is of an African-American family on the porch with a wash pot in the foreground and a barn in the background. "No. 818 Colored Cemetery" shows decorated graves in a simple cemetery. "No 868 Carts" is of an African-American boy driving an ox cart in downtown Aiken with shops in the background. Palmer photographed Aiken and environs for over twenty years. **Acquired with dues contributions of Mr. and Mrs. Hunter L. Clarkson and Professor Boyd Saunders and Mrs. Stephanie Saunders.**

Two photographs, 1918, of auto mechanics as they entered service on 16 May 1918 and began the auto course at Clemson College. One photograph is of the corps at attention taken behind a college building and one shows the men in civilian clothes around a truck with surnames on reverse. The corps left Clemson on 13 July, sailed on 15 September, and landed at Glasgow, Scotland, on 28 September 1918. **Acquired with dues contributions of The Reverend Dr. and Mrs. Thom C. Jones.**

Three photograph albums, 1925–1937 and undated, put together by Cora Jordan Nesbit, Waverly Mills, Pawleys Island, when she was a young girl. Cora was the daughter of Ralph and Grace Tucker Gibbes Nesbit of Caledonia Plantation (Georgetown County, S.C.), and the granddaughter of Colonel Ralph and Grace Jordan Nesbit and Wade Hampton and Heloise Weston Gibbes of Columbia (S.C.).

Photographs capture scenes on the plantation, at the Nesbit summer house on Pawleys Island, family, friends, the beach, the creek, fishing, swimming, hunting, horseback riding, photography, dogs and cats, airplane on the beach, Mrs. Emerson at Arcadia, Lachicotte Mercantile Company, and All Saints Episcopal Church. Several photographs of a brick house may be the Wade Hampton Gibbes residence in Columbia.

Two poems were written by W.H. Gibbes. “The Flower Garden at Caledonia” (1925) is about life and death and inscribed “For Virginia, Please forward, W.H.G.” The handwritten poem “At Pawleys” (1933) is about being on Pawleys Island and is

inscribed, "Original given to Miss Cora for this copy by her."

Acquired with dues contributions of The Reverend Dr. & Mrs. Thom C. Jones.

Opalotype, undated, of William Joy Magrath (1817–1902) of Charleston. William B. Austin, owner of Vandyke Studios in Charleston, took the portrait around 1890. The head and shoulder portrait was printed on milk glass and overpainted and shows a man with graying hair and beard, his tie askew and vest unbuttoned.

Magrath was the son of John Magrath (1778–1856) and Maria Montgomery Gordon Magrath (1783–1859). He married Selina Emily Bollin (1847–1934), daughter of Charles James Bollin and Emily Marie Passailaigue Bollin. Magrath served as president of the South Carolina Railroad, 1862–1878, and was the brother of Judge Andrew Gordon Magrath, who was the last Confederate governor of South Carolina. **Gift of Mr. & Mrs. H. Bland Hammond III.**

Portrait, undated, of Landon Franklin Smith (1855–1927), oil on canvas by an unknown artist. The head and shoulders portrait shows a man with light hair and mustache. Born in Greenwood (S.C.) to James Smith, a Methodist minister and cotton planter and teacher at Andrew Chapel and Cokesbury, and Julianna Foster Smith, Landon Smith graduated from Wofford College in 1875, spent one year at the University of Texas with a certificate in Pedagogy and four terms at University of Chicago.

Smith married Eleanor Miles Dukes (circa 1855–1937) of Greenville (S.C.) in 1885. He taught Latin for three years at Seneca Graded School (Oconee County, S.C.), but Eleanor's health required a different climate. They moved to Pittsburg (Texas), where he taught and served as Principal at Chappell Hill Female College, a Methodist Church institution. Smith also taught in the Ladies' Annex and the Fitting School at Southwestern University from 1902 to 1904.

The Smiths had moved back to Greenwood (S.C.) by 1920. Their daughter, Elize Miles Smith (1886–1964), married George Connor Hodges, Jr., in 1912. Hodges was with the Greenwood National Loan and Exchange Bank, and Elize taught history at Lander College. Smith joined the Lander faculty as a history professor in 1923 and continued until his death. **Gift of Mr. Hal Hodges Tribble and Mr. Michael Tribble.**

Portrait, undated, of Henry Hampton Easterby (1824–1893) and Lucy Catherine Kennedy Easterling (1830–1911) of Barnwell (S.C.), by an unknown artist. The oil on canvas portrait shows the couple seated together, both in dark clothing and Lucy's dress adorned with a lace collar. They married in 1849 and had thirteen children. Henry served in Captain Evan's Company known as the "Palmetto Rangers" and in Colonel Martin's mounted regiment of South Carolina Militia during the Civil War. He was appointed postmaster in Barnwell in 1859, and the family were lifelong members of Barnwell Baptist Church. **Gift of Mrs. Jackie P. Farmer, Ms. Carol Laffitte, and Ms. Ann Thomas.**

Other gifts of South Caroliniana were made to the Library by the following members: Mr. Sigmund Abeles, Mrs. Cordelia Apicella, Dr. George F. Bass, Mrs. Joyce M. Bowden, Dr. Ronald E. Bridwell, Mrs. Jane Gilliand McCutchen Brown, Dr. Rose Marie Cooper, Mr. Tom Moore Craig, Jr., Dr. Tom Crosby, Mr. Brian J. Cuthrell, Ms. Jane Dreher Emerson, Mr. Henry G. Fulmer, Mrs. Cornelia N. Hane, Dr. Willie Harriford, Mr. Brent H. Holcomb, Dr. Thomas L. Johnson, Mr. C. Robert Jones, Dr. James E. Kibler, Jr., Lista's Studio of Photography, Mrs. Harriet S. Little, Mrs. Sarah Graydon McCrory, Mr. M. Hayes Mizell, Dr. Robert L. Oakman, Mr. Hemrick N. Salley, Jr., Dr. William C. Schmidt, Jr., Dr. Patrick Scott, Dr. Allen H. Stokes, Jr., Mr. Harvey S. Teal, Mrs. George Cameron Todd, Mr. Hal Hodges Tribble, Mr. Michael Tribble, Dr. Michael Trinkley, Mr. & Mrs. E. Craig Waites, Ms. Nancy H. Washington, and Mr. James R. Whitmire.

Life Memberships and other contributions to the Society's Endowment Fund were received from Dr. & Mrs. William Walker Burns, Dr. William J. Cain, Mr. & Mrs. Frank D. Callcott, Dr. William E. Dufford, Mr. & Mrs. Frank J. Ellerbe, Mr. Millen Ellis, Dr. & Mrs. Donald L. Fowler, Mr. Henry G. Fulmer, Mr. & Mrs. Gaston Gage, Dr. Carlos W. Gibbons, Sr., Dr. & Mrs. William R. Gilkerson, Mr. & Mrs. Stephen Hoffius, Dr. & Mrs. Charles W. Joyner, Dr. & Mrs. Richard C. Layman, Lucy Hampton Bostick Residuary Trust, Mrs. Evelyn C. Marion, Mr. M. Hayes Mizell, The Reverend William M. Shand III, Dr. Allen H. Stokes, Jr., and Dr. & Mrs. Robert M. Weir.

ENDOWMENTS AND FUNDS TO BENEFIT

THE SOUTH CAROLINIANA LIBRARY

The Robert and May Ackerman Library Endowment provides for the acquisition of materials to benefit the South Caroliniana Library, including manuscripts, printed materials, and visual images.

The Deward B. and Sloan H. Brittain Endowment for the South Caroliniana Library provides support for the acquisition of manuscript and published material of permanent historic interest, the preservation of the collection, internships and assistantships allowing students to gain archival experience working with the collections, the professional development of the staff, and outreach to excite interest in research in the collection via exhibits, publications, and other areas.

The Elizabeth Boatwright Coker Graduate Assistant at South Caroliniana Library Fund honors the noted author who established this assistantship to encourage and enable graduate history students to advance their professional research skills.

The Edwin Haselden Cooper Director's Fund at the South Caroliniana Library provides support to be expended at the Library Director's discretion.

The Orin F. Crow South Caroliniana Library Endowment honors the memory of Dr. Crow, a former University of South

Carolina student, professor, Dean of the School of Education, and Dean of the Faculty. This endowment was established in 1998 by Mary and Dick Anderson, Dr. Crow's daughter and son-in-law.

The Jane Crayton Davis Preservation Endowment for South Caroliniana Library has been created to help fund the preservation of the irreplaceable materials at the South Caroliniana Library. As a former president of the University South Caroliniana Society, Mrs. Davis is keenly aware of the need for a central repository for historical materials and of the ongoing obligation of the Library to maintain the integrity of its collections.

The William Foran Memorial Fund honors this revered University of South Carolina history professor and funds the acquisition of significant materials relating to the Civil War and Reconstruction, areas of particular interest to Professor Foran.

The Rebecca R. Hollingsworth South Caroliniana Library Endowment Fund provides support for the acquisition of daguerreotypes, ambrotypes, ferrotypes, and albumen prints (circa 1840–1880) for the Visual Materials Division at the South Caroliniana Library. This support will also be available to provide for processing, cataloging, digitizing, exhibiting, outreach, and conservation for the Visual Materials Divisions as well as student assistants to work with these efforts. These funds will also support an annual display at the University South Caroliniana Society's Annual Meeting.

The Arthur Elliott Holman, Jr., Acquisition and Preservation Endowment was established in honor of Mr. Holman on 19 August 1996, his eightieth birthday, by his son, Elliott Holman III, to strengthen and preserve holdings in areas of Mr. Holman's interests, such as the Episcopal church, music and the arts, Anderson County, and other aspects of South Carolina history.

The Arthur E. Holman, Jr., Conservation Laboratory Endowment Fund provides support for the ongoing operation of the conservation laboratory, for funding graduate assistantships and other student workers, and for equipment and supplies and other related needs.

The John C Hungerpiller Library Research Fund was established by his daughter Gladys Hungerpiller Ingram and supports research on and preservation of the Hungerpiller papers and acquisition of materials for the South Caroliniana Library.

The Katharine Otis and Bruce Oswald Hunt Biography Collection Library Endowment provides for the purchase of biographical materials benefitting the South Caroliniana and Thomas Cooper Libraries' special, reference, and general collections and the Film Library.

The Lewis P. Jones Research Fellowship in South Carolina History honors Dr. Jones, esteemed professor emeritus at Wofford College, by funding a summer fellowship for a scholar conducting serious inquiry into the state's history.

The J.A. Kay South Caroliniana Library Intern Endowment Fund provides support for internship(s) for graduate or undergraduate students in an appropriate discipline to work with rare and unique research materials and learn state-of-the-art conservation techniques and other professional library skills. The award will be presented as funds are available for a student to work in the South Caroliniana Library.

The Lumpkin Foyer Endowment Fund at the South Caroliniana Library provides support for enhancements and maintenance of the Lumpkin Foyer as well as unrestricted support for the Library.

The Governor Thomas Gordon McLeod and First Lady Elizabeth Alford McLeod Research Fellowship Endowment Fund was established in 2001 and provides support for a research fellowship at the South Caroliniana Library to encourage the study of post-Civil War politics, government and society, with an emphasis on South Carolina history. This endowment was established by the family of Governor and Mrs. McLeod in recognition of their contributions to the Palmetto State.

The William Davis Melton University Archives Graduate Assistantship at the South Caroliniana Library benefits University Archives by providing graduate students with invaluable experience while promoting the care, use, and development of the University's historical collections, with particular focus on oral histories. The endowment was established by Caroline Bristow Marchant, Walter James Bristow, Jr., and William Melton Bristow in memory of their grandfather, president of the University of South Carolina from 1922 to 1926. An additional gift of property from General and Mrs. T. Eston Marchant fully funded the endowment.

The Robert L. and Margaret B. Meriwether South Caroliniana Library Fund will support the South Caroliniana Library in memory of Library founder, Robert L. Meriwether, and his wife and colleague, Margaret B. Meriwether, who also worked on behalf of the Library. The fund was created to receive gifts in memory of their son, Dr. James B. Meriwether, who died 18 March 2007.

The John Hammond Moore Library Acquisitions and Conservation Endowment Fund established in honor of Dr. Moore provides support for acquisition of new materials and conservation of existing holdings at the South Caroliniana Library.

The Lanny and Sidney Palmer Endowment Fund at the South Caroliniana Library provides support for the Lanny and

Sidney Palmer Cultural Arts Collection and related collections. Funds can be used for processing, preservation, programming, and publications as well as for materials and staff to support increased use of and access to the collections.

The Robert I. and Swannanoa Kenney Phillips Libraries

Endowment was established in 1998 by their son, Dr. Robert K. Phillips, to honor his parents and his family's commitment to generations of support of the University of South Carolina. It provides for acquisitions and preservation of materials in the South Caroliniana Library and the Thomas Cooper Library. Priority is given to literature representing the various majority and minority cultures of Britain and America to support undergraduate studies.

The Nancy Pope Rice and Nancy Rice Davis Library

Treasure Endowment has been established to strengthen the ability of the Dean of Libraries to make special and significant acquisitions in a timely fashion for the University of South Carolina libraries. These funds allow the Dean to purchase books and manuscripts to enhance the special collections held by South Caroliniana Library and Thomas Cooper Library.

The Hemrick N. Salley Family Endowment Fund for the South Caroliniana Library was established to provide support for the care and preservation of the South Caroliniana Library.

The John Govan Simms Memorial Endowment to Support the William Gilmore Simms Collections at South Caroliniana Library provides support for the Library to maintain its preeminent position as the leading and most extensive repository of original source materials for the research, analysis, and study of William Gilmore Simms and his position as the leading man of letters in the antebellum South.

The William Gilmore Simms Visiting Research Professorship, established by Simms' granddaughter Mary C. Simms Oliphant and continued by his great-granddaughter Mrs. Alester G. Furman III and other family members, recognizes and honors the noted nineteenth-century American literary giant.

The Ellison Durant Smith Research Award for the South Caroliniana Library was endowed through a gift from the estate of Harold McCallum McLeod, a native of Timmonsville, Wofford College graduate, and veteran of World War II. This fund was established in 2000 to support research at the South Caroliniana Library on government, politics, and society since 1900 and to pay tribute to "Cotton Ed" Smith (1864–1944), a dedicated United States Senator from 1909 to 1944.

The Donna I. Sorensen Endowment Fund for Southern Women in the Arts provides for the acquisition of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and other materials covering fine arts,

music, literature, performing arts, and the decorative arts to enhance the Library's collections pertaining to Southern women. Such support will document women's contributions to the state, the American South, and the nation.

The South Caroliniana Library Alcove Endowment Fund provides support for the renovation and maintenance of the Library.

The South Caroliniana Library Fund is a discretionary fund used for greatest needs.

The South Caroliniana Library Oral History Endowment Fund supports the activities and programs of the Oral History Program, including equipment, supplies, staff, student training, and publications as administered by the South Caroliniana Library.

The South Caroliniana Library Portrait Conservation Endowment Fund provides support for ongoing and future conservation needs of the Library's priceless portrait collection. Proceeds from these funds will be expended first to address the greatest needs of the collection and for ongoing and future needs.

The Southern Heritage Endowment Fund supports and encourages innovative work at the South Caroliniana Library and at McKissick Museum.

The Allen Stokes Manuscript Development Fund at South Caroliniana Library established in honor of Dr. Stokes provides for the acquisition of new materials and the preservation of collection materials housed in the Manuscripts Division at the South Caroliniana Library.

The War Years Library Acquisition Endowment Fund is used to purchase regional and state materials from the World War II era, individual unit histories, and other materials related to World War II.

The Louise Irwin Woods Fund provides for internships, fellowships, graduate assistantships, stipends, program support, preservation and/or acquisitions at the South Caroliniana Library.

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Members of the Carolina Guardian Society share a commitment to the future of the University of South Carolina, demonstrating their dedication and support by including the University in their estate plans. Through their gifts and commitment, they provide an opportunity for a future even greater than Carolina's founders envisioned two hundred years ago. Membership is offered to all who have made a planned or deferred gift commitment to the University.

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.....Matthews, NC	Heritage Commission York
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