
THE PROCEEDINGS

of

**The South Carolina
Historical Association**

2004

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Robert Figueira and Stephen Lowe
Co-Editors

The South Carolina Historical Association
South Carolina Department of Archives and History
Columbia, South Carolina

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Co-Editors' Notes

The Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association is a refereed journal containing selected papers presented at the annual meeting. The co-editors and the other members of the Executive Board serve as the editorial committee, assisted by external reviewers chosen for their expertise. The opinions expressed in this journal represent the views only of the individual contributors; they do not reflect the views of the co-editors, other members of the editorial committee, or the South Carolina Historical Association.

The co-editors are especially indebted to those colleagues who reviewed papers for publication. Their comments and suggestions have greatly improved the quality of the papers presented here. Reviewers for the 2004 volume were:

Joel S. Cleland, *Lander University*
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The co-editors wish to thank the authors whose papers are published here for their cooperation in revising their oral presentations and their written submissions. As has been the case often in the past, the assistance of Rodger Stroup and the South Carolina Department of Archives and History has been crucial in the production of this volume. Finally, very special thanks must be accorded to Judy Andrews for copy preparation and copyediting. Her speedy, careful, and judicious work in this capacity has again greatly enhanced this volume.

Maurice Morgann (c.1725/26-1802) – A British Undersecretary of State Revisited

Rory T. Cornish

On March 28, 1802, Maurice Morgann, successful placeman, former undersecretary of state at the Southern Department, Shakespearian scholar, and political associate to William Fitzmaurice Petty, second Earl of Shelburne, died in Knightsbridge. His brief obituary in *The Gentleman's Magazine* said he had been a man “well known for his distinguished and extensive knowledge.” While his friends remembered him as “a friend of liberty,” historians have been less kind.¹ A minor political figure in the age of the American Revolution, Morgann has usually been portrayed as a narrow-minded conservative who was full of schemes to uphold British constitutional authority in the American colonies.² In an extensive study of undersecretarial influence on the formation of British colonial policy, Franklin D. Wickwire concluded that Morgann was both restrictive and unrealistic towards the colonies, indeed a “hawk” regarding imperial affairs.³

While historians generally have been willing to follow Wickwire's lead, difficulties remain for any broad assessment of Morgann's career. Both contemporaries and modern historians remain divided as to whether he was a friend to the American colonies or not.⁴ Morgann, himself, did his posthumous reputation a disservice by destroying all his personal papers, an action lamented by his friend Dr. Charles Symmons, for their preservation would have “planted a permanent laurel on his grave.”⁵ It is clear from contemporary accounts that Morgann shared similar personality traits with Shelburne, one of the more enigmatic politicians of the age: secrecy, vanity, a tendency to flatter, and a mind that tended to find expression in over-developed intellectualism. Indeed, a contemporary comment on Shelburne could be equally applicable to Morgann himself: while neither Whig nor Tory, on occasion he could be “absolutely nothing, and may be occasionally anything.”⁶

Recently two historians have suggested that Morgann may not have been such a conservative as previously portrayed. In his study of British abolitionist thought in the era of the American Revolution, Christopher L. Brown praised Morgann's *Plan for the Abolition of Slavery in the West Indies* (London, 1772) as one of the earliest works attacking the racial bigotry that underwrote slavery. Similarly, John L. Bullion, a historian not noted for his praise of British politicians, singled out Morgann for his generally correct appraisal of conditions in the American colonies on the eve of the

Stamp Act. While Brown tended to interpret Morgann's anti-slavery work in the Wickwirian authoritarian context, Bullion erroneously attributed Morgann's liberal sentiments purely to the fact that he had worked for a number of years in an apothecary in Philadelphia.⁷ In fact, Morgann had never worked as an apothecary, either in London or Philadelphia, and did not visit North America until 1768.⁸ So the question remains: who exactly was Maurice Morgann and what were his political views in the era of the American Revolution?

Born c.1725/26 in Pembrokeshire, Wales, Morgann was descended from a distinguished Welsh family that traced its unbroken lineage to the thirteenth century.⁹ His family was connected to John Symmons, a Welsh Tory who represented Cardigan Boroughs from 1746, and, by extension, to the leader of the Welsh Tories, Sir John Phillips, Bart. of Picton Castle. By 1760, Phillips was a close friend to Lord Bute, with whom Shelburne, Morgann's future patron, would serve his early political apprenticeship. Clearly, it was to this Welsh Butean connection that Morgann owed his 1762 appointment as Shelburne's private secretary, an association that would last for over twenty years.¹⁰ By 1762, Morgann had already become a successful placeman through use of his political connections. In November 1756, he became the Deputy Teller to the Royal Mint, London. Active in supporting William Pitt's militia bill of 1757, Morgann published *An Enquiry Concerning the Nature and End of a National Militia*, a work that reflected the contemporary Tory opposition to standing armies. Possibly due to his ability as a pamphleteer, Morgann was awarded in June 1758 the lucrative sinecure of Weigher and Teller to the Mint, a position he retained until his death.¹¹

In April 1763, Shelburne accepted the presidency at the Board of Trade in the Grenville administration and played a role in the development of policy that resulted in the Proclamation of 1763 and the earliest stationing of a British regular force in America during peacetime. Morgann's role as one of Shelburne's unofficial departmental advisors has been well attested by two documents attributed to him: the "Plan for Securing the Future Dependence of the Provinces on the Continent of America," and "On American Commerce."¹² These two texts have formed the basis of Morgann's later reputation as anti-American. Yet "On American Commerce" is not, in fact, noticeably anti-American, but merely reflects the usual mercantilist thought commonplace in both the official and public debate regarding the future of the colonies after the Seven Year War. Morgann's "Plan," on the other hand, is unusual, for it suggests using British troops to "exact a due obedience [from the colonists] to the just and equitable regulations of the British Parliament."¹³ It is still unclear whether the "Plan," which contains an unfinished list of a number of propositions, should be discounted as little more than a secretarial précis of departmental discus-

sions and not a reflection of Morgann's own views. In any event, during the entire period from his first published work (1758) to his later opposition to the coercion of the American colonies, Morgann consistently resisted the temptation of using the military to establish order in civil disputes.

In *An Enquiry* Morgann had clearly opposed imperial adventures and expansion for territorial gain only. He believed that the use of military force, as well as the establishment of standing armies, was dangerous to political liberty. Even though he probably shared the contemporary British viewpoint that colonies ought to be subjected to the commercial interests of the mother country, he felt that military forces should be subjected to constitutional control. All government "must be derived from the people," and any magistrate who attempts to use such forces "independent of the people and superior to the people, was a tyrant and the people slaves." For Morgann, government was, after all, "nothing more than a political compact among men for the better preservation of their lives, liberties and possessions," and thus naturally "implied the consent of the governed."¹⁴

Dissatisfied with his office, Shelburne resigned in September 1763. Because of his forthcoming marriage to Lady Sophia Carteret in 1765, he paid little further attention to the formation of Grenville's colonial policy. While in opposition, Shelburne became allied to William Pitt, and following the latter's lead voted for the repeal of the Stamp Act (February 1766) and against the Declaratory Act (March 1766). Already in 1775, however, Morgann had warned Shelburne against the dangers inherent in the Stamp Act. Morgann felt that America had grown "too large to be trifled with and made the subject of new experiments in politics." He predicted violent opposition in the colonies and thought that colonial economic conditions would not allow Americans both to pay new taxes and import British manufactured goods. In consequence, they would then open their ports to European trade, establish a French alliance, and "throw off so disgraceful a subjection and ever after bear a particular enmity to a country who [sic] may have the vanity and presumption to retain and avow such ridiculous claims upon her." While Morgann did not advocate repeal of the Act in face of colonial opposition, he instead thought it better to allow the act to "sleep in oblivion."¹⁵

When Shelburne returned to power in the Southern Department in the Chatham administration (July 1766), Morgann was appointed one of his four undersecretaries with control of American business.¹⁶ Rewarded in the following November with the sinecure as secretary of New Jersey, Morgann not only undertook routine business, but also championed westward colonial expansion to the Illinois country, abstracted colonial documents for Charles Townshend, and researched

the laws of Quebec.¹⁷ The administration was faced with continued colonial disobedience in New York, where the provincial assembly refused to comply fully with the 1765 Mutiny Act, and in Massachusetts, where the provincial assembly proved reluctant to provide compensation for victims of the Stamp Act riots and passed its own Indemnity Act in defiance of the royal prerogative. As a result, the ministry moved towards coercion.

For his part, Morgann recommended restraint in a series of memoranda to Shelburne. In every society, he cautioned, there existed “individuals of dark, designing[,] ambitious spirits who were ready to avail themselves of public discontent.” Statesmen should recognize that the majority of men are not moved by reason but by passions dependent upon “customs, manners, laws and situations” peculiar to their own society. British mismanagement had tended to strengthen colonial fears, so any rash movement by the administration would further undermine the authority of the colonial administrative executive and alienate colonial moderate opinion.¹⁸ Always willing to limit the claims of parliamentary supremacy in America, Morgann advised that the application of the Mutiny Act there was both constitutionally questionable and unenforceable. He observed further that the use of military force was only successful in preventing disorder, not curing its cause. Regarding conditions in Massachusetts, the administration would do well to ignore the advice of Governor Francis Bernard, a man who seemed “to this day to value himself more for a good argument than a wise measure.”¹⁹ Although Morgann recommended the repeal of both the Mutiny Act and the Declaratory Act of 1766, he did not agree that total appeasement was the answer. He considered James Otis’s repudiation of the Laws of Trade in Boston to be treason and recommended that he be arrested, brought to London, and tried. Following such a shock by the “Face of Authority” Morgann advised the recall of the Massachusetts charter and its remodeling into a “better and yet more liberal constitution.” It is uncertain today what effect such a draconian policy might have triggered. But in Morgann’s defense, it must be noted that his suggestions were mild in comparison with a number of others circulating in the metropolis.²⁰ For Morgann, the risk of provoking further American resistance by arresting Otis was a calculated one, for if the colonies should then succeed in uniting against the continued implementation of the Laws of Trade, the actual tangible symbol of union, “there will be nothing to regret but that the destruction of this country has been accelerated by a very few years.”²¹

The crisis of 1767 soon dissipated without British forceful action. In its aftermath, Morgann was still prepared to extend full civil rights to the colonies, as his suggestions regarding the province of Quebec indicate. Shelburne was determined

to end the military rule that had existed there since the British conquest in 1760. In his report on conditions in Canada Morgann recommended the termination of all harmful distinctions between French Catholic Canadians, the majority of the population, and Protestant new arrivals. He rejected the extension of British Penal Laws to Quebec and the notion that its citizens be systematically anglicized over time. Instead, he recommended respect for French laws and customs, the formation of a colonial assembly, the admission of Catholics to the franchise, and the creation of a constitution that recognized the rights of all Canadian subjects.²² When Shelburne's proposals on these matters, partially based upon Morgann's recommendations, were defeated in the Privy Council on 29 May 1767, he dispatched Morgann to Quebec as Privy Council agent to investigate conditions there. He arrived in the province in August 1768 and spent a year collating evidence. Finally he and Quebec's governor, Guy Carleton, wrote a report that reflected their mutual belief that traditional French laws and customs be respected in Canada.²³

During Morgann's absence Shelburne again resigned (October 1768) and began fourteen years in opposition. A little unhappy about his future employment, Morgann hoped at this juncture to succeed his friend, Benjamin Franklin, as colonial agent for New Jersey when Franklin's return to America was mistakenly reported in 1773. Now back in Britain and in opposition, Morgann gravitated towards radical politics and became close friends with both Sir Watkins Lewis, a London radical and leading member of the Bill of Rights Society, and Granville Sharp, the British abolitionist.²⁴ Deeply affected by the case of James Somersett, an African American slave then resident in London who did not want to return to Virginia with his owner, Morgann published in 1772 his *Plan for the Abolition of Slavery in the West Indies*.

Morgann had conceived the outline for this work during the prior decade and had discussed it with Shelburne. The *Plan* recommended the creation of a free Negro colony in West Florida. Liberated slaves, purchased by the British government and trained for freedom in England, would be transplanted to this new province. As "customary practices are hard to change in the established colonies," he hoped that such an experiment would, by example, encourage gradual manumission, increase black-white trust, and replace "the enmity bred by racial slavery."²⁵ Morgann considered slavery a barbaric, arbitrary evil "contrary to the natural course of things and the constitution of the world." If it was not abolished, it would nevertheless be destroyed by its own excesses in a bloody race war. His views were somewhat confirmed later in 1772 by news of violent slave revolts in the Dutch West Indies.²⁶

Morgann's distaste for violence also found full voice regarding those corrupt British politicians who had disrupted the empire by their rash actions in attempting

to coerce the colonies. Such actions had achieved nothing but the destruction of the possibility of “uniting dominion with universal freedom” which ought to have grown “naturally out of the English constitution [and which] may never again exist in the world.”²⁷ Morgann’s anger was given full voice in his *Letter to My Lords the Bishops* (London, 1779). The *Letter* was prompted by a 1779 divorce bill, which aimed at preventing the guilty parties in divorce cases from subsequently re-marrying. This action, it was hoped, would stem the moral decay evident in Britain. Its sponsor, Bishop Shute Barrington of Llandaff, was a favored courtier and supporter of the American war. Morgann argued that the bishops “had not ventured deep enough into the speculations of sin.” If they had done so, they would have realized that women who commit adultery rarely view their actions as a permanent arrangement. “The Lady of the times, My Good Lords, looks to the present man, and not the future husband, and the gentleman seeks nothing less than a future wife in the profligate woman he dishonors.”²⁸ Consequently, he suggested that one would have been wiser to demand that future adulterers be compelled to marry in order to stem the rising tide of moral decay. Morgann suggested that such moral decay was symptomatic of a corrupt constitution and the corrupt politicians who benefited from it and set no virtuous example for fellow citizens to follow. Such British politicians generally failed to realize that “general principles and constitutions govern the world,” not they themselves. Having “no great veneration for penal laws” he felt that the bishops’ recourse to such was misguided. He recommended that their Christian lordships consider a thorough reform of parliament instead of wasting their “very valuable hours in weaving penal springs for vice out of the rotten materials of a corrupt and decaying constitution.” The desired reforms should include “more frequent elections by more numerous electors.”²⁹

The continued bad news from America only dismayed Morgann more. In 1778, he had castigated the North administration’s attempt to seek a peace through the Carlisle Peace Commission. Believing it was in America’s interest to return to a union of mutual self-interest with the mother country, he thought it absurd to believe that the Americans would trust the sincerity of those men who had attempted to coerce them, the very ones “whose hands are yet red with the carnage of America,” the men who now seemingly “offer peace upon the ground of common interest, common right and ancient affection. . . .” Britain had initiated the war, and America had been justified in rejecting the attempt by the North administration to extend the resultant “taint to her own progeny, who being too healthful and too virtuous to take it, have been obliged to renounce their parent and disclaim her society.”³⁰ In 1779, when Britain itself faced a possible Franco-Spanish invasion, Morgann hoped that

such an event would spark a revolution at home that would ultimately force a group of new men to repel the invaders, re-establish a new liberal social order, and eventually reunite the trans-Atlantic empire.³¹

The North administration collapsed when the news of the defeat at Yorktown reached London in March 1782. Shelburne re-entered office as home secretary in a coalition ministry under Lord Rockingham. Ignoring British public opinion, both Morgann and Shelburne hoped that the new administration could construct a new federal empire based upon commerce alone. Shelburne appointed Sir Guy Carleton as the new commander-in-chief in America, and dispatched Morgann to America as the secretary to the new peace commission. Congress's refusal even to receive him upon his arrival in New York City in May 1782 finally convinced Morgann that events must be allowed to run their course. The "fancy of independence" was so deep that he was persuaded the Americans could not be subdued.³² His recommendation that Shelburne, by then the First Lord, recognize American independence was accepted. When news of this decision reached New York City in August 1782, it was Morgann who, in Carleton's absence, read out the official communiqué to thousands of disillusioned Loyalists.³³ Subsequently Morgann remained in the city as Carleton's administrative private secretary for a time until he finally returned to London in July 1783.³⁴

Morgann was well rewarded for his efforts by Shelburne and continued to play an important role in trans-Atlantic politics. Appointed in 1784 the Provincial Agent of New Brunswick, Canada, he busied himself attempting to reconstruct this remnant of the empire into a stable Loyalist enclave. Morgann also acted in London as both the voice of Shelburne, who had given up politics, as well as Carleton's "man of business," a political representative of Carleton's interests to the Pitt administration. Morgann finally retired in 1786 and was appointed to a lucrative sinecure as one of the commissioners of the Hackney Coach Office. Thereafter he resided in London enjoying his pensions and sinecures, the theater, and the company of actresses.³⁵

He emerged briefly from retirement in 1794 to publish a well received attack on revolutionary France, *Considerations on the Present Internal and External Condition of France*. Horrified by the execution of Marie Antoinette, he castigated the mindless violence of the Jacobin Terror and noted that all governments based on autocracy—whether Bourbon or one formed upon theoretical abstractions—would always collapse. In praising the democratic balance of the various state constitutions in the new United States, Morgann predictably called for the culturally kindred republic to renounce her alliance with revolutionary France and return to a new trans-Atlantic alliance, because "the war of brothers is no more." Britain and the United States

were, after all, he thought “one people, though of different governments, yet of one interest and one mind.”³⁶

In his retirement Morgann worked upon a revision of his most celebrated work, *An Essay on the Dramatic Character of Sir John Falstaff* originally published in 1777. Morgann was fascinated how the dramatist Shakespeare could manipulate the emotions of an audience and, in Falstaff’s case, turn a man usually seen as a fat, drunken coward into a figure of constitutional courage who won the audience’s sympathy. Shakespeare’s true art, Morgann thought, was his ability to use humor to challenge accepted morality.³⁷ To Morgann, complex human motivation and resultant human action were often colored by the perceptions of the viewer and thus “cannot with strict propriety be said to be either [by themselves] virtuous or vicious.”³⁸ It was in such a framework that Morgann had reviewed colonial affairs. What actually passed for reality in the world of human action was little more, he concluded, than individual interpretation limited often by our own “visible existence.” According to this perspective, then, the actions of the American colonies did not necessarily arise from the motivations generally presumed by British politicians. Morgann was always aware that one “must look to the art of the writer, and the principles of human nature” to discover the often hidden causes of motivation.³⁹

In this attempt to recreate the career and political opinions of an obscure British undersecretary a few concluding remarks can be made regarding Morgann in particular and British colonial policy in general. Recent research has suggested that there was a confusion of voices in the development of British opinion regarding the evolving British imperial policy, and that party lines in the metropolis itself were not so sharply drawn as previously thought. If the Wickwirian interpretation of Morgann is faulty, it should also be noted that the other extreme position is equally unfounded. We should not conclude that if the British political establishment only had listened to Morgann, “the temporary and abiding evils of the American context would have not existed; and the mother country and her offspring would still have been supported and supporting with their mutual embrace.”⁴⁰ The policy mistakes made by individual British politicians, or even by British subministers, did not by themselves cause the disruption of the trans-Atlantic community. Likewise, our measured assessment of any policymaker’s position should not, as some have done for Morgann, be based on the narrow evidentiary basis of two documents. As Morgann himself suggested in his study of Falstaff, the whole man needs to be studied.

To understand Maurice Morgann’s reaction to the developing colonial crisis it will be important for subsequent historical inquiry to recognize the bipolar tensions in his politics. His outlook while in office reflected the need to formulate policy

regarding continued colonial dissatisfaction. Due to his political alliance with Shelburne, however, Morgann spent most of his career in opposition, and it should not be surprising that his outlook increasingly reflected opposition politics. Underlying both stances, however, was a clear ideological commitment to the concepts of representation and liberty that he considered the natural offspring of the British eighteenth-century constitution. What made his own viewpoint interesting is his awareness that human perception regarding causation was all too often faulty. On this point perhaps Morgann should speak for himself. During the Seven Years War, he once remarked, a detachment of Highlanders were so pinned down by a “withering Indian fire” that they were unable to return fire. Nonetheless they obeyed their orders to hold their line. For their part, the Indians mistakenly characterized them in this instance merely as “the women of England who wanted [=lacked] courage to run away.”⁴¹

ENDNOTES

1. *The Gentleman's Magazine* 72 (1802), 471, 582. For contemporary comments see, Dr. Charles Symmons, *The Life of John Milton* (London: Nichols and Son, 1810), ix-x; William Cooke, *The Pleasures of Conversation*, second ed. (London: Henry Colburne, 1807), iii-ix; *The Gentleman's Magazine* 77 (1807), 643-44.
2. John Norris, *Shelburne and Reform* (London: Macmillan, 1963), 40.
3. Franklin D. Wickwire, *British Subministers and Colonial America, 1763-1783* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), 96.
4. Shelburne is in need of a new biography. For conflicting assessments regarding his view of the American colonies and especially regarding his role in the Peace of Versailles, see Vincent Harlow, *The Founding of the Second British Empire* (London: Green & Co., 1952), 2 vols., and Charles K. Ritchenson, “The Earl of Shelburne and Peace with America, 1782-1783; Vision and Reality,” *The International History Review* 3 (1983), 322-29.
5. Symmons, *The Gentleman's Magazine* 77 (1807), 643-44.
6. Dennis O'Bryen, *A Defense of the Rt. Hon. The Earl of Shelburne*, (London: J. Stockdale, 1782), 14. For an answer to this see the anonymous *A Reply to the Defense of the Earl of Shelburne* (London: Payne, 1783).
7. Christopher L. Brown, “Empire Without Slaves: British Concepts of Emancipation in the Age of the American Revolution,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, third ser. 56 (1999), 276-77; John L. Bullion, “Truly Loyal Subjects. British Politicians and the Failure to Foresee American Resistance to Parliamentary Taxation, 1762-1766,” *Connecticut Review* 11 (1989), 35-37.
8. Bullion has clearly confused Morgann with another Shelburne associate, Laughlin Maclean, 1727-1778. On Maclean see Sir Lewis Namier and John Brooke (eds.), *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons, 1754-1790* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1964), 3:93-94.
9. The identification of London as his birthplace alleged by some is erroneous. Richard Fenton, *A Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire* (London: Longman, 1810), 483, 494. For the pedigree of the

Morgan Family compiled by William Lewes see National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Bronwydd MSS. 7170.

10. Morgann to Shelburne, 17 June, 1782. The Shelburne Papers, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 68, fol. 373 (hereafter cited as Shelburne MSS.). On both Symmons and Phillips see Namier and Brooke, *The History of Parliament*, 3:275-76, 515.
11. Royal Mint, London, "Record Book 1752-1764," 59, 117 and "Record Book 1797-1804," 275-76; William A. Gill, *Morgann's Essay on the Dramatic Character of Sir John Falstaff* (London: Henry Frowder, 1912), ix-x. For the background of the Militia Bill and of the Tory position, see J. R. Weston, *The English Militia in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965) and Linda Colley, *In Defiance of Oligarchy. The Tory Party, 1714-1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 85-117, 272-82.
12. These documents are in the Shelburne MSS, 85, fols. 26-34, and 67, fols. 107-11. For background see, R.A. Humphreys, "Lord Shelburne and the Proclamation of 1763," *English Historical Review* 49 (1934), 241-64 and P. G. Walsh-Atkins, "Shelburne and America, 1763-1783," (Ph.D. dissertation, Oxford University, 1971), 40-50. More recently, Leland J. Bellot has reviewed these documents and has suggested that "On American Commerce" was largely the work of William Knox, and although written in two hands, was, at best, partially transcribed by Morgann for Shelburne's information: *William Knox. The Life and Thought of an Eighteenth-Century Imperialist* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1977), 227n.13.
13. Morgann, "Plan," Shelburne MSS, fol. 108.
14. [Morgann], *An Enquiry Concerning the Nature and End of a National Militia* (London: Dodsley, 1757), 2-4, 5-7, 21-27.
15. Morgann, "On the Right and Expediency of Taxing America," dated 1765, Shelburne MSS., 85, fols. 71-77 at 75-77.
16. Sir Lewis Namier was incorrect in suggesting that Maclean was primarily responsible for the American business; Namier and Brooke, *The History of Parliament*, 3:93. See Shelburne MSS., 134, fol. 141. The two other undersecretaries were the placeman Peter Morrin, an associate of the Duke of Richmond, and Richard Sutton, a lawyer who later became a Member of Parliament for St. Albans.
17. John Norris, *Shelburne and Reform*, 40; R. A. Humphreys, "Lord Shelburne and British Colonial Policy, 1766-1768," *English Historical Review* 50 (1935), 262-63. For Morgann's appointment as the secretary of New Jersey see F. Ricord and William Nelson (eds.), *Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey*, first series, (Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1866), 10:1, 3, 5-6. For his support of continued western expansion see Leonard W. Labaree (ed.) *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959-1986), 13:43; 14:339.
18. Morgann, "Remarks on the Present State of America," dated March 1767, Shelburne MSS., 49, fols. 711-21 at 712.
19. Morgann, "Queries on the Massachusetts Bill of Indemnity," dated 1767, Shelburne MSS., 58, fols. 243-57; Morgann, "Remarks on the Present State of America," 49, fols. 716-18; Morgann to Shelburne, Shelburne MSS., 85, fols. 81-88; 165, fols. 201-9, 213-23. Lord E. Fitzmaurice, *Life of William, Earl of Shelburne* (London: J. Murray, 1878), 2:50-53.

20. On this period and the Chatham's ministry's response to disobedience in Massachusetts and New York see P. D. G. Thomas, *British Politics and the Stamp Act Crisis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 300–36.
21. Morgann, "Observations on British Policy Towards America," dated 1767, Shelburne MSS., 85, fols. 81–88.
22. Morgann, "An Account of the State of Canada from the Conquest to the Present Time," Shelburne MSS., 64, fols. 525–51.
23. The Carlton/Morgann report is in The British Library, Kings MSS., 207 and it can also be found in W.P.M. Kennedy and G. Lanctot, *Reports on the Laws of Quebec, 1767–1770* (Ottawa: Ottawa Archives No. 12, 1931). For background see, Philip Lawson, *The Imperial Challenge. Quebec and Britain in the Age of the American Revolution* (Montreal: Queens University Press, 1989), 85–108.
24. Michael Kammen, *A Rope of Sand. The Colonial Agents, British Politics and the American Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968), 278–80; Benjamin Franklin to William Franklin, dated July 1773, in Leonard W. Labaree (ed.), *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959–1986), 20:307–8. Sir Watkins Lewis (1740–1821) was also from Pembrokeshire. On background see Roger Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760–1810* (New Jersey: Macmillan, 1975), 91–125, 126–41, 157–99, 200–225.
25. Morgann, *Plan for the Abolition of Slavery in the West Indies* (London, 1772), 1, 10–15, 24–27. William Cooke, who may have acted as Morgann's own private secretary, also attributed to Morgann the publication of *Remarks Upon the Slave Trade* (London, 1772), which was also attributed to Morgann in The British Library Catalog, but the copy of this treatise has been withdrawn from circulation at the writing time this paper: Cooke, *The Pleasures of Conversation*, vi.
26. For reports on the Dutch West Indian revolts see, *The London Chronicle*, October 20–22, November 12–14, and December 24–26, 29–31, 1772. Morgann's prediction of the violence which would destroy slavery was often repeated by Granville Sharp and reprinted by the latter in his *The Just Limitation of Slavery in the Laws of God* (London, 1776), 62–64.
27. Morgann, "Remarks on the Commissioner's Proposals to the Americans," dated 1778, Shelburne MSS., 165, fols. 181–209 at 184. This document has been misdated by The William L. Clements Library as 1781, but it clearly concerns the Carlisle Peace Commission of 1778.
28. Morgann, *Letter to my Lords the Bishops on Occasion of the Present Bill for the Preventing of Adultery* (London: Dodsley, 1779), 3, 5.
29. *Ibid.*, 23–24, 41–44, 47–50.
30. Morgann, "Remarks on the Commissioner's Proposals," fols. 184–86, 198–200. See also Morgann, "On the Dangerous Condition of National Affairs," Shelburne MSS., 165, fols. 201–9.
31. Morgann, "Observations on British Policy Towards America," fols. 201–9, 213–23.
32. For Morgann's departure see, *London Chronicle*, 11 April 1782, and on his employment, see Carleton to Lord Rockingham, 3 April 1782, Public Record Office, London, T. 1/578, fols. 250–53. Morgann, "On American Independence," 1782, Shelburne MSS., 165, fols. 213–31 at 213; 87, fols. 147–50.
33. Captain William Fielding to Lord Derby, New York, 10 August, 1782, in Marion Balderston and David Syrett (eds.), *The Lost War Letters from British Officers During the American Revolution* (New York: Horizon Press, 1978), 218–19.

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34. Information regarding Morgann's activities in New York City until July 1783 can be found in *Historical Manuscript Commission Report on American Manuscripts in the Royal Institutions of Great Britain*, 4 vols. (London: Royal Institution of Great Britain, 1904–1909). This includes much of his correspondence outside the scope of this paper. Morgann was, however, well rewarded for his services: he was granted £250 annually from the Civil List as well as being given another £250 for the army extraordinaries. See Treasury memorandum of September 6, 1782, in *Historical Manuscript Commission Report*, i:xvi.
35. William Rees Williams (ed.), *Old Wales* (Talybout, Breconshire, 1905–7), 2:134. Morgann's activities between 1783–1786 are recorded in the diary of William Smith, the ex-Chief Justice of New York; see L.F.S. Upton, *The Diary and Selected Papers of Chief Justice William Smith, 1784–1793*, 2 vols. (Toronto, 1963), 1:55, 186–87, 262–63; 2:7–8, 81–83, 92–93, 101–6, 149, 160–62, 178–79, 182–83, 185–86, 231–32, 246–47, 249, 257.
36. Morgann, *Considerations on the Present Internal and External Condition of France* [London: Debrett, 1794], 36–37, 41–44.
37. Morgann, *An Essay on the Dramatic Character of Sir John Falstaff* (London: T. Davies, 1777), 4, 10–14.
38. *Ibid.*, 9, 72–73.
39. *Ibid.*, 21, 153.
40. Symmons, *The Life of John Milton* (see n.1), 124. On the confusion of voices see Paul Langford, "Old Whigs, Old Tories and the American Revolution," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 8 (1980), 106–30 and Eliza H. Gould, *The Persistence of Empire. British Political Culture in the Age of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).
41. Morgann, *An Essay on the Dramatic Character of Sir John Falstaff*, 23–24.

Mitchell King Builds His Dream House: A Chapter in the Life of Mitchell King

Alexia Jones Helsley

A second home to escape the humidity and disease of the low-country summers was *de rigueur* for the Carolina elite. Sea Island planters had such residences in Beaufort, and other planters acquired summer domiciles in the Pine Barrens (in towns like Pineville or Summerville), the Midlands (Winnsboro), or the Piedmont (Spartanburg).¹ By the 1820s and 1830s this search eventually took low-country residents to the Carolina Mountains—Table Rock, Flat Rock, Fletcher, and Cashiers.

One of those who sought refuge in the mountains was Charleston attorney Mitchell King. His experience in building a second home (he called it a “cottage”) in the mountains of what is now Henderson County, North Carolina, tells a complex story of logistical difficulties and human frailties—greed, opportunism, mutual distrust. In addition, the distance involved was considerable. Charleston was over two hundred fifty miles from the Flat Rock area. Mail was slow and supply wagons took twenty days each way.

King was born in Fifeshire, Scotland c. 1783² and arrived in Charleston in 1805 to seek professional and personal opportunities. Several prominent Charlestonians took note of the young man and fostered his career. He soon received an invitation to teach at the newly-established College of Charleston. By 17 November 1810 he was admitted to citizenship. King had also studied law and was admitted to the South Carolina Bar that same year.³ In addition to education and law, King had many other business interests—import/export, banking, and railroading. Contemporaries described him as “a most esteemed and successful citizen . . . of large frame, very large head and face, a pleasant smile playing upon his countenance,” a man who had acquired a large estate by “marrying two sisters in succession.”⁴

Mitchell King first married Susanna Campbell, daughter of McMillan Campbell, on 23 February 1811.⁵ Following her death on 12 September 1828, he took as his second wife her younger sister Margaret on 14 August 1830. In his will McMillan Campbell had left Susanna £1200, as he had already given her a house and land on Church Street at the corner of St. Michael’s Alley. Campbell had also bequeathed £2500 to Margaret, payable either when she turned eighteen or was married.⁶

The exact date of King’s first visit to the Blue Ridge is debated. He may have visited the area in connection with a planned railroad or at the suggestion of Charles

Baring. According to Buncombe County deeds⁷ King purchased 62 acres of land on Mud Creek from Charles Baring in 1825.⁸ Between 1825 and 1839 King purchased over 4000 more acres on Mud Creek, more than 1600 acres on Little Mud Creek, 227 acres on Saluda Gap Road, and other tracts within the county.⁹ By 1830 his friend Charles Baring¹⁰ had moved into his home "Mountain Lodge." King's mother-in-law, Henrietta Campbell, also had a summer residence in Buncombe County, and it was there that King married Margaret Campbell.¹¹ His correspondence from December 1830 shows that these examples and his land purchases were doubtless factors in his decision to build a second home in the mountains.

King's correspondence reflects the intricacies of his Buncombe County connections. On 3 February 1830, his business associate, John Davis, wrote King to report his own successful efforts to locate a driver willing to convey the remains of King's "beloved infant" to Charleston. We may presume that this child, otherwise unidentified, was Mitchell and Susannah King's daughter, Elizabeth Kirkwood King, who had been born over two years previously on 12 September 1828. Susannah herself had died in childbirth. After several individuals had refused to undertake the mission at "any price," Jonathan Maxwell agreed to do so for \$10 with the understanding that "if any disagreeable smell took place," King would reconsider the payment.¹² On 7 February Davis wrote that Maxwell and his burden should arrive in Charleston by the 23rd, as Maxwell had left on the twenty-day drive on 3 February.

Davis's letter also contained an update on the construction of King's planned residence in Buncombe County. He reported that "all the large lumber" for the house was on hand and that other lumber would be ready by 1 March. He also noted that John Robinson needed the building plans in order to procure the lumber for the doors and windows. Apparently, King, and not his overseer Davis, held the plans in his possession.

Among his acquisitions in Buncombe County, King had purchased from John Davis as an investment the tavern and surrounding property known as "Flat Rock" on the eastern side of Mud Creek. On 18 October 1830 King leased this property to William Murray to operate for \$400 per year.

On 31 December 1830 Davis wrote to King the first of many letters he would receive about his land troubles in Buncombe County. First, Davis reported progress on clearing the meadow and mountain land. Then he followed with the bad news that the survey of the mountain land bought in 1830 revealed that two tracts, the Cagle and the Davis properties, did not meet. There was a gap of sixty poles between them.

King's difficulties grew. When Elisha King, a local surveyor, made an entry against the vacant land for King, Pineal Gilreath asserted an older, as yet unsur-

veyed, claim for the same fifty acres. (In North Carolina an “entry” was a claim or application filed with the county surveyor after a warrant for survey has been issued.) Elisha King then recommended to King that the latter buy the Gilreath claim to secure quiet title to the disputed property. This land controversy not only plagued King for several years, but also generated further claims and counter claims.

In his 31 December letter Davis also included a building report—Charles Barnett, the project supervisor, had almost finished framing two buildings and promised to start the other the following week. Davis reassured King that the recent freshet had not damaged his sawmill and that a laborer, Beddingfield, was hard at work cutting the lumber for King’s building projects. King, it appeared, had a horizontal monopoly and owned the land, the timber, and the saw-mill.

The following year brought additional difficulties. The new construction crew and existing work crew were at odds. Charles Barnett, who had been hired to construct the new dwelling, wrote on 22 January 1831 that he had gotten a late start on the project because he had been unable to leave the employ of Charles Baring until 15 November. Barnett added that despite frequent and persistent requests, Thomas Justice (previously hired) had not hauled the lumber to the King site as agreed. As a consequence, Barnett could not begin work. Justice refused not only to haul the lumber, but also to give Barnett possession of King’s oxen and wagon. Justice even created a third problem for Barnett. Leonard Cagle had moved from the old house on the site to allow Barnett, the contractor, to live there during the construction. Unfortunately, Justice then moved into the recently vacated house and refused to leave. In desperation, Barnett finally hired James R. McMinn and his cart and oxen to haul the lumber and built a small, inexpensive cottage for himself and the workmen because it was “too far from his home to walk back and forth to work.”

In this same January letter Barnett reported his hiring of four workmen to assist with the construction—his father (John Barnett), his two brothers (John Junior and Davis), and J. W. Hunter. Pay ranged from Hunter’s \$10 per month plus board through Davis Barnett’s \$20 per month without board. Barnett reported that Hunter, although a “new hand,” was improving rapidly. Barnett’s next challenge was the laborer Beddingfield, another homeless man. A certain Hamilton was teaching school in Beddingfield’s former house and would not let him have it. So, Beddingfield wanted to live at the saw-mill. Barnett took his work crew and built a house for Beddingfield at the mill. As the King work site lay at considerable distance from the homes of many of the workmen, on-site accommodations were not only a boon, but also at times a necessity. For King’s benefit, Barnett also included an assessment of the relative merits of those men who hauled logs to the mill. McGuffy “has done an honor

to himself for his industry and attention to business." As regards Justice, "by all the persuading that I could do he attends to his hauling tolerable." Even in Buncombe workers could be less than diligent.

Barnett reported that he had hired Jackson to cut the rock and apologized for the continuing difficulties with Gilreath over the land title. Barnett had found a "very beautiful place for a building" on the opposite side of the road, but it was "some distance" from water. The kitchen and store-room, however, were ready for raising, and he was progressing "bravely" with the dwelling house. Barnett stated his intention, if nothing was settled about the land, to get the dwelling house ready for raising with doors and windows framed. In that way, the structure could be put together within a few days of King's arrival.

In March 1831 William Murray initiated what would be a lengthy correspondence with King about managing and outfitting the tavern "Flat Rock." He had purchased furniture, but Davis had refused to deliver the slave Beck. Business looked promising, for he had already received several applications for rooms for the next summer. In fact, he had received so many requests that Murray wanted King's permission to add a story to the old house to accommodate more travelers. He also asked King's help in securing the services of good hostler,¹³ preferably a "good old countryman."

Later that same month Murray repeated his request for staff. He also noted that he had already ordered from Hamburg, South Carolina, certain staples—sugar, coffee, salt, rice and fish—sufficient for the summer season. As an added coup, Murray reported that he had been appointed post-master in lieu of Davis and that the stage would arrive at the Flat Rock tavern at 4 P.M. on Saturdays.

On 24 April 1831 Murray wrote that he wanted to expand the dining room and fit up a small house for the expected overflow of visitors. Murray also reminded King that it was important for future guests to know about the change in management and asked him to place an ad in a Charleston newspaper to that effect. He mentioned the twice-weekly stage route from Columbia to Asheville as a benefit to the hospitality industry and commented on the "unaccountable" excitement caused by the news concerning the discovery of a lead mine.

King was well aware of this development, for Benjamin Forrest, the discoverer of the mine, had already contacted him on 29 March 1831. In his letter Forrest had reported his discovery and asked whether King intended to honor their prior agreement concerning the mine. Both the location of the mine and the nature of the alleged agreement are as yet uncertain. During the decades following the end of the Revolutionary War, the area swarmed with land speculators, who purchased large

tracts in hope of future profits and sought to locate mineral resources. It should not surprise us that an entrepreneur like King would be involved in such ventures. In his communication Forrest also asked King to send him \$100 to \$150 upon receipt of the letter. He reminded King of his assistance in securing the purchase of Davis's plantation—a purchase that Davis still resented—and warned King that his “confidence in Leonard Cagle [another source of King's growing land empire] has been most shamefully abused.” Forrest closed his letter with the warning that “no person has the knowledge of the mine and it shall never be divulged until I am satisfied for the discovery.” In other words, if King wanted to add lead mining to his commercial activities, he would need to settle with Forrest.

In correspondence written in the spring of 1831, King's tenant Murray impertuned and complained concerning various matters—the ticks for the beds were too small to hold the feathers, and King had not located a hostler nor secured household help. Murray also alluded to King's financial assistance with his personal debts and promised to repay the loan and “promote the interest of your neighborhood and the vicinity of Flat Rock.” A postscript to the letter of 9 May noted disparagingly that the lead miner Forrest had been “brought out” in “his true colors.” It seems King had, quite correctly, chosen not to invest in the enterprise.

But the challenges of long-distance resort management continued. King also heard from Thomas E. Justice and his wife, Sarah. On 16 May they reported another obstacle in the ongoing land title situation. Justice averred that the

land where Mr. C. Barnet have put up your Buildings is not on Penuel Gilreath land nor he has no [sic] entry that will hold the same. The owner off [sic] the land exspected [sic] That I had Money and went with me to Entry takers office and there I found that Gilreath entry was not the oldest. The Right owner of the land has an Entry for 200 acres and offer the same for two dollars per acre.⁴⁴

Following this declaration, Justice asked if King wanted him to take additional steps in this matter and noted, by way of explanation, that because he had been in Alabama he had not learned the name of the true owner of the land in question until 9 May. Yet despite the assurances of Justice, Davis, and others, the title to this particular piece of real estate remained unclear. Eventually, King had to settle with all claimants.

On 27 May 1831, Charles Baring wrote from his home at Flat Rock and assured King that Gilreath still wanted to sell the land. He urged King not to delay or allow anything to interfere with the settlement as “your house which is now far advanced, would in that event be entirely at his mercy.” In other words, Barnett was erecting

King's house on land to which the latter still did not have clear title. Resolution would have to await King's next visit to Buncombe. The frustration and agonizingly slow pace of long-distance negotiations must have weighed on King's mind.

Second, Baring reported the good news that Barnett had exceeded his expectations in completing the buildings despite a severe winter. As an update, Barnett noted that the frame of the building stood on a good stone foundation and the columns for the portico were ready to be erected. Also, the masons were cutting good stone for the jams and chimney pier. The kitchen was shingled and boarded up, as was also the large room that Barnett called the storeroom; the corn crib was completed and the stables only lacked a rack and manger. Barnett needed glass (perhaps for the windows) and planned for King to take possession by 1 August. The planned establishment included all the necessary outbuildings for successful country living.

Third, there was a problem. John Hodges had unfortunately not burned the bricks that were probably intended for the chimney. Baring asked King to deal directly with Hodges, as he and Hodges were not on good terms. Baring also sided with Murray in the long-running dispute between the latter and King about enlarging the tavern's accommodations. Murray and Baring believed that the dining room was too small and additional rental units were needed in order to be profitable. King once again faced the issue of how much capital to invest for what anticipated return. On a personal level, Baring commented "we are quite out of the world here," and asked for newspapers to be sent occasionally. Even the sylvan wonders of Flat Rock did not offset his longing for Charleston society.

On 17 July 1831 Baring wrote to congratulate King on the birth of his child and to ask that he bring Mrs. King and "the little stranger up to Buncombe."¹⁵ He commented on the "delightful climate" and adequate rain, and reported that Barnett continued his work on King's house. But, he added, "toward finishing, things always as I know by experience seem to go on more slowly"—a popular lament of homebuilders through the centuries.

Baring continued with more ominous news, noting that he "scarcely" knew what to say to King about Gilreath, who had laid an entry that included all King's buildings. Nevertheless, Baring still believed—as he had intimated to King in his 17 July 1831 letter—that Gilreath would sell the land to King. As Gilreath allegedly already had a claim for the property, one must surmise that this entry was calculated to increase the pressure on King to settle. Although Baring had repeatedly offered to pay Gilreath, Gilreath refused to settle until King arrived. Baring continued in a vein that reflected the perennial frustration and perplexity of outsiders dealing with in-

siders, “nothing is positively done and I never feel quite easy in the hands of these fellows.”

Baring also noted another difficulty with “that honest man Forrest”—the alleged lead mine discoverer—but declined to provide details as it was “a long story.” In an addendum to the letter, Baring reported enthusiastically that Barnett had the four lower rooms of the dwelling ready. He invited King to come directly to his house as Murray’s hotel would be filled or “at any rate crowded.” Murray’s first summer apparently met his expectations of ample business.

In his journal, King assessed his North Carolina real estate and business ventures and noted that as of 27 July 1831 he had expended \$4412 in Buncombe County and owned over 4000 acres there. These expenditures included furniture, acquisition of the slave Beck, the Flat Rock tavern purchased from John Davis,¹⁶ the Rutledge lands, and the Case, John Cagle,¹⁷ John Peter Corn,¹⁸ Polly McAfee,¹⁹ Waldrop, Andrew Miller,²⁰ Elisha Bomar,²¹ and Peter Guice²² tracts.

Apparently, Mrs. King’s recovery from childbirth was slower than expected, for Murray, the hotel keeper, alluded in his letter of 8 August to King’s decision to keep his family in Charleston for the summer. Murray also reported that he had completed the renovation of the dining room and kitchen and had “throngs of company.” As he could not summer there, King planned a short trip to Buncombe to attend to business matters.

Upon learning of King’s change in plans, Baring wrote that the delay in King’s travels had created misgivings among his associates—particularly, Thomas Justice. According to Baring, “Little Tommy Justice” had applied to him in great distress when he heard the news. Baring had offered to forward any correspondence Justice might desire to King, as Justice’s “cattle and other *plunder* had been seized for debt once or twice.” Baring offered to advance him whatever sum King would authorize, as Justice was “a quiet inoffensive little fellow and certainly the best of the Justice tribe.” Considering Barnett’s past description of Justice’s work ethic, this remark reflected poorly on the Justice family. It did infer, nevertheless, that a meek demeanor could be an asset for any local inhabitant dealing with the Charlestonians.

Baring also reported that he personally had “bought out Hampton Wade and the other half” of the Waldrop tract. As King had already purchased the first half, this transaction gave Baring and King adjoining tracts of commercially valuable property.

Sometime before 8 August 1831, Dr. John Dickson—a King acquaintance—had advised Barnett that the Kings were expected 1 September. Accordingly, Barnett sent a progress report on the construction to King. The house and piazza were covered. The walls, as King had instructed, had been lined with roof boards and were ready

for papering. Sashes for the six lower windows were ready and the upper windows set to assemble. Barnett had also laid the upper floors in the main body of the house and had almost finished one room. He continued that he had “found it way out of my power” to meet the 1 August deadline as the project had required 36,000 shingles to cover the buildings—6000 more than anticipated. To meet the shortfall, Barnett had used 2,000 of his own shingles and bought an additional 4,000. On the positive side, he noted that the chimney with the built-in oven for the kitchen had been completed and that the chimney for the dwelling should be finished shortly. Barnett also noted, as an ameliorating circumstance, that a personal enmity, not further explained, had slowed his progress.

To King’s concern with cost overruns, Barnett stated: “All I can say as to that is that theirs [sic] no man in the county of Buncombe and perhaps the state could of [sic] laid out to a better advantage than I have” He also shared his perspective on the ongoing land disputes by writing that he found “nothing strange in the settlement” that Gilreath proposed. Gilreath had entered the claim for the land and then offered to sell King whatever number of acres he needed for \$2 each. Barnett found this a reasonable solution to a thorny and long-running dispute. He added that, in his opinion, Gilreath’s claim was older than the Forrest and Davis claims and that he was surprised that a certain Cagle had overlooked the Gilreath entry. He suggested that Cagle was guilty of wishful thinking in making his assessment of the situation. This individual may be the John Cagle who had sold King 290 acres on Little Mud Creek in 1830. That Barnett joined the names Cagle, Forrest, and Davis to that of Gilreath hinted at the complexity and number of competing claims to King’s house site.

Dr. John Dickson also wrote King from Flat Rock on 8 August and expressed his excitement about the healthy benefits he and his wife had derived from Flat Rock. Dickson contemplated spending the winter there and mentioned that he had heard that there were “rumored [land] claims in the place where you are building.” He also lamented the lengthy delays in obtaining supplies from Charleston and suggested that, unless travel could be facilitated, one must order items three to six months before they were needed.

The Dickson letter also provided insight into the crowded conditions at the Flat Rock inn. He noted that Judge [Robert] Prioleau had been “desirous to stay, but there was no room” and that, as a consequence, B. F. Dunkin, who had spent three or four days in the room over Dickson, had then followed Prioleau to Asheville. Dickson continued that Patton’s, an establishment in Asheville that catered to travelers, was overflowing and that few accommodations were available at Warm Springs as the buildings were unfinished and the bathing had been interrupted by the rav-

ages of the French Broad River. Consequently, “[a]t this moment, numbers would come back to Flat Rock, could they be received.” Dickson closed his letter with comments about the heavy rainfall, the cold easterly wind, and despite his earlier praise of the healthful climate, the frequency of colds. While yellow fever and other mosquito-born diseases were alien to Flat Rock, other more common germs were as prevalent there as in Charleston.

On 21 August Baring again urged King to bring his wife to Buncombe as he was convinced that even a short stay would “restore her entirely”—the journey to Columbia being the only “unpleasant part” of the trip. He also reported that he had not paid Justice as King had directed because Justice had not obtained from Alabama “the paper in question”—probably a legal document related to land conveyance. Concerning King’s house, he noted that although Barnett was working inside, “there does not appear that regular advance toward *finish*” that he had earlier observed.

Baring also shared with King his own trials and tribulations in acquiring property in Buncombe County. Baring had bought land from Hampton Wade, but the “trouble I have had in establishing Boundaries is beyond what I can express and hitherto without entire success—tho’ we have been able to identify the land, or nearly so, which is saying something for Buncombe.” Baring continued with a word of warning: “Your namesake [Elisha King] the surveyor is not to be depended upon—for his *skill* certainly not, and I must fear He is deficient in *integrity*.” He advised King to be on “guard.” Baring’s jaundiced perspective on land surveyors and surveying could explain the complications in determining clear title to Buncombe County real estate.

By 12 October 1831 Mitchell King was in Buncombe. On that day, in a letter datelined Argyle²³ (the name of his new home), he wrote Dr. George D. Phillips. He informed Phillips that his friend, Dr. John Dickson, would reside at “Argyle my Buncombe cottage” during that winter, and that he had empowered Dickson to have the plastering done. Consequently, he asked Phillips to honor any orders from Dickson in that regard. Also on 12 October, according to his accounts, King settled Charles Barnett’s total bill—\$1,749.50—which included expenses for twenty-three workmen, including carpenters, stonecutters, masons, and other laborers who had provided firewood, hauled materials (shingles, flooring and ceiling), and raised the house.

Before King left Buncombe to return to Charleston, he prepared a memorandum dated 13 October 1831 for Charles Baring. Therein King detailed several matters that he wanted Baring to handle for him. Firstly, and “Most important” was the 13 October 1828 agreement with Justice to convey to King “that which he then held as well as that which his father had agreed to convey to him.” King had paid Justice \$243.50 of the \$650 they had agreed upon as the price. He had also paid “old Justice”

(perhaps this Justice's father) \$43.50. King asked Baring to review the agreement as to whether or not the \$43.50 should be subtracted from the balance due.²⁴

King also empowered Baring to use his "good judgment" in resolving the matter and left money to cover either eventuality. If there was any surplus left from the settlement, King asked Baring to give it to Dickson to cover disbursements at Argyle. King forbade Baring to pay Justice anything until the latter had left Cagle's place, and especially until Justice had given satisfactory evidence that his relation—J. D. Justice—had duly proved the title of Metcalf to Old Justice and ordered it to be recorded. "Without it I would not pay him one farthing." King's comments reflected his distrust of the promises of certain Buncombe County inhabitants. King also asked Baring to have Justice sign a lease from King for Justice's old place as Justice planned to return there.

Second, Baring was to have proved the title from the elder Justice to the younger Justice, namely the two deeds from John Davis to King, and two other deeds—William Justice and P. Gilreath to King and William Justice to King. King's attorney, Mr. Fortune in Asheville, had the originals of the latter four deeds.

King also left a description for Gilreath of the land Gilreath had conveyed to King and his tax return for Baring to deliver to Charles Grier. Concerning his tax return, King confessed that he "as I believe usual" had omitted the improvements "in estimating the value of the Lands." The tax laws had changed. In addition, King left \$15 for Baring to have 103 acres (two tracts surveyed by Baird) cleared. He closed with an apology as he was "almost ashamed" to leave so "formidable" a list. Without Baring's assistance, King would have had to spend more time in Buncombe to transact the business associated with his expanding land holdings and commercial undertakings.

On 15 October King signed a five-year lease with William Murray and Benjamin Richardson to operate the Flat Rock inn for an annual rent of \$350. In addition, King agreed to fund the building of a two-storied house and additions to the stable. An agitated Murray, alarmed that Baring and Fleming Hogge were improving Baring's land at Flat Rock, wrote King on 30 October 1831. Murray feared the proposed store would become a public nuisance and that the proprietors might build a tavern to rival the business of the Flat Rock inn.

That same day, Charles Barnett wrote King. He reported that Thomas Justice had left Argyle, that Barnett had moved into that out-building, and that Dr. Dickson had moved into the Argyle dwelling. The carpenters had finished their work on 29 October and been discharged. Barnett also reported that Thompson was scheduled to repair the sawmill dam and that Webster had finished the steps and columns and been paid. Reflecting the experience of many contractors, Barnett went on to note that he had been "sadly disappointed" by his calculations as to the cost of the project,

and, as a result, Barnett had suffered a “considerable loss” because his actual costs exceeded the amount that King had agreed to pay him.

January brought news of renovations to the Flat Rock inn. On 9 January Murray reported that he had ordered canvas to line two rooms (at Argyle) from Greenville, Tennessee, but that inclement weather had delayed work on the additions at the inn. The carpenters—Capt. William Deavour, his slave Solomon Reese, James Barnett, Samuel Hoffman, and another slave belonging to Mrs. Spann—were preparing the timber for the frame. Murray had also arranged with Barnett to have use of the sawmill every other week for the new building. He noted in closing, “the sound of the hammer and ax denotes Spring was at hand.” Murray, the inn proprietor, was happy in anticipation of the expanded number of clients the renovated inn would serve.

The Murray-King relationship continued into 1834, but on 17 October 1835 King sold the Flat Rock inn with its furnishings to George Summey of Burke County, North Carolina, for \$8,000. King also offered Summey the chance to purchase the livestock at Flat Rock, namely hogs and cows “from the favorite stock of William Murray who had great pride in keeping and breeding the best in Buncombe.” King congratulated Summey on acquiring the property at such a low price and wished him “all success.” Thus King ended his four-year foray into innkeeping.

On 3 January 1835 Alex Pearson—King’s manager at Flat Rock—reported that Summey did not want to purchase the cattle, but that Summey’s store was nearly finished and would be selling goods by Saturday. Summey apparently had added this store to the Flat Rock inn complex. Pearson also had provided a stable for Summey’s horses, cabins for his servants (as he had brought “a good many of his people”), and the cottage “at the end of the post office for himself.” Pearson assured King that he and his wife would manage the transfer, and thus King did need not return. When the inn business was settled, Pearson began employment at Argyle.

On 9 September 1839, nine years after beginning work on his Flat Rock home, Mitchell King wrote Samuel Lyle of Jonesboro, Tennessee. In this letter, headed at Argyle near the Flat Rock Post Office in Henderson County,²⁵ North Carolina, he stated: “For several years I have been in the habit of spending a portion of the summer months near the chain of Mountains that divides North from South Carolina.” He continued: “I find my mountain residence too small to accommodate my family”²⁶ and want to replace it with a larger brick house that would be “rather large for our hill country.” King envisioned a two-storied structure, twenty-two feet high, sixty feet long, and forty feet wide, with two wings, each fifty feet long and twenty feet wide. He wanted the main building to have a pediment supported by six brick columns running its length. The bricks would be made and burned near the building.

There was even a final role for Charles Barnett. On 26 October 1841 King contracted with him to build a new stable and carriage house, and agreed to pay him \$200—far less than their first adventure in building. No evidence exists that this new house was ever built.

The story of Mitchell King and his domestic and commercial enterprises in Flat Rock, North Carolina illustrates the tensions between long-term inhabitants and new arrivals as well as the economic impact of the new residents. This is an old story and a new one—a story that is replayed in resort developments around the country. In Henderson County, North Carolina, during the 1830s much land changed hands, although with considerable controversy as to title and legal boundaries. New enterprises (stores, taverns, inns, and a post office) added to the economy. The role of the native inhabitants was one of support. They were employed as carpenters, stone masons, rail and shingle splitters, sawmill operatives, wood haulers, day and farm laborers, and property overseers. The newcomers imported goods, tools, and even heavy foodstuffs from out-of-state—usually from Charleston. Land values increased as more immigrants sought the salubrious climate of the Carolina mountains and acquired the better properties. These conditions often engendered a sense of bitterness between the summer and permanent residents.²⁷

The coming of Charleston to the mountains was a mixed blessing, but also significant portent for the long-term development of Henderson County. In 1842 King donated land for the county seat town of Hendersonville.²⁸ Today, the area of Mitchell King's mountain retreat is one of the fastest growing retirement destinations in North Carolina.

ENDNOTES

1. Lawrence Fay Brewster, *Summer Migrations and Resorts of South Carolina Low-Country Planters* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1947), 63–64, 108, 113.
2. John Belton O'Neill, *Biographical Sketches of the Bench and Bar of South Carolina* (Charleston: S.G. Courtenay & Co., 1859), entry "Mitchell King," 1:347.
3. O'Neill, *Biographical Sketches*, 353–58; Brent Holcomb, *South Carolina Naturalizations, 1783–1850* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1985)
4. Samuel Gaillard Stoney, ed., "Memoirs of Frederick Adolphus Porcher," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 47 (1946), 215–16, 224.
5. Elizabeth H. Jervey, "Marriage and Death Notices from the City Gazette & Daily Advertiser," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 36 (1935), 24.
6. Charleston County, South Carolina Will Transcripts, v. 32, 1807–1818.
7. The North Carolina Legislature created Henderson County from Buncombe County in 1838.

8. Buncombe County, North Carolina Deeds, Book 20, 95.
9. Buncombe County, North Carolina. Index to Deeds.
10. Charles Baring (1774–1865), a native of Exeter, England, was associated with the Baring Banking firm. Originally he came to America to arrange a marriage between his cousin Lord Ashburton and Susan Cole Heyward, the widow of James Heyward, a prominent South Carolina rice planter. Instead, Baring married the mysterious and older Susan himself. A beautiful and witty woman, a talented actress and writer, she had been born in 1763 and had married Heyward in 1794. Heyward's family opposed the marriage, and after investigators found five possible liaisons between Susan and other men, James's brother Nathaniel forbade the women of his own family to associate with her. To defend her honor, Baring even challenged Nathaniel to a duel. James Heyward died 2 October 1796. Susan died 5 September 1845. On 20 March 1847, Charles Baring, at 73 years of age, married Constance Beatrice Dent (1816–1891). Their son Alexander was born 25 June 1848. Baring eventually sold Mountain Lodge and built a smaller house, named Solitude, near his sawmill. See Suzanne Linder, *Historical Atlas of the ACE Basin* (Columbia: Archives and History Foundation, 1996), 31–33, 221–23.
11. Brent H. Holcomb, *Marriage and Death Notices from Columbia, South Carolina, Newspapers, 1792–1832* (Columbia: South Carolina Magazine of Ancestral Research 1982), 77.
12. Unless otherwise indicated, this and all further references to the King correspondence are from the Mitchell King Collection of the Southern Historical Society, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill. Quoted with permission.
13. A hostler is one who cares for horses, usually for an inn.
14. Individuals could file an entry to claim untitled land from the State of North Carolina. King personally filed three entries for 198 acres in Buncombe County.
15. Possibly John Gadsden King, enumerated as 18 years of age in 1850; see U. S. Bureau of the Census, Charleston County, South Carolina Population Schedules, 1850, 252, M 432, Roll 850.
16. By July 1831 King had purchased three tracts from John Davis: 850 acres (Buncombe County, North Carolina Deeds, Book 16, 206); unspecified acreage (Buncombe County, North Carolina Deeds, Book 16, 367); and 200 acres (Buncombe County, North Carolina Deeds, Book 16, 370).
17. Cagle sold King 290 acres on Little Mud Creek in 1830; see Buncombe County, North Carolina Deeds, Book 16, 208.
18. Corn sold King 150 acres on Little Mud Creek in 1820; see Buncombe County, North Carolina Deeds, Book 16, 204.
19. In 1830 Polly McAfee and others had conveyed 400 acres on Little Mud Creek to Mitchell King; see Buncombe County, North Carolina Deeds, Book 16, 205.
20. In 1830 Andrew Miller Sr. sold 187 acres on Mud Creek to Mitchell King; see Buncombe County, North Carolina Deeds, Book 16, 203.
21. Elisha Bomar and wife conveyed 322 acres on Little Mud Creek to King in 1829; see Buncombe County, North Carolina Deeds, Book 16, 193.
22. King purchased 250 acres on Mud Creek from Peter Guice and others in 1829; see Buncombe County, North Carolina Deeds, Book 17, 15.

23. Argyll, the second largest county in Scotland, is located in the central part of western Scotland.
24. This tract may be the 450 acres that William Justice and others conveyed to King on 21 September 1831. See Buncombe County, North Carolina Deeds, Book 16, 369.
25. See 7 above.
26. By 1829 Mitchell King had a large family. There were seven surviving children from his first wife and four from his second: McMillan Campbell King, Mitchell Campbell King, Henry Campbell King, George Kirkwood King, Margaret Campbell King, Henrietta Campbell King, Susan Campbell King, John Gadsden King, Louisa Preston King, Ellen Milliken King, and Alexander Campbell King.
27. Brewster, *Summer Migrations*, 114.
28. Henderson County, North Carolina Deeds, Book 2, 239-40.

Philo-Semitism and Anti-Catholicism in Restoration England: The Conversion of the Jews in Protestant Polemic, 1660-1688

John C. Lassiter

England's reputation as a land of religious toleration, deserved or not, was well established by the early decades of the eighteenth century. It is enshrined in Voltaire's *Letters concerning the English Nation* (1733), most memorably perhaps in his description of the London Stock Exchange. There, he says, men of all faiths do business together, "only apply[ing] the word infidel to people who go bankrupt." Then they depart, each to worship unmolested in his own way. Most striking is the inclusion in this picture of the Jew, who, on leaving the Exchange, goes to the synagogue and "has his son's foreskin cut and . . . some Hebrew words he doesn't understand mumbled over the child."¹ Voltaire's wry observations concerning the Jew ring true to a degree. Today most historians, while acknowledging the persistence of age-old prejudices against Jews, will agree with Todd Endelman that conditions of Jewish life in eighteenth-century England were "more tolerable than elsewhere in Europe."² Even Frank Felsenstein, who has done more than any other scholar to document the presence of anti-Semitism in English popular culture during the "longer eighteenth century" (c.1660-1830), concludes that in England Jews "enjoyed without interruption a civil and religious freedom that was almost unique."³

The rise of toleration in England has been well chronicled.⁴ Where the Jews are concerned, its roots are to be found in the seventeenth century, growing out of a phenomenon known to modern scholars as philo-Semitism—literally "love of the Jews"—a term meant to stand opposite the more familiar anti-Semitism. Philo-Semitism is one subject of this paper. The other is anti-Catholicism, a phenomenon whose presence in England during the "longer eighteenth century" reminds us that while the fortunes of one religious minority may have improved, those of another did not. Even as he admired the toleration that flourished in this "land of sects," Voltaire observed that "they always unite against Catholicism, their common enemy."⁵ While in recent years philo-Semitism and anti-Catholicism have each attracted much attention from historians as separate phenomena, this study considers the two together and explores the relationship between them. Its focus is on the period of the Restoration, from 1660 to 1688, when Jews and Catholics coexisted openly for the first time in modern English history and when philo-Semitism and anti-Catholicism became closely connected themes in Protestant polemical writing.

Philo-Semitism accompanied, and in large measure explained, the readmission of the Jews to England in the mid-1650s. Officially expelled in 1290, Jews had begun to reappear in the country as early as the 1490s following their expulsion from Spain (1492) and Portugal (1497). References to a small community of *marranos*, many of whom were secret Jews masquerading as Christians, appear sporadically in the records from the early-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century. Their existence, however, was unknown to most Englishmen until 1655, when the celebrated Amsterdam rabbi Menassah ben Israel journeyed to London to petition Oliver Cromwell for the formal readmission of the Jews to England, "to live and trade here . . . and to have free use of their synagogues." Cromwell was sympathetic and convened a conference at Whitehall in December 1655 to discuss the matter. The Baptist preacher and philo-Semite Henry Jessey left a valuable account of the conference. In attendance, he reported, were "several doctors and other preachers, godly men, and some merchants and lawyers." Among the "godly men" was a group of Puritan divines who believed it "a duty to yield to [the Jews'] request of coming hither." Their reasons included the conviction that Jews and Christians were brethren, branches of the same tree; "we believe those natural branches [the Jews] shall return," they contended, "and it shall be great riches and glory to the Gentiles . . . who deal kindly with them . . . and we hope the time is near."⁶ These sentiments reflect a philo-Semitism that was inspired by the belief that the conversion of the Jews was a precondition for the second coming of Christ and the onset of the Millennium, events widely believed in the 1650s to be imminent. As the poet Abraham Cowley put it, "There wants, methinks, but the *Conversion* of . . . the *Jews*, for the accomplishing of the *Kingdom of Christ*."⁷ Godly Englishmen, however, could hardly do their part to bring this about if there were no Jews to convert. It was an urgent priority, therefore, to secure their readmission.

Unfortunately for Menassah ben Israel's mission, Puritan philo-Semitism was not enough to carry the day in December 1655. The Whitehall Conference provoked sufficient opposition from London merchants fearing competition from foreign Jews to block any kind of formal readmission. The conference also produced, however, a declaration by two judges that "there is no law against their coming," which David Katz believes is what prompted John Evelyn to record in his diary on 14 December 1655: "Now were the *Jewes* admitted."⁸ As if to confirm this reality, three months later, in March 1656, London's heretofore secret Jewish community petitioned Cromwell to be allowed to meet for "private devotions . . . without fear of molestation" and to establish a Jewish cemetery. While Cromwell made no formal response to the petition, the existence of London's Jews was now manifest. Debate over the merits of

readmission continued among pamphleteers, but the petition aroused no serious new opposition. Soon the Jews had not only their cemetery but also a synagogue.⁹

This de facto toleration of the Jews survived the fall of the Protectorate and the restoration of the monarchy in 1660. In the years immediately following his return to the throne, Charles II ignored petitions from the merchant community to reverse Cromwellian policy toward the Jews. In 1664, possibly to fulfill a promise made to Amsterdam Jews who had assisted in his restoration, the king gave to the London Jews his personal guarantee that “no untoward measures” would be initiated against them, a commitment that was confirmed by an order in council.¹⁰ In the history of English Jewry the Restoration represents the first generation of the Resettlement. During these years the Jews adjusted to their new and sometimes precarious status as a tolerated minority. At times they found themselves the objects of curiosity and misunderstanding, as when Samuel Pepys visited the synagogue in Creechurch Lane in 1663. He recorded in his diary that the worshippers seemed “more like Brutes [than] people knowing the true God,” adding that he could not imagine “any religion in the whole world so absurdly performed as this.”¹¹ Until now, the only Jews most Englishmen had ever known were the ones they encountered in the pages of their Bibles, a people to whom their modern descendants seemed to bear little resemblance.

The Jews of Restoration England discovered that their fortunes were closely tied to those of the country’s other religious minorities. For example, they were subject to essentially the same civil disabilities as Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters. Because the high Anglican constitution of the Church of England had been re-established, Jews now often found themselves “caught in a trap set for others,” as in October 1685 when writs were issued against forty-eight Jews for recusancy.¹² Of particular significance was the fact that the most feared and hated of all England’s religious minorities were not Jews, but Roman Catholics. The roots of English anti-Catholicism were both theological and political. From the Protestant perspective, Catholics were not only misguided in their religious beliefs and practices, but also posed a threat to the state and the safety of its people. The Protestant reading of history equated Catholicism with treason, persecution, and arbitrary government. And if history failed to prove the case, one had only to look across the Channel at France under Louis XIV. Huguenot refugees of the 1680s gave lurid accounts of persecution that warned English Protestants of what they perhaps could expect if a Catholic king ever ascended the throne.

From the moment that James, Duke of York’s, conversion to Rome became known in 1673, the prospect of a future Catholic king began to dominate English politics. Anti-Catholicism, which had lain dormant for much of the 1660s, now awoke

with a vengeance. In 1678, the “discovery” by the notorious Titus Oates of an alleged “Popish Plot” to assassinate the king and replace him with his brother plunged the country into a period of anti-Catholic hysteria. The introduction in three successive Parliaments of a bill to exclude the Duke of York from the succession precipitated the greatest political crisis of Charles II’s reign, a challenge that he overcame only by dissolving Parliament and governing without it for the remaining four years of the reign. In 1685, when James finally succeeded to the throne at the age of fifty-three, most Protestants for the moment acquiesced, knowing that when the king died, the crown would pass safely into the hands of his Protestant daughters, first Mary and then Anne. That became increasingly difficult to do, however, as James began exercising his prerogative to put Catholics in high offices, both at court and in the army, and took action against those who opposed him. When Queen Mary gave birth in June 1688 to a son who would be raised a Catholic and supplant his half-sisters in the line of succession, the grudging Protestant allegiance to James evaporated, and the king was driven from the throne in the Glorious Revolution.

How did the anti-Catholicism of these years impact England’s Jews? Its immediate effect was to divert attention from them. More significantly, however, it seems in the longer term to have strengthened the same philo-Semitism that a generation earlier had helped secure the readmission of the Jews. This is evident in Protestant polemical literature from these years, and particularly in a handful of tracts by Protestant authors that aimed at promoting the conversion of the Jews.

In much seventeenth-century Protestant writing, especially in the early and middle decades of the century, Jews and Catholics were linked in at least one striking way: they both figured significantly in the sequence of events leading to the second coming of Christ. As already noted, the conversion of the Jews was seen as a precondition for that event. So too was the overthrow of Antichrist, widely believed in Protestant circles to be the Pope. This understanding of the identity of Antichrist was in itself significant because it represented a departure from the view of some medieval commentators that Antichrist—when he came—would be a Jew, an assertion made current in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by Catholic theologians seeking to counter Protestant claims that Antichrist had already come and was to be found in Rome. Christopher Hill believed that the substitution of the Protestant Roman Antichrist for the Catholic Jewish Antichrist might help account for the “relative absence of anti-semitism in England.”¹³ He also noted the “rapid disappearance” of the Antichrist “myth” after 1660,¹⁴ though John Miller is correct to point out that such biblical images as Antichrist and the whore of Babylon continued to flavor anti-Catholic rhetoric throughout the period.¹⁵

Even with the waning of millenarian themes such as the advent of Antichrist, the conversion of the Jews remained high on the Protestant agenda after 1660. Instead of hastening the arrival of the Millennium, however, the emphasis in conversion literature now lay chiefly on discrediting Catholicism, especially during the tumultuous 1670s and 80s. For the authors of these tracts, Catholicism provided an answer to a pressing question: why, after so many centuries, had the Jews not turned to Christianity? Implicit in this question was another more troubling one: why had so few Jews converted in the decades since their readmission to England in 1656? As Tovey noted in his 1738 history of the Jews of England regarding the baptism of Rabbi Moses Scialitti in 1663, “nothing more came of this promising example than the conversion of three or four” during the remaining twenty-two years of Charles II’s reign. Tovey attributed this small number to the severe treatment accorded by the Jews to apostates.¹⁶ Contemporaries, however, were just as likely to attribute the absence of conversions to the continuing influence of Catholicism.

During the Restoration, writers from all across the spectrum of English Protestantism—Anglicans and Dissenters alike—were in agreement with Samuel Brett that “Rome is the greatest enemy of the Jews’ conversion.”¹⁷ These writers shared a common list of stumbling blocks that Catholicism allegedly had laid in the path leading Jews to Christ. In 1675 Lancelot Addison, chaplain-in-ordinary to Charles II, compiled a typical list. It consisted of Catholic beliefs and practices which Jews, like their Protestant counterparts, were said to find offensive: the pretended power of the pope and clergy, vows and prayers to saints and angels, devotion to the Virgin Mary, the veneration of images, and the doctrine of transubstantiation. When Jews were told that the Messiah is “to be comprehended under the appearance of a wafer,” said Addison, they find it “so egregiously offensive, that they spit at its mentioning.” The adoration of the host and the veneration of images were nothing less than idolatry in the eyes of Jews.¹⁸

Other lists included additional items. In his demonstration of the ways in which all Christians hinder the conversion of the Jews the Quaker George Fox singled out “Papists” for telling Jews “they must have a Purgatory, when they are dead, to cleanse them in; and set up nunneries and monasteries for men and women that vow chastity to live in.”¹⁹ Richard Kidder, an Anglican priest who became bishop of Bath and Wells under William III, added to his list the practice of crossing oneself when it thunders, the christening of bells, clerical celibacy, and reception of the Apocrypha into the canon of scripture. “I do profess,” he wrote, “that if I had no other idea of Christianity than what some of the Jews have, who live in Popish countries . . . I cannot see what could ever induce me to become a Christian. . . . [T]he Jews are

much to be pitied, who . . . are kept in their unbelief by the corrupt doctrines and practices of that apostatized church."²⁰

The accusation that Catholicism kept Jews in their unbelief took other forms than the mere compilation of lists of deterrents. One kind of polemical writing popular in seventeenth-century England was the dialogue in which individuals of different faiths conversed with one another in an attempt to determine rationally whose was the true faith. In 1678, just as the alleged horrors of the "Popish Plot" were being revealed, a pair of such dialogues appeared in London, respectively entitled *A Conference Betwixt a Papist and a Jew* and *A Conference Betwixt a Protestant and a Jew*. They are attributed to Richard Mayo, the former Presbyterian vicar of Kingston-upon-Thames, who had been ejected from his living by the Act of Uniformity in 1662 but who continued to preach in conventicles.²¹

Mayo's dialogues purport to be letters from a London merchant describing efforts by two Christians—one a Catholic, the other a Protestant—to persuade a Jew in the presence of his rabbi that Jesus was the promised Messiah. In the first conference, a Jesuit priest ("Father S.") sets out to prove this by the miracles of Jesus and his followers. From the turning of water into wine at the marriage feast in Cana of Galilee to the conversion of Paul on the road to Damascus, he builds a powerful case, until the rabbi takes the floor and launches into his own catalog of miracles from the lives of Catholic saints. These, he says, are so obviously "either errant forgeries or . . . devillish achievements [that] we cannot but think the same of the miracles of Christ and his disciples, because the one are recorded and received by you as well as the other." The Jesuit's case for the messiahship of Jesus is salvaged only when the Protestant ("Mr. B") explains to his Jewish friends that Catholics are not the only Christians, and that it is "with this Popish sect only that these fictitious miracles are found; the generality of Christians do openly declare that miracles are long since ceased." He then demonstrates to the satisfaction of everyone present that "the miracles of our saviour and his immediate followers . . . are of another nature and wear upon themselves marks of infallibility." So strong a case does he make that not only is the rabbi persuaded to become a Christian, but the Jesuit is also ready to turn Protestant. The first *Conference* concludes with Father S. confessing, "'tis high time for me . . . to think of renouncing communion with that church whose principles and practices shall encourage men to continue Jews and infidels."²²

The second *Conference* demonstrates the Protestant approach to converting Jews, namely to use the testimony of Hebrew scripture, alongside that of the New Testament, to prove the messiahship of Jesus. The texts and the arguments they support are essentially the same as those found in all Protestant conversionist writ-

ing. This time the rabbi announces he is ready to convert, "were it not for one thing," namely, "the idolatry of the Christians." He then recites the familiar list of alleged Catholic practices: worshipping a wafer, worshipping the cross, venerating the saints, and so on. This allows Mr. B. a second opportunity to drive home his point that Catholics are not the only Christians. In fact, he insists, "[t]hough these Papists are Christians in name, yet in reality they are Anti-Christian, and great adversaries to Christ and the Christian religion." Now the rabbi departs, reaffirmed in his resolve to become a Christian. As for Father S., it is only his fear of being murdered by his fellow Jesuits that prevents him from embracing Protestantism then and there, a reluctance that allows Mr. B. to have the last word on the necessity of being willing to "lay down your life for Christ."²³

Mayo's dialogues reveal much about the relationship between philo-Semitism and anti-Catholicism in Restoration England. First, by enlisting the arguments of a fictional rabbi in his diatribe against Catholicism, Mayo casts the Jews as allies of English Protestants in the struggle against Popery. But what of the fact that so few of England's Jews actually turned to Christianity during the years of the Restoration? The small number of publicized conversions makes it easy to dismiss the outcome of the two *Conferences* as pure fantasy. One suspects, however, that in these and other such works, conversion of Jews was not the principal objective. Aimed more at a Christian audience than a Jewish one, their primary purpose was to bolster the claims of Protestantism against those of Catholicism. The importance of English Protestant philo-Semitism thus lay less in its character as an expression of religious toleration toward Jews than in its utility as a weapon in anti-Catholic polemic.

What of the Jews themselves? For the most part they were silent, except for the handful that converted and published their testimonies.²⁴ Because the latter were now Christians, their tracts differed little in content and tone from those written by gentile Protestants. Despite the occasional autobiographical detail, they reveal little about the experience of being a Jew in England. Even without such testimony, however, the Jews of Restoration England clearly owed much to Protestant philo-Semitism for the climate of toleration that enabled them to live openly as Jews in relative peace and security. And as the millenarian fervor of the mid-seventeenth century waned, they also owed much to the anti-Catholicism of these years for keeping that philo-Semitism alive.

This study would be incomplete if it did not call attention to one last fact. Despite the existence of philo-Semitism and the atmosphere of toleration it helped to foster, Restoration England was still plagued by a simultaneous and deeply rooted anti-Semitism. Though not to the extent found in other countries, England's Jews

continued to be the victims of age-old prejudices. These prejudices are evident even—perhaps especially—in the work of writers who professed to love the Jews and desire their salvation. Conversionist literature abounds with images of the blind, stubborn, and avaricious Jew. “[T]he Jews have always been a stiff-necked people,” observed John Jacob of his former co-religionists.²⁵ In a similar vein, at the head of Lancelot Addison’s list of impediments to the conversion of the Jews was “their own ingrafted perverseness and obstinate adherence to the doctrines of their forefathers.” A few pages later he notes that the requirement in Catholic countries that Jews seeking baptism must renounce their estates results in few conversions, so reluctant is the Jew “to take a final farewell of his beloved mammon.”²⁶ Another common stereotype was derived from the way in which Jews treated apostasy. The more heroic the conversion, the greater the villainy of the convert’s family and the larger Jewish community in attempting to obstruct or punish it, as seen in Gilbert Burnet’s sensational account of the case of Eve Cohan, a young convert who fled from Holland to England in 1680 to escape the murderous wrath of her family.²⁷ In short, philo-Semitism often masked an anti-Semitism no less virulent than the anti-Catholicism of the 1670s and 80s. In the eyes of many Christians, the only “good” Jew was the one who, because of his conversion, rejected or was rejected by his former community; Jews loyal to their ancestral faith continued to embody all the old anti-Semitic stereotypes. True philo-Semitism, love of the Jews as Jews, still lay in the distant future.

ENDNOTES

1. Voltaire, *Letters on England*, trans. Leonard Tancock (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1980), 41.
2. Todd Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England, 1714–1830: Tradition and Change in a Liberal Society* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), xx–xxi.
3. Frank Felsenstein, *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes: A Paradigm of Otherness in English Popular Culture, 1660–1830* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 249.
4. The classic study is W. K. Jordan, *The Development of Religious Toleration in England*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932–40). See also John Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England, 1558–1689* (New York: Longman, 2000).
5. Voltaire, *Letters on England*, 34.
6. [Henry Jessey], *A Narrative of the late Proceeds at White-Hall, concerning the Jews: Who had desired by R. Manasses an Agent for them, that they might return into England, and Worship the God of their Fathers here in their Synagogues* (London, 1656), 2–3.
7. Abraham Cowley, *Poems* (London, 1656), quoted by David S. Katz, *Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England, 1603–1655* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 89. The key biblical text for this belief was Romans 11:25–26, where St. Paul asserts “that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fullness of the Gentiles be come in. And so all Israel shall be saved.”

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8. [Jessey], *Narrative*, 8. The opinion came from John Glynne, Lord Chief Justice of the Upper Bench, and William Steele, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and was based on the fact that the Jews had been expelled in 1290 by a royal order and not by Parliament. See Katz, *Philo-Semitism*, 213.
 9. "The Humble Petition of the Hebrews at Present Residing in this city of London," reproduced in Lionel D. Barnett, ed., *Bevis Marks Records: Being Contributions to the History of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940), opposite title page. Katz, *Philo-Semitism*, 236–38.
 10. David S. Katz, *The Jews in the History of England, 1485–1850* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 140–43.
 11. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, eds. Robert Latham and William Matthews (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 4: 335.
 12. Katz, *The Jews in the History of England*, 149, 162. For the disabilities Jews had in common with other religious minorities, see Norma Perry, "Anglo-Jewry, the Law, Religious Conviction, and Self-Interest (1655–1753)," *Journal of European Studies* 14 (1984), 7.
 13. Christopher Hill, *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 175, 179–81.
 14. *Ibid.*, 154.
 15. John Miller, *Popery and Politics in England, 1660–1688* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 88–89. For examples of the persistence of these and related anti-Catholic images in literature related to the Jews, see William Lloyd, *A Sermon Preached before the King at White-Hall on Decemb. 1, 1667* (London, 1668) and Increase Mather, *The Mystery of Israel's Salvation Explained and Applied: or, A Discourse Concerning the General Conversion of the Israelitish Nation* (London, 1669).
 16. D'Bloussiers Tovey, *Anglia Judaica: or the History and Antiquities of the Jews in England* (Oxford, 1738; reprint, New York: Burt Franklin, 1967), 280–85. If printed conversion narratives are any guide, then Tovey's estimate of "three or four" converts in the reign of Charles II is accurate.
 17. Samuel Brett, *A Narrative of the Proceedings of a great Council of Jews, assembled in the Plain of Ageda in Hungary . . . to examine the Scriptures concerning Christ, on the Twelfth of October, 1650* (London, 1655) in William Oldys, ed., *The Harleian Miscellany* (London, 1808), 1:385. Brett claimed to have been present at an assembly of Jews where many were on the verge of acknowledging that Jesus was the Messiah, until six Catholic clerics came forward and, expounding on all the particulars of "their idolatrous and superstitious worship," turned the Jews so violently against Christianity that the meeting broke up with no hope of their conversion. Brett's formula for demonstrating how Catholicism turns Jews away from Christianity was essentially the one followed by writers throughout the Restoration and may have served as a model for some.
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 19. [George Fox], *A Demonstration to the Christians in Name without the Nature of it, How they Hinder the Conversion of the Jews* (n.p., London, 1679), 9.
 20. Richard [Kidder] Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, *A Demonstration of the Messias. In which the Truth of the Christian Religion is defended, especially against the Jews* (London, 1699), 2:80–83.
 21. *The Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1885–1901), 13:174. The dialogues have also been attributed to John Jacob, himself a Jewish convert to Christianity.
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22. [Richard Mayo], *A Conference Betwixt a Papist and a Jew: or, a Letter from a Merchant in London, to his Correspondent in Amsterdam* (London, 1678), 23, 25, 27, 33.
23. *Ibid.*, *A Conference Betwixt a Protestant and Jew: or, a Second Letter from a Merchant in London, to his Correspondent in Amsterdam* (London, 1678), 33, 35, 39.
24. Moses Scialitti, *A Letter Written to the Jewes by Rabbi Moses Scialitti a Jew of Florence Baptized June 14, 1663. Declaring the Reasons of his Conversion, and exhorting them to embrace the Christian Faith* (London, 1663); Solomon Franco, *Truth Springing out of the Earth: that is, The Truth of Christ Proved out of the Earthly Promises of the Law* (London, 1668); John Jacob, *Even lero'sh pina: The Jew turned Christian; or, The Corner-Stone: wherein is An assertion of Christ being the true Messiah* (London, 1678/9); John Alexander, *God's Covenant Displayed, by John Alexander, a converted Jew. With a Proœmial Discourse of the Reasons of his Conversion* (London, 1689).
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26. Addison, *The Present State of the Jews*, 225, 232.
27. [Gilbert Burnet], *The Conversion & Persecutions of Eve Cohan, Now called Elizabeth Verboon, A Person of Quality of the Jewish Religion. Who was Baptized the 10th of October 1680. At St. Martins in the Fields, By the Right Reverend Father in God, William, Lord Bishop of St. Asaph* (London, 1680).

The Bombardment of Charleston (1863–65): Union General Quincy Gillmore, the Targeting of Civilians, and the Ethics of Modern War

Christopher A. Mekow

During the early morning hours of 22 August 1863, an artillery shell fired from a 200-pounder Parrot rifle crashed into the city of Charleston, South Carolina. This shot, fired by Union forces on Morris Island located five miles southeast of town, opened a 587 day-long intermittent bombardment campaign. The initial cannonade caused little damage and produced only a few fires, which were quickly extinguished by the local fire companies. As the bombardment dragged on and gained in intensity, however, damage and casualties mounted from the hundreds of shells fired on select days. The first civilian resident of Charleston killed during the so-called “siege,” as reported three months later in *The Charleston Mercury* newspaper, proved to be “an old negro women belonging to a Mr. Lindsay.”¹ This event indicated that no one in the city would be safe from the Union Army’s seemingly indiscriminate shelling. Taken as a whole, the bombardment campaign in the greater Charleston area would reach an intensity hitherto inconceivable by Confederate defenders and local residents. But was there any military legitimacy for firing on this city, the “Cradle of Secession”? By exploring the basic philosophy of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century warfare, and by then comparing the bombardment of Charleston to the sieges of Vicksburg and Petersburg, this study will assess a policy that arguably ran counter to contemporary military doctrine, namely the shelling of civilians in the absence of clear military objectives.

The ethical conduct of sieges according to eighteenth-century military doctrine

To better appreciate the practice of firing shells into a civilian population in 1863, we must first examine the accepted military conventions of the day. A siege by definition involves an assault against a city or fortress with the purpose of capturing it. Christopher Duffy defines a bombardment as a “general cannonade by which the besieger intended to open a fortress by striking directly at the morale of the garrison and townspeople rather than destroying the works.”² His argument, however, presumes that the town in question was itself the fortress, in essence, a walled fortification or castle. According to this perspective, Charleston was not a “fortified” city by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century models, although its harbor was protected by forts and batteries.

Two influential eighteenth-century works codified the “laws” regarding the use of military force against civilian populations. The first was *The Law of Nations* published first in 1758 by the Swiss legal philosopher Emmerich de Vattel. The author examined extensively the rules of war as they related to an enemy or materials belonging to an enemy. To Vattel, the bombardment of a city such as Charleston, though full of “enemies” who did not bear arms, would run counter to the accepted rules of war. He wrote:

Women, children, feeble old men and sick persons, come under the description of enemies; and we have certain rights over them. . . . but these [are] enemies who make no resistance; and consequently we have no right to maltreat their persons, or use any violence against them, much less take away their lives. . . . to destroy a town with bombs and red-hot balls is an extremity to which we do not proceed without cogent reasons.³

The second work was written by G. F. von Martens, a German philosopher of international law, and published in 1789. In the *Summary of the Law of Nations* Martens addresses the siege of a town and observes that “the besiegers ought to direct their artillery against the fortifications only, and not, intentionally, against the public edifices, or any other buildings.”⁴ When the bombardment of Charleston was first reported in the *New York Herald* for northern readers, the account noted that the first shell:

Hit the spire of St. Michael’s church at the corner of Meeting and Broad streets; one burst in the store and warehouses of John Fraser and Co., on East Bay; another at the corner of Broad and Church streets, near the telegraph office; and the fourth struck the bath house.⁵

One could perhaps make a case that the telegraph office could be used for military purposes. None of the other targets mentioned, however, had a military character. According to Vattel’s analysis one could certainly inquire whether there had been a cogent pretext for the bombing of a church or a bathhouse. In addition, Martens’s maxim of directing fire against “fortifications only” was not followed on this and on other occasions. The question could have been formulated thus: Would the destruction of a target like a bathhouse or church have brought the conflict to a quicker conclusion? Vattel’s and Martens’s rules would seem to condemn the Union Army’s tactic of bombarding a civilian target unless this bombardment could have brought an end to the war or even just the fighting around Charleston.

Edward Hagerman observes that military doctrine after the French revolution was influenced by a “cautious and conservative” strategy, which was “more concerned

with codification than with change.”⁶ He notes that Antoine Jomini, a former French officer on Napoleon’s staff, was most responsible for the conservative idea of warfare. Dennis Hart Mahan later taught this doctrine to West Pointers. Cadets like Gillmore, Grant, Sherman, and others heard continuously that maneuver was the key to warfare. More importantly, Jomini preached—through intermediaries such as Mahan—the preferred tactics of attacking vulnerable points with massed assaults or cutting an enemy’s lines of communication and supply. In siege operations, the latter strategem would be crucial. Nonetheless, Jomini’s doctrine of cutting “an opponent’s line of communication” was missing from Union strategy during the siege of Charleston.⁷

The sieges of Vicksburg and Petersburg

Charleston was not the only southern town during the American Civil War to come under attack. On 18 May 1863, the bluff city of Vicksburg, Mississippi, first came under sustained Federal artillery fire and would endure subsequently a forty-seven day siege. Ulysses S. Grant had pushed the Confederate troops commanded by General John C. Pemberton into entrenchments before this important Mississippi River town. Vicksburg was an important target not just on account of the Confederate forces bottled up there, but because seizing control of Vicksburg was part of a much larger Union “grand strategy.” As Kenneth Urquhart concludes, the “conquest of the Mississippi River was an essential facet of Union strategy.”⁸ If the Federals were successful in controlling the entire watercourse, the Confederacy would be cut in two. Vital materials and reinforcements from Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas would be cut off from the Confederate armies in the Western and Eastern theaters. Grant had been pushing the Confederates hard in this region for months, forcing them westward from Jackson to the trenches before Vicksburg. In the meantime, Admiral David Dixon Porter’s Union gunboats had also passed from south to north under Vicksburg’s river guns. Once Pemberton withdrew into the defenses of the city, Grant could assault the Confederates from the east as Union gunboats bombarded the defenders from the west. The Confederates were then caught in a true siege, as escape for them was now very unlikely.

William Foster, a Confederate soldier trapped in Vicksburg, confessed that “here we are shut in by a powerful foe—prisoners.”⁹ In addition, Foster asked himself, “how long will our rations last . . . all hope now is from without.”¹⁰ Soldiers and civilians in Vicksburg would suffer from lack of food and supplies during the bombardment. Grant had surrounded Vicksburg from the landside and was determined, as he wrote in his *Memoirs*, to “out-camp the enemy.”¹¹ The besieged inhabitants had little chance for reinforcements, supplies, or escape.

Nineteenth-century siege operations normally consisted of targeting the enemy's war-making capability to bring the combat to conclusion. Grant at Vicksburg had the enemy surrounded to the east, while Porter's Union gunboats began "targeting fortifications and gun emplacements" from the west.¹² The soldiers and civilians inside besieged Vicksburg now had to compete for the same resources, mainly food, and both slowly starved. The reader should remember that, according to Vattel, the bombardment of civilians is "an extremity to which we do not proceed without cogent reasons."¹³ Therefore Grant, who was targeting the Confederate gun emplacements while preventing resupply or escape for the enemy garrison, carried out the siege of Vicksburg within the accepted military philosophy of the era.

On 18 June 1864, following the bloody battles of the Wilderness, Spotsylvania Court House, North Anna, and Cold Harbor, the same General Grant pushed the Confederates under General Robert E. Lee into the trenches before Petersburg, Virginia. This, one could argue, opened the most important stage of the war. After suffering terrible losses during the campaign, Grant's forces again settled down into siege operations, as had been the case at Vicksburg. The Federal commander recorded plainly in his memoirs that at that juncture, "driving the enemy from Petersburg and Richmond and terminating the contest" had been his goal.¹⁴

Michael Haskew notes that the horrific Union casualties already suffered during Grant's campaign had "changed the character of war in the East."¹⁵ Joseph Cullen agrees, observing that the campaign after Cold Harbor changed "from a war of maneuver to a war of siege."¹⁶ Now, however, with Lee's army entrenched before Petersburg, Grant somewhat altered his strategy of driving enemy troops out of entrenched positions to defeat them in the open field.¹⁷ He also focused on two very important targets within the town, neither of which directly involved the civilians of Petersburg.

Petersburg contained a vital military target other than its Confederate defenders. The town rested just about twenty miles south of Richmond and served as a critical rail hub that supplied both Lee's army and the Confederate capital. "Five railroads converged there and through it passed a current stream of war materials."¹⁸ If these rail lines could be cut and held by Federal troops, Lee's supply lines would vanish. Therefore, by laying siege to Petersburg, Grant's army could defeat the Army of Northern Virginia in two ways, either by direct assault or by depriving the enemy of the necessary supplies. Even Lee himself recognized that the severing of his supply lines would soon lead to defeat and the end of the war.¹⁹ By autumn 1864, because of the siege, both Lee's army and the civilians of Petersburg begin to suffer from "starvation, disease, bitter cold and desertion."²⁰ Although it has been portrayed as a "city under siege," the town itself was not the actual target. Lee's army and its supply lines were.

By the time Lee finally pulled his seriously reduced forces out of the Petersburg trenches and fell back across the Appomattox River on 3 April 1865, Grant had succeeded in eliminating the enemy's supply lines. The latter's ultimate goal was realized six days later when Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia. Moreover, because the siege of Petersburg brought the conflict in this theater to a successful conclusion for the besieger, Vattel's requirement, namely that Grant had "cogent" reasons or a clear purpose for laying siege to this civilian population, had been met.

The Bombardment of Charleston

In April 1863, Federal military forces began "knocking on the door" of the "Cradle of Secession," Charleston, South Carolina. Throughout the war Union strategy in the Charleston military theater included the capture or reduction of Fort Sumter, which was perceived as the keystone to the city. In its first attempt to take the harbor on the afternoon of 7 April 1863, the Federal navy tried to silence the fort. This purely naval attack was, however, a complete disaster for Union forces, and therefore a new strategy would have to be devised.

Brigadier General Quincy Adams Gillmore commanded the Federal army's Department of the South. He was an engineer who had graduated first in his class at the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1849, had served as chief engineer during the siege and capture of Fort Pulaski in April 1862, and was promoted for his service during that operation. By May 1863, Gillmore found himself in Washington discussing military options for the Charleston arena.²¹ He and the War Department resolved first and foremost to continue operations against Fort Sumter. But the larger strategy for the Charleston Harbor consisted of four parts:

First, to make a descent upon and obtain possession of the South end of Morris Island. Second, to lay siege and reduce Fort Wagner . . . situated at the North end of Morris Island. Third, from the position now secured to demolish Fort Sumter and afterwards cooperate with the fleet, when it was ready to move in, by heavy artillery fire. Fourth, the monitors and iron-clads enter . . . run the batteries on James and Sullivan's Islands, and reach the city.²²

Gillmore understood that in the fourth phase the Navy had the responsibility for reaching the city first and without the aid of land forces. His infantry was to make no attempt to take the city of Charleston itself. He would later write that "[A] land attack on Charleston was not even discussed at any of the interviews to which I was invited."²³ Accordingly, if Gillmore were successful in the first three stages of the overall plan, the Navy would be solely responsible for the fourth.

Gillmore launched his first assault against Morris Island on 10 July 1863. Although Union forces gained a foothold on the southern part of the island, Confederates at Battery Wagner thwarted the attempt for complete capture of the island. Gillmore then laid siege to Wagner and attempted another assault on 18 July. This second assault, known today as the “Grand Assault” led by the 54th Massachusetts Colored Infantry, was driven back with heavy casualties suffered by the Union attackers. As the *New York Herald* reported, “a storming party of eleven regiments had a bloody fight around and in the fort, which resulted in our repulse, with heavy loss.”²⁴ Gillmore’s army forces and Admiral John Dahlgren’s Union naval vessels then opened a siege against Battery Wagner and Fort Sumter.

As early as 21 July 1863, Gillmore had decided to construct a long-range battery in the salt-water marsh and pluff mud west of Morris Island to throw shells into the city of Charleston. Gillmore first selected an engineer, Colonel Edward Serrell, to oversee what he called the “marsh battery” project. Initially, when Gillmore asked what would be required to build his marsh battery, Serrell replied, “one hundred men, eighteen feet high, to wade through mud sixteen feet deep.”²⁵ Even though Gillmore soon replaced Serrell, a gun platform capable of housing a 200-pounder Parrot rifle was completed in the marshes. On 22 July, men from the Eleventh Maine Infantry under the command of Lieutenant Charles Sellmer volunteered to man the battery and departed for Charleston from their base in Fernandina, Florida. These two dates (21 and 22 July 1863) are significant in this study, as they suggest that Gillmore apparently contemplated shelling civilians immediately after his 18 July defeat at Battery Wagner.

As the “marsh battery” project continued, Federal rifled guns on Morris Island reduced Sumter to rubble during what is characterized today as the “first great Bombardment of Sumter.” Confederate engineer John Johnson reported that

for seven days the breaching batteries of General Gillmore were served vigorously against the fort. Their ponderous missiles, thrown with great precision of aim . . . had well-nigh done their work of destroying the strong artillery post.²⁶

According to Gillmore’s own report, Federal guns fired an amazing 5,009 total shells at the Confederate fort during the seven-day shelling of Fort Sumter.²⁷ The Confederates responded to this massive bombardment by moving the heavier caliber guns out of harm’s way and remounting them in other batteries around the harbor. Gillmore noticed this activity and later complained bitterly that “the weakness of the enemy’s interior defences was most palpably apparent. . . . success could have easily been achieved by the fleet.”²⁸ Gillmore’s growing frustration with the Union naval forces and their commander, John Dahlgren, was becoming steadily more apparent.

Gillmore subsequently complained often of the navy's refusal to fulfill its role in the overall Union strategy in seizing the city and its harbor. As noted earlier, the navy was to "run the batteries of James and Sullivan's Islands and reach the city."²⁹ By August 1863, he had effectively removed Fort Sumter as an artillery post, but, although he continued to besiege Battery Wagner, he was no closer to capturing the rest of Morris Island than he had been in July. Gillmore had come to believe that the navy, by refusing to enter the harbor and begin operations to capture the city, was not holding up its end of the bargain.

Gillmore's frustration with the Confederates and his own ineffective navy was exacerbated by the losses he had suffered during the two failed assaults on Battery Wagner and by mounting casualties from sickness on Morris Island. Gillmore later recalled that he had reported to the War Department that "[T]he unexpected reduction of my effective force by sickness, was, at the time I wrote, quite alarming."³⁰ The combination of these factors resulted in the issuance of a letter, or rather an ultimatum, to General P. G. T. Beauregard, the Confederate commander in Charleston.

At 6:45 P.M. on 21 August 1863 a letter from the Union lines made its way under a flag of truce to the Confederates stationed at Battery Wagner. This communication from Gillmore demanded that General Beauregard remove his Confederate forces from Fort Sumter and Battery Wagner within four hours, or else Federal artillery would begin bombarding the city of Charleston itself. Beauregard was absent inspecting fortifications when Gillmore's note arrived at his headquarters in Charleston at around 10:45 P.M. Once in possession of this unprecedented note, however, the Confederate general questioned its authenticity, as Gillmore had sent the message unsigned. As Beauregard recounted three days later in *The Charleston Mercury*, "this communication, to my address, without signature, was of course returned" immediately.³¹ By the time the note had made its way back to Gillmore for a signature, however, the Union general decided that he had given the enemy ample warning and began firing shells into the town.

Thus, the bombardment of Charleston began that morning of 22 August 1863. Yet the circumstances surrounding this event differed greatly from the sieges of Vicksburg and Petersburg. Unlike the two siege operations discussed earlier, Charleston was not a city besieged, but rather a city suffering an indiscriminate bombardment. British journalist Frank Vizetelli was in Charleston as the bombardment began and wrote the following for the *London Illustrated News*:

It was now that, foiled at all points, and smarting under his many failures, the Federal general was guilty of that barbarity which has disgraced him as a soldier. Unable to capture the forts in his immediate front, he

intimated that unless they were surrendered, he would turn the most powerful guns upon the city.³²

Gillmore directed fire not at a military target but rather at the civilian population. The soldiers of the Eleventh Maine Infantry manning the siege gun, now called the "Swamp Angel," were ordered to take the bearings of the steeple of St. Michael's Church to aim their weapon at the city. Even at Vicksburg, a city that had come under siege because of the Union strategic goal to control the entire Mississippi River, the Union guns had aimed solely at military targets. During the siege of Petersburg Grant would target Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, not civilians. In Charleston, however, Gillmore's bombardment strategy seemed to have contravened a recognized restraint on war conduct.

Beauregard immediately sent a message to Gillmore requesting the cessation of the indiscriminate shelling of civilians:

It would appear, sir, that, despairing of reducing these works, you now resort to the novel measure of turning your guns against old men, the women and children, and the hospitals of a sleeping city; an act of inexcusable barbarity . . . [that] will give you a bad eminence in history.³³

The shelling of Charleston had begun after Gillmore's unsuccessful demand for the immediate surrender of Fort Sumter and Battery Wagner. As the local papers reported, Beauregard now asked why the Union general had not demanded more: "why did you not also include the works on Sullivan's and James Islands—nay, even the city of Charleston?"³⁴ In effect, Beauregard insinuated that Gillmore had demanded the evacuation of a military post that was not even physically connected with the target subsequently shelled. This charge was echoed by the local Charleston press, as *The Charleston Mercury* asked, "can a city be shelled when a fort not contiguous to it, will not surrender?"³⁵ In addition, arguably legitimate military targets within the city itself were not threatened in the least.

Not only were Gillmore's actions questionable on these grounds, but the general himself left documented evidence of his motives for the bombardment. Just days after the shelling began, Fort Sumter ceased to be a viable defensive artillery position for the Confederates due to the pounding it had received from Gillmore's rifled guns. Furthermore, by 7 September 1863, the Confederate defenders of Battery Wagner abandoned their position and Morris Island altogether, leaving the Federals in control there. Even with these military successes, however, Gillmore continued to bombard the city. In a congratulatory letter to his troops Gillmore observed:

You now hold in undisputed possession of the whole of Morris Island and the city and harbor of Charleston lie at the mercy of your artillery from the very spot where the first shot was fired at your country's flag and the rebellion itself was inaugurated.³⁶

Gillmore's words reveal a man intent on retribution. Could there have been any other reason for the continued bombardment? In other words, was Charleston's importance as a manufacturing town—with iron works, munitions plants, and wharves—enough to make it a legitimate target? Did the presence of Confederate troops and the scattered locations of military-industrial sites in the city warrant indiscriminate shelling? One could argue that the indiscriminate nature of the bombardment made such questions irrelevant; its true purpose was not the destruction of the limited war-making capabilities of Charleston's industries, but the need to secure the surrender of Fort Sumter and Battery Wagner. In any event, since these fortifications that protected the harbor were not "contiguous" to the city itself, Charleston was not a true "fortified city." Thus, the nature of Gillmore's bombardment strategy ran contrary to Martens's philosophy of directing "artillery against fortifications only."³⁷ The general had ordered the shelling of other targets to achieve success against fortifications.

With the exception of September, Gillmore ordered continuous bombardment of Charleston throughout the fall of 1863. As Confederate Major Henry Brown's report stated, the destruction from the shelling was minimal with regard to military targets:

The general result has been the injury of a large number of dwellings and stores, and many banks, public halls, churches &c. The casualties have been remarkably few and fallen almost entirely upon civilians.³⁸

In fact, five civilians were killed in the bombardment from 23 August to 31 December 1863. Included in this number was a Mr. Knighton on Christmas Day, "A man eighty-three years old, right leg shot off, below the knee."³⁹ He certainly was not a legitimate target for the bombardment of a city allegedly undertaken for "cogent" reasons. Such results are proof enough that civilians were definitely Gillmore's targets. Ironically, it was the Union general who had initially notified Beauregard early in the bombardment that the Confederate leader would be responsible "if the life of a single non-combatant is exposed to peril," especially as the Confederates "held all its approaches."⁴⁰

Needless to say, in the end, Gillmore's operations against Charleston had no effect on the outcome of the war or even the local theater. Union forces had captured

Morris Island by 7 September 1863, but they were never able to advance any farther into the harbor or closer to Charleston. The Confederate defenses in the harbor and on the islands kept Union forces at bay almost until the end of the war. The bombardment of the city continued until the Confederate forces evacuated Charleston on 17 February 1865. The only reason for this abandonment was the capture of Columbia, South Carolina, by General William T. Sherman, which effectively cut the supply lines for Charleston's defenders. Sherman knew he did not have to go to Charleston to seize it; he needed only to isolate the enemy garrison there. The only military benefit Gillmore's operations had for the Union's war effort was that they forced the Confederacy to keep a garrison in Charleston to man its defenses. That being said, we now know that Charleston's Confederate forces were stretched alarmingly thin, so much so that the local militia, made up of boys and old men, was patrolling the streets of the city.

So what was the purpose of Gillmore's bombardment? The Union Army had not surrounded the citizens of Charleston to prevent their escape or to interdict reinforcements and supplies, as was the case in Vicksburg. The bombardment of Charleston was unlike that of Petersburg, where Federals under Grant were targeting not civilians, but the Confederate military machine and its re-supply capabilities. By contrast, Charleston was cannonaded for a different reason. Even though he had reduced Fort Sumter to rubble, Gillmore's high casualty rates on Morris Island and his frustration with the inaction of Dahlgren and Union naval forces led him to introduce a new type of "modern" warfare on Charleston. Nevertheless, Gillmore's warfare style differed fundamentally from Sherman's subsequent destructive campaign through Georgia and South Carolina. It is generally accepted that the latter "took the war" to the Confederate civilian population in a manner that earned him fame or infamy as a pioneer of "total war." But during the "March to the Sea" Sherman always operated, as far as his issued orders were concerned, within accepted contemporary rules of war.⁴¹ Gillmore, on the other hand, deliberately targeted civilians without a "cogent" or clear military objective and thus appeared to act contrary to the accepted military practices of the day.

These conclusions both indicate a larger context and suggest further lines of inquiry regarding the "total war" aspects of the Union's military campaigns in Georgia and the Carolinas during the final years of this conflict. Was there an explicit, conscious, and shared understanding among leading and lesser Union commanders—like Sherman and Gillmore—to implement new strategies and tactics within or beyond the traditional "rules" of war-making that would inflict suffering, intentional or not, on the civilian population? How, if at all, did the Lincoln administration participate in the

formulation of these new strategies and tactics? Seen from this perspective, the bombardment of Charleston's civilians is but a single aspect—albeit a not unimportant one—in the larger development of “total war” doctrine in the modern age.

ENDNOTES

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2. Christopher Duffy, *Fire and Stone: The Science of Fortress Warfare, 1660–1860* (London: David and Charles, 1975), 98.
3. Emmerich de Vattel, *The Law of Nations; or Principles of the Law of Nature Applied to the Conduct and Affairs of Nations and Sovereigns* (Philadelphia: P.H. Nicklen, 1835), 351, 369.
4. G.F. von Martens, *Summary of the Law of Nations: Being the Science of Natural Law, Covenants, Power &c. Founded upon the Treaties and Customs of Modern Nations in Europe*, 4th ed. (London: William Corbett, 1829), 302.
5. “Charleston and its Vicinity,” *New York Herald*, 21 September 1863 [available online] (Malvern, PA: Accessible Archives, accessed November 2002), www.accessiblearchives.com.
6. Edward Hagerman, *The American Civil War and the Origins of Modern Warfare: Ideas, Organization and Field Command* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 3.
7. *Ibid.*, 4. Another work on the close connection between Vattel and American military doctrine during the American Civil War is Mark Grimsley, *The Hard Hand of War: Union Military Policy Toward Southern Civilians, 1861–1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 214, who states “The laws, and usages of war, under which Civil War commanders operated . . . were redolent in Vattel’s *Law of Nations*.” For discussions of Jomini’s influence on military doctrine at West Point and during the Civil War see Russell F. Weigley, *The American Way of War: A History of United States Military Strategy and Policy* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1973), 82; Gary Gallagher, “Upon their Success Hang Momentous Interests: Generals,” in Gabor S. Boritt, ed., *Why the Confederacy Lost* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 86; and T. Harry Williams, “The Military Leadership of North and South,” in David Donald, ed., *Why the North Won the Civil War* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996), 42.
8. Kenneth T. Urquhart, ed., *Vicksburg: Southern City Under Siege* (New Orleans: Historic, 1980), xiv.
9. *Ibid.*, 20.
10. *Ibid.*, 41.
11. Ulysses S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant* (New York: Dover, 1995), 210.
12. Phillip A.B. Leonard, “Forty-Seven Days,” *Civil War Times Illustrated* 39 (2000), 43.
13. Vattel, *The Law of Nations*, 369.
14. Grant, *Personal Memoirs*, 410.
15. Michael E. Haskew, “The Siege of Petersburg,” *Military History* 12, no. 10 (1995), 46.
16. Joseph P. Cullen, “The Siege of Petersburg,” *Civil War Times Illustrated*, 9, no. 5 (1970), 5. It is estimated today that Union forces suffered almost 50,000 dead, wounded and captured by the

time the Confederates entrenched themselves before Petersburg. Consequently, Grant began to receive severe criticism in northern newspapers for his deadly tactics.

17. Regarding Grant's former approach see Noah Andre Trudeau, *The Last Citadel: Petersburg, Virginia June 1864–April 1865* (Boston: Little, 1991), 30.

18. Cullen, "The Siege," 7.

19. Cullen, loc. cit.

20. Haskew, "The Siege," 52.

21. Mark Mayo Boatner, *The Civil War Dictionary* (New York: Vintage, 1988), 343.

22. *Ibid.*, 16–17.

23. *Ibid.*, 13.

24. "Important from Charleston," *New York Herald*, 27 July 1863 [available online] (Malvern, PA: Accessible Archives, accessed November 2002), www.accessiblearchives.com.

25. *The Story of One Regiment: The Eleventh Maine Infantry Volunteers in the War of the Rebellion* (New York: Little, 1896), 138.

26. John Johnson, *The Defense of Charleston Harbor, Including Fort Sumter and the Adjacent Islands, 1863–1865* (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), 133.

27. Quincy Adams Gillmore, *Engineer and Artillery Operations against the Defenses of Charleston Harbor in 1863* (New York: Nostrand, 1865), 64.

28. *Ibid.*, 64. According to Engineer John Johnson, Confederate forces began removing Fort Sumter's guns after Union forces landed on Morris Island. He also notes that Beauregard ordered the removal of the remaining guns after the first "great bombardment" and that this task was accomplished by engineer John F. Matthews. See John Johnson, *The Defense of Charleston Harbor, Including Fort Sumter and the Adjacent Islands, 1863–1865* (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), 108, 139. For a report on Matthews's work see *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, vol. 28, part 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895), 617–18. Although there is a myth that the guns in Sumter were buried under the rubble and not uncovered until the 1950s by the National Park Service, only three guns from the Confederate defense of the fort were actually found during excavations; see William Luckett, "Completion Report of Construction Project Excavation," *Fort Sumter Excavations, 1951–1959* (Government Printing Office: Washington, 1959), no page numbers.

29. *Ibid.*, 17.

30. *Ibid.*, 55.

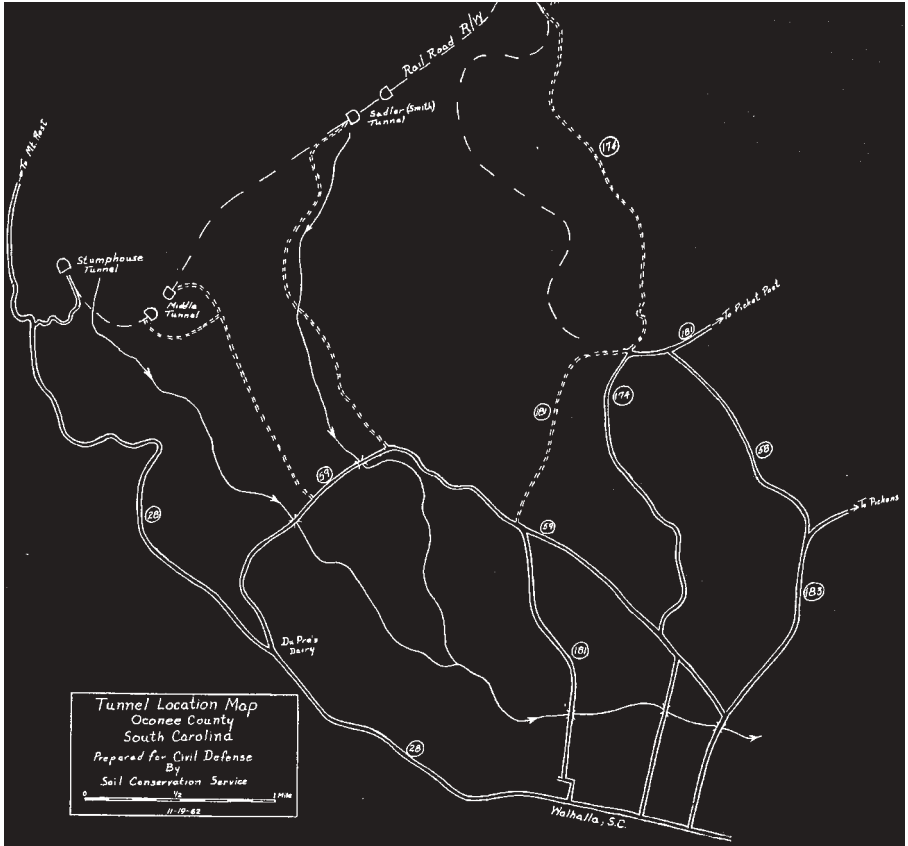
31. "General Gillmore's Demand for the Evacuation of Morris Island and Fort Sumter," *The Charleston Mercury*, 24 August 1863 [available online] (Malvern, PA: Accessible Archives, accessed November 2002), www.accessiblearchives.com.

32. Frank Vizetelli, "When Charleston was under Fire," *New Age Magazine* 15, no. 3 (1911): 344.

33. *The Charleston Mercury*, 24 August 1863 [available online] (Malvern, PA: Accessible Archives, accessed November 2002), www.accessiblearchives.com.

34. *Ibid.*

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35. *Ibid.*, 28 August 1863 [available online] (Malvern, PA: Accessible Archives, accessed November 2002), www.accessiblearchives.com.
36. Quincy A. Gillmore, "General Orders," in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, vol. 28, part 2 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895), 94.
37. Martens, *Summary of the Law of Nations*, 302.
38. Henry Bryan, "Report of Major Henry Bryan, Assistant Inspector-General, C.S. Army," 6 January 1864, in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, vol. 28, part 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895), 682–83.
39. Alfred Rhett, "Reports of Colonel Alfred Rhett, 1 January 1864," in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, vol. 28, part 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895), 684–85.
40. Quincy A. Gillmore, "Generals' Papers and Books," National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C., Record Group 94, Entry 159, 22 August 1863. Today it is difficult to ascertain the total number of civilian casualties resulting from the bombardment. The *Charleston Daily Courier* did report periodically on Charleston civilians killed or wounded by shelling; see the front pages of the following issues: 28 December 1863, 21 January 1864, 3 February 1864, 4 February 1864, 5 March 1864, 2 June 1864, 4 June 1864, 16 June 1864, and p. 2 of 12 January 1865.
41. John Bennett Walters, "General William T. Sherman and Total War," *The Journal of Southern History* 14, no. 4 (November, 1948), 475.



Tunnel Hill: An Irish Mining Community in the Western Carolinas

Jim Haughey

Between 1853 and 1859, an Irish immigrant community lived and worked in a village called Tunnel Hill situated atop Stumphouse Mountain in Western South Carolina. Nestled into the Eastern slope of the Southern Appalachians, the village lay about five miles north of the German settlement town of Walhalla. What brought these Irish immigrants to this remote area was the task of constructing a series of railroad tunnels that would form part of an ambitious scheme to link the port city of Charleston with the midwest.¹ Plans for completing this project had been on the drawing table since the mid-1830s, but it was not until the early 1850s that serious steps were taken to lay a railroad track across the southern Blue Ridge.

The South Carolina legislature issued a construction permit in December 1852 to the Blue Ridge Railroad Company which was charged with the task of connecting the existing railhead in Anderson, South Carolina, (about thirty-five miles southeast of Tunnel Hill) with Knoxville, Tennessee.² From 1854 to 1859, work on the tunnels made steady progress, but sadly, the project was never completed. As general rumblings over states' rights intensified, the South Carolina legislature refused to allocate further funds to the scheme, and by the end of 1859, all work on the tunnels ceased.

While the construction of the tunnels has been documented in considerable detail, little is known about the Irish miners who built them.³ Most sources estimate that close to fifteen hundred people lived in Tunnel Hill, but when we think of the Irish Diaspora in America, the northwest corner of South Carolina hardly springs to mind. So how did these Irish immigrants end up there? What was life like in their mountain town? What sort of relationship did they have with the local citizenry and what became of them after work on the tunnels was abandoned?

We do know that most of the Irish miners arrived in South Carolina from northern states, most likely New York where the firm initially contracted to construct the tunnels (Anson Bangs & Company) "advertised for 3,000 hands . . . the majority of whom turned out to be Irish immigrants . . . from the north."⁴ By the 1850s, Irish immigrants migrating south usually traveled by ship from New York to Charleston and Savannah.⁵ Most were seasonal workers who fled the severity of northern winters when employment opportunities were few only to return north again before summer temperatures in the south reached their customary humid extremes.⁶ The fact that

these transient workers also feared contracting fevers associated with the south's near tropical climate is borne out in an annual report to the stockholders of the Blue Ridge Railroad, where it was noted that a large number of Irish "operatives" were being assembled but that the "delay in procuring them at [sic] the North" was due to the "apprehension of fever in coming South."⁷

Another source lends credence to the claim that the Irish miners mostly likely came from New York. In a letter written by Rev. Michael Creedon from Auburn, New York, to Bishop Lynch of the Archdiocese of Charleston in November 1858, Creedon made inquiries about a young Irish laborer in Tunnel Hill who had been sentenced to death for murder. Worried about the young man's spiritual welfare, Creedon asked that a priest be sent to provide the condemned "with the consolation of our holy religion in his last sad struggle." Creedon also mentioned the laborer's mother, family and friends who "are too poor to go so far" to visit the jail where the young man awaited execution.⁸ No doubt such family fragmentation was all too common as many Irish immigrants left relatives in the north to seek work further south.

Ascertaining what part of Ireland the miners came from, however, becomes an exercise in speculation. An analysis of the surnames mentioned in newspaper reports, court documents and in the town of Walhalla's 1860 census sheds little light, as places of original domicile are simply listed as "Ireland."⁹ Furthermore, many of these surnames are so widespread throughout Ireland that they cannot be associated exclusively with one province or county. Keeping the limitations of such patronymic analysis in mind, the only conclusion to be drawn is that most of the miners' surnames appear to be of southwest Ulster, northwest Leinster and Munster origin.¹⁰

Migrant Irish laborers in the southern states were not organized and had little time or resources to establish churches.¹¹ So the Catholic church in South Carolina made an effort to provide them with a place to worship. The priests given the task of establishing an up-country mission on the site soon discovered how difficult life was on Tunnel Hill, an irony presumably not lost on many of the Irish, who had fled their famine-ravaged country for the promise of the new world.¹²

The Irish were chiefly responsible for drilling and blasting a tunnel through Stumphouse Mountain's thickly stratified blue granite and with the construction of a series of heavy cuts through a number of lateral ridges leading up to the tunnel's eastern portal. Portals were opened on both sides of the mountain to expedite the digging, and four vertical shafts were sunk to the tunnel floor to provide ventilation and enable the miners to drill at ten different rock faces simultaneously.

The work was backbreaking and dangerous, and contemporary visitors to Stumphouse Tunnel compared it to a Dantean "lower region" "steaming with sulfu-

ric odor.”¹³ Given the hazards, fatalities were inevitable. It is not known for sure how many miners died during the digging of Stumphouse Tunnel, but contemporary reports in the *Keowee Courier* provide insight into the dangers encountered. One miner, Henry Kelly, fell into the shaft where he was operating a bucket. In falling, he collided with another miner, James Collins, who was “ascending at the same time,” and both men plunged to their deaths.¹⁴ Two other miners fell to their deaths at shaft number four.¹⁵

As the largely non-friable granite required little shoring, cave-ins were rare, though the *Courier* did report that John Hughes and Hugh Raney were crushed by falling “portions of the fixture and earth at the top of shaft number 3.”¹⁶ In a later incident, William Humphreys and Francis McTiernan were “scalded to death” and four others badly burned by a burst of steam when the stopcock on one of the hoisting engines suddenly ruptured.¹⁷

Living conditions were, at best, primitive. Contemporary observers mentioned the constant noise of drilling and blasting around the clock.¹⁸ Air quality was impaired by the plumes of smoke and dust circulated by the wood-burning steam engines, the blacksmith forges and the powder mill.¹⁹

In a letter to Bishop Lynch, the Rev. J. J. O’Connell, one of the mission priests sent to minister to the miners, noted the austerity of the community’s living conditions: “I have just returned from the up-country mission where I have had a pretty rugged time. The cold was excessive and I suffer from chills all the time.”²⁰ Practically all the dwellings were flimsy wooden frame structures that provided little shelter from the elements. While miners with families lived in primitive cabins, unmarried miners often lodged in boarding shanties provided by other railroad workers and their families.²¹

When they got sick, the miners depended on the charity of local physicians, but there also appears to have been some effort made by the Blue Ridge Railroad Company to provide an infirmary. In a visit to Tunnel Hill in April 1854, a young doctor from Tylersville, South Carolina, noted that

There is a considerable collection of people there and accidents occurring weekly but the majority of them can leave whenever they please, and never pay a cent for practice or any thing else. They have been speaking of deducting a certain amount from each one’s wages, and letting it go to the building of a hospital and the defraying the expense of physician and nurses without any additional charge. There is [sic] about 200 cabbins [sic] put up, two stores, and two very good hotels.²²

There is no evidence that such a hospital was ever built.

Most of what we know about the Irish miners comes from O'Connell's book *Catholicity in the Carolinas and Georgia* (1879), which contains a short chapter recounting his experiences as a circuit-riding priest ministering to the Catholic community in Tunnel Hill. Born in County Cork, Ireland, in November 1821, O'Connell arrived in America at age nineteen. He entered seminary and was ordained in 1844.²³ Working alongside his brother Lawrence, who was also a missionary priest, O'Connell was sent to South Carolina where he opened a school in Columbia for day and boarding students in 1855.²⁴ It was then that O'Connell served as the priest for the Catholic community in Tunnel Hill.²⁵

His regular contact with the Irish miners gave O'Connell the opportunity to comment on their dialect. Historians researching the lives of much larger Irish mining communities in the Pennsylvania coal fields have noted that many recently arrived Irish immigrants could barely speak English, preferring instead to converse in their native Gaelic.²⁶ In a passing reference to one Irish family, O'Connell noted that the children spoke "the Irish language, which is the vernacular tongue of the household" and recited the rosary in a "pure Kerry dialect."²⁷

As a missionary priest, O'Connell's priority was to establish the Catholic faith in the area so the church could become "once more a power in the country as it was in days gone by," an odd claim considering that before the arrival of the Irish workers there had been no significant Catholic presence in this region.²⁸ Nevertheless, presented with a ready-made congregation, O'Connell quickly established Tunnel Hill as the "headquarters of all the up-country missions."²⁹ In 1858, a simple frame church dedicated to St. Patrick and an adjoining priest's home were built, a school established, and a teacher hired to educate the miners' children.³⁰ To combat the miners' taste for what O'Connell called "ardent spirits," the St. Patrick's Temperance Society was formed, weekly meetings were held, and before the year ended, most of the hardened drinkers were, according to O'Connell, "changed to pious and exemplary Christians."³¹

Prior to O'Connell's arrival, alcohol abuse had been a problem in Tunnel Hill as there were numerous saloons in the village. But after a visit to the area in August 1859, reporters for the *Keowee Courier* noted that "perfect order" reigned there due to a "temperance organization existing amongst the Irish."³² So determined was O'Connell to stamp out alcoholism and violence that he even extracted a pledge "from the contractors to dismiss from the work any one who violated his pledge or who encouraged a faction fight."³³ By 1859, the once brawling mining community had apparently been transformed, and "the wilderness [now] blossomed like a rose."³⁴

According to O'Connell, the area around Tunnel Hill was a veritable wilderness. He could barely conceal his contempt for the local mountaineers, portraying them as a rag tag mob chiefly shod in "Adam's leather."³⁵ Noting their various de-

grees of decrepitude, he remarked on how many hobbled around “on walking-canes” or crutches, victims of widespread rheumatism caused by poorly constructed dwellings that were ventilated by every “passing gale.”³⁶ He distinguished the natives from the Irish not only because they were poor physical specimens but because of their alleged indolence. The local men, he noted, appeared content with a “rifle, a peck of meal, and a dog for the chase.”³⁷

Tensions between the Irish and the local inhabitants occasionally boiled over.³⁸ The *Courier* reported incidents where the people of Tunnel Hill complained of abusive transients. The paper described as them as “worthless and drunken, and who live, vampire-like, by preying upon the ignorant and unsuspecting.”³⁹ Apart from the occasional family disputes among the Irish, O’Connell, predictably, attributed antipathies between the Irish and the locals to anti-Catholic sentiment in the area.⁴⁰ He also claimed, perhaps more accurately, that any local ill will toward the Irish was because they “were believed to have usurped all the remunerative labor to the detriment of those who, from their habitation, seemed to possess a better claim.”⁴¹ Sometimes, however, his racial hubris got the better of him. He claimed the Irish “are the most humane, kind, and Christian people now living.”⁴² And, he declared, they were brought in to work on the tunnels because they were quite simply better workers, the natives being only good for wood chopping and teamstering.⁴³

As noted earlier, O’Connell had encountered anti-Catholic bigotry in South Carolina before. In a letter to Rev. Dr. Lynch (the future Bishop of Charleston) in April 1855, he accused other churches in Columbia in whipping up anti-Catholic hysteria:

Every Sunday the pulpits of the city assail us in the same manner and the worst passions of the human heart are stirred up. A crowd of armed men have [sic] come to our study room to make threats on a flimsy pretext which is not worth being mentioned. The Sisters have also been insulted by the leaders of the same band of strange men. . . . I have today received confidential intelligence through a Know Nothing channel and I forgot to mention that the Know-Nothings are banded against us and that they are numerous, which we believe to be the fact—that one stone of the St. Mary’s College will not be left upon another and that assassination will take place.”⁴⁴

Real or imagined, O’Connell’s fears were ultimately confirmed when he was forced to close the school to protect the college’s one hundred students.⁴⁵

Given his prior experience with anti-Catholic sentiment, O’Connell’s determination to establish a Catholic community in the up-country can be traced to the

Catholic church's prevailing fear that isolated Catholics may fall prey to the ministrations of other denominations. In December 1855, the Archbishop of Baltimore, Reverend Kenrick, wrote to Rev. Dr. Lynch to express his concern that without Catholic religious instruction, Catholic children may be "educated under Protestant influences." He also warned against "mixed marriages" as the "death of a pious parent places children wholly in the hands of Protestants."⁴⁶

In August 1858 tensions between the Irish and the locals eventually turned violent while O'Connell's brother, Lawrence, was officiating at a mass in the sanctuary of St. Patrick's church. According to O'Connell, a mob, some who had come from as far away as Georgia, attacked the chapel, apparently to kill the priest. The congregation pursued the assailants, and the ringleader of the gang, a man called Smith, was killed in the subsequent brawl. The two killers "fled to Tennessee" despite carrying out what O'Connell described as a "justifiable but unnecessary homicide."⁴⁷

Three men were subsequently tried for murder at Pickens County Courthouse. During sentencing, O'Connell claimed that the presiding judge (Belton O'Neill) took great pleasure in condemning the convicted to death by hanging, going so far as to advise the men to forgo their prayer books for Bibles in the time left to them.⁴⁸ O'Connell initiated a letter-writing campaign to some of the states' most influential jurists and appealed to Governor Robert Alston who, though courteous, "deemed it necessary to make an example [of the men] for the protection of good morals and the interests of society."⁴⁹ Only after Judge O'Neill reconsidered the legality of the men's convictions (and personally appealed to the governor to intercede) were their sentences overturned, and all three eventually served out a "nominal" sentence of three weeks imprisonment.⁵⁰

The *Courier* provided a different account of Smith's murder. According to the paper, John Smith was a laborer from Georgia who got involved in drunken brawl in one of the Hill's saloons. Firearms were discharged, and Smith was "knocked down with a rock" and then "killed by a pistol shot." After his "badly mangled" body was discovered, a number of Irishmen were arrested as "accessories," and the subsequent inquest ruled that Smith was "willfully killed by some two or three Irishmen, aided by some ten or fifteen others."⁵¹

General Sessions records from the Pickens County Courthouse for the fall term 1858 also shed some light on the case. On 19 October 1858, about two months after the killing, fifteen Irishmen were initially charged with Smith's murder. Three days later, on 22 October, two men (Thomas Gorvan and John Campbell) were convicted of murder and three others of manslaughter (James McEanny, Thomas Canarin, and Barney McCulleen/McCullian/Quilligan—the *Pickens County Sessions*

Journal records three variants of this surname). At the conclusion of the trial, Judge O'Neill directed that Gorvan and Campbell

be taken hence to the place from which they last came and there be Closely [and] securely confined untill [sic] Friday the 31st day of December next on which day between the hours of 10 in the forenoon and 2 in the afternoon let the Prisoners Gorvan & Campbell be taken by the Sheriff to the place of Public Execution and there be hanged by the neck till their bodies be Dead and may God have mercy on their Souls. ⁵²

The three convicted on the lesser charge of manslaughter were also sentenced: McEanny received ten months jail time, while Canarin and McCullian were sentenced to a year in jail and ordered to pay a \$100 fine. On 23 October, charges against the other miners were dropped, and the defendants were subsequently released.⁵³

O'Connell's account of the commutation of the indicted murderers' death sentences also conflicts with the newspaper's report. The 18 December 1858 edition of the *Courier* recorded that Governor Alston had "commuted the punishment of John Campbell and Thomas McGorvan" to "one year's imprisonment and the payment of a fine of \$100 cash." (Court documents and other sources list McGorvan's last name as "McGowan," "Gorran," "Gorwin," and "Gorvan."⁵⁴) The reason for the governor's decision was, according to the paper, the "many mitigating circumstances" surrounding the case.⁵⁵

The murder of Smith appears to have been an isolated case of open hostility between the Irish and the local citizenry. Besides the occasional saloon brawl, none of the existing records report any other incidents that led to widespread bloodshed or death. No doubt tensions between the Irish and the local inhabitants were largely due to latent sectarianism and competition for employment. As for the Rev. J. J. O'Connell and the *Courier's* conflicting accounts of the murder and convictions, O'Connell's ethnic and religious partisanship partly explain why he would provide an account more favorable to the Irish community. As his book reveals, O'Connell was possessively paternalistic toward the Irish miners and their families. He took great pride in his work at Tunnel Hill and, understandably, would have been eager to believe that the killing was the result of a planned assault on the church by outside troublemakers rather than a barroom brawl turned deadly.

Despite the commutation of the Irish miners' sentences, 1859 brought little cheer for those working on the Blue Ridge Railroad. While progress on Stumphouse Tunnel continued until the end of the year, many workers along the line were laid off, and the *Courier* reported that "foreign" laborers were "breaking off in every direction, bawling, in their mother tongue, their almost penniless and truly pitiable

condition.”⁵⁶ Even though a few Irish families did settle in the area, it is not completely clear what happened to the vast majority of them when they left Tunnel Hill.

O’Connell claimed some of the Irish scattered as far as California and Canada.⁵⁷ In a letter to Bishop Lynch in June 1861, he corroborated the claim made elsewhere that some of the miners probably enlisted in the Confederate Army: “There is nothing new on the mission,” he wrote: “Everything is pretty much the same, only a little worse for the great bulk of the Irish Catholics have volunteered and gone to Virginia.”⁵⁸ It also appears that some families looked for work in outlying districts. Father Lawrence O’Connell wrote to Bishop Lynch asking for help with some “very indigent Catholic families [who] have located themselves here and there in the Districts of Pickens, Anderson and Greenville.”⁵⁹ He attributed the scattering of these families to the “discontinuation of the Blue Ridge R.R.” and said that because they are “very poor . . . they cannot, by any possible exertion on their part, defray the expenses of a priest’s visit.”⁶⁰

While there may be several theories to explain what happened to the Irish community, one thing is certain: after the tunnel was abandoned, Tunnel Hill quickly became a ghost town. During the Civil War, the church was vandalized by Confederate outliers who tore most of it and the other remaining structures up for firewood.⁶¹ The Reverend O’Connell did return to the area intermittently with the intent of reestablishing a Catholic presence in the Walhalla area. Writing from Abbeville in July 1868, he predicted, Walhalla will, in the course of time, be the largest town in the up-country . . . especially as the work on the Blue Ridge Railroad is to be resumed.” In the same letter, he expressed his objective “to set to work and . . . [establish] a church within a reasonable time.”⁶² But in the fall of 1870, he said his last mass to a small gathering there. Shortly thereafter, in a letter to the Bishop written from White Water Falls, he noted the beauty of the area. He also noted that he had lodged with some Irish “consisting of nine or ten grown people”⁶³ in the Tunnel Hill area, even though he earlier claimed to have found only one Catholic still residing “among the natives.”⁶⁴

Except for a neglected cemetery, nothing remains today of Tunnel Hill. Of the three tunnels, Middle and Saddle are now almost completely filled in while Stumphouse Tunnel’s western portal is submerged under a recreational lake. Perhaps this is a lasting reminder of the inevitable obsolescence of most human attempts to transcend nature. For many years, the eastern portal of Stumphouse Tunnel was a local tourist attraction until rockslides forced its closure in 1995. After some additional shoring and clearing of debris, the tunnel was reopened and rededicated in April 2000.

Apart from the tunnels, the only other sign that an Irish mining community once flourished on Stumphouse Mountain is the cemetery that O’Connell consecrated sometime in 1858. It is not known how many people are interred there. In his own words, O’Connell

“found it expedient to open a burying-ground during the work, to prevent the survivors from transporting the remains of the dead the entire distance to Columbia.”⁶⁵

In his description of the graveyard, O’Connell claimed, “There is not on the continent another resting-place for the dead that can rival this one in all its surroundings Chateaubriand’s Tomb on the coast of Brittany, fade[s] into insignificance in the comparison.” As he warmed to his subject, the superlatives flowed: “Nature adorns the graves of the humble dead with a gorgeous pageantry unrivalled by Eastern kings, and the solitude is broken only by the splash of silvery waters rushing down the rugged sides of the superb mausoleum.”⁶⁶

The old priest’s euphemistic descriptions hide the grim reality of this necropolis. Instead of headstones, rough-hewn granite slabs quarried from the nearby tunnel mark the graves. Most of these slabs lie buried under generations of leafy sediment and a thin canopy of loblolly pine, stunted oaks, and honeysuckle. The few that are visible bear no inscription.

Not far from the cemetery, electric power lines descend the hill toward the tunnel below, flanked on either side by a scrub forest that has reclaimed the bare slopes where the village of Tunnel Hill once stood. Like many other immigrants who came to these shores in search of better lives, the Tunnel Hill Irish discovered that their history of struggle had followed them and that this great continent guaranteed them nothing more than what their eager resourcefulness and hunger for opportunity could offer.

ENDNOTES

1. Lowell W. Ross, “The Blue Ridge Railroad (A Dream that went Awry),” (n. p.), 2000.
2. Ibid.
3. Irish workers were involved in the construction of three tunnels north of Walhalla. Stumphouse Tunnel was to be the longest at 5,862 feet. The other two tunnels, Middle and Saddle, were much smaller, measuring 425 and 475 feet. For more detailed accounts of how the tunnels were constructed, see Charles Reid and Marguerite Brennecke’s *Persons, Places and Happenings in Old Walhalla* (Walhalla, SC: Walhalla Historical Society, n.d.); Betty L. Plisco’s *The Rocky Road to Nowhere: A History of the Blue Ridge Railroad in South Carolina* (Salem, SC: Blue Granite Books, 2002); and George Benet Shealy’s *Walhalla: A German Settlement in Upstate South Carolina* (Seneca, SC: Blue Ridge Art Association, 1990).
4. *The Blue Ridge Railroad Historical Trail* (n.p.) Pendleton Historical Society Archive, n.d.
5. David Gleeson, “The Irish in the South.” Ph.D. diss., Mississippi State University Press, 1997. 38.
6. Ibid.
7. Henry Gourdin, *In Equity, In the Circuit Court of the United States for the Sixth Circuit Northern District*

of Georgia: The Blue Ridge Railroad Company Ads. Anson Bangs and Company. A Statement of the Defendant's Case (Charleston, SC: Walker, Evans, and Co, 1857), 6.

8. Rev. Michael Creedon to Bishop Lynch. 15 November 1858. Charleston Diocesan Archives, no. 23 G2.
9. *Pickens District South Carolina 1860 Census: 2nd and 5th Regiment (now Oconee and Pickens Counties)*, ed. Linda G. Cheek (n.p.), 1995.
10. For more on the regional origins of Irish surnames, see Edward MacLysaght's *The Surnames of Ireland* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1969).
11. David Gleeson, *The Irish in the South* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 38.
12. Apart from some correspondence in the Diocesan Archives in Charleston, no church records relating to Tunnel Hill appear to have survived. One possible repository for the papers of the priests who ministered to the Irish miners would have been St. Peter's Catholic church in Columbia, but it was burned to the ground during the Union Army's punitive visitation to the state capital in 1865. The priest who was in charge of up-country Catholic missions at Tunnel Hill, the Rev. J. J. O'Connell, lost whatever personal records he may have kept in a fire that destroyed his cottage on the grounds of Belmont Abbey a few years before his death in 1894.
13. *Keowee Courier*, 30 May 1857. See the *Keowee (SC) Courier 1849-1851, 1857-1861 and 1865-1868*, ed. Colleen Morse Elliott (Easley, SC: Southern Historical Press, 1979).
14. *Ibid.*, 26 December 1857.
15. *Ibid.*, 30 January 1858.
16. *Ibid.*, 16 April 1859.
17. *Ibid.*, 5 November 1859. The bodies of these men were removed to Columbia for burial where "a tombstone in St. Peter's Churchyard, erected by the 'St. Patrick's Temperance Society,' commemorates them." See Richard Madden's *Catholics in South Carolina: A Record* (Lanham, Md: University Press of America, 1985), 72-73. The *Keowee Courier* reported the death of two miners in this incident, but according to Madden, a third miner called William Costello also perished. Many of the sources consulted for this paper feature inconsistent and in some cases erroneous spellings of the Irish miners' surnames. In this instance, the *Courier* reported that the names of the two miners who died were Humphreys and McTiernan while Madden records their names as Humphries and McKiernan.
18. Plisco, *The Rocky Road to Nowhere*, 43.
19. *Ibid.*
20. Rev. J. J. O'Connell to Bishop Lynch. 2 March 1858. Charleston Diocesan Archives, no. 10 W5.
21. Rev. J. J. O'Connell, *Catholicity in the Carolinas and Georgia* (New York: Sadlier, 1879), 341. O'Connell's book is the only existing eyewitness account of life on Tunnel Hill. Teeming with grandiloquent expressions, highly adorned rhetoric, and at times speculative social analysis, the book is peppered with self-congratulatory references to the pious work that was achieved there.
22. J. T. Craig to N. E. Craig, April 17 1854. N. E. Craig Papers, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, no. 10587.
23. Rev. Paschal Baumstein, *My Lord of Belmont: A Biography of Leo Haid*. (Independence, Mo: Herald House, 1985), 26.
24. *Ibid.*, 27.

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25. *Ibid.*, 23.
 26. Kevin Kenny, *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 36–38.
 27. O’Connell, *Catholicity*, 354.
 28. *Ibid.*, 339.
 29. *Ibid.*, 342.
 30. *Ibid.*
 31. *Ibid.*
 32. *Keowee Courier*, 13 August 1859.
 33. O’Connell, *Catholicity*, 342.
 34. *Ibid.*, 343.
 35. *Ibid.*, 354.
 36. *Ibid.*, 355.
 37. Brawling between Irish and native railroad workers appears to have been quite common. John Glass, who was employed as an auditor for the railroad being built between Macon and Savannah during the 1850s, observed such hostilities on more than one occasion. In a letter written in March 1851, he described a “melee” where the “shillalah [sic] of the Irish was used with powerful force on the heads of some of the natives, whilst here and there, an Irishman was stretched out at full length in the sand.” See J. G. Glass to P.B. Glass, 10 March 1851, Glass Family Papers, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, no. 9200. Later Glass noted that “picnics” were often the occasion for “plenty of bloodletting.” In November 1851, he said his job was made “exceedingly unpleasant” by the “quarrels and fighting between the natives and Irish (which ended in the infliction of severe blows and ghastly wounds among and by each other . . .).” See J. G. Glass to P. B. Glass, 6 November 1851, Glass Family Papers, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, no. 42.
 38. O’Connell, *Catholicity*, 353.
 39. *Keowee Courier*, 21 August 1858.
 40. O’Connell, *Catholicity*, 348.
 41. *Ibid.*, 349.
 42. *Ibid.*, 345.
 43. *Ibid.*
 44. Rev. J. J. O’Connell to Rev. Dr. Lynch, 1 April 1855, Charleston Diocesan Archives, no. 9 A6. The Know-Nothings were a quasi-political party that briefly flourished during the mid- to late 1850s. Pro-slavery and anti-immigration, they were especially hostile toward Catholics. Their odd name was derived from the response (“I know nothing”) that their members were instructed to give when questioned or interrogated.
 45. Madden, *Catholics*, 71.
 46. Archbishop Kenrick to Rev. Dr. Lynch, December 9 1855. Charleston Diocesan Archives, no. 9K.
 47. O’Connell, *Catholicity*, 346.
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48. *Ibid.* O'Connell's claims that Judge O'Neill slandered the Irishmen's religion were echoed in *The Walhalla Banner's* (27 October 1858) account of the trial. The paper reported that the judge advised the convicted miners to "read the Bible" for "their priests could not save them." The *Catholic Miscellany* condemned the judge's remarks and accused him of turning "the Judicial Branch of South Carolina into a sectarian pulpit." In a subsequent letter to the *Miscellany*, Edmund Bellinger, an eminent Catholic lawyer from Columbia, defended Judge O'Neill and claimed that the *Walhalla Banner's* report of the judge's remarks was "entirely erroneous." Despite the fact that Bellinger was not present at the trial, Dr. Corcoran, the editor of the *Miscellany*, accepted his account of what the judge purportedly said and asked for the judge's forgiveness "for having judged and condemned him on the misrepresentation of others." (See Madden 1985, preliminary draft notes for *Catholics in South Carolina: A Record*, Charleston Diocesan Archives.)

49. O'Connell, *Catholicity*, 347.

50. *Ibid.*

51. *Keowee Courier*, 21 August 1858.

52. *Pickens County Sessions Journal 1857-1885*. Ed. Elizabeth B. Gantt. (Pickens, SC: The Historical Records Survey, 1939), 36-41.

53. *Ibid.*

54. Again, the miners' surnames feature some quite creative spelling in the documents consulted for this article. In the aforementioned letter by Rev. Creedon to Bishop Lynch, he notes the name of the young man convicted of murder as Thomas McGovern (not "McGorvan," "McGowan," "Gorran," "Gorvan," or "Gorwin"). The letter also illustrates the difficulty Irish immigrants had in keeping in contact with their relatives, for Father Creedon complains that he can find "no mention of the place [Tunnel Hill], nor of priest, church nor station" in the *Catholic Almanac*.

55. *Keowee Courier*, 18 December 1858.

56. *Ibid.*, 8 January 1859.

57. O'Connell, *Catholicity*, 350.

58. Rev. J. J. O'Connell to Bishop Lynch, June 24 1861. Charleston Diocesan Archives, no. 26 E6.

59. *Ibid.*, September 4 1860. Charleston Diocesan Archives, no. 25 R4.

60. *Ibid.*

61. Madden, *Catholicism*, 93.

62. Rev. J. J. O'Connell to Bishop Lynch, 12 July 1868. Charleston Diocesan Archives, no. 44 K4. Records of the 1868 Voter Registration for Pickens and Oconee counties reveal the names of only three men whose original domicile is listed as Ireland. See *Oconee and Pickens Counties, SC: 1868 Voter Registration* (Pendleton Chapter of the South Carolina Genealogical Society, with an introduction by Peggy Burton Rich and Frederick C. Holder, n. p.) 1990.

63. Rev. J. J. O'Connell to Bishop Lynch, 24 September 1870. Charleston Diocesan Archives, no. 48 R2.

64. O'Connell, *Catholicity*, 354.

65. *Ibid.*, 351.

66. *Ibid.*

The Blinding of Isaac Woodard

Andrew Myers

In 1946, a Batesburg police officer used a blackjack to maim the eyes of an Army sergeant who had recently returned from the Second World War. The incident was neither the only one involving an African-American veteran nor the most gruesome. It differed in that its effects rippled beyond South Carolina, across the nation, and around the world. It served to undermine American efforts in the Cold War. It started President Harry Truman on a path leading to his order to integrate the armed forces, and it helped motivate Judge Waties T. Waring to reshape state politics. It even contributed to the *Brown* decision. This paper will trace those connections and explain why the blinding of Isaac Woodard resonated so widely.

While war raged overseas, South Carolinians during the 1940s waged a fierce battle at home over voting rights. Over half a century of efforts by whites to keep blacks from casting ballots had left only three thousand African Americans registered statewide at the start of the decade.¹ Groups working to increase this number included the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Negro Citizens Committee—both headed by James Hinton—and the Progressive Democratic Party led by John McCray, who edited the *Lighthouse & Informer* newspaper.

Signing up voters was only part of their battle. The overwhelming dominance of the South Carolina Democrats meant that this party's nominees usually won the general elections. African Americans—even registered ones—were not allowed to participate in the primaries that determined those candidates. This practice effectively disfranchised them. Some blacks countered by trying to revitalize the then-moribund Republican Party. Others fought from within. In 1944, McCray's Progressive Democrats attempted to unseat the white delegation at the Democratic National Convention. That same year the Supreme Court struck down the exclusion of blacks from the Texas primary in *Smith v. Allwright*. Both races in South Carolina paid close attention to this case. The Negro Citizens' Committee contributed \$500 to the plaintiffs.² Within a week of the ruling, whites in the state legislature passed over a hundred bills designed to circumvent it by transforming the Democratic Party into a private organization.

Thousands of African-American veterans came back to this situation as the United States began demobilizing in 1945. Many were only passing through South

Carolina after debarking at Atlantic ports. Others were coming home. Most had experienced racism in the military, but combat and overseas duty emboldened many of them to demand full citizenship. They chafed at segregated buses and trains. They resented harassment from white policemen who had not gone to war. Some celebrated their homecoming with strong drink. White service people drank, too, but they did not have Jim Crow as a mixer. The presence of even a few inebriated African Americans gave South Carolina law enforcement authorities an excuse to respond—whether for valid reasons or from prejudice—with force.

With and without alcohol, the number of racial incidents rose sharply across the state during late 1945 and early 1946. Near Charleston in October, several allegedly intoxicated passengers attacked a white conductor aboard a train carrying over a hundred African-American soldiers. In November, a white Johnsonville police officer killed a veteran who refused to answer questions. In December, three or four black soldiers threatened to shoot up a bus in Columbia. That same month, Darlington police arrested two soldiers for being drunk and disorderly on a bus. One of the servicemen had to sell his watch to escape the chain gang. A near riot occurred when black soldiers debarked a troop train at Florence and brandished souvenir weapons through the city streets. Military police intervened, but not until after a civilian policeman shot and wounded a soldier who had used a washroom designated for whites. In February, a black soldier who refused to move to the back of a bus and then cursed the driver suffered a broken jaw at the hands of whites from Fort Jackson.³

Such was the environment to which Technical Sergeant Isaac Woodard, Jr. arrived in early 1946. The lanky twenty-seven-year-old had survived fifteen months in the Pacific. He had not fought on the front lines—few blacks were allowed to serve in the combat arms—but as a longshoreman. He nevertheless had earned a battle star for unloading ships in New Guinea. He received his discharge at Camp (now Fort) Gordon, Georgia, on 12 February.

The soldier boarded a Greyhound bus that evening headed for Winnsboro, which had been home to his family for several generations. Woodard was born there in 1919. He attended grade school for five years. At age fifteen, he moved to North Carolina, where during the Great Depression he joined the Civilian Conservation Corps. He returned to his birthplace in 1940 and found a job working at a lumberyard. He was married in 1942. That same year he was drafted. After undergoing induction at Fort Jackson, Woodard left South Carolina for basic training in Georgia and service overseas.⁴ He would never see his native state in the daylight again.

Exactly what happened on the bus remains unclear. Night had fallen, and the vehicle contained a mixture of civilian travelers and soldiers. Some of the latter raised

eyebrows by talking together in integrated groups. A bottle of whiskey apparently passed hands, but nobody knows exactly who imbibed. The driver, A. C. Blackwell of Columbia, claimed he saw Woodard drinking, heard him swearing, and said the disruption offended a white female passenger. Woodard denied consuming any alcohol, and several witnesses testified to his sobriety. All agreed, however, that he attracted the driver's ire after he asked if he had time to empty his bladder during a stop. Blackwell said Woodard made the request in a vulgar manner by asking to "take a piss."⁵

"Boy, go on back and sit down and keep quiet and don't be talking out so loud," the driver testified he had answered.⁶ Woodard's response reveals how military service had reinforced his sense of masculinity, leading him to challenge the custom allowing whites to address black adults diminutively. "God damn it, talk to me like I'm talking to you. I'm a man just like you," he testified he had said.⁷

When the bus stopped at Batesburg, Blackwell asked the soldier to step off and talk with two lawmen, Chief Lynwood Shull and Officer Elliot Long. Woodard testified that one of the policemen struck him when he tried to tell his side. A soldier sitting on the bus supported this account. Shull said he had only shaken a blackjack at Woodard because he would not be quiet, used profanity, and reeked of alcohol. According to the chief, the soldier created enough of a disturbance outside the bus to warrant arrest regardless of what had occurred inside. Shull led Woodard away by the arm. Long stayed behind to question a white soldier.

All parties agreed that the blinding occurred after the pair rounded a corner out of sight of the bus. Whether by accident or intent, Shull twisted his prisoner's arm. The chief said his attention was diverted when he looked back to see if Long was following. Woodard said he angered Shull by answering "Yes" instead of "Yes, sir" to a question. He also admitted that he "lit into" the chief and tried to take away the blackjack.⁸ In fact, he claimed to have successfully removed it only to have Long arrive with a gun. Shull never denied hitting Woodard; instead he claimed self-defense. Exactly how many blows he struck is unknown, but the force of one or more of them ruptured both eyeballs. After gaining the upper hand, Shull took the soldier to jail.

Woodard had difficulty seeing when he awoke the next morning although the police claimed he could walk without assistance. Rather than take him for treatment, they hauled him before the magistrate, who charged him with drunk and disorderly conduct. Woodard pled guilty and was fined \$50. He had only \$44 in cash, so the judge took the available money and suspended the remainder. The police escorted Woodard back to his cell where they attempted first aid with a hot towel and nonprescription eye drops. His condition did not improve, and at some point a physician examined him. Later during the day, apparently on the doctor's advice, the

police drove him to the veterans' hospital in Columbia. Woodard underwent treatment for two months. He emerged completely sightless in April.

What would he do for the rest of his life? How would he earn a living? Woodard had only five years of schooling, and his work experience was limited to manual labor that required vision. His wife apparently saw little hope or future. She obtained a separation from him in May. By this time, Woodard had already moved to the Bronx in New York where his parents lived. In late April, he sought assistance from the local chapter of the NAACP.

The national organization, which was headquartered nearby, quickly became involved. Executive Secretary Walter White sent Woodard's affidavit to Secretary of War Robert Patterson on 6 May. Patterson responded a month later that the Army could not act because Woodard was technically a civilian when the incident occurred. He suggested applying for a pension through the Veterans Administration. Patterson also sent the affidavit to South Carolina Governor Ransome Williams. In addition to writing the War Department, White asked James Hinton in Columbia to obtain more information about what had happened. Hinton contacted John McCray, who began investigating. The task was easy. Woodard erroneously thought he had been blinded not in Batesburg, but in the nearby town of Aiken.

The story meanwhile attracted minor attention in newspapers as far away as India. Whether or not an NAACP public relations effort provoked is unknown. McCray said he broke the story in the *Lighthouse & Informer*, but the edition in question is not extant.⁹ *The Daily Worker* claimed its 13 July issue was the first to cover Woodard. Regardless of how the story emerged, it became a focus for New York City newspapers and radio stations by mid-month.

The news spread even further at the end of July when, at the behest of Walter White, Orson Welles began broadcasting the first of several programs about the blinding on his American Broadcasting Company radio news show. Welles had harsh criticism for the police, but relying upon Woodard's affidavit, he misidentified them as being from Aiken rather than Batesburg. Municipal leaders in Aiken were taken aback at the accusations. They promptly banned films by Welles from town theaters and threatened to sue ABC. As a result, stories about Woodard began appearing in South Carolina and Georgia newspapers as well as the *New York Times* and the national black press.

The publicity drew forth an eyewitness, a veteran named Lincoln Miller, who confirmed that police had taken Woodard off the bus at Batesburg. Once identified as the lawman in question, Shull had no qualms about describing his role. "I hit him across the front of the head," he said. "He attempted to take away my blackjack. I grabbed it away from him and cracked him across the head."¹⁰

Support for Woodard intensified. The VA granted him a monthly pension of fifty dollars. Forty national organizations met in New York City on 8 August to discuss courses of action to stop violence against black veterans. The NAACP encouraged state conferences and local branches to send telegrams to President Truman, Secretary of War Patterson, and Army Chief of Staff General Omar Bradley. A group of celebrities including the mayor of New York, boxer Joe Louis, and actor Paul Robeson arranged a benefit for Woodard. Folk singer Woody Guthrie composed a new song for the occasion, *The Blinding of Isaac Woodard*, and performed it for the 20,000 people who attended the show on 18 August.

So great was the national outcry that back in South Carolina the *Columbia Record* encouraged Governor Williams to investigate the treatment of Woodard with the same vigor the state had shown when the false charges had been leveled at Aiken. "Permanent blindness is a terrible price to pay for being drunk," its editor wrote on 22 August.¹¹ Williams declined to act.

In September, the NAACP began making plans for Woodard to speak before audiences across the country. The tour would raise money for a trust fund and increase awareness of the dangers facing veterans. The Batesburg incident was one of several in the South to gain notoriety during 1946. During late February, armed blacks in Columbia, Tennessee, fought off a lynch mob who wanted to kill an ex-sailor. On 14 July, a group of whites in Monroe, Georgia, shot to death Army veteran George Dorsey as well as his wife, sister, and brother-in-law. On 8 August in Minden, Louisiana, a mob tortured to death former soldier John C. Jones with a blowtorch and meat cleaver.¹² News of these atrocities circled the globe to places like France and the Soviet Union.¹³ The revelations stood in stark contrast to the ongoing trials at Nuremberg, where the United States and its allies were prosecuting Nazis for crimes against humanity.

Not surprisingly, September marked the beginning of greater involvement by the federal government. Part of the impetus came from the upcoming November elections, but part came from the genuine outrage of President Truman. On 20 September, after a meeting earlier with Walter White, he wrote to Attorney General Tom Clark: "I had as callers yesterday some members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and they told me about an incident which happened in South Carolina where a negro [sic] Sergeant who had been discharged from the Army just three hours, was taken off the bus and not only seriously beaten but his eyes deliberately put out." Truman told Clark to act.¹⁴

Clark assigned the Federal Bureau of Investigation to the case. Director J. Edgar Hoover himself sent a letter to White, and agents took Woodard's statement. They also interviewed Shull and Long. On 26 September, Clark announced the federal

government would prosecute Shull for violating Woodard's constitutional right "not to be beaten and tortured by persons exercising the authority to arrest" and "not to be subjected to different punishments, pains, and penalties by reason of his race or color."¹⁵ United States Attorney Claud N. Sapp filed the charges at the federal court in Columbia, which had jurisdiction over Batesburg. The judge who normally would have presided over the trial, George Bell Timmerman, Sr. knew Shull personally, so the case went to J. Waties Waring.

Although Shull's trial was scheduled for 5 November, the Justice Department made little preparation. According to Franklin Williams—Woodard's NAACP lawyer—neither Sapp nor the other prosecuting attorney "seemed to be familiar with the detailed facts of the case."¹⁶ Indeed, Sapp requested a continuance a few days before the trial was to begin. Waring suspected the case against Shull was part of a ploy to win black votes and that the Truman administration would drop the charges if the trial were delayed beyond Election Day. The judge refused to cooperate even though he had long been a Democrat. He gave the attorney general a choice of dropping the charges immediately or letting the trial take place as planned. "I do not believe that this poor blinded creature should be a football in the contest between box office and ballot box," he wrote at the time.¹⁷

The trial began with Woodard as the chief prosecution witness. After he told his story, two doctors from the veterans' hospital and one from Batesburg described the eye injuries. The latter undermined the case against Shull by testifying that a single blow could indeed have caused blindness. His presence also contradicted Woodard's statement under cross-examination that a physician had not treated him in Batesburg. The government rested its case without calling the other witnesses who claimed Woodard was sober or who saw Shull strike the soldier at the bus stop. Sapp planned to use these testimonies during rebuttal.

Although the driver gave an unflattering description of Woodard, Shull's lawyers made what happened on the streets of Batesburg the crux of their argument. According to them, Woodard's vulgarity and refusal to obey Shull's instructions to be quiet provided sufficient grounds for arrest. Moreover, Woodard's attempts to take away the blackjack justified the level of force. Shull admitted he used the weapon and that "I could even have stuck my fingers in his eyes."¹⁸ He expressed regret that Woodard lost his sight. Long weakened the case by contradicting an earlier statement he had given to the FBI, but two witnesses from the Batesburg courtroom, including the magistrate who had presided, provided damning evidence. They said Woodard had pled guilty to being drunk and disorderly. The defense concluded by calling three character witnesses, one a black preacher from Batesburg.

The prosecution's rebuttal witnesses did little to help Woodard. They had been sitting inside the bus, and defense lawyers had made events outside the central issue. Clearly, the U.S. attorneys presented a weak case. Sapp even mispronounced Woodard's name in his opening statement to the jury, and he ended his closing argument by apologetically telling the jury he was only doing his job.

The defense attorneys built a persuasive argument that Shull had not violated Woodard's constitutional rights. They were not content to rest on reason, however. They laced their closing statement with raw appeals to racism. Woodard was a member of the "inferior race." Worse, he lived in New York. "That's not the talk of a sober nigger from South Carolina," one of the lawyers said. If the all-white jury convicted Shull, they warned, the police would no longer be able to protect their (white) wives and children. If siding against federal government prosecutors meant the state should secede from the Union as it did in 1860, then it should do so again.¹⁹ The jury took twenty-five minutes to deliver a verdict of "not guilty" to the cheers of spectators. The twelve would have returned sooner, but Waring, sensing the outcome, decided to take a twenty-minute walk.²⁰ Woodard wept through what remained of his shattered eyes.

The case continued to attract attention for another year. The National Negro Congress included Shull's acquittal in the body of evidence of American racial injustices it presented in a petition to the United Nations. A California woman offered to donate one of her eyes. A convict facing execution in New York tried to give both of his. Woodard completed his national tour with the NAACP, giving speeches from October to December at eighteen mass meetings. Approximately seventeen thousand people attended the rallies, and they donated \$12,248.03. The NAACP used the money to establish a trust fund, which provided a monthly salary of \$29.40 for Woodard to go with the \$50 he received from the VA.

The NAACP also helped him file a \$50,000 civil lawsuit against the Atlantic Greyhound Corporation of West Virginia, which owned and operated the bus on which the incident began. The trial was held in that state during November 1947. Most of the principal witnesses testified, including Woodard, Shull, and Blackwell. The defendants went so far as to obtain a deposition from the white woman who allegedly had been offended. She and her husband, an army officer, had moved to the Philippines. The jury of eleven whites and one black deliberated for over five hours before returning a verdict in favor of the company.

Woodard, facing a lifetime of blindness, considered opening a restaurant or newsstand. In March 1947, he went to the Avon School for the Blind in Connecticut to learn basic survival skills like reading Braille. He lived the rest of his life in the obscurity of the Bronx.²¹ His death on 23 September 1992 received little or no publicity. Nevertheless, his case

reverberated long after he faded from public consciousness, most notably in the subsequent careers of Harry Truman and J. Waties Waring.

The president retained the prejudices of a Missouri upbringing and was known to make occasional racist remarks, but he also had served in the First World War. The mistreatment of veterans like Woodard violated both his sense of fairness and the sense of brotherhood forged by combat. Truman said in a 1948 letter to a member of his old artillery outfit: "When a Mayor and a City Marshal can take a negro Sergeant off a bus in South Carolina, beat him up and put out one of his eyes, and nothing is done about it by the State Authorities, something is radically wrong with the system."²²

In December 1946, the president appointed a commission on civil rights. The group submitted its findings the next year in a report called *To Secure These Rights*. Its recommendation that segregation end in the armed forces became the foundation for Executive Order 9981. Ironically, one of the first Army posts to integrate under the order would be Fort Jackson. The findings of the commission also echoed through the state during the 1948 election. Opposition to Truman's civil rights position helped to spur a third-party movement by then-Governor J. Strom Thurmond, who would later lead the state into the Republican fold.

Like Truman, Judge J. Waties Waring had an effect on politics that can be traced to the Woodard case. He made an unlikely crusader. A Charleston native, the judge had an ancestry that stretched back to the seventeenth century in a city where such distinctions mattered. He attended the College of Charleston, married a woman of prestigious lineage, established a law practice, and became ensconced in the local elite. As a lawyer during World War I, Waring had defended the leasing of a recreation area to the army on the condition that only whites could use it. His racial views had become more moderate by the 1940s. He shocked Thurgood Marshall in 1943 by giving equitable treatment to black public school teachers who had sued for equal pay. Nevertheless, the judge believed that integration should not take place abruptly. He said in a 1945 letter: "I really believe that we liberal minded southerners may be able to eventually cure this situation . . . by moderate, gradual and understanding action."²³

Waring's advocacy of civil rights became much more strident after the Woodard case. He ended the segregation of spectators and unequal treatment of black jurors in his courtroom. He began reading books like Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma*. Some critics claim that Waring's later rulings also stemmed from a desire to punish white elites for snubbing his second wife. The judge in 1944 had callously divorced his first spouse, ejected her from her ancestral home, and hastily remarried a northerner with liberal political views. The new couple withdrew from Charleston society. Regardless of whether or not she was ostracized, Mrs. Waring did play a part

in her husband's transformation. She attended the Woodard trial and wept at the verdict. She grew more interested in civil rights and read Myrdal aloud at nights.

The change in Waring became apparent six months later when he presided over the *Elmore v. Rice* lawsuit filed by blacks wanting to participate in the primary. He based his decision for the plaintiffs on constitutional grounds, but the language of his ruling had clear connections to Woodard. In it Waring quoted a speech in which President Truman—now also awakened to violence against veterans—argued that racism hurt foreign relations and that gradual change was no longer an option. The judge concluded by rebutting the closing argument of Lynwood Shull's lawyer: "It is time for South Carolina to rejoin the Union."²⁴ This choice of words, as much as the case's substance, made *Elmore v. Rice* a milestone in state history.

The state's Democrats nevertheless refused to concede. In May 1948, the state organization changed the rules for registering. Blacks could vote, but only if they swore an oath to uphold segregation. The NAACP sued in *Brown v. Baskin*. Waring overturned the requirement. The judge would eventually require armed sentries outside his home, but his upending of South Carolina tradition had only begun. In 1948, a group of parents in Clarendon County petitioned for their district to provide buses for black children. Although African Americans made up seventy-five percent of this county's population, only the whites had transportation. With the help of Thurgood Marshall and James Hinton, the parents sued for equal facilities. Waring rejected the initial plea and advised them to argue directly against the idea of segregation. This lawsuit, *Briggs v. Elliot*, went before a panel of three judges, who decided against the plaintiffs in 1951 by a vote of two to one. Waring cast the opposing vote. In his dissent, he became the first federal jurist to argue explicitly against the "separate but equal" doctrine set forth in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. The Clarendon lawsuit eventually became one of the cases subsumed under *Brown*.

Truly, the blinding of Isaac Woodard had long-term ramifications that unintentionally shaped South Carolina, the United States, and the world. Several factors propelled it from being a local incident to becoming one of national consequence. Perhaps most notably, Woodard left the South after his release from the hospital. Moving to New York City gave him the safety to speak out and placed him closer to the NAACP national headquarters, widely read newspapers like *The New York Times*, and the major radio networks. Timing and circumstance played a role, too. Although Woodard suffered his injuries in February, word did not spread until July, just before news began to break about the murders in Georgia and Louisiana. The misidentification of Aiken rather than Batesburg—first by Woodard and then by Welles—attracted further press attention.

That Woodard survived his encounter is also significant. Unlike George Dorsey and John Jones, he could go on tour and make speeches. This ability was particularly important in an era where radio, not television, ruled the airwaves. For the people who attended the benefit and went to the mass meetings, Woodard put a face on a nation's shame. Indeed, the treatment accorded many black veterans became a source of international embarrassment for the United States. The incidents made Americans—who championed liberty and condemned Nazi racism—look like hypocrites.

That the incident took place during an election year did not hurt Woodard's cause either. President Truman felt pressure to act. Organizations like the NAACP used the outrage to mobilize voters. These efforts did not bear immediate fruit, but they set the stage for 1948. Truman was a political creature, but to argue he acted simply for electoral gain would be to sell him short as a person and miss what ultimately connects local events like the Woodard case to the larger course of history—individuals. Both Truman and Waring were compelled at a personal level to reconsider racism. From the tragic blinding of one human being came the opening of a nation's eyes.

ENDNOTES

1. I. A. Newby, *Black Carolinians* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1973), 281.
2. Newby, *Black Carolinians*, 237.
3. Racial Annex to the Weekly Intelligence Summary, Fourth Service Command, National Archives and Records Administration, RG 319. These reports are filed chronologically in boxes stored in the NARA's classified section. John McCray mentions the Johnsonville incident in "The Isaac Woodard Story," McCray Papers, South Caroliniana, University of South Carolina.
4. Personal information about Woodard comes from the following documents: "Separation Qualification Record" (Reel 29, Frames 231–32), "Enlisted Record and Report of Separation Honorable Discharge" (Reel 29, Frame 178), and Woodard testimony (Reel 30, Frames 121–33), NAACP Papers. The originals are located at the Library of Congress. All notes refer to the microfilm edition *Papers of the NAACP*, Part 8, Series B (Frederick, Maryland: University Publications of America, 1988), Reels 28–30.
5. Blackwell testimony, 1947, NAACP Papers, Reel 30, Frame 240.
6. Blackwell testimony, 1947, NAACP Papers, Reel 30, Frame 246. Blackwell's 1947 testimony varied slightly from statements attributed to him in 1946. He apparently threatened to leave Woodard behind. His use of "boy" to address Woodard stayed consistent.
7. Woodard testimony, 1947, NAACP Papers, Reel 30, Frame 125.
8. Woodard testimony, 1947, NAACP Papers, Reel 30, Frame 127.
9. "The Isaac Woodard Story," McCray Papers. No complete collection of the *Lighthouse & Informer* exists because McCray sold the paper's morgue for scrap when it went bankrupt in the 1950s. The South Caroliniana has scattered issues, scrapbook clippings, and microfilm of originals preserved

in Belgium. Army intelligence agents read the paper regularly and quoted large excerpts in their reports.

10. *New York Times*, 18 August 1946.
11. *Columbia Record*, 22 August 1946.
12. John Egerton, *Speak Now Against the Day* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 366–70.
13. *Le Monde*, 31 July 1946; Captain D. Mochalin, “In the Armed Forces of the Bourgeois Nations: The Status of the Negro in the United States Army,” declassified, translated U.S. intercept of Soviet Army document, 1949, Combined Arms Research Library, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.
14. Letter from Truman to Clark, 20 September 1946, Harry S. Truman Library, quoted in Michael Gardner, *Harry Truman and Civil Rights* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 2002), 16–17.
15. Department of Justice, Press Release, “Statement Regarding the Filing of Charges Against Lynwood Lanier Shull,” 26 September 1946, quoted in Gardner, *Truman*, 17–18.
16. Memorandum to Marshall from Williams, NAACP Papers, Reel 29, Frame 1001.
17. Draft order by Waring (never filed) dropping charges against Shull, Waring Papers, Moorland-Springarn Research Center, Howard University, quoted in Tinsley Yarbrough, *A Passion for Justice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 50.
18. *Lighthouse & Informer* clipping, 6 February 1946, McCray Papers.
19. Memorandum to Marshall from Williams, NAACP Papers, Reel 29, Frame 1006.
20. Yarbrough, *Justice*, 52.
21. At this writing, Woodard’s son is under contract with a filmmaker and cannot divulge details about his father. George Woodard, telephone conversation with author, 27 January 2003.
22. Letter from Truman to Ernest Roberts, 18 August 1948, quoted in Robert H. Ferrell, ed., *Off the Record: The Private Papers of Harry S. Truman* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), 146–47.
23. Waring to J. Heyward Gibbes, 12 June 1945, Waring Papers, quoted in Yarbrough, *Justice*, 46.
24. *Elmore v. Rice*, quoted in Yarbrough, *Justice*, 64.

Singing to Kingdom Come: Hymnbooks of the Southern Methodist Nation, 1844–1860

Susan A. Welsch

In 1844, the issue of slavery split the Methodist Episcopal Church between North and South.¹ To provide their new church with an outlet for their evangelical mission, a platform for responding to critics of their pro-slavery stance, and some revenue, the Southern Methodists published a series of three hymnbooks between 1847 and 1860. A glimpse at representative hymn texts and at the circumstances of their publication and use gives insights into the religious and political views of the Southern Methodist leadership, the aesthetic values of church members and the surrounding culture, and a few economic aspects of the North-South rift in the late antebellum period.

Some recurring themes in evangelical hymnody are: the acceptance of Christ as Savior, identification with a righteous community beset by foes, a determination to announce Christ's kingdom to the world despite opposition, and confidence that a heavenly reward awaits. Charles Wesley, brother of John Wesley, wrote over six thousand five hundred hymns on these themes for all aspects and seasons of the Christian life. These hymns, the core of subsequent Methodist hymnbooks, inspired many imitators.² When dissident southern ministers met in 1845 to form the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, they sang a hymn incorporating themes and images from Charles Wesley. "Our souls by love together knit" was soon to be part of the new Southern Methodist hymnbook.

Our souls by love together knit,
Cemented, mix'd in one,
One hope, one heart, one mind, one voice,
'Tis heaven on earth begun.
Our hearts have burn'd while Jesus spoke,
And glow'd with sacred fire,
He stopp'd, and talk'd, and fed, and bless'd,
And fill'd th' enlarged desire.
We're soldiers fighting for our God,
Let trembling cowards fly;
We'll stand unshaken, firm, and fix'd,
With Christ to live and die.
Let devils rage, and hell assail,
We'll fight our passage through;
Let foes unite, and friends desert,
We'll seize the crown in view.

The little cloud increases still,
The heavens are big with rain;
We wait to catch the teeming shower,
And all its moisture drain:
A rill, a stream, a torrent flows,
But pour the mighty flood;
O sweep the nations, shake the earth,
Till all proclaim thee God!
And when thou mak'st thy jewels up,
And sett'st thy starry crown,—
When all thy sparkling gems shall shine,
Proclaim'd by thee thine own,—
May we, a little band of love,
We sinners, saved by grace,
From glory into glory changed,
Behold thee face to face.³

Early Methodist liturgical practice emphasized the importance of the hymn text over the melody, or tune, as it was known. The hymnbook contained only texts, with the meter (number of syllables per line) of each hymn text listed at the head of each hymn. During the service the minister read out the verses; then a clerk led the entire congregation in singing the hymn to a tune that everyone in the congregation knew with a meter matching the text.⁴ The entire congregation, rather than a choir, sang the tune from memory, without instrumental accompaniment. The tenors (highest male voices) sang the main tune with the other voices adding harmony.

Since denominational hymnbooks contained no music in the early days, books compiled by singing teachers were frequently used as sources of tunes for congregational singing. William Walker's *Southern Harmony*, first published in 1835, contained musical settings of popular hymn texts and non-denominational songs. Walker, a native of Spartanburg, South Carolina, and other singing teachers like L.C. Everett of Virginia, traveled throughout the South to teach singing and sell tunebooks, long after these practices had declined in the North. The established churches also marketed tunebooks for their denominations to make money and to gain editorial control over the texts and tunes. Everett compiled *The Wesleyan Hymn and Tune Book* for the use of Southern Methodists in 1860.⁵

The Southern Methodist hymnbook of 1847, *A Collection of Hymns for Public, Social, and Domestic Worship*, was compiled by a committee of five ministers.⁶ It was a true revision of the book used by the church since 1836, not simply a new, southern cover on a northern book.⁷ The theological schematic of the hymns was reorganized to make it easier to use in singing and teaching doctrine. The Southern Methodist leadership spelled out the changes in an exegesis in their *Quarterly Review*, which was reprinted in the weekly denominational newspapers.⁸ While the core hymns on the need for individual conversion remained, considerable attention was given to maintaining religious fervor. Southern Methodist leaders were concerned that their members' ardor would cool now they had achieved a measure of economic prosperity and social acceptance. The antidote to this indifference, variously called backsliding or declension, was revival. In the hymn "Saviour, visit thy plantation," backsliding is compared to a drought.

Saviour, visit thy plantation;
Grant us, Lord, a gracious rain!
All will come to desolation,
Until thou return again.
Keep no longer at a distance,
Shine upon us from on high,
Lest, for want of thine assistance,
Every plant should droop and die.

Surely, once thy garden flourished,
Every part looked gay and green;
Then thy word our spirits nourished—
Happy seasons we have seen!
But a drought has since succeeded,
And a sad decline we see;
Lord, thy help is greatly needed—
Help can only come from thee.⁹

The Southern Methodists pointed out to their members and critics the revised and expanded selection of hymns for families in the 1847 collection, which included both hymns for masters and servants to sing. The idealized relationship between master and slave is outlined in "Master Supreme, I look to thee," a text by Charles Wesley.

Master Supreme, I look to thee
 For grace and wisdom from above,
 Vested with thy authority,
 Endue me with the patient love:
 That taught according to thy will
 To rule my family aright
 I may th' appointed charge fulfill,
 With all my heart, with all my might.
 Inferiors, as a sacred trust,
 I from the sovereign Lord receive;
 That what is suitable and just,
 Impartial I to all may give;—
 O'erlook them with a guardian eye;
 From vice and wickedness restrain;
 Mistakes and lesser faults pass by,
 And govern wimth a looser rein.
 The servant faithful and discreet,
 Gentle to him, and good, and mild,
 Him I would tenderly entreat,
 And scarce distinguish from a child:

Yet let me not my place forsake,
 Th' occasion of his stumbling prove,
 The servant to my bosom take,
 Or mar him by familiar love.
 Order, if some invert, confound,
 Their Lord's authority betray,
 I hearken to the gospel sound,
 And trace the providential way.
 As far from abjectness as pride,
 With a condescending dignity:
 Jesus, I make thy word my guide,
 And keep the post assign'd by thee.

O could I emulate the zeal
 Thou dost to thy poor servants bear!
 The troubles, griefs, and burdens feel,
 Of souls entrusted to my care!
 In daily prayer to God commend
 The souls whom Christ expir'd to save;
 And think how soon my sway may end,
 And all be equal in the grave!¹⁰

The slave's affirmation is articulated in "Jesus, the Lord most high," another text by Charles Wesley:

Jesus, the Lord most high,
 Thy poorest servant own,
 And give me strength to glorify,
 And serve my God alone;
 Inspired with humble fear,
 And principled with grace,
 My earthly master to revere,
 As standing in thy place.

Whate'er for man I do,
 I do as to the Lord;
 From God, the merciful and true,
 Expecting my reward:
 And whether bond or free,
 I know thou wilt approve,
 And crown our services to thee,
 With thy eternal love.¹¹

In 1847, the year the new hymnbook was published, the United States was at war with Mexico, abolitionists and pro-slavery forces were at odds over the extension of slavery into new territories, and Northern and Southern Methodists were facing legal action to resolve the division of their common church property. In this time of conflict, only a serene confidence in God's favor and providence could explain the

inclusion in the hymnbook of a prayer of thanksgiving for peace. "A nation God delights to bless" was written by Charles Wesley.

<p>A nation God delights to bless, Can all our raging foes distress, Or hurt whom they surround? Hid from the gen'ral scourge we are, Nor see the bloody waste of war, Nor hear the trumpet's sound.</p>	<p>O may we, Lord, the grace improve, By lab'ring for the rest of love, The soul-composing power; Bless us with that internal peace, And all the fruits of righteousness, Till time shall be no more.¹²</p>
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Without access to the supply of hymnbooks and cheap tracts published by the northern church, the Southern Methodists lost both a source of income and important tools for their evangelical activities. They sued the North for its share of the church assets. Eight years of litigation culminated in a successful appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. In 1854 the Supreme Court unanimously overturned a lower court verdict, validating the southern claim: "The Methodist Church was divided. It was not a case of the secession of a part from the the [sic] main body. . . . The division of the Methodist Episcopal Church having thus taken place, in pursuance of the proper authority, it carried with it as a matter of law, a division of the common property."¹³

In this time of legal conflict and cash scarcity the Southern Methodists regarded their second hymnbook as a commodity. An editorial in the denominational newspaper made this clear: "It comes into market at the right time, early enough to meet the demand of the camp-meeting season."¹⁴ *Songs of Zion*, published in 1851 as a supplement to the 1847 collection, was meant to generate a profit. Its 500 hymns included 100 traditional camp meeting hymns, once again revealing Southern Methodist efforts to promote spiritual revival and to keep a moral compass in an increasingly secularized society. One ballad hymn about a camp meeting, "A twelve-month more has roll'd around," describes the physical and spiritual landscape of the campground.

<p>A twelve-month more has roll'd around Since we were on this tented ground; Ten thousand scenes have mark'd the year, Since we last met to worship here. Relentless death has hurl'd his darts, And lodged them deep in noblest hearts; O'er old and young, in every sphere, He's triumph'd since we worshipp'd here. Yet we are spared, to heaven be praise, Our God has lengthen'd out our days: We've left our homes with hearts sincere, And met, once more, to worship here.</p>	<p>Come, sinners, come, your pardoning God Now waits t' impart his cleansing blood: O! loathe your sins, to Christ draw near, And seek him while we worship here. Ye mourners, raise your languid eyes: Your home's beyond the starry skies! Your Saviour smiles, renounce your fear, And praise him while we worship here. Gird all the Christian armor on, And nobly strive, till victory's won; Our God shall guard the front and rear Of all who humbly worship here.</p>
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The Sinner's Friend we'll soon adore, A glorious heaven with angels share
Where tents are pitch'd to strike no more:— And live and love and worship there.¹⁵

Accounts of a Southern Methodist camp meeting near Charleston in 1850 mention some biracial aspects of camp meeting rituals like black and white communal worship, including the singing of "the same hymns of praise" and religious dances performed by black women for the converts.¹⁶ Singing styles also showed biracial influences. In the "call and response" pattern, for example, a hymn text was embellished with "wandering choruses," additional lines taken from other hymns.¹⁷ By alternating and combining hymn texts in this way, worshippers at a camp meeting could sustain the singing for hours. "Call and response" had parallels in African worship and in the litanies of early Christian liturgy. "O when shall I see Jesus," a traditional camp meeting hymn in *Songs of Zion*, was frequently sung with a wandering chorus. Examples of these embellishments in the first verse are shown in parentheses.

O when shall I see Jesus,
And dwell (reign) with him above?
(And shall hear the trumpet sound in that morning?)

And from the flowing fountain,
Drink everlasting love?
(And shall hear the trumpet sound in that morning?)

When shall I be delivered,
From this vain world of sin?
(And shall hear the trumpet sound in that morning?)

And with my blessed Jesus,
Drink endless pleasure in?
(And shall hear the trumpet sound in that morning?)

(Shout, O glory! for I shall mount above the skies,
When I hear the trumpet sound in that morning.)

But now I am a soldier,
My captain's gone before,
He's given me my orders,
And bids me ne'er give o'er;
And if I hold out faithful,
A crown of life he'll give,
And all his valiant soldiers
Shall ever with him live.

Through grace I am determin'd,
To conquer, though I die,
And then away to Jesus,
On wings of love I'll fly.
Farewell to sin and sorrow—
I bid you all adieu.
And O, my friends, prove faithful,
And on your way pursue.

Whene'er you meet with troubles
And trials on your way,
Then cast your care on Jesus,
And don't forget to pray.
Gird on the heav'nly armour,
Of faith, and hope, and love,
And when the combat's ended,
You'll reign with him above.

O do not be discouraged,
For Jesus is your friend,
And if you lack for knowledge,
He'll not refuse to lend.
Neither will he upbraid you,
Though often you request,
He'll give you grace to conquer,
And take you home to rest.¹⁸

Most of the hymns in *Songs of Zion* were generally shorter and less theologically rigorous than their counterparts in "the church hymnbook," as the 1847 collection

came to be known. Some were by well-known English writers, others by women, and a few were from Southern Methodist ministers.¹⁹ These hymns were not for the church service but for prayer meetings and social gatherings. "Our country is Immanuel's ground," by Anna Barbauld, combines the theme of an earthly pilgrimage to the heavenly kingdom with an appreciation for the joys of spiritual song on the journey.

Our country is Immanuel's ground,
We seek that promised soil:
The songs of Zion cheer our hearts,
While strangers here we toil.

Oft do our eyes with joy o'erflow,
And oft are bathed in tears:
Yet naught but heaven our hopes can raise,
And naught but sin our fears.

Our powers are oft dissolved away
In ecstasies of love;
And while our bodies wander here
Our souls are fix'd above.

We purge our mortal dross away,
Refining as we run;
But while we die to earth and sense
Our heaven is here begun.²⁰

The final settlement of the lawsuits between Northern and Southern Methodists in 1854 assured the southerners of a cash settlement of \$350,000 over the next ten years. Southern Methodists debated how to achieve their evangelical publishing goals. Some thought it most cost-effective to continue to contract with northern manufacturers and merchants for materials and services.²¹ Others argued that the South should build and operate its own publishing house, even if this meant the cost of Southern Methodist publications would be higher than those of other denominations or secular presses. This latter group, believing it incumbent upon Southern Methodists "to build up our Southern commercial interests," carried the day.²² The publishing house was established in Nashville and soon brought forth many titles, including *The Wesleyan Hymn and Tune Book* (1860), compiled by the singing teacher L.C. Everett, with music to accompany the texts in the 1847 collection.

Among the early publications of the Southern Methodist Publishing House was *The Confederate States Almanac for 1862*, which had on its first page a hymn to the Confederacy.²³ In April 1862, just after the almanac's issue, Union forces captured Nashville and seized the publishing house and its assets.²⁴

The hymnbooks of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, gave temporal form to the idea of the Southern evangelical nation: separate, slaveholding, paternalistic, embattled, righteous, and assured of ultimate victory. These beliefs contributed to fissures between Northern and Southern Methodists, and between white and black Methodists, which the military extirpation of slavery could not close. After the war these three evangelical Christian communities continued to struggle with each other to reconcile two teachings of the Master:

The kingdom of God is at hand (Mark 1:15) and My kingdom is not of this world (John 18:36).²⁵

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This paper was presented with musical examples at the 2003 annual meeting of the South Carolina Historical Association, with the assistance of singers Dr. Lisa Hellstrom, Paul Irwin, Vic Genez, and Ben Curry. The presentation was excerpted from the author's Master's Thesis, "Religion, Slavery and Sectionalism As Shown in Southern Methodist Publications, 1844–1860," submitted to the University of Charleston-The Citadel in May 2002. The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of the Thesis Committee: Dr. Edmund L. Drago, thesis advisor, College of Charleston; Dr. Bernard E. Powers, Jr., College of Charleston; and Dr. Chris Beneke, formerly of The Citadel. Dr. Randy J. Sparks, now at Tulane University, guided the author's earlier studies of evangelical religion in the antebellum South. The author is also indebted to the musicians whose talents and enthusiasm enlivened the presentation. William R. Becknell, music director at Christ Our King Catholic Church in Mount Pleasant, South Carolina, contributed expertise in the history, selection and performance styles of antebellum hymnody, and conducted the singers in many hours of rehearsal. Dr. Hellstrom reformatted several tunes in modern notation and led the musicians during the presentation.

ENDNOTES

1. The earliest southern denominational account of the rupture of the national connection is in Methodist Episcopal Church, South, *History of the Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South* (Nashville: Southwestern Christian Advocate, 1845). H. Shelton Smith, in *In His Image, But . . . Racism in Southern Religion, 1790–1910* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1972), and Mitchell Snay, in *Gospel of Disunion: Religion and Separatism in the Antebellum South* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), compare the Methodist division with the fracturing of other denominations over slavery.
2. Most imitated of all Charles Wesley's hymn texts was "Wrestling Jacob," which begins with the words "Come, O thou Traveller unknown." A paraphrase by John Newton was Hymn no. 937 in Methodist Episcopal Church South, *A Collection of Hymns for Public, Domestic and Social Worship* (Charleston: Published by John Early for the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1847). Charles Wesley's text was set to a southern shape-note tune in William Walker's *The Southern Harmony*, reprint of 5th printing of the 1854 ed. (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1987), 321. Blacks in the antebellum South adapted this text to their religious experience, as reported by white Methodists in Southern Christian Advocate, 29 December 1843, quoted in Erskine Clarke, *Wrestlin' Jacob: A Portrait of Religion in Antebellum Georgia and the Carolina Low Country* (Tuscaloosa: University of Georgia Press, 2000), vi, and by northern observers during the Civil War; Dena J. Epstein, *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals: Black Folk Music to the Civil War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 357.
3. *Charleston Mercury*, 29 May 1845. "Our souls by love together knit," attributed to W. E. Miller, was first published in his *Original and Selected Hymns* in London, 1802; see John Julian, ed., *Dictionary of Hymnology: Setting Forth the Origin and History of Christian Hymns of All Ages and Nations*, 2nd ed., rev., with new supplement (New York: Dover Publications, 1957), 1585. It was Hymn no. 909 in Methodist Episcopal Church South, *A Collection of Hymns*. The Northern Methodists included this hymn in their camp meeting hymnbook; M. L. Scudder, *The Wesleyan Psalmist, or Songs of Canaan: A Collection of Hymns and Tunes Designed to Be Used at Camp-Meetings, and at Class and Prayer Meetings, and Other Occasions of Social Devotions* (New York: Lane & Scott, 1849). This Common Meter Double text can

be sung to the tune "Petersburg," in L.C. Everett, *Wesleyan Hymn and Tune Book: Comprising the Entire Collection of Hymns in the Hymnbook of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, with Appropriate Music Adapted to Each Hymn* (Nashville: Southern Methodist Publishing House, 1860), 152.

4. Yardley, Anne Bagnall, "Choirs in the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1800–1860." *American Music*, Spring 1999, Internet ed.

5. The earliest American tunebook for Methodists was Methodist Episcopal Church, *The Methodist Harmonist: Being a Collection of Tunes . . . Adapted to Every Variety of Meter in the Methodist Hymn-Book* (New York: B. Waugh and T. Mason for the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1831). An early hymn of Charles Wesley on profane versus spiritual uses of music is "Listed into the cause of sin," Hymn no. 440 in Thomas O. Summers, ed., *Songs of Zion: Supplement to the Hymn-Book of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South* (Nashville: E. Stevenson and F.A. Owen for the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1855, c1851). Walker's and Everett's tunebooks yielded the tunes for the presentation of this paper at the SCHA Annual Meeting in March 2003.

6. The Reverend Thomas O. Summers, secretary of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South and assistant editor of the *Southern Christian Advocate* in Charleston, bore the chief responsibility for compiling the hymnbook; Oscar Penn Fitzgerald, *Dr. Summers: A Life Study* (Nashville: Southern Methodist Publishing House, 1884), 151; L. Edward Phillips, "Thomas Osmond Summers: Methodist Liturgist of the Nineteenth Century," *Methodist History* (1989) 27(4): 244. Other committee members were Jefferson Hamilton, Augustus Baldwin Longstreet, Whitefoord Smith, and William Wightman; *Journal of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South General Conference*, 1846, 484.

7. Methodist Episcopal Church, *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the Methodist Episcopal Church . . .* (New York: B. Waugh & T. Mason, 1836). For a synopsis of Methodist hymnal publication, see Roger Deschner, "Music of the Methodist Church," in *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music* (London: Macmillan Press, Ltd., 1993), 3: 217–20.

8. *Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, January 1848, 69–133; *Southern Christian Advocate*, 3 March–21 April 1848. Thomas O. Summers was probably the author of the exegesis; letter of Henry Bidleman Bascom (editor of the *Quarterly Review*) to William May Wightman (editor of the *Southern Christian Advocate* and a member of the hymnbook committee for the 1847 hymnbook), 6 August 1847, William May Wightman Papers, South Caroliniana Library.

9. "Saviour, visit thy plantation," by John Newton, was Hymn no. 941, in Methodist Episcopal Church, South, *A Collection of Hymns*. An appropriate tune for this text in 8s and 7s was Disciple, in Walker 123.

10. "Master Supreme, I look to thee," a text by Charles Wesley, was Hymn no. 1021 in Methodist Episcopal Church, South, *A Collection of Hymns*; this hymn was previously included in Methodist Episcopal Church, *A Collection of Hymns*. An appropriate Long Meter Double tune is Cephas, in Everett 42–43. Both "Master Supreme, I look to thee" and "Jesus, the Lord most high" were published by Charles Wesley in his *Hymns for the Use of Families, and on Other Occasions* (1767); see Julian 1260.

11. "Jesus, the Lord most high," by Charles Wesley, was Hymn # 1022 in Methodist Episcopal Church, South, *A Collection of Hymns . . .* (1847). This Short Meter text can be sung to the tune Troas, in Everett 198.

12. "A nation God delights to bless," by Charles Wesley, was Hymn # 841 in Methodist Episcopal Church, South, *A Collection of Hymns . . .* (1847). This text in four 8s and two 6s can be sung to the tune Willoughby, in Walker 277.

13. Smith vs. Swormstedt, 57 U.S. 288. Cited as “Smith et al. vs. Swormstedt et al.” in Benjamin C. Howard, *Reports of Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Supreme Court of the United States, December Term, 1853* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1855), 288, 308.
14. *Southern Christian Advocate*, 18 July 1851.
15. “A twelve-month more has roll’d around” was Hymn no. 393 in Summers, *Songs of Zion*. This text in Long Meter can be sung to the tune “Woodwell,” in Everett 218. One of seven hymns attributed to “A. Means” in that volume, it may have been written by Alexander Means, a Southern Methodist minister in Georgia and colleague of Augustus Baldwin Longstreet, a member of the 1847 Hymnbook Committee; John Donald Wade, *Augustus Baldwin Longstreet: A Study of the Development of Culture in the South* (New York: Macmillan, 1924), 150.
16. *Charleston Mercury*, 4 May 1850; Swedish traveler Fredrika Bremer’s comments are in Epstein 198–99.
17. Epstein, 224–29; Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 150–57; early Methodist camp meeting hymns are discussed in George Pullen Jackson, *White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands: The Story of the Fasola Folk, Their Songs, Singings, and “Buckwheat Notes”* (New York: Dover Reprints, 1965), 255–57.
18. “O when shall I see Jesus” appeared without attribution as Hymn no. 393 in Summers, *Songs of Zion*. The lines of text in parentheses are the wandering choruses interpolated by B. F. White when he set this text to his tune “The Morning Trumpet,” Walker 195. Three other variants of “O when shall I see Jesus” were also included in Walker. This text and several others from the “Miscellany” in Summers, *Songs of Zion*, had appeared in an 1801 collection by an earlier dissenter from Methodism, Richard Allen, who had left in 1784 to found the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church; Richard Allen, *A Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs from Various Authors* reprint of 1801 ed. (Nashville: AMEX Sunday School Union, 1987).
19. See for example “Mrs. Dana,” in Julian 1055; “Thomas O. Summers” in *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1935), 18: 207–8.
20. “Our country is Immanuel’s ground,” by [Anna] Barbauld, was Hymn no. 325 in Summers, *Songs of Zion*. This Common Meter text can be sung to the tune “Ortonville,” Walker 10.
21. For example, the Southern Methodists had contracted with their northern counterparts for the printing of the hymnbook of 1847. Thomas Summers traveled to New York to supervise the final printing and binding of the hymnbooks, which bore the imprints of Charleston, Richmond, and Nashville, cities where the Southern Methodists printed newspapers; *Southern Christian Advocate*, 23 April 1847.
22. *Southern Christian Advocate*, 14 April 1854.
23. Thomas O. Summers, ed., *The Confederate States Almanac for the Year of Our Lord 1862; Being the Second After Bissextile, or Leap Year; the Eighty-Sixth of American Independence and the Second of the Confederates States; Calculations Made at the University of Alabama* (Nashville: Southern Methodist Publishing House, 1861; electronic ed. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Libraries, Documenting the American South), 2.
24. P. A. Peterson, comp., *Handbook of Southern Methodism, A Digest of the History and Statistics of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South* (Nashville: Publishing house of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1891), 61; Walter T. Durham, “Nashville, Tennessee,” in *Encyclopedia of the Confederacy*, Richard N. Current, ed. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993), 3: 1107–11.
25. *Holy Bible, New King James Version* (Nashville: Gideons International, 1985).

A Notice to Contributors Concerning Style

The editorial committee invites submission of manuscripts from authors of papers presented at the annual meeting. On the recommendation of reviewers and editors, manuscripts may be published in *The Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association*.

In general, manuscripts should not exceed 4500 words (about eighteen double-spaced pages) including endnotes. As soon as possible after the annual meeting, authors should submit two paper copies and one electronic copy to the editor(s) for review. The electronic copy must be submitted on a PC-compatible diskette written in MS Word for Windows or WordPerfect for Windows. Email attachments are acceptable, but in any event, two paper copies must be submitted. The electronic text should be flush left and double-spaced, with as little special formatting as possible. Do not paginate the electronic version of the paper. All copies should use 12-point type in the Times New Roman font. Do not include a title page, but instead place your name and title at the top of the first page. Please use margins of one inch throughout your paper and space only once between sentences. Indent five spaces without quotation marks all quotations five or more lines in length.

Documentation should be provided in endnotes, not at the foot of each page. At the end of the text of your paper double-space, then type the word "NOTES" centered between the margins. List endnotes in Arabic numerical sequence, each number followed by a period and space, and then the text of the endnote. Endnotes should be flush left and single-spaced. If your word-processing program demands the raised footnote numeral, it will be acceptable. Foreign words and titles of books or journals should be italicized. For the rest, *The Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association* adheres in matters of general usage to the fourteenth edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style*.

Minutes of the Seventy-third Annual Meeting**1 March 2003**

The South Carolina Historical Association held its seventy-third annual meeting on Saturday, 1 March 2003, at the South Carolina Archives and History Center in Columbia. Registration was held from 8:30 A.M. to 9:30 A.M. Coffee & doughnuts (Krispy Kremes!) were provided.

Session 1 (9:30–10:45 A.M.)

A. Black Education & Advancement in Modern America, Barry F. Malone, “Black Social Capital and the W.E.B. DuBois School Community, Wake Forest, NC”; Tabitha D. Stewart, “Advancement in the Civil Rights Movement by African Americans During World War II.” Commentator: Kenneth E. Peters (University of South Carolina Columbia)

B. Civilians and the Civil War, Christopher A. Mekow, “The Siege of Charleston: An Examination of the Targeting of Civilians by Union General Quincy Gillmore During the Civil War”; Catherine Fitzgerald, “‘Lest We Forget!’: Women, Monuments, and the Memory of the Civil War.” Commentator: J. Tracy Power (SC Dept. of Archives & History)

C. South Carolinians’ Perceptions of War in a Modern World

Adam Bruyere, “Anything But Human: The Metamorphosis of the Japanese Enemy Through Spartan Eyes, 1941–1942”; Melanie Knight, “Anti-War Activism at the University of South Carolina, 1965–1971.” Commentator: Katherine D. Cann (Spartanburg Methodist College)

Morning coffee break was held from 10:45 until 11:00 A.M.

Session 2 (11:00 A.M.–12:15 P.M.)**A. British Religious & Political Controversies of the 17th & 18th Centuries**

John C. Lassiter, “Philo-Semitism and Anti-Catholicism in Restoration England: The Conversion of the Jews in Protestant Polemic, 1660–1688”; Rory T. Cornish, “A British Undersecretary of State Reviews Human Nature, Morality, and British Politics in the Era of the American Revolution: Maurice Morgann Revisited, 1757–1794.” Commentator: Edward Gregg (University of South Carolina Columbia)

B. Protestant Worship in the Nineteenth-Century South

Susan A Welsch, "Singing to Kingdom Come: Hymn Books of the Southern Methodist Nation, 1844-1860"; Dale W. Johnson, "Confessional Lutheranism in a Sea of Revivalism: Paul Henkel and the North Carolina Camp Meetings." Commentator: A. V. Huff (Furman University)

C. Two South Carolina Educators

Alexia J. Helsley, "Mitchell King (1783-1862) and Flat Rock, North Carolina"; Dan G. Ruff, "A. G. D. Wiles, President of Newberry College, 1960-1971." Commentator: Melissa Walker (Converse College)

Break 12:15-12:30 P.M.

Luncheon, keynote address and annual business meeting (12:30-2:00 P.M.)

Following lunch, SCHA President Linda Hayner introduced keynote speaker Christopher Judge, Heritage Trust Program Archaeologist (SC Department of Natural Resources), who spoke about "Cultural Site Protection Within the Heritage Trust Program." The presentation included a slide show illustrating some of the activities of the Heritage Trust Program, focusing particularly on cultural history and preservation. [Secretary's note: Chris Judge donated his honorarium to the Archives & History Foundation to keep the Reference Room open on one Saturday per month.]

The annual business meeting was called to order at 1:35 P.M. by SCHA President Linda Hayner, who thanked Mr. Judge for his presentation. Linda encouraged SCHA members to visit the Heritage Trust areas. Linda then welcomed all members, thanking them for having braved the weather yet another year to do so. She thanked especially Vice President Tracy Power and all who helped organize this year's meeting and the paper sessions. Rodger Stroup and Tracy were also thanked for allowing the SC Archives & History Center to host the meeting. Linda then introduced this year's executive committee, thanking them for having made the year's endeavors "fun."

Linda thanked all those who presented papers at this year's meeting, encouraging them to consider submitting them for publication. To do so, contact Steve Lowe, Robert Figueira, or Linda. We want to maintain the high standards of the *Proceedings* that we have all come to expect. Linda also mentioned the rise in regular membership dues this year, explaining that this is primarily due to the rise in cost of printing the *Proceedings*. Student membership is \$10.00.

Officers' reports

Secretary—Ron Cox noted that the SCHA Newsletter is now being distributed to most members electronically, which is helping to save the organization some money. He also again urged members to submit information about their professional activi-

ties—new classes taught, trips taken, scholarly endeavors, etc.—to share with other members. This is one of the most important functions of the Newsletter.

Treasurer—Rodger Stroup utilized the overhead projector to share the projected budget with members. He also made note of the dues increase, which, along with selling copies of the *Proceedings*, provides practically all of the organization's income. This year, we raised around \$3400. The cost of printing the *Proceedings* this year was \$3041. This is why the executive committee voted to raise fees to \$20 per year. Rodger also noted that electronic distribution of the Newsletter has resulted in an annual savings of \$1663.81. Present account balances include \$6418.75 in the Proceedings Endowment and \$2731.30 in the Hollis Prize account.

Hollis Awards

Linda gave a brief explanation of the awards, which are given every two years for articles published in the *Proceedings*. One prize is awarded for the best paper by a graduate student, and the other for the best paper published by a professional member of the organization. This year's prizes are for articles published in the 2001 & 2002 issues of the *Proceedings*. This year's awards recipients were Aaron W. Marrs, a graduate student at USC, for his "Dissatisfaction and Desertion in Greenville District, South Carolina, 1860-1865," and Elizabeth Cassidy West of USC Archives, for her "'Yours for Home and Country': The War Work of the South Carolina Woman's Committee." Linda then thanked the readers who spent long hours reviewing each article.

Announcements

Next year's SCHA meeting will be on 6 March 2004 at Bob Jones University.

Additional business

The nominating committee proposed a new slate of officers for 2003-2004:

President—Tracy Power (SC Archives & History Center)

Vice President—Sam Thomas (York County Culture & Heritage Commission)

Secretary—Ron Cox (University of South Carolina Lancaster)

Treasurer—Rodger Stroup (SC Archives & History Center)

At Large members:

Robin Copp (South Caroliniana Library)

Bernard Powers (College of Charleston)

E.E. "Wink" Prince, Jr. (Coastal Carolina University)

Co-editors for the *Proceedings*. Stephen Lowe (USC Extended Graduate Campus);

Robert Figueira (Lander University)

With no nominations offered from the floor, the slate of officers was elected by acclamation.

Linda turned the meeting over to Tracy, who thanked Rodger & Executive Board for their hard work this past year. He then thanked “every one who has presented, will present, has commented, or will comment” on papers, and stated his optimism that the SCHA will have a good year.

Additional Announcements

Members were notified that the gift shop was open and were also encouraged to take a look at the exhibit gallery. Tours were offered for anyone wishing to look at the facility.

With no additional business to conduct, the chair ended the meeting at 1:52 P.M.

Session 3 (2:30 – 4:00 P.M.)

A. Three Views of Nineteenth-Century America

Jim Haughey, “An Irish Mining Community in the Western Carolinas”; Eric W. Plaag, “Let the Constitution Perish:” *Prigg v. Pennsylvania* and Justice Story’s Codification of Historical Necessity”; Kevin Dawson, “Enslaved Swimmers in the Atlantic World” Commentator: W. Scott Poole (College of Charleston)

B. Cultural Images of Justice and the Impact of New Deal Public Art in Aiken, South Carolina

John A. Elliott, “Cultural Images of ‘Justice’”; Merilyn J. Smith, “Stefan Hirsch: The Artist and his Mural”; W. Calvin Smith, “New Deal Art and Controversy in Aiken, South Carolina.” Commentator: Rodger E. Stroup (SC Dept of Archives & History)

C. Racial Violence in South Carolina

John Hammond Moore, “The Origins of Lynching in South Carolina; Andrew H. Myers, “The Blinding of Isaac Woodard.” Commentator: Cleveland L. Sellers (University of South Carolina Columbia)

The conference was adjourned at 4:00 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

M. Ron Cox Jr.
Secretary, SC Historical Association
University of South Carolina Lancaster