The Proceedings and Papers

of the

GREENVILLE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1975 - 1979

Albert N. Sanders
Editor

Volume VI

The Greenville County Historical Society
Greenville, South Carolina
1981

Each member of the *Society* receives a copy of the *Proceedings and Papers*. Additional copies of this volume are available to members and persons not members at $5.00 per copy. Orders should be sent to the editor, 441 Longview Terrace, Greenville, South Carolina 29605

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Foreword

The Greenville County Historical Society publishes its *Proceedings and Papers* irregularly as papers concerning Greenville County History and funds for publication become available. The purpose of the publication is to provide both a history of the Society's development and a repository of information concerning Greenville County's past. As the file of *Proceedings and Papers* grows, Greenvillians will have an increasingly valuable resource which enhances an understanding of the growth of the community.

The degree of documentation varies widely among the several papers included. While the Society encourages persons preparing papers to utilize standard historiographical practices and techniques, the "editor" has accepted both the documentation and the style of the author responsible. The editorial function is limited to that of a compiler with discretion to establish some degree of uniformity as to form and as to standards of length established by the Board of Directors. A "style sheet" is available from the editor upon request.

Due to the rise in printing costs, the format is somewhat abbreviated from that of the early volumes. Lists of committee chairmen and the boards of directors have been omitted and the "Proceedings of the Society" have been reduced to minimum essentials. However, a tribute to Mrs. Fred Huffman, Hospitality Chairman, and her committee is warranted. This Committee has provided refreshments for each meeting and thus has contributed to the warm "fellowship hour" that is an important part of the society's sessions.

The Greenville County Historical society is unique among county societies in that it publishes its "Papers of the Society." It is to be congratulated that it continues this project even in this somewhat modified form. — A.N.S.

OFFICERS OF THE GREENVILLE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1975 - 1976

President ..... Robert R. Adams
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Second Vice-President ..... Charles Thomas
Recording Secretary ..... Miss Choice McCoin
Corresponding Secretary ..... Mrs. Joseph H. Earle, Jr.
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1976 - 1977

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

1975 - 1976

FALL MEETING, 1975

Fall Meeting, October 19,1975, Parker Auditorium, Greenville County Library. Treasurer Stephen D. Mitchell reported total assets of $7,773.07 and a membership of 115 regular members, 36 family members, 3 sustaining members, 30 life members and 41 members delinquent in paying their dues.

The program consisted of a panel of Alfred S. Reid, Laura Smith Ebaugh, and Gordon W. Blackwell who were introduced by Albert N. Sanders. Dr. Reid presented his paper, "The Greenville County Council for Community Development: Furman and Greenville in Partnership in the 1930's." Miss Ebaugh, associate professor of sociology emeritus at Furman, and Dr. Blackwell, president of Furman, both of whom had participated with their students in the project, enriched the presentation by adding personal evaluations and information concerning the work of the Council.

WINTER MEETING, 1976

Winter Meeting, January 25, 1976, Parker Auditorium, Greenville County Library. This meeting was held in conjunction with the Greenville County Library's Bicentennial Lectures with Laura Smith Ebaugh presiding. She introduced Yancey Gilkerson, president of the Textile Hall Corporation, who presented his paper, "Textile Hall's First Sixty Years."[1]

SPRING MEETING, 1977

Spring Meeting, March 21, 1976, Parker Auditorium, Greenville County Library. Treasurer Stephen D. Mitchell reported total assets of $7,597.69. Chairman of the Nominating Committee, Andrew Marion, put the following persons in nomination and the Society elected for two year terms the following:

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[1]This paper had been presented to the Society at its March 9, 1975, meeting at which the attendance was small due to very bad weather. The paper is published in the *Proceedings and Papers of the Greenville County Historical Society*,5 (1971 - 1975): 74-88.

President, A. V. Huff, Jr.; First Vice-President, J. Glenwood Clayton; Recording Secretary, Miss Choice McCoin.

The Society adopted a resolution to the memory of the late Alfred S. Reid in appreciation of his contributions both as one of the organizers of the Society and as a valued scholar of Greenville's history.

At the direction of the Board of Directors, Joseph H. Earle, Jr., presented and the Society adopted a resolution endorsing the project of the Greenville Council of Garden Clubs to restore the Kilgore/Lewis house.

Vice-President Huff presented a panel from Greer High School who presented a program explaining the project of students of the Piedmont Model School to operate the Clingstone Press to publish documented stories of the community's past.

Chairman of the Publications Committee, Albert N. Sanders, reported plans to publish and promote the 927-page *Presence of the Past: Epitaphs of 18th and 19th Century Pioneers in Greenville County, South Carolina, and Their Descendants,* edited by Mrs. Beverly T. Whitmire. The price was set at $20.00 with pre-publication prices of $15.00 to members of the Society and $18.00 to others.

1976 - 1977

FALL MEETING, 1976

Fall Meeting, October 17, 1976, Parker Auditorium, Greenville County Library. Mrs. Beverly T. Whitmire, editor, and Albert N. Sanders, chairman of the Publications Committee, presented a copy of the *Presence of the Past,* the Society's recent publication, to Greenville County as a Bicentennial Gift. It was accepted by Larry McCalla representing the Greenville County Council. Vice-President J. Glenwood Clayton introduced James W. Gettys, Jr., professor of history at Erskine College and president of the Abbeville District Historical Society, who presented his excellent paper. "Mobilization for Secession in the Greenville District."

WINTER MEETING, 1977

Winter Meeting, February 10, 1977, Fountain Inn City Hall, Fountain Inn, South Carolina. President A. V. Huff, Jr., expressed the Society's pleasure in meeting in Fountain Inn to honor the work being done by the town to preserve its past. Vice-President J. Glenwood Clayton recognized Robert Quillen's daughter, Mrs. Jack Foster of Greenville, and James Taylor, chairman of the Fountain Inn Bicentennial Committee which established the Robert Quillen Museum in the building that had been Quillen's office. Mrs. O. C. Woods of Fountain Inn, a friend of the Quillen family presented her paper "Robert Quillen, 1887 - 1948," concerning the distinguished writer, author, and founder of the Fountain Inn *Tribune*. After adjournment, the Society visited the Robert Quillen Museum.

SPRING MEETING, 1977

Spring Meeting, April 24, 1977, St. Marks United Methodist Church, Greenville, South Carolina. Dr. W. A. Horne, Minister of St. Marks, welcomed the Society and gave the invocation. The Society then adopted a resolution to the memory of the late A. D. Asbury, charter member and longtime treasurer of the Society. Treasurer Stephen D. Mitchell reported total assets of $7,470.35. On the report of the Nominating Committee, the Society elected the following officers for two-year terms: Second Vice-President, Charles Thomas; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Joseph H. Earle, Jr.; Treasurer, Stephen D. Mitchell. President A. V. Huff, Jr., announced that the South Carolina Historical Marker to denote the site of "Sans Souci" was being placed by the State Highway Department. Romayne A. Barnes presented his paper, "The Yesterdays of Sans Souci."[1] After adjournment the Society enjoyed a display of historical photographs in the social hall.

1977 - 1978

FALL MEETING, 1977

Fall Meeting, October 16, 1977, First Baptist Church, Taylors,

[1]This paper in a modified form was read at the March 19, 1972, meeting of the Society and was published in the *Proceeding and Papers of the Greenville County Historical Society*, 5 (1971 - 1975): 34-48.

South Carolina. The Society elected Mrs. Loulie Latimer Owens a director-at-large. President A. V. Huff, Jr., reported that the marker at the site of "Sans Souci" would be erected soon and that plans were underway to erect a marker to recognize the contribution of Vardry McBee to the Greenville Community. Vice-President J. Glenwood Clayton introduced Miss Jean Martin Flynn who presented her paper, "Chick Springs, 1840-1941."

WINTER MEETING, 1978

Winter Meeting, February 19, 1978, Kilgore-Lewis House, Greenville, South Carolina. The Society stood to accept a resolution prepared by Mrs. A. D. Oliphant and read by President A. V. Huff, Jr. to commemorate the contribution of the late Miss Katherine Jones, charter member and officer of the Society. Vice-President J. Glenwood Clayton presented Mrs. W. W. Harrison, president of the Greenville County Council of Garden Clubs, who welcomed the Society to the Lewis-Kilgore house and introduced Mrs. Buford Landers who headed the effort that resulted in the restoration of the house by the Council of Garden Clubs. Mrs. Landers gave an interesting account of the history of the project. She concluded by pointing out what remains to be done and how individuals can help the Council of Garden Clubs to complete the restoration and to develop the gardens. After adjournment the Society toured the house.

SPRING MEETING, 1978

Spring Meeting, May 7, 1978, Home of Mrs. Nell Adams, Pelham Road, Greenville, South Carolina. Treasurer Stephen D. Mitchell reported the assets of the Society as $8,440.13. The Society, on the report of chairman of the Nominating Committee Joseph H. Earle, Jr., elected the following as officers for two-year terms: President, J. Glenwood Clayton; First Vice-President, Mrs. H. M. Rubin; Recording Secretary, Mrs. Gordon Taylor. Vice-President J. Glenwood Clayton presented Mrs. Nell Adams who presented her paper, "Four Sisters From Boston."

1978 - 1979

FALL MEETING, 1978

Fall Meeting, October 29, 1978, Parker Auditorium, Greenville County Library. A report from the meeting of the Board of Directors informed the Society that:

1. Mr. Marion M. Hewell's Committee on New Members had mailed 169 letters of invitation and a good response was indicated.
2. A special open meeting had been arranged for November 12 to hear of plans for the Reedy River preservation project, "Textile Place" with special invitations being mailed for this meeting.
3. Each member present was asked to take a membership application form and try to encourage a friend to join the Society.

Mrs. Harold Clark presented her paper, "History of the Greenville Arts Festival", an interesting and lively memoir of the history of the Greenville Arts Festivals.

SPECIAL MEETING, 1978

Special Meeting, Co-Sponsored by the Society and the Greenville County Historic Preservation Commission, November 14, 1978, Parker Auditorium, Greenville County Library. Chairman of the Greenville County Historic Preservation Commission, Vance Drawdy, introduced the speaker, Jack Morris, as "a man of arts and a man of action" who had been involved with the development of the Textile Place project on Reedy River from its inception. In his presentation, Morris discussed the history of the section from early studies in 1907 through recent developments, using excellent slides to underscore his remarks. As now conceived, Textile Place will provide a living museum of the textile industry at a cost of some six and a half million dollars. At this point, the project has received a sixty thousand dollar grant for planning and a feasibility study.

NO WINTER MEETING, 1979

SPRING MEETING, 1979

Spring Meeting, April 8, 1979, Fellowship Hall, First Presbyterian Church, Greenville, South Carolina. Treasurer Stephen D. Mitchell reported the total assets of the Society at $10,413.98, with most of it drawing interest in deposits in local savings accounts. The Society elected the following officers for two-year terms on the report of the Nominating Committee: Second Vice-President, Miss Choice McCoin; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. E. E. (Nancy) Maddrey; Treasurer, Stephen D. Mitchell. Miss Laura Smith Ebaugh introduced A. V. Huff, Jr., who presented his paper "Mrs. Caroline Gilman and Confederate Refugee Life in Greenville." After adjournment the Society welcomed its new members and observed a display of Confederate papers and relics on display.

FOUR SISTERS FROM BOSTON

MISS NELL B. ADAMS

This paper[1] was not written in the spirit of *Roots* but rather in an attempt to put some flesh on the bones of the remarkable "Four Sisters from Boston" who contributed much to the development of Greenville in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Three of these notable ladies were my Great-Aunts and one was my Grandmother.[2] To understand them and the forces that molded their characters, one also needs to know my Great-Grandfather and my Great-Grandmother. The plan of the paper is to give some family background followed by a sketch of each of the four sisters.

Great-Grandfather George Putnam was born in Delhi, New York, on October 28, 1828, and died in Greenville on February 17, 1890, at the age of seventy-two. He married Mary Jane Shepherdson on November 29, 1849, in Providence, Rhode Island. Great-Grandmother was born in Attleborough, Massachusetts, on December 25, 1822, and she died in Greenville eighty-eight years later on January 13, 1918.

My great-grandparents seem to have moved around over the years following their marriage for two daughters were born in Holliston, Massachusetts, a small town near Boston, one was born in Foxboro, Massachusetts, and the fourth was born in Middleborough, Vermont.[3] Their last home before moving to the South was Brookline, a suburb of Boston. In 1933 we made a trip north and visited Brookline. My Grandmother, then seventy years old, directed my Father to the old home saying it could be recognized by the open field just before we got to it. Of course, things had changed and we drove for miles with no

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[1]For the material in this paper I am grateful to my father and my brother, W. T. Adams and W. T. Adams, Jr.; to my uncle, Dr. Herbert Bailey; to my cousins, J. Harvey Cleveland, John Baker Cleveland, Betty Cleveland Livingston, Peggy Baker Walsh, Norma Anderson, and to many others. I have searched newspapers, the family Bible, diaries and autograph books. While some information may not be entirely accurate, it is as honest as everyone's memories will allow.

[2]Only two of these ladies I actually remember. These were "Aunt May," my Great Aunt, Mrs. M. P. Gridley, and "Tigee," my Grandmother, Mrs. Emma P. Baker.

[3]I have been to Middleborough and seen the remains of the mill in which Great Grandfather worked.

break in the houses. We had to start over and eventually found it. Before the rest of us could get out of the automobile, my Grandmother, with my mother trailing, was out of the car and up the steps of this tall house. She opened the door and swept past the open-mouthed owners and right on up the stairs. Mother kept insisting "you can't do this" but "Tigee" just kept on looking and saying that the house was just as they had left it.[4] She never paused upon reaching the second level but swept downstairs again and that was that. We children never got to see the house for she was through with it.

When the War Between the States broke out, Great-Grandfather Putnam had four daughters so he did not serve in the Union Army, paying a substitute to fight for him. We can assume that he really had no quarrel with the South for five years after the war ended he began making trips to the South to ascertain if a spinning mill was needed or feasible there. After traveling around for two years, he decided on Greenville, South Carolina, as the place for his operations. By this time he had a partner, O. H. Sampson. Mr. Sampson stayed in Boston to do the selling and to forward orders to Great-Grandfather Putnam in Greenville.

As is well known, Great-Grandfather built the first post-war spinning mill in the town of Greenville. He built it on the Reedy River near the present site of the Citizens and Southern bank and called it Camperdown.[5] The new mill was equipped with machinery furnished by Fales and Tanks and was water-powered. At first the mill had a wooden race that brought the water from above the falls to the power wheel. However, the power from the Reedy River proved inadequate and after a couple of years Great-Grandfather installed a steam engine to run the mill. When he started inquiring about for men to work in the mill, he found that the independent Southern farmers would not work in a mill, any mill. Consequently, he imported nineteen mill hands from up North as his first labor force. Later he built the Little Sampson Mill, which became American Spinning

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[4]The Putnam family had migrated to Greenville probably in 1874, fifty-nine years before.

[5]This is near the site of Richard Pearis's famous pre-Revolutionary mill and trading post. The name "Camperdown" was reputedly from the Camperdown elms which then grew along the banks of the Reedy River. Ed.

Company, and finally he built a mill for himself at Batesville.

We do not know for sure when Great-Grandfather brought his family South but it was about 1874 for that is the year he built his home the then fashionable, West Washington Street (704 West Washington Street, next door to the present main Post Office.)[6]

The partnership between Sampson and Great-Grandfather was beginning to show strains and Great-Grandfather Putnam began to think of building a mill for himself. He had heard rumors that the projected railroad between Atlanta and Charlotte was to go through Pelham[7] so he bought some property nearby at Batesville[8] on Rocky Creek. Great-Grandfather built "his" mill on Rocky Creek. The building is still there and used by the Old Mill Stream restaurant.[9]

It was during this time that Great-Grandfather split with his partner, Sampson. The final break was precipitated by Sampson when he sent down an order for a certain kind of thread. Great-Grandfather wrote back to his partner that he could not make that specific thread. Sampson answered that Great-Grandfather should send any kind of thread since the customer would not know the difference. George Putnam did know the difference, would not be party to such shady practice, and dissolved the partnership with Sampson.

Meanwhile the family had moved to Greenville and events had occurred to produce two things I had long wondered about: why did the family own a burial lot in Christ Church graveyard but none of us were members and why we were not formal members of any church. Now I know the answers to both

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[6]According to my Grandmother's autograph book, she was still in Boston in November, 1873, having graduated from high school the previous June. Other dates running to 1877 show entries from Greenville.

[7]Ironically, my other Great-Grandfather was urging the railroad to follow another route. He won and the present-day Southern Railway went by Taylors rather than Pickens.

[8]New Englander William Bates built the original Rock Creek Factory in 1837. In 1863 the Trenholm family of Charleston acquired the property. There had been a fire at the mill and the factory had ceased operation. This is the property acquired by George Putnam. Ed. See Marion M. Hewell "The Beginnings of Industry in Greenville," this journal, 4(1968 - 1971): 41

[9]Great-Grandfather did not build a house at Batesville. He used a log cabin on the property when he was at the mill.

questions and it all goes back to Great-Grandfather. Soon after settling in Greenville, Great-Grandfather, who was a Unitarian, joined Christ Church and attended for - it seems - three years.[10] Then one Sunday the minister arrived so drunk he fell out of the pulpit. Great-Grandfather, who was a strict teetotaler, quit Christ Church. Later he took his family to the Buncombe Street Methodist Church where Aunt Daisy sang in the choir which family legend maintains she organized. This relationship went well for a year or so. Then one Sunday morning when the Putnams arrived at the church, they found a crowd milling around the churchyard. On inquiry, the family found that a Mr. Gilreath and a Mr. Sullivan were fighting a duel in front of the church.[11] This display ended the Putnams involvement in organized religion as Great-Grandfather announced that religion was different in the South from what it was in the North. He was a fair man but stuck to his principles. By the strict standards of Greenville of the day the family was very liberal. Not only were they Yankees but they played cards and danced.

Great-Grandmother Jane remains a rather shadowy figure. It is remembered that she always went out and watched "Uncle Jerry," the Negro handyman, milk the cow as she was sure he would steal milk if given a chance. She also put the sugar bowl in the pantry after meals thinking he might take a handful. No one could convince her that he was honest and loyal, which he was. Great-Grandmother Jane made a tour of the West with her daughters when she was eighty years old as there are family pictures to prove it. One of the places visited was the Grand Canyon. When her daughters decided to ride into the Canyon, they suggested that she had better wait at the top. Instead she is remembered as having said, "I am eighty years old and I may never get back here. I am going also." The daughters gave in, expecting that she would give up and wait at the halfway house. No such thing! She rode all the way down to the river and back. Ironically, she was the only one who could walk normally the next morning.

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[10]There is a family story that the youngest daughter, Daisy, played the organ. This story is apocryphal as I figure she was five years old at the time.

[11]The duel arose over the change that Mr. Sullivan had thrown a whiskey bottle onto the church grounds. He was challenged by Mr. Gilreath who was killed in the duel.

Great-Grandmother Jane loved all types of games and someone had to play a game with her after supper every night. Late in life she lived at Batesville where she was bed-ridden. One Sunday afternoon the children gathered around her bed and began to play cards. When someone came in to announce that the Baptist minister had come to call, she quickly stuffed the cards down between the mattress and the side of the bed. After the minister had left, they found that the cards had fallen through and were scattered all over the floor under the bed.

The transplanted Yankees had problems in earning a place in ex-Confederate Greenville, but earn it they did. About five years after they had moved to Greenville, Great-Grandfather came home one day and said, "Jane, we have finally made it. On my way home someone called out 'Hello George' instead of 'Hello Damn Yankee.' "

One of the ways he "made the grade" of acceptance by the "natives" was his insistence that there would be no discussion of "the War," politics, or religion at his table. A family myth that they took to good works because they were ostracized by Greenville people was dispelled by the discovery of two short diaries by the third daughter, Flora, which proves that they were accepted. In fact, they were very popular and both entertained and were entertained a great deal.

Life in the house at 704 West Washington Street in Great-Grandfather's day was a combination of strictness and fun-loving ways. In this atmosphere the "four sisters from Boston," daughters of George and Mary Jane Putnam, grew into womanhood. In order of their appearance they were Mary Sophia ("Aunt Mag"), Emma Carrie ("Tigee,"my Grandmother), Flora Gressette ("Aunt Flo"), and Daisy Gerogietta ("Aunt Daisy" to her descendants but "Gerogie" to her sisters).

The youngest, Aunt Daisy, was born in Middleborough, Vermont, on April 10,1867, and died in Greenville in 1905. She was the only sister not educated in the North but graduated from the Greenville Female Academy. She loved horses and was a superb rider. At the end of her life she had a fine Palomino horse and a red saddle trimmed with silver. She was also a good shot and owned an ivory-handled pistol. One day she wanted to ride out

to Batesville to see her sister but Great-Grandfather objected until she asked him to test her. He threw up a tin can which she drilled while it was in the air. He did not object to her riding alone again. Aunt Daisy was very musical and played both the piano and the organ. However, she was never very well. She was so frail that they had a cot in the vestibule at Christ Church for her to lie down on during the sermon. She married a physician, Dr. Thomas Bailey on April 10, 1890, and they had two children: Herbert and Gladys. Unfortunately, she died when her son, Dr. Herbert Bailey, was only seven and he has little memory of her.

A second marriage in the Putnam family in 1890 came on Christmas Day when the third daughter, Flora, married Charles F. Dill of Dayton, Ohio. "Aunt Flo"[12] was born in Foxboro, Massachusetts, on June 23, 1857, and died in Augusta, Georgia, in 1920. Aunt Flo was very elegant. Her pictures show her looking like a hot-house flower. But her life belies the picture. Her husband, who was a lawyer, was a restless person and they traveled a great deal. Once she spent three years living in a tent near Boise, Idaho, while he tried gold mining. He had bought the gold mine only to find that he needed sizeable amounts of water to operate it. To provide the water he spent $40,000 building a dam. As the dam neared completion, ranchers below the dam successfully objected to the national government that the dam would cut off their water supply and Mr. Dill was forbidden to impound the water. Without water, the mine could not operate so Dill abandoned the mine and Aunt Flo and her husband came home to Great-Grandfather's house on West Washington Street.

In Greenville, Aunt Flo soon became part of the effort to secure a hospital for the community. In 1899 she was elected president of the newly organized Ladies Auxiliary of the Hospital Association (later called the Woman's Hospital Board), a position she held until her death in 1920. She donated $5,000 and her husband donated another $5,000 toward the

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[12] I never knew Aunt Flo but she left two short diaries which helped a great deal in writing this paper. The first covers the period from November 26, 1883, to December 25, 1884, and is concerned largely with a description of a trip "up North." The second diary covers the period from December 23, 1893, to February 13, 1884, but is rich with details of life in Greenville and the family business.

buying of the old Corbett home which became the first unit of what has developed into the Greenville Hospital System.

Aunt Flo's two extant diaries give considerable enriching details of the family in the late nineteenth century. In one passage, she describes herself as ". . . 27 years old, single and likely to stay so. Medium height, 5 ft. 2 inches, more slender than stout, wight about 115 lbs., light hair, fair complection [sic.], when not billious, but an almost entire lack of coloring." She was not really fair to herself. She did marry seven years later. She was a very lovely and accomplished lady.

The next sister was my Grandmother,[13] Emma Putnam Baker ("Tigee"), who was born on November 29, 1853, in Holliston, Massachusetts, and died in Greenville on July 12, 1934. She graduated from the Boston Normal School on the eve of the family's moving South. Soon after they arrived in Greenville the three older sisters (Aunt May, Tigee, and Aunt Flo) went down o the Fairview Fair. One of the entertainments was a "tourna- ıent" where the young men on horseback tried to snare a ring ıanging from a pole with a lance while riding full tilt. Each of the young ladies would choose a knight. The three sisters knew no one but chose their knights any way. Grandmother chose John W. Baker who became my Grandfather. They were married at Great Grandfather's house at 704 West Washington Street, the scene of all family weddings including those of my mother and her two sisters.

Like all the Putnam women. Tigee had the firm jaw and thin lips which meant firm opinions and no deviation from one's own scruples. She concurred with the old-fashioned notion that hot bread was "heavy on the stomach." She believed in sulphur and molasses in the spring and a wet flannel around the throat for a sore throat.[14] She conserved whatever property she had and tried to pass on the idea that one should never spend principal but only income. (To this day I feel guilty when I spend a little principal.) She was not politically minded. She once told

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[13]She too left diaries but they were quite personal.

[14]All these must have worked for we were very healthy.

my Father that she would not have voted for Herbert Hoover because he parted his hair in the middle!

She maintained her undeviating adherence to principle to the end of her life. In her will she stipulated that her estate should remain intact until the youngest heir was twenty-five years old because no one knew how to handle money until at least that age. It was hard on some of the family to wait eight years until Aunt Gertrude's daughter, Peggy, grew up but the estate did prosper under the management of Father and Aunt Hazel.

Grandmother Tigee was both the designer and overseer of construction of her home at Batesville. The house is so well-built that it still stands today nearly a hundred years after it was built. My Grandfather died of a heart attack while on business in Atlanta and fire destroyed his general store on the same night. Grandmother had to sell the house at Batesville to pay their debts. She had to adapt to reduced circumstances and limited income for the rest of her life but she always made a place for herself -- and took the adventurous course when she could.

Before my Mother's marriage, Tigee and my Mother lived in New York and Chicago. When Mother was on the Chautauqua Circuit, Grandmother traveled with her. When Mother married and Aunt Flo died, Grandmother lived with Aunt May at 704 West Washington Street until my brother was born. Mother was not very strong after that and Grandmother came to live with us. To give my parents privacy and the opportunity to entertain their friends, she always retired after dinner with my brother and me to read to us before we went to sleep.

She could cook but there were always many more things of greater interest to do. A cousin from the West remembers visiting at Batesville and said that what started as soup on Monday became a thick stew by Wednesday or Thursday. Once when Mr. Harvey Cleveland was courting my Aunt Hazel, he had an occasion to stay over night at Batesville. The next morning he arose expecting his ham and grits and was a little taken a back to be served Boston baked beans and brown bread. My cousin, Dr. Herbert Bailey, tells of stopping overnight with Tigee and my Mother in Chicago when he was on leave from the Army during World War I. They were delighted but served him

only an apple and a cup of tea for his supper. He left early the next morning in search of something to eat. He still remembers the tantalizing smell of fresh bread from a bakery where he was not allowed to purchase any as there was war-time ordinance at that time in Chicago prohibiting the sale of bread until it was three days old.

When she was seventy-nine, Grandmother Tigee went to Europe. She especially wanted to see Rome. Since Rome was not on the guided tour, she left the group and visited the Eternal City by herself. It was a tense time in Italy,[11] but Tigee said that if you didn't say Benito Mussolini's name out loud in public places, no one bothered you. Later that summer, she went to Denver to visit her daughter's family taking her sister-in-law, Ella Baker Dick, with her. Ella was also in her late seventies. They traveled by coach because it was cheaper that way. When airplane flights became available in Greenville, she took one of those brief around-the-city flights but she took my mother, my brother and myself with her because she did not want to be lonely if the plane crashed. She believed her grandchildren should have varied experiences so she took two of my boy cousins, who were in their teens, out West. At this time, she was eighty. They traveled in an open Dodge touring car. She took as her companion Miss Mitta Bell Shelton but there was no doubt that Tigee was in charge.

Her last trip was to Washington, D. C., with three grandchildren, one of whom was 1. She was very ill at the time but since she did not believe in complaining, we did not realize how sick she was. When we reached home, she took to her bed and died a few weeks later. A soft-voiced, quiet woman whom I remember as dressed in modest widow's weeds, she was the most loved, or rather the most loveable, of the four sisters.

Aunt May, Mrs. M. P. Gridley, was perhaps the most remarkable of the four sisters. She was born September 7, 1850, and died in Greenville on December 19, 1939. She was a graduate of Boston Normal School and taught three years at Peabody, Massachusetts, before the family came South. She

[11]This was in 1932 when Benito Mussolini was transforming Italy into the fascist corporative state.

married Captain Isaac Gridley on October 26, 1876, and had a child who only lived a few weeks. Her husband died on August 23, 1878, and her widowed life for the next sixty-one years was devoted to individual achievement, edification of others, and civic improvement.

She lived all those years in Great-Grandfather's house at 704 West Washington Street, a place of elegance at first which gradually slipped into decline with the rest of Washington Street. She saw the neighboring fine homes become rooming houses or be cut into tacky apartments. Shoddy storefronts appeared here and there, and many gardens became patches of littered dirt. But, decay and decline did not affect the dignity of her life. In her later life she lived in only part of the big house and overlooked the fading fabrics and the smell of accumulated dust in the unused rooms. For years meals were formal with white tablecloths and good silver.[16] Her yard always blossomed with flowers and the sunken solarium just off the large living room, called the "billiard room," was always full of ferns and palm trees.[17] Just off the billiard room was one of Greenville's early bathrooms, far from the bedrooms but complete with flush closet, marble washstand, and zinc tub enclosed in walnut. A second bathroom was added to the large bedroom downstairs that was Aunt May's domain in later life and a third bath with a "step-up" from the hall floor to accommodate the necessary pipes was partitioned from the large upstairs hallway. These replaced the traditional pitchers and bowls.

Aunt May once told a cousin of mine that she accepted widowhood because many men were killed in the War and others were left crushed by the Southern defeat. She said it was a time for women to be strong and courageous. She felt fortunate to have been married to a fine man even for less than two years. After her husband died, she helped Great-Grandfather with the Batesville Mill bookkeeping. When he died, she became the first woman to become a president of a cotton mill in the South, a post she held from 1890 to 1912 when the mill was sold.

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[16] I do not know if she was aware that the Greenville cab drivers called her home "the infidel's house" because no cab was ever called to take someone to church.

[17] I still possess an offshoot of one of her Boston ferns.

She signed her name M. P. Gridley, because she knew that in those days women were not considered capable of conducting a business and she thought it was no one's business that she was a woman. Her early pictures show her as tiny and as beautiful as a Dresden doll but she was never on the shelf. Only four feet, ten inches tall, she could manage on all-male board of directors without ever raising her voice.

In her early adult life she was free to devote her time to business, civic interests and reading because the household was managed by her sister, Flora. Uncle Jerry, the faithful colored man, who lived under the firm scrutiny of Great Grand-Mother Jane, became the driver of Aunt May's carriage. After his death, she bought a Ford car but never learned to drive. Help lived in cottages behind the house and Julia, another devoted servant, was with Aunt May at the time of her death. Julia's husband did chores in a desultory way. Most of the family called him "no count."

The house at 704 West Washington Street was the pivot point for the whole family. Family members came for a few hours, a few weeks, or even months at a time for three generations. Country schools were considered inadequate in the twenties and early thirties so my cousins, J. Harvey, John Baker, and Betty Cleveland all lived with Aunt May during the week and went home to Cleveland on weekends.

During one year in high school, I was required to have lunch at 704 West Washington Street because the house was within walking distance of the school.[1] After a lunch in the kitchen supervised by Julia, I was required to go to Aunt May's room and read a newspaper article to her. At that time she had stopped eating in public because when she was a young girl someone had encouraged her to swallow some spirits of ammonia after a fainting spell and her badly burned throat caused increasing swallowing difficulty in later life. In her seventies and eighties she occasionally would have tea at the home of family members but preferred the pureed food that Julia prepared

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[1] This would be the now-torn-down "old high school" which was located on the hilltop at the end of West McBee Street. The "new high school" mentioned later in this paragraph would be the present Greenville Senior High School building on Vardry Street. Ed.

and served on a tray. Her eyesight also dimmed in later life so any visitor was apt to be opportuned to read aloud to her as her interest in current issues was lifelong. Reading to her was quite demanding. Woe to the reader if a word were mispronounced or a sentence were given the wrong emphasis. She was known to say, "Walter Lippman didn't say it that way. Read that again." I was also required to discuss what I read with her because Aunt May believed conversation was for issues and not for gossip. I was rather relieved when the new high school put me out of luncheon distance. In her later years, Aunt May preferred one caller at a time because two callers were apt to talk to each other and she did not like to be out of things.

The only frivilous thing I remember about Aunt May was her love of murder-mystery books. I guess I remember because I am addicted to them too. She liked games too and played checkers, backgammon, bridge and pinochle. She was not demonstrative but she did not lack humor. One cousin recalls her trying on a colorful dress that had been given to her and finding it a little too flamboyant for a tiny-statured woman of advanced years. She stood before the mirror for a moment and said, "Dress, where do you think you are going with that gal?" She broke her hip when she was nearly eighty and was told she would never walk again. She did walk and was told she would have to use a cane. She did and used it to emphasize her remarks and to scold her nieces and nephews when they lovingly teased her.

Aunt May helped start the Thursday Club and was its first secretary with Mrs. W. E. Beattie its first president. At that time few women had access to spending money and there was some discussion as to whether or not there should be dues and, if so, should someone's husband serve as treasurer. Aunt May set the club members straight on this matter and the Thursday Club managed its own affairs including its funds. She was president of the Thursday Club for thirty-seven years and established the goals of self improvement and espousal of charitable and civic endeavors that are still followed today. She was also instrumental in the formation of the Federation of Women's Clubs in South Carolina. She started a Lyceum course in Greenville which booked and paid for the appearance of such men as Jerome K. Jerome, whom she characterized as not nearly as funny a lecturer as his books would lead one to think. She was

active in the development of public playgrounds in Greenville and was an advocate of supervision of the playgrounds by trained personnel. She served as president of the Woman's Branch of the Chamber of Commerce and aided in the formation of the Greenville Garden Club.

Her most outstanding work was with the Hopewell Tuberculosis Association. She founded the first special care center, the Hopewell Tuberculosis Camp on the Spartanburg Road opposite where the County Home is now. It was the County Farm then and from it came food to feed the tuberculosis patients. Some weeks she did not know how the employees would be paid and she would go to outstanding men of Greenville such as Mr. George Sirrine or Mr. Alex Myers for donations. She said they did not want their good works to be publicized but they never refused her. She also contributed her own money.[19] Through her subtle insistence she got the county to appropriate $5,000 annually to maintain the tuberculosis camp until a bond issue was passed to build the new tuberculosis hospital which opened on August 4, 1930. As she never learned to drive, she employed patients who were considered arrested cases to drive her Model T Ford. She also arranged for a radio system at the hospital so each patient could listen to his or her favorite program. She did not cease her efforts after the hospital was opened, but immediately began working for a nurses' home nearby. It took six years of effort for a woman in her eighties but when the nurses' home was completed in 1936 despite the Depression it was named the Mary Gridley Nurses' Home.

She put her sharp mind and her firm purpose to everything and did whether it was playing dominos with a great niece, arranging flowers, or presiding over a board meeting. She must have come to Greenville a scared and naive young woman but she left it one of the most-honored citizens.

The "Four Sisters from Boston," despite their Yankee origin, certainly made their mark. It is doubtful if the distaff side of any other family has contributed so much in the emergence of the Greenville of the New South.

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[19]Some of this came from low-cost housing which she rented to colored people. She went out on Mondays with regularity to collect the small rents.

HISTORY OF THE GREENVILLE ARTS FESTIVAL

MRS. HAROLD C. CLARK, JR.

There are many versions as to the origins of the idea for the Greenville Arts Festival -- all of them quite valid and giving proof of the theory that when the right idea meets the right place at the right time things happen. There is no doubt that Greenville evolved the right environment to be receptive to an Arts Festival in the 1960's.

Of course, local activity in the arts pre-dates the emergence of the Arts Festival. In *The Arts in Greenville, 1800-1960* (edited by Alfred Sandlin Reid), Lila Easley Earle and Evelyn Pack Daniel have an article, "Architecture and Painting," which tells of the organizing of the Fine Arts League on May 11, 1935, with Marshall Prevost as president. The stimulation for the forming of the Fine Arts League came from the writing of Hattie Finlay Jones in the Greenville *News* describing the Chattanooga Fine Arts Festival. The members of the Fine Arts League felt that Greenville was ready even then for some sort of joint effort in the arts and sought to interest others. Mrs. Daniel was involved in this initial effort and continued her interest and support through the 1969 Festival.

Another key person in the creation of the Greenville Arts Festival was Carolyn Frederick (later she was the Director of the first three Festivals). She had been the Executive Secretary with the Greenville Symphony for many years and found herself constantly frustrated with the lack of organization in scheduling of arts performances. There would be a dearth of entertainment for weeks and then three things would happen in one night. Mrs. Frederick conceived the idea of an arts council that would have input and representation from all the organizations in the cultural areas. From this agency would come a scheduled program that would allow each group to perform without competition of time and audience. It would also encourage some cooperation for joint ventures and exchange of ideas and experiences. There was one problem. Bob McLane, Director of the Little Theatre, would have nothing to do with it. Since the Little Theatre was such a vital part of the community, an Arts Council without it would be undesirable. Thus the temporary shelving of this idea was necessary.

However, from other sources came another answer for some kind of system. In December, 1963, Greenville had its first cultural calendar. The publication was a joint effort of the cultural committee of the Greenville Chamber of Commerce whose chairman was Alester Garden Furman, III, and the Community Relations Director of the Greenville County Library, Laura Smith Ebaugh. This effort was only a recording of upcoming performances in one place but took no part in scheduling. The cultural calendar was underwritten by the People's National Bank.

The actual formation of the Greenville Arts Festival was initiated about the same time by the Fine Arts Committee of the American Association of University Women (AAUW). The group began by getting the reaction of the community. Letters were sent to arts related organizations that included this statement:

> The purpose of the Festival would be to stimulate appreciation and familiarity of the general public with various art media; to encourage the artist in his work; to encourage cultural groups, to improve weaker areas of the arts in our community and to broaden and deepen participation and appreciation. This will naturally lead to greater support of the arts.

Returns from this study indicated broad interest and the AAUW decided to call representatives of interested organizations together. The first meeting was held May 15, 1962, at the C. Douglas Wilson Building with Mrs. T. C. Stoudemayer, President of AAUW, presiding. The nineteen organizations represented were: AAUW, Bob Jones University, Camera Club, Chamber of Commerce - Fine Arts Committee, City Recreation Department, Civic Ballet, Community Concert Association, Council of Architects, Crescent Little Symphony, Furman University - Department of Arts and Drama, Greenville Art Association, Guild of the Greenville Symphony, Junior League, Greenville County Library, Greenville Little Theatre, National League of Pen Women, and Rotary Civic Chorale.

From this meeting the Greenville Arts Festival was organized and it presented the first Festival a year later, May 16, 17, and 18, 1963, with Alester Furman, III, President and Carolyn Frederick as Executive Director. The Festival was largely financed by a $2,000.00 contribution by the J. P. Stevens and

Co., Inc., as part of Steven's 150th anniversary celebration. From the beginning it has been the general consensus that the Festival should be free to the public. This has been true throughout the years. All financing has been from the business community and interested individuals.

The 1963 printed program was probably the most ambitious of all that have appeared. The cover was painted by artist Betty Lee Coburn and the original painting was given by the artist as a door prize. This was won by Mrs. Frank Whitlock and is now in the farm house of her daughter, Jane Famula.

The first Festival was divided with activities on four sites; the Side Walk Art Show at Main and North Street; exhibits and performing arts at Memorial Auditorium, young people's festival at the old Art Museum on Dupont Drive and film presentation at Bob Jones University. One of the biggest opening ceremonies ever was planned with the help of Charles Daniel and the Southern Bell Telephone Company. A former Miss America, Marily Van Derhur, cut the ribbons and the first Greenville Arts Festival became a reality.

It was an unqualified success and was best expressed by a "Doubting Thomas," who wrote the following letter to the editor of the local paper:

> The Arts Festival has been thrilling and inspiring as well as thoroughly enjoyable. We who felt that 1963 was too soon for Greenville to try this are delighted to have been proved wrong. Isn't it stimulating to realize that this was an entirely voluntary effort? That neither city, county, state nor federal tax money was requested or received.
>
> I am enough of a "Moss Back" to be proud of Greenville for the way in which the Festival was produced as I am for the high quality of the work displayed in every field. And to my eye and ear the work of our artist - fellow citizens is of very high quality, indeed.
>
> In yet another way Greenville has demonstrated that it is truly a city — a center of civilized living and not merely a place where a lot of people earn their livelihood. Signed: Sterling Smith.

As a follow-up, the Arts Festival Association met in July, 1963, to make plans for the 1964 Festival. It elected Charles A. Gibson as President. He well expressed the enthusiasm of the organization in this way:

> We must remember that the thing we are working for is a long-term accomplishment, something we believe will be good for Greenville 5 years or 10 years hence. If Greenville is to be the leading city of the Piedmont, its citizens must face up to the fact that it must furnish leadership in the cultural arts as in the field of commerce.

In reevaluating the first Festival it was generally felt that the four separate sites made it difficult to present a single package. New sites were discussed and the final decision was to move to Cleveland Park using the skating rink for the indoor art exhibit. Programs and exhibits stretched from the tennis courts to East Washington Street. On Thursday noon, April 23, 1964, the Governor of South Carolina, Donald S. Russell, opened the second Greenville Arts Festival. There were many innovations. The Library had its Bookmobile. An outdoor stage was built. The Festival had its colors that tied it together within the park. A program faced with a branch of dogwood showed the schedule of events. Thousands from the area came Thursday and Friday but Saturday and Sunday a spring rain dampened the basically outdoor Festival. Nevertheless everyone thought the outcome was great.

It was in the 1965 Festival that I became active. Tommy Wyche was President. It was Carolyn Frederick's last year as Director. The decision was made that Cleveland Park was a lovely place to have a Festival, but spring was not the right time as it always rains. So the Festival was scheduled for October 20 - 24, 1965. Unfortunately, it rains in the fall also. But it was still a glorious event. New Festival colors were introduced. The designer, Ladson Tankersley, chose two colors that usually were not found in nature in the autumn months - blue and purple. Among the browns, yellows, greens and reds of Cleveland Park in October was a flowing, blowing banners and forms of blue and purple known as the 1965 Greenville Arts Festival. The approximately eighteen acres were covered with run-through, crawl-through panels and peaked kiosks. Blue with purple child-handprints was the background paper of the printed programs. The Festival opened with a most ambitious production of "Noye's Fludde" including a cast of over one hundred children from junior choirs of five churches. The original plan was the for the ark to be on a stage in the ball field, but because of the threatening weather, it was moved to McAlister

Auditorium at Furman University. The two celebrity guests for this Festival were Eliot O'Hara, a water-colorist from Flat Rock, North Carolina, and Miss South Carolina, Nancy Moore (now Mrs. Strom Thurmond).

The follow-up Association meeting dealt with two important issues. Carolyn Frederick resigned as Director after three excellent Festivals and had to be replaced. Secondly, the group came to the conclusion that even though the beauty of the park was unparalleled for a Festival, the weather would always be a factor and an indoor home must be found. When Textile Hall Corporation offered the use of Textile Hall rent-free, the decision was made to go to Textile Hall. This would solve many of the problems that plagued the first three Festivals - one roof over the entire presentation, an all-weather cover, and plenty of parking. The dates were changed again to spring as the fall festival made preparation for entries by the schools difficult. As the 1965 Festival had been late in the year, it was decided to skip 1966 and schedule the fourth Festival for spring, 1967.

Although Textile Hall answered many needs it also presented many problems; the biggest one was its bigness, a tremendous box, functional but with no beauty and poor accoustics. At this time a new combination of people, know-how, and material resources that had never been known before came to the leadership of the Festival. Russell Graham was elected president. Mr. Graham was a newcomer to town. He came with the Saco-Lowell Company that was so welcomed into Greenville with the many jobs it brought to the local economy. Greenville was doubly blessed by its President being an art lover. Mr. Graham was as generous with his resources as he was in physical size. To balance the newcomers were representatives from old Greenville. Harriet Wyche and Betty Norris agreed to be co-directors. Assisting them were Vasti Gilkerson as secretary; Wilton McKinney, treasurer; and James Lawrence as designer. These leaders attacked the challenges of staging a festival in the Textile Hall. The big space was filled with carpenters, painters, and electricians - any labor needed. A crew from Saco-Lowell, provided by Graham, worked many days full-time before the Festival. A logo was designed that has been used with one exception for each following Festival. The theme was *Arts Alive* and the logo depicted music, painting, writing, dancing and

drama in the colors of orange, red and blue. This logo was designed by Herbert Smith from Henderson Advertising Agency. A big feature was an artist, Quida Canadau, from Atlanta, who put on a large canvas many of the folk who were key figures of the Festival as well as the happy festival-goers themselves.

The impact of the Festival was so great that Congressman Robert T. Ashmore extended his remarks in the *Congressional Record* of the United States House of Representatives to include a reporting of the 1967 Greenville Arts Festival by Lucille B. Green. Included in this was the account of opening program remarks by the then Lt. Governor John West who said: "The effect of your Arts Festival has been felt on the state level since its beginning four years ago" and the article continued with Lt. Governor West's reporting, "the creation of an Interagency Council of Arts and Humanities with the bill then pending before the South Carolina Legislature to create a South Carolina Arts Commission -- both received impetus from your Arts Festival which has led the state in this area." Backing up the Lt. Governor's words was a resolution which passed unanimously in both the Senate and the House of South Carolina lauding the Greenville Arts Festival "as the first of its kind in the state -- providing art in every form for the free enjoyment of all people." At this time Yancey Gilkerson was not only Executive Director of Textile Hall but also President of the Greater Greenville Chamber of Commerce. His remarks at the close of the 1967 Festival were: "It's the best thing I know of that Greenville has ever done in terms of community organization and individuals working together to produce an event of this kind."

By this time the Arts Festival had grown to proportions undreamed of at the beginning. The leadership carried on some dialogue that an annual Festival was just more than could be handled. The Festival would not always have the generosity of the public relations department of Saco-Lowell; artists felt they could not come up with something that often, and the volunteers were just spent. Harriet Wyche as co-director sent a questionnaire to the membership to get their feelings about it and on June 13, 1968, she reported fifteen out of twenty-two voted in favor of a Festival every two years with the next

Festival in 1969.

The 1969 Festival maintained not only the logo but the theme, adding only the dates. It read *Arts Alive - 1969.* Andrew Marion was President, with Ann Sellars and Rose Thackston as Co-Directors. Wilton McKinney and James Lawrence remained on their jobs and Margaret Brockman became secretary. Textile Hall gave 6,000 square feet of floor space. More and more organizations had exhibits - Greenville Technical Education College, the Young Men's Christian Association and the International Club. The Chamber of Commerce offered a package deal for out-of-towners: transportation to Greenville plus motel. The biggest attendance ever was expected and the planners were not disappointed.

When plans began for the 1971 Festival, a position of the Executive Committee was established - that of the President-elect. Philips Hungerford, the new President, felt continuity was imperative for the continuing success of the Festival. Kirk Craig agreed to be this new figure. Judy Cromwell with Fritzi Mumford and Mary Jane Smith were the directors. A new designer, Jack Pickney, came on board. This group decided a new logo was needed - a simple expression of the Festival. It was a glob of blue paint, designed by Jack Pickney and used mostly on yellow. The new wing in Textile Hall was now finished and this could be used for performances. Even though there were still acoustical problems at least the performing arts could be separated from the other sounds of the Festival. A portable stage was available, chairs were set up and a temporary auditorium became a reality with the help of stones and greenery at the entrance. This became the best facility we had had until that time. Here again the enormousness of actually building the Festival inside Textile Hall was overwhelming. The layout chairman, Jack Pickney, designed walls of blue, green and yellow yarn hung on 7,000 feet of wire. There were 1,920 streamers - each ten feet long - one hung every foot. The pathway was made of 7,000 feet of yellow tape.

Most of the leadership from the 1971 Festival moved to the 1974 Festival but in different roles. Philip Hungerford became the fund-raiser; Kirk Craig, the President; Judy Cromwell stayed on as advisor. In 1971 Lyn Mitchell had been chairman

of the Visual arts and I was chairman of the performing arts. Lyn and I agreed to co-direct the next Festival.

After three Festivals, the Association took a hard look at Textile Hall. There were many problems. The creating of a festive atmosphere inside the cavernous structure was all consuming. It was expensive. It took days to construct and days to take down. It was getting more and more difficult to find the "Big Carpenter" - the magical person who had the know-how the tools and most of all the free labor to construct. As the Art Museum was being added to the grounds of what was then unofficially called the Fine Arts Center, now called Heritage Green, the Board decided to move again and Kirk Craig, the new President, sent the membership a letter stating:

> The decision to move the Festival to the Fine Arts Campus seemed a natural one. The Festival will focus attention on the facilities which relate most to the arts in Greenville, and the use of the buildings will benefit the Little Theatre, Symphony, Museum and Library as well as the Festival.

Alas, we did not know how long it takes for an art museum to be built, especially one made from pressed concrete. The hole in the ground stayed a hole in the ground for months and months and months. The architect for the building was very dubious about the structure being finished by spring of 1973. This was very helful inside information as the architect happened to be the President of the Arts Festival. So the Board decided to postpone the Festival until 1974. This was a wise move because even in 1974 the grounds were still red mud from construction not only of the Museum, but also First Federal Savings and Loan across the street and the Bell Telephone center in the parking lot behind the library.

The designer for the 1974 Festival was Jim Neal. Although we had beautiful art-related buildings and grounds to work with, getting a Festival of this size in place was a job that not only required creativity but diplomacy and political expertise. The new museum had its dedication several weeks before the Festival started and opened its exhibit space with an unprecedented collection showing of N. C. Wythe's paintings. Since this exhibit was scheduled to run for a week after the Festival opened, it was decided to include it as part of the Festival and not to use the Museum facilities for any Festival exhibits. Fortunately we had

a Santa Claus by the name of Charles Scales at the First Federal Savings and Loan across College Street. This building was brand new and three floors had not been rented. He offered these to the Festival. They were perfect for the purpose: no inside walls, unfinished floor, and a panoramic view of the whole area. All art exhibits were hung here except the elementary and kindergarten that were in the Library.

Holding the Festival at Heritage Green meant that we had to deal with Bob McLane. Although he had shown little or no interest in the past with the Festival, most of us still felt the Little Theatre was very much a part of the cultural scene in Greenville. Lyn Mitchell and I had talked with him for three years hoping that in that amount of time he would come up with the idea that the Little Theatre should be part of the Festival. Also, we needed the auditorium for concerts so we would not have to depend on the good Lord for nice weather. Fortunately, we had the good Lord as McLane did not offer the use of the auditorium, and we were blessed with no rain for the entire four days.

Besides the move to Heritage Green the 1974 Festival changed its schedule to the first part of the week. During the 1971 Festival we were disappointed in the attendance on Saturday. There was much to do on Saturday during the month of May. This was the day before Mothers' Day and those who were not at Hartwell Lake were at McAlister Square buying Mother's last minute gift. So in 1971 on Sunday afternoon everyone came to the Festival with mother and the entire family dressed from church and dinner out. This was one of the few times the attendance outshown the show. After three days of wear and tear the Festival was not at its best. Taking a cue, the leadership decided to open the Festival on Mother's Day, 1974 -- a Sunday. This also gave us three school days for the student tours. We also decided to do away with the opening ceremony. We felt the Festival itself was the attraction and we did not need a national or local celebrity.

The unsung heroes of the 1974 Festival were the permanent staffs of the facilities used. They not only worked at their usual jobs but contributed time and cooperation to the Festival. Sometimes their patience was really stretched and only a joy of sharing and a sense of humor saved the day.

The school tours were probably the most exciting sight of the whole Festival. Three mornings were planned just for school tours. Monday was kindergarten through third grade; Tuesday it was fourth and fifth grades, and Wednesday, middle and high schools. There were three starting points, Magill Hall, the auditorium of the Museum, and Parker Auditorium in the Library. There was a fifteen minute performance at each place. From there each group was given a tour of the exhibits related to their grade level. There was a new tour every thirty minutes from each starting point. As wild as it sounds, it worked and we were able to accomodate around 10,000 school children.

During the planning of the 1974 Festival sounds of an interarts council rose again. This time it acquired a name and a director. This became our Metropolitan Arts Council (MAC). The history of this agency has been stormy and erratic, stemming probably from unfortunate and incompatible personalities at the beginning. But it survived and thanks to a grant from the South Carolina Arts Commission and Comprehensive Manpower there was a staff and from the generosity of the First Federal Savings and Loan, who gave the use of an office. This office has now moved to Falls Cottage on South Main Street.

There was some dialogue over the feasibility of a merger of the Greenville Arts Festival Association and the Metropolitan Arts Council. At the time Festival individuals wanted to keep its finger in control. The main issue was the concern that the Festival might become too professional. This goal was for quality with contributions of time, effort, talent and creativity coming from the total community. There was strong feeling that the Festival should keep this identity.

The board of Directors for the 1976 Festival was headed by Ernest Blakely with Charles Scales as President-elect. The Association ran into a fact of life that had been slowly happening for years. To be the Director of the Arts Festival meant devoting practically full time effort for at least a year to this project. This meant that the person chosen as Director must fit into most of these categories: someone who is unemployed, who has full time domestic help, whose children are grown, whose mate is gone a great deal, and who has a physical stamina of the most highly trained athlete. Traditionally, anyone who was not employed would have to be a woman and in our changing times,

everything else fell into place. But the role of the woman had been shifting for sometime. Many women now worked full or part time; domestic help was hard to find. Most women with the energy to handle the Directorship also had small children to drain that energy. Despite all the support from so many sources to put on the Festival, it had to be orchestrated by one, full-time, committed person. Then as the problem of a proper director neared crises, something happened that provided a workable answer. The Metropolitan Arts Council received a grant from the Labor Department's ComprehensiveManpower and hired Bobbi Wheless as its coordinator. Bobbi was a good inhouse candidate. She had lived in Greenville long enough to know its values. She had had the professional experience in the arts to have sound judgement. Some of the fears of a too slick and polished Festival were calmed by Bobbi's reputation and the Festival Board voted to retain the services of Metropolitan Arts Council with Bobbi Wheless as Director of the 1976 Greenville Arts Festival.

The dates were May 9-12, 1976. The place was again Heritage Green and the theme was *The Many Faces of Greenville,* using the bicentennial year to recognize the many heritages that made our community what it was. These "faces" surprised many long-time residents of Greenville. They made a visible statement that we had become a very cosmopolitan community. The ethnic food carts of 1974 Festival was so sucessful it was decided to use this group as a base and elaborate with a parade led by the Mayor and other members of the local government. The many faces of Greenville were recorded by photographer Robert Smeltzer, and Ernest Blakeley commissioned a collage to be made of them. This collage now hangs in the entrance wall of the Greenville City Hall.

Due to an unfortunate illness, Charles Scales could not take the leadership for the 1978 Festival. I was asked to step in at that time as President. Again we used the services of the Metropolitan Arts Council for our directorship. As the American Textile Machinery Exhibit - International was being held in the spring rather than its usual fall schedule, the Festival adjusted its calendar to coincide with the show and adopted as

the 1978 theme was *Arts Interwoven*. Heritage Green was our home. The Museum opened its whole facility to us. The Little Theatre put on a performance for Senior citizens and, as always, the Library embraced us. A marathon foot race that drew hundreds of runners followed the opening parade and ceremony.

There has been some questioning of the value of the Festival as opposed to on-going programs. My feeling is that we need both. The Festival's main purpose is to present the arts to bring the people in to see and hear, to develop an audience, arts benefactors, and a supporting community. It is not just the people of lower social-economic levels who benefit from this introduction. I was appalled by one of the young volunteers, who was a native of Greenville and who was affluent enough to send her child to a private school, as she came to deliver the school's exhibits. This was the first time she had ever been in the Library! I saw this over and over. And if the large number who had not been in the Library before was not enough, the numbers of Greenvillians who had never made a visit to the Art Museum was an even more reason for concern.

I do believe the Arts Festival has been partially responsible for the audience, the supporters, and the participation in an amazing number of cultural agencies for a city this size. We can boast of drama coming from four theatrical groups within the metropolitan area: the Furman Theatre Guild, the Bob Jones University Classic Players, the Warehouse Theatre and the Greenville Little Theatre. The Fine Arts Center of our public school system has not only drama but all the other arts including filmmaking. We have an outstanding Symphony Orchestra, a Civic Band, a youth symphony, at least three chamber-music groups, three ballet troupes, a contemporary dance cooperative, two resident artists - a mime artist and an English puppeteer, a poet-in-residence, a choral singing association, plus continuing interest in the Furman-Greenville Fine Arts Series. The presentation of the arts at Furman and Bob Jones universities are well received. Only recently a non-professional group has been established whose main purpose is the study and presentation of the works of Gilbert and Sullivan. In 1979, Spoleto in Greenville presented three concerts following the two weeks festival in Charleston. One of the more significant evidences of progress is

the Fine Arts section in the Sunday Greenville *News-Piedmont*. So much is going on and so much interest is being shown that a section in the paper for the arts is deemed marketable just as the sports page, the editorial page, and the society page.

Smaller festivals in places like Easley and Simpsonville are appearing each year. Churches, schools, and community clubs are communicating through the arts. Many knowledgeable, talented and interested artists and their patrons have been responsible for the outstanding on-going programs. However, I do believe the Arts Festival can take considerable credit for the celebration, in whatever manner, of the arts in Greenville.

In spite of four days of continuing rain the 1978 Festival was probably the best organized with the most experienced workers with the highest attendance we have ever had. Yet there was something about all these things having been accomplished that made us look honestly at where we were. There were those of us on the inside who felt the Greenville Arts Festival was getting to be "old hat." Why? Basically, it is because Greenville of 1979 is not the same community it was in 1963 - particularly in the arts. We have become very sophisticated with our many local opportunities. International and national arts presentations such as the Spoleto in Charleston and the Metropolitan Opera in Atlanta are within a few hours' drive. Most citizens can enjoy the outstanding arts performance on educational television in South Carolina.

The Greenville Arts Festival must look at this new community and decide where to go from here. What form it will take I don't know, but David Freeman, our 1980 President, is a very creative leader. We have an enlarged, much younger, broader-backgrounded Board with a number of time-worn members hanging on. Our President-elect for the 1982 Festival is of the new generation leadership, Harold Gallivan, III. The wonder of the Festival is still with us -- old Greenville and new Greenville working together to bring a quality way of life into our community through its arts.

CHICK SPRINGS -- 1840 to 1941

MISS JEAN MARTIN FLYNN

The story of Chick Springs is the story of the constancy of change -- political, economic, and social. When the Federal Convention met in Philadelphia in 1787 to draw up the Constitution which made possible a national government, the land on which Chick Springs is located was still State land.

It was not until December, 1819, that the governor of South Carolina granted a tract of 692 acres "on both sides Lick Creek and two small branches of the waters of Enoree River" to Hananiah Ray.[1] In September, 1823, the sheriff of Greenville District seized the tract at a suit commanding that the "goods, chattels, lands and tenements of Hananiah Ray be sold to levy the sum of $61.43 damages and costs." At public sale, the property went to Edmund Waddell [sic], the highest bidder, for $61.43.[2]

Waddell, who opened the first resort hotel at Greenville Court House around 1815,[3] sold the Ray tract to Asa W. Crowder for $50 in December, 1831.[3]It is somewhat surprising that Waddell did not develop the sulphur springs as a resort.

It was already known. In his 1809 *History of South Carolina*, Dr. Ramsay wrote of the "spring impregnated with iron and sulphur issuing from the side of Paris Mountain."[4] And in his *Statistics of South Carolina*, Robert Mills described the perfectly clear water which "smells strongly like the washings of a gun barrel." Mills said the water and the black earth at the bottom of the spring proved effective in treating "desperate cases of ringworm."[5]

In the February 25, 1832, issue of the *Greenville Mountaineer*, the editor predicted that if the spring were improved, it would "be resorted to by persons in the summer season." Eight

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[1]Greenville RMC, Grant book K, No 8, p. 353.

[2]Greenville RMC, Deed Book R, p. 14.

[3]Ibid., p. 171.

[4]David Ramsay, *The History of South Carolina from its Settlement in 1670, to the year 1808*. 2 vols. (Newberry: W. J. Duffie, 1858), II, 295.

[5]Robert Mills, *Statistics of South Carolina* (Charleston: Hurlbut and Lloyd, 1826), p. 571.

years later, Dr. Burwell Chick, a physician from Newberry District, started developing Chick Springs.

According to a story that Alfred Taylor, the founder of Taylors, who died in 1912, told A. J. Bull, who bought an interest in the springs in 1903, Dr. Chick had come to the area to hunt deer. Chick stopped at the home of Asa W. Crowder, who lived on what is now St. Mark's Road. Crowder hired two or three Indians from their village on the Enoree River to carry Chick to Lick Spring where deer came frequently at night. The story goes that the Indians told the doctor they would "make up a bright light" to shine in the eyes of the animals so he could kill one or two. They also told him the ground around the spring would heal a sore.[6]

Dr. Chick acquired 192 acres more or less of the Crowder property including the springs. In June, 1839, he and Mrs. Chick joined the First Baptist church in Greenville, and in 1840, the resort at Lick Spring opened.[7] In addition to the main spring, there were two small ones: a sulphur spring between the spring house and the road and an iron spring at the foot of the hill near the present Bull home.

An article in the August 6, 1841, issue of the *Mountaineer* reported that Lick Spring was "already the resort of many invalids with the water very salutary in every case we have heard of."

In July, 1842, a "large and commodious hotel, constructed expressly for the comfort and convenience of boarders" was ready for the season. There were stables "well-provided with horsefeed and attended by careful, attentive ostlers." Board was $1 a day or $5 a week with children and servants charged half price.[8]

Privately owned cottages lined Main Street and clustered along the lovely little slopes rising above the springs. The Chicks sold with the stipulation that the buyers would not "receive

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[6]Account of J. A. Bull (MS in possession of Miss Margaret Bull, Taylors, S. C., hereinafter cited as Bull Account).

[7]Lawrence Fay Brewster, *Summer Migrations and Resorts of South Carolina Low-Country Planters* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1947), p. 77.

[8]Greenville *Mountaineer*, May 27, 1842.

boarders but were allowed privileges of wood and water."[9]

Among local owners were Josiah Kilgore and Philip C. Lester, joint operators of Buena Vista, the small cotton factory at Lester's Ford ont he Enoree River. The factory was in operation by 1822.[10] Kilgore's son, Dr. Benjamin Franklin Kilgore, also owned a cottage. Dr. Kilgore was a delegate to the Secession Congress and a signer of the Ordinance.[11]

Many Low-Country families built cottages on the surrounding hills. Chick Springs also drew wealthy and educated people from New York to Florida.

As the watering place prospered, Dr. Chick's son, Reubin S., and his "Lady" superintended the hotel. The season opened in 1847 with increased, renewed attractions. A fine billiard table and ten pin alleys were put in operations for the guests, who were forbidden to gamble.[12]

Tavern keepers had to pay $50 for a license to operate a public billiard table. Billiards were so frowned upon that Columbia would not allow a table to be set up within fifteen miles of the city.[13]

However, the Chicks were "courteous and liberal-minded men well-fitted for their occupation." They made the parlor available on Sunday for Catholic and Protestant services. A priest who came each summer recorded that one Sunday, he spoke to the guests in the morning on the "holy sacrifice of mass." That afternoon, a Baptist clergyman from Charleston who was a "good orator in Furman University in the neighborhood" preached. The latter condemned the amusements of the place, especially the dancing in the ballroom. According to the priest, the Baptist preacher affirmed that "all at the place were irretrievably lost."[14]

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[9]Greenville RMC, Deed Book AA, p. 688.

[10]Federal Writers Program, *A History of Spartanburg County* (Spartanburg: Band and White, 1940), p. 77.

[11]John Amasa May and Joan Reynolds Faunt, *South Carolina Secedes* (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 1960), pp. 170-171.

[12]Greenville *Mountaineer*, July 16, 1847.

[13]Josiah J. Evans, *A Digest of the Road Law of the State of South Carolina* (Columbia: A. S. Johnston, 1850), p. 35.

[14]Jeremiah Joseph O'Connell, *Catholicity in the Carolinas and Georgia: Leaves of Its History* (New York: D. and J. Sadlier and Co., 1879), pp. 368-370.

When Dr. Chick died in 1847, two of his sons, Pettus W. and Reubin S., bought in the Sulphur Spring tract including the hotel and its furnishings for $3,000. Listed among the inventory were 4 settees valued at $20 each; a piano, $250; a set of casting, $3 and a set of coin, $14; and of course, tablecloths, sheets, blankets, 25 bedsteads, and 50 mattresses.[15]

In 1857, the Chicks sold the resort to Franklin Talbird, an architect and builder from Beaufort District, and his brother-in-law, John T. Henery of Charleston District, for $15,000.[16] The new owners advertised they would "spare no efforts to make the Springs all that can be desired whether to the invalid seeking health or those in quest of pleasure."[17] Father O'Connell, the visitor for many summers, wrote that the number of invalids was fewer than the "gay and youthful in quest of pleasure or matrimonial alliances."[18]

Talbird and Henery ran a daily stage to the city. When Dr. Chick opened the resort in 1840, the trip from Columbia to Greenville took two days by public stage coach. In 1853, it took 13 hours. Travelers catching the train in Columbia at 7 a.m. reached the head of the railroad just below Laurens Court House around noon. Hacks from the hotel met the passengers and delivered them to the springs around 8 p.m.[19] The next year, the train line extended to Greenville, and travelers could board the cars in Charleston in the morning and reach Greenville in the afternoon.[20] In 1859, Alfred Taylor, who was born in the fourth house above the Seaboard Coast Line Railroad bridge on West Main Street and lived all his life in the area, took over the hacking and in 1860, became hotel manager.

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[15]Will of Burwell Chick, Apartment 11, File No. 73, Greenville County Probate Judge.

[16]Greenville RMC, Book Y, p. 173.

[17]Charleston *Daily Courier*, June 1, 1857.

[18]O'Connell, p. 367.

[19]Greenville *Southern Patriot*.

[20]*Ibid.*

That season on June 26, there were 4 guests and on October 14, 4 guests. From August 7 to September 7, over 100 boarders were registered every day with a high of 156 on August 17.[21] Often in his diary, Taylor writes that "Main Street was black with people."

When Taylor began the 1861 season in June, the War Between the States had been in progress about six months. After the Battle of Bull Run, Taylor noted in his diary that there was "great excitement" over the war and "great anxiety from the battle."[22] Most of the guests left Chick springs, but by August, 133 full boarders had returned.

Evidently, there were no guests after the summer of 1861, and in November, 1862, the hotel caught fire around 2:30 p.m. and was completely burned by ten minutes past four.[23] Because of the War, which was testing the Constitution framed in 1787, the skeleton ruins of Chick Springs lay untouched.

In August, 1864, a few hundred yards from the forlorn, deserted spring, people in the community organized the Chick's Springs Baptist Church. Several of the women who helped in the organization were refugees from the lower part of the State. One wrote an article for the September 28, 1864 issue of *The Confederate Baptist* on the protracted meeting during which the church was constituted. In it, she said, "Many of them [the members] are our soldiers' half-clad barefooted wives and children stealing away after a weary toilsome day, by the fitful gleaming of their pine torches to our little Gothic church."

The first member to die was John Baily, who joined the church October 19, 1864.[24] a few weeks later, he fell at Franklin, Tennessee, "in battle facing the enemy." The next spring, Mr.

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[21] Alfred Taylor, "Dairy I, June to September, 1860" (MS., hereinafter cited as "Alfred Taylor, Diary." The four bound manuscript volumes contain Alfred Taylor's diary from March 20, 1852 through October 1, 1912. Volume I, March 20, 1852 to December 31, 1859; Volume II, January 1, 1860 to December 31, 1879; and Volume III, January 1, 1880 to July 30, 1909, are in possession of A. B. Taylor, Jr., Spartanburg. Volume IV, August 1, 1909 to October 1, 1912, is in possession of Thomas H. Taylor, Taylors).

[22] *Ibid.*, July 22, 24, 1861.

[23] *Ibid.*, November 4, 1862.

[24] Minutes of the Chick's Springs Baptist Church, October 19, 1864 (MS, Recorded in Day Book of Firm of Taylor and Green, in possession of Church Clerk, Taylors First Baptist Church).

Taylor recorded a second death and wrote -- "Our beloved brother W. W. Flynn, who died March 17, 1865, and our beloved brother, Jack Baily, both of which we have good reason to believe were true believers and humble followers of our Lord and Master."[25]

The War that tested that Constitution brought political, economic, and social change. In 1868, the Chick brothers took the property back from Talbird and Henery, but they did not rebuild the hotel.[26]

Had the resort remained open, perhaps the shift to the present center of town would not have taken place. What brought it about was the coming of the Airline Railroad. Residents voted for the railroad in June, 1870, and in April, 1873, the first excursion train ran from Charlotte to Greenville. On the return trip, a big crowd gathered along the tracks at Taylor's Turnout, a spur in front of the present lumberyard. The excursion train pulled eight or nine coaches carrying about 200 persons. The trip from Greenville to Spartanburg required one hour and twenty minutes at a speed of 20 miles an hour.[27]

Last November, when I stood across the road with some 1500 other people to see the Freedom Train pass, I had the idea that the scene probably resembled that first morning. There we were -- old and young even to babies in carriages -- black and white. Little boys and girls put pennies on the tracks for the train to flatten. Other little boys with their ears on the rails strained to catch the vibrations. From time to time, the cry was raised -- "It's coming! It's coming!" and the noise would turn out to be a plane in the sky or a huge truck on the highway. But finally, the rolls of black smoke piled up above the trees and the smokestack at the mill. And then, there she came!

That morning in April, 1873, there she came! And perhaps most people felt as we did when a man first stepped on the moon. I imagine everyone stood watching the last of the smoke perhaps with the intense heat of shagbark hickory or the sizzle

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[25] *Ibid.*, April 23, 1865.

[26] Greenville RMC, Deed Book AA, p. 686.

[27] Greenville *Enterprise*, June 4, 1873.

of pine resin. There was a woodrack at the turnout, and the train used wood at the rate of ten to thirteen cords a day in 1882.[28]

With the train, the center of economic life became Taylor's Station. The post office moved to Taylor's. The schoolhouse was cut in parts and transported on light wagons with standards.[29] The church moved in 1885.

The same year, George Westmoreland, an Atlanta lawyer, bid in the estate of Reubin S. Chick at the Master's sale for $2750.[30] In a series of transactions, he bought the other half interest from members of the Chick family, the last heir to whom the property was entailed having died.[31] Westmoreland built a small hotel and several cottages. He advertised thus: "Summer Health Resort, Chick Springs, Taylors Station, Greenville County, S. C., on the Southern Railway."[32]

In 1903, he sold to the Chick Springs Company, made up of area businessmen. Dr. W. S. Pack was president; S. F. Lowery, vice-president; William Goldsmith, Jr., secretary; and H. Y. Thackston, treasurer.[33] The company planned to operate the hotel and bottle and sell water. For the local market, they bought an attractive white wagon with gilded letters on the side for their door-to-door delivery of fresh water.

An advertisement in the *Greenville Daily News* for July 19, 1903, advised: "Get the habit. When you get up feeling badly, don't drink a glass, drink a half gallon bottle of Chick Springs water before breakfast. You'll have an appetite. You'll feel better all day." The man responsible for the advertising was J. A. Bull, Greenville merchant. He first operated a fancy grocery store on Main Street where Heyward-Mahon stands and later on the corner where the Daniel Building rises today.

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[28]"Alfred Taylor Diary," III, February 1, 8, 1882.

[29]"'Taylors Community Proud of New Grammar School'". Greenville *News*, December 13, 1936.

[30]Greenville, RMC, Deed Book RR, p. 100.

[31]Greenville, RMC, Deed Book 22, pp. 545, 592, 755, 810.

[32]Greenville *Daily News*, June 21, 1900.

[33]*Ibid.*, May 7, 1903.

Bull and his father built a hotel in the winter of 1905 and the spring of 1906 by adding to the Westmoreland structure. It was a three-story hotel shaped like the letter E with all rooms on the outside. Dining room and ballroom occupied the first and second floors of one wing. There were 119 big 16x12 double bedrooms in the hotel and dozens in the cottages and the annex. In 1906, 4,000 guests registered from May to October. The grounds covered 117 acres with pavilions, summer houses, croquet grounds, tennis courts, golf links, archery, and target shooting. The hotel had long distance telegraph and telephone lines, several mails a day, and the New York and Washington papers on the evening of publication.[34] The Greenville Auto Company offered round trips to the Springs in the new conveyance -- the auto. In 1904, there were five automobiles in Greenville.

In December, 1907, the unoccupied hotel went up in flames with a loss estimated at $40,000. The Springs had its own waterworks and fire-fighting apparatus, and men attracted by the flames saved the cottages and the annex by using wet blankets.[35]

In 1913, Chick Springs was sold to J. Thomas Arnold and Associates, who built a hotel of 100 rooms. Again, war changed the course of the resort. The hotel opened in 1914 shortly before the outbreak of World War I. Within days, the hotel emptied, and the Arnold enterprise went into receivership and was sold in April, 1916.[36]

The leading man in the new corporation was J. A. Bull. One of the first things he did was to lease the property from September to May to a Greenville group for the Chick Springs Military Academy. Major W. D. Workman was the first commandant, and after he entered service, C. B. Martin became superintendent.[37]

The next fall, the annex burned, and the cadets were moved to the main building. During the winter, the academy closed

[34] *Ibid.*, May 9, 1906.

[35] *Ibid.*, December 15, 1907.

[36] Bull Account.

[37] Greenville *Daily News*, January 25, 1917, April 18, 1917.

permanently when the cadets went on strike.[38] By then, Camp Sevier had been built, and the hotel was leased to a man from New York as a year-round resort. After one successful season, he departed, leaving the hotel full of guests from Camp Sevier.[39]

The next venture was a hospital -- Steedly Clinic and Sanitarium. Director of the Clinic was Dr. Benjamin Broadus Steedly, a native of Barnwell County. Dr. Steedly was graduated from the University of Georgia, and in 1901, received the M. D. degree from Columbia University. He did graduate study at the New York Polyclinic and further graduate work at lying-in hospitals in New York and Europe. In 1903, Cornell awarded him an M. S. degree.

From 1902-08, he practiced at Gaffney. Then in Spartanburg, he helped establish the Steedly-Zimmerman Clinic.[40] From 1919 until his death, Dr. Steedly was at Chick Springs. The four-story hotel of Spanish architecture was remodeled into offices, foyers, parlors, dining room, sunroom and 85 bedrooms. Four physicians were on the staff, and the school of nursing was rated by the State as a standard school. The clinic was a "happy combination of hotel and sanitarium" where one could receive "benefit of modern hospital care with the added luxuries and convenience of a resort hotel in an atmosphere free from the depressing influence encountered in the average hospital."[41]

On January 12, 1932, Dr. Chick suffered a cerebral hemorrhage while visiting a Clinic patient at one in the morning and lived about three hours.[42] According to Dr. R. C. Alverson, Greer physician who was then on the staff, the Clinic closed in December, 1932.

The resort hotel was finished, but the manufacture and sale of carbonated water continued. In 1926, the Bulls built the swimming lake.[43] In March, 1929, an amusement park was started with the chief attraction the Wales Garden Ball Room. The

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[38]Bull Account.

[39]*Ibid.*

[40]David Duncan Wallace, *The History of South Carolina* (New York: The American Historical Society, Inc. 1934), IV, 435, 436.

[41]*Ibid.*, IV, 435.

[42]Greenville *Piedmont*, January 12, 1932.

[43]Greenville *News*, July 24, 1926.

ballroom opened formally at Chick Springs Park on Friday, May 31, 1929, with two orchestras in a Battle of Music. The two, led by former Greenville boys, were Duke Welborn's Footwarmers and Turk McBee, Jr.'s, Recording Orchestra.[44]

The guests from New York and Florida and the Carolina Low-Country were missing, but scores of local people danced on the beautiful floor and other scores came for the Sunday afternoon concerts. They drank the mineral water bubbling up in the center of the spring house. They sat on benches under the shady trees and waited till the last minute to climb the hill to board the cars of the Piedmont and Northern Railroad at the stop behind the hotel. All the hotels stood across the street from the spring.

In 1937, R. E. Foil, a car dealer from Spartanburg, bought the hotel property.[45] In 1939, he sold five acres at the back of the property to Norris Manufacturing Company.[46] The remaining acres Foil sold to Dr. J. E. Brunson, Taylors physician, in 1941.[47]

When that sale was made, it had been 101 years since Dr. Chick opened the resort at the mineral spring. The original 192 acres owned by the Chicks had shrunk to about a dozen. Economic change, social change, and political change occur but the clear water of Lick Spring still runs under the rustic bridges, and the spring sends the "cold, sparkling liquid bubbling up in silvery sparkles from the generous heart of the rock."[48] And the wooded hill still rises to the crest once crowned by hotels.

Chick Springs is part of the past -- the past the Greenville County Historical society seeks to preserve.

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[44] *Ibid.*, May 26, 1929.

[45] Greenville RMC, Deed Book 199, p. 273.

[46] Greenville RMC, Deed Book, 212, p. 34.

[47] Greenville RMC, Deed Book, 232, p. 240.

[48] O'Connell, p. 367.

MOBILIZATION FOR SECESSION IN GREENVILLE DISTRICT

JAMES W. GETTYS, JR.

Between 1830 and 1860 South Carolina politicians were involved in three political crises: the Nullification controversy, the political upheaval that accompanied the Wilmot Proviso which threatened to limit the expansion of slavery from territories acquired following the Mexican War, and the Secession Crisis of 1860.

Greenville District presents the historian with a unique case study during this period of South Carolina history. This dynamic up-country district was inhabited by a "yeomanry" (to use a phrase of that period) united in opposition to Nullification. Despite the fact that John Caldwell Calhoun lived in nearby Pendleton District, most Greenvillians were staunch Unionists during the 1830's. However, in 1860 the inhabitants of Greenville District united with the rest of South Carolina in Secession. What caused this dramatic shift of public opinion? Why did Benjamin Franklin Perry, one of the stalwarts of the South Carolina Unionists, proclaim in 1859 that if John Brown's raid were endorsed by northerners in general it would be dishonorable for South Carolina to remain in the Union? This paper will provide one explanation for the shift in sentiment between 1830 and 1860 among inhabitants of Greenville District.

Few South Carolinians in 1827 agreed with Thomas Cooper, President of the South Carolina College, when he declared that it was "time to calculate the value of the Union."[1] By 1832 most South Carolinians had accepted Cooper's analysis and the state was involved in the Nullification Crisis. For several years in the 1830's a bitter and devisive struggle was waged throughout the state between the Nullification leaders who followed John C. Calhoun and the Unionists forces led by James Louis Pettigru,

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[1] Dumas Malone, *The Public Life of Thomas Cooper* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1961), p. 307.

Joel Robert Poinsett, John Belton O'Neall, Benjmain F. Perry, and others.[2]

Evidence that the mass of Greenville's "yeomen" were solidly Unionist is abundant. William Lowndes Yancey, who challenged Virginia's Edmund Ruffin and South Carolina's Robert Barnwell Rhett for the sobriquet "Father of Secession," lived in Greenville during the Nullification Crisis. While reading law under Benjamin F. Perry, Yancey contributed articles to his mentor's newspaper, the Greenville *Mountaineer.* Yancey, radical Unionist at this early stage of his career, penned bitter denunciations of Calhoun across the pages of the *Mountaineer.* He noted with wonder that Calhoun had withdrawn from contention as a presidential aspirant. "It must be a hard thing for one of Mr. Calhoun's inordinate and grasping ambition, to give up all hopes of ever obtaining the object for which he has sacrificed so much, and for which he would even have sacrificed his country."[3] After Calhoun was elected to the United States Senate, Yancey wrote:

> Eighteen thousand South Carolina voters would rather that the seal of death had been set upon his lips, than that such foul and heretical doctrines -- such revengeful and heart-burning speeches should ever have been uttered by him in our Senate Chamber. **Revolutions indeed!** Or in other words, **Disunion -- Civil War!** These are openly avowed by this political madman, to be his only alternatives in the present crisis -- his only means of destroying the country, in which there is not the least shadow of a hope, that he can ever again be looked upon even as a patriot, or as an American.[4]

Calhoun had, according to Yancey, "left off his desperate attempts to obtain certain grapes, . . . by fair jumping for them, and has been for some time determined, if possible, to **kick** down the arbour which sustains them."[5]

Perry was more rational in his published attacks on Calhoun in the 1830's. He reprinted speeches made by Calhoun during the "Nationalist" period of the latter's career which called for

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[2]William Wilhartze Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War: The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina 1815-1836* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), is the most recent and the most complete account of The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina.

[3]Greenville *Mountaineer*, February 7, 1835.

[4]Ibid., February 21, 1835.

[5]Ibid., February 14, 1835.

increasing tariffs.[6] The *Mountaineer* editor wrote that "when we hear such men [as Calhoun] say there is no danger in Nullification, we don't believe them. We are rather inclined to think they may be mistaken again."[7] Perry's editorials were damaging to the Nullification forces all over South Carolina and eventually Nullifiers tried to silence the Greenville Unionist.

Both Unionists and Nullificationists created symbolic hats to distinguish the alligence of the owner. The Nullifiers were first, utilizing a blue revolutionary cockade with a button in the center as the emblem of a true Nullifier. Much more numerous around the village was the Unionist's black cockade decorated with an eagle and tassels, the proud insigna of an American citizen. Other millinery marvels were soon in fashion. Those who wore cockades decorated with a very large bit of yellow paper, or with a "whole biscuit," identified themselves as being neutral in the political contest.[8]

Unionists dominated the militia in the Greenville district. These expressed their opposition to Nullification by adopting Unionist resolutions at the annual militia muster.[9]

Meanwhile, Nullification leaders in Greenville found it difficult to cope with the overwhelming popularity of the Unionists. Waddy Thompson, the real power behind the Nullification forces in Greenville, distributed political tracts written by George McDuffie in an attempt to popularize his cause. McDuffie, Chancellor William Harper, Governor James Hamilton, and Christopher Gustavus Memminger were invited to Greenville for public speeches endorsing Nullification.[10]

Nullificationists in Greenville argued that Nullification would not result in disunion. They contended that the South's cotton was essential to Northern industry and that a strong stand by the state would result in a satisfactory compromise. The most effective speaker advocating this line of reasoning was Baylis J.

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[6] Ibid., June 25, 1831

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid., February 23, 1833.

[9] Ibid. October 8, 1831.

[10] Ibid., September 24, October 8, 1830; September 22, 1832. Henry D. Capers, *The Life and Times of C. G. Memminger* (Richmond: Everett Waddey Co., 1893), pp. 203-224.

Earle, a respected member of the Greenville bar under whom Perry had read law in the 1820's. Earle reassured his fellow townsmen that he personally denied the extreme doctrine of Nullification and that if a convention were called it would not result necessarily in the adoption of radical proposals. Even Perry was impressed for he reported: "there was evidently a change in the minds of many persons on this subject after Colonel Earle had [spoken] . . . "[11]Thompson and other Nullifiers characterized the Unionists as "submissionists."[12] This pejorative term was used consistently to heap approbrium upon the Unionists.

The strength of the Unionists in Greenville District all but stalemated efforts of the Nullifiers to develop organization or a demonstration of strength. In 1830 Thompson and the Nullifiers sought to dominate a Fourth of July celebration by controlling the committee of arrangements. This ploy created such a storm of protest from Unionists that the Nullifiers were forced to abandon their scheme.[13] A year later Greenville Nulification leaders attempted to hold a private meeting prior to a previously announced Unionist public meeting. Their intention was to pass pro-Nullification resolutions and have these published to give the impression that Nullification received public support in the area. This plan was thwarted and Perry wrote an editorial denouncing what he called "un-democratic" tactics employed by Thompson. "The lawyers, doctors, and village loungers can very easily have a meeting and pass resolutions, which go forth to the world as the sentiments of this whole district. The fact is, [these] Nullifiers are more active . . . . If a public meeting be called, they are certain to attend."[14]

As the election year of 1832 approached, Nullificationists over South Carolina were determined to win control of the General Assembly which would then call for the election of delegates to a state convention to consider nullification. They

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[11]Lillian Adele Kibler, *Benjamin F. Perry, South Carolina Unionist* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1946), pp. 41-46; Greenville *Mountaineer*, August 13, October 15, 1830.

[12]Greenville *Mountaineer*, September 20, 1831.

[13]Ibid., July 19, 1830.

[14]Ibid., September 2, 1831.

organized the States Rights and Free Trade Party as their political organization. Waddy Thompson ran into local Unionist obstructions as he sought to organize the party in Greenville. However, he was successful after more than a year of effort and the local unit of the States Rights and Free Trade party was ready to support a Nullification ticket in 1832.[13]

Waddy Thompson's most dramatic tactic in preparation for the 1832 elections was to establish a Nullificationist newspaper to challenge Perry's hegemony. With the help of Governor James Hamilton, a leading Nullificationist, and William Campbell Preston, he secured printing supplies and equipment from Columbia and Charleston and imported Turner Bynum, a Nullificationist, as editor. The *Southern Sentinel* published its first issue on June 23, 1832.[14] Nullificationists over the state supported the venture. Governor Hamilton wrote to Thompson:

> I enclosed my subscription ($25) in advance for ten copies of the paper but pray ask Bynum to send me **But one** which I hope will be sufficiently strong to be a dose -- for all the unconverted. My papers for selection are at his service but if record of them are taken in Greenville by you and the rest of our friends, it will be unnecessary for me to forward them. Let our party in Greenville give to this press a zealous writing and efficient aid before the October's Ballot depend upon it you will see the seed not only in a state of germination but fit for the sickle. If you ever want my feeble help over there send for me and as the midwifes (sic) say "I will come at any hour of the night." By establishing this paper in Greenville the scabbard has been thrown away and you have nothing now to do but to carry the war into the enemy's country as vigorously as possible."

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[13] Chauncey Samuel Boucher, *The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1916), p. 124; Greenville *Mountaineer*, September 3, 10, 24, 1831; January 10, May 12, 1832; January 5, 1833.

[14] Josh Moultin Leesne, "The Nullification Controversy in an Up-Country District," *Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association, 1939*, p. 18; James Hamilton to Waddy Thompson, August 31, 1832. Leesne cites R. W. Simpson, *A History of Old Pendleton District with a Genealogy of Leading Families of the District* (Anderson, South Carolina: n. p. 1913), p. 35, to hold that friends of Calhoun persuaded Bynum to go to Greenville and establish a paper. Bynum had previously arranged to publish a Nullification paper in Montgomery, Alabama. In her *Perry*, p. 124, Kibler draws the same conclusion citing the same source. Calhoun was working with Hamilton and Thompson during this period. James Hamilton to Waddy Thompson, July 16, 1832 (South Carolina Department of Archives and History).

[15] James Hamilton to Waddy Thompson, June 8, 1832 (South Carolina Department of Archives and History). This writer is grateful to Dr. Robert N. Cliberg. In 1970 he pointed out an uncatalogued container of material on Waddy Thompson. Several pieces of correspondence, including the above were included in the material.

The "zealous writing and efficient aid" soon generated bad feeling between the two editors and Perry killed Bynum in the most famous duel in Greenville history in August, 1832. Perry blamed the whole affair on Thompson. Perry wrote before the duel: "The attempt means to take me off by a tool and hireling brought here for that purpose. Should I be killed by the editor of the *Sentinel,* [the Nullifiers] will rejoice much in their hearts. [Thompson] brought Bynum to this place. He assists him in editing the *Sentinel.* He advises and consults with him -- he pulls the wires."[18]

Meanwhile, the campaign for the legislative election of 1832 continued. The "Paris Mountain Union Society" was created in January 1832.[19] William L. Yancy and Dr. A. B. Crook organized the "Greenville Huzzars," a cavalry troop composed of Unionists, who paraded at public functions demonstrating their readiness to support their ideology with their swords.[20]

In the campaign for the legislature William Easley Blassingame, onetime Unionist, headed a States Rights and Free Trade Party ticket which included also Robert Maxwell, Tandy Walker, and William Choice.[21] In opposition the Unionists ran Banister Stone, Wilson Cobb, Micajah Berry, and John Hampton Harrison.[22] Despite a hard-fought campaign by the Nullifiers, the voters better than two to one voted for the Unionists and sent a Unionist delegation to the General Assembly of 1832.[23]

Despite the Unionist members from Greenville and other upcountry districts, the legislature of 1832 called for the voters to choose delegates to a convention. In Greenville District, Perry headed a slate of Unionist delegates which the voters chose overwhelmingly to represent them at the Nullification Conven-

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[18]Leseine, *loc. cit.*, p. 19. This observation by Perry is in keeping with Thompson's activity in the period. On a sales's day in 1831 Thompson made a speech using such "harsh and disrespectful language" that he later issued a public apology. Greenville *Mountaineer*, September 24, 1831.

[19]Greenville *Mountaineer*, January 12, 1832.

[20]Ibid., May 12, 1832. Both Yancy and Crook later became ardent secessionists.

[21]Blassingame was later replaced by Dr. William Butler. Greenville *Mountaineer*, October 13, 1832.

[22]Walter B. Edgar, editor, *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1974), 1:327.

[23]Greenville *Mountaineer*, May 12, October 13, 1832.

As is well-known, the South Carolina Convention passed the Ordinance of Nullification and for a few anxious months the state faced the danger of civil war. The crisis was compromised with the passage of the Tariff of 1833 and the revocation of the Ordinance of Nullification by the convention on March 15, 1833.[25]

Bitterness between Unionists and Nullifiers engendered by the struggle continued for several years. In 1834 Governor George McDuffie appointed Waddy Thompson Brigadier General in the militia. Thompson reviewed the militia units throughout the district and took advantage of his position by delivering anti-Unionist speeches to his command.[26] The Unionist Greenville militia units were unimpressed and drew the accusation of "secretly organizing a force, to be armed with guns, bayonets, butcher knives, and batle axes . . . ."[27] The "militia question" gradually eased as tempers cooled and Greenville District enjoyed a period of political calm as the 1830's yielded to the 1840's.

In 1846, however, this calm evaporated before the storm generated by the introduction of the Wilmot Proviso in Congress. This proviso would have prohibited slavery in any territory acquired as the result of the Mexican War. George Franklin Townes[28], the new editor of the Greenville *Mountaineer,*[29] was quick to condemn any proposal to exclude slavery from new territory acquired by the United States. To Townes such exclusion constituted a more serious threat to free men

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[25]Greenville *Mountaineer*, November 10, 17, 1832; Kibler, *Perry*, pp. 140-143. Perry led the Unionist slate with 1055 votes. Baylis J. Earle, the leading Nullification candidate, received 381 ballots. The Greenville delegation also included Silas R. Whitten, Thomas Patterson Brockman, and Henry Middleton. Greenville *Mountaineer*, November 10, 17, 1832.

[26]David Duncan Wallace, *South Carolina, A Short History, 1520-1948* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1966 (originally published, 1951)), pp. 399-403.

[27]Pendleton *Messenger*, August 27, 1834.

[28]Ibid., May 28, 1834.

[28]The Townes family contributed significantly to the Greenville community during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. George Townes's brother, Dr. Henry Howard Townes of Abbeville District, had married into the Calhoun family establishing a nexus between the two families.

[29]Greenville *Mountaineer*, May 15, 1846.

than had the Stamp Act prior to the American Revolution.[30] He was even more concerned over the abolitionist threat. When a New York native was arrested on charges of distributing abolitionist material in hearby Spartanburg, Townes favored a speedy trial followed by a public hanging as the only fitting punishment for such an infamous crime.[31] Townes expressed dissatisfaction with local clergymen, not over their attitude toward slavery, but because they too infrequently made references to Biblical support for slavery from the pulpit.[34] As editor, Townes converted the *Mountaineer* into a proslavery paper militantly anti-abolitionist in perspective. While he did not view secession as the only means of protecting slavery, under his direction the *Mountaineer* did give aid to the secessionist cause. However, it did not become merely an extension of the secessionist party in Greenville.

William Hans Campbell, who replaced Townes as editor of the *Mountaineer* in January 1850, pledged to maintain the editorial policy of his predecessor.[33] Under his leadership, however, the paper lost its moderate tone and became one of the more ardent and persistent Secessionist papers of the area. As the secessionist crisis of 1850 developed, the Secessionists in Greenville had the advantage of controlling the only means of mas communication in the district.[34]

"Politics makes strange bedfellows" as a truism is well illustrated by the rapprochement of Benjamin F. Perry and Waddy Thompson when these bitter enemies of the 1830's joined forces to fight against the rising demand for secession in 1850. In November, 1850, were jeered by a large crowd when they attempted to speak against secession. Although the crowd was not representative of public opinion in Greenville, the incident does illustrate the fact that in the 1850 crisis the Secessionist forces enjoyed much more support than the Nullifiers had eighteen years before.[35]

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[30]Greenville *Mountaineer*, April 2, 1847.

[31]Ibid., July 27, 1847.

[32]Ibid., August 24, 1849.

[33]Ibid., January 4, 1850.

[34]*Southern Patriot*, October 23, 1851.

Believing that the rise of Secessionist support was largely the result of the effectiveness of the now-Secessionist *Mountaineer*, Benjamin F. Perry established the *Southern Patriot* in February 1851. In it, Perry announced that the *Southern Patriot* would be the anti-Secessionists' answer to the newspaper he once edited.[36]

In 1849 a Committee of Vigilance and Safety organized, composed of fifty members representing the entire district but with a preponderance of members from the town. At this point, heated political controversy had not developed and the Committee contained members of both political factions.[37] In December of 1850 the Greenville chapter of the Southern Rights Association formed to mobilize local support for the state-wide secession movement. The Association then created a special Committee of Vigilance and Safety. Unlike the rather large-public-1849 committee which represented all shades of opinion, the second Committee consisted of a handful of men and was an agency of the Southern Rights Association. Led by Dr. A. B. Crook, its primary function was to safeguard the community against abolitionist activity. The Committee operations were enshrouded in secrecy and it promised to become a powerful force in molding public opinion. By the fall of 1851, the unsympathetic Perry declared in the *Southern Patriot*:

> What were they [the Committee] organized for, but to over awe and control public opinion; to pay into the secrets of men and families, like the bloody inquisition of Spain, and the all-powerful and unknown police of the French Revolution.[38]

The Southern Rights Association of Greenville also spawned the States Rights Party which ran Dr. O. B. Irvine, Dr. A. B. Crook, and George F. Townes as Secessionist candidates in the 1851 elections. Again, the Secessionists were defeated

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[35]Pendleton *Messenger*, November 14, 1850; *Southern Patriot*, February 28, 1851. The Secession movement of 1850-1852 in South Carolina revolved around whether the state should act alone (Separatists) or secede only in cooperation with other slave states (Cooperationists). This paper treats only the issue of Secessionists versus Unionists. Perry and other true Unionists worked with the Cooperationists for obvious political reasons.

[36]Richard Yeardon to Benjamin F. Perry, Januar 6, 1850 (Perry Papers, Alabama State Archives, Montgomery, Alabama); *Southern Patriot*, February 28, 1851.

[37]Pendleton *Messenger*, November 14, 1850; Greenville *Mountaineer*, December 6, 1850.

[38]*Southern Patriot*, September 5, 1851. Perry had been a member of the public 1849 Committee of Vigilance and Safety.

throughout the district.[39] The Crisis of 1850 had passed and in June 1851 the central committee of the States Rights Association suggested that local units in areas where there was considerable opposition curtail their efforts. The Greenville unit followed this suggestion and little more was heard from it until the 1860 crisis.[40]

Both Unionists and Secessionists continued agitation, however. George F. Townes resumed the editorship of the *Mountaineer* in April 1854.[41] As a result of the Crisis of 1850, Townes had become more adamant in defense of slavery than earlier, and had become convinced that secession was inevitable. Recognizing Benjamin F. Perry and the *Southern Patriot* as the major agency for Unionism in the area, Townes attacked Perry in the *Mountaineer* during the spring and summer of 1854. Perry responded with verve. Debate in the columns of the two newspapers became so acrimonious that Townes had Perry arrested on charges of libel. However, friends of both editors, James Lawrence Orr, W. H. Simpson, and James Washington Harrison, effected a reconciliation. Perry took one parting shot, writing that Townes "was the editor raised up by the hand of Providence to lead, with his goose quill, . . . the . . . secession hosts . . . over our . . . prostrate patriotism."[42]

In May, 1854, Townes made his best statement of his attitude toward disunion. He held that slavery imparted "a dignity, a sobriety, and a self-possession to the character of the dominant race" producing a people ideally suited to create a stable society.[43] Townes argued that the South with its common bond of slavery could benefit from Secession while the North would

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[39]Greenville *Mountaineer*, December 6, 1850; *Southern Patriot*, February 10, 1851. Crook and Townes were vice-presidents of the Greenville Southern Rights Association and Townes was its secretary. Tandy Walker was president.

[40]*Southern Patriot*, June 6, 20, July 4, 1851; *Tri-Weekly Southern Patriot*, September 10, 1851; Laura Amanda White, *Robert Barnwell Rhett: Father of Secession* (New York: Century Company, 1931), p. 111.

[41]John C. Ellen, "Political Newspaper in the South Carolina Up-Country, 1850-1859: A Compendium," *South Carlina Historical Magazine*, 63 (April, 1966): 86-92. William H. Campbell had retired as editor the *Mountaineer* in July, 1853. H. Nelson Wheaton edited the paper for nine months until Townes became editor for the second time. *Southern Patriot* August 4, 1853; July 6, August 4, 1854.

[42]Greenville *Mountaineer*, August 3, 1854; *Southern Patriot*, July 27, October 26, 1854.

[43]Ibid., May 4, 1854.

break up into small communities because it was an unstable society. Events of 1859 justified Townes's position in the minds of his readers.

After 1854 the political scene in Greenville District became relatively serene. Then the John Brown Raid on Harpers Ferry arsenal with its call for slave revolt in October 1859, shattered the calm irrevocably. John Brown accomplished in a few days what the Secessionist forces of South Carolina had been unable to do in years of agitation: Secessionists of all variations of thought and the "waverers" united. By December 1859 Secession sentiment from the mountains to the coast was as it had been at the height of the 1850 crisis.[44]

There were important differences between the Crisis of 1859 and that of 1850. The most significant difference was that the John Brown Raid convinced most South Carolinians that the majority of Northerners, at best, would remain idle while extremists encouraged servile insurrection. In 1850 the Secessionists had been divided: the Separatists wanted separate state action while the Co-operationists would coordinate South Carolina's action with that of other Southern states. Having learned from this predicament, Secessionist leaders since 1851 had carefully harmonized their actions with those of other Southern states. As a result, in 1859 South Carolinians were not alone in their protestations against what they perceived as a threat of internal warfare between slaves and masters.[45]

Even Benjamin F. Perry was ready to calculate the value of the Union following John Brown's raid. According to the old Unionist such a "notorious horse thief, assassin, and traitor[as Brown], whom they [Northerners] audaciously eulogized as a hero . . . had committed treason, murder and robbery." If his act received general approval in the North it would be dishonorable for "slave-holding states to continue united in the

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[44]Harold Seesel Schultz, *Nationalism and Sectionalism in South Carolina, 1852-1860* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1950), pp. 178-199. After careful examination of various votes in the state legislatures following Brown's Raid, Schultz estimated that fifty percent of the senators and forty percent of the representatives favored disunion. He felt that these figures were actually underestimated due to the types of resolutions considered and political expediency on the part of some Secessionists.

[45]Ibid., p. 198.

same government with such a nation of savages, assassins, and traitors."[46]

Behind much of the secessionist' motivations was fear. In 1860 there were twice as many whites as blacks in Greenville; still, fear of servile insurrection was a reality for most whites in the district.[47] In a Greenville address, C. G. Memminger expressed the sentiments of most whites when he held that with emancipation "must come civil rights, and your next neighbor, in every jury box and muster field will be a Negro." He painted a picture of the waste and desolation that would cover the South after emancipation. In the end the "final choice to be made, is between a contest with the North, and a war of extermination with our own slaves."[48]

With the hindsight of over a century, one has difficulty understanding this seemingly irrational fear. Memminger, as most humans, did not base his conclusions on facts. Then as now judgements are based on one's perception of the facts. Memminger was articulating a part of the world view of South Carolinians and as such their system of beliefs was their reality. To Greenvillians in 1860 there was no Republican Party: it was the "Black Republican" Party and its basic goal was to destroy slavery and the Southern way of life.[49]

During the summer of 1860 the Greenville *Southern Enterprise* published dispatches which fed this fear of servile insurrection, as reports of slave revolts and rumors of uprisings frequently appeared. In September, the editor warned residents of the community "to keep a sharp look out, not only for suspicious characters, but for everything of a suspicious character."[50] In March 1860 a Greenville public meeting unanimously passed a resolution which condemned all Republicans for "stirring up a servile insurrection which was to murder the master."[51]

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[46]*Southern Enterprise*, December 8, 1859; September 13, 1860.

[47]United States, Bureau of The Census, *Eighth Census of the United States: 1860*, 2: 60-61; Steven Alan Channing, *Crisis of Fear: Secession in South Carolina* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970), p. 97.

[48]Greenville *Mountaineer*, December 6, 1850.

[49]*Southern Enterprise*, December 22, 1859; February 2, 9, September 13, November 15, 1860.

[50]Ibid., August 16, September 6, 1860.

[51]Ibid., March 8, 1860.

In the fall of 1860 the Greenville Committee of Vigilance and Safety investigated rumors of local Abolitionist activities which led to the arrest of Harrold Wyllys, a native of the district. Wyllys was charged with possessing a copy of Hinton Rowan Helper's *The Impending Crisis of the South* as well as other Abolitionist material. He was accused of having distributed Abolitionist tracts to local residents including one literate black man. Dr. A. B. Crook, Chairman of the Committee of Vigilance and Safety, wrote to Perry that Wyllys was to be denied bail and that the case would not be mentioned in the district's press:

> I think when you have examined the Book you will agree with me that no man who will give aid to its circulation should be permitted to go at large in our community, but that he should be kept in a safe place until he can be tried and hung [sic]. If we really live under a general Government incapable of protecting us from such attacks, the sooner we get rid of it the better.[52]

Political activity in Greenville accelerated during 1860. On March 5, a large public meeting gathered to discuss Southern manufacturing and commerce. It adopted resolutions calling for a boycott of Northern goods, for increasing commercial activity within the South, and requesting the state legislature to levy a discriminatory tax between Northern goods and those imported directly from Europe. It created a special committee to aid in the industrial development of the area. This committee consisted of the most active Secessionists in the district: A. B. Crook, Perry Emory Duncan, C. J. Elford, William King Easley, George F. Townes and Samuel D. Goodlet. The preamble to the above resolutions scarcely mentioned manufacturing, but rather elaborated on the "fiendish scheme" the North had designed to "deflate the entire South."[53]

To all who supported increased Southern manufacturing and

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[52] A. B. Crook to Benjamin F. Perry, December, 1860 (Perry Papers, Alabama State Archives; Montgomery, Alabama). Wyllys was spelled several different ways. This is the most frequently encountered spelling. The opinions of Crook were not followed in this case. Wyllys was brought to trial the following April and found guilty of "circulating inflamatory publications." He received one year's imprisonment rather than the ultimate punishment proposed by Crook. *Southern Enterprise*, April 5, 1860.

[53] *Southern Enterprise*, March 6, 1860. There was a statewide movement to industrialize the South during the winter months. Schultz feels that its primary accomplishment was to encourage prospective manufacturers to support secession for pecuniary reasons. Schultz, *Nationalism and Secessionism*, pp. 204-205.

commerce, secession provided hope that a Southern confederacy, once established, would offer an encouraging market. There were several manufacturers in Greenville District, adding annually over $213,000 to the economy.[54] Included in the industries in Greenville were: five cotton factories, two paper mills, a carriage and wagon factory, a furniture factory, one gun factory, a copper and tin factory, and seven tanyards.[55] Of the twelve leading manufacturers in Greenville, only one was active in politics before 1860 -- Micajah Berry, a Unionist. By November 1860 four other manufacturers, including Vardry McBee, an active local businessman who owned a cotton mill and a paper mill, had participated in Secessionist activities.[56]

On April 30, William L. Yancey, one-time Greenvillian but then from Alabama, led delegates from five Southern states out of the national Democratic Convention meeting in Charleston. Benjamin F. Perry was one of two South Carolina delegates who remained in their seats, taking no part in this dramatic walk-out.[57]

After the debacle of the Charleston Convention the extremists now began their bid for power throughout the state. Their plan was to elect new delegates to a Richmond Convention where disaffected Southern Democrats were to assemble on June 11. It was essential that Secessionists be selected from every district for the state convention to meet on May 30 to ensure a South Carolina delegation to the Richmond Convention which would act in concert with the delegates from Alabama and Mississippi. On May 21 the Democrats of Greenville gathered to appoint delegates to the state convention. The Secessionist forces had complete control over this meeting.

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[54] *Southern Enterprise*, January 12, 1855.

[55] Greenville *Mountaineer*, November 18, 1840; *Southern Patriot*, February 28, 1851.

[56] Ibid., February 28, 1851; *Southern Enterprise*, November 17, 1860. Channing quotes a letter from Vardry McBee to Vardry A. McBee, November 26, 1850 (Vardry McBee Papers, Duke University) which indicates the sentiments expressed between these two family members: "This miserable matter in the dissolution of the Union is direful to think of [.] But these Abolition Fanatics have set themselves never to cease until the Negroes are all free and regardless of the manner whether it is by cutting throats or any other manner never seem to enter their imagination or reflect on the consequence." Channing, *Crisis of Fear*, p. 62.

[57] Kibler, *Perry*, pp. 1-4, 313-316. Lemuel Boozer of Lexington District was the other delegate remaining in the Democratic Convention with Perry. Schutz, *Nationalism and Sectionalism*, pp. 214-216.

However, these men were anxious lest dormant Unionist sentiment should flower at the moment of their triumph, and democratic methods, normally a part of such a meeting, were abandoned. The five delegates and alternates to the convention were appointed by a committee of fifteen Secessionists. Resolutions, which were approved with but two dissenting votes, were first submitted to a committee of five who effectively controlled the meeting. All five were very active in the Secession campaign during the ensuing months as was the chairman, Reverend James Clement Furman, and the two secretaries, W. P. Price and G. E. Elford.[58] In the summer of 1860, the only former Unionist to make public statements supportive of the Union was Benjamin F. Perry, and there were public requests that Perry should be silenced. The pro-Secession view, on the other hand, received repeated support. During the summer of 1860 Secessionists in Greenville imported speakers to address various public meetings. En route to Alabama from the Richmond Convention, William L. Yancey arrived in the village on July 2. He was met at the train by an entourage of citizens who escorted him to the Mansion House, the area's finest hotel. That evening the man who had castigated Calhoun's disunion activities in the 1830's delivered a fiery secessionist address for an hour and a half.[59] Two days later T. S. Adams arrived to deliver the oration for the Fourth of July celebration. Speaking on the topic, "The Necessity for a Southern Confederacy," Adams urged immediate secession as the only way to rescue the South from its "degrading position" within the Union.[61] During the fall term of court numerous Secessionists spoke in the village. Benjamin F. Perry succinctly stated the primary theme of these speeches: "Disunionists want Lincoln elected to bring about secession. Their aim has been to sectionalize parties as the Black Republicans [have done] in the North."[62]

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[58] *Southern Enterprise*, May 17, 24, 1860. This committee of five was composed of the following Secessionists: W. N. Campbell, H. Lee Thruston, W. K. Easley, James Harrison, and S. G. McClanahan.

[59] Channing, *Crisis of Fear*, p. 242.

[61] *Southern Enterprise*, June 14, July 5, 1860.

[62] Ibid., July 5, 1860.

[62] Ibid., September 13, 20, November 15, 29, 1860.

Special military units took part in the political excitement during the last months of 1860. In October a Greenville Minute Men unit was formed in association with similar units being created throughout the state. A central committee of Minute Men in Columbia coordinated the activities local groups. While the military significance of these units was generally negligible, they did participate in public demonstrations to inflame local sentiment.[63] W. H. Campbell, editor of the *Mountaineer*, was elected captain of the Minute Men. H. Lee Thurston resigned as captain of the Butler Guards, a local militia unit, to become first lieutenant of the new organization. Both men were active in the "Association of 1860" for which the Minute Men appear to have functioned as a propaganda agency. Wearing blue cockades to symbolize what they considered to be a similarity between "Revolution for Freedom" and the "Revolution of '76" they created a martial atmosphere of a decidedly Secessionist attitude.[64] On November 15 the Minute Men unanimously accepted a flag consisting of a lone star above the inscription " 'Secession' and the Palmetto Tree." These proceedings were enlivened by the Furman University Riflemen, created in 1856, who saluted the flag with a volley and then "gave three cheers for the new Republic." The "Lone Star" flag flew from a "Liberty Pole," also dedicated on this occasion.[65]

Two days after the above ceremonies, citizens of Greenville gathered in a public meeting to nominate a slate of candidates for the Secession Convention which the legislature had summoned to meet on December 17. Sixty-seven men, a few old Secessionist warhorses among a host of neophytes, were named as vice-presidents of the meeting. There were six secretaries selected, including both of the villages's newspaper editors. The public meeting selected unanimously five delegates to the state convention: Reverend James Clement Furman, William H. Campbell, Dr. James Harrison, Perry E. Duncan, and William King Easley. This was a fitting reward for these men who had supported secession for years. All five were pledged to immediate state secession, with or without cooperation from other

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[63] Schultz, *Nationalism and Sectionalism*, p. 226; *Southern Enterprise*, November 1, 1860.

[64] Ibid., November 29, 1860.

[65] Ibid., November 15, 1860.

southern states.[66] Four of these candidates were lifelong friends of Benjamin F. Perry who ran against them on a "Co-operation" ticket. But times had changed and the Greenvillians gathered at the meeting elected the Secession ticket despite the district's long-time Unionist tradition.[67] In addition to selecting these delegates to the state convention, the November 27 meeting adopted a series of resolutions. The most pertinent resolved "that South Carolina should as soon as possible, cut the last cord that binds her to her enemies, and declare herself free and independent as when she entered the Union."[68]

Those who stood in front of the Court House in Greenville on November 17 were in complete agreement with the sentiments expressed by W. K. Easley when he asserted that majority rule was proper only so long as the majority was composed of representatives from various sections of the nation. Such was no longer the case, he asserted, for the majority and minority were sectionalized. He continued:

> The two great sections of the union contain two distinct peoples, differing from each other in spirit, in interest, in habits, in social institutions, and in all which go to make up individual character of nations, and so widely differing that they are now arrayed against each other in all the bitter hostility which the discord of antagonistic institutions and opposing interests has engendered, nurtured and matured.
>
> The sectionalism of the union then is complete, and can never be obliterated until the institutions of one section have been destroyed, and its individuality merged and lost in the other. There is an irrepressible conflict between the North and the South."

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[66] *Southern Enterprise*, November 22, 1860. Speakers at this meeting, all of whom favored separate secession, included W. K. Easley, Dr. A. B. Crook, George F. Townes, E. P. Jones, S. D. Goodlett, James H. Price, C. J. Elford, W. P. Price, and James Harrison.

[67] Ibid., December 13, 1860.

[68] Ibid., November 22, 1860.

[69] Ibid.

CAROLINE HOWARD GILMAN AND CONFEDERATE REFUGEE LIFE IN GREENVILLE

A. V. HUFF, JR.

Within the borders of the southern Confederacy even before the fighting had begun in the spring of 1861 a new social class had been created -- the refugee. And before the surrender of the Confederate armies four years later tens of thousands of persons had been uprooted from their homes and had become wanderers on the face of the earth. Most of those who refugeed were the poorer, uneducated people, but a larger percentage of the upper class fled because they had more to lose from the invading armies. The refugees were generally women and children and elderly and infirm men.[1] Across the Confederacy there were towns that were attractive and accessible to the refugees, so that gradually refugee centers grew all over the South away from the scenes of the fighting. In the South Carolina Piedmont numerous resort communities and towns attracted refugees. Among these were Limestone Springs, Spartanburg, and Greenville.[2]

Greenville had grown up in the post-revolutionary era as a trading center for nearby farmers as well as a droving town. But beginning about 1820 low country planters, looking for a healthy and cooler climate for their families in the summers, began to converge on the village of Greenville Court House. In the 1830's cotton yarn mills began to appear in the surrounding countryside. By 1850 the population had grown to 1,305, and in the following decade new developments quickened the life of the town. There were a corps of artisans, a carriage factory and a flour mill. In 1853 the Greenville and Columbia Railroad reached the "Mountain City," bringing more summer visitors and enlarging the imported culture of the low country. Furman University, the Greenville Female College, and the Southern

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[1]The standard study of Confederate refugees is Mary Elizabeth Massey, *Refugee Life in the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964). This account is based on pp. 4-9, 28-29.

[2]Massey, *Refugee Life*, pp. 75, 82, 38.

Baptist Theological Seminary brought a new dimension to the frontier town.[3]

As the Federal armies threatened the South Carolina coast south of Charleston in late 1861 and eventually Charleston itself, low country residents who were accustomed to travel to Greenville in the summers began to think of the summer resort town as a safe haven from the war. Not only did they come and bring servants with them, but they brought car loads of furniture and silver plate, wine, and whatever could be moved to store it until the war was over. By late 1864, Cornelius Burckmyer wrote to his wife:

> The town is full of refugees from Charleston. Tom Smith's family, Arthur Huger (who married Miss King), Gadsden King, Julius Smith, Robert Chisolm (Lynch Bachman's husband), Dr. Whitridge. Sam Black and all the Axsons, Mrs. Gilman with her daughters, Mrs. Frank Porcher and Mrs. Jervey, Mrs. Dr. Porcher (the Dr. died a year or two ago) with her mother and sister, and some others, whom I do not now remember. These fill the place pretty full and there is not much room to spare.[4]

Certainly the most widely-known member of the refugee community from Charleston was Mrs. Caroline Howard Gilman. she was born October 8, 1794, in Boston, Massachusetts, near Old North Church, the youngest child of Samuel Howard, a shipwright, and Anna Lillie Howard, a member of a distinguished New England family. Though her father died when she was three, young Caroline grew up listening to stories of her father's participation as one of the "Indians" in the Boston Tea Party. Her father's death precipitated a number of family moves to Concord, Dedham, Watertown, and finally Cambridge. After her mother's death in 1804 she lived with a sister. At ten she began to write poetry, eventually becoming a professional writer. At sixteen she met Samuel Gilman, a recent graduate of Harvard College. He became a student at the Harvard Divinity School, and in 1819 they were married. Gilman was called to assume the pastorate of the Second Independent

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[3]Alben Neely Sanders, "Greenville and the Southern Tradition," pp. 134, 136, and Laura Smith Clough, "A Social History," p. 16, both in Alfred Sandlin Reid, ed., *The Arts in Greenville, 1800-1960, Furman Studies*, November 1960.

[4]Charlotte R. Holmes, ed., *The Burckmyer Letters, March, 1863-June 1865* (Columbia: The State Co., 1926), p. 446.

Church in Charleston, which had just embraced Unitarianism. She was to live in South Carolina for the next sixty-three years.[5]

In Charleston Caroline Gilman's seven children were born, and there she began to write more profusely. As sectionalism drove North and South apart, Mrs. Gilman was caught between loyalty to her native New England and her adopted home. Her two older daughters had married and lived in Charleston, while the two younger had married New Englanders and were living in Massachusetts. She affirmed that the true bonds of union existed within the family, not political institutions, and the moral center of the home was its women and children. In 1832 she began to publish the *Rose-Bud*, or *Youth's Gazette*, one of the earliest American children's magazines; in 1834 it became the *Southern Rose*. Later she published a series of novels, romances, short stories, and verses. Samuel Gilman was also writing. His most famous work, "Fair Harvard," was composed for the school's bicentennial in 1836. Gilman died in 1858, and his wife stayed in Charleston until 1862. She maintained her sympathies for both North and South until South Carolina seceded. Once war came, she committed herself to the Southern cause. "It seems hard to think," she wrote at the end of 1860, "that we are on the eve of a revolution . . . . But what a current is rushing in on the souls of men, not only representative men like Phillips, Cushing, and Yancy, but in all who are capable of reflection. It seems to me no time for vituperation and passion. Our destiny whatever it is has a muffled tread, but it is solemn and fixed. Sarcasm and ridicule pause. Well, dear Annie, whatever others may say and do, you and I will agree to differ and love. We may both be called recreant to our birth place, but we are both honest."[6]

For months Mrs. Gilman's life was like that of many other women in Charleston. There was apprehension over the struggle surrounding Fort Sumter. She spent hours in making clothing

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[5]Sketches of Mrs. Gilman have appeared in Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), 7:298-99; Edward T. James, ed., *Notable American Women* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1971), 2:37-39; and Mary Scott Saint-Amand, *A Balcony in Charleston* (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1941), pp. 1-7.

[6]Caroline Gilman to ?, n.d., Caroline Gilman Papers, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, S. C. (Cited hereafter as SCHS).

for the soldiers. When the fighting began, her anxiety increased. In the fall of 1861 the Union invasion of the South Carolina sea islands began, and an army of Confederate refugees took to the roads. In December a fire devastated much of Charleston. In February 1862, she reported to her children: "Generally speaking the sufferers have borne their losses nobly, and already the spirit of improvement is abroad. The most affecting cases are those, where individuals had to flee to the City, losing their all at the Islands, and were burnt out here at the houses of friends." Charleston Harbor was blockaded by a Union fleet, and the city was bombarded periodically from outlying batteries. "My Orange Street house was struck by a shell," she reported,"through the pantry, which entered the cellar without exploding. It is no child's play here."[7]

Even before the firing on Fort Sumter Mrs. Gilman and her daughters, Mrs. Francis Porcher and Mrs. Lewis Jervey, had planned to leave Charleston. "If Charleston is in real danger," she had written, "we shall go to Greenville, where we have a house engaged." Sometime in March 1862, within a month after the shell hit her home, Mrs. Gilman with her daughters and several grandchildren arrived in Greenville. The rented house was ample and comfortable. Mrs. Gilman commented that her bedroom was "lovely . . . all curtained and carpeted, with the clearest glass you ever saw made from rosin."[8] She found that the ladies of Greenville had already organized to assist the Confederate cause. On July 19, 1861, a group under the leadership of Mrs. Perry Duncan, met at the Female College and organized the Greenville Ladies Association in Aid of the Volunteers of the Confederate Army. Like similar groups all over the South, they proposed "firstly, to relieve the sick and wounded among the soldiers, by forwarding to them linen, underclothing, cordials, bed ticks, socks, etc., secondly, to make winter clothing for the Volunteers in the Confederate Army." By June 1862, the number of refugees had grown to the point where the Ladies Association specifically opened their ranks to "the strangers in Greenville." At a special meeting on June 8, the minutes noted

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[7]Caroline Gilman to children, February 1, 1862, SCHS.

[8]Ibid., March 12, 1862, in "Letters of A Confederate Mother: Charleston in the Sixties," *Atlantic Monthly*, 137 (April 1926): 505; Caroline Gilman to children, October 31, 1865, SCHS.

that Mrs. Gilman "joined the association." Soon she was chairing a "Committee on soliciting strangers." And a week later she "handed over to the shopping committee" her collection of $131.50. Later in the summer of 1862 she served on the Depot Committee to "go daily and carry provisions and clothing to the railroad" for soldiers who were traveling by rail. When the Association voted in August to establish a Soldiers' Rest to care for soldiers, especially the wounded, often stranded in Greenville, Mrs. Gilman helped solicit contributions, was on the "Committee for plastering and white-washing," and contributed "1 rug and piece of carpet" from the belongings she had brought from Charleston. Eventually, in January 1863, she was elected a Directress of the Association.[9]

Her days were filled with relief work. In a letter of March 27, 1863, Mrs. Gilman wrote to her children in the North that "one of the surgeons on the coast" had called "for flags and rosettes for his department, the flags to be nailed to fences and trees from a battle field to a hospital to designate the road, and the rosettes to be attached to the arms of those who are to carry the wounded. I volunteered at the Directors meeting to have twenty flags made, and [daughter] Lou gave the material. All that were required were completed and sent seaward in thirty-six hours." In case of the expected attack on Charleston "the Confederate authorities also called on us to have a hundred sheets made for a receiving hospital in Greenville for convalescent soldiers in case nearer ones should be wanted after a fight. In a week the ladies had everything ready."[10]

But all was not work in Confederate Greenville. Mrs. Gilman found time for reading, though what she read was not always to her liking. "I have just concluded Macaulay's England," she wrote to her children, "and detest History more than ever, although from my present standpoint it is more interesting than formerly. I detest it, because it is founded in crime and wrong." She could not read or write in isolation, however:

> I have been somewhat interrupted in the foregoing criticism by the children who are playing the impromptu game of Pig, which

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[9]James Welch Patton, ed., *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Greenville Ladies' Association in Aid of the Volunteers of the Confederate Army. Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society.* Series XXI (Durham: Duke University Press, 1937), pp. 15, 36, 38-40, 42-45.

[10]Saint-Amaud, *Balcony*, p. 125.

> by the way, is suited to the times, bacon being in demand . . . Wilmot, the pig, who is about as thick as he is long, runs away from his owner (who wants to cut him up for bacon). Over Reedy River and several imaginary bridges, he is pursued. At length being "fat and scant of breath" he falls, upon which John (played by Louly) and Bob (Francis Younge) seize him stretch him out on the carpet and kill him with a mythical carving knife. After proper struggles he is ordered to be still, "because he is dead." This he performs admirably. He is then put in a tub of scalding water, then cut up in pieces, salted, and pickled and put in a barrel for family use, and as a finale, a string of sausages (oh that they were real!) presented to me."

The Gilmans, likewise, had time for socializing. In a letter of August 21, 1863, she tells of a visit she and her daughter, Caroline Jervey, made to repay a call from Waddy Thompson, former Congressman, Federal District solicitor, and minister to Mexico from 1842 to 1844. "Caroline and I went to Paris Mountain," she wrote, "to return a visit from General Waddy Thompson, who lives, isolated, on its summit." She marveled at the house: "His house is very interesting; apart from an external view which can scarcely be excelled in beauty, he has many valuable curiosities, collected in years residence at Mexico, where he was minister from the U.S.A. What he seems to prize most, however, is an ivory likeness of his first wife, who was very beautiful." It was this "ivory likeness" which led to a most interesting conversation. "General Thompson, you may be aware," Mrs. Gilman wrote, "is a great spiritualist. His second wife is his medium, and keeps up a constant communication with his first. He recited to us two little poems, from the Spirit world, with great tenderness of manner, purporting to be from the latter."[11]

It was the reminders of war, however, not the diversions from it, that characterized the life of the refugees in Greenville. News was carried by travelers as well as newspapers. Mrs. Gilman was always anxious to communicate with her daughters in Massachusetts, and postal delivery was not easy. To one relative she sent a letter through the lines "by Flag of Truce." Fortunately, Caroline's husband, Lewis Jervey, was in Nassau, apparently engaged in the "import-export" business, as blockade-

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[10] Caroline Gilman to children, n.d., SCHS.

[11] Caroline Gilman to children, August 21, 1863, SCHS.

running was euphemistically called. Letters went from Greenville to Charleston and were sent out on blockade runners to Nassau. From there, they eventually reached their destination. Letters from the North followed the reverse path. In October, 1864, Mrs. Gilman informed her daughters: "Three packages, containing dates through June and July, have just come to hand, completing, I fancy, your entire series. They have followed Lewis Jervey about being directed to him. Hereafter direct to me, care of the firm at Nassau." The letters were passed on, as Mrs. Gilman noted: "Frank [Porcher, her daughter Louisa's husband] who is on two weeks furlough with us, will take them to Margie, as they have considerable of Annie's writing scattered over them"[13]

News from Charleston was particularly important, especially with the beginning of the serious Federal threat in the summer of 1863. "Charleston beseiged," she wrote on August 21, 1863, "Men fighting on the islands, women nursing in the City -- singularly few casualties. Mrs. Crafts and Mrs. Miles, for instance are still on the battery. Supplies and men coming in. All willing to meet the emergency." News was unfavorable on every front, yet Mrs. Gilman's spirit never wavered: "No matter if you wish or fear that Charleston may fall. Vicksburg and [Port] Hudson have gone . . . let Charleston be annihilated (for it will never be taken) and resistance will spring up in every new form that valor and ingenuity can devise."[14]

But by Christmas Day 1864, even Mrs. Gilman's spirit was low: "I am constrained in my language . . . . If I were to indulge in strong emotion, I should soon be useless . . . . But where shall we find rest now? Savannah is gone; Charleston is in danger and though they are not the Confederacy, and there is a strong recuperative power after every blow, yet the suffering must be immense." Christmas seemed to magnify the problems of the Greenville refugees. "The children rose at daylight," she wrote, "to examine their stockings, for we sympathize with them. By a singular accident my gifts were quite belligerent, fighting cocks, made of pumpkin seeds, and worsted balls. To give you an idea of prices, Lou gave twenty dollars for an india

[13]Caroline Gilman to children, March 27, August 21, 1863; October 13, 1864, SCHS.

[14]Caroline Gilman to children, August 21, 1863, in "Letters of a Confederate Mother," p. 509.

rubber round comb for Louly, and $1.50 for a set of wire knitting needles. I paid $10 for the making of a pair of leather shoes for little Phillis, and Lou found the material. Men's coarse shoes are $90 . . . Lou had a great present from her friend Jennie Wardlaw yesterday -- sausages, cherries, hogs-cheese, butter and eggs. By the way, eggs were offered at the door at five dollars per dozen! And yet strange to say, we hear of no real want in Greenville."[13]

With spring, however, came the end. And though Mrs. Gilman could not know of Robert Edward Lee's imminent surrender, she wrote these words on April 2, 1865: "A spring morning with its freshness and beauty calls up the sad stores of memory . . . a contrast with man and nature makes everything more vivid and more sad. I grieve to tell you that nothing now seems beautiful to me. Spring flowers that were once so dear to me, music that used to smooth me, have lost their charm. The thought that man, made in the image of God, should become the butcher of his fellows, that the Gospel should be an empty sound is depressing, crushing to the heart."[14]

Federal invasion of South Carolina and eventually surrender of the Confederate armies brought more refugees to Greenville:

> We have a constant succession of Frank [Porcher]'s relatives and friends here. He is so hospitable that he will share his last with others. Not a week passes but we have an improvised bed, what the soldiers call a 'shake-down' in the parlor.
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> Willis is a paroled prisoner and came home on a walk of two hundred miles from Johnston's army. Notwithstanding the times he and Nina went to a surprise party last night and stayed until the small hours.
>
> We are living in a strange way now. Isolated by the cutting off of the R.R.s we have only accidental communication with the outer world, no stores for two years open; without currency; no post-office, that is, no paid P[ost] M[aster] and a future dependent on the strangest combination of human affairs."

The war came to Greenville -- and to the Greenville refugees - in the closing weeks of the fighting. In April, 1865, Union Major-General George Stoneman, commander of the District of

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[13] Caroline Gilman to children. December 24, 1864, SCHS.

[14] Caroline Gilman to "my dear friend," April 2, 1865, SCHS.

[15] Caroline Gilman to Annie, n.d., in "Letters of A Confederate Mother," *loc. cit.*, p. 509.

East Tennessee, swept into southwestern Virginia and western North Carolina on a final raid and returned to Tennessee, leaving his calvary "on the other side of the mountains . . . to obtain forage and to intercept and disperse any bands going south, and to capture trains, etc." The last week of April Stoneman received word that Jefferson Davis, on his flight from Richmond, was heading though South Carolina toward Georgia. He ordered the cavalry to pursue Davis across the Savannah River and "to the ends of the earth" if necessary. Two brigades left Hendersonville on April 29, and marched through Jones' Gap towards Pickensville. The third brigade left Cowpens that same day and headed southwest -- through Spartanburg and Golden Grove to join the main force. In Asheville Brigadier-General Davis Tillson assembled 150 additional calvary, put them under the command of Major James Lawson, and ordered them to overtake the others. This detachment crossed the mountains and on May 2, 1865, rode into Greenville.[11]

According to Mrs. Gilmans's account, "Louisa, Caroline, the children and myself, seated ourselves at the table, with some pleasant jests on the subject of a roast pig, which Lou had provided." The mood was calm, if not happy that the fighting was over. "We had full confidence that the flag of truce would be respected." Then they heard the servants shouting: "The yankees are coming!" They rushed to the piazza in time to see "a negro man, in a cart, whipping his horse to a full gallop . . . a dozen of the enemy's cavalry came after him and fired. In an instant, almost, his horse was unharnessed and taken possession of." Caroline Jervey begged for a guard, and a Lieutenant West "called to a stolid looking man, and said, 'Shertz, guard this house strictly and watch the streets. Let none of our men disturb these ladies.' " Shertz took his stand on the piazza, and Louisa asked Albert, one of the servants, to "take the gentlemen's horse." But Albert replied: "I ain't goin to touch no Yankee horse. Let him hitch him his self." Somewhat later Albert did manage to "mease the 'Yankee horse' some corn." Mrs. Gilman returned to the dining room alone. "I saw

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[11] *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), ser. 1, 49, pt. 2: 407; 49; pt. 1: 546, 547-48; 49, pt. 2: 555. See also, Thomas Bland Keys, "The Federal Pillage of Anderson, South Carolina: Brown's Raid," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 76:2 (April 1975), 80-86.

Sophy, the cat, discussing roast pig with great relish, and feeling faint I followed her laudable example. I think I was the only member of the family who dined.''[19]

Soon, soldiers were searching houses for arms and horses. "One man came on foot, while I was leaning over the rails," Mrs. Gilman wrote, "and demanded coffee. I said I had been without coffee for two months. 'I hear you have coffee,' said he, 'and if I find it so, I'll be damned if I don't burn your house down.' Shertz pointed his musket towards him and he went away."

The soldiers rode down Main Street. They opened the Commissary stores and stole $30,000 in gold belonging to the Bank of Charleston. The Ladies Association had recently moved their Soldiers' Rest to the Confederate Hospital in the Goodlett House at the corner of Main and Washington Streets. Every article belonging to the Ladies Association was pillaged. Then, the raiders began to break into empty shops where refugee property from the low country had been stored. "Everything was rifled," Mrs. Gilman wrote. "Books, costly plate, wines, pictures, bed linens thrown into the streets to be picked up by any passerby. All the afternoon we saw white and black, laden with goods, passing by the house."

Mrs. Arthur Huger reported that only one house in the village was set on fire: "Capt. Brooks' house was set on fire but not burnt." There was only one death. "A Greenville man, who was in liquor," reported Mrs. Gilman, "fired at and wounded slightly a raider. He was instantly shot. No other death occurred," though a month later a Mrs. Venning, one of the refugees, crazed with fright during the raid, died.

At twilight Lieutenant West reappeared at Mrs. Gilman's house with a United States flag he had liberated from the Confederate foundry. Then, he sat down to supper. He was joined by one of his soldiers, a Mr. Simpson who appeared in a cloak which he had stolen from the home of Professor James P. Boyce of the Southern Baptist Seminary. "Mr. Simpson evidently enjoyed his supper," said Mrs. Gilman, "his appetite

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[19] This account is based upon Caroline Gilman to Eliza, June 2, 1865, SCHS, and Mrs. Arthur Huger to Mrs. William Mason Smith, May 8, 1865, in Daniel E. Huger Smith, *et al*, ed. *Mason Smith Family Letters, 1860-1868* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1950), pp. 206-7.

probably whetted, as we afterwards learned, by his exercise in-overhauling all Mr. Boyce's drawers and trunks which occupied him and his party an hour. In going out he lighted one of Dr. Boyce's segars." Shortly thereafter the Federal cavalry evacuated the town. "So ends the history of the Greenville Raid," wrote Mrs. Gilman.

With the coming of summer communications reopened with Charleston and the North. Frank Porcher operated a store in Greenville, with goods brought by wagon from the coast. Gradually servants left their former owners, and a garrison of Federal troops occupied the former Confederate Hospital on Main Street. The refugees did not leave Greenville until November to make the long trek to the low country. The Civil War had ended, and the era of Reconstruction had begun.[20]

[20]Caroline Gilman to Eliza, July 17, August 5, [?], 10, 1865, SCHS.

THE GREENVILLE COUNTY COUNCIL FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: FURMAN AND GREENVILLE IN PARTNERSHIP IN THE 1930'S

ALFRED S. REID

Ever since Greenvillians helped finance the move of Furman University to their town in 1850, the relationship between the town and the university has been close. One of the most spectacular episodes in this long and close relationship took place in the mid-1930's during the presidency of Bennette Eugene Geer. Geer took over as president of the college in 1933. He had had a long association with Furman as student, teacher of English, treasurer, fund raiser, and member of the Furman Board of Trustees. He had equally close ties with Greenville through his business ventures in cotton manufacturing. He was president of Judson Mills and president and treasurer of Alice Mills at the time of his election to the presidency. One of the planks in his platform for the university was to strengthen and extend this close relationship between town and college by bringing Furman's academic program to bear on the social betterment of the community. He supported other cooperative plans, such as the Furman-Greenville arboretum at Reedy River waterfalls, the cooperative Furman-Greenville building of Sirrine Stadium, and the putting of students to work at campus and city beautification with funds from the Public Works Administration. But his most important achievement of this sort was his leadership, along with that of Lawrence Peter Hollis of Parker District Schools, in the setting up of the Greenville County Council for Community Development.[1]

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[1]Extensive records, never before written up, have survived on Geer's curriculum experiment: correspondence with the General Education Board, correspondence with Ralph Muse Lyon and Lawrence Peter Hollis, financial ledgers and vouchers. The Greenville County Council for Community Development published four annual reports in pamphlet form. The first is entitled *First Annual Report of the Greenville County Council for Community Development, 1936-1937* (Greenville, 1937), and is subtitled "A five-year program of cooperation and coordination in community development participated in by citizens, organizations, and agencies of Greenville City and County, South Carolina, and by Furman University and the Woman's College of Furman University, and the Greenville Public Library, the schools of Greenville County, the Greenville City Schools, and the Parker District Schools." The final report, *Community Organization and Adult Education: A Five-Year Experiment* (Chapel Hill, 1942), is a book-length study, written by Edmund de S. Brunner with the assistance of Gordon Williams Blackwell, Laura Smith Ebaugh, R. O. Johnson, Clarence B. Loomis, Margaret Chalmers Lyon, Ralph M. Lyon, and Nicholas Pendleton Mitchell. One of the participants, Clarence B. Loomis, published a separate book on the experiment: *An Experience in Community Development and the Principles of Community Organization* (Clayton, Ga. 1944). Gordon Blackwell also wrote up the program in his general survey of similar college-community programs around the country in *Toward Community Understanding* (Washington, D. C., 1943), prepared for the Commission on Teacher Education of the American Council on Education.

What I shall do here today is read some excerpts about this project from the chapter on Geer's administration in the new sesquicentennial history of Furman that will be published in March.[2] The chapter is one of the most complex in the book, even though it covers only five years, because Geer's administration was the most controversial in the history of the college. Geer was not the unanimous choice of the board for the presidency, and his aggressive personality, his initial oppostion to coordination, his spendthrift fiscal policies, his opposition to big-time football, his religious liberalism, and the vocational implications of his educational project kept him in constant strife with the board and with some of his other constituents.

Let me pick up my narration of the project just after I have explained Geer's securing a grant from the General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation to recatalogue books and to expand the collections of the Furman and the Greenville Woman's College libraries. That small grant itself was a satisfying achievement for Geer in his educational plans.

Even dearer to Geer's heart was the successful fruition of plans to link Furman with Greenville in a gigantic educational project that combined curriculum experimentation with community development. As Geer described the plan to the board on 22 May 1936, the "Project of Community Development" was to be a cooperative undertaking participated in not only by Furman and the Woman's College but also by the city of Greenville, the schools of Greenville, the schools of Parker School District, the Public Library, and many social and governmental agencies, local, state, and national. It was to be a five-year program funded by an $80,000 grant from the General Education Board and administered by a council made up of representatives of participating organizations. Geer told the Furman board that participation would involve "the enlargement at Furman of the Departments of Education, Sociology, and Political Science." He said that the program would, in effect, turn Greenville County into a vast laboratory. It would get Furman students off the hill over looking Reedy River Falls, get the faculty out of their

[2]Alfred Sandlin Reid, *Furman University: Toward a New Identity, 1925-1975* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1976).

academic ivory towers, and at the same time greatly improve the quality of life in the community. "The activities," he said, "will involve not only educational projects but forestry, the beautification of highways, the creation of recreational parks, and health activities."

Geer had been planning this community-related program ever since June, 1934, when Jackson Davis of the General Education Board, knowing that Geer would be interested in a plan affecting his own community, showed him a proposal for funds for an expanded adult education program in the Parker District mill villages, drawn up by Ralph Muse Lyon, a graduate student at the Teachers College of Columbia University. Only the month before, both the General Education Board and the American Association for Adult Education had rejected the plan, which Lyon had fashioned out of his interests in curriculum development and a social commitment to improving the lives of mill workers. He had outlined the plan in detail as part of his doctoral dissertation, "The Basis for Construction Curriculum Materials in Adult Education for Cotton Mill Workers." Lyon already had the enthusiastic support of his professors at Columbia, especially Edmund Bruner, and he had the promise of cooperation from Lawrence Peter Hollis, superintendent of Parker District schools, to whom he had proposed the idea not only because Parker District under Hollis's leadership was recognized as the most progressive mill-village school system in the South but also because Hollis had already founded there a "Peoples College for Adult Education." Geer saw Hollis's letter of endorsement in the Richmond office of the General Education Board. He also saw Lyon's plan and immediately saw possibilities for adapting it to a college program under Furman's auspices. Geer wasted no time in wiring Lyon in New York to meet him in Richmond for a preliminary discussion of plans and a talk with Commissioner of Education George Frederick Zook. Although he thought Lyon unnecessarily radical in his ideas and somewhat brash and controversial in his enthusiasm, Geer was instantly attracted to him, wrote to Columbia University for his dossier, and informed Hollis of his desire to bring him to Furman. Lyon was equally attracted to Geer and wrote on 30 June that he would "almost give my right arm to be your professor of education." He was

eager to put his theories into practice and suggested that in addition to Geer's ideas about integrating the program with college education courses, they consider the idea of a "city forum and a rural community enterprise.

It took the rest of the year for Geer to outline a program. He submitted his prospectus to the faculty in December 1934—"A Proposed Plan for a County Adult Education Program and an Adult Community Leadership Project at Furman University, Greenville, South Carolina,"—and invited suggestions in time for his next meeting in January with the General Education Board. Sociologist Elwyn Judson Trueblood expressed interest, as did psychologist Charles Watson Burts. Education professors Edwin McCoy Highsmith and Fred W. Alexander were more enthusiastic. They saw it as a "way to social reform" as well as a means of extending Furman's educational influence. They called the plan a "striking example or weaving in the new patterns and the new textures in the cloth of life--one of the great ideas in your inaugural address." The humanists and scientists were less enthusiastic but expressed their willingness to cooperate. Historian Delbert Harold Gilpatrick questioned the faddishness of the plan but approved of it and suggested giving more attention to rural libraries and to such rural health problems as diet. Classicist Preston Herschel Epps hoped that the program would not fall into the hands of "superficial professors of education" and that college credit would not be given for the work. Physicist Hiden Toy Cox doubted whether Greenville people, especially mill workers, were as eager to be educated or improved as the plan idealistically implied and cautioned against "wild and autocratic experimentation." He approved of the laboratory method of problem solving, however, and pointed out that it was the typical method of the sciences. Dean Robert Norman Daniel, an English professor, urged extreme caution about entering into graduate education before Furman was ready.

The grant from the General Education Board came through in the early spring of 1936, effective 1 July, and Geer and Hollis quickly invited twenty-four persons from twenty-three agencies and organizations to the campus to form the Greenville County Council for Community Development and to begin mapping out an extensive program for action. Geer was elected chairman

of the council, and Hollis was elected chairman of the executive committee. Geer provided an old fraternity house at 209 University Ridge as council headquarters and expanded his faculty to help make up the professional staff. As experts in education, he brought in Ralph Lyon, Margaret Charters Lyon, Marcus Cicero Stephen Noble, Jr., and Ellison Matthew Smith; in government, Nicholas Pendleton Mitchell; and in health, Mayo Tolman. He found an additional sociologist so that Laura Smith Ebaugh could devote some of her time to direction the projects in social welfare. In the second year, a new full time sociologist joined the staff, Gordon Williams Blackwell. The grant paid the salaries of these persons in whole or in part. Geer told the executive committee of .the Furman board on 6 November, after the staff had been assembled and the work begun, that Furman had gained from the grant the equivalent of two fulltime teachers. Additional staff members, not members of the Furman faculty, included Russell D. Bailey of the National Park Service; Michael Seymour, director of arts and crafts; Cora Chapman, nurse; and Alfred Moore, musician. College courses planned for the summer and fall included community organization, community leadership, recreation leadership, social problems, family problems, government, vital statistics, child hygiene, and problems in community development. Teaching methods stressed team teaching, problem solving, practical analysis of existing conditions in the Greenville area, field work, and case studies; and data were turned over to social agencies. In anticipation of the project, Ellison M. Smith, new director of the summer school, announced a summer forum for superintendents and principals and a curriculum laboratory to give in-service teachers "direct assistance . . . in working out their problems."

Additional curriculum developments in the spring of 1936 indicated wide-spread eagerness to move in a utilitarian, community-related direction. The Woman's College began a five-year course of study leading to a degree in nursing in cooperation with the Greenville General Hospital. Women students planned extracurricular work in buying and retailing in cooperation with downtown department stores. The drama department of the Woman's College cooperated with the Greenville Little Theatre, and the music department, always a leader

in community music, soon helped organize the Greenville Symphony Orchestra when Lennie Lusby, professor of violin, and Guy Hutchins, director of music at Greenville High School, united their student ensembles with community performers under the direction of Hutchins in 1938. In the fall of 1936 John Laney Plyler returned to teach a course in business law, and Charles N. Wyatt, college physician, headed the department of physical education and taught physiology and hygiene.

The board was not excited as Geer was about educational innovation and expansion. It was concerned about finances, and justifiably so. Audit reports at the end of April continued to reflect deficits. The combined indebtedness by 30 June exceeded $300,000. Yet Geer was launching a program of considerable magnitude. Geer blamed subsidized athletics, coordination costs, student defaults on payments, and unavoidable economic conditions. Some members of the board blamed Geer's own policies of fee concessions to students collections, investments, and expenses. Deeply committed to leading Furman in its most progressive educational program ever and conscious of the pressure building up against him, Geer proposed on 22 May 1936, that he be relieved of the task of overseeing the finances. He argued that he should now "devote my time entirely to . . . the development and enlargement of academic standards and usefulness." He therefore proposed that the board handle the budget or that a new financial officer or treasurer replace the ailing Alfred G. Taylor and be responsible for the business management and maintenance. On 14 July the board agreed to this reorganization. At the same meeting it listened to Geer's request for a full investigation of his fiscal policies to learn to what extent he should be held responsible for unsatisfactory conditions.

In my book, the chapter continues with the controversy over finances and with the special investigation committees' report. It then goes on to additional controversies over athletics and religion before returning to summarize the activities of the Greenville County Council for Community Development.

Meanwhile, the first year of the community-development curriculum had been a splendid success. Geer called it "stimulating" in his report on 27 May 1937. About a dozen new courses had been offered in education, government, health, and

sociology, the purpose of which was to train community leaders and solve social problems. Enrollments were high--105 in social problems (three sections), 100 in introductory sociology (three sections), 49 in state and local governments, 46 in tests and measurements, 45 in community organization, and 44 in comparative governments. The first annual report of the Community Development Council in 1937 listed studies of traffic and zoning problems, the work of twenty-seven social agencies, surveys of rural black school plants and recreational facilities in the county, and the results of intelligence and achievement tests to be used as a basis for improving instruction. The findings were turned over to the appropriate social agencies. In addition to formal course work, the Furman faculty on the professional staff of the council provided many other services. Ebaugh served as a consultant for social welfare agencies. Tolman conducted school sanitation surveys. Margaret Lyon gave a Parent Teachers' Association training course for studygroup leaders in rural areas and conducted a recreational institute for black playground workers. Ralph Lyon worked with rural vocational-agricultural teachers, helped organize and develop the program of "Fountain Inn Negro College," advised leaders at Phillis Wheatley Center, and conducted an institute on teaching methods at the Associated Reform Presbyterian Sabbath School of Greenville.

One of the striking features of the program was its emphasis on interracial cooperation, including the formation of an interracial committee. In the second year of the program, on 10 November 1937, Ralph Lyon expanded his work at the Phillis Wheatley Center by directing a two-day conference for 150 black teachers. The interracial committee itself requested sociology teachers Blackwell and Ebaugh to study various phases of black life, and one of these surveys of housing and economic status under Blackwell's supervision, "assisted by students from Sterling High School," was incorporated into a request by the local Housing Authority for funds from the United States Housing Authority. The Authority granted the funds, but the Greenville City Council refused to match them. At the end of the first year of the program's operation Dean Daniel said that there were not only significant educational values to using the county as a "unique social science laboratory" but equally significant social values. Dean Virginia

Evelyn Thomas echoed the sentiment. The program, she said, was achieving its purpose of enlarging students' social awareness and providing an opportunity for achieving Christian goals of service to humanity.

As a result of the program, moreover, the graduate studies plan that Geer had envisioned in 1934 made possible the restoration on a limited basis of Furman's graduate program which had been abandoned during World War I. In addition to five fellowships at $500 each Geer offered five scholarships at $250 each to develop community leaders, broaden the student body, relieve the staff of certain nonteaching duties, and prepare prospective teachers for returning to Furman, as professors. The program had thirty students in its first year and graduated its first M.A. in many years, Miriam Fulbright of Augusta, Georgia, in 1937. Eight others, including Claude Hicks, Sumner A. Ives, Jr., and Theodosia Evelyn Wells, completed their degrees in 1938. Their thesis grew out of careful studies of community problems.

The program also gave renewed impetus to scholarly publication by faculty members. Under the editorship of William Preston Warren, *Furman Studies* entered its most active phase yet with a regular series of thematic numbers to which the faculty members on the staff contributed. In the first such issue under the title "Community Development Program," Lyon described the inception of the project and presented the original plan submitted to the General Education Board. In subsequent issues Ebaugh, Blackwell, and Mitchell reported on aspects of their work. Other faculty members also contributed articles—Sampey on chemistry, Warren on politics, Arthur Coe Gray on drama, Wendell Keeney on music, Catherine Boyd Calhoun on art, and E. E. Gardner and Daniel on literature. Not since the mid-1920's had there been such a surge of enthusiasm and a quickening of the intellectual life and social awareness throughout the institution.

For the first time in its history, the educational program at Furman attracted national attention. In May 1938 Geer reported that many people were coming to Greenville and Furman "to study our methods and note our progress in the direction of adjusting education to a changed and changing social order." Daniel reported the same thing. He and Alfred T. Odell

visited about twenty colleges in the East in 1937-38 to study curricula. Everywhere they went, Daniel said, north to Sarah Lawrence and Williams, south to Florida State College for Women, they found keen interest. At Hendrix College in Arkansas, their hosts drove them around the community so that they could point out exactly how the Furman program could be applied to the Hendrix community. Daniel told the board in May, 1938 that Furman was definitely in the "progressive tradition" in its curriculum modification, divisional organization, and guidance program. In his report, Geer was not smug, however. He recognized serious weaknesses. The prevailing narrow departmental attitude needed to give way to more concern for students and to a broader institutional outlook; the curriculum needed further liberalization to include more guidance and more art and music for men.

Nevertheless Furman was riding a crest of popular progressivism. Edmund de S. Bruner, professor of education at Teachers College of Columbia University, became the adviser to the community-development project in 1938 and wrote up a complete five-year report in 1942. In 1939 and 1940 Columbia University, having modified its program of European study to include field study in the United States, selected Greenville as the site of a field course to study at first hand Southern conditions in "agriculture, labor, health, education, and race relations." Sociologist Gordon Blackwell coordinated the program as a member of the Teachers College summer faculty. As Bruner said, one of the "most interesting results had been changes in point of view" among southerners and northerners as a result of new knowledge. In 1940 the Commission on Teacher Education of the America Council on Education selected the Furman campus as the setting for workshops for high school teachers. In 1941 the Southeastern Workshop in Community Development convened during the summer school under the joint auspices of the council, Furman, and the General Education Board, which brought fifty outstanding people from the southeastern states to study and evaluate the community development projects. Bruner surveyed their findings.

At this point the chapter returns to the climax of the other controversies during these years, controversies so intense over finances, athletics, and religion that they finally culminated in

Geer's resignation. I end the chapter with an evaluation of the Greenville County Council for Community Development as part of a general evaluation of Geer's presidency.

The Geer years were the most turbulent in the history of Furman. They began under a cloud of debt and declining enrollments and ended under a bigger cloud of suspicion, recrimination, and violation of academic freedom and due process. Obviously the depression led to the crisis of finances. Just a few years after Geer's resignation coordination would prove to be a big blessing, but in the 1930s the increases in indebtedness and in maintenance and operating costs had been a difficult burden to bear, as Geer had warned. Nevertheless, Geer had sympathetically presided over coordination and solicited money from the General Education Board for all sorts of educational needs for both schools: library, curriculum, maintenance, faculty salaries, travel, and study. Without this money and that of the Duke Endowment, Furman probably would not have survived the depression or consummated coordination. When Geer left office, coordination was complete, indebtedness had been reduced from its 1936 high, and Furman had been operating in the black for two years. Perhaps no one who tried to introduce progressive ideas about education and social development in a conservative environment in a time of depression could have kept the peace.

Geer was ahead of his time by being a man of his times. He was clearly not a scholar, but he recognized an idea when he saw it, and he proceeded to implement the most ambitious, forward-looking program ever tried at Furman up to that time. Underlying the ingenious idea of turning the community into a laboratory in which students contributed to the improvement of a community were two even more basic ideas. First, the South—both the mill South or rising industrial South and the rural South—needed leaders, and education should provide those leaders by placing them in a training ground to locate the problems and learn how to solve them. Second, the liberal education of young men and women is doomed to failure if the educational level of their communities is so impoverished or illiberal that they will revert to that level upon graduation. Hence the stress on adult education, on community relations, or interracial cooperation, on liberalizing attitudes of religion and

mind, in short, on adapting education to the workaday world. If Geer was ahead of his time for Furman and Greenville, he was in tune with the most progressive thinking of the Institute for Research in Social Science at Chapel Hill under Howard W. Odum, Rupert Vance, and later Gordon Blackwell, one of Geer's own staff members. Geer was also in tune with the most progressive pedagogical thinking at Teachers College, Columbia University, led by John Dewey and William Heard Kilpatrick, and with the most advanced thinking of the social gospel of the 1920s and 1930. Undoubtedly these progressive ideas were as much responsible for Geer's undoing as were his fiscal policies and his personality, as evidenced in the religious blowup of his final months. Not for another thirty years would Furman rise to such educational prominence as it had under Geer.

In the next chapter—the early years of President John L. Plyler's administration, 1939 to 1945—I return briefly to the program to explain why it was not renewed. Even if the school had applied for a renewal, there is doubt that the application would have been successful. The General Education Board had shifted its own interests. So in a few years all members of the staff except one had entered military service or had departed for other activities. Gordon Blackwell, for instance, had left to teach at the University of North Carolina. Only Laura Ebaugh remained -- until her retirement in 1963 -- to continue the idea of the program in her teaching.

The program was an exciting partnership in Furman-Greenville relations, one that both Furman and Greenville can look back to with pride.

ROBERT QUILLEN
1887 - 1948

LOIS WOODS

Robert Quillen, whose ancestors were a blend of Scotch-Irish and French, was born in the small prairie town of Syracuse, Kansas. He grew up in his father's print shop with the intoxicating smell of printer's ink in his nostrils. At sixteen he had sold pen and ink drawings to a trade journal for $1.00, and at sixteen he decided to strike out on his own. Three years later, after some strange adventures and much wandering, he landed in Fountain Inn to establish a weekly newspaper. Nobody dreamed that in a relatively short time Robert Quillen would put the sleepy little village on the literary map of the world - that he would be referred to as "Robert Quillen, the Sage of Fountain Inn" and as "The Mark Twain of his Time."

Mr. Quillen was twice married, both times to Fountain Inn women. His first marriage was to Miss Donnie Cox. It was during this union that Louise became a joyful addition to the family. After Miss Donnie's death Mr. Quillen married Miss Marcelle Babb.

The success that Mr. Quillen achieved was not instant nor without effort. For some years he bombarded magazines with material they didn't want. The little news sheet he printed each week did not provide a lucrative income. Despite the rejections Mr. Quillen continued to write and hope. Finally the Greenville *Piedmont* used some of his paragraphs and eventually the *Literary Digest* ran reprints of these. Then there was a request from the Baltimore *Sun*, and one from the *American Magazine*. The *Saturday Evening Post* wrote to ask if he would like to write for them. The answer was that he would - in fact he had been writing without results. Then came an offer from The Publisher Syndicate in Chicago. This was the ultimate. Mr. Quillen said, "From the day I signed with the Syndicate it was the old ball and chain."

The introduction of Mr. Quillen to the Syndicate Newspapers read as follows:

> Robert Quillen knows the common man. He has worked among them in ten states. He knows their problems, their point of

> view, the things they talk about. He has no crank ideas, no axe to grind, he preaches no private creed. He simply writes entertainingly and sincerely about the things Dad, Mother and the Kids can and do discuss at the supper table.

At the time of his death in 1948 he was writing syndicated editorials which appeared daily in four hundred newspapers in this country, Canada, Manila, Honolulu. His "Aunt Het" and "Little Willie" appeared daily. "Letters from a Bald-Head Dad to His Red-Head Daughter" appeared on Saturday. "Little Willie" was translated as "Pimmie Pimple" in Holland.

The letters to Louise, the red-head daughter, have a special significance to those of us who have had the pleasure of knowing and watching her grow up from an enchanting little girl to a glamorous, warm hearted grandmother. These letters provided guidelines for more daughters than Louise. A young friend of mine told me that her mother read the letters to her with the admonition, "Hear Ye."

Aunt Het could have been anybody's next door neighbor - just a nice motherly type - at times hard-boiled - a pure-in-heart old lady freely speaking her mind. She was a fictional character to "outsiders" but to "Fountain Inners" she was their beloved Aunt Lil Nelson - my landlady. The inspiration for many Aunt Hets came from that household.

Even though his work for the Syndicate was time-consuming, Mr. Quillen never lost his love for the Fountain Inn *Tribune* which he founded. In the beginning it was his bread and butter. After the Syndicate commitment, it became his hobby and Mark Nelson's pride and bread and butter. Mark had been trained by the master publisher and the *Tribune* continued to be meticulously edited under the Quillen watchcare. I remember a sign that hung in the *Tribune* Office. It read:

> Published every Thursday by Robert Quillen for his amusement and the entertainment of his friends.

I can assure you that the little paper did entertain and sometimes irritated and often aroused the curiosity of its readers.

An invitation to a dance at his house was worded, "There will be an old-fashioned square dance at my house Friday night and everybody is invited except those who don't like me and those who feel important."

Another item concerned the gates for the front driveway - "The new iron gates for the front drive-way arrived this week and will be put up as soon as Uncle Dick Jones finds time. These are unusually heavy gates, but a three-ton truck driven by a half-wit could crumble them up in accordion style. This therefore is fair warning if and when this happens there will be a new face in the idiots' corner in New Jerusalem."

Many of the articles in the *Tribune* aroused not only the curiosity but the wrath of the natives - particularly when the shoe fit. One such article provoked a call from a prominent citizen, much to Mr. Quillen's amusement. His soft-spoken reply was, "When you shell the woods you often hit a friend."

Mr. Quillen did not soften or attempt to cover up. His headlines were simple and direct. When a close friend of his died the notice read,"John Doe is dead. Liquor killed Him." Then he added, "Why tell a lie about it. John hated a liar." The citizens were not always pleased but they respected his frankness and honesty - the fact that he did not cover up for the big men and expose the little guy.

Mr. Quillen's fame as a writer is well known, but only his friends knew the gracious, generous, compassionate Bob Quillen. I have often thought of the depression years when real need and hunger existed and there were no relief agencies. Mr. Quillen's house was the Food Stamp, the Social Security, HEW and DSS all rolled into one. The needy were never turned away (and the office was never in the red or under investigation). Food baskets were sent out weekly from Mr. Holland's grocery store. His generosity transcended race, color and creed. Aunt Sally was black and blind, John was a cripple; one-legged Lonnie kept the Quillen yard combed and brushed. He loved doing this work for "Mr. Bob" and he had reason to love it. He was well paid and received many fringe benefits.

Worthy young people were educated. Doctor bills were paid. During those depression years the doctors welcomed the Quillen patients. That was money they could be sure of. Perhaps some of you can remember those days when the doctor waited for the patient and his money instead of the patient waiting for the doctor. Mr. Quillen made extravagant gifts to churches. The First Baptist Church in Fountain Inn received a fine Stief Baby

Grand piano many years ago. It is still used - a very fine instrument. The local high school received one too and when the school system was reorganized, the piano was moved to Hillcrest High School. His generosity knew no bounds and was bestowed with no desire for praise or publicity.

Many people have the idea that Mr. Quillen was a recluse. Nothing could be further from the truth. Of course he had to reserve time to make a living for his family and extra money for his humanity investments. But after working hours he was read for some socializing.

He and Marcelle walked to the *Tribune* office every afternoon at 2:00 o'clock. They stopped and talked to the friendly folks along the way. At the office they visited with Mark and the "regulars" who dropped in for a coke. The *Tribune* office was the social center of the town.

On a typical evening in the Quillen home you might find a group of friends sitting around engaged in pleasant conversation - or you might find some friends sitting around reading (There was always an abundance of intriguing reading material). Often a spirited game of bridge was in progress - a game Mr. Quillen didn't play but enjoyed from the side lines and often gleaned an Aunt Het or two. She once said, "A hick town is one where the righteous play Rook and the sinners play bridge."

To me and many others the Quillen home was a place of good food, fun, and a wealth of information.

I must mention Christmas morning when everybody was invited for egg-nog made personally by the master of the house. The baker, the butcher, the shoe-maker, banker, doctor, etc. got equal attention. They were the **regular folks** that Bob liked.

When you entered the Quillen home, it seemed to say, "Come in. We are glad to see you," and of course Mr. Quillen and Marcelle always made you feel that you were special.

Alexander Wolcott, Will Rogers, Bernhard Baruch and many other famous people visited the simple brick bungalow in the middle of town.

Alexander Wolcott once said, "I rode a thousand miles to see if I could discover why a genius, Robert Quillen, continued to

live in the middle of the Carolina cotton fields." This inspired Mr. Quillen to write his famous story, "Why I Stick to the Sticks." The title was suggested by his thirteen year old daughter, Louise. *American Magazine* published the story.

The reasons he gave were:

I like being Bob instead of Mister . . . .
I do not like crowds . . . .
I do not care for fame . . . .
I like my simple little house . . . .
I like living where the neighbor yells from the back door wanting to borrow something . . . .
I love the friendly people who do not pretend.

Bob Quillen loved his kingdom - a square block in the middle of town. It was surrounded by a fence with rambling ivy and roses. He enjoyed sitting on the lawn with his wife and daughter - sometimes reading, sometimes enjoying watching the blue-birds plead with the jays for a turn at the bird bath. He was happy in Fountain Inn.

Will Rogers and Mr. Quillen were two humorists who enjoyed and appreciated each other's wit.

The Monument to Eve attracted tourists from all over the country. Hardly a day passed, when the highway went through Fountain Inn, that cars didn't stop in front of the Quillen's home to view the unusual monument.

His sentence sermons are amusing and filled with wisdom:

Americanism: Liking what you have until you see somebody with something better.
The act of being hospitable consists in treating people as though they were as important as they think they are.
If he's a mere doctor he treats you for what you got - if he's a specialist you got what he treats you for.
There's no fun sitting down to a feast if there's a chap looking through the window that hasn't had a square meal in a month.

Robert Quillen walked and talked with the greats of his time. He gained fame and fortune, but he never lost the common touch. He was truly clothed in humility, and simplicity was the keynote of his way of life.

Today those of us who knew and loved Bob Quillen borrow from another Bob and say, "Thanks for the Memories."

BY-LAWS OF THE GREENVILLE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

We, the undersigned citizens and residents of Greenville County, South Carolina, believing that the history and traditions of our county and its environs should be preserved for ourselves and our descendants, and therefore believing that those documents, records, and other materials which comprise the history of our county should be identified, collected, and catalogued, and further believing that these ends can be achieved only by organization and concerted effort on the part of many, do hereby organize and establish the Greenville County Historical Society and declare the following to be its By-Laws.

ARTICLE I - NAME

The name of this organization shall be the Greenville County Historical Society.

ARTICLE II - PURPOSE

The general objects of this organization shall be to collect and preserve those documents, records, and materials which relate to the social, economic, political, cultural, and religious growth and development of Greenville County; to sponsor programs, publications, and exhibitions pertaining to the history and culture of County; to locate and mark places, sites, and buildings of historical interest or importance within the County and its environs; and, generally, to stimulate and maintain interest in the preservation and interpretation of documents, family records and other materials or data which are a part of the history, growth, and development of the County.

ARTICLE III - MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. *Eligibility.* Any person who is interested in the history of Greenville County shall be eligible for membership in the Society.

Section 2. *Applications.* Applications for membership shall be endorsed by a member of the Society in good standing, and shall be addressed in writing to the Chairman of the Membership Committee. The Membership Committee shall pass upon all such applications and accept new members, who shall be presented to the Society at the regular meeting next succeeding their acceptance.

Section 3. *Classes of Members.* The classes of members in the Society shall be regular members, sustaining members, and life members. (Section added, March 28, 1965).

ARTICLE IV - OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS

Section 1. *Officers.* Officers of the Society shall be a President, First Vice President, Second Vice-President, Recording Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, and Treasurer.

Section 2. *President.* The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and the Board of Directors. He shall appoint the chairmen of all committees, except as provided in Section 3 hereof, and shall serve as a member of all committees *ex-officio*.

Section 3. *Vice-Presidents.* The vice-presidents, in their order shall perform the duties of the President in his absence or inability to act. The First Vice-President shall serve as chairman of the Committee on Membership, and the Second Vice-President shall serve as chairman of the Program Committee.

Section 4. *Recording Secretary.* The recording secretary shall record and keep the minutes of all meetings of the Society and the Board of Directors. (Amended March 28, 1965).

Section 5. *Corresponding Secretary.* The Corresponding Secretary shall prepare all official correspondence for the Society, the Board of Directors, and the standing committees under their supervision and direction, shall mail notices of meetings, and shall be responsible for all necessary printing and duplicating.

Section 6. *Treasurer.* The Treasurer shall maintain the membership roll, shall be the custodian of all funds belonging to the Society, and shall be responsible for the collection of dues. At each annual meeting, he shall render a complete and accurate report of the finances of the Society for the preceding twelve-month period. (Amended March 28, 1965).

Section 7. *Election and Terms of Office.* All officers shall be elected by the membership at the annual meeting to serve for two-year terms: the President, First First Vice-President, and Recording Secretary shall be elected in those years ending with an even number, and the Second Vice-President, Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer shall be elected in those years ending with an odd number; provided that in the election to be held in the year 1962, all six officers shall be elected, and the Second Vice-President, Corresponding Secretary, and Treasurer elected in that year shall serve for one-year terms. At least one month prior to the annual meeting in each year, the President shall appoint a Nominating Committee of three members and that Committee shall report to the membership, at the annual meeting, its nominations for the three officers to be elected in that year. Additional nominations may be made from the floor by the members at the annual meeting. Balloting shall be viva voice or by standing vote in uncontested elections, and by secret ballot in contested elections, and the newly-elected officers shall assume office immediately upon their election.

Section 8. *Vacancies.* Should any office become vacant prior to the expiration of the term provided therefor, such vacancy shall be filled by majority vote of the Board of Directors. Should any vacancy occur in the membership of the Board of Directors other than the officers, such vacancy shall be filled by appointment of the President.

Section 9. *Directors-at-Large.* In addition to the officers the Society may elect at any annual meeting not more than six Directors-at-Large to serve one year terms. In addition to its nominees for officers, the Nominating Committee shall report to the membership at each annual meeting its nominees for Directors-at-Large the number of which shall have been determined by the President. (Added March 20, 1966).

Section 10. *Board of Directors.* The Board of Directors shall be composed of the Officers, the past Presidents, the Directors-at-Large, and the chairmen of the standing committees. It shall meet at the call of the President, or at such time as it by resolution may prescribe. Except for those powers and privileges which are herein expressly reserved to the membership, the Board of Directors shall have full and complete authority to conduct the affairs of the Society. Eight members of the Board of Directors at any called meeting thereof shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. (Amended March 20, 1966, and March 14, 1971)

ARTICLE V - MEETINGS

Section 1. *Regular Meetings.* Regular meetings of the Society shall be held in the spring, autumn, and winter of each year, the exact time and place to be determined by the Board of Directors.

Section 2. *Annual Meeting.* The spring meeting shall be the annual meeting for the election of officers and the receipt of yearly reports. Written notice of such meeting shall be sent to each member at least ten days prior to the meeting date.

Section 3. *Special Meetings.* Special meetings may be called at any time by the President, but written notice of any such meeting shall be sent to each member at least five days prior to the meeting date.

Section 4. *Quorum.* Sixteen members of the Society in attendance at any regular or special meeting shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

ARTICLE VI - DUES

Section 1. The annual dues of the Society shall be payable, in advance, on the first day of April in each year on the following basis:

Regular Membership:	$ 5.00	for individual
Sustaining Membership:	$ 25.00	for individual
Patron Membership:	$ 50.00	for individual
Life Membership:	$100.00	for individual

Section 2. Any member who pays dues as regular, sustaining, patron (or any combination thereof) that shall equal to the life membership dues, shall thereby become a life member and exempt from all future dues.

Section 3. Dues for couples (or for two members of the same family, living at the same address) shall be one and one-half times the individual membership dues.

Section 4. One copy of all Society letters and publications shall be issued to individual members whose current dues have been paid.

Section 5. Members who fail to pay dues for more than two years shall be notified and then shall automatically forfeit membership. (Amended March 28, 1965, March 20, 1966, and January 18, 1970).

ARTICLE VII - COMMITTEES

Section 1. *Standing Committees.* The standing committees and their general duties, functions, and responsibilities shall be as follows:

(a) the Exhibition Committee, which shall be responsible for all public exhibitions of historical materials;

(b) the Collections Committee, which shall be responsible for screening, maintaining, and housing any research shelf or collection of historical materials to be maintained by the Society;

(c) The Liaison Committee, which shall maintain liaison with other clubs or organizations whose purposes or activities are related to those of the Society;

(d) the Historical Records Committee, which shall develop and maintain records of historical materials, other than buildings and structures, pertaining to Greenville County;

(e) the Publicity Committee, which shall handle publicity through the various news media and otherwise;

(f) the Historical Buildings Committee, which shall collect pictures and records of buildings and structures having historic interest and significance;

(g) the Membership Committee, which shall solicit new members and pass upon applications for membership;

(h) the Program Committee, which shall arrange programs for each of the regular meetings;

(i) the Catalogue Committee, which shall catalogue all historical materials in the custody of the Society;

(j) the Resource Committee, which shall be available for any project, upon the call of the president, and

(k) the Scrapbook Committee, which shall maintain a scrapbook of events and activities of special interest to members of the Society. (Added March 14, 1971).

Section 2. *Special Committees.* Special committees may be appointed by the President to carry out specific projects or missions not within the purview of the standing committees.

Section 3. *Members.* Members of all committees shall be appointed by the chairmen thereof.

ARTICLE VIII - DISSOLUTION

In the event of the dissolution of this organization its assets shall be distributed to the Board of Trustees of the Greenville County Library, or its successors. (Added March 28, 1965).

ARTICLE IX - AMENDMENT

These By-Laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present at any regular meeting, provided that the proposed amendment shall have been read at the previous regular meeting.

In Witness Whereof, we have hereunto set our names at Greenville South Carolina, this is the 29th day of April, 1962.

MEMBERS OF THE
GREENVILLE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

AUGUST 15, 1979

(Charter members of the Society are denoted by the asterisk. "Mr. and Mrs." indicates family membership. Addresses are Greenville, S. C., unless otherwise noted).

Adams, Robert Roy - LIFE MEMBER - 112 Riverside Drive, 29605
Alderman, Mr. and Mrs. J. E., Jr., Route 12, Chestnut Ridge, 29609
Alford, Mr. and Mrs. Neil H., Jr.
Mrs. Neil H. Sr., 1868 Field Road, Charlottesville, Virginia 22903
Allison, Dr. and Mrs. H. M. - LIFE MEMBERS - 400 Cleveland Street, 29601
Anderson, Mrs. Robert Leroy, 301 Old Buncombe Road, Travelers Rest, S. C. 29690
Anderson, Mr. and Mrs. Stuart G., Jr., 210 Fairview Avenue, 29601
*Apperson, Mrs. Patterson A., North Parker Road, Route 9, 29609
Arnold, Miss Elizabeth - LIFE MEMBER - 16 Boxwood Lane, 29601
*Arrington, Mrs. John W., Jr. - LIFE MEMBER - 10 Clarendon Road, 29609
Arrington, Mr. and Mrs. Nelson B., 314 Crescent Avenue, 29605
*Asbury, Mrs. Abner D. - LIFE MEMBER - 400 Overbrook Road, 29607

Bailey, Mr. and Mrs. Broadus, Box 2292, 29602
Barksdale, Mrs. I. S.
Miss Elizabeth, 610 Crescent Avenue, 29601
*Barnes, Mr. and Mrs. Romayne A. - LIFE MEMBERS - 412 Crescent Avenue, 29605
*Barnes, Mrs. Frank, 102 James Street, 29609
Batson, Mr. and Mrs. Louis P., Box 3978, 29608
Beattie, Mr. and Mrs. D. M. - LIFE MEMBERS - 416 Belmont Avenue, 29601
*Beattie, Mrs. F. F., 638 E. Washington Street, 29601
Beattie, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel M. - LIFE MEMBERS - 30 Woodland Way 29601
*Beattie, Mr. and Mrs. William H. - LIFE MEMBERS - 4 Woodland Way Circle, 29601
Blythe, Mr. and Mrs. Lauriston H., 2 Heather Way, 29605
Brewer, Ms. Jean Gray, 100 Fairview Avenue, 29601
Brush, Mrs. Julia Anne
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