

THE HOLLOWAY SCRAPBOOK: THE LEGACY OF A CHARLESTON FAMILY

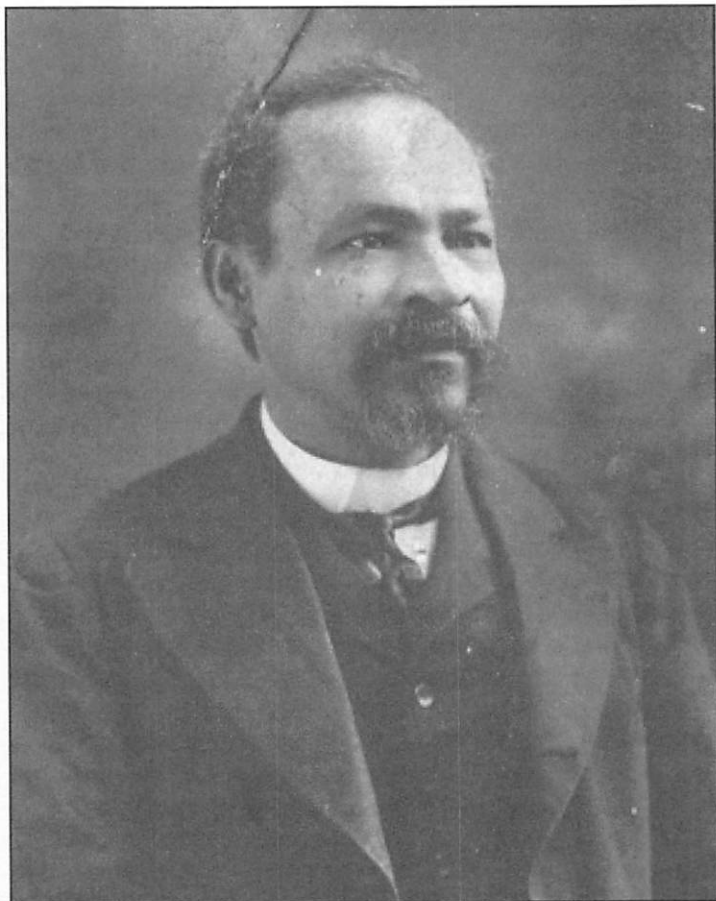
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IN THE EARLY PART OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, IN A LARGE, old Charleston house that had been in his family for generations, a worried gentleman sat, determined to come to grips with his legacy. The man sorted through a retrieved trove of brittle papers, correspondence, deeds, and receipts. Among the printed items, he found a pamphlet describing one of Charleston's premiere benevolent societies, founded in 1790 by his great grandfather and open to only fifty men who could afford the stiff entrance fee. Other documents spoke of his family's relationship with the city's ruling elite, mayors (called intendants), Confederate officers, distinguished attorneys, and influential clergymen.

What all of these materials had in common was their age: they were out-of-date remnants surviving from a grander time. The glorious past, the mean present, and the uncertain future were on the gentleman's mind as he contemplated the changed world his children would inherit after him. To make sense of the past, he began assembling documents, correspondence, Confederate currency, and bits of ephemera into a blank ledger, pasting and piecing them together as one might a smashed vessel, to suggest how whole this lost civilization once had been. Some materials were grouped on pages to suggest themes; others were put in more randomly. All together, it was to become a memorial and monument to his family as well as a plea to historians and others not to excise them and their contributions from Charleston's, South Carolina's, or America's story. Ironically, the paper memorial that African American James Holloway created still exists, while other familial monuments built of more enduring materials—wood, brick, and stone—do not.

An examination of James Holloway's scrapbook reflects a world rarely glimpsed in southern history, its pages revealing in dramatic fashion the significant obstacles faced by African Americans who sought to interpret their past in an intolerant age, while simultaneously showing how the rights of South Carolina's black majority steadily eroded after Reconstruction. Recently restored and once more available to scholars, the Holloway scrapbook is a chilling testimonial to the ways societal norms regarding race constantly

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James Harrison Holloway (1849–1913), compiler of the family scrapbook. “He was a sadler [*sic*] and harness maker by trade,” one white contemporary wrote of Holloway, “but he was nevertheless an aristocrat.” All images used in this article are courtesy of the Avery Research Center for African American History and Culture, College of Charleston.

defined and eventually came to restrict the lives of a prominent African American family in Charleston.¹

Today, the first item a reader encounters upon opening the scrapbook is an image of the compiler, James Harrison Holloway (1849–1913). While a modern audience may find it startling that this “colored” man, as he was

¹ For a general discussion on the eradication of rights of African Americans following Reconstruction, see Edward Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life after*

called then, could look back to the era of slavery as a golden age, such was the case for Holloway and his family. His people had long occupied an exceptional place in the history of Charleston.²

The first Holloway to settle in the port city was the compiler's grandfather Richard, whose small, full-color portrait is dutifully glued down on a page with the family genealogy. Born in Essex County, Maryland, circa 1776, Richard took to the sea as a young man, serving ten months on the English ship *Catherine* "during which time he always behaved with sobriety and good conduct." Embarking at Charleston, Holloway—"a free mulatto . . . five feet eight inches high, black wooly hair, brown eyes"—had the British vice consul and a justice of the peace vouch for his character. A century later, as if suspecting readers of the scrapbook would not believe his claim to such distinguished ancestry, James Holloway felt it necessary for an official to notarize these same words as objective proof that African Americans could have significant predecessors.³

After arriving in Charleston, Richard Holloway found room and board with James Mitchell (1728–1821), from whom he learned carpentry and whose daughter Elizabeth he began to court. The Reverend Thomas Frost, rector of Saint Philip's Episcopal Church, married the couple on January 19, 1803.⁴

The legal ramifications of this marriage determined their descendants' destiny. James Mitchell, father of the bride, professed to be Portuguese, and after his death, a court case tested the legitimacy of his claim. In the 1850s, another of Mitchell's daughters, Amelia Mitchell Marchant, was forbidden by law from testifying about an assault and battery committed against her because she was deemed "colored." After a series of appeals, Marchant

Reconstruction (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), and C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877–1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951).

² Holloway Scrapbook, box 1, folder 1, Avery Research Center for African History and Culture, College of Charleston. The scrapbook is now roughly in the same order as James H. Holloway compiled it, and as it was microfilmed. The volume was disbound, and many items once pasted to the ledger-sized sheets have been removed from the pages and conserved in a number of ways. To facilitate researcher use, all of the loose items from the same page are housed together with adjacent pages. They are grouped in oversize folders in boxes and comprise Avery manuscript number 1068. Although James Holloway was the primary compiler of the scrapbook, his niece Mae Holloway Purcell added items to the scrapbook in the 1960s and 1970s. Some items from the years immediately after James Holloway's death were pasted in, as well.

³ Holloway Scrapbook, box 1, folder 1. The original document referred to Richard Holloway as "Holliday." Being illiterate (he signed with an X), he could not correct it.

⁴ The date is noted many places in the scrapbook, most publicly on the broadside "To the Descendants of Richard and Elizabeth Holloway," Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 6.

was victorious, proving her non-black status. Her father's claim of Portuguese lineage was upheld in court, and her mother, Nancy McWhorter (or Whorter), was proved to have been a free Indian. (To further Europeanize her, it was noted that Amelia's stepmother, who raised her, was Ann Cohen, a Jew.) Thus, in the parlance of the day, Amelia showed that she had no "Negro blood." Her sister Elizabeth shared her status, but when Elizabeth married mulatto Richard Holloway, she consigned her children and grandchildren to the legal limbo of "free people of color."⁵

Perhaps in anticipation of such events, in 1790 James Mitchell and several free people of color in Charleston founded what would remain the most prestigious benevolent organization for this class, the Brown Fellowship Society.⁶ The organization opened its cemetery four years later on the east side of Pitt Street, south of Boundary (later Calhoun) Street.⁷ Here, the long-lived Mitchell was eventually buried; his epitaph, transcribed from a stone that has since disappeared, noted in part that "he was an affectionate companion, a tender parent, and an indulgent master," reflecting many aspects of his life and character as well as revealing his ownership of slaves, who were entitled to spend eternity in a contiguous plot. The slave section of the cemetery was called MacPhelah (Macpelah, McPela, etc.), a reference to a burial place of the Old Testament patriarchs. From the very beginning, James Holloway's Charleston forebears took both paternalistic and familial interests in enslaved and other brethren less fortunate than they.⁸

In 1803 Richard Holloway mustered the fifty-dollar entrance fee and followed his father-in-law into membership in the Brown Fellowship Society. He received a parcel of land on Beaufain Street in 1806 from his father- and mother-in-law. Soon thereafter, he would acquire an adjacent plot and build

⁵ *State v. Belmont*, Opinions 1848, Court of Appeals in Law, 1836-1859, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia. The issue of equating a Portuguese man with a person of color in Charleston during the antebellum period was the subject of F. C. Adams, *Manuel Pereira; or, The Sovereign Rule of South Carolina* (Washington, D.C.: Buell and Blanchard, 1853).

⁶ For more on the Brown Fellowship Society, see Robert L. Harris Jr., "Charleston's Free Afro-American Elite: The Brown Fellowship Society and the Humane Brotherhood," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 82 (October 1981): 289-310.

⁷ James Mitchell had owned a private burial ground for himself on Rutledge Avenue, on the Charleston Neck, but according to tradition, with some direction from Saint Philip's Church, which ministered to free blacks and slaves but had no place to bury them, he helped steer the society into buying land for a communal cemetery on Pitt Street.

⁸ The epitaph is cited in Frederic J. Haskin, "The Color Line in Charleston," *Dallas Morning News*, September 13, 1907. Various plats and tax lists show that the northern portion of the area commonly called the Brown Fellowship Society Cemetery was referred to as MacPhelah, or some variant of the name, where non-members of the



This miniature of James Holloway's grandfather Richard, which is glued to the front page of the scrapbook, may be the earliest surviving portrait of an African American from Charleston.

a house for his family. Deeds went into the scrapbook to document this part of the story. Other documents (and structures still standing in Charleston) attest to Richard's carpentry skills.⁹ By the mid 1840s, in addition to the two properties on Beaufain Street where he worked and lived, Holloway had amassed five houses in a row on College Street, three on Boundary, two on

society and many slaves were buried. The most complete information on the ownership and legal status of the Brown Fellowship Society and MacPhelah Cemeteries is in Michael Trinkley, Debi Hacker, and Nicole Southerland, *The Silence of the Dead: Giving Charleston Cemeteries a Voice* (Columbia, S.C.: Chicora Foundation, 2010), 41–48, 177–122. James Holloway himself may not have known the separate histories of these parcels. Historian Theodore Jervy wrote Holloway on March 29, 1911, in answer to his inquiry, that he had contacted the secretary of the vestry at Saint Philip's, who understood that Bishop Robert Smith of the church "interested himself . . . in assisting colored attendants . . . to obtain a burial ground called McPelah and that these were connected with the Brown Fellowship Society." Holloway Scrapbook, box 3, folder 6.

⁹ *Rules and Regulations of the Brown Fellowship Society* (Charleston, S.C.: J. B. Nixon, printer, 1844), 26. The deed copied from the Charleston County Register of

Duncan, and one on the corner of Hanover and Woolf. A prosperous man, he walked the streets of Charleston in his three-quarter coat of bombazine.¹⁰

Not satisfied with just showing the worldly success of his ancestor, James Holloway arranged his scrapbook to reveal his grandfather's charity and benevolence, the watch words of the Brown Fellowship Society. A letter addressed to Richard Holloway as president of the Minors' Moralists Society links him to that organization, which he and others, including his father-in-law, founded in 1803. Funded by original and continuing donations, the Minors' Moralists Society was dedicated to the education of indigent or orphaned "colored" children, who were taught in a building that Richard constructed behind his house on Beaufain Street.¹¹

The school's most famous teacher was free person of color and fellow Minors' Moralists Society member Thomas Bonneau, while Daniel A. Payne, future bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal church, became its most famous student. Others to teach in the school were the white College of Charleston students John and Francis Asbury Mood, who would take charge in the 1850s.¹²

In front of the school, Richard and Elizabeth Mitchell Holloway raised their family in a two-and-half-story wooden house with a partially below-grade basement. Letters and notes that came from and went to that address were added to the scrapbook, documenting Richard and Elizabeth's social lives, their charity, and their rental and other properties, some of which were human.¹³

Mesne Conveyance Deed Book S, no. 7, pp. 169–170, is in the Holloway Scrapbook, box 3, folder 5. Throughout the scrapbook are contracts, letters, and receipts regarding Richard Holloway building and repairing structures and even moving a house. The houses standing in Charleston attributed to him are 221 Calhoun and 72 Pitt Streets. Jonathan H. Poston, *The Buildings of Charleston* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997), 507, 630.

¹⁰ The properties owned by Richard Holloway are listed in his will. Holloway Scrapbook, box 3, folder 3. A receipt for the bombazine coat is in the Holloway Scrapbook, box 1, folder 9.

¹¹ Holloway Scrapbook, box 1, folder 2, box 2, folder 1. For numerous mentions of the school behind the Holloway house and more on the Minors' Moralists Society, see Daniel A. Payne, *Recollections of Seventy Years* (Nashville: A. M. E. Sunday School Union, 1888).

¹² John Mood's son Henry, who would become a Methodist minister, was an influence on his granddaughter Julia Mood Peterkin, celebrated as a sympathetic interpreter of South Carolina African American life and winner of the Pulitzer Prize in 1929 for her novel *Scarlet Sister Mary*.

¹³ One of their renters was Jehu Jones Jr., son of prominent Charleston black hotelier Jehu Jones Sr. The younger Jehu Jones was one of the first African Americans to graduate from a college in the United States. For various slave documents in the Holloway Scrapbook, see box 1, folders 4, 6, and 10, box 2, folder 3.

To account for why his family owned slaves, James Holloway penned a letter on the subject to the local newspaper, which published it in 1907. He clipped and pasted the printed letter into his scrapbook as a sort of footnote to the primary materials he included, perhaps hoping his justification would take the sting out of the documents. Holloway, who planned for the scrapbook to become a quasi-public record, cited benevolence to explain the presence in it, for instance, of a slave sale document from Thomas Bonneau to Richard Holloway. According to James, the former sold the woman Betsy to the latter "for the purpose of assisting her to obtain her freedom." Another slave, Charles Benfield, also bought by Richard Holloway in 1832, was to be held only until Benfield could amass sufficient funds to buy his freedom, James wrote, despite the fact that since 1820, without a special act of the state legislature, no slave in South Carolina could be freed. James claimed that the third instance of slavery was yet another act of benevolence. Richard Holloway had purchased a woman aptly named Charity before his son Edward left the city, this to keep her in the family and out of the hands of a buyer who might mistreat her. In defending his family's slave-owning past, James Holloway, like many of the era's white memorialists, portrayed the institution as benign and based on necessity.¹⁴

Like white apologists, James Holloway ignored certain facts that did not fit with what he wanted others to believe. He did not explain additional slave-related items and transactions of his family such as the selling of another woman named Betsy from Richard Holloway's estate to a new owner in Key West, Florida, along with a man named Cato, also sold to settle debts. These were part of his family's history, but did not become part of the story he told in the scrapbook.¹⁵

To further present his ancestors in the best light, Holloway pasted in documents attesting to their religious life. Admission tickets from 1811 to 1835 prove that during the height of the Second Great Awakening, Richard Holloway attended various meetings of the Methodist church in the sanctuaries on Cumberland Street as well as at Bethel and Trinity Churches. At this

¹⁴ Holloway's letter to the editor, entitled "The Negro as a Slaveholder," was datelined "39 Beaufain street, the family homestead for a century." It was published in the *News and Courier* (Charleston, S.C.) on May 21, 1907, and can be found in the Holloway Scrapbook, box 3, folder 4. The scrapbook does contain materials from the descendants of Charles Benfield testifying to Holloway's claims. Holloway Scrapbook, box 1, folder 11. The woman Charity was first sold to Edward Holloway by Ziba B. Oakes. Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 3. For more on black slaveowners' benevolent intentions, see Larry Koger, *Black Slaveowners: Free Black Slave Masters in South Carolina, 1790-1860* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995).

¹⁵ While these documents were not put in the scrapbook, they do survive in probate and court records detailing the distribution and litigation of Richard Holloway's estate. On Richard's involvement with slaves, for both humanitarian and financial reasons, not documented in the scrapbook, see Koger, *Black Slaveowners*.

point, Charleston was on the cusp of astronomical growth in the number of African Americans joining the Methodist church, an influx that would help make the city home to the largest society of black Methodists in North America.¹⁶ Richard's exemplary zeal is revealed in receipts noting dues to the Asbury Methodist Society and a subscription to the *Wesleyan Journal*. Another document shows him collecting funds on behalf of the Committee of Colored Brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and there is a receipt attesting to his help in repairing a Methodist Episcopal church in Aiken. Also included are other materials (1832–1835) giving evidence that Richard's exhorter's license was renewed again and again and that he was successful in getting slaves to join the church. Richard was not only licensed to preach to black congregants in town, but he also was free to travel to low-country plantations to do God's work. The most telling document of this type is an 1821 pass issued by minister John Howard for Richard to visit Savannah, Georgia, to preach. Other records and receipts show Richard entering into contracts to rent a boat, which he used to attend camp meetings at Red Bank and other places in the next few years.¹⁷

It is unclear if he passed into Georgia anymore in this period; if he did, it could have been a flagrant violation of South Carolina law, which dated from the reaction to the rumored Denmark Vesey slave rebellion of 1822.¹⁸ In 1823, to offset the power of free people of color coming into and going out of the state and possibly fomenting rebellion, the legislature passed a law forbidding the return of any free person of color who left South Carolina. Thus, it would have been illegal for Richard Holloway to cross the Savannah River and then reenter the state.

While it is hard to know if Richard Holloway was exempted from this law or not, clearer evidence suggests that there were other laws applying to African

¹⁶ Holloway Scrapbook, box 1, folder 3. At Cumberland Church, according to Daniel Payne, when "religion had waxed very cold," Richard Holloway "called a special meeting of all the classes, and inquired what might be done for the revival of God's work. It was decided to meet every Sunday between the morning and evening service in Mr. Bonneau's school-room to pray for a revival." Payne, *Recollections of Seventy Years*, 17. One result was the conversion of future bishop Daniel A. Payne. Sylvia Frey and Betty Wood, *Come Shouting to Zion: African American Protestantism in the American South and British Caribbean to 1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 157.

¹⁷ All of these receipts and letters are in the Holloway Scrapbook, box 1, folders 3 and 4. An 1839 letter allows Holloway to preach at Dr. Charles Kershaw's plantation. Holloway Scrapbook, box 1, folder 10. For a discussion on black preaching during the Second Great Awakening, see Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815–1848* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

¹⁸ Vesey, a free person of color, was rumored to be the leader of thousands of slaves intent on rebellion. One of those who gave evidence against him was free person of color (and Brown Fellowship Society member) William Penceel.

Americans to which he was immune. Included in the scrapbook is an early-twentieth-century newspaper article about another member of the Brown Fellowship Society who claimed Charleston intendant Robert Y. Hayne had stated that a law (passed in November 1836) forbidding blacks to meet without a white man present did not pertain to Holloway and the Brown Fellowship Society. Hayne further remarked that Holloway, the keeper of the society's minutes, had better handwriting than he did. This was certainly something for the grandson to boast about in the Jim Crow era, when blacks were considered second class at best.¹⁹

Not only had Richard Holloway been above the law, he may have actually been in league with it. A message dated September 1835 pasted in the scrapbook requests Holloway's presence at a meeting with the city's intendant. In August of that year, Charleston was in crisis over the arrival of incendiary anti-slavery tracts at the post office. Fearing such literature could spark insurrection, the intendant called a meeting of low-country notables such as Robert Y. Hayne, Edward Laurens, and others to discuss the issue. Since Holloway had business relations with Laurens and was also known to Hayne, it raises the intriguing possibility that he could have been one of the men summoned by the intendant to help quell anti-slavery activity in the city.²⁰

Well-off financially and tied to the aristocracy, Holloway fit comfortably into a niche of Charleston society. Others he knew, including fellow "brother" in Methodism Sam Benedict, who lived in Savannah, could not make similar claims. Benedict was sufficiently unhappy in Savannah to consider leaving. His letter informing Holloway of his plan to emigrate with the Liberian Colonization Society is in the scrapbook. Both Holloway's son Edward and son-in-law Richard Clark left Charleston. Edward got as far as New York but failed, through lack of funds, to emigrate to Jamaica, while Clark moved to Canada, where he went bankrupt. Ironically, in the antebellum era, the Holloways who remained in slave-owning Charleston fared better than many of their relatives who moved away to more tolerant places. After Reconstruction, however, the Holloways who left the city tended to do better economically and socially in the North than relations who stayed in Charleston.²¹

¹⁹ "Century Fellowship Society Oldest Colored Organization," undated *News and Courier* clipping, Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folders 4 and 5.

²⁰ The note from the intendant is in the Holloway Scrapbook, box 1, folder 12. Regarding the meeting, see Walter J. Fraser Jr., *Charleston! Charleston! The History of a Southern City* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989), 213. There is a June 30, 1841, note from Edward R. Laurens to "Dr. Horlbeck" regarding a bond of Holloway's pasted in the Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 1.

²¹ Holloway Scrapbook, box 1, folder 12. In 1847 Benedict would preside over the convention that declared Liberia's independence. On Edward Holloway needing financial help from his family while in New York, see Holloway Scrapbook, box 2,

Insulated as he was from many laws restricting other African Americans, Holloway was not immune from the tribulations of domestic life, being the father of fourteen children, a couple of whom died in infancy. His one daughter, Sarah Dianah, died while her children were still young, and in the 1830s, three of Holloway's sons were imprisoned for assault and battery. Unlike their aunt Amelia, they were defined as people of color and could not testify in a court of law. They were released eventually, but one of the incarcerated sons, Edward, would cause Richard further embarrassment, repeatedly pleading for his father's forgiveness and begging to be taken back once more as his apprentice. He addressed one particular plea to "Beloved Ancestors," already showing the Holloway tendency to seek solace in the past and exemplars who came before them.²²

It is interesting to note that James Holloway, who kept the negative implications of mercenary slave transactions from the family record, nevertheless included documents referring to jail time. Possibly he believed that the punishments were unjustified.²³ Another possibility is that he included them in the record as an act of solidarity: as will be discussed in more detail later, decades after his uncles' incarceration, James too would go to jail in an apparent act of civil disobedience, the true meaning of which remains as murky as his uncles' case. To get his three sons out of jail, Richard Holloway had to raise nearly one thousand dollars for fines, penalties, and interest. The loan was at the usurious rate of 10 percent per annum and would saddle the family with debt for over twenty years—long after Richard's death in 1845.²⁴

folder 3. For the Clarks' financial troubles in Canada, see Holloway Scrapbook, box 1, folder 11.

²² There are letters in the scrapbook from Edward in jail to his brother Charles, so it is known that Edward was one of the sons imprisoned. Charles may have been there too, but could have been released early. The other son may have been John (see note 24). Elizabeth Holloway wrote "Dear Brother and Sister," expressing her sorrow at having three of her sons in trouble. "One at present released and the other two there, imprisoned on accusation of Salt and Battery their [sic] to stay for two months to pay near one thousand dollars between them." Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 1. Later, out of jail, but in trouble again, Edward began his letter of May 29, 1839, addressed to "Mr. Richard Holloway, Senr.," with "Beloved Ancestors." Holloway Scrapbook, box 3, folder 4.

²³ The only clue to what the cause of the imprisonment could have been appears in a poem Edward wrote to his "Esteem'd Brother" Charles on May 20, 1838, referring to "what trivial wrongs / Could have produced the blight." Holloway Scrapbook, box 3, folder 4.

²⁴ Bond of Charles Holloway, Edward and John Holloway to Henry D. Lesesne, April 18, 1848, shows a balance of \$863.17, noting payments and interests from 1847. On February 21, 1861, Lesesne wrote to Charles Holloway, saying he had not received payment in three years and would be "willing to make a very considerable deduction." The next day, Charles paid fifty dollars. Receipts for 1863 show payments



Brown (Century) Fellowship Society Cemetery, Pitt Street, Charleston, circa 1905. "Fellowship Hall" is to the right.

Richard Holloway was befittingly buried in the Brown Fellowship Society Cemetery. His widow, Elizabeth, became the matriarch of the family and carried on the work her husband had begun with the Minors' Moralistic Society.²⁵ Although she inherited the Beaufain Street house from Richard and lived there for awhile, she eventually left the residence, moving around the corner to the home of her son Richard Jr., and then eventually up to Jasper

of sixty, seventy, one hundred, and one hundred and thirty dollars. Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 2. It might have been easier to pay these bonds at this time with devalued Confederate currency.

²⁵ Francis Asbury Mood wrote of his family in his memoirs, "We taught our school in a large room the property of a Mrs. Holloway on the South side of Beaufain Street . . . a pious and respectable old colored lady whose husband before his death had been the leading colored man in the church in Charleston." "Autobiography, F. A. Mood, original in the Alexander M. Mood family, typed copy dated May 13, 1937 from Margaret Mood McKennon," photocopy, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston. Mood said of Richard Holloway at his death, he "was . . . conspicuous for his intelligence and zeal. His zeal, however, was sometimes intemperate and ill-judged, but he died much beloved and respected." F. A. Mood, ed. Thomas O. Summers, *Methodism in Charleston: A History* (Nashville: E. Stevenson and J. and E. Evans, Agents, for the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1856), 189. Those who mourned Richard Holloway felt that "a great man is fallen in Israel," according to a letter to "Sister Holloway," June 29, 1845. Holloway Scrapbook, box 1, folder 8.

Street.²⁶ There seemed to be a tacit understanding among the Holloways that whoever lived in the ancestral home was the head of the family.

By the 1850s, the patriarchal position had shifted to Charles Holloway, who had not been born for the role, but who assumed it. Charles, born April 28, 1814, was seventh in birth order and six years older than the troublesome Edward, who despite the anxiety he caused his father, was nevertheless named as one of Richard Holloway's executors. Charles was not, and in the will, he was left the only property not within a few blocks of the family house, it being instead in the Hampstead section of town, on Woolfe Street. All sons who followed the carpenter trade (Charles, among them) shared in their father's tools according to the will.²⁷ Charles alone, however, seems to have inherited his father's acumen and sense of familial responsibility. Charles was the son who assumed the largest obligation in paying off the bond for the three imprisoned siblings, and it was to Charles that scapegrace Edward appealed when he needed money to emigrate to Jamaica.²⁸

Charles Holloway married Mary Cecelia Kuguely in 1835 after a proper courtship, which included him asking her parents' permission to woo her before addressing her directly.²⁹ Cecelia's father, Jacob, had been prominent enough to serve in the Charleston Neck Rangers, a company of state militia that patrolled the unincorporated area of the Charleston peninsula north of Boundary Street. After his death, Cecelia became her father's sole heir. Cecelia's son, the compiler of the scrapbook, in preparing her page in the volume, included a typed transcript of Jacob Kuguely's will to demonstrate how one generation of his family took care of the next.³⁰

Another Jacob Kuguely document that James Holloway pasted in the scrapbook shows how Charles Holloway took on the burden of his father-in-law's estate, paying its war tax when it came due. This was the Holloway way—to obey any law that would keep them on the correct side of it.³¹ But Charles was not totally docile, agreeing to anything the larger white world

²⁶ Charleston city directories and capitation books listing taxes paid by free people of color document Elizabeth Holloway's movements around town. The homestead, initially numbered 33, would become number 29 by the time of her husband's death and shift to number 39 in her grandson's generation.

²⁷ Will of Richard Holloway, Holloway Scrapbook, box 3, folder 3.

²⁸ See note 24 regarding Charles Holloway's payment of debts. For the letter about Jamaica, see Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 3.

²⁹ The surname is spelled in various ways throughout the documents, including Kugely, Kuguely, Kougley, and Koechler.

³⁰ All of the Kougley/Koeckler family documents are in the Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folders 2 and 3, demonstrating how James Holloway grouped the materials to tell stories.

³¹ Surviving capitation records show that Charles Holloway paid his tax regularly, while his brother Edward only paid in the era in which he got in trouble with the law.

doled out. Like his father, he preached in the Methodist church (being licensed in 1853), though he did not accept all of its actions and decisions passively.³² In 1852 there was a controversy in Trinity Methodist Church between its black and white members regarding a black burial ground. Since 1818 black members of Trinity Church had been buried in a lot on Smith Street, one block west of Pitt Street, in the same neighborhood as the Brown Fellowship Society Cemetery. When white church members desired to sell the lot that blacks had bought, Holloway protested. He noted "the matter of selling our graveyard is Repulsive to our sense of propriety, Humanity, and Religion."³³ In 1839 Charles had helped found the Christian Benevolent Society for the "aid of the sick poor of our free Colored Community in the City, by pecuniary grants, and Judicious Council." In 1856 he assisted that society in establishing its own cemetery. Ironically, in the next generation, just as these earlier materials about a battle over a graveyard were being pasted into his scrapbook, Charles's heirs would confront a similar problem over the resting spot of his ancestors in their cemetery on Pitt Street.³⁴

Charles Holloway was a cautious man, always aware of the position people of his status occupied in a white-ruled slave society. He saved his Confederate tax receipts and even currency to show loyalty to a country that defended states rights' and slavery. He, along with other members of the Brown Fellowship Society, even supported the war effort—or supported sick Confederate soldiers, at least—raising fifty dollars in 1861 for the Ladies' Relief Association.

While many whites and blacks left Charleston when it came under siege to Union forces, the capitation books documenting the taxes paid by free people of color in 1863 and 1864 indicate that the Holloways stayed. When most able-bodied white men were called up to defend the city, free men of color assumed many of their civic duties, such as firefighting. A Holloway family member served in a totally "colored" fire company during the war.³⁵

³² Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 3.

³³ Charles Holloway's letter, addressed "To the Honorable Board of Trustees of Trinity Church," is in the Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 4. The cemetery in question was located near the church property, but not part of it. Its present address is 88 Smith Street. See Trinkley, Hacker, and Southerland, *The Silence of the Dead*, 224.

³⁴ *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of Christian Benevolent Society: A Society Organized by Colored Men of Charleston, S.C., in the Year 1839*, in Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 10. The purported 1856 document has the year 1909, along with a five-cent price, printed on its title page. The final page shows that the document dates from March 1856, but it bears an addendum dated April 19, 1909. James Holloway was elected president in that year. It seems that the officers, including Holloway, reprinted the 1856 document and sold it as a memento.

³⁵ Confederate materials are in the Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 3. Ladies Relief Association clipping is in the Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 4. "Descriptive

When the city fell on February 17, 1865, and liberating troops marched in, one cannot but speculate what the Holloways were thinking. Literate and fairly well to do, with ties to the white community, the family now had a new opportunity to succeed.

The matriarch, Elizabeth Holloway, died in 1866, surviving long enough to see emancipation become a reality. She was the one who started saving the family papers, a tradition that took root among her descendants. Her son Charles paid for her burial in a mahogany casket in the Brown Fellowship Society Cemetery, and later, his son included a preserved piece of paper concerning the casket purchase in the family annals.³⁶

Two years after his mother's death, Charles Holloway attended the opening of the new school for freedmen on Bull Street, soon to be called Avery Normal Institute. The school would take up the mission his parents had encouraged when they educated children through the Minors' Moralist Society; Charles's son James would see to it that the next generation of Holloways would be educated at Avery. Also in 1868, Charles put himself up for election as alderman in Charleston's Fourth Ward, garnering the respect and support of black and white voters and receiving the good wishes of ex-Confederate colonel Charles H. Simonton, who wrote expressing his desire to see more candidates like Holloway. Holloway won the election and remained active in service to his community and church until the age of seventy-one. He was buried in the Brown Fellowship Society Cemetery in 1885. "Let his works praise him" was carved on his ornate tombstone. The torch then passed to Charles's son, James Harrison, whose trials would be different from those of the generations who had preceded him.³⁷

James had been born in the family homestead in 1849, a few years after his grandfather Richard's death. He was seventeen when his grandmother Elizabeth died. Surviving the Civil War and seeing the end of slavery as a young teen, James followed family tradition by being licensed as an exhorter

List of Free Negroes belonging to Engine No. 4" records that Benjamin Holloway, age twenty-two, was enrolled as of September 8, 1864. These rolls, which are housed at the Charleston Museum Archives, list name, age, occupation, residence, skin color, hair color, eye color, weight, and height of scores of free men of color manning fire departments in the city in 1864.

³⁶ "How the Holloway Scrap was compiled," photocopy of undated, unsigned note, Holloway Family Vertical File, Avery Research Center, states that James Holloway worked with "certain papers his mother and grandmother had saved." Elizabeth Holloway's casket is documented in the Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 2.

³⁷ Regarding the invitation to the opening of the Avery Institute, see the Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 3. Regarding Simonton, see the Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 3. The funerary monument survives in Charleston, having been moved to the Brown Fellowship Cemetery on Cunningham Street.

in Centenary Church at twenty-one years of age.³⁸ A few years later, he relocated inland to the small railroad town of Marion, where he secured the position of postmaster. He purchased land in Marion County as early as 1871 and married Harriet Huger Hampton the next year. He also served as on Marion's town council, "to which position" he had been elected "by the votes of the best citizens."³⁹

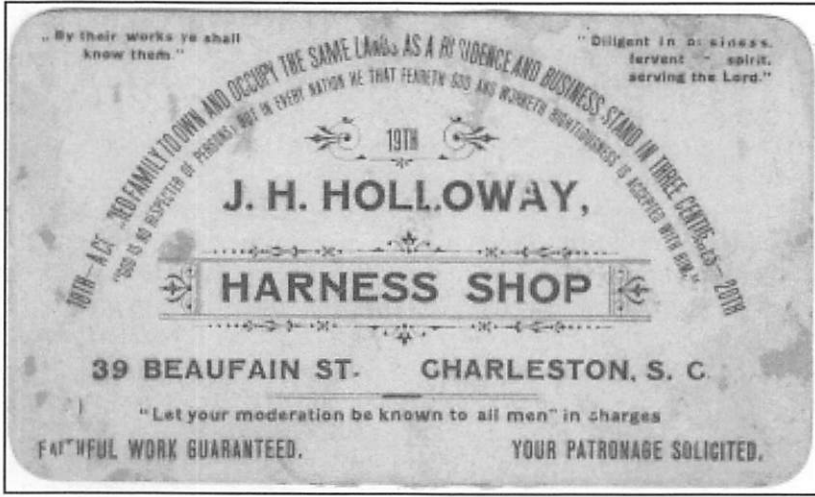
James was the rising star of the Holloway family, with generations of successful men and women behind him. He seemed destined to join their ranks and even surpass them in this era of federally enforced Reconstruction. But upon the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Carolina in 1877, opportunities and legal rights of African Americans began to evaporate. In 1884 (in events not recorded in the scrapbook, as if they were too painful to acknowledge) James Holloway found himself in danger of losing his position as postmaster in Marion. In desperation, he sent a long plea and a petition bearing many signatures to Washington, D.C., but with the election of Grover Cleveland, the first Democratic president since the Civil War, Republican officeholders in the South were turned out. Holloway lost his job. His first cousin lost even more. Benjamin O. Holloway had lived in the same area and occupied a number of public posts, but he had the misfortune of being the trial justice who served a warrant on a white man indicted for killing an African American. For his action, he was ambushed and killed in Timmons ville. His body was taken to Charleston, and he was interred with the rest of the Holloway family in the Brown Fellowship Society Cemetery.⁴⁰

Against odds such as these and out of work, James Holloway retreated to a place where he would be treated better and where his family was known, Charleston. City directories place him back in the family house where he had grown up, 39 Beaufain Street, in 1887, the same year that he joined the Brown Fellowship Society. Living in his father's house, he took on his father's

³⁸ Holloway Scrapbook, box 3, folder 2.

³⁹ The 1880 U.S. census for Marion shows Holloway as postmaster; his wife, Harriet, as a housekeeper; and two daughters in the home: Mary C., four years old, and Cecelia H., six months. On Holloway's political base in Marion, see typed abstract dated "Marion, SC, June 15th," noting "Conditions on which I will announce myself as a candidate for Alderman." Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 8.

⁴⁰ In her typed foreword to the scrapbook, Mae Holloway Purcell did not report on any negative reasons for her uncle leaving Marion. She wrote instead that he left "when required to keep the Post Office on Sundays." Holloway Scrapbook, box 1, folder 1. Regarding the petition, see George Brown Tindall, *South Carolina Negroes, 1877-1900* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1952), 65. On Benjamin O. Holloway, see correspondence of Harlan Greene and Randy McAllister, Holloway Family Vertical File, Avery Research Center. Holloway's death and the "renewed excitement among the negroes, who now threaten to burn the town" were reported in "Trouble in Timmons ville," *News and Courier*, January 29, 1877.



James Holloway's business card.

profession of harness maker and rejoined Centenary Methodist Church.⁴¹ Like his father and grandfather before him, he occasionally preached, and he would run the Sunday school punctually for years.⁴² He gave liberally to the new private college for blacks in Orangeburg, Claflin, and eventually sent his daughter, son, and dependent niece to Avery. James was instrumental in bringing speaker Archibald Grimké, nephew of the abolitionist Grimké sisters and rising civil rights leader, to Charleston to celebrate the anniversary of his children's school. While in town, Grimké also spoke at Alonzo McClennan's hospital and training school for African American nurses, another institution with which James was affiliated.⁴³ In addition, James served as an officer in the Christian Benevolent Society, which his father had founded, and worked as agent for the construction of a church home for "deserving aged people," built on and contiguous to the cemetery his father had fought to keep from being sold by the Methodist church.⁴⁴ James Holloway associated with

⁴¹ Membership certificate, Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 8. Richard Holloway worked on harnesses, as well. Holloway Scrapbook, box 1, folder 5.

⁴² Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 5.

⁴³ On James Holloway's contributions to Claflin, see the Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 5, box 3, folders 1 and 2. Regarding Grimké, see the Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 7, box 3, folder 4.

⁴⁴ Broadside, "Centenary M. E. Church Home, November 15, 1899," Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 10. On the same page, an April 1, 1896, letter from Celia Carter to "all those who may be interested" states that the house is on the lot "formerly our Cemetery."

leaders in the black community, including Dr. William Demosthenes Crum, who had been appointed by President Theodore Roosevelt as collector of the port of Charleston. William Howard Taft, following Roosevelt into office, did not extend Crum's position, appointing him as minister to Liberia instead. James not only had attended Taft's inauguration in Washington, but also was present at Crum's 1910 farewell in Charleston.⁴⁵

In an attempt for political office, Holloway announced himself "as candidate for Alderman at large for ward four." He informed potential voters that "in doing so I am only standing for what my father stood for, he having been alderman for the same ward." He did not want to be "judged by hue," noting that "I base my claim to the office on the fact that my people have been tax-payers in three centuries and located in the same plot for four generations, with an unimpeachable record . . . for integrity."⁴⁶

His platform was who he was, and who the Holloways had been in Charleston, something that had sufficed in his father's time. It must have been a shock to realize, however, that now, in a changed and charged post-Reconstruction environment, this tradition would do him no good. Henceforth, he would be "judged by hue," even in his ancestral home of Charleston. Seen as a black man in an era dedicated to disenfranchising them, Holloway lost the election. "There has always been in Charleston families like yours, in every respect worthy of every consideration," former mayor William A. Courtenay later wrote him in response to one of Holloway's newspaper articles. "I trust this relationship will ever remain," Courtenay continued, "but I fear not! There are many signs of unrest and hostility."⁴⁷

Writing his memoirs in his house on Church Street in 1913, Daniel Elliot Huger Smith, a veteran of the Civil War who possessed a distinguished Charleston lineage, likewise noted the reversal of fortune. Referring to free people of color like the Holloways, he wrote, "Upon this class fell most heavily the hand of the war. . . . Ruined like others, their property was swept away. But they lost much more: *they lost their status*," he added with unusual emphasis, "and their children are to-day hardly to be distinguished from the mass of liberati and liberatini of the African Race."⁴⁸

If whites around him could sympathize from a distance, for Holloway living with the loss of status must have been galling. He fought against it for

⁴⁵ Regarding the Taft inauguration, see the Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 9. The program for the Crum farewell banquet is in the Holloway Scrapbook, box 3, folder 2.

⁴⁶ "Conditions on which I will announce myself as a candidate for Alderman," n.d., Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 8.

⁴⁷ William A. Courtenay to James H. Holloway, March 13, 1905, Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 10.

⁴⁸ D. E. Huger Smith, *A Charlestonian's Recollections, 1846-1913* (Charleston, S.C.: Carolina Art Association, 1950), 10.

the rest of his life, with diminishing success. At one point he went to jail, just like his uncles before him. Though the circumstances are unclear, it appears likely that the city of Charleston was vaccinating African Americans or people in certain neighborhoods in an attempt, presumably, to keep the white population healthy. Holloway refused his vaccination and would not pay the fine, choosing instead to go to jail. He apologized to the white judge for the necessity of sending him there.⁴⁹

Despite how he was viewed by white southerners, James Holloway saw himself as a true American, as able as anyone to lead, a belief he expressed in a letter to the Charleston *Evening Post* in 1906. When his letter was published, he clipped it and included it in his scrapbook. Having been “kept back by slavery and other hindrances,” he wrote, all that Charleston’s brown class now lacked “was opportunity.” His statement to the “dominant race” represented a pugnacious assertion in these times: “for perpetuity and stability we have a claim along with you.” He went on to quote a white man who praised his genealogy of “mixed Caucasian, negro, and Indian stock . . . that must command admiration and respect.”⁵⁰

Turning to his peers, he shared in the letter what he believed was the key to their success. “Let us learn from the dominant race to hold sacred every item of historical importance,” he admonished. Let us, he was saying, document and publish our own history. If we do this, our past efforts will prove our present ability to impact the future. It was a nascent trend among Holloway’s contemporaries. W. E. B. DuBois had begun his documenting of African American history at the turn of the century, and Carter Woodson organized the Association for the Study of Negro History in 1915, producing the first issue of the *Journal of Negro History* the following year. Native South Carolinian Benjamin Brawley published *A Short History of the American Negro* in 1913. Practicing what he preached, Holloway participated in planning a “Negro exhibit” for the Jamestown Exposition of 1907, which celebrated the first permanent English settlement in America. Holloway’s contribution to the exhibition was a collection of Brown Fellowship Society materials, intended

⁴⁹ Theodore Jervey, *The Slave Trade: Slavery and Color* (Columbia, S.C.: The State Company, 1925), 221–222. Although he speaks of the judge in the third person, it was Jervey, as magistrate of the police court, who himself sentenced Holloway. A circa 1917 article from the Charleston *American* pasted in the scrapbook after Holloway’s death that references a public health campaign regarding African Americans is perhaps related to the event. Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 9.

⁵⁰ James H. Holloway, letter to the editor, *Evening Post* (Charleston, S.C.), November 4, 1906 (published as “Century Fellowship Society: Colored Organization with a Hundred Years of Good Record”), Holloway Scrapbook, box 3, folder 4. The quote regarding genealogy was made to Holloway in a letter from G. S. Dickerman, December 26, 1904, Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 7, and quoted in a printed circular, Holloway Scrapbook, box 3, folder 2.

to introduce a national audience to the proud heritage and tradition of his people. A few years earlier and closer to home, he had served on the "Negro Building Committee" for the South Carolina Interstate and West Indian Exposition, trying to educate visitors to Charleston about the role and importance of African Americans in the life of the city.⁵¹

Not a scholar himself, Holloway enlisted the aid of historians Theodore Jervey and Yates Snowden, members of the local white elite, encouraging them to write favorably of African Americans. Snowden responded positively, saying that he knew the value of "conservative men" like Holloway. Although Snowden did not produce anything of substance on Charleston's free people of color and their descendants, Jervey did, referring politely to Holloway and his class in two publications.⁵² Holloway kept on approaching others in power and in the media. Just after the 1911 hurricane, for instance, he invited early filmmaker Freeman Owens to Charleston "to off set the crap shooter" image of blacks. Holloway offered to introduce Owens to his own family, their heritage, and their involvement in the Brown Fellowship Society, as witnessed in "four generations of head stones tom[b]s and shafts . . . of deceased members of the family covering a period of one hundred years." A panning view of the graveyard of the Brown Fellowship Society would be "proof positive," he asserted, of "the better side of Negro life."⁵³

To make an even stronger claim of historical importance, Holloway led the movement to drop "Brown" from the organization's name and change it to the "Century Fellowship Society." He also urged members and supporters to follow "the example of other well known societies" in Charleston, such as the Hibernian Society, the German Friendly Society, and the South Carolina Society, by pursuing "every honorable effort to erect a hall on lands owned in the eighteenth century by the society." At a cornerstone laying in 1904, held in the hope of adding a second story to the already existing "hearse house" on the property on Pitt Street, Holloway recruited white speakers, including

⁵¹ On the Jamestown exhibit, see Holloway's correspondence and shipping receipt, Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folders 6, 7, and 10. Regarding the "Negro Building Committee," see Thomas J. Jackson to J. H. Holloway, September 23, 1901, Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 10.

⁵² Yates Snowden to J. H. Holloway, January 21, 1907, Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 5. Holloway's letters to Snowden are in the Yates Snowden Papers at the South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia. The authors thank Allen H. Stokes for providing copies. See Theodore D. Jervey, *Robert Y. Hayne and His Times* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1909), 6, 68, 117, 209, 433, 434. On pages 69 and 434, Jervey quotes from the records of the "Century Fellowship Society . . . in possession of J. H. Holloway." See also Jervey, *The Slave Trade*. After meeting several times, Holloway even sought Jervey's assistance in writing the history of the Brown (Century) Fellowship Society himself. James H. Holloway to Theodore Jervey, January 22, 1908, Holloway Scrapbook, box 3, folder 5.

⁵³ Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 10. Emphasis in original.

the minister of Saint Philip's Church, whose predecessor had been an instigator in the Brown Fellowship Society's founding in 1790. Ironically, the pulpit at Saint Philip's was now filled by John Johnson, the Confederate engineer officer who had defended Charleston during the Civil War.⁵⁴

The most important speech of the day, however, was Holloway's, according to Theodore Jervey, a vice president of the South Carolina Historical Society. Holloway referred to his people's precarious position between "the dominant race" on one hand, and "the backward race" on the other. The men and women who had created the Brown Fellowship Society had succeeded, he believed, because of their "social purity," which the "great crowd . . . of white, brown, and black" understood to mean that "the organization had closed both the front and the back doors, and that no white man and no black man could come in."⁵⁵

Holloway saw the former members of the Brown Fellowship Society and current members of the Century Fellowship Society as a distinctive class of people as worthy and distinguished as any in Charleston—or anywhere else in the country, for that matter. His minister, William A. Palmer of Centenary Methodist Episcopal Church, upon reviewing Holloway's speech, thanked him for his courage in "these perilous times; it takes brave men like you to deliver this paper." Palmer then blessed Holloway for his resoluteness in claiming a separate social equality.⁵⁶

Aristocratic whites could nod at the idea of "social purity" and agree that descent from persons of high status was important. But cringing at the shibboleth and horror of race mixing, they could not concur with Holloway's argument that "mixed blood" entitled him to a position of leadership, just as their "undiluted blood" fitted them to the same thing. D. E. Huger Smith, in his memoir, tried to minimize such facts, stating that "a great deal of nonsense has been written about the cross-breeding of the races in the period of slavery." Smith did acknowledge that "of course, there were more [mulattos] in the cities, but yet today [1913] *the negro race . . . remains black*," he opined, again feeling the need to add emphasis. "The intellect of Holloway was not extraordinary," Theodore Jervey wrote dismissively, but as for his conviction that he had a heritage and right to lead, Jervey had to concede that "it was pursued with such a patient faith and pious determination, as to impart to it, in the eyes of some whites in the same locality . . . a dignity entitling it to respect."⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Holloway's speech is reproduced in Jervey, *The Slave Trade*, 223–225. On adding a second story to the hearse house, see an undated document bearing the Century Fellowship Society seal, Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 10

⁵⁵ Jervey, *The Slave Trade*, 223; Hawkin, "The Color Line in Charleston."

⁵⁶ William R. A. Palmer to "My dear Brother Holloway," October 12, 1904, Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 7.

⁵⁷ Smith, *A Charlestonian's Recollections*, 34; Jervey, *The Slave Trade*, 223.

James Holloway succeeded in his "life work to leave a Monument in this 20[th] century to men who laid the foundation in the 18th Century" in a number of ways, many of them focusing on the newly named Century Fellowship Society.⁵⁸ The hall he campaigned to have built, despite the fact that it was not completed the way he envisioned it, was nevertheless grand enough to merit respect. One visitor described its interior favorably, noting that it was hung with "oil portraits of the founders and the succeeding presidents of the society." Holloway advertised lecture series on various topics including "prominent men of our race," with proceeds going to the building fund.⁵⁹ He had photographs taken of the cemetery, its tombstones, and a dramatic arrangement of the society's record books (with an American flag draped behind them) for distribution to journalists. As president, he kept the records in his custody, quoted from them liberally, and lent the originals to historians.⁶⁰

To defray the upkeep of the cemetery on Pitt Street, Holloway published broadsides soliciting funds. A beautifully kept cemetery would serve "to represent the Colored people, it being in a prominent part of the city with an Iron fence and with Head Stone Tombs and Monuments that prove the former standing of the people that it placed to represent, going back to the Aborigines," a reference to his Native American great grandmother. If whites had recently raised monuments to their heroes, including Henry Timrod, William Gilmore Simms, and Sergeant William Jasper, in prominent spots around the city, then this graveyard was to serve as the black man's Washington Park and White Point Garden. Here were literal (funerary) monuments to named free men and women in the Fellowship Society plot and the unnamed slaves in the MacPhelah part of the cemetery, all of whom had shaped the city's history. Holloway pleaded for nickels and dimes from everyone, "so we can make our Cemetery a place of beauty that everyone can feel pride in."⁶¹

⁵⁸ J. H. Holloway to Theodore Jervey, "Monday morning," Holloway Scrapbook, box 3, folder 5.

⁵⁹ Haskin, "The Color Line in Charleston"; advertisement, Holloway Scrapbook, box 3, folder 2. See also the handbill on the lecture series in the same folder.

⁶⁰ G. S. Dickerman to James H. Holloway, December 26, 1904, Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 5. A photograph of the records with the flag behind them appears in G. S. Dickerman, "A Glimpse of Southern History," *Southern Workman*, January 1907, 15-23. The image itself is on page 21. Other images show the hearse house/Century Fellowship Society Hall. Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 4. The cemetery is visible in the photographs. There is correspondence from Dickerman about the article and related topics in the Holloway Scrapbook, box 4, folder 3. See also note 52.

⁶¹ Printed circular to "Dear Friend," datelined Charleston, August 10, 1911, and signed "J. H. Holloway, President Century Fellowship Society," in Holloway Scrapbook, box 3, folder 2. Holloway may have only been interested in the Brown Fellowship portion of the cemetery. A 1907 description of the graveyard is telling.

Holloway's indefatigable efforts touched Theodore Jervey, who wrote after the man's death that "his position resembled that of a priest of a dying cult, to whom the sight of altars he intensely revered, more and more deserted, as he advanced in years, but the more added to the fervor of his worship. . . . Holloway's life was a living denial of the charge that the Negro has no interest in the past or future, for to him both of these were of importance."⁶² Here was Holloway's tragedy in Charleston, the South, and America at large: he was a proud black man who knew the importance of his family history and his race.

Holloway took great pride in the fact that five generations of his family had lived under one roof, the fifth being his son James, who assumed the harness business from him. "To celebrate the occasion of living 100 years in the house," he extended an invitation "to the Descendants of Richard and Elizabeth Holloway" to come to his home for "a Family Gathering and Dinner." Funds collected would "go towards the renovation of the Monument of Sarah Dianah Holloway Clark, the only daughter of Richard and Elizabeth Holloway. . . . And to inscribe on one of the panels of the same the names of her Parents as no Monument marks their last resting place."⁶³ History that was unknown and unrecorded was an anathema to him.

Everything James Holloway did, he invested with his mission. On his various business cards and broadsides, he adapted a poem by Oliver Wendell Holmes and referred to his "Centennial Home":

Know old Charleston? Hope you do
Born there? Don't say so, I was too
Born in a house with a shingle roof
Standing still, if you must have proof
And has stood for a century⁶⁴

The northern half, "owned by blacks is protected from the street by a wooden fence, the graves are neglected, the brambles have grown up and the place has not known a scythe for ages." In contrast, "the browns' half of the cemetery is quite well kept, has an iron fence about it, and the monuments and gravestones are well cared for. . . . In the old cemetery are buried the founders of the order, the free negroes who were men of wealth as far back as . . . the Revolution. There are their sons . . . [and] their grandsons who came into power after the Civil War and were sent to the Legislature and to Congress," a reference to Robert Carlos De Large (1842-1874), who served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1871 to 1873 and is buried in the Brown Fellowship Society cemetery. Haskin, "The Color Line in Charleston." This article further states that the northern part of the cemetery was called Beersheba Fellowship Society, but that name was applied mostly to a cemetery on Hanover Street.

⁶² Jervey, *The Slave Trade*, 222.


⁶³ Broadside, "To the Descendants of Richard and Elizabeth Holloway," Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 6.

⁶⁴ The poem appears on a broadside, with an image of Holloway standing in the doorway of his shop. Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 6. It was quoted by Jervey,

Centennial Home of the Holloways.

—♦—
Richard Holloway built the home on
lands he got from his Father-in-law,
who bought it in the 18th Century.
—♦—

“For I know him that he will command his
children and his household after him, and
they shall keep the way of the Lord.”



“Know old Charleston? Hope you do!
Born there? Don't say so. I was too:
Born in a house with a shingle roof:
Standing still, if you must have proof.
And has stood for more than a Century.”

James Holloway had this broadside printed to honor the “Centennial Home of the Holloways.”

Yates Snowden, upon seeing the card, wrote to Holloway that he shared the same feeling and history, noting that his sister lived in a house that their family first occupied in 1806. Jervey wrote of Holloway, “He was a sadler [*sic*] and harness maker by trade, but he was nevertheless an aristocrat.”⁶⁵

To others, however, these claims seemed preposterous. The articles Holloway had written and the broadsides he had disseminated, extolling the past, referring to the Minors’ Moralists Society school that once functioned

The Slave Trade, 222. Holloway told Jervey the source of the quotation in an undated letter to him. Holloway Scrapbook, box 3, folder 5.

⁶⁵ Yates Snowden to J. H. Holloway, January 21, 1907, Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 5. Snowden apparently thought the Holloway house dated from 1807 and not 1806 when he added, “So I am a year ahead of you.” Jervey, *The Slave Trade*, 221.

behind his house—including how white College of Charleston students had taught there—seemed absurd and too self aggrandizing to many whites. As if to deliberately humiliate him and void his claims, a national postcard company presented an image of Beaufain Street showing his house. The caption read, “A Glimpse of Coonville in the Heart of Charleston, S.C.”

The photograph on the postcard, obviously meant to invoke the image Holloway had used on his broadside, shows a man, possibly Holloway himself, standing in front of his house. “The houses on the south side were owned before emancipation by Coons,” the card notes. It continues, “The one that man stands before is the centennial [*sic*] home of a Coon family, in the rear of which is a school house built in the 1st quarter of the 19th Century where coon children were taught by College Buckras. How is that for Coonville in the heart of Charleston? Where does the laugh come in?” It certainly did not come from Holloway.⁶⁶ The card, with its racist language and message, was sold for decades and often sent from Charleston as a joke on a black man’s claim for respect and dignity. It summarizes most succinctly and savagely the battle Holloway faced and lost in his quest for his people and his family.

Needless to say, Holloway did not put the postcard in the scrapbook he was compiling, which consumed more and more of his energy as time passed. His niece Mary (“Mae”) Holloway, who came to live with James’s family so that she could attend Avery and stayed on after the death of her mother, recalled how “at night he would write articles for the newspaper [and] work on his scrapbook.” It became the battlefield on which he fought and the court in which he pled.⁶⁷

In 1913, soon after the postcard was published, Holloway died and was buried in the Brown Fellowship Society Cemetery. His daughter Cecelia no longer lived in Charleston. Remembered as one of the best of her class at Avery, she had married James Cabaniss, a dentist, and held a high-ranking position in the YWCA administration in New York City.⁶⁸ James’s niece Mae, who

⁶⁶ Photographs of both sides of the postcard are in the photographic files of the Avery Research Center. The postcard was reproduced for years, but frequently without the racist text on the reverse.

⁶⁷ Holloway’s niece Mary P. (“Mae”) is included in his household in the 1910 census for Charleston. Lee Drago oral history interview with Mae Holloway Purcell, E. Lee Drago Papers, Avery Research Center.

⁶⁸ Cecelia Holloway Cabaniss is listed as a teacher in a printed roll of Avery Normal School graduates. A handwritten notation on the roll adds, “The Class of 1898 . . . will be well remembered by the career. . . . of Mrs. Celia Holloway-Cabiness-Saunders [*sic*], secretary of the Y.W.C.A., of New York City.” “The Early History of Avery Normal Institute down to 1900,” Maude Smith Atkins Papers, Avery Research Center. The wedding invitation of Cecelia to Dr. James Edward Cabaniss, August 15, 1912, is in the Holloway Scrapbook, box 3, folder 1. Beneath it is letterhead stationery of the National Board of the Young Women’s Christian Association. Cecelia



Postcard, circa 1910, lampooning the Holloways and their legacy. On the left side of the street, barely visible in the background, a man, possibly James Holloway, stands on the sidewalk in front of his house at 39 Beaufain Street.

became the leader of the family, later headed a library for blacks in Charleston, realizing the dream of Holloways before her.⁶⁹

But like her uncle, Mae witnessed more of the Holloway legacy lost in these years. Her uncle had been the last president of the Century Fellowship Society, and no one succeeded him. In 1936 a visitor to the society's cemetery still saw the iron fence and "the stones showing vividly the economic standing of the Holloway family which for five generations ranked as one of the most noted of Charleston's harness makers."⁷⁰ Three years later, however, the property, along with a dozen other cemeteries in town, was seized by the city

Holloway is listed as a special worker. A graduate of Fisk University and Tuskegee Institute, she was director of the Upper Manhattan YWCA for thirty years, transforming it into an organization that impacted the lives of hundreds of poor women seeking professional training and experience.

⁶⁹ The 1844 to 1846 minutes of a library society are in the Holloway Scrapbook, box 2, folder 8, and mention of the compiler's interest in a library is made in a G. S. Dickerman letter to James H. Holloway, Holloway Scrapbook, box 3, folder 5. Mae Holloway Purcell (1891–1982) worked for the Charleston County Public Library from November 1936 through October 1, 1964.

⁷⁰ James B. Browning, "The Beginnings of Insurance Enterprise among Negroes," *Journal of Negro History* 22 (October 1937): 417–432, 427.

for nonpayment of the assessment levied for paving the bordering streets. The city was on the verge of selling it to the Catholic Diocese of Charleston, which wanted the land as a buffer to its adjacent property where the Bishop England School stood, when one of the last members of the Century Fellowship Society got wind of the looming conveyance. Hiram Bell, who had served as vice president of the society under James Holloway, came from his sick bed to ransom the property, working through his attorney, former mayor Thomas P. Stoney.⁷¹

But it was only a temporary reprieve. As the cemetery fell further into disuse, surviving members of the society entered into a preliminary arrangement with Joseph McCarthy, a gravestone carver, who suggested a swap of the land on Pitt Street for a lot he owned on Charleston Neck. McCarthy would pay five thousand dollars and move the tombstones. The Catholic Diocese, still desirous of gaining the land to keep other structures from obstructing its school, approached McCarthy. Both plans fell through, and for the next six years or so, discussion languished between the society and the diocese. One of those who signed off on the final sale to the diocese in 1956 was Mae Holloway Purcell. A year later, correspondence noted the stones were still in place.⁷²

Over the intervening years, some gravestones were moved, while many others were lost; several were scattered around the neighborhood, where fragments still lie entangled in roots of trees. Overlooked were the bodies of those men and women who had forged a history as forgotten as their own dust. A century after Charles Holloway had fought to keep the Methodist church from selling a cemetery its black members had bought, the cemetery where Charles himself was buried was lost.

Not a trace remains of the hall his son renovated. All of the portraits and images of the society presidents are gone, too.⁷³ When Hiram Bell's house was sold to the College of Charleston, the last volume of the Brown Fellowship

⁷¹ "12 Churchyards Seized for Dues: Abandoned Cemeteries Taken by City for Total of \$13,123 Paving Levies," *News and Courier*, November 22, 1939. A typed missive to "Mr. Stoney" dated May 17, 1940, perhaps by a secretary, describes a visit by Hiram Bell and his wife to Stoney's office, noting "his wife said that he [Bell] is sick and should be in bed." Thomas P. Stoney Papers, South Carolina Historical Society. The authors thank Mary Jo Fairchild for providing these copies.

⁷² To sell the property, the Brown Fellowship Society first had to incorporate. The details of the incorporation and of the sale to the bishop of Charleston are found in Charleston County Register of Mesne Conveyance Deed Book U, no. 62, p. 470. Copies of related correspondence are in the Brown Fellowship Society Vertical Files, Avery Research Center, as well as in the Catholic Diocese of Charleston Archives, Charleston. The authors thank Jennifer Neal of the Diocese of Charleston Archives for providing copies.

⁷³ Tombstone fragments are entangled in the roots of a tree directly behind the College of Charleston Foundation's Blacklock House, 18 Bull Street, Charleston. It

Society minutes was found abandoned in the attic. No earlier ones have ever surfaced. The historical records are believed to have disappeared in the ruin of the hall.⁷⁴

Other relics went into the abyss, as well. The Holloway homestead, so proudly hailed by the family but lampooned by a postcard company, was demolished in the early 1950s for a parking lot. After it was gone, the city of Charleston extended Market Street from King Street to Beaufain Street, cutting a diagonal through the area where the school house of the Minors' Moralistic Society once stood.

All that remained was the scrapbook. For a time, one could see it in segregated Dart Hall, the African American branch of the public library run by Mae Holloway Purcell. But that building was also demolished, making way for a cross-town expressway. While it stood, Dart Hall and its contents attracted researchers. Writing on Charleston free blacks, African American scholar Horace Fitchett, who was forbidden entrance into the South Carolina Historical Society and the Charleston Library Society, had to make special arrangements to consult materials at the College of Charleston and the Charleston County Public Library. Mae Holloway Purcell, however, opened her branch library, her home, and her uncle's scrapbook to him. Other black scholars used the scrapbook, too.⁷⁵

Over the years, its custodian, Mae Holloway Purcell, added a few items to the scrapbook. These included articles from the newspaper about free people of color, her library degree, and a pamphlet about federal district judge J. Waties Waring of Charleston, who ruled for the end of segregation. After she retired in 1964, with no children to inherit it, Purcell took the scrapbook to New York City, to Holloway's daughter Cecelia Cabaniss Saunders. Saunders offered it to the New York Public Library's "Division of Negro Literature, History, and Prints" (now called the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture), certain that this storehouse of information on the history of African

is possible that one portrait survives. The miniature portrait of Richard Holloway on the front page of the scrapbook, which may be the oldest color image of a free person of color, and possibly the earliest surviving portrait of an African American from Charleston, has obviously been removed from its frame and context. It bears a ballpoint inscription, possibly by Mae Holloway Purcell.

⁷⁴ "All the records of the society were destroyed or lost when the hall fell into decay." Holograph notation on "Project #1655, C. H. Walker, Charleston, SC," typescript, Brown Fellowship Society Vertical Files, South Carolina Historical Society. Holloway wrote Theodore Jervy, January 22, 1908, noting the unsafe nature of the hall for storage of their records. Holloway Scrapbook, box 3, folder 5.

⁷⁵ On the extension of Market Street, see L. M. Redd to William McG. Morrison, January 22, 1952, City of Charleston Archives, Charleston. The authors thank Ernestine Fellars for providing a photocopy the document. In the typed foreword, Mae Holloway Purcell wrote that the "scrap book has been used by historians, sociologists and students from various colleges writing theses and articles on the

Americans in the United States would want it.⁷⁶ But it appears that the library staff in New York did not understand the Holloways and their special niche in history. The scrapbook was returned to the family and wound up back in Charleston, in the hands of Mae Purcell, who eventually had herself photographed hugging it. Looking to its safety, she had it microfilmed and many of its items conserved. Before her death in 1982, she gave it to the College of Charleston library, which also held the only known minutes of the Brown Fellowship Society.

In 2000 the scrapbook was transferred to another part of the college, the Avery Research Center for African American History and Culture. The Avery Research Center is housed in the very building on Bull Street where Charles Holloway in 1868 attended the grand-opening festivities for what would become Avery Normal Institute. His son James procured a speaker for Avery's anniversary, and James's daughter Cecelia, son James, and niece Mae had received schooling there. Over time, the scrapbook's contents were scattered from their original order and grouped topically, thus severing the generational and thematic stories James Holloway had labored to tell. Scholars continued to access it, but use was difficult, as if a mosaic had been dismantled and the design demolished, with the tiles instead grouped by color.⁷⁷

Avery Research Center archival staff (with the aid of the barely legible microfilm made of the scrapbook before its disassembly) labored to recover the order James Holloway intended. Work on the scrapbook commenced as other efforts were undertaken in an attempt to rectify the mistakes of the past. On February 7, 2008, Charleston mayor Joseph P. Riley Jr. dedicated a memorial to the Brown Fellowship Society Cemetery on the site, which had passed to the College of Charleston from the Catholic Diocese. (Human remains found had been disinterred earlier.) At the unveiling, James Mitchell and Richard

activities of Free Negroes in South Carolina. Prof. E. Horace Fitchett had photographic copies of documents he considered remarkable. For more than twenty-five years readers in the Dart Hall Branch Library have used this scrapbook for research work in Negro History." Holloway Scrapbook, box 1, folder 1. For a description of how an African American scholar was forbidden use of various Charleston repositories, see Horace Elijah Fitchett, "The Free Negro in Charleston, South Carolina" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1950), 17-18.

⁷⁶ Holloway Scrapbook, box 3, folder 7; copy of letter of Cecelia Cabaniss Saunders to Jean Blackwell Hutson, January 26, 1963, Holloway Family Vertical File, Avery Research Center. Another note, "Excerpts taken from the Scrapbook of the family of Mr. Richard Holloway," records that the scrapbook was offered to the Schomburg Library. Holloway Family Vertical File, Avery Research Center.

⁷⁷ Some items present in the microfilm are not present at the Avery Research Center, and some items, not on the microfilm, are present in the collection. The work of reassembling the scrapbook was done by Avery Research Center archivists Jessica Lancia and Harlan Greene with funding by the Gaylord and Dorothy Donnelley Foundation and the Council on Library and Information Resources.

Holloway's names were shown inscribed on the monument, but no one else from the family was included. Charles Holloway's monument stands with a few others salvaged from the cemetery and moved to a plot of land dedicated to the society in another African American graveyard a few miles away on Cunnington Street, outside of the gates of the massive Magnolia Cemetery.⁷⁸

These, then, are the remaining memorials to the Holloways and their history in Charleston—engraved stones of various vintage and location, and a fragile paper scrapbook compiled at the turn of the twentieth century. The stones invite people to pause and remember, while the scrapbook in the archives of the Avery Research Center evokes the hand of James Harrison Holloway and the tale of his family from the 1790s to the 1970s. Now digitized, the electronic version will make the story that James Holloway tried to tell through the scrapbook widely accessible.⁷⁹ With an irony that may not have been lost on Holloway, it must be noted that this turnabout, the journey from the scrapbook's creation to its preservation and access, has taken that same unit of time that so obsessed him—a century.

⁷⁸ The remains exhumed from the Brown Fellowship-MacPhelah plot, removed under the guidance of the Catholic Diocese of Charleston, were not reinterred in the Brown Fellowship lot, but in an unmarked grave in nearby Saint Laurence Cemetery.

⁷⁹ The digitized version of the scrapbook, which is part of the College of Charleston's Lowcountry Digital Library, is available online at <http://lowcountrydigital.library.cofc.edu/collections/holloway/>. Digitization of the scrapbook was made possible in part by contributions from the Gaylord and Dorothy Donnelley Foundation.

BOOCHAWEE: PLANTATION LAND AND LEGACY IN GOOSE CREEK

MICHAEL J. HEITZLER*

ON SEPTEMBER 20, 1683, THE LORDS PROPRIETORS OF CAROLINA granted to colonist James Moore a twenty-four-hundred-acre tract called "Boochaw and Wapensaw," usually referred to as "Boochawee."¹ From the start, this large parcel of land, which was located north of Charles Town near Goose Creek, had auspicious owners. James Moore Sr., who built and lived at the original frontier house, explored inland to the Appalachian Mountains, grew wealthy trading with and enslaving the natives, rose to the position of governor of South Carolina in 1700, and led several invasions of Spanish Florida during Queen Anne's War. James Moore Jr. followed in his father's footsteps: as an Indian trader, as a military hero in the Tuscarora War, and as governor of the colony during the turbulent transition period that ended proprietary rule. In spite of the ambitions and talents of the Moores, Boochawee faded into obscurity unlike better-known neighboring plantations such as the Oaks, Crowfield, and Medway. Eventually, the Boochawee manor was attached to the Oaks Plantation, owned by the prominent Middleton family, and other Boochawee subsections melded with five bordering estates named Schenckinck's, Springfield, Liberty Hall, Howe Hall, and Button Hall—all seats of important personalities during the heady colonial era and beyond. The masters of Boochawee and its subdivisions made durable contributions to the political, economical, and social institutions of South Carolina, while thousands of bound African Americans labored in the swamps to build the inland rice systems that produced their fortunes. Later as freedmen, black residents farmed their own small plots of old Boochawee, eking out enough to feed extended families and support whitewashed churches and schools well into the twentieth century. These lands now comprise central sections of the city of Goose Creek, a burgeoning municipality located in the Charleston metropolitan area. Incorporated in 1961, the city's 2010 population was estimated by U.S. Census Bureau to be forty thousand.

The following description of Boochawee and the plantations that evolved from it continues the nineteenth-century historical research of Henry A. M. Smith. Born in Charleston in 1853, Smith began practicing law in 1874 and was appointed federal district judge for eastern South Carolina in 1911.

* Independent scholar Michael J. Heitzler resides in Goose Creek.

¹ A tribe of Native Americans called the Etiwans once hunted and farmed this area and called it "Boochawee," probably in reference to the abundant freshwater swamps. Spelling variations include the two-word title "Boochaw and Wapensaw." A consistent "Boochawee" is used here, unless within a quotation.

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