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THE LEGACY OF AINSLEY HALL

TERRY W. LIPSCOMB*

When the wealthy Columbia merchant Ainsley Hall died in 1823, he left behind a set of feuding heirs, a last will and testament that vexed the state's best legal minds, and two mansions on Blanding Street that were destined to become historic houses. A century later, his estate records turned up in the Richland County Courthouse and supplied much of the evidence needed to piece together his remarkable story.

WHERE THE ARCHITECTURE OF HISTORIC BUILDINGS IS concerned, attribution is in the eye of the beholder. A defective or misleading documentary trail can point speculation in the wrong direction, as happened in the case of Columbia's Ainsley Hall Mansion — restored in modern times as the Robert Mills House. "[W]hile I have been able to find no records," the author of a 1919 paper on Mills concluded regarding the mansion, "the character and detail of this building are so distinctly Roman, that I am quite sure it is not Mills' work." The writer credited the design to J. Graves, architect, based on a signed drawing in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary library that showed the Hall mansion with existing annexes and proposed additions.¹

But during the 1920s county historian Edwin L. Green found that documents linking Robert Mills to this dwelling house existed in the Richland County Courthouse. The 100-year-old records had been introduced as evidence during an 1820s court fight over Ainsley Hall's estate.² Green's research led others to the file. Preservationists in the 1960s saw the papers as valuable ammunition in their efforts to save the mansion from demolition and they urged that steps be taken to safeguard them.

In 1961 James H. Hammond, president of the University South Caroliniana Society, called the matter to the attention of South Carolina Senator Walter J. Bristow:

That phase of the litigation, amounting to four or five old papers ... is lodged in the back of the Clerk of Courts office in files No. 251-266. These files sooner or later will be

*Project archivist, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

¹Charles C. Wilson, *Robert Mills, Architect* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1919; Bulletin No. 77), p. 29.

²Edwin L. Green, *A History of Richland County* (Columbia, S.C.: R. L. Bryan Co., 1932), p. 42; Edwin L. Green, "Ainsley Hall, Merchant," *The State* (Columbia, S.C.), July 5, 1931.

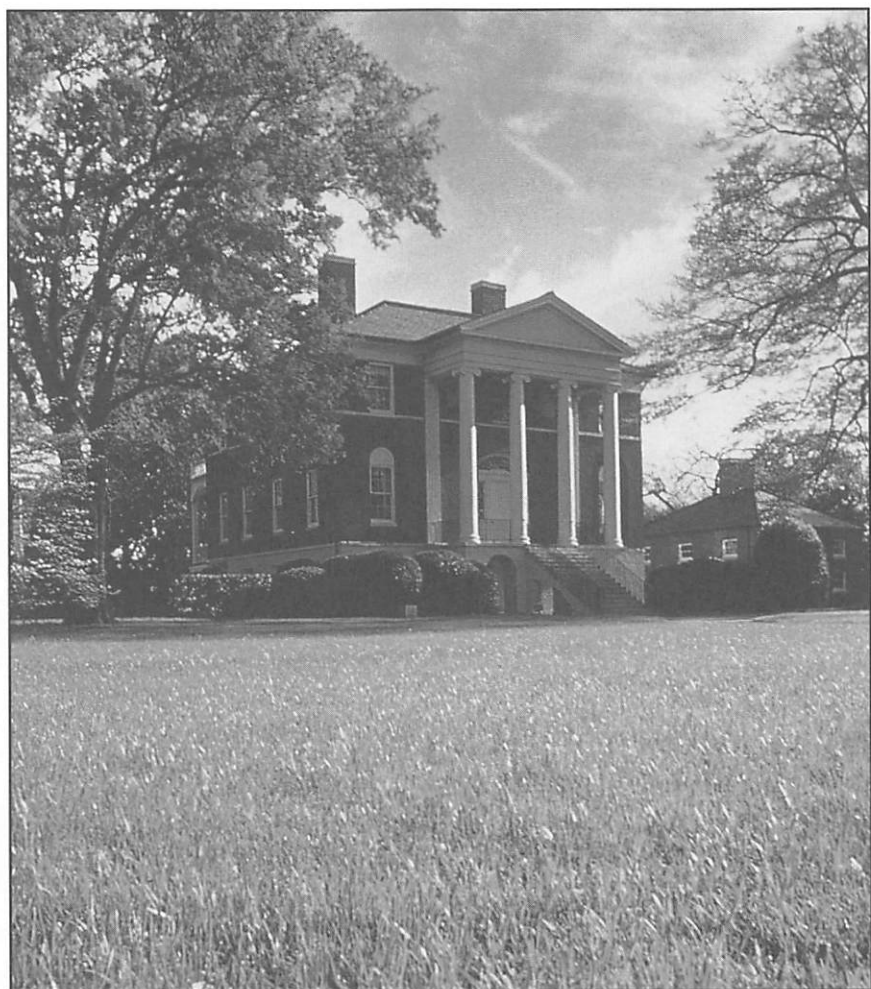
militarily its American possessions or to reimburse colonists for damages sustained in wars. Residents of St. Christopher and Nevis, for example, received compensation for losses incurred during the French invasion of those islands in 1706. And at the time of the Charleston grant, England was also sending financial aid to Georgia to help secure that colony's borders against the Spanish and Native Americans.⁴⁰

Charleston thus received "disaster relief," but the money was not given strictly, or even primarily, out of humanitarian concern. Instead, the grant must be seen within its mitigating historical context. The rationale for Parliament's action meant that relief "of the poor sufferers by fire" was differentiated by class and gender. While some small artisans and shopkeepers received money, the majority of the funds were granted to wealthy and powerful men in Charleston society. This relief was not meant to ease the suffering caused by the fire. These (for the most part) men were not impoverished by the blaze, but they did have their economic lives disrupted, and, coming when it did, the fire threatened to disrupt more than the economy. Parliament's grant was intended therefore to ease elite economic losses and in the process, protect their social position.

Finally, although it is difficult to determine the importance of the money in helping Charleston withstand the threats posed by economic depression, war with Spain, and internal social disorder during the turbulent 1740s, it most certainly had some impact. The money appropriated by Parliament in particular provided much needed help for a city slipping into depression and helped hundreds of individuals rebuild their homes and businesses as well as pay off accumulated debts. "It is to that Bounty," the Assembly noted in a letter of gratitude to the king in 1742, "that some of the unhappy Sufferers already owe their Re-settlement and Re-establishment in Charles Towne."⁴¹ Local relief efforts also played an important role in easing the burden of many "unhappy Sufferers," particularly women and small artisans. The money involved was considerably less, but local efforts provided immediate, humanitarian assistance to a number of individuals and families whose livelihood were destroyed by the blaze. If the money did not have major economic repercussions, it did alleviate suffering and perhaps saved lives. Rebuilding Charleston — socially, economically, and physically — would take time, but without local and metropolitan relief, difficult social and economic conditions in the 1740s would have been much worse for both rich and poor.

⁴⁰Richard Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the British West Indies, 1633-1713* (New York: Norton, 1972), pp. 136-138. (Thanks to Natalie Zacek for alerting me about this relief effort.) For grant to Georgia, see *Journals of the House of Commons, 1737-1741*, Vol. 23, p. 624.

⁴¹Easterby, *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, 1741-1742*, pp. 540-541.



In the 1960s Columbia preservationists undertook a major campaign to try to save from demolition the Ainsley Hall Mansion, now known as the Robert Mills House, on Blanding Street. As part of that campaign, revealing legal documents were moved to the South Caroliniana Library at the University of South Carolina. Those documents can now be used to trace the actions of the first owner of the house, Ainsley Hall, and the court battle over the house that followed his death in 1823. Photo courtesy of the Historic Columbia Foundation.

completely thrown away along with others, and it is difficult to even locate these as everything is in a pile back there apparently. Suggestion was made by the committee trying to save the house that these few documents be placed in the Caroliniana Society and that a notation be put in this file, which is a very small file, showing where they are lodged for safety, and also for historical value.³

Transfer of non-current county records to the University of South Carolina was legal under a 1937 statute. On June 12, 1961, the Richland County delegation authorized the clerk of court to surrender custody of the Ainsley Hall case records to the South Caroliniana Library. Eventually, the clerk transferred the entire file. It consisted of 101 manuscripts, all of them Richland County Equity Court records relating to the case of *Hall v. Hall*. Remarkably, even more case records had survived in printed form. *Hall v. Hall* had been appealed: McCord's *Chancery Reports* had published the case, including edited versions of the lower court opinions available in manuscript at the South Caroliniana Library, as well as state appeals court proceedings and lower court arguments not found among the Richland County material.⁴

Over the years, the Ainsley Hall collection at the South Caroliniana Library has grown by small additions of correspondence and land records.⁵ Used in combination with government archives — like the legislative papers and filmed Richland County probate records at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History — the collection dovetails with early Columbia traditions and reminiscences and illuminates the social and economic history behind the antebellum mansions Hall built on Columbia's Blanding Street.

³James H. Hammond to Walter J. Bristow, May 26, 1961, Ainsley Hall Papers, South Caroliniana Library (hereafter SCL), University of South Carolina, Columbia, S.C.

⁴*Acts and Joint Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina [Statutes at Large]*, Vol. 40 (1937), p. 402; "Caroliniana Society Gets Old Documents," *The State*, June 14, 1961. The case records comprised all of Richland County Equity Court Bills Nos. 241 and 259. In 1955 the Mormon genealogical society microfilmed these records; the filmed copies are available at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, S.C. (hereafter SCDAH). David J. McCord, *Chancery Cases Argued and Determined in the Court of Appeals of South Carolina* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Carey, 2 vols., 1827-1829) (hereafter *Chancery Reports*), Vol. 2, pp. 269-317. McCord was not only state reporter, he was a legal counsel in the Hall case.

⁵Later accessions include a deed facsimile transferred from the A.S. Salley Papers, three land papers on indefinite deposit from the Historic Columbia Foundation, two letters donated by current Caroliniana Society president Harvey S. Teal, and letters of Hall's wife Sarah donated by Mrs. J. R. Foard and Mrs. S. B. McMaster.

But initially, as Hammond indicated in his letter to Bristow, it was the Robert Mills papers that excited interest among the preservationists. These contracts — introduced as exhibits in a convoluted litigation between high-society Columbians who retained high-profile lawyers — documented beyond question that Mills designed Hall's 1823 mansion. The articles of agreement between Hall and carpenter Charles Black specified that the woodwork was to be done "in the best and most workmanlike manner, and agreeably to the designs and instructions of Robert Mills Architect." Mills's signature appeared not only on this agreement, but on estimates for the gardener's house and the fence around Hall's property. The Historic American Buildings Survey staff acquired photocopies from the South Caroliniana Library of nine papers relating to the contract work, and edited selections soon appeared in an architectural journal. More recently, the documents have been included in the microfilm publication of Robert Mills's papers.⁶

All this interest in the architect diverted attention from his employer Ainsley Hall, who, even though he had his brief heyday in the commercial world of 1820s Columbia, conducted his business and personal affairs in a style worthy of William Randolph Hearst or Donald Trump. Mills had the creative talent, but Hall had panache.

AINSLEY HALL WAS AN IMMIGRANT FROM NORTHERN BRITAIN who found success in America. He was born, probably of Scottish parentage, at Bamburgh Castle in Northumberland on July 4, 1783. He still owned land in the village of Bamburgh when he died in 1823.⁷

During Hall's boyhood, Bamburgh Castle was headquarters for the endowed charities established in 1721 by the will of Nathaniel, Lord Crewe, bishop of Durham. Under the leadership of John Sharp, archdeacon of Northumbria and trustee of the Crewe charities from 1758 to 1792, the trust began restoration of the castle, a massive ruined Norman fortress perched atop a 150-foot cliff overlooking the North Sea. Sharp established a castle library, a granary and food bank for the poor, an infirmary that treated 1,000

⁶James C. Massey, "Robert Mills Documents, 1823: A House for Ainsley Hall in Columbia, South Carolina," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 24 (December 1963), pp. 228-232; *The Scholarly Resources Microfilm Edition of the Papers of Robert Mills, 1781-1855* (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, Inc.; 15 microfilm rolls, ca. 1990) (copy in SCL manuscripts division, R1170), 0974A-D, 0980A, 0982B. In 1934 HABS had surveyed the Ainsley Hall Mansion, ascribed it to Mills, and made ten measured drawings which are reproduced in *Historic American Buildings Survey* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress; 66 microfilm rolls, 1974), Roll 54 (copy in SCL manuscripts division, R728), file SC-13-16.

⁷Tombstone of Ainsley Hall, First Presbyterian Church cemetery, Columbia, S.C.; Richland County Probate Court, Estate Papers, Box 12, package 293 (microfilm at SCDH).

patients per year, a mariner's relief program providing a watch for offshore ships and aid for shipwrecked sailors, free schools for 200 boys and girls taught separately, a boarding school for thirty poor girls, and a supplemental grant program for neighboring schools and clergy.⁸

From 1774 to 1801, Hall's father George Hall served as constable and steward of the castle. His responsibilities included upkeep of the castle buildings and administration of the corn charity. The philanthropic environment may have made a lasting impression on young Ainsley. His monument in the cemetery of Columbia's First Presbyterian Church later recalled that "enterprise and perseverance gave him success in trade and combined with enlightened views and liberal spirit enabled him to contribute largely to the prosperity of the town of Columbia while an enlarged but discriminating benevolence rendered the ample fortune his industry had accumulated the unceasing source of relief to the distressed."⁹

About 1800 the Scottish business partnership of William and BurrIDGE Purvis hired Hall as a clerk and brought him from Britain to South Carolina. The Purvises ran one of Columbia's largest groceries, located on the site of today's Affinity Plaza at the corner of Richardson (Main) and Gervais streets. After managing their Columbia store for some years, Hall launched his own cotton and general merchandise business and hired his own Scotch clerks — James Macfie and John McIver. Eventually, he sent for his one-eyed brother William and made him a partner.¹⁰

Ainsley Hall and Company became a phenomenally successful enterprise. "Being a clear-headed and fearless speculator," Edwin J. Scott related of Hall, "at the close of the war [of 1812], and afterwards, he became immensely rich." His most famous coup arose from a business deal he made with Wade Hampton I. Hampton, in a rare lapse of judgment, bet wrong on cotton futures. When the end of the war tripled cotton prices, Hall's

⁸C.E. Whiting, *Nathaniel, Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham (1674-1721) and His Diocese* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1940), pp. 328-331; William Weaver Tomlinson, *Tomlinson's Comprehensive Guide to Northumberland: A Reprint of the Eleventh Edition of Comprehensive Guide to the County of Northumberland* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1969), pp. 426-427, 430-431. Today Bamburgh Castle is open to visitors. It has appeared in a number of motion pictures, including the battle scenes in the 1961 film *El Cid*.

⁹Daniel J. Bell, "Ainsley Hall: A Preliminary Investigation" (paper deposited in Historic Columbia Foundation collection), 1983, p. 1, citing documents at the Northumberland Record Office; Ainsley Hall tombstone.

¹⁰Edwin J. Scott, *Random Recollections of a Long Life, 1806 to 1876* (1884; repr., Columbia, S.C.: R.L. Bryan Co., 1969), pp. 39, 50; Bell, "Ainsley Hall," p. 112; Green, *History of Richland County*, p. 189; John Hammond Moore, *Columbia and Richland County: A South Carolina Community, 1740-1990* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993), p. 72.

employee and nephew George Cotchett beat Hampton's man to Charleston, burst into the office of the cotton factors Kirkpatrick and Company, and sealed the existing bargain with Hampton. According to gossip, Hall's windfall topped the six-figure mark. Soon afterwards, he signed a partnership agreement with the factors. The firm became Kirkpatrick, Douglass, and Hall of Charleston; Hall, Kirkpatrick and Company of Columbia.¹¹

Hall was a cotton producer as well as a cotton buyer. He managed the planting end of the business in partnership with John Thomas of Lexington District. Altogether, he owned plantation land in five districts: Richland, Orangeburg, Fairfield, Chester, and Union.¹²

He made his fortune in a pre-railroad economy when freight moved on riverboats or wagons. By today's standards, goods traveled at a snail's pace. Boats took on cargo at the old town of Granby below the Congaree River rapids; a large boat might carry 200 to 300 bales of cotton. A riverboat captain, or "patroon," transported Hall's cotton downriver, through the Santee Canal, and made delivery at Charleston's Cooper River wharves. Steam engines were not yet in common use, so slave deckhands poled the craft back upstream to Columbia. When asked the length of a round trip between Columbia and Charleston in 1818, a patroon replied, "It depends much on the state of the river; but from six to eight weeks is common."¹³

As yet, railroads did not figure in anyone's plans; Hall looked toward the commercial future of the river. He became a partner in the Congaree and Santee Steam Boat Company, chartered by the General Assembly in 1818, and he purchased real estate in the town of Granby. On June 3, 1814, Wade Hampton II sold him 394 acres of waterfront property near old Friday's Ferry, as shown by a blueprint tracing from a plat surveyed for the Lexington County deed. The land was no longer important to the Hampton family's defunct ferry monopoly, but it had value to Hall as space for

¹¹Scott, *Random Recollections*, pp. 50-51; *Columbia Telescope*, Mar. 15, 1816. The Hall-Kirkpatrick firm went through several partnerships and dissolutions. Partnership agreement between Ainsley Hall, William Hall, and John Kirkpatrick, Nov. 24, 1820; Will of Ainsley Hall, May 3, 1822, both in Ainsley Hall Papers, SCL.

¹²Articles of agreement between Ainsley Hall and John Thomas, July 6, 1818; Conveyance from Thomas May to Ainsley Hall of 178 acres in Richland District, Jan. 7, 1823; Order on petition for an injunction, Feb. 29, 1828; Additional bill of complaint by Sarah C. Hall, Feb. 29, 1828, all in Ainsley Hall Papers, SCL.

¹³Testimony of John Weston in *Kirkpatrick, Douglass, and Hall v. Patrick Duncan*, South Carolina Court of Common Pleas Judgment Rolls, 1823, 188A, SCDH (quotation); Scott, *Random Recollections*, p. 78.

warehouses or boat docks.¹⁴

The return cargoes consisted of goods that found their way to the shelves of Ainsley Hall and Company, general merchandisers, at the southwest corner of Columbia's Richardson (Main) and Laurel streets. A newspaper advertisement dated November 4, 1816, provides a snapshot of the firm's retail operation at the height of the postwar boom.

AINSLEY HALL & CO.

Have received by the late arrivals from London, Liverpool, and Glasgow, their Fall and Winter Supply of GOODS, which is general and extensive in every article in the line of their business, and amongst which are, the very best London super Saxon Cloths and Casimeres, a few Trunks of London made Boots and Shoes, Ladies Kid and Walking Shoes, Double Barrell'd Guns in Cases complete, Single and Double Barrell'd do. without Cases, English Saddles and Bridles, Ladies Black and Drab Beaver Bonnets, a handsome assortment of Plate Ware consisting of Coffee and Tea, Pots, Sugar Basons, Milk Pots, Candle Sticks, &c. together with an extensive supply of Table and Tea China in complete sets — All of which they offer whole sale or retail upon moderate terms.

They have also opened a Store at the BRICK HOUSE owned by Mr. Parr, at the lower end of Columbia, in which they also offer for sale a general assortment of GOODS. They expect in a few days a supply of Patent Lever GOLD & SILVER WATCHES.¹⁵

Private papers of early Richland County residents bear witness to long-ago shopping sprees at Hall's corner. One day the store might sell twenty yards of rope to General Peter Horry. On another, the Hopkinses and Goodwyns might carry off a supply of linen, calico, cambric, silk, gingham, cotton stockings, shoes, sewing supplies, tableware, or nutmeg. Hall also

¹⁴Thomas Cooper and David J. McCord, eds., *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina* (Columbia, S.C.: A. S. Johnston, 1836-1841), Vol. 8, p. 300; plat of 394 acres surveyed for Wade Hampton, Jr., ca. 1814 (tracing made on June 4, 1908), Ainsley Hall Papers, SCL. This blueprint tracing was taken from an original plat attached to the citizen's copy of the deed, dated June 3, 1814. The plat shows an old Revolutionary War fort, evidently a satellite outwork of Fort Granby built to cover Friday's Ferry. No copy of this plat exists in government archives; it would have been recorded in one of the lost Lexington County deed books.

¹⁵*Columbia Telescope*, Nov. 5, 1816.

imported expensive furniture for residents in the lower part of the county.¹⁶

In the area of merchandising, he could be quite enterprising and innovative. In 1818, for instance, he decided that Columbia's tailor shops were overcharging their customers, and he proposed to launch a tailoring subsidiary operated by Robert E. Russell, a qualified master tailor. Hall would bring over from Europe journeymen tailors who would work for Russell at one-third less than the prevailing wage. Hall and Company would supply fabric and other supplies on consignment. "Great and sufficient profit might be made," Hall judged. Events proved otherwise. When the European workmen discovered that other tailor shops were paying higher wages, they quit their jobs and put Russell out of business.¹⁷

South Carolina's extant naturalization records do not indicate whether Hall was a British subject or an American citizen. Edwin Scott described him as a foreigner, devoted to his business, who played truant from militia musters. There is reason to suspect that his views on South Carolina's future, like those of his neighbor Abram Blanding, reflected a pessimistic long-term outlook not shared by the local planters. In 1822 he told Langdon Cheves that if his marriage had not been barren, he had "always determined not to have given [his children] a Carolina education...."¹⁸

Despite his commercial prominence, he held no important public offices. His approach to government was strictly mercantile; he bought property on Senate Street across from the State House. There at the corner tavern — a Columbia landmark since 1792 — his tenant Isaac Frazier poured drinks for thirsty lawmakers.¹⁹

In 1814 he may have served as temporary commissioner for a State House renovation project. A legislative committee recommended that John Hopkins, Ainsley Hall, and George Wade be appointed to oversee \$600 worth of repairs, including purchase of three dozen chairs for use by

¹⁶A. S. Salley, "Journal of General Peter Horry," entry for Mar. 16, 1814, *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 46 (January 1945), p. 220; Statements and receipts of James Hopkins's accounts with Ainsley Hall and Co., Apr. 1, 1816-Mar. 8, 1817, Hopkins Family Papers (microfilm at SCL, R239); Laura Jervey Hopkins, *Lower Richland Planters: Hopkins, Adams, Weston and Related Families of South Carolina* (Columbia, S.C.: R. L. Bryan, 1976), p. 26.

¹⁷Richland County Equity Court, Bills, No. 197 (microfilm at SCDH).

¹⁸Scott, *Random Recollections*, pp. 40, 51, 52; Ainsley Hall to Langdon Cheves, Aug. 8, 1822, Langdon Cheves Papers, South Carolina Historical Society, cited in Bell, "Ainsley Hall," p. 29. In 1822 Hall presented a petition to the state legislature on an inheritance question regarding aliens. Petition of James Patterson and other alien heirs of George Patterson, General Assembly, Petitions, 1822-1832, SCDH.

¹⁹Hall acquired Frazier's (formerly Rives's) tavern just before he died, but it remained part of his estate until 1827 or later. Separate answer of William Hall and George Cotchett, July 29, 1825; Affidavit of Russell P. McCord, July 14, 1827, both in Ainsley Hall Papers, SCL.

members of both houses. Apparently, the lawmakers included an import merchant on the furniture selection board because they wanted first-rate chairs. When they expanded the renovation in 1815 to include extensive repairs to the building, Hall bowed out of the project, and the committee recommended James S. Guignard as his replacement. The project involved painting the exterior of the 1790 State House white, painting the shutters green, fixing the roof, ventilating the House chamber, building a stone pavement around the building, and erecting a six-foot fence of post rails and banisters around the grounds. In contrast to the \$63 million renovation of the current State House, begun in 1995, the projected expenditure amounted to a few thousand dollars.²⁰

A few years later, Hall undertook some private construction work. He had built his original dwelling as part of his downtown store, warehouse, and tenement complex. Today, not a fragment of it survives. After his death his property became the City Hotel and eventually went up in flames during the 1865 burning of Columbia. After the war, a federal post office — today's Columbia City Hall — rose from the ashes of the 1737 Main Street address that had been "Ainsley Hall's Corner." But about 1818 Hall selected a building site five blocks east on a four-acre town lot originally laid out in 1786 for Judge Thomas Waties of Stateburg. There, facing south on Walnut (Blanding) Street, the contractors Yates and Philips built him a mansion that survived Sherman's flames and became known as the Hampton-Preston Mansion.²¹

During the early 1820s, a visitor to the Walnut Street residence might have noted that best sellers from the racks of London, Edinburgh, and New York bookshops filled the shelves. Still, a large number of the titles reflected

²⁰Reports of the Committee on Public Buildings, Dec. 12, 1814, Dec. 13, 1815, General Assembly, Reports, 1814-76, 1815-101, SCDAH. Some of the repairs may have been due to the wreckage caused by a South Carolina College commencement ball. On December 21, 1814, the legislators passed a law prohibiting the students "for ever ... from holding their commencement ball in the State House, in the town of Columbia, and from dancing therein." The practice had been found incompatible with the safety of the building, the public records, or the treasury office papers. Cooper and McCord, *Statutes*, Vol. 5, pp. 724-725.

²¹Scott, *Random Recollections*, pp. 50, 51; Statement of real estate belonging to the late concern of Halls Kirkpatrick & Co., June 29, 1825, Ainsley Hall Papers, SCL; *Columbia, South Carolina, City Directory* (titles and publishers vary, 1859-1997); Helen Kohn Hennig, *Columbia: Capital City of South Carolina, 1786-1936* (Columbia, S.C.: R.L. Bryan Co., 1936), endpaper maps. Edwin L. Green assigned the 1818 date to the Hampton-Preston Mansion because a reference in the court case suggested Hall had conveyed the downtown residence to his brother about that time. Ainsley Hall's stock account with Ainsley and William Hall and Company, entry of June 30, 1818, Ainsley Hall Papers, SCL.

Ainsley Hall's ancestral ties to the border country of North Britain. They included a six-volume edition of Sir Walter Scott's *Poetical Works*, seven volumes of Scott's *Waverley Novels*, Scott's latest novel *The Pirate*, a five-volume edition of Robert Burns's works, Friedrich Schiller's *Mary Stuart* in translation, Jane Porter's *The Scottish Chiefs*, and works by the Edinburgh divine Hugh Blair, the Ayrshire novelist John Galt, the Forfarshire poet Alexander Balfour, and the Aberdeen journalist John Scott. Also, there is good reason to believe that Hall had a claymore hanging over his parlor mantle, for no doubt the broadsword later inventoried as part of his estate was of the two-handed Scottish variety. Hall seemed to use his private residences as showrooms for his business. He filled his living quarters with expensive and tasteful furniture, and his imported English carriage was reputed to be the most elegant in South Carolina.²²

IN PERSON, HALL CUT A STRIKING FIGURE. "OF MEDIUM stature, but elegantly formed," Edwin Scott recalled, "with the finest complexion I have ever seen, and always neatly dressed, he was a perfect pattern of a gentlemanly English merchant of the olden time." His taste for the finer things of life extended to beautiful women. Sometime around 1810, he married nineteen-year-old Sarah Goodwyn, who, as stepdaughter of James Hopkins, allied her husband to two prominent Richland County families. She accompanied her husband on some of his frequent business trips to England; decked out in gold jewelry and an expensive gown, she turned heads in London at the Lord Mayor's ball.²³

But behind the public facade, domestic bliss began to wane. In an 1819 letter to his friend Robert Falconer, Hall made reference to the "present unsettled state" of his family and spoke of plans for an upcoming trip to England. "Although Mrs. Hall is in some degree unwilling to leave this Country," he continued, "yet I am making all my arrangements with a view of leaving this place [Columbia] in April and if the winter climate agrees with Mrs. Hall, I purpose spending a few Years in England." If Sarah did not accompany her husband to England, then he might cut short his stay there. On the other hand, he might not. He advised Falconer that he might transfer his niece Betsy to a British seminary and remain in England without his wife while Betsy continued her education.²⁴

At some point during the marriage, the winter climate set in with a

²²"Amounts of property belonging to the estate of Ainsley Hall," Richland County Estate Papers, Box 12, Package 293 (microfilm at SCDAH); Scott, *Random Recollections*, p. 50. Five volumes of the Sir Walter Scott set seem to have been in the possession of a "borrower" when the estate inventory was made.

²³Scott, *Random Recollections*, p. 50; Hopkins, *Lower Richland Planters*, p. 26.

²⁴Ainsley Hall to Robert Falconer, Feb. 16, 1819, Ainsley Hall Papers, SCL.

vengeance. One day while Sarah was hanging up her husband's coat, a letter written in another woman's handwriting fell out of the pocket. Confronted with the letter, Hall not only admitted to having an affair, he took offense when she made cutting remarks about the other woman. Sarah insisted she wanted a divorce, and took her grievances to her stepfather James Hopkins. Unhappily, she received no support. Hopkins's primary concern was to avoid a public scandal that might disgrace the family.²⁵

On May 3, 1822, Hall made a will that bequeathed the Walnut Street house to his wife. Then, sometime in early January 1823, Wade Hampton I rode into town and offered him an extraordinary business deal. Hampton had decided to buy a family residence in the up-and-coming town of Columbia, and he intended to have the best house money could buy. What sale price, he inquired, would Hall demand for the Walnut Street house, complete with furniture, on terms of immediate occupancy? Hall named an unheard-of figure — \$37,000. Hampton sealed the bargain and gave his bond for the money. Regrettably, the legends surrounding this famous sale recounted only what passed between Hampton and Hall, not what passed between Mr. and Mrs. Hall.²⁶

The sale of the Hampton Mansion led to the building of the Robert Mills House. Hall purchased a four-acre lot across the street from his former residence and drew up plans for a large handsome brick dwelling with servants' quarters, a gardener's house, and a carriage house. The contracts amounted to about \$22,000.²⁷

As construction began, Sarah Hall made a timely trip to New York for the sake of her health, and, during the dog days of summer, Ainsley Hall set off to join her. En route, he made a stopover at Botetourt Springs, Virginia in the modern outskirts of Roanoke. He stayed at Charles Johnston's new resort hotel, built in a hollow at the foot of Tinker Mountain on a well-traveled turnpike. The retreat offered scenic walks; hot, cold, and shower baths; and mineral spring water laced with calcium bicarbonate, magnesium sulfate, and chlorine. Inexplicably, Ainsley Hall suddenly took sick, and despite treatment by a physician Johnston summoned, he died on August

²⁵Hopkins, *Lower Richland Planters*, p. 26.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 161; Green, "Ainsley Hall, Merchant"; Decretal order on the admissibility of parol evidence, February 1826, Ainsley Hall Papers, SCL; McCord, *Chancery Reports*, Vol. 2, p. 271. On January 31, 1826, the defendants in *Hall v. Hall* gave the court the exact sale figure for the Hampton Mansion. The original bill of complaint had used the rough sum of \$30,000.

²⁷Decretal order on petition for a sale of property, February 1826, Ainsley Hall Papers, SCL.



Ainsley Hall's Columbia home on the north side of Blanding Street (then known as Walnut, one block north of Taylor) was built before 1820, bequeathed to his wife in a May 1822 will, and sold without her approval to Wade Hampton I in 1823. Hall then began construction of a large, handsome brick dwelling, designed by Robert Mills, directly across the street. When Hall died in 1823, the house was unfinished and the legal disputes were just beginning. Detail of the 1872 *Birds Eye View of Columbia*, courtesy of the South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina.

18, 1823. His relations shipped the body back to Columbia and interred it in the Presbyterian churchyard.²⁸

THIS UNEXPECTED TURN OF EVENTS SET HALL'S HEIRS AT ODDS over the Robert Mills House. His will had no codicil telling his executors what to do with the unfinished house. The qualified executors — William Hall and George Cotchett — wanted to sell it to indemnify Ainsley's personal estate for the money he had committed toward the building contracts; the contracts, they alleged, stood as liens on the house for its cost. Sarah Hall held the contrary opinion that, will or no will, the estate must compensate her for the Hampton Mansion, which her husband had first bequeathed to her and then sold. Accordingly, she laid claim to the Robert Mills House. Dismayed at the prospect of a public family row, Sarah's Hopkins relatives stayed on the sidelines; although Ainsley Hall had named her stepfather James Hopkins as an executor, he refused to qualify.²⁹

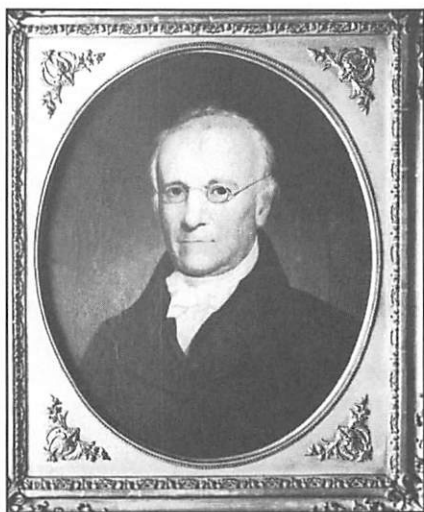
At some point in 1824, the contractors finished their work and the executors stopped construction of the house. However, Sarah was living on the premises; she had taken up residence in an unpretentious one-and-a-half-story outbuilding that had been built just east of the main house as servants' quarters. Meanwhile, several boxes of new furniture that Ainsley Hall had ordered from New York arrived in Columbia. William Hall notified the Richland District ordinary's office that the shipment was perishable; the ordinary authorized him to sell the goods at public auction. On the sale day, Sarah bid successfully for a lion's share of the furniture. But afterwards, when the executors demanded payment, she refused to comply or even to acknowledge that she had the furniture in her possession.³⁰

Soon afterwards, she filed a court action that halted any sale of her husband's real estate until the parties tried their case in Richland District Equity Court. Thus the matter landed in the courtroom of Chancellor Henry William DeSaussure. The magisterial DeSaussure was a one-time friend

²⁸Bell, "Ainsley Hall," pp. 11-12; Elizabeth Heyward Jervey, "Marriage and Death Notices from the City Gazette of Charleston," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 53 (October 1952), p. 242; Frances J. Niederer, *Hollins College: An Illustrated History* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1973), pp. 1-5; Estate of Ainsley Hall in accounts current with the executors, entry of Oct. 18, 1823, Ainsley Hall Papers, SCL.

²⁹McCord, *Chancery Reports*, Vol. 2, p. 282; Bill of complaint by Sarah C. Hall, Jan. 20, 1825; Answer of William Hall, July 18, 1827, both in Ainsley Hall Papers, SCL.

³⁰Bill of complaint by John Cotchett, Dec. 25, 1824; Separate answer of William Hall and George Cotchett, July 29, 1825; both in Ainsley Hall Papers, SCL; *Memorial Volume of the Semi-Centennial of the Theological Seminary at Columbia, South Carolina* (Columbia, S.C.: Presbyterian Publishing House, 1884), pp. 143-144; William Hall to James Guignard, Nov. 17, 1824, Richland County Estate Papers, Box 12, Package 293 (microfilm at SCDH).



Chancellor Henry William DeSaussure oversaw the Richland County Equity Court battle which involved some of the most noted attorneys and politicians in antebellum South Carolina. Portrait courtesy of the South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina.

and associate of President George Washington; he had been the first director of the United States Mint and he was one of the founders of the South Carolina College. His courtroom demeanor drew praise from his friend Judge John Belton O'Neill: "In court, he presided with a dignity from which few would have ventured to derogate, and an urbanity which took from everyone all temptation to do so."³¹

DeSaussure was known for dispensing compliments from the bench to solicitors who prepared brilliant legal work. In *Sarah Hall v. William Hall et al.*, there was ample praise to go around. Sarah's chief counsel James Gregg was son-in-law to the late college president Jonathan Maxcy. "Colonel Gregg, slow, plodding, clear-headed, and indefatigable," related Edwin Scott, "confined himself strictly to the law and logic of his cases, and never went to trial without thorough preparation." Heading the defense team across the aisle were William Harper, the future United States Congressman and South Carolina chancellor, and William Campbell Preston, the future United States senator. Other prominent attorneys assisted in various stages of the litigation. David J. McCord, for example, played a singular role; he represented his sister-in-law Eliza May McCord, whose interests as Ainsley Hall's niece placed her between the major adversaries.³²

Gregg's case for the widow gave the judge some legal issues to ponder. He argued that the sale of the Hampton Mansion had set up a parol (verbal) agreement between Ainsley and Sarah. She had refused to renounce her

³¹John Belton O'Neill, *Biographical Sketches of the Bench and Bar of South Carolina* (Charleston, S.C.: S.G. Courtenay and Co., 1859), Vol. 1, p. 250.

³²Scott, *Random Recollections*, p. 68.

dower except on one condition: Her husband must buy another lot, build on it another house equal if not superior in value to the one he had sold, furnish it in comparable elegance, and deed it to her in fee simple. Hall had built the Robert Mills House to comply with the agreement. By his promise, he had induced Sarah's participation in the sale of the former house; therefore her renunciation of dower amounted to part performance of a parol contract. Since Hall's death had prevented him from fulfilling his part of the bargain, the court should carry out his intentions. In effect, it should add a codicil to his will.³³

Intending to strengthen his case, Gregg insisted that the executors make a full disclosure of the circumstances surrounding the Hampton Mansion sale — that they produce the sale contract between Wade Hampton and Ainsley Hall, disclose the purpose of the transaction, reveal the sale price of the house, and account for their disposition of the funds.³⁴

Harper and Preston put up a formidable defense. They objected to the use of parol evidence as contrary to the Statute of Frauds — the venerable 1677 British law declaring that certain transactions in life should be in writing. And they found another cornerstone of their defense in the twenty-seventh clause of Ainsley Hall's will: "I desire that the provision made by this will for my wife shall be and be taken in lieu and bar of all claim of dower inheritance or any other claim on her part." Nobody, they argued, was obliged to compensate Sarah Hall for renouncing a nonexistent dower. Ainsley had provided generously for her in the will, and she must elect whether she would inherit under it or revert to her legal rights. If she chose to abide by the will, the twenty-seventh clause excluded her from any portion of the "descended or undevise real estates," e.g., the Robert Mills House.³⁵

Furthermore, the defendants denied Sarah's version of events. The alleged parol agreement, they avowed, was a fantasy.

But these defendants believe from the State of feeling which unhappily Existed between Complainant [Sarah] & her husband (which will more fully appear by a Series of Letters numbered from 1 to 20 which at the request of Complainant Defendant Wm. Hall Surrendered to her & which defendants now call upon her to produce) no such

³³Bill of complaint by Sarah C. Hall, Jan. 20, 1825, Ainsley Hall Papers, SCL.

³⁴Exceptions taken to the answer of William Hall and George Cotchett, July 27, 1825; Report on exceptions to Hall and Cotchett's answers, Aug. 31, 1825, both in Ainsley Hall Papers, SCL. George Cotchett appended a copy of the sale agreement as Exhibit No. 1 to his answer of January 31, 1826. Unfortunately, it later disappeared from the courthouse records.

³⁵McCord, *Chancery Reports*, Vol. 2, pp. 272, 282.

promise could have been made. So far from Ainsley Halls being prevented (as alleged by Complainant) by untimely death from Making additional Devises to Complainant, these defendants believe that it was his untimely death alone which prevented a total Alteration of his will in regard to Complainant.

As for the Robert Mills House, it was notorious that Ainsley's sole thought was to sell it as soon as it was completed. He had announced that intention on the very day the contractors had laid the foundation, and he had reaffirmed it when he left Columbia for Virginia. He had even directed that it be sold, if possible, before the contractors finished it.³⁶

The disclosures concerning the Hampton Mansion brought added twists. According to George Cotchett, Hall had built it with company funds, and his purpose in building it had been to collect money owed to the firm. Apparently, he had discharged customers' debts in return for bricks, labor, or contract work. However, he had debited the cost — receipts and expenditures — against his personal account in the company books. Cotchett said he had no inside information concerning the sale of the house to Hampton. At the same time, he had no doubt that Hall's primary motive in that transaction was "to avail himself of a good bargain" and to finance an intended cotton speculation. Cotchett denied that Ainsley Hall sold because he was strapped for cash — a key element in the "parol contract" theory.³⁷

In the end, Sarah's lawyers made little headway in persuading the judge to stretch the law. Chancellor DeSaussure based his decision on the Statute of Frauds and he assessed the plaintiff's case as follows:

The renunciation of Dower, is stated as part performance, which it is argued to be sufficient to take the case out of the statute. The Counsel wisely laid stress on this ground. Without this, they would not have had an inch of ground to stand upon. I have paused on this, & should not have regretted, that it had furnished a oasis strong enough to support the superstructure. For it cannot but be a subject of regret, that this lady should be deprived of a benefit intended for her by her husband, by the subsequent sale of the property devised to her. I cannot however permit these regrets to guide my Judgment: I must decide according to law.

³⁶Separate answer of William Hall and George Cotchett, July 29, 1825, Ainsley Hall Papers, SCL.

³⁷Amended answer of George Cotchett, Jan. 31, 1826, Ainsley Hall Papers, SCL.

DeSaussure noted that land conveyances in Richland District were nearly as common as sales of personal property. Because *Hall v. Hall* could break dangerous ground, he dared not enlarge the legal boundaries of verbal evidence, however hard the case might be, and however satisfied he might be that there would be no danger of fraud or perjury.

It is inconceivable what an extent of litigation might ensue from opening this door. It would apply to all cases of Dower renounced by the wife, as well as to this; and in every family which was unfortunate & stimulated by necessity, applications might be made to obtain relief thro' parol evidence, of promises of compensations for renouncing Dower. And this too always after the death of the husband.³⁸

In a separate decree, DeSaussure affirmed that unless Sarah chose to abandon her rights under the will, the twenty-seventh clause barred her from any dower rights to real estate acquired either before or after the will. Then he suddenly weighted the scales of justice toward the widow. As an heir at law, he decreed, she inherited a distributive share of the undivided real estate, including the Robert Mills House. Since she and her husband were childless, that share amounted to one moiety (half) of the property, and her distributive rights remained in effect regardless of the will. Her claim, the judge declared, "cannot be said to disappoint the will, which did not and could not dispose of this after acquired real estate, and could never have been in the contemplation of the testator."³⁹

The real estate Ainsley Hall had acquired after making the will included commercial property and farmland as well as the Robert Mills House. In effect, DeSaussure's decision would enable Sarah to get possession of the house through negotiation or arbitration.

Up to this point, the executors had been pressing the court to order a sale of the Robert Mills House. William Hall and Cotchett had argued that the house was in an unfinished and unproductive state, that Ainsley Hall's estate was suffering "great injury & loss" by its retention, and that a sale would be to the advantage of all parties. The plaintiff's lawyers reluctantly had agreed, and DeSaussure had drawn up a sale order. But now that Sarah stood to inherit the proceeds of the sale, the other parties and their lawyers

³⁸Decretal order on the admissibility of parol evidence, February 1826, Ainsley Hall Papers, SCL. The judge saw another obstacle in reference to the alleged parol contract: If Ainsley and Sarah had been contracting for land, then the contract itself fell under the Statute of Frauds.

³⁹Decretal order on petition for a sale of property, February 1826, Ainsley Hall Papers, SCL; McCord, *Chancery Reports*, Vol. 2, p. 301.

did an abrupt about-face. Harper and Preston filed an appeal, while McCord scurried to the commissioner in equity's office, removed the judge's sale order, and obtained a stay. However, when the appeals court convened for its spring 1827 session, the justices merely added a few comments regarding the legal issues and then upheld the lower court ruling.⁴⁰

While the case wound its lengthy way through the courts, the international price of cotton, which had been riding a speculative boom through the early 1820s, took a sharp downturn. Cotton prices peaked at 29.5 cents a pound in June 1825, then plummeted to an average of 12 cents in 1826 before sliding to 8.8 cents in 1827. The cotton depression toppled the Columbia real estate market. William Hall estimated that by 1827 the delays caused by litigation had cost the estate nearly \$30,000 on the sale of its commercial real estate alone.⁴¹

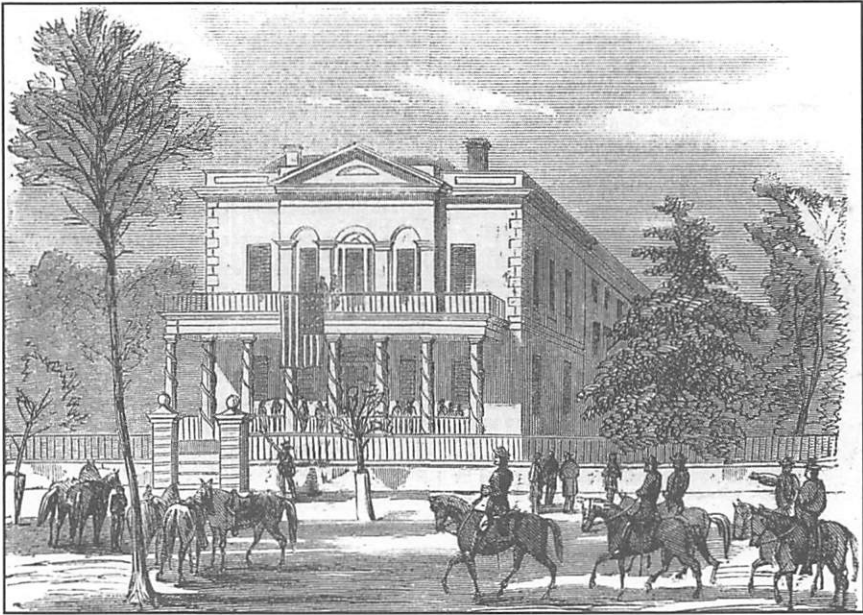
Therein lay the explanation behind both the urgent clamor for a sale and the growing bitterness and rancor among the litigants. The executors blamed Sarah Hall for delaying settlement of the estate and causing financial losses to all the heirs. Conversely, both Sarah and the McCords accused the executors of "consuming and wasting" the estate. They alleged that William Hall had gambled with estate funds on cotton speculations which had miscarried during the panic of 1825. His critics believed he owed the estate large sums that he was incapable of repaying. Furthermore, the suspicion arose that he was developing a drinking problem.⁴²

To further inflame matters, William Hall had stopped payment of a \$3,000 annuity that his brother had set up for Sarah under the will. The payments stayed in arrears, even though Sarah estimated that Ainsley's net worth exceeded \$500,000, and though the executors admitted to at least \$300,000. This led to repeated attempts to enforce payment. Once, Sarah

⁴⁰Decretal order on petition for a sale of property, February 1826; Decretal order for sale of house and lot, March 1826; Order to show cause, Feb. 6, 1827; Order for sale of house and lot, Feb. 10, 1827, all in Ainsley Hall Papers, SCL; McCord, *Chancery Reports*, Vol. 2, pp. 306-317. On March 8, 1828, John Hopkins bought the house for Sarah at public auction, and on September 9 he transferred title to her at the sale price of \$5,000. Conveyance from John Hopkins to Sarah C. Hall of a town lot and buildings in Columbia, Sept. 9, 1828, Fitz William McMaster and Mary Jane Macfie Papers, SCL.

⁴¹George Dangerfield, *The Era of Good Feelings* (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1952), p. 409; Answer of William Hall, July 18, 1827, Ainsley Hall Papers, SCL.

⁴²Jackson and Broadfoot to Sarah C. Hall, Sept. 3, 1825; Affidavits of Russell P. McCord, David J. McCord, and John J. Myers, July 14, 1827, all in Ainsley Hall Papers, SCL.



At the end of the Civil War, Ainsley Hall's first mansion served as headquarters for U.S. Gen. John Alexander Logan. Illustration above from *Harper's Weekly* (1865), courtesy of the South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina. Later it served as the Presbyterian Institute for Young Ladies, later the College for Women. Photo below from the collections of the South Carolina Historical Society.





In 1831 Ainsley Hall's widow Sarah sold the Robert Mills House to the Presbyterian synod of South Carolina for establishment of the Columbia Theological Seminary. This photo of the house, taken in 1883, courtesy of the Historic Columbia Foundation.

had William arrested by the Richland District sheriff's office and got his bond set at \$100,000; another time, the court found him in contempt.⁴³

After listening to these complaints between the parties, Chancellor DeSaussure sometimes felt inclined to sermonize from the bench. He ended one decretal order on a downright acerbic note:

There is one Item of expenditure upon which I presume there cannot be any serious dispute — The charge of \$500 for the monument erected to the memory of Mr. Hall, the relation & benefactor of all the parties concerned — Mr.

⁴³McCord, *Chancery Reports*, Vol. 2, p. 278; Order at chambers, June 14, 1825; Decretal order on motion, March 31, 1826; Motion for an attachment [October 1826]; Decretal order on motion for an attachment, October 1826; Affidavit of Sarah C. Hall, July 16, 1827, all in Ainsley Hall Papers, SCL. By July 1827 the executors owed Sarah \$4,900 plus interest in delinquent annuity payments. Sarah's estimate of her husband's net worth had appeared in her original complaint.

Smith proved that this sum stands charged by Mr. Wm. Hall, in the books of the Estate — It was rightly so charged by him, & must so remain.⁴⁴

DESAUSSURE'S SON-IN-LAW ABRAM BLANDING FINALLY arranged the sale of the Robert Mills House. Although bred a New England Baptist, Blanding attended Columbia's First Presbyterian Church, where Sarah Hall was a member. At the very same time that Sarah was trying to sell her unfinished and deteriorating house in a depressed real estate market, the Presbyterian synod was seeking a new location for its theological seminary. Blanding, a noted supporter of civic causes, brokered a deal between the widow and the synod and enticed the seminary to come to Columbia.

The Presbyterian committee on location wanted to move the institution to the capital city in any event. Among the potential sites, Columbia offered the greatest concentration of "wealth, literary advantages, and moral force." Also, because "infidel principles were emanating from the College of South Carolina" (then under the presidency of Dr. Thomas Cooper), the committee thought that Columbia would benefit most from the seminary's influence. In a move strikingly similar to the Robert Mills House preservation campaign of the 1960s, Blanding proposed and spearheaded an interdenominational fund drive to secure the house for the seminary. As the first subscriber to the fund, he made a \$1,000 contribution. The Presbyterians needed \$14,000 to buy the property and finish the building; of this, Blanding's campaign raised and paid \$8,000. Also, he negotiated Sarah's price down and saved \$2,500 for the buyers. On January 25, 1831, the disciples of Calvinism moved into the fine mansion and occupied classrooms that a few decades hence would resound with lectures by President Woodrow Wilson's father and uncle. The building had been rescued through a concept that today would be called "adaptive use."⁴⁵

After selling the mansion, Sarah moved to Bellewood, her country estate on the road to Sumter. She became a recluse, developed mental

⁴⁴Decretal order on petition for a sale of property, February 1826, Ainsley Hall Papers, SCL. "What right had Judge Desaussure to decide this," Sarah angrily wrote on her copy of the order, "when the Monument was ordered by me, through Mr. Douglas." Sarah's copy is in the Fitz William McMaster and Mary Jane MacFie Papers, SCL. The monument text reads "erected by his bereaved widow."

⁴⁵*Memorial Volume of the Seminary*, pp. 143-144; William Childs Robinson, *Columbia Theological Seminary and the Southern Presbyterian Church* (n.p., 1931), pp. 13-14; Abram Louis Blanding, *Blanding Genealogy* (Clinton, S.C.: Jacobs and Co., 1924), Vol. 1, *Blanding-DeSaussure, 1440-1863*, p. 12; Sale agreement between Abram Blanding and Sarah C. Hall [1830]; Mortgage by Abram Blanding to Sarah C. Hall, Jan. 1, 1831, both in Fitz William McMaster and Mary Jane Macfie Papers, SCL.

problems, and in 1851 a county court declared her legally insane.⁴⁶

Oddly, the Robert Mills House did not become an antebellum southern townhouse until modern times, when the Historic Columbia Foundation acquired it and furnished it according to its first intended use. With the addition of the Hampton-Preston Mansion, its companion house, the foundation attained the desideratum of any preservation society — a pair of 1820s mansions originally designed as showpieces by the canny investor who built them.

⁴⁶John Hammond Moore, ed., *A Plantation Mistress on the Eve of the Civil War: The Diary of Keziah Goodwyn Hopkins Brevard, 1860-1861* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993), pp. 5, 116; Richland County Estate Papers, Box 74, Package 1832 (microfilm at SCDAH).

ROBERT M. WEIR AND THE LIFE OF THE MIND

ROBERT M. CALHOON*

ROBERT M. WEIR ENTERED THE GRADUATE PROGRAM IN American Civilization at Western Reserve University in September 1959. Interested in all of the manifestations of American character, he was drawn to Western Reserve's interdisciplinary doctoral program. Its most important component, the field of history, however, surprised him with its lack of parochial boundaries, its openness to ideas, culture, human motivation, literary imagination, and even abstraction, as well as the usual attention to events. History, he soon decided, would satisfy just fine his appetite for variety and inter-connectedness. And so, after receiving his master's in American Studies, he entered the school's doctoral program in history.

He remained in Cleveland until 1964 when he and his wife Anne moved to Columbia at the University of South Carolina to do the research for his dissertation on South Carolina and the coming of the American Revolution, under the direction of Professor Jack P. Greene, the youngest member of the Western Reserve History Department. In 1965-1966 Weir taught at the University of Houston. In the summer of 1966 he returned to Columbia as assistant professor of history — launching an academic career on this campus that we celebrate with this symposium.

Robert Weir spent most of the early 1960s in a midwestern urban university,¹ which was a good place to encounter, both academically and in everyday life, the early, tentative, moderate stages of the great upheaval in American life known as "The Sixties." That decade is usually associated with racial, urban, anti-war, generational, and political upheavals that revolutionized society in the late 1960s and early 1970s and left a deep mark on every teacher and scholar who lived through them. The early 1960s were also an integral part of that tumultuous decade and had their share of upheaval. At the same time, the years from John F. Kennedy's election in

*Professor of history, University of North Carolina at Greensboro. The author and Robert M. Weir were classmates at the Graduate School of Western Reserve University from 1960 to 1964 and wrote dissertations under the direction of Professor Jack P. Greene, the first two of Greene's sixty-one doctoral students. This paper was first presented at the Symposium on the Atlantic World in the Eighteenth Century, sponsored by the Graduate History Association of the University of South Carolina on October 4, 1997, held in honor of Robert M. Weir on the occasion of his retirement.

¹Marion Siney, *Ups and Downs: The History Department, A Centennial History of Western Reserve University—Case Western Reserve University*, Harvey Wish Memorial Lecture III (Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University, 1980).