"A people peculiarly blessed": Community, Identity and Confederate Nationalism in an Alabama Planter Family, 1819-1876.

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Abstract

This thesis explores nationalism, state identity and community through the lens of one Southern planter family. The Crenshaw family are traced from their origins in Virginia, to South Carolina and thence to Alabama Territory during the first wave of migration between 1816 and 1819. Establishing a strong kinship community upon migration, they fostered an identity with their new state which superseded that of American or Confederate identity.

Employing genealogy as a research methodology to enhance the understanding of kinship networks, within the framework of a detailed analysis of the Crenshaw family's archive, this research demonstrates how familial power dynamics created and redefined their identity as Alabamians, Southerners and Americans. Employing the framework of national vs. local identity, this project reflects on the relative importance of localism over and above national loyalty and the possibilities for localism superseding national identity prior to the Civil War and beyond.

Planters, lawyers and politicians, the Crenshaws belonged to the planter elite and as such accrued significant land and wealth, including a large community of enslaved people. Settling finally in Butler County, the core years addressed here examine their lives their 1817-1819 migration to the state through to the end of Reconstruction, tracing community establishment, education and the approach of the Civil War. The fortunes of the family in such a location were undeniably changed forever by their personal experiences of Civil War and Reconstruction.

Re-Appraising the established and current literature against a vast archive of newly discovered primary material, this thesis demonstrates, in contrast to some established beliefs, that family networks and community identity were an essential element in the success of family amidst this turbulent period in the 19th century United States. In the process, this project emphasizes the importance of local history in illuminating and enhancing broader historical processes.

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Without the emotional support of my family who assisted me through the same difficult period, this thesis would never have been written. They opened up their homes, shared their knowledge and their private archives. In particular I am indebted to the memory of my great-aunt Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw, without her, few of the Crenshaw Family Papers would have survived. I am also greatly indebted to her daughter, Annie Hadden Crenshaw, who served as a tough but fair and inspiring advisor, editor and support throughout the entire process. She provided me access to her and her mother's amazing archive. My cousins Thomas Alexander and Mary Lou Crenshaw gave me access to material which greatly aided my research as well as fantastic home cooking and a lot of wonderful family time. My cousin John Noland Crenshaw provided access to an archive which surpassed my archival dreams. Thank you.

No amount of gratitude is possible to thank my grandfather, Dr. John Greene Austin, Sr. (1885-1966), who first attended school at the age of 24, when he walked some 300 miles to enrol as a sub-freshman at Mississippi State College. He believed that education was the remedy to alleviate rural poverty and to that end he devoted his entire career to education in the rural Alabama school system. He made it possible for thirteen members of his family to attend university and improve their lives; the twelfth was his wife, Modell Maund Austin who completed her BA and MA after their marriage and the last was my late father, John Greene Austin, Jr.

My greatest thanks go to my wife, Helen Ryba who served as my third advisor. Without her, I would never have gotten this far in the process. She unfailingly supported me, hosted her own supervisions with a glass of wine, read endless drafts, spent her holiday time assisting my research and now knows more about Alabama and Southern history than she ever wanted.

Introduction

Post-graduate research must begin with a personal interest. For me, this project is intensely personal and has served to reconcile me with the past in ways that I could not have imagined when I began. With certainty, I can trace the origin of my awareness in the importance of history and preserving history to a single devastating event. In February 1973, fire destroyed the Womack House, the 1848 home of my maternal family for six generations, the fire reached the roof in half an hour destroying the house and everything inside. Although I was very small, I remember the smell of it, the blackened chimneys standing over the piles of charred debris and the overwhelming sense of grief. It was as final as a death, the loss of visual and physical memories of our past in the countless letters, photographs and objects destroyed. The director of the Alabama Historic Commission pronounced "this fire has swept away one of Alabama's most prominent heritage assets."[1] For all of the Womack-Crenshaw descendants, even those not raised in the house as my mother and grandmother had been, it represented our family's and our community's collective memory, a compass star from which we aligned ourselves to our past while placing ourselves within the context of contemporary events and modern history.

I recognise that this is a romantic introduction into why I have conducted this research. However, it is the beginning of how and why I became a conservator and an historian. It is also the ultimate origin of how I became so fascinated with the story my family's surviving archives tells about Alabama's history. Because everything burned up with that house, the family archive which survived in other locations became even more precious to those interested in our history. To that end I owe eternal gratitude to my great-aunt, Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw who inspired me, albeit from afar, to become a saver of old papers and consider genealogy a worthy research methodology. She married into the family in 1943, soon discovering with incredulity that familiarity with the past had translated into static "old houses" with extraordinary collections of "old papers". Throughout the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s as the wife of a farmer, mother of five children and working full time as a social worker, she courted bemused and perplexed in-laws, persuading them to lend her family papers so she could make copies of them by hand or by typewriter. With professional experience as a cataloguer and archivist, I can vouch that she documented them with autograph transcripts and an archivist's eye for order and accuracy. If any documents survived the burning of the Womack House, they do so through her tireless and exemplary work.

[1] Colin MacGuire, "Famed Antebellum Home Lost to Fire in Ridgeville", 27 February 1973, *The Montgomery Advertiser*.

The presentation of this thesis is particularly timely given that the completion date, 2019, coincides with the bicentennial of Alabama. In recognition of the bicentennial, "Becoming Alabama", a state-wide series of interdisciplinary events began in 2009, focusing on the three key periods of the state's history; the Creek War, the Civil War and the Civil Rights Movement.[2] The study of settlement immediately following the Creek War and the coming of the Civil War are essential to the understanding of the modern South and will be examined in detail in this thesis. This thesis focuses on one planter family, the Crenshaws, from their motives for leaving their home in South Carolina, their migration to Alabama Territory between 1816 and 1819 and their settlement within the newly formed state of Alabama. The catalyst for my research stems from the pioneering research of Joan Cashin whose 1991 work *A Family Venture* at present remains the only academic work examining the motivations for migrations of the planter class to Alabama. [3] Using original source material from family papers in public repositories, Cashin focuses on the 1830s, the decade which experienced the greatest surge of migration: Alabama's population swelled from 127,901 in 1820 to 590,756 in 1840.[4] As the only research on the migration of planter families to Alabama, this thesis expands upon Cashin's research even as it refutes some of her findings. The extant primary sources Cashin consulted for her research fully support her arguments and her findings may have been expanded had she access to the Crenshaw family archives, but I believe the method of her family selection serves to skew her results. Choosing to focus on father-son households obtained strictly from the census, without broader genealogical contextualisation, her case study families exist in a silo, unconnected from the wider web of influential family relations. Cashin therefore finds that the families she examined underwent a "nuclearization" when they arrived on the frontier, as young male migrants sought to escape the sometimes oppressive influence of their fathers. Hence, she poses the theory that years of forced obligation in exchange for financial security led many young men to leave their natal families in search of personal freedom and financial opportunity. For many privileged young men of the planter class moving away from their immediate family to establish their own households enabled them to escape the parental bonds which may have otherwise held them in line. Cashin found that for the majority of her case study families, moving on their own without the support of parents, young migrant families or households of single men were subsequently isolated form

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[2] "Becoming Alabama", *Encyclopedia of Alabama*; http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/becoming_alabama/BecomingAlabama.jsp
"Becoming Alabama", Alabama Department of Archives and History, http://www.archives.alabama.gov/BA/

[3] Joan Cashin (1991). *A Family Venture; Men and Women on the Southwestern Frontier*, New York: Oxford University Press.

[4] U.S. Census Bureau (nd) "Resident population and apportionment in the House of Representatives", https://www.census.gov/dmd/www/resapport/states/alabama.pdf

larger kinship networks. But for the Crenshaw brothers who migrated to Alabama, they did not seek isolation from one another on the frontier but actively migrated together, settled near one another and re-created their own family network.

Recreating a family network on the frontier was first explored by Edward Baptist in his research on family migration and networks on the antebellum Florida frontier.[5] Baptist irrefutably demonstrated that migrating planters quickly established dense networks of extended family for economic, emotional and physical support.[6] My research builds upon that of Baptist by demonstrating that earlier planter migrants to Alabama also chose to travel with and settle within strong male and female kinship networks. Reinforcing their family connections through intermarriage within their extended community over several generations, these migrants established a large mutually supportive kinship network reminiscent of the settlements they left behind. Cashin, as the leader in the field is justifiably lauded by Baptist as "the most significant recent approach to planter migration", although he later contended her premise of the disintegration of male kinship ties in connection with migration. My preliminary research disagrees with some of Cashin's findings, primarily that male and female kinship networks disintegrated when families moved to the frontier as families were separated long distances between the old south and the new southwest. Cashin also found that the first generation of her migrant families were substantially less educated than their parents, due to the limited educational opportunities on the frontier. Again, my findings with the extended Crenshaw family demonstrate that, for this planter family, education was so important to them that they worked hard to ensure their own children and those of their community had access to quality education on the frontier.

My research methodology is a combination of grounded theory, in-depth archival and narrative research employing genealogy, and biography to contextualise a thematic analysis of community, identity and expressions of nationalism. My understanding of genealogy as an essential methodological tool for the historian comes from the pioneering work of Carolyn Billingsley, whose research into kinship theory demonstrated conclusively, in contrast to Cashin, that the migration of planters into the old Southwest (Alabama and Mississippi) and beyond into the new Southwest of Texas and Arkansas was facilitated through kinship

[5] Edward Baptist (2002) *Creating an Old South: Middle Florida's Plantation Frontier before the Civil War.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
[6] Edward Baptist (2002) *Creating an Old South: Middle Florida's Plantation Frontier before the Civil War.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press; (1996) "The Migration of Planters to Antebellum Florida: Kinship and Power." *Journal of Southern History* LXII (August, 1996), 527-554.

networks.[7] Focusing on a single family over generations and thousands of miles allowed Billingsley to employ genealogical research as the framework connecting academic historic research to what is sometimes thought of as less academic genealogical research. In doing so she was able to tease out complicated patterns of kinship behaviour, how family relationships affected migration, economic success and location choice. She revealed patterns and connections which would have been impossible to discern if studying father and son groupings solely from census records.

The primary material for this research has largely originated from two sources, material held in public repositories which I have tracked down with diligence and unpublished archival material created by the extended Crenshaw family currently in private collections. The unpublished archival material consists of personal and business correspondence, diaries, plantation accounts and ephemera, very little of which has been previously made available to researchers. To establish kinship connections and relationships requires intensive archival research to track down plat maps, land ownership records and other relevant material to document identity, spatial relationships and property ownership. Sometimes I have been able to track down every last connection and, in some cases, I simply cannot. At present there is a quantity of associated material held in public repositories across the United States, ranging from a single item to hundreds in one collection. To date, I have gathered just over 200 individual items from ten archives and special collections libraries.

The principle methodological practice for this thesis is the critical, interdisciplinary analysis of archival material conducted in private collections in Alabama. Over the course of my research, I made three trips to Alabama; two to conduct research and one to write. The first trip to a cousin's family archive yielded hundreds of Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw's transcripts. The material was more than enough for my thesis research and during that trip, another cousin showed up at my home in Alabama, presenting me with four additional boxes of mid-nineteenth century correspondence and business documents, a mid-1850s plantation account book which survived the Womack House fire and all of the plantation account books from 1890 through 1936. As a former museum registrar, I took the opportunity to survey the collection and make a recommendation for its donation to a suitable archive, which was completed last year.[8] On my second trip to Alabama, ostensibly to write, my better intentions were interrupted when a cousin mentioned that they had "some old papers" and would I like

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[7] Carolyn Earle Billingsley (2004) *Communities of Kinship: Antebellum Families and the Settlement of the Cotton Frontier*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 159.

[8] This material, which I viewed before donation, is now the Crenshaw Family Papers #5769, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

to see them? What arrived was the single most astonishing collection of hitherto unpublished manuscripts documenting the Crenshaw family from the 1790s through to the 1930s.[9] I took the time away from writing to scan the collection but due to time constraints only a very small portion of it has made it into this thesis; it has however contributed to my understanding of the family's motivations and methods of migration and their reliance on one another on the frontier.

These instances of thinking you have overturned every research rock and discovered everything that could be found only to find more than you could ever have imagined serves to illustrate that the archival record is analogous to a sieve; why do some manuscripts survive and others not? How perilous is their existence from fire, flood, intentional human damage and natural deterioration? Archives reflect not just what has survived by accident but by intention and thus they reflect the attitudes, aims and ideals of the people who saw fit to save them and the societies in which they were preserved. The collections which are donated to a public repository are only a small fraction, a small self-edited glimpse of everything which has not been so fortunate. Historians are forced to examine and re-examine the same collections over and over again hoping to find different results and new academic discourses. Hence, the intervention made by this thesis in introducing new archival sources and new historical characters, which, in some chases challenge the conclusions made by the preeminent historian of early migration to Alabama, Cashin.

Concepts and Terms

Southern and state nationalism originated in a concept of uniqueness and in complex ideas of superiority, which existed from the earliest days of the American Colonies and developed still further after the American Revolution. This identity of Southerners perceiving themselves as unique within the United States was largely based on Southerners' self-professed notions of racial and cultural superiority. A measure of uniqueness, but certainly not superiority, lay in the South's distinct geographic and consequently, agricultural differences. The climate of the southern United States from South Carolina southwards to Florida and southwest across Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana is decidedly warmer, wetter and with fewer, if any hard frosts: a climate perfectly suited to labour-intensive cash crops impossible to grow further north, such as indigo, rice, cotton and sugar cane.[10] Alabama, in particular, is a state with an extraordinarily diverse landscape, containing 64 discrete land and

[9] This collection remains private at the time of writing.
[10] Eddie Wayne Shell (2013) *Evolution of Alabama Agroecosystem: Always Keeping Up but Never Catching Up.* Montgomery: New South Books.

wetland ecosystems. Although only 30th in land size among the 50 United States, Alabama ranks 17th for its biodiversity and 7th for endemic species.[11] The concept of self-identifying as hailing from a distinct part of the United States for Southerners has always been running in the background of American nationalism.

Confederate nationalism, by contrast, only sprang into existence in 1861 with the creation of the Confederacy. Drew Gilpin Faust traced the movement to create Confederate nationalism during the Civil War in popular culture, education, the press and religion but the effort of Southerners to believe in and celebrate a Confederate nation felt forced, stilted and stalled.[12] As the war disintegrated from the possibility of victory in 1861 to the slow lingering defeats of 1864 and 1865, Confederate nationalism's fragile basis and incoherence became ever more evident.[13] Only with the final defeat of the Confederacy and the rise of Lost Cause mythology did the Confederacy gain the nationalist identity and unity it so desperately needed during the war years' contradictions and disappointments.[14]

The Bicentennial of Alabama has stimulated a renewed interest in the state's complex history, from the first European contacts in the 16th century through to the space program at Marshall Spaceflight Center during the 1960s and beyond. When I began my explorations for this project in 2014, the first fresh academic perspectives were beginning to be published about Alabama and has continued throughout my studies. Many new works have focused on the three most commonly investigated historical periods in Alabama's history, and the periods chosen by the state's Bicentennial Committee as the focus; the Creek War, the Civil War and the Civil Rights period. Inclusive interpretations of Alabama's history seek to include all of the peoples who have contributed to the state's development and diversity. Daniel Dupre's *Alabama's Frontiers and the Rise of the Old South* begins the story of the lands which are now called Alabama from the viewpoint of the Native American tribes who first experienced incursion by European adventurers, trappers and explorers in the 16th century.[15] His presentation of an all-encompassing history introduces a more complete and nuanced interpretation of the diversity and division within the state as the European frontier pushed

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[11] R. Scott Duncan (2013) *Southern Wonder: Alabama's Surprising Biodiversity.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1-2.
[12] Drew Gilpin Faust (1988) *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 6-7.
[13] Drew Gilpin Faust (1988) *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 6-7; Gary M. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan, eds. (2000). *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History.* Bloomington: Indian University Press.
[14] Drew Gilpin Faust (1988) *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 84.
[15] Daniel S. DuPre (2017) *Alabama's Frontiers and the Rise of the Old South*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

native peoples further and further out of their homeland. DuPre skilfully demonstrates for the first time in any history of pre-statehood Alabama that it was not the Europeans but the First Peoples who most directly influenced the history of the modern state of Alabama, holding the balance of power far longer and with far more deftness than previously acknowledged.

Civil War Alabama and *Alabama 1865* present a more complex and refined view of Alabama's role in the Civil War and Alabamians' reactions to it. [16] McIlwain and Hubbs adroitly raise the blinds of Lost Cause mythology to conclusively prove that Alabamians' support for Secession and the Confederacy was less than many Alabamians have been raised believing. My research into the Crenshaw family fully supports their findings. It is irrefutable, thanks to their arguments that reluctance to secede and resistance to support the Confederacy cut across class and geographic lines. Unlike the assertions of Margaret Storey and Kristopher A. Teters, my research demonstrates that the desire to remain in the union was not the exclusive domain of yeoman farmers in the northern portions of the state.[17] It is a long held assertion in the historic literature that unionism in Alabama was only to be found in the areas of the state which could not support plantation agriculture, e.g. the hill country in the Appalachian foothills to the north and Wiregrass prairie and piney woods in the south central and southwest.[18] My investigation builds upon the arguments of McIlwain, Hubbs, Storey and Teters by demonstrating in one Alabama planter family, support for the Confederacy was limited to non-existent. For the Crenshaw family, loyalty to their family community superseded loyalty to the United States or the Confederate States of America. When pressed, the men in this family chose to defend their immediate home and their state first even though they supported both slavery and the Union.

Combining extensive genealogical research with archival scholarship, this thesis seeks to fill the gap by exploring the nature of southern identity and community through the lives and experiences of an extended planter family at a critical period in American history: from the creation of a new state in 1819 and the tense decades before the Civil War, through the formation and defeat of the Confederacy to the first imaginings of the Lost Cause. Employing

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[16] Chrisopher Lyle McIlwain (2017) *Alabama 1865*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press; Chrisopher Lyle McIlwain and G. Ward Hubbs (2016). *Civil War Alabama*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
[17] Margaret Storey. (2004) *Loyalty and Loss: Alabama's Unionists in the Civil War and Reconstruction.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
Kristopher A. Teters. (2013) "Fighting for the Cause?: An Examination of the Motivations of Alabama's Confederate Soldiers from a Class Perspective." In *The Yellowhammer War: The Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama,* edited by Kenneth W. Noe, 90-106. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press.
[18] Theodore Henley Jack. (1919) *Sectionalism and Party Politics in Alabama, 1819-1842*. Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company.

the framework of national vs. local identity, this project reflects on the relative importance of localism over and above national loyalty and the possibilities for localism superseding national identity prior to the Civil War. Examining how a planter family defined and expressed their nationalism and state identity, reforming their ideology and clarifying their community, the Crenshaw family maintained their strong kinship network despite being composed of Unionist and Secessionists. The most pressing issue for the south and southerners, first existing as an idea of a unique identity existing within the United States and later as a separate nation upon Secession, was the question of localism: separate states often considered allegiance to themselves to override obligations and duties to the wider nation, whether that be the United States or the Confederacy. While always considering themselves loyal Americans, this particular southern family ultimately felt that their allegiance was first to their familial community and state over the Confederacy.

The title of my thesis, "we are a people peculiarly blessed" comes from an 1839 oration to alumni at the University of Alabama given by Walter Henry Crenshaw (1817-1878).[19] The oration is a lengthy, romantic and enthusiastic tour of the educational possibilities of Alabama contextualised within a history of America, its natural resources, art, literary establishments and geography. Comparing America to the wonders of the world, Walter Henry Crenshaw stressed American superiority in all things from the "the mountains of Vermont…to the plains of Alabama…In what country of Antiquity will you find grander scenery?"[20] Tracing the history of the state, its rapid settlement in the previous twenty-five years and the newly established university, he urged his audience composed of alumni, students and their families, certainly all hailing from wealthy and privileged backgrounds like himself, to support universal education throughout the state. A university graduate and the son of a university graduate, he realised the social and economic importance of education and the privilege that education offered. However, he pushed hard for the support of universal, free education (not realised until 1854), stressing that an education obtained within Alabama should continue to serve the state: "your state pride will redouble your exertions to acquire for it a transcendent reputation. I shall not urge you to your pleasing duty; your enlightened minds are ready to promote the prosperity of your country. You are aware of the proud destiny awaiting your State."[21]

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[19] Walter Henry Crenshaw, *An Oration*, Tuscaloosa [Ala.]: Baldwin, 1839. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, 5.
[20] Walter Henry Crenshaw, *An Oration*, Tuscaloosa [Ala.]: Baldwin, 1839. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, 5.
[21] Walter Henry Crenshaw, *An Oration*, Tuscaloosa [Ala.]: Baldwin, 1839. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, 13.

Structure of thesis:

Chapter 1, "The friends and comforts of earlier life in other countries": Motives for Migration" will examine the motivations for the Crenshaw family's migration from their home in South Carolina to Alabama Territory between 1817 and 1819.[22] Firmly settled in and identified with South Carolina, the men and women of the Crenshaw family enjoyed the social and economic stability of a close kinship network and a profitable plantation. Introducing the brothers Anderson, Walter and Willis Crenshaw, their origins in South Carolina will be examined to contextualise their motivations for migration to the edge of the American frontier. Their father, Charles Crenshaw, had already relocated the family from Virginia to South Carolina in search of better prospects at the end of the American Revolution. Over his lifetime, Charles had built a considerable family fortune in South Carolina, setting the stage for his sons' continued financial and professional success. After his death, his sons, like tens of thousands of migrants, would look to the possibilities of the cotton frontier in Alabama territory. In contrast to Cashin's argument that these male driven migrations created islands of isolation for women and the disintegration of male kinship networks, this chapter will demonstrate the opposite, that families migrated with and settled within nurturing male and female kinship networks. This chapter will also expand upon her research whilst contending her theories that migrants experienced a loss of family identity and inter-dependency upon migration and resettlement. In addition to the white kinship networks, slaves were integral to the personal and professional community, their communities broken up in South Carolina were later reunited in Alabama. The strength of family and community compared with ties to nation and state will then be carried forward in subsequent chapters.

Chapter 2, "The fairest portion of America": Settling Alabama, 1816-1840, will focus on the forces combining to create the surge in migration and land speculation witnessed in Alabama over the first few decades of the 19th century.[23] When the Treaty of Fort Jackson on 14 August 1814 forced the Creek Nation to cede 23 million acres to the control of the United States, the land now comprising the state of Alabama became the focus of new opportunities for land and investment.[24] The excitement to be among the first to acquire the fertile land at low prices became known as "Alabama Fever".[25] The forces combining to create this storm of

[22] Anderson Crenshaw. (nd), *Address to a Grand Jury*, Thaddeus Henry Crenshaw III Papers, W.S. Hoole Special Collections Library, University of Alabama.
[23] Anderson Crenshaw. (n.d.) *An Address to a Grand Jury*, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[24] Malcolm Rorbough, (1968) *The Land Office Business; The Settlement and Administration of American Public Lands, 1789-1837*. New York: Oxford University Press.
[25] James Graham to Thomas Ruffin, Nov. 9, 1817 in Ruffin, The Papers of Thomas Ruffin, ed. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton (4 vols., Raleigh, 1918-1920), I:198. Emphasis in the original.

migration and speculation will be examined as will the methods of migration and location choice. It would be a combination of events which led to families packing up and moving several times over their lives, ever westward in search of more profitable land for cotton and slaves pushing the margins of plantation culture and slavery to their limits. But for the Crenshaws, migration to Alabama was their terminus. Unlike the subsequent generations of migrants who left Alabama in search of alleged opportunities farther and farther west, the Crenshaws made substantial commitments to their new state; Alabama became not an initial migration destination but the home they remained devoted to. Unlike the Alabama planter families in Cashin's study of the southwestern frontier, the Crenshaws did not seek to escape their family connections but to strengthen them and so migrated together. I will show how they used their family connections to seek out the most advantageous locations and settle themselves and one another. And further that upon migration, they made a commitment to creating their new home what they wanted it to be. With patriotism for Alabama, they quickly positioned themselves in its institutions and thereby into the creation of a new state and a new state identity as Alabamians.

Chapter 3, "The power to enlighten your countrymen": Educating Alabamians, 1800-1876, will examine how education strengthened the bonds of family, community and regional identity for this elite Alabama family from their migration to Alabama Territory through the Civil War into Reconstruction.[26] Migration to the frontier could lessen the opportunities for children's education, a situation Cashin found using her extant archival sources. For the Crenshaws, extremely well educated themselves, they promoted educational opportunities for their community before their children were old enough to attend school. For them, sponsoring education by supporting schools and academies for boys and girls reinforced their connections within the community, demonstrating their commitment to localism and the state of Alabama, while illustrating their paternalism as part of the elite planter class of the State – the largesse of the Crenshaw family and the reputation that this engineered should not be underestimated. This microstudy of how one planter family chose to educate themselves and their children shows how they used education to cement family ideals, community relationships and state pride. Through the analysis of the educational worlds of three generations of this family, I will illustrate how their educational experience in Alabama created a family, community and state-grounded nationalism located within a strong concept of self-determination and independence.

[26] Anderson Crenshaw, (nd) *Address to a Grand Jury*, The Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

Chapter 4: The extended Crenshaw family represent countless similar families across the South who faced internal disagreements and difficult decisions over speaking out against the majority or being swept up in the fervour of Secession.[27] Chapter 4, "'Any personal sacrifice for the good of my state'; Planters, Pragmatists and Reluctant Secessionists, 1840-1861", will explore the under-examined issue of Unionist and Cooperationist sympathies amongst the planter class of Alabama using the career of Walter Henry Crenshaw (1817-1878). [28] In both academic and popular literature, Unionists and Cooperationists are characterised as yeoman farmers and/or non-slaveholders, most likely located in the portions of the state not conducive to plantation agriculture. Christopher Lyle McIllwain's recent scholarship conclusively establishes that dissent against Secession and Civil War was not the sole preserve of the non-slaveowners and yeoman farmers. Countless men and women, irrespective of social class or political affiliation recognised the potential of economic and social disaster if Alabama found itself alone outside the Union or amongst a small group of renegade states. [29] The complexities and ambiguities of patriotism to the Union over the state are encapsulated by the life and career of Walter Henry Crenshaw, a first generation Alabamian, pragmatist and reluctant secessionist whose primary patriotism was invested in his state and the United States Constitution.

Chapter 5, "'I dreaded so much a civil war'; A Family in Conflict, 1861-1865", will explore tensions within the planter class in Alabama over secession and civil war by examining the experiences of the extended Crenshaw family of Butler County, Alabama, the cousins Edward Crenshaw, Noland Lewis and the Hall brothers (Bolling III, Crenshaw, James, John, Tom and Hines). [30] Through the lens of this privileged and politically shrewd family, I will demonstrate that support for the Confederacy in Alabama was less than the Lost Cause would have many believe. Devoted to their state, yet patriotic Americans, class, generation and gender divides affected how members of this family viewed the Civil War, their roles in it and its outcome. Building upon the recent scholarship of Kenneth W. Noe, Kristopher Teters, G. Ward Hubbs and Christopher Lyle McIlwain, I will substantiate that young planter men enlisted more out of a sense of adventure, duty and a belief in protecting their immediate home than from a desire to fight for a greater Confederate nation. Noland Lewis enlisted out of a sense of

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[27] Christopher Lyle McIlwain (2016) *Civil War Alabama*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press; Taylor, Amy Murrell Taylor (2005) *The Divided Family in Civil War America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

[28] Walter Henry Crenshaw to Governor Robert M. Patton, December 10, 1866, Collection of ADAH: 1866-December Correspondence, Administrative Files, SG024, Folder 29.

[29] Christopher Lyle McIlwain (2016) *Civil War Alabama*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

[30] Mary Chiles Crenshaw to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 6 February 1861, Crenshaw Family Letters, 1849-1864, John and Faye Vick Collection, Auburn University.

duty to his home and the defence of his family but found disappointment that many of his fellow soldiers lacked the same sense of duty or responsibility. For Edward Crenshaw who began the war as an avowed Unionist, Confederate nationalism was only awakened in him when he suffered a disfiguring facial injury during the Battle of Chickamauga, where he also witnessed the mortal wounding of his two Hall cousins. Ironically, as defeat became inevitable, he amplified his Confederate rhetoric from non-existent to hyperbolic.

Chapter 6: In this final chapter, "'In a pig's eye': Loss and Gain in a Reconstruction Community, 1861-1880", I will examine the transitions faced by black and white Alabamians in a small, exclusive planter community as they confronted the bewildering changes to their pattern of life, personal circumstances, their homes and their communities. [31] The death of Noland Lewis led to an extraordinary reversal of fortune for his surviving sister and for the freed slaves of his community in Ridgeville. The intertwined lives and fortunes of Noland's sister, plantation heiress Sallie Lewis will be juxtaposed with that of the families of Evans and Queen Crenshaw Carter and their son and daughter-in-law, Isaac Newton and Anna Lewis Carter, formerly enslaved by the extended Crenshaw-Lewis family.[32] Unwise but emotionally driven investments in the Confederacy's sinking fortunes combined with hyper-inflation as the war drew to a close saw the Lewis wealth diminish to nothing. With no male protector, Sallie was forced to leave Alabama to teach school to support herself, her sisters and their grandmother, as so many women would be forced to do. Returning only in an attempt to save her family's former plantation from creditors, Sallie desperately attempted to keep her family's plantation legacy intact. At the same time, emancipation of her enslaved labourers drove her family's former slaves to seek every opportunity to overturn the legacy of enslavement. The Carter family, bound together by the common experience of enslavement if not by blood and marriage, worked hard to support one another in the turbulent years of Reconstruction and beyond. In October 1867, the Lewis plantation was sold for debts to a white neighbour, Thomas Knight who refused to sell it back to Sallie Lewis and most likely sold it to her former slaves.[33] The hard work of the freedmen and freedwomen gained them that most sought after symbol of home and identity, a farm of their own to hand down to their children, which their descendants still possess today.

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[31] Walter H. Crenshaw, Jr. to Frederick William Crenshaw, 11 October 1869, Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

[32] Queen Carter's maiden name is given as Lewis or Crenshaw. It is uncertain but highly likely that she is the same individual as Queen, a woman enslaved by Frederick William Crenshaw.

[33] Walter H. Crenshaw, Jr. to Frederick William Crenshaw, 11 October 1869, Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

Chapter 1: "the friends and comforts of earlier life in other countries": Motives for Migration, 1815-1817.[34]

This chapter will examine how one extended planter family redefined themselves as they migrated to the newly created Alabama Territory alongside thousands of settlers. The first generation of men in the Crenshaw family came to identify themselves firmly as Alabamians as a consequence of the relocation of three brothers from South Carolina to Alabama between 1817 and 1819. They may have been born and educated in South Carolina, but their chosen state of Alabama honed their nationalist identity and patriotic sympathies. Once relocated they focused their respective careers on the formation of government, courts and educational opportunities for themselves and their fellow Alabamians, expressing their alignment with their new state.

The Crenshaws exemplified stereotypical ideals of the Antebellum South, the archetypes of selfless public servant, shrewd politician and avaricious planter. Through inter-marriage over generations, settling close to one another and choosing to identify as family even when distantly related, Southern families easily form their own communities. The ideals of family, national loyalty, state identity and paternalism of this first generation of Alabamians dictated how their children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren viewed themselves and their wider community. As Confederates and Americans, they would later wrestle with local identity and nationalism alongside family and community loyalties. In doing so, the Crenshaws developed a strong sense of themselves as Alabamians first, Southerners second and Americans third, always identifying first with their local related community and chosen state.

Introducing the brothers Anderson, Walter and Willis Crenshaw, their origins in South Carolina will be described to contextualise their eventual move to Alabama Territory. Their father, Charles Crenshaw (1749-1814) relocated his family from Virginia to South Carolina at the end of the American Revolution in search of better prospects. Whilst Charles built a considerable family fortune in South Carolina, after his death, his sons moved the family once more as over 126,000 migrants would do between 1800 and 1820.[35] With the southwestern frontier providing irresistible temptation, the plans and paths of the Crenshaw family from an established southern state to a new southern territory will be traced in turn. Firstly, Walter

[34] Anderson Crenshaw. (nd), *Address to a Grand Jury*, Thaddeus Henry Crenshaw III Papers, W.S. Hoole Special Collections Library, University of Alabama.

[35] In the 1800 Mississippi Territorial Census, an estimated 1,250 non-Native people lived along the lower portion of the Tombigbee River in what would eventually become Alabama although the figure is likely to have been much higher than that. By the 1820 Federal Census, the official population of Alabama the state was 127,901. Census figures from Thomas Perkins Abernethy (1922), The formative period in Alabama, 1815-1828. Montgomery, Ala.: The Brown printing company.

and Willis set out to explore Alabama Territory before committing and encouraging their brother Anderson to join them with his young family. These male-driven migrations focusing on plantation settlement, Cashin has argued, created islands of isolation for the women in the family and a disintegration of male kinship networks. However, my investigation into the Crenshaw family clearly demonstrates that they migrated alongside and settled within a nurturing male and female kinship network. Her assessment of family migration in the 1830s demonstrates a vastly different reality to that of the Crenshaw family just over a decade earlier. This chapter will expand upon her research while contending her theories that migrants experienced a loss of family identity and inter-dependency upon migration and resettlement. The different approaches and preferences of the individuals will be explored in this chapter and the wider implications for the family and the state, evaluated. Their journey from young migrants seeking their fortunes on a newly opened frontier to members of the freshly settled society will be outlined. As they developed their chosen professions, their actions provide the basis for their later decisions and opinions as patriotic and loyal Alabamians in further chapters. It will be demonstrated briefly here and in future chapters that their re-establishment in the new state also depended upon and affected an increasingly extended family network as they married and committed themselves within the communities that grew around them. Developing profitable business ventures and successful plantations, they, like so many migrants to the south west re-created the close kinship networks of their birthplace. In addition to these white kinship networks, slaves were integral to their personal and professional community, their communities broken up in South Carolina and later reunited in Alabama. The strength of the family's identity as a community compared with their ties to nation and state will then be carried forward in subsequent chapters.

Introducing the Crenshaw Family

In the antebellum period the Crenshaw family were wealthy and key contributors to their local communities: politically influential and socially connected. Migration from the colonial state of South Carolina to the newly opened lands of the southwest offered a boon to their fortunes, professionally and personally. If they stayed in the former colonial states, Cashin's research concluded, only one half of young planter men achieved the status of owning twenty or more slaves and only one fourth of those surpassed the wealth of their planter fathers.[36] For the Crenshaws, migration to the territory of Alabama substantially increased their personal wealth and professional status over that of their father. Charles Crenshaw's

[36] Joan Cashin. (1991), *A Family Venture; Men and Women on the Southwestern Frontier*, New York: Oxford University Press, 119.

third son, Anderson Crenshaw (1783-1847), a lawyer and one term legislator in South Carolina, excelled professionally in Alabama as a circuit court judge, Supreme Court associate justice and the first Chancellor of the Southern District Court of Equity. Alabama legal historian Daniel J. Meador concluded that Anderson Crenshaw should receive "major credit for establishing Alabama's case law" as the most independent dissenter and prolific majority opinion writer of the state's first Supreme Court justices.[37] The next brother, Walter Crenshaw (1787-1830), became a lawyer, multiple-term state legislator and land speculator in his new state. Walter's position within the Alabama General Assembly allowed him to navigate legislation and arrange favourable land purchases for the benefit of himself and his brothers.[38] The youngest brother, Willis (1796-1862) exemplified every stereotype of the avaricious planter as described by Eugene Genovese and James Oakes in their academic investigation of planter archetypes.[39] Shrewdly purchasing over 11,000 acres in locations he calculated to be the most economically advantageous, adjacent to a potential county seat or along the proposed railroad routes of which he was a stockholder, Willis acquired multiple plantations and town houses spread across three counties. Marrying a socially connected heiress, he staged himself prominently in local society epitomising the perfect planter as a generous benefactor supporting local churches, schools and community events. Although the Crenshaws moved to the greener lands of the Alabama Territory in search of financial and professional gain, unlike many of the acquisitive planters of James Oakes' study, once they relocated to Alabama, they did so with a desire to fully integrate into their new community putting down roots. Distinct from many economic migrants, they did not move on to new cotton lands in Texas and Arkansas during the boom times of the 1830s or 1850s but instead cast their lot with and settled firmly in Alabama.

Before Migration: The Crenshaw's Origins in Virginia and South Carolina

When the Crenshaw brothers chose to migrate from South Carolina to what they described as "the howling wilderness" of Alabama Territory between 1817 and 1819, they were continuing an American tradition moving onwards in search of something different and

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[37] Daniel J. Meador. (2010), "The Supreme Court of Alabama; Its Cahaba Beginnings, 1820-1825", *Alabama Law Review* 61, Number 5, 904.

[38] Joseph G. Baldwin. (1957). *The Flush Times of Alabama and Mississippi.* New York: Hall and Wang; State of Alabama, Alabama Legislative Acts, House Journals, 1821-1828. https://web.archive.org/web/20140210145738/http://www.legislature.state.al.us/misc/history/timeline.html

[39] Eugene D. Genovese. (2011), *Fatal Self-Deception; Slaveholding Paternalism in the Old South*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; James Oakes. (1998), *The Ruling Race; A History of American Slaveholders*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.

better than what they had.[40] Previous generations of Crenshaws had moved through at least two states in the previous sixty years searching for better prospects.[41] Crenshaws had been living around the central Virginia counties of Louisa, Albemarle and Amelia for at least three generations before the brothers' father, Charles Crenshaw, sought a fresh start for his young family in the South Carolina Backcountry.[42] Successful farmers, millers and aspiring planters, marrying well had placed the Crenshaws within the outer reaches of Colonial high society.[43] In a sibling exchange, brothers William A. (1725? – 1799, Charles's father) and Nathaniel Crenshaw married sisters Susannah and Mary Carr, respectively, daughters of wealthy Virginia planter William Carr.[44] In 1751, William Carr gave his son-in-law William A. Crenshaw "and my beloved daughter, Susannah his wife", 400 acres from his own holding of 4,024 acres along the north fork of the James River in Louisa County, Virginia.[45] In addition to this parcel of land on which William and Susannah Crenshaw set up their plantation, William apparently owned another economic enterprise in neighbouring Albemarle County, for there in 1789 he was assessed for 4 slaves over the taxable age of 12 and 4 horses.[46] By 9 April 1798, William A. Crenshaw's taxable property at his principle residence in Louisa County listed 15 slaves aged over 12 and 6 horses; of the 38 heads of household listed on the same page, only two individuals owned 15 or more slaves over the age of 12.[47] When William A. died in 1799, he had propelled the Crenshaws into the ranks of the wealthy, leaving a total of 25 slaves to his wife Susannah Carr Crenshaw, their nine surviving children and two grandchildren.[48] However, for his son Charles, the established plantation and community in Virginia would not be enough

[40] The phrase "howling wilderness" appears in an unpublished address to a grand jury written by Anderson Crenshaw in the early 1830s and again in an address given by his son Walter Henry Crenshaw during the 1839 University of Alabama commencement exercises.
[41] Georgia C. Villaflor and Kenneth L. Sokoloff. (1982), "Migration in Colonial America: Evidence from the Militia Muster Rolls" in *Social Science History*, Vol. 6, No. 4, Trends in Nutrition, Labor, Welfare, and Labor Productivity (Autumn, 1982), pp. 559.
[42] Edward Pleasants Valentine. (1927), "The Crenshaw Family" in *The Edward Pleasants Valentine Papers, Abstracts of Records in the Local and General Archives of Virginia*. Richmond, Va.: The Valentine Museum.
[43] Louisa (Va.) Chancery Causes, 1801-003. John Burnley et al vs William Crenshaw Administrators et al. Government Records Collection, Louisa Court Records. The Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.
[44] The Carr sisters were the first cousins of Dabney Carr, Thomas Jefferson's closest friend and husband of his younger sister, Martha Jefferson.
[45] Valentine, Edward Pleasants. (1927), *The Edward Pleasants Valentine Papers, Abstracts of Records in the Local and General Archives of Virginia*. Richmond, Va.: The Valentine Museum, 367.
[46] 1789 Albemarle County Personal Tax Assessment, Library of Virginia.
[47] 1798 Louisa County Personal Tax Assessment, Library of Virginia.
[48] The slaves owned by William A. Crenshaw in 1799 were: Micajah, Jack, Pompey, Sam, Matt, Elijah, Betty, Nancy, Phillis, Fanny and child, Patty and daughter, Frances, James, Charles, Sarah and child, Isaac, Dalphray, Ralph, Duke, Sarah, Nelson, Jane, Sawney, Daniel and Tom. Names from Louisa (Va.) Chancery Causes, 1803-1807. Charles Crenshaw et al vs Susannah Crenshaw Executors, 109_1807_029. Government Records Collection, Louisa Court Records. The Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

and like his descendants, he would chose to move away from the settled Colonial community to be a part of a frontier settlement in a new state.

For William A. Crenshaw's eldest son, Charles, the lure of new land on the edge of the frontier outweighed the wealth and ready connections his father held in Virginia. Like many migrants of the immediate post war period, Charles sought a fresh start for himself and his young family when he arrived in the South Carolina Backcountry around 1782.[49] Soil exhaustion, overpopulation and post war adversity led many Virginians to flee the economic decline of the 1780s.[50] A cycle repeated countless times over the ever-changing American southwestern frontier as would be planters chased a dream of more productive land yielding greater returns both in crops and profit. Americans' willingness to move in search of somewhere they hoped might be better than where they already were, was described with fascination by a visiting Frenchman in 1788; "After they have spent some time on any piece of land, they move on to another where they hope to do better....Apparently for Americans a migration to a place several hundred miles away is no more serious than moving from one house to another and is taken in the spirit of a pleasure party."[51] Many Virginians including small farmers and planters, sought renewed opportunities anywhere, even in the war devastated state of South Carolina.[52] The last years of the Revolutionary War turned the interior of South Carolina into a landscape shocked by uncertainty, sectional unrest and extreme violence but the prospects of unspoiled land proved irresistible to enterprising settlers like Charles Crenshaw.[53] On 10 May 1781, the British Army began a slow but definite

[49] No service records have been found documenting Charles Crenshaw's Revolutionary War service. Colonial born soldiers tended to overwhelming serve in their state of birth demonstrating a strong sense of colonial identity. Villaflor and Sokoloff (1982) discovered from existing muster rolls that 82% of 1,572 Virginian born veterans served in Virginia units and it is likely that Charles Crenshaw fought in a Virginia unit like his first cousins and uncles whose Revolutionary War records have survived.

[50] Lorena S. Walsh. (2000), "The African American Population of the Colonial United States" in *A Population History of North America*, eds. Michael Haines and Richard Steckel. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 211-213.

[51] Jacque Pierre Brissot as quoted in D. Fischer And J. Kelly. (2000), *Bound Away: Virginia and the Westward Movement.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 135.

[52] Henry Gemery. (2000), "The White Population of the Colonial United States, 1607-1790" in *A Population History of North America*, Eds. Michael r. Haines and Richard H. Steckel. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 171-175.

[53] It is unclear when Charles and Eunice Crenshaw migrated from Virginia to South Carolina. Their son, Abner born in 1778 claimed Virginia as his birthplace whereas Anderson, born 1783 claimed South Carolina. Oral tradition states that Anne, born 1782 was born in South Carolina but there is no documentary evidence.

withdrawal from the South Carolina interior, opening up lands for retiring soldiers and restless settlers like himself.[54]

The planters' cycle of buying land to raise cash crops to buy more slaves to raise more cash crops to buy more land to buy more slaves began almost immediately upon Charles Crenshaw's arrival in the South Carolina. He settled his family along King's Creek at the Long Lane crossroads about eight miles northeast of Newberry Court House, where he actively engaged in farming and diverse economic enterprises including a blacksmith shop and a store with a post office.[55] Although no records can be found of original land grants or purchases, Charles was well established in the area by 22 November 1787, when he sold 277 ½ acres along King's Creek to a neighbour, described as being adjacent to land he already owned.[56] The following 31 May, he sold an additional 193 acres to the same family, also along the King's Creek.[57] Between 1778 and 1810, Charles Crenshaw appears to have indulged in land speculation, making 19 different land sales to neighbours and sons while retaining over 1000 acres of the choicest land for himself.[58] Land acquisition was important not only for securing status but in providing identity, that nebulous feeling of home and sense of security that people call a sense of place, feel in their hearts but find so hard to express in concrete terms. Land provided food for people and animals, a source of income and a definite place to call home: investing in land secured a man's identity as a member of the community, buying more of it bolstered his standing with his neighbours by demonstrating his commitment to stay within that community.

The upland community Charles Crenshaw chose as his home was sparsely populated and considered not only coarse but dangerous. Labelled derisively as the Backcountry, the Piedmont and Piney Woods of South Carolina provided a sizeable buffer zone between the "civilized" coast to the south and the American Indians along the north western frontier. Reverend Charles Woodmason described the area as he saw it in 1767:

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[54] Walter Edgar. (2012), *The South Carolina Encyclopaedia Guide to the American Revolution in South Carolina*, Columbia: The University of South Carolina. Following the indecisive Battle of Hobkirk Hill on 25 April 1781.

[55] Charles and Eunice had eleven documented children during the first twenty-five years of their marriage: Archibald (1776 - 1818), Abner (1778 - 1863), Ann (1782-1795), Anderson (1783 - 1847), Charles (1785-1786), Walter (1787 - 1830), Elizabeth (1789-1794), William (1791-1794), Thomas (1793-1795), Willis (1796 - 1862) and Phoebe (1800-1815). Childrens' names and birth/death dates compiled from grave markers in the Crenshaw-Finch Cemetery, Newberry, South Carolina and Charles Crenshaw's estate papers.

[56] Newberry County, South Carolina Deed Book A, pg. 1116.

[57] Newberry County, South Carolina Deed Book A, pg. 1132.

[58] Newberry County, South Carolina Deed Books A, B, C, D, E, G, H, I, K, L, M.

> Set down here just as a Barrier between the Rich Planters and the Indians, to secure the former against the Latter—Without Laws of Government Churches Schools of Ministers—No Police established—and all Property quite insecure—Merchants as fearful to venture their Goods as Ministers their Persons—The Lands, tho' the finest in the Province unoccupied, and rich Men afraid to set Slaves to work to clear them, lest they should become a Prey to the Banditti...[59]

Even 15 years after Charles Crenshaw first settled there, the South Carolina Backcountry was experienced as a place more than marginally "uncivilised". Itinerant Methodist minister and Crenshaw friend, Rev. Francis Asbury, described a prayer meeting held near Lawson's Fork, about 40 miles north-east of Newberry on June 20, 1796: "I could not but help admire the curiosity of the people—my wig was as great a subject of speculation as some wonderful animal from Africa or India would have been. I had about one hundred people at the meeting-house, some came to look at and others to hear me."[60] In addition to his pithy observations on the curious habits of his congregations, Rev. Asbury was quick to notice the area's symbiotic relationship between farming and alcohol. In April 1796 after holding a meeting near the Crenshaw plantation, he observed; "There is a general complaint of the want of corn in these parts; and no wonder, when we consider the great storm which they have had and the number of stills in the country; the people here drink their bread as well as eat it."[61]

Whether or not they enjoyed their corn liquor, the Crenshaws thrived financially in their new home, ascending to the ranks of the planter class within twenty years of arrival and showing every indication of settling permanently in South Carolina. Through integration into the surrounding civic society, Charles Crenshaw became part and parcel of his new community and by virtue of it, his now home state of South Carolina. Along with the expansion of his land and slave holdings, Charles Crenshaw embraced his community by participating in local government. In 1798 he was appointed Tax Collector for Newberry County by the South Carolina legislature, a position he held until his resignation in 1812.[62] Owning a lucrative plantation, the community store, blacksmith shop, and post office he located himself within a cluster of mercantile enterprises serving his community. As a place for people to shop, have

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[59] Hooker, ed. (1953), *The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution: The Journal and Other Writings of Charles Woodmason*, Anglican Itinerant. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 27.
[60] Francis Asbury. (1821), *The Journal of the Rev. Francis Asbury, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church* from August 7, 1771, to December 7, 1815. Vols I, II, III. New York: N. Bangs and T. Mason, 247.
[61] Francis Asbury. (1821), *The Journal of the Rev. Francis Asbury, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church* from August 7, 1771, to December 7, 1815. Vols I, II, III. New York: N. Bangs and T. Mason., 295.
[62] Resolution Appointing Tax Collectors for Various Parishes and Counties 1798-1-01, S165018: Resolutions of the General Assembly, South Carolina Department of Archives and History. http://www.archivesindex.sc.gov/onlinearchives/Thumbnails.aspx?recordId=287775

horses shod and tools mended, post letters or receive letters, drop by to gossip, pay taxes and vote, here Charles Crenshaw was at the very center of his community's economic and social life. Although not an active church member himself, his wife Eunice Crenshaw was a devout member of the local Methodist Church; their neighbour Edward Finch hosting Methodist church meetings across the road from their home. Investment in education demonstrated further commitment to his local community, Charles worked with Finch and Rev. Asbury to start a Methodist church supported school, Mt. Bethel Academy adjacent to their plantations. Later their children would marry, settling on an adjoining plantation and with the births of Charles' grandchildren, the Crenshaw's ties to their community seemed permanent and secure.

Predating by forty years Cashin's analysis of planter migration, the Crenshaws move from Virginia to South Carolina reinforces her assertion that the physical migration to a new place could boost a family's economic status, possibly one motivation for his sons' migration to Alabama later. Charles Crenshaw eclipsed his father's wealth in slaves and land, a trend his sons would continue after his death. An examination of the census for Newberry County reveals that Charles and Eunice Crenshaw were the largest slave owners amongst their immediate neighbours. In 1790, the Crenshaws' household contained 15 slaves whereas their closest neighbours, local magistrate Edward Finch owned 10 slaves.[63] At that time, only 7% of Backcountry households owned between 5 and 19 slaves, placing the Crenshaws' firmly within the ranks of the economic elite in their area. By contrast, 18% of households in the established coastal parishes owned between 5 and 19 slaves.[64] By 1800, Charles Crenshaw's slave population had risen to 19, placing his household in the top 9% of Backcountry slave owners; only 1% of his neighbours owned 20 or more slaves at that time. Increasing slave ownership demonstrated the Crenshaws gradual but steady ascent to the ranks of the wealthiest area planters.[65] After preaching across the road from the Crenshaw plantation, Rev. Francis Asbury would observe in 1801, "I cannot record great things upon religion in this quarter; *but cotton sells high*."[66] Between 1790 and 1800, with the increased availability of more efficient

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[63] First Census of the United States, 1790 (NARA microfilm publication M637, 12 rolls). Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, D.C.
[64] Rachel Klein. (1990), *Unification of a Slave State: The Rise of the Planter Class in the South Carolina Backcountry, 1760-1808.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, adapted from Table 8, 156.
[65] Rachel Klein. (1990), *Unification of a Slave State: The Rise of the Planter Class in the South Carolina Backcountry, 1760-1808*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 156. Second Census of the United States, 1800. NARA microfilm publication M32 (52 rolls). Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, D.C.
[66] Francis Asbury. (1821). *The journal of the Rev. Francis Asbury, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal* Church *from August 7, 1771, to December 7, 1815*. Vols I, II, III. New York: N. Bangs and T. Mason, 40. Emphasis in original.

processing methods, South Carolina's annual cotton exports rose from 9,840 pounds to 6,425,000 pounds.[67] Owning 30 enslaved people in 1810 Charles Crenshaw ranked amongst the top 2% of all South Carolina's slaveholders.[68] With an increasing slave population combined with higher cotton prices and annual exports, the Crenshaws were living the planter dream.

A training ground for the Crenshaw brothers' future as planters in Alabama, the South Carolina plantation on which they were raised was a complex agricultural enterprise producing raw and finished material for sale and trade including beef cattle, hogs, sheep, poultry, horses, corn, wheat and cotton.[69] The daily reality of the plantation required a wealth of specialist knowledge and skills on the parts of the slaves and masters alike to manage the livestock (beef, sheep, hogs, horses, mules and poultry), raise the crops (cotton, wheat, corn) and produce finished products for home use or market (blacksmithing services, cured meat, flour, leather, honey, finished woollen and cotton cloth).[70] The plantation's enslaved people included at least one cook, several weavers with three spinning wheels and loom, a shoemaker, leatherworker and two highly skilled blacksmiths.[71] The diversity of enslaved people's skills and the self-sufficiency of the plantation is one characteristic they would replicate once they migrated to Alabama.

Owning not one but two blacksmiths, the Crenshaws enjoyed a rare addition to the varied skills and talents of their enslaved workers; the abilities to make and repair essential tools and shoe horses. The blacksmith shop was located in a separate building at the Long Lane

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[67] Rachel Klein. (1990), *Unification of a Slave State: The Rise of the Planter Class in the South Carolina Backcountry, 1760-1808.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 247.

[68] Rachel Klein. (1990), *Unification of a Slave State: The Rise of the Planter Class in the South Carolina Backcountry, 1760-1808*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 247, 252; Third Census of the United States, 1810. (NARA microfilm publication M252, 71 rolls). Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Crenshaw, Charles. Estate Papers, 1814-1818. Newberry County Probate Court, Estate papers, Box 3, Package 26, Frames 616-654. South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

[69] All information describing the Crenshaw's plantation in South Carolina derived from the estate files of Charles Crenshaw and his son, Archibald. Crenshaw, Charles. Estate Papers, 1814-1818. Newberry County Probate Court, Estate papers, Box 3, Package 26, Frames 616-654. South Carolina Department of Archives and History; Crenshaw, Archibald. Estate Papers, 1818-1830, Newberry County Probate Court, Estate papers, Box 25, Package 17, Frames 213-293. South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

[70] Charles Crenshaw's father, William A. and grandfather Thomas Crenshaw, had been not just farmers but millers in Virginia and that specialist knowledge appears to have come down to Charles and his sons. Although Charles mentions that he owns many outbuildings and workshops on his plantation and his land contains several creeks suitable for a mill, there is no specific mention of a mill in his surviving estate papers despite significant amounts of milled flour sold on the "shop account". Mrs. Hatton, the overseer's wife wove "negro cloth" for the slaves. That skilled leather work was undertaken on the plantation by slaves is evidenced by Matilda being paid $1.50 for making a pair of shoes for the Charles' daughter, Phoebe and £1 for making shoes for her fellow slaves.

[71] Crenshaw, Charles. Estate Papers, 1814-1818. Newberry County Probate Court, Estate papers, Box 3, Package 26, Frames 616-654. South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

cross roads adjacent to the local store and post office. In the late eighteenth century, enslaved blacksmiths would be apprenticed to a master smith at the age of 16 or 17 for a period of four to five years.[72] These highly trained men represented a rarity amongst South Carolina Piedmont plantations: a survey of 4,914 South Carolina inventories dating from 1730 to 1778 list only 6 blacksmiths.[73] This rarity would also increase the Crenshaws' vision of themselves as privileged and munificent masters and marking them as unique amongst their neighbours. They would continue to invest in acquiring specialist slaves once they reached Alabama: training enslaved artisans in diverse skills both enhanced their wealth and their reputation, significantly increasing the image of themselves as "generous" masters in later generations.[74] Valued at $837 and $875 respectively when the average value of men on the plantation was $412, Harry Hall and Jack represented not only status but significant investment in time, training and money.[75] Between June and December 1814, the blacksmith accounts, kept separately from the plantation's accounts, showed a profit of $138, the equivalent in 2018 relative income value of $64,800, substantial additional profit for any slave master. In addition to this significant and steady income, Harry Hall and Jack conferred especial status on their owners through the reflection of their unique and highly prized talents. Because of their specialised and lucrative skills, the amount of time and expense involved in their education, they were, as Michael Tadman describes "key slaves" vital to a slave owners' image of themselves as generous and benevolent masters.[76] By expending the resources of time and training on these young slaves above and beyond the skills of basic farm work, Charles Crenshaw was demonstrating amongst his peers, his generosity as a master.

Masculinity and migration

Stephanie McCurry maintains that young planter sons emphasized their masculinity by exercising mastery over themselves and their world, physically and emotionally. They also accentuated their masculinity by publicly demonstrating a benevolent authority over their

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[72] Philip Morgan. (1998), *Slave Counterpoint; Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 215.
[73] Philip Morgan. (1998), *Slave Counterpoint; Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 54. , Morgan estimates that the numbers of skilled blacksmiths increased significantly into the early 19th century.
[74] At his father's estate sale, Willis Crenshaw purchased Jack, a blacksmith and a young boy, Gideon. Gideon Crenshaw was later trained in the art of blacksmithing and still working as a blacksmith in Sumter County, Alabama in 1870.
[75] The blacksmith accounts were kept separately and list names of most of the families in the area including the Crenshaw sons for everything from iron work to tool repair to horse shoeing.
[76] Michael Tadman. (2007). *Slavery and freedom: Racialised Relations in the American South, c. 1790 to 1900: Full Research Report*. ESRC End of Award Report, RES-000-27-0113. Swindon: ESRC.

households, white and black, free and slave.[77] It would be essential to the Crenshaw brothers' self-identity as honourable men and benevolent slaveholders to master themselves, their careers and their private lives and to be seen to do it by their community. To become master of his own household, the son must leave his father's household and direct authority. For sons like Anderson, Walter and Willis Crenshaw whose parents were fortunate enough to live into their 50s or 60s, such longevity translated into years of waiting. Young planter men, especially privileged ones like the Crenshaws were unable to assume total control of their lives until they could independently support their own household. Most commonly that financial independence arrived either as a gift whilst the father was still alive or as inheritance after he died. Allan Kulikoff established in his study of 18th century Chesapeake planters that the success of the son's journey into the planter class was entirely dependent "on the timing of inheritance".[78] He confirmed that nearly all of the sons of great planters who owned their own land and slaves either inherited that property upon their father's death or bought it shortly thereafter with the money left to them.[79] As life expectancies increased during the eighteenth century, many sons of wealthy planters like the Crenshaw brothers might have a very long wait to become fully independent men. Kulikoff found that fewer than 20% of planter fathers under the age of 70 gave any land to their sons and only 50% of that number had begun the distribution of that land to their sons in their lifetimes. Such control over their fortunes not only safeguarded the patriarch's power within the family and maintained his financial security but ensured his aging sons good behaviour and continued patience.

Although Kulikoff's study ends in 1800 and focuses on the Chesapeake, this pattern of paternal control of inheritance is illustrated in the Crenshaw family in nineteenth century South Carolina and later in Alabama. Charles waited to give land, and with it independence, to his eldest son until Archibald reached the age of 30. It was only at this time that Archibald could marry and become the master of his own household. His father and father-in-law together presented the young couple with nine slaves with whom to start their own plantation, although Charles Crenshaw retained title to the slaves until his death. No surviving records demonstrate that Archibald acted independently of his father until this time, presumably he lived at home entirely under his father's supervision and working for or

[77] Stephanie McCurry. (1995) *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 81-85.
[78] Alan Kulikoff. (1986). *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 88.
[79] Alan Kulikoff. (1986). *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 88-92.

alongside him.[80] Indeed of the four younger Crenshaw sons, all remained unmarried and firmly under their father's control at the time of his death. Even so, by the time of Charles' death in 1814, all of the Crenshaw brothers had demonstrated their adulthood and commitment to their community by setting out into the professional world into positions which enhanced the family name. Whilst Willis, 18, remained on the plantation as a planter in training, the middle three sons enhanced the family's reputation within the community by choosing vocations involving public service: Abner, 36, was a physician who served in the War of 1812, was on the board for the county poor and regularly attended inmates at the county jail; Anderson, 31, was a lawyer, state legislator, trustee of Mt. Bethel Academy and keenly interested in the improvement of the South Carolina Lunatic Asylum; and Walter, 27, was also a lawyer, trustee of the Newberry Academy and secretary for South Carolina College.[81]

The eldest brother, Anderson Crenshaw was the epitome of the stereotypical antebellum gentleman; gracious, educated, patient, kind and generous, described by his son "as fine as gold."[82] Lawyer, jurist, planter and devoted public servant, his legal opinions and addresses were characterised by an engaging combination of solemnity, dry wit and literary references, particularly Shakespeare. A colleague of his remembered him:

> He delighted in the character and readings of Shakespeare, and, what was singular in a person of his apparent sternness, had an especial liking for Sir John Falstaff, whose calls for sack he repeated when asking for refreshment. It is told of him, that upon one occasion, at a newly settled county site, he requested a negro, unused to dramatic literature, to bring him some sack, and was astonished by being brought quite a different and ludicrous article at a moment when his room was crowded with the Bar.[83]

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[80] The date is estimated at 1807 as the approximate date for Archibald's marriage to Mary Finch based on a land survey of the land between Edward Finch and Charles Crenshaw. They subsequently set up their own plantation adjoining their parents'.

[81] Daniel McCord. (1839), *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina. Edited Under the Authority of the State Legislature by David McCord. Containing the Acts from 1814, Exclusive, to 1838, Inclusive, Arranged Chronologically. With an Appendix*. Columbia: A. S. Johnston, 79. https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/009733335

[82] George Anderson Crenshaw to Louise Crenshaw Ray, 14 November 1929, Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

[83] Annie Hadden Crenshaw (1997), *Southern Traditions: Recipes & Reminiscences From Seven Generations of the Crenshaw Family.* Tallahassee, FL: Father and Son, Publishing, Inc.; O'Neal, John Belton. (1859) *Biographical Sketches of the Bench and Bar of South Carolina.* Charleston: S. G. Courtenay, 372. Electronic copy from the University of Michigan, Making of America Collection, http://name.umdl.umich.edu/agy0832.0001.001

Anderson, born in Newberry on 22 May 1783 and Walter, born on 13 February 1787 were the two Crenshaw brothers closest in age and close in everything they did.[84] Although more is known of Anderson's life due to his professional prominence and Walter's early death unmarried in 1830, the latter followed closely on his elder brother's achievements. Anderson and Walter were 13 and 9 when their father co-founded the Mount Bethel Academy on March 20, 1795, along with his neighbour, magistrate Edward Finch and Methodist minister Francis Asbury.[85] Located adjacent to the Crenshaw plantation, students boarded in nearby homes including those of the Crenshaw's and Finch's, surrounding the boys with other young men whose parents were keen on their attaining a classical education.[86] Mount Bethel Academy achieved a reputation as "a fine classical school" initially serving to prepare students for South Carolina College. Indeed, Charles' son Abner was known as an ardent scholar fluent in Greek and Latin well into old age.[87] At Mount Bethel Academy, Anderson, Walter and later their younger brother Willis were thoroughly drilled in the classics by headmaster Elisha Hammond, future president of South Carolina College.[88] Thus prepared for university, Anderson was admitted to South Carolina College at the age of 22 in 1805, being the only member of the senior class, Walter joined him as a member of the junior class the following year. [89] Graduating in 1806, Anderson Crenshaw holds the distinction of being the first graduate of the later renamed University of South Carolina. However, he chose not to officially receive his diploma until the graduation exercises of 1807 when he could do so alongside his brother Walter.[90]

Valedictorian of the class of 1807, Walter was an enthusiastic and gifted orator, presenting at the 1806 anniversary ceremony, "An Oration on the Progress of Society" and

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[84] Another son, Charles was born in April 1784 and died sometime in 1785.

[85] John Belton O'Neal. (1892), *Annals of Newberry in Two Parts*. Newberry: Aull & Houseal; Brown, W. (no date), *A History of Mt. Bethel Academy*. Privately printed.

[86] By 1808, the school had between 70 and 80 students with additional cabins for teachers and students built on the grounds creating bustling atmosphere. Ramsay, David (1858), History of South Carolina, from its first settlement in 1670 to the year 1808. Newberry, S. C., W.J. Duffie.

[87] Joel C. DuBose. (1904) *Notable Men of Alabama; Personal and Genealogical with Portraits,* Atlanta: Southern Historical Association, 207.

[88] W. Brown. (no date), *A History of Mt. Bethel Academy*. Privately printed. Archibald and Abner were 20 and 18 when Mount Bethel was founded, whether they attended is not known although both were literate and Abner a fluent reader of Greek and Latin. There is no record of young ladies attending Mount Bethel until 1847, although it is possible that Phoebe Crenshaw may have been allowed by special favour. In either event, she was sent away to school in Pendleton, South Carolina and later Warrenton, North Carolina.

[89] Maximilian LaBorde. (1859), *History of the South Carolina College from its Incorporation December 19, 1801 to Nov. 25, 1857*. Columbia, SC: Peter B. Glass.

[90] A handwritten note found amongst an early catalogue indicates that Anderson purposely deferred his graduation as quoted in Edwin L. Green. (1916). *A History of the University of South Carolina.* Columbia: The State Company, 24.

later debating on "Which Should be Preferred; An Athenian or Spartan Government?"[91] Demonstrating their abilities as community leaders and future masters, they both stepped out into public life to serve local civic and educational institutions. Just as their father's name often appeared as a witness to official documents, as an executor and appraiser of estates, their names frequently appeared as county election officials. As they began to assume more status within their small community, both Walter and Anderson became Trustees of the Mount Bethel Academy and the Newberry Academy.[92] They were members of the oratory and debating Clarisophic Society whilst at South Carolina College and both served as Secretary to the Board of Trustees of South Carolina College; Anderson between 1806 and 1809 and Walter taking over from him, 1809 to 1813.[93] Following graduation in 1807, Anderson read law in Columbia, South Carolina with Judge Abraham Nott. [94] After being called to the South Carolina Bar in the fall of 1809, Anderson quickly developed a thriving law practice; letters of congratulations combined with requests for his patronage arrived shortly after his passing the bar.[95] It is likely that the brothers continued their close association and read law together, but no reference to Walter's preparation for the bar in South Carolina exists. However, he passed the South Carolina Bar on 28 November 1810, subsequently building a successful practice in Columbia.[96] Now professional men of some consequence, Anderson in particular extended his own benefaction to other young lawyers in his community, including future South Carolina Supreme Court Chief Justice, John Belton O'Neal.[97] His social reputation and commitment to his community enhanced through acts of largesse, he encouraged free and open access to "Mr. Crenshaw's Library".[98] He actively sought and received the patronage of other South

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[91] "The South Carolina College", *South Carolina State Gazette* (Columbia, SC), Saturday, December 6, 1806.

[92] Thomas Cooper. (1839), *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina. Edited Under the Authority of the Legislature by Thomas Cooper.* Volume Fifth, Containing the Acts from 1786, Exclusive, to 1814, Inclusive. Arranged Chronologically. Columbia: A. S. Johnston.

[93] John Belton O'Neal. (1892), *Annals of Newberry in Two Parts. Newberry: Aull & Houseal, 124. Board of Trustees of South Carolina College*, "Resolution", S165029: Miscellaneous Communications to the General Assembly, South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

[94] Father of physician, anthropologist and influential racial theorist Dr. Josiah Nott of Mobile, Alabama.

[95] Two letters congratulating him on his passing the bar and requesting positions for relatives survive in the Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

[96] Certificate from South Carolina Assembly attesting to Walter Crenshaw's passing the examination to act as solicitor in the court of equity, dated 28 November 1810, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection; Ulysses Robert Brooks. (1909), *South Carolina Bench and Bar,* Vol. 1. Columbia: The State Company, 22; John Belton O'Neal. (1892), *Annals of Newberry in Two Parts*. Newberry: Aull & Houseal; Maximilian LaBorde. (1859), *History of the South Carolina College from its Incorporation December 19, 1801 to Nov. 25, 1857*. Columbia, SC: Peter B. Glass; Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

[97] Alan Kulikoff. (1986). *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 88-92.

[98]*Annals of Newberry in Two Parts.* Newberry: Aull & Houseal, 363., South Carolina Telescope, (December 10, 1816): "Massachusetts Reports: The person who has 1st Vol. Massachusetts Reports belonging to Mr. Crenshaw's Library is requested to leave it at Mr. Gregg's Office."

Carolinians including John C. Calhoun, who offered advice and support after Anderson unsuccessfully ran for a seat in the General Assembly in 1810; "I am happy to see so many deserving young men coming forwards in our state legislature from the open country."[99] Calhoun added that he "hoped you are succeeding well, both in your practice and in your political views."[100] Committed to his home state of South Carolina, Anderson's ambitions for greater public service came into being when he was successful in his campaign to represent Newberry County in the 20th General Assembly in 1812, serving alongside John C. Calhoun.[101] In this first term Anderson found himself elected to the South Carolina judiciary committee by his fellow legislators.[102] After his friend and mentor Joseph Alston was elected South Carolina governor in December 1812, Anderson was appointed his Aide de Camp with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and later promoted to Colonel. Purely a ceremonial role, Alston personally exempted Anderson from attending camp and "all military service".[103] Anderson ordered the ornate uniform required complete with 9 yards of gold lace and delighted in the title "Colonel", using it for the remainder of his time in South Carolina.[104] However, appointment as an officer in the state militia did not confer elite social status upon an individual but rather confirmed it, the use of the title and ornate uniform serving to enhance an individuals masculinity amongst his peers.[105]

It is apparent that important local connections were strengthened, and personal status enhanced as this ambitious young man sought to establish himself as a leader in his community under increasingly important patronage. With the title of Colonel Crenshaw and elite political patrons such as John C. Calhoun and the governor of South Carolina, Anderson Crenshaw enjoyed social and professional status within his home state. His correspondence

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[99] John C. Calhoun to Anderson Crenshaw, 27 August 1810, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

[100] John C. Calhoun to Anderson Crenshaw, 27 August 1810, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

[101] Ulysses R. Brooks. (1909), *South Carolina Bench and Bar, Vol. 1. Columbia: The State Company*, 24; John B. O'Neal. (1892), *Annals of Newberry in Two Parts*. Newberry: Aull & Houseal, 122, 126, 363. Walter Edgar and Louise Bailey (1984), *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives*, Columbia, SC: The University of South Carolina Press, 20.; The 20th SC General Assembly met three times; 23 November to 19 December 1812, a Special Session 15 to 24 September 1813 and 22 November to 24 December 1813.

[102] Walter Edgar and Louise Bailey (1984*), Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives,* Columbia, SC: The University of South Carolina Press, 20.

[103] Joseph Alston to Col. Anderson Crenshaw, 12 March 1814. Thaddeus Henry Crenshaw III Papers, W.S. Hoole Special Collections Library, University of Alabama; *Charleston Courier*, 21 December 1812, Joseph Alston was the son in law of Aaron Burr.

[104] John D. Heath to Col. Anderson Crenshaw, 14 April 1818, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

[105] Harry S. Laver (2004), "Refuge of Manhood: Masculinity and the Militia Experience in Kentucky" in Craig Thompson and Lorri Glover, Eds., *Southern Manhood: Perspectives of Masculinity in the Old South,* Athens: University of Georgia Press.

and actions display every indication that he planned to remain in South Carolina, even though his growing political ambitions urged him to move from the "open country" as Calhoun termed it, to a more cosmopolitan location. In 1815, Anderson considered removing himself to the state capital of Columbia but here his brother Walter, then working as a lawyer there, discouraged him from doing so as it was "the poorest district for practice."[106] Anderson subsequently considered a move to Charleston, long the home of the wealthiest population in South Carolina and with it the possibility of more affluent clients. He visited Charleston and made inquiries, but did he intimate a desire to leave his native state for opportunities outside it.[107] Putting down deeper roots into his home state, he married his first cousin Mary Chiles on September 13, 1816.[108] Raised in Abbeville, South Carolina her father, step-mother, siblings and half-siblings were all comfortably settled in the immediate area, further aligning Anderson with his extended family and their community in upland South Carolina.

Anderson's decision to remove to Alabama Territory appears to be a contradiction to his initial success and potential future success in South Carolina. But Anderson's political and professional aspirations in his native state began to crumble suddenly and rapidly, altering his connection to his birthplace and home. Less than a week after his wedding, his primary political patron Governor Joseph Alston died on September 19, 1816. On September 28, 1816, Anderson was defeated in his re-election bid for the South Carolina General Assembly.[109] It is at this point, with the responsibilities of a wife and the prospect of a family, the loss of his political patron and political defeat, that Anderson began to consider starting over elsewhere. With his wife now pregnant, Anderson travelled to Alabama Territory in the summer of 1817 to view the country and see the prospects for himself. Carrying with him a letter of introduction to Israel Pickens, the land office registrar for St. Stephens Land Office, Anderson was introduced as "desirous to become acquainted with the Alabama Territory as he contemplates becoming a citizen there in a short time."[110] But family circumstances in South Carolina hindered Anderson's move, a son born in July 1817, the lingering settlements of his parents' estates and the sudden death of his brother Archibald in February 1818 left him and brother Abner responsible for their three orphaned nieces. Acting as executor of his brother's estate, settling the estate and taking care of his nieces limited his ability to move his young

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[106] Walter Crenshaw to Anderson Crenshaw, 12 September 1815, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[107] Correspondence to Anderson Crenshaw, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[108] Mary Chiles Crenshaw memorial, Crenshaw Family Cemetery, Butler County, Alabama.
[109] Robert Sobel and John Raimo, eds. *Biographical Directory of the Governors of the United States, 1789-1978,* Vol. 4. Westport, CT: Meckler Books, 1978. 4 vols; Saturday, September 28, 1816 *Washington City Weekly Gazette* (Washington (DC) Issue 45 Page 359.
[110] Dr. Thomas T. Jones to Israel Pickens, 20 June 1827, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

family, forcing Anderson to make the best of the situation in South Carolina. Fortunately, he had two unmarried younger brothers more than happy to make the necessary reconnaissance trips to Alabama Territory. Walter and Willis Crenshaw, always in their elder brother's shadow, eagerly took up the responsibility for travelling to the Alabama Territory to ascertain professional prospects and scouting for suitable land on which to settle themselves and their elder brother.

Born in Newberry on April 21, 1796, Willis was the tenth of eleven children and the youngest son born to Eunice and Charles Crenshaw, twenty years separated him from their first-born. By the time of Willis' birth, their parents had stepped firmly into the ranks of the wealthy elite, achieving a level of prosperity and comfort the oldest children had not known. Their increased wealth and prestige enabling their younger children to experience a luxury and refinement the older children had not. It also encouraged their youngest son to follow his brothers at a faster pace and younger age. Whereas Anderson was 22 and Walter 19 when they entered South Carolina College, Willis was sent at age 14. It was a pattern that characterised his life in comparison to theirs, everything Willis did was outwardly more extravagant, more in keeping with the planter ideal of performance and ritual. [111] To expand the argument of Steven Stowe, for the young planter like Willis, the outward lifestyle he exhibited, the accoutrements of wealth, the physical displays of honour and the representation of himself as a member of the elite were key to his self-legitimization as being a worthy member of the planter class.[112] Willis eventually owned more land, more houses and more slaves than any of his brothers, always putting on more of a public performance. Typifying the characterisation of planters by James Oakes, he was an eager entrepreneur led wholly by his wallet in search of bigger and better opportunities: Willis took every advantage that came his way to climb the ladder of planter opportunity.[113]

A rigorous classical education prepared Willis for the life of a gentleman planter, groomed to take over his father's plantation even though he was the youngest son. That this education proved sufficient is evidenced by his admittance to South Carolina College at the age of 14 in 1810.[114] That he was intelligent in addition to being well prepared is demonstrated by

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[111] Steven M. Stowe. (1987*). Intimacy and Power in the Old South: Ritual in the Lives of the Planters.* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
[112] Steven M. Stowe. (1987). *Intimacy and Power in the Old South: Ritual in the Lives of the Planters.* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, xvii-xviii.
[113] James Oakes. (1982), *The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders*, New York: W. W. Norton.
[114] Admission requirements as a member of the freshman class required a thorough knowledge of Latin and Greek including Sallust, Caesar, Virgil, Xenophon and the Greek Testament, English grammar, "write a good, legible hand, spell correctly" and "be acquainted with Arithmetic as far as includes the Rule of Proportion." As the fourteen-year-old was admitted beyond the first year of the course, Sheridan's

his completing the four-year course in only two, graduating in the class of 1812 at the age of 16.[115] The transition from dependent child to independent man frequently involved rebellious and destructive behaviour performed in front of and alongside their peers. Citing contemporary descriptions equating the bad behaviour of young slave owners as means of practicing their superiority over others, Lorri Glover stresses that "these young men obsessed with self-mastery and social reputation" were eager to prove their independence through outrageous performances at the elite schools they attended.[116] South Carolina College's class of 1812 gained notoriety for their unusually rebellious performances characterised by "a long catalogue of offences" including "exploding fire-arms at night", breaking windows and stealing turkeys in town.[117]

As his brothers had before him, Willis joined the college's prestigious Clarisophic Society in 1810, where he participated alongside and debated with future Alabama governor John Gayle. Created to train the "ambitious student for distinction at the bar, in the pulpit and the halls of legislature", the Clarisophic Society promoted "exercise of the oratorical powers", training scores of future attorneys, judges, legislators and state governors, many of whom later became Alabama leaders. It must have been a lofty experience for a 14 year old from what was then still considered the back of beyond in 1810. Although coming from a wealthy Backcountry plantation, Willis would have been considered an unsophisticated country boy by many of his classmates. His peers, hailing from some of the oldest and wealthiest families in South Carolina, lived in a splendour that young Willis could only imagine. Although the Crenshaws' house boasted five bedsteads with furniture and fabric hangings, a walnut dining table and sideboard, a library, seven "pictures" and a glass mirror on the wall, they still ate off pewter and drank from plain glassware and crockery.[118] Whereas such luxuries may have been something many of their Newberry neighbours could only dream of, it was a living standard far below the wealth known by most of Willis' college classmates. Whether the young would be planter was snubbed or accepted by the small and exclusive class, he left university with a

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Lectures on Elocution and an understanding of Roman Antiquities could be added to the education he received in preparation for his academic career.

[115] Maximilian LaBorde. (1859), *History of the South Carolina College from its Incorporation December 19, 1801 to Nov. 25, 1857.* Columbia, SC: Peter B. Glass.

[116] Lorri Glover. (2004), "'Let Us Manufacture Men': Educating Elite Boys in the Early National South" in Craig Thompson and Lorri Glover (2004). *Southern Manhood: Perspectives on Masculinity in the Old South*, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 42.

[117] Maximilian LaBorde. (1859), *History of the South Carolina College from its Incorporation December 19, 1801 to Nov. 25, 1857.* Columbia, SC: Peter B. Glass, 68. The latter offence saw seven students expelled in 1812 so if Willis was one of the young turkey stealers, he managed to evade punishment.

[118] No silver items are listed in the inventories of Charles Crenshaw in 1814 or his son Archibald's in 1818.

desire to achieve fortune, if not fame. And for Willis attaining fortune meant amassing land on which to grow cotton, slaves to work that land and all the physical trappings of planter society.

Motivations for Migration

With a family support network in their native community and the future for Willis of inheriting a prosperous plantation, their decision to leave South Carolina appears to be an anomaly. But they may well have had reasons beyond a desire for upward financial and social mobility to seek a new life away from home. Beginning with their father, Charles Crenshaw, a series of eight family deaths between 1814 and 1818 severed the familial ties which bound them to their native state. Certainly, personal tragedy was not unknown to even wealthy planter families who could afford better nutrition and medical care; Eunice Crenshaw and her daughter-in-law Mary Finch Crenshaw experienced infant mortality rates of 54.5% and 60% respectively.[119] Due to incomplete birth and death records, accurate mortality rates in the South for the period of 1810-1820 are difficult to ascertain.[120] The first death for the family occurred at the height of the South Carolina summer when Charles Crenshaw died on 9 July 1814. Two months later on September 19, Charles' 12-month-old grandson and namesake died, the son of Archibald and Mary. Little Charles was followed in November 1814 by his six-year-old sister, Nancy. A year passed before the deaths of Charles' 15-year-old daughter Phoebe on 21 September 1815 and his widow, Eunice three days later on September 24th. The end of 1815 closed with an additional family tragedy, the death of Dr. Ivey Finch, whose sister, Mary, was Archibald Crenshaw's wife. On December 2, 1815, Finch was killed whilst driving his brother-in-law Anderson's horse whose "vicious properties were well known" whilst a group of friends, including Anderson watched in horror.[121]

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[119] Eunice Crenshaw bore at least eleven children between 1776 and 1800 at regular two year intervals, six of those children dying before the age of 15.[119] Her daughter-in-law, Mary Finch Crenshaw bore five children in 6 1/2 years; three of whom died before reaching the age of 6, an infant/child mortality rate of 60%.

[120] Louis Henry theorised that in the early modern period at least 50% of infant and childhood deaths, i.e. from birth to fourteen, went unrecorded, thereby making estimates of life expectancy from birth in this period largely conjectural. Louis Henry (1976), *Population*: *Analysis and Models*. New York: Academic Press, 161. See Henry Gemery (2000) "the White Population of the Colonial United states, 1607-1790" in *A Population History of North America*, eds. Michael R. Haines and Richard H. Steckel. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 99-142.

[121] John B. O'Neal. (1892), *Annals of Newberry in Two Parts*. Newberry: Aull & Houseal. The accident witnessed by nine friends travelling with Ivy from Columbia to Newberry became, at the time, a well-known and often repeated illustration of the fragility of life and the suddenness of death. Reverend Francis Asbury, a friend of both the Crenshaw and Finch families felt strongly enough of the incident to record it in his diary: "South Carolina.—Saturday, December 2. A melancholy and awful scene has been witnessed here. Doctor Ivey Finch, about thirty years of age, in driving a violent horse out of Columbia in his chair, was dashed between the shaft and wheel, and his scull fractured. The unhappy man was the only son of my dear friend, Edward Finch." in Francis Asbury. (1821), *The Journal of the Rev. Francis*

The coming year saw little respite from close family deaths when Ivey's sister and Archibald's wife, Mary Finch Crenshaw, passed away on 25 January 1816. Leaving Archibald a widower with three daughters, 8-year-old Martha, 6-year-old Phoebe and 3-year-old Mary, he would live on as a single father for just over two years before his own death on 22 February 1818. In his will, he entrusted his estate and the "Christian education" of his three daughters into the care of his brothers Abner and Anderson. But his second daughter, Phoebe, namesake of her young aunt only recently deceased, followed her parents to the grave on June 16, 1818, leaving the orphaned Martha and Mary in the custody of their uncles. Their guardianship and the responsibility of managing their estate delayed the migration of Anderson for another year and Abner's removal to Alabama until 1832, when he could transfer their estate to them.[122]

The first of the family to die, Charles Crenshaw, dictated his will on June 21, 1814 surrounded by friends and family. Too weak to sign the document himself, he may well have thought back to the recently concluded conflict with his brothers and sisters over their parents' will. Charles had been the only one of his siblings to leave Virginia, migrating with his young family to start a new life well away from his extended kinship network. Upon William Crenshaw's death in 1799, animosity amongst the siblings arose immediately over accusations of a "pretend will" which left Charles, the eldest son, the largest share of the estate. With Susannah Carr Crenshaw's death the following year, the rancour amongst Charles and his siblings intensified and for the next twelve years, they fought with one another over their parents' property.[123] Subsequently, William and Susannah Carr Crenshaw's respective estates were not finally settled until the end of 1812, less two years before their son's own death. Perhaps due to his success and solid roots in South Carolina, ultimately, Charles gave up all rights to his family's land in Virginia, instead agreeing to inherit four slaves from his parents' estate; Micajah, Pompey, Matt and Jack.[124] Repeatedly at odds with his brothers and sisters, their lengthy and vitriolic battles over their shared inheritance are a marked contrast to the close and supportive relationships his own children enjoyed. Perhaps as a result of this earlier family division, Charles took especial pains to ensure that all of his children were fairly and

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Asbury, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church from August 7, 1771, to December 7, 1815. Vols I, II, III. New York: N. Bangs and T. Mason.

[122] Archibald Crenshaw. Estate Papers, 1818-1832, Newberry County Probate Court, Estate papers, Box 25, Package 17, Frames: 213-293. South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

[123] Louisa (Va.) Chancery Causes, 1803-1807. Charles Crenshaw et al vs Susannah Crenshaw Executors, 109_1807_029. Government Records Collection, Louisa Court Records. The Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia. As the executor and lone family member absent in South Carolina, Charles Crenshaw found himself forced to travel back to Virginia frequently to give depositions and attend court sessions.

[124] Louisa (Va.) Chancery Causes, 109-1801-006 Joel Crenshaw vs Charles Crenshaw, 109-1807-029 Charles Crenshaw et al vs Susannah Crenshaw Executors. Government Records Collection, Louisa Court Records. The Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

equally treated. Ironically, Charles' children would experience a similar loss to that of their father's, both of their parents would die within a year of one another. Instead of fighting for a greater share, they genuinely shared and shared alike as he directed, supporting one another throughout the probate process and beyond.

Described as a summation of a man's achievements, will writing allowed a man to define his family and demonstrate his feelings about them by how he distributed his estate.[125] In his will Charles sought to provide generously but fairly for the family he would soon leave behind; his wife Eunice (59), daughter Phoebe (14) and sons Archibald (38), Abner (36), Anderson (31), Walter (27) and Willis (18).[126] Like many men of the period he chose to limit his heirs' use and control of his property and impose restrictions on his widow's ability to remarry after his death. He directed that if Eunice chose to remarry, she would forfeit everything he left her, the "residue" reverting back to their children.[127] But if she remained a widow, Charles ensured she would be not only comfortable but wealthy, by leaving Eunice a life interest in his estate including the plantation, majority of furnishings and livestock and enough provisions to supply her family (self, minor children and slaves) for a full year after his death. Charles also ensured equity among his sons' inheritance, requiring that Anderson and Walter should each have $1000 and Willis $600 subtracted from their shares "on account of the education they have received more than the rest of my children." For his only daughter Phoebe, there would be no reduction in her inheritance on account of the cost of her education and her schooling would continue at the estate's expense. He must have felt particular affection for his only surviving daughter and youngest child for she was also left $1000 in cash in addition to her share in slaves. The amount and diversity of Charles Crenshaw's estate provide a glimpse of the very prosperous life he and his made for their family after their migration from Virginia to South Carolina. With a final inventory value of $15,764.14, the estate of Charles Crenshaw made his widow and children very wealthy.[128] In terms of its relative economic status in 2018, Charles' estate would be the equivalent to approximately $8.86 million.[129] Having migrated

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[125] Daniel Blake Smith (1986) *Inside the Great House: Planter Family Life in Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake Society.* Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 231.

[126] Charles Crenshaw Estate papers, 1814-1818, Newberry County Probate Court, Estate Papers, box 3, Package 26, Frames: 616-654. South Carolina Department of Archives and History; Crenshaw-Finch Cemetery, Newberry County South Carolina also provides age data for his family.

[127] Charles Crenshaw Estate papers, 1814-1818, Newberry County Probate Court, Estate Papers, box 3, Package 26, Frames: 616-654. South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

[128] Charles Crenshaw Estate papers, 1814-1818, Newberry County Probate Court, Estate Papers, box 3, Package 26, Frames: 616-654. South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

[129] "Economic status" measures the "prestige value" of wealth between two historic periods., Samuel H. Williamson, "Seven Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a U.S. Dollar Amount, 1774 to present," MeasuringWorth, www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/ First accessed April 2015, updated in May 2019. "Relative income measured an amount of income or wealth relative to per capita GDP. It shows

from Virginia in the 1780s, Charles Crenshaw worked hard to settle his family in South Carolina where he built a reputation of honor in his community, a profitable plantation, and acquired property wealth in slaves and land. A thirty-year effort, at the time he dictated his will, he could have looked around the room at his family and seen his legacy before him; settled sons with their own professional endeavours, one son married with children farming the land he grew up on. He could not have believed that all of his hard work to settle his family and build a successful plantation in South Carolina would disappear within five years when all of his surviving children succumbed to "Alabama Fever".

While the settlement of Charles Crenshaw's estate brought personal wealth and security for his surviving family, it brought tremendous uncertainty and anxiety into his slave quarters. Estate settlements instigated an immediate valuation of the testator's assets including slaves, livestock, crops in the ground, candlesticks and spinning wheels. As per the testator's instructions, the valued and inventoried property could then be distributed in a variety of ways: to family members via specified bequest; to family and neighbours via private sale; or at a public auction to anyone who could afford them. For the anxious enslaved families and individuals awaiting news of how the estate would be settled, the death of a master meant the potential of separation from their families and the place they called home. Wills could bring upon his slaves one of the worst fates imaginable: a public sale and forced parting of families as parents and children, wives and husbands were sold off to new owners, most likely never to see one another again. Charles directed a different but no less heart-breaking separation in that the 13 men, 5 women, 8 boys and 8 girls be gifted to his wife and children, each choosing in order of precedence, e.g. Eunice the first choice (with the express exception of his most valued slaves, the blacksmiths, Harry Hall and Jack) and thence from eldest child to the youngest, each selecting the slaves they wished to have in turn until all were redistributed in groups of equal value. Presumably, this meant the slaves had the possibility of either staying together in family groups or being separated if the Crenshaw children chose slaves from the same families. There would be much uncertainty and change on the Crenshaw plantation in the coming years as the high death-rates among the white population meant multiple estate valuations and estate re-distributions. Of the slaves owned by Archibald Crenshaw, after his death in 1818, half would migrate with one daughter to Tennessee in the 1830s whilst the

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the economic status or relative 'prestige value' the owners of this wealth due to their rank in income distribution."

other slaves would re-join members of their South Carolina community when the other daughter moved to Alabama in 1832.[130]

It is impossible to determine from the estate notes if any of the choices were dictated by the slaves' familial relationships, since each of the sons appear to have chosen slaves according to their immediate needs and at the time of their father's probate, none of the sons had decided to leave South Carolina. Abner, a single physician selected Harry Hall the blacksmith, Edmund, Hannah and two girls, Milly and Patsy with Patsy's unnamed baby, possibly a family. Anderson, a single lawyer chose two men, Aaron, George (previously serving as his valet), a boy, Caleb, and a girl, Matilda. Walter, also a single lawyer chose only boys or young men; Isaac, Moses and Bill, but after his sister's death he inherited a girl named Polly.[131] Archibald had been given at the time of his marriage in 1807, a family consisting of Nathaniel and Sarah with their children Chloe, Rachel and Phillip. Rachel ran away in 1826 but was quickly apprehended and returned to the plantation. [132] In addition, he chose the men Joseph and John and the elderly woman Judah, any of whom may have been relations of Nathaniel or Sarah. Willis, the youngest son then remaining at home and managing the plantation on behalf of his widowed mother chose all men; Jack the Blacksmith, Sam and Gideon. Acquiring three young men were useful for his ambitions to expand his plantation and Gideon would also be trained as a blacksmith, another key slave to bolster his reputation and income.

From the beginning of the estate settlement in January 1815, Walter, living in Columbia wrote to Anderson regarding his inherited land in Newberry, "My land is for sale to the highest bidder --- not for rent."[133] Walter clearly indicates his willingness to raise capital for a future move although he could only have wished to focus all of his energies and investments in Columbia, the state capital. Meanwhile Anderson bought a table, desk and trunk, furnishings useful to a bachelor lawyer but from Willis' buying it is apparent that he wished to gather the best land for himself. His brothers, the estate's executors were indulgent;

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[130] Charles Crenshaw's slaves in 1818 were; Natt, Jack (Blacksmith originally from Virginia), Harry Hall (Blacksmith), Sam, Daniel, Joseph, John, Stephen, Micajah and Matt (originally from Virginia), Aaron, Edmund, Gideon, Sarah, Nelly, Charity, Judah, Hannah, George, Isaac, Moses, Bill, Philip, Ben, Thompson, Caleb, Chloe, Rachel, Eliza, Priscilla, Polly, Onah, Milly, Matilda and Patsy. Pompey, a man from Virginia whom Charles had inherited from his parents, passed away before July 1814.

[131] Issac, Moses and Bill were brought to Cahaba, Alabama with Walter in 1817 and were still with him in 1823. Upon his death in 1830, all of his enslaved property was inherited by brother Anderson and moved to Butler County.

[132] Crenshaw, Archibald. Estate Papers, 1818-1830, Newberry County Probate Court, Estate papers, Box 25, Package 17, Frames 213-293. South Carolina Department of Archives and History. Rachel was found and returned to the plantation after several weeks.

[133] Walter Crenshaw to Anderson Crenshaw, 27 January 1815, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

"I have no objection to Willis advantage in the division of land."[134] Willis purchased farming and household items sufficient to outfit himself in style, even though he was still a bachelor. Immediately, in addition to food and fodder, he bought 2 axes, scythe and cradle, a horse colt, a set of blacksmith's tools, iron bar stock, and a plough for $84.16.[135] The 18-year-old evidently setting himself up as an independent farmer by purchasing tools needed for clearing land, harvesting fodder and setting up his slaves to work their most effectively. Shortly thereafter, Willis began buying large numbers of pigs, livestock which are cheap to feed and easy to drive long distances. [136] Unlike cattle, pigs can be driven long distances without losing condition and are able to forage on what they find along the way rather than being fed. It is evident from the type of tools, slaves and livestock he chose that Willis was preparing for a long-distance move. And by obtaining possibly the best or slightly more land than his brothers, Willis would be able to raise more funds for buying lands elsewhere.

After the deaths of their sister, Phoebe and mother Eunice in September 1815, the Crenshaw brothers each inherited four more slaves. This time, Willis acquired only female slaves; Nell $353.75, Eliza $136.25, who like Rachel would do later, ran away shortly thereafter but was returned, Priscilla $95 and her unnamed infant $75 possibly they were family members of the four male slaves he already had. With the plantation now being run as a sort of cooperative with each surviving heir deriving a share of the income, the now 19 year Willis took advantage of his parents' estate sale with enthusiasm.[137] Unlike his brothers, who purchased modestly or not at all, he began to equip himself with all the accoutrements of a young planter at substantial cost. For the farming side of his fledgling operation, the youthful would-be entrepreneur purchased more tools and livestock necessary for setting up an agricultural enterprise.[138] Now he was a young man of wealth with 9 slaves, including a highly skilled blacksmith, land to sell in order to raise capital, basic equipment to clear land, harvest

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[134] Walter Crenshaw to Anderson Crenshaw, 27 January 1815, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

[135] Samuel H. Williamson. "Seven Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a U.S. Dollar Amount, 1774 to present," MeasuringWorth, 2015; A colt is an entire male horse under the age of four. Crenshaw Charles, Estate papers, 1814-1818, Newberry County Probate Court, Estate Papers, Box 3, Package 26, Frames: 616-654. South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

[136] A pig is the animal in general. A hog is a breeding male. A sow is a breeding female. A shoat is a weanling under breeding age of either sex. He bought 2 sows in October 1814, 4 hogs and 4 shoats in March 1815.

[137] Initially after Charles Crenshaw's death the items sold or dispersed were his alone. After the deaths of his wife and daughter the following year, their inheritance was combined into his estate and probated together.

[138] In the months following his mother and sister's deaths, Willis purchased saws, iron wedges (used to split logs), hoes, an axe, a pair of steelyards, meal bags, barrels, a cow hide, 4 cows, a mare with colt, 13 hogs, 2 sows with piglets, 10 sheep, a bee hive, 3 large hogs and 150 pounds of cured bacon ready to eat.

fodder and a diverse assortment of livestock necessary to provide ready food and ready products. Additionally, Willis began to consider his future domestic situation, for the single 19-year-old bought many of the most expensive items from the family home; a walnut table for $10, the sole looking glass valued at $5 for which he paid $6.50, the three most expensive featherbeds with furniture and hangings for a total of $68, the mahogany sideboard, two pine tables, chairs, salt sellers, firedogs, pewter plates and cutlery, glasses, dishes, cups and assorted kitchen equipment.[139]

Unable to take full control of his inheritance until he reached 21, Willis occupied himself with managing the plantation on behalf of himself and his brothers. In 1816, he gained the respectable position as the Poplar Grove postmaster, located across the road from his mother's house in James McMorries' Store, for which he was paid $9.06.[140] For nearly three years, the young would-be planter lived under the authority of his two elder brothers, biding his time, improving his position and waiting. Within weeks of achieving the legal age of 21 on April 21, 1817, Willis took off for the rich prospects he doubtless felt were waiting for a man of his situation and character in Alabama Territory.

The American drive to improve their situation and the lure of promised opportunities on the Alabama frontier encouraged thousands of migrants to leave their homes and often their families to create new homes in the wilderness. The wealth of archival material detailing the Crenshaws' motivations to migrate illustrates that while the move itself may have been exciting for the young men, it was a combination of loss and potential gain. Firmly established in South Carolina as a prosperous and close family with an optimistic future, the Crenshaws experienced an extraordinary cycle of family deaths which separated them from their birthplace while at the same time binding the surviving sons together. This radical change in their previous stable world when combined with the perception of unrivalled opportunities in a place with no history for them, offered them a fresh start. That they planned the move together as a family and recreated the supportive kinship networks on the frontier the Crenshaws illustrate how established they had become as a family.

With the migration of Walter, Willis and Anderson Crenshaw, it is the beginning of their identification as Alabamians over being native born South Carolinians. Once they chose land and brought their families, they quickly moved forward to establish themselves within the state. Bringing the same sense of responsibility and identity within their community as was

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[139] Charles Crenshaw Estate papers, 1814-1818, Newberry County Probate Court, Estate Papers, box 3, Package 26, Frames: 616-654. South Carolina Department of Archives and History.
[140] Walter Lowrie and Walter S. Franklin. (1834), *American State Papers; Documents, Legislative and Executive of the Congress of the United States*, Washington: Gales and Seaton, 380.

exemplified by their father Charles Crenshaw when he migrated from Virginia to South Carolina in the 1780s, the sons wholeheartedly committed themselves to their family, their local community and their state as staunch Alabamians. The next chapter will follow the Crenshaw brothers in their migration and settlement within Alabama Territory and their establishment within the new state through the lens of developing localised nationalism. In subsequent chapters, I will trace the formation of their family-based community, how they identified with their chosen state and expressed their growing sense of state identity in the face of growing national and regional conflict.

Chapter 2: Alabama, "The fairest portion of America": Settlers, 1816-1830.[141]

Alabama, the land to which tens of thousands of emigrants turned during the first third of the nineteenth century, occupied a place in the American imagination as a land of infinite promise. The Treaty of Fort Jackson on 14 August 1814 forced the Creek Nation to cede 23 million acres to the control of the United States. The creation of Alabama from Mississippi Territory is a complicated story involving competing territorial claims by Spain, France and Great Britain on lands long the home of sophisticated Native American tribes; Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw and Chickasaws as well as a smattering of Spanish, French, British, American, African and mixed-race immigrants, traders and adventurers from the late 16th century onwards. The Indian Cessions began officially in 1802 with the first Choctaw cession in what is now Mobile County on the Gulf Coast culminating in 1836 with the forced "removals" known as the Trail of Tears.[142] The news that the land would be surveyed and publicly sold for as little as $2 an acre fuelled a frenzy of migration and speculation for white settlers rich and poor.[143] So gripping was the inspiration of these near legendary lands of promise, the intensity with which Alabama inhabited the American imagination came to be known as "Alabama Fever". In early 1817, North Carolina planter James Graham despaired that the siren's call would soon depopulate his neighbourhood: "The *Alabama Fever* rages here with great violence and has carried off vast numbers of our Citizens. Some of our oldest and most wealthy men are offering their possessions for sale and are desirous of removing to this new country." The fever was so contagious, he complained "for as soon as one neighbour visits another who has just returned from the Alabama he immediately discovers" he has the same symptoms of "the person who has seen the alluring Alabama."[144] The contagion swelled the population of the Alabama side of Mississippi Territory from 9,047 in 1810 to 33,287 in 1816. [145] Following Mississippi's

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[141] Anderson Crenshaw. (n.d.) *An Address to a Grand Jury*, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

[142] See Daniel S. DuPre (2017) *Alabama's Frontiers and the Rise of the Old South*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

[143] Malcom Rhorbough, (1968) *The Land Office Business; The Settlement and Administration of American Public Lands, 1789-1837*. New York: Oxford University Press, 118-120.

[144] James Graham to Thomas Ruffin, Nov. 9, 1817 in Ruffin, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, ed. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton (4 vols., Raleigh, 1918-1920), I:198. Emphasis in the original; 1816 (October) Mississippi Territorial Census, Clarke County, Mississippi Department of Archives and History; 1820 United States Federal Census [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. Images reproduced by FamilySearch.
Original data: Fourth Census of United States, 1820. (NARA microfilm publication M33, 142 rolls). Records of Bureau of Census, Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[145] "Alabama" was used commonly for the lands east of the Tombigbee River, also spelled Tombeckbee. In 1816, 10,439 of the population were slaves. Daniel Blowe. (1820), …*Complete Emigrant's Directory Through Every Part of the Republic,* Liverpool: Edwards & Knibb, 656.
Census citations. NB: Records for the Territorial census of 1800-1818 are incomplete at best and only enumerated organised counties not squatters in Indian land. Abernethy, (1922) *The Formative Period of*

admission to the Union on March 3, 1817, the ensuing rush of immigrants to Alabama boosted the population to a staggering 127, 901 by 1820.[146] So great was the migration that *Niles' Register* reported with alarm on April 5, 1817; "The sudden and very numerous emigrations into the Alabama country threaten many with absolute starvation."[147] Travelling into eastern Alabama along the Federal Road in March 1820, Adam Hodgson observed:

> We had travelled that day about 40 miles and had passed as usual many large parties of emigrants from South Carolina and Georgia, and many gangs of slaves. Indeed, at the edges of the creeks and on the banks of the rivers, we usually found a curious collection of sans soucis, sulkies, carts, Jersey wagons, heavy wagons, little planters, Indians, Negroes, horses, mules and oxen. Often a light carriage, with a sallow planter and his lady, would bring up the rear of a long cavalcade, and indicate the removal of a family of some wealth allured by the rich lands of Alabama…[148]

This chapter will follow the migration and settlement of one family of "some wealth", the Crenshaws whose motivations for leaving South Carolina for the frontier were examined in the previous chapter. The deaths of eight family members including their parents and two siblings, the loss of a political patron and election defeat combined with substantial inheritance and the onset of Alabama Fever motivated the family to migrate. Wealthy, well-educated and working within a family network, they navigated migration with more ease than those with less financial and kinship support. Able to choose almost anywhere to settle, they used their connections, reliance on one another and personal reconnaissance to determine the most advantageous locations for themselves and one another. Unlike the Alabama planter families in Cashin's study of the southwestern frontier, the Crenshaws did not seek to escape their family connections but to strengthen them and migrate together. Unlike the subsequent generations of migrants who left Alabama in search of perceived opportunities farther and farther west, the Crenshaws made substantial commitments to their new state; Alabama became the home they sought and the home they remained devoted to, over their native state of South Carolina or indeed, their nation. In this chapter, I will show how they used their family connections to seek out the most advantageous locations and settle themselves and one

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Alabama and the South in the New Nation. See Daniel S. DuPre (2017) *Alabama's Frontiers and the Rise of the Old South*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

[146] Fourth Census of the United States, 1820. (NARA microfilm publication M33, 142 rolls). Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[147] *Niles Register*, 5 April 1817, 36.

[148] Adam Hodgson. (1824), *Letters from North American Written During a Tour in the United States and Canada,* London: Hurst, Robinson and Company, 138-140.

another. With patriotism towards Alabama, they quickly positioned themselves in its institutions and thereby into the creation of a new state and a new and enduring identity as Alabamians.

About twenty-five years after making the arduous journey from South Carolina to Alabama, Judge Anderson Crenshaw expressed his patriotism and pride for his new state in an address he authored to deliver to county grand juries. His description and expression of how he saw Alabama and his role in making it the state he was proud to call his own, deserve to be quoted here in full:

> If crime and depravity are permitted to elude the law & to escape merited punishment then in vain have we exchanged the friends and comforts of earlier life in other countries for these fertile regions. In vain have we encountered the perils of a wilderness, founded a government & enacted laws for ourselves, if offenders are suffered to stalk with impunity over our rights, & to prostrate our fairest hopes & brightest prospects…We have just emerged from the rudeness of a forest, our state has eventually sprung into existence, our civil institutions are yet in their infancy & have scarcely assumed body & form; but from the rapid increase of our population & the daily extension of our settlements we anticipate the dawning period when this western clime will equal the fairest portion of America in useful improvements & all the arts of civilization.
>
> The abundance and fertility of our lands & our fine navigable streams are natural advantages which providence hath kindly bestowed in great profusion….If wisdom and public virtue pervade all orders of the government, if the contribution & the laws bear sway instead of partition & discord, and above all if courts & juries will discharge their duties with firmness and independence and infuse life & soul into the administration of justice, then shall we be free and independent indeed. Then will our state ascend to her proper station & shine as a star of superior lustre in the brightest constellation of the American Union.[149]

For Anderson Crenshaw, the new state of Alabama was the blank canvas on which to create an idealised community and home. It was an idea of devotion to home he instilled in his children and grandchildren. And it is also what drove him to work so hard at establishing an educated and impartial judiciary; “the learning of that Court was, consequently, extremely low.

[149] Anderson Crenshaw (nd), *Address to a Grand Jury*, manuscript, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

When Chancellor Crenshaw took part in it, however, he gave, by his learning, a new and important impulse to it. Libraries increased, and the Bar had to make themselves good Equity lawyers, or have their bills summarily dismissed."[150]

Alabama geography and settlement

Derived from the Muskogee Creek word meaning "clearers of the thicket", the one distinctive feature which defined the character of the alluring Alabama was the utter wildness and impenetrable nature of the forests. One migrant complained in 1820; "Sometimes we were so completely tangled in the vines, that we were compelled to dismount to cut our way out of the vegetable meshes in which we seemed to be entrapped."[151] The dense forests and canebrakes provided home for bears, wolves and panthers or catamounts who frequently attacked settlers, travelling drovers and their cattle.[152] Riding on a horse path through the Canebrake in the south central portion of the Creek Nation, one traveller recalled that the path was so narrow and the cane so thick that the saddle-bags of countless riders had worn grooves in the canes crowding each side of the trail.[153] Despite the difficulties of travel and the ruggedness of the country, traveller's tales and emigrants' guides described rich lands of near fantastical fertility, which Walter Crenshaw later confirmed to be "fertile beyond descriptions. They far exceed any thing I have a right to expect".[154]

One of the earliest historians of America, the explorer, geographer and husband of Pocahontas, Captain John Smith pronounced in 1624 that "geography without history seemeth a carcass without motion, so history without geography wandreth as a vagrant without a certain habitation."[155] Geography historically dictated much of Alabama's developing character, leaving divisions, suspicions and prejudices which linger today. Few states in the Union enjoy such a diverse and divisive geography as Alabama from the snowy mountain peaks of the north east to the white sands of the Gulf of Mexico.[156] Geography dictated

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[150] John Belton O'Neal. (1859) *Biographical Sketches of the Bench and Bar of South Carolina*. Charleston: S. G. Courtenay, 372-373. Electronic copy from the University of Michigan, Making of America Collection, http://name.umdl.umich.edu/agy0832.0001.001

[151] Adam Hodgson. (1824), *Letters from North American Written During a Tour in the United States and Canada*, London: Hurst, Robinson and Company, 138-140.

[152] T. H. Ball. (1882), *A Glance into the Great Southeast or Clarke County and its Surroundings from 1540 until 1877*. Grove Hill, Alabama: T.H.Ball, 174, 314.

[153] T. H. Ball. (1882), *A Glance into the Great Southeast or Clarke County and its Surroundings from 1540 until 1877*. Grove Hill, Alabama: T.H.Ball, 174.

[154] Walter Crenshaw to Anderson Crenshaw April 2, 1818, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

[155] Quoted in Sverker Sorlin and P. Waldren. (2009) *Nature's End: History and the Environment*. London: Palgrave Macmillian, 29.

[156] See R. Scott Duncan (2013) *Southern Wonder: Alabama's Surprising Biodiversity*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Alabama's developing history and character, decided how the state was settled and by whom, how those settlers traded and how they interacted with the wider world. Alabama is naturally divided by the foot hills of the Appalachian Mountains which nudge their way from the state's northeast corner in a south-westerly direction almost to Tuscaloosa in the west centre of the state, roughly bisecting it into a northern third and southern two thirds. This mountainous area separates the rich plains of the Tennessee River Valley and Cumberland Plateau in the north from the Piney Woods, Sand Hills, Black Belt and Canebrake, which nestle in a series of horizontal belts across the southern mid-section of the state. The band of rich dark soil known as the Black Belt halts the progress of the gently undulating Coastal Plains, which rise lazily northwards from the Gulf of Mexico. Derived from rotten limestone and uniquely suited to intensive plantation agriculture, over time the Black Belt has been called so not only because of the colour of its soil but because of the high concentration of slaves. In the south-eastern corner between northern Florida and south-eastern Georgia rests the Wiregrass, a unique area dominated by tall grass prairie, longleaf pine forests and thin sandy soil. More suited to cattle grazing, turpentine production, logging and small scale farming, the Wiregrass was popular with settlers whose pockets were not as deep as slave owners seeking land for large scale monoculture. The rich alluvial plains of the Tennessee River Valley north of the Appalachian foothills and the even richer floodplains of the Tombigbee-Cahaba-Alabama-Black Warrior River system in the south central Black Belt formed the most fertile cotton land and were shortly dominated economically, socially and politically by already wealthy planters from Georgia and the Carolinas.[157]

These geographical divisions caused by the Appalachian foothills and Alabama's river system naturally divided the economic and mercantile interests of the northern third of the state from the central and southern two-thirds. The Tennessee Valley situated on the Tennessee River looked northwards to the river ports of Memphis and Nashville for their commercial and economic interests whereas the central and southern areas of the state were directly connected to the Gulf ports of Mobile and New Orleans. Because there are no natural riverine connection between the Tennessee River and those rivers emptying into Mobile Bay, the travel of people and commercial goods from Huntsville to Mobile involved expensive and dangerous portage overland through a wilderness populated by understandably hostile Native

[157] This is a very simple explanation of what is a complex soil and landscape map and does not include familiar localised areas of the native; Red Hills, Piedmont, Chunnennuggee Ridge, Sand Mountain and Coosa Valley, all minutely complex in their respective soil types, geography and flora.

American tribes, opportunistic brigands and dangerous animals.[158] Although clearly unsure of any of the rivers' length and location, one early emigrant's guide insisted that European goods could be brought to Alabama in only 30 days through "Huntsville, by way of Mobile, Tombigbee, and Black Warrior rivers, in about half the time, and for less risk and expense, than by any other route hitherto used or known". However, the author, who had not actually performed the journey himself, did admit that such advantages were clearly the domain of the "adventurer".[159]

To travel to Alabama from the Carolinas and Virginia, most emigrants arrived via the famous Federal Road, first crossing the Chattahoochee River into Alabama at Ft. Mitchell, now Columbus, Georgia. Crossing Creek Territory, travellers arrived at Fort Stephens on the Tombigbee River, about 67 miles north of the port of Mobile. Little more than a blazed horse path 4 feet across at best, the Old Federal Road was legendary for its hard going: a difficult overland journey taking approximately two months to complete. Adam Hodgson and his party found the road in 1820 "wretchedly bad…without any regular track through the verdure which covered the thick clay in which our horses frequently stuck, as much at a loss where to take the next step, as how to extricate themselves from the last.[160] After visiting the state capital Cahawba on January 6, 1826 along a "fatiguing and bad road", the Duke of Saxe-Weimar reached the comfort of Mobile doubtless echoing the sentiments of many travellers, "We had travelled four hundred and fifty miles from Montgomery. The journey by land amounts only to two hundred and fifty-eight miles, and yet is seldom performed, on account of the want of good roads and accommodation."[161] The challenges of travel overland led all possible commercial and personal traffic to the many rivers of the state. Even by barge the 220-mile journey from Mobile up the Alabama River to Fort Jackson (near present day Wetumpka just north of Montgomery) would take an estimated four to six weeks in 1818.[162] At the earliest, Alabama leaders realised the importance of the state's waterways for migration and trade. William Bibb, the first governor, sketched a design for the state seal highlighting the river

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[158] The Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway, long a dream of early travellers and merchants, connecting north Alabama to the Gulf of Mexico was not completed until 12 December 1984. "History of the Tenn-Tom", (2016), Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway Development Authority. http://history.tenntom.org/

[159] Daniel Blowe. (1820), *A Geographical, Historical, Commercial, and Agricultural View of the United States of America,* 635; One early drover in the area recalled his cattle being beset by "catamounts" and bears who hid in the thick cane, once killing a panther measuring nine feet from the tip of its nose to the end of the tail described in T. H. Ball. (1882), *A Glance into the Great Southeast or Clarke County and its Surroundings from 1540 until 1877*. Grove Hill, Alabama: T.H.Ball, 174, 314.

[160] Adam Hodgson. (1824), *Letters from North American Written During a Tour in the United States and Canada,* Vol. I, London: Hurst, Robinson and Company. 121-140.

[161] Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, Karl Bernard (1826), *Travels through North America, during the years 1825 and 1826.* Philadelphia: Carey, Lee & Carey.

[162] Daniel Blowe. (1820*), A Geographical, Historical, Commercial, and Agricultural View of the United States of America,* Liverpool: Edwards & Knibb.

systems of Alabama in 1818, a revised version of which is still in use today.[163] After spending several weeks in the spring of 1830 travelling across Alabama on the Old Federal Road, travel writer Thomas Hamilton swore "I have had occasion to say a great deal about roads in these volumes, but I pronounce that along which our route lay on the present occasion to be positively, comparatively, and superlatively the very worst I have ever travelled in the whole of my peregrinations." [164]

Despite the raw country, rough conditions and difficult travel, migrants were willing to risk their lives for the promise of riches as rising cotton prices following the War of 1812 fuelled Alabama Fever to an inferno. During the War, Georgia upland cotton sold for $0.12½ a pound at Natchez but following the end of hostilities, cotton prices surged upwards as a consequence of increased European demand. [165] Between 1817 and 1818, cotton prices rose to an average of $0.30 a pound before reaching an unprecedented high of $0.34 a pound in 1819. [166] Dreams of cotton wealth ignited an irresistible desire for the pristine cotton lands of Alabama, then just being surveyed and becoming available for purchase. For young planters like the Crenshaw brothers, disillusioned with life and prospects in their native state of South Carolina, who had money in their pockets, tools, provisions and slaves, the profit potential was astounding. *The Alabama Republican* estimated in 1820 that a full hand, e.g. an adult slave of either sex working to full potential, could produce 824 lbs. of ginned cotton annually. The article concluded that after meeting the minimum expenses for maintaining said slave, any cotton price over $0.10 a pound meant pure profit for the slaveowner.[167] With cotton prices soaring towards $0.30 a pound, cash and slaves including highly skilled blacksmiths, the profit opportunities in Alabama were worth leaving their settled homes to become citizens in a new land. But finding the best land in which to invest, land which would make them as wealthy as they wanted to be, would be vitally important to their success.

Potential migrants would have been well aware of the complexities of Alabama geography, climate and agricultural potential. Guides to Alabama such as Brown's *Emigrants Guide* and Dr. *Coxe's Mississippi Letter,* published in *Niles Register* and other national newspapers offered incredibly detailed and remarkably accurate descriptions of territorial geography including descriptions of waterways, forests and soil types. These guides advised

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[163] David M. Robb Jr. (2014), "An Invisible Map Revealed: The First State Seal of Alabama", *Alabama Review*, Issue 114, Fall 2014.
[164] Thomas Hamilton. (1833), *Men and Manners in America*. Vol. II, Philadelphia: Cary, Lea and Blanchard.
[165] *Natchez Washington Republican*, July 14, 1813.
[166] Eddie Wayne Shell. (2013) *Evolution of Alabama Agroecosystem: Always Keeping Up but Never Catching Up*. Montgomery: New South Books, 269.
[167] *The Alabama Republican*, 25 August 1820.

would-be settlers on routes, travel dates, essential provisions, the most advantageous lands on which to settle and which areas to avoid. One of the earliest descriptions of Mississippi Territory and the future state of Alabama came from Don Antonio de Alcedo's *Diccionario geográfico-historico de las Indias Occidentales o América*, first printed in Madrid between 1786-1789, edited and translated by a London publisher in 1812.[168] Extolling the Mississippi Territory as "some of the finest land in the United States…an object of much public attention and inquiry in Europe and the United States" the book provided numerous testimonials to the healthy nature of the country; a "gentleman from Natchez" testified "this country affords the best spring water; every person almost is in blooming health." Special attention was given to the areas where the Crenshaws would eventually choose to settle, the areas which promised slave owners the greatest return for their investment. The texts offered extraordinarily accurate levels of description:

> The Bottom Lands, are generally about a mile wide on the river, extremely rich, and thickly over grown with canes. The sides of the river are covered in many places with large canes, so thick that they are almost impenetrable; there is also plenty of remarkable range, red and white cedar, cypress, elm, ash, hickory, and various kinds of oak. Several people have settled on this river, who find the soil to answer beyond expectation. The soil on the e. side of Tombigbee is of a reddish cast, producing naturally oak, hickory, and abundance of very high grass. The country appears well calculated for the culture of wheat, corn, rye, oats, and barley. The bottoms or intervals on the rivers are not subject to inundations and are exceedingly rich. The country is well watered with good wholesome water.[169]

Brown's *Emigrant Guide* also advised migrants on the quantity and character of their potential neighbours:

> There are many flourishing settlements extending from Mobile point to Fort Jackson, on the Coosa; and on the Alabama the country is pretty well settled near the river, twenty-five miles above Fort Jackson. On the Conecuh, Cahaba, and Black Warrior [Rivers], the population is rapidly advancing; but below St. Stephens, the country is thinly settled; between the Alabama and Tombigbee the

[168] Digital versions are freely available on Archive.org: See https://archive.org/details/diccionariogeogr09alce/page/n8 for the 1786 Spanish edition or the 1812 English translation by G. A. Thompson, https://archive.org/details/geographicalhist06alce/page/n4

[169] Antonio De Alcedo. (1812), *The Geographical and Historical Dictionary* of London: G.A. Thompson, Esq. Translation, by George Alexander Thompson, of the author's: *Diccionario geográfico-historico de las Indias Occidentales o América*, first printed in Madrid, 1786-1789. 138-142. Vol. II. https://archive.org/details/geographicalhist06alce/page/n4

> settlements are fast increasing. The borders of the Conecuh is the favourite district for the poorer class of people, and stockowners; it being better calculated for men of small capital than the Alabama [River]. The rapidity of the settlement of Madison County, is probably without a parallel in the history of the Union.[170]

In the first great wave of migration into Alabama between 1815 and the Panic of 1819, three distinct areas became the focal points of settlement: the Tennessee Valley (Huntsville) in the north developed by settlers from Tennessee and Georgia; the Black Warrior River Basin (Tuscaloosa) in the west central by South Carolinians and Virginians and the Cahaba-Alabama River Basin (Cahawba) in the south settled largely by Georgians and South Carolinians.[171] Another distinct but politically less important settlement area, the Wiregrass/ Conecuh River Valley in the south-eastern corner of the state came to be known as settled by "the poorer sort".[172] The Black Belt where the Crenshaw and their cousins eventually settled was overwhelming populated by South Carolinians like themselves, in fact, they would find themselves reuniting with many extended family, friends and colleagues.[173] As late as 1855 *A Directory of Greene County* could report that of the 1,557 registered voters, 438 were natives of South Carolina.[174]

"having exchanged the friends and comforts of earlier life in other countries for these fertile regions"[175]

In the late summer 1817, reeling from family losses and professional disappointments, spurred on by sensational newsprint and armed with a reading knowledge of the future state, the Crenshaw brothers, like thousands of eager migrants travelled to Alabama Territory in search of land and opportunity.[176] Many families considering relocation sent the men first to scout the area in order to find the best places to settle for their particular situation and to

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[170] Daniel Blowe. (1820), *A Geographical, Historical, Commercial, and Agricultural View of the United States of America*, 660.
[171] Thomas Abernethy (1961), *The South in the New Nation; 1789-1819*. Vol. IV in A History of the South. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 459-466.
[172] S. R. Brown. (1817), *The western gazetteer, or, Emigrant's Guide*, Auburn, N.Y.: Printed by H.C. Southwick, 1817, 19-20; T. Perkins Abernethy. (1922), The formative period in Alabama, 1815-1828. Montgomery, Ala.: The Brown printing company, 468-469. With its wiregrass prairie, longleaf pine forests and sandy soil, the Wiregrass did not lend itself as readily to the growth of cotton hence the lower land prices attracted initially attracted many small farmers to the area.
[173] Alabama Supreme Court Justice and later Governor, John Gayle had been a classmate of Willis Crenshaw at South Carolina College. Their wives became friends and neighbours in Greene County whilst their sister-in-law, Nancy Finch also settled in the same community.
[174] V. Gayle Snedecor. (1856*). A Directory for Greene County, 1855-1856*. Mobile, Alabama: Strickland & Co., 61. The breakdown of voter nativity: South Carolina 438, Alabama 357, North Carolina 348, Virginia 139, Georgia 92, Tennessee 45, Ireland 37, Kentucky 24, Connecticut 12 and Germany 10.
[175] Anderson Crenshaw. (nd), Address to a Grand Jury, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[176] Letters from each indicate that had travelled to the state and remained there well before April 1818.

select tracts for purchase at the upcoming government land sales. Anderson Crenshaw carried with him a letter of introduction to Israel Pickens, the registrar for St. Stephens Land Office stating that Anderson wished to become "a citizen there in a short time" demonstrating his seriousness in learning about the land available in the area.[177] Written by the partner of his brother Dr. Abner Crenshaw, it represents a small layer in the overwhelming web of community and family connections which ensured that wealthy and well-connected planters enjoyed a better chance of success on the frontier. In this instance, Anderson was more than willing to leave the details up to his younger brother Walter, returning to South Carolina for the birth of his son in December 1817 and to resume settling the brothers' affairs so they could all migrate to Alabama together. As Cashin wryly observed, "The family was of paramount importance, even for those who wished to escape it". Although Willis sometimes chafed at the fraternal togetherness, as evidenced by his desire to move ahead and to a different location, he relied heavily on them for moral and financial support.[178] Eager to establish himself, Willis had been unable to begin divesting himself of his South Carolina property until reaching his majority in April 1817. It is possible from their timelines that the brothers waited for Willis to begin their relocation plans in earnest, as all three began the migration process together. That the family was extraordinarily close has been established earlier when Anderson delayed his graduation ceremony until he could participate alongside his younger brother.[179] Certainly, when it came to Willis' inheritance portion of their parents' estate, his elder brothers indulged him with "the advantage" in terms of the land.[180] Initially travelling together, Walter and Willis separated to look over different parts of the territory; Walter to the south of the Creek Nation in the area of the Cahaba River whilst Willis travelled to the north of Indian Territory to view the Black Warrior River Valley. By 2 April 1818, Walter wrote to Anderson in South Carolina that he had been in Alabama Territory "for some time" looking over the lands available and making plans to purchase at the next public land sales.[181] Willis initially settled a plantation along the mouth of the Black Warrior River by Spring 1818. Ever exerting his individualism within his family, Willis preferred to scout the land on his own and make his own decisions rather than have his older brother make them for him. Walter had "heard nothing of Willis but

[177] Dr. Thomas T. Jones to Israel Pickens, 20 June 1817, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection. Israel Pickens became Alabama's third governor, serving two terms, 1821-1825.
[178] Joan Cashin (1991), *A Family Venture; Men and Women on the Southwester Frontier*. New York: Oxford University Press, 10.
[179] A handwritten note found amongst an early catalogue indicates that Anderson purposely deferred his graduation as quoted in Edwin L. Green. (1916). *A History of the University of South Carolina*. Columbia: The State Company, 24.
[180] Walter Crenshaw to Anderson Crenshaw, 27 January 1815, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[181] Walter Crenshaw to Anderson Crenshaw, 2 April 1818, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers. Private Collection.

suppose he has settled on the Black Warrior entirely out of danger of the Indians. I know he did not come thro[ugh] the Creek nation & therefore must be on the northern part of this territory on the Black Warrior."[182] Eager to become a planter, Willis must have rapidly had his slaves clear land to plant "my crop of corn" because he could boast by August 1818 "I shall make near 1500 bushels" despite the crop being "greatly damaged by a severe storm we had a few weeks ago."[183] The choice of corn as his first cash crop may seem at odds with the planter ideal but it was a shrewd move on his part. Adequate foodstuffs were hard to come by in the rapidly expanding territory, the fact that he exploited the situation demonstrates that he had done his research. In 1816, less than a year before Willis journeyed to Alabama, corn was reputed to sell for $4 a bushel along the road from Huntsville to Tuscaloosa when the average price was only $1.11 a bushel in South Carolina.[184] In 1817, *The Niles Register* championed the future Alabama land sales spurring on potential investors with such statements:

> Those best acquainted with the choice Alabama low-grounds, assert, that its fertility is inexhaustible, and that it will produce for almost an indefinite term of years, in constant cultivation, 100 bushels to the acre! This assertion is repeated by so many respectable persons who know the land, that great as the product may appear, we cannot suppose there be any exaggeration.[185]

Ever eager to improve his situation, Willis was willing to wait to embark upon the prestigious career as a cotton planter if a more lucrative endeavour presented itself first. Despite the potential cash value of his corn crop and the fact that "my family have enjoyed very good health since we have been here", Willis dismissed his neighbours, "the people are mostly of the lowest class."[186] But Willis had no desire to stay and work to make the community what he preferred it to be. His personal elitism transferred itself to the lands he once prized; "There may be a considerable town at this place but it is now my opinion the lands here are generally very indifferent." Observing that "the lands on this river [the Black Warrior] are subject to Storms & Hurricanes", Willis was soon enthusiastic to improve his situation by purchasing lands at the next sales in October

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[182] Walter Crenshaw to Anderson Crenshaw, 2 April 1818, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[183] Willis Crenshaw to Anderson Crenshaw, 22 August 1818, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[184] Price in Charleston, SC from Arthur H. Cole. (1938) *Wholesale Commodity Prices in the United States, 1700-1861, Statistical Supplement, Actual Wholesale Prices of Various Commodities.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. http://www.vanderbilt.edu/econ/cipr/cole-historical-data.html
[185] *Niles Register*, 30 August 1817, p. 16.
[186] Willis Crenshaw to Anderson Crenshaw, 22 August 1818, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

1818 alongside his brother Walter. His own experience and travels throughout the territory had led him to the conclusion that his brothers had already come to, that the lands at the mouth of the Cahaba are "better than any I have yet seen in any part of the Territory."[187] Unlike Walter and Anderson, Willis more closely resembled the young male migrants of Cashin's study; chafing at the binds of familial obligation, he longed stand to as a man on his own even though he found it impossible not to rely on his family for support in times of need or for advice.

Unlike Cashin's Alabama planters, the Crenshaws had no desire to escape their entangled kinship network in South Carolina for freedom and familial isolation in Alabama territory. Instead, like Edward Baptist proved on the Florida frontier, planters actively re-created the connected society they had left, even if that meant bringing it with them. The Crenshaws readily exploited their close familial relationships and extended kinship networks to acquire the best lands and the best situations for themselves on the Alabama frontier. Within six years of migration, they recreated their close kinship networks by moving with, settling among and encouraging other family to join them.[188] The Crenshaws exemplify Baptist's thesis: Walter and Anderson worked in tandem as they had done nearly all of their lives, advising one another, lending one another money, conducting business on behalf of one another and pressing friends and family for favours and support. As soon as migration to Alabama was decided, Anderson attempted to use his connections with a South Carolina College classmate, fellow lawyer and US Congressman, to secure a lucrative appointment for his brother as post master, most likely of St. Stephens, the newly named Alabama Territorial capital. Receiving the disappointing news that his request arrived too late and another had been appointed to the profitable post, the friend added that "the attainment of yr. brothers wishes…W'd [would] have given me pleasure to have been instrumental in promoting".[189] Practising law in Augusta, Georgia awaiting news of the final settlement of their parent's estate and the corresponding money due him, Walter stressed to Anderson his eagerness to migrate; "$200 [is] the only Carolina debt that I owe", asking it to be immediately paid by Anderson out of his share of the

[187] Willis Crenshaw to Anderson Crenshaw, 22 August 1818, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[188] Edward Baptist, "The Migration of Planters to Antebellum Florida: Kinship and Power" in *Journal of Southern History*, 62 (1996), 527-554; Joan Cashin (1991) *A Family Venture: Men and Women on the Southern Frontier*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
[189] Eldred Simpkins to Anderson Crenshaw, 4 December 1818, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection. The appointment was given to Dr. Heustis, recommended by Alabama's first Congressional representative and former Indian Agent, W. Crowell. It would have been a very advantageous position and most likely was for St. Stephens, the territorial capital from 1817-1819. Even before Cahaba was named as Alabama's first state capital, the Crenshaws, like many with connections, placed themselves in prime locations to purchase city lots in the new state capital just as they had originally hovered around the territorial capital of St. Stephens.

family estate.[190] Walter then travelled from Augusta between the Spring of 1817 through to the Summer of 1819, back and forth to the Land Offices in St. Stephens and Cahaba, Alabama and Milledgeville, Georgia. Keeping a sharp eye on prices, competitors and searching for suitable tracts of land for sale in the most advantageous locations, he urged his brother; "Save what all the money you can for the next sales."[191]

Land sales and speculations

Unlike the hopeful squatter seeking to purchase his own tract, the public land sales in Cahaba and St. Stephens were dominated by wealthy planters such as the Crenshaws, who were there not only to buy land on which to settle themselves but do so aided by the profits of land speculation. Competitors were quickly united into partnerships and companies using every conceivable manipulation of the law and trick of the lawyer to ensure they purchased the choicest lands at the cheapest prices.[192] Rorhbach observed of the Cahaba land office in particular, that in a district with such heavy sales "the opportunities for illicit gains were virtually limitless."[193] For government officers working and living in primitive conditions handling outrageous amounts of money and financial instruments, a local resident concluded that "without strict justice and honor or integrity being inherent in their nature, it is difficult to avoid yielding to temptations, continually occurring, of secret acquisitions of unjust emolument."[194] Lawyer and speculator Walter Crenshaw was in his element gathering reconnaissance on the probable locations for the new state capital; "the mouth of the Cahaba will in all probability be the seat of Government for this Territory" he could report back to Anderson fully seven months before the public announcement was made.[195]

Writing back to his eager brother in South Carolina after a silence of two months Walter explained, "The reason you have not heard from me is on account of my being constantly in

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[190] Walter Crenshaw to Anderson Crenshaw, 14 May 1817, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

[191] Walter Crenshaw to Anderson Crenshaw, 14 May 1817 and 2 April 1818, 26 April 1819, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection. A list of sales from the Cahaba Land Office show Willis and Walter made multiple purchases in October and November 1819.

[192] Malcom Rohrbach (1968) *The Land Office Business: The Settlement and Administration of American Public Lands, 1789-1827*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 120-127.

[193] Malcom Rohrbach (1968) *The Land Office Business: The Settlement and Administration of American Public Lands, 1789-1827*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 290.

[194] Jonathan J. Crocheron to John M. Moore, 24 October 1831 quoted in Malcom Rohrbach (1968) *The Land Office Business: The Settlement and Administration of American Public Lands, 1789-1827.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 290. Crocheron's name is mis-spelled in the footnote as Cracheron.

[195] Walter Crenshaw to Anderson Crenshaw, 2 April 1818, T.H. Crenshaw III Papers, W.S. Hoole Special Collections Library, University of Alabama.

motion since I left you".[196] Walter could relate with excitement after travelling between the monthly sales first "at Cahaba where I expect to make some additional purchases for you" and to St. Stephens Land office and "another sale in August at Cahaba where I expect to make much purchases". His plans for their future were ambitious; "I have purchased with your funds abt. 2000 acres principally first rate cane brake on the Black Warrior near its mouth, well calculated for settlement to those who want good farms for many negroes. I consider the lands well purchased."[197] Outlining their future designs in the form of land speculation, Walter and Anderson knew the market and prospective buyers. Walter assured his brother:

> Give yourself no uneasiness about your funds, I shall do the best with them possible & trust I shall be able to do something handsome for you. We have purchased in copartnership a place at the confluence of the Black Warrior & Tombeckbee rivers, a situation for a town which is commonly called the White Bluff & what you have heard by the name of the French settlement. This will be the first inland town in the Territory & in the neighbhourhood of the lands I have purchased for you…. You are a considerable stockholder in that town & I consider your interests in it as valuable….This new town at the mouth of the Warrior we have called Demopolis.[198]

It was a shrewd business decision for a man who navigated the land office easily, using his legal expertise and knowledge of the area to buy land for clients and himself, handling the transaction for which he received a fee. The French settlers were forced to move off the land they had cleared after discovering that they had cleared the wrong site, the land actually belonging to the White Bluffs Association, of which Walter was one of the commissioners and Anderson, with Walter's assistance, one of the principle investors.[199] With ownership of the cleared site, the commissioners stood to gain substantial profit by further developing the now abandoned French Settlement renamed Demopolis.[200] By April 19, 1819, Walter was regularly advertising lots for sale in

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[196] Walter Crenshaw to Anderson Crenshaw, 26 April 1819, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[197] Walter Crenshaw to Anderson Crenshaw, 26 April 1819, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[198] Walter Crenshaw to Anderson Crenshaw, 26 April 1819, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[199] *Cahawba Press and Alabama Intelligencer*, 20 March 1824, "Great Bargains!"
[200] George Strother Gaines and James P. Pate. (1998), *The Reminiscences of George Strother Gaines: Pioneer and Statesman of Early Alabama and Mississippi, 1805-1843*.Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 11. Willis later named one of his slaves George Strother Gaines.

Demopolis as far away as Nashville, Tennessee and signing shares sold.[201] But with the location of the new state capital still rumour, Walter was unsure of the best location to settle himself and his brother. For both of them, lawyers with political aspirations, settling themselves in the first state capital was vital, as it would seat them comfortably at the table of prosperity and emoluments. Interestingly, it appears as if Walter was making the sole decisions on where to settle the family without any input from his older brother, much less his sister-in-law; "If I do not select that place for you, in all probability I shall locate you at Claiborne or Pensacola. I will make the arrangement for you as soon as I leave this place during the summer.… If you could be ready to come on as soon as you expect you may direct your route to Claiborne."[202]

Even while Anderson worked to gather funds and make the practical arrangements for the two-month journey for his wife, children, slaves, livestock and household goods, Willis felt confident to lean on him for financial and logistical assistance. With corn prices falling, Willis struggled to make enough money to support his household consisting of himself and his slaves while setting aside enough money to buy more land in the area land sales. Even as he owed Anderson money and could not pay him, Willis explained that when Walter had called on him recently for the money he was owing, "I did not pay to him because I had it not." Confident that the family bond was both strong and understanding, his chief reason was one the shrewd lawyers would certainly understand, "I think it will be a difficult matter for me to raise money enough to purchase lands and pay off your note."[203] Offering a deal to sell back the slaves he had purchased from his brother only a few months previously, Willis reasoned, "you said you were willing to take back the negroes I bought of you last fall if I did not want them. I should be extremely glad if you would take back a part of them: viz. Sam, Comfort and her two children. My reasons for wishing you to take them back are these. I think it will be a difficult matter for me to raise money enough to purchase lands and pay off your note – as corn will command little or no price this fall. The negroes also are always quarrelling with mine and have requested me several times to sell them and Comfort is of little or no use to me as she never were accustomed to working in a plantation – if you do not take them back it will be impossible for me to pay off your note this year as I wish to purchase lands this winter."[204] Ever

[201] White Bluff Land Share, 19 April 1919, Private Collection; Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records. http://www.glorecords.blm.gov; *The Nashville Whig*, 12 April 1824, "Great Bargains!"

[202] Willis Crenshaw to Anderson Crenshaw, 19 July 1819. Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

[203] Willis Crenshaw to Anderson Crenshaw, 19 July 1819. Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

[204] Willis Crenshaw to Anderson Crenshaw, 19 July 1819. Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection. What became of Comfort is unknown. At the time of Willis' death in 1862, he had, among his

eager to buy more land for speculation and ever understanding of his family's needs, Anderson appears to have acquiesced, putting the money due him aside for the time being and taking back the slaves he had originally sold his brother. The favourable outcome did not stop Willis from again writing for fraternal assistance a few weeks later. Certain that Anderson would assist him in getting together "a sum of money, say 1000 or 1500 dollars for the purpose of buying lots and lands at the mouth of the Cahaba" now that it was obvious, to them, at least, that Cahaba would be the first state capital.[205] As money owed to him was not due until after the land sales, Willis was confident that he "shall expect to get the amount I want if you, or by your assistance" applied some pressure and persuasion to his debtors. Eager to travel to South Carolina to clear up the last of his affairs there and return immediately to Alabama, Willis insisted that Anderson get the money together "by the last of September so as not to detain me any time." As the graduate of an elite school and member of planter society, Willis would have known that the tone of his letter, even to a close family member represented the strength of his character and his position as an equal.[206] With a sense of entitlement particular to the planter class, Willis did not politely ask for his brother's assistance, he expected it, closing his letter; "I shall depend on you for what money I shall want."[207] He must have received the money from Anderson for both he and Walter bought land in October 1818 choosing choice but separate locations for their purchases. Although initially concurring with Walter regarding location, Willis choose instead to settle some 60 miles northeast of Cahaba in Greene County. Walter showed his preference for the area by buying 400 acres for himself in the rich bottom lands of Perry and Wilcox counties near the state capital and 1400 acres for Anderson across the river from the Cahaba town site.[208] In May 1818, Walter purchased "considerable land" along Murder Creek near the early settlement of Burnt Corn, Conecuh County, another popular location ripe for re-sell and substantial profits.[209]

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slaves a family consisting of George and his wife, Fanny with their daughters Comfort, Grace, Hulda and Mahala. Possibly relations of Comfort mentioned here.

[205] Willis Crenshaw to Anderson Crenshaw, 22 August 1818, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

[206] Steven Stowe. (1987) "The Rhetoric of Authority: The Making of Social Values in Planter Family Correspondence", in *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 73, No. 4, 921-922.

[207] Willis Crenshaw to Anderson Crenshaw, 22 August 1818, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

[208] Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records. http://www.glorecords.blm.gov

[209] Dr. Waller O. Bickley to Anderson Crenshaw, 12 June 1819, The Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

Family migration

In making plans for the family, Walter left nothing to chance, advising his elder brother, who had previously made the trip himself, on the choice of travelling companion and packing suggestions; "Dr. Bickley having travelled much thru this nation will be of service to you in moving – bring as little baggage as possible [but] don't sell your law library – for we must have that in the Country."[210] Clearly male kinship networks, Bickley was the Crenshaw's brother-in-law, were consulted and relied upon to safely ease the family from one state into another. It is unapparent whether sisters Mary Crenshaw and Sarah Bickley had any say at all in the timing of the move, settlement location or even moving at all. Dr. Bickley, in preparation for the family move, travelled to Alabama Territory in June 1819, meeting with Walter Crenshaw and going to look over lots and land in person. After his return to South Carolina, Waller Bickley found Anderson wavering; "I have just returned home from the Alabama and should be glad to see you shortly and know what conclusions you have come to in relation to moving – if at all &c."[211] Whether it was Walter's promises of financial return, opportunities for legal practice in a new state capital, loss of family in South Carolina or Dr. Bickely's recent trip to the Alabama, Anderson Crenshaw made plans to move their households together. This extended family move allowed not just male relations to remain connected with one another but also sisters; Sarah Chiles Bickely and Mary Chiles Crenshaw, both pregnant during the move and both with young children the same age.

Before the Crenshaw brothers came to the newly opened lands of Alabama, the family of their first cousin Thomas White Chiles (1763-1842) made the first move. Connected through complex intermarriage over several generations, the Chiles family lived near the Crenshaws in South Carolina and had social and business contacts with them. Upon migration to Alabama, their close personal, social and business connections would deepen. Both Anderson and Willis Crenshaw married into Thomas White Chiles' family; Anderson to his daughter Mary and Willis to his granddaughter Amanda once the families were reunited in Alabama. Amanda's mother Elizabeth, another daughter of Thomas White Chiles, married her double first cousin Walter Chiles and they were the first of the Chiles family to seek new lives in Alabama in 1816.[212] In

[210] Walter Crenshaw to Anderson Crenshaw, 26 April 1819, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[211] Dr. Waller O. Bickley to Anderson Crenshaw, 12 June 1819, TR, The Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[212] Double first cousins are first cousins through both their mothers and fathers. In this case, Walter Chiles' father and his wife's grandfather were brothers. Walter's mother, Mary Ann White and his wife's grandmother, Agnes White were sisters. Technically, they were double first cousins once removed. The three White sisters all married their cousins, the connection to the Crenshaws is that their mother was the third White sister, Eunice.

contrast to Cashin's observations that patriarchal ties were those that bound and chafed, Anderson urged his father-in-law to join them in Alabama shortly after they relocated. The 57 year old responded with some caution; "…your proposals to accommodate me in Land at those reduced prices were truly flattering. I sometimes think of moving, could I dispose of my possessions for their valiue [sic]. But I despair of doing so."[213] With repeated urgings by his daughters and sons-in-law, Thomas White Chiles re-joined them with his younger second family in 1822, settling near them and forming part of the core of native South Carolinians counted later in Greene County. In late fall 1815 or early Spring of 1816, Walter and Elizabeth Chiles travelled to Alabama Territory along the Old Federal Road to Clarke County on the Tombigbee River, about 70 miles north of Mobile. In May 1816, Walter Chiles purchased land in what would become the county seat of Jackson.[214] In June 1816, he paid $25 for lot #19 in the newly laid out town to build a brickyard, a shrewd financial move in a town with motivated planners and a rapidly growing population.[215] By the time the Clarke County, Mississippi Territory census was taken in October 1816, Walter and Elizabeth Chiles were living in a household containing three other adult men, their four children and fifteen slaves.[216] Considering the Chiles' close relationship with the Crenshaw brothers as cousins and brothers-in-law, correspondence may have shared information about the prospects in Greene County, where the Chiles had relocated by 1818.[217] Walter and Elizabeth Chiles rapidly achieved financial success in the area with a profitable brick yard, cotton gin and flour mill. The Chiles' sons branched out into the ownership of taverns, hotels, service and craft businesses supplied by their plantations in the countryside. Quiet, hardworking and financially stable, the Chiles formed the backbone of the antebellum slave-owning middle classes.

Contrary to Cashin's determination that removal to the frontier meant certain isolation not only from supportive female kinship networks but often any female society at all, the Chiles sisters found themselves moving together. For many women, migration to the Alabama Territory meant never seeing the families they left behind in the Carolinas, Virginia or further afield, again. Sarah Haynsworth Gayle's extraordinary 1820s diary of life in Alabama, was written as "a substitute for social intercourse" when finding herself alone much of the time. Even isolated, she soon found herself within a female network formed out of other women's

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[213] Thomas White Chiles to Anderson Crenshaw, 20 August 1820, The Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[214] Commissioners Court Minutes-1816, Jackson, Clarke County, Mississippi Territory, 48.
[215] Commissioners Court Minutes-1816, Jackson, Clarke County, Mississippi Territory, 36.
[216] 1816 (October) Mississippi Territorial Census, Clarke County. The author was unable to identify the relationship of the three white men over 21, although there is the possibility that two could be Walter and Willis Crenshaw.
[217] Walter and Elizabeth Chiles were the Crenshaw's first cousins.

need for female friendship and missing family.[218] Gayle recorded with sadness, talking with a woman at a party, the painful separation that migration could wreck on families; "She says she never expects to see her mother again – that she left her 10 years ago under that conviction, and that dreadful feeling that they are both alive, yet dead to each other is ever uppermost."[219] For the Crenshaw women, moving to Alabama Territory would not mean separation of female kinship networks but the strengthening of them, for their other sister Elizabeth Chiles, had previous made the move to Jackson, about 15 miles from St. Stephens.[220] Eventually five Chiles sisters would reunite on the Alabama frontier by 1822, all living near one another when their father migrated with his second wife and children, reforming a close, family network of parents, siblings and cousins.[221] The Chiles sisters were unusually fortunate, the exception among migrant families. However, it could simply be the case that women were isolated on the frontier because so few women left their stories and so few historians employ genealogy to trace them fully. In the case of the extended Chiles-Crenshaw family as in the case of surviving family papers, their story survived due to a combination of luck, that the men in the family were prominent, they themselves were literate, many descendants did not throw "old papers" away and genealogical research could tie their connections together to illustrate their extended kinship networks.

Crenshaws Settle in Cahaba

Shortly after 21 October 1819, Anderson Crenshaw with his pregnant wife Mary and two small boys travelled to Alabama Territory in the company of his brother-in-law Dr. Waller O. Bickley and his pregnant wife Sarah, Mary's sister. Walter initially thought Cahaba an unwise choice, "I cannot think of locating you at the Cahaba as I do not think that place healthy", but the potential for professional gain overturned his objections when the town was chosen to be Alabama's first state capital in November 1819.[222] But his family's belief in the

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[218] Sarah Woolfolk Wiggins and Ruth Truss, eds. (2013) *The Journal of Sarah Haynsworth Gayle, 1827-1825; A Substitute for Social Intercourse.* Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 37.
[219] Sarah Woolfolk Wiggins and Ruth Truss, eds. (2013*) The Journal of Sarah Haynsworth Gayle, 1827-1825; A Substitute for Social Intercourse.* Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 244.
[220] Dr. Abner Crenshaw to Anderson Crenshaw, 17 October and 21 September 1819, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection. Both women successfully delivered daughters after settling in Cahaba; Sarah Chiles Bickley gave to Henrietta on March 19, 1820 and Mary Chiles Crenshaw to Indiana on April 13, 1820.
[221] Waller Overton Bickley to Anderson Crenshaw, 12 June 1819, Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Collection of Annie Hadden Crenshaw. Eventually Sarah Chiles Bickley, Mary Chiles Crenshaw and Elizabeth Chiles Chiles would be reunited with their father, step-mother and half-siblings who all moved to Alabama by 1822. Agnes Chiles married her sister's neighbour and the two lived within walking distance for nearly 50 years. Another sister, Anne migrated to Greene County, Alabama separately with her husband, Dr. Ralph Christopher and were neighbours of her sisters Elizabeth, Sarah and Agnes.
[222] Walter Crenshaw to Anderson Crenshaw, 26 April 1819, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

new state encouraged them to make the long journey and by early November 1819, Anderson and Mary Chiles Crenshaw were settled in the heart of the bustling territorial settlement alongside her sister Sarah Chiles Bickley and family.[223]

Unlike many, if not most, of the pre-1819 emigrants to the Old Southwest, Walter, Willis, Anderson and Mary Chiles Crenshaw were not non-slave owning yeoman farmers but aspirational members of the wealthy elite.[224] The 1820 Census shows the Crenshaw family household containing the family of five and community of 10 slaves; Anderson's slaves Aaron, George, Caleb, Stephen and Matilda and Walter's slaves Moses, Isaac, Bill, Ben and Polly.[225] Mary Chiles Crenshaw's sister, Sarah Chiles Bickley and family were enumerated with 9 slaves.[226] Of the 730 Dallas County households enumerated between 13-19 April 1820, 309 households (42%) owned at least one slave whereas 421 (58%) did not.[227] Of the slave owning households, only 72 (14%) owned 10 or more slaves like the Crenshaws, placing them amongst the wealthy elite of the frontier community and most certainly affording them a higher social standing and living standard than those households with no slaves. The households qualifying officially as "planters" according to the standard definition of 20 slaves was quite small in 1820, only 27 (0.8%).[228] Certainly, there were stupendously wealthy families such as that of John Scott who owned 147 enslaved people and William Rufus King with 80 but they were decidedly in the minority. Unfortunately, the figures do not clearly demonstrate how households were related to one another as the enumeration sheets are alphabetised, removing spatial relationships between households. The "family" slaves, who had been part of a larger enslaved community in South Carolina found themselves partially reunited once the Crenshaws migrated to Alabama. The entwined fates and complicated relationships between the willing free white and unwilling enslaved migrants, all making a community anew in

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[223] Fourth Census of the United States, 1820. (NARA microfilm publication M33, 142 rolls). Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, D.C; Crenshaw, Charles Edward, (1904), *A Sketch of Judge Anderson Crenshaw*. Montgomery: The Alabama Historical Society, Reprint – no. 13.

[224] James David Miller. (2002), *South by Southwest: Planter Emigration and Identity in the Slave South.* Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 30-31.

[225] Fourth Census of the United States, 1820. (NARA microfilm publication M33, 142 rolls). Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[226] Fourth Census of the United States, 1820. (NARA microfilm publication M33, 142 rolls). Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, D.C. The names and identities of the people enslaved by the Bickleys are unknown.

[227] The 1820 Census returns for Dallas County, Alabama were certified on 19 April 1820. Indiana Crenshaw was born on 13 April and appears on the census as the only female under 21 dating the enumeration of their household to just after her birth. The slaves were those originally belonging to Anderson and Walter's parents in South Carolina.

[228] The "standard" definition of planters as being those slave owners having 20 or more slaves derives from the later draft exemptions by the Confederate Government allowing slave owners with 20 slaves or more to take an exemption in order to provide supervision on the home front.

Alabama, were solely up to chance. That the slaves moved informally between their related masters' households is demonstrated in the correspondence of the family. Written after the latter had moved to Butler County in 1822, Willis apparently kept Aaron, one of the slaves Anderson had inherited from their father, with him in Greene County; "I could sell Aron [sic] for a very good price here, but he does not want to be sold out of the family."[229] In another instance, Anderson's slave Squire travelled by himself from Butler County with Waller Bickley's oxen to deliver items to Walter Crenshaw in Cahaba.[230] The black families and community reconnected upon migration and were allowed to travel between the white family's households, thereby having some ability to maintain their own communities.

Because of Walter's earlier investigations, the Crenshaws knew the details of the location for the proposed state capitol building, information published immediately before the May land sales on 2 April 1819. A hand drawn map in Anderson Crenshaw's script shows the layout of the proposed town pasted on the reverse of a March 1819 Milledgeville newspaper.[231] Most likely as a consequence of Walter's foreknowledge, assistance and family connections, Anderson purchased for himself and his family a 30' x 30' section of Lot #2 on the corner of Vine and First Streets. A prime location, their home would be located directly across the street from the State Capitol. Next to the Halo Masonic Lodge (organised in November 1820 and completed July 11, 1821) and adjacent to the fashionable Arch Hotel, Mary and Anderson would be well placed at the very heart of the community.[232] Contrary to Cashin's findings that planter elite strove to escape their family bonds, Anderson and Mary settled in the same town as her sister and his brother. As Anderson and Mary's family grew with the birth of their daughter Indiana on April 13, 1820 so did their new home of Alabama, becoming the 22nd of the United States on 14 December 1819. For the inhabitants of the new state capital of Cahaba like the young Crenshaw family, the future possibilities must have seemed exciting and limitless.

In the countryside near Cahaba, Anderson amassed a 1400 acre plantation, clearly settling himself in the community as a man of property and a civic leader. Anderson and Walter enthusiastically committed themselves to their new community joining in social and business activities. Walter had initially observed dismally and incorrectly that there seemed to

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[229] Willis Crenshaw to Anderson Crenshaw, 2 January 1820, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[230] Walter Crenshaw to Anderson Crenshaw, 12 January 1823, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection. "Squire with Bickley's oxen and wagon arrived here on Saturday."
[231] Map of the Town of Cahawba, Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[232] *Alabama Watchman*, 30 December 1820; Herbert James Lewis (2014), Alabama's Lost Capitols, Charleston: The History Press. 76, 88.

be “no prospect for the practice of the law” in Cahaba. Despite well-reasoned concern of “great speculations” of which he was a part, waxed enthusiastically on the prospect of agriculture instead.[233] Tempted by professional possibilities in the territorial capital, Walter quickly obtained his Alabama law license on November 5, 1818.[234] A literate man with a taste for oration, meetings of the Thespian Society were held in his law office “at early candlelight”.[235] Anderson similarly launched himself into the leadership of his new community, cementing his commitment to his new state; obtaining his Alabama law license in May 1820, he was elected the first Intendant (or Mayor) of Cahaba, in office by January 1821.[236] Anderson took a keen and proactive interest in the development and improvement of the state capitol, issuing ordinances regulating the minutest details of city life including the construction of sidewalks, tree cutting, parking horses or conveyances on the sidewalks, running horses or “any other quadrupeds” over the Cahawba Bridge, letting swine or livestock run loose in the city streets, arrangement of market stalls and shooting guns within the city.[237] Strengthening connections professionally and personally, it was in his law office that the first Bank of Alabama was organised in May 1821, with his brother Walter as one of the commissioners.[238] His election as judge of the 6th judicial circuit on 14 December 1821 simultaneously propelled him to a position as an associate justice of the Alabama Supreme Court, the duties of which forced him to give up his office of Cahaba’s Intendant. Although he complained with some ire of the long hours and low pay in comparison to the renumeration of circuit court judges in South Carolina, Anderson never contemplated leaving Alabama; “I should be well pleased with my situation if the salary were better and the duties of office not so various; here our circuit judges perform all the duties of both judges of law & equity as well as of the Supreme Court – so that you may readily conceive the extent of our labours – I am absent from home more than six months in the year discharging the duties of office, and all this for just half the salary of one of your Judges, to wit $1750. But it requires time to perfect any system and our civil institutions I think are rapidly improving.”[239] Refusing to accept a position as an Elector for the

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[233] Walter Crenshaw to Anderson Crenshaw, 2 April 1818, , Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

[234] *Territory of Alabama, Register of Civil and Military Appointments, 1818-1819*,p. 79, [database on-line] Ancestry.com. Alabama, Civil Appointments, 1818-1839. Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2016.

[235] *Cahawba Press and Alabama Intelligence*r, 28 January 1822.

[236] *Cahawba Press and Alabama State Intelligencer*, 20 January 1821.

[237] *Cahawba Press and Alabama State Intelligencer*, 20 January, 10 February, 17 February, 19 May, 23 June, 16 July, 15 October, 17 December 1821.

[238] Conversation with Dr. Linda Derry, 2 April 2016, Site Director, Old Cahawba Archaeological Park, Alabama Historical Commission; Cahawba Press and Alabama State Intelligencer, 20 January, 27 April and 5 May 1821.

[239] Anderson Crenshaw to John Belton O’Neal, 16 December 1826, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

1828 presidential election, Anderson Crenshaw outlined his first duty as a jurist was to the people of Alabama:

> I hold an office of high responsibility under the State to which all my time and talents ought to be devoted, the duties of a judge are of such a nature that he should be cautions of actively engaging in the great political questions which occasionally agitate the community, and tho as an individual, exercising the right of a free man, I shall always avow my opinion freely on any public measure, yet while I hold my office, delicacy if not duty forbids that I should take a very decided part on either side of the great contest which is now approaching to a crisis.[240]

Anderson, an admirer of Henry Clay, despised Andrew Jackson, who carried Butler County in 1828 with a 80% majority.[241] That he was later elected to numerous positions by those of opposing views, when his well-known personal politics were against the majority opinion illustrates that he practised his belief in carrying out his duties with political impartiality. In this letter, a draft, he marked out the following sentence, "I do not believe Genl. Jackson qualified for high civil employment" thereby removing any reference to his personal politics.[242]

Although life in the capital was comfortable, the location at the mouths of two rivers was not and the city frequently experienced flooding and outbreaks of disease. During one episode of flooding, the water was so high that Mary Crenshaw was forced to use a dugout canoe to get from her house to the smokehouse, ferrying meat and foodstuffs to the kitchen.[243] Only a year before Mary and Anderson left South Carolina to settle in Cahaba, Walter Crenshaw wrote to them describing the area; "The mouth of the Cahawba River which empties into the Alabama River about the center of the Territory is the finest part of the Country that I have witnessed, but I am fearful that all this fine Country is sickly."[244] The initial lure of settling in the seat of state government was quickly overshadowed by the sickness pervading the area. Following the tragedy of his daughter Indiana's death on 19 April 1821 shortly after her first birthday, Anderson felt compelled to take his family to a healthier climate. The death of their only daughter hit Anderson and Mary hard and the devastated

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[240] Anderson Crenshaw to John Manast, 15 June 1828. Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers.
[241] National Historical Geographic Information System: Version 2.0. "Presidential election results by county (1828), Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2011.
[242] Anderson Crenshaw to John Manast, 15 June 1828 [draft]. Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers.
[243] Charles Edward Crenshaw. (1904), *A Sketch of Judge Anderson Crenshaw*. Montgomery: The Alabama Historical Society, Reprint – no. 13.
[244] Walter Crenshaw to Anderson Crenshaw, 2 April 1818, T.H. Crenshaw III Papers, W.S. Hoole Special Collections Library, University of Alabama.

young couple used their daughter's untimely death as the impetus to move the family to higher and healthier ground on The Ridge in north western Butler County in 1822.[245]

For Walter, the migration from South Carolina to Alabama paid off in the realisation of professional ambitions and successes in addition to financial gain. On June 30, 1821 Walter was elected Dallas County representative to the Alabama General Assembly, a position he would hold through 1826.[246] As a legislator, his ambitions and abilities saw him appointed and/or elected to the following important General Assembly Committees: Chairman of the Ways and Means, Privileges and Elections, County Boundaries, Propositions and Grievances and Judiciary.[247] It may only be coincidence that a "Resolution for the Relief of Anderson Crenshaw" granting Anderson a 50% discount on the lots he purchased in the state capital of Cahaba was proposed and passed during Walter's first term as the representative from Dallas County.[248] Over his career as a legislator, Walter was always there to protect and promote his family's interests but according to his voting record was not above voting against them, if he felt their interests went against those of the community. An 1824 resolution nominating Willis one of the official surveyors of the Tuscaloosa River with a generous remuneration of $500 was defeated 39 to 14 in three votes. Walter voted consistently against the proposal which would have handsomely benefitted his brother not just monetarily but in the proprietary knowledge he would have gained from surveying the river.[249] By doing so Walter demonstrated his belief that the ties of kinship should not supersede the betterment of the state and community.

For Willis, the desire to settle physically close to his brothers in Cahaba was not the priority of his migration, although he often relied on them for financial assistance. Instead, his objective in leaving South Carolina for Alabama appears to have been the steady climb up the ranks of the planter elite. Willis's first land purchases were 880 acres two miles west of the proposed Greene County capital of Erie.[250] In doing so, he relocated away from his two elder

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[245] Anderson and Mary never had another natural daughter and would later adopt an orphan, Adah Thigpen whom they raised as their own.
[246] *Cahawba Press*, 30 June 1821, 27 July 1822, 10 August 1822, 5 July 1823, 31 July 1824, 18 December 1824, 16 April 1825; Alabama House Journals, 1821-1827.
[247] *Cahawba Press*, 18 December 1824; Alabama House Journals, 1821-1827.
[248] Anderson apparently had failed to avail himself of the state's original offer of 50% off the cost of the first lots sold in Cahaba to the original purchasers and possibly arranged for his brother to rectify that oversight. State of Alabama. (1822), *Acts Passed at the Third Annual Session of the General Assembly of the State of Alabama Begun and Held in the Town of Cahawba*. Cahaba: William S. Allen and Co.
[249] State of Alabama (1825*) Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Alabama, Begun and Held at the Town of Cahawba, on the Third Monday in November 1824, being the Sixth Annual Session of the General Assembly of Said State*. Cahawba: Printed by Wm. B. Allen, Printer to the State.
[250] Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records. http://www.glorecords.blm.gov

brothers but near his cousins, Walter and Elizabeth Chiles, whose land was less than two miles from his own. Whether they met as young neighbours or the marriage was arranged through their respective families, 29 year old Willis married his 15 year old cousin Amanda Chiles on 25 October 1825 in Greene County. A family friend commented on Amanda's youthful marriage after the birth of her second child in 1827: "seldom the character is formed at the early years of 14 or 15. The attachment of the husband is generally based upon personal beauty; & when that fades, without leaving a compensation in the strength and improvement of their minds, their chance of happiness in after life is hopeless indeed."[251] Willis' choice of bride could have been partially based on her family's wealth, their thriving cotton gin and grain mill, their family connections and her value to him as an ornament. Noted for her delicate beauty, the young Mrs. Willis Crenshaw was the perfect accessory for a wealthy planter who wished to show himself off, an embellishment for her husband who needed a beautiful hostess for his plantation.[252] By May 1829, an overnight guest described Willis' plantation and his attention to gardening enthusiastically; "He has the ample materials for comfortable living, indeed for many of the luxuries of life. His garden is really a treasure."[253] This outward display of wealth was a vital element to a planter's sense of identity and self-worth and with a beautiful wife, luxurious house and elegant garden, Willis assumed all of the outward trappings of planter identity. Key to his acceptance amongst his peers as a gentleman of the planter class was his public displays of largesse and performance of leadership roles within his community. Shortly after his marriage, Willis was commissioned Greene County Justice of the Peace, a position he would serve intermittently until 1859.[254] Strengthening his ties to his community, he served in his local government as a town councillor for Livingston and the manager of the Sumter County Court House.[255] Over the years Willis would perform generous and public demonstrations of wealth by donating land for churches and schools, financing civic celebrations and serving on local committees which provided social and political events for the townspeople.[256] Not only donating the lot for the Presbyterian Church across from his townhouse, he was elected a deacon, again showing himself to be committed to the spiritual

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[251] Sarah Woolfolk Wiggins and Ruth Smith Truss, eds. (2013), *The Journal of Sarah Haynsworth Gayle, 1827-1835: A Substitute for Social Intercourse*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 7.
[252] Sarah Gayle describes Amanda Chiles Crenshaw as being very beautiful, physically and emotionally delicate.
[253] Sarah Woolfolk Wiggins and Ruth Smith Truss, eds. (2013), *The Journal of Sarah Haynsworth Gayle, 1827-1835: A Substitute for Social Intercourse*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, entry for 27 August 1827, 95.
[254] *State of Alabama, Register of Civil Register of Officials, 1819-1832, Vol. I, 95; Alabama, Civil Appointments, 1818-1939*, Civil Register of State and County Officials, Vol. 3 (1844-1867), p. 237.
[255] *Voice of Sumter*, 14 February 1837, *Voice of Sumter*, 13 February 1838.
[256] *Voice of Sumter*, 28 June 1836;"Sumter County Central Clay Club", 9 July 1844, *Sumter County Whig.*

welfare of his neighbours, or at least his fellow Presbyterians.[257] As his wealth increased and he expanded his plantation and home ownership into newly created Sumter County, Willis supported the founding of female colleges in each county, one in his primary home town of Eutaw and the other in his secondary home town of Livingston.[258] It was not totally an act of generosity, he was the father of five daughters. Such was his standing that he was sought out and published as a reference for a cotton gin manufacturer and two local community schools, L. B. Wright's Female Seminary and the Pine Hill Academy.[259] Always willing to provide a service to his community usually for a cost, and to be seen doing so, he regularly advertised that he kept dogs for hunting runaway slaves for a cost of $3 per day for hunting and a flat rate of $15 for catching.[260] As a Whig, he was a strong believer in infrastructure improvements and an early proponent of railroads, serving as the president of the Livingston to Moscow Railroad, a company which never came to fruition.[261] Always careful to ensure that his community involvement aligned with his economic and social interests, he had previously purchased land along the path of the proposed railroad.[262] Even though much of his behaviour focused on the creation and display of wealth, Willis exhibited a strong commitment to his home, investing in his community's religious, social and educational institutions to the benefit not just of his family but his neighbours and wider community.

When it came to the decision on a location to settle and raise his family, placement was paramount for the Southern planter migrant. Seeking increased wealth whether that came from agricultural, political or professional success, choice often came down to quality of farming land, family already in the area or willing to move, communities of other white settlers and some knowledge of the area.[263] For the Crenshaw men, as discussed in the previous chapter, the Alabama frontier they described as "a howling wilderness" presented myriad possibilities for the creation of wealth.[264] But it was not a unanimous decision when Anderson Crenshaw's

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[257] *Livingston Journal*, 30 August 1889.
[258] Extracts from the Willis Crenshaw – Charles Derby Correspondence. July – August 1855, Charles A. Derby Papers, mss 00030, Virginia Military Institute Archives, Lexington, Virginia. The Eutaw Female Academy no longer exists but the Livingston Female Academy survives today as the University of West Alabama.
[259] *Sumter County Whig*, 4 June 1844; *Voice of Sumter*, 28 June 1836 and 30 January 1838.
[260] "Stop that Negro!", *Sumter County Whig*, 1 and 8 October, 12 and 19 November 1844.
[261] *The Heritage of Sumter County, Alabama*. (2005) Clanton, Alabama: Heritage Publishing Consultants; *Voice of Sumter*, 13 September 1836.
[262] Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records. http://www.glorecords.blm.gov
[263] Donald F. Schaefer, "Locational Choice in the Antebellum South". The Journal of Economic History, Vol. 49, No. 1 (Mar., 1989), pp. 145-165.
[264] A phrase used by both Anderson Crenshaw in his mid-1830s Address to a Grand Jury and his son Walter H. Crenshaw in his 1839 Oration to the University of Alabama.

brother Walter, was charged by the family to scout, research and choose a location. Initially he presented the choice of Claiborne, an early frontier metropolis of sorts on a spur of the Old Federal Road or Pensacola, a prosperous port on the Gulf of Mexico then part of Spanish West Florida.[265] Ultimately, Walter Crenshaw, most likely privy to privileged information, decided on Cahaba, Alabama's future capital. Willis Crenshaw successfully chased the dream of a cotton empire in the heart of the Black Belt while Anderson Crenshaw made a more pragmatic choice. Still reeling from the death of his one-year old daughter in the disease troubled low-lying Cahaba, he prioritised a healthy environment for his family when choosing to settle permanently. Creating a home and placing himself in a comfortable location to do his job were the primary motivators for his decision to move to north-western Butler County. Recently elected to the newly created 6th Circuit Court in 1821 which simultaneously elevated him to a seat on the Alabama Supreme Court, Butler County was near the center of his circuit. Geographically, Butler County is located outside the Black Belt region so coveted by wishful planters for its famously fertile soil. But in that north-western corner, just north and south of the limestone ridge lying on a NW-SE axis lie the rich bottom lands along Cedar and Mussel Creeks. Here in this microclimate are the only rich Black Belt lands in the county and the young lawyer must have seen the possibility of plantation success and a healthier climate. He settled his family along the Ridge buying rich agricultural land along the creek bottoms to raise cotton and set down permanent roots.

Through the detailed analysis of the Crenshaws' plan and move to Alabama, how they identified with their community and developed identity as Alabamians was not articulated by the men in their own words but rather in their actions. From their origins in South Carolina, the Crenshaw brothers embodied the frontier spirit in seeking out the opportunities afforded them in the newly opened up lands of the south west. They invested heavily in their new state not solely for quick profit but by putting down roots which would last for generations. Walter Crenshaw did not abandon Cahaba, as so many did, when it ceased to be the state capital in 1826 but persisted there until his sudden death in 1830. Anderson remained committed to serving the state justice system, winning elections with cross party support because of his reputation as a fair and impartial judge. First Walter and Willis and then Anderson made the commitment in situating their land, wealth and ingenuity in the new state, not only to make money and consolidate property, but to support and develop the communities around them. Their community comprised not only their immediate and extended families, their slaves, but

[265] Walter Crenshaw to Anderson Crenshaw, 19 July 1819, The Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection. On January 7, 1818, Walter Crenshaw obtained a passport from the Spanish Embassy to travel to Pensacola, Spanish West Florida. The Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

also wider networks as their civic duties assisted in the development of a thriving new state. They strengthened family ties and associations by marrying within close and closely related families to create a larger kinship network forming a close extended family network which provided support for their new endeavours. Once firmly established in Alabama the strength of their family and community bound them to their state and nation as they navigated the turbulent years leading to Secession and Civil War. These themes will be explored further in subsequent chapters. In the subsequent chapter, I will examine how they used education to further develop and express their sense of state over national identity; a devotion to Alabama which remained steadfast above all over ties during the tumultuous years of the Civil War and reconstruction.

Chapter 3: "The power to enlighten your countrymen": Educating Alabamians, 1800-1876.[266]

This chapter will examine how education strengthened the bonds of family, community and regional identity for members of an elite Alabama family from their migration to Alabama Territory into Reconstruction. Previously, I established the origins, motivations and methods by which one planter family migrated to and established themselves in frontier Alabama, transitioning from identifying as South Carolinians to Alabamians. By analysing the educational worlds of three generations of this family, I will illustrate how their education in Alabama created a sense of state-based patriotism so localised and so powerful that it would ultimately supersede loyalty to the Confederacy. Southerners' belief that they belonged to an exceptional region which was geographically, climatically and culturally different from the North, led to a profound sense of southern identity. Just how far this identity and self-identification came to be a true southern nationalism distinct from American nationalism is a conclusion well and divisively argued by historians.[267] Southerners, long before the prospect of a Civil War, revelled in the belief that they were ethnically different to Northerners, descended exclusively from a superior class of people, namely the landed classes of England with a correspondingly superior code of behaviour, appreciation of culture and level of education.[268] In the first winter of the Civil War, *De Bow's Review* traced the ethnic origins of the "Northern and Southern races" representing that the south had been populated by sophisticated cavaliers, as opposed to the dour parliamentarians and strict puritans of the north. In doing so, they were asserting their belief that racially, white southerners were purer and distinct in their culture, their love of literature, innate cultural superiority and level of education, feeding the legend of the plantation aristocrat and gracious planter society.[269] The four sons of Anderson Crenshaw were the first generation of the family to be native (or nearly native) Alabamians, the oldest two born in South Carolina and the youngest two born in Alabama.[270] Raised in a Whig household, they were encouraged towards community responsibility and intellectual independence. With commitment to their community, all four identified as Alabamians and were dedicated to

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[266] Anderson Crenshaw, (nd) Address to a Grand Jury, The Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

[267] Drew Gilpin Faust, (1988). *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 6-7; Gary Gallagher (1997). *The Confederate War*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; Susan-Mary Grant (2000). *North over South: Northern Nationalism and American Identity in the Antebellum Era*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press.

[268] See William R. Taylor, (1963). *Cavalier and Yankee: The Old South and American National Character*, New York: Harper and Row; Rollin G. Osterweis (1967) *Romanticism and Nationalism in the Old South.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press; "The Conflict of Northern and Southern Races," *De Bow's Review* 31:4-5 (Oct-Nov 1861).

[269] "The Conflict of Northern and Southern Races," *De Bow's Review* 31:4-5 (Oct-Nov 1861), 393.

[270] Of the four sons, the eldest two were born in South Carolina but migrated under the age of two while the two youngest were born in Alabama.

serving Alabama; all attended the University of Alabama, three represented their counties in the state legislature, one a Methodist minister, one an active member of the Alabama Historical Association and all four made their homes in the state for their entire lives. Patriotic Americans, strongly identified to their state, the Civil War tested their identity and allegiances: at least two sons, Walter and Frederick were Unionists while Thomas was an ardent Secessionist and Walter's son Edward volunteered to fight for the Confederacy. While politically at odds with one another, as so many Southern and Northern families must have been, the family remained financially and emotionally supportive of one another during and after the war.[271] Despite their ideological beliefs and differences, the coming Civil War would not pit brother against brother, as none of this generation placed themselves in danger for the Confederacy or the Union. Ultimately, the family remained strongly united as a community and as Alabamians: Walter Henry Crenshaw, a pragmatic Unionist and practical Confederate summed up his feelings in the first years of reconstruction, "I am willing to make any personal sacrifice for the good of my state." [272] Through education, they created a family, community and state grounded nationalism located within a strong concept of self-determination and independence.

On February 16, 1827, T & G Holt, commission merchants in Mobile, Alabama totalled up the latest purchases on the account of A. Crenshaw, Esqr. The items would be charged against Crenshaw's cotton sales, selected by T & G Holt staff and packed onto ox wagons for the journey to the quay in nearby Blakely. From there, they would be loaded onto a riverboat by enslaved stevedores for transport up the Mobile and Alabama Rivers to a warehouse at Elm Bluff, 171 river miles from Mobile.[273] There the crates and parcels would wait until Crenshaw sent for them, hauled overland by his slaves driving mule wagons the forty odd miles from the warehouse at the river landing to his plantation in northwest Butler County. On this order, in addition to necessities, were two copies of the following school books; *Murray's English Exercises*, Grammar, *Columbian Orator*, "Geographys and Atlas", *Walker's Dictionary* and *Webster's Speller*.[274] The twin sets of school books were intended for Anderson Crenshaw's eldest sons, Walter, aged 9 and Thomas, aged 8. His two youngest sons Edward and Frederick, 5 and 3 respectively were too young to start their formal education. He paid a total of $8 for

[271] Amy Murrell Taylor (2005) *The Divided Family in Civil War America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
[272] Walter Henry Crenshaw to Governor Robert M. Patton, December 10, 1866, Collection of ADAH: 1866- December Correspondence, Administrative Files, SG024, Folder 29.
[273] US Army Core of Engineers, Mobile District. "Alabama River Navigational Charts", https://www.sam.usace.army.mil/Missions/Civil-Works/Navigation/Black-Warrior-and-Tombigbee-River/BWT-Alabama-Rivers-Navigation/ALR-Charts/
[274] "To A. Crenshaw with T. & G. Holt, Mobile, Feby. 16, 1827", Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

the books less the freight charges representing a substantial cost at the time; on the New Orleans market in February 1827, he could purchase a pound of butter for $0.21, a gallon of Malaga wine for $0.75 or a pound of loose tea for $1.05.[275] The cost and effort of acquiring the school books demonstrated the seriousness with which this family took the education of their young sons. He and his wife had both grown up in homes that had substantial collections of books and enjoyed reading history, natural history, biographies and classical literature. Their love of reading and interest in learning was a trait they passed on to their sons. From his early years as a university student in 1805, Anderson purchased extravagantly books on every topic imaginable and made them freely available to friends, colleagues and family.[276] Commission merchants in Mobile often had difficulty obtaining the titles he wanted on the Alabama frontier. Several letters sent with goods apologise; "we could not procure more of the kind of books you ordered other than Scott's Napoleon, Irwen's Columbus and Plutarch's Lives."[277] Anderson knew first-hand the benefits of education. It was the advantages offered by a rare university education which propelled him from the life of a jobbing backwoods lawyer in the South Carolina to state legislator, circuit court judge and state supreme court justice. As the first graduate of South Carolina College, Anderson joined a small elite social group of educated men with social and political connections. When he died in 1847, a local newspaper observed that no less than twenty other leading Alabama politicians and professionals had also graduated from South Carolina College between 1806 and 1835.[278] His extensive education allowed him to not only stand apart but to set his own goals for success and that of his family. If he initially despaired at the prospect of educating his sons on the frontier, he ensured that a lack of access to schools would never handicap his children.

In the only research focusing in part on Alabama, Cashin authored the first critical examination of the motivations of planter families during migration and settlement to the Southwest. Cashin concluded that despite the high level of education of planter migrants, many of their children experienced lower standards of education because their childhood on the frontier frequently limited their access to schools.[279] For the Crenshaw family, their reality

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[275] Arthur C. Cole. (1938). *Wholesale Commodity Prices in the United States, 1700-1861.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Electronic data archive developed by Mario J. Crucini, Chris I. Telmer and Robert A. Margo, Centers for International Price Research: centerforinternationalprices.org/micro-price-data/cole-historical-data

[276] From a list of books owned by Anderson Crenshaw in his hand, c. 1805, Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

[277] A receipt dated 10 October 1828, T&G Holt, Mobile to Anderson Crenshaw, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection

[278] *The Independent Monitor* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama). 21 September 1847. Found online at Newspapers.com

[279] Joan Cashin (1991), *A Family Venture; Men and Women on the Southwestern Frontier.* New York: Oxford University Press.

was quite different than that Cashin describes for other contemporary settlers. The Crenshaws migrated approximately 15 years earlier than the families of Cashin's study and made educating their children a priority, even in the harsh setting of the frontier. That education was such a priority for them does not seem to stem from the date of their migration. Education played an important role in their lives in South Carolina, they came from a wealthy family whose economic success depended, in part, upon their high level of education. The first generation of Crenshaw migrants worked hard to maintain the educational standards and aspirations for their children once they relocated to the Alabama frontier. By investing in the education of their children and those of their community, they confirmed that education was vitally important to them and not dependent on their location: education was not an ideal they lost sight of once they left South Carolina for the Alabama frontier.

The Crenshaws also demonstrated, perhaps unlike some of their peers, that education was an activity they saw as a civic duty, integral to creating and belonging to their community. They actively promoted primary and secondary education, not just for the immediate community in which their own children lived but within the state of Alabama. The family sense of commitment to their state university was a theme which would run deep through future generations. Anderson Crenshaw sent all four of his sons to the University of Alabama, who graduated between 1834 and 1843.[280] In turn those sons sent their own sons to the University of Alabama in the 1850s through to 1901.[281] Their commitment to higher education in their state saw them actively supporting the Agricultural and Mechanical College, now known as Auburn University, when it was founded as a state supported agricultural and technical school in 1872.[282] Clearly, for this planter family, who had the drive for education and the financial ability to send their sons (and daughters) to other states for their education, they believed absolutely in supporting the educational institutions in their home state. For Walter Henry Crenshaw who earned his BA in 1834 and his MA in 1837 at the University of Alabama, "promoting the prosperity of this our Alma Mater!" was a duty inspired by "the boiling blood

[280] The University of Alabama (1901), *A Register of Officers and Students of The University of Alabama, 1831 – 1901*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama, 440. Found online at https://archive.org/details/registerofoffice00univ/page/440

[281] The University of Alabama (1901), *A Register of Officers and Students of The University of Alabama, 1831 – 1901.* Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama, 440. Found online at https://archive.org/details/registerofoffice00univ/page/440

[282] Anderson and Abner Crenshaw's grandson, Bolling Hall Crenshaw was head of the mathematics department for 44 years and also one of a committee of three which ran Auburn University between 1932 until his death in 1935. "Presidents of Auburn University", https://auburn.edu/administration/ir/factbook/general-information/presidents-of-auburn.html; "Dr. Bolling Hall Crenshaw Obituary", 27 November 1935, The Montgomery Advertiser.

of patriotism".[283] He expressed a patriotism not just for America but for the state he also called his "country", Alabama. Walter Henry alternately exhorted and chastised his fellow alumni and neighbours during the 1839 commencement exercises to "support your state through its educational system…with your innate sense of duty and patriotism to your home state." To those who would send their sons elsewhere, he thundered, "Citizens of Alabama: You are deserting the best interests of our state, when you refuse to receive instruction at her hand."[284]

"The power to enlighten your countrymen": Education in Early Alabama.[285]

When Anderson Crenshaw first moved his young family to northwest Butler County in the fall of 1822, it was very much on the edge of the frontier. But he chose a convenient location on a high ridge of land near the Old Federal Road heading southwest to Mobile.[286] Butler County's 1820 population was 1,405 people spread over 1900 square miles; 835 whites, 569 slaves and 1 free black male.[287] Anderson and Mary Crenshaw rented a two-room log cabin from an earlier settler, Mansel Womack, with two springs nearby, the site on a hill adjacent to two other log cabins afforded a modicum of security against the Native American population gradually but certainly being pushed out.[288] An incident at the Crenshaw home about 1826 demonstrated the legacy of distrust and fear such stories inspired and the anxiety with which the children could react and later remember even innocuous interactions with local Indians. Charles Edward Crenshaw remembered: "When a boy about five or six years of age, how we feared the Indians. One day about noon one came by my father's home and asked for something to eat. He could speak English well enough to be understood. He would not come into the house to get his dinner, but requested my mother to send it out to him. She sent it to him on a plate, which he placed on a stump nearby. He then ate the dinner with great relish, while I looked on with fear and trembling."[289] Many homes on the edge of the frontier still

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[283] Walter H. Crenshaw, (1839) *An Oration*. Tuscaloosa [Ala.]:Baldwin, Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University, 8-9.
[284] Walter H. Crenshaw, (1839) *An Oration*. Tuscaloosa [Ala.]:Baldwin, Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University, 8-9, 11.
[285] Anderson Crenshaw, (nd) *Address to a Grand Jury*, The Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[286] Don Dodd and Gary Reaves (nd) "Indian Trails to Interstates; Alabama's Early Road Systems", 21. Found online at Alabama Department of Transportation Website https://alletting.dot.state.al.us/OfficeEngineer/IndianTrailsToInterstates.htm
[287] Darby, William (1823). *Darby's Edition of Brooke's Universal Gazetteer*. Philadelphia: The Executors of Benjamin Warner, 149. The identity of the lone free black male enumerated in 1820 is as yet unknown.
[288] Charles Edward Crenshaw (1904), *A Sketch of Judge Anderson Crenshaw*. Montgomery: The Alabama Historical Society, Reprint – no. 13.
[289] Charles Edward Crenshaw. "Indian Massacres in Butler County in 1818", *Transactions of the Alabama Historical Society, 1899-1903*. Ed. Thomas McAdory Owen. Vol. IV. Montgomery: 1904., 99-101.

retained palisades for protection and stories of Indian attacks and threats against the growing waves of settlers were readily reported in local and national newspapers.[290] In March 1818, two separate attacks on white settlers in the neighbourhood, within six miles of the Crenshaw's plantation, aroused national condemnation and intensified community fears.[291] The New York *Evening Post* reported "Indian Murders!" with lurid details of the now called "Ogly Massacre" and details of similar attacks on the nearby and unfortunately named, Murder Creek.[292] The story concluded with an eyewitness account from a woman recently captured then returned by the Indians assuring readers that the Indians "promise to separate into parties, lay waste the frontier country and murder the inhabitants."[293] That settlers were willing to create centralised schoolhouses for their children despite the very real dangers, demonstrates the importance of education to the local community. Regardless of the ever-present dangers on the frontier, by the time Anderson Crenshaw chose the area to make his home, there were at least two schools in operation nearby. In July 1819, Samuel Farrar opened the first documented school in Butler County, located on the Old Federal Road one and a half miles west of Fort Dale. In 1820, another school taught by James Lane was built, also within a mile of Fort Dale.[294] The proximity of the school houses to Fort Dale allude to the very real danger from Indian attacks ever present in Alabama in the early years of statehood. And yet the presence of two schools operating in such potentially dangerous conditions for white settlers clearly establishes the importance placed on education by those settlers.

Alabama educational historian David Matthews considers community driven education on the frontier to be the ultimate expression of commitment to community. The building of a school house signalled the coalescence of groups of individuals into a community. [295] Settlers initially concerned themselves with their immediate needs, building shelter for their animals and then themselves, first creating a tiny nuclear community out of their immediate family. Once these needs were met, individual homesteads, often isolated in kinship groups, turned outwards to create a larger community with their neighbours. The building of a school, often serving also as a church, voting office and community gathering point became "the creation of

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[290] Peter A. Brannon, 31 January 1943, "The Massacres", *Montgomery Advertiser*. Found online at Newspapers.com

[291] Mollie Smith Waters. "The Legend of Savannah Jack", *Alabama Heritage*, Issue 113 (Summer 2014).

[292] Charles Edward Crenshaw. "Indian Massacres in Butler County in 1818", *Transactions of the Alabama Historical Society, 1899-1903*. Ed. Thomas McAdory Owen. Vol. IV. Montgomery: 1904., 99-101.

[293] "Indian Murders!", *Evening Post* (New York), 18 April 1818; Raleigh Minerva, 10 April 1818. Found online at Newspapers.com

[294] Judy Atkins Taylor. (2014), "Butler County Schools Part One: Early Schools at Fort Dale and Greenville", *Butler County Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. 50, No. 4.

[295] David Mathews. (2003). *Why Public Schools? Whose Public Schools? What Early Communities Have to Tell Us*. Montgomery: New South Books.

a way of life to reflect the settlers' highest values".[296] A Crenshaw descendent eloquently described the process of building roads and schools as the keystones of community building: "I think we ought to have every good thing we can get; First, Good Roads, as they will help towards good schools; good schools will make better men, and better men will build better churches and better churches always make good Christians and better people."[297]

Development of schools in frontier Alabama

Educating children was a key component to the creation of a community for the school house bound the community together as opposed to living in an area of disconnected farms and settlements.[298] Once family communities were connected by paths and roads, the creation of schools was the first step to building a community. Matthews describes early Alabama schools as "extensions of the community", quickly becoming the focal point for the population by serving as churches, meeting houses and circuit courts.[299] The first superintendent of Alabama public education in 1854, William Perry recalled the rapidity with which education was embraced by a rural community:

> To illustrate the power of personal magnetism and the extent to which even the humblest people can be stirred by the desire for improvement, I can not forbear mentioning a school that I visited when a youth, among the hills of DeKalb County. A stranger came to the neighbourhood and began teaching in a rude schoolhouse. Interest was awakened, and the house was soon filled. Interest grew into enthusiasm and to accommodate the increasing members, rough sheds covered with boards were constructed around the house, and to them were added bush arbors, until the place resembled an old fashioned religious camp-ground. There were in attendance, I suppose, not less than 150 pupils of all ages from 6 to 30.[300]

Schools with a good reputation attracted students and with them, more families to the area, introducing commerce into communities in the form of boarding fees for teachers and students. The smallest and most newly settled villages vied with one another to attract

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[296] David Mathews. (2003). *Why Public Schools? Whose Public Schools? What Early Communities Have to Tell Us*. Montgomery: New South Books, 15.
[297] "Hon. T. H. Crenshaw, in a Strong Letter, Pleads For Good Roads", *The Greenville Advocate* (Greenville, Alabama), 29 June 1910. Found online at Newspapers.com
[298] David Mathews. (2003). *Why Public Schools? Whose Public Schools? What Early Communities Have to Tell Us.* Montgomery: New South Books.
[299] David Mathews. (2003). *Why Public Schools? Whose Public Schools? What Early Communities Have to Tell Us.* Montgomery: New South Books, 56.
[300] Stephen B. Weeks . (1915). *History of Public School Education in Alabama.* United States Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1915, No. 12, 57.

schools, teachers and students, advertising their schools as offering the most moral instruction and the healthiest environment. Catherine Clinton found community pride and a desire for improvement to be the driving force for the creation of schools within small towns.[301] The tiny village of Camden promised "healthfulness" and "refined society" to potential students and parents, noting that a full school for boys and girls assured the communities bright future. Offering "moral and mental improvement", the Greensboro Female Academy advertised their schools' public examinations, delighting in "The reputation such an occasion gives us from abroad." While in Wilcox County, the Pleasant Ridge Academy advertised that its co-educational school was surrounded by a "large, respectable and moral population."[302] In a lengthy editorial, a concerned Eutaw citizen argued that possessing a Female Academy enhanced the reputation and morality of the community by "attracting public attention and securing public patronage" through "county pride". Eutaw, the writer asserted, was the perfect location of a leading female academy because it had "citizens in abundance and of the right character to give permanency to that vigorous morality…which is so essentially necessary to qualify any town for sustaining a good Female Academy". The editorial closed by stressing the community's necessity for education; "A permanent population requires permanent schools, whenever a village is likely to possess the former, it offers inducement for the location of the latter."[303]

Initially, the education of a frontier community's children in Alabama before the Civil War was delivered through two distinct types of schools, both commonly called academies; the seasonal "field" or "hedge school" and the more formal full-term school. The Education Code of 1852 officially recognised students as aged between 8 and 21 for the purpose of creating school districts.[304] State funded public education was not instituted in Alabama until 1854, when students were classified as children aged between 5 and 18.[305] The typical ages of students are difficult to determine since school advertisements advertise class levels without stating the ages of children, children being tested and then placed in the appropriate level regardless of age. An early education history describes the motivations behind these

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[301] Catherine Clinton. (1982) "Equally their due: The Education of the Planter Daughter in the Republic", *Journal of the Early Republic*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Spring), 39-50.
[302] *Cahawba Democrat*, 1 Feb 1826; *Alabama Beacon*, 8 July 1848; *Dallas Gazette*, 29 Nov 1845. Found online at Newspapers.com
[303] *Eutaw Whig and Public Advertiser*, 16 Dec 1843.
[304] Stephen B. Weeks. (1915). *History of Public School Education in Alabama*. United States Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1915, No. 12, 74-75. NB: This is just an aside but my grandfather, raised in rural poverty in the Wiregrass enrolled in the 9th grade at the age of 24 but his age was not considered unusual.
[305] Stephen B. Weeks. (1915). *History of Public School Education in Alabama.* United States Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1915, No. 12, 69.

academies as rooted initially in "denominational interest and sectarian pride", they symbolised an educational movement truly egalitarian in character.[306] These academies represent the ultimate expression of the public school and pride within the community; created by the public for the public and paid for by the public.[307] The first documented community school in Alabama was founded by John Pierce in 1799 near Fort Mims, 35 miles upriver from Mobile, the same year as the Tensaw community it served. With an estimated population of 800 whites, 200 blacks, 200 creoles and 1000 Creek Indians, the school offered an education to a diverse group of students, a local historian observing that "the pupils were strangely mixed in blood and their color was of very hue".[308] On the edge of the more culturally divisive plantation boundary, the Tensaw community epitomised the early blurred borderland of diversity on the frontier. For decades, a multi-cultural community composed of Spanish, French, American, English, Creole, African, Creek and Choctaw had lived, fished, hunted, trapped, traded with and depended upon one another in the changing margin between European incursion and Native American homeland.[309] The Pierce School is not officially classified as Alabama's first public school because it was community rather than government funded and the public school system was not created until 1854. But the case should be made that Pierce's school is more public than any later state supported school because it represented the active desire of diverse people to come together to create a community. Indeed, the school was created the same year the community was surveyed and officially recognised, thus the school was the earliest community building.[310]

Early and rudimentary schools like the Pierce school were formed by small groups of families living within walking distance. In a survey of Antebellum Alabama schools, former students described walking an average of 1.6 miles one way to school.[311] With the classes arranged in sympathy with the farming calendar students returned to fields for planting and

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[306] Edgar W. Knight. (1919), "The Academy Movement in the South", *The High School Journal*, Vol. 2, 200.

[307] David Mathews. (2003). *Why Public Schools? Whose Public Schools? What Early Communities Have to Tell Us.* Montgomery: New South Books, 86-90.

[308] James Albert Pickett and James P. Pate (ed) (2018) *The Annotated Pickett's History of Alabama: And Incidentally of Georgia and Mississippi from the Earliest Period*., Montgomery: New South Books, 469-470. Unfortunately, Pickett does not tell us the numbers of black pupils only observing that the children were of a variety of ethnicities which could mean that the students were creole, Native American and white.

[309] Daniel S. Dupre (2018), *Alabama's Frontiers and the Rise of the Old South.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 166.

[310] David Mathews. (2003). *Why Public Schools? Whose Public Schools? What Early Communities Have to Tell Us.* Montgomery: New South Books, 50-53. In 1813, Scottish-Creek Indian William Weatherford destroyed the settlement at Fr. Mims in the now infamous attack. Pierce and his home survived; he continued as postmaster of the damaged community until 1818.

[311] Tullye Borden Lindsay and James Armour Lindsay. (1942) "Some Light upon Ante-Bellum Alabama Schools", *Peabody Journal of Education*, Vol. 20, No. 1, pp. 37-41.

harvesting, hence the common name of "field schools". On average, children attended for about six months out of the year dropping in and out of grades when they could be spared at home. The buildings were crude, former students described dirt or puncheon floored log cabins with open holes in the wall for ventilation and light. [312] In a 1942 survey of former Alabama school students, the majority of students described their school in the 1850s and 1860s, as a one room log structure open to the rafters with puncheon floors, half of the students described getting water from a spring and half from a well but all remembered using a communal gourd or cup.[313] The teacher might well have been the most educated man or woman in the area, maybe scarcely older than some of the students but sometimes had some prior teaching experience.[314] Later as the country filled with immigrants, a field school might attract increased financial support through a church or group of civic minded individuals, translating into a better building and a paid teacher. Many such schools throughout the American frontier were organised and funded by religious groups, most commonly Methodists and Presbyterians.[315]

Schools on the Alabama Frontier

For the women and men of the Crenshaw family, schools played a crucial role in establishing community networks and family identity. As a prominent local planter and judge, it was an critical duty for Anderson Crenshaw to ensure that not just his own, but the children of his community enjoyed the opportunity to improve their lives through education. In doing so, he confirmed his commitment to his community and his role as a civic leader. In 1826, before his sons were old enough to attend school, Anderson was one of 10 local men petitioning the Alabama State Legislature to establish the Greenville Academy in the Butler County seat.[316] By serving as the local academy's trustee, Anderson publicly demonstrated his support of the community through this personal investment in civic welfare. His interest in his community's education was lifelong and not solely expressed only once he had children of school age. Indeed, while he was himself still a student in South Carolina, he financially supported the building of the Columbia Academy and served on the board of the Newberry

[312] A puncheon floor is made from logs sawn in half lengthwise and then laid flat side up. Tullye Borden Lindsay and James Armour Lindsay. (1942) "Some Light upon Ante-Bellum Alabama Schools", *Peabody Journal of Education*, Vol. 20, No. 1.
[313] Tullye Borden Lindsay and James Armour Lindsay. (1942) "Some Light upon Ante-Bellum Alabama Schools", *Peabody Journal of Education*, Vol. 20, No. 1, pp. 37-41.
[314] John Pierce, background uncertain, taught at the school for at least seven years.
[315] Douglas Montagna, "Education and the Refinement of 19th Century Methodism in the Midwest", *Methodist History*, 44:2 (January 2006), 94-131; Mitchell Snay (1997) *Gospel of Disunion: Religion and Separatism in the Antebellum South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 103-104.
[316] Receipt dated March 13, 1828, Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

Academy.[317] He actively loaned books from his personal library and as an established lawyer, regularly advised younger men on their studies and career. In 1833, he subscribed to the building of the Manual Labor School in Marion, Alabama, a college for young men combining a classical curriculum with three hours of daily vocational training in the form of manual labor.[318]

As soon as his sons, Walter 10 and Thomas 9, were of an age to attend school, Anderson subscribed $100 "for the school house", a brick structure located within walking distance of his plantation.[319] Anderson had previously engaged a tutor, James G. Tignor to teach his sons at home and who was now given charge of the school. Mr. Tignor was an experienced teacher, following his graduation from the University of North Carolina, he opened his own school in New Bern, North Carolina in June 1818. There he taught the core courses of spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic and the elements of English for $4 per term, English parsing for an additional $1, Geography for $2 and Language (foreign, it is assumed) for $3.[320] Mr. Tignor would be fondly remembered by his Butler County students as "one of nature's noblemen" even if the same former student recalled him "wielding the birch over the shrinking jackets" of his students.[321] Formal schools like Mr. Tignor's, an improvement over the more rudimentary and seasonal field school, frequently transformed over time through increased investment into Academies. Often resembling the basic conditions of a field school, Academies were chartered by the state legislature, funded by subscribers and held regular terms taught by a professional teacher. Academies were so popular in Alabama that in the 1839-1840 Legislative session alone, 23 new charters were granted. By 1850, there were 166 academies in Alabama, the largest of any Deep South state, employing 380 teachers teaching 8,290 students.[322]

A third form of community school in the rural south, overlooked in the literature is the plantation school. On the Ridge, Anderson Crenshaw arranged for the tutoring of his children at home before they attended formal school about 1828. For a wealthy planter to engage a private tutor to teach his children before the creation of a local school or before sending them

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[317] 1806 July 7, Two lottery tickets, nos. 305 and 306 for the building of Columbia Academy. Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[318] 1837 May 21, Anderson Crenshaw paid $100 in full of subscription to the "Ma. La. Institute of So. Ala." Receipt signed by J.F. Wallis. Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection; http://perrycountyalabamaremembered.blogspot.co.uk/2016/09/manual-labor-institute-of-south-alabama.html
[319] Receipt dated March 3, 1828. Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[320] *Carolina Sentinel*, June 10, 1820. Found online at Newspapers.com
[321] J.C. Wade. "Butler County Reminiscences", *The Greenville Advocate*, 18 June 1874. Found online Newspapers.com
[322] Edgar W. Knight. (1919), "The Academy Movement in the South", *The High School Journal*, Vol. 2, 239.

to boarding schools was not uncommon. Numerous 18th and early 19th century diaries and correspondence describe examples of private tutoring among the planter classes.[323] In the case of the Crenshaws, the private schoolroom gradually transformed into a formal plantation school. In large part, this transformation occurred because a single plantation settled by one family within walking distance of another gradually expanded into an interrelated plantation community. On the Ridge, the first large plantations were that of Anderson Crenshaw and his neighbours, the extended Mansel Womack and related Lewis families. In 1827, Mary Chiles Crenshaw's sister Agnes married Mansel Womack's son, Jacob Lewis Womack, who made their home less than two miles away. In 1840, Anderson and Mary's son Thomas married Lucinda Womack, a niece of Jacob Lewis Womack. He and his wife settled next to his parents' home on land given to them by their respective families. The next year, their eldest son, Walter Henry married his first cousin Sarah Anderson Crenshaw, building their home directly across the road from his parents. In 1850, Agnes and Lewis Womack's daughter Caroline married her first cousin, Anderson Crenshaw's son Frederick and they remained living in his parent's house. Over the generations, the Womack and Crenshaw plantations gradually merged before expanding, thus, by 1850, the community known as The Ridge had developed into a thriving plantation community of five closely related households. All of the households were directly descended or otherwise closely related to Anderson and Mary Chiles Crenshaw. In the second generation, 25 grandchildren were born between 1841 and 1867; all received their primary and part of their secondary education privately on the Ridge in the plantation school first begun by their grandfather in the early 1820s.

The children in these planter households required primary level education and their proximity to one another made it more convenient to send the various sibling groups and cousins to a single school within their kinship community. In this plantation school, white children studied together, most, if not all of them related by blood or marriage. The formalised school taking place within a home setting under a tutor, often themselves a relative but sometimes the teacher from the local academy. Disbanded when children were sent to boarding school in their teens or on to college and revived as needed when new generations of children reached school age, the plantation school on the Ridge was active for just over a century, from the 1820s into the 1920s. Over the years, four generations of Anderson Crenshaw's descendants, usually in groups of siblings and cousins, were taught in an upstairs

[323] Daniel Blake Smith. (1986) *Inside the Great House: Planter Family Life in Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake Society,* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press; Elizabeth Brown Pryor, "An Anomalous Person: The Northern Tutor in Plantation Society, 1773-1860", *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 47, No. 3 (Aug., 1981), pp. 363-392; "Education in Colonial Virginia: Part II, Private Schools and Tutors", *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (Jul., 1897), pp. 1-6.

bedroom turned schoolroom, first in his home and later in the Womack House, a mile and a half away.[324] At one point the Crenshaw House served as the primary school with the Womack house serving as the secondary school.[325] Exclusive and serving the community's white children, the plantation school was the most elite of educational communities fostering in the children a strong bond as kin to one another and to their physical community.

Common identity through common lessons

Education encouraged community identity through the experience of learning common material and in doing so creating common cultural memories. Spending time together and memorising the same lessons strengthened the relationships of children, binding them together into friendships and ultimately into societies identifying with one another. In their classroom most planter children began their education by learning to parse English, memorizing and then reciting the classical and contemporary speeches before their classmates, their parents and community. Recitation was the standard teaching technique in the mid-nineteenth century, thought to promote healthy intellectual competition and ambition as students vied with one another to perform. In doing so, it was thought they would also absorb the morals, ethics and heroic attitudes from the great men of the present and past. Children spent hours together in close quarters memorising readings and delivering speeches exemplifying classical, moral and heroic ideals. The concepts of oration and producing a well-reasoned argument were built upon the foundation of reciting simple sentences lauding idealised behaviour.[326] From Webster's *Spellers*, beginning students recited; "When you are at school, make no noise, but keep your seat, and mind your book; for what you learn will do you good, when you grow to be a man."[327] Interspersed in the lists of vocabulary and stories were practice sentences outlining ideal behaviour; "Never speak of a man's virtues to his face, nor of his faults behind his back; thus you will equally avoid flattery which is disgusting, and slander which is criminal." Ever mindful that not all children came from similar social backgrounds and stressing the importance of students knowing their place in society, Webster offered the reasons why all students should be diligent in everything they did; "If you are poor, labor will procure you food and clothing – if you are rich, it will

[324] Anderson Crenshaw and Jacob Lewis Womack had married sisters. In turn Anderson's youngest son married Lewis' daughter thus further combining the families.
[325] Butler County Heritage Book Committee (2003) *The Heritage of Butler County*. Clanton, Alabama: Heritage Publishing Consultants.
[326] Timothy J. Williams (2015) *Intellectual Manhood: University, Self and Society in the Antebellum South.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
[327] Noah Webster. (1809) *The American Spelling Book*. Philadelphia: Johnson and Warner, p. 56. Digital copy found online at University of Pittsburgh Digital Collections; https://digital.library.pitt.edu/islandora/object/pitt%3A00acf7166m

strengthen the body, invigorate the mind, and keep you from vice – Every man therefore should be busy in some employment."[328] As students progressed to works such as *The Columbian Orator*, they were introduced to classical, religious and American ideals with a simple and effective argument on the importance of oration and eloquence:

> The astonishing powers of eloquence are well known, at least to those who are conversant in ancient history. Like a restless torrent, it bears down every obstacle, and turns even the current of opposing ignorance and prejudice into the desired channel of active and zealous compliance. It is indisputably the most portent art within the compass of human acquirement. An Alexander and a Caesar could conquer a world; but to overcome the passions, to subdue the wills, and to command at pleasure the inclinations of men, can be effected only by the all-powerful charm of enrapturing eloquence.[329]

Oration taught planter children first how to assert themselves amongst their peers and mastering their feelings, in this case their siblings in the plantation school and to construct a well-reasoned argument. Planter children, according to Kenneth Greenberg, learned to assert their superiority and receive the honor due for their efforts while at the same time learning "to acknowledge the power of their peers as listeners."[330] Although Timothy Williams' study uses examples from the University of North Carolina's literary societies, the idea of recitation and oration were equally present in the schoolrooms of younger students. Schools also brought the community together socially for public examinations and performances by the students. Often held monthly and organised into community socials, the public examinations were widely advertised, attracting parents and visitors from outside the community. Girls similarly participated in recitation, taking great pride in their accomplishments and performance. Caroline Womack, aged 13 and away at boarding school over a day's journey away from home by coach, wrote to her parents regularly begging them to attend her school's public examinations; "We had an examination yesterday. There was [sic] a great many

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[328] Noah Webster. (1809) *The American Spelling Book*. Philadelphia: Johnson and Warner, p. 89. Both quotes from page 89 from the Digital copy found online at University of Pittsburgh Digital Collections; https://digital.library.pitt.edu/islandora/object/pitt%3A00acf7166m

[329] Caleb Bingham (1797) *The Columbian orator: containing a variety of original and selected pieces; together with rules calculated to improve youth and others in the ornamental and useful art of eloquence.* Boston: Printed by Manning & Loring for the author, pp. 31-32. Digital copy found online at the University of Michigan, Evans Early American Imprint Collection; http://name.umdl.umich.edu/N24063.0001.001

[330] Timothy J. Williams. (2015) *Intellectual Manhood: University, Self and Society in the Antebellum South.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 90; Kenneth Greenberg. (1988), *Masters and Statesmen*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 13.

people there. They said we did finely. Uncle Thomas was there. He says he is coming every time. He says he has an excuse now – he has a niece in the school".[331]

While formal Southern education placed an emphasis on public performance through an emulation of Classical literature and patriotic pride through political speeches, it also stressed individuality. Students were encouraged to process and interact with ideas and beliefs contrary to those reflected in the society in which they lived. Community and scholastic debating societies encouraged considered, well-informed and thoughtful argument, often of extremely contentions subjects. "Ought slavery to be abolished in the United States?" was a subject debated upon by the University of North Carolina's Dialectic Society in 1807. No, was their decision. However, in 1838, the same society, albeit with different membership debated ""Should congress receive petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia," and decided yes.[332]

The drive of ambition to be great was encouraged through self-development, largely through emulation of those already considered to be great men but also through debate with peers. From their earliest education, planter children were expected by tutors, teachers and parents to place ambition as the driving force behind every aspect of their lives, particularly education.[333] Following the end of hostilities in April 1865, Edward Crenshaw reflected on his youth and that his wish now the war was over was still "to become a great and noble man."[334] Utilising emulation through the memorization and recitation of speeches and writings, students modelling themselves on great men, rarely women, of the classical, Biblical, historical and early American past. The merits of these intellectual and moral leaders were acted and emulated as they stood before their superiors and their peers "to promote studiousness and morality."[335] *The Columbian Orator*, noted for its rational, Enlightenment and pro-Abolition slant, was among the Crenshaw boys' first textbooks, as it was for countless students in the North and South. In it they had access to Abolitionist texts such as "An Oration on the Manumission of Slaves" and "A Dialogue Between a Master and a Slave" although no surviving

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[331] Elmira Caroline Womack to Jacob Lewis and Agnes Womack, 8 November 1845, 14 February and 1 March 1846, 13 February and 17 April 1847, Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[332] "Ought Slavery to be abolished in the United States," argued in the negative, 9 July 1807, Folder 51 in Dialectic Society of University of North Carolina Records #40152, University Archives, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; "Should congress receive petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia," argued in the affirmative, 28 July 1838, Folder 202 in Dialectic Society of University of North Carolina Records #40152, University Archives, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
[333] Timothy J. Williams. (2015) *Intellectual Manhood: University, Self and Society in the Antebellum South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 22.
[334] Edward Crenshaw, April 22, 1865. Diary 1861-1865, Typescript, Collection of the Author.
[335] Timothy J. Williams. (2015) *Intellectual Manhood: University, Self and Society in the Antebellum South.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 22.

writings of any of the boys discuss their personal beliefs about slavery.[336] Like many planters, their father's library contained and they studied books promoting the American ideals of liberty, independence and freedom; *The Columbian Orator* (1817), Dick's *Christian Philosopher* (1824), Payne's *Elements of Mental and Moral Science (1835),* Todd's *Student Manual* (1835) and Francis Wayland's *Political Economy* (1837).[337] All of these books were influential moral texts for the nineteenth century classroom, actively condemning or, at least, inviting their readers to question the morality of slavery from the perspective of Republican ideals. Continuity and classicism defined Southern education, especially male education but it was also an education of "power and exclusion" designed to distinguish the educated man from the uneducated, free from enslaved, white from any other colour and women from men.[338] In Williams' examination of students at the University of North Carolina, he defined southern education as a struggle of statesmanship and mastery; "Although students rarely, if ever wrote about oratory in terms of mastery, it is clear that both the emulation and practice of oratory were exercises in asserting intellectual manhood or mental superiority among fellows who shared ambition for greatness equally."[339]

Even as Southerners revelled in the heroic history of the very recent American Revolution, the reality of enslaving fellow human beings was present in every aspect of their lives. Eugene and Elizabeth Genovese (1991, 2005, 2011) have shown the difficulty of balancing the see-saw of Southerners' moral dilemma, a situation which could never have been satisfactorily resolved without the acceptance of true equality of all.[340] The Crenshaws, like many wealthy planters were a minority within their community surrounded by dozens of enslaved African-Americans who waited on them, cooked their meals and served them, laid out their clothes and performed every conceivable manual task both inside and outside the house. That familiarity created invisibility for slave owners despite their liberal educations and exposure to abolitionist texts. As Walter and his brothers were first introduced to and memorised the writings of Cicero, Socrates, Sheridan, Milton, and Pitt, their father pronounced

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[336] Among the Crenshaw family papers is a scrap of notes titled "Justification of Slavery" by Charles Edward Crenshaw featuring notes for a debate or sermon. It contains mnemonic notations and references to the principle arguments justifying slavery but no personal observations or comments.
[337] Anderson Crenshaw's library known from list of books he owned in his hand, receipts for books purchased and correspondence in addition to the 1844 diary of his son Charles Edward Crenshaw, all items in the Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[338] Timothy J. Williams. (2015) *Intellectual Manhood: University, Self and Society in the Antebellum South.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 18-22.
[339] Timothy J. Williams. (2015) *Intellectual Manhood: University, Self and Society in the Antebellum South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 19.
[340] Eugene D. Genovese and Elizabeth F. Genovese. (2005) *The Mind of the Master Class: History and Faith in the Southern Slaveholders' Worldview*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Genovese, Eugene D., (1991) *The Slaveholders' Dilemma; Freedom and Progress in Southern Conservative Thought, 1820–1860*, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.

in an 1828 Alabama Supreme Court decision that "in this country, a slave is in absolute bondage; that he has no civil right and can hold no property except at the will and pleasure of his master." [341] Judge Crenshaw added with some moderation and contradiction, "That a slave is not a beast, but is a rational human being, endowed with volition and understanding like the rest of mankind."[342] While Walter Henry Crenshaw wrote his college essays on the virtues of Republican government and praised the hard won American values of freedom from tyranny, his father purchased 22 men, woman and children between 1831 and 1839.[343] While he and his brothers were studying the progressive Enlightenment ideals of man's natural rights, 54 enslaved men, woman and children worked the 3,200 acre plantation around them.[344] Between Anderson and Mary Crenshaw, their three sons Walter Henry, Thomas Chiles and Frederick William and Mary's brother-in-law, Jacob Lewis Womack, by 1860 the immediate family held approximately 196 slaves within a two mile radius of their homes; a ratio of one white adult for every 17 black men, women and children. And yet what is conspicuous in their correspondence, common amongst slave owners, is the almost complete absence of any mention of slaves or slavery other than in passing. Reading John Lloyd Stephens *Incidents of Travel in the Yucatan*, published in 1843, Anderson's third son, Charles Edward was thoroughly convinced by Stephens' arguments that slavery destroyed Mayan culture: "It shows with irresistible force the degrading conditions to which slavery & tyranny will sink a great and enterprising nation. The natives of Yucatan, though once industrious, ingenious and comparatively civilized (as the wonderful buildings described by Stevens [sic] evidently show) are now reduced by Spanish tyranny and heartless cruelty, to an indolent, sluggish and degraded people."[345] Without irony, he saw the blacks around him as indolent, sluggish and

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[341] Caleb Bingham (1797) *The Columbian orator: containing a variety of original and selected pieces; together with rules calculated to improve youth and others in the ornamental and useful art of eloquence*. Boston: Printed by Manning & Loring for the author, pp. 31-32. Digital copy found online at the University of Michigan, Evans Early American Imprint Collection; http://name.umdl.umich.edu/N24063.0001.001
George N. Stewart. (1830). "Brandon v Planters' and Merchants' Bank", *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of Alabama,* Vol. I (1827-1828) Alabama Reports. Tuscaloosa: George N. Stewart, 320-345. https://books.google.co.uk/

[342] This opinion became famous throughout the US and was published in numerous anti-slavery books and pamphlets to illustrate the heartlessness of Southern judges.

[343] Receipts for slaves purchased by Anderson Crenshaw, 1831 through 1839. Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

[344] Anderson Crenshaw, "List of slaves and property for taxes", 31 March 1845, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

[345] Charles Edward Crenshaw (1844) Diary entry for 22 November. Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection. John Lloyd Stephens published *Incidents of Travel in the Yucatan* in 1843 after extensive travel, study and documentation of Mayan culture. Beautifully illustrated by his travelling companion and draughtsman, Frederick Catherwood, this book was the first to argue that it was not Europeans or Asians who created Mayan culture but the Mayans themselves. It was a revolutionary argument at the time that non-Europeans were capable of producing "advanced" civilisations or indeed

generally unpleasant but could not see the parallels between Spanish and American colonial slavery. Of course, that degrading condition of slavery only applied to slaves outside his own country. In Charles Edward's own "Notes on Slavery", he carefully traced the arguments, infallible in his mind, that slavery was morally just and sanctioned by the Creator.[346] Outlining the most common anti-slavery arguments, he carefully noted references to support his arguments such as "Wayland 214, 216". A careful reading of Francis Wayland's *The Elements of Moral Science* demonstrates the lengths to which the classically educated young planter could independently read and interpret moral arguments.[347] Within this text, on the pages noted by Charles Edward, titled "Ways in in Which Personal Liberty May be Violated" Wayland argues that personal liberty may be violated in one of two ways: by the individual and by society, the most common being "Domestic Slavery". He then goes on to lay out all the ways that slavery violates the "personal liberty of man as a physical, intellectual and moral being" from moral, intellectual, economic and religious grounds. Demonstrating his powers of argument and interpretation, Charles Edward used these arguments refuting slavery as the basis of his own arguments to justify it. A lover of freedom and American values, articulate, well-educated in the classics, he could not equate the Spanish enslavement of the Mayans with the enslavement of Africans by himself or his family.

A text to which the Crenshaw sons often turned and perhaps the culmination of the textbook for teaching distinctly Southern behaviour and ethics was *The Elements of Moral Philosophy* (1859) by Rev. R. H. Rivers, a native of Alabama.[348] *The Elements of Moral Philosophy* neatly described everything an aspiring person of good character and reputation needed to know, think, do or say in public and private including how to manage their "inferiors" and slaves. With a distinctive Southern nationalist slant, the text became required reading for southern Methodist seminary students. Rivers divided his manual into two parts, theoretical ethics and practical ethics, which included his ideas on slavery. Rivers omitted no detail of daily life from physical posture at prayer, diet, exercises, personal cleanliness and dress to correct conjugal relations, duties towards family members and lastly, duties towards

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civilisations worthy of admiration. See entry for the book in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum online at https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/591853

[346] Crenshaw, Charles Edward (nd),"Notes on Slavery", Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

[347] Francis Wayland. (1842) *The Elements of Moral Science*. Revised and stereotyped. Boston: Gould, Kendall and Lincoln. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.hw235f&view=1up&seq=7

[348] E. Brooks Hollifield. (1978) *The Gentlemen Theologians: American Theology in Southern Culture, 1795-1860.* Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock., 135-136. Rivers was president of the Athens Female Academy and later LaGrange College which transitioned into the Alabama Wesleyan Institute and is now the University of North Alabama. Charles Edward Crenshaw most likely came into contact with Rivers and may have studied with him while he was preparing for the Methodist lay ministry in 1843-1844.

inferiors. Much of what contemporary texts counselled as correct moral behaviour involved maintaining honour through personal self-control and restraint. It was these modes of behaviour which the young sons of Anderson Crenshaw actively studied and embraced: many years later Walter Henry Crenshaw would be soundly criticised in the press for his extreme self-control and "haughty" behaviour.[349]

The instruction of self-control to planter sons could never begin early enough. Walter Henry Crenshaw wrote to his twelve-year-old son, Edward then living with his grandfather in Wetumpka to attend school, "I will always be pleased when I hear that you are a good boy, and behave well."[350] By the age of fifteen, Edward contradicted his family about where he wanted to continue his education, an act of individuality which earned him a sharp reminder of his filial duty. Edward desperately wanted his father to use his personal influence as a state legislator to gain him an appointment to the US Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland. In doing so, the teenager expressed open defiance to the wishes of his parents and grandfather who insisted he attend the University of Alabama, the state university which his family supported above any out-of-state institution. The connection of the family to the University of Alabama existed from its origins; Edward's father and three uncles all attended, his father had been a trustee, two of his maternal uncles served on the Board and five of his first cousins were all graduates. At the 1839 Commencement, his father's invited oration had exhorted the audience of wealthy and influential families that loyalty to their state demanded that they educate their sons within Alabama's borders and not send them to schools outside the state: "it is your duty to patronize and encourage" the University of Alabama because "your interests are here" and their education here will tie them to the "vital interests of your State….from which they have received the earliest impressions of their duty."[351] To not have his own son attend the University of Alabama and go out of state to attain further education was unthinkable to Walter H. Crenshaw, after all of his public support for the institution. But Edward then voiced his opinion to his grandfather, with whom he was living while attending preparatory school. This example of unfilial duty prompted an avalanche of letters from his disapproving mother which urged Edward to "pay more respect and defference [sic] to your Grand Pa. You ought not, when he tells you of anything, tell him what you <u>think</u>. You ought to

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[349] Michael Jackson Daniel, *Red Hills and Piney Woods: A Political History of Butler County, Alabama, in the Nineteenth Century* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Alabama, 1985), 87; *Southern Messenger,* 3 August 1859.

[350] Walter Henry Crenshaw to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 21 Dec 1855, Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

[351] Walter Henry Crenshaw, *An Oration*, Tuscaloosa [Ala.]: Baldwin, 1839, Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University, 11.

do and go by whatever he says."[352] When Edward took his case directly to his father against her express wishes, his mother was apoplectic with rage at his unfilial behaviour, condemning him that by expressing an opinion contrary to that of his family, "you have not done your duty."[353] Rivers, among other instructors of correct moral behaviour called upon children to observe that their first duty was that of obedience to their parents, an obedience which should be cheerful, cordial and willing within and without; "an outward act of obedience performed grudgingly loses all of its moral beauty and effect."[354] In the end, Edward succumbed to parental expectations and dutifully attended the University of Alabama. He completed his Bachelor of Arts degree in 18 months, beginning in October 1858 and graduating in the spring of 1860.[355] Once he had fulfilled his family's requirements, he enrolled in the University of Virginia to study law with their blessing and support.[356]

As established members of the planter class in their South Carolina community earlier, the Crenshaws were willing to spend substantial quantities of money and resources on the education of not only their sons, but their daughters as well. Catherine Clinton describes the Southern lady as a symbol of a family's gentility and sophistication, a symbol the family wished to display in the South Carolina uplands or Alabama frontier. In the Early Republican period, the ability of a family to keep their wives and daughters in the home engaged in genteel work such as embroidery or other decorative arts, demonstrated that a man had the ability to provide amply for his family. This placed families securely in their community's society allowing them to solidify relationships with wealthier and more influential families by raising genteel daughters. Upwardly mobile families were willing to spend enormous sums to advertise that sophistication by raising suitably sophisticated daughters. To be truly genteel, the women in a family were expected to be ornamental, well-mannered and educated to the point of being competent household managers and mothers. In 1847, the Tuscaloosa *Independent Monitor* published an article describing the perfect wife as "not merely a creature who can paint and play, sing and dance" but "a being who can comfort and counsel…reason and reflect, and feel,

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[352] Sarah Anderson Crenshaw to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 27 June 1857, Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection. Emphasis in the original.
[353] Sarah Anderson Crenshaw to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 27 June 1857, Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[354] R. H. Rivers. (1872), *Elements of Moral Philosophy*, Nashville: Methodist Episcopal Church South, 317-318.
[355] Edward Holt Nash. (1878), *Students of the University of Virginia: A Semi-Centennial Catalogue with Biographical Sketches*. Baltimore: Charles Harvey & Co. https://archive.org/details/studentsofuniver00virgrich
[356] Edward may not have been able to go to Naval School, but his only son, Arthur graduated from the US Naval Academy, class of 1896. He was an ensign aboard the USS Maine when it was torpedoed in Havana Harbour and later awarded the Navy Cross for "exceptionally meritorious service." *Annual register of the United States Naval Academy*. (1899) Annapolis, Md: U.S. Government Printing Office, 47.

and judge, and discourse and discriminate…and educate his children."[357] When Phoebe Crenshaw was sent to school in Pendleton and Columbia, South Carolina at age 13, she was sent to learn that refinement and the practical education which demonstrated her family's success and would enable her to be the perfect wife and mother. [358] In doing so, she would not only represent her family within their community but help tie them to that community. An exclusive boarding school education backed with the $1000 legacy from her father would enable Phoebe to eventually choose a socially and financially advantageous marriage. After her father's death in 1815, Phoebe was sent to the prestigious Mordecai Female Academy in Warrenton, North Carolina. Her brother and guardian Walter justified his decision and the expense; "Warrington in No. Carolina is supposed to be among the first female institutions on the Continent. It is a place of the first refinement and civilization, and remarkable for its health. Board and tuition I understand to be $120 per anm. They pay much attention to manners and all the useful and necessary qualifications."[359] Phoebe's brother Willis Crenshaw, as the father of five daughters saw fit to found not one but two female academies, one in each town where he owned a house. Before the schools were in operation, he sent his daughters out of state for their education, but as soon as suitable institutions were available in Alabama, he brought them back to their home state.[360] Bringing them back to their home state once a suitable educational institute was available emphasised his keenness to identify them with Alabama. Ultimately, three of the four daughters who reached adulthood became educators in Alabama.

In 1841, Willis expressed his concerns for his own daughter's education, instructing the respected Salem Academy that he wished " her confined to the higher branches of Female Education and particularly to the ornamental Branches."[361] At the time of his request the standard curriculum offered for $30 per quarter included reading, grammar, writing, natural

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[357] "A Wife", *Independent Monitor* (Tuscaloosa), 8 June 1847, p. 4. Found online at Newspapers.com

[358] Phoebe Crenshaw to Anderson Crenshaw, 3 June 1814, Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection. At Mr. Thompson's school in Columbia, South Carolina in June 1814, she studied grammar, history, dictionary reading and writing expressing the hope that she would "proceed in the other branches shortly"; Phoebe Crenshaw to Anderson Crenshaw, 3 October 1814, Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection. In October of that year, Phoebe had moved to Mr. and Mrs. Dench's School in Pendleton, South Carolina, where the 14 year old studied English grammar, reading and writing with the expectation she would soon begin geography and history but not arithmetic.

[359] Walter Crenshaw to Anderson Crenshaw, 27 January 1815, Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

[360] No records exist proving his daughters attended either the Eutaw or Livingston Female Academies although the granddaughters born after his death did. His daughter Phoebe taught school in Eutaw in the 1860s. The Livingston Female Academy ceased to exist in 1878 becoming the Alabama Normal College and survives today as the University of West Alabama.

[361] Marian H. Blair. (1950), "Contemporary Evidence --The Salem Boarding School, 1834-1844", *North Carolina Historical Review*, Vol. XXVII (January – October 1950), 145.

philosophy, arithmetic, geography including use of the globe, chemistry, botany, Latin, French, drawing and painting and plain needlework with ornamental needlework taught for an additional $3 per quarter and music for an additional $5.[362] Just what courses her father preferred her to focus on is unclear but the focus on education within his household was unusually strong; five of his seven surviving children became educators, all teaching in Alabama.[363]

Perhaps the driving force behind the Crenshaw daughters' education was not their fathers and brothers but their mothers. Mary Chiles Crenshaw was an exceptionally well-educated woman for her times. Born in 1790 in Abbeville, South Carolina, a community with a strong French influence, she was fluent in French and exceptionally well-read. Where she obtained her formal education is unknown, however Mary's father owned a private library of over 100 books featuring works on philosophy, geography, science, history and literature.[364] At 70, she was actively reading Plutarch and a biography of Emperor Charles V: "I try to amuse my mind by reading History. I find that does me more good than any thing else."[365] Mary's niece and later daughter-in-law, Caroline Womack, received her formal education at the Eutaw Female Academy, of which her uncle John Warburton Womack was a trustee. Caroline's studies included history, spelling, English grammar, music, arithmetic, reading, French grammar and parsing, philosophy and Roman antiquities. For additional fees, she also took singing, dancing and piano lessons, learning songs in both French and English. Although living with her aunt and uncle who "treat me as a daughter", Caroline was homesick and found it very hard to be away from her parents. Every letter home concluded with a plea for her parents to visit her, although she took pains to assure them that she was "very well satisfied I expect as well as I could be from you".[366] Despite her homesickness, she took her education very seriously. After a spate of weddings and social events in Eutaw caused disruption to classes, students were banned from attending parties and weddings on pain of dismissal, unless it was that of a close relative. The earnest 14-year-old Caroline agreed; "I think it is a very good rule. Schollars [sic] cannot learn when they are constantly going to parties. Their study is drawn off and they

[362] Marian H. Blair. (1950), "Contemporary Evidence --The Salem Boarding School, 1834-1844", *North Carolina Historical Review*, Vol. XXVII (January – October 1950), 146.
[363] In 1841, he had four daughters aged 14, 10, 8 and 6; it is unclear to which child he is referring. He did not send any of his children to the same schools at the same time.
[364] Thomas White Chiles' library is listed in his estate and probate papers. Source
[365] Mary Chiles Crenshaw to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 5 Feb 1861. Crenshaw Family Letters, 1849-1864, John and Faye Vick Collection, Auburn University.
[366] Elmira Caroline Womack to Jacob Lewis and Agnes Chiles Womack, 26 October 1845, Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

cannot learn."[367] Frustrated by arithmetic, she applied herself with such rigour that she frequently suffered headaches from eye strain, “If hard study will make me learn, I know I will learn it, I do study hard."[368] Years later she would counsel her nephew to take care of his eyes too: “I am afraid you study too hard. I see in some of your letters you complain of the headache, perhaps your studying too much gives it to you. I know when I used to go to school, and had to study hard, I had the headache oftener than I ever did before or since.[369] After three years at the Eutaw Female Academy, Caroline persuaded her parents to let her attend the Greenville Female Academy, 14 miles from her home, so that she was able to return home on weekends and holidays. Her earnest desire being to return to her home and kinship community.

Once Caroline completed her education, she married her first cousin, Frederick William Crenshaw during the plantation’s Christmas break in 1850 therefore staying near her birthplace for the rest of her life. Her husband had received his Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Alabama in 1843 before settling down to the life of a planter, managing first his father’s plantation and after his death in 1847, his mother’s. Unfortunately, Caroline’s six children, born between 1851 and 1865, did not benefit from her direct influence, as she died in 1867 at the age of 35. These children and her husband’s second set of children were raised by his second wife Sarah Lewis. A teacher by profession, she readily took up the education of her step-children after nearly two years without supervision or education after their mother’s death. When Sarah Lewis Crenshaw died in 1911, her step-son remembered; “I feel that I owe much to her. She took a deep interest in us boys and taught us many things that we were deficient in. When she came she found us a little wild and unruly and sadly deficient in politeness and especially in table manners. All of this she corrected with gentle modes of advice…I was devoted to her.”[370]

Taught at home, all of the Crenshaw children attended school led by a private tutor who, after the Civil War, was most often an unmarried female relation. In this plantation school the last teacher was Louise Calvin, a Crenshaw descendant who held classes in the upstairs schoolroom across from her own bedroom in the Womack House. Louise and her sister Annie were the daughters of a Princeton-educated Classics professor and President of

[367] Elmira Caroline Womack to Jacob Lewis and Agnes Chiles Womack, 26 March 1846, Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[368] Elmira Caroline Womack to Jacob Lewis and Agnes Chiles Womack, 26 March 1846, Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[369] Caroline Womack Crenshaw to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 17 March 1856, Crenshaw Family Letters, 1849-1864, John and Faye Vick Collection, Auburn Alabama.
[370] John White Crenshaw to Noland Lewis Crenshaw, 11 September 1911, The Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

Oakland College, Dr. Joseph Hadden Calvin.[371] His sudden death in 1867 placed their education under the supervision of their mother, Caroline Crenshaw Calvin, one of the well-educated daughters of Willis Crenshaw. With her husband dead and facing post-war uncertainty, she turned to teaching to support herself and her daughters, moving back to Alabama to be close to her home and her close kinship network.[372]

Under her mother's guidance, Louise Calvin excelled in her career as an educator, first with the Tuscaloosa Female College and then at the Alabama Normal College, earning a certificate in French and German there while also serving on the faculty.[373] Louise was also a highly esteemed teacher at the Powell School between 1890 and 1895, the first free school in Birmingham.[374] After her sister Annie married their cousin Thaddeus Henry Crenshaw in 1886, Louise came to the Ridge to teach their children once they reached school age. Over the years she taught her own nieces, nephews, cousins and then their children and grandchildren in the continuation of the plantation school. She was remembered as a strict but affectionate teacher; the children were drilled six days a week between 8 am and 12 noon when they returned home for dinner. The curriculum included Latin, French, Spanish, classical literature, geography, arithmetic, geometry and poetry with homework and extra-curricular activities such as plays and recitations.[375] The reward for learning a set number of poems being the choice of a novel to read for pleasure with the knowledge that "Aunt Loulie" would require an oral book report once they finished it. Louise's students all continued to university well prepared and bearing specially designed gold class rings engraved "L. C. S." for "Louise Calvin's School".[376] As their parents and grandparents had done, the children, either siblings or cousins, spent long hours studying together learning a common curriculum and common values within a close familial setting. The time spent together and the common principles they were taught bound them even more closely to their home community and their state. Without exception, all of Louise Calvin's students raised and educated in this close kinship network attended

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[371] Joseph M. Wilson. (1868). *The Presbyterian Historical Almanac and Annual remembrancer of the Church*, Vol. 10, Philadelphia: Joseph M. Wilson., 319-325.

[372] 1880 United States Federal Census [database on-line]. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. Images reproduced by FamilySearch.
Original data: Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. NARA microfilm publication T9, 1,454 rolls). Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d

[373] "Young Lady Graduates", *The Montgomery Advertiser*, Wed, Jun 19, 1889. Found online at Newspapers.com The Alabama Normal College was originally founded as the Livingston Female Academy by Louise's grandfather, Willis Crenshaw in 1835.

[374] Judy Atkins Taylor. (2014), "Butler County Schools Part One: Early Schools at Fort Dale and Greenville", *Butler County Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. 50, No. 4.

[375] Mary Marks. (1972) "Memories of The Ridge", Unpublished manuscript, Private Collection.

[376] Mary Marks. (1972) "Memories of The Ridge", Unpublished manuscript, Private Collection. Clara Gerald Crenshaw (1912-1991), was one of the last Crenshaw plantation school students but had to complete her final year, 1929, at the Greenville High School due to changes in Alabama's home-schooling regulations.

college in the state and remained in Alabama as part of that community, raising their children and in turn seeing them and their grandchildren attend college there as well.

Teaching afforded women, particularly educated women, the ability to financially support themselves without marrying and remaining within their social class. But it was a job many found arduous and distasteful, the only resort for women forced by circumstances to go out to work and maintain their class and their status as respectable. For Louise Calvin, like many intelligent, independent minded women of her class, teaching was a vocation and a pleasure. It was her choice not to marry and pursue a career in education and it was her choice to devote her teaching career to her fellow Alabamians when, with her own background, she could have found employment anywhere. Retaining financial security along with her own independence, Louise Calvin enjoyed a prestigious career within the Alabama school system before "retiring" to teach her nieces, nephews and later their children. Sallie Lewis, the second wife of Frederick Crenshaw, turned to teaching to support herself, her grandmother and her two younger sisters after the loss of her brother and their property during the Civil War. Keeping her family together was so important that she left her home and the emotional support of her family in Alabama to take on a teaching position in Pass Christian, Mississippi.[377] Shortly thereafter, the elder of her two dependent sisters married, leaving the younger feeling obligated to relieve their financial burden; "but as it is I thought it would be best for me to marry….I knew it was too hard on you to work so hard, and then have to divide the little you made with Grandma and myself. The gentleman that I am engaged to has a home, and plenty to take care of me with." [378] Being apart from her home, her sisters and grandmother was so hard on Sallie that she returned to Alabama in order to be near them and support them once they married. Sallie enjoyed teaching and took especial pains in the later education of her children and step-children, corresponding with and seeking advice from Alabama educator Julia Tutwiler.[379]

Not all woman who turned to teaching enjoyed it: a close friend in a similar state of financial uncertainty found teaching less than enjoyable; "I am in a splendid humour. One reason for that is that it is Friday and there will be two whole days before I go into the school room again, a happy fact to me always, for I can not learn to love my profession."[380] Teaching

[377] Correspondence between M. Desrayeaux and Sallie Lewis, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[378] Jennie Esselman to Sarah Elizabeth Lewis, 14 August 1868, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[379] Julia Tutwiler to Sarah Lewis Crenshaw, DATE Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[380] Fannie ----- to Sarah Elizabeth Lewis, 28 April 1868, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection. Emphasis in the original.

for her was "counter balancing evils" between being a poor relation and living on charity and being slightly less poor and supporting one's self. The lonely life of a poor female relation living on charity teaching a wealthier family member's child was a miserable life indeed and one in which women could and were easily taken advantage of. For Phoebe Crenshaw, left destitute after the death of her father and brothers during the Civil War and surrounded by other struggling family, teaching was her only means of financial support. The sole carer of a brother with an indeterminant cognitive disability, Phoebe struggled to find a place for them to live together and a teaching post for herself to support them both. Eschewing living with her married sister's family and mother-in-law, "Starvation itself is preferable", Phoebe had found a live-in position as governess to her cousin Thomas Crenshaw's children.[381] Initially, it seemed an ideal position, returning to the safety of her kinship network and home community but after serving long hours as the children's governess, undertaking the children's sewing and doing housework, her cousin and employer refused to pay her. He likely refused to pay her knowing she had few if any male relations to take up her cause. In desperation, Phoebe turned to her cousin and Tom's brother, Fred Crenshaw; "I write to get you to intercede in my behalf with Cousin Tom & try & prevail upon him to pay me. I have written frequently during the past two or three months but as he has not answered any of my letters recently I am afraid he does not intend to pay me. I know that none whom he is owing can need the money more than I do, for I am not only poor & needy myself but the entire family are at present in unusual distress.[382] Two days later, in pitiful desperation, Phoebe wrote to Sallie Lewis Crenshaw begging for an intercession of her behalf; "I have not a cent in the world and if he does not pay me soon [I] do not know what I will do…..Tell Cousin Fred if Cousin Tom does get any money to urge him to pay me as soon as he can; & not to pay men who can go off & get some kind of work, before he does a helpless woman."[383] Phoebe Crenshaw's situation illustrates not only the precariousness of single women in postbellum society and their dependence on male relations but the complexities of those familial relationships; one cousin offered her work but took advantage of her while his brother came to her aid. Phoebe's preference to remain in her home community demonstrates her desire to stay in Alabama. Ultimately, Phoebe did find a secure teaching position within the community of her childhood, taking charge of the White

[381] Phoebe Crenshaw to Sarah Elizabeth Lewis Crenshaw, 7 February 1874, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection. Emphasis in the original.
[382] Phoebe Crenshaw to Frederick William Crenshaw, 5 February 1874, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers Private Collection. Emphasis in original.
[383] Phoebe Crenshaw to Sarah Elizabeth Lewis Crenshaw, 7 February 1874, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection. Emphasis in original.

Public School in Eutaw, Alabama which subsequently become known as "Miss P. L. Crenshaw's School".[384]

Catherine Clinton maintained that Southern planters upheld and strengthened their class and community identity through education specifically designed to inculcate common ideals, morals and formal behaviour.[385] Timothy Williams further demonstrated that although formal Southern education did maintain class and community identity, it did so by ultimately encouraging individuality through self-development and self-awareness.[386] As this chapter has shown, Southern educational pedagogy, at first appears to be intellectually and personally restrictive but, in fact, encouraged students' intellectual freedom by emphasising their ability to choose what to think. From the memorisation and recitation of heroic speeches from contemporary and classical idols, students progressed to researched debates and rebuttals. Both exercises actively prepared them for public speaking, whether they were on the stump, in the courtroom or the halls of government. Jane Turner Censer observed that an education based on well-reasoned debate and public presentation "fitted young men for a variety of professions, including those in the most popular alumni professions such as law, medicine, ministry and education."[387] For future Southern leaders, whether they were lawyers, politicians or planters, schoolroom recitation may be seen as a student's first act of public performance. As students advanced through their educational careers, memorisation and recitation progressed into active debate in the classroom and weekly debating clubs and societies. Further exposing students to wide-ranging and controversial topics, many with a decidedly pro-Abolition philosophy, student debates brought them closer to self-criticism, self-awareness and intellectual independence.[388]

Eugene Genovese has suggested that the antebellum generation viewed themselves as holding not a single unified idea of citizenship but one of several layers: citizens of the new United States and at the same time citizens of their states and their local communities.[389] The end result of the Crenshaw's emphasis in education focused them inwards within their own

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[384] *Eutaw Whig and Observer*, 13 March 1879. Found online at Newspapers.com Whether or not she was ever paid by Thomas Crenshaw is unknown as only these two letters from her describing her situation survive.

[385] Catherine Clinton. (1982) "Equally their due: The Education of the Planter Daughter in the Republic", *Journal of the Early Republic*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Spring), 39-50.

[386] Timothy J. Williams. (2015) *Intellectual Manhood: University, Self and Society in the Antebellum South.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

[387] Jane Censer (1991), *North Carolina Planter Families and their Children; 1800-1860.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 43-44.

[388] Timothy J. Williams. (2015) *Intellectual Manhood: University, Self and Society in the Antebellum South.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

[389] Eugene D. Genovese and Elizabeth F. Genovese. (2005) *The Mind of the Master Class: History and Faith in the Southern Slaveholders' Worldview*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 88

family and community rather than outwards beyond Alabama. All of their financial and personal investment in education were always in schools local to their community and their state. Addressing his fellow alumni at the University of Alabama's 1839 Commencement, Walter H. Crenshaw distinguished the South from the rest of America as "our Natal land".[390] He formulated his entire oration around the superiority of Alabama from its natural resources to its population and the responsibility of them, those educated, privileged graduates such as himself to support the University of Alabama:

> Fellow Alumni: It is a duty devolving on us as members of this society to create "a change over the spirit of our dream." Are you willing to see Alabama follow ingloriously where she should lead? At once cast off the slur thrown upon our character and show to an amazed world that our resources in intellect are as unbounded as in wealth. To you, and to you alone must we look for the desired change.
>
> Located in the various sections of the State you have the power to enlighten your countrymen. Proclaim to them the many advantages of education; arouse them from their lethargy and teach them their true interest. Ignorance and superstition will yield to the arguments of reason. Then let it be the special duty of each one of you to see that your own vicinity is advancing in science; give your voice and your pen to the advancements of the cause. By thus exerting your talents and influence, you can in a few years revolutionize the mental character of your State.[391]

Their frontier, as far as this Alabama planter family were concerned had come to a halt, unlike many individuals and families who continually pushed America's boundaries ever westward, Alabama was their stopping place, their permanent home. In the next chapter, the Civil War threatened the security of that home and their family as the independently minded brothers faced personal and community conflict. The career of Walter Henry Crenshaw provides the lens through which to explore the under examined issue of Unionist and Cooperationist sympathies amongst the planter class of Alabama. Raised to be intellectually autonomous, the Crenshaw family found themselves composed of both pragmatic Unionists and practical Confederates. More devoted to their immediate home, community and family, their nationalist devotion to a Confederate state would awaken not during the brief years it

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[390] Walter Henry Crenshaw. (1839) *An Oration*, Tuscaloosa [Ala.]: Baldwin, Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, 8.
[391] Walter Henry Crenshaw. (1839) *An Oration*, Tuscaloosa [Ala.]: Baldwin, Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, 12.

existed but only once the cause was lost. Close, supportive and dedicated to their home community, despite political differences the family remained steadfast to their state and one another.

Chapter 4: "Any personal sacrifice for the good of my state"; Planters, Pragmatists and Reluctant Secessionists. [392]

Walter Henry Crenshaw's only electoral defeat for a seat in the Alabama legislature happened in 1859. His opponent won narrowly after successfully (and truthfully) characterising him as "haughty" and "aristocratic" and hence, out of touch with his constituents.[393] His wealth and social position were ridiculed in the *South Alabamian,* who emphasised that as an "aristocrat" he could never adequately represent Butler County, a county on the edge of the Black Belt populated with more small farms than large plantations. Walter Henry felt compelled to refute such accusations in a public letter to the editors. In a desperate attempt to win the election, he cited his voting record to demonstrate his long-standing "friendship with the poor" but resorted to national pride and xenophobia to cast doubts on the English born editor of the *South Alabamian*:

> I call upon the Poor men of Butler County to refute this slander. Show by your votes on the first day in August, that you do not believe that one who has represented you so often, was so unworthy of your confidence. Show that you will not be dictated to by an Englishman; but as free-born American Citizens you will cast your votes without consulting his wishes.[394]

Charges of being a local aristocrat were not unfounded for Walter Henry Crenshaw. In 1840, while still unmarried, he lived with his parents on a 3,200 acre plantation worked by 61 enslaved people. Within a two mile radius of their home, his extended family owned another 130 slaves.[395] Trained from an early age for the life of a leader, whether that be planter or statesman or both, his comfortable way of life depended solely on the South's Peculiar Institution. He was a firm advocate for the expansion of slavery into the territories, whether he genuinely wanted to see the expansion of slavery or was advocating it because he believed it to be the legal interpretation of the Constitution.[396]

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[392] Walter Henry Crenshaw to Governor Robert M. Patton, December 10, 1866, Collection of ADAH: 1866- December Correspondence, Administrative Files, SG024, Folder 29.
[393] Michael Jackson Daniel, *Red Hills and Piney Woods: A Political History of Butler County, Alabama, in the Nineteenth Century* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Alabama, 1985), 87; *Southern Messenger,* 3 August 1859.
[394] W. H. Crenshaw to the Editors, *The Southern Messenger*, 20 July 1859. Found online at Newspapers.com
[395] 1840 US Census, Butler County, Alabama, Roll 1, Page 160, Image 328. Family History Library Film: 0002332.
[396] W. H. Crenshaw to the Editors, *The Southern Messenger,* 14 May, 14, June, 20 July 1859.

This chapter will explore the under-examined issue of Unionist and Cooperationist sympathies amongst the planter class of Alabama through the lens of Walter Henry Crenshaw (1817-1878), planter, Unionist Whig and reluctant secessionist. The extended Crenshaw family represent countless similar families across the South who faced internal disagreements and the difficult decisions over speaking out against the majority or being swept up in the fervour of Secession.[397] In previous chapters, the family have been introduced along with their motivations for leaving their prosperous South Carolina plantation for the wilderness of Alabama territory. Their settlement on the frontier within a supporting male and female kinship network, their devotion to public and private education and their developing state identity have been explored. In both academic and popular literature, Unionists and Cooperationists are characterised wholly as yeoman farmers and/or non-slaveholders, most often located in the portions of the state not conducive to plantation agriculture, such as the Wiregrass in the southeast and the hill country on the northeast and central areas of the state. Recent scholarship conclusively demonstrates that support for Secession and Civil War was not the sole preserve of the planter class however; countless men and women irrespective of social class or political affiliation recognised the potential of economic and social disaster if Alabama found itself alone outside the Union or amongst a small group of renegade states. [398] The complexities and ambiguities of patriotism to the Union over the state are encapsulated by the life and career of Walter Henry Crenshaw, a first generation Alabamian, pragmatist and reluctant Secessionist who, like so many moderate Southern planters ultimately supported his state over his country.

A wealthy planter and lawyer enjoying a legacy of inherited wealth and influence, he served a total of 17 years in the Alabama Legislature; ten in the House (1838-1839, 1840-1841, 1847-1848, 1861-1864) elected on the Whig or Unionist Whig ticket and seven in the Senate (1851-1854, 1865-1867) the first term as a Unionist Whig and the latter as a Democrat. As Walter Henry ascended to ever more prominent positions within his local community and state government, first as a representative and then a senator, he eschewed leaving Alabama for a national role preferring to support his state over his country. In 1855 and 1857 he was called upon by supporters to make a bid for Congress, initially accepting the first time but subsequently declining to run either time.[399] Walter Henry often asked the voters of Butler County to vote for him because they knew him, they

[397] Christopher Lyle McIlwain (2016) *Civil War Alabama*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press; Amy Murrell Taylor (2005) *The Divided Family in Civil War America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
[398] Christopher Lyle McIlwain (2016) *Civil War Alabama*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
[399] *The Weekly Advertiser* (Montgomery), *The Weekly Advertiser*, 25 April, 1855; 5 August 1857.

knew his family and knew he would represent them, even if they knew he differed with them on national politics: "It is true I may differ with many of them in political sentiment; but as I have been raised in the county from early boyhood, and expect to make it my home the remainder of my days, my interests are identified with theirs, and I can have no motive in misrepresenting any of them."[400] It was at home in Butler County where he had been raised since the age of four that Walter Henry readily absorbed the Whig ideals of his father, family and their circle of friends. His father and mentor, Anderson Crenshaw was a "mild Henry Clay Whig" with such a reputation for fairness and impartiality that he was repeatedly re-elected to the bench by his political opponents.[401] Anderson's brothers-in-law, Lewis and John W. Womack, were both politically active Whigs who supported secession; the latter founded *The Greenville* Whig in 1834, the first newspaper in Butler County. [402] Particularly unimpressed with Henry Clay, J. W. Womack joined the Democratic party, serving as the county delegate to the state conventions of 1850 and 1852.[403] Close neighbours, the men regularly sought out and exchanged political journals, newspapers and published speeches despite their political differences.[404] Walter Henry and his uncle Womack routinely found themselves at odds politically, voting for the opposing presidential candidates in 1844, 1848, 1852, 1856 and 1860 but remained close family and friends.[405]

Anderson's law office stood at the end of his drive on the main road from Greenville, the county seat and Elm Bluff, a bustling river landing on the Alabama River. The office and home were local gathering places for friends, politicians, established and hopeful lawyers as well as those seeking his services; a place where his sons heard debate on the current local and state issues.[406] The Crenshaw household was frequented by prominent politicians such as General Asa Arrington, legislator James Dellett , Alabama supreme court chief justice Reuben Saffold, legislator Thomas H. Watts (afterwards Alabama governor) and John Gayle (afterwards Alabama governor) with whom the young Walter Henry and his brothers discussed politics and were influenced by their opinions.[407] Prepared to attend university at a young age, he graduated from the University of Alabama in 1834, a month after his 17th birthday. Walter

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[400] W. H. Crenshaw to the Editors, *The Southern Messenger,* 14 May 1859. Found online at Newspapers.com

[401] Charles Edward Crenshaw (1904) *A Sketch of Judge Anderson Crenshaw*, Montgomery: The Alabama Historical Society, Reprint no 13.

[402] John Buckner Little (1885) *History of Butler County*. Cincinnati: Elm Street Printing Company, 149.

[403] *Alabama Beacon*, 5 May 1849, 27 December 1851.

[404] John W. Womack to Jacob Lewis Womack, Letters, 1831-1860 and undated, in the Marcus Joseph Wright Papers #1044, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina.

[405] W. H. Crenshaw to the Editors, *The Southern Messenger,* 14 May, 14, June, 20 July 1859. Found online at Newspapers.com

[406] Jon L. Wakelyn (2002) *Confederates Against the Confederacy*. Westport, Connecticut: Prager.

[407] Charles Edward Crenshaw. (1844) *Diary*, Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

Henry's commencement address, "The Discovery of America and its Moral Influence on the World" laid out his developing interpretation of Whig views of American and world history as a moral progression.[408] For the university's fifth anniversary in 1839, Walter Henry was invited to address The Society of Alumni, again framing American history within the Whig ideals of moral improvement, literary education and patriotism.[409] For Walter Henry, patriotism was expressed through the Whig concept of freedom which (white) men only obtained by tirelessly striving to fulfil their potential. Such freedom, Walter Henry believed, only came through education and therefore one of his most cherished beliefs was expanding opportunities for society by removing the obstacles of ignorance and in doing so, poverty. Walter Henry's youthful essays continually return to the concept that ignorance was a form of mental slavery trapping man into a life as brutish, poor and miserable as that of any African slave. Only a literary education, he argued, could offer white men (and women) freedom.[410]

This concept of freedom brought with it an ideal of how American government should work and why it existed, a concept of government intervention which Jacksonian Democrats viewed derisively as "paternal elitism".[411] J. Mills Thornton succinctly described the Whig programs designed to lift Americans from "economic, social or moral bondage":

> "government aid for the construction of railroads, roads and canals; protective tariffs; central regulation of the currency supply and the banking system; the establishment of public schools, the prohibition of the sale of liquor; the creation of hospitals to treat the insane, institutions to train the deaf and blind for usefulness, and penitentiaries to redeem criminals."[412]

With the exception of the prohibition of the sale of liquor, which they enjoyed with moderation, both Walter Henry and his father Anderson actively supported all such internal improvements within Alabama, as long as they were financed by and within the state.[413] Affected by the insanity of his aunt, Walter Henry was especially concerned with the creation of a state hospital for the insane, actively corresponding with Dorothea Dix about the most

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[408] Walter H. Crenshaw, (1834), "The Discovery of America" in the W. H. Crenshaw Commonplace Book, W. S. Hoole Special Collections, University of Alabama.
[409] Walter H. Crenshaw, (1839) *An Oration*. Tuscaloosa [Ala]: Baldwin, Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.
[410] Walter H. Crenshaw, (1834), "University Essays" in the W. H. Crenshaw Commonplace Book, W. S. Hoole Special Collections, University of Alabama.
[411] J. Mills Thornton, "The Ethic of Subsistence and the Origins of Southern Secession" in *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (Summer 1989), p. 73.
[412] J. Mills Thornton, "The Ethic of Subsistence and the Origins of Southern Secession" in *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (Summer 1989), p. 73.
[413] Their views are expressed in extensive correspondence among their surviving papers in both the Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers and the Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, both private collections.

accessible location and amenities for "that afflicted class of our fellow citizens."[414] He advocated but was unsuccessful in his desire to locate the Alabama Insane Asylum on the Alabama River, closer to Montgomery so that families would find it easier to visit the patients. However, Walter Henry resolutely did not support internal infrastructure and social improvements paid for by the Federal or, as he called it, the "General Government". Instead he believed that infrastructure improvements within Alabama should be funded from within the state. He repeatedly voted against a protective tariff and the funding of the Pacific Railroad, a project he termed a "heresy".[415] With improvements designed to encourage their community to fulfil their potential, he hoped and believed that Alabama was;

> The bright star of freedom [that] now glitters in the west, proclaiming aloud to man to absolve himself from all allegiance to fellow man and to bow at the shrine of none but his maker. And under the glorious form of a flourishing republic, this new-trodden soil has become a land of refuge for the oppressed and an asylum for the poor.[416]

Whigs, often wealthy with their paternalist ideas of knowing what was best for their community, not unsurprisingly developed a reputation of elitism. Alexis de Toqueville would observe following a visit to the United States in 1831 that, "the aristocracy of America is on the bench and at the bar."[417] By following in the footsteps of his father and uncles, Walter Henry easily stepped out onto the state's stage to become a leader of his community, comfortably backed by the wealth of his family's plantations and their prominence in local and state politics. He easily bypassed an expensive paid legal apprenticeship as his father and uncles had done by reading law with his father instead. While Walter Henry was preparing for the Bar, Anderson Crenshaw was an esteemed jurist, judge of the 6th Circuit and a Supreme Court Justice. The social and political elite of the young state frequently stayed at their home, further exposing him to local, state and national ideas as well as to make professional connections and friendships. David Durham observed that as much as Alabamians often expressed an aversion to "well-educated or seemingly pretentious figures, lawyers increasingly controlled the

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[414] Walter H. Crenshaw to Dorothea Dix, 30 April 1852, Houghton Library, Harvard University. Walter's aunt, Amanda Chiles Crenshaw, the wife of his uncle Willis Crenshaw was institutionalised at the South Carolina Insane Asylum from 1846 until her death in 1886.
[415] W. H. Crenshaw to the Editors, *The Southern Messenger,* 14 May 1859.
[416] Walter Henry Crenshaw, (1834), "The Discovery of America" in the W. H. Crenshaw Commonplace Book, W. S. Hoole Special Collections, University of Alabama.
[417] Alexis de Tocqueville (1945) *Democracy in America*, Two Vols. New York: Alfred Knopf, Vol I: 272.

legislature."[418] In fact, Alabama historian Lewy Dorman would describe the decades leading up to the Civil War as the "lawyer's revolution".[419]

Upon graduation in 1834, Walter Henry returned to his father's plantation to read law, rapidly positioning himself in ever increasing situations of responsibility within his community, gathering connections and earning public esteem. Earning a Master's Degree from the University of Alabama in 1837, that same year he was appointed a major in the county militia by the Governor.[420] The following year, 1838, was a busy one for the ambitious 21 year old; he passed the bar, was appointed post master of Palmyra Post Office and won election as a Whig to the state legislature, taking the seat lately occupied by his uncle, John W. Womack, with whom he would frequently serve over the years.[421] Whether by nepotism or ability, he was quickly appointed to the Judiciary standing committee, of which William Lowndes Yancy was also a member.[422] In 1839 Walter Henry was appointed a delegate to the first Whig National Convention in Harrisburg, PA alongside seasoned Whig leader, Henry W. Hilliard.[423] In 1840, the 23 year old was elected a trustee of the University of Alabama by the General Assembly, serving for a term of three years. While he had been a student, both of his Womack uncles had been elected to the position of Trustee of the University in 1833 and 1835. His popularity amongst the male community saw him elected to the rank of colonel of his militia unit in 1840, a position his father had similarly enjoyed in South Carolina during the War of 1812.[424] This was a position in which Walter Henry took great pride for he acquired an ornate dress sword to go with his uniform and a copy of Cooper's *Military Tactics.*[425]

His family connections with wealth and political influence within Alabama were solidified when in 1841, Walter Henry married his 16 year old first cousin, Sarah Anderson Crenshaw, who

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[418] David Durham (2008), *A Southern Moderate in Radical Times; Henry Washington Hilliard, 1808-1892*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 46.
[419] Lewy Dorman quoted in Christopher Lyle McIlwain (2016) *Civil War Alabama*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
[420] John Buckner Little (1885) *History of Butler County*. Cincinnati: Elm Street Printing Company, 103-105.
[421] Hannis Taylor et al (1893) *Memorial record of Alabama: A Concise Account of the State's Political, Military, Professional and Industrial Progress, Together with the personal memoirs of many of its people.* Madison, Wisconsin: Brant and Fuller, 553-554. Digitised copy found online at https://archive.org/details/memorialrecordof00tayl/page/n8
[422] "The Legislature", *Flag of the Union*, Wednesday, November 10, 1841. Found online at Newspapers.com
[423] *The Wetumpka Argus*, Wednesday, November 13, 1839. Found online at Newspapers.com The pragmatic and moderate Hilliard, distinguished by his Unionist stance had been Walter Henry's English tutor at the University of Alabama.
[424] *Alabama Register of Officers, Vol. 3, 1832-1844*, Alabama Department of Archives and History, 197.
[425] The dress sword remains in the collection of a descendant. Walter Henry Crenshaw to Edward Crenshaw, 28 May 1861, Letters, 1861-1864, Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University. He would later use his copy of Cooper's *Military Tactics* to drill his local militia unit in 1861 after war was declared.

happened to be his father's namesake.[426] The daughter of his father's elder brother, Dr. Abner Crenshaw, her father was a well-known physician, businessman and planter with 22 slaves in 1840.[427] Her mother, Charlotte Elmore Crenshaw was the daughter of General John Archer Elmore, who migrated to Alabama from South Carolina in 1819 and subsequently served in the Alabama legislature in 1821.[428] Dr. Crenshaw's elder daughter, Mary Louise had married Major Bolling Hall II in 1836, with whom Walter Henry served for many years in the legislature.[429] Bolling Hall II, son of US Congressman Bolling Hall of Georgia, another early settler in Alabama was similarly an influential politician and planter. In the spring or summer of 1842, Walter Henry and Sarah Anderson moved across the road from his parents into their own home on a smaller plantation they would manage until 1866. Walter Henry placed his law office directly across the road from his father's, taking up the position of gentleman planter and lawyer when not sitting in the legislature. In the years Walter Henry did not serve in the legislature, he made his income through farming and his legal practice. Despite employing an overseer, he took an active interest in the daily management of his plantation. In much of his correspondence to his son, he demonstrated his first-hand knowledge of his farming operation, recounting days spent directly supervising his slaves, including minute details of their work and their crops.[430] In 1848, he seriously considered mechanising his cotton production, seeking advice from Daniel Pratt over the practicalities of building a modern cloth spinning factory so his slaves could produce finished fabric for sale on a large scale.[431] It was a plan which came to naught as a result of Pratt's advice on the difficulties of importing the machinery and finding trained engineers to run and maintain it.

During the early years of his marriage and between 1854 and 1860, Walter Henry devoted more time to his 530 acre farm. He began the decade modestly with 1 horse, 25 cattle, 60 pigs, 5 dairy cows and 7 mules worth $800, 115 improved acres, total valued at $2000. According to the agricultural census returns of 1850, his 19 slaves produced only two 500 pound bales of cotton in 1849-1850, the vast majority of the plantation's market

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[426] *The Wetumpka Argus*, 1 September 1841. Found online at Newspapers.com
[427] 1840 Federal Census, Butler County, Alabama, Roll 1, Page 7, Image 19. Family History Library Film: 0002332.
[428] "History of the Elmore Family from Whom the County took its Name", *The Wetumpka Argus*, 1 July 1948. Found online at Newspapers.com The Crenshaw family were intimately connected with the Elmores in South Carolina
[429] "Mary Louise Crenshaw Hall Obituary", *The Daily* Confederation, 3 August 1858. Found online at Newspapers.com
[430] Walter H. and Sarah A. Crenshaw, Letters 1855-1857, The Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[431] Daniel Pratt to Walter H. Crenshaw, 5 and 28 August 1848, The Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

output being in grain, dairy and meat.[432] At the time, the price of middling cotton in New Orleans hovered around $0.11 a pound making those two bales worth approximately $110.[433] By 1856, out of the legislature until 1860 with time on his hands to directly supervise his plantation, the cotton yield dramatically increased to seventy-seven 500 pound bales of ginned cotton or "about six bales to the hand".[434] Even with a lower average price for middling cotton on the New Orleans market at $0.8 a pound, those 77 bales would be roughly valued at $3,080.[435] By 1860 his plantation now contained 875 acres, of which 150 were in production and was now valued at $12,000. He had also increased the number of slaves he owned from 19 to 33 and the value of his livestock from $800 to $2250. In 1859-1860 season, his slaves produced ninety-five 500 pound bales of cotton; with cotton prices having risen to $0.11, those 95 bales were potentially worth $5,225. Alongside his neighbouring family who were full time planters, Walter Henry's production paled in comparison; his uncle J. L. Womack's plantation produced 144 bales, brother Thomas' 144 bales and brother Frederick baled 249 combined on his and their mother's plantation, making the Crenshaw Womack families amongst the wealthiest planter families in Butler County.[436] Increasing his slave ownership from 19 to 33 people, clearing more land for cotton and increasing production from 2 bales of ginned cotton to 95 in a decade clearly demonstrates an increasing reliance on the South's economic bedrock, slaves and cotton. While maintaining a legal practice and service in the state legislature, by 1860 Walter Henry was no longer farming as a supplement but as his primary source of income, thereby becoming more firmly dependent on the South's Peculiar Institution. His increasing reliance on slavery and its expansion was reflected in his politics as he became increasingly more concerned with the right of slavery to expand into the western territories.

Union, Cooperation and "Going with the state"

Both wealthy planters whose personal wealth was directly a result of slavery, brothers-in-law, Walter Henry Crenshaw and Bolling Hall II both came out publicly for Cooperation as the state tumbled towards Secession. After the death of Mary Louisa Crenshaw Hall in 1858,

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[432] U. S. Selected Federal Census Non-Population Schedules, 1850-1880, Agriculture, 1850, Southern Division, Butler County, Alabama, pages 29-30.
[433] Arthur H. Cole (1938) *Wholesale Commodity Prices in the United States, 1700-1861, Statistical Supplement, Actual Wholesale Prices of Various Commodities*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
[434] Walter H. Crenshaw to Edward F. Crenshaw, 12 March 1856, The Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[435] Arthur H. Cole (1938) *Wholesale Commodity Prices in the United States, 1700-1861, Statistical Supplement, Actual Wholesale Prices of Various Commodities*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
[436] U. S. Selected Federal Census Non-Population Schedules, 1850-1880, Agriculture, 1860, Precinct 9, Butler County, Alabama, pages 23-24.

the Crenshaws became more closely involved with the Hall family than in-laws and cousins. Her death left Bolling Hall briefly incapacitated with grief, with a large plantation and 12 children between the ages of 18 months and 20 years. Because Ellerslie, the Hall Plantation was so close to Montgomery, the state capital after 1846, Walter Henry frequently stayed there on business. Consequently, the Crenshaws stepped in to support the widower and children, often assisting in the management of his plantation, business and personal affairs. Hall would come out in 1860 as a staunch Unionist before weakening slightly as a Cooperationist, undertaking a state-wide lecture tour before the 1860 Secession Convention.[437] Together the Crenshaw-Hall families were intimately connected by blood and/or marriage to many of the political and social elite within the state: US Congressman and avid States Rights proponent Dixon Hall Lewis; US Congressman, Unionist Whig and bitter Yancy opponent James Abercrombie; Anti-Secessionist Alabama governor Benjamin Fitzpatrick; Edward C. Elmore, the Confederate Treasurer; and radical Reconstruction Republican Charles Hays.[438] For the extended Southern family, claiming kinship and seeking favours were common across political divisions, families were often closer than political divisions. Astoundingly complex kinship connections involving second and third cousins could merit calling an apparent stranger "cousin" and welcoming them into the intimate family circle. The intimate web of Southern social relations led to unusual associations as men relied upon and sought favours from relations of vastly different political persuasions. John W. Womack thought it appropriate to press his brother, Lewis to write to Walter Henry asking for political support in his bid to a circuit judgeship; "I desire that you will have a special interview with Walter. He can do me a great deal of good, if he will. Tell him to state, that no man is steadier than I am, in the whole circuit…. Walter knows that I shall always be ready to do a like service for him whenever he may think proper to request it.[439] But two months later, Womack wrote again having not heard a response with more insistence, "I requested him to write to such of the members elect as he was on good terms with… I want you to see him and get him to write some letters" of support. The letters of support may never have materialised as

[437] "The Peoples Candidate, Maj. Bolling Hall", *The Autauga Citizen*, 6 December 1860. Found online at Newspapers.com

[438] "The Life of Representative Dixon Hall Lewis of Alabama", (online) http://history.house.gov/Home/ Accessed 9 October 2017; William Warren Rogers Jr. (1993) *Black Belt Scalawag; Charles Hays and the Southern Republicans in the Era of Reconstruction*, Athens: University of Georgia Press. Charles Hays' mother married Walter Crenshaw's uncle, John W. Womack and the Hays children were well acquainted with their Crenshaw cousins, spending time on the plantation of their step-uncle, Jacob Lewis Womack in Butler County.

[439] John W. Womack to Jacob Lewis Womack, 25 September 1843, Letters, 1831-1860 and undated, in the Marcus Joseph Wright Papers #1044, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina.

Womack and Crenshaw were in opposition politically and Womack was not elected to the circuit court, although the two men maintained a cordial relationship.[440]

J. Mills Thornton concluded wryly that Alabama was a "society obsessed with the idea of slavery".[441] But for Thornton, it was a fear instilled by politicians that the free citizens of Alabama would become slaves to the North, rather than an obsession with the institution of slavery itself. He argues persuasively that slavery was so ever present in daily life that most Southerners rarely gave it a second thought. Indeed, the correspondence and diaries of planters continuingly frustrate historians and interested readers alike because they rarely discuss or describe their attitudes to slavery. Certainly, there are notable exceptions such as the remarkable diaries of Mary Chesnutt, Sarah Haynsworth Gayle and Frances Kemble but the majority of slaveowners' diaries and correspondence only mention slaves in passing.[442] And yet the idea persists of slavery obsessed Southern politicians, inflaming their rhetoric and informing their constituents that abolition "fanatics" were bent on destroying the Southern way of life by depriving them of their right to own slaves. In contrast to Thornton, David Potter argued persuasively that Secession was driven not by the worry of Southerners being "enslaved" by the North but rather the North's active resistance to the expansion of slavery into the territories.[443]

Indeed, the one subject upon which most Alabama politicians agreed was the sanctity of slavery as guaranteed and protected by the Constitution. Walter Henry and his colleagues, whether they were Democrats, Whigs, or American Unionists promoting State's Rights or Cooperation, all supported the rights of the South to slavery and all were heavily invested in protecting and perpetuating slavery. Barney and Potter stress that Southerners were so forceful in their support of slavery expanding into the territories because of their endless desire for more land.[444] Plantation agriculture, specifically cotton, gradually reduced the soil's productivity; hence planters need "fresh" land upon which to improve their profits and their fortunes. Southerners, always searching to move farther west for more cheap land were the

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[440] John W. Womack to Jacob Lewis Womack, 20 November 1843, Letters, 1831-1860 and undated, in the Marcus Joseph Wright Papers #1044, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina.; *Sumter County Whig*, 26 December 1843, Found online at Newspapers.com

[441] J. Mills Thornton III (1987) *Politics and Power in a Slave Society: Alabama 1800-1860*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

[442] C. Vann Woodward (1981*) Mary Chesnut's Civil War*. New Haven: Yale University Press.; Sarah Woolfolk Wiggins with Ruth Smith Truss (2013) *The Journal of Sarah Haynsworth Gayle, 1827-1835*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.; Frances Anne Kemble (1863) *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation, 1838-1839.*

[443] David M. Potter (1977), *The Impending Crisis, 1848-1861*. New York: Harper and Row.

[444] William L. Barney (2004) *The Secessionist Impulse; Alabama and Mississippi in 1860*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

most aggressive of western expansionists.[445] For the Crenshaws, supporting expansion of slavery westward into the territories appears to have been less a personal desire but an interpretation of constitutional law. Walter Henry Crenshaw's generation had no desire, nor did they move westward in search of migration opportunities as their parents and grandparents had before them. Committed to Alabama's present and future, the Crenshaws chose to stay in Alabama through the Civil War and Reconstruction.

The geography of Alabama had much to do with the politics of the state; in the Black Belt cotton counties "agriculture was an extension of national and international trade" whereas in the hill counties and Wiregrass, agriculture was subsistence and localised.[446] Hence voters with large farms and plantations were more closely affected by national issues whereas small and subsistence farmers, only their direct needs. Thornton's use of voting records demonstrates clearly that voters from south Alabama voted for immediate secession whilst those from the hill counties and Wiregrass preferred cooperation or to remain in the Union.[447] Butler County, Alabama was in the nineteenth century and remains today, a county on the borders. Neither fully in the Black Belt nor the piney woods, it sits squarely in the south central portion of the state, some forty-five miles south of Montgomery, the state capital. The extreme north-western corner of the county contains the only Black Belt type soil and was, thus, the reserve of the largest plantations and concentration of Whig Party supporters. Planter wealth concentrated itself in the north-western precincts of Manningham (home of the Crenshaws), Montery (home of their kin the Lewises and Womacks) and Butler Springs where rich bottom land prevailed, whilst smaller but no less financially successful farms covered the piney woods to the south and east. The county seat, Greenville occupies then, as now, almost the very centre of the county. Bisected by the Old Federal Road northeast to southwest, it was a county easily filled with immigrants from the Carolinas and Georgia, as well as transients heading ever southwards and westwards. In the nineteenth century, true democracy flourished in that Alabama's Constitution guaranteed universal male suffrage for white men over the age of 21 and did not require a minimum property ownership to hold elected office.[448] Therefore, elected officials before Reconstruction came from all ranks of society, including the wealthiest planters, town merchants and yeoman farmers who appeared to

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[445] William L. Barney (2004) *The Secessionist Impulse; Alabama and Mississippi in 1860*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 4-15.
[446] J. Mills Thornton (1974), *Politics and Power in a Slave Society; Alabama 1806-1860*, Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 300.
[447] J. Mills Thornton (1974), *Politics and Power in a Slave Society; Alabama 1806-1860*, Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 95.
[448] "The Constitution of 1819", (online) http://www.legislature.state.al.us/ Accessed 5 October 2017.

enjoy mutual respect within the confines of friendly baiting.[449] With populations concentrated within small communities, candidates and voters knew one another, went to school, to church, to market days and court days together and were often related by blood or marriage. Because of the combination of informality and intimacy of electioneering, party lines were often nebulous. Rarely did candidates come out and declare a platform in allegiance with the National Party, instead they were only concerned with getting elected, personal charisma mattering more than personal politics. Michael Jackson Daniel found that in Butler County, it was only during national elections that candidates strictly promoted the party platform over their own personalities.[450] In Butler County politics, voters often voted for the person they knew, not necessarily for the party they represented. Voters habitually cast their votes not on national issues but for men they knew and liked best.

Election days were often raucous affairs with free drink, food and entertainment disguised as political campaigning.[451] Stump speeches were boisterous, flamboyant and enthusiastic with candidates vying with one another to offer potential voters the most entertainment at the expense of the other candidates. Potential voters of all classes could be loud, derisive and often drunk on the abundant free alcohol. Charles Edward Crenshaw, Walter Henry's brother attended a political gathering at the Manningham post office on July 9, 1844, recording it in his diary:

> As there were several things to attract the rabble to this focus of collecting there was quite a large crowd already assembled when I arrived, & they were flocking in fast from every point of the compass. This was an appointment of the tax collector to meet the people to pay their taxes. Hence many came. As it was also understood amongst the yeomanry around, that the candidates for the state legislature would address the people today – many of the curious & interested assembled --And lastly, as there was a barbeque to appease the hunger and ease the drooping spirits of a tiresomely long sultry day—all came.[452]

Charles Edward did not mention whether his brother Walter Henry was one of the Whig candidates speaking but it was clear that his political support was already decided. As a

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[449] Michael Jackson Daniel, *Red Hills and Piney Woods: A Political History of Butler County, Alabama, in the Nineteenth Century* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Alabama, 1985). 5-12.
[450] Michael Jackson Daniel, *Red Hills and Piney Woods: A Political History of Butler County, Alabama, in the Nineteenth Century* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Alabama, 1985), 2.
[451] Charles Edward Crenshaw. (1844) *Diary*, Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection; Michael Jackson Daniel, *Red Hills and Piney Woods: A Political History of Butler County, Alabama, in the Nineteenth Century* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Alabama, 1985). 64-66.
[452] Charles Edward Crenshaw. (1844) *Diary*, Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

wealthy and university educated planter's son, his diary painfully displays his sense of social superiority by describing his neighbours scathingly as "rabble" and "yeomanry". He was clearly not impressed with the Democrat candidate who spoke first; "We were very ludicrously entertained by a natural farce… an object of ridicule [and] an instrument of sport for the lawyers at the circuit court". For Charles Edward, the Democrat's speech was "Unconnected & ridiculous to the amusement of a good many devilish & fun seeking fellows and pain of many old sober fellows who dislike to see fools manufactured out of human flesh". Raised in a Whig household, he naturally admired the local Whig candidate who "delivered some fine sentiments upon the National politics which divide the two parties at present and drew a very striking contrast between the two candidates for president. His speech gained him considerable credit." Following a free barbeque in a nearby grove, the crowd reassembled to hear the speeches of the remaining candidates. Charles Edward observed that the other Democratic candidate was "not of the order of the other one but was by no means large in point of intellect. He touched not upon national politics, as he was amongst too many Whigs and wished some of their votes."[453] At the conclusion of this last speech after many hours of drinking and eating, Charles Edward found "The crowd so very drunken, dirty & brutish" that he returned to the comforts of his home.[454]

This style of electioneering involved fluid crowds, most of whom already knew who they would vote for, some there only for the free refreshments, some to do business and most likely a smaller number to seriously hear the candidate's speeches. Free, open to all, and well supplied with alcohol, such stump speeches frequently backfired against the professional legislator-lawyers who were often seen, rightly, as members of the aristocratic elite. Candidates often downplayed the platform of their national party in favour of stressing issues that would be most appealing to local voters in the hopes of winning those votes.[455] Between 1838 and 1860, Walter Henry was elected to the House five times and to one term in the Senate. Being a one term senator from Butler County was the norm not the exception, during the nineteenth century only one senator was returned for a second term by voters.[456] However aristocratic or awkward he was on the stump, Walter Henry was greatly esteemed by his

[453] Charles Edward Crenshaw. (1844) *Diary*, Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection. All quotations from his diary.
[454] Charles Edward Crenshaw (1844) *Diary*, Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[455] Michael Jackson Daniel, *Red Hills and Piney Woods: A Political History of Butler County, Alabama, in the Nineteenth Century* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Alabama, 1985), 64-65.
[456] Michael Jackson Daniel, *Red Hills and Piney Woods: A Political History of Butler County, Alabama, in the Nineteenth Century* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Alabama, 1985).

peers, who unanimously elected him twice as Speaker of the House and President of the Senate.[457]

Walter Henry Crenshaw was a lawyer by training, a man known for his considered opinion, respect for the rule of law and his sometimes unpopular belief that the Union should be preserved. For him and many other Alabamians, the rule of law was the rule of the United States Constitution. Whether they were slave owners like himself or yeoman farmers or merchants, many of his contemporaries believed slavery was not only justified but sanctioned and protected in the Constitution. Repeatedly while on the stump and in letters to editors during the 1850s and 1860s, Walter Henry expressed his belief that to be patriotic was to be in support of those unique "Southern Rights" as guaranteed by the Constitution, to wit, slavery. As did many Southern politicians, Walter Henry believed that "justice and equality" for the South meant the right of Southerners to own slaves and by extension, "equal rights in the territories" guaranteed Southerners to move westward into the territories with their slaves.[458] As tensions and differences increased over the Annexation of Texas, the Missouri Compromise and Kansas, he continued to believe that Alabama's only potential for security and economic prosperity lay within the Union, even as he considered Northern and Southern politicians to "differ as widely as the poles are apart".[459]

The son, grandson and great-grandson of wealthy planters, Walter Henry was not alone amongst members of his family who hoped the South would remain within the Union and avoid civil war. His mother, Mary Chiles Crenshaw, brother Frederick, uncle Jacob Lewis Womack and his brother-in-law, Bolling Hall II all advocated cooperation within the Union in preference to a civil war.[460] In contrast, Walter Henry's brother Thomas Chiles Crenshaw, a planter and legislator, uncle John Warburton Womack, a lawyer and politician, both saw

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[457] Hannis Taylor et al (1893) *Memorial record of Alabama: A Concise Account of the State's Political, Military, Professional and Industrial Progress, Together with the personal memoirs of many of its people.* Madison, Wisconsin: Brant and Fuller, 553-554. Digitised copy found online at https://archive.org/details/memorialrecordof00tayl/page/n8

[458] Walter Henry Crenshaw to the Editor *Southern Messenger* (Greenville, Alabama), 14 May 1859.; Walter Henry Crenshaw to the Editor *Southern Messenger* (Greenville, Alabama), 14 June 1859; Walter Henry Crenshaw to the "Voters of Butler County", *Southern Messenger* (Greenville, Alabama), 20 July 1859; W. H. Crenshaw to the Editors, *The South Alabamian*, 28 November 1860. Found online at Newspapers.com

[459] Walter Henry Crenshaw to the Editor *Southern Messenger* (Greenville, Alabama), 14 May 1859.; Walter Henry Crenshaw to the Editor *Southern Messenger* (Greenville, Alabama), 14 June 1859; Walter Henry Crenshaw to the "Voters of Butler County", *Southern Messenger* (Greenville, Alabama), 20 July 1859.

[460] Bolling Hall to President Andrew Johnson, 29 March 1865, Amnesty Papers, compiled 1865-1867, NARA M1003; Mary Chiles Crenshaw to Edward Crenshaw, 6 February 1861, Crenshaw Family Letters, 1849-1864, John and Faye Vick Collection, Auburn University, Auburn, Alabama.

Secession and Civil War as the only solution to protect Southern honour and state's rights.[461] As early as 1835, John W. Womack had foreseen the possibility of disunion; "It is my solemn opinion that this question (to wit slavery) will ultimately bring about the dissolution of the Union of the States."[462] Despite their political differences, the family remained close as friends, colleagues and neighbours throughout the decades preceding the Civil War and beyond, relying on one another for advice, patronage and friendship.

Studies of conflicting loyalties within families during the Civil War are well represented in scholarly literature but examinations of the complexities of Southern loyalty in the years leading up to and during the Civil War remain relatively few.[463] In 1934, Georgia Lee Tatum was among the first Southern historians to express the then scandalous admission that the idea of a unified pro-Confederate South may have more basis in fiction than reality.[464] A student of the now discredited Dunning School historian of Alabama, Walter Fleming, Tatum's research expanded upon his 1903 article charting the prevalence of pro-Union secret societies amongst Alabama military units.[465] Although Dunning's article is insightful in introducing the fact that pro-Union secret societies existed, he downplays their influence on soldiers and their prevalence in favour of focusing on their similarities to Free Masonry. Tatum expanded his material to document more widespread pro-Unionist Peace Societies across Confederate units, whose existence was acknowledged and well known at the time but subsequently "forgotten" by the Lost Cause.[466] Carl Degler's *The Other South* chronicled an unknown and unexplored South, one populated by "losers", as he calls them, the many men and women of all social classes who disagreed with slavery, resisted secession and actively rebelled against the Rebellion only to lose ultimately against the Lost Cause.[467] Tatum, Degler and Margaret Storey

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[461] Thomas Chiles Crenshaw to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 1 January 1861, Private Collection; Thomas Chiles Crenshaw to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 15 April 1861, Crenshaw Family Letters, 1849-1864, John and Faye Vick Collection, Auburn University, Auburn, Alabama; John W. Womack to Jacob Lewis Womack, Letters, 1831-1860 and undated, in the Marcus Joseph Wright papers #1044, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina.

[462] John W. Womack to Jacob Lewis Womack, 30 August 1835, Letters, 1831-1860 and undated, John W. Womack to Jacob Lewis Womack, Letters, 1831-1860 and undated, in the Marcus Joseph Wright papers #1044, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina.

[463] Catherine Clinton (2000) *Southern Families at War*, Oxford: Oxford University Press; Amy Murrell Taylor (2005) *The Divided Family in Civil War America*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

[464] Georgia Lee Tatum (1934, 2013) *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

[465] Walter L. Fleming (1903 April – July), "The Peace Movement in Alabama during the Civil War", *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 2. Fleming's research underplayed the widespread dissatisfaction he found amongst Alabama troops.

[466] Tatum's examination is strictly limited to the years of the conflict, offering no discussion on the origins of the peace movements. Walter L. Fleming. (1905) *The Civil war and Reconstruction in Alabama*. New York: Columbia University Press.

[467] Carl Degler (1974), *The Other South: Southern Dissenters in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Harper.

have sought to introduce and examine the idea that the Confederacy was not a unified population of Confederate patriots aching for a separate nation but a diverse population of individuals who actively opposed Secession and war.[468] All three authors struggled with definitions of Unionist and disloyalty: Unionists were only those individuals who enlisted in Union military units; those who actively worked behind the scenes to undermine the Confederacy were Unionists but those Unionists who publicly and vehemently opposed secession but ultimately supported their state when their state seceded are most often not considered Unionists. None of the authors have been able therefore to satisfactorily define what it was to be a Unionist. In the recent scholarship of McIllwain, he chooses to term anyone who wished Alabama to remain within the Union to be a Unionist, regardless of whether they owned slaves, supported slavery, fought for the Confederacy or the Union. Tatum, writing at a time when many Confederate veterans were still alive and the Lost Cause was gaining momentum in the public's imagination, was cautious of casting what readers would have considered to be aspersions on veterans' loyalty and patriotism. Storey, like Fleming, Tatum and Degler focused on the endemic sectionalism pervading every aspect of Alabama's political culture, demonstrating that the small farmers of the northern and south-eastern corner of the state were predominantly Unionist with only a few aberrations.[469]

Margaret Storey, writing two generations later, accused Tatum of harbouring sympathy for the Lost Cause by "lumping Unionists into nebulous categories of Old Line Whigs who were either outspoken Unionists or Unionists at heart."[470] However, Storey avoided a concrete definition by focusing entirely on the testimony of 405 Alabama Unionists who submitted claims to the Southern Claims Commission for reparations following the end of the War.[471] The overwhelming majority of these claimants originated in North Alabama, long a hotbed of Union sympathies; infamously, Winston County seceded from the State of Alabama on July 4, 1861 to become the Free State of Winston.[472] In examining these loyalist claimants, mostly

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[468] Georgia Lee Tatum (1934, 2013) *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press; Carl Degler (1974), *The Other South: Southern Dissenters in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Harper; Margaret Storey (2004) *Loyalty and Loss: Alabama's Unionists in the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
[469] Margaret Storey (2004) *Loyalty and Loss: Alabama's Unionists in the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 4.
[470] Margaret Storey (2004) *Loyalty and Loss: Alabama's Unionists in the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 71-72.
[471] The records of the Southern Claims Commission for Alabama are available for free on microfilm in numerous local, county, state and national repositories; NARA M1407 *Barred and Dissallowed Case Files of the Southern Claims Commission, 1871-1880* and NARA M2062, *Southern Claims Commission Approved Claims, 1871-1880: Alabama*. The master index is available online via Ancestry.com (membership fee applies) with the complete records available on Fold3 (again, membership fee applies).
[472] Winston County Heritage Book Committee (1998). *The Heritage of Winston County, Alabama*. Clanton, Ala.: Heritage Publishing Consultants.

from the Wiregrass in the southeast and hill counties of the central and north, not surprisingly Storey found them clearly divided along class lines; the wealthy planters of the Black Belt and Tennessee Valley not making government claims for reparations whilst those from small farming communities with few or no slaves, doing so. Consequently, Storey insists that Southerners had no sense of nationalism as a people to either their state or their community but were instead intractably divided along class lines. Maintaining a close family structure for those Unionists who submitted claims was essential to their personal safety, further accentuating class divisions. Close family groups proved the only way for them to exist within their wider communities once the fervour of Secession was replaced by the fervour of The Cause. The many Old Line Whigs, Unionists at heart as Storey described them, may have been outspoken against Secession for decades but my research demonstrates that their localised patriotism was akin to the nationalism she claims they did not share. Committed to their communities and their country, they only turned to the Confederacy when the Secession Convention voted them out. Cooperation legislator, Bolling Hall of Autauga lost his bid to represent his county by only one vote to an equally avid Secessionist representative, the result being that Autauga county "unanimously" voted for Secession. That there were counties which voted overwhelming for immediate secession when the debate on representation at the convention had been almost equally divided between Unionists and Secessionists led to public speculation of fraud.[473]

Storey's research reveals a strong class and sectional divide amongst Unionists, very few of her Unionists are planters or Black Belt farmers, again nearly all of whom were located in the Black Belt and Tennessee Valley.[474] The Unionists in her study, all of whom are a discrete group of 405 claimants chronicled by the Southern Claims Commission, were found nestled within strong family networks dominated by anti-Confederate sympathies. Because of the overwhelming patriotic sentiments engendered by the Ordinances of Secession, Storey determined that very few of her subjects had the ability to work against the Confederacy without the aid of their kinship networks. Because of the very real fears of repercussions including violence from Confederates in the community, close family were the only ones to be trusted within Unionist networks. Yet, Walter Henry Crenshaw and his brother-in-law Bolling Hall II demonstrate that coming from the wealthiest tier of society, with livelihoods firmly

[473] William J. Cooper, Jr. and John M. McCardell, Jr., eds. (2011) *In the Cause of Liberty: How the Civil War Redefined American Ideals*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. Curtis J. Evans. (2014). *The Conquest of Labor: Daniel Pratt and Southern Industrialization*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
[474] Margaret Storey (2004) *Loyalty and Loss: Alabama's Unionists in the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 4.

embedded in the institution of slavery, Southern loyalties were rarely simple. American patriots in the 1840s, Unionists in the 1850s, they began to believe that Cooperation was the only realistic point forward if they were to remain with their families in the home they loved. Contrary to the definition of Unionist as someone refusing to countenance any aid to their home state or Confederacy, Cooperationists were unwilling to see their home states rashly secede from the Union without the cooperation of and consultation with the majority of Southern states. At heart, they did not want the break with the Union but neither did they want to find Alabama standing alone outside the United States with only South Carolina beside her. These men were pragmatists who saw that Alabama had much to lose by the dissolution of the Union of the States, not just militarily but politically and economically, as well. Durham's biography of Alabama moderate Henry W. Hilliard aptly describes the fact of many such men who foresaw and feared the destruction that the dissolution of the United States would bring: "the tragedy of a visionary who understood the dangers lurking in the conflicts he could not control."[475] In the decades leading up to Secession in December 1860, there was little either Walter Henry or Bolling Hall could do to moderate the loud voices of Southern radicalism; their views and speeches were ultimately drowned out. Like his father, his colleagues held him in such high regard that they unanimously elected him Speaker of the House (1861–1864) and President of the Senate (1865-1867), despite his well-known Unionist views and long-standing support of Southern Cooperation.[476] Walter Henry Crenshaw hoped a pragmatic solution could be found for the endless arguments over States' Rights and Southern rights in the territories and the differences could be settled without war. He wrote his son in May 1861, "Though the war has opened; yet a good many seem to think yet, that it will be settled without much bloodshed. It is hard to say; but I earnestly hope it may."[477]

When Alabama seceded, what could he do but go with his home state? To abandon his plantation, his family and his job would have placed him and his family in an untenable situation with no financial, material or social support. As the Civil War approached however, Walter Henry found himself in a position to serve his state as the Speaker of the Alabama House of Representatives, where he did his utmost to promote the interests of his state and

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[475] David Durham (2008), *A Southern Moderate in Radical Times; Henry Washington Hilliard, 1808-1892*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 4.

[476] John Buckner Little (1885) *History of Butler County*. Cincinnati: Elm Street Printing Company, 103-105, 149; Hannis Taylor et al (1893) *Memorial record of Alabama: A Concise Account of the State's Political, Military, Professional and Industrial Progress, Together with the personal memoirs of many of its people.* Madison, Wisconsin: Brant and Fuller, 553-554. Digitised copy found online at https://archive.org/details/memorialrecordof00tayl/page/n8

[477] Walter Henry Crenshaw to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 28 May 1862. Letters, 1861 – 1864 [Edward Crenshaw], David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

it's inhabitants above that of the Confederacy. Exempt from military because of his civil service and the "twenty-slave rule", neither he nor his brothers served in the Confederate military other than the Home Guard, ensuring that they stayed close to home; "there is no company here formed to go to the wars" he wrote his son once the war started. As a Colonel in the Alabama State Militia, his neighbours elected him Captain of the Home Guard, and he drilled them so "as to learn something of military tactics by the time Lincoln invades Alabama, and then be able to assist in repelling him."[478] However, he never spoke out publicly or in his private correspondence against the United States.

Secession and Civil War proved to be disastrous for Walter Henry Crenshaw; his state's obstinate plunge into rebellion and civil war ruined him financially, professionally and politically. One of the wealthiest planters in Butler County, Alabama and the leader of a prominent and well-connected family, the surrender of the Confederacy rightly deprived him of his slaves, the primary source of his material wealth and financial support. Unable or unwilling to work his plantation with freed labour, in March 1866 Walter Henry sold his home and plantation to his younger brother and moved his family to nearby Greenville, the Butler County seat.[479] A career politician, the Fourteenth Amendment, against which he fought so bitterly, stripped him of his political vocation, leaving him on the outside of public life for the first time in his life. Briefly, between Surrender in April 1865 and before the Fourteen Amendment was reluctantly ratified by Alabama on 13 July 1868, Walter Henry enthusiastically worked towards Alabama's painless and uncomplicated reconstruction into the Union even if he did not care for or agree with the terms. [480] Unanimously re-elected President of the Alabama Senate on 20 October 1865, he was part of the conservative, neo-Confederate 1865 Alabama Constitutional Convention.[481] Twice between July 1866 and February 1867, Walter Henry was encouraged to run for governor, spending one week as the *ad interim* governor, but he declined the office and an opportunity he must have known would have been impossible to accept or carry out as he wished. [482] Once the Fourteenth Amendment stripped him of his ability to hold political office, in much reduced circumstances and in hopes of regaining his

[478] Walter Henry Crenshaw to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 28 May 1861, Letters, 1861-1864 [Edward Crenshaw], David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University, The Confederate Conscription Act of 1862 allowed exemptions for slave owners with more than twenty slaves.
[479] *The Montgomery Advertiser,* 21 March 1866. Found online at Newspapers.com
[480] The National Archives, "America's Founding Documents; The Constitution, Amendments 11 – 27". Found online at https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/amendments-11-27
[481] *Baltimore Daily Commercial*, 28 October 1865; *Clarke County Democrat*, 30 November 1865; *Natchez Daily Courier*, 1 December 1865, Found online at Newspapers.com
[482] *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, 1 and 10 July 1866; *Selma Times and Messenger*, 7 July 1866; *Livingston Daily* Journal, 9 February 1867. Found online at Newspapers.com

political position, he wrote his petition for a congressional pardon on 12 December 1868, without apology or regret for his support of his state:

> During the recent War between the United States and some of the Southern States, in their attempt to maintain an independent government, your Petitioner was a member of the Alabama Legislature, and in that capacity gave aid to the rebellion against the U. States – that since the close of the war by the surrender of the armies of the Confederates States, your petitioner has no longer any hostility to the Government of the United States, but has more than once voluntarily taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States in good faith, that support which every good citizen owes to the government which protects his life, liberty, and property. That since the close of the war your Petitioner has been a law abiding citizen of the United States, and will to the best of his ability continue in good faith to support the government, laws, and constitution of the United States.[483]

Many wealthy Alabamians of the planter class who opposed Secession ultimately chose their state when Alabama seceded, the loyalty to their home, their community and their state superseding that to the United States. The phrase "went with their state" is now an expression synonymous with Confederate loyalty. But labelling those Americans who "went with their state" as disloyal Confederates inadequately disguises men who at heart were deeply conflicted over the legality or sensibility of Secession. Disagreeing with the very idea of breaking the Union apart yet believing slavery to be legal, if not moral, they felt Southern rights as State's Rights were enshrined in the Constitution and should or would be protected at all costs. Walter H. Crenshaw was one such pragmatist, always choosing his state when given the choice and making public service to Alabama the focal point of his career. For him, like many lawyer-planters, the rule of law was paramount, whether he agreed with that law or not. Working to expose a revolt against the Republican Judge Gardner in 1868, Walter Henry and his law partner J. A. Minnis summed up their feelings about the sanctity of law over personal opinion when testifying to the Joint Committee on Outrages:

> Whatever differences we have in politics…we are equally strong for law and order, for the full maintenance of order by the law; that whatever we may think even of the means by which the State Government has been made, we regard it as an accomplished fact, and only to be changed in the manner pointed out in the

[483] Walter Henry Crenshaw to the Congress of the United States, 12 December 1868, Petition 13004, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

> constitution; and hence for the safety of law and order, the government is to be sustained.[484]

When Alabama was a restless part of the United States, Walter Henry supported compromise and cooperation against radical agitation because it was the legal and therefore, to him, correct thing to do. Repeatedly, he stressed the legality of Southern rights, e.g. slavery and the right to extend slavery into the territories, because "every provision of the Constitution is [in] our favour".[485] The closest he came to advocating outright secession came in the midst of a heated and acrimonious campaign for the legislature. Facing increasing immediate secession sentiment from his opponents, he declared, "If the North are so determined upon refusing us justice and equality within the Union; the sooner the South knows it the better, for then she can take care of herself by withdrawing from a Government which refuses to protect her rights."[486] At the time he was running a member of the Constitutional Union Party, and contradicting himself on the stump in order to win the election. He repeatedly urged his fellow Alabamians to stay and work within the Union to agree on a solution to the slavery question; "it is our duty as patriots to continue to press our positions, even though we may be defeated."[487] As the call for secession grew louder after the election of Lincoln, Walter Henry again cautioned that "a change of government is at all times a very responsible act and should never be entered upon with haste and precipitation".[488] When Alabama became the fourth state to join the Confederacy, he supported Alabama because he felt, as many did, that the rights of the state had been violated and therefore the Constitution had been violated. As both a lawyer and a slave owner, he believed that ultimately Secession was a legal action fully justified; "I take it for granted that the same power that created the government can destroy it."[489]

Once Alabama was defeated, Walter Henry did everything within his power to assist and hasten Alabama's readmission to the Union and to the rule of law, even as he personally disagreed with the "Constitutional Amendment" and expressed hope that the Republicans would agree to "as mild terms as possible as a finality.[490] When the Fourteenth Amendment

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[484] Crenshaw & Minnis to Hon. S. S. Gardner, 28 October 1868 quoted in State of Alabama (1868), *Report of Joint Committee on Outrages*, Montgomery: Jno. G. Stokes & Co., State Printers. Digitised copy found online at https://archive.org/details/reportofjointcom00alab/page/n4

[485] W. H. Crenshaw to the Editors, *The South Alabamian*, 28 November 1860.

[486] W. H. Crenshaw to the Editors, *The Southern Messenger,* 14 May 1859.

[487] W. H. Crenshaw to the Editors, *The Southern Messenger*, 14 June 1859.

[488] W. H. Crenshaw to the Editors, *The South Alabamian*, 28 November 1860.

[489] W. H. Crenshaw to the Editors, *The South Alabamian*, 28 November 1860.

[490] Walter H. Crenshaw to Governor R. M. Patton, 10 December 1866, Collection of ADAH: 1866-December Correspondence, Administrative Files, SG024, Folder 29.

barred him from public office in July 1868, he returned to his legal practice, actively assisting the military government in an investigation into Klan activities in Butler County by testifying publicly for the Joint Committee on Outrages.[491] Unlike his brother-in-law, Bolling Hall, Walter Henry made no apologies for his support of Alabama or the Confederacy during the Civil War, applying for pardon on December 12, 1868 in his usual terse and factual manner.[492] He felt that what Alabama had done was well within the law, therefore he had no reason to apologise and now was ready to move forward and continue the job of bringing Alabama back into the Union.[493] Once granted a full and unconditional pardon for his part in the Rebellion on March 7, 1870, Walter Henry returned to public office as the elected Judge of the Criminal Court in Butler County.[494] In a letter published in the *New York Times*, he stated his beliefs on the rule of law now that the War was over; "it is now the duty of all good citizens not only to accept the situation, but to give the Government an active support. I have been a Union Whig all my life, and therefore an earnest advocate of law and order."[495] His reputation for impartially and strictly applying the law during Reconstruction grudgingly earned him the respect of his fellow citizens, even if they disagreed with him. [496] In addition to his active legal practice, he became one of the codifiers of the 1876 Alabama Law Code, working under such intense self-directed pressure it was suggested the strain of overwork hastened his death.[497]

In the present era, the Lost Cause is now commonly accepted as a mythology based on a dream of a reality which never existed. Populated by happy slaves and benevolent masters, the Lost Cause South was a homogenous population united in the desire for Secession and the success of the Confederacy. Yet, the facts are that there were many planters who supported cooperation and were vehemently against Secession: patriotic men whose lives were lived moderately but overshadowed by the radicalism of Secession.[498] Many of these men's pre-war support of the Union had been long forgotten or simply erased as the Lost Cause revised and

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[491] State of Alabama (1868), *Report of Joint Committee on Outrages*, Montgomery: Jno. G. Stokes & Co., State Printers. Digitised copy found online at https://archive.org/details/reportofjointcom00alab/page/n4

[492] Walter H. Crenshaw, Petition 13004, Ala[bama] Disabilities, Application for the Removal of Legal and Political Disabilities, 12 December 1868.

[493] Walter H. Crenshaw, Petition 13004, Ala[bama] Disabilities, Application for the Removal of Legal and Political Disabilities, 12 December 1868.

[494] F & J Rives and George A. Bailey, (1870) *Appendix to the Congressional Globe*; *Speeches, Reports, and the Laws of the Second Session Forty-First Congress.* Washington: office of the Congressional Glove.

[495] Walter H. Crenshaw to E. W. Peck, 18 January 1869, "Accepting the Situation – Letter from Hon. W. H. Crenshaw, of Alabama" From the Huntsville (Ala.), reprinted in *The New York Times,* 22 Jan 22 1869.

[496] Walter was frequently threatened with violence but never physically attacked.

[497] Hannis Taylor et al. (1893) *Memorial record of Alabama*. Madison, Wisconsin: Brant & Fuller, 553. Digitised copy found online at https://archive.org/details/memorialrecordof00tayl/page/n8

[498] Margaret Storey, "Review of Durham, David I. *A Southern Moderate in Radical Times: Henry Washington Hilliard, 1808-1892.* H-CivWar, H-Net Reviews. March 2009.

rewrote Southern history. Some descendants refuse to acknowledge their ancestors doubts or even their open disagreement with Secession, even going so far as to destroy or deface archival material. [499] Excoriated in the contemporary press for his opinions on Secession and later for his willingness to work with the military government, Republicans and Freedmen during Reconstruction, death redeemed Walter Henry Crenshaw back to the Confederate fold.[500] One of his obituaries pronounced "his judgement could at all times be safely trusted and his example is worthy of all the praise due to exalted virtue and patriotism." Whilst another contemporary noted "Thus has passed away one of the old landmarks of Butler County, and a large contributor to the character and grandeur of Alabama, as he was a man whose character for truth, honour, integrity was without spot of blemish."[501]

Amongst wealthy planters, there were many men who publicly expressed their reservations about Secession and potential civil war.[502] Perhaps one the most notable being Alabama senator, ambassador and legislator, Henry Washington Hilliard, who enjoyed a cordial if sometimes intense rivalry with Alabama Secessionist William Lowndes Yancey.[503] Bolling Hall, another wealthy planter and legislator from Autauga County was so outspoken against immediate Secession that he organised a county wide speaking tour "intended to arouse the old democracy of Autauga to do their duty" against the "disunionists".[504] Many of these men disagreed fundamentally with their friends, family and community. Amongst the Crenshaw brothers, Walter Henry and his brother Frederick were Unionists whilst his closest brother was an avowed Secessionist; none of the four brothers volunteered in 1862 and all took the exemption after the draft in April 1862, although by the end of the War served locally in the Home Guard.[505] In the following chapters, the complicated responses to Civil War and

[499] The descendants of Sarah Haynsworth Gayle saw fit to radically alter her diary, removing, scratching out or inking over passages they felt reflected badly upon her or their family. See the introduction to Wiggins, Sarah Woolfolk and Truss, Ruth Smith, eds. 2013) *The Journal of Sarah Haynsworth Gayle, 1827-1835: A Substitute for Social Intercourse*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
[500] State of Alabama (1868), *Report of Joint Committee on Outrages*, Montgomery: Jno. G. Stokes & Co., State Printers. Digitised copy found online at https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/011211502
[501] Hannis Taylor et al. (1893) *Memorial record of Alabama. A concise account of the state's political, military, professional and industrial progress, together with the personal memoirs of many of its people.* Madison, Wis.: Brant & Fuller, 553-554. Digitised copy found online at https://archive.org/details/memorialrecordof00tayl/page/n8
[502] Christopher Lyle McIllwain (2016), *Civil War Alabama*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
[503] George F. Mellen, "Henry W. Hilliard and William L. Yancey" in *The Sewanee Review*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Jan., 1909), pp. 32-50.
[504] *The Autauga* Citizen, 24 May 1860.; "The People's Candidate", *Autauga Citizen*, 6 December 1860. Found online at Newspapers.com
[505] Military Records for Walter H., Thomas C., Charles E. and Frederick W. Crenshaw, Alabama Civil War Soldier's Database, Updated May 23, 2017. http://www.archives.alabama.gov/civilwar/search.cfm

Reconstruction will be examined in detail demonstrating how some planters attempted to put the interests of themselves, their family and their state above the Confederacy.

Chapter 5: "I dreaded so much a civil war "; A Family faces Conflict, 1861-1865.[506]

This chapter will explore tensions within the planter class in Alabama over Secession and civil war by examining the experiences of the extended Crenshaw family of Butler County, Alabama. Previous chapters introduced the Crenshaws' life in South Carolina between the 1780s and 1817, their motivations for migration to Alabama Territory between 1817 and 1819 and their creation of a state identity in Alabama between 1819 and 1876. Once settled in Alabama, they placed themselves and one another within situations of political prominence and financial security, prospering professionally as members of the planter elite. Committed to their state, they invested in their education and that of their fellow Alabamians, solidifying their ties to their local community. The previous chapter discussed the motivations and career of Walter Henry Crenshaw (1817-1878), a Unionist Whig and reluctant Secessionist whose primary patriotism was invested in his state and the United States Constitution. Through the lens of this wealthy and politically astute planter family, I will demonstrate that support for the Confederacy in Alabama was less than the Lost Cause would have many believe. Devoted to their state, yet patriotic Americans, class, generation and gender divides affected how members of this family viewed the coming Civil War, their roles in it and its outcome. Building upon the recent scholarship of Kenneth W. Noe, Kristopher Teters, G. Ward Hubbs and Christopher Lyle McIlwain, I will substantiate that young planter men enlisted more out of a sense of adventure, duty and a belief in protecting their immediate home than from a desire to fight for a greater Confederate nation. For Edward Crenshaw in particular, Confederate nationalism was not awakened in him until he suffered a personal tragedy; a disfiguring facial injury sustained in the Battle of Chickamauga, where he also witnessed the mortal wounding of his two cousins. Tellingly, as defeat became inevitable, he amplified his Confederate rhetoric from non-existent to hyperbolic. Edward Crenshaw and his cousin Noland Lewis, as representatives of Alabama planter families, demonstrate the realities for many individuals across the Confederacy for whom pragmatism, realism and a desire to preserve their home were the overwhelming motivations during the tumultuous years of the Civil War.

In January 1861, Edward Crenshaw, an 18-year-old law student at the University of Virginia, received a letter from Robert Kennedy, a former classmate when the two had been at the University of Alabama in 1859 - 1860.[507] The friends had been discussing the possibility of Secession and the potential for the establishment of a Southern Confederation but disagreed

[506] Mary Chiles Crenshaw to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 6 February 1861, Crenshaw Family Letters, 1849-1864, John and Faye Vick Collection, Auburn University.
[507] Thomas Waverly. (1901) *A Register of the Officers and Students of the University of Alabama, 1831-1901*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama, 141.

about the right course of action for Alabama. Edward, son of prominent Unionist lawyer and legislator Walter H. Crenshaw, was a firm believer in the sanctity of the United States Constitution: he favoured cooperation within the Union, whilst Kennedy believed secession the only path forward for the South. For Kennedy, secession was justified because "the constitution has been violated by the infernal abolitionists, till I consider it no constitution."[508] The tension in the exchange between these two friends was clear although Kennedy pledged loyalty to their friendship; "I offend you… Ed you must not get offended at me because I am such a cesessionist [sic], for I am not wishing to break our friendship because I differ with you."[509] Deep divisions within the planter class over the possibility of Secession tested friendships, foreshadowing the divided loyalties to nation and state white southern families would later experience during the conflict.

Fears of War – Caution and Support: "Alabama will certainly secede."[510]

Walter Henry Crenshaw wrote to his son Edward on December 19, 1860, less than a week before the referendum to select delegates to a state-wide Secession convention, observing without surprise, "There is nothing new here, except we are all for secession. Alabama will certainly secede."[511] Recently elected Speaker of the Alabama House as an avowed Unionist, Walter Henry was privy to the inner political leanings but pragmatic about the strong support for leaving the Union. Later that year in "the election of Senators" on November 21, 1861, Walter Henry was one of those who attempted to have Thomas H. Watts elected one of Alabama's two senators to the Confederate Congress. Later the wartime governor of Alabama, at the time Watts was a noted Unionist and anti-secessionist, Walter Henry wishing to see some moderation in representation either in preference to or alongside William L. Yancy: "but we were not quite strong enough….I preferred him to Mr. Yancy, but we ascertained beforehand that Mr Yancy would beat him about 15 votes." [512]

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[508] J. Robert Kennedy to Edward Crenshaw, 2 January 1861, Letters, 1861-1864 [Edward Crenshaw], David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.
[509] J. Robert Kennedy to Edward Crenshaw, 2 January 1861, Letters, 1861-1864 [Edward Crenshaw], David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.
[510] W.H. Crenshaw to Edward F. Crenshaw. 19 December 1860. Crenshaw Family Letters, 1849-1864, John and Faye Vick Collection, Auburn University.
[511] W.H. Crenshaw to Edward F. Crenshaw. 19 December 1860. Sarah Anderson Crenshaw to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, November 1861, Crenshaw Family Letters, 1849-1864, John and Faye Vick Collection, Auburn University. The referendum to select delegates to the state Secession Convention took place on 24 December 1860; immediate secessionists won 53 seats to the cooperationists 47. The Secession Convention began on 7 January 1861.
[512] W.H. Crenshaw to Edward F. Crenshaw. 4 December 1861, Crenshaw Family Letters, 1849-1864, John and Faye Vick Collection, Auburn University.

Even as South Carolina seceded the following day, there was still a great deal of confusion and apprehension over just which states, if any, would join in establishing an independent Southern nation. Two weeks later, on January 1, 1861, Edward's uncle, Thomas Chiles Crenshaw wrote to him that he regretted "Virginia has not improved on the Secession Question. I was in hopes that she would have discovered 'ere this that her destiny was with the Gulf States. I still have not a doubt that she will in the end secede and join in a Southern Republic."[513] Convinced that if Virginia did join South Carolina, there would be fighting, he agreed with his nephew; "Though I join with you in the hope that there will be no fighting, still I am a little fearful that there will be."[514] Thomas Chiles Crenshaw's words echo those of many Alabamians in the anxious weeks before the fighting commenced in earnest at Manassas, Virginia in July 1861, a desire to leave the Union without bloodshed.

Many Alabamians were reluctant to see Alabama secede: sceptical of the decision to leave the Union much less send their sons and husbands to fight fellow Americans on American soil. So pervasive were concerns that for many, cooperation was taken to be the likely outcome. Living on his plantation near Columbus, Georgia just across the Alabama state line, Edward's friend, J. Robert Kennedy, reiterated his concerns for their native state; "It is said old Alabama, our glorious old state will go for cooperation, though I can't believe it."[515] Strong in Alabama and Georgia, the cooperationist movement featured many prominent slave owners who counselled moderation and consultation with the other "cotton states" over the rashness of immediate secession.[516] Concerned primarily with their economic future and maintaining their enslaved labour force, Cooperationists were not necessarily against secession but wished to prudently examine the options first: boldly leave the Union before the 1860 Presidential election and stand alone or consult with other Southern states and leave together as a Confederate republic if a "black Republican" president was elected. The belief that the "black Republicans" would immediately abolish slavery made many believe that all slave owning states should prepare to secede in unison. Writing while waiting for the results of the South Carolina Secession Convention, which convened on 17 December, Thomas Chiles Crenshaw observed laconically on the effects political uncertainty had on the holiday season, "We have had a very dull Christmas — everyone seeming too anxious to hear from the Carolina Convention to think much about Christmas.[517]

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[513] Thomas Chiles Crenshaw to Edward F. Crenshaw, 1 January 1861, Private Collection.
[514] Thomas Chiles Crenshaw to Edward F. Crenshaw, 1 January 1861, Private Collection.
[515] J. Robert Kennedy to Edward Crenshaw, 2 January 1861, Letters, 1861-1864 [Edward Crenshaw], David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.
[516] *The Montgomery Advertiser*, 26 December 1860. Found online at Newspapers.com
[517] Thomas Chiles Crenshaw to Edward F. Crenshaw, 1 January 1861, Private Collection.

As the son of a wealthy planter, Edward Crenshaw was an unlikely young man to advocate cooperation within the Union, but he was not alone amongst members of the planter class reluctant to support Secession. Recent scholarship has demonstrated that voter turnout to select state delegates to the Secession Convention was low; only 54% of eligible voters bothered to vote at all and the resulting vote close; 35,726 for immediate Secession to 26,286 for Cooperation, meaning that overall only 31% percent of Alabama's electorate actually voted for Secession.[518] Opponents of Secession came from all economic classes and all parts of the state whether they were Unionists against Secession, abolitionists against slavery, or Cooperationists who advocated working within the Union to preserve slavery for Southerners. Kenneth Noe, Christopher Lyle McIllwain, Kristopher A. Teters and Guy Ward Hubbs conclude that both reluctance to support secession and outright dissent against it were widespread throughout Alabama, cutting across class and geographical lines.[519] Fears of wartime devastation and defeat led to cautious support once Secession was inevitable but enthusiasm for the war was distinguished by generational and gender divides. Younger generations like Edward Crenshaw and Robert Kennedy were determined to defend Alabama against abolitionist sentiment to secure state rights, even if it ultimately concluded in southern separatism and armed conflict. In contrast, older generations, as characterized by Edward's grandmother, father and uncles, were reluctant to see the Constitution dishonoured and the United States of the Founding Fathers torn apart. Cautious about embarking on a civil war, they were worried about the future of their beloved home, their economic future if slaves were freed, Alabama and their family.

But secede Alabama did on January 11, 1861 by a vote of 61 for to 39 against, becoming the fourth state to do so after South Carolina on December 20, 1860, Mississippi on Jan 9th 1861 and Florida on Jan 10th.[520] *The Montgomery Advertiser* declared it "A Glorious Day!" but many Alabamians were justifiably reticent rather than excited.[521] Edward's grandmother, seventy-one year old Mary Chiles Crenshaw reflected on her state's decision in February, "I do not feel so gloomy and disponding [sic] as I did about our Country. I dreaded so much a civil war, I am trying to think all will be for the best."[522] When she wrote to her 18-year-old grandson, the die was cast, and the Provisional Confederate Congress was meeting in

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[518] Christopher McIlwain and G. Ward Hubbs (2016) *Civil War Alabama*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 78-79.
[519] Christopher McIlwain and G. Ward Hubbs (2016) *Civil War Alabama*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 66; Noe, Kenneth (2010) *Reluctant Rebels.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
[520] http://www.legislature.state.al.us/aliswww/history/constitutions/1861/1861overview.html
[521] *The Montgomery Advertiser*, 16 January 1861. Found online at Newspapers.com
[522] Mary Chiles Crenshaw to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 6 February 1861, Crenshaw Family Letters, 1849-1864, John and Faye Vick Collection, Auburn University.

Montgomery to encourage other Southern states to join them and decide a united course for the future. Many Alabamians were expressing resignation that hard-line secessionists had won but felt there was no option but to hope for the best. In these early months of waiting to see how events would unfold, there were no battles and no bodies coming home to grieving families. Without news of deaths, injuries and defeats, Alabamians could focus on the possibility of the war not directly touching them at all.

Motivations; "who can describe a soldier's dreams"[523]

Christopher McIlwain and Guy Ward Hubbs conclude that only 34% of eligible Alabama men enlisted for Confederate military service. [524] Motivations for enlisting varied as widely as the diversity of young men who volunteered in the spring and summer of 1861 during the first flush of Southern patriotism. Edward's diary, which he kept from July 4, 1861 to June 19, 1865, reveals no initial exclamations of burning Confederate patriotism nor the motivations behind his reasons for enlisting. He came closest to clarifying his preference for his home state through his desire to enlist with an Alabama regiment over an already formed regiment from another state closer to him at the University of Virginia.[525] His growing Confederate patriotism or, at least his expression of it did not appear in his diary until after a severe facial injury and the deaths of several of his close cousins. Kenneth Noe observed that many historians reflecting on Confederate incentives to fight, including Reid Mitchell and James M. McPherson, focused on liberty and slavery as the "twin keystones of Confederate soldier motivation".[526] Yet, instead of Confederate passions for preserving liberty and slavery, Edward appears to have enlisted out of a sense of duty to defend his home, a personal ideal of honour which McPherson found dominated the reasons why upper class Confederates enlisted.[527] Edward never mentions his opposition to abolition, his support of slavery or his keen desire to preserve Southern liberties in his diary; like most slave owners, he rarely mentioned the practice of slavery or his own slaves in his correspondence or his diary.

On the eve of war, Edward and his friend J. Robert Kennedy did not necessarily disagree over the question of slavery but how far northern politicians could be trusted to allow the South to

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[523] Edward Frederick Crenshaw. (1861-1865) *Diary*. Entry for September 1863.
[524] Christopher McIlwain and G. Ward Hubbs (2016) *Civil War Alabama*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 78-79.
[525] Edward Frederick Crenshaw. (1861-1865) *Diary*. Typescript in possession of the author.
[526] Reid Mitchell. (1988) *Civil War Soldiers: Their Expectations and Their Experiences*. New York: Touchstone, 1-35; James M. McPherson. (1997) *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 16-27; Kenneth Noe. (2010) *Reluctant Rebels.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 5.
[527] James M. McPherson. (1997) *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 77-84, 134-140, 168-170.

preserve the region's way of life. McPherson, Noe, Teters, McIlwain and Hubbs have all demonstrated that the preservation of slavery equated in planter's minds with personal liberty and freedom guaranteed to them as Americans in the Constitution.[528] For many slave-owning Southerners the idea that territorial extensions to the United States would ban slavery was an affront to that concept of Southern liberty. The idea that free men could not move as they wished into American Territories and take their slaves with them was a violation of their own Constitutional liberty. Freedom also meant, as demonstrated by the letter between Edward Crenshaw and J. Robert Kennedy that there was no monolithic idea about the best way for Southerners to retain their rights as they saw them. The concept of equating Southern liberty and honour with the right to enslave others was ingrained in Southern consciousness. Southerners saw abolition as a threat to their personal honour and liberty and equated that belief with the idea that the North wished to "enslave" them by forcing Northern ideals upon them. Freedom for young Southern men like Crenshaw and Kennedy meant the freedom to maintain their way of living, a lifestyle based on the enslavement of others.[529] Both from slave owning families, they were keenly aware of the implications involved if their respective states should secede and become embroiled in a civil war. That implication was the possibility of abolition. Edward felt strongly that there were many northerners who wished to compromise with the South and allow Southerners to continue with their way of life but Kennedy disagreed; "I am like yourself, I do not doubt but that there are some patriotic men in the north, but then, they are not able to hold in check Abolition fanaticism, and so I think the South ought not throw away her honor and her liberty for such a small number of northern patriots."[530] For both men, patriotism meant preserving the Union by preserving individual states' rights to do as they wished in general and maintain the institution of slavery specifically. Yet Edward believed that Secession should only be considered once every avenue of cooperation within the Union was exhausted and at the time of their correspondence in January 1861, the point of no return for him had not yet arrived. Kennedy pressed his friend by arguing that his support of working within the Union was pointless; "How in the name of God can we trust Lincoln after he, and

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[528] Kristopher A. Teters. (2013) "Fighting for the Cause?: An Examination of the Motivations of Alabama's Confederate Soldiers from a Class Perspective." In *The Yellowhammer War: The Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, edited by Kenneth W. Noe, 90-106. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press; Christopher McIlwain and G. Ward Hubbs (2016) *Civil War Alabama*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press; McPherson, James M. (1997) *For Cause and Comrades; Why Men Fought in the Civil War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Noe, Kenneth. (2010) *Reluctant Rebels.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

[529] Anne S. Rubin (2007) *A Shattered Nation: The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy, 1861*-1868. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 3, 15.; Colin Edward Woodward, "Marching Masters: Slavery, Race and the Confederate Army, 1861-1865" (2005). *LSU Doctoral Dissertations*. 1347, pp. 54-55. https:digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool_dissertations/1347

[530] J. Robert Kennedy to Edward Crenshaw, 2 January 1861, Letters, 1861-1864 [Edward Crenshaw], David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University. Emphasis in the original.

his electors have announced publicly and privately that they will abolish slavery as soon as he gets the reins of the present government in his hands?"[531]

Unable to sway Edward to espouse immediate secession, Kennedy turned to the greatest combination of fears for every Southern man; slaves free among the population, "how can we think of giving up our slaves? and the worse of all let them free among us. No, no no! not, I, nor any other man who loves his liberty and honor."[532] Local fears of violence if slaves were freed ran rampant in the heated summer of 1860 and spring of 1861, especially after "insurrectionary plots" were discovered in August 1860 in Autauga County.[533] Multiple reports surfaced of several white men attempting to arm slaves with the goal of leading them in a wider slave revolt near Montgomery, the state capital. Newspapers fanned fears of the dangers of armed slaves running loose among the community killing white people and suggesting the rape of white women. Quickly a "vigilance committee" was formed by the local sheriff who justified giving free rein to the residents by stating that "the common consent of the people, having all authority".[534] Consequently, *The Montgomery Post* told its readers to: "Keep your slaves at home and worthless white men off your premises. Don't talk politics in their presence and hearing. We learn that the idea prevails to a very considerable extent among them, that a black republican is a negro; and if a black republican is elected President, he will set them all free."[535] A few weeks later Thomas Chiles Crenshaw reported, "there were some insurrectionary plots just before Christmas discovered in Autauga and Montgomery Counties which depressed the holidays a little. There were several negroes and a few white men hung."[536]

Regardless of how Edward and Kennedy felt about secession or slavery or the fears of slave insurrections, like so many young men of the planter class, both enlisted in the summer of 1861 "for the war".[537] Teters found in his research on the motivations of Alabama soldiers from a class perspective that young men of the planter class were more ideological than their

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[531] J. Robert Kennedy to Edward Crenshaw, 2 January 1861, Letters, 1861-1864 [Edward Crenshaw], David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University. Emphasis in the original.
[532] J. Robert Kennedy to Edward Crenshaw, 2 January 1861, Letters, 1861-1864 [Edward Crenshaw], David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.
[533] *The Autauga Citizen*, 30 August 1860; *Southern Statesman*, 1 September 1860; *The Weekly Advertiser*, 5 September 1860. All found online at Newspapers.com
[534] *The Constitution* [Washington, DC], 17 August 1860; Bolling Halls fears of insurrection
[535] Threatened Insurrection", *Montgomery Weekly Post*, 5 September 1860.
[536] Thomas Chiles Crenshaw to Edward F. Crenshaw, 1 January 1861, Private Collection.
[537] J. Robert Kennedy enlisted in Company C, 2nd Georgia Volunteer Infantry on July 24, 1861 for the war. Rising to the rank of Corporal, he fought in many major battles including Antietam and Gettysburg with only one injury noted in his record. He surrendered with Lee at Appomattox CH, married a young woman from Alabama in 1866 and moved his family including his brother and wife's parents to Midlothian, Texas in January 1880.

less affluent friends and neighbours. Even if they were reluctant to express their specific motivations, they were keen to enlist and fight to "break free from a tyrannical government that threatened their slave property and way of life."[538] Edward's desire to fight for and amongst fellow Alabamians was evident by his keen intention to join only one military unit, that of the 9th Alabama Infantry Regiment, organised in May 1861 in Richmond, Virginia. He purposely made his way back from the University of Virginia travelling south to join that particular regiment, demonstrating his loyalty to the State he called home. [539] Edward's cousin, George Noland ("Noland") Lewis, a neighbour from Butler County also at the University of Virginia joined the 9th Alabama Infantry, enlisting in Company G, "The Jeff Davis Rangers", in June 1861 again "for three years or the war".[540] Noland and Edward typified the young men who readily volunteered in the first months of the war, stirred by what McPherson characterised as the *rage militaire;* a desire for battle glory fuelled by a sense of personal honour and duty.[541] In his first letter home on 23 June 1861, Noland Lewis described his motivation as the desire for peace; "It is rough all through but I knew what was to come before I started and haven't wished inwardly even to return home, without peace."[542] Like his cousin Edward, Noland did not write to his sister and brother of his motivations for enlisting, presumably they had already discussed them in person, but he did express a bold belief in the superiority of his fellow Confederate troops; "wherever the battle is fought, there the Confed[erate] flag will float."[543] Camped within sight of Washington, DC in August 1861, Noland told his sister, "All the Yankees in Yankeedom cannot drive us from our present position here" largely, he believed due to the fact that Confederate soldiers were volunteers fighting for their homes whereas the Yankees were "compelled to draft men and use all kinds of forcible means, even now, to keep up their army."[544]

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[538] Kristopher A. Teters. (2013) "Fighting for the Cause?: An Examination of the Motivations of Alabama's Confederate Soldiers from a Class Perspective." In *The Yellowhammer War: The Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, edited by Kenneth W. Noe, 90, 97.

[539] Edward Crenshaw, "Diary", Typescript in possession of the author.; "Ninth Alabama Infantry Regiment", Alabama Department of Archives and History. Accessed 10 April 2018. http://www.archives.alabama.gov/referenc/alamilor/9thinf.html
At the time, the 9th Alabama was moving northwards towards Manassas Junction and Edward hoped to meet them there and enlist with them without having to go all the back to Alabama first.

[540] Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw (1969) "The Civil War Letters of George Noland Lewis", *Butler County Historical Society*, V.5, Nos. 3 & 4 (September and December 1969).

[541] James M. McPherson. (1997) *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[542] George Noland Lewis to Sarah Elizabeth Lewis, 23 June 1861. The Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

[543] George Noland Lewis to Sarah Elizabeth Lewis, 1 September 1861 August 1861. Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

[544] George Noland Lewis to Sarah Elizabeth Lewis, 16 August 1861. Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

In letter after letter, Noland detailed with enthusiasm, "whipping them at every point"; "I will fight the Yanks with a willing heart as long as one remains on Southern soil."[545] He remained firm in his conviction that the South would win the war because, "Those battles proved conclusively the vast superiority of our men as soldiers of courage and endurance."[546] Teters argued that for young Alabamian men, enlisting as soldiers in the Civil War was a means to prove their masculinity, as battle was "the ultimate test of manhood" a test which equated wounds with ideals of courage, honour, and fearlessness. [547] But it was not just young men who associated enlistment and potential danger with proving one's manhood, but young women as well. Edward's cousin, Mary Elmore wrote to him with passion about the glories of being wounded in battle; "Were I a soldier, I would like to receive a scratch on every battle field, sufficient to leave a scar. For that way, I might count my honors."[548] For Edward's friend and fellow soldier John Clow recuperating at home in Greenville, Alabama, the business of being wounded was far less glamourous even if the attention of well-wishing ladies tugged at his heart;

> I am not getting much better that I can perceive. There is a great deal of swelling & the wound has not commenced to heal. I have been bothered to death since I came here with questions. 'Did I kill ever a Yankee?' Did I know a man of the name of Finch in the Battle? & a thousand & one different questions of a like tendency. 'Did I fall when I was wounded' 'Did I know when I was struck?' These are men's questions; but oh! the ladies their kindness to me has been so great that I could pluck out my little heart & throw it at their feet, go down on my knees & beg of them to have a poor old soldier.[549]

These young men whose enthusiastic letters describe a willingness to defend home and country, were often in sharp contrast to the men conscripted to fight after the Confederate Draft in April 1862. Noe characterised men such as Edward Crenshaw, Noland Lewis and John Clow as soldiers who were "stronger and more committed nationalists than those who came

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[545] George Noland Lewis to Sarah Elizabeth Lewis, 18 May and 16 June 1862. Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[546] George Noland Lewis to Sarah Elizabeth Lewis, 14 July 1862. Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[547] Kristopher A. Teters. (2013) "Fighting for the Cause?: An Examination of the Motivations of Alabama's Confederate Soldiers from a Class Perspective." In *The Yellowhammer War: The Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, edited by Kenneth W. Noe, 95.
[548] Mary Elmore to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 25 September 1863. Crenshaw Family Letters, 1849-1864, John and Faye Vick Collection, Auburn University. Emphasis in original.
[549] John Clow to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 21 April 1862. Crenshaw Family Letters, 1849-1864, John and Faye Vick Collection, Auburn University.

after them."[550] Noland Lewis' experience of his fellow soldiers' motivations to fight were disappointing to him: "We have experienced 'the times' that try men's souls, and I am sorry to say that some have been found wanting. We have only about 25 to 30 men in our company fit for duty. Some sick with measles, some sick with fever and some pretending sickness to shirk duty. We have several as worthless men in our company as the world could produce."[551] Still, even in the first few months of the war, many men were already seeking a way out whether that be in "safe jobs" away from the front line, in feigned sickness, furnishing a substitute or doing anything they could to qualify for an exemption. Alabama alone had 10,218 men taking an exemption out of an estimated 90,000 enlisted soldiers.[552] McIllwain concluded that only an estimated 34% of eligible Alabama men, based on age and race, actually fought for Alabama, whether they volunteered or were conscripted.[553]

Realities of the Battlefield and Home; "Nothing but hard, hard, times."[554]

For many planter families like the Crenshaws, a willingness to express their patriotism through support of the war was clearly divided by generation and gender; the younger generation like Edward "thirsting for glory and distinction" whilst the men of his father's generation were more cautious about placing themselves in the line of fire.[555] Even Edward's pro-Secessionist uncle, Thomas Chiles Crenshaw was reluctant to see fighting and sincerely hoped the South could leave the Union without war. In May 1861, men from the local community eagerly volunteered to defend their homes from a feared imminent invasion. Their enthusiasm quelled when they realised that the enlistment required them to agree to serve "three years or the war", at which point some 30% of them refused to sign up at all.[556] As Colonel of the local militia unit, Edward's father Walter Henry Crenshaw was disappointed but not surprised at the refusals. He recounted to his son "A few of the citizens of this beat have agreed to meet next Saturday and commence drilling as a Home Guard, so as to learn something of military tactics by the time that Lincoln invades Alabama, and then be able to

[550] Kenneth Noe. (2010) *Reluctant Rebels.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 31.
[551] George Noland Lewis to Sarah Elizabeth Lewis, 31 July 1861.
[552] Chrisopher Lyle McIlwain and G. Ward Hubbs (2016). *Civil War Alabama*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 93-95; Randolph McKim (1912) *The Numerical Strength of the Confederate Army*. New York: The Neale Publishing Company. The estimates of Alabamians who enlisted in the Union arm ranges from 500 to 2,600 but figures for both due incomplete, duplicate or missing records makes a true estimate difficult.
[553] Chrisopher Lyle McIlwain and G. Ward Hubbs (2016). *Civil War Alabama*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 95.
[554] Sallie Saxon to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 5 December 1862, Crenshaw Family Letters, 1849-1864, John and Faye Vick Collection, Auburn University.
[555] Edward Crenshaw, September 19, 1863, *Diary 1861*-1865, Typescript, Collection of the Author.
[556] Walter Henry Crenshaw to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 28 May 1861, Letters, 1861-1864 [Edward Crenshaw], David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.

assist in repelling him.[557] Elected captain of the Home Guard, Walter Henry observed in May 1861 that whilst men were eager to defend their homes, "no company here [have] formed to go to the wars."[558] Their lack of desire to leave their immediate homes or state to "go to the wars" demonstrates that defending their homes and their families superseded their desire to defend the Confederacy.

Of the four brothers Abner, Anderson, Walter and Willis Crenshaw who emigrated to Alabama territory and state between 1816 and 1832, only two, Abner and Willis were still living on the eve of the Civil War. Of the generation of migrants, Anderson Crenshaw died in 1847 but left four sons managing their own plantations and that of their widowed mother; Walter Henry, Thomas Chiles, Charles Edward and Frederick William. Of these four sons, only Walter Henry had a son old enough to serve in the Confederate military, Edward, the reluctant secessionist but duty-bound soldier. Dr. Abner Crenshaw had no surviving sons to enlist in the Confederate army and was not a planter himself but managed several successful mercantile and industrial interests in Autauga County, hiring out his slaves for additional income. By virtue of cousin marriages, he was also Edward's grandfather (as well as his great-uncle) and supported the young man's enlistment by presenting his grandson with a slave, Lewis.[559] Abner himself had six other grandsons who volunteered to fight for the Confederacy before The Conscription Act of 1862, the sons of his daughter Mary Louise and Bolling Hall, Jr.[560] Willis Crenshaw, who owned at least three plantations in Greene and Sumter Counties, had two sons, both of whom readily enlisted before Conscription on 25 February 1861 "for three years or the war"; Anderson in the Eutaw Rifles and his brother William in the 3rd Alabama Cavalry as a bugler.[561] Units were family affairs composed of lifelong friends, neighbours and family. William, who had an unspecified cognitive disability furnished his own horse and musician. He served under the command of his brother-in-law, J. N. Carpenter, who was also the Crenshaw family's commission merchant and presumably he could look after his brother-in-law in the field. In that cavalry unit were also three Crenshaw cousins, Charles Hays and his half-brothers Lowndes and Sydney Womack, while Anderson fought alongside J.N. Carpenter's brother in his

[557] Walter Henry Crenshaw to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 28 May 1861, Letters, 1861-1864 [Edward Crenshaw], David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.
[558] Walter Henry Crenshaw to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 28 May 1861, Letters, 1861-1864 [Edward Crenshaw], David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.
[559] Edward Crenshaw, "Diary", 1861-1865, Typescript in possession of the author.
[560] The Hall brothers; Bolling III, Crenshaw, James Abercrombie, John Elmore, Thomas Brown and Hines Holt left an extraordinary wealth of correspondence, now mostly located at the Alabama Department of Archives and History, see The Bolling Hall Family Papers, 1777-1929, LPR39.
[561] Anderson Crenshaw died of disease at Yorktown 27 April 1862 but William survived, ending the war in a Union prisoner of war camp; "Obituaries", *Alabama Beacon*, 23 May 1862. Found online at Newspapers.com

infantry unit.[562] Bound together by a sense of honour to their home and their family, Teters established that wealthy young men tended to volunteer early, feeling duty bound to defend their home from the prospect of invading Northerners; this feeling of protecting home from invaders also found by McPherson in his research.[563]

Early in the war, one Alabama soldier defined the Yankees as "Mother Vandals" intend on savaging the innocent South.[564] Fear of the imminent invasion of Alabama by Lincoln's military did not necessarily require men to leave their homes for the front to maintain their masculinity and defend their families. Although all of Edward's uncles readily served in the Alabama State Militia, none volunteered in the first flush of war time enthusiasm "to go to the wars".[565] Due to low numbers of volunteers, the Confederacy found itself forced to establish a draft in April 1862 requiring military service from all men aged between 18 and 35.[566] By that summer, enlistments were still so low that the Conscription Act was revised to include men up to the age of 45, making all the Crenshaw men eligible for the draft. Despite their professed love of home, all found ways of avoiding active service. On the Home Front, enlistment sharply divided men willing to volunteer from those wanting to qualify for an exemption or hire a substitute. The young men of Edward's generation were eager to volunteer in the first few months of the conflict whilst those of his father's generation avoided military service until the last few months of the war, when a tightening of conscription laws expanded the draft and reduced the exemptions classifications until they had no choice but to enlist. On the home front in 1861 at the outbreak of hostilities, the older generation of Crenshaw men consisted of Edward's uncle Lewis Womack, a planter with 34 slaves; his father Walter Henry Crenshaw then exempted from military service as Speaker of the Alabama Legislature and a planter with

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[562] Phoebe Crenshaw to Frederick William Crenshaw, 5 February 1874, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers Private Collection. Emphasis in original; Phoebe Crenshaw to Sarah Elizabeth Lewis Crenshaw, 7 February 1874, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection. Emphasis in original. Family correspondence discusses to the fact that William required care and could not live alone or work without supervision. His mother had been committed to the South Carolina Insane Asylum in 1846 and another maternal uncle similarly required a carer.

[563] Kristopher A. Teters. (2013) "Fighting for the Cause?: An Examination of the Motivations of Alabama's Confederate Soldiers from a Class Perspective." In *The Yellowhammer War: The Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, edited by Kenneth W. Noe, 90-106. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 94; James M. McPherson. (1997) *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

[564] Kristopher A. Teters. (2013) "Fighting for the Cause?: An Examination of the Motivations of Alabama's Confederate Soldiers from a Class Perspective." In *The Yellowhammer War: The Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, edited by Kenneth W. Noe, 90-106. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 93.

[565] Walter Henry Crenshaw to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 28 May 1861, Letters, 1861-1864 [Edward Crenshaw], David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.

[566] William L. Shaw, "The Confederate Conscription and Exemption Acts". *The American Journal of Legal History*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (Oct., 1962), pp. 368-405. https://www.jstor.org/stable/844108
Moore, Albert B. (1924) *Conscription and Conflict*, New York: The Macmillian Company.

33 slaves; his uncle Thomas Chiles Crenshaw, a planter with 51 slaves; and his uncle Fred Crenshaw, a planter with 68 slaves who also oversaw his mother's plantation with 10 slaves.[567] All of the men then aged between 34 and 55 qualified for an exemption because of age, civil service or as owners of more than 20 slaves.[568] Exemptions were allowed to enable white male supervision of slaves; at least one white man was required to remain within multiple contiguous plantations which had a total of 15 slaves or more and the five contiguous plantations of the extended Crenshaw-Womack family enslaved 196 people, allowing for multiple military exemptions, readily taken up.[569]

While many scholars have documented the derision felt by those fighting against those actively avoiding the draft, it may have been a situation understood and accepted by members of the same class. Answering his sister's queries about eager neighbours and cousins raising another company from Butler County, Noland Lewis responded adamantly; "If such men as brother John, Jack Bolling and Cousin Phil wish to serve their country to the best advantage, let them stay at home, make something to eat and something to wear and never think for a moment of enlisting as soldiers. Something is necessary to be done at home as well as in the services and they are the very men to do the home work."[570] While he felt it was his duty to serve, Noland Lewis was not above hiring a "good for nothing fellow to take my place, as I shall want a little rest after awhile. I have no notion of staying here three years without respite."[571] However, Noland only wished a substitute to allow him some respite, return to his home briefly, visit his family and see to his business affairs, he had no wish to leave the army completely. In his last letter before his death, he wrote again asking about a substitute because he was "anxious to be allowed to be at home for a while" asking after a neighbour who had promised to find a substitute for his friend to "endeavour to send me one at the same time."[572] Like many planter soldiers studied by Noe, McPherson and Moore, Noland may have felt derision for the "good for nothing fellow" to act as his substitute but not necessarily like a good for nothing himself for seeking one out. Perhaps as an early volunteer, he felt that his patriotism and devotion to duty had already been well established.

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[567] 1860 Federal Census, Slave Schedules, Precinct 9, Butler County, Alabama, pages 30-34.
[568] Albert B. Moore. (1924) *Conscription and Conflict*, New York: The Macmillian Company.
[569] Albert B. Moore. (1924) *Conscription and Conflict*, New York: The Macmillian Company.
[570] George Noland Lewis to Sarah Elizabeth Lewis, 1 September 1861. Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[571] George Noland Lewis to Sarah Elizabeth Lewis, 1 September 1861. Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[572] George Noland Lewis to Sarah Elizabeth Lewis, 14 July 1862. Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

The younger generation, Edward and his cousins, Noland Lewis and their Hall cousins might have exhibited caution over such a drastic step as Civil War, but all volunteered well before the Confederate government made service for 18 to 35-year olds mandatory in April 1862.[573] Their choice to volunteer in the Confederate Army further emphasised loyalty to family and community over loyalty to the Confederacy. All of the young men enlisted in Alabama units even if that meant travelling back to the state from Virginia, where they were attending university to do so. The middle-aged generation of his family chose not to volunteer or willingly serve the Confederate Cause, a fact supported by Noe's research who found draftees after 1862, whom he termed "reluctant Confederates" older than the first wave of enthusiastic volunteers.[574] Instead, apart from Edward's father, who served in the Alabama Legislature and was thus exempt for his civil service until 1864, Edward's four uncles took exemptions, furnished substitutes to fight on their behalf or enlisted in the Home Guard or Local Defence. As the draft was expanded over the course of the war and substitutes became rarer and more expensive, it was a luxury which only wealthy planters like themselves could afford.[575] Charles Edward Crenshaw, aged between 40 and 44 during the war, was the first of the Crenshaw brothers to enlist in the "Alabama Defenders" a unit of the Home Guard on December 22, 1862 but only after having furnished a substitute between September and December. He served in various local militia units in either the Home Guard or Local Defence between 1862 and 1865, not once leaving home to fight for the Confederacy.[576] The youngest of Edward's uncles, Frederick, furnished a substitute and later enlisted in three different units of the Home Guard, including the local commissary unit between August 1864 and March 1865. Again, he never left his home to fight for the Confederacy but stayed safe on his plantation.[577] The eldest of Edward's uncles, Thomas did not serve in any local defence nor can any record of a substitute or exemption be found for him. He remained on his plantation raising crops for sale to the Confederate government. In the summer of 1862, his wife earned $300 selling butter and diary in the local community.[578] Until inflation made the Confederate dollar unprofitable, Thomas regularly furnished the Confederate government with corn, earning $6691.49

[573] William L. Shaw. "The Confederate Conscription and Exemption Acts". *The American Journal of Legal History*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (Oct., 1962), pp. 368-405. https://www.jstor.org/stable/844108
[574] Kenneth Noe. (2010) *Reluctant Rebels.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
[575] Albert B. Moore. (1924) *Conscription and Conflict*, New York: The Macmillian Company, 27-51.
[576] Charles Edward Crenshaw Military Records, Alabama Civil War Soldier's Database, Updated May 23, 2017. http://www.archives.alabama.gov/civilwar/search.cfm
[577] Frederick William Crenshaw Military Records, Alabama Civil War Soldier's Database, Updated May 23, 2017. http://www.archives.alabama.gov/civilwar/search.cfm
[578] Sarah Anderson Crenshaw to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 11 August 1862, Crenshaw Family Letters, 1849-1864, John and Faye Vick Collection, Auburn University.

between December 1862 and November 1863.[579] It was only when it became impossible to avoid military service through the expanded Confederate Conscription Act that the elder Crenshaw men, Charles Edward and Frederick enlisted in their local Home Guard, being seen to fulfil their civic duty whilst still serving their family's interests first. Enlisting in the Home Guard enabled them to claim that they had served the Confederacy even as it kept them out of harm's way.

For the Crenshaw women, the prospects of their husbands and sons possibly being injured or killed superseded their ideas of patriotism to the Confederacy or the state. The surviving letters from Edward's family at home were decidedly reluctant from the beginning, and as the war progressed became ever more so. It was more than just the "hard, hard times" described by a female cousin; inflation, high prices for staple goods and difficulty in getting them even if one had the money. For the family left at home, the safety of their male family was far more important than the war effort. There was a definite gender divide over the support for the Civil War and their families' involvement in it; mothers and wives wanted their loved ones home, even as the young men were eager to prove themselves on the battlefield. Edward's mother, Sarah, beseeched him to hire a substitute to stand in for him and protect him from danger; "Every body is getting Substitutes why not you get one [?]"[580] Sarah bombarded her son with pages of advice, worry and exhortations to stay away from the fighting, "I hope you won't be in a battle. Don't you think they will have a big fight at Dalton soon? Do make haste and get away from there."[581] Letters from home detail her sending him custom made waterproof boots, an India rubber overcoat, blankets, and a trunk packed with extra quilts, so worried she was that her son would get too cold and get sick.[582] Similarly, his cousin Noland Lewis early on found himself ill equipped for life in the field as the weather turned colder and requested like items; socks, flannel shirts, undershirts, red flannel drawers and "1 pair of heavy thick strong everlasting grey pants and coat of the same, padded through and through and through again."[583] While the family could afford to send Edward well

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[579] "Confederate Citizens File", NARA M346, Roll 28, Record Group 109. Alabama Civil War Soldier's Database, Updated May 23, 2017. http://www.archives.alabama.gov/civilwar/search.cfm In December 1862, one Confederate dollar was worth $2 but by November 1863 when Crenshaw stopped selling to the Confederate government, one Confederate dollar was worth $15 from Todd, Richard Cecil (1954) *Confederate Finance*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, p. 198.

[580] Sarah Anderson Crenshaw to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 17 August 1862, Crenshaw Family Letters, 1849-1864, John and Faye Vick Collection, Auburn University.

[581] Sarah Anderson Crenshaw to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 5 May 1864, Crenshaw Family Letters, 1849-1864, John and Faye Vick Collection, Auburn University.

[582] Sarah Anderson Crenshaw to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 24 November 1861, Letters, 1861-1864, Edward Crenshaw, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University. 17 August 1862, Crenshaw Family Letters, 1849-1864, John and Faye Vick Collection, Auburn University.

[583] George Noland Lewis to Sarah Elizabeth Lewis, 16 August 1861. Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

equipped, they could also send a slave to attend to his personal needs in the field.[584] Few soldiers could afford to maintain a slave to attend to their personal needs but both Edward and Noland as wealthy planters were able and did take slaves as body servants. At present, it is impossible to accurately determine how many enslaved people served Confederate soldiers in the field as body servants or served military units as manual laborers. The controversial subject of black Confederate soldiers taking up arms to fight for the Confederacy is a topic well outside this research. Confederate pensions for white soldiers were instituted in 1888 and of all of the former Confederate states, only five offered them to blacks at all. Mississippi was the only state to offer blacks the opportunity to apply from the beginning of the program alongside white soldiers and during the program a total of 1,739 black men applied for and received a Confederate pension from the state of Mississippi. Other former Confederate states which allowed blacks to apply for a Confederate pension did not do so until the 1920s, after many had already died, there the numbers of black claimants from other states are substantially lower: Tennessee approved 195 pensions to blacks beginning in 1921; South Carolina offered pensions to blacks in 1923 and approved 328; Virginia offered them in 1924 and approved 424 while North Carolina did not offer pensions to blacks until 1927, approving 121. The average age of the black Confederate pensioners was 81 from all five states. [585] For Edward Crenshaw, "my boy Lewis" waited on him from the very beginning of his service although he would later not be eligible for a pension by the state of Alabama. Lewis cooked and served meals not only for his master but for his mess, packed his clothes and personal belongings, set up his camp and kept track of his valuables. On several occasions, Lewis travelled back and forth to Alabama to carry back unnecessary items and return with more equipment, exposing himself to danger as he negotiated the threats of enemy fire and guerrilla warfare, especially as a lone black man.[586] Sarah wrote to Edward regularly with advice and recommendations for Lewis: "Wherever you are, Edward my dear Son do make Lewis mind you and wait on you good."[587] She also sent detailed recipes for Lewis to learn: "Have you ever made him try to cook you

[584] Sarah Anderson Crenshaw to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, November 1861, Crenshaw Family Letters, 1849-1864, John and Faye Vick Collection, Auburn University.
[585] James G. Hollandsworth, Jr. "Looking for Bob: Black Confederate Pensioners After the Civil War" in *The Journal of Mississippi History*, Vol. LXVIX (Winter 2007), 304-306, 307.
[586] Edward Crenshaw, "Diary", Typescript in possession of the author; Sarah Anderson Crenshaw to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, Crenshaw Family Letters, 1849-1864, John and Faye Vick Collection, Auburn University.
[587] Sarah Anderson Crenshaw to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 11 August 1862, Crenshaw Family Letters, 1849-1864, John and Faye Vick Collection, Auburn University.

anything but bread and meat, if you don't learn it to him he will never know and you might get sick and want something a little different from what you have".[588]

When Edward's grandfather, Dr. Abner Crenshaw died in May 1863, left a bequest of $1000 to Lewis, his wife Charity and their son George. Lewis returned to Alabama about the time of Dr. Crenshaw's death but either did so because he was ill or became so once he returned. He was treated daily by a local physician for just over two weeks but died on or just after June 16, 1863. Once the estate was probated, the $1000 legacy was paid to his widow and son in December 1863. Abner Crenshaw, drawing up his will after the Emancipation Proclamation did not free Lewis, Charity and George but allowed them the choice of where they wished to live after his death. Once the will was probated, again after Emancipation, the family chose to move to Butler County near the plantation of Walter H. Crenshaw, Abner's nephew and son-in-law.[589] Upon Lewis' death, another enslaved man, John, was sent by Edward's parents to serve their son through to the end of the war, attending him after the Surrender and on the long journey home from Virginia in May 1865.[590] For Noland Lewis, the idea of having a personal slave to attend to his needs did not occur to him until June 1862, whereupon he wrote to his sister to send him more socks, drawers, shirts, a pair of shoes, pants "and Sam, provided he and all the balance of you are willing for him to come."[591] What Sam thought about being sent for is unknown but he went to war and served his master until Noland Lewis was killed at Antietam in September 1862.[592]

Edward Crenshaw, "Better death than dishonour".[593]

Edward's Confederate service is typical of how war time experiences could and did transform ambiguous or reluctant Confederates into enthusiastic supporters of the Cause and later the Lost Cause.[594] As one of the very few Confederate or Union soldiers who served in

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[588] Sarah Anderson Crenshaw to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 15 January 1862, Crenshaw Family Letters, 1849-1864, John and Faye Vick Collection, Auburn University.
[589] Edward Crenshaw, *Diary 1861-1865.* Estate Files of Dr. Abner Crenshaw.
[590] Edward Crenshaw, *Diary 1861-1865*, Typescript, Collection of the Author. Presumably John was with Edward on the CSS Tallahassee although Edward only mentions him briefly in his diary. He cannot be traced after 1865.
[591] G. Noland Lewis to Sarah Elizabeth Lewis, 11 June 1862. Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection. Emphasis in original.
[592] Sam, born 1839/1840 was a slave of Sarah Elizabeth Lewis. He arrived at the front and served Noland Lewis until the latter was killed at Antietam in September 1862. According to oral history, Sam searched the battlefield for his body before wiring Sarah Lewis for instructions; he was sent money and returned to the Lewis plantation in Butler County with Noland's overcoat and pocket watch. Sam took the surname Lewis, living there the remainder of his life and working as an expert carpenter. He died after 1910.
[593] Edward Crenshaw, *Diary 1861*-1865, Typescript, Collection of the Author.
[594] Edward Frederick Crenshaw Military Records, Alabama Civil War Soldier's Database, Updated May 23, 2017. http://www.archives.alabama.gov/civilwar/search.cfm

both the Army and the Marine Corps, Edward enjoyed a unique military career with the Confederacy.[595] The first-born child to Walter Henry and Sarah Anderson Crenshaw, Edward Frederick was born on August 29, 1842, instantly the object of adoration by his young parents; "Tell Pa he has not as good looking a grandchild."[596] Sarah described her husband's affection for the baby with some irritation; "Mr. Crenshaw is fonder of it than ever, very often wakes it up out of a good nap of sleep, and we have frequent quarrels which it shall sleep with." [597] In the first 6 years after Edward's birth, Sarah and Walter Henry would have four more children; a daughter and son who both died unnamed within a few hours of their births, Mary Louise who died at age 4 in 1849, and Anderson who died at age 3 in 1851. Sarah found pregnancy physically very difficult: "I have been in bed now about 2 weeks threatened with miscarriage, all the time suffering constantly and nothing hardly would relieve me. I am up at last but so weak and suffer so much I am wicked enough to wish to die…. You cannot imagine the extent of my suffering threatened continually with spasms and nearly all the time in [se]vere pain in the back If I walk."[598] The devastating cycle of births, sicknesses, fears of loss, and the subsequent deaths of four of her five oldest children made her eldest son Edward ever more precious to her. A mother for the first time at the tender age of seventeen, Sarah was fiercely protective of Edward. As he grew older, she treated him more as a confidant and contemporary than as her child. An affectionate if somewhat stern father, Walter Henry stressed familial duty, attention to studies and good conduct in his letters to his son; "I will always be pleased when I hear that you are a good boy, and behave well. You must continue to be a good boy."[599] Initially educated at home and alongside his cousins at the plantation's classical school, at aged thirteen Edward was sent to his grandfather's home in Wetumpka, Alabama to prepare for university and a career in the law. The boy travelled alone by stage and steamboat the 75-mile journey from his home to his grandfather's, something his mother was evidently uneasy about; "Now do take care and don't get jolted out of the stage. Hold on good.

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[595] Ralph W. Donnelly. (1989) *The Confederate States Marine Corps: The Rebel Leathernecks.* Shippensburg, Pennsylvania: White Mane Publishing.

[596] Sarah Anderson Crenshaw to Mary Louise Crenshaw Hall, 5 February 1842, Bolling Hall Family Papers, LPR39, Series XIII, Mary Louisa Crenshaw Hall (1819-1858) letters, 1840-1858, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

[597] Sarah Anderson Crenshaw to Mary Louise Crenshaw Hall, 5 February 1842, Bolling Hall Family Papers, LPR39, Series XIII, Mary Louisa Crenshaw Hall (1819-1858) letters, 1840-1858, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

[598] Sarah Anderson Crenshaw to Mary Louise Crenshaw Hall, 9 May 1854, Bolling Hall Family Papers, LPR39, Series XIII, Mary Louisa Crenshaw Hall (1819-1858) letters, 1840-1858, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

[599] Walter Henry Crenshaw to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 21 December 1855, Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

It is not like riding in a carriage. Take good care of yourself, my darling child, and don't get sick."[600]

Prepped to enter the University of Alabama in 1858 at the age of 16, the alma mater of his father and three uncles, Edward earnestly preferred a military career to the law and wished to attend either West Point or the Naval Academy. A subject vehemently opposed by his mother who preferred him closer to home, Sarah's passionate objections to "Naval School" were not supported by her husband; unknown to her, Walter Henry made several unsuccessful attempts to gain Edward a West Point appointment.[601] Comfortably settled at the University of Alabama, in the Fall of 1858, Edward admitted to his uncle that "I still expect to go to West Point, if I can get the appointment."[602] Even on the eve of the Civil War, Edward still earnestly wished to pursue a military career. Unable to secure an appointment either to West Point or the Naval Academy, Edward transferred to the University of Virginia to study law in August 1860, with some hope of being close to the action should war break out between the North and South. [603] Promptly, Edward joined the University of Virginia's militia under the direction of maths professor Albert Bledsoe.[604] Later Acting Assistant Confederate Secretary of War, ardent pro-slavery exponent and Lost Cause historian, Bledsoe initially eschewed sectionalism and secession in favour of the Union; he voted for the Constitutional Union Party in 1860 and even as late as 1861 was openly cautious about secession.[605] But for many university students that spring a group of whom broke into the university's rotunda in March 1861 to raise the Confederate national flag, Southern patriotism ran high.[606] Four student militia units were created in response to the first states' secession by May 1861; the Sons of Liberty, in which Edward's cousin Bolling Hall III enlisted, the Southern Guard, the University Volunteers and the

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[600] Sarah Anderson Crenshaw to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 11 July 1856, Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[601] Walter Henry Crenshaw to Leroy Pope Walker, 15 May 1861, Private Collection.
[602] Edward Frederick Crenshaw to Frederick William Crenshaw I, 28 November 1858, Private Collection.
[603] William C. Levere. (1911). *The History of the Sigma Alpha Epsilon Fraternity.* Vol. 1. Chicago: Sigma Alpha Epsilon, 210, 215, 233-234.
[604] Edward Holt Nash. (1878), *Students of the University of Virginia: A Semi-Centennial Catalogue with Biographical* Sketches. Baltimore: Charles Harvey & Co., 56, 78. Walter Henry Crenshaw to Leroy Pope Walker, 15 May 1861, Private Collection. Barnhart, Terry. (2013) "Ancestral Faiths: Albert Taylor Bledsoe and the *Southern Review*", *Journal of the Maryland Historical Society*, 295; A fervent defender of slavery, Bledsoe's later efforts to vindicate Secession have overshadowed his moderate stance before Virginia seceded in April 1861. Frank S. Robertson. (May 1895), "The Sons of Liberty. University of Virginia, April 1861." *Alumni Bulletin* Vol. 2 (May 1895-Feb 1896) 2.1, 15-18
[605] Terry Barnhart. (2013) "Ancestral Faiths: Albert Taylor Bledsoe and the *Southern Review*", *Journal of the Maryland Historical Society*. Tidy
[606] Ervin L. Jordan Jr. "The University of Virginia during the Civil War". *Encyclopedia Virginia*. Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, 24 Mar. 2016. Web. 14 April 2018. This would be the First National Flag also known as the "Stars and Bars".

Jefferson Davis Corps.[607] On May 15th, the University decided to revive the Virginia Military Academy to train young men in the military sciences. Under Captain Bledsoe, Edward and his fellow militiamen were drilled hard daily and frequently the young cadets were required to answer arithmetic questions as part of their drill routine.[608]

Notwithstanding the enlistment of many of his friends and fraternity brothers, Edward remained on campus content to observe the first exhilarating weeks of war from the safety of his university campus. Edward remained cautious once the hostilities were declared, despite his enlistment in the student militia, attending classes and guardedly observing events unfold.[609] Both his uncle and father were hopeful that Edward could stay at the University and finish the term but after the firing on Ft. Sumter and Lincoln's call for volunteers it was obvious that he should return to Alabama.[610] His uncle observed, "I am fearful that you will have to leave Virginia before the close of the session [because] I think the most and hardest fighting will be done on her soil".[611] The invasion of Virginia by the Union army on May 23, 1861 pushed many young students to either enlist in a local unit or return home. Edward, still craving a military career, again pressed his father for permission to study military science at the Virginia Military Institute in Lexington. His father observed wryly, "I have no objection to your joining The Army, but I see no necessity of your going to Lexington to study the military sciences. You can learn enough of that where you are, unless you were qualifying yourself to take command of an army. I thought you already belonged to a Company that drilled every day. That I suppose is enough."[612] Additionally, he was reminded that money was tightening at home, that he should call in debts owed to him from other students and learn to economise; "In relation to money, I have none, and in these hard times I can get none, until I make some cotton and sell it." [613]

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[607] Ervin L. Jordan Jr. "The University of Virginia during the Civil War". *Encyclopedia Virginia*. Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, 24 Mar. 2016. Web. 14 April 2018; "The Sons of Liberty. University of Virginia, April 1861." *Alumni Bulletin* Vol. 2 (May 1895-Feb 1896) 2.1, 15-18.
[608] Terry Barnhart. (2013) "Ancestral Faiths: Albert Taylor Bledsoe and the *Southern Review*", *Journal of the Maryland Historical Society*.
[609] Henry Lee to Edward Crenshaw, 26 June 1861, Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[610] Walter Henry Crenshaw to Hon. Leroy Pope Walker, 15 May 1861, Private Collection.
[611] Thomas Chiles Crenshaw to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 15 April 1861. Private Collection.
[612] Walter Henry Crenshaw to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 28 May 1861, Letters, 1861-1864 [Edward Crenshaw], David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.
[613] Walter Henry Crenshaw to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 28 May 1861, Letters, 1861-1864 [Edward Crenshaw], David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.

Fortified with $75 in gold sent to him by his grandmother, Edward obtained a pass to travel through the Confederate lines, then situated between him in Charlottesville, Virginia and Alabama, waiting until 4 July to start his journey.[614] Resolved to join the 9th Alabama Infantry Regiment, recently organised in Richmond, Edward began making his way to Manassas Junction to meet them arriving on 20 July. Planning to enlist with the 9th Alabama once they arrived, Edward camped with friends and former classmates in the 4th Alabama Infantry that night. Unluckily for him, dawn on the 21st began with an artillery bombardment heralding the First Battle of Manassas. Edward was unable to find the 9th Alabama because they failed to arrive due a railway accident.[615] In the heat of the Battle of Manassas, Edward met two friends from university and together the three young men spent the battle "caring for the wounded giving them water and brandy which I got at a farm house close by" and "saw a great part of the battle from where we were." [616] Perhaps his first taste of battle lessened his enthusiasm for enlisting for Edward noted in his diary that after the battle, "Took measles, got homesick and went home --having been absent from home nearly a year--intending to return and join the 9th Ala."[617] After a month at home on August 31, 1861, instead Edward enlisted as a 3rd Lieutenant in the Butler County company raised by local planter Thomas Jefferson Burnett. The company travelled to Montgomery where they were incorporated into the 17th Alabama Infantry as Company K and officially mustered into service on September 7, 1861.[618]

Like many eager volunteers, Edward's military career began too quietly for his own liking; he was desperate to see action or as many soldiers on both sides called it "to see the elephant".[619] His first posting in November 1861 was decidedly away from the action of the front lines, defending the Naval Yard near Ft. Pickens, Warrenton, Florida. He described this posting: "We had a most delightful time during our stay in Warrenton. The officers of our company occupied an elegant little house with four rooms – with the necessary kitchens and out houses. We had two servants in our mess. Capt. Burnett's boy Pete, and my boy Lewis, who had been presented to me by my grandfather on my first entering the service."[620] The officer's war in an "elegant little house" waited on by two slaves was a most gentle

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[614] Pass to travel through Union lines, Private Collection.
[615] Edward Crenshaw, *Diary 1861*-1865, Typescript, Collection of the Author. The 9th Alabama was formed by young men from the following Alabama counties: Butler, Calhoun, Greene, Jackson, Lauderdale, Limestone, Marshall, Mobile and Sumter.
[616] Edward Crenshaw, *Diary 1861*-1865, Typescript, Collection of the Author.
[617] Edward Crenshaw, *Diary 1861*-1865, Typescript, Collection of the Author.
[618] Edward Crenshaw, Civil War Service Records. Alabama Civil War Soldier's Database, Updated May 23, 2017. http://www.archives.alabama.gov/civilwar/search.cfm
[619] James M. McPherson. (1997) *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 30-33.
[620] Edward Crenshaw, *Diary 1861*-1865, Typescript, Collection of the Author.

introduction into military service. After nearly five months, in March 1862, Edward's unit was ordered to Corinth, Mississippi where it would fight in the Battle of Shiloh on the 6 and 7 April "with great slaughter and bravery on both sides".[621] His company went into the battle with over 300 men, sustaining 130 casualties on the first day's fighting including himself, wounded in the neck with shrapnel.[622] To have fought and been wounded was a great source of pride for young soldiers eager to prove their bravery, even as the first taste of battle was a shock to them. McPherson argued that the eagerness of soldiers to experience hard fighting was directly related to their experience of battle, the more eager a young soldier was to fight, the less action he had seen.[623] On the second day of the battle, Edward's unit was engaged "as a rear guard to pick up stragglers and send them to the front. Our ardor and anxiety had been considerably cooled by the first days work, and we did not grumble at all at being assigned to this duty in the rear of the line of battle."[624] In this second major battle of the war, units were already being assigned at the rear to collect "stragglers" and send them back to the fighting.

Following Shiloh, Edward's Company was sent back to the safety of Mobile, Alabama to drill heavy artillery, where he would remain for nearly a year, until April 1863. Despite his interest in fighting being, in his own words "considerably cooled", it was a posting which he found dull and uninspiring. [625] With few official duties other than recruiting and a lot of time to socialise, Edward shortly found himself within the family of prominent Confederate authoress, Augusta Jane Evans: "Major Matt. Evans, the father of Miss Augusta Evans the Authoress, hunted me out at a grand review we had in town and told me that he and my Grandfather were first cousins and that I must come to see him and his family that they claimed relationship with me and would be glad to see me." [626] Thereafter, he enjoyed the winter 1862 and early spring 1863 in comfort and ease, dining with the Evans family, escorting his cousins to parties and going to the theatre in between attending military drills.[627] Taking on soft postings with little action was common for the wealthy and well connected but Edward seems to have wanted more action despite his experience at Shiloh. On March 2, 1863, he was elected captain by election to Co. B, 58th Alabama Infantry then also stationed in Mobile. A month later, they were on their way north to Tennessee where Edward would soon lead his men into battle; "we were as well officered a little regiment as there was in the army, nearly

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[621] Edward Crenshaw, *Diary 1861*-1865, Typescript, Collection of the Author.
[622] Edward Crenshaw, *Diary 1861*-1865, Typescript, Collection of the Author.
[623] James M. McPherson. (1997) *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 30-33, 44-46.
[624] Edward Crenshaw, *Diary 1861*-1865, Typescript, Collection of the Author.
[625] James M. McPherson. (1997) *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
[626] Edward Crenshaw, *Diary 1861*-1865, Typescript, Collection of the Author.
[627] His commanding office, Col. Bushrod Jones married his cousin, Caroline Evans during that spring.

all of the officers being young men, and thirsting for glory and distinction."[628] The 19-20 September 1863 saw Edward at Chickamauga where the realities of hard fighting as opposed to a soft posting would change his life forever: "Sept 19 Passed a Chinese sorghum patch while double quicking to assistance of Peagram's Cavalry who were being driven back –charged the enemy with two stalks a piece—one in mouth and one in hand (nearly starved) and quickly restablished broken cavalry line—Lay on our arms in an old field for the night—Shared the contents of my haversack with my mess; Capt. Holland, Lieuts. Clow and Ward—said contents being one biscuit, one raw onion and a handful of sugar."[629]

"Nearly all my jaw teeth shot out": The injury and awakening of Confederate patriotism.[630]

The following day, 20 September 1863, the diary entry is blank, for on that day of heavy fighting at Chickamauga, Edward was shot in the face, breaking his jaw bone, loosing most of his lower teeth and as a consequence, later his right eye.[631] Edward's lack of articulation concerning Confederate patriotism changed dramatically after this incident, from nothing to ardent Confederate patriot. This change can be documented back to the very real personal tragedies he and his cousins experienced during these particular days of the conflict. Three days following the battle, Edward wrote to his uncle Bolling Hall, Jr. about the fate of the latter's five sons who also fought in the battle of Chickamauga:

> I am now wounded severely in face and just from Battlefield. I was wounded Sunday evening and could not get to see the boys. Bolling has a flesh wound in the leg. Tom Brown is rather severely wounded in the leg. Jim, Crenshaw and John are unhurt. Capt. Pearce saw me just as I was leaving and assured me that Bolling's wound was only slight. But that he was rather afraid that Tom Brown would have to lose his leg. I could not learn where they would be sent. They are sending all the wounded that can bear Transporting to Atlanta, Montgomery, and all the

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[628] Edward Crenshaw, *Diary 1861*-1865, Typescript, Collection of the Author.
[629] Edward Crenshaw, September 19, 1863, *Diary 1861*-1865, Typescript, Collection of the Author.
[630] Edward Crenshaw, 23 September 1863 to Bolling Hall, Bolling Hall Family Papers, Bolling Hall Family Papers, LPR39, Alabama Department of Archives and History.
[631] Edward Crenshaw, 23 September 1863 to Bolling Hall, Bolling Hall Family Papers, LPR39 Alabama Department of Archives and History. Edward's younger cousins clearly remembered him as an old man alternately horrifying and delighting them as small children by removing his glass eye and showing it to them.

> Hospitals along the Rail Road. My right cheek bone and jaw bone are broken and nearly all of my jaw teeth shot out.[632]

Edward returned home to convalesce where his father noted that he was doing well despite the pain of "several small bones working their way out".[633] Eager to re-join his unit, Edward returned to active service before December where it was noted on his muster card, "Should be absent sick".[634] The jaw injury would trouble him for the rest of his life; he noted in his diary a year after the injury that the wound was "still open and running".[635] Edward's eagerness to return to the front despite his injury reinforces McPherson's research that many soldiers, although afraid of injury or death, would continue to fight despite genuine illness or lingering injury rather than appear to their comrades as cowards shirking their duty.[636] January and February 1864 saw Edward back on the front as acting adjutant to General Clayton. With the injury still not healed, Edward consequently returned home for another month's leave to recuperate again.[637] Desperate to, in his words "render a greater service to the country", Edward decided to leave the army for what he expected would be a more important and dangerous post in the Confederate Marine Corps.[638] He petitioned to resign his commission as Captain, Co. B, Alabama 58th Infantry, a request initially refused by his commanding officers, Lt. Col. Bush Jones and General Clayton, to whom Edward was acting adjutant. After many orders sent up and down the chain of command attesting to his qualities as a fine field officer and their reluctance to let him go, Edward was commissioned a 2nd Lieutenant, Confederate Marine Corps on May 3, 1864 and ordered to Richmond.[639] From Richmond, Edward was promptly sent back to Mobile, Alabama on a recruiting mission where he personally signed up 42 men for the Marine Corps, returning with them in June to Drewry's Bluff, Virginia.[640] Upon his return, he was ordered to take command of a 25 men Marine Guard observing, "It is now no longer a matter of doubt that we are intended for the crew of a regular Confederate Cruiser or Privateer." The men he recruited nor his quarters were satisfactory to him; "Not as

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[632] Edward Frederick Crenshaw to Bolling Hall Sr., 23 September 1863, Bolling Hall Family Papers, Alabama Department of Archives and History.
[633] W. H. Crenshaw to Bolling Hall II, 12 October 1863, Bolling Hall Family Papers, LPR39 Alabama Department of Archives and History.
[634] Edward Crenshaw Military Records. Alabama Civil War Soldier's Database, Updated May 23, 2017. http://www.archives.alabama.gov/civilwar/search.cfm
[635] Edward Crenshaw, *Diary 1861*-1865, Typescript, Collection of the Author.
[636] James M. McPherson. (1997) *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 78-79.
[637] Edward Crenshaw Military Records. Alabama Civil War Soldier's Database, Updated May 23, 2017. http://www.archives.alabama.gov/civilwar/search.cfm
[638] Secretary of the Navy Mallory to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 8 August 1864. Private Collection.
[639] S.O. 57/1, Private Collection.
[640] Edward Crenshaw, *Diary 1861*-1865, Entry for July 10, 1864, Typescript, Collection of the Author.

pleasantly situated as in the Army. Do not like the class of men I have to command."[641] Posted to the CSS Tallahassee, a privateer charged with interrupting United States shipping, Edward would come into almost daily contact with the enemy or Union sympathizers, articulating his growing Confederate sentiments.[642] For the last two years of the war, 1864 and 1865, and especially during his time aboard the CSS Tallahassee, Edward became more overtly patriotic and expressive of nationalist sentiments.

On August 6, 1864, the CSS Tallahassee slipped through the Union blockade to begin a 19 day rampage along the east coast of the United States and as far north as Nova Scotia, Canada. Frequently masquerading as a Union vessel in order to entrap unsuspecting ships, the CSS Tallahassee captured 7 vessels and destroyed another 26 before a coal shortage caused the ship to return to port, but not before earning a reputation in the Northern press as a notorious "pirate".[643] Frequently commanding boarding parties and in charge of unlucky passengers whose ships had been captured and burned, Edward came into almost daily contact with Unionists sympathisers. One notable character was "a perfect termagant who took particular pains to let us know that she was a thorough union woman in politics. 'Which is the union side of the deck' she asked when she first came on board, "I will not sit on the Secesh side."[644] When writing about the temporary passengers or the family of an unfortunate ship's captain, Edward would distinguish the Yankees or Union sympathisers unfavourably from Southerners or those who expressed Confederate sympathies. In the case of the "termagant", he compared her to the wife of the captain, also passengers since his ship was destroyed; "a brave and good woman of a very sweet disposition [who] bore her husband's misfortune with sweet resignation." Edward was gratified when "she spoke of the wrongs and insults heaped upon the women of the South during this war and said she had read of them often with horror and that she sympathized with them deeply." [645] Consequently, the captain and his wife were invited to dine in the officer's ward room with Edward and the other officers. The "termagant" and her husband were invited to dine in the steerage with the Assistant Engineers and Warrant Officers, something she took as a "premeditated insult."[646] A few days later while re-coaling in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Dr. De Wolfe and his 15-year-old daughter came on board to tour the Tallahassee. As the youngest officer on board, Edward

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[641] Edward Crenshaw, *Diary 1861*-1865, Entry for July 10, 1864, Typescript, Collection of the Author.
[642] Edward Crenshaw, *Diary 1861*-1865, Typescript, Collection of the Author.
[643] Edward Crenshaw, *Diary 1861*-1865, Typescript, Collection of the Author; Michael D. Robinson (2007) *A Miserable Business of Being Afloat: The August 1864 Cruise of the CSS Tallahassee*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of North Carolina, Wilmington.
[644] Edward Crenshaw, August 13th 1864. *Diary 1861*-1865, Typescript, Collection of the Author. Emphasis in original.
[645] Edward Crenshaw, August 13th 1864. *Diary 1861*-1865.
[646] Edward Crenshaw, August 13th 1864. *Diary 1861*-1865.

was deputised to entertain her, finding "her to be an ardent little rebel in her sympathies".[647] Edward was enchanted to hear "her speak in such warm praise of our beloved leaders, and I internally blessed her for it" and gave her a small miniature of General Beauregard he had received as plunder from a previous mission.[648]

The awakening of Confederate nationalism

From the earliest entries in his diary up until his injury in June 1861, Edward never mentioned the Confederacy or his fellow soldiers with great emotion, but after his injury in September 1863, the tenor of his descriptions of Confederates and the Confederacy changed. Suddenly his fellow Southerners were "our poor suffering and badly abused people" and his fellow servicemen, "our noble soldiers and sailors".[649] His outrage at how the Confederacy was viewed by outsiders was heightened when he was assigned to lead the boarding party on the *Carrie Estelle*, a barque the CSS *Tallahassee* destroyed, during which he found several copies of *The New York Ledger.* Taking the copies, "much to my surprise found them filled with miscengation stories and stories of the war, in which southern character was illustrated and represented in the worst possible light. All the heroes and heroines were fair haired and fair skinned sons and daughters of the 'granite hills of New England' and all the evil geniuses and bad characters were the 'dark eyed & dark skinned haughty and imperious sons and daughters of the South'".[650] On August 16, 1864, a reprinted article appeared in the *New York Ledger* written by one of the many unfortunate victims of the *Tallahassee* who saw their ships burnt and cargo destroyed.[651] The crew and passengers of vessels captured were taken on board the *Tallahassee* until they could be transferred to another ship willing to see them safely to port. The author of the *New York Ledger* article described his rough treatment by the crew of the *Tallahassee* while on board, describing them as rough and filthy, and again reiterating them to be "pirates".[652] This article infuriated Edward, who saw his cause as noble and just, for shortly thereafter, The *Richmond Dispatch*, keen to offer their readers "a truthful narrative from a Southern source" published portions of Edward's diary on September 17, 19 and 23, 1864.[653] Under the pen name "Bohemian", Edward introduced his article; "There have appeared from time to time, many items about the Confederate Cruiser *Tallahassee*… all the exaggeration and

[647] Edward Crenshaw, August 18th 1864. *Diary 1861*-1865.
[648] Edward Crenshaw, August 18th 1864. *Diary 1861*-1865.
[649] Edward Crenshaw, August 18th 1864. *Diary 1861*-1865.
[650] Edward Crenshaw, August 24th 1864. *Diary 1861*-1865, Typescript, Collection of the Author.
[651] *New York* Ledger, 16 August 1864. Found online at GenealogyBank.com
[652] "The Pirate Tallahassee", *New York Ledger*, 16 August 1864. Found online at www.genealogybank.com
[653] "The Cruise of the Tallahassee", *Richmond Dispatch*, 17, 19 and 23 September 1864. Found online at Newspapers.com

falsehood….I cannot do better than transcribe the narrative from my diary, written from day to day during the cruise."[654] My assertion that Edward Crenshaw was "Bohemian", the author of the article in the *Richmond Dispatch* is entirely a new one. The "diary" is currently attributed to Surgeon William Sheppardson and quoted widely in the literate as being authored by him. However, I was unable to find the actual diary despite it being sourced repeatedly in the literature. I traced the original citation to the collection of the Maritime Museum, Halifax, Nova Scotia but when contacted, they had no such diary and had no idea where the citation had originated, since the item does not exist, nor has it ever existed in their collection. When comparing the published diary in the *Richmond Dispatch* with Edward Crenshaw's diary, while not identical, the two are very similar and I find it hard to believe that two men, even on the same ship, would choose to record the same activities and same observations using the similar phrases to describe them day after day. At present, no other diary from a member of the CSS Tallahassee is known to exist other than that of Edward Crenshaw.

Surrender

While his family awaited "coming events with anxious hearts", Edward attended a speech near Richmond on April 21, 1865 where he discovered that the rumours were true; "we had been compelled to give up and return into the Union".[655] His ardent emotion over the Confederacy did not cool once defeat came but he considered the coming situation pragmatically; "They thought that we would come back into the Union and be just like we were before the war. I am afraid that they are rather too sanguine. I shall be very much surprised if we get such terms."[656] Following the Surrender, whilst waiting in Richmond, Virginia to see what would happen next, Edward reflected on his own future distinct from that of his country:

> Every body [sic] expects to go home in ten days. Since there is a prospect of peace, my mind has become unsettled with regard to my plans for the future. I will first advise with my parents and friends and then hoping that kind Providence will direct me, I will make a choice. Now when they are lost and gone I mourn bitterly over the unspent years of my youth. I am still young and if I will quit all my bad habits and worship God, He will aid me to become a great a noble man.[657]

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[654] "The Cruise of the Tallahassee", *Richmond Dispatch*, 17 September 1864. Found online at Newspapers.com
[655] Edward Crenshaw, April 21st 1865. *Diary 1861*-1865, Typescript, Collection of the Author.
[656] Edward Crenshaw, April 21st 1865. *Diary 1861*-1865, Typescript, Collection of the Author.
[657] Edward Crenshaw, April 22nd 1865. *Diary 1861*-1865, Typescript, Collection of the Author.

It was a promise he kept to by making immediate plans to return home. Although suffering another episode of malaria, Edward made his way to Danville, Virginia, the last capital of the Confederacy and staging point for its desertion. Confederate Admiral Raphael Semmes of Alabama recruited Edward, who had served alongside his son Raphael Semmes, Jr., into an escort for the expedition back to Alabama. The semi-official armed escort titled the Admiral Semmes Naval Brigade consisted of nine former Confederate officers and men, two former slaves, with two horses and a wagon.[658] Making their way home back to Alabama, the grandly named Naval Brigade found many farms and villages devastated by wartime foraging with little or no food to spare, "We passed through a very poor country to-day. But this has been the case along our whole route with a few beautiful exceptions."[659] Because the Confederate naval uniforms were a dark blue, "We have been mistaken to be Yankees all day.... Tried to get some butter, milk &c but the people all thought we were Yankees and would let us have scarcely anything. Wilson's Raiders acted very badly all along this road that we are now travelling."[660]

After 21 days' journey from Danville, Virginia, the Semmes' Naval Brigade crossed the Chattahoochee River into Alabama on May 22, 1865.[661] Edward marked the occasion of his first setting foot in Alabama in over two years, "I am once upon the soil of Alabama. But how different are the circumstances from these under which I expected to return to my native state. It is very humiliating to think of our present condition, and I will try and think and speak of it as little as possible."[662] Within days of Edward's return to his "native state", as Southerners would do then and for years later, the collective memory of who and what was responsible for the war was comfortably shifted onto the backs of the invaders. Fears of wartime devastation throughout Alabama had been great but northwest Butler County did not witness a military incursion or military occupation, although fears of marauding soldiers and former slaves running rampant were actively encouraged in the press.[663] As the war neared its end, Edward's mother, Sarah Anderson Crenshaw expressed her fears to her son, the concerns

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[658] Edward had briefly served alongside Midshipman Raphael Semmes, Jr. on the CSS Virginia II. Edward Crenshaw. *Diary 1861*-1865.
[659] Edward Crenshaw, May 13th 1865. *Diary 1861*-1865, Typescript, Collection of the Author.
[660] Edward Crenshaw, May 20th 1865. *Diary 1861*-1865, Typescript, Collection of the Author. Wilson's Raiders, a detachment of 13,480 Union Cavalry made incursions into north, central and south central Alabama in March and April 1865 and have been blamed, rightly or wrongly for every depredation committed by the "Yankees" in almost every Alabama oral family history. They did indeed burn all but five buildings on the University of Alabama campus, capture the last remaining industrial targets in Alabama, defeating General Nathan Bedford Forrest's much smaller force numerous times before heading eastward into central Georgia. See Jerry Keenam (1998) *Wilson's Cavalry Corps: Union Campaigns in the Western Theatre, October 1864 through Spring 1865*. Jefferson, N. C.: McFarland and "Wilson's Raid" found online at http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-1375
[661] Edward Crenshaw. *Diary 1861*-1865, Typescript, Collection of the Author.
[662] Edward Crenshaw. *Diary 1861*-1865, Typescript, Collection of the Author.
[663] *Montgomery Advertiser*, 11 July 1864; *Montgomery Mail*, 31 July 1864.

of countless women throughout history when faced with the news of an army approaching; "They say that raiding party committed every depredation that could be done, had no respect for the women at all pretended, they could not control the negro's that was with them. Oh! How horrible such a fate is to me. We are looking for raid on Butler [County] next and you need not be astonished never to hear from your home again. I have been looking for it all the time but I am really afraid my fears are about to be realized."[664] While Edward was coming to terms with the end of the War in Virginia and making his way back to Alabama, his mother Sarah's fears of Union soldiers came true when Union forces struck uncomfortably close to home. On April 2, 1865, Wilson's Raiders defeated the scant Confederate defenders at Selma, devastating the city before moving on to Montgomery on April 12th. Local newspapers warned readers that Wilson's Raiders or "presumably a portion of them" were on their way towards Montgomery, heading to Columbus, Georgia.[665] They were followed closely by a detachment of Union Major General Benjamin Grierson's cavalry, who skirmished briefly with members of the Home Guard between the Crenshaw plantations and Manningham on April 23rd.[666] The Home Guard, which most likely contained all the white men left in the area were driven off with no reported casualties. Union soldiers raided local homes, taking food, provisions, all of the Crenshaw's ploughing mules and at least one former slave, Sam Lewis.[667]

But when Edward finally reached home on May 30, 1865, he recounted in his diary not a dramatic change; the plantation houses stood unburned, black men and women still worked the fields, albeit now as freedmen and freedwomen and life continued on, albeit in more financially straightened circumstances. In northwest Butler County, like many rural areas throughout the South, the small community of inter-related families the Crenshaws called home was largely unsullied by marauding Yankees and the devastation of war. Within days of his return, Edward slipped into the routine pursuits of rural life, attending picnics and going fishing with his friends. His parents held a dance at their home for the young people in the community who danced for so long, they all stayed overnight. But interspersed with diary

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[664] Sarah Anderson Crenshaw to Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 5 January 1865, Collection of Robert Frajola.

[665] *Alabama* Beacon, 21 April 1865, Found online at Newspapers.com

[666] Mike Bunn. "Grierson's Alabama Raid of April, 1865", Encyclopedia of Alabama, August 15, 2005, [23 April 2018]. http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-3701

[667] Stories of when the "Yankees" came through have lasted over the generations detailing buried silver and valuables and dramatic efforts to save their homes. Ultimately, every antebellum home along the eight mile stretch of The Ridge survived Union incursion although all of the livestock was reputedly stolen and some followed the raiding party. Sam Lewis, the slave Noland Lewis took as a body servant during the Civil War, initially left with the raiding party but returned with the mule he was riding. He lived on the Ridge the rest of his life and worked for the Crenshaws as a master carpenter and general farm hand. He is reputed to have ended his story of when the Yankeees came by stating that the mule should have been given to him for bringing it back; it was apparently not.

entries recounting the dry summer activities are signs that the world Edward Crenshaw left in June 1861 was forever gone. The Crenshaw and related Womack families began drafting and confirming Freedman's Contracts with their former slaves for the remaining year. Planters frequently expressed surprise and hurt when former slaves did not want to continue working for them once freed. When witnessing his father's labour contract, Edward noted with incredulity, "Jim and Marie were the only two who showed any unwillingness to sign the contract, and both of them had parents on the place who were totally unable to support themselves and had done no work for years."[668] But planters were resourceful and quickly laid down a system of unfair work contracts and coercion, essentially re-enslavement, a future not unforeseen at the time. A Dallas County, Alabama farmer observed wryly; "The nigger is going to be made a serf, sure as you live. Planters will have an understanding among themselves: 'You won't hire my niggers and I won't hire yours.' Then what's left to them?"[669] For Edward's father, Walter Henry Crenshaw, signing the required legal agreements with his former slaves was not enough to ensure the plantation could provide enough food to supply the 52 people, white and black, living there. In June 1865, his family included himself, his wife and their six children aged between 2 and 23, while on his former plantation lived 44 freedmen and women; 23 of whom were over 16 and able to work whilst 21 were children or described as "helpless negroes" unfit to work.[670] Grierson's raid in April 1865 had seen the theft of the plantation's 8 mules, essential to preparing the land and hauling the harvest leaving Walter Henry concerned that the fields could not be effectively cultivated. In a fit of temper over the new government regulations requiring him to adequately supply or otherwise remunerate his former slaves for their work but now deprived of the livestock necessary to work the land, Walter Henry Crenshaw made the 50 mile journey to Montgomery:

> For three weeks his crop had no ploughing and he could not get any mules or horses anywhere, and all of his negroes were on the place, none having left and they had to be supported for the year at least. So that he walked to Montgomery and made a representation of the fact to the Yankee General A. J. Smith and told him he would have to give him stock to make a crop with or he would have to turn all of his negroes away and let them take care of themselves. Gen. Smith gave him

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[668] Edward Crenshaw, June 12th 1865. *Diary 1861*-1865, Typescript, Collection of the Author.
[669] Quoted in Loren Schweninger, "James Rapier and the Negro Labor Movement, 1869-1872" *Alabama Review* 28 (July 1975), 186.
[670] Freedman's Bureau Labor Contract, 12 June 1865, Walter Henry Crenshaw between "the following named freedmen former slaves"; Harrison, Harriet, Moses, Elijah, Harriet, Mary, Maria, Big Jerry, Jim, Little Jerry, Harriet, Morris, Stephen, Big Caroline, Phoebe, Adeline, Bet, Little Harrison, Little Jack, Small James, Henrietta and Big Jack. Alabama, Freedmen's Bureau, "Field Office Records, 1865-1872." FamilySearch; 14 June 2016. Citing . NARA microfilm M1900. Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.).

> six broken down horses and mules, one of which he gave to a Mr. Seals to help him bring them home.[671]

Despite the six mules and horses, drought and economic uncertainty combined to force many Alabama planters and farmers to seek new opportunities elsewhere or to get out of farming all together. In March 1866, Walter Henry Crenshaw sold his home and plantation to his younger brother Fred and moved to the county seat of Greenville.[672]

Edward paused in August 1865 to reflect on the Confederacy's defeat and how it changed his present and his future; "I regret it very much and think it very unfortunate that it should have happened at this juncture. I am fully satisfied now that the war is about over, so after four years of bloodshed and sacrifice we are compelled to give up our high aspirations for a great and glorious Southern Confederacy and will have to come back into the old Union. "The ways of Providence are inscrutable and I hope that it will prove for the best."[673] Edward may have tried to not think about the bitterness of defeat, he soon readily took up the cause of remembrance becoming the captain of the local Confederate Veterans organisation. With the first actions of many men returning from the war to make a living and rebuild their lives, as members of the former planter class, the Crenshaw family managed to maintain sufficient financial resources to allow him to continue his university education. Edward returned to the University of Virginia in 1866 alongside his cousin, Thomas Chiles Crenshaw, Jr. to finish the law degree the war had interrupted. As a newly qualified lawyer, he returned to the county seat of Greenville to aid in the support of his parents and younger siblings. Joining his father's legal practice, he was elected the city solicitor and circuit court clerk in 1869, remaining in Greenville practising law until his death in 1911.[674] As Unionists, none of Edward's uncles had invested in the Confederacy and all were in a sufficient financial situation to continue farming their plantations with, now free but still exploited labour.

This chapter examined the motivations and experiences of cousins Edward Crenshaw and Noland Lewis, both planter's sons, as they transformed from duty bound defenders of their homes to ardent Confederate over the course of the Civil War. Having joined the 17th Alabama Infantry on 4 July 1861 out of a sense of duty and taste for adventure, the grim and unromantic realities of war changed Edward Crenshaw from adventurous youth to embittered and resolute nationalist. The deaths of several close family members, the disfigurement of having been shot through the jaw, and witnessing debilitating leg amputations experienced by

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[671] Edward Crenshaw, June 5th 1865. *Diary 1861*-1865, Typescript, Collection of the Author.
[672] *The Montgomery Advertise*, 21 March 1866. Found online at Newspapers.com
[673] Edward Crenshaw, August 19th 1865. *Diary 1861*-1865, Typescript, Collection of the Author.
[674] *The Clarke County* Democrat, 16 December 1869. Found online at Newspapers. Com

his cousins quickly transformed him like it had countless other young men; what had begun as a lark ended in brutal physical pain and humiliating national defeat. Edward would suffer neuralgia in his face and the frequent reopening of the wound for the rest of this life, eventually losing his eye as a result of the injury. When his cousin Bolling Hall III died on February 3, 1866 after several years of suffering the lingering physical and emotional trauma of first a foot amputation followed by the remainder of his leg, his cause of death was given in his obituary as wounds sustained in the battle of Chickamauga.[675] David Blight described the immediate emotional and physical landscape of the South after the war as a landscape of death, loss and thus of memorialisation.[676] The memorialisation began almost immediately as families sought news of missing family, sending letters begging for the return of their husbands' or brothers' bodies. Countless families received letters such as the that sent to Sarah Lewis still desperately hoping to find her missing brother:

> I regret to inform you that my inquiries thus far have only tended to confirm your worst fears as to your dear brother. I saw a young man belonging to his company and he says he saw him fall in the field of battle apparently dead and he supposed him to be dead. The only consolation here is that he fell in a noble cause crowned with honor, and that better consolation which God gives to the stricken heart.[677]

As time passed and the experiences of the old South began to fade in the younger generation, Edward eagerly embraced the mythology of the Lost Cause. Captain of his local Confederate Veterans' Unit in Greenville, he marched in his uniform brandishing his sword at Confederate Memorial Day parades well into his seventies. He was remembered within his family as a great story teller, passing on his thrilling exploits to his daughter Edith Crenshaw Tatum. Born in 1877, she was one of the first generation of Southerners born after the end of Reconstruction who never lived through the Antebellum era. Raised on her father's romantic stories of "The Old South", she enshrined her father as the Lost Cause hero of her 1908 novel *When the Bugle Called*. In *The Body Servant* (1940) she commemorated the idealised relationship between her father and his slave, Lewis, (in the book called Johnny), and how he selflessly cared for his master after his injury at Chickamauga, saving his life. An avid believer and recorder of Southern Lost Cause memory, Edith also worked on the WPA Slave Narrative projects, interviewing former slaves and writing up her and her father's romanticised

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[675] Bolling Hall Obituary, 13 February 1866, *The Sun* [Baltimore, Maryland].
[676] David Blight (2001) *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. See also, Drew Gilpin Faust (2001) *This Republic of Suffering.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
[677] Thomas Hill Watts to Sallie Lewis, 20 February 1863. Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

memories of their family's former slaves for posterity.[678] The popularity of Lost Cause literature saw Edith Tatum's story of her father's faithful slaves, Lewis and Johnny, not only read by Eleanor Roosevelt but featured by her in an extensive and positive review published nationally, documenting the book:

> [It demonstrates] sensitiveness and deep appreciation of the qualities of the aristocratic young Southerner and his adoring Negro slave…. No slave today needs to creep behind his master's regiment, knowing only enough to follow and steal for him, and live for him. The fine qualities in Miss Tatum's "Johnny" have been developed by education, and the Johnnys of today are giving a far greater and more intelligent service to their country as a whole, rather than to one individual.[679]

For former slaves sharecropping plantations deep within rural Alabama, change was on the horizon and the opportunities for them to develop through education and public service were almost within reach. In the following chapter, I will examine the transitions faced by black and white Alabamians as they confronted the bewildering changes to their pattern of life, personal circumstances, their homes and their communities during the decades following Emancipation and Reconstructions. For planters, Reconstruction meant maintaining or attempting to maintain the comfortable life they enjoyed before the War freed their slaves. Embracing Emancipation and the Union while distancing themselves from the former Confederacy was a realty that many planters found hard to accept; preferring to remain patriotic Alabamians and Southerners, but not necessarily Americans. For the newly freed former slaves, reconstructing a family and identity following centuries of enslavement created new American citizens eager to embrace and experience the purported ideals of America. Suddenly freedmen and freedwoman were able to make decisions for themselves and their families, albeit often in difficult and hostile circumstances. Freedmen also found themselves able to exercise the basics of citizenship for the first time in registering to vote, even if they were made to vote according to the wishes of their former masters. In the first years after the end of the Civil War, freed-people tried to find their lost family, create new homes and strong communities for themselves. How black and white Alabamians rebuilt their family and identity will be studied through the intertwined lives and fortunes of plantation heiress Sallie Lewis and the families of

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[678] Edith Tatum (nd), "Uncle Mose – A True Story", WPA Writers Project, Ex-Slave Tales, Butler County, #3, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

[679] Eleanor Roosevelt, "My Day, August 27, 1942" in *The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Digital Edition* (2017) accessed 13 February 2018, https://www2.gwu.edu/~erpapers/myday/displaydoc.cfm?_y=1942&_f=md056275
Lewis and John are combined into one character, Johnny in *The Body Servant.*

Evans and Queen Crenshaw Carter and Isaac Newton and Anna Lewis Carter, formerly enslaved by the extended Crenshaw-Lewis family.[680]

[680] Queen Carter's maiden name is given as Lewis or Crenshaw. It is uncertain but highly likely that she is the same individual as Queen, a woman enslaved by Frederick William Crenshaw.

Chapter 6: "In a pig's eye": Loss and Gain in a Reconstruction Community.[681]

In this chapter, I will examine the transitions faced by black and white Alabamians as they confronted the bewildering changes to their pattern of life, personal circumstances, their homes and their communities during the decades following Emancipation. The previous chapters have examined how one planter family, the Crenshaws, migrated from South Carolina to Alabama in the years immediately before statehood in 1819, establishing themselves within their new state, committing themselves to their community and identifying as Alabamians. The preceding chapter discussed the motivations of cousins Edward Crenshaw and Noland Lewis, two wealthy members of the planter class who both volunteered for the Confederate Army in 1861. Whereas Edward Crenshaw returned to Alabama to later embrace the Lost Cause mythology, his cousin Noland Lewis was killed, leading to an extraordinary reversal of fortune for his family. The present chapter will examine how their extended families rebuilt their identity and community following the end of the Civil War. The intertwined lives and fortunes of Noland's sister, plantation heiress Sallie Lewis will be juxtaposed with that of the families of Evans and Queen Crenshaw Carter and Issac Newton and Anna Lewis Carter, formerly enslaved by the extended Crenshaw-Lewis family.[682] Siblings Sallie and Noland Lewis, left orphans at the ages of 7 and 11, enjoyed the privileges of the wealthy planter elite with a seemingly inexhaustible expense account and an uncomplicated future ahead of them. After Noland's death at the Battle of Antietam in 1862, Sallie inherited most of his property and an uncertain future. Grieving piteously for him, Sallie struggled with the financial mismanagement of her guardian, her much older half-brother John B. Lewis. Gaining her majority in 1863, unwise investments in the Confederacy's sinking fortunes combined with hyper-inflation as the war drew to a close saw her immense personal wealth diminish to nothing. At odds with her half-brother, Salllie was forced to leave Alabama to teach school to support herself, returning in an attempt to save her family's former plantation from creditors. Seeking the aid and advice of her cousin, Frederick Crenshaw, Sallie desperately attempted to keep her family's plantation legacy intact. But in October 1867, the Lewis plantation was sold for debts from the courthouse steps to a white neighbour, Thomas Knight who refused to sell it back to her and most likely sold it to her former slaves.[683]

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[681] Walter H. Crenshaw, Jr. to Frederick William Crenshaw, 11 October 1869, Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

[682] Queen Carter's maiden name is given variously as Lewis or Crenshaw. It is uncertain but highly likely that she is the same individual as Queen, a woman enslaved by Frederick William Crenshaw.

[683] "Sherriff's Sale", 28 February 1867, *Greenville Advocate*. Found online at Newspapers.com; Walter H. Crenshaw, Jr. to Frederick William Crenshaw, 11 October 1869, Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

Within the small community of Ridgeville, Butler County, Alabama on the western edge of the 8 mile ridge of high land so narrow it is known locally as "the Devils Backbone" stands a frame house still called the Old Lewis House. Located down a long dirt drive, partially obscured by a large water oak generously draped in Spanish moss, the house is hard to see until you walk right up to it. It is a simple vernacular wood framed house built about 1830, set on stone piers with two generous square rooms on either side of a wide central hall. It is not the typical idea of what a plantation house should look like in Deep South. Instead it is a modest one-story cottage with a plain wide veranda, lacking the ubiquitous white columns. Behind the house stands the single remaining agricultural structure, a log corn crib, although in 1869 there were still six "log negro cabins" within easy reach of the house.[684] Sitting up on a large bluff, the view stretches for several miles clear across the rich bottom lands of the Cedar Creek valley into the neighbouring counties of Wilcox and Lowndes. To the right of the house, a moss covered dirt road, cut deeply into the banks from long use, descends sharply downwards from the Ridge to the fertile plains of Cedar Creek. Along this road, enslaved workers travelled back and forth from their slave quarters above to the fields below to work. On the east side of the road, according to oral tradition, is a cemetery in which slaves were buried; only one square worked field stone could be easily found today.[685] Built as the focal point of a wealthy plantation this house was an expression of identity for the planter family who lived in it. Despite its small and unassuming nature, it was still very much "The Big House" for the dozens of slaves who worked inside it, lived next to it and were given orders from it. Today the home is owned by descendants of those slaves who acquired the house and part of the original plantation between October 1869 and June 1870.

In October 1869, 19-year-old Walter Henry Crenshaw, Jr. rode up the same driveway to the Old Lewis House for a consultation with its new owner, Thomas Knight, who had purchased the house and plantation when the property was sold for debts just two years earlier. He did so at the behest of his uncle, Frederick Crenshaw who hoped of "redeeming Noland Lewis's place" for his new wife, Sallie Lewis. With some amusement, Walter Jr. wrote that Mr. Knight told him to tell his uncle that "you were too late, that it would cost you eight thousand dollars 'in a pig's eye'". Walter Jr. observed, "He is evidently trying to bluff you off from redeeming the place."[686] Sometime after this meeting but before the taking of the census

[684] Walter H. Crenshaw, Jr. to Frederick William Crenshaw, 11 October 1869, Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[685] Mrs. Edith Waters Brooks, a descendent of Isaac Newton and Anna Lewis Carter, took me to see the location of the old Lewis slave cemetery in November 2018.
[686] Walter H. Crenshaw, Jr. to Frederick William Crenshaw, 11 October 1869, Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

in June 1870, the Noland Lewis Place was sold to freedmen, Isaac Newton Carter and his wife, Anna Lee Lewis; she having been born a slave of the Lewis family and his mother having been born a slave to Frederick Crenshaw.[687] Those who had fought and died for the Confederacy found their lives turned upside down by the changes wrought by emancipation and increasing claims to citizenship by freed people. The "loss" of the Noland Lewis plantation from the white Lewis-Crenshaw family and the gain of it by their former slaves is the focal point of a story encapsulating the social history of Reconstruction in Alabama.

Once the home of the wealthy Lewis Family, from this house ran a successful plantation until the Civil War, it then became the home of the Carter-Lewis-Waters family, descendants of the same slaves enumerated in that area between 1830 and 1860.[688] Much about the house is different than it first appears, it represents loss and gain, enslavement and freedom, change and survival, the creation of new identities and with them, new national identities. Buying the Lewis plantation sometime before 1870 were members of the formerly enslaved Crenshaw-Lewis community, held in bondage there and on neighbouring plantations.[689] Evans Carter (born about 1805) and his wife, Queen Crenshaw (born about 1810) acquired the plantation house and some of the land by the Census of 1870.[690] Their son Isaac Newton Carter (1852-1900) and wife Anna Leander Lewis (1851-1936), she formerly enslaved by the Lewis family, would subsequently make the Old Lewis House their home.[691] Together this enterprising and perceptive family turned the former plantation into a very successful farm and an important focal point for African-American political life in the 1870s through the 1890s. The community, Ridgeville, which developed around this former plantation survives to this day. It is the objective of this chapter to unravel the stories, discern the truths and illuminate an obscured period in history to show how a new community and identity were formed from it and around it during the years of Reconstruction.

The Planters: George Noland Lewis family

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[687] *1870 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. Images reproduced by FamilySearch. Township 10 Monterey

[688] *1830, 1840, 1850, 1850 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. Images reproduced by FamilySearch.

[689] The date of purchase is uncertain as no deed can be found. It was not uncommon for vulnerable populations to retain the physical deed for their property, believing erroneously that keeping it in their home prevented the deed from being miss-used. However, a deed must be recorded at the court house to validate it and allow for certain real estate transactions outside of the original grantor and grantee.

[690] 1870 United States Census, Township 10, Monterey, Butler County, Alabama.

[691] Grave markers for Isaac Newton Carter and Anna Lee Carter, Ridgeville Community Cemetery, Ridgeville, Alabama list birth and death dates.

The Lewis House was built about 1830, most likely by George Noland Lewis, Sr. as the focal point for a large and prosperous plantation worked by 19 slaves.[692] A migrant from Georgia, he was part of a wave of wealthy immigrants moving into Alabama shortly after statehood.[693] Arriving in Alabama, a forty-year-old widower with two small children, G. N. Lewis, Sr. characterised many young-ish men, some single, some widowed, with or without children, who migrated in search of a new life.[694] Marrying a second time in 1835 to Sarah Elizabeth Greene, he united with a family who had belonged to the earliest migrants into Mississippi and Alabama Territory. Sarah Greene Lewis, most likely born in Alabama Territory about 1816 brought some property to their marriage, approximately 10 slaves, the title of which she retained after her marriage.[695] Quickly they established a family and a prosperous plantation in the small house on the Ridge where they were last enumerated together in June 1840.[696] At that time, George N. Lewis Sr. and Sarah Green Lewis lived in a typical 19th century blended household consisting of his two children by his first wife and the oldest two children he had with her.[697] By 1840, their home was the focal point of a plantation worked by 42 slaves, ranking them alongside the wealthiest families in the vicinity.[698] When G. N. Lewis, Sr. died on 19 November 1841, he left a second family consisting of wife Sarah Greene Lewis seven months pregnant, 4 year old George Noland Lewis Jr. (known as Noland) and 2 year old Caroline (1839-1844). His posthumous child, Sarah Elizabeth (known as Sallie) was born two months after his death in January 1842. Inheriting the bulk of their father's estate, Noland and Sallie would be raised in this house where it would become not only their cherished home but a symbol of their identity, prosperity and family. It is the plantation which would fund their education and their comfortable lifestyle, the slaves labouring to ensure their home's security and financial future.

Kirsten Wood found in her research on slave-owning widows that widowhood overwhelmingly "ended in death" as a widow rather than their remarriage as a wife.[699]

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[692] United States Federal Census, 1830, Township 10, Monterey, Butler County, Alabama.
[693] T. Perkins Abernethy. (1922), *The formative period in Alabama, 1815-1828*. Montgomery, Ala.: The Brown printing company; Joan Cashin (1991) *A Family Venture; Men and Women on the Southwestern Frontier*. New York: Oxford University Press.
[694] James E. Davis (1977) *Frontier America, 1800-1840: A Comparative Demographic Analysis of the Frontier Process*. Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 89-90.
[695] Hernando County, Florida Probate Court decree granting George Noland Lewis, Jr. custody of his mother's slaves on 1 January 1856, The Estate Packet of George Noland Lewis, Jr. Alabama, Wills and Probate, 1753-1999.
[696] US Federal Census, 1840, Butler County, Alabama.
[697] James E. Davis (1977) *Frontier America, 1800-1840: A Comparative Demographic Analysis of the Frontier Process*. Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 79-88.
[698] US Federal Census, 1840, Butler County, Alabama.
[699] Kirsten E. Wood. (2004) *Masterful Women: Slaveholding Widows from the American Revolution through the Civil War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 133.

Widows had many considerations before re-marriage aside from finding a partner they loved at best and thought they might be able to live with at worst; specifically, for the protection of themselves, their children and their property. They had to consider a second husband who would be a good step-father to their children and what would happen to their property and the inheritance of their children should they pre-decease their second husbands. Under the rules of coverture, all property of the wife came under the husband's control upon their marriage, including that of widows.[700] Sarah Green Lewis demonstrated her understanding of the intricacies of property ownership and her concern for the continuing support for her children prior to her remarriage. On January 27, 1845, she signed a marriage pre-contract with her fiancé, wealthy 57-year-old Dr. George W. Esselman.[701] Born in Glasgow and an early settler to nearby Lowndes County, Alabama in the 1820s, Dr. Esselman was a respected justice of the peace and physician, much older and a financially secure widower with no children. In the marriage contract, Sarah Greene Lewis ensured the financial security of her children, both with her first husband and any she may have with her second husband. The contract secured the promise that in the event of her death, any children she might have with Dr. Esselman would inherit her 11 slaves; Adaline, Byneen, George, Matilda, Emily, Maria, Harriet, Nelson, Silas, Wilson, Mary.[702] In the event she had no children with Esselman, she wished that the said slaves be returned to her Lewis children, who had been well provided for by their late father.

At this point the combined Lewis-Esselman family history becomes quite complicated, typical of the nineteenth century blended family consisting of men and women who marry and have families with several different individuals.[703] George W. Essleman and Sarah Greene Lewis rapidly had three children together; Anne (1846), Jeanette (1848), and George W. Esselman, Jr. (February 1850) before she died in July 1850.[704] Upon his wife's death, Dr. Esselman continued to farm, his home being within a short walk of the Lewis House and presumably keeping his Lewis step-children with him at home. But in April 1853, Dr. Esselman married for the third time to 42-year-old Catherine Levie.[705] It was her first marriage and perhaps having the un-

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[700] Richard H. Chused, "Married Women 's Property Law: 1800-1850", 71 Geo. L. J. 1359 (1982-1983), 136.
[701] Butler County Deed Book M, 24-25, Butler County Court House, Greenville, Alabama.
[702] Butler County Deed Book M, 24-25, Butler County Court House, Greenville, Alabama.
[703] James E. Davis (1977) *Frontier America, 1800-1840: A Comparative Demographic Analysis of the Frontier Process*. Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company; Joan Cashin (1991) *A Family Venture; Men and Woman on the Southwestern Frontier*. New York: Oxford University Press.
[704] Birth years for the Esselman children obtained from family correspondence in the Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[705] *Alabama Compiled Marriages from Selected Counties, 1809-1920*. [database on-line] Provo, Utah: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc. 1999.

related children of her husband's first wife proved inconvenient, for shortly thereafter Sallie and Noland Lewis were sent to boarding school, the Lewis plantation and slaves rented out within the local area.[706] The re-marriage prompted Dr. Esselman to start again on the edge of the Florida frontier, this time taking his three children and wife Catherine to Hernando County, Florida (near present day Tampa). In the 1850s, as Ed Baptist has described, planters on the Florida frontier may have moved for personal reasons but economically sought to re-create the plantation culture they had enjoyed in the settled areas of the South.[707] Under his control as their surviving parent, Esselman divided his former wife's slaves, those who had been bequeathed to her Lewis children from those who had been bequeathed to his children, taking the latter with him to Florida to work his new farming enterprise. Thus, to this small farm in central Florida, the group of 11 Lewis slaves were brought to tend orange groves, raise livestock and create a new life for Dr. Esselman and his family far from the community and home they had known in Alabama.

Because Sarah Greene Lewis Esselman had spent her entire life in Alabama, her slaves were most likely separated from the only family and community they had known. On that long journey to Florida, they certainly believed they would never see any of their Alabama family or community again. From their former lives on a cotton plantation on the edge of the Black Belt, groves of orange trees, the Florida wildlife and landscape must have seemed as strange to them as another world. But family circumstances changed rapidly in the mid-nineteenth century when parents died, remarried, moved, lost another spouse and re-married again. Such familial changes in slave owners' families mirrored loss, change and separation in the lives of the people they enslaved, as slaves were property to be inherited and moved. Their life in Florida was short-lived for Dr. Esselman died in December 1856, leaving his third wife alone with his children from his second wife and her slaves. Noland Lewis, named in his mother's will as the legal guardian of his three half-siblings acted quickly despite being only 18 and still a student at the University of Virginia. He petitioned the Florida probate court on December 31, 1856 for guardianship of his half-siblings and to take physical possession of them and their property; 18 slaves valued at $7, 376 along with $1,478.95 in notes and cash.[708] In or just after January 1857, Noland personally escorted his three younger siblings, Anne, aged 10, Jeanette, aged 8, George W. Esselman Jr. aged 6, and 18 enslaved men, women and children, ranging in

[706] The Estate Packet of George Noland Lewis, Jr. Alabama, Wills and Probate, 1753-1999.
[707] Edward Baptist (2002), *Creating an Old South; Middle Florida's Plantations Before the Civil War*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
[708] Florida Probate Court appraisal and receipt, 24 December 1858, The Estate Packet of George Noland Lewis, Jr. Alabama, Wills and Probate, 1753-1999. Amounts are in contemporary dollars and have not been calculated to 2019 worth.

age from two infants to forty-five year old Benin from Hernando County, Florida back to Butler County, Alabama.[709] Returned to the only home they had formerly known, the 18 enslaved men, woman and children returning to Alabama were reunited with the enslaved community on and around the Lewis Plantation, among them were the ancestors of the present owners of the property.[710]

The importance of tracking this typical nineteenth century blended family is key to understanding the complexity of the Southern family's interpersonal relationships and how they interacted with the world around them. Carolyn Billingsley stressed the importance of incorporating genealogy as a methodology "to tease out the underlying nuances of southern society."[711] Despite having different fathers and mothers, the older Lewis, younger Lewis and Esselman children comprised a very close family, largely remaining so throughout their lives. The twenty-five year age difference between the older Lewis and younger Lewis children could have contributed to a natural distance in their relationship but it did not. John B. Lewis was "Brother John" to the Esselman girls despite not being related by circumstance rather than by blood. It was only once the financial difficulties of Reconstruction placed Sallie Lewis at odds with her half-brother, John that any tension became obvious. Until Sarah Green Lewis Esselman died, all her children lived together in the Lewis House until Dr. Esselman removed to Florida, when the two sets of children were split up with Sallie and Noland being sent to boarding school while their half-siblings travelled to Florida. When Noland Lewis became the guardian of his three younger half-siblings, he never described them or treated them as less than his siblings. Noland personally ensured the girls enjoyed an excellent education at the Salem Academy in Salem, North Carolina, a prestigious female academy attended by several of his Crenshaw cousins.[712] Even from the front lines in Virginia, Noland sent anxious letters back to Sallie and half-brother John directing the girls' education. His younger half-brother George Esselman remained with him on the Lewis plantation being tutored at home and learning the role of being a planter. Ultimately, that house and the land on which it sat would play a

[709] Florida Probate Court appraisal and receipt, 24 December 1858, The Estate Packet of George Noland Lewis, Jr. Alabama, Wills and Probate, 1753-1999.
[710] The slaves belonging to the Esselmans and transported from Hernado County, Florida to Butler County, Alabama were Benin 40, Maria 40, Crecy 3 (described as an idiot), Sarah 1, George 24, Nelson 19, Matilda 18, Burrel 1, Silas 15, Mary 12, Priscilla 10, Isaac 5, Adaline 40, Amanda 11, Aaron 9, Augustus 7, Martha 4. Names and ages from the Hernado County, Florida Probate Court decree granting George Noland Lewis, Jr. custody, 1 January 1856.
[711] Carolyn Earle Billingsley. (2004) *Communities of Kinship: Antebellum Families and the Settlement of the Cotton Frontier*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1.
[712] Salem School Records. The Estate Packet of George Noland Lewis, Jr. Alabama, Wills and Probate, 1753-1999.

dramatic role in the life of Sallie Lewis when the plantation accounts from the Civil War years began being settled in the Spring 1866.

Suffering the emotional losses of both of their parents and sister, Sallie and Noland thrived financially in the last decade before the Civil War. The rental income generated by the slaves they inherited from their father's death in 1841 and their mother's in 1850 enabled them to live the lavish lifestyle of the planter elite. In 1860, Noland's real estate was valued at $8,000 whereas his personal property, including his slaves, were valued at $31,114.[713] Living with him, his ten year old half-brother, George Esselman, Jr. owned no real estate but $22, 880 in personal property, again, a figure most likely including his slaves.[714] Sallie's real estate, personal property and slave ownership cannot be traced through the census but through her guardianship papers and accounts found in her late brother's probate and estate records.[715] An inventory of January 1, 1860, recorded that Sallie owned 31 slaves worth $5,525, ranging in age from six months old Mary Frances to 58 year old Sandy.[716] The value of the slaves to Sallie was in the income they could generate for her; an income which supported her extravagantly. The earliest account of income derived from the rental of Sallie's slaves is 1854 during which the rental of thirteen slaves, including two families, contributed $772 to the twelve year old's annual income of $8,528.91.[717] In 1855, the hiring out of eleven of her slaves brought $789.50, in 1856 $919.50; in 1857 $1121.90; and in 1858 $1337. The 1859 guardian's accounts of interest, notes on money lent, income for rental of land and the amount earned from rental of slaves, due 1 January 1860 was a staggering $7282.76.[718] As a minor female, her male guardians were entirely responsible for the management of her property, including the rental of her land and slaves. Between 1850, when she was just 8 years old until her brother Nolands's death in 1862, the plantation, including the Lewis House were under the care of her male guardians. Initially their cousin Jacob Lewis Womack, himself a wealthy and successful planter served as the children's guardian but later their older half-brother, John Brooke Lewis took over the position, seeing it through until the final accounting in 1866.[719] Ultimately, the

[713] The 1860 Federal Census, Southern Division, Lowndes, Alabama; Roll: M653-14, p. 588. Family History Library Film: 803014.
[714] The 1860 Federal Census, Southern Division, Lowndes, Alabama; Roll: M653-14, p. 588. Family History Library Film: 803014.
[715] The Estate Packet of George Noland Lewis, Jr. Alabama, Wills and Probate, 1753-1999.
[716] The Estate Packet of George Noland Lewis, Jr. Alabama, Wills and Probate, 1753-1999.
[717] The Estate Packet of George Noland Lewis, Jr. Alabama, Wills and Probate, 1753-1999.
[718] The Packet of George Noland Lewis, Jr. Alabama, Wills and Probate, 1753-1999. All of the amounts are given in their contemporary values. In 2019, the 1860 income due Sallie Lewis was $7,282.76 in 1860 dollars, worth in terms of relative labor income in 2019 dollars, $1.5 million. See MeasuringWorth https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/uscompare/relativevalue.php
[719] Letter from Sarah Elizabeth Lewis to Judge John S. Bolling, 4 February 1856, The Estate Packet of George Noland Lewis, Jr. Alabama, Wills and Probate, 1753-1999.

relationship between John Brooke Lewis and the Sallie Lewis and her half-siblings, the Esselmans would be tarnished by the financial problems they faced during Reconstruction.

Spending most of her year away at boarding school, between 1854-1858 at the Tuskeegee Female Institute, and during 1859-1860 at a female academy in Columbia, Tennessee, Sallie fully enjoyed the profits earned by her slaves. [720] A wealthy ward, she enjoyed violin, guitar and piano lessons, French lessons and art classes. Aside from requesting regular supplies of "pocket money", she sent dozens of bills for her guardians to pay, including clothing, jewellery and accessories with abandon. In 1858, the 15 year old spent $38 with Ms. Saulsbury, a Tuskeegee supplier of "millinery, ribbons, flowers and feathers". Shortly thereafter, Sallie spent $116.70 with a milliner in New Orleans for hat and dress trimmings.[721] At the time, the average monthly wage for a male farm worker (white) in Alabama was $12.41 and the weekly wage for a free white woman domestic servant was $2.08 per week.[722] In 1860, the average household salary in the United States was $297 and yet the teenager easily spent half that amount on two purchases of hat and dress trimmings.[723]

The truth behind the Lost Cause mythology

Despite her extravagant spending sprees, Sallie Lewis's descent into debt and the loss of her family's plantation was not caused entirely by herself and her spending habits. Circumstances beyond her control, namely the economic devastation caused by the Civil War led to a destructive combination of hyper-inflation, agricultural depression and the loss of her enslaved assets. James McPherson summed up the state of the South in the immediate aftermath of the war as "a bleak landscape of devastation and destruction."[724] At the end of official hostilities in April 1865, Southerners of all classes were faced with a cost of living which had risen 92 times what it had been just four years before.[725] Sallie's secure world collapsed on 17 September 1862, when her beloved brother Noland was killed at Antietam. Initially, reports reached her that he had perhaps been wounded or taken prisoner. Her slave, Sam Lewis, who had recently travelled to Virginia to serve Noland as his body servant, reportedly searched the

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[720] Receipts for school fees and diploma, The Estate Packet of George Noland Lewis, Jr. Alabama, Wills and Probate, 1753-1999; University of Virginia (1878) *Students of the University of Virginia; A Semi-Centennial Catalogue with Brief Biographical Sketches*. Charlottesville: Charles Harvey & Associates, 99. It is not clear which female academy Sallie Lewis attended in Columbia.
[721] The Estate Packet of George Noland Lewis, Jr. Alabama, Wills and Probate, 1753-1999.
[722] The Estate Packet of George Noland Lewis, Jr. Alabama, Wills and Probate, 1753-1999.
[723] J. M. Edmunds (1866) *Statistics of the United States (including mortality, property &c) in 1860: compiled from the original returns and being the final exhibit of the eighth census, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 512. Found online at The Hathi Trust https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100869950
[724] James McPherson (1982) *Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction*. New York: Knopf, 493.
[725] "Confederate Inflation Rages, 1861-1865", https://inflationdata.com/articles/confederate-inflation/

battlefield and field hospitals before returning to Alabama with his master's watch, wallet and overcoat.[726] The story that Noland had survived and was in a Union prisoner of war camp was based on stories of his first cousin, also named George N. Lewis who served in the same unit. The "other" G. N. Lewis was captured, exchanged but re-joined their unit to fight on before being badly wounded again, re-captured and died in March 1865 at Elmira, New York. The confusion fuelled Sallie's hope that her brother was actually alive and most likely encouraged her to continue investing in the Confederacy.[727] On March 19, 1864, Sallie purchased $2000 in Confederate bonds, the money being supplied by her former guardian and half-brother, John B. Lewis. It was a romantic gesture of support but a financially unwise decision. With Confederate inflation reaching 700%, she, or at least John B. Lewis must have known that Confederate bonds were even then trading at $26 CSA to $1 gold backed United States dollar. Consequently Sallie's $2000 CSA investment was worth only $76.92 in gold at the time of purchase.[728] One year later, on the eve of defeat, the $2000 CSA bond were worth only $28.50 USD and, of course, after the defeat in April 1865, completely worthless.[729] Without proof of his death, Noland's estate stagnated as no one was able to take over the management of the property or manage his assets. When Noland first enlisted, he and Sallie dreamt of running the plantation together once he returned from the War, dissolving the partnership he had with friend A. L. Scott; "that suits me to a T" he wrote her enthusiastically from the battlefield.[730] Envisioning a comfortable home together with their grandmother, two younger sisters and brother, they were a close family and looked forward to a life together. Instead of that romantic future, Sallie found herself desperately seeking proof of her brother's death while coming to grips with the complexities of both ante-bellum and post-war finance. For the remainder of the Civil War and into the late 1860s, letters arrived from Noland's comrades and friends, one poignantly addressed to "Miss ------ Lewis, sister of Noland Lewis" seeking news of her brother and expressing the hope and belief that perhaps he had not been killed but taken prisoner.[731] The confirmation that Noland had indeed been killed did not arrive until 1864 when her former suitor and governor of Alabama, Thomas H. Watts confirmed an eyewitness account of the young man's death.[732] Noland's will was finally filed two years after his death on

[726] Interview with Mrs. Edith Brookes, Ridgeville, Alabama, November 2018. The wallet survives and is currently in a private collection.
[727] George Noland Lewis to Sallie Lewis, date, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[728] "Confederate Inflation Rates, 1861-1865: https://inflationdata.com/articles/confederate-inflation/
[729] Receipt, 1 March 1846, The Estate Packet of George Noland Lewis, Jr. Alabama, Wills and Probate, 1753-1999.
[730] George Noland Lewis to Sallie Lewis, date, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[731] James T. Hollowell to "Miss ----- Lewis", 12 April 1864. The Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[732] Thomas H. Watts to Sallie Lewis, 10 February 1864, Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

September 19, 1864, enabling Sallie to gain access to his property and financial accounts.[733] The confirmation of her beloved brother's death pushed Sallie's grief to such depths that a close friend felt it necessary to admonish her to live her life: "….You cannot alter the past then why not forget it as quickly as possible?....There are many in our broad land who have been visited by deeper grief than you have yet known, with as sensitive heart as even yours, and yet they have borne them…Ah! Sallie the world is loaded with sorrow, there is no heart that hath not some bitterness, is not struggling with some grief."[734]

Over the years, her story became more romance than fiction; that she was wealthy, so wealthy in fact, that she could gift her family's plantation to her former slaves with enough money to spare to support her aged husband and family. In actuality, Sallie Lewis fought to save that land from the moment she realised her estate was insolvent. As the Secession crisis gained momentum and Civil War loomed ever larger, Sallie lived well off the work of her 31 slaves. Her estate files contain dozens of receipts for luxury goods and it is clear from her spending habits, she had no idea that such a life could ever come to an end. Emotionally devastated by the loss of Noland, Sallie was unaware of the looming financial disaster ahead of her even while she found wartime living straightened. Butler County was fortunate in that, while staple goods may have been hard to find and expensive to purchase, the expected wartime invasion and devastation never happened. After turning 21 in January 1863, Sallie relied on her half-brother John B. Lewis to advise and maintain her finances in the absence of Noland. Between 1861 and 1865, she lived with him and his family, although he charged her room and board for the service.[735] War disrupted the official accounting of her and her brother's estates, both for the years in which she was still legally a minor, 1861 and 1862 as well as the first years of her majority, 1863-1865. Her financial records, including the income from renting out her slaves, were not officially accounted for until Spring 1866. The slaves which she had counted as capital assets and their income generation were subsequently counted as liabilities; their freedom wiping tens of thousands of dollars off Sallie's estate's value. The loss of assets, fellow humans held in bondage, demonstrated just how hollow and inhumane was the wealth of slave-owners. Almost overnight, Noland's estate, valued at $81,897 in 1861 was declared insolvent during the final settlement of his estate on October 4, 1866.[736] Monies owed to her and her brother's estate contracted in Confederate currency were discounted or declared worthless after the defeat of the Confederacy in April 1865. The notes due to Noland's estate and now due to her were discounted in value from $14,220.05 to

[733] The Estate Packet of George Noland Lewis, Jr. Alabama, Wills and Probate, 1753-1999.
[734] Fannie Griffin to Sallie Lewis, 14 January 1864 , The Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[735] The Estate Packet of George Noland Lewis, Jr. Alabama, Wills and Probate, 1753-1999.
[736] The Estate Packet of George Noland Lewis, Jr. Alabama, Wills and Probate, 1753-1999.

$978.60 while his debts, even with some "scaled down" to more accurately reflect the worthlessness of Confederate currency, came to $6,666.25.[737]

As bewildering as the loss of the war and the prospect of reunion with the United States, for farming and planter families in Alabama, the single greatest disaster which befell them in 1865 was the weather. The South experienced unprecedented drought that summer, causing agricultural and hence, economic chaos in that first month following the surrender.[738] Alabama's agricultural landscape in the Spring and Summer of 1865 could be described as "shambles and confusion".[739] Men returning that summer from the fronts were too late to clear fields and make a crop, consequently many families suffered near desperate food shortages and seed stocks for the 1866 planting season would be low. Neglect and lack of manpower, equipment and livestock meant that both planters and small farmers dealt with abandoned fields, broken fences and no livestock to plough or slaughter for food. The lack of agricultural output had been declining steadily in Alabama during the duration of the Civil War. In Coosa County the draft in March 1862 of 800 men left an estimated 15,000 acres uncultivated. [740] The decline in agricultural output between 1860 and 1870 further illustrates the devastation war created across class lines and geographic boundaries.[741] In 1860, Alabama's improved acreage, e.g. cleared and in production totalled 6.4 million acres, falling understandably during the war as men were away fighting, but by 1870 the improved acreage was only 5.1 million acres. The value of land and agricultural buildings in 1860 Alabama was $175.8 million but by 1870 the value had only recovered to $54.2 million. Similarly, the number and value of items owned and used on Alabama farms to cultivate land and produce food and commodities dropped dramatically in the decade comprising the Civil War and the first years of Reconstruction; draft animals (horses, oxen and mules) declined 32.78% from 322,000 in 1860 to 217,000 in 1870. Alabama farmers on average owned agricultural machinery and implements worth $125 per farm in 1860 but by 1870, the value of such items had declined to only $39 per farm. With the dramatic decrease in acreage cultivated, draft animals and implements used came a corresponding decrease in the amount of food and commodities produced. In 1859, Alabama farmers, planters and slaves produced 989,955 ginned bales of cotton but in 1869, Alabama farmers and freed people produced 429,500, a

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[737] The Estate Packet of George Noland Lewis, Jr. Alabama, Wills and Probate, 1753-1999.

[738] Sarah Woolfolk Wiggins (1977) *The Scalawag in Alabama Politics, 1865-1881.* Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 15.

[739] William Warren Rogers, David Ward, Leah Rawls Atkins and Wayne Flynt 91994) *Alabama: The History of a Deep South State*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 206-207.

[740] Rogers et al. (1994), *Alabama; The History of a Deep South State*, Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 207.

[741] There were no census taken during the war. The first post-war Alabama census was taken in 1866 and the first agricultural and industrial census was taken in 1869 and reported in 1870.

decrease in production of just over 57%. Corn, a staple in the diets of people and animals decreased from 33.2 million bushels in 1859 to 17 million bushels in 1869, a no less startling decline of 48.8%.[742]

With Noland Lewis and his agricultural business partner, Alfred Scott away fighting, his plantation's management was under the supervision of his half-brother John B. Lewis. Once he was listed as missing in action, it was several years before his death could be confirmed, allowing his sister to probate his will and take over his farm. With the final accounting starting in 1866, Sallie discovered that the chaos of the Confederacy's financial system and the end of slavery left her bewildered as to how to start rebuilding the farm. After the realisation that her brother's estate was insolvent in June 1866 despite the supervision of John B. Lewis, Sallie moved out of her half-brothers house and began taking her mail "in care of" Judge Bolling, the judge who would later be responsible for selling her property for debts.[743] Relations between Sallie and John were not improved when he sued her in August 1866, petitioning the court for the $2000 he provided Sallie so that she could purchase Confederate Bonds in March 1864.[744] The following January, she won a counter-suit against him for $1884, forcing his land and livestock to be sold to satisfy the debt, straining their fraternal relationship to the limit.[745] Realising she was in desperate financial straits with no one else to rely on for support, Sallie obtained a license to teach school in Butler County. Immediately friends and family offered her paid positions, including the suggestion that she should teach the children of her cousin, Frederick Crenshaw.[746] Possibly because of her disintegrating relationship with her brother, Sallie chose instead to leave Alabama, boarding with her friend, Mme Desrayaux in Pass Christian, Mississippi and teaching at her Institute for Young Ladies.[747] Moving away from home and working for herself allowed Sallie to experience a measure of autonomy she had never experienced before and she relished the freedom of thought and movement. But she could not forget the situation spiralling out of control in Alabama as letters detailing bad news arrived almost daily. In October 1866, John B. Lewis, acting as the agent for Noland's

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[742] Eddie Wayne Shell (2013) *Evolution of Alabama Agroecosystem: Always Keeping Up but Never Catching Up*. Montgomery: New South Books, 336-342.
[743] Envelope to Sallie Lewis "in care of Judge Bolling", June 1866, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[744] The Estate Packet of George Noland Lewis, Jr. Alabama, Wills and Probate, 1753-1999.
[745] Butler County Probate Court judgement, 1867 January 23, The Estate Packet of George Noland Lewis, Jr. Alabama, Wills and Probate, 1753-1999.
[746] License to teach school granted to Miss Sallie Lewis, 1867 March 28**,** Butler County, Alabama, The Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[747] Correspondence, 1866-1869, Mme. Desrayaux operated a prestigious boarding school in New Orleans between 1840 and 1859 before opening a branch in Pass Christian in 1852, which remained in operation until 1875. "Katherine Nelson Desrayaux", *Female Enterprise*, New Orleans Public Library, http://archives.nolalibrary.org/~nopl/exhibits/fe/desrayaux.htm.

agricultural partnership with A. L. Scott submitted his final accounting for 1861-1865 coming up with a final value of $195.60 for the total estate. Of the $62,247 worth of "chargeables" against the estate, he included slaves "set free", 720 acres of land unsold and business he contracted on behalf of his wards, Sallie's half-sisters Anne and Jeanette Esselman. He thereby rendered part of the blame for the estate's worthlessness on the care of the Esselman girls, only related to him tenuously by marriage. Two months later, John B. Lewis petitioned the court for permission to rent the 720 acres to the highest bidder at public auction, the land apparently not having been farmed for several years.[748] Within weeks of arriving in Mississippi, Sallie's creditor Thomas Knight won a judgement against her for $2558, her land and home ultimately sold to satisfy this debt.[749] Desperate, she turned to her friend and the Butler County Probate Judge, Samuel Bolling for advice, receiving a patient explanation of how to "redeem" her property before and after being sold for debt.[750] But she had no means to raise the money once the Noland Lewis estate was officially declared insolvent on January 20, 1868. The estate's only asset of value, the 720 acres from the Lewis plantation valued at $21, 600 had to be sold to partially satisfy his and her creditors.

In the midst of her despair, a saviour appeared settling her lesser debts and offering his counsel and assistance, her recently widowed cousin, Frederick Crenshaw.[751] With no male relative left in their immediate family from whom to seek financial and emotional support now that they were barely on speaking terms with half-brother John B. Lewis, Sallie and her sister, Jeanette were desperate. Their sister Anne Esselman married at the age of 17 in October 1866, motivated by the need to lessen the sisters' financial burdens. In desperation, Jeanette announced her marriage in August 1868 admitting flatly that she had to marry because she had no home, "no nothing" and refused to continue to rely on Sallie who worked so hard to support her and grandmother; "I hope some day to be able to give you a home in my home".[752] Aware of the sisters' continuing financial problems, William Glasgow, Anne Esselman's husband kept "Sister Sallie" up to date on his efforts to assist with her affairs, giving her the surprise good news that "all of Wade's claims against you have been settled by Mr. Crenshaw."[753] Attempting negotiation with John B. Lewis for Sallie's share of her land rents

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[748] 1866 December 7, The Estate Packet of George Noland Lewis, Jr. Alabama, Wills and Probate, 1753-1999.
[749] 1867 October: The Estate Packet of George Noland Lewis, Jr. Alabama, Wills and Probate, 1753-1999.
[750] Judge Samuel Bolling to Sallie Lewis, 21 September 1868, The Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[751] Jeanette Esselman to Sallie Lewis, 11 July 1868, The Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[752] Jeanette Esselman to Sallie Lewis, 4 August 1868, The Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[753] William Glasgow to Sallie Lewis, 28 September 1868**,** The Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

due her, Glasgow reported with some frustration that John expected to keep it, insisting that the rent from her plantation was his "only chance" of support for himself and his family.[754] Over the next several months, John B. Lewis attempted to keep her share of the rents so that he could buy a house and lot in Greenville, while complaining bitterly to Sallie; "I am now in more straightened circumstances than I have ever been before."[755]

With pressure closing in all around her, Sallie Lewis married her cousin Frederick Crenshaw in the home of his first wife's brother, T. Augustus Womack on July 27, 1869.[756] Widowed just a year and a half earlier, Fred had been devastated by the death of his first wife, Caroline Womack Crenshaw. In a twist of irony, Caroline's marble grave marker arrived from Italy while he and Sallie were on their honeymoon.[757] The two wives were cousins of their husband and cousins of each another, part of a close inter-related community and family. Despite their age difference they were raised within a few miles of one another and must have known one another personally. After his wife's death in November 1867, Frederick Crenshaw quietly assisted his young, pretty cousin over the course of a year, paying off her smaller debts and negotiating with the larger creditors. Gradually, the role of advisor turned to suitor, although many friends and mutual family thought the marriage one of convenience for them both. Family did not refrain from calling him "that old widower" whose attentions were "ridiculous" and whose offerings of flowers, "funerary"; "think of a honeymoon being interrupted by demands for new pin-a-fores" one friend asked Sallie in incredulity.[758] Frederick was 45 with five children ranging in age from 15 to 4. A wealthy planter turned farmer, he had not invested in the Confederacy because of his Unionist sympathies: a decision which left him in a stronger financial position after the Civil War.[759] In 1860, his personal worth was $18,500 in real estate and $75,000 in personal property while in 1870, his farm was valued at $15,000 and his personal estate at $4,300, much reduced but still leaving him one of the wealthiest farmers in the area. [760] Sallie was 27 and insolvent with outstanding financial judgements

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[754] William Glasgow to Sallie Lewis, 28 September 1868**,** The Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[755] John Brooke Lewis to Sallie Lewis, 13 and 22 October 1868.
[756] Wedding Card for F. W. Crenshaw and Miss Sallie Lewis, The Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[757] John White Crenshaw to his father, Frederick William Crenshaw, 19 August 1869, "It is all boxed up but what I can see of it is very pretty." Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[758] Jeanette Esselman Owens to Sallie Lewis, 17 February 1869 and 29 April 1869; Fannie Griffin to Sallie Lewis, 24 March 1869 and 22 May 1869; The Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[759] George Noland Lewis, Jr. to Sallie Lewis, 25 November 1860, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[760] In 1860, Fred Crenshaw owned $18,500 in real estate and $75,000 in personal property, the bulk of his personal property being the value of his slaves and his cotton in the warehouse. 1870 United States Census, Township 11, Butler County, Alabama, Roll M593-5, p. 438A;

against her, working hard as a school teacher to support herself and her grandmother.[761] Swept up into a bewildering world of financial disaster, in debt and without any means of support other than teaching, perhaps marrying her financially secure cousin was her only choice.

The Mythology of planter largesse

The oral history of the white Lewis descendants remains the romantic mythology that "Grandma Sallie loved her slaves so much she gave them her house and the plantation when she married Grandpa Fred".[762] Of course the belief that a wealthy former slave owner would "gift" all of her property up to her former slaves was far more noble than the truth that she lost it to debts. When the black Lewis descendants who were born and raised in the Lewis House were asked the question; "What story did you hear growing up about how your family came to have this house?" The descendent repeated the same story: that Miss Sallie Lewis loved her slaves so much that she gave them the house and the land when she married Mr. Crenshaw.[763] Correspondence written on behalf of and to Sallie Lewis dating from 1867 through the 1870s demonstrate her keen desire to keep her plantation and family home, not sell it or give it away. Additional correspondence tells of repeated efforts to "redeem" the property, unsuccessful attempts which lasted at least thirty years.[764] How the story found such credibility to be repeated on both sides of the racial divide well into the twenty-first century is an example of the tenacity of the Lost Cause mythology. Southern historian, slavery advocate and editor of *The Richmond Examiner*, Edward Pollard first coined the term "Lost Cause" in 1866 with the publication of *Lost Cause: A New Southern History of the War of the Confederates* idealizing the antebellum slavery system and rationalising the Confederacy's defeat.[765] Currently recognised to have developed over three distinct phases: bereavement for the hundreds of thousands of dead; celebration of inherently Southern cultural attributes; and vindication for state's rights, the Lost Cause solidified an unequal racial, class and gender

[761] Jeannette Esselman to Sallie Lewis, 4 August 1868, Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[762] Interview with Frederick William Crenshaw IV, March 1996, The Ridge, Butler County, Alabama. Transcript in possession of the author.
[763] Interview with Mrs. Edith Lewis Brooks, 19 November 2018, Ridgeville, Alabama. Transcript in possession of the author.
[764] Edward Frederick Crenshaw to Sallie Lewis Crenshaw, 31 May 1897, 12 June 1897 and Edward Frederick Crenshaw to Frederick William Crenshaw, 21 September 1900. Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection. Correspondence dating from 1867 through the 1900s refers to repeated efforts to "redeem" the property.
[765] Edward A. Pollard (1866) *The Lost Cause: A New Southern History of the War of the Confederates*. New York: E. B. Treat & Co. Digitised copy found online at https://archive.org/details/lostcausenewsout00poll/page/n8

structure.[766] Glorifying an idealised narrative, the Lost Cause gave permission for defeated Southerners to focus on positive motivations for the Civil War; the just causes of preserving state's rights; model race relations; idealised gender and class roles; and the defence of Constitutional principles. In time the Lost Cause has become a culture whereby Southerners may simply ignore the unpleasantness of the past and focus whole-heartedly on a remembered Technicolor ideal which, in actuality, never existed.[767]

And yet the experience of former slaves acquiring plantations through lease and subsequent purchase is not completely unknown. Sydney Nathans has spent forty years researching the Cameron plantation of Hale County, Alabama which was broken up and acquired by former slaves, whose descendants have subsequently created a community around it.[768] Located in the Black Belt, Hale County area experienced extreme labour conflict and political pressure immediately after Emancipation from black and white radical Republicans. Black political agitation forced a shift in plantation agriculture from heavily supervised gang labour to decentralised tenant farming.[769] For Michael Fitzgerald the Cameron Plantation's acquisition by freedmen and freedwomen symbolised "the culmination" of the labour conflict between white planters and former slaves.[770] Faced with politically perceptive freedmen backed by white Republican politicians, former planters were faced with freedmen who refused to work without honest compensation, fair wages and more self-supervision. Initially small plots on the plantation were leased to tenant farmers but difficulties in acquiring or managing that labour enabled freedmen to negotiate better terms for themselves and their families. With labour costs increasing while profits decreased, the planter and former overseer on the Cameron Plantation were willing to sell off the plantation rather than work more demanding free labour. Subsequently sold off, two of the buyers were Paul Hargress and

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[766] Jack P. Maddox, Jr. "Pollards Lost Cause Regained: A Mask for Southern Accommodation" in *The Journal of Southern History,* Vol. 40, No. 4 (ov. 1974), pp. 595-612.
[767] Karen L. Cox (2003) *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture*. Gainsville: University of Florida Press; Gaines M. Foster (1987) *Ghosts of the Confederacy; Defeat, the Lost Cause and the Emergence of the New South*. New York: Oxford University Press; Gary M. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan, eds. (2000). *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*. Bloomington: Indian University Press; Charles Reagan Wilson (1983) *Baptised in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
[768] Sydney Nathans (2017) *A Mind to Stay: White Plantation, Black Homeland.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
[769] Michael W. Fitzgerald, " 'To Give Our Votes to the Party': Black Political Agitation and Agricultural Change in Alabama, 1865-1870" in The Journal of American History, Vol. 76, No. 2 (September 1989), 489-505.
[770] Sydney Nathans (2017) *A Mind to Stay: White Plantation, Black Homeland.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Sandy Cameron, former slaves of the Cameron family and two of the most important Republican agitators in the area.[771]

The sale and purchase of the Lewis and Cameron plantations were the result of black political agitation combined with agricultural and political uncertainty for whites. Successive years of poor crops in 1865, 1866 and 1867, a post-war economy which had little currency in circulation and an increasingly vocal and powerful labour force contributed to agricultural, social and economic instability.[772] When first informed of their freedom, many former slaves exercised freedom of movement to express their new found status, thousands walking away from the plantations entirely and heading for town or moving away from the plantations on which they had been enslaved to neighbouring ones to re-join family.[773] Those who chose to stay on the plantations did so because it was the undefinable expression of "home". In her study of the migration of urban blacks from the North back to the South a century later, Carol Stack defined the idea of home in the lands which had enslaved their ancestors; "Home is in a hard land—hard to explain, hard to make a living in, and hard to swallow".[774] Those freedmen and freedwomen who stayed in the area or on the plantations which originally enslaved them found that the terms of that first fall and winter of 1865 to be little better than a continuation of enslavement. Freedman's Contracts for 1865 were simply assurances of housing, food and medical care in return for absolute obedience to the wishes of the planter and his agents. Freedmen agreed with their marks and sometimes a signature that any infringement of their employer's wishes could see them and their dependents put off the plantation with nothing. Increased availability of information on their rights as workers, threats of and some actual enforcement by the Freedman's Bureau allowed freedmen to make slightly better contracts for 1866, including wages, when "reckoning time" came around the following January. In Talladega, former planter James Mallory recording paying $120 a year to hire freedmen and $40 a year for freedwomen, in addition to providing rations and housing. [775] On average, rates of compensation ranged from one-sixth to one-fourth of the crop, $7 - $15 per month for men

[771] Sydney Nathans, (1982), "Fortress without Walls: A Black Community after Slavery", in *Holding on to the Land and the Lord: Kinship, Ritual, Land Tenure, and Social Policy in the Rural South*, eds. Robert L. Hall and Carol Stack. Athens: University of Georgia Press., 55-65.
[772] Martin Abbot, "Free Land, Free Labor and the Freedmen's Bureau" in Agricultural History, Vol. 30, No. 4 (October 1956), 150-156; Peter Kolchin, (1972) *First Freedom: The Responses of Alabama's Blacks to Emancipation and Reconstruction*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 39; Shell, E. (2013) *Evolution of Alabama Agroecosystem: Always Keeping Up but Never Catching Up*. Montgomery: New South Books.
[773] Peter Kolchin, (1972) *First Freedom: The Responses of Alabama's Blacks to Emancipation and Reconstruction*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 46-47.
[774] Carol Stack (1996) *Call to Home: African Americans Reclaim the Rural South*. New York: Basic Books, 18.
[775] Peter Kolchin, (1972) *First Freedom: The Responses of Alabama's Blacks to Emancipation and Reconstruction*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 39-40.

and $5 to $12 for women.[776] However, later contracts did not preclude the threat of losing those wages: Barbary Lewis, a former slave of Sallie Lewis' half-brother John B. Lewis, agreed to work for neighbour C. B. Herbert on January 1, 1866 for $36, clothing, food, medical attention and medicine but if found guilty of any "flagrant misdemeanour… shall forfeit all money due him".[777] Of course, the definition of a flagrant misdemeanour being entirely up to the employer: for Peyton Crenshaw the act which saw him and five other hands turned off the plantation of Thomas C. Crenshaw without warning or pay, was the act of voting. Their employer then demanded the six men pay him back for the time they took off to go vote.[778]

The crop failures of 1865 and the mass movement of freedmen changed the bargaining position of freedmen because for the first time planters had to encourage or force them to stay and work the plantations.[779] For the Cameron family in Hale county, they simply could not make the transition to sharecropping as effectively as many other Alabama families. In his exploration of KKK terrorism tactics in Reconstruction Alabama, Fitzgerald observed that money can quickly change attitudes and for planters in rural Alabama, rising post-war cotton prices encouraged planters to find the most effective and profitable forms of using free but inexpensive black labour.[780] As cotton prices rose and Congressional Reconstruction offered more political stability, by March 1867 farming became profitable again. Planters quickly realised that it was unprofitable trying to force freedmen and freedwomen to work under slavery-style supervision because laborers were in greater demand; if they found a better opportunity, workers would take it. Renting land for shares of the crop and opening plantation stores to supply those tenants with provisions became far more consistently profitable than planters could have dreamt of in 1860. One thankful Alabama merchant observed of planters that "cotton at 20 cts. without tax is a fair business, & they ought to kindly work every laborer in it, who will work at all."[781] In opposition to commonly accepted theories that KKK violence

[776] Martin Abbot, "Free Land, Free Labor and the Freedmen's Bureau" in Agricultural History, Vol. 30, No. 4 (October 1956), 154.
[777] "Alabama, Freedmen's Bureau Field Office Records, 1865-1872", Greenville, Roll 13, Registers of Contracts, Vol;. 1-2, May- Dec. 1865, image 46. NARA microfilm M1900 (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.).
[778] United States, Freedmen's Bureau, "Records of Freedmen's Complaints, 1865-1872" Payton Crenshaw, citing residence, Alabama. NARA microfilm publication M1900, records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned lands, 1861-1880, RG 105. Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.) roll 13, FHL microfilm 2,424,731.
[779] Martin Abbot, "Free Land, Free Labor and the Freedmen's Bureau" in Agricultural History, Vol. 30, No. 4 (October 1956), 150-156, 154-157. Michael W. Fitzgerald "Terrorism and Racial Coexistence in Alabama's Reconstruction", *Alabama Review*, Vol. 71, No. 1 (January 2018), 7-24.
[780] Michael W. Fitzgerald "Terrorism and Racial Coexistence in Alabama's Reconstruction", *Alabama Review*, Vol. 71, No. 1 (January 2018), 16-17.
[781] Michael W. Fitzgerald "Terrorism and Racial Coexistence in Alabama's Reconstruction", *Alabama Review*, Vol. 71, No. 1 (January 2018), 16-17; Michael W. Fitzgerald, " 'To Give Our Votes to the Party': Black Political Agitation and Agricultural Change in Alabama, 1865-1870" in The Journal of American

raged throughout plantation communities, the 2018 study by Michael Fitzgerald concluded that planters generally wanted no part of violence and intimidation because they needed a stable environment to encourage workers to stay.[782] In fact, Fitzgerald demonstrates that offering a calm work environment free from harassment encouraged workers to migrate away from communities experiencing violence and intimidation in order to find stable work.[783]

Whereas some historians see the mass movement of freed blacks as emblematic of weak familial bonds within the black community others see it as the expression of freedom and independence.[784] My research into the freedmen and freedwoman along the Ridge demonstrate the binds of a close community who chose to make homes and a community together. Charting the locations of blacks and mixed-race heads of households on the 1870 Federal Census moving eastward from Manningham down the Ridge Road to Monterey, households bearing the names of the related planters Crenshaw, Lewis and Womack demonstrate that freedpeople may have moved away from their former masters but not away from one another. Black and mixed-race households cluster together on the census sheets apart from those employed as domestic servants, who are enumerated alongside their employers and most likely living with them or adjacent to them.[785] Of course, many of these families bearing the same surname were related by the shared experience of enslavement rather than by blood but they formed communities as close as blood relations. Granted one of the first available expressions of freedom for newly freed slaves was the freedom of movement, to leave the slave quarters and live in a place of one's own choosing. To assuage the restlessness of freedmen and women and encourage a ready supply of workers, many planters, like the Crenshaws, Womacks and Lewises, consented to repurpose or move slave quarters and build worker housing at points of their tenants' choosing.[786] By May 1867, the practice was so widespread, the Montgomery *Daily Advertiser* reported with surprise that "several large land owners have broken up their old 'quarters' and have rebuilt the houses at selected points, scattered over the plantation."[787] The independence afforded from moving

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History, Vol. 76, No. 2 (September 1989), 489-505; Peter Kolchin, (1972) *First Freedom: The Responses of Alabama's Blacks to Emancipation and Reconstruction*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.

[782] Michael W. Fitzgerald "Terrorism and Racial Coexistence in Alabama's Reconstruction", *Alabama Review*, Vol. 71, No. 1 (January 2018), 16-17.

[783] Michael W. Fitzgerald "Terrorism and Racial Coexistence in Alabama's Reconstruction", *Alabama Review*, Vol. 71, No. 1 (January 2018), 16-17.

[784] Peter Kolchin, (1972) *First Freedom: The Responses of Alabama's Blacks to Emancipation and Reconstruction*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press,23; LaWanda Cox, "The Promise of Land for the Freedmen" in The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XLV (December 1958), 490.

[785] US Federal Census, 1870, Township 10 Monterey and township 11 Manningham.

[786] Peter Kolchin, (1972) *First Freedom: The Responses of Alabama's Blacks to Emancipation and Reconstruction*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 46-47.

[787] *The Daily Advertiser* (Montgomery, Alabama), 14 May 1867. Found online at Newspapers.com

away from the "quarter" created a measure of domestic security for men and women from the threat of harassment or assault by white males. Living on their own plot also afforded black families a measure of economic and food security in their ability to raise food and produce for themselves and for sale.[788] However, whilst becoming a tenant farmer was the way forward for free families, the dream of owning their own house and farm remained "for most, an illusory dream."[789]

The only study specifically examining how Alabama freedmen and women initially responded to Emancipation undertaken by Peter Kolchin found that "little or no land in Alabama was actually given to the freedmen". [790] Rumours of land distribution in the early days of Reconstruction, gave rise to the oft-repeated phrase "forty acres and a mule" and have a basis in fact. Promises made in March 1865 by the 38th Congress to secure former slaves' independence by providing them with land of their own translated into both the creation of the Freedman's Bureau and the passage of the 1866 Southern Homestead Act.[791] Rumours of free land or a re-distribution of land at low prices were fuelled by the successes of the 1862 Homestead Act, created to encourage the settlement of millions of acres of "public land" in the Great Plains and American West. That act had allowed explicitly for black ownership and it is likely that tales of blacks successfully becoming landowners trickled down to even the most rural and seemingly inaccessibly plantations in the Black Belt. But the actuality of black land ownership in the South was an illusion; the Huntsville (Alabama) Office only provided 63 homesteads to blacks between April 1867 and June 1869. The "total failure" of the Homestead Act derived primarily from there being a relative lack of existing public land in Alabama available for distribution.[792] Its failure assured because of the racism and greed of public officials who used the freedmen's lack of knowledge and experience to lie and take advantage of them. Applicants were frequently

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[788] Michael W. Fitzgerald, " 'To Give Our Votes to the Party': Black Political Agitation and Agricultural Change in Alabama, 1865-1870" in *The Journal of American History*, V. 76, No. 2 (September 1989), 490.
[789] Peter Kolchin, (1972) *First Freedom: The Responses of Alabama's Blacks to Emancipation and Reconstruction*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 48.
[790] Peter Kolchin, (1972) *First Freedom: The Responses of Alabama's Blacks to Emancipation and Reconstruction*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 134; LaWanda Cox, "The Promise of Land for the Freedmen" in The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XLV (December 1958), 413-448.
[791] LaWanda Cox, "The Promise of Land for the Freedmen" in The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XLV (December 1958), 413-448. Hoffnagle, Warren, "The Southern Homestead Act: Its Origins and Operation" in The Historian, 32, (February 1, 1970),612-629.
[792] Peter Kolchin, (1972) *First Freedom: The Responses of Alabama's Blacks to Emancipation and Reconstruction*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.

charged exorbitant and illegal administrative fees, for example $12 to make an application when the law expressly stated that the maximum fee was $4.[793]

Black land ownership in Butler County

Despite the Black Belt having the largest black population, up to 75% in some counties, "only a scattering of black landowners" were to be found in 1870.[794] As an area of prime agricultural land which supported and encouraged plantation agriculture, the Black Belt naturally attracted the largest landowners and planters. Such land had always been seen as the prime farming land and subsequently had been the longest settled. As such the Black Belt was the most expensive to purchase and least available to freedmen.[795] Freedmen landownership was the highest in counties with poorer and less productive land in general, areas where slavery had not been as prominent and black labour not in demand, such as the mountain counties of the Piedmont or the longleaf prairie lands of the Wiregrass. In Walker County, a Piedmont county with strong Unionist sympathies and little support for slavery, 22.8% of the black population were land owners b7 1870 whereas in the Black Belt counties of Lowndes and Marengo, black landowners constituted 1.1% and 0% respectively.[796] Overall statistics for black farm ownership released by the US Census in 1904 demonstrated that the inverse proportions of high populations of blacks to black farm ownership continued. In Alabama Black Belt counties where the population of blacks was between 50% and 75% of the total population, black farm ownership reached only 8.2% of that population in 1900. In Alabama counties in which under 30% of the total population were black, black farm ownership reached 30.7%.[797] Such figures clearly demonstrate that the legend of Sallie Lewis giving her home and land to her former slaves is simply untenable.

In Butler County black land ownership in 1870 was confined to a very small, elite community. According to the Federal Census of 1870, Manningham, the area of the Ridge home to the largest and wealthiest planters, black home or farm ownership was zero. While land ownership was insignificant, of the 56 black or mixed-race households living among the

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[793] Peter Kolchin, (1972) *First Freedom: The Responses of Alabama's Blacks to Emancipation and Reconstruction*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press; Walter F. Willcox and W. E. Burghardt Du Bois (1904) "Negroes in the United States". *Bulletin 8*. Washington: Bureau of the Census.
[794] Peter Kolchin, (1972) *First Freedom: The Responses of Alabama's Blacks to Emancipation and Reconstruction*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 134-136
[795] Peter Kolchin, (1972) *First Freedom: The Responses of Alabama's Blacks to Emancipation and Reconstruction*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 134-136.
[796] Peter Kolchin, (1972) *First Freedom: The Responses of Alabama's Blacks to Emancipation and Reconstruction*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 148, passim. Winston County seceded from the state of Alabama on 4 July 1861 to become the Free State of Winston.
[797] Walter F. Willcox and W. E. Burghardt Du Bois (1904) "Negroes in the United States". *Bulletin 8*. Washington: Bureau of the Census, 98.

plantation community, personal property ownership averaged $168. In contrast the 158 white households in Manningham held a total of $79,950 worth of real estate, though two men, brothers Thomas and Frederick Crenshaw owned over half that amount between them, $25,500 and $18,500 respectively. If they are taken out of the calculations, the remaining 156 white households in Manningham owned an average of $182 in personal property, only slightly more than the wealthiest of their black neighbours.[798] Conversely, travelling west along the Ridge towards the "The Devil's Backbone", around the former Lewis Plantation, black property and home ownership was substantially greater; 55 black and mixed-race families owned property worth $10,625, an average per household of $274. Of those property owning families, 10 owned $2,740 worth of real estate in June 1870, an average per household of $193.[799]

Black land ownership was restricted to those individuals who were better educated, not necessarily academically (for that was a rarity indeed) but in the ways of the world, those who had exposure to a variety of other society possibly through travel with their masters or those who had travelled off the plantation.[800] Those slaves who had been able to save money for themselves over the years when working on their own time or by raising and selling produce from their own plots, found themselves in a position to purchase small parcels of land if it came available. The Crenshaws', Lewis' and Womack plantation accounts show that many slaves were able to work their own plots, raising and selling produce and fodder for sale to local merchants or to hire out their time.[801] Fred Crenshaw's cotton books and accounts with his commission merchant detail the bales of cotton raised and produced by his slaves that were sent for sale to Mobile with his own shipment, the cotton ginned and packed in his gin after his crop had been completed.[802] These sales did not translate into home ownership after Emancipation as there are no records of black or mixed-race families in the Manningham district owning their own farms, giving rise to the oral tradition that many former Crenshaw

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[798] *1870 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. Images reproduced by FamilySearch, Township 11, Manningham, Butler County, Alabama.
[799] *1870 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. Images reproduced by FamilySearch. Township 10, Monterey, Butler County, Alabama.
[800] Peter Kolchin, (1972) *First Freedom: The Responses of Alabama's Blacks to Emancipation and Reconstruction*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 134-137.
[801] Account statements, The Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection; "Cotton Books", The Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection; Plantation ledger, 1851-1858, Oversize volume SV-5769/1 in the Crenshaw Family papers #5769, Southern Historical Collection, the Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Two slaves belonging to Sallie Lewis, Charles (born in 1828) and Sam (born 1835 or 1840) were each accounted as "hires out his time and pays his mistress", from accounts for Sallie Lewis found in G. N. Lewis Estate Files, Box 8, Folders 53-59 (3), Alabama, Wills and Probate Records, 1753-1999.
[802] Correspondence between Frederick W. Crenshaw and John N. Carpenter, Commission Merchant, 1850-1860, The Joseph Neal Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.

slaves moved away from their former enslavers and established their own communities east in Ridgeville or west in an area now named Crenshaw Road.

The Black Families and Ridgeville

In March 1880, the former Lewis plantation was the subject of an extraordinary property exchange between the black Lewis and Carter families. James and Phoebe Williams Lewis in consideration of $700 sold to Isaac Newton Carter and his wife Anna Lewis Carter 95 and 1/5 acres of land. The following transaction on the page detailed Isaac N. and Anna Carter selling 104 and 4/5 acres of adjacent land to James and Phoebe Lewis, also for $700.[803] The origination of the Carter family has yet to be traced but preliminary genealogical research points to Isaac Carter's mother Queen being a former slave of Frederick Crenshaw, who married Sallie Lewis. Queen is mentioned in the Womack and Crenshaw plantation accounts producing her own cotton for sale throughout the 1850s. The Lewis family appears to have been enslaved by the Lewis-Esselman family, although their antecedents are proving difficult to trace.[804] It is very likely that Issac Newton Carter's parents are Evans and Queen Crenshaw Carter as per the 1870 Census listing them in the same household as a family or, given the age differences, he could be their grandson.[805] Adjacent to them are the family of Squire Carter who is listed as being of a similar age to Evans and could either be a blood brother or part of the enslaved community who considered themselves as close as family. Squire Carter and Evans Carter appear in the deed books providing mutual economic support, frequently combining resources in transactions together or between one another. How they are related to one another and to the white planters on The Ridge is not as important as the fact that they were able to purchase this land, turn it into a profitable farm and that the land and the old plantation house remains in the ownership of their descendants today. Just how the two formerly enslaved couples acquired two hundred acres of land is impossible to discern from available records, but it is evident by this transaction that the Lewis-Carter families boldly took up the opportunities available to them when they were freed.

A pithy observation noted in Sallie Lewis' estate accounts for 1865-1866 notes that "said slaves were freed by the Federal government on 1 January 1865."[806] Within two years, in October 1867, her and her brother's land would be sold for debts and within four years, both the newly freed Lewis and Carter families owned their own farms. On March 24, 1869 Evans

[803] Deed Book UU, Butler County Probate Records, Butler County Court House, Greenville, Alabama.
[804] I have not been able to trace a man named Jim or James among the existing Lewis family records.
[805] There is a slave named Isaac, born in 1851 enslaved by Sallie Lewis. Could he, as Queen Crenshaw's son or grandson have later taken the surname Carter? At present it is impossible to know.
[806] G. N. Lewis Estate Files, Box 8, Folders 53-59 (3), Alabama, Wills and Probate Records, 1753-1999.

and Squire Carter purchased 2.5 acres near Forest Home, Alabama, a thriving farming community about 7 mile south of the Ridge. They purchased the land from a white farmer with a $100 mortgage which they paid in full in October 1869.[807] By June 26, 1870, Evans and his wife Queen Crenshaw Carter were enumerated in Monterey (the precinct of the original Lewis plantation) owning their own farm valued at $300 with $200 in personal property. Next door to them are Squire and Sarah Carter, also named as farm owners with $300 of real estate and $300 in personal property.[808] In contrast, Anna Lee Lewis, later wife of Issac N. Carter is enumerated with her parents Silas and Liza (either a second wife or a mistake of the enumerator) in Manningham near the Frederick Crenshaw plantation not owing real estate but possessing $250 in personal property.[809] Living two doors down from them were Jim and Phoebe Williams Lewis, again not owning real estate but possessing $250 in personal property. Marrying Isaac N. Carter in 1873, Anna Lee Lewis became part of the Carter family who continued to show up in the Butler County deed books doing business with white and black farmers and white merchants, building their credit, expanding their property ownership and contributing to the building of their community. In March 1871 Evans and his son Isaac took out another mortgage with G. W. Ward for $175 to be paid with one brown mare mule, one sorrel mare and three bales of cotton weighing 500lbs each to be delivered by the 1 October 1871. They paid in full on time with Evans signing both agreements with his mark but his son signing his name. The family also conducted business within the black community supporting one another with loans of money and exchanges of goods; in June 1871, Squire Carter lent Evans Carter $100 taking as security a four year old heifer, two yearling calves and two bales of cotton to be repaid by 1 October 1871. Again, the deed book notes that the payment was made in full and on time, both men signing with a mark. Indebted to G. W. Howell for $50, Evans Carter provided the following surety to repay his debt on February 1, 1873; one sorrel mare aged seven, a roan pony of uncertain age and 1 bale of cotton "the first that I gather and get ready for market", also paid in full the following October 1.[810] Establishing credit within the white community expanded the abilities of black families to provide economic security, build their farms and their own communities.

By the 1880s, Ike Carter was regularly appearing in the conservative *Greenville Advocate* described as "an intelligent colored farmer of Monterey [and] an energetic fellow" who

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[807] Abraham S. Morrow to Ivins [sic] and Squire Carter, Deed Book M, Butler County Probate Records.
[808] *1870 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. Images reproduced by FamilySearch, Township 10, Monterey, Butler County, Alabama.
[809] *1870 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. Images reproduced by FamilySearch, Township 11, Manningham, Butler County, Alabama.
[810] Butler County Deed Books, M, N, P, S, T, U, UU, V, Y. Butler County Court House, Greenville, Alabama.

"deserves success".[811] Engaged in a friendly competition amongst local farmers, white and black, Ike sent the paper a cotton bloom which had opened in his field on June 8, 1881, highlighting his successful production of a new high-yield 4-bloom variety. [812] Between 1885 and 1894, Ike Carter succeeded in presenting the first bale of new cotton every year, a symbol of prestige in the agricultural community as the "first bale" commanded the best price and was something of a competition amongst farmers. [813] Routinely described as "a substantial colored farmer", Ike, aware of his need to court a favourable opinion sent gifts from his farm to the local newspaper, which, in turn were reported with a polite notice mentioning him by name and favourably commenting on his largesse.[814] Ike leveraged his standing within the black and white communities as a substantial farmer and his positive reputation as a honest businessman into political capital. Described as a "strong Sherman man", Ike was selected as a delegate to the Alabama State Republican Convention. There he was elected a delegate to the National Republican Convention in Chicago, travelling in a specially decorated Pullman sleeper with 14 other delegates; the newspapers opined that "white and black will probably mix in true fraternity and go on together, but that much is not certain yet.[815] At the Chicago Convention, Ike was an astounding success, beating former Alabama governor Lewis E. Parsons for a seat on the Executive Committee of the Republican Party.[816] By 1890, he felt his position was strong enough to run as the very first black candidate in Butler County, nominated for state representative in an all-black convention held in front of the Butler County Court House. In his acceptance speech, the only words of his found in print, Ike prophesized; "It may be that the time has come after twenty-five years that a negro can be elected to represent Butler county in the General Assembly, and if my people and the Republican party will stand up to me, I will make the race."[817] He was wrong. On the same page on which a description and this quote appeared, the *Greenville Advocate* editor expressed his opinion on this first black political candidate:

> Ike Carter is a clever darkey, and a good farmer. For several years he has been the first to bring a bale of new cotton to market, and he tells us that he will have a

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[811] *The Greenville Advocate*, 16 June 1881. Found online at Newspapers.com
[812] *The Greenville Advocate*, 30 June 1881. Found online at Newspapers.com
[813] *The Greenville Advocate,* 1885-1894; In 1888, his first bale of cotton in Butler County weighing 562 pounds sold for $0.9 ½ cents a pound, *The Greenville Advocate,* 8 August 1888; In 1894, Ike claimed the first bale alongside white farmer Wesley Smith, Jr. Both bales weighed in at 520 pounds, "Ike Carter claims the distinction of being the 'first bale' man for a number of years." *The Greenville Advocate*, 16 August 1894.
[814] *The Greenville Advocate*, 15 June 1882. Found online at Newspapers.com
[815] *The Weekly Advertiser* (Montgomery), 24 May 1888; *The Montgomery Advertiser*, 16 June 1888.
[816] *The Greenville Advocate*, 27 June 1888. Found online at Newspapers.com
[817] *The Greenville Advocate*, 30 July 1890. Found online at Newspapers.com

> bale out in a few days, thus again getting the fancy price for the first bale. That ought to be honor enough for him without going to the legislature. If he should be elected it would ruin him. Therefore give Capt. Harrell your undivided support and let him go to Montgomery as our representative with an overwhelming majority.[818]

As long as Ike remained "a clever darkey" in his place, his white neighbours would continue to extoll his virtues as a good farmer, even a substantial farmer deserving success. Unsurprisingly, he was soundly defeated at the polls, 2,693 votes to 689, the only precinct he won being his own, Monterey with 155 to 77. [819] In reporting the results, *The Greenville Advocate* expressed their belief that "The first negro ticket was doomed a failure and the negroes might as well learn now what they ought to have learned long ago – that their ticket will be defeated every time."[820] Although Ike continued to encourage black voter turnout and blacks serving in office, he never ran again for public office after this defeat. Perhaps the realisation that he was wrong about the time being right for racial equality just twenty-fiver years after Emancipation was too much of a disappointment or from threats of violence. Ike continued to be elected by the Republican Party to represent Butler County at state level conventions but never again at the national convention.[821] Instead, he towed the line, supporting white candidates, even making "a ringing speech" in favour of Captain Perdue's election to go the National Republican Convention of 1893. *The Greenville Advocate* approved of Ike's new lower political profile, offering him the praise, "Butler is exceedingly fortunate in having her citizens in the conventions which make presidents."[822]

For planters, Reconstruction meant maintaining or attempting to maintain the comfortable life they enjoyed before the War freed their slaves. Embracing Emancipation and the Union while distancing themselves from the former Confederacy was a reality many planters found hard to accept; preferring instead to remain patriotic Alabamians and Southerners but not necessarily Americans. Unlike his elder brother, Frederick Crenshaw chose a life of living the plantation ideal, an ideal based on the world of his youth, that of the quintessential planter. Like so many Southerner men old enough to have grown up and experienced the life of a master, Frederick found it a life he did not wish to loose nor did he. When he died in 1902, nearly fifty years after the beginning and end of the Confederacy, it was

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[818] *The Greenville Advocate*, 30 July 1890. Found online at Newspapers.com
[819] *The Greenville Advocate*, 6 August 1890. Found online at Newspapers.com
[820] *The Greenville Advocate*, 6 August 1890. Found online at Newspapers.com
[821] *The Greenville Advocate*, June and July 1894, 24 September 1894; *The Montgomery Advertiser, 24* September 1895.
[822] *The Greenville Advocate,* 4 May 1892.

the Lost Cause which gave agency to his life; “Before the war he was one of this county’s wealthiest citizens, owning large tracts of the rich cedar creek bottoms and the slaves who tilled the soil. His large anti-bellum [sic] mansion was always thrown open…for he was noted for his liberal hospitality.”[823] Evoking the nostalgia of the Old South, large tracts of rich bottom land tilled by happy slaves for a magnanimous and generous master.

In Sallie Lewis’ experience, the loss of her only male protector, inflation, the loss of income and capital her slaves provided for her led to considerably reduced circumstances. For some planter families and communities, their primary source of capital, enslaved human beings, were justly swept away by Emancipation. But resourcefully, they created another profitable method of keeping freed slaves tied to the land and themselves through sharecropping and running plantation stores. Individuals like Sallie Lewis who most likely expected to live off the wealth acquired by her slaves and by former generations were forced to work for the first times in their lives or marry as an alternative means of support. Family and community was evident in providing a rescue for those in straightened circumstances – Frederick Crenshaw stepping in to help with the debts of his cousin before courting and subsequently marrying her. And yet, sometimes family counted for nought, Sallie’s brother John B. Lewis charging her board and then withholding the rents of her property. Or Frederick Crenshaw’s brother Thomas, taking advantage of their impoverished cousin Phoebe by engaging her to teach and then refusing to pay her. The favoured connections of community not yet extending across the racial divide although commerce did allow for more interaction between the communities than formerly thought from the experiences of Evans, Squire and Isaac Carter.

For the newly freed former slaves, reconstructing a family and identity following centuries of enslavement created new American citizens eager to embrace and experience the purported ideals of America. Suddenly freedmen and freedwoman were able to make decisions for themselves and their families albeit often in difficult and hostile circumstances. Freedmen also found themselves able to exercise the basics of citizenship for the first time in registering to vote even if they were made to vote according to the wishes of their former masters. In the first years after the end of the Civil War, freed-people tried to find their lost family, create new homes and strong communities for themselves.

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[823] *Greenville Advocate*, 13 August 1902.

Conclusion: "The family racket"[824].

Writing in response to his cousin Louise Crenshaw Ray's request for stories about their grandfather, George Anderson Crenshaw confessed to having had his fill of family stories; "I was so fed up on families & on 2nd and 3rd generations trying to get by on what their elders had done while they themselves did nothing – especially after the War between the States, when the average Southerner seemed to think he could live on & by his ancestors—that I did not appreciate the family racket until later in life."[825] In 1939, the date of Louise's request, the "family racket" enabled George, Louise and other relations to enjoy a buffer from the wider world, an element of security derived from their social status and economic stability. It was an inherited position which enabled them to pursue their own careers and interests, despite personal tragedies and gender stereotypes.[826] Their community identity was based on family identity: an identity with one another and their state's social and political structure which firmly placed them near the top in a hierarchy of social status, wealth and privilege. George's obituary described him as an "outstanding citizen of Greenville" and a descendant of "one of the oldest and most prominent families" in the area.[827] Grandson of Anderson Crenshaw, the migrant who settled the family in Alabama Territory, George got into an altercation with another prominent citizen, Henry Hartley, a local mill owner on September 20, 1913. After being struck about the head with a pipe wrench, Crenshaw shot Hartley in what he claimed was self-defense. Once Hartley died the next day from his injury, George was subsequently tried for murder and acquitted, resuming his career and his social status with relative ease. Indeed, during his trial for murder in 1914, George Anderson Crenshaw was noted to be "a man of family [who] occupied positions of high morally and socially [sic]". *The Greenville Advocate* cautiously refrained from judgement; "the whole city is saddened by the occurrence and deeply sympathises with the families of these two men."[828] George Anderson Crenshaw's status within the community as a man of high morals and his membership in a prominent

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[824] George Anderson Crenshaw to Louise Crenshaw Ray, 10 August 1939, The Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers, Private Collection.
[825] George Anderson Crenshaw to Louise Crenshaw Ray, 10 August 1939, The Myra Ware Williams Crenshaw Papers Private Collection.
[826] George Anderson Crenshaw (1878-1947) was a lawyer and proprietor of the Greenville Telephone Exchange. Grandson of Anderson Crenshaw, the migrant who settled the family in Alabama Territory, he was a son of prominent planter, Frederick W. Crenshaw (1824-1902). "Hartley Dies Saturday as a Result of Wounds", 22 September 1913, *The Montgomery Advertiser*; "Fatal Tragedy", *The Greenville Advocate,* 24 September 1913; "Crenshaw Acquitted of Murder Charge", 14 November 1914, *The Montgomery Advertiser;* Found online at Newspapers.com
[827] "G. A. Crenshaw dies suddenly", 1 May 1947, *The Greenville Advocate.* Found online at *Newspapers.com*
[828] "Fatal Tragedy", *Greenville Advocate,* 24 September 1913, Found online at Newspapers.com

family enabled him to recover from the "occurrence" of killing a neighbour in broad daylight on the main street in town.

George's cousin, Louise Crenshaw Ray chose to spend her entire life and career in the state she loved, even as she struggled against the gender stereotypes which forced her work and career to take a position below that of her male colleagues. Raised on her family's former plantation, she had been educated privately in the plantation's school by her namesake, Louise Calvin before going on to the University of Alabama and Huntingdon College, which named her their first Outstanding Alumna.[829] Earning a reputation as a talented poet and writer in the 1930s and 1940s, she fought hard to get women's writing in general and authors specifically from Alabama into national awareness. Her talents were recognised by the American Poetry Foundation, who elected her to membership in 1937.[830] Her work was among those selected to represent American women poets in the *Anthology of American Women Poets* and in 1938 she was awarded the honour of being named the state editor for the *North American Book of Verse*.[831] But like many children of Alabama, she wrestled with the complexities of loving a home and community with a reputation for ignorance, poverty and bigotry, a state which many outside of it could only categorise in the negative. Much of Louise Crenshaw Ray's writing, poetry and prose, focused on uncomfortable social issues in Alabama; racial and gender inequality, alcoholism, immigration and the exploitation of workers in the steel industry.[832] In the prose piece, "Justice is a Woman", Louise presented three stories of the 1930s Alabama justice system as it played out in the most isolated regions. She sharply characterised the pointless attempts of an educated "big city" lawyer to seek justice in rural Alabama, thwarted in every attempt by corruption, racism, ignorance, violence and the Ku Klux Klan; "Drake's attorneys thought the Ku Klux Klan the highest court, so picked up as many knights as possible to serve upon the jury….though much was hinted, little could be proved.[833] As the wife of civil rights attorney, Benjamin Franklin Ray, Louise saw and heard of the injustice and ugliness of her home state and community every day and yet, she loved Alabama with a

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[829] Tanya Trammell Sasser (2017) "Louise Crenshaw Ray", entry from "The Encyclopedia of Alabama", http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-2345

[830] Craig Legg (2012) *History of Birmingham Poetry Project (Blog) "The 1930's – 'Southern Men and Society Woman".* https://hybhampoe.wordpress.com/poetry-by-decade/1930s/

[831] Tanya Trammell Sasser (2017) "Louise Crenshaw Ray", entry from "The Encyclopaedia of Alabama", http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-2345

[832] Craig Legg (2012) *History of Birmingham Poetry Project (Blog) "The 1930's – 'Southern Men and Society Woman".* https://hybhampoe.wordpress.com/poetry-by-decade/1930s/
After her marriage, Ray and her husband lived in Birmingham, Alabama, home of the state's steel production.

[833] Craig Legg (2012) *History of Birmingham Poetry Project (Blog) "The 1930's – 'Southern Men and Society Woman".* https://hybhampoe.wordpress.com/poetry-by-decade/1930s/

romantic passion.[834] Even as she despised the almost stereotypical violence, racism, and ignorance, she also saw the beauty and community; many of her works, prose and poetry, champion the history, the Native Americans' love and loss of their lands, the natural beauty and ecology of her beloved state of Alabama.

For Louise and George, 1939 was a watershed moment in the interpretation and history of the south. Margaret Mitchell's forthcoming book, *Gone with the Wind* was announced with excitement in *Atlanta Constitution* on 9 February 1936; "giving a realistic picture of how people of all walks of life, including the Yankee carpetbaggers, reacted to the catastrophe that befell them".[835] On 15 December 1939, *Gone with the Wind* premiered in Atlanta fuelling the fervour of Southern romanticism.[836] Exploring their Southern roots with renewed and romantic interest, the realisation that Confederate and Union veterans were rapidly dying out, the "rediscovery" of the South and particularly the heroes of the Confederacy transformed the historiography of the South. For "Old Southern" families like the Crenshaws, taking renewed pride in Southern heritage sparked a new interest in their genealogy and their ancestors' role in the Confederacy.

The study of settlement and the coming of the Civil War are essential to the understanding of the modern South and in this thesis has been examined in detail. Charting the migration and establishment of this family over that period and beyond, the wealth of information provided by this research is unique in relation to the current archival records of the state and the region. The methodologies brought to bear in unravelling the complexities of the lives and experiences of this one family, bring a unique perspective to Alabama, Southern and American history. Historical examinations of Southern families focus on the nuclear family, separating them from the wide kinship networks they employed for social support, identity and professional gain. Utilising genealogy as a primary research methodology, I have used biography to contextualise a thematic analysis of community, identity and nationalism through the lens of this extended planter family. This family all composed of individuals, some absolutely refusing to align themselves with standard historical interpretation while others stepping in line and behaving as expected, demonstrate the complex, confounding and unique lives of our predecessors. The study of settlement and kinship in the antebellum period are

[834] Virginia Van der Veer Hamilton (1982) *Hugo Black: The Alabama Years*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
[835] Sally Forth, "Peggy Mitchell's Novel Depicts Three Major Periods", 9 February 1936, *The Atlanta Constitution*. Found online at Newspapers.com.
[836] "Gone with the Wind Enthrals Audience with Magnificence", 16 December 1939, *The Atlanta Constitution*. Found online at Newspapers.com

essential to the understanding of the modern South, where state patriotism and family identity remain strong forces, politically and socially.

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Appendix : Illustrations

Figure 1 The graves of Charles and Eunice Crenshaw and two of their children. Long Lane, Newberry, South Carolina, April 2017. Photograph by the author.

Figure 2 Site of the Crenshaw Plantation, Long Lane, Newberry, South Carolina, April 2017. Photograph by the author.

Figure 3 Mary Chiles Crenshaw, 1790-1874. Collection of the author.

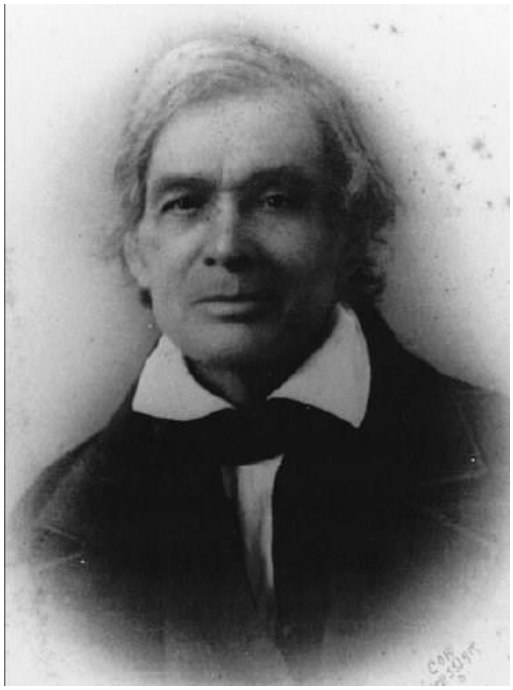


Figure 4 Either Anderson Crenshaw, 1783-1847 or his brother, Dr. Abner Crenshaw, 1778-1863. Collection of the author.

Figure 5 The home Anderson Crenshaw built in 1835 as photographed in 1949. Collection of the author.

Figure 6 The law office of Judge Anderson Crenshaw, in June 1935. Historic American Buildings Survey.

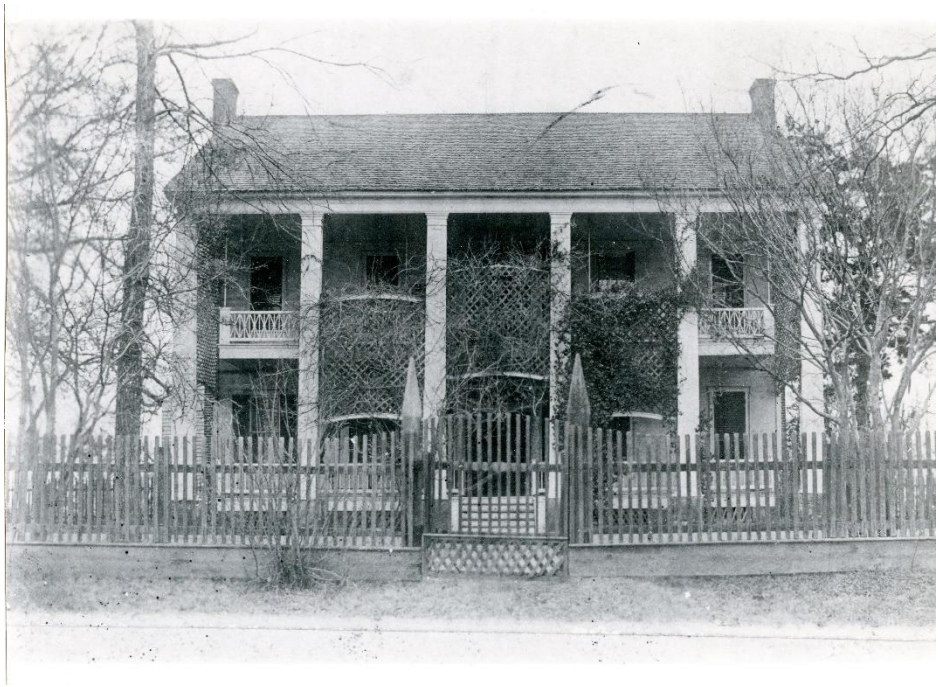
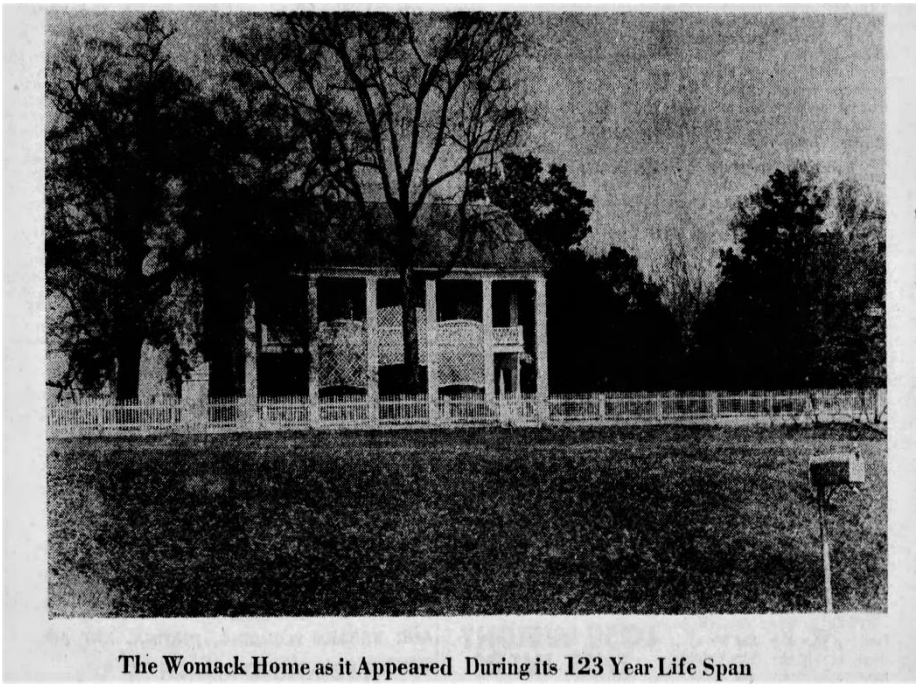


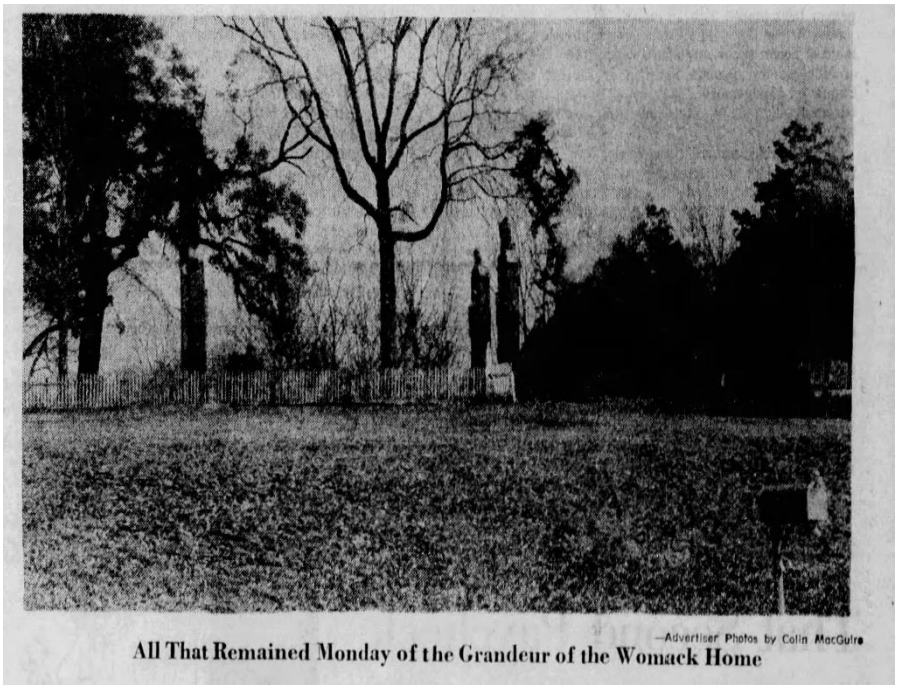
Figure 7 The house built by Jacob Lewis and Agnes Chiles Womack about 1848. Image taken ca. 1910. Collection of the author.

Figure 8 Former slave house on the Womack Plantation, June 1935, photograph by the Historic American Buildings Survey.



The Womack Home as it Appeared During its 123 Year Life Span

Figure 9 22 The Womack House in the 1970s. Photograph from the Montgomery Advertiser, 27 February 1973.



—Advertiser Photos by Colin MacGuire

All That Remained Monday of the Grandeur of the Womack Home

Figure 10 Following the fire, February 1973. From the Montgomery Advertiser, 27 February 1973.

Figure 11 The Walter Henry Crenshaw House, about 1900. Collection of the author.

Figure 12 "The Quarters" with unidentified woman, the former W. H. Crenshaw Plantation, ca. 1965. Collection of the author.

Figure 13 Walter Henry Crenshaw, 1817-1878.

Figure 14 Edward Frederick Crenshaw, 1842-1911.

Figure 15 Sarah Elizabeth Lewis Crenshaw, 1842-1911. Image courtesy of Annie Hadden Crenshaw.

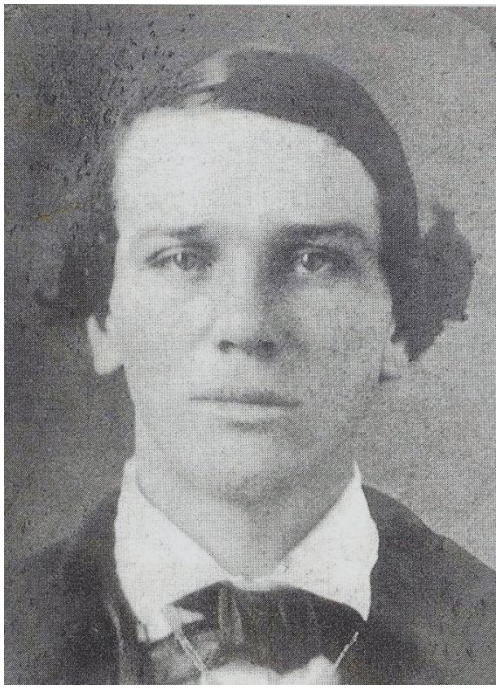
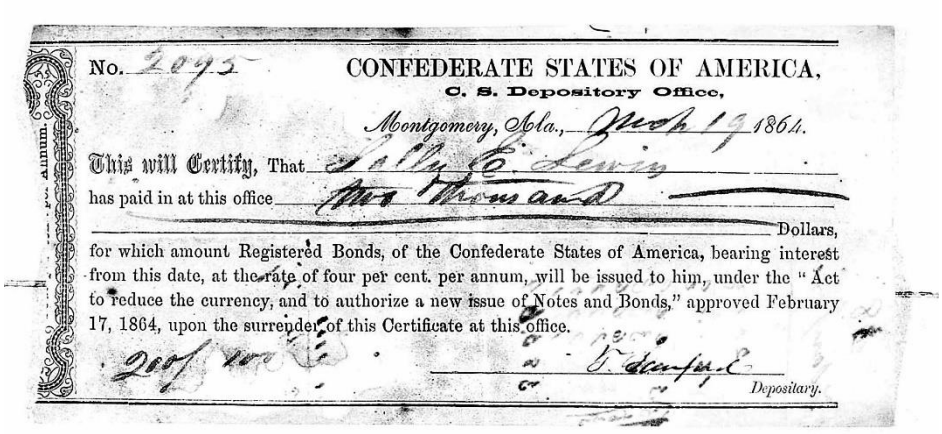
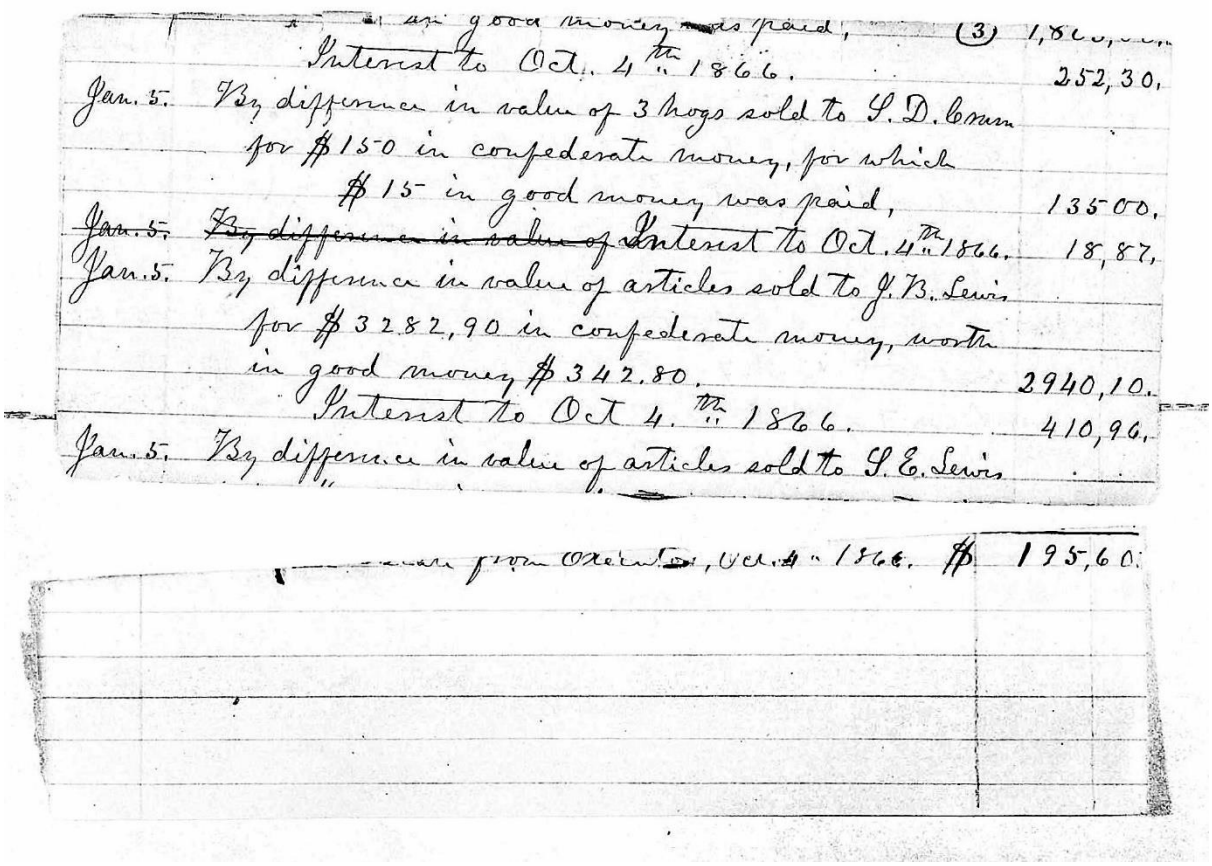


Figure 16 Frederick William Crenshaw, 1824-1902.



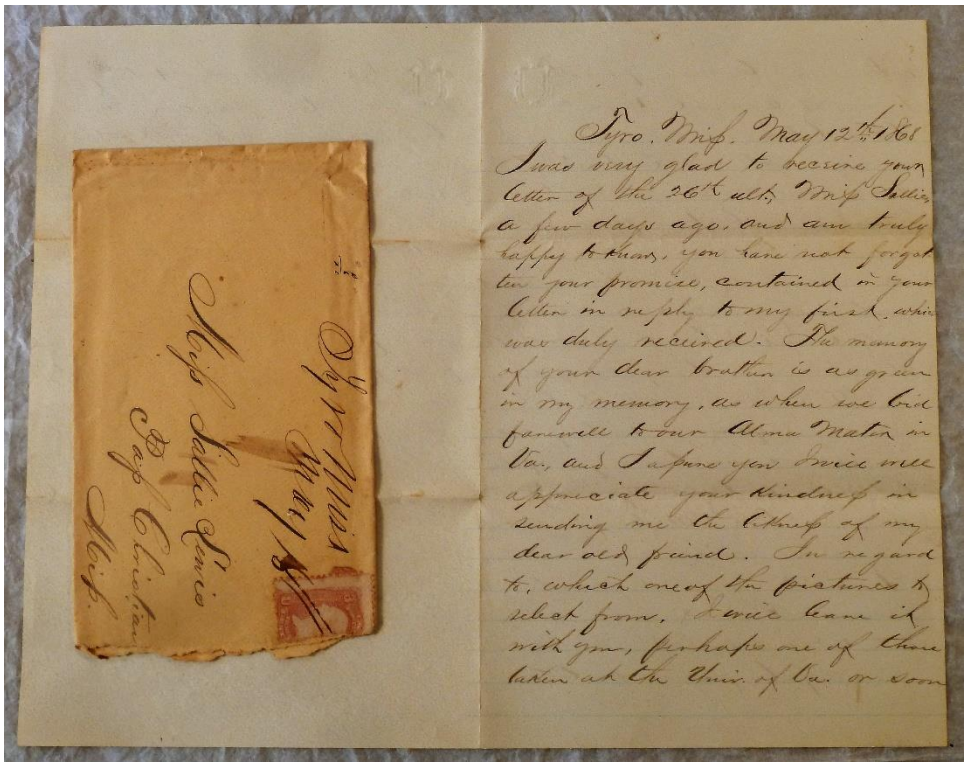
No. 2095 CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA,
C. S. Depository Office,
Montgomery, Ala., March 19 1864.
This will Certify, That Sallie E. Lewis
has paid in at this office Five Thousand
Dollars,
for which amount Registered Bonds, of the Confederate States of America, bearing interest from this date, at the rate of four per cent. per annum, will be issued to him, under the "Act to reduce the currency, and to authorize a new issue of Notes and Bonds," approved February 17, 1864, upon the surrender of this Certificate at this office.
2095 [illegible]
[illegible] Depositary.

Figure 17 Sallie Lewis' receipt for the purchase of Confederate Bonds, March 1864.



as good money was paid, (3) 1,8[illegible]
Interest to Oct. 4th 1866. 252,30.
Jan. 5. By difference in value of 3 hogs sold to S. D. Comm for $150 in confederate money, for which $15 in good money was paid, 135-00.
Jan. 5. ~~By difference in value of~~ Interest to Oct. 4th 1866. 18,87.
Jan. 5. By difference in value of articles sold to J. B. Lewis for $3282,90 in confederate money, worth in good money $342.80. 2940,10.
Interest to Oct 4. th 1866. 410,96.
Jan. 5. By difference in value of articles sold to S. E. Lewis
[illegible] from Oct. 4 1866. $ 195,60.

Figure 18 Sallie Lewis' accounts showing value of "good" money over Confederate.



Tyro, Miss. May 12th 1868

I was very glad to receive your letter of the 26th ult. Miss Sallie a few days ago, and am truly happy to learn, you have not forgot ten your promise, contained in your letter in reply to my first, which was duly received. The memory of your dear brother is as green in my memory, as when we bid farewell to our Alma Mater in Va, and I hope you will appreciate your kindness in sending me the likeness of my dear old friend. In regard to, which one of the pictures to select from, I will leave it with you, perhaps one of those taken at the Univ. of Va. or some

Miss Sallie Lewis
Co. Christian
Miss.

Figure 19 Letter to Miss Sallie Lewis, 12 May 1868 from a friend of her late brother's. Private Collection.

Figure 20 "The Old Lewis House", formerly the home of George Noland and Sallie Lewis, later the home of Isaac Newton and Anna Lewis Carter. Photograph by the author.

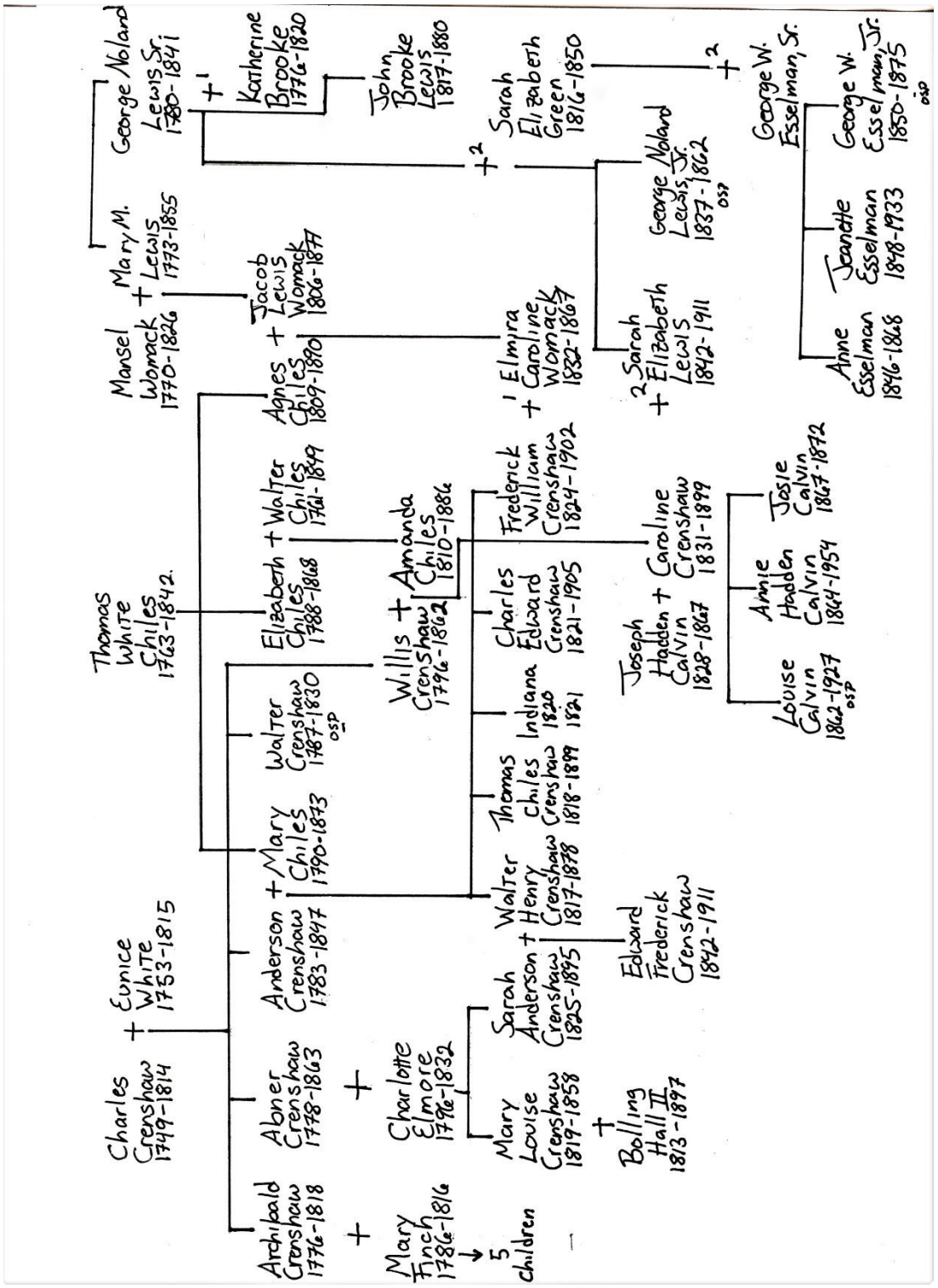


Figure 21 Family Tree of Extended Crenshaw, Womack and Lewis Families.