

Index

- Abbeville Minute Men, 133
 abolitionism
 among white elite Charlestonians, 94
 and class consciousness, 57
 literature, 128–129
 patrol against, 40–41
 tracts, transmission of, 40
 Adams, Charles D. C., 388
 Adams, Etsell H., 386, 391, 392, 396, 400
 Adams, James H., 101, 121, 145–146, 278
 Adams, Jasper, 24
 Adger, James, 36
 Adger, John B., 176–177
 Adger, Robert, 320
 Aetna Fire Engine Company
 and arson, 373
 charter of, 343
 and competition, 360
 and fraternity, 351, 360
 insubordination of, 364
 and Northeastern Railroad strike, 348
 Aetna Guard, 393
 African Americans
 and hats, 286
 and mulattos, 93, 97–98. *See also* free
 blacks; slavery; slaves
 agricultural production, 295
 cotton, overproduction, 301–302
 rice, 36
 Aiken, William, 48, 169
 Aiken Minute Men, 123
 Albergottie, Thomas W., 88
 Albergottie, Washington M., 286, 357, 391
 Albergottie, William, 87
 Alcott, William, 285
 Alden, Charles, 46
 Aldrich, Alfred Proctor, 7
 Allston, Robert F. W., 124, 157
 American Party. *See* Know-Nothing Party
 Ancient Order of Hibernians, 29
 anonymity
 and social order, breakdown
 of, 147–148
 and suspicion, 109–112
 anti-secession movement, 10–11
 apprenticeships, 52, 61, 62
 arson, 113
 and abolitionists as suspects, 373–374
 suspects of, 372–374
 artisans, 61–62
 Ash, Henry, 311
 Asher, John, 93
 Ashmore, John Durant
 on Lincoln's election, 186
 Astor Place riots, 113
 Aveilhe, L. Sidney, 356, 390
 Aveilhe, Peter A., Jr., 356, 390
 Baker, Benjamin A., *A Glance at New
 York*, 333–336, 365–367
 Baker, Henry F., 286, 386
 Baker, James, 400
 Balaguer, Emilio A., 251, 355
 Bank of Charleston, 24, 48
 Bank of the State of South Carolina, 47
 Bank of the United States, 47

- Barbot, Anthony, Jr., 354, 386–387
 Barbot, Charles D., 252, 354, 355
 Barker, Theodore, 220
 Barnes, Dixon H., 133
 Barnum, Phinneas T., 46, 292
 Barrillon, John N., 77, 89
 Bartlett, Marsells T., 367, 388
 Bass, William, 97
 Bassett, Oran D., 360
 Battle of Fort Moultrie,
 commemoration of, 68
 Baum, J. A., 387
 Beattie, James O., 418
 Bellinger, Edmund, 97
 Bennett, Isaac S. K., 372
 Bennett, Samuel, 352
 Bennett, Thomas, Jr., 24
 Bird, Charlton H., 40, 272, 319, 361
 Bird, John S., 272
 Bissell, Titus, 107
 Black, George W., 392
 Blackman, Joseph, 391
 Black Oak Minute Men, 133
 Blue Ridge Railroad, 38
 Boag, Charles L., 195–196
 Board of Fire Masters, 326, 343, 344, 346
 Boinest, Daniel, 382, 390
 Boinest, Wilson B., 390
 Bolles, Jesse H., 72, 73
 bond-labor arrangements, 52
 Boughton, Daniel, 280
 Bowden, J. J., 253
 Bowman, George, 88, 359, 391
 Boyce, Ker, 24, 47–48, 168. *See also* Broad
 Street Clique
 Boyce and Company, 37
 Braddock, William, 418
 Brady, Mathew, 74–75, 240
 Brevard, Keziah Goodwyn Hopkins, 102,
 108
 Brisbane, William Henry, 46, 94, 233
 Bristoll, Timothy, 71
 Bristoll, William, 71
 Broad Street Clique, 168–169
 delay of, 190–191
 and Lincoln's election, 187–188
 and William Porcher Miles, 179
 and secession convention, 190–191
 and secession delegation, 204–206
 support secession, 193
 and Vigilant Rifles, 392
 Bromley, Clara, 33
 Brooks, Preston S., 172
 Brooks Guards, 134
 Brown, John, 3, 30, 52, 108, 114, 132, 186
 Browne, John Doyle, 390
 Browne, Julius Petsch, 390
 Browne, William K., 401
 Browning, Andrew, 75–76, 272
 Buckingham, James S., 71, 94
 Budds, James S., 252
 Buist, Henry, 190, 202
 Burckmyer, Cornelius L., 355
 Burnet, Andrew, 174, 201
 Butler, Andrew Pickens, 172
 Calder, Edwin E., 400
 Calder, Isabelle, 391
 Caldwell, John W., 386, 391
 Calhoun, John C.
 death of, 27
 in debt, 48, 303
 on factions, 51, 144–145, 146–147,
 152
 on fires, 24
 monument to, 167
 on state rights, 2
 Calhoun, Patrick, 151
 Calhoun, Ransom, 457
 Calthrop, Samuel R., 265
 Calvert, Thomas, 300
 Cameron, Alexander, 367–368
 Cameron, Duncan, 364
 Campbell, James, 197–198
 Cardozo, Jacob N., 297
 Carew, John E., 171, 195–196
 Carlisle, William B., 65–66, 116, 117, 252
 Carlyle, Thomas, 232
 Carroll, Benjamin R., 174–175
 Carter, Samuel, 360
 Castle Pinckney, 35
 Cay, Thaddeus L., 356
 Cedar Creek Rifle Company
 (Richland), 119
 Chanfrau, Frank S., 333–336, 365–367
 Charleston
 geography, 23–24
 idealization of, 33–35
 middle-class, rise of, 24–25
 prestige, loss of, 24, 27
 reliance on black labor, 95–96
 tourism in, 33–35, 41–42
 Charleston and Savannah Railroad, 422
 Charleston Apprentice Society, 62

- Charleston Axemen, 343, 367, 369,
 374–376, 402
- Charleston Chess Club
 and competition, 257–258
 establishment of, 244, 251–252
 exclusion from, 256
 members, 253–257
 popularity, decline of, 227–228
 and Vigilant Rifles members, 254–255,
 256, 269
- Charleston City Engineer, 347
- Charleston Fire Engine Company, 343,
 348, 367, 369
- Charleston Gas Light Company, 24
- Charleston Harbor, 35–36
 and railroads, 39
 wharves, 36, 37
- Charleston Hotel, 115, 189, 219–222
- Charleston Insurance and Trust
 Company, 354
- Charleston Library Society, 62
- Charleston Light Dragoons
 meetings of, 129, 130
 membership, 129
 and Northeastern Railroad strike, 327
 origins, 128–129
 and serenades, 223
 uniforms, 129
- Charleston Neck district, 69–70, 109
- Charleston Orphan House, 24
- Charleston Port Society, 43
- Charleston Riflemen, 134
- Charleston Tilting Club, 249. *See also* chivalry
- Charleston Typographical Society, 89
- Charleston Typographical Union, 65–66, 87
- Chesnut, James, Jr., 121
- chess
 chess clubs, 250 (*see also* Charleston
 Chess Club)
 and chivalry, 245, 246–247, 249–250
 and class conflict, weapon of, 250
 and consumerism, 268–269
 cultural significance of, 230–233
 gambits, 143
 and gender subversion, 264–266
 and “good” game, 235–236
 homosocial overtones of, 250–251, 260,
 261–262, 263–264
 and honor, 238–239
 as masking identity, 259–261
 popularity of, 228–229, 242–243, 250–251
 (*see also* Charleston Chess Club)
 popularity of, decline of, 227–228, 269
 and respectability, 236–237, 238–239,
 253, 266–268
 and The Turk, 233, 236
 and Vigilant Rifles, 229
 as war play, 261
 and women players, 264–266
- Cheves, Langdon, 297
- chivalry
 and capitalism, 246–247
 and chess, 245, 249–250
 and jousts, 247–249, 258–259
 and masculinity, 247–248
 and paternalism, 249
- Citadel, 66
- City Guard, 112
- city militia, 326–328
- Clarke, Henry C., 418
- class
 and education, 159
 middle class, 282–283
 versus race, 41
- class consciousness
 and abolitionism, 57
 fear of, 58–60
 and labor disputes, 326–327
 and paternalism, 59–60
 unity fractured, 47–48
- Claussen’s Bakery, 319
- Cleapor, Charles W., 388
- Cleapor, Philip L., 388
- clerks, upward mobility, lack of, 282, 283
- Clifford, Loftus C., 254
- cockades, 40, 114, 117
 and counterfeit secessionists, 126
 in fiction, 440
 and honor, 126–127
 linked to Minute Men, 121
 and masculinity, 126–127
 meaning of, 121, 122, 124–126
 Northern response to, 120–121, 122
 and revolution, symbol of, 117–118, 393
 and slaves, 125
 spread of, 121, 122
 and unanimity, 125, 126
 and voluntary associations, 90
 and women, 125
- Coffin, George M., 3, 194, 202, 386
- Coffin and Pringle, factorage, 3
- Colcock, William F., 2, 187, 303, 459, 461
- College of Charleston, 24, 156
- colonization movement, 99

- Columbia, state capital moved to, 24, 27
 Conner, Henry C., 24, 394. *See also* Broad Street Clique
 Conner, James
 and Lincoln's election, 187
 supports secession, 192. *See also* Broad Street Clique
 Conner, Martin, 43
 Constitution, as proslavery, 2
 consumerism
 Charleston business district, 39–40
 and politics, 215–217, 313–314, 318–320
 Cook, George S., 73–75
 “Coquette,” 264–265
 Corrigan, Peter, 71
 cotton
 early production, 23
 overproduction of, 301–302
 as state's primary industry, 56
 trade of, 36, 37, 39, 417
 counterfeit gentlemen, 45–47, 91
 Courtenay, Samuel G., 188
 Cowperthwait, Edwin R., 85
 Cowperthwait, William B., 353
 credit
 and bankruptcy of merchants, 272, 274, 275, 281, 293–294 (*see also* debt)
 and cash-only merchants, 271, 274, 280
 and consolidation of wealth, 295–296
 easing of, 281
 and honor, 293–294, 312
 limited, 273
 and respectability, 85–86
 and social control, 47–48
 tightening of, 300
 crime, 112–113
 cross dressing, 262
 Crowe, Eyre, 104–106
 Cudworth, Catherine, 69
 Cunningham, Anne Pamela, 167
 Cunningham, William “Bloody Bill,” 167
 Cunningham, John “Radical Jack”
 and duels, 173, 174, 175
 and Know-Nothing Party, 170–172
 and labor strikes, 66, 326
 mayoral elections, 180
 and Miles, 178–179
 political career, 171, 174
 as “radical,” 167
 as secessionist, 168, 192, 394
 and Taber, Jr., 167–168
 Cunningham, Robert, 167
 Currier, Nathaniel, 339–340
 daguerreotypists, 72–75
 Dana, David D., 339
 Danner, John M., 388
 Davis, John, 54
 Dean, Julia, 72
 DeBow, James D. B.
 audience of, 218
 on merchant culture, 304
 as political economist, 298
 on secessionist rally, 10
 on slavery, benefits of, 274
 on unity, 137
 debt
 avoidance of, 303, 304–305, 311
 as bondage, 294–295, 303
 and breakdown of social order, 302–303, 455
 and cotton overproduction, 301–302
 and merchant culture, 303–304
 of planters, 295–296
 as social cohesion, 294
 and social mobility, 296. *See also* credit
 DeKalb Rifle Guards, 126
 Democratic National Convention (1860)
 abolitionists, fear of, 116
 delegation, 386
 factions, 115
 and political divisions, 142, 198–199
 Democratic Party, 145, 169, 303
 Denison, Henry M., 282, 304
 Desvernez, Peter, 372
 De Valcourt, Robert, 287–288, 289
 Dickson, Samuel, 59
 Dinant, Henry, 273
 diseases
 and northerners, blame on, 41–42
 and poor whites, blame on, 42
 smallpox outbreak in Columbia, 381
 yellow fever, 37, 100
 Doar, David, 128
 docks, commerce of, 38
 Dodge, William S., 116, 117
 Douglas, Stephen A., 115, 198
 Drayton, Charles Elliot Rowand, 227–228, 229, 254
Dred Scott v. Sanford, 101

- duels
 under attack, 176–177
Code of Honor, 149, 150–151
 firing of pistols, 151
 purpose of, 149–150, 151
 resolution through letters, 150–151
- Duffus, Alexander W., 88, 355
- Dunn, Thomas, 43
- Duryea, Robert S., 196, 201, 203
- Eagle Fire Engine Company, 343, 351, 360, 371
- Eason, James N., 197, 203
- Eason Brothers Manufactory, 64
- East Bay Artillery, 389
- Edge, Frederick Milns, 240–242
- Edgefield Minute Men, 118
- Edgefield Rifles, 118
- “1860 Association,” 10
 factions of, 188
 foundation of, 188–189
 and Lincoln’s election, 189
 pamphlets on secession, 218
- election of 1860, 40
- elections
 and fraud, 45, 47, 196–198, 202
 local ballots, 142
 proletariat, participation of, 51
 and social capital, 142
 and violence, 195–196
 and volunteer fire companies, 371
- Elliott, George, 192
- Elliott, William, 230, 295
- Elmore, Franklin Harper, 24
- Elmore, Grace, 118, 126
- Evans, Wade Hampton, 353, 390
- Evans and Cogswell, 315, 418
- factions, fear of, 141–142, 144–148, 151–152, 284
 and counterfeit men, 45–47, 91
 and merchants as suspect, 48–49, 219, 227.
See also Taber, William Robinson, Jr.
- fashion, men’s, 277–278. *See also* hats
- Feldmann, Benjamin, 209
- festivities, 69
- Finnegan, William, 69
- fire companies, 196. *See also individual fire companies*
- fire departments, professional, 338, 347, 374–375, 395
- fire engines, 333, 338
- Fire Guard, 343, 344
- Fireman’s Charitable Association, 360, 365–367
- Firemen’s Insurance Company, 353, 360, 403
- Firemen’s Parade, 67, 68
 and class conflict, 370
 purpose of, 368–369
 routes, 369
 tournament, 370
- Fireproof Building, 27
- fires, 27, 31, 65
 of 1838, 281, 345–349
 of 1861, 402–403
 and arson, 331, 372–374
 and class conflict, 345–349
 as cleansing, 329
 in colonial North America, 329–330
 community fighting, 343
 effects of, 328
 as entertainment, 330–331, 370
 fear of slave insurrection, 342
 methods of firefighting, 330
 protection from, 332, 345–346
 and theft, 331
 threat of, 328–329, 342–343
 and urbanity, 330
- fire stations, 333
- Fisk, Theophilus, 298–300
- Fiske, Daniel, 239, 265
- Fitzhugh, George, 230
- Fitzsimmons, Christopher, 10, 380
- flags
 and deceit, 320–321
 designs of, 314–315
 flag-raising ceremonies, 316
 geography of, 316–317
 prominence of, 314, 315–317
 purpose of, 317–320
- Fort Johnson, 35
- Fort Moultrie, 35
- Fort Sumter, 5, 30, 35, 270
- Foster, Lillian, 33
- Fourth of July, 68
- Fowler, F. J., Jr., 395
- Franklin, Benjamin
 on chess, 231–232
 and fire protection, 332
- Fraser, Charles, 67, 68, 70, 71, 78, 344
- Fraser, John, 37

- free blacks
 arrests of, 109–112
 and colonization movement, 99
 and conflict with whites, 30
 and distrust of other African Americans, 99
 diversity of, 98
 elite, 98–99
 flee to the North, 99
 labor of, 95–96
 lives of, 97
 papers, carrying of, 49
 population of, 30, 93
 respectability, 98–99
 restrictions on, 95, 109
 as sailors, 41
 as slaveholders, 98, 99–100
 as slaveholders, conflict with poor whites, 100
 as slaveholders, depictions of, 105
 as subversive (groups of, fashion), 93–94
 threats to freedom, 98
 voluntary associations, 98–99
 and voluntary associations, 88
 whites' fear of, 41, 92
- Frere, Thomas, 268
 Fuller, William J. A., 265–266
 Furman, Isaac, 174–175
- Gadsden, Amos, 106–107
 Gadsden, Christopher, 151
 Gadsden, James, 348–349
 “Gala Week,” 67
 Gavin, David, 133, 294
 Gazlay, David, 72, 350
 Geddes, John, 45
 German Fire Engine Company, 348, 351, 369, 371
 Germans, 38, 88
 Gist, William Henry, 1, 3
 on military companies, 133
 and military defense of state, 132
 and Minute Men, 132
 on secession, 4
 secession convention, 187
 on Vigilant Rifles, 392
- Gonzales, Ambrosio Jose, 125
 Gould, Glenn, 19
 Gourdin, Henry, 24, 172, 192. *See also*
 Broad Street Clique
- Gourdin, Robert N., 169, 180
 and 1860 Association, 188
 election outcome, 202
 and Lincoln's election, 187
 on secession, 205
 and secession delegation, 206
 on unity, 193
 and Wade Hampton's debt, 295–296.
See also Broad Street Clique
- Gourdin, Theodore S., 326
 Grady, Edward, 391
 Grayson, William J., 78, 168, 176, 276, 302
 Greenwood Minute Men, 133
 Gregg, Maxcy, 121, 146, 230
 Gregg, William, 36, 59, 60, 295
 Griffin, Richard N., 10
 Griffin, Thomas H., 88
 Grimball, John Berkley, 96
 Grimké, Angela, 94
 Grimké, Sarah, 94
- Hacker and Riker's Washington Foundry
 and Car Factory, 64
 Hamilton, Daniel H., 102, 198
 Hamilton, James, Jr., 48, 60, 303, 420
 Hammond, James Henry
 on Minute Men, 117
 Mudsill Speech, 170
 on National Democrats and
 State-Rights Democrats, 146
 on natural order, 97
 and paternalism, 158
 on state's economy, 298
- Hammond, Samuel, 220, 318
 Hampton, Wade, 295–296
 Harleston family, 78
 Harleston, John, 112, 389
 Harris, David Golightly, 133
 Hatch, Lewis M., 69
 hatless men, 41, 42–43, 45, 276, 286
 hats
 bankruptcy of sellers, 272, 274, 275, 281, 293–294
 choice of, 287–288
 and deception, 286, 292–293
 and deference, 290–291
 and hat-knocking, 291–293
 and homosocial relations, 309–310
 and manners, 288–291
 meanings of, 271–272
 in popular culture, 292, 293

- purchase of, ideal, 296–297
 purchase of, reality, 297
 as social markers, 275–277, 278–279,
 283, 284–288
 and top hats, 279
 Hayne, Arthur Peronneau, 382
 Hayne, Isaac W.
 and 1860 Association, 188
 on illegal slave trade, 101
 on political divisions, 199
 on respectability, 83, 85 (*see also* Broad
 Street Clique)
 Hayne, Paul Hamilton, 153
 Hayne, Robert Y., 299
 Heart, John, 163–164, 173
 Hendricks, Henry C., 197
 Henerey, William S., 63, 69
 Henry, Edward S., 88
 Hervey, George, 291
 Hibernian Hall, 27–29, 115
 Hill, John William, 33
 Hines, David Theophilus, 46–47
 historiography of secession, 6–10
 Holland, Edwin C., 107
 Holmes, Oliver Wendell, 242
 homosexuality, 263
 homosocial relations, 242, 262–263
 in chess, 250–251, 260, 261–262, 263–264
 and hats, 309–310
 and Vigilant Rifles, 391–392
 honor
 and blue cockades, 126–127
 and chess, 238–239
 and duty, 80, 85
 outward attributes of, 85
 outward traits of, 79–80
 compared to respectability, 81, 85–86,
 266–267 (*see also* Taber, William
 Robinson, Jr.)
 and social order, 16, 78–79, 80–81
 and voluntary associations, 90. *See also*
 duels; respectability
 Honour, John, 205, 341
 Hope Fire Engine Company, 351, 369
 Horton (captain), 418
 Huger, Alfred
 on John C. Calhoun, 146–147
 on duels, 456
 on honor, 80
 and Northeastern Railroad strike, 299
 as postmaster, 128, 188
 Huger, Thomas Pinckney, 326
 Humphreys, John, 355, 401
 Hurlbut, Stephen A., 293
 Hutchinson, Thomas, 163,
 165, 326
 immigration
 and social order, 147
 as suspected abolitionists, 53
 views on, 41–42. *See also* Irish
 Independent Order of the Sons of
 Malta, 88
 Ingraham, George H., 356, 391
 initial motivation, 323
 Irish
 and arson, 372–373
 in Charleston, 27–29
 in competition with free blacks, 54
 in competition with slave
 labor, 94–95
 and epidemics, 42
 and Meagher Guards, 129
 as police officers, 112
 railroad workers, 38
 railroad workers, on strike,
 326–328
 as suspect, 52–54, 327–328
 and voluntary associations, 88
 Ives, Charles, 339–340
 Jackson, Charles F., 135, 195, 367,
 377, 388
 Jamison, David F., 81, 224, 278, 313
 Jenkins, Micah S., 303, 304
 Johnson, J. L., 134
 Johnson, Joseph, 197
 Jones, D. Henry, 388
 Jones, James, 124
 Jones, John, 30, 121
 Kansas-Nebraska Act, 170
 Keitt, Laurence M., 2, 246
 Kelly, Samuel, 45
 Kemme, Daniel H., 391
 Kennedy, Henry A., 260, 261
 Kenney, James, 420
 Kerr, Thomas, 382, 391
 Ketcham, Alexander, 272–274
 King, Mitchell, 168
 King, William, 67
 Kingman, Oliver M., 390

- Kingstree Minute Men, 123
 Kirkwood, William D. H., 349
 Know-Nothing Party, 29, 170–171,
 372–373
- labor market
 Charleston Harbor, 38
 transience of, 38, 94–95
 La Bourdonnais, Charles de, 234, 235–236
 Lamar, Charles A. L., 100
 LaMars, Madame, 71
 Lanneau, William S., 391
 Latrobe, Henry B., 255
 Laurens, Henry, 107
 Laurens, John, 188
 Law, Thomas, 72
 Lawton, William M., 205, 391
 Lazarus, Jacob, 280
 Lazarus, Joshua E. P., 255
 LeBloux, Louis F., 353, 355, 386–387
 legislative elections (state)
 advertisements, 201
 and factions, 199–201, 202, 203
 and fraud, 202
 outcome, 202–203
- leisure
 criticisms of, 229–230
 and performance, 236–238
 psychology of games, 258–259, 260
- Leitch, William M., 195
 Lesesne, Henry S., 190
 Liberty Fire Engine Company, 363
 Liberty Pole, 219–222
 Limestone Southern Rights Guard, 119
 Lincoln, Abraham, election of, 1, 121–123,
 187–188
 Logan, Thomas M., 25
 Long Cane Minute Men (Abbeville), 124
 Longstreet, Augustus B., 130
 Lost Cause, 401, 403
- Macbeth, Charles
 and Broad Street Clique, 169, 392
 to secession crowd, 193
 and slave badges, 49, 54
 and Vigilant Rifles, 377, 380
 Macbeth, James, 391
 Mackay, Alexander, 93
 Mackay, Charles, 228, 292
 Mackie, John Milton, 93
 Maelzel, Johann, 233, 236
- Magrath, Andrew Gordon
 ascent of, 24
 on a banner, 315–316
 congressional race, 177
 and duels, 174–175
 on illegal slave trade, 101
 and Lincoln's election, 187
 and Northeastern Railroad strike, 327
 and Taber, 172–173
 on unity, 192–193 (*see also* Broad Street
 Clique)
- Magrath, Edward, 153, 173–175
 Manigault, Gabriel E., 189
 Manning, John L., 278
 manumission
 restrictions on, 97
 Marine Temperance Society, 43
 Marion Fire Engine Company
 establishment of, 351
 in Firemen's Parade, 369
 and fraternity, 358
 and Liberty Fire Engine Company, 363
 premiums, 371
 as rowdy, 364, 488
 Marion Men of Combahee
 (St. Bartholomew Parish), 124
 Martin, John, 389, 392
 Mary (enslaved woman), 96
 masculinity
 and blue cockades, 126–127
 and competition, 155
 and sexuality, 156
 and social conformity, 16
 and voluntary associations, 118. *See also*
 honor; respectability
 Matheson, Murdoch P., 391, 392
 Mathews, Samuel, 209–210
 mayoral elections
 of 1859, 195–196
 and corruption, 181
 factions, 180–181
 of William Porcher Miles, 179
 Mazyck, Henry, 44
 McCarter, James J., 192
 McCord, David James, 84–85
 McCord, Louisa S. Cheves, 298
 McCrady, Edward, 188, 205
 McDonnell, Alexander, 234–236
 McDuffie, George, 299
 Meagher Guards, 129
 Means, John Hugh, portrait of, 278

- mechanics
 in competition with free blacks, 30
 in competition with slave labor, 53–54,
 97–98
 and honor, 59–60
 and paternalism, 59–60
 and railroads, 63
 response to Taber, 163–165
 as sailors, 417
 and social mobility, 62–63
- Meek, Alexander Beaufort, 339
- melodrama, 147, 148–149
- Memminger, Christopher Gustavus, 24, 57,
 205, 392
- merchants
 and Charleston Chess Club, 253–257
 and hard times, 86, 272–274, 279–281
 and Liberty Pole flag raising, 219–222
 as suspect, 48–49, 219, 227
- Mexican–American War, 314
- Meyer, Charles, 341–342, 349
- Middleton, Nathaniel, 80, 81
- Middleton, William, 254
- Miles, William Porcher
 and Broad Street Clique, 179
 in Congress, 180
 and Cunningham, 178–179
 on fads, 398
 and police force, 112–113, 179–180
Republican Government speech,
 177–178
- militiamen, 127–128
 and absenteeism, 130–131
 and class distinctions, 130–131
 mockery of, 130
 as slave patrols, 131–132
- Miller, Charles W., 294
- Mills, Otis, 29
- Mills, Robert, 55, 59
- Mills House, 29–30, 115, 215
- Minniss, Robert S., 355, 367, 387
- Minot, Louisa, 34
- Mintzing, Jacob, 342, 349
- Minute Men
 and blue cockades, 117–118, 119–120
 constitution of, 119–120, 122
 and disunion as unlikely, 4, 382
 dress of, 119–120
 heritage of, 132
 as Home Guards, 133–134
 leadership of, 121
- Lincoln election, response to, 121–122
 and masculinity, 118
 militancy of, 122–124, 133–135
 and Nullifiers, 120
 public performance, 118–119
 purpose of, 4, 123–126
 spread of, 119, 120, 122. *See also*
Vigilant Rifles; individual Minute Men
companies
- Missouri Compromise, 329
- Missroon, Henry, 38
- mob rule, fear of, 160
- Monchy, Edward P. de, 256
- Moore, James Osgood Andrews, 43
- Mordecai, Henry, 24
- Mordecai, Moses, 197–198
- Mordecai and Company, 37
- Morphy, Paul
 as American hero, 240, 242–243
 and chess, popularity of, 228, 230
 and chivalry, 249–250
 and Edge, 241–242
 in Europe, 240–242, 251
 as model for secessionists, 269–270
 physical appearance of, 241–242, 243, 263
 popularity in Charleston, 257
 “Morphy Men,” 268
- Mose “the Bowery B’hoj” Morrison,
 333–336, 365–367
- Mounted Guard (Kershaw Minute
 Men), 124
- mulattoes, 93, 97–98
- Murray, Henry A., 368
- Nathan, Moses H., 30, 88, 316, 402
- Negro Seaman Act, 41
- Neilson, Peter, 127, 129, 222, 331–332
 “Nellie Noonday,” 265–266
- Nesbitt, Israel, 108
- Nesbitt, Robert, 108
- Newcomen, John, 388
- Newell, John, 365
- Nixon, Henry, 157
- Nixon, John B., 209–210
- Northeastern Railroad, 54–55, 63
 and South Carolina Railroad, 52
 strike, 326–328, 379
- nullification, 4, 142, 152, 194, 316
- O’Conner, Michael Patrick, 193, 203, 390
- O’Grady, Morris, 43

- Olmsted, Frederick Law, 64
 Olney, Hiram B., 355
 O'Neill, John Belton, 161, 162
 Orangeburg Minute Men, 122–123
 Ordinance of Secession, signing of, 31,
 224–225
 orphanage, 69
 Orr, James Lawrence, 145, 169, 186, 198,
 303
 Osborne and Durbec, 140, 361
- Palmer, Hattie Amelia, 97
 Palmer, James J., 126
 Palmetto Axe Company, 363, 369
 Palmetto Fire Engine Company, 351, 360,
 364–365, 367–368, 369
 Palmetto Guard, 128
 Palmetto Minute Men, 117, 126, 393
 Palmetto Regiment, 314
 Panic of 1837, 69
 Panic of 1857, 49, 300
 Panzerbeiter, Herman, 69
 Parker, Robert S., 116–117
 paternalism
 and chivalry, 249
 doubts about, 108–109
 and moderation, 157–158
 and slavery, 101–102
 Paxton, William Y., 319
 Peake, Henry T., 197, 201, 203
 Peart, John, 346
 Pegues, Alexander, 373
 Pereira, Manuel, 41
 Perry, Benjamin F., 161–163, 186
 Petigru, James Louis
 on class tensions, 113, 299
 on fire of 1838, 345
 hat of, 278
 social capital of, 168
 on Taber-Magrath duel, 176. *See also*
 Broad Street Clique
 Petit, Edmund W., 396
 Pettigrew, James J.
 on election fraud, 197–198
 social capital of, 196
 Phoenix Fire Engine Company
 establishment of, 343
 and Firemen's Parade, 369, 370
 and fraternity, 351, 358
 as Phoenix Rifles, 393
 and Pinckney standoff, 348
 portrait of, 361
 and premiums, 371
 Phoenix Rifles, 393
 Pickens, Francis W., 30, 278
 Pinckney, Henry L., 299, 345
 and volunteer fire companies, 346–349
 Poe, Edgar Allen, 232–233, 420
 police
 arrests of poor whites, 109
 confidence in, lack of, 93
 cost of, 113
 and daguerreotype records, 112
 as disorderly, 109–112, 113
 Irish officers, 112
 target black population, 109, 112
 political careers
 and fire companies, 196
 and militia service, 196
 political economy, 297–298
 politics
 as chess, 143
 and consumerism, 143–144, 215–217
 as dishonest, 143
 and factions, fear of, 144–148
 and politicians as representatives of
 constituents, 142–143
 theater of politics, 142–144, 220–222
 and violence, 202
 poll tax, 196
 Poor House, 69
 poor whites
 arrests of, 109–112
 and elections fraud, 45
 and free blacks, conflict with, 100
 and illnesses, 42
 insurrection, fear of, 60
 newspaper coverage of, 43–44
 and slaves, conflict with, 100
 compared to slaves, 60
 as suspect, 109–112
 and theater, 45
 threat of violence, 44–45. *See also*
 hatless men
 Pope, Alexander, 97
 Pope, Joseph J., 193
 population of Charleston
 in 1800, 23
 in 1860, 76–77, 93, 295
 African American population, 93
 enslaved population, declining, 104, 295
 free black elite population, 98

- Porcher, Frederick A., 51, 102, 104, 108, 298
 Porcher, Peter, 46
 Porter, Anthony Toomer, 46
 Porter, William Denison, 24, 62, 169, 188,
 193, 358
 postbellum, 401, 403
 Poujaud and Salas, 37
 Powers, James, 52–54
 Poyas, Elizabeth A., 81
 Price, Alfred, 219
 Pringle, William, 342
 proletariat
 as beneficial for city, 65–66
 control of, 65–66
 and elections, 51
 rise of, cause of, 51
 rise of, fear of, 50–51
 compared to slaves, 51
 Protection Fire Company, 363
 public education, 159, 160–161, 162.
 See also Taber, William Robinson, Jr.
 Pundt, John F., 367–368
- quarantine laws, 48–49
- Race Week, 67, 69
- railroads
 in Charleston, 55, 61
 in Charleston, need for, 56, 57–58
 and Charleston Harbor, 39
 and industry, 63–64
 and mechanics, 63
 and small farmers, 58
- Ramsay, David, 196, 252, 254
 Randall, Henry, 198–199
 Ravenel, Henry William, 199
 Ravenel and Company, 37
 Redpath, James, 34, 46
 religion, 349–350, 410
 respectability
 and chess, 231–232, 236–237,
 238–239
 and consumerism, 90–91
 and credit, 85–86
 versus honor, 81–84, 85–86, 266–267
 (*see also* Taber, William Robinson, Jr.)
 outward attributes of, 83, 85–86
 and social hierarchy, 84–85
 as theater, 83–84 *See also* honor
- retail district
 appeal of, 70–72, 76
 attracting customers, 72–73
 and respectability, 90–91
- Rhett, Alfred, 175
 Rhett, Edmund, Jr. 174–175, 457
 on disunion, 190
 Rhett, Robert Barnwell, Jr., 111, 159
 on Democratic National
 Convention, 199
 Rhett, Robert Barnwell, Sr., 142, 391
 and *Charleston Mercury*, 158, 159
 on moderation, 157
 name change, 449
 political career of, 158
 and secession delegation, 205
 and secessionist leadership, 218
 and serenades, 224
 and Sr. Taber, 154
 and Taber, 154, 156
 as untrustworthy, 199
- Rhett family, 168
 and Taber Jr., 155
- rice, 36
- Richardson, Francis D., 223, 294
 riots, 163, 165
 Rivers, James, 53
 Rives, Horace P., 390
 Roberts, Samuel, 139–140, 208
 Robertson, Frederick, 220
 Robertson, James, 70
 Robinson, Edward, 387
 Roddy, Martin, 195–196
 Rogers, Charles K., 134, 135
 Rogers, E. P., 85
 Rogers, William, 386
 Root, Marcus A., 75
 Roy, Robert, 356, 390
 Ruffin, Edmund, 8, 220
 Russell, William, 29
Russell's Magazine, 448
 Rutledge, Rebecca M., 80
 Ryan, Thomas C., 103
- Salinas, Anthony J., 103
 Saluda Minute Men Association of
 Edgefield District, 134
 Savannah River Anti-Slave Traffick
 Association, 132
 Schnierle, John A., 49, 326, 349
 Scottish Guard, 129
 Screven, Richard C., 389–390
 Seabrook, Whitmarsh B., 98

- secession
 delay, threat of, 11–12
 1850–52 crisis, 121, 152, 158
 expectations of as bloodless, 135
 at local level, 10
 rallies for, 10
 scholarship, 6–10
 as a series of crises, 6–7
 at state level, 7
 symbols of, 140–141 (*see also* cockades;
 Young Men's Secession Association
 (YMSA))
- secession convention
 in Charleston, 381–382
 demand for, 191
 scheduled, 191–192
 unlikely outcome, 382
 vote on secession, 225
- secession delegation, 392
 factions within, 203–206
 political advertisements, 203–204
 secession pledge of, 204–206
- semi-skilled workers, 62
- serenades, 224
- Shaftesbury, 7th Earl of (Anthony Ashley
 Cooper), 23
- Shaw, George Bernard, 148
- Sherfesser, Louis, 209
- ships 128
Aramingo, 44
Brothers, 100, 101
Carolina, 44
Catawba, 37
Charles Dennis, 418
Chicopee, 43
Delica, 100
E. D. McClenaghan, 37
Echo, 100, 101, 102
Eliza Bonsall, 37
Emma, 37
Fame, 37
Frederick Nickerson, 37, 39–40
Harvest, 37
Heyward, 37
Industry, 37
James Adger, 35–36, 38, 422
James Grey, 314
John Bell, 37
John Roe, 37
Lilly, 37
Mackinaw, 37
Marion, 37
- Mercury*, 314
Nashville, 416, 417
South Carolina, 37
Spaulding, 418
Tanner, 37
Theodore D. Wagner, 37
Wanderer, 100, 101
Wren, 37
- Simms, William Gilmore, 7, 64, 82,
 158, 353
- Simon, Guillam, 43
- Simons, James, 190
- Simons, Thomas Y., Jr.
 and Broad Street Clique, 169, 197
 career of, 88
 and Charleston Chess Club, 252
 at Democratic National Convention,
 116, 199, 386
 and William Henry Gist, 3
 and Northeastern Railroad strike, 327
 and Vigilant Rifles, 389–390, 394
- Simonton, Charles, 193, 196, 379
- slave insurrections
 and militiamen, 131–132
 put down, 108
 threat of, 107
 threat of, lack of, 107–108
 and white divisions, 114
- slavery
 and competition with mechanics, 53–54,
 97–98
 in the North, 2
 as positive good, 81
 show of, 95
- slaves
 arrests of, 109–112
 and blue cockades, 125
 as chattel, 101–102
 city versus outsiders, 105
 as counterfeit, 102
 and distrust of free blacks, 99
 and hiring out, 49, 95–96
 labor of, 95–96
 population of, 93
 rape of, 156
 restrictions on, 95, 109
 as somber, 94
 whites' fears of, 92, 93–94
- slave trade
 auctions, depictions of, 104–106
 and Charleston economy, 103
 location of, 102–104

- reasons for selling, 104
 ties Charleston to rural economy, 103.
See also transatlantic slave trade
 small farmers, 58
 Smalls, Robert, 99
 Smiles, Samuel, 85
 Smith, Daniel E. H., 370
 Smith, Nathaniel Fields, 390
 Smith, Theo, 390
 Smyth, Thomas, 80, 96–97
 social order
 anonymity breaks down, 147–148
 markers of, 147, 148–149
 and slavery, 51–52
 and social control, 66
 Society of Earnest Men. *See* “1860
 Association”
 South Carolina Association, 40, 116
 South Carolina College, 154–156
 South Carolina Institute Hall, 115, 189
 as “Secession Hall,” 30–31, 192
 South Carolina Institute of the Promotion
 of Art, Mechanical Ingenuity, and
 Industry, 30–31
 South Carolina Insurance Company, 372
 South Carolina jeremiad, 144–148
 and election corruption, 181
 and Tupper articulated by, 386. *See also*
 factions, fear of
 South Carolina Railroad Company
 freight of, 39, 417
 and Northeastern Railroad, 52
 and secession, vision of, 319–320
 terminus, 55, 61
 and Wharton and Petsch, 63
 Southern Party, 144, 145
 Spartanburg Minute Men, 119
 Spratt, Leonidas W., 101, 102, 190
 spy system, 426
 Starr, Edward M., 108, 279–280
 State-Rights Democrats, 145–146
 Staunton, Howard, 239–240
 steam fire engine, 374–376, 395, 402
 steam navigation, 24
 Steele, Walter
 on credit, 305
 compared to Ketcham, 272–274
 picture with brother, 401
 on politics, 141
 success of, 271–272, 281–282, 310
 upward mobility, 273
 Steele, William, 401
 Steele’s Hat Hall
 advertisements, 12, 13–15, 306, 308–
 309, 310–311
 and branding, 311–312
 as cash-only establishment, 305, 310,
 311–312
 and daguerreotypes, 73
 and hats for enslaved, 308
 and ladies’ gifts, 308
 as male space, 308
 prices, 308, 311
 as southern shop, 313–314, 319
 variety of wares, 305–306
 and Vigilant Rifles, 391
 Stevens, Rebecca, 71
 St. Helena Island Mounted Rifle Corps, 133
 Stirling, James, 64
 Street, Thaddeus, 389
 strikes
 and Charleston Typographical
 Union, 65–66
 of mechanics, 63
 and Northeastern Railroad strike,
 326–328, 379
 Summers, Henry, 299
 Summerville Minute Men, 123, 134
 Sumner, Charles, 172
 Sweeney, Maria, 69
 symbols
 as focus of relationships, 141
 meaning of, 31–32, 225
 of political affiliation, 40. *See also*
 cockades
 Symons, John, 367–368
 Taber, Albert, 172, 179
 Taber, Emma Smith, 154, 449
 Taber, William Robinson, Jr.
 academic pursuits of, 154–156
 and Butler, 172
 and cousins, influence of, 156–157
 and Cunningham, 167–168, 171
 death of, 153, 175–176, 267
 and debauchery, 154–157
 effigy of, 163
 family history, 153–154
 and Know-Nothing Party, 171
 legacy of, 190
 and Andrew Magrath, 172–173
 and Magrath duel, 173–175
 on Mose Morrison, 366, 367
 and Perry, 165

- Taber, William Robinson, Jr. (*cont.*)
 physical appearance of, 158
 and Rhett Jr., 156–157, 159
 and Rhett Sr., 156
 and secession crisis of 1850–52, 158–159
 as secessionist, 168
 speech on education of poor, 161, 165
 speech on education of poor, reaction to,
 161–167, 365–367
 and Vigilant Fire Engine Company, 357
 Taber, William Robinson, Sr., 153–154,
 156
 Tasistro, Louis F., 33, 341, 349, 350
 Taylor, James R., 60, 375
 telegraph lines, 38
 Tennant, William, 189
 theater, 45
 Thomas, Stephen D., 391
 Thomson, William, 59, 63
 Thornwell, James Henley, 83, 160–161
 Tierney, Thomas, 69
 Tillman, George D., 11, 117, 122
 Timrod, Henry, 40
 Tobias, Augustus L., 255
 Tocqueville, Alexis de, 77, 86
 Torre, Peter Della, 97
 Torrent, John N., 389, 390
 Townsend, John
 and 1860 Association, 188
 pamphlet on secession, 218
 on secession, 119, 189, 205
 on secession, threat of delay, 11
 and secession delegation, 206
 transatlantic slave trade, 24, 100–102
 Trenholm, George Alfred, 190. *See also*
 Broad Street Clique
 Trescot, William Henry, 59, 298
 triangulation, 25–26
 Tupper, George, 361
 Tupper, Samuel Yoer
 biographical information, 352,
 353–354, 364
 and Broad Street Clique, 386, 397
 and Charleston Chess Club, 252, 473
 as counterfeit radical, 397
 and Democratic National Convention, 116
 on discipline of fire companies, 364–365
 on enslaved firemen, 361
 and Firemen's Insurance Company, 360
 letter to Gist, 1, 3
 on religion, 350
 on secession convention, 225–226
 and Vigilant Fire Company, drilling, 385
 and Vigilant Rifle flag, 380
 and Vigilant Rifles, preparation for,
 386–387. *See also* Vigilant Rifles
 The Turk, 233, 236
 Turnbull sisters, 70–71
 Tylee, John W. L., 87, 354
 Union Light Infantry, 123, 393
 Unonius, Gustaf, 330
 urbanity, 329
 Vesey, Denmark, 107–108, 426
 Vessey, John, 55
 Victorianism
 and melodrama, 147
 worldview of, 26–27. *See also* honor;
 respectability
 Vigilant Fire Engine Company
 and Charleston Fire Engine Company, 367
 charter of, 351–352
 and chess club, 355
 drilling, 385
 and enslaved firemen, 361
 and family connections, 354
 and Firemen's Parade, 369, 370
 and honor, 357
 members, ages, 352–353
 members, families, 353–354
 members, native Charlestonians, 352
 members, occupations, 355, 356–357
 members, residences, 354–356
 members, typical, 356
 membership dues, 352
 membership into, 352, 357
 and Pinckney standoff, 347–348
 and respectability, 364
 and social ties, 356
 and Taber, Jr., 357
 and technology, 343
 and Vigilant Rifles, 383–385, 387–389
 vigilantism, 40–41
 Vigilant Rifles
 advocate disunion, 4–5
 and Broad Street Clique, 392
 and Charleston Chess Club, 254–255,
 256, 269
 and chess, 229
 and church membership, 410
 during Civil War, 400–401
 communal ties, 390
 drilling of, 389, 392

- establishment of, 387, 389
 flag of, 379–380
 at Fort Sumter, 5
 Gist, pledge to, 1, 3, 135–136, 389
 and homosocial relations, 391–392
 members, 324, 382–383
 members, ages, 383–384, 388
 members, geography of, 383
 members, nativity, 387–388
 members, occupations, 384, 388
 members, residences, 388–389
 members, slaveholders, 391
 members, southern versus
 northern, 383
 and membership in other
 organizations, 87, 88
 members, residents, 385
 as Minute Men, 4, 389, 395
 model for other units, 393
 on Morris Island, 395
 motivation for enlisting, 393–398
 officers, 389–390
 parade, 377–380
 on secession convention, 225–226
 and Steele's Hat Hall, 392
 unarmed, 379, 390, 392
 uniforms of, 377, 390
 and Vigilant Fire Engine Company,
 383–385, 387–389
 as volunteer firemen, 324. *See also*
 Tupper, Samuel
- violence
 and elections, 195–196
 and politics, 202. *See also* duels
- voluntary associations
 diversity of, 86–89
 compared to informal networks, 89–90
 and interorganizational
 membership, 87
 and masculinity, 118
 and membership, 87–88
 purpose of, 90
 rise of, 77–78. *See also individual*
 organizations
- volunteer fire companies
 and axemen, 363
 and black volunteers, 346, 347
 as city leaders, 341
 and civic duty, 347
 during Civil War, 402–403
 and class, 336, 365–367
 competition between, 337–338
- coordination, lack of, 344–345
 death of member, 360
 discipline, 350–351
 discipline, lack of, 361–365
 divisions within, 338, 351, 365, 367–
 368, 370–371
 and enslaved firemen, 371–372
 exemption for militia service, 343
 and fire engines, 333, 338, 343
 and fire insurance, 333
 and fire stations, 333
 and fraternity, 336–337, 338
 and heroism, 328, 339, 350–351,
 358–359, 360–361 (*see also* Mose
 Morrison)
 and heroism, depictions of, 339–340
 houses as polling places, 371
 and hypermasculinity, 337–338
 and lack of water, 344, 346
 loss of independence, 347–349
 membership numbers, 367
 compared to militia, 395
 and militia service, 324, 332, 363
 and parades, 367
 and Pinckney standoff, 346–349
 prominence of, 351
 and public fire drills, 359–360
 and racial tensions, 361–363
 rise of, 332, 343
 and Taber, 365–367
 training of firemen, 339
 unity of, 361. *See also individual*
 companies
- volunteer militia companies, 128
 and class, 130–131, 332–333
 membership, 129–130. *See also*
 Charleston Light Dragoons
- Wallace, Daniel, 302
 Wallace, Robert, 286
 Walter, E. William, 392
 Warren, Thomas, 162
 Washington, George
 as fireman, 332
 on hat-play, 290
 Washington Artillery, 393
 Washington Fire Engine Company, 351,
 369, 393
 Washington Light Infantry, 129, 377, 379
 Waters, William, 280, 355
 Waties, William, 255
 Wells, Edward L., 126

- Wells, Samuel, 288
 West, Charles H., 347, 349, 386, 389–390, 392
 Westendorff, Charles William, 354, 389
 Westendorff, James S., 389
 Westminster Chess Club, 235
 Whaley, Benjamin, 88
 Whaley, William, 193
 Wharton and Petsch, 63–64, 316
 Whetstone, William D., 237–238
 White, Alonzo J., 103, 104–106
 White, Edward Brickell
 on disunion, 188, 386–387
 as slave owner, 391
 and Vigilant Rifles, 390, 392, 401
 Whitner, Benjamin F., 1, 224
 Wieters, Otto, 69
 Wigfall, Arthur, 176
 Wigfall, Louis T., 167
 Wightman, William M., 27
 Wildman, Nathan H., 281
 Wildman, Zalmon, 86, 279–281
 Williams, Charles, 262
 Williams, Henry H., 391, 396
 Willis, Nathaniel Parker, 34
 Wilson, John Lyde, 30, 149, 150–151,
 299
 Winkler, Edwin T., 177
- wit, 410
 Withers, Thomas Jefferson, 327
 women
 and blue cockades, 125
 and hats, 286
 and manners, 289–290
 and threat to white womanhood, 108
 Wood, Fernando, 240
- Yancey, William Lowndes, 115, 167, 199
 Yates, Charles L., 389–390
 Yates, James Legare, 389–390
 Yates, William J., 71
 Yeadon, Richard, 161, 201, 348–349
 yellow fever, 37, 100
 Young, Thomas, 77
 Young Men's Christian Association
 (YMCA), 210
 Young Men's Secession Association
 (YMSA), 139–140
 parade, reactions to, 213–214
 parade as play, 211–213
 parade as unifying, 214–215
 parade participants, 208–210, 216–217
 parade route, 210–211
- Zouave Cadets, 128