



## **"I Shall Not Pass This Way Again:" The Contributions of William Ashmead Courtenay**

**by  
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**As William Ashmead Courtenay's eight years of public service as Charleston's mayor came to an end in 1887, one contemporary assessed his impact succinctly: "If you would see his truest and best monument, look around, upon every part of our city, and every department of our municipal life."(1)**

**Most Charlestonians would have agreed with him, but Courtenay's reputation as an outstanding public-spirited citizen extended far beyond the boundaries of Charleston, as the request of a New York shipbuilder to name a new rescue vessel after Courtenay makes clear:**

*" It has been customary, to name vessels of this class, (devoted to the interests of humanity,) in honor of the Distinguished & Representative Men of America, those, who have rendered service to their country and their fellow man, In casting about, for a name, for our trim little vessel to bear, Yours, suggests itself, as most worthy and appropriate, Patriotic, talented and public-spirited, A true Christian, A pure humanitarian and an accomplished Gentleman, Your Noble Nature, Generous Impulses and Sterling virtues, has endeared You to Your fellow citizens of every class, Well Known as the friend of Christianity, Education*

*& Industry, as well as of Commerce, Agriculture and Manufactures. Your administration of the high and honored position of Mayor of the Noble Old City of Charleston, has been governed by Honesty, Economy and Impartiality, with honor to Yourself, and with pride and profit to your fellow citizens. No citizen has a brighter record, and a brilliant future is before You. It is our earnest desire, as a slight tribute of respect and esteem for You, as a truly Distinguished and really Representative American Citizen, that our vessel shall bear Your honored name, upon its errands of Mercy, in search of shipwrecks." (2)*

Statesman, businessman, book publisher and collector, author, and patron of the arts, Courtenay was a self-made man, positive and aggressive in personality, somewhat nervous in temperament, and possessed of "indomitable courage, rare intelligence, great capacity for work and splendid executive ability." (3)

His belief in the importance of local and national history and, more importantly, in the need for preserving it, influenced the way he played his long and active role as a man of arts and letters. Apparently, he took seriously the quotation from a thirteenth-century Courtenay ancestor, Edward, Earl of Devon, which he had engraved on his bookplate:

*"I expect to pass through this world but once: if therefore, there be any kindness I can show, or any good thing I can do, let me do it now; let me not defer or neglect it, for I shall not pass this way again."(4)*

In this brief essay, I shall consider how Courtenay followed this motto, first as a politician and businessman, and then as a patron of the arts and literature.

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Not much is known about Courtenay's early life. He was born February 1831 in Charleston and is said to have received a limited education under the supervision of female relatives until he was twelve. He was then sent to an academy run by Dr. John C. Faber, but when he was fifteen, economic circumstances apparently compelled him to seek employment. Virtually nothing is known about his next four years, but in 1850, at the age of nineteen, Courtenay may have become involved in his older brother's publishing and book-selling business. If so, then the years spent in this endeavor must have constituted a major influence on the young man, forming his taste and teaching him the "how-to" necessary in later years, when he compiled numerous small editions of historical and literary materials and had them privately published.

**In the fall of 1860, however, Courtenay, if he had been in the book publishing business, abandoned it and seems to have taken charge of the business department of the *Charleston Mercury*, a leading Southern political journal. In 1861 Courtenay enlisted and was soon sent to join the Confederate army in Virginia. Left destitute by the war, Courtenay returned to South Carolina where, in the spring of 1865, he established a wagon transportation business which carried cotton the eighty-four miles from Newberry to Orangeburg.**

**Since the railroads had been destroyed, the business was lucrative although temporary. With the repair of the railroads in the spring of 1866, Courtenay returned to Charleston where he began a shipping business. For the next twenty-two years he was associated with the management of various steamship lines, including the Clyde line, which sailed to Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, as well as abroad.(5)**

**In 1879 and again in 1883 Courtenay was elected mayor of Charleston. He withstood considerable pressure from his friends and declined a third term. One newspaper lamented his resolute decision to retire in 1887: "In spite of the fact that the Mayor is not very popular with 'the machine,' the people of Charleston know a good thing when they get it. . . .[C]ity government conducted strictly on business principles is a luxury that tax-payers do not often enjoy, and that they cannot get too much of."(6) Another newspaper agreed that Courtenay's loss was a severe one, because he was "a gentleman whose public career has been as patriotic as his private life has been altogether upright."(7)**

**For the next several years after his retirement as mayor, Courtenay was rumored to be a candidate for the governorship. In 1890, endorsed by numerous newspapers, including *The Christian Bulletin* and *The Rock Hill Herald*, he announced publicly that although he had not sought the governorship, he would not decline to serve if he were called by a majority. However, the nomination of Benjamin R. Tillman of Edgefield at the convention apparently squelched Courtenay's interest in state-wide office and brought his public career to a close.**

**As mayor, Courtenay's contributions toward the shaping of his greatest work, Charleston herself, were substantial. Careful fiscal management led to accurate accounting of all public expenditures, careful observation of the city budget, and reduction of the public debt. Certainly Courtenay's years as mayor were not without their catastrophes: a cyclone destroyed much of**

Charleston's waterfront in his first administration, and the famous earthquake of 1886 leveled much of the city during his second administration. Nevertheless, roadways and streets were made more permanent by the laying of granite blocks; improvements were made in city sidewalks, drainage, and sanitation. Institutions such as the public hospitals and homes for the aged were rehabilitated. Courtenay successfully undertook the untangling of the Enston estate which, after twenty-two years, was finally settled so that a village for the aged could be established. An efficient paid fire department was substituted for the volunteer fire department. Parks such as Marion Square were created. And finally, despite earthquake and cyclone, each year the Charleston yearbooks were faithfully assembled and disseminated throughout the United States to libraries, individuals, and historical societies from Maine to California.

Despite Courtenay's objections, a group of Charleston citizens insisted on commissioning a marble bust of their retiring mayor and placing it in the Council Chamber in acknowledgment of Courtenay's great service to the city. Sculpted by Edward Valentine, and unveiled in December 1888, the bust bore the inscription:

**AS CHIEF MAGISTRATE  
HE ADMINISTERED THE GOVERNMENT  
WITH FIRMNESS, IMPARTIALITY, AND SUCCESS,  
EVEN AMID THE DISASTERS OF CYCLONE AND EARTHQUAKE,  
SIGNALLY ILLUSTRATING THE SAFE MAXIM, THAT  
'PUBLIC OFFICE IS A PUBLIC TRUST.' (8)**

At Courtenay's death in 1908, Mayor Rhett confirmed that:

*"an earthquake laid waste the city in his second administration, but his firm hand and sound judgement restored confidence, and out of the ruins there arose better public buildings and better private one [sic]--a new United States Post Office and Court House, a new Police Station, a new Hospital. His whole administration of public affairs was marked with vigorous action, and every act was a step forward in good government. He loved the city with his whole heart to the day of his death . . . Her welfare never left his mind."(9)*

In April 1889, Courtenay was elected president of Bessemer Land and Improvement Company and moved about that same time to Bessemer, Alabama, often referred to as the "Pittsburg of the South," on account of the ironworks located there. Approximately a year later, however, Courtenay resigned and in 1890 returned to Charleston, where he resided at 75 Lynch Street. A letter

of recommendation proposing his membership in New York City's Grolier Club in October 1890 estimated his wealth at \$75,000 to \$100,000 in real estate, stocks, bonds, and other assets.(10)

Still pursuing his manufacturing interests, by September 1894 Courtenay had opened a cotton mill called the Courtenay Manufacturing Company at Newry (named after the Irish birthplace of the first Courtenay emigrant to America) in Oconee County, where the Courtenay residence was called "Innisfallen." While there, the former mayor of Charleston still found time to pursue his interests in the cultural affairs of the state. His efforts were acknowledged by an honorary Doctor of Laws degree awarded him by the University of Nashville in June 1900. In September 1906, perhaps to facilitate the disposition of his various collections of books, paintings, and pamphlets, Courtenay moved to Columbia, where he lived at 1707 Pendleton Street.

Notwithstanding the heavy demands made on Courtenay's time by his business concerns and his political position, he found time to serve his community, state, and nation in many other ways. For instance, he served on the Board of Directors of the Carolina Art Association. He was appointed to the Boards of Visitors of Annapolis (1882) and of West Point (1887). In 1884 he was named a judge by the Calliopean Literary Society of the Citadel. In 1887, along with men like R. C. Winthrop of Massachusetts, Pierpoint Morgan of New York, A. H. H. Stewart of Virginia, and ex-president Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio, Courtenay was elected to a seat on the Peabody Educational Trust board. Established at the bequest of the donor, this fund consisted of over two million dollars which were to be spent improving education in the southern states. In 1900, as one of thirty-five founding members, Courtenay served on the Board of Directors of the newly established South Carolina Audubon Society. In 1905, as the final climax of his long and distinguished career as patron of arts and letters and as self-appointed guardian of South Carolina history, Courtenay was one of the founding commissioners who established a Historic Commission to take charge of all materials relating to South Carolina that might be entrusted to it. This organization was the forerunner of the South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

Courtenay, in actively supporting arts and letters in South Carolina, was not motivated by a love of "art for art's sake," or by the love of literature *per se*, or by the need of a collector to amass one expensive prize after another. Instead, the guiding principle behind his working for various cultural institutions, his commissioning of portraits, his purchasing of materials for his li-

brary, and his publishing special editions seems to have been his sense of the overwhelming importance of history. What was happening--what had happened--in the city, state, and nation *was* and would *remain* important. The events of the past had controlled those of the future, and would do so again. Thus, those events were worth recording, and by extension, preserving. On several occasions local newspapers reported that Courtenay gave stirring orations arguing for the preservation of documents and correspondence for younger and, presumably, more ignorant generations.

Given this view, it is not surprising that Courtenay's interest in arts and letters often took a public form. Or, to put it another way, as did the "Minutes of the Meeting of the Society of the Cincinnati of the State of South Carolina" in February 1906, as the members accepted from Courtenay the gift of a silver medal struck in honor of Charles Carroll, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence: "Mr. Courtenay is pre-eminently one of those whose *actions* speak for him and for themselves; but of whose great mental activity a large portion is devoted to recording and to preserving the record of the deeds of others, who have preceded him in the service of this State and Country." (11)

Some of Courtenay's activities took very visible forms--monuments, for example, or mementos. Courtenay was apparently associated both with those who attempted to raise \$300,000 for a monument honoring the victors of Cowpens in Spartanburg as well as with those responsible for the bronze monument of Timrod erected in Charleston. In order to raise money for a new granite obelisk honoring the Civil War dead of the Washington Light Infantry, Courtenay, as a member of the Executive Committee of the Washington Light Infantry, was actively involved in staging an "Entertainment at the Academy of Music" during Easter week, 1888. This entertainment included a recitation of Paul H. Hayne's "The Broken Battalions" and a "grand concert, vocal and instrumental."(12)

The obelisk was eventually unveiled in 1891 in Washington Square. On another occasion, also to commemorate the services of the Washington Light Infantry during the War, Courtenay commissioned in Wedgewood, England, several ornamental "jugs," one of which was to be presented to South Carolina College (later the University of South Carolina) and displayed where visitors could see it.(13)

While not nearly so visible, other of Courtenay's art-related activities were

equally important. Courtenay early established himself as a figure of considerable authority in the fields of Charleston and South Carolina history. Correspondence to Courtenay preserved in six massive scrapbooks in the South Caroliniana Library of the University of South Carolina makes clear that he communicated frequently with numerous historical societies, asking and answering questions, exchanging materials, and always disseminating copies of the Charleston yearbooks for every year that he was mayor. He received numerous inquiries from individuals as well as from publishers both for information concerning private Charleston citizens and for the identities of specific painters or authors. Several publishers wrote to him requesting, for instance, assistance in obtaining pictures for their books. To give an example, in 1888, Appleton's *Cyclopedia of American Biography* requested Courtenay's aid in obtaining from the author's family a suitable photograph of William Gilmore Simms.(14)

Other requests for pictures of Simms and historic figures such as Aedanus Burke were received and attended to.

Many other requests for all kinds of information are preserved in Courtenay's scrapbooks. For example, Edwin A. Barber, author of *A History of American Ceramics*, inquired about early "Pott works" in South Carolina. (15)

One request was a sizeable one indeed: Hugh R. Garden of New York City expressed his intention to give to the New York Southern Society a gift of 1000 volumes; he requested Courtenay's advice in selecting those titles which would be worth collecting but also of limited circulation and therefore in need of preservation.(16) A

s lavish with money (to the Georgia Historical Society, for instance) and materials (the Moultrie-Montague letters given to the Massachusetts Historical Society, the official records of the 1886 earthquake presented to the Smithsonian Institute) as he was with time, Courtenay's influence and expertise spread far beyond Charleston's boundaries. He forcefully insisted on maintaining--and recovering, where necessary--the honor due to South Carolina and her role in history. Thus, in an attempt to preserve and maintain for posterity the history of his state and of the South, many, many items, such as the engravings of Robert E. Lee and Wade Hampton, were donated to historical societies across the nation.

**On the first page of a small pamphlet entitled *Stray Leaves Garnered*, which Courtenay had printed for private circulation, was a quotation from Carlyle which was undoubtedly intended to convey Courtenay's own attitudes not only about books but about other art forms as well: "In books lies the soul of the whole past time; the articulate audible voice of the past, when the body and material substance of it has altogether vanished like a dream."(17)**

**This view--about books as well as about history--strongly influenced the kind of private library compiled by Courtenay and eventually donated, in 1906, to the Charleston Library Society. It was a significant collection, one of 601 included in G. Hedeler's "List of Private Libraries in the U.S. and Canada" (1897). Only six other South Carolina collections (those of E. H. Frost, W. G. Hinson, Gabriel Manigault, Daniel Ravenel, Edward Willis, and William Porcher Miles) were mentioned. Some of these equaled but none exceeded Courtenay's collection in size. His collection was described as consisting of "historical, specially local Carolina and Charleston publications. Privately illustrated volumes. Everything concerning the great cyclone of 1885 and the earthquake of 1886."(18)**

**The description perhaps overplays that aspect of the collection which might have greatest interest for the "average citizen." As the 1906 catalogue of Courtenay's collection makes clear, his holdings were primarily historical but certainly not at all restricted to items dealing with natural calamities. Bibliographies, local as well as general American and European histories, poems and letters by historic figures such as Major John Andre, sketches of and by South Carolinians, items and books by Simms, Timrod, and other literary figures, travel handbooks and journals, and thousands of pamphlets relating to every walk of life--education, health, religion, war, manufacturing, history, arts and letters, and politics--were among the items in his collection. Entirely committed to preserving local as well as state historical records, Courtenay also recognized the inadequacy of current library buildings, and in the later years of his life worked indefatigably if unsuccessfully to persuade Andrew Carnegie to donate a new building for the Charleston Library Society.**

**Because of his belief in the importance of preserving history through a variety of art forms, including books, pamphlets, portraits, paintings, and engravings, it is not surprising to note that Courtenay's generous gifts of materials were directed at recipients who had a vested historical interest in his gifts. Thus, he presented the Ancient German Artillery Society in Charleston with engravings of Baron Von Steuben and Baron de Kalb, and the Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences with his three volume *Musee des Antiques* by**



**Bouillon which contained almost 300 engravings of famous Greek and Roman statuary. He sold the painting Osceola to H. M. Fegler, so that it could hang in the Hotel Ponce de Leon in St. Augustine, Florida. In 1904, Courtenay contributed \$125 toward the purchase of a copy of Rubens' *Descent from the Cross* for a new church.(19)**

**To the Gibbes Memorial Art Building went a catalogue of pictures, miniatures, and art books in the collection of Henry George Bohn and an inventory of the wardrobe and plate of Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond--two books on the subject of art which began the Gibbes' collection of books on art.(20)**

**If in books lay the soul of past time, a portion of that soul could be rendered visible to future generations in portraits, monuments, and sculpture. Although "there is not a public gallery in the city" even though "there might be one with proper effort, " as he lamented in a letter to the Charleston City Council, Courtenay persisted in obtaining and making available portraits of important South Carolinians. He wrote that he had "endeavored, during my official term, to preserve and make accessible to the public the valuable paintings and statuary which have come down to us from previous generations, and have had the privilege, from time to time of adding to the collection" housed in the Council Chamber, where it was accessible to the public.(21)**

**Apparently, Courtenay was largely responsible, too, for bringing the distinguished Virginia sculptor, Edward V. Valentine, to Charleston. Valentine had studied under the prominent sculptor, Kiss, of Berlin for several years, according to one local newspaper account, and had completed marble busts of Robert E. Lee, Albert Sidney Johnson, Joseph E. Johnston, G. E. Pickett, and several other noted Confederates. In 1883 the Charleston City Council commissioned from Valentine a bust of Robert Y. Hayne for the Council Chamber, and in 1886 ordered a second bust, this one of C. G. Memminger. Also in 1883, Courtenay had executed in Rome a bust of James L. Petigru, which he donated to the city. Courtenay owned a bust in clay by Valentine of the prominent Virginia geographer and scientist, M. F. Maury, which he ultimately gave to the city in 1906.(22)**

**For the most part, the portraits obtained by Courtenay and donated to the city were not originals; his purpose seemed not the creation of memorable art but the preservation of a cultural and historical heritage that seemed otherwise fated, like so many of the old soldiers and statesmen, to fade away. However, in 1883 he did donate an original portrait by Jarvis of William Camp-**

bell Preston to the Council, following it shortly with a second Jarvis original of Joel R. Poinsett in 1887. In 1906 Courtenay gave to the Library Society portraits of eight other prominent South Carolinians: William Crafts, William John Grayson, Hugh Swinton Legare, William Gilmore Simms, William J. Rivers, William Henry Trescot, Henry Timrod, and Edward McCrady. Except for the Timrod portrait, which was by Poindexter Page Carter and copied from a photograph, all the portraits were copies by John Stolle.

Courtenay's generosity did not stop there. In May of 1905 he presented a life-size oil painting of Timrod, who had been a schoolmate and friend, to the city of Columbia. A portrait by Carter of General Beauregard was given to the library of the state university in March 1906. This smaller portrait had apparently served as the model for the large portrait of Beauregard which Carter did for the City Council of Charleston. Also that month, Courtenay gave a "portrait in silhouette, the only likeness extant" of Henry Timrod's father, William Henry Timrod, to the editor of the *Fairfax Enterprise*. (23)

Perhaps one of the most interesting *objets d'art* contributed to Charleston was elicited by Courtenay rather than made directly by him. In 1876, Courtenay recalled, he had casually picked up an article while he was waiting in the lobby of a New York City hotel and read about a rare and beautiful portrait, woven in silk on Jacquard looms, of George Washington, based on Stuart's famous painting. Made in 1855 in Lyons, France, only four such copies existed in the United States. Courtenay wrote to Messrs. Pousson, Philippe, and Vibert of Lyons requesting that they make for him an additional copy. V. Philippe replied that it was impossible to reactivate the looms for only one portrait, since the cost of the original group had been prohibitively expensive. Instead, Philippe very generously offered to donate his own silk portrait, and did so, to the Washington Light Infantry, which had been Lafayette's honor guard while he visited Charleston. (24)

No less significant than his generous contributions of portraits and sculpture was Courtenay's patronage of South Carolina poets. His interest in them seems to have been dictated in part by the poets' own interest in historical subjects. The correspondence preserved at the South Caroliniana Library contains several letters from Paul H. Hayne, whom Courtenay frequently recruited to write verses memorializing historical events. On one occasion in 1881, when Courtenay had apparently requested a poem in honor of the battle of Cowpens, Hayne responded petulantly:

*"To be frank--(you are not a man to miscomprehend me--) I must reserve the little power (physical) that is left me for work that pays.*

*When Whittier & Longfellow write their kind of pieces, they are paid for their trouble. Now, I have given all my work, to the South gratuitously, mon ami! our People fail to recognize the fact, that Poetry is not play, but exceedingly hard work." (25)*

Hayne's complaint about lack of recognition apparently touched a sensitive nerve, for Courtenay expended considerable time and energy attempting to enhance the reputations of several South Carolina writers, among them William J. Grayson and Carlyle McKinney. When the latter, an associate editor of the *Charleston News and Courier* died, Courtenay published a twenty-three page tribute to him. Along with two of the dead writer's best poems, "Sapelo" and "Crucifer," tributes by McKinney's co-workers and an elegy by Courtenay comprised the volume.(26)

Unquestionably, however, Henry Timrod absorbed, over the longest period of time and in the most intense fashion, Courtenay's efforts to retrieve a fading reputation. Efforts to mark Timrod's grave with a grey granite boulder bearing a simple inscription led to the formation of the Timrod Memorial Association. Courtenay was president of this Association and single-handedly did more than any other individual to get what came to be called the "Timrod Revival" underway from 1898 to 1901. Preserved in one scrapbook at the South Carolina State Archives are many newspaper clippings which chronicle the progress of the revival. As Courtenay wrote in a letter to the editor of *The Spartan* in 1899, "Poets come so seldom and in such new and strange garb, that years pass before their existence is recognized. Timrod was one of these whose beauty of personality is not inferior to the loftiness and work of his message, he was a spotless, suny-souled [*sic*], hard-working divinely gifted man, who had exalted ideas both of art and life."(27)

Courtenay's efforts in promoting Timrod's works were numerous. He compiled and published several small books of materials relating to Timrod; he located Timrod's widow and attempted to iron out copyright problems with the publisher so as to produce a memorial volume of poetry; he wrote numerous letters to editors of newspapers all over the state advertising Timrod's poems and worth; he permitted *The Atlantic Monthly* to publish, from a manuscript given to Courtenay by Timrod's widow in 1899, Timrod's essay, "A Theory of Poetry." Thus, in the waning years of his life, Courtenay fulfilled a

promise made in that dark year, 1865, to the sick and depressed poet when they met coincidentally at a railroad station. Courtenay told Timrod that, "We are all in a great deal of trouble, the future is very uncertain, and promises may be difficult to fulfill, but if my life is spared, and I can accomplish your wish to publish your literary works. I promise you I will do it."(28)

History had not, perhaps, treated South Carolina kindly, but in those long and fruitful years of public service after the Civil War, Courtenay struck a balance between past, present, and future. Looking forward to what might be, he amassed considerable wealth, power, and prestige and used them in the service of his community. As mayor, his administration was honest, energetic, and above all, progressive. Yet he also looked backwards--not to dwell on what *might* have been, but to acknowledge that the *memory*, the *record*, of what had been was worth preserving as part of a historical continuum that had not come to an end with a civil war. It had transcended that war and endured into the twentieth century. William Ashmead Courtenay would not pass through this world again, but as historian, collector, patron of the arts, author, publisher, and statesman, he left his mark.

#### NOTES

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(1) "Address by Rev. C. S. Vedder, Dec. 19, 1888" reprinted in *A Memorial of Public Service 1879-88* (Charleston, 1889), 10.

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(2) William Jay Murphy to William Ashmead Courtenay (W.A.C.), July 12, 1881: Courtenay Scrapbooks, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Vol. II, 26. For reference purposes, the six scrapbooks of correspondence to Courtenay preserved in the South Caroliniana Library will be identified by the initials SCL, volume and page number, in subsequent footnotes.

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(3) Newspaper clipping, probably 1887; Courtenay Scrapbooks, South Carolina State Archives, Vol. I, 13. For reference purposes below I have assigned the following designations to the three scrapbooks of largely unidentified newspaper clippings in the State Archives: Vol. I--1887-1890; Vol. II--1898(?)--1906; Vol. III--the scrapbook which includes items relating to people of interest to Courtenay, including Timrod, rather than to material describing Courtenay's actual activities. Subsequent footnotes will identify this material with the initials SA, volume number, and in those few cases where they exist, page numbers.

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(4) Copies of Courtenay's bookplates exist in the Courtenay files of the South Carolina Historical Society.

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(5) In addition to the SCL and SA materials, biographical information has been compiled from *Cyclopedia of Eminent and Representative Men of the Carolinas*,

Vol. I, ed. Edward McCrady, Jr. (Madison, Wisconsin, 1892), 367-372, and from the Courtenay files of the South Carolina Historical Society.

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(6) Newspaper clipping, July 17, 1887, SA, Vol. I, 6.

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(7) Newspaper clipping, no date, SA, Vol. I, 7.

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(8) *A Memorial of Public Service 1879-88*, 11.

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(9) "In Memoriam" in *Charleston Yearbook* (1908) (Charleston, 1909), 366.

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(10) SCL, Vol. V, 81.

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(11) SA, Vol. II.

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(12) Unidentified newspaper clippings and a program, SA, Vol. I and II.

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(13) SCL, Vol. V, 191.

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(14) SCL, Vol. IV, 29.

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(15) SCL, Vol. V., 156.

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(16) SCL, Vol. IV, 226.

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(17) *Stray Leaves Garnered*, William Ashmead Courtenay, comp. (no publisher, 1896), 1.

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(18) Newspaper clipping, no date, SA, Vol. III.

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(19) Letter to W.A.C. from Bishop H. P. Northrup, August 1904, South Carolina Historical Society.

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(20) Letter to W.A.C. from Trustees of Gibbes Memorial Art Building, September 18, 1905, South Carolina Historical Society.

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(21) *Charleston Yearbook (1887)* (Charleston, S.C.), 190.

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(22) Newspaper clipping, May 1906(?), SA, Vol. II.

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(23) Newspaper clipping, March 7, 1906, SA, Vol. II.

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(24) *The Tapestry Portrait of Washington*, William Ashmead Courtenay, comp. (Walhalla, South Carolina, 1904).

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(25) Letter to W.A.C. from Paul H. Hayne, February 15, 1881, SCL, Vol. II, 8.

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(26) Newspaper clipping, October 1904, SA, Vol. II.

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(27) *The Spartan*, March 15, 1899, SA, Vol. III.

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(28) *Timrod Souvenirs*, William Ashmead Courtenay, comp. (Aiken, South Carolina, 1890), 13-14.

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