

Notes

Introduction: Reading Letters, Telling Stories and Writing History

1. Sarah Frances Hicks Williams to Samuel and Sarah Parmelee Hicks, September 24, 1853, Sarah Frances Hicks Williams Letters, Southern Historical Collection, fol. 4, 1852–3, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Hereafter referenced as SFHW Letters.
2. Avey Williams was widowed in 1836 by Joseph Williams. There are no existing copies of Joseph Williams' last will and testament but it is clear that he left the plantation house and part of the acreage to his widow, leaving the remainder to his two surviving sons, James and Benjamin, including a turpentine farm seven miles from Clifton Grove also worked by enslaved laborers. Joseph Williams' surviving daughters, Martha, Eliza, Fedora and Mary, seemed to have been left little in the way of property by their father as was standard in the wills of Southern slaveholders. For further reading on widowhood among slaveholding women see K. E. Wood (2004) *Masterful Women: Slaveholding Widows from the American Revolution through the Civil War*. (Chapel Hill, NC, and London: University of North Carolina Press).
3. 22 October 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–53.
4. For further discussion of the development of slavery on the North American mainland see I. Berlin (2004) *Generations of Captivity: A History of African American Slaves* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2004); P. Kolchin (1995) *American Slavery, 1619–1877*. (London: Penguin Press); P. J. Parish (1989) *Slavery: History and Historians* (New York: Westview Press); J. Oakes (1982) *The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders*. (New York: Vintage Books); E. Genovese (1969) *The World the Slaveholders Made: Two Essays in Interpretation*. (Hanover, MA: Wesleyan University Press).
5. B. Welter (1966) "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820–1860," *American Quarterly*, 18:2, 151–74, For further discussion of true womanhood and its concomitant ideals see J. Boydston (2004) "The Pastorallization of Housework" in L. Kerber and J. S. Dehart, eds, *Women's America: Refocusing the Past*. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press); F. B. Cogan (1989) *The All-American Girl: The Ideal of Real Womanhood in Mid-Nineteenth Century America* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press); L. Davidoff (1988) "Regarding Some 'Old Husbands' Tales: Public and Private in Feminist History" in J. B. Landes, ed. *Feminism, The Public and the Private* (Oxford: Oxford University Press); L. K. Kerber (1988) "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *Journal of American History*, 75:1, 9–39; B. Welter (1985) *Dimity Convictions: The American Woman in the Nineteenth Century*. (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press); C. N. Degler (1980) *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present*. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press); N. F. Cott (1978) "Passionlessness: An Interpretation of Victorian Sexual Ideology, 1790–1850," *Signs* 4:2, 219–36; R. Bloch (1978)

- "American Feminine Ideals in Transition: The Rise of the Moral Mother, 1785–1815," *Feminist Studies*, 4:2, 100–26; N. F. Cott (1977) *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780–1835*. (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press); C. Smith-Rosenberg (1975) "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs*, 1:1, 1–29; G. Lerner (1979) "The Lady and the Mill Girl: Changes in the Status of Women in the Age of Jackson," in G. Lerner, ed., *The Majority Finds its Past: Placing Women in History*. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press).
6. C. Dallett Hemphill (1999) *Bowing to Necessity: A History of Manners in America, 1620–1860*. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press); K. Lystra (1989) *Searching the Heart: Women, Men, and Romantic Love in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press); E. K. Rothman (1984) *Hands and Hearts: A History of Courtship in America*. (New York: Basic Books); the idea of separate spheres as trope was adopted from L. K. Kerber (1988) "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Woman's History," *Journal of American History*, 75:1, 9–39, 39.
 7. For further discussion of women's engagement in the public sphere, see B. A. Salerno (2008) *Sister Societies: Women's Antislavery Organizations in Antebellum America*. (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press); J. Wellman (2004) *The Road to Seneca Falls: Elizabeth Cady Stanton And the First Women's Rights Convention*. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press); E. W. Nelson (2004) *Market Sentiments: Middle Class Market Culture in Nineteenth Century America*. (Washington: Smithsonian Books); J. W. Frick (2003) *Theatre, Culture, and Temperance Reform in Nineteenth Century America*. (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); M. D. Pierson (2003) *Free Hearts and Free Homes: Gender and American Antislavery Politics*. (Chapel Hill, NC, and London: University of North Carolina Press); J. Ladd Nelson, "Dress Reform and the Bloomer," *Journal of American and Comparative Cultures*, 23:1 (2000), 21–5; J. F. Yellin and J. C. Van Horne (1994) *The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America*. (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press); L. D. Ginzberg (1992) *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States*. (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press); B. Epstein (1987) *The Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism, and Temperance in Nineteenth-century America*. (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press); C. S. Rosenberg (1985) "The Cross and the Pedestal: Women, Anti-Ritualism and the Emergence of the American Bourgeoisie," in *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America*. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press,) 109–64; A. Boylan (1984) "Women in Groups: An Analysis of Women's Benevolent Organization in New York and Boston, 1797–1840," *Journal of American History*, 71:2, 497–523; R. Riegal (1963) "Women's Clothes and Women's Rights," *American Quarterly*, 5:3, 309–401.
 8. J. R. Jeffrey (1998) *Frontier Women: Civilizing the West? 1840–1880*. (New York: Hill and Wang), 80.
 9. For further reading on antebellum ideals of masculinity among the slaveholding elite see L. Glover (2004) "'Let us Manufacture Men:' Educating Elite Boys in the Early National South," in C. T. Friend and L. Glover eds, *Southern Manhood: Perspectives on Masculinity in the Old South*. (Athens, GA: University of

- Georgia Press,) 22–48; C. T. Friend, “Belles, Benefactors, and the Blacksmith’s Son: Cyrus Stuart and the Enigma of Southern Gentlemanliness,” in C. T. Friend and L. Glover eds, *Southern Manhood: Perspectives on Masculinity in the Old South*. (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press,) 92–112; T. Lockley (2003) “‘The Manly Game’: Cricket and Masculinity in Savannah, Georgia, 1859,” *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 20:3, 77–98; N. W. Proctor (2000) *Bathed in Blood: Hunting and Mastery in the Old South*. (Charlottesville, VA, and London: University of Virginia Press); K. S. Greenberg (1996) *Honor and Slavery: Lies, Duels, Noses, Masks, Dressing as a Woman, Gifts, Strangers, Humanitarianism, Death, Slave Rebellion, the Proslavery Argument, Baseball, Hunting, and Gambling in the Old South*. (Princeton, NJ, and Sussex, UK: Princeton University Press); S. M. Stowe (1987) *Intimacy and Power in the Old South: Ritual in the Lives of Planters* (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press); B. Wyatt-Brown (1982) *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press).
10. N. T. Page. *Social Life in Old Virginia before the War*. (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1897). *Documenting the American South*. 1998. University Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/southlit/pagesocial/page.html> (November 4, 2011), 38, 41.
 11. A. F. Scott (1970) *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830–1930*. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press,) quote from 36; For further reading regarding the way that the Southern lady was represented in the Old South, see M. F. Weiner (1998) *Mistresses and Slaves: Plantation Women in South Carolina*. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press); E. Fox-Genovese (1998) *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South*. (Chapel Hill, NC, and London: University of North Carolina Press); C. Clinton (1982) *The Plantation Mistress: Woman’s World in the Old South*. (New York: Pantheon Press).
 12. T. Glymph (2008) *Out of the House of Bondage: The Transformation of the Plantation Household*. (New York and Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press) quote from 28; A. Jabour (2007) *Scarlett’s Sisters: Young Women in the Old South*. (Chapel Hill, NC, and London: University of North Carolina Press); K. E. Wood (2004) *Masterful Women: Slaveholding Widows from the American Revolution through the Civil War*. (Chapel Hill, NC, and London: University of North Carolina Press).
 13. For further reading on Southern slaveholder’s professions, see J. T. Censer (1984) *North Carolina Planters and their Children, 1800–1860* (Baton Rouge, LA, and London: Louisiana State University Press), Chapter 3, “A Parent’s Fond yet Watchful Eye: Youth and Education,” esp. 43–4.
 14. In addition to Sarah Virginia (who was known as Lilly in infancy) the Williams’ children were Henry C. (b. August 1856), Harriet J. (b. March 1858), Joseph S. (b. February 1860), Martha F. (“Mattie” b. December 1862), Benjamin H. (b. Feb 1865), William P. (“Willie” b. 1867) and an unnamed infant who was born stillborn in January 1864. This information was sourced by the *Huxford Genealogical Society*, <http://www.huxford.com/society.htm>
 15. For examples of this Lost Cause literature specifically written by women see T. P. O’Connor (1914) *My Beloved South*. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam’s Sons). *Documenting the American South*. 1998. University Library. University

- of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/oconnor/oconnor.html> (March 9, 2012); N. B. De Sassure (1909) *Old Plantation Days: Being Recollections of Southern Life Before the War*. (New York: Duffield and Co.). *Documenting the American South*. 1997. University Library. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/desaussure/desaussure.html> (March 9, 2012); C. E. Merrick (1901) *Old Times in Dixie Land: A Southern Matron's Memories* (New York: The Grafton Press). *Documenting the American South*. 1997. University Library. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/merrick/merrick.html> (March 9, 2012); L. M. Burwell (1895) *A Girl's Life in Virginia Before the War*. (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company). *Documenting the American South*. 1998. University Library. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/burwell/burwell.html> (March 9, 2012); S. D. Smedes. *Memorials of a Southern Planter*. (Baltimore: Cushing and Bailey, 1887). *Documenting the American South*. 1998. University Library. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/smedes/smedes.html> (March 9, 2012). For scholarly analysis of the ideology of the Confederacy's Lost Cause, see L. Whites (2005) *Gender Matters: Civil War, Reconstruction and the Making of the New South*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), esp. Chapter 5, "Stand by Your Man': The Ladies Memorial Association and the Reconstruction of Southern White Manhood"; J. Turner Censer (2003) *The Reconstruction of White Southern Womanhood*. (Baton Rouge, LA, and London: Louisiana State University Press), esp. Chapter 5, "Women in Public: Schoolteachers and Benevolent Women," pp. 153–206 and Chapter 7, "Women Writing about the North and South," pp. 243–74; D. W. Blight (2001) *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*. (Cambridge, MA, and London: Belknap); G. Gallagher and A. Nolan. eds (2000) *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press); T. Horwitz (1998) *Confederates in the Attic: Dispatches from the Unfinished Civil War*. (New York: Vintage Press); G. M. Foster (1987) *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat. The Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South*. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press).
16. See S. M. Stowe (1987) "The Rhetoric of Authority: The Making of Social Values in Planter Family Correspondence," *Journal of American History*, 73:4, 916–33, 919 for specific reference to the performative nature of Southern letters in the antebellum era.
 17. P. Troutman (2006) "Correspondence in Black and White: Sentiment and the Slave Market Revolution," in E. E. Baptist and S. M. H. Camp, eds, *New Studies in the History of American Slavery*. (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press), 215.
 18. K. Dierks (1999) "The Familiar Letter and Social Refinement in America, 1750–1800," in D. Barton and N. Hall, eds, *Letter Writing as Social Practice* (Philadelphia and Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company), 32.
 19. See for example Rev. T. Cook (1817) *The New and Complete Letter Writer, or, New Art of Polite Correspondence*. (New York: Evert Duyckinck); L. H. Sigourney (1838) *Letters to Mothers*. (Hartford: Hudson and Skinner, Printers); L. C. Tuthill (1839) *The Young Lady at Home*. (New Haven, CT; S. Babcock Printers and Publishers).

20. L. C. Tuthill (1839) *The Young Lady's Home*. (New Haven, CT; S. Babcock Printers and Publishers), 73, sourced at Google Books, <http://books.google.co.uk/> (November 9, 2011).
21. K. Dierks (2009) *In My Power: Letter Writing and Communication in Early America*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), esp. Preface and Chapter 3, "Migration and Empire," pp. 100–40, quote from 101.
22. W. E. Fuller (1972) *The American Mail: Enlarger of the Common Life*. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press) 101.
23. 2 Oct 1854, SFHW Letters, fol. 5, 1854–55; 26 February 1865, SFHW Letters, fol. 6, 1856–68; Dierks, *In My Power*, quote from 192, also see 214–19 concerning divided families in wartime.
24. D. Kearns Goodwin (2009) *Team of Rivals: The Political Genius of Abraham Lincoln*. (New York and London: Penguin Books) 96. For an excellent biography reflecting on the intimate life of Eunice Stone Connolly and her second husband William Smiley Connolly, see M. Hodes (2006) *The Sea Captain's Wife: A True Story of Love, Race, and War in the Nineteenth Century*. (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company).
25. S. M. H. Camp (2004) *Closer to Freedom: Enslaved Women and Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South*. (Chapel Hill, NC, and London: University of North Carolina Press), 95.
26. Troutman, "Correspondence in Black and White," 215.
27. W. Merrill Decker (1998) *Epistolary Practices: Letter Writing in America before Telecommunication*. (Chapel Hill, NC, and London: University of North Carolina Press), 6.
28. For further reading on the idea of story-telling and history, see J. Goodman (1998) "For the Love of Stories," *Reviews in American History*, 26:1, 255–74; W. Cronon (1992) "A Place for Stories: Nature, History, and Narrative," *Journal of American History*, 78:4, 1347–76.
29. J. Dowd Hall (1989) "Partial Truths," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 14:4, 902–11, 903. For further reading, see S. J. Kleinberg, E. Boris and V. L. Ruiz, eds (2007) *The Practice of U.S. Women's History: Narratives, Intersections and Dialogues*. (New Brunswick, NJ, and London: Rutgers University Press), "Introduction: Narratives, Intersections, and Dialogues"; S. Delfino and M. Gillespie (2002) *Neither Lady nor Slave: Working Women of the Old South*. (Chapel Hill, NC, and London: University of North Carolina Press), Introduction; M. Mitchell (2000) "Silences Broken, Silences Kept: Gender and Sexuality in African American History," in L. Davidoff, K. McClland and E. Varikas, eds, *Gender and History: Retrospect and Prospect* (Oxford: Blackwell); E. Brooks Higginbotham (1992) "African American Women's History and the Metalanguage of Race," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 17:2, 251–74; J. Purvis (1992) "Using Primary Sources When researching Women's History from a Feminist Perspective," *Women's History Review*, 1:2, 273–306; E. Barkley Brown (1991) "Polyrhythms and Improvization: Lessons for Women's History," *History Workshop Journal*, 31, 85–90; E. Brooks Higginbotham (1989) "Beyond the Sound of Silence: Afro-American Women in History," *Gender and History*, 1:1, 50–67.
30. 14 June 1854, SFHW Letters, fol. 5, 1854–5.

1 “Everything Here is So Different”: Changing Cultural Landscapes

1. 10 October 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–5.
2. For further information see “New Hartford History” at the New Hartford Historical Society site, <http://www.newhartfordpubliclibrary.org/History.html>
3. M. P. Ryan (1981) *Cradle of the Middle-Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790–1865*. (New York and Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press), 5.
4. *Ibid.*, 192.
5. 22 October 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3.
6. 7 March 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3. Emphasis in original. These lines are scratched out in the original letter and perhaps Sarah considered not telling her parents of Ben’s slaveholding interests until after they were married.
7. John, T. McClintock II, *200 years at Albany Academy for Girls*, unpublished paper, 5.
8. 30 March 1845, SFHW Letters, fol. 2, 1838–45.
9. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Classes*, 192; Censer, *North Carolina Planters*, 91–3.
10. Censer, *North Carolina Planters*, 89, 91–3.
11. 7 March 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3.
12. A fire at the Greene County Courthouse in 1876 destroyed many court records and land records up to that date. I have pieced together the information relating to Benjamin’s holdings in North Carolina from fragmentary sources including J. C. Bonner (1956) “Plantation Experiences of a New York Woman,” *North Carolina Historical Review*, 33, 384–412, fn. 1, fn. 10 and fn. 14. The quotation used is drawn from fn. 10; also from the archival collection of Sarah Hicks Williams. See in particular letters dated 10 October 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3 and 3 March 1854, SFHW Letters, fol. 5, 1854–5.
13. See Bonner, “Plantation Experiences,” fn. 2 and fn. 13.
14. For further reading see E. E. Baptist (1996) “The Migration of Planters in Antebellum Florida: Kinship and Power,” *Journal of Southern History*, 62:3, 527–54; J. E. Cashin (1990) “The Structure of Antebellum Planter Families: ‘The Ties that Bound Us Were Strong,’” *Journal of Southern History*, 56:1, 55–70. For a discussion of the antebellum Southern family as detached from other kin networks see O. V. Burton (1985) *In my Father’s House are Many Mansions: Family and Community in Edgefield, South Carolina*. (Chapel Hill, NC, and London: University of North Carolina Press); Censer, *North Carolina Planters*.
15. Census of 1870, Schedule 1, Inhabitants of New Hartford, in the County of Oneida, State of New York, sourced at <http://www.ancestrylibrary.com> (October 1, 2010); D. Wager (1896) “Oneida County: Biographies” listed in *Our County and Its People, Part III: Family Sketches*. (Boston: The Boston History Company) <http://home.comcast.net/~richardson156/index.html> (April 12, 2010).
16. E. V. Varon (1995) “Tippecanoe and the Ladies, Too: White Women and Party Politics in Antebellum Virginia,” *Journal of American History*, 82:2, 494–521, 512.

17. R. L. Bushman (1992) *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Vintage Books), 208, 258; "Chapter Day is Celebrated – Oneida Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution," article reprinted October 15, 1915, *Utica Daily Press*, sourced from family archives courtesy of Kathy Wright Fowler.
18. For further reading concerning bourgeois respectability and gentility in nineteenth-century America see Bushman, *Refinement of America*; K. Halttunen (1982) *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle Class Culture in America, 1830–1870* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press).
19. 10 December 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3.
20. The term was coined by Whitney R. Cross (1965) *The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York State, 1800–1850* (New York: Harper & Row) first edn, 1950. It was inspired by the famed Presbyterian and Congregationalist minister, Charles Grandison Finney, who suggested that the area had been so heavily evangelized during revivalism of the antebellum era as to have no "fuel" (unconverted population) left over to "burn" (convert). Cross's work has been developed since its original publication in 1950, most particularly in the 1970s and 1980s, when scholars built on his work to focus on particular religious revivals, reform groups emerging from the fires of these districts, attention to the socio-cultural dynamics of these areas attending to aspects such as family and community and comparisons of religious and reform movements in different districts. For further reading see N. Hewitt (2001) *Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, New York, 1822–1872*. (Lanham, MD., Lexington Books); M. Barkun (1986) *Crucible of the Millennium: The Burned over District of New York in the 1840s*. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press); L. K. Pritchard (1984) "The Burned-Over-District Reconsidered: A Portent of Evolving Religious Pluralism in the United States," *Social Science History*, 8:3, 243–66; L. Foster (1984) *Religion and Sexuality: The Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press); G. Altschuler and J. Saltzgeber (1983) *Revivalism, Social Consciences and Community in the Burned-Over-District: The Trial of Rhoda Bement* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press); L. Friedman (1982) *Gregarious Saints: Self and Community in American Abolition, 1830–1870*. (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), Chapter 4, "Voluntarists of the Burned-Over-District," pp. 96–126; Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle-Class*; P. Johnson (1978) *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815–1837*. (New York: Hill and Wang); Quote taken from Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle-Class*, xii.
21. L. D. Ginzberg (2000) *Women in Antebellum Reform* (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, Inc), 5.
22. See R. Balmer (1999) *Blessed Assurance: A History of Evangelicalism in America* (Boston: Beacon Press).
23. Ginzberg, *Women in Antebellum Reform*, 8.
24. For further reading see "Introduction" fn. 7.
25. See Varon (1995) "Tippecanoe and the Ladies, Too," esp. 504–5.
26. See "New Hartford Presbyterian Church Membership List, 1816–1827" accessed through the *New Hartford Historical Society*; M. P. Ryan (1978) "A Women's Awakening: Evangelical Religion and the Families of Utica,

- New York, 1800–1840,” *American Quarterly*, 30:5, Special Issue: Women and Religion, 602–23, quote from 603.
27. See “New Hartford Presbyterian Church Membership List 1816–1827” accessed though the *New Hartford Historical Society*. For letters detailing the Academy Chapel and the Dutch United Reform Church see letters dated 1 December 1844; 15 December 1844; 5 April 1845, SFHW Letters, fol. 2, 1838–45. The Academy Chapel was decidedly Protestant although not affiliated to any particular denomination within that faith. The Chapel held exercises every day and there were Bible readings and hymns. Moreover, the services drew on Presbyterian elements of Protestantism. I am indebted to the Albany Academy archivist, John McClintock, for these details.
 28. 15 December 1844, SFHW Letters, fol. 2, 1838–45; 26 January 1845, from James Brown to Sarah Parmelee Hicks, Family archives courtesy of Kathy Wright Fowler.
 29. 24 September 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3. Emphasis added.
 30. Bushman, *The Refinement of America*, 360.
 31. 7 November 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3; Porte Crayon, “North Carolina Illustrated: The Piny Woods of North Carolina,” *Harpers New Monthly Magazine*, 14: 84 (May 1857), 746, sourced at *Making of America*, Cornell University, <http://digital.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=harp;idno=harp0014-6> (April 20, 2011); F. L. Olmstead, *A Journey in the Seaboard States; With Remarks on their Economy* (New York; London: Dix and Edwards; Sampson Low, Son & Co., 1856). *Documenting the American South*. 2001. University Library, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (April 18, 2011) <http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/olmsted/olmsted.html>, 330; F. A. Kemble (1984) *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation, 1838–1839* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press), 25.
 32. 27 December 1833, quoted in the *Raleigh Star*, cited in G. G. Johnson (1937) *Ante-bellum North Carolina: A Social History* (Chapel Hill, NC, and London: University of North Carolina Press), 21.
 33. William Byrd, *The Westover Manuscripts: Containing the History of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina; A Journey to the Land of Eden, A. D. 1733; and A Progress to the Mines. Written from 1728 to 1736, and Now First Published* (Petersburg, VA). *Documenting the American South*. 2001. University Library. The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 28 (January 15, 2011) <http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/byrd/byrd.html>
 34. J. Schaw (1923) *A Journal of a Lady of Quality: Being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina and Portugal in the Years 1774–1776*, edited by Evangeline Walker Andrews and Charles McLean Andrews (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press), 154.
 35. 17 November 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3.
 36. Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, 4.
 37. A. R. Ekirch (1981) “Poor Carolina” *Politics and Society in Colonial North Carolina, 1729–1776*. (Chapel Hill, NC, and London: University of North Carolina Press) 8.
 38. L. L. Cary and M. L. M. Kay (1995) *Slavery in North Carolina 1748–1775* (Chapel Hill, NC, and London: University of North Carolina Press) 30.
 39. R. B. Outland III (2004) *Tapping the Pines: The Naval Stores Industry in the American South* (Baton Rouge; Louisiana State University Press) 37, 40.

40. 17 March 1854, SFHW Letters, fol. 5, 1854–5.
41. 22 October 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3.
42. 1 May 1855, SFHW Letters, fol. 5, 1854–5.
43. 2 January 1855, SFHW Letters, fol. 5, 1854–5.
44. 1 May 1855, SFHW Letters, fol. 5, 1854–5.
45. *Travel diary of Frances Ratliff, Aileen Lott, and Julianne Wright* (1988), sourced from family archive courtesy of Kathy Wright Fowler.
46. 2 Jan 1855, SFHW Letters, fol. 5, 1854–5.
47. W. K. Durill, "Routine of Seasons: Labor Regimes and Social Ritual in an Antebellum Plantation Community," *Slavery and Abolition* 16 (August 1995), 161–87, 166.
48. 10 December 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1853–4.
49. 7 November 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1853–4, emphasis added. Census records for Greene County in 1850 list 3250 free whites, 116 free coloreds, and 3244 enslaved, as opposed to New Hartford, which listed 4836 white inhabitants for 1850 and a negligible minority of 11 free colored peoples. Sourced at the *United States Census of Agriculture* http://www.agcensus.usda.gov/Publications/Historical_Publications/1850/1850a-01.pdf (September 10, 2010).
50. D. G. Matthews (1977) *Religion in the Old South*. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press), 47; B. Wyatt-Brown (1982) *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South*. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press), xviii; Oakes, *The Ruling Race*, 105.
51. 1 Peter 2:18 New Testament; Ephesians 6:5 New Testament; *Pastoral letter of the Rt. Rev. William Meade. Asst. Bishop of VA., to the ministers, members, and friends, of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the diocese of Virginia, on the duty of affording religious instruction to those in bondage. Delivered in the year 1834. Reprinted in the Convocation of Central VA in 1853*. Rare Book and Special Collections Library, Duke University, Durham, NC.
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53. J. H. Hunter (2002) *How Young Ladies Became Girls: The Victorian Origins of American Girlhood* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press), 274. Emphasis in original. For further reading see B. P. Luskey (2006) "Jumping Counters in White Collars: Manliness, Respectability, and Work in the Antebellum City," *Journal of the Early Republic*, 26, 173–219; L. Merish (2000) *Sentimental Materialism: Gender, Commodity Culture, and Nineteenth-Century*

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 55. 8 March 1845, Letters, fol. 2, 1838–45.
 56. *Maury Press*, 26 September 1860, cited in L. C. Tolbert (1999) *Constructing Townscapes: Space and Society in Antebellum Tennessee*. (Chapel Hill, NC, and London: University of North Carolina Press), 127.
 57. *Godey's Lady's Book*, January 1843, sourced at Accessible Archives, <http://www.accessible.com/accessible/index.jsp> (April 12, 2010).
 58. *Godey's Lady's Book*, January 1843 and October 1852, sourced at Accessible Archives, <http://www.accessible.com/accessible/index.jsp> (April 12, 2010).
 59. Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women*, 186.
 60. 8 March 1845, SFHW Letters, fol. 2, 1838–45; *Godey's Lady's Book*, April 1845, sourced at Accessible Archives, <http://www.accessible.com/accessible/index.jsp> (November 3, 2011).
 61. 3 October 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–53.
 62. V. Bynum (1992) *Unruly Women: The Politics of Social and Sexual Control in the Old South*. (Chapel Hill, NC, and London: University of North Carolina Press), 47, 48.
 63. George Fitzhugh, “The Domain of Fashion,” *DeBows Review*, Vol. 29, Issue 9, December 1860, 695–702, 695–6, sourced at *Making of America*, University of Michigan, <http://name.umdl.umich.edu/acg1336.1-29.006> (31 October 2011).
 64. 7 November 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3; A. B. Longstreet (1957) *Georgia Scenes, “The Charming Creature as a Wife”* (New York: Sagamore Press), 74.
 65. 10 October 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3.
 66. 22 October 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3.
 67. F. L. Olmstead, *A Journey in the Seaboard States; With Remarks on their Economy* (New York: Dix and Edwards, 1856); *Documenting the American South*. 2001. University Library, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (April 18, 2011) <http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/olmsted/olmsted.html>, 333.
 68. For further reading see Delfino and Gillespie, *Neither Lady nor Slave*; T. Lockley (2001) *Lines in the Sand: Race and Class in Lowcountry Georgia, 1750–1860*. (Athens, University of Georgia Press); W. K. Durrill (1995) “Routine of Seasons: Labor Regimes and Social Ritual in an Antebellum Plantation Community,” *Slavery and Abolition*, 16, 161–87; S. McCurry (1995) *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press); Bynum, *Unruly Women*.
 69. Cited in Oakes *The Ruling Race*, 85.
 70. Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 392; C. A. Farnham (1994) *The Education of the Southern Belle: Higher Education and Student Socialization in the Antebellum South* (New York and London: New York University Press), 28; W. R. Taylor (1957) *Cavalier and Yankee: The Old South and American National Character* (New York and London: Harper & Row), esp. Introduction.

71. See S. White (2002) *Stories of Freedom in Black New York*. (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press), esp. Chapter 1, "The End of Slavery."
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76. Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage*, 161.
77. Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (Boston: Antislavery Office, 1845), 61. *Documenting the American South*. 1999. University Library, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/douglass/douglass.html> (November 18, 2009).
78. H. Jacobs (2001) *Incident in the Life of a Slave Girl* (New York: Dover Publications), 14.
79. G. Rawick. ed. (1972) *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography*, Vol. 14 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press), 9.
80. 22 October 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3.
81. H. B. Stowe (1998) *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 185.
82. 7 November 1853 and 18 November 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3.
83. 10 October 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3. See C. Jones (2007) *Engendering Whiteness: White Women and Colonialism in Barbados and North Carolina, 1627–1865* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), Chapter 4, "There may be my Sphere of Usefulness: The Making of a North Carolinian Plantation Mistress," esp. 135–6 in relation to Sarah's assessment of the enslaved who worked at picking cotton.

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85. 22 October and 10 December 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3; From Rogene A. Scott Bailey, Cheneyville, Louisiana to her mother, Hannah Warren Scott in New Hampshire, 11 March 1858, Scott Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, fol. 3, 1858, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
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87. 2 October 1854, SFHW Letters, fol. 5, 1854–5.
88. From Rogene A. Scott Bailey, Cheneyville, Louisiana to her mother, Hannah Warren Scott in New Hampshire, 3 April 1859, Scott Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, fol. 4, 1859, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
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2. Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820–1860," 152.
3. C. E. Beecher (1842) *Treatise on Domestic Economy: For the Use of Young Ladies at Home and School*. Boston: T. H. Webb & Co, 28, sourced at *Uncle Tom's*

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 8. L. H. Sigourney (1838) *Letters to Mothers*. (Hartford: Hudson & Skinner), 9, 10, sourced at *Uncle Tom's Cabin and American Culture: A Multi Media Archive* directed by Stephen Railton, www.utc.iath.virginia.edu. (23 September 2010).
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 13. "Albany Academy for Girls Tuition Ledger 1843–45" sourced at Albany Archives and Collections (by request), <http://www.archivesandcollections.org/archives/pamphlets.cfm> (June 2, 2010).
 14. Jabour, *Scarlett's Sisters*, 49.
 15. October 1844, *Godey's Lady's Book*, sourced at *Accessible Archives*, <http://www.accessible.com/accessible/index.jsp> (April 12, 2010); Elizabeth Sanger's

- essay was titled "Anna Lawton: Or, The Blighting Effects of Envy" (July 16, 1846), *Exercises of the Alumnae of the Albany Female Academy on their Fifth Anniversary*, sourced at Albany Archives and Collections (by request), <http://www.archivesandcollections.org/archives/pamphlets.cfm> (June 2, 2010). Emphasis added.
16. "Thirty-Second Annual Examination of the Albany Female Academy" (July 1845), sourced at Albany Archives and Collections (by request), <http://www.archivesandcollections.org/archives/pamphlets.cfm> (June 2, 2010).
 17. Stowe, "The Rhetoric of Authority," 929. Discussion of same-sex emotional relationships among students appear to be largely confined to the antebellum South. See Farnham, *Education of the Southern Belle*, esp. Chapter 6 "Sisters: The Development of Sororities" and Chapter 7, "Lovers: Romantic Friendships"; S. M. Stowe (1987) *Intimacy and Power in the Old South: Ritual in the Lives of Planters*. (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press), Chapter 3, "Coming of Age: Duty and Satisfaction"; S. M. Stowe (1985) "The Not-So-Cloistered Academy: Elite Women's Education and Family Feeling in the Old South," in W. J. Fraser, Jr., F. R. Saunders and Jon L. Wakelyn, eds, *The Web of Southern Social Relations: Women, Family, and Education*. (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press), 90–106. For further discussion of same-sex romantic friendships in the antebellum era in both North and South, see K. V. Hansen (1995) "'No Kisses is like Youres': An Erotic Friendship between Two African American Women During the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Gender and History*, 7, 153–82; M. S. Buza (1991) "'Pledges of Our Love': Friendship, Love and Marriage Among the Virginian Gentry, 1800–1825," in E. L. Ayers and J. C. Willis, eds, *The Edge of the South: Life in Nineteenth Century Virginia*. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia), 9–36; K. V. Hansen (1992) "'Our Eyes Behold Each Other': Masculinity and Intimate Culture in Antebellum New England," in P. Nardi, ed., *Men's Friendships*. (California and London: Sage Press), 35–58; M. Duberman (1980) "'Writhing Bedfellows': 1826. Two Young Men from Antebellum South Carolina's Ruling Elite Share 'Extravagant Delight.'" *Journal of Homosexuality*, 6:1–2, 85–101; T. E. Jeffrey (1990) "'Our Remarkable Friendship': The Secret Collaboration of Calvin H. Wiley and John W. Cunningham," *North Carolina Historical Review*, 67:1, 28–58; E. A. Rotundo (1989) "Romantic Friendships: Male Intimacy and Middle-Class Youth in the Northern United States, 1800–1900," *Journal of Social History*, 23:1, 1–25; R. Jeffreys (1987) "'Passing the Love of Women': Manly Love and Victorian Society," in J. A. Mangan and J. Walvin, eds, *Manliness and Morality: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press), 92–122; L. Faderman (1985) *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendships and Love between Women from the Renaissance to the Present*. (London: Women's Press); Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual."
 18. 8 March 1845, SFHW Letters, fol. 2, 1838–45.
 19. 1 December 1844, SFHW Letters, fol. 2, 1838–45. Emphasis in original.
 20. 23 February 1845, SFHW Letters, fol. 2, 1838–45.
 21. 8 March 1845, SFHW Letters, fol. 2, 1838–45. Alonzo Crittenden's tenure as Principal ran from 1826 until 1845 and according to records from the Albany archives, "Dr. Crittenden's large sympathies and wonderful discernment of charter gave him a magnetic influence over his pupils." See McClintock *200 years at Albany Academy for Girls*, 7.

22. 15 December 1844, SFHW Letters, fol. 2, 1838–45.
23. For further reading see C. Lasser (1987) “The Domestic Balance of Power: Relations between Mistress and Maid in Nineteenth-Century New England,” *Labor History*, 28:1, 5–22; C. Groneman (1978) “Working Class Immigrant Women in Mid Nineteenth Century New York: The Irish Woman’s Experience,” *Journal of Urban History*, 4:3, 255–73.
24. A. Urban (2009) “Irish Domestic Servants, ‘Bidley’ and Rebellion in the American Home, 1850–1900,” *Gender and History*, 21:2, 263–86.
25. For examples of the way in which the Irish Domestic servant was characterized in the antebellum era see K. Sutherland (May 1852) “Cooks,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* and V. De Forest (April 1855) “Bidley’s Blunders,” *Godey’s Lady’s Book* both sourced at Accessible Archives, <http://www.accessible.com/accessible/index.jsp> (February 15, 2011).
26. See letter dated 10 December 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3 where Sarah wrote of her longing for a “slice of Peggy’s good bread and butter”; 1850 and 1860 United States Federal Census, Oneida County, New Hartford, s.v. “Samuel Hicks,” www.ancestry.co.uk
27. Lucinda Hicks also attended Utica Female Academy in 1837–8.
28. Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage*, 66. For a discussion of the stereotype of “mammy,” see D. Gray White (1985) *Ar’n’t I A Woman: Female Slaves in the Plantation South*. (New York; W. W. Norton and Co.), Chapter 1, “Jezebel and Mammy: The Mythology of Female Slavery,” 27–61; For further discussion on perceptions of immigrants in the antebellum era, esp. the Irish and notions of “otherness,” see R. Dunne (2002) *Antebellum Irish Immigration and Emerging Ideologies of America: A Protestant Backlash*. (Lewiston, NJ: Edward Mellon Press); M. F. Jacobson (1999) *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press); D. R. Roediger (1999) *The Wages of Whiteness: Race And the Making of the American Working Class*. (New York: Verso); N. Ignatiev (1995) *How the Irish Became White*. (New York and London: Routledge); K. A. Miller (1985) *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America*. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press); H. R. Diner (1983) *Erin’s Daughter in America: Irish Immigrant Women in the Nineteenth Century*. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press).
29. January 1841, *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, sourced at Accessible Archives, <http://www.accessible.com/accessible/index.jsp> (April 12, 2010).
30. C. Smith-Rosenberg (1985) “Beauty, the Beast and the Militant Woman,” in C. Smith Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America*. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press), 110.
31. *The Advocate of Moral Reform* (New York, 1846), 12, sourced at Google Books, <http://books.google.com/books?id=63QXAAAAYAAJ&q=sarah+hicks#v=onepage&q&f=false> (August 20, 2011).
32. 15 December 1844, SFHW Letters, fol. 2, 1838–45.
33. 30 March 1844, SFHW Letters, fol. 2, 1838–45. Sarah’s reference in this letter to “sweet blind poetess” referred to Frances Jane Crosby (1820–1915) who was known for her protestant hymns and gospel songs in later years. Frances went blind soon after birth. She enrolled at the New York Institute for the Blind in 1835 at the age of 15 and consequently taught English and History, marrying a fellow teacher, Alexander Van Alstyne in 1858, see Christian

- Biography Resources, <http://www.wholesomewords.org/biography/bcrosby5.html> (October 28, 2010).
34. 23 December 1852, SFHW Letters, fol. 4 1852–53. The authoress “Mrs. Ellet,” is probably Elizabeth F. Ellet (1818–1877), the first writer to highlight the role of women in the American Revolution and the settling of the western frontier. She was also mired in the controversy with Edgar Allan Poe and Frances Osgood in 1845. See <http://www.librarycompany.org/women/portraits/ellet.htm> (June 1, 2011).
 35. Letters from Sarah Hicks, Bloomfield, Ohio to Lucinda Hicks, New Hartford, Oneida County, 14 March 1846 and 4 April 1847, sourced from family archives courtesy of Kathy Wright Fowler.
 36. 26 November 1852, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3.
 37. Thomas R. Dew, “Dissertation on the Characteristics Differences Between the Sexes, and on the Position and Influence of Women in Society,” *Southern Literary Messenger*, Vol. 1, Issue 9, May 1835, 493, 495–6, sourced at *Making of America*, University of Michigan, <http://name.umdl.umich.edu/acf2679.0001.009> (October 31, 2011).
 38. Thomas R. Dew, “Dissertation on the Characteristics Differences Between the Sexes, and on the Position and Influence of Women in Society,” *Southern Literary Messenger*, Vol. 1, Issue 9, May 1835, 493, 495–6, 497 sourced at *Making of America*, University of Michigan, <http://name.umdl.umich.edu/acf2679.0001.009> (October 31, 2011); George Fitzhugh, “The Women of the South,” *DeBow’s Review*, Vol. 31, Issue 2, August 1861, 148, sourced at *Making of America*, University of Michigan, <http://name.umdl.umich.edu/acg1336.1-31.002> (November 3, 2011).
 39. Weiner, *Mistresses and Slaves*, 57.
 40. G. Fitzhugh (1854) *Sociology for the South or the Failure of Free Society*. (Richmond, VA.: A. Morris), 214. *Documenting the American South*. 1998. University Library, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (May 4, 2010), <http://docsouth.unc.edu/southlit/fitzhughsoc/fitzhugh.html>
 41. C. E. Beecher (1837) *Essay on Slavery and Abolition addressed to Miss A. D. Grimké*. (Philadelphia: Henry Perkins), 99, 100, sourced at *Uncle Tom’s Cabin and American Culture: A Multi Media Archive*, directed by Stephen Railton, www.utc.iath.virginia.edu (October 27, 2011).
 42. Caroline Howard Gilman. *Recollections of a Southern Matron*. (New York: Harpers and Row, 1838), 256. *Documenting the American South*. 1998. University Library, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/gilman/gilman.html> (May 5, 2011).
 43. “The Condition of Woman,” *Southern Quarterly Review*, Vol. 10, Issue 19, July 1846, sourced at *Making of America*, University of Michigan, <http://name.umdl.umich.edu/acp1141.1-10.019> (October 31, 2011).
 44. See Farnham, *Education of the Southern Belle*, Chapter 1, “What’s in a Name: Antebellum Female Colleges,” quote from p.28; G. W, “Desultory Speculator; No. V: Thoughts on Female Education,” *Southern Literary Messenger*, Vol. 5, Issue 9, 597–601, quotes from 598, 600, 601, sourced at *Making of America*, University of Michigan, <http://name.umdl.umich.edu/acf2679.0005.009> (November 3, 2011).
 45. Farnham, *Education of the Southern Belle*, 29; Matthews, *Religion in the Old South*, 113.

46. G. Fitzhugh (1854) *Sociology for the South or the Failure of Free Society*. (Richmond, VA: A. Morris), 246–7. *Documenting the American South*. 1998. University Library, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/southlit/fitzhughsoc/fitzhugh.html> (May 4, 2010).
47. “A Few Thoughts on Slavery,” *Southern Literary Messenger*, Vol. 20, Issue 4, April 1854, 198, sourced at *Making of America*, University of Michigan, <http://name.umdl.umich.edu/acf2679.0020.004> (October 31, 2011).
48. G. Fitzhugh (1854) *Sociology for the South or the Failure of Free Society*. (Richmond, VA: A. Morris), 213. *Documenting the American South*. 1998. University Library, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/southlit/fitzhughsoc/fitzhugh.html> (May 4, 2010).
49. 10 October 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3.
50. For further reading on slaveholder’s control of enslaved worship and religiosity and enslaved resistance to that control, see E. F. Frazier (1964) *The Negro Church in America, 1894–1962*. (Liverpool: University of Liverpool Press); D. G. Matthews (1965) “The Methodist Mission to the Slaves, 1829–1844,” *Journal of American History* 51:4, 615–31; Matthews, *Religion in the Old South*; A. J. Raboteau (1978) *Slave Religion: The ‘Invisible Institution’ in the Antebellum South*. (New York and Oxford: University of Oxford Press); M. Sobel (1979) *Trabelin’ On: The Slave Journey to an Afro-Baptist Faith*. (Westport, CT, and London: Greenwood Press); C. W. Joyner (1984) *Down by the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community*. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press); K. K. Bailey (1987) “Protestantism and Afro-Americans in the Old South: Another Look,” *Journal of Southern History* 41:4, 451–472; T. J. Little (1995) “George Lisle and the Rise of Independent Black Baptist Churches in the Lower South and Jamaica,” *Slavery and Abolition*, 16, 188–204; W. C. Johnson (1997) “A Delusive Clothing: Christian Conversion in the Antebellum Slave Community,” *The Journal of Negro History*, 82, 298–311; S. R. Frey and B. Wood (1998) *Come Shouting to Zion: African American Protestantism in the American South and the Caribbean*. (Chapel Hill, NC, and London: University of North Carolina Press); R. J. Fraser (2007) *Courtship and Love Among the Enslaved in North Carolina*. (Jackson, Miss.: University of Mississippi Press), Chapter 2, “Asking Master Mack to Court: Spheres of Influence” and Chapter 5, “A Red Satin Ribbon Tied Around my Finger: The Meaning of the Wedding Ceremony.”
51. 7 November 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3.
52. U.D Dec 1853(?), SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3.
53. 25 February 1855, SFHW Letters, fol. 5, 1854–5. Emphasis added.
54. Weiner, *Mistresses and Slaves*, 69.
55. 22 October 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3.
56. 7 November 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3.
57. “A Bill to Prevent all Persons from Teaching Slaves to Read or Write, the use of Figures Excepted” (1830), Legislative Papers, 1830–31 Session of the General Assembly, sourced from www.learnnc.org <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-newnation/4384> (12/10/2011); 18 November 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3.
58. For further reading on the development of romantic love in post-Revolutionary America through the nineteenth century see Lystra, *Searching the Heart*; Stowe, *Intimacy and Power in the Old South*; Censer, *North Carolina*

- Planters; Rothman, Hands and Hearts; J. Lewis (1983) The Pursuit of Happiness: Family and Values in Jefferson's Virginia.* (New York and Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press); Fliegelman, Jay (1982) *Prodigals and Pilgrims: The American Revolution Against Patriarchal Authority, 1750–1800.* (New York and Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press).
59. J. Creech (1979) *History of Greene County, North Carolina.* (Louisville, KY: Gateway Press), 188. According to Creech the Williams' house at Clifton Grove burned down in 1945.
 60. 18 November 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3.
 61. 22 October 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3.
 62. Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 214.
 63. G. Brown (1990) *Domestic Individualism: Imagining Self in Nineteenth-Century America.* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press), Chapter 1, "Domestic Politics in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*: Getting in the Kitchen with Dinah," 15.
 64. 19 March 1855, SFHW Letters, fol. 5, 1854–5.
 65. 18 November 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3.
 66. Theriot, *Mothers and Daughters in Nineteenth Century America*, 74.
 67. S. Strasser (1982) *Never Done: A History of American Housework.* (New York: Pantheon Books), 41.
 68. F. E. Dudden (1983) *Serving Women: Household Service in Nineteenth Century America.* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press), 131.
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 70. S. Mintz (2007) "Housework in Late 19th Century America," sourced at *Digital History*, <http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/historyonline/housework.cfm> (August 11, 2011).
 71. Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage*, 87; cited in Jabour, *Scarlett's Sisters*, 196.
 72. Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage*, 65.
 73. 10 December 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3. Emphasis added.
 74. 19 March 1855, SFHW Letters, fol. 5, 1854–5.
 75. 3 January 1856, SFHW Letters, fol. 6, 1856–68.
 76. 6 December 1858, SFHW Letters, fol. 6, 1856–68.
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 78. Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage*, 120.
 79. W. King, ed. (1993) *A Northern Woman in the Plantation South: Letters of Tryphena Blanche Holder Fox, 1856–1876,* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press), 100, 115.
 80. See C. Clinton (2000) *Fanny Kemble's Civil War.* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press), 178–80, quote from p.178. For further reading see

- Kemble, *Journal*; C. Clinton, ed. (2000) *Fanny Kemble's Journals*. (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press).
81. Kemble, *Journal*, 61; Rogene A. Scott Bailey, Cheneyville, Louisiana to her mother, Hannah Warren Scott in New Hampshire, 14 March 1859, Scott Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, fol. 4, 1859, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Emphasis in original.
 82. 12 April 1859, SFHW Letters, fol. 6, 1856–68; King, *A Northern Woman*, September 14 1860, 104.
 83. Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage*, 66; C. Clinton, (1995) *Tara Revisited: Women, War, and the Plantation Legend*. (New York, Paris and London; Abbeville Press Publisher), 41.
 84. 22 October 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3.
 85. Longstreet *Georgia Scenes*, 72; 22 October 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3; Jabour, *Scarlett's Sisters*, 197.
 86. 22 May 1855, SFHW Letters, fol. 5, 1854–5.
 87. L. B. Hewgley (1985) *The Lott Book*. (Manchester, TN: privately published).
 88. Jabour, *Scarlett's Sisters*, 86.
 89. To Margaret Mordecai Devereux from Cousin Fanny, Margaret Mordecai Devereux Papers, 1837–56, fol. 4, 1842–5, *Duke Rare Book and Special Collections Library*, Durham, North Carolina.
 90. 7 November 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3.

3 Familial Relations: North and South

1. 26 February 1865, SFHW Letters, fol. 6, 1856–68.
2. Catherine Beecher "My Autobiography for the Entertainment of Family Friends," p. 1, cited in Sklar, *Catharine Beecher*, 6.
3. Sklar, *Catharine Beecher*, 11.
4. "Chapter Day is Celebrated – Oneida Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution," article reprinted October 15, 1915, *Utica Daily Press*, sourced from the family archive courtesy of Kathy Wright Fowler.
5. For further reading see Varon, "Tippecanoe and the Ladies, Too," 502–03; M. P. Ryan (1990) *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825–1880*. (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press), 136–7; H. L. Watson (1990) *Liberty and Power: The Politics of Jacksonian America*. (New York, Hill and Wang), 219–20; L. F. Kohl (1989) *The Politics of Individualism: Politics and the American Character in the Jacksonian Era*. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press), quote from 72; Taylor, *Cavalier and Yankee*, 115–40.
6. Although the historical record does not indicate whether Lucinda Huntington died in childbirth or of postpartum complication she did pass away the same year her daughter was born. As Anya Jabour underlines in her work on young women in the old South, "In an age before reliable contraception, married women could expect to bear numerous children in rapid succession," and this posed a significant danger to women's health and life expectancy across the United States in the nineteenth century. See A. Jabour (2007) *Scarlett's Sisters: Young Women in the Old South*. (Chapel Hill, NC, and London: University of North Carolina Press), 136. Repeated childbearing, parturition and post-parturition care, coupled with inferior medical knowledge

repeatedly put pregnant women's lives at risk. Sally McMillen has argued that "Difficulties in parturition proved to be a major cause of death during women's most vital years, and maternal mortality rates of women between twenty and forty years old were invariably high." Although in general the South experienced higher maternal mortality rates than the North, the state of New York had the highest percentage of deaths from childbirth in 1850, at 312. See S. G. McMillen (1990) *Motherhood in the Old South: Pregnancy, Childbirth, and Infant Rearing*. (Baton Rouge, LA, and London: Louisiana State University Press), 80–1 and Appendix One, Table III, "White Women Who Died in Childbirth."

7. See Bonner "Plantation Experiences of a New York Woman," fn 3.
8. For further reading concerning the emphasis on the private nuclear family and the moral bond between mothers and children in antebellum America, see R. H. Bloch (2003) *Gender and Morality in Anglo-American Culture 1650–1800*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press), Chapter 3, "Revaluing Motherhood. American Feminine Ideals in Transition: The Rise of the Moral Mother, 1785–1815"; N. M. Theriot (1996) *Mothers and Daughters in Nineteenth-Century America: The Bio-Social Construction of Femininity*. (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press), Chapter 1, "'Imperial Motherhood' and Its Material Roots"; S. Coontz (1988) *The Social Origins of Private Life: A History of American Families*. (New York and London: Verso); N. S. Dye and D. B. Smith (1986) "Mother Love and Infant Death, 1750–1920," *Journal of American History*, 73:2, 329–53; J. Lewis (1983) *The Pursuit of Happiness: Family and Values in Jefferson's Virginia*. (New York and Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press); J. Fliegelman (1982) *Prodigals and Pilgrims: The American Revolution Against Patriarchal Authority, 1750–1800*. (New York and Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press); Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle-Class*; C. N. Degler (1980) *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present*. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press).
9. W. Chauncey Fowler (1866) *History of Durham, Connecticut, From the First Land Grant in 1622 to 1866*. (Durham, CT), sourced at Google Books, http://books.google.com/books?id=NkcBAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false (July 20, 2011).
10. Stowe, "The Rhetoric of Authority," 920–21.
11. 30 March 1845, SFHW Letters, fol. 2, 1838–45.
12. 23 September 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3.
13. 17 March 185(4), SFHW Letters, fol. 5, 1854–5.
14. Theriot, *Mothers and Daughters in Nineteenth-Century America*, 64.
15. Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 383.
16. F. Trollope (1832) *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, quote drawn from Chapter 5, sourced at Project Gutenberg, release date, November 30, 2003, <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/10345/pg10345.html> (November 22, 2011).
17. G. Clary Wing, *Early Years on the Western Reserve with Extracts from Letters of Ephraim Brown and Family, 1805–1845*, (Cleveland, 1816) sourced at Internet Archive, http://www.archive.org/stream/earlyyearsonwest00wing/earlyyears_onwest00wing_djvu.txt (October 10, 2011).
18. For further reading, see R. J. Carwadine (1993) *Evangelicals and Politics in Antebellum America*. (New Haven, NJ, and London: Yale University Press);

- Kohl *The Politics of Individualism*, 72–74; D. W. Howe (1979) *The Political Culture of the American Whigs*. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press).
19. Wing, *Early Years on the Western Reserve*, Chapter 2, “Public and Local Interests,” 25; For the full text of Henry Clays’ speech on “The Subject of Abolition Petitions” (February 7, 1839), see Internet Archive, <http://www.archive.org/details/speechofhonhenry1839clay> (August 9, 2011).
 20. Wing, *Early Years on the Western Reserve*, Chapter 6 “Early Years,” 58. (August 9, 2011).
 21. *History of Akron & Summit County*, s.v. Leicester King, <http://www.akronhistory.org/lking.htm> (August 15, 2011).
 22. Wing, *Early Years on the Western Reserve*, Chapter 8, “Schooling 1830–1840,” 91. (August 9, 2011).
 23. *Ibid.*, 75. (August 9, 2011).
 24. *Ibid.*, 91. (August 9, 2011).
 25. *Ibid.*, 91–2. (August 9, 2011).
 26. C. D. Hemphill (2011) *Siblings: Brothers & Sisters in American History*. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press), 205.
 27. See Wing, *Early Years*, Chapter 7, “Schooling, 1818–1830” and Chapter 8, “Schooling, 1830–1840,” 93. (August 9, 2011).
 28. Wing, *Early Years*, Chapter 9, “Miscellaneous,” 110–11. (August 9, 2011).
 29. Wing, *Early Years*, Chapter 8, “Schooling, 1830–1840,” 92; Chapter 9, “Miscellaneous,” 120. (August 9, 2011).
 30. W. R. Coates (1924) *A History of Cuyahoga County and the City of Cleveland*. Chicago and New York: The American Historical Society, sourced at *Online Biographies*, s.v. Fayette Brown, <http://www.onlinebiographies.info/oh/cuya/brown-f.htm> (August 12, 2011); *The Huntington Family in America: A Genealogical Memoir of the Known Descendants of Simon Huntington from 1633 to 1915, Including Those Who Have Retained the Family Name, and Many Bearing Other Surnames*, s.v. Fayette Brown, <http://www.ebooksread.com/authors-eng/huntington-family-association/the-huntington-family-in-america--a-genealogical-memoir-of-the-known-descendant-tnu/page-53-the-huntington-family-in-america--a-genealogical-memoir-of-the-known-descendant-tnu.shtml> (August 15, 2010).
 31. Wing, *Early Years*, Chapter 10, “Last Chronicles,” 133–34. (August 9, 2011).
 32. 27 August 1848, Mary Hicks Brown, Bloomfield, Ohio, to Samuel and Sarah Parmelee Hicks, sourced from the family archive courtesy of Kathy Wright Fowler.
 33. 10 April 1845, SFHW Letters, fol. 2, 1838–45.
 34. 26 April 1846, James Brown, Bloomfield, Ohio, to Samuel and Sarah Hicks, sourced from the family archive courtesy of Kathy Wright Fowler; 1850 and 1860 United States Federal Census, s.v. “James M. Brown,” sourced at www.ancestry.co.uk
 35. Hemphill, *Siblings*, 40.
 36. 9 June 1844 and 6 January 1846, James Brown, Bloomfield, Ohio, to Samuel Hicks, sourced from the family archive courtesy of Kathy Wright Fowler.
 37. 31 May 1860, Benjamin F. Williams, Savannah, GA, to Samuel Hicks, New Hartford, New York, sourced from the family archive courtesy of Kathy Wright Fowler.

38. 6 January and 26 April 1846. James Brown, Bloomfield, Ohio, to Samuel Hicks, sourced from the family archive courtesy of Kathy Wright Fowler.
39. 14 March 1846, Sarah Hicks, Bloomfield Ohio, to Lucinda Hicks, sourced from the family archive courtesy of Kathy Wright Fowler.
40. 20 September 1853, Mary Hicks Brown to Sarah Parmelee Hicks, sourced from the family archive courtesy of Kathy Wright Fowler.
41. *Godey's Lady's Book*, April 1840, sourced at Accessible Archives, <http://www.accessible.com/accessible/index.jsp> (April 12, 2010); Hemphill, *Siblings*, 153, 170.
42. 26 November 1855, SFHW Letters, fol. 5, 1854–5.
43. 7 November 1859, SFHW Letters, fol. 6, 1856–68. Emphasis in original.
44. 11 November 1859, SFHW Letters, fol. 6, 1856–68. Emphasis in original.
45. 25 December 1859, Mary Hicks Brown, Massillon, Ohio, to Samuel and Sarah Parmelee Hicks, New Hartford, New York, sourced from the family archive courtesy of Kathy Wright Fowler; 11 November 1859, SFHW Letters, fol. 6, 1856–68.
46. 14 March 1846, Sarah Hicks, Bloomfield, Ohio to Lucinda Hicks, New Hartford, New York, SFHW Letters, fol. 3, 1846–51.
47. 3 July 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–53.
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52. For further reading, see Lystra, *Searching the Heart*; S. Mintz and S. Kellogg (1988) *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life*. New York: Free Press; Rhiannon, *Hands and Hearts: Lewis, The Pursuit of Happiness; Fliegelman, Prodigals and Pilgrims; Degler, At Odds*.
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54. P. Bardaglio (1995) *Reconstructing the Household: Families, Sex, and Law in the Nineteenth Century South*. (Chapel Hill, NC, and London: University of North Carolina Press), xii.
55. Mr. Garnett, “The South and the Union,” *De Bows Review*, Vol. 19, Issue 1 (July 1855), sourced at *Making of America*, University of Michigan, <http://name.umdl.umich.edu/acg1336.1-19.001> (June 12, 2009).
56. See Stowe, *Intimacy and Power*.
57. 30 March 1845, SFHW Letters, fol.2, 1838–45; For a brilliant discussion of Southern belles and the practices of courtship see Jabour, *Scarlett's Sisters*, Chapter 4, “Southern Belles: Courtship.”

58. 11 December 1854 and 22 January 1855, SFHW Letters, fol. 5, 1854–5.
59. 10 October and 22 October 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3; 17 March 1854, SFHW Letters, fol. 5, 1854–5.
60. 3 October 1853 SFHW Letters, fol. 3, 1852–3.
61. 10 October 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3.
62. 18 October 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3.
63. 17 March 1854, SFHW Letters, fol. 5, 1854–5.
64. 22 May 1855, SFHW Letters, fol. 5, 1854–5. Emphasis in original.
65. Wood, *Masterful Women*, 5, 16, 29.
66. 22 October 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3.
67. Jabour, *Scarlett's Sisters*, 197.
68. *Ibid.*
69. Hemphill, *Siblings*, 89, 204.
70. Bonner, "Plantation Experiences," 384, fn 2; 396, fn 25
71. 20 December 1854, SFHW Letters, fol. 5, 1854–55.
72. 3 February 1855, SFHW Letters, fol. 5, 1844–55.
73. 11 December 1854 and 2nd January 1855, SFHW Letters, fol. 5, 1844–55.
74. Jabour, *Scarlett's Sisters*, 21.
75. 3 February 1855, SFHW Letters, fol. 5, 1844–55. For further reading on enslaved women's bodily objectification in the antebellum South and the development of their own selfhood see S. M. Fett (2006) "Consciousness and Calling: African American Midwives at work in the Antebellum South" in E. E. Baptist and S. M. H. Camp, eds, *New Studies in the History of American Slavery*. (Athens, Ga: University of Georgia Press); J. L. Morgan (2006) "Some Could Suckle over their Shoulder: Male Travelers, Female Bodies, and the Gendering of Racial Ideology," in E. E. Baptist and S. M. H. Camp, eds, *New Studies in the History of American Slavery*. (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press); M. J. Schwartz (2006) *Birthing a Slave: Motherhood and Medicine in the Antebellum South*. (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press); J. L. Morgan (2004) *Laboring Women: Gender and Reproduction in New World Slavery*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press); Camp, *Closer to Freedom*; Baptist "'Cuffy,' 'Fancy Maids,' and 'One-Eyed Men'"; W. King (1996) "Suffer with them Till Death: Slave Women and their Children in Nineteenth Century America," in D. B. Gaspar and D. C. Hine, eds, *More than Chattel: Black Women and Slavery in the Americas*. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press).
76. For further reading on enslaved women as a nurse to white children and the historiographical debates structuring this issue, particularly in relation to enslaved women as wet-nurses, see V. L. Kennedy (2009) *Born Southern: Childbirth, Motherhood, and Social Networks in the Old South*. (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press); W. A. Dunaway (2003) *The African-American Family in Slavery and Emancipation*. (New York and Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press), 134–41; K. C. Barton (1997) "'Good Cooks and Washers': Slave Hiring, Domestic Labor, and the Market in Bourbon County, Kentucky," *Journal of American History*, 84:2, 436–60; McMillen, *Motherhood in the Old South*, esp. Chapter 5. "So Sweet an Office: Maternal Breast-Feeding"; Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household*, Chapter 3, "Between Big House and Slave Community"; S. McMillen (1985) "Sacred Duty: Breast-Feeding Patterns among Middle- and Upper-Class Women in the Antebellum South," *Journal of Southern History*, 51:3, 333–56.

77. Jabour, *Scarlett's Sisters*, 218; 3 March 1854, SFHW Letters, fol. 5, 1854–5; McMillen, *Motherhood in the Old South*, Table III, “White Women who Died in Childbirth,” Appendix One.
78. See Jabour, *Scarlett's Sisters*, 228–29; Fett, “Consciousness and Calling”; Schwartz, *Birthing a Slave*.
79. 2 October 1854, SFHW Letters, fol. 5, 1854–5.
80. D. S. Smith (1985) “Child Naming Practices, Kinship Ties, and Change in Family Attitudes in Hingham, Massachusetts,” *Journal of Social History*, 18:4, 541–66, 542; Censer, *North Carolina Planters*, 33.
81. Censer, *North Carolina Planters*, xv.
82. Jabour, *Scarlett's Sisters*, 217; 2 October 1854 and 25 February 1855, SFHW Letters, fol. 5, 1854–55; Theriot, *Mothers and Daughters*, 63.
83. Jabour, *Scarlett's Sisters*, 236; 1 October 1855, SFHW Letters, fol. 5, 1854–5. Emphasis in original.
84. For a discussion of this image and the historiographical debates around the term, see Fox Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household*; Clinton, *The Plantation Mistress*; Oakes, *The Ruling Race*, pp. 201–204; M. P. Johnson (1980) “Planters and Patriarchy: Charleston, 1800–1860,” *Journal of Southern History*, 46:1, 45–72; E. Genovese (1969) *The World the Slaveholders Made: Two Essays in Interpretation*. (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press).
85. S. G. McMillen (1994) “Antebellum Southern Fathers and the Health Care of Children,” *Journal of Southern History*, 60:3, 513–32, 514.
86. 20 December 1854 and 2 January 1855, SFHW Letters, fol. 5, 1854–5.
87. 3 January 1856, SFHW Letters, fol. 6, 1856–68.

4 Articulating a Southern Self: Georgia, Sunnyside and the Confederacy

1. 6 December 1858, SFHW Letters, fol. 6, 1856–68.
2. See E. E. Baptist (2002) *Creating an Old South: Middle Florida's Plantation Frontier Before the Civil War*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press); Baptist, “The Migration of Planters to Antebellum Florida”; J. T. Censer (1991) “Southwestern Migration among North Carolina Planters: “The Disposition to Emigrate,” *Journal of Southern History*, 57:3, 407–26; J. E. Cashin (1991) *A Family Venture: Men and Women on the Southern Frontier*. (New York and London: Oxford University Press); Oakes, *The Ruling Race*, Chapter 3, “The Slaveholder's Pilgrimage.”
3. *Slavery and the Internal Slave Trade in the United States of North America; being Replies to Questions transmitted by the Committee of the British and Anti-Slavery Society for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave trade Throughout the World: Presented to the General Anti-Slavery Convention, held in London, June 1840*, (London, 1841), 69–70, sourced at Internet Archive, <http://www.archive.org/details/slaveryinternals00ameruoft> (October 23, 2011).
4. For further reading on planter migration and its effect on the enslaved populations of the antebellum south in relation to family ties see E. E. Baptist (2006) “‘Stol’ and Fetched Here’: Enslaved Migration, Ex-Slave Narratives, and Vernacular History,” in E. E. Baptist and S. M. H. Camp, eds, *New Studies in the History of American Slavery*. (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press),

- 243–74; M. Tadman (1989) *Speculators and Slaves: Masters, Traders, and Slaves in the Old South*. (Madison, WI, and London: University of Wisconsin Press), Chapter 6. “Family Separation and the Lives of Slaves and Masters,” esp. 154–59; H. G. Gutman (1976) *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750–1925*. (New York: Vintage Books), Chapter 4 “Take Root There or Nowhere II.” For a more extended discussion on the domestic slave trade and its impact, see S. Deyle (2005) *Carry Me Back: The Domestic Slave Trade in American Life*. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press); W. Johnson, ed. (2004) *The Chattel Principle: Internal Slave Trades in the Americas*. (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press); Dunaway, *The African-American Family*, Chapter 1, “Slave Trading and Forced Labor Migration”; W. Johnson (1999) *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market*. (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press).
5. E. Genovese (1991) “Our Family, White and Black: Family and Households in the Southern Slaveholders’ World View,” in C. Bleser, ed., *In Joy and In Sorrow: Women, Family, and Marriage in the Victorian South*. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press), 87.
 6. 10 October 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3.
 7. 25 March 1859, SFHW Letters, fol. 6, 1856–68.
 8. Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage*, quotes from 17, 5.
 9. 16 January 1858, SFHW Letters, fol. 6, 1856–68.
 10. Cashin, *A Family Venture*, 6.
 11. 23 November 1858, SFHW Letters, fol. 6, 1856–68. Emphasis in original.
 12. 23 November 1858, SFHW Letters, fol. 6, 1856–68.
 13. For references to concerns about health in terms of migration see Censer, “Southwestern Migration among North Carolina Planters,” esp. 410–12; and Cashin, *A Family Venture*, 44–49; 23 November 1858, SFHW Letters, fol. 6, 1856–68; for reference to the wolf being shot see 16 January 1858, SFHW Letters, fol. 6, 1856–68; 22 October 1853, SFHW Letters, fol. 4, 1852–3.
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