

Three Generations of South Carolina Freedwomen:

Tradition and Records Reconstruct a Meaningful Heritage*

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In 1868, delegates to the South Carolina constitutional convention wrote a new constitution that provided for free public schools for blacks and whites.^[1] The constitution of 1895 disenfranchised blacks and facilitated the intentional underfunding of their schools.^[2] Yet, Charlotte McFall, a daughter of former slaves, earned an advanced degree in Mathematics in 1929.^[3] Charlotte identified her maternal grandfather as a white man.^[4] Researching this tradition revealed how freedwomen could prepare Charlotte and her siblings to “find their way or make one.”^[5]

Post-Emancipation Records

After Emancipation, the links between Charlotte’s mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother can be reconstructed using readily available official records. Charlotte’s grandmother, Ellen Hargrove, 27, mulatto seamstress, was first enumerated in York County in the South Carolina upcountry in 1870. Charlotte Brown, 50, black, her probable mother, was in the same household. Except for Julia E., 6, Ellen’s other presumed children in the household, Henry, 12, Mary A., 10, and Paul, 7, had attended school within the year. The mulatto children had the same surname as their mother. No spouse was enumerated for either woman.^[6]

* The author acknowledges Elizabeth Shown Mills, “Ethnicity and the Southern Genealogist: Myths and Misconceptions, Resources and Opportunities,” in Robert M. Taylor Jr. and Ralph J. Crandall, eds., *Generations and Change: Genealogical Perspectives in Social History* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1986), 89–108, specifically 99–101.

¹ “Article 10, Section 3,” *The Constitution of South Carolina Adopted April 16, 1868, and the Acts and Joint Resolutions of the General Assembly Passed at the Special Session of 1868, Together with the Military Orders Therein Re-Enacted* (Columbia, S.C.: John W. Denny, 1868).

² “Article 2, Section 4,” *Constitution of the State of South Carolina: Ratified in Convention, December 4, 1895* (Columbia, S.C.: Charles A. Calvo, Jr., 1895). For education in South Carolina see, John Norton, “A History Worth Retelling,” *The State* (Columbia S.C.), “Special Section on Our Schools” 15 January 1984, p. 215, online at <http://www.newsbank.com>.

³ Charlotte Louise McFall, Class of 1929, academic transcript, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois; supplied to the author by the University.

⁴ Charlotte McFall, “McFall Family,” hand-drawn diagram, undated, names Charlotte’s grandparents, parents and siblings, in the author’s files.

⁵ A quote commonly attributed to Hannibal (<https://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Hannibal>).

⁶ 1870 U.S. Census, Subdivision 103, York County, South Carolina, roll 1512, p. 460A dwelling 43, family 47, Ellen Hargrove, digital image at Ancestry.com. For mulatto, see, *United States Census Bureau*, “1870 Instructions” (https://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_

In 1880, Charlotte Brown, 60, and Ellen Hargrove, 38, were enumerated as widows who lived together in Charleston, about 200 miles southeast of York County.^[7] Besides Julia, 17, and Paul, 19, Ellen had a 10-year-old daughter, Charlotte.^[8] The family had moved to Charleston by 1875 as evidenced by Julia Hargrove's school attendance.^[9] In 1878, Mary Ann married Thomas A. McFall in Charleston,^[10] and Mary Ann's mother and probable grandmother lived with them in 1880.^[11] Although Charlotte Brown's relationship was not given in the 1880 census (since she was listed as a separate family), it will become apparent that she was Ellen's mother. Charlotte died in 1890.^[12]

Ellen was not enumerated in 1900; however, in 1902 she lived at the same address as her son Henry.^[13] By 1910 Ellen lived with the family of Thomas and Mary Ann McFall, and she continued to live with them until her death in 1931.^[14]

The informant on Ellen's death certificate was her granddaughter Thomasina McFall. Thomasina identified Ellen's birthplace as Yorkville and her parents as Paul Brown and Charlotte Brown. There was no field for spouse's name.

Post-Emancipation records support the mother-daughter relationships of Charlotte Brown, Ellen Hargrove, and Mary Ann (Hargrove) McFall. Earlier records confirm them.

decades/census_instructions/1870_instructions.html): A generic term that "includes quadroons, octoroons, and all persons having any perceptible trace of African blood." For political subdivisions, see *Research at the Archives* (<http://archives.sc.gov/sccountymaps/Pages/default.aspx>), "The Formation of Counties of South Carolina." South Carolina was divided into districts from 1800 to 1868. The designation was changed to counties by the state constitution of 1868 and is used herein.

⁷ 1880 U.S. Census, Charleston, Charleston County, South Carolina, roll 1222, E.D. 73, pp. 429B–430, dwelling 46, family 74, Ellen Hargrove. Charlotte Brown was enumerated in dwelling 46, family 76, on p. 430, and Thomas and Mary A. McFall were enumerated in dwelling 46, family 75, on p. 430. In the 1880 census Ellen's father was listed as born in Georgia; however, all subsequent censuses say he was born in South Carolina.

⁸ See note 7.

⁹ "Holiday Season – Exercises at the Morris Street and Shaw School – List of Premiums, &c.," *Charleston News and Courier*, 2 April 1875, p. 4, cols. 2 and 3; digital image online at <http://genealogybank.com>.

¹⁰ *Charleston South Carolina Marriage Records, 1877–1887*, digital images on Ancestry.com: Hargrove-McFall (1878), citing marriage return no. 1 153 (stamped), South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.

¹¹ See note 7.

¹² *South Carolina Death Records, 1821–1955*, digital images on Ancestry.com: certificate no. 1183 for Charlotte Brown, 31 July 1890; citing South Carolina death records, Columbia.

¹³ *Walsh's Charleston, S.C. City Directory for 1902* (Charleston, S.C.: W. H. Walsh Directory Company, 1902), 504: Ellen Hargrove (c[olored]) dressmkr and Henry, a driver, were listed at 35 Lucas.

¹⁴ 1910 U.S. Census, Ward 8, Charleston, Charleston County, South Carolina, roll 1452, E.D. 73, p. 43, Thomas McFall household, Ellen Hargrove was listed as mother-in-law of head of household. 1920 U.S. Census, Ward 8, Charleston, Charleston County, South Carolina, roll 1687, E.D. 45, p. 10B, Thomas McFall household, Ellen Hargrove was listed as mother-in-law of head of household; 1930 U.S. Census, Ward 8, Charleston, Charleston County, South Carolina, roll 2189, E.D. 10-21, p. 7A, Mary Ann McFall household, Ellen Hargrove was listed as mother of head of household. For Ellen's death, see *South Carolina Death Records, 1821–1955* [note 12], certificate no. 14558, date of death 27 September 1931, citing South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.

Pre-Emancipation Records

Charlotte McFall, Mary Ann's youngest daughter, named Asbury Coward as the father of Ellen's children.^[15] Asbury's father's estate records were keys to the paper trail that led to the women's origins in Charleston and how they came to live in York County.

Charlotte and Ellen were listed along with horses and furniture belonging to Thomas R. Heargroves, who died 29 March 1840 in Savannah, Georgia.^[16] On 8 December 1840, Heargroves's estate included 19 slaves (emphasis added):^[17]

Inventory and Appraisal . . . goods and chattels . . . of Thomas R. Heargroves deceased Dep^d [Deposited] 8th Dec^r 1840

Daniel \$600 John \$600 Joseph \$350 Amy \$450

Abigail \$500 Tom \$450 Pompy \$350 Tony \$300

John \$200 Molly \$500 Amy \$100 Mary \$250

Thomas \$600 Rachel \$300 Selina \$500 Dover \$450

Warley \$500 **Sharlotte \$500 Ellen \$50** Sorel mare \$25

Year Old Filly \$25 Colt \$15 Roan Horse \$50 Gig and harness \$20

The inventory does not indicate ages or kinship; however, the values and sequencing of Charlotte and Ellen in the inventory suggest a mother and young child — and places Ellen's birth before December 1840.^[18] Heargroves's death, a common cause of separation among slave families, would cause enormous anxiety among his slaves.^[19]

Three months later, 18 Negroes in Heargroves's estate were auctioned by his widow, Susan. Many "goods and chattels," including Charlotte, Ellen, and Daniel, were sold to B. M. Villepontoux, Susan's brother, for \$930.^[20] If any of the other enslaved people were kin to Charlotte and Ellen, they no longer had the same owner.

¹⁵ McFall Family diagram [note 4].

¹⁶ *Savannah, Georgia Vital Records, 1803–1966*, digital images on Ancestry.com, Thos. R. Heargroves [indexed as Heargrovy], citing City of Savannah, Georgia Records: Health Department, Vital Statistics Registers, Georgia.

¹⁷ FamilySearch.org > South Carolina Probate Records, Bound Volumes, 1671–1977 > Charleston > Inventories, Appraisements, Sales, 1839–1844, Vol. A > images 88–89, Box 2, No. 24, Thomas R. Heargroves.

¹⁸ Cheryll Ann Cody, "Naming, Kinship, and Estate Dispersal: Notes on Slave Family Life on a South Carolina Plantation, 1786–1833," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. 39, No. 1 (Jan. 1982), 194, e-journal (<http://www.jstor.org/stable.1923424>).

¹⁹ Cheryll Ann Cody, "Sale and Separation: Four Crises for Enslaved Women on the Ball Plantations 1764–1854," in Larry E. Hudson, Jr., ed., *Working Toward Freedom: Slave Society and Domestic Economy in the American South* (Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 1996), 119–142.

²⁰ FamilySearch.org > South Carolina Probate Records, Bound Volumes, 1671–1977 > Charleston > Inventories, Appraisements, Sales, 1839–1844, Vol. A > images 125–126, Box 2, No. 24, Thomas R. Heargroves. For relationship of Susan Coward and B. M. Villepontoux, see FamilySearch.org > South Carolina Probate Records, Bound Volumes, 1671–1977 > Charleston > Wills, 1851–1856, Vol. 046 > image 279, Box 79, No. 24, Susan Margaret Coward, typescript of will.

The 1830 census of St. Thomas & St. Denis, Charleston District, enumerated Thomas R. Heargroves with one white male and one white female (presumably Susan), both 20-29, and 162 slaves.^[21] Because his estate was appraised for only 18 slaves, the census suggests he was a plantation manager or overseer.

When the widow Susan Heargroves married Jesse Coward, a plantation manager for the Ball family, she acquired stepchildren Sarah, Asbury, and Jesse/Jesse J./Jesse James Coward.^[22] Jesse Coward died intestate,^[23] and an inventory of his estate filed in April 1851 included human property (emphasis added):^[24]

Sam \$600	William 400	Judy 200		[total]	\$1200
Old John \$200	John 600	Amy 250	Tom 600	Pompey 450	
	Tony 600	Abby 500		[total]	\$3200
Molly \$450	Julia 150	Nat 100		[subtotal]	\$700
	Charlotte \$500	Ellen 300		[subtotal]	\$800 [total] \$1500
Maria \$150	Bella 150	Caty 200	Nat 50	[total]	\$ 550
Moninmia \$350	Gil Blas 500	Pea 350	Caty 300	Hannah 200	
	Sarah 150	Carter 100		[subtotal]	\$1950
Old Phillis 5	Phillis 500	Sike 500	Jacob 400		
				[subtotal]	\$1405 [total] \$3355

Charlotte and Ellen, who had been purchased by Susan's brother, were included in Jesse's estate. Villepontoux could have purchased the slaves for Susan's benefit then sold or traded them to Jesse. In the distribution from Jesse's estate, Susan received 10 slaves. Her stepson Jesse received 10 slaves, and Asbury received 8 including (emphasis added):^[25]

Toney \$600 Molly 450 **Charlotte 500** Gil Blas 500 **Ellen 300** Katy 300
Julia 200 Nat 100

²¹ 1830 U.S. Census, St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish, Charleston County, South Carolina, roll 170, p. 192, last line, Thomas R. Heargrove.

²² Asbury Coward, "My Dear Children," 6 January 1910; Asbury Coward Papers 1835-1925, Box 4, Folder 1, p. 17, The Citadel Archives and Museum, Charleston, South Carolina (written in composition notebooks, mostly legible although fading); 1850 U.S. Census, St. John's Berkeley Parish, Charleston County, South Carolina, roll 850, p. 79, Jesse Coward; 1840 U.S. Census, St. John's Berkeley Parish, Charleston County, South Carolina, roll 509, p. 165, Jesse Coward. The author's findings show that Asbury's father married Margaret (Bonneau) Miller after the death of Asbury's mother. Jesse James (also known as Jesse J. or James), was born from this union. After Margaret died in 1842, Jesse Sr. married Susan (Villepontoux) (Wheeler) Heargroves. There was no issue from this last marriage. Jesse Coward's 1840 census enumeration appears to misstate the family's composition by enumerating three young males instead of two, Asbury and Jesse James, and omitting one young female, Sarah.

²³ For James Coward's filed petition for Jesse's estate, see FamilySearch.org > South Carolina Probate Records, Bound Volumes, 1671-1977 > Charleston > Journal, 1849-1864, Vol. C > image 72 > 8 January 1851, entry for Jesse Coward.

²⁴ FamilySearch.org > South Carolina Probate Records, Bound Volumes, 1671-1977 > Charleston > Inventories, Appraisements, Sales, 1850-1854, Vol. C > Box 64, No. 7 > images 95 and 96, Jesse Coward.

²⁵ FamilySearch.org > South Carolina Probate Records, Bound Volumes, 1671-1977 > Charleston > Inventories, Appraisements, Sales, 1850-1854, Vol. C > Box 64, No. 7 > image 161, Jesse Coward.

Some Recollections of the Last Slave Owner

Asbury Coward wrote his life story. It indirectly tells about Charlotte's and Ellen's lives. Asbury was born to Jesse and Keziah (Dubois) Coward in September 1835, a few months before his mother's death.^[26] From 1830 to 1850, Asbury's father managed the Hyde Park plantation in Charleston. Asbury recalled being educated by schoolmasters in Charleston and being called "Mass "Bury around the servants."^[27]

Asbury wrote of his father's third wife, Susan Villepontoux. "She was then and to the end of her life, a great sufferer from dyspepsia . . . She seemed to be almost monomaniac on the subject of cleanliness. Although our cook and house servants were well trained she gave them a busy time in polishing mahogany and brasses, cleaning floors, dusting carpets and rugs, sunning beds and bed clothing whenever the weather permitted, sweeping the yards so that the very leaves seemed to be ashamed to fall . . . in fact the least speck of dust anywhere was sufficient to start a household commotion."^[28]

James Coward, Asbury's uncle, administered Jesse's estate and became Asbury's guardian. Asbury wrote that his uncle wanted him to attend The Citadel. "He established that the wages of my share of the slaves would be ample to defray my expenses . . . [I was] admitted as a pay cadet and reported 1 January 1851."^[29] Indeed, Charlotte and other slaves were "hired out" for \$424. Charlotte's labor contributed \$87.^[30] Possibly Charlotte and Ellen were separated during this period.

After Asbury Coward graduated from The Citadel in 1855, he and classmate Micah Jenkins became the co-founders of Kings Mountain Military School in Yorkville in York. The school was intended to prepare boys for a place in a military academy such as The Citadel.^[31] Asbury married Elise Blum of Charleston on 25 December 1856.^[32] In 1856 Asbury acknowledged receiving his human property from his uncle, James Coward: "Toney, Gil Blas, Charlotte, Ellen, Katy, Molley, Judy and Nat."^[33] Charlotte, Ellen and her first child, Henry,

²⁶ Coward, "My Dear Children" [note 22], Box 4, Folder 1, p. 5. The author's file contains conflicting evidence regarding Keziah's death and Asbury's birth.

²⁷ Coward, "My Dear Children" [note 22], Box 4, Folder 1, p. 5.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Box 4, Folder 1, p. 17. The author's file contains documentation of Jesse's marriages and Susan's marriages.

²⁹ Coward, "My Dear Children" [note 22], Box 4, Folder 1, pp. 34–35. Also, FamilySearch.org > South Carolina Probate Records, Bound Volumes, 1671–1977 > Charleston > Journal, 1849–1864, Vol. C > image 73 > 29 January 1851, entry for Jesse Coward. For Asbury's admittance, see *Official Register of the Officers and Cadets at the So. Ca. Military Academies [sic]*, (Charleston, S.C.: J. B. Nixon, 1852), 7; "Publications by and about The Citadel," *Citadel.edu* (<http://library.citadel.edu/citadelpublications/historicalresources>), 1851.

³⁰ Charleston District, South Carolina, Court of Equity, Guardian and Trustees 1851–1856, James Coward Guardian in a/c with Asbury Coward [,] a Minor, p. 201; South Carolina Department of History and Archives, Columbia.

³¹ Coward, "My Dear Children . . . Third Decade," Asbury Coward Papers 1835–1925 [note 22], Box 4, Folder 1, p. 1. A second composition book; restarts page numbering at 1. The first page is smudged and deteriorating.

³² Coward, "My Dear Children . . . Third Decade" [note 31], Box 4, Folder 1, p.17; "Married, on Thursday, 25th inst . . ." *Charleston Courier*, 29 December 1856, p. 2; online at <http://www.genealogybank.com>.

³³ See note 30.

fit in Asbury Coward's 1860 slave schedule (see Table 1 below). Jesse's 1850 and Asbury's 1860 slave schedules cannot be compared. A line-by-line search of the 1850 slave schedule failed to locate Jesse Coward in St. John's Berkeley, Charleston County. He was seeking employment starting 1 January 1850.^[34]

Table 1: Comparison of 1860 Asbury Coward Slave Schedule and 1870 Ellen Hargrove Census Enumeration

Slave enumeration³⁵ Gender, Age, Color 1860 Slave Schedule	Comments	1870 Census³⁶ Gender, Age, Color
Female 47 B	Proposed Charlotte Brown	Female 50, B
Female 45 B		
Male 23 B		
Male 26 B		
Female 21 B		
Female 21 B		
Female 21 B		
Female 21 M	Proposed Ellen Hargrove	Female 27, M
Female 19 B		
Male 12 B		
Male 3 B		
Male 2 M	Proposed Henry Hargrove	Male 12, M
Male 2 M		
Male 7m B		
Male 2m B		
-----	Mary Ann	Female 10, F[emale], M

Color: B = black without admixture; M= mulatto, of mixed blood³⁷

Tensions and anxieties concerning slaves heightened as the country moved towards war. Coward became a vestryman of the Church of the Good Shepherd

³⁴ "Notice, the subscriber . . ." *Charleston Courier*, 6 December 1849, p. 3; online at <http://www.genealogybank.com>.

³⁵ 1860 U.S. Census, York, York County, South Carolina, slave schedule, p. 455 (stamped), Asbury Coward; digital image on Ancestry.com.

³⁶ See note 6.

³⁷ *Eighth Census, United States, 1860, Act of Congress of Twenty-Third May, 1860, Instructions to U.S. Marshals, Instruction to Assistants*; consulted as "1860 Census Enumerator Instructions," database, United States Department of Commerce, Census Bureau, (<https://www.census.gov/history/pdf/1860instructions.pdf>), specifically, section 9, p. 15.

in Yorkville on July 9, 1855.^[38] A few months later, the colored house servant of a member of the congregation was hanged for poisoning the member's infant daughter.^[39] Such an event was certainly discussed among slaves within slave owners' households.

After Fort Sumter surrendered, Asbury wrote, "On the last of June 1861, I . . . hastened to Virginia. Everyone seemed to think that one big battle would decide the issue . . . I was afraid the battle would be over before I could get there."^[40]

Two letters from Asbury to Elise also tell about Charlotte, Ellen and the environment in York. "Your letter of the 23rd is received . . . relieved me of a very great weight of anxiety and yours and the baby's account. I hope Charlotte will improve rapidly and that sickness will soon disappear from the yard."^[41] ("Yard" was a common way to refer to slave quarters.)

In another letter, Asbury wrote: "I think I see her [probably Jennie, his daughter] now propped up in the corner. Does she sit at table . . . I judge so from what you say about her requiring Ellen to sit beside her." "I am sorry to learn that you have lost money in the house for I had believed the servants honest. You must be more guarded in future. There is nothing more detestable than a dishonest pilfering thief about one's house . . . It is bad enough to have to follow the servants up in their work to have to watch their honesty at the same time is unendurable. Who do you suspect?"^[42]

Asbury obtained leave from the battlefield in Virginia and traveled by train to Yorkville. In 1864, he wrote "I found things in much worse condition than I had anticipated . . . There was not enough food to feed my family, nor my own surplus Negroes, who had to be looked after and provided for . . . I spent the next day planning with my wife how food could be stretched to feed all."^[43]

After the surrender, he wrote: "The General [Longstreet] asked what I intended to do after reaching home. I told him that primarily I was absolutely ruined for what outstanding debts I owed had been predicated upon the value of the slaves I owned and now that all value in them as property was gone. I must get to work and start all over again."^[44]

After his return home, Asbury wrote: "I went down [to the Freedman's Bureau] immediately . . . to let him know what I had told my servants, about their being free and what to expect from me. Some of my former slaves were hired out to parties in the low country mostly in Charleston District; I gave their names. Most of them would ultimately go there also. All that were with

³⁸ Joseph E. Hart, Jr., *The Church of the Good Shepherd, York: South Carolina: A Centennial History 1855–1955* (York, S.C.: Privately printed, 1955), 1–5.

³⁹ "Clariss: Yorkville SC; Col Wilson et al.; Columbia, South Carolina . . ." *Boston Post*, 8 October 1855, p. 1, online at <http://www.genealogybank.com>.

⁴⁰ Coward, "My Dear Children . . . Third Decade" [note 31], Box 4, Folder 1. p.45.

⁴¹ "Asbury Coward to my dear wife [Elise Coward]," letter dated 28 July 1862, Asbury Coward Papers 1835–1925, Box 3, The Citadel Archives and Museum, Charleston, South Carolina.

⁴² "Asbury Coward to my darling wife [Elise Coward]," letter dated 22 January 1863, Asbury Coward Papers 1835–1925, Box 3, The Citadel Archives and Museum, Charleston, South Carolina. Their daughter Jennie Coward was born in 1862 (1870 U.S. Census, Subdivision 1, York County, South Carolina, roll 151, p. 288).

⁴³ Natalie Jenkins Bond and Osmun Latrobe Coward, eds., *The South Carolinians: Colonel Asbury Coward's Memoirs* (New York: Vantage Press, 1968), 122–123.

⁴⁴ Coward, "My Dear Children . . . Third Decade" [note 31], Box 4, Folder 3, p. 19.

me now in York would go there too on account of family connections there and association[s] of their childhood.”^[45] Apparently, Ellen was one of the latter.

Asbury mentioned Ellen when he wrote that two soldiers inspected his house for hidden munitions. A confrontation occurred:^[46]

I saw him [the private] pick off the red-velvet case containing a photo-picture of your Mother sent during our engagement. Just then the house-maid, Ellen, who was standing in the doorway said in an undertone: “He got the baby’s ‘dallion, too.” I said to the Wop [*sic*] “Why didn’t you open it and see what’s inside.” “I don’t know what you mean,” he said in a startled manner. “Oh, yes – you know the red-velvet case you just put in your breast pocket.” The Sargent looking fiercely at him said in a very imperative voice, “Out with it at once.” It was the red-velvet case, the rascal pulled out with reluctance, containing my wife’s picture, Sergt. I was afraid that he fell in love with it as I did six or seven years ago.” Ellen said “Dat aint it, he tak the baby’s gold ‘mdallion, got it now in he britches pocket.” Again the Sergt roared out. “Out with it, dom ye’ . . . slowly the wop put his [hand] in his pocket this time and drew forth the gold locket medallion that had been given to my little daughter as a birthday gift.

Asbury wrote of what he told his 26 slaves when he freed them:^[47]

You are all free now to take care of yourselves. No more Massa and Missis to take care of you, to shelter to clothe and to feed you. You are to govern yourselves within the Laws. If you are Sick, no more Massa or Missis to see that you get proper nursing, and pay for physician and medicine. You must look to yourselves for all these. Hire out to whoever may be willing to hire you. You see at once that this will require you to be honest, industrious, polite, willing always to be friendly to your employer. Strictly honest with him, convince him of you[r] desire to promote his prosperity, if you expect him to be friendly to you and speak a good word for you if you find it necessary to change employment . . . Beware of the people white and colored who try to make you believe that your former owners are your worst enemies that they made you slaves and have fought the war just ended in order to keep you their slaves, and to practice all kinds of cruelties upon you . . .

One more record connects Ellen Hargrove to Asbury Coward. The 1868 South Carolina Constitution required a census in 1869.^[48] The census enumerated the head of house, the number of children between 6 and 16, number of males over 21, and the total persons in the household by gender and race. Ellen Coward (colored) was enumerated as head of household that included one male and one female between 6 and 16, four total females and two total males, one between 6 and 16 and none over 21. Possibly, Paul was not enumerated as being 6 or over. Otherwise, this enumeration matches Ellen’s 1870 enumeration which also consisted of four females and two males. No head of house was named Hargrove. In the months between the 1869 and

⁴⁵ Ibid., Box 4, Folder 4, p. 31.

⁴⁶ Ibid., Box 4, Folder 4, pp. 37–38.

⁴⁷ Ibid., Box 4 Folder 4, pp. 22–25.

⁴⁸ 1869 South Carolina State Census, York County, unpaginated, family number 796, Ellen Coward household; South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia [FHL 2,453,280]. This census is arranged in alphabetical order.

1870 censuses, Ellen changed her name from Coward to Hargrove, a variant of the surname of her first slave owner.

Henry, Paul, and Mary Ann attended school in York in 1870.^[49] They may have attended “a large and flourishing school for colored children . . . in Yorkville” that was operated by the New School Presbyterian Church of the North.^[50] Even though they had ties in Charleston and might anticipate having more safety there,^[51] Ellen and her family remained in York for several years after they were emancipated. See Table 2 below for a summary of their history.

**Table 2: Chronology of Charlotte, Ellen and Mary Ann
1840–1870**

Source	Description
8 December 1840 Estate inventory of Thomas R. Hargrove	The inventory filed in Charleston listed Charlotte and Ellen in sequence.
22 March 1841 Hargrove’s estate sold 11 slaves to B.M. Villepontoux.	Charlotte and Ellen were sold to the brother of Hargrove’s widow. Hargrove’s widow married Jesse Coward.
17 April 1851 Appraisal of Jesse Coward’s estate.	Charlotte and Ellen were listed in the inventory that was filed in Charleston.
13 Apr 1852 Distribution of Jesse Coward’s slaves	Charlotte and Ellen were listed and distributed to Asbury Coward, a minor, in Charleston.
April 1855 James Coward Guardian in a/c with Asbury Coward, a minor	Hire of Toney [\$] 120, Gil Blas 110, Caty 36, Judy [<i>sic</i>] 7 mos dead 21, Charlotte 87, Molly 50.
3 June 1856 Asbury Coward acknowledged receipt of his human property	Eight slaves, Toney, Gil Blas, Charlotte, Ellen, Katy, Molley, Judy [<i>sic</i>] and Nat.... [Judy was identified as dead in 1855; Julia’s name was missing from this inventory.]
1860 Asbury Coward’s slave schedule	Enumerated slaves include candidates to be Charlotte, Ellen and Ellen’s son, Henry, in Yorkville.
28 July 1862 and 22 January 1863 Asbury Coward’s letters to Elise	Letters mention Charlotte and Ellen.
1869 state census	Ellen was enumerated as Ellen Coward.
1870 U.S. census	Charlotte and Ellen and four children were enumerated in Yorkville.
ca. 1865–1869 Asbury Coward’s notebook	Though Coward’s recollections were written about 1910, he describes an event that included Ellen and that would have occurred after the surrender.

⁴⁹ See note 6.

⁵⁰ Justus K. Jillson, *Report of the State Superintendent of Education of the State of South Carolina to His Excellency the Governor and the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina at the Regular Session 1869-’70* (Columbia, S.C.: John W. Denny, 1870), 64.

⁵¹ Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 280. Eighty percent of white males in York County rode with the Klu Klux Klan.

Asbury remained in York to redevelop his school.^[52] In 1882 he was elected State Superintendent of Education. He was appointed the Superintendent of The Citadel in 1890.^[53]

(to be continued)

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⁵² See note 42. Kings Mountain Military School is penned in the margin.

⁵³ "Col. Coward and the Citadel," *Charleston News and Courier*, 4 September 1890, p. 4, col. 3–4; online at <http://www.genealogybank.com>.