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THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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COVER—A Sloane copy after a John White watercolor of a bird not positively identifiable, but perhaps meant to be a female red-eyed towhee. The maize is probably an example of the "Eastern 8- to 10-rowed flint and flour corn," cultivated by the Indians in Colonial America. For an article on "Indian Agriculture in the Southern Colonies," see pages 283 to 297. The cover illustration is taken from *The American Drawings of John White, 1577-1590,* edited by Paul Hulton and David Beers Quinn (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964).

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SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIANS IN THE CONFEDERACY

By W. Harrison Daniel*

There were approximately 104,000 Presbyterians in the South the year Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States,[1] and prior to the election denominational spokesmen had been vitally concerned about the mounting political passions and their possible results. Early in September the *Central Presbyterian*, a weekly newspaper published in Richmond, Virginia, had cautioned southerners to be wary of secession sentiment and warned that the inevitable result of secession and disunion would be a "horrible civil war." [2] A month later the Fayetteville Presbytery adopted a resolution which recommended a day of fasting and prayer to God "to continue us [a] happy, united, and prosperous people"; this same statement was adopted by the North Carolina Synod when it met near the end of October.[3] The Synod of Virginia, which met shortly before the election, designated the first Sunday in November as a day of fasting and prayer and suggested that Presbyterian clergymen preach on the duty of Christians as peacemakers.[4] On this occasion Robert Lewis Dabney, moderator of the Synod of Virginia, preached a sermon in which he denounced

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[1] Actually there were five different bodies of Presbyterians in the South: The regular or old school Presbyterians, who were affiliated with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America and numbered approximately 104,000 members; the United Synod of new school Presbyterians, which claimed a membership of approximately 12,000; the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Synod of the South, with a membership approaching 10,000; the Independent Presbyterian Church, made up of 1,000 members; and the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, which claimed a membership of approximately 47,000. See Joseph M. Wilson, *The Presbyterian Historical Almanac and Annual Remembrancer of the Church for 1860* (Philadelphia: Joseph M. Wilson, 1860), 192; Joseph M. Wilson, *The Presbyterian Historical Almanac and Annual Remembrancer of the Church for 1861* (Philadelphia: Joseph M. Wilson, 1862), 120-121, 170-172, 193, 327. Attention in this article is focused upon the old school Presbyterians.

[2] *Central Presbyterian* (Richmond, Virginia), September 8, 1860, hereinafter cited as *Central Presbyterian.*

[3] *North Carolina Presbyterian* (Fayetteville), October 13, November 3, 1860, hereinafter cited as *North Carolina Presbyterian.*

[4] Thomas C. Johnson, *The Life and Letters of Robert Lewis Dabney* (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1903), 212, hereinafter cited as Johnson, *Dabney.*

the passionate men who were "stirring" the country and he advised his listeners that they should pray for peace, vote for virtuous men, and be calm in language and manner.[5]

After the election of Lincoln—which one Presbyterian newspaper described as an outrage to southern sentiment and feeling[6]—but prior to the secession of South Carolina, some Presbyterian ministers and denominational agencies publicly advocated disunion. The *Southern Presbyterian*, a weekly newspaper published in Columbia, South Carolina, was the first religious newspaper in the South to espouse secession.[7] It was claimed that secession was the only means of preserving southern rights and liberties.[8] On November 21 James Henly Thornwell, the most influential person in southern Presbyterianism and professor of theology at the denomination's seminary at Columbia, delivered a fast day sermon in that city. He declared that Union, a name "once dear to our hearts, has become intolerable and is now synonymous with oppression, treachery, falsehood, and violence." He denounced Congress as being corrupt and described it as a "den of robbers and bullies." He was convinced that it was no longer possible to live with self-respect in a Union governed by the Republican party. He believed that the government of the nation needed a "reconstruction" and that nothing would bring this about except secession. He was in favor of South Carolina's showing the way in this movement by seceding at once.[9] W. C. Dana, pastor of the Central Presbyterian Church in Charleston, also delivered a fast day sermon on November 21. He claimed that the election of Lincoln had brought to power "a foreign and hostile government," because the Republican party was foreign to southern soil and was hostile to the southern way of life. He asserted that people in the South owed no fealty to a government dominated by this party and declared that only southerners should govern the South. He was in favor of immediate secession.[10] The Synod of South Carolina met during the last week in November and avowed that a hostile extremism—represented by the election of Lincoln—dominated the North and the federal government and was determined to destroy southern social institutions. This ecclesiastical gathering called

[5] James H. Thornwell and Others, *Fast Day Sermons: On The State of the Country* (New York: Rudd and Carleton, 1861), 83-96, hereinafter cited as Thornwell, *Fast Day Sermons.*

[6] *North Carolina Presbyterian,* November 24, 1860.

[7] This claim was made in the *Southern Presbyterian* (Columbia, South Carolina), November 10, 1864, hereinafter cited as *Southern Presbyterian.*

[8] *Southern Presbyterian,* November 17, 1860.

[9] Thornwell, *Fast Day Sermons,* 28, 55; Johnson, *Dabney,* 224.

[10] W. C. Dana, *A Sermon Delivered in the Central Presbyterian Church, Charleston, South Carolina, November 21, 1860, Being the Day Appointed by State Authority for Fasting, Humiliation, and Prayer* (Charleston: Evans and Cogswell, 1860), 6-8.

upon the people of South Carolina to imitate their Revolutionary forefathers, to stand up for their rights, and to declare their independence from the North.[11] On November 29 Benjamin Morgan Palmer, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans, preached a Thanksgiving Day sermon. He echoed the sentiments of his former mentor, Thornwell, and explained that the Union which their forefathers had formed no longer existed, since mutual respect and confidence had been destroyed. He asserted that the Union had become a yoke upon the South and should be thrown off as their ancestors had thrown off the yoke of George III. He urged that secession begin immediately.[12] On December 9 the Reverend R. K. Porter of Waynesboro, Georgia, expressed the belief that peace was possible only if the Union was dissolved and he suggested a "speedy dissolution."[13] The discussion of political questions in the pulpit and by ecclesiastical gatherings was a departure for southern clergymen. The practice, however, was defended on the grounds that the rights, liberties, and religion of the South were imperiled.[14]

Although the Presbyterian press in North Carolina, Virginia, and Louisiana never questioned the right of a state to secede, the editors were more moderate in their views than were Palmer and Porter and their South Carolina colleagues. The *North Carolina Presbyterian* claimed that three fourths of the people in that state wished to preserve the Union but it also noted that these same people believed that a state possessed the right to leave the Union if it so desired.[15] The *Central Presbyterian* echoed this sentiment and declared that any attempt by the federal government to coerce a state to remain in the Union would result in war.[16] In New Orleans the *True Witness and Sentinel* sought to present a position of neutrality and did not espouse southern nationalism until after the secession of Louisiana.[17]

Robert L. Dabney was critical of the secession sentiments of his Presbyterian colleagues in the deep South and of the precipitate politi-

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[11] Minutes of the Synod of South Carolina, held at Charleston, November 28-December 1, 1860, Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches, Montreat.

[12] Thornwell, *Fast Day Sermons*, 73-77.

[13] R. K. Porter, *Christian Duty in the Present Crisis: The Substance of A Sermon Delivered in the Presbyterian Church, in Waynesboro, Georgia, December 9, 1860* (Savannah: Steam Press of John M. Cooper and Company, 1860), 20.

[14] *Southern Presbyterian*, December 15, 1860; *Christian Observer* (Richmond, Virginia, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), January 10, 1861, hereinafter cited as *Christian Observer*.

[15] *North Carolina Presbyterian*, November 24, 1860.

[16] *Central Presbyterian*, December 1, 1860.

[17] Haskell Monroe, "Southern Presbyterians and the Secession Crisis," *Civil War History*, VI (December, 1960), 355, hereinafter cited as Monroe, "Southern Presbyterians."

cal action of South Carolina. Early in December he wrote, "I am sure that trouble is unnecessary. If the Southern states would be quiet . . . but firm, claiming their rights in the Union, all would blow over." His reaction to the secession of South Carolina was expressed in a letter to his mother, dated December 28, 1860. "The impudent little vixen [South Carolina]," he wrote, "has gone beyond all patience. She is as great a pest as the abolitionists. And if I had my way, they might whip her to their heart's content, so they would only do it by sea and not pester us."[18] His views on secession were expressed more fully in a pamphlet, *A Pacific Appeal to Christians,* which was published in January, 1861, and also printed in the *Central Presbyterian.* He did not consider the election of Lincoln a cause for secession and he regarded the conduct of South Carolina as unjustifiable and as weakening the position of the South. He believed that if secession occurred, it should be the united action of the entire South and not state by state. He urged calmness and Christian patience and implored the people to be temperate in their language.[19] In March, however, after various compromise schemes to guarantee southern rights had failed, Dabney called upon Virginians to leave the Union as soon as possible.[20] Nearly a month before Fort Sumter a Baptist editor remarked "there is a remarkable unanimity among the Presbyterian ministers of the South in favor of a separation from the North."[21]

The Fort Sumter incident and Lincoln's proclamation for troops were denounced by southern Presbyterians as an invasion of their homeland and a violation of the principle of self-government and of the Constitution.[22] After the secession of Virginia, Dabney wrote another pamphlet; he defended secession and castigated the fanatics in the North, claiming that they controlled the federal government and wished to enslave the people of the South.[23] During the summer and fall of 1861 all (forty-seven) of the southern presbyteries expressed their sympathy for the Confederate cause and in December, 1861, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States declared its allegiance to the Confederate government. The

[18] Robert L. Dabney to his sister, December 7, 1860; Robert L. Dabney to his mother, December 28, 1860, Robert L. Dabney Papers, Union Theological Seminary Library, Richmond, Virginia.

[19] Peyton H. Hoge, *Moses Drury Hoge: Life and Letters* (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publications, 1899), 140-142, hereinafter cited as Hoge, *Moses Drury Hoge;* Johnson, *Dabney,* 215-217.

[20] Monroe, "Southern Presbyterians," 358.

[21] *Tennessee Baptist* (Nashville, Tennessee), March 23, 1861.

[22] F. D. Jones and W. H. Mills (eds.), *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina Since 1850* (Columbia: R. L. Bryan Company, 1926), 77, hereinafter cited as Jones and Mills, *Presbyterian Church in South Carolina;* Hoge, *Moses Drury Hoge,* 145.

[23] Johnson, *Dabney,* 223.

statement of the general assembly, entitled "An Address to All of the Churches of Jesus Christ Throughout the Earth," was prepared by a committee under the chairmanship of James H. Thornwell. It traced the growing tensions between North and South for the past thirty years and presented an extended argument justifying slavery and the position of the South. It explained that southerners needed no apology in withdrawing their country from the government of the United States.[24]

Blame for the disruption of the Union was placed on the North. Northern states were accused of violating the Constitution by the enactment of liberty laws, and the people in the North were depicted as wishing to deny southerners equal opportunity in the territories.[25] It was maintained that secession was the only course available for a peace-loving people to insure their rights of property, person, home, and church from the "fanatics" who were in control of the government at Washington.[26] Northern abolitionists were accused of interjecting a "moral element" into the sectional struggle which excited public sentiment and made it more aggressive and rendered compromise impossible.[27]

The North was accused of initiating a cruel and relentless war upon the South.[28] Presbyterian spokesmen assured the people of the South that in the "eyes of God and man" their cause was just, since they were attempting to maintain their institutions against a despotic power, and they were urged to pray for the welfare of the Confed-

[24] *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America, With an Appendix, 1861* (Augusta, Georgia: Steam Power Press Chronicle and Sentinel, 1861), 9, 52-60, hereinafter cited as *Minutes of the General Assembly, 1861;* Haskell M. Monroe, Jr., "The Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Rice University, 1961), 129, hereinafter cited as Monroe, "The Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States."

[25] Thornwell, *Fast Day Sermons,* 36; *North Carolina Presbyterian,* November 24, 1860; *Central Presbyterian,* December 1, 1860.

[26] Minutes of the Synod of South Carolina, Charleston, November 6, 1861, Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches; *Minutes of the General Assembly, 1861,* 56; unsigned article, "The Presbyterian Church in Georgia on Secession and Slavery," *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* I (September, 1917), 263; Joseph C. Stiles, *The National Controversy; or The Voice of the Fathers Upon the State of the Country* (New York: Rudd and Carleton, 1861), 1, 7, 15, 47.

[27] *Central Presbyterian,* December 29, 1860.

[28] *Southern Presbyterian,* August 24, 1861; T. S. Winn, *The Great Victory at Manassas Junction. God The Arbiter of Battles, A Thanksgiving Sermon, Preached in the Presbyterian Church at Concord, in Greene County, Alabama, July 28, 1861* (Tuskaloosa, Alabama: J. F. Warren, 1861), 6, hereinafter cited as Winn, *The Great Victory;* Benjamin M. Palmer, *The Rainbow Round the Throne; or Judgement Tempered With Mercy, A Discourse Before the Legislature of Georgia, Delivered on the Day of Fasting, Humiliation, and Prayer, Appointed by the President of the Confederate States of America, March 27, 1863* (Milledgeville, Georgia: Boughton, Nisbet and Barnes, 1863), 34, 37, hereinafter cited as Palmer, *Rainbow Round the Throne.*

erate government and armies.[29] Some churchmen interpreted the war as being the chastisement of God. It was His method of disciplining the people so that they would be more appreciative of independence.[30] Benjamin Palmer, in a sermon before the Georgia legislature, said that God was using the war as a disciplinary action on the southern people, preparing them for a great future.[31] There were others who saw the war as God's punishment for sins. Amasa Converse, a prominent Presbyterian minister and editor, said that the South had been guilty of idleness and intemperance, had been a proud and ungrateful people, and that these sins were partially responsible for the war.[32] The Reverend T. V. Moore of Richmond declared that the war was God's way of "breaking up mammon worship" and of teaching men the Christian virtues of humility and patience.[33]

Throughout the war the hand of God was read into every military victory and defeat. Thomas Smyth declared that the Confederate triumph at the first battle of Manassas was due to a "wonder-working Providence," and T. S. Winn said that God's assistance to the Confederacy was similar to His aiding the Israelites against the Philistines.[34] It was claimed that McClellan's failure to take Richmond in the spring of 1862 was because of the intervention of deity.[35] Success in battle was considered a gift of God, the evidence of His pleasure toward the South; and ecclesiastical gatherings thanked Him for their blessings and beseeched His salvation for the final victory.[36]

Military defeats were often portrayed as necessary preparation for peace and prosperity. Without reverses, the people were told, they

[29] *North Carolina Presbyterian*, April 27, 1861; *Central Presbyterian*, March 26, 1863; James A. Millard, Jr., *A Digest of the Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, 1861-1944* (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publications, 1945), 159, hereinafter cited as Millard, *Digest; Minutes of the Presbytery of Fayetteville, at Their Ninety-seventh Session, Held at Mt. Horeb Church, Bladen County, North Carolina, October 10-11, 1861* (Fayetteville: Printed at the Presbyterian Office, 1861), 13.

[30] *Central Presbyterian*, December 7, 1861.

[31] *Christian Index* (Macon, Georgia), April 6, 1861, hereinafter cited as *Christian Index*.

[32] *Christian Observer*, April 17, 1862.

[33] T. V. Moore, *God Our Refuge and Strength in This War: A Discourse Before the Congregations of the First and Second Presbyterian Churches, on the Day of Humiliation, Fasting and Prayer Appointed by President Davis, Friday, November 15, 1861* (Richmond: n.p., 1861), 7.

[34] Thomas Smyth, "The Victory of Manassas Plains," *Southern Presbyterian Review*, XIV (January, 1862), 599; Winn, *The Great Victory*, 6.

[35] *North Carolina Presbyterian*, July 12, 1862.

[36] This was a charactertistic practice of ecclesiastical meetings during the war. For examples see Millard, *Digest*, 160; *Minutes of the Forty-ninth Session of the Synod of North Carolina, Held in the Church at Goldsboro, October 29, 1862* (Fayetteville: Printed at the Presbyterian Office, 1863), 17; *Minutes of the One Hundred and Third Session of the Presbytery of Fayetteville, At Union Church, Duplin County, North Carolina, October 6-8, 1864* (Fayetteville: Printed at the Presbyterian Office, 1865), 5.

would have no true conception of their condition. The would become "puffed up like a bubble, would burst and scatter into nothingness"; reverses would prevent this from happening because through them God tested and developed the character of a people.[37] Attention was called to the biblical teaching, "God always chastises those whom He loves the most."[38] When the Federal forces penetrated into middle Tennessee and occupied Nashville early in 1862, the *Southern Presbyterian* explained that the losses were acts of divine discipline against sloth, selfishness, love of ease, and the worship of material things.[39] The fall of New Orleans was called a "cup of bitterness" which it was God's will for the South to take.[40] The disaster at Gettysburg was attributed not to the failure of certain of Lee's corps commanders to move at a given time but to the sin of pride. One Presbyterian editor commented that

> . . . probably no offense to God has been more conspicuous in our history than our pride . . . our self-confidence. . . . As we marched into Pennsylvania our people were vainly puffed up with pride. . . . How shamefully we forgot God. We believe it was in mercy, He frowned upon this attempt to do without Him.[41]

As the war was prolonged and Confederate losses increased, Presbyterian spokesmen implored southerners not to be discouraged and assured them that if they trusted in God and repented of their sins they would receive the blessing of independence.[42]

Throughout the war Christian faith and patriotism were practically synonymous in the thinking of most Presbyterians. Denominational newspapers and church leaders never permitted Presbyterians to forget their patriotic duty. The sermons of some Presbyterian clergymen to recruits departing for the theater of war depicted the will of God as synonymous with the cause of the South. The Reverend John Jones of Rome, Georgia, informed the Rome Light Guards that they were embarking upon a holy war and that they should never waver in their loyalty to the South.[43] Benjamin Palmer told members of the

[37] *Southern Presbyterian,* January 12, 1865; *Soldier's Visitor* (Richmond, Virginia), January, 1865, hereinafter cited as *Soldier's Visitor.*

[38] *Southern Presbyterian,* March 1, 1862.

[39] *Southern Presbyterian,* February 22, 1862; R. H. Lafferty, *Fast Day Sermon Preached in the Church of Sugar Creek, Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, February 28, 1862* (Fayetteville: Printed at the Presbyterian Office, 1862), 5-14.

[40] *Central Presbyterian,* May 1, 1863.

[41] *Central Presbyterian,* August 13, 1863.

[42] J. C. Stiles, *National Rectitude the Only True Basis of National Prosperity* (Petersburg, Virginia: Evangelical Tract Society, 1863), 6, 28; J. C. Stiles, *Captain Thomas E. King; or A Word to the Army and the Country* (Atlanta: J. J. Toon and Company, 1864), 52; *Southern Presbyterian,* December 29, 1864.

[43] J. Jones, *The Southern Soldier's Duty. A Discourse Delivered to the Rome Light Guards and Miller Rifles, in the Presbyterian Church of Rome, Georgia, on Sabbath Morning, May 26, 1861* (Rome: Steam Power Press of D. H. Mason, 1861), 5-11.

Washington Artillery before leaving New Orleans that they were entering a war of southern civilization versus northern barbarism, and he assured them that they had the blessings of deity.[44] Another Louisiana contingent of troops heard a sermon by Palmer on the text, Psalms 144:1, "Blessed be the Lord, my strength, which teacheth my hands to war and my fingers to fight."[45] The press advised men to fulfill their patriotic duty by enlisting in the army, and ministers were urged to enter the chaplaincy. Southerners from the Potomac to the Rio Grande were implored to be of one heart against the invader and were assured that there was nothing "in Christianity opposed to . . . patriotism."[46] Those who were not able to participate in military campaigns were advised that they might purchase bonds and send books, tracts, food, clothing, and medical supplies to the soldiers, and pray for the southern cause.[47] Congregations were informed that they might display their patriotic sympathies by donating the church bell to be made into armaments.[48] During the war some clergymen made patriotic speeches on behalf of the Confederacy. In 1861 Benjamin Palmer was asked by the governor of Louisiana to speak in that state and to urge the people to support the Confederate government; several years later Joseph C. Stiles traveled throughout Georgia and spoke to the citizens on behalf of the southern cause.[49]

Unpatriotic behavior such as desertion, speculation in food and clothing, and subscribing to an oath of allegiance to the federal government were condemned as wicked and sinful.[50] Persons in areas occupied by federal authorities were advised not to take an oath of loyalty to the United States government. It was explained that if one took such an oath it would be an endorsement of the "crimes of the Lincoln government" and would make one "an accomplice in murder." It was also claimed that taking the oath would ostracize one's family from society because it would be interpreted as an

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[44] Thomas C. Johnson, *The Life and Letters of Benjamin Morgan Palmer* (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1906), 238, hereinafter cited as Johnson, *Palmer*.

[45] Johnson, *Palmer*, 237.

[46] *North Carolina Presbyterian*, April 27, 1861; *Central Presbyterian*, March 12, 1863.

[47] *Central Presbyterian*, November 1, 1861, September 11, 1862; Journal of William H. Foote, December 29, 1863, Union Theological Seminary Library, Richmond, Virginia.

[48] John A. Inglish to Allan MacFarlane, May 26, 1862, Allan MacFarlane Papers, Manuscript Department, Duke University Library, Durham; Robert Stiles, *Four Years Under Marse Robert* (New York: Neale Publishing Company, 1903), 119.

[49] Margaret B. DesChamps, "Benjamin Morgan Palmer, Orator-Preacher of the Confederacy," *Southern Journal of Speech*, XIX (September, 1953), 19; *Southern Christian Advocate* (Augusta, Georgia), February 11, 1864, hereinafter cited as *Southern Christian Advocate*.

[50] *Central Presbyterian*, April 9, 1863, March 20, 1864.

act of treason.[51] Benjamin Palmer proclaimed that duty to race and country forbade one to subscribe to an oath of loyalty to the United States government, and he urged southerners in occupied areas to choose the scaffold or dungeon rather than the dishonor which would accompany oath taking.[52] Palmer chose neither the scaffold nor the dungeon; when Federal troops approached his area he fled.

Numerous Presbyterian clergymen heeded the advice of denominational spokesmen and entered the army as chaplains and as officers. The army was described as a place where the "field was ripe for the harvest" and ministers were needed to take the word of God to men who were exposed to danger and death, and to save them from such evils of camp life as gambling, drinking, and cursing.[53] During the war approximately one hundred Presbyterian clergymen entered the chaplaincy.[54] Presbyterian leaders were more active than other churchmen in trying—albeit unsuccessfully—to persuade the Confederate government to make adequate provisions for chaplains.[55] Therefore, in 1862 the Synod of Virginia appointed Moses Drury Hoge to correspond with chaplains and colonels concerning chaplain vacancies and to work with mission committees in local presbyteries in trying to secure able ministers for the chaplaincy.[56] In May, 1863, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States decided to supplement the government salary of Presbyterian chaplains so that they would have an income of one thousand dollars a year.[57] The following year it was reported that 80 percent of the Presbyterian chaplains received partial or entire support from the denomination.[58] The efforts of this church to provide chaplains elicited praise from a Baptist editor who said, "The Presbyterians are more zealous in supplying chaplains than any other [denomination] . . . and they are men of the best intellects and attainments."[59]

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[51] *Central Presbyterian,* April 17, 1862.

[52] *Central Presbyterian,* March 12, 1863.

[53] *Southern Presbyterian,* February 22, 1862.

[54] Herman A. Norton, "The Organization and Function of the Confederate Military Chaplaincy, 1861-1865" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1956), 96-98, states that the Presbyterians had approximately one hundred chaplains; Monroe, "The Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States," 336-338, lists seventy-two Presbyterian clergymen who were commissioned chaplains during the war.

[55] Moses D. Hoge to W. P. Miles, Chairman of the Committee of Military Affairs, May 7, 1862, Moses D. Hoge Papers, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville.

[56] *Minutes of the Synod of Virginia at Their Session in Staunton, October, 1862* [cover to this publication is missing; copy may be found in Duke University Library], 310.

[57] *Central Presbyterian,* November 5, 1863, November 7, 1864.

[58] *Religious Herald* (Richmond, Virginia), February 18, 1864, hereinafter cited as *Religious Herald.*

[59] *Central Presbyterian,* October 1, 1863. Quoted from the *Confederate Baptist* (Columbia, South Carolina).

"A Service Interrupted," an illustration from *Christ in the Camp,* by J. William Jones.

Other Presbyterian clergymen served in the Confederate forces as officers, and there is no evidence that southern Presbyterians questioned the propriety of ministers' bearing arms.[60] Robert L. Dabney served as aide-de-camp to "Stonewall" Jackson during the summer of

[60] The *Southern Presbyterian,* September 7, 1861, declared that ministers were justified in bearing arms.

1862, and preached to the troops whenever conditions permitted. One colonel said of him, "our parson is not afraid of Yankee bullets, and I tell you he preached like hell." [61] Ill health forced Dabney's retirement before the end of the year.[62] The Reverend J. M. P. Atkinson, president of Hampden-Sydney College, was elected captain of a military company of students and pledged to "lead them wherever duty calls." [63] Other Presbyterian ministers who served as officers included J. H. McNeill, F. McMurray, L. L. Miller, and J. J. McMahon. McNeill, an officer of the American Bible Society, resigned his position when the war began, returned to North Carolina and became a lieutenant colonel in the Confederate army.[64] McMurray was the pastor of a Presbyterian church in Union Springs, Alabama, and entered the army as the captain of a company composed almost entirely of his church members.[65] L. L. Miller was elected captain of the Thomasville Rifles in North Carolina,[66] and J. J. McMahon served as a colonel in Floyd's Brigade.[67] Among the Presbyterian ministers killed in battle were Dabney Carr Harrison, Robert L. McLain, James M. Richardson, and W. P. Hickman. Harrison, the captain of a company in the Forty-sixth Virginia Brigade, was killed at Fort Donelson.[68] McLain, a colonel in the Thirty-seventh Mississippi Regiment, died from wounds suffered at Shiloh;[69] Richardson was killed when he led a company of troops against Federal forces at Marietta, Georgia,[70] and Hickman was killed at Cloyd's Farm in Virginia on May 9, 1864.[71]

Although the vast majority of Presbyterian clergymen were vigorous advocates of the southern cause, a few of them—scattered from Virginia to Texas—were opposed to secession and were Unionist in sentiment. At least two Presbyterian ministers in Virginia, Orr Swanson and Arthur Mitchell, were removed from church membership because

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[61] Johnson, *Dabney*, 264.
[62] Johnson, *Dabney*, 263.
[63] *Religious Herald*, April 25, 1861.
[64] R. L. Stanton, *The Church and the Rebellion, A Consideration of the Rebellion Against the Government of the United States; and the Agency of the Church, North and South, in Relation Thereto* (New York: Derby and Miller, 1864), 175.
[65] James Stacy, *A History of the Presbyterian Church in Georgia* (Atlanta: Westminster Company, 1912), 181, hereinafter cited as Stacy, *Presbyterian Church in Georgia.*
[66] *North Carolina Christian Advocate* (Raleigh), April 29, 1861.
[67] *Christian Observer*, September 11, 1862.
[68] William J. Hoge, *Sketch of Dabney Carr Harrison, Minister of the Gospel and Captain in the Army of the Confederate States of America* (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publications, 1862), 17-20.
[69] *Christian Observer*, September 11, 1862.
[70] *Minutes of the Synod of Mississippi, 1861-1867* (Jackson: Clarion Steam Publication Establishment, 1880), 51, hereinafter cited as *Synod of Mississippi, 1861-1867.*
[71] Minutes of the Montgomery Presbytery, Christiansburg, Virginia, June 1-3, 1865, Union Theological Seminary Library.

they left the state and went north.[72] J. R. Graves, a Presbyterian minister in North Carolina, was once accused of treason because of his Union sympathies, and Eli Caruthers was forced to resign from his pulpit in Greensboro because of his pro-Union views.[73] William Blount Carter, Presbyterian minister at Elizabethton, Tennessee, was perhaps the most active pro-Union clergyman in the South. In the summer of 1861, he conferred in Washington with President Lincoln, Secretary William H. Seward, and General George B. McClellan concerning a plan to wreck Confederate railway communications and capitalize on Union sentiment in the East Tennessee area. The plan, approved and financed by Federal authorities, called for Carter and other Unionists to arrange for a simultaneous destruction of the nine railroad bridges from Bristol, Tennessee, to Bridgeport, Alabama. The bridge burning was to be accompanied by the invasion of a Federal army into East Tennessee. It was later agreed that the plan be executed on the night of November 6, 1861. On this date five bridges were destroyed and telegraph lines from Bristol to Chattanooga were wrecked.[74]

The most prominent Presbyterian clergyman who criticized slavery, secession, and the role assumed by many ministers during the war was James A. Lyon. Lyon was a native of East Tennessee and had preached at Columbus, Mississippi, since 1841. Throughout the war he was a critic of the course of action adopted by the South but he did not leave the area nor was he molested. One historian has written that Lyon's long tenure of service at Columbus had given him a position of leadership and respect in society that transcended political differences.[75] Other Presbyterian clergymen of Union sympathies were beaten, imprisoned, forced from their homes, and even murdered.[76]

The war created new problems for the church as it sought to minister effectively to the religious needs of its membership. Paramount among

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[72] Minutes of the Lexington Presbytery, November 22, 1864; Minutes of the United Presbyterian Church, Richmond, October 31, 1861, Union Theological Seminary Library.

[73] *Central Presbyterian*, December 25, 1862, June 18, 1863; Sketch of Caruthers by J. C. Wharton, 6, 8, Eli W. Caruthers Papers, Duke Manuscript Department.

[74] Oliver P. Temple, *East Tennessee and the Civil War* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke Company, 1899), 368-371, 379, 388; Georgia Lee Tatum, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1934), 146; J. Reuben Sheeler, "The Development of Unionism in East Tennessee, 1860-1866," *Journal of Negro History*, XXIX (April, 1944), 189, 190.

[75] Journal of the Reverend James A. Lyon, 1861-1870, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, 9, 39, 40-41; John K. Bettersworth (ed.), "Mississippi Unionism: The Case of the Reverend James A. Lyon," *Journal of Mississippi History*, I (January, 1939), 37, 52.

[76] John H. Aughey, *Tupelo* (Lincoln, Nebraska: State Journal Company, 1888), 69-72, 109, 144, 280; William S. Red, *A History of the Presbyterian Church in Texas* (n.p.: The Steck Company, 1936), 188.

these problems was the need to provide for the spiritual welfare of the soldiers. Since the government never made more than token efforts to provide chaplains, the denominations embarked upon programs of army missions. At the meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States in the spring of 1863, the church combined its domestic and foreign mission boards. John L. Wilson was made secretary and attention was to center on army missions.[77] Wilson's initial task was to mail a circular letter to eighty ministers, asking if they would enter the army and labor as missionaries. In less than two months sixty were serving in the army.[78] The General Assembly also appointed commissioners to the different divisions of the army. These men were to serve as chaplains, aid in securing chaplains for vacant regiments, circulate religious literature, and make reports to the secretary of the mission board. The men appointed to the Army of Northern Virginia were B. T. Lacy and Theodorick Pryor. John N. Waddel was appointed to the Army of Mississippi, Drury Lacy to the Army of Eastern North Carolina, John Douglas to the Army of South Carolina, Rufus Porter to the Army of Georgia and Florida, Henry M. Smith to the army west of the Mississippi River, and Benjamin Palmer to the Army of Tennessee.[79] Palmer, because of illness, was shortly replaced by William Flinn.[80] The Presbyterian press and local synods and presbyteries suggested that ministers visit the army for two- or four-week periods annually and preach to the troops.[81] The commissioners and missionaries were supported by funds locally collected and sent to Wilson at Columbia, South Carolina. A Presbyterian missionary was paid $2,400 a year; and the last two years of the war this denomination spent over $100,000 annually on army missions.[82]

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[77] *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America, with an Appendix, 1863* (Columbia, South Carolina: Southern Guardian Steam-Power Press, 1863), 164, hereinafter cited as *General Assembly, 1863.*

[78] Hampden C. DuBose, *Memoirs of Rev. John Leighton Wilson* (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1895), 253.

[79] *Central Presbyterian,* September 10, 1863; *General Assembly, 1863,* 139.

[80] Henry A. White, *Southern Presbyterian Leaders* (New York: Neale Publishing Company, 1911), 341.

[81] *Minutes of the One Hundred and First Session of the Presbytery of Fayetteville. Held at Pike Church, New Hanover County, North Carolina, October 8-10, 1863* (Fayetteville: Printed at the Presbyterian Office, 1863), 10; *Minutes of the Synod of Virginia. Held at Lexington, in October 1864* [cover to this publication is missing; copy may be found in Duke University Library], 355; *Minutes of the Fall Session of the Presbytery of South Carolina. Held at Upper Long Cane Church, Abbeville, September 23-26, 1863* (Greenville: G. E. Elford's Press, 1863), 14, 15.

[82] *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America, with an Appendix, 1864* (Columbia, South Carolina: Steam Power Presses of Evans and Cogswell, 1864), 317, hereinafter cited as *General Assembly, 1864; Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, with an Appendix, 1865* (Augusta, Georgia: Constitutionalist Job Office, 1865), 390; hereinafter cited as *General Assembly, 1865.*

Under the program of army missions the ablest clergymen in the church visited the camps and conducted worship services.[83] In January, 1865, it was reported that 112 Presbyterian ministers were serving in camps and hospitals.[84]

A significant feature of religious activity during the war was the degree of interdenominational cooperation. The spirit of Christian harmony, which had often been absent prior to 1860, manifested itself in the religious press, in the camp activities of chaplains and missionaries, and in publishing ventures. During the war arguments of theology and polity were dropped, and the overall tone of religious discussions was one of optimism, hope, and confidence. One newspaper editor noted "the entente cordiale prevails in [the] denominational press" and explained that "these are times when all hearts and hands should be united . . . and church controversies should not divide the people."[85] Robert L. Dabney asserted that "by a common and silent consent, all subjects of sectarian debate were excluded" from religious discussions during the war, and churchmen confined their deliberations "to the interests of our common Christianity."[86] Union prayer meetings and fast day observances were common practices on the home front,[87] and the sermons preached in camp were described as being suitable for any congregation in the country since they focused on "Jesus Christ and Him crucified."[88]

The formation of chaplains' associations, army churches, and Christian associations illustrate the ecumenical spirit of the southern churches in wartime. The Chaplain's Association of the Army of Northern Virginia—the first organization of its kind in the army—was organized on March 16, 1863. This agency was suggested by the Presbyterian deacon, "Stonewall" Jackson, and was formed by B. T. Lacy, a Presbyterian clergyman who was elected the first president of the association.[89] The purpose of this organization was to consolidate and coordinate religious work in the various army corps and to

[83] Robert L. Dabney, *Life and Campaigns of Lieut.-Gen. Thomas J. Jackson* (New York: Blelock and Company, 1866), 584, hereinafter cited as Dabney, *Jackson.*

[84] *Religious Herald,* January 12, 1865; Benjamin R. Lacy, Jr., *Revivals in the Midst of the Years* (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1943), 137.

[85] *Christian Advocate* (Nashville, Tennessee), December 12, 1861.

[86] Dabney, *Jackson,* 651.

[87] Willard E. Wight (ed.), "The Diary of the Reverend Charles S. Vedder, May-July, 1861," *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* XXXIX (March, 1955), 71-73, 77, 80, 82, 84; *Central Presbyterian,* October 29, April 2, 1863; *North Carolina Presbyterian,* March 4, 1864.

[88] J. William Jones, *Christ in the Camp, or Religion in Lee's Army* (Richmond: B. F. Johnson and Company, 1887), 14-15, hereinafter cited as Jones, *Christ in the Camp;* John B. McFerrin, "Religion in the Army of Tennessee," *Home Monthly,* IV (January, 1868), 27, hereinafter cited as McFerrin, "Religion in the Army of Tennessee."

[89] Jones, *Christ in the Camp,* 230; Dabney, *Jackson,* 651.

try to provide worship services for the troops in all of the regiments. The chaplains held weekly meetings at which times they would discuss their activities and problems, arrange to concert their labors, and devise means for supplying those regiments without chaplains. They also corresponded with ministers and arranged for them to visit the camp and preach to the soldiers, and they sought to recruit chaplains.[90] Chaplains' associations were effective agencies and were later formed in all divisions of the army.[91]

The preaching of the chaplains and missionaries resulted in a series of revivals in the armies which began in 1862 and continued intermittently throughout the war.[92] To preserve the interest in religion and to hold new converts firm in the faith, clergymen in the camps organized army churches and Christian associations. The first army church was formed in the winter of 1863-1864 in Sterling Price's command. The Reverend Enoch Marvin and other chaplains drew up the articles of faith and a constitution for this church. Men of any denominational preference were admitted and the only occasion when denominationalism was noted was at the baptism of new converts. Those who expressed a Methodist or Presbyterian preference were sprinkled, and those who expressed a preference for the Baptist church were immersed. It was the custom for chaplains to give to all members of the army church certificates which were usually recognized by the home churches of the converts when they were presented for membership.[93] The idea of the army church became popular and spread to other areas; churches similar to the one in Price's command were organized in the Army of Tennessee and in the Army of Northern Virginia.[94]

Christian associations were not the same as army churches. One did not have to express the desire of becoming a church member to

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[90] Dabney, *Jackson*, 648; *Central Presbyterian*, September 10, 1863; *Religious Herald*, September 3, 1863.

[91] *Army and Navy Messenger* (Petersburg, Virginia), February 1, 1864, hereinafter cited as *Army and Navy Messenger;* McFerrin, "Religion in the Army of Tennessee," 28; William W. Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival Which Prevailed in the Southern Armies During the Late Civil War Between the States of the Federal Union* (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen and Haffelfinger, 1877), 245, 347, hereinafter cited as Bennett, *The Great Revival.*

[92] The story of the army revivals has been told in detail by two ministers who participated in them. W. W. Bennett, a Methodist, has told the story in his book, *The Great Revival*, and J. W. Jones, a Baptist, has described the revivals in his *Christ in the Camp.*

[93] Horace Jewell, *History of Methodism in Arkansas* (Little Rock: Press Printing Company, 1892), 178-179.

[94] Albert T. Goodloe, *Confederate Echoes: A Voice From the South in the Days of Secession and of the Southern Confederacy* (Nashville: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1907), 401, hereinafter cited as Goodloe, *Confederate Echoes;* McFerrin, "Religion in the Army of Tennessee," 28; *Richmond Christian Advocate* (Richmond, Virginia), February 19, 1863, hereinafter cited as *Richmond Christian Advocate*; *Soldier's Visitor*, January, 1865.

"Lee at the Soldiers' Prayer Meeting," an illustration from *A Narrative of the Great Revival Which Prevailed in the Southern Armies during the Late Civil War,* by William W. Bennett.

belong to that type of organization. The Soldier's Christian Association of the Tenth Virginia Regiment proclaimed that "all who desire to do better, whether church member or not" were welcome.[95] William Flinn, a Presbyterian chaplain stationed near Fredericksburg, read the preamble and purpose of the Christian association of his North Carolina troops.

> We . . . desiring to secure to ourselves while in the army, the comforts and benefits of Christian fellowship, to promote our own spirituality and growth in grace, and to increase our usefulness as Christians to those around us, agree to form an association. All who are members of any branch of the Church are entitled to admittance. . . . All from the world who profess their faith in Christ and their purpose to lead a Godly life are received.[96]

Members of these nondenominational organizations conducted prayer meetings when the chaplain was absent, strove to form associations in other regiments, and helped to circulate religious readings among

[95] *Richmond Christian Advocate,* May 7, 1863.
[96] Reverend William Flinn to W. L. Mitchell, April 24, 1863, William L. Mitchell Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

the troops.[97] They also sought to discourage insubordination and desertion.[98] Christian associations were found in all departments of the army.[99]

Southern Presbyterians were diligent in their efforts to provide Christian reading materials for the people of the South, especially for the men in uniform. Alone and in cooperation with other denominations, Presbyterians sought to provide Bibles, New Testaments, tracts, and religious newspapers for the people. At the first meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States, there was created the Assembly's Executive Committee of Publications with headquarters in Richmond.[100] This committee consisted of a secretary and ten other members, and the approval of seven members was required of all manuscripts accepted for publication.[101] It was requested that the local churches make special contributions to support this agency, whose purpose was to provide books and pamphlets for the membership of the denomination.[102] By 1863 the committee was concerned primarily with providing reading matter for the soldiers. It published tracts, hymn books, and a semimonthly newspaper for the soldiers entitled the *Soldier's Visitor*. This paper, edited by John Leyburn, was printed in Richmond; the first issue appeared in August, 1863, and the last edition was that of February, 1865. The paper contained sermons, reprints of tracts, devotional readings, letters, and news; each issue consisted of 8,000 copies which were distributed gratis to the soldiers.[103] Voluntary donations permitted the publishers of the different Presbyterian newspapers to send copies to the camps for free distribution. In 1863 it was reported that 2,000 copies of the *Central Presbyterian* were sent to the army each week; and that 3,000 and 4,000 copies respectively of the *Christian Observer* and the *Southern Presbyterian* were distributed in the army each week.[104]

A valiant effort was made in 1863 by Moses Hoge, pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Richmond, to secure Bibles and tracts in England. Hoge was sent to Britain as an emissary of the Virginia

[97] Goodloe, *Confederate Echoes*, 378, 384, 391, 420.

[98] David E. Johnston, *The Story of A Confederate Boy in the Civil War* (Portland, Oregon: Glass and Prudhomme, 1914), 291-292.

[99] *Richmond Christian Advocate*, May 7, 1863; *Central Presbyterian*, March 5, 1863; *Southern Christian Advocate*, April 13, 1865.

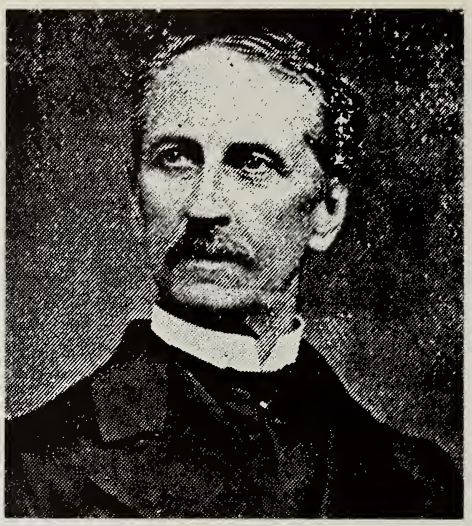
[100] *General Assembly, 1861*, 40.

[101] *General Assembly, 1861*, 40.

[102] *General Assembly, 1861*, 40.

[103] *General Assembly, 1863*, 147; *General Assembly, 1864*, 308; *Christian Observer*, August 13, 1863; Henry S. Stroupe, *The Religious Press in the South Atlantic States, 1802-1865: An Annotated Bibliography with Historical Introduction and Notes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1956), 103.

[104] Monroe, "The Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States," 255.



Moses Drury Hoge, D.D., pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Richmond, traveled to England in 1863 to purchase Bibles, New Testaments, and tracts for distribution in the Confederacy. Photograph from *Christ in the Camp.*

Bible Society and of the Presbyterian Committee of Publications to purchase a supply of Bibles, New Testaments, and tracts. He was to ship those items to Nassau, and from there southerners were to try to bring them through the blockade. Hoge was well received in England; the board of managers of the British and Foreign Bible Society gave him a grant of 10,000 Bibles, 50,000 New Testaments, and 250,000 portions of Psalms and Gospels, and the Religious Tract Society gave him tracts and pamphlets valued at £300. This literature was brought to Nassau but only a fraction of it escaped the blockade and reached the Confederacy.[105]

Presbyterian representatives were present at Augusta in March, 1862, when a group of churchmen, representing all of the major Protestant denominations, met and organized the Bible Society in the Confederate States of America. Although the Bible Society was hampered by a shortage of materials it published several printings of the New Testament and was ably supported by the southern Presbyterians.[106] Presbyterians were also active in at least four nondenominational organizations whose purpose was to provide religious litera-

[105] *Central Presbyterian,* April 16, December 17, 1863; *Christian Observer,* July 23, 1863; Hoge, *Moses Drury Hoge,* 169, 180; W. Edwin Hemphill, "Bibles Through the Blockade," *Commonwealth,* XVI (August, 1949), 9-12, 30-32.

[106] *Proceedings of the Bible Convention of the Confederate States of America, Including the Minutes of the Organization of the Bible Society, Augusta, Georgia, March 19-21, 1862, and Also A Sermon Preached Before The Convention by the Rev. George F. Pierce, D.D., Bishop of the M. E. Church, South* (Augusta: Printed at the Constitutionalist Office, 1862), 9; *First Annual Report of the Bible Society of the Confeder-*

ture for the people of the South. The Evangelical Tract Society was formed by a committee of Christians in Petersburg in the summer of 1861. A publishing committee, created to determine which manuscripts should be printed, included a Presbyterian, a Methodist, a Baptist, and an Episcopalian. During the war this society printed over one hundred different tracts which totaled in excess of 60 million pages, and published a semimonthly newspaper, the *Army and Navy Messenger.*[107] In June, 1861, a group of ministers representing the different churches in Raleigh, established the General Tract Agency. The publications of this organization were praised by Presbyterian clergymen and chaplains.[108] The South Carolina Tract Society and the Tract Society of Houston were also supported by the Presbyterians.[109]

The widely held view that the war was partly the judgment of God upon the people of the South for failure to Christianize the Negro prompted a reevaluation of certain aspects of slavery during the war.[110] In 1861 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States appointed a three-man committee, made up of James A. Lyon, Charles C. Jones, and T. Pryor, to prepare a report on religious instruction for colored people.[111] This committee asserted that slaves had the same claim upon their masters for religious instruction as did the masters' children, and slaveowners were urged to provide religious instruction for them and to permit them to attend worship services. It was also the duty of large planters, the committee affirmed, to provide chapels for their slaves.[112] Presbyterians believed that there were certain abuses in the slave system which were contrary to biblical teachings and should be corrected. A committee of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church reported in 1863 that there should be laws to protect the marriage and family life of slaves. "To ignore such legislation," it was claimed, "sets at defiance the precepts of the

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ate States of America, 1863 (Augusta: Printed at the Constitutionalist Office, 1863), 6, 11; *Second Annual Report of the Bible Society of the Confederate States of America, 1864* (Augusta: Steam Power Press of Stockton and Company, 1864), 8; *Christian Observer,* May 21, 1863.

[107] *Christian Observer,* July 10, 1862; *Army and Navy Messenger,* March 16, 1865.

[108] W. J. W. Crowder, *General Tract Agency, Raleigh, North Carolina* (Raleigh: General Tract Agency, 1862), 1-4.

[109] *Descriptive Catalogue of the Tracts Published by the South Carolina Tract Society* (Charleston: Evans and Cogswell, n.d.), 19-23; *Christian Observer,* January 21, 1864.

[110] Joseph B. Cheshire, *The Church in the Confederate States: A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1914), 117; *Christian Index,* March 23, 1863; *Southern Christian Advocate,* January 14, 1864.

[111] *General Assembly, 1861,* 15.

[112] J. Leighton Wilson, "Religious Instruction of the Colored People," *Southern Presbyterian Review,* XVI (October, 1863), 191, 194; *Central Presbyterian,* February 19, 1863.

Bible, the dictates of nature, and the moral sentiments of humanity."[113] The Presbyterians in Georgia petitioned the legislature of that state to enact legislation legalizing slave marriages.[114] Laws which forbade the teaching of slaves to read and write were also considered abuses of the slave system, since they interfered with the master's duty to Christianize his slaves; and in 1863 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church recommended that all laws prohibiting the teaching of a slave to read and write be repealed.[115]

There was some private discussion among Presbyterian leaders during the war concerning the propriety of emancipation. In 1861 James H. Thornwell informed Benjamin Palmer that while in Europe the previous summer he had decided to advocate the gradual emancipation of slaves. He believed that emancipation would restore harmony to the nation; however, when he returned to South Carolina in September, 1860, he decided that it was too late to offer such a proposal.[116] Robert L. Dabney claimed that the South should have begun gradual emancipation following the defeats at Vicksburg and Gettysburg; such a policy, he believed, would have prompted assistance from France and England.[117] The opinions of Thornwell and Dabney were not publicly expressed and were suggested as a course of expedient action rather than reflecting a belief in the evils of slavery. When news of the Emancipation Proclamation reached the South it was denounced by spokesmen in all of the major denominations. The Presbyterian press labeled the Proclamation an invitation to the slaves to rise up en masse and spread murder, arson, and desolation throughout the land; it was also claimed that the Proclamation proved the hypocrisy of the North—which maintained it was fighting to preserve the Union but was actually fighting to destroy southern institutions and property.[118] In a fast day sermon Benjamin Palmer claimed that the North was fighting "to put the descendants of Ham over us."[119] In the spring of 1863, a group of ministers in Richmond prepared a document which was signed by ninety-eight clergymen, including forty-one Presbyterians. Entitled *An Address to Christians Throughout the World,* it was a protest against the Emancipation Proclamation. The Proclamation was

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[113] James A. Lyon, "Slavery and the Duties Growing Out of the Relation," *Southern Presbyterian Review,* XVI (July, 1863), 25, hereinafter cited as Lyon, "Slavery and the Duties."

[114] *Southern Presbyterian,* December 1, 1864.

[115] Lyon, "Slavery and the Duties," 19.

[116] Benjamin M. Palmer, *The Life and Letters of James Henley Thornwell* (Richmond: Whittet and Shepperson, 1875), 482-483, hereinafter cited as Palmer, *Thornwell.*

[117] Johnson, *Dabney,* 283.

[118] *Central Presbyterian,* October 2, 1862; *Christian Observer,* January 15, 1863.

[119] Benjamin M. Palmer, *Rainbow Round the Throne,* 38.

described as a political document designed to placate fanatics in the North and an invitation to slave revolts. It was asserted that the Proclamation was not a show of mercy toward the slave but of malice toward the master.[120]

Secession and the war had certain immediate and pronounced effects upon the Presbyterian church in the South. The most significant was the disruption of the church into two sectional bodies. As early as November 28, 1860, some members of the Synod of South Carolina wished to dissolve their connections with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America and form a separate general assembly in the South.[121] From December, 1860, the Presbyterian press in the South discussed the possibility of a split in the church. In South Carolina, Thornwell predicted "a great and terrible division," in the church and the *Southern Presbyterian* declared "there . . . ought to be . . . a division."[122] In the months prior to Fort Sumter a number of southern presbyteries met but some of them did not elect delegates to attend the General Assembly, which was scheduled to meet at Philadelphia in mid-May.[123]

When the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America met on May 16, 1861, the war had begun, and few southerners were present. Some presbyteries had refused to elect delegates, and most of those who had been elected refused to attend. The dangers of travel, the fear that they would not be received in a friendly manner, and the belief "that Southern men had no business in such an assembly" were among the reasons given for their absence.[124] There were sixteen commissioners from the South and they represented only thirteen of the forty-seven southern presbyteries; no delegates were present from North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, or Arkansas.[125] It appeared, in fact, that the southern Presbyterians had already withdrawn from the General Assembly; however, it was the adoption by the assembly of a resolution, introduced by Gardiner Spring of New York, which pledged allegiance and loyalty to the federal government and the Constitution, that per-

[120] Edward McPherson, *The Political History of the United States of America, During the Great Rebellion* . . . (Washington, D. C.: Solomons and Chapman, 1876), 520-521.

[121] Minutes of the Synod of South Carolina, November 28, 1860, Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches.

[122] Monroe, "The Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States," 96, 120.

[123] T. Watson Street, *The Story of Southern Presbyterians* (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1960), 56, hereinafter cited as Street, *Southern Presbyterians.*

[124] Street, *Southern Presbyterians,* 56; Ernest Trice Thompson, *Presbyterians in the South, 1607-1861* (Richmond: John Knox Press [Volume I of a projected multivolume series, 1963—]), I, 563-564, hereinafter cited as Thompson, *Presbyterians in the South.*

[125] Street, *Southern Presbyterians,* 56.

mitted southern Presbyterians to claim that they were "forced out of the church."[126]

In the summer and fall of 1861, forty-seven southern presbyteries dissolved their connection with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America and many of them suggested that a convention of southern Presbyterian delegates meet and form a new denominational organization.[127] The first Presbyterian bodies to take this action were the presbyteries of Orange and Memphis. On June 14 the Orange Presbytery in North Carolina adopted a resolution that favored the establishment of a Presbyterian church in the Confederate States, and recommended that all of the southern presbyteries send delegates to a convention in Augusta on December 4 to form such an organization. The Memphis Presbytery met June 13-14 and denounced the Gardiner Spring resolution, dissolved all connection with the General Assembly, and suggested a special meeting of church leaders to discuss the future of southern Presbyterianism.[128] These appeals, together with those of other presbyteries, resulted in a convention of churchmen, which met in Atlanta on August 15. Delegates to this meeting renounced all association with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America and asked that all southern presbyteries send commissioners to a general assembly which was to be held in Augusta on December 4, 1861.[129] At the December meeting the representatives of the forty-seven presbyteries in the Confederate States formed the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America and elected Benjamin Morgan Palmer as its first moderator.[130] This church adopted the same creedal statements and polity as the older assembly, but affirmed its allegiance to the Confederate government.

Although secession and the war resulted in a split in the Presbyterian church, these same forces contributed to the unity of Presbyterianism in the South and helped to effect the merger of three different ecclesiastical organizations into one church. In October, 1861, the Synod of Nashville suggested the possibility of union among the various Presbyterian factions, and the Synod of Virginia expressed the desire for "fraternal correspondence" of all southern Presbyterian bodies. From the fall and winter of 1861-1862, the possibilities and

[126] Johnson, *Palmer*, 242; Thompson, *Presbyterians in the South*, 564-567; Street, *Southern Presbyterians*, 57-59; Thomas C. Johnson, *History of the Southern Presbyterian Church* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911), 325ff.
[127] Palmer, *Thornwell*, 502.
[128] Monroe, "The Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States," 122-123.
[129] Thompson, *Presbyterians in the South*, 567.
[130] Thompson, *Presbyterians in the South*, 571.

problems of church union were discussed in the denominational newspapers, with most of the comment being favorable to union.[131] In the fall of 1863 the Independent Presbyterian Church, which was represented by thirteen congregations, merged with the Bethel Presbytery of the Synod of South Carolina and became a part of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America.[132] In 1863 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States and the United Synod of new school Presbyterians appointed commissioners to formulate a plan of merger. Representatives of both groups met in Lynchburg on July 24, 1863, and agreed on a plan. After minor alterations the plan was approved by the General Assembly and the meeting of the United Synod, and in 1864 the 12,000 United Synod Presbyterians became a part of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America.[133] Discussions of merger with the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church were cordial but did not result in union.

Presbyterian churches in areas which were invaded by the enemy suffered property damage and desecration. Church buildings, equipment, records, and parsonages were often attacked and destroyed;[134] a recent study claims that more than sixty Presbyterian church buildings were either destroyed or seriously damaged during the war.[135] Some church buildings were taken over by military authorities and converted into hospitals, and the basement of one Presbyterian church in Atlanta was used as a slaughterhouse after that city fell to Sherman.[136] The denomination suffered a severe property loss when the trustees of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Columbia, South Carolina, invested over $250,000 of the institution's endowment in Confederate bonds.[137]

Another consequence of the war was the loss of membership and a decline in the number of clergymen. The absence of ministers, the scattered nature of many congregations, the draft policies of the Confederate government, and the destruction wrought by the invaders impeded the program of the church.[138] Numerous references mention

[131] Monroe, "The Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States," 142-143, 211.
[132] Monroe, "The Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States," 5, 251.
[133] Monroe, "The Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States," 244-269.
[134] *Christian Observer*, March 5, 1863; *Central Presbyterian*, December 10, 1863; J. B. Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary at the Confederate States Capital* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 2 volumes, 1866), II, 469.
[135] Monroe, "The Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States," 311.
[136] Monroe, "The Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States," 312; Minutes of the Hanover Presbytery, Salem Church, October 24, 1862, Union Theological Seminary Library.
[137] *Christian Index*, May 20, 1864; *General Assembly, 1865*, 365.
[138] Robert E. Thompson, *A History of the Presbyterian Churches in the United States* (New York: Christian Literature Company, 1895), 163; *General Assembly, 1863*, 155;

the loss of members; the membership of Presbyterian churches in North Carolina declined by more than two thousand during the war, and the loss was greater elsewhere.[139] The denomination's program of higher education was interrupted by the war and practically all college level instruction ceased. The refusal of the Confederate government to exempt ministerial students from military service caused a decline in the number of clergymen during the war years. The faculties of the Presbyterian seminaries in South Carolina and Virginia petitioned Confederate authorities to change this policy and to permit young men who were preparing for the ministry to forego military service, but their petitions were ignored.[140] The effects of this policy were noted when it was reported that the Presbytery of Charleston ordained only one man during the four war years, and in North Carolina the church gained only eight clergymen, some of whom moved into the state from other areas.[141]

The war also prevented the meeting of numerous presbyteries and synods. In some areas ecclesiastical meetings were suspended entirely. The Synod of Nashville, which embraced middle and eastern Tennessee and northern Alabama, did not meet in 1862, 1863, and 1864; the Texas Synod did not meet in 1863, since a quorum was not present, and the 1864 meeting was cancelled. Most presbyteries in Mississippi did not meet in 1863 and 1864.[142] Denominational communications were interrupted on occasions when the Presbyterian weekly newspapers were forced to suspend publication. In many areas of the South all that could be expected was to preserve a semblance of denominational organization, and church elders were requested to supply vacant pulpits.[143]

In conclusion it might be noted that leaders in the Presbyterian church were perhaps more outspoken and articulate in their pro-secession sentiments than other southern churchmen. The *Southern*

Minutes of the Synod of South Carolina at its Sessions in 1862 and 1863 (Camden, South Carolina: W. K. Rodgers, 1864), 19; *Synod of Mississippi, 1861-1867*, 34, 49.

[139] Stacey, *Presbyterian Church in Georgia*, 182; Jones and Mills, *Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, 372; D. I. Craig, *A History of the Development of the Presbyterian Church in North Carolina* (Richmond: Whittet and Shepperson, 1907), 34, hereinafter cited as Craig, *Presbyterian Church in North Carolina*; H. M. White (ed.), *Rev. William S. White, D.D., and His Times: An Autobiography* (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1891), 175.

[140] Francis R. Flournoy, *Benjamin Mosby Smith, 1811-1893* (Richmond: Richmond Press, 1947), 78.

[141] *General Assembly, 1865*, 366; Craig, *Presbyterian Church in North Carolina*, 34.

[142] *Synod of Mississippi, 1861-1867*, 34, 49; Minutes of the Texas Synod, 1863, 1864, Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches; Minutes of the Synod of Nashville, Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches; Minutes of the Session of the Piedmont Presbyterian Church, Union Theological Seminary; *Christian Observer*, September 29, 1864.

[143] *Southern Presbyterian*, October 6, 1864.

Presbyterian and prominent clergymen such as James H. Thornwell and Benjamin M. Palmer were vigorous exponents of southern nationalism, but none of the Presbyterian apologists for the southern cause championed secession until after the election of Lincoln and the call for a state convention by the governor of South Carolina. The arguments of Presbyterian spokesmen, who advocated secession, were those made familiar by states' rights politicians who had voiced them in the Missouri Compromise debates forty years earlier. The influence of Presbyterian clergymen on the course of secession seems to have been minimal. The secession movement was essentially a political movement and was publicly embraced by religious leaders only in late 1860 and early 1861. Evidence indicates that churchmen were followers of the movement rather than leaders. Blame for secession, the war, and the splitting of the denomination was placed on northerners. The church informed the people of the South that their war was a just and holy one, and all Christians were urged to pray for the welfare of the Confederate government and its armies. The Presbyterian church made valiant efforts to minister to the spiritual needs of the soldiers, to provide religious readings for the people of the South, and to continue an effective ministry on the home front. Numerous ministers served as chaplains and missionaries in the army, and the Presbyterians labored diligently, both on the denominational level and with others, to provide Bibles, New Testaments, tracts, and other items for the people of the Confederacy. The church suffered heavy material losses during the war, and when hostilities ceased countless churches had to be rebuilt or repaired, educational endowments had to be restored, clergymen had to be recruited and trained, and organizational ties had to be reformed. The task of rebuilding faced Presbyterians in the South.

REVOLUTIONARY ORIGINS OF THE SOUTH'S CONSTITUTIONAL DEFENSES

By David L. Smiley*

"The American Revolution, with its foreign and future consequences," James Madison declared in 1790, "is a subject of such magnitude that every circumstance connected with it, more especially every one leading to it, is already and will be more and more a matter of investigation." For that reason he regarded the proceedings in Virginia during the Stamp Act crisis a quarter-century earlier as peculiarly significant. Information about those events, he said, was "a sort of debt due from her contemporary citizens to their successors." He asked elder statesman Edmund Pendleton, therefore, to write out his recollections of the Stamp Act resolves of 1765—"by whom and how the subject commenced in the Assembly; where the resolutions proposed by Mr. Henry *really* originated; what was the sum of the arguments for and against them, and who were the principal speakers on each side."[1]

Madison's interest in 1790 in the background to the Revolution was no idle antiquarian speculation. Expressed when Congress was debating the question of state debt assumption, and only a few months prior to adoption of the Virginia Resolutions on that subject, it was an implied recognition of the continuity of constitutional arguments in America. As Madison came to realize, there were fundamental similarities between the legal defenses employed to justify opposition to Acts of Parliament in the Revolutionary generation and those heard

* Dr. Smiley is professor of history at Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem. This paper was read at a meeting of the Southern Historical Association in Richmond, Virginia, November 18, 1965.

[1] Madison to Pendleton, April 4, 1790, in Gaillard Hunt (ed.), *The Writings of James Madison* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 9 volumes, 1900-1910), VI, 9-10, hereinafter cited as Hunt, *Writings of James Madison.* Compare the opinion of the editor of the *Times* (London): "The rebels or patriots of 1772 [*sic*] invoked rights and asserted principles which could not fail to be serviceable to any rebels or patriots of future times." Noting that the Revolutionaries of 1776 searched diligently through Puritan histories seeking the "forms of revolution," he said that "the Seceders of the present day may turn to the records of the American Revolution with far greater success. . . . We think the Seceding States might appeal with some plausibility in defense of their proceedings to the precedents of the Revolutionary War. . . ." *Times* (London, England), May 24, 1861, hereinafter cited as *Times* (London).

under the Constitution in supporting resistance to national legislation. Though it would be years before James Madison used constitutional contentions with which he had become familiar in 1776, others were already renewing the struggle.

As the timing of Madison's request to Pendleton indicated, the Virginia Assembly's response to the Stamp Act in 1765 and to the assumption of state debts in 1790 offered an example of such continuity. In the earlier year Patrick Henry's resolutions marked the prologue to the Revolution; twenty-five years later the same man's resolutions, addressed to a similar grievance and couched in comparable language, sounded the alarm which initiated a new conflict over constitutional interpretation and expressed a philosophy which in the nineteenth century became characteristically southern. Far from being original in their efforts to circumvent a hostile majority, the apologists for southern rights from 1790 to 1860 were but adapting a constitutional mechanism which had served Americans once before. The intellectual preparation and legal vindication of resistance in the War for American Independence supplied the origins of the Old South's constitutional rationale. The leaders of the Revolution evolved a set of constitutional principles which patriots in all parts of the country could accept as a means of preserving human liberty, and these same principles were adapted by a sectional minority in defense of states' rights and southern institutions, including slavery. This shift in attitudes was a significant development in American thought.

Those impassioned southerners who chose secession in 1860 were fully aware of the similarities between their actions and those of the Revolutionary patriots. As they saw themselves, they were but following in the footsteps of the Founding Fathers. A New Orleans editor contended that "the Confederate States are acting over again the history of the American Revolution of 1776."[2] The South Carolina Convention of 1860 declared that the South stood "exactly in the same position toward the Northern States that our ancestors did toward Great Britain,"[3] and a delegate to that convention evoked patriotic emotions when he shouted that "the tea has been thrown overboard; the Revolution of 1860 has begun."[4] Even volunteer versifiers, answer-

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[2] *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans, Louisiana), hereinafter cited as *Daily Picayune*, in Frank Moore (ed.), *The Rebellion Record* (New York: G. P. Putnam and D. Van Nostrand, 11 volumes and supplement, 1861-1868), II, 252.

[3] "Address of the People of South Carolina, Assembled in Convention, to the People of the Slaveholding States of the United States," in *Journal of the Convention of the People of South Carolina* (Columbia, S.C.: Gibbes, 1862), 467-476. The quotation is on page 468.

[4] Quoted in Alan Barker, *The Civil War in America* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1961), 93.

ing the call to the colors with poetry, often bad, sang of the resemblances between 1776 and 1860. As one expressed it:

> Yes, call them rebels! 'tis the name
> Their patriot fathers bore,
> And by such deeds they'll hallow it,
> As they have done before.[5]

But for all their proud assumption of the patriots' mantle, the nineteenth century defenders of local autonomy would have strengthened their case had they known and followed Madison's injunction to study carefully the coming of the American Revolution. Every one of their constitutional arguments had its counterpart in the Revolutionary quarrel with Britain. Even the editor of the London *Times,* with an ill-concealed malicious glee, noted the comparisons clearly. The North had a good case, but it was "surprisingly like the cause of England," he said. "By substituting the words 'British Empire' for 'American Union' we shall get very nearly the case of George III and his ministers." Defenders of the Union had not advanced a single argument against secession, he asserted, "which could not have been employed with equal justice by Lord North."[6]

In spite of the proud southern recognition and the somewhat spiteful English corroboration of the similarities between 1776 and 1860, there were basic differences between the two American "secessions" and the two civil wars for independence. Beyond the fact that each historical event is unique, perhaps the most obvious disparity was the difference between the constitutions to which each group appealed. The British Constitution and the United States Constitution were alike in that each was susceptible to different interpretations so that each side in both conflicts could clothe itself in the garments of legality. But the nebulous nature of the British Constitution as compared to the definite written instrument of 1787 made the tasks of the Revolutionary generation more difficult. Though they remained convinced that they were preserving ancient English rights granted under a specific and long-established Constitution against the perversions of a tyrannical King and Parliament, ultimately the 1776 rebels reduced their emphasis upon the Constitution in favor of an equally nebulous doctrine

[5] *Daily Picayune,* May 26, 1861, quoted in E. Merton Coulter, *The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865,* Volume VII of *A History of the South,* edited by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press [projected 10 volumes, 1948—], 1950), 60.

[6] *Times* (London), May 24, 1861. For a dissenting view of the two rebellions, see George Fitzhugh, "The Revolutions of 1776 and 1861 Contrasted," in *Southern Literary Messenger,* XXXVII (November and December, 1863), 718-726.

of "natural rights" as their primary defense. There were other important differences. Changes in communications, in values, and in personalities contributed unique characteristics to each event.

Still, stripped of their superficial trappings, the two sets of American rebels gave considerable substance to the observations of the London editor. The constitutional bases of both civil wars were arguments which displayed similar verbiage if not always exactly comparable meanings. Each contended that legitimate governments were compacts between principals; that certain legislation had violated fundamental charters—the products of compact agreements—and was therefore null and void; that local governments were supreme in their political spheres and could judge the actions of the general government in the light of the fundamental law; and that any change in the essentially federal nature of government was destructive of human liberty. Considered broadly, even the grievances voiced in the two rebellions—tariffs or commercial regulation, taxation, home rule and individual rights, and the control of western territory—demonstrated a startling similarity. Constitutional theorists and publicists in both camps, confronted with a hostile majority whether in the British Parliament or in the United States Congress and the Electoral College, fell back upon arguments and devices which had much in common.

Each group began with the compact theory of government. The colonials, utilizing European political writers such as John Milton and John Locke, James Harrington and Algernon Sidney, had long asserted the contractual nature of the state. To the Puritans it was but the extension of covenant Calvinism into the secular sphere. "It is of the nature and essence of every society," John Winthrop declared, "to be knitt together by some Covenant, either expressed or implyed."[7] Similar views appeared in the Mayflower Compact, the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, and in the frontier charters such as that of Watauga. Patrick Henry, in his argument—or that of his biographers—in the Parson's Cause, extended the compact idea to include the colony's connection with Britain.[8] James Otis declared that "the form and mode of government is to be settled by *compact*," and Samuel Adams was sure that "whatever Government in general may be founded in, Ours was manifestly founded in Compact."[9] In 1776 the

[7] Quoted in Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop* (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1958), 93.

[8] William Wirt, *The Life of Patrick Henry* (Hartford, Connecticut: S. Andrus and Son [Tenth Edition], 1850), 46-47.

[9] James Otis, *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved* (Boston: n.p. [Third Edition, Corrected], 1766), 22; this pamphlet is reprinted in Charles F. Mullett, "Some Political Writings of James Otis," *University of Missouri Studies*, IV (July 1, 1929), 45-101. Harry A. Cushing (ed.), *The Writings of Samuel Adams* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 4 volumes, 1904-1908), I, 29, hereinafter cited as Cushing, *Writings of Samuel Adams*.

Continental Congress was therefore on familiar ground when it declared that governments were instituted among men, "deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." [10]

The compact theory of government was a part of the Americans' heritage from the eighteenth century, and they continued it in the process by which the state conventions ratified the Constitution of 1787. That method of approval, together with the fact that the Constitution itself established a government partly national and partly federal, made the compact idea a fundamental defense in later opposition to national legislation. "By compact under the style and title of a Constitution for the United States," ran Jefferson's classic statement in 1798, "they constituted a general government for special purposes. . . . To this compact each State acceded as a State, and is an integral party, its co-States forming, as to itself, the other party." [11]

In Jefferson's verbal footsteps followed other publicists who found acts of national legislation distasteful. Defined as an agreement between coeval states united in a league or confederation, the phrase "compact theory" rolled easily off the tongues of southern leaders. In 1831 John C. Calhoun declared that "the Constitution of the United States is, in fact, a compact, to which each State is a party." [12] And in a Senate speech in 1860 Jefferson Davis demonstrated the tenacity of the idea: "the States were the grantors," he said; "they made the compact; they gave the Federal agent its powers." [13] So close were the theoretical connections between the two revolutions that in 1798 Jefferson could assert that he had not departed from the principles he followed in 1775, and in 1831 Calhoun could claim that he was true to the republican spirit of 1798.[14]

If the compact idea gave continuity to a set of constitutional arguments, in other aspects of the minority's defenses the nineteenth cen-

[10] *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 34 volumes, 1904-1937), V, 510, hereinafter cited as *Journals of the Continental Congress.* See Andrew C. McLaughlin, "Social Compact and Constitutional Construction," *American Historical Review,* V (April, 1900), 467-490, for an argument that the idea of compact underwent a change in meaning between 1776 and 1860.

[11] "The Kentucky Resolutions of 1798," in Saul K. Padover, *The Complete Jefferson* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1943), 128-129.

[12] Richard K. Crallé (ed.), *The Works of John C. Calhoun* (New York: Appleton, 6 volumes, 1853-1855), VI, 60, hereinafter cited as Crallé, *Works of Calhoun.* See also Calhoun's statement in the *South Carolina Exposition,* quoted in Crallé, *Works of Calhoun,* VI, 36.

[13] Jefferson Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (New York: Appleton, 2 volumes, 1881), I, 585, hereinafter cited as Davis, *Rise and Fall.*

[14] Jefferson to Samuel Smith, August 22, 1798, in Henry Augustine Washington (ed.), *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Washington: Taylor & Maury, 9 volumes, 1853-1854), IV, 254; Calhoun to Christopher Van Deventer, August 5, 1831, in J. Franklin Jameson (ed.), *Correspondence of John C. Calhoun* (Washington: Government Printing Office [*Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1899,* Volume II], 1899), 296.

tury drew heavily upon Revolutionary pamphleteers. Upon the premise of the compact theory, expanded to include the local government's relationship to the general, both groups defined their union as a federal one of political members possessing certain features of sovereignty. Federalism, the idea that there were two levels of government, one general and the other local, lay at the roots of Colonial resistance to Parliament. However real may have been the economic pressures, the heady content of the intellectual currents sweeping out of Enlightenment Europe, or the popular demands for social change, Colonial American spokesmen were careful to express their opposition to British legislation in constitutional and federal terms.[15]

The defenders of Colonial rights asserted that their charters granted them legislative supremacy over their internal matters. "By this Charter," said Samuel Adams in Massachusetts, "we have an exclusive Right to make Laws for our own internal Government and Taxation." Distance rendered it impractical for Americans to be represented in Parliament, he continued, speculating that it was "very probable that all subordinate legislative powers in America, were constituted upon the Apprehension of this Impracticability."[16] The American governments, Massachusetts' Governor Francis Bernard confirmed, "claim to be perfect states, not otherwise dependent upon Great Britain than by having the same king."[17] Rhode Island's Governor Stephen Hopkins, defining the Empire as a federal union, declared that "each of the colonies hath a legislature within itself, to take care of its Interests... yet there are things of a more general nature, quite out of reach of these particular legislatures, which is necessary should be regulated, ordered, and governed."[18]

Colonial opposition to imperial taxation brought forth only an immediate manifestation of a prior belief in a federal Empire. The Massachusetts House of Representatives, in a debate with Governor

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[15] Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Genius of American Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), Chapter III. In Chapter IV Professor Boorstin argues, in general terms, the continuity of constitutional thought between the Revolution and the Confederacy. See also Thad W. Tate, "The Coming of the Revolution in Virginia: Britain's Challenge to Virginia's Ruling Class, 1763-1776," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XIX (July, 1962), 323-343, for an argument that constitutional issues combined with a threat to Virginia's power structure brought on revolution—a thesis which might apply with equal force to the Confederates. Additional interpretive matter on this point is in R. G. Adams, *Political Ideas of the American Revolution* (New York: Facsimile Library, 1939) and Charles F. Mullett, *Fundamental Law and the American Revolution, 1760-1776* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933).

[16] Cushing, *Writings of Samuel Adams*, I, 29.

[17] Quoted in Claude H. Van Tyne, *The Causes of the War of Independence* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1922), 218.

[18] Quoted in Alfred H. Kelly and Winfred A. Harbison, *The American Constitution* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1948), 69-70.

Bernard over the Stamp Act, asserted "that the charter of this province invests the General Assembly with the power of making laws for its internal government and taxation"—obviously taking its language from Samuel Adams.[19] Perhaps the clearest Colonial statement of federalism appeared in the Declaration and Resolves of the First Continental Congress. In an appeal based upon "the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and the several charters or compacts," they petitioned for redress of grievances "as Englishmen their ancestors in like cases have usually done." They declared that the foundation of English liberty was the right of popular participation in government. Since they could not properly be represented in the British Parliament, they asserted their right to a "free and exclusive power of legislation in their several provincial legislatures, where their right of representation can alone be preserved, in all cases of taxation and internal polity, subject only to the negative of their sovereign, in such manner as has heretofore been used and accustomed." But at the same time they would "cheerfully consent" to Parliamentary regulation of external commerce. In these resolutions the Continental Congress explicitly stated its view of the Empire as a federal, rather than a unitary, political organization.[20]

The states' rights dogma, characteristically a fundamental element in the Old South's constitutional defenses, thus had roots in Revolutionary thought. Though most southern spokesmen went no further back than the Constitutional Convention of 1787, a few recognized the Colonial origins of American federalism. Governor Littleton W. Tazewell of Virginia was one who did. "In their colonial state, they constituted several distinct Societies, whose affairs were regulated by governments absolutely independent of each other," he said. "In throwing off their former governments they did not dissolve their former associations—the Societies remained, after the governments were no more." The Declaration of Independence, Tazewell declared, "far from proclaiming that they were One People or One Nation, in its own terms declared them to be free and Independent States."[21]

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[19] Alden Bradford (ed.), *Speeches of the Governors of Massachusetts from 1765 to 1775* (Boston: Russell and Gardner, 1818), 45, quoted in Edmund S. Morgan and Helen M. Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), 101, hereinafter cited as Morgan, *Stamp Act Crisis.*

[20] *Journals of the Continental Congress,* I, 67-69. For a discussion of the implications of the Declaration and Resolves, see Charles H. McIlwain, *The American Revolution: A Constitutional Interpretation* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1923; and Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1958), 114-137.

[21] Littleton W. Tazewell, *A Review of the Proclamation of President Jackson of the 10th of December, 1832* (Norfolk, Virginia: J. D. Ghiselin, 1888), 53. See also Crallé, *Works of Calhoun,* I, 188-193.

Other opponents of national power also called upon the pre-Revolutionary past to justify their present contentions. James Madison, a youthful participant in the Revolution, saw the continuity between Colonial theory and states' rights under the Constitution. "The fundamental principle of the Revolution was, that the Colonies were coordinate members with each other and with Great Britain, of an Empire united by a common executive sovereign, but not united by any common legislative sovereign," he said in 1800. "The legislative power was maintained to be as complete in each American Parliament, as in the British Parliament. . . . A denial of these principles by Great Britain, and the assertion of them by America," Madison concluded, "produced the Revolution." [22] In 1844 Robert Barnwell Rhett praised the sense of independence "which prompted our ancestors to enter the field in 1776," and said the same spirit would make southerners "warm now, and watchful, to resent every assault upon the province of our local government and from whatever quarter it may come." [23]

Building upon the conviction that local governments were supreme in their own domains, the next step in the minority's defense was to assert the limited nature of the general government. In placing limitations upon the legislative powers of their unions, both groups urged a strict construction of their constitutions. The claim that the British constitution put limits upon the powers of Parliament appeared frequently in the quarrel with the mother country. It was heard in Virginia in 1753, when the Assembly declared that "the Rights of the Subject are so secured by Law, that they cannot be deprived of the least Part of their Property, but by their own Consent: Upon this excellent Principle is our Constitution founded." [24] In Massachusetts Samuel Adams could become quite academic in expounding the idea of constitutional limitations. "If then according to Lord Coke, *Magna Charta* is declaratory of the principal grounds of the *fundamental* laws and liberties of the people, and Vatel is right in his opinion, that the supreme legislature cannot change the constitution," he wrote, "I think it follows, whether Lord Coke has expressly asserted it or not, that an act of Parliament made against *Magna Charta* in violation of its essential parts, is void." [25]

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[22] Hunt, *Writings of James Madison*, VI, 373.

[23] *Mercury* (Charleston, S.C.), August 1, 1844, quoted in William R. Taylor, *Cavalier and Yankee* (New York: George Braziller, 1961), 265. In "The Spirit of '76," 262-270, Professor Taylor discusses efforts of South Carolinians to relate themselves to the Revolutionary patriots.

[24] Quoted in David J. Mays, *Edmund Pendleton, 1721-1803* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2 volumes, 1952), I, 76, hereinafter cited as Mays, *Edmund Pendleton.*

[25] Cushing, *Writings of Samuel Adams*, II, 325-326.

Other Colonial leaders agreed that the British Constitution placed limits upon Parliament and thereby substantiated their claims to English political rights. John Rutledge of South Carolina assured the First Continential Congress that "our claims, I think, are well founded on the British Constitution." And to the same gathering Joseph Galloway of Pennsylvania said that he had sought the basis of American rights "in the constitution of the English government, and there found them. We may draw them from this source securely."[26]

British taxation of their American colonies brought forth the most vigorous appeals to the Constitution. The Virginia Assembly attacked the Stamp Act as contrary to a "fundamental principle of the British Constitution, without which Freedom can no Where exist."[27] The Massachusetts House of Representatives went even further. "It by no means appertains to us to presume to adjust the boundaries of the power of Parliament; but boundaries there undoubtedly are," its members declared. "We beg leave just to observe that the charter of this province invests the General Assembly with the power of making laws for its internal government and taxation, and that this charter has never yet been forfeited."[28] In a protest to the Townshend Acts the Massachusetts House resolved that "In all free states, the constitution is fixed; it is from thence, that the legislative derives its authority; therefore it cannot change the constitution without destroying its own foundation."[29] Samuel Adams defined the Townshend duties as "Infringements of their natural and constitutional Rights," and James Otis expressed the opinion that "there are Limits, beyond which if Parliaments go, their Acts bind not."[30]

With these constitutional appeals as precedents, after 1789 it was easy for the opponents of national legislation to continue the tradition. In 1790 the Virginia delegates could "find no clause in the constitution authorizing Congress to assume the debts of the states," and a decade later asserted "the authority of constitutions over governments, and . . . the sovereignty of the people over constitutions."[31] Thomas Jef-

[26] Quoted in Mays, *Edmund Pendleton*, I, 287-288. See also Andrew C. McLaughlin, *The Foundations of American Constitutionalism* (New York: New York University Press, 1932), 140-142, hereinafter cited as McLaughlin, *Foundations of American Constitutionalism*.

[27] Mays, *Edmund Pendleton*, I, 158.

[28] Quoted in Morgan, *Stamp Act Crisis*, 101.

[29] Massachusetts House to the Earl of Shelburne, January 15, 1768, in Alden Bradford (ed.), *Massachusetts State Papers*, reprinted in Henry S. Commager, *Documents of American History* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts [Fourth Edition], 1948), 65, hereinafter cited as Commager, *Documents*, as a convenient source for pertinent materials.

[30] Cushing, *Writings of Samuel Adams*, I, 184-185, reprinted in Commager, *Documents*, 66; Otis quoted in Morgan, *Stamp Act Crisis*, 140.

[31] "Virginia Resolutions on Debt Assumption," in W. W. Hening (ed.), *Statutes at*

ferson regarded it as axiomatic that acts of the general government not specifically granted in the constitution were without authority.[32] Into the nineteenth century the minority, whether in New England after 1801 or later in the South, insisted upon retaining the letter of the Constitution as the preserver of their liberties. John C. Calhoun, who had learned his constitutional theory in Tapping Reeve's law school in Litchfield, Connecticut, in the days of Federalist eclipse, based his complicated minority-defense mechanism upon the Constitution, which he declared had established a federal union of sovereign entities. To prevent the dread alternatives of centralization or disunion, he set himself the objective "that the government of the United States should be restored to its federal character. Nothing short of a perfect restoration," he said, "as it came from the hands of its framers, can avert them." [33] After Calhoun many others, including Jefferson Davis and Alexander H. Stephens, employed similar arguments. Their thinking, however, was original not so much in their basic premises as in their adaptation of a well-defined Revolutionary constitutional interpretation to meet their contemporary needs.[34]

In their appeal to the Constitution the colonials anticipated an idea later celebrated as the doctrine of state interposition. In 1771 Samuel Cooper said of the people of Boston that "the greater Part have a settled persuasion . . . that our Parliament here ought to come between the sovereign and the American subject, just in the same Manner that the British Parliament does with respect to the British subject. . . ." [35] Nineteen years later, when the Virginia delegates opposed the assumption of state debts, they declared themselves the "guardians then of the rights and interests of their constituents, as sentinels placed by them over the ministers of the federal government, to shield it from their encroachments." Twenty-seven years later, when the Virginians objected to the Alien and Sedition Acts, they declared that the states "have the right and are in duty bound to interpose for arresting the

Large of Virginia (Richmond: Printed for the editor at Franklin Press, 13 volumes, 1819-1823), XIII, 238, hereinafter cited as Hening, *Statutes*. The resolutions also appear in Commager, *Documents*, 155. The "Virginia Report of 1800," is in Hunt, *Writings of James Madison*, VI, 352.

[32] Dumas Malone, *Jefferson and the Ordeal of Liberty*, Volume III of *Jefferson and His Time* (Boston: Little, Brown [projected multivolume work, 1948—], 1962), 403-404, hereinafter cited as Malone, *Jefferson and the Ordeal of Liberty*.

[33] Margaret L. Coit, *John C. Calhoun, American Portrait* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1950), 42. The quotation is in Crallé, *Works of Calhoun*, I, 381. For a study of differences between Madison's and Calhoun's concepts of the Union, see Edward S. Corwin, "National Power and State Interposition, 1787-1861," *Michigan Law Review*, X (May, 1912), 535-551.

[34] Davis, *Rise and Fall;* Alexander H. Stephens, *A Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States* (Philadelphia: National Publishing Co., 2 volumes, 1868).

[35] Samuel Cooper to Thomas Pownall, November 14, 1771, in Frederick Tuckerman (ed.), "Letters of Samuel Cooper to Thomas Pownall, 1769-1777," *American Historical Review*, VIII (January, 1903), 325.

progress of the evil. . . ."[36] Under the Constitution the defense maneuver of state interposition to protect the citizens from outside encroachments was an important aspect of the South's particularistic philosophy, but it had roots in the earlier debate with Britain.

Along with interposition went the claim that a state had the power to judge the constitutionality of national legislation and to nullify within its borders measures which a strict reading of the fundamental law did not justify. Usually regarded as having its beginnings in the South Carolina Nullification Convention of 1832, or in Calhoun's Exposition of 1828, or even in the Kentucky Resolutions of 1799, the doctrine of nullification had its counterpart in the prologue to the Revolution. However often the colonials may have nullified commercial measures by smuggling, it was the Stamp Act which brought from them statements of the constitutional idea of nullification.

The Stamp Act was the first British effort to tax the colonists directly, so it was an open challenge to American constitutional theories. Though Colonial agents and assemblies petitioned against the measure, they had no vote in Parliament. Subjected to the legislation of an unfriendly majority, they fell back upon constitutional defenses. Patrick Henry, a newcomer to the Virginia House of Burgesses, introduced a set of resolutions designed to nullify the act within the province. The right of the people to determine their own taxes, he said, "is the only security against a burdensome taxation, and the distinguishing characteristick of British freedom, without which the ancient constitution cannot exist." According to tradition, one of his resolutions included the assertion that the Virginians were "not bound to yield obedience" to an unconstitutional law.[37]

Colonial response to Henry's resolutions was important not only in the coming of the Revolution but also in later constitutional defenses. Regardless of what actually happened in the Virginia House in May, 1765—and the truth may never be known—the doctrine of nullification spread rapidly in newspaper accounts. Upon publication of the Virginia "Resolves," groups in other colonies endorsed them and issued statements often bolder in tone. The Sons of Liberty in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, for example, declared that the Stamp Act violated fundamental rights of British subjects and was "Therefore void of all Lawfull Authority, so that depending upon Meer Force it may Law-

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[36] "Virginia Resolutions on Debt Assumption," in Hening, *Statutes*, XIII, 238; "Virginia Resolutions of 1798," in Hunt, *Writings of James Madison*, VI, 326, and reprinted in Commager, *Documents*, 182-183. See also the *South Carolina Exposition*, in Crallé, *Works of Calhoun*, VI, 55-57.

[37] "Virginia Stamp Act Resolves," in Morgan, *Stamp Act Crisis*, 91-92, and also in Commager, *Documents*, 56. For confusion over the resolves, see Morgan, *Stamp Act Crisis*, 89-94.

fully be oppos'd by Force."[38] The Northampton County Court in Virginia asserted that "the said act did not bind, affect or concern the inhabitants of this colony, in as much as they conceive the same to be unconstitutional. . . ."[39] The Rhode Island Assembly appealed for resistance to the Act and directed the colony's officials to ignore it.[40] John Adams in Massachusetts defined the Act as "utterly void, and of no binding Force upon us."[41] With their leaders expressing such views, Colonial mob violence effectively nullified the offending Act. Nonimportation agreements and the Continental Association intended similar treatment for other British imperial actions.

From these beginnings the doctrine of nullification emerged as a weapon of the minority under the Constitution. As Madison's 1790 letter to Edmund Pendleton implied, there was a close theoretical relationship between Patrick Henry's resolutions on the Stamp Act and his remarks on the assumption of state debts. A few years later, when the Alien and Sedition Acts extended the powers of the federal judiciary to include common law jurisdiction in criminal cases, Thomas Jefferson wanted his state to declare that the "acts are, and were ab initio, null, void, and of no force or effect." The 1799 Kentucky Resolutions made it explicit that the states "being sovereign and independent, have the unquestionable right to judge of the infraction," and that a "nullification" of the offending measures "is the rightful remedy." It was on the basis of these precedents, reaching back to pre-Revolutionary ideas, that John C. Calhoun recommended that South Carolina could constitutionally nullify a tariff measure.[42]

Thus, from compact theory and strict construction to nullification and secession, there were close similarities between the constitutional defenses of both the Revolutionary generation and the planter-politicians of the Old South. In both cases, when men judged the power at the center to be too great, they declared the compact to be broken. And in each instance they employed similar devices to correct the errors they decried. Each, acting upon constitutional premises, sought to block the majority by a literal interpretation of the fundamental law; each solemnly declared "unconstitutional" legislation to be null and void. When their petitions failed to bring redress, each turned to secession and a movement for independence as the means of preserv-

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[38] Quoted in Morgan, *Stamp Act Crisis*, 203.

[39] Quoted in McLaughlin, *Foundations of American Constitutionalism*, 126*n*, and in Commager, *Documents*, 59.

[40] Morgan, *Stamp Act Crisis*, 98-99.

[41] Morgan, *Stamp Act Crisis*, 140.

[42] Malone, *Jefferson and the Ordeal of Liberty*, 407; Crallé, *Works of Calhoun*, VI, 159. See also Chauncey S. Boucher, *The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1916), 33, 105-106.

ing—or of restoring—constitutional liberties. Given the opportunity to draw up a frame of government according to their own standards, each group—one in the Articles of Confederation of 1781 and the other in the Confederate Constitution of 1861—closely copied what it imagined or desired the original constitution to be.

The close agreement between the two sets of constitutional defenses did not mean that the nineteenth-century defenders of the plantation and slavery possessed more patriotism or longer memories than did their northern opponents. It did suggest that they, like their eighteenth-century predecessors, were in a minority. It meant that in the Anglo-Saxon tradition there had developed an orthodox process by which a minority could protect itself:[43] Any group of leaders, powerful in its own region but a minority in the larger political unit, immediately adopted a program to restrict the majority's actions. It contained the ideas of local sovereignty, or federalism; strict construction of the Constitution which bound the union together; the doctrines of sentinelship and interposition; nullification; and secession. Against these minority defenses the majority in both cases also followed a recognizable pattern of action: national sovereignty, loose construction of the Constitution, and the coercion of rebellious or dissident elements.

There were other reasons, apart from the Anglo-Saxon tradition of constitutionalism, which lay behind the southern emulation of Revolutionary opinions. The rural nature of the planters' society, and their insistence upon clinging to a Colonial economy and an outdated labor system, made them sensitive to outside criticisms. Outstripped in the population race and with the frontier closed by what they regarded as "natural limits" to slavery expansion,[44] they emphasized the federal aspects of the Union as a means of preserving their regional way of life. But more important was a continuity of leadership which served as a bridge between the two American rebellions. The same men—Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison, among others—appeared as contributors in the formulation of both constitutional defenses. Memories of the methods of one revolutionary era served as guideposts for another, and subsequent southern leaders adopted the weapons and philosophy of government of an older generation. In 1800, when Madison attacked the claim that a law could be "binding on these States as one society" as a doctrine "evidently repugnant to the fundamental principle of the Revolution,"[45] he was but trans-

[43] See John C. Calhoun, *Address to the People of South Carolina*, in Crallé, *Works of Calhoun*, VI, 136, 139, for evidences of minority sentiment. For a discussion of the Anglo-Saxon tradition of rebellion, see Roy F. Nichols, "1461-1861: The American Civil War in Perspective," *Journal of Southern History*, XVI (May, 1950), 143-160.

[44] Charles W. Ramsdell, "The Natural Limits of Slavery Expansion," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVI (September, 1929), 151-171.

[45] Hunt, *Writings of James Madison*, VI, 374.

mitting a minority constitutional defense from the Revolutionary generation to its successors.

THE "TAR HEEL EDITOR" IN NORTH CAROLINA'S CRISIS, 1929-1932

By Joseph L. Morrison*

The bitterness of the Alfred E. Smith-Herbert Hoover presidential campaign and Hoover's capture of North Carolina in 1928 made inevitable a Tar Heel political showdown in 1930. It was then that Furnifold M. Simmons, in the United States Senate since 1901 and a party man of strictest sect, would have to defend his desertion of the Al Smith candidacy. The actual confrontation came in a Democratic primary contest between Simmons and Josiah W. Bailey, his one-time follower, who had led the state's pro-Smith effort. Between the two, Editor Josephus Daniels of the Raleigh *News and Observer* found little to choose. He had lambasted Simmons in 1909 for championing the Payne-Aldrich Tariff but had appreciated the way Simmons, as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, had gone down the line for President Woodrow Wilson. True, Simmons had been the patron of the unfortunate Revenue Commissioner, A. D. Watts, but Simmons had also pleased Daniels latterly by voting for government ownership and operation of Muscle Shoals. The Bailey-Daniels relationship was somewhat similar, hostility before and conciliation during the Wilson days. What finally inclined Daniels to Simmons was not the past but the future of the Democratic party; like Simmons, Daniels insisted that the national leadership of Al Smith and John J. Raskob must go. Simmons had not committed the ultimate treason of personally voting for Herbert Hoover, so the Senator had returned to the Democratic party fold in 1929 along with uncounted thousands of other southerners.

"In spite of our differences over regularity in 1928, I supported Simmons for re-election in 1930," Josephus Daniels recalled. "I felt that for one lapse he ought not to be repudiated by the party he had

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served so long and so well."[1] As the primary election day approached, Daniels' attitude was summarized in an editorial entitled "The Ides of November," in which he warned that it was more important that a Democrat be elected in November than which Democrat be preferred in June.[2] Daniels wrote H. E. C. Bryant: "Though I disagree with both of them in some respects, I can support either in a general election. Like you, 'I had no druthers.'"[3] What really concerned Daniels was the future of his state's Democratic party in the light of the rancor that had lingered after the Smith-Hoover campaign. Simmons was denounced as a traitor on the one hand but championed by others who insisted that he should not be punished for repudiating a wet Roman Catholic Tammanyite like Al Smith. In the course of the campaign Daniels questioned one of the knowledgeable party observers, who informed him that Bailey was then leading Simmons. It was not like the ebullient editor to do so, but Daniels then turned wordlessly away from Raleigh's strategic corner of Fayetteville and Martin Streets.[4] Simmons' defeat came as no great surprise, to be sure, and the huge majority rolled up against him bore witness, partly, to the premium then placed on party regularity. Even more likely, it testified to Simmons' "guilt by association" with President Hoover, who was now widely blamed for the nationwide depression.

In writing sympathetically to Simmons' campaign manager, Daniels tried to explain his own political impotence. "All my life I have been an anti-machine Democrat," he wrote, "even when I was in perfect accord with what the machine was doing. And lacking any organized backing, I have not been able to do many things that I wished to do."[5] To a seasoned politician like his former fellow Cabinet member, A. S. Burleson, however, Daniels got down to cases. First off, he explained that Simmons had been physically unable to make a campaign and did not speak in his own behalf; furthermore, "most of his old strong leaders deserted him and he had to depend upon amateurs so that he never had a chance."[6] Daniels knew full well that Simmons, as incumbent, had had to bear the brunt of much rural discontent with the Hoover administration in general and with the agricultural depression in particular. When Daniels closed Democratic ranks with Bailey,

[1] Josephus Daniels, "Life Begins at Seventy," unpublished manuscript, Jonathan Daniels Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Daniels, "Life Begins at Seventy."

[2] "Ides of November," *News and Observer* (Raleigh), June 4, 1930, hereinafter cited as *News and Observer*.

[3] Daniels to H. E. C. Bryant, June 7, 1930, Josephus Daniels Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., hereinafter cited as Daniels Papers.

[4] Author's interview with John W. Umstead, Jr., Chapel Hill, December 7, 1962.

[5] Daniels to Frank A. Hampton, June 26, 1930, Daniels Papers.

[6] Daniels to Burleson, October 16, 1930, Daniels Papers.

preparing for the "Ides of November," he addressed him as "Dear Will" and outlined the campaign issues he thought the other should stress. Bailey had written Daniels a similar "unity" letter in 1928, promising to attack the Republicans for venturing to question Daniels' record as Secretary of the Navy.[7]

To Daniels' mind a much more agreeable election contest took place that year when a replacement had to be found for Harry Woodburn Chase as president of the University of North Carolina. Early the previous year, on February 4, 1929, the *News and Observer* published a rumor that President Chase might resign, a report that caused Daniels, as a prominent university trustee, considerable embarrassment.[8] He had known of the possibility but engaged to publish nothing; apparently reporter Ben Dixon MacNeill came upon the news independently. By February 7, in response to a friend's query, Daniels was already writing, "I have the highest opinion of Frank Graham. I like his spirit."[9] The next month the editor made a speech of introduction for Professor William E. Dodd, who was addressing a session of the North Carolina Conference for Social Welfare. The conference president, reelected at that time, was Professor Frank Porter Graham. Daniels wrote his regrets to Graham for not being of more service during the 1929 conference which was held during the strenuous days of the General Assembly. As to the 1929 legislature, Daniels advised Graham that they ought to congratulate themselves on having gotten a tolerably good Workmen's Compensation Act.[10] In editorially congratulating the legislature the next day, Daniels added mention of the secret ballot law: "The big thing is that the era of static in human welfare and in ballot reform has been given a decent burial in North Carolina."[11]

The conference headed by Frank Graham was begun in 1912 and served as the vanguard of North Carolina's socially conscious leadership. It responded to the challenge of industrial unrest in its session of 1930, following upon the killings in the textile strikes at Gastonia and at Marion which had made worldwide newspaper headlines. Frank Graham, whom some friends were advancing for the next presi-

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[7] Daniels to Bailey, September 13, 1930; Bailey to Daniels, April 25, 1928, Daniels Papers. On the Bailey-Simmons campaign, see Elmer L. Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension in North Carolina, 1928-1936* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press [Volume 44 of *James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*], 1962), 21-46, hereinafter cited as Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension.*

[8] *News and Observer*, February 4, 1929; on Daniels' embarrassment and MacNeill's innocence, author's interview with Edwin Gill, Raleigh, March 20, 1963, hereinafter cited as Gill interview.

[9] Daniels to Arnold A. McKay, February 7, 1929, Daniels Papers.

[10] Daniels to Graham, March 9, 1929, Daniels Papers.

[11] *News and Observer*, March 10, 1929.

dent of the university, wrote the manifesto[12] signed by more than four hundred prominent Tar Heels, a manifesto looked upon with horror by many conservatives of the time. The statement held for nothing more subversive than (1) reaffirmation of the Bill of Rights without need of anything resembling a criminal syndicalism bill; and (2) social adjustments including a reduction of the sixty-hour work week, gradual abolition of night work for women and young people, amelioration of the limited state child labor law, plus supervision and enforcement of the aforementioned code. The publication of the manifesto made headlines, and so did its immediate support by Josephus Daniels in a two-column editorial on February 18, 1930. He wrote, in part:

> Even though there may be dissent from those called "radicals," meaning those who are in such a big hurry for reforms they are tempted to dig up more snakes than they kill by their methods, and "conservatives," meaning those who act as if the great textile industry was still located in the woods and was not affected with a public interest, the great liberal, common-sense, forward-looking public will rejoice that these four hundred have pointed the way to sensible and practicable reforms, just alike to labor and capital.[13]

Within a week of the Graham-authored manifesto came the official resignation of President Chase[14] and the appointment of a trustees' committee (Daniels was not a member) to bring forward names of possible successors. Graham trailed on the first ballot taken at Chapel Hill June 9, 1930, but when he forged ahead and finally won election on the fourth ballot, Josephus Daniels successfully moved that the election be made unanimous.[15] Graham's real reluctance to take the position was worn down by the pleas of leading trustees like Governor O. Max Gardner, Federal Judge John J. Parker, and Josephus Daniels, who confided to him the crisis the university was then facing.[16] On June 10 Daniels wrote to his son Jonathan, then on the editorial staff of *Fortune* in New York, of "the two big elections in these latter days," the Bailey-Simmons race for United States senator and the competition for the university presidency. Of Graham's reluctance Daniels said, "I believe it is the only time I ever truly saw the office seek the man and

[12] Author's interview with Frank P. Graham, Chapel Hill, April 7, 1963, hereinafter cited as Graham interview; release of the manifesto, *News and Observer*, February 16, 1930; text of the manifesto in Frank P. Graham file, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

[13] *News and Observer*, February 18, 1930.

[14] *News and Observer*, February 21, 1930.

[15] Minutes of the Board of Trustees, University of North Carolina, June 9, 1930, University Archives, Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

[16] Graham interview.

have to throw him down and make him take it."[17] The next day, when he wrote a warm letter of support to President Graham, Daniels also sent a letter of congratulations to Graham's father.[18]

When the fellow-trustees, Editor Daniels and Judge Parker, expressed unanimity in June, they were again together after the political fight which led in the previous month to the defeat of Judge Parker's nomination to the United States Supreme Court.[19] A perennially unsuccessful Tar Heel Republican candidate, Parker had lost a campaign for governor in 1920 and had been appointed to the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals in 1925. Josephus Daniels had even recommended an honorary LL.D. for Judge Parker in 1927, explaining to the university's President Chase, "I always feel that the University in case of the occasional North Carolina Republican who makes good, should be careful to render as much honor as to the member of the dominant party. "Particularly so," he joked, "when he is safely immured on the bench where he can do the Democrats no harm."[20] Like other Democratic leaders in the state, Daniels preferred Chief Justice Walter P. Stacy for the Supreme Court vacancy, but readily agreed on Parker's acceptability when President Hoover nominated him on March 21, 1930.

What at first appeared a routine confirmation ran into trouble when opposition developed in two important political quarters, the American Federation of Labor and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Judge Parker had offended the AFL by upholding a "yellow dog" labor contract and the NAACP by avowing during the 1920 campaign that the "lily white" Republican party did not want Negro votes. Daniels still said nothing publicly. But when a letter from a Tar Heel Republican to one of President Hoover's secretaries was published urging Judge Parker's nomination in the interest of political expediency, Daniels broke his silence and in successive editorials the first three days of May, 1930, openly opposed Parker's confirmation. The dramatic roll call in the United States Senate May 7 resulted in the refusal to confirm, after which Daniels editorialized that it all betokened a liberal challenge to the Republican administration. He spoke also, however, "of the deep personal sympathy for an upright man subjected to the humiliation he must have felt during the course of the prolonged controversy."[21]

[17] Daniels to his son Jonathan, June 10, 1930, Jonathan Daniels Papers.
[18] Daniels to Dr. Alexander Graham, June 11, 1930, Daniels Papers.
[19] See Richard L. Watson, Jr., "The Defeat of Judge Parker: A Study in Pressure Groups and Politics," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, L (September, 1963), 213-234, hereinafter cited as Watson, "The Defeat of Judge Parker."
[20] Daniels to Chase, March 2, 1927, University Papers, University Archives.
[21] *News and Observer*, May 8, 1930.

Judge Parker managed to repress his bitterness and closed ranks with Daniels on the university board of trustees, where the passage of time saw them become the most cordial of colleagues. Judge Parker's repudiation by the Senate was in later years termed a great mistake by the *American Bar Association Journal*,[22] and Josephus Daniels probably agreed. In early 1941, following President Roosevelt's appointment of Republicans Henry L. Stimson and Frank Knox to the Cabinet, Daniels came forward with the name of John J. Parker for a vacancy on the United States Supreme Court. After Daniels' death, Parker served as chairman of the trustee committee named to draw up a memorial resolution in Daniels' honor. Judge Parker delivered the oral tribute personally.[23]

The Democratic state administration, elected triumphantly in 1928 despite the Al Smith disaster, predictably caught the blows of a professional critic like Josephus Daniels who was anti-organization on principle. The able Governor O. Max Gardner, who had enjoyed Daniels' strong support, had no more than a brief honeymoon before the *News and Observer* opened fire on him. In the very month of his election Gardner got from Daniels a long letter on needed reforms in the state administration, and before his inauguration another on Daniels' chief concern in the oncoming legislative session—an eight-month, state-supported school term.[24] The session closed with Daniels generally happy with Gardner's own program as enacted, especially the secret ballot and workmen's compensation laws. The honeymoon was over, however, insofar as it concerned education and a lower statewide property tax, the latter having been one of Gardner's avowed aims which was not realized. By the time the 1929 legislature adjourned, having put off the eight-month school term, Daniels criticized that element in the General Assembly determined to stand fast on appropriations and revenues and backed by a lobby representing every industry fearing a tax increase. As he saw it, the 1928 election had frightened some of them and they, in turn, succeeded in frightening many revenue-conscious legislators with the threat of a Republican victory next time.[25]

The eight-month school fight dominated the session as it dominated the pages of the *News and Observer*. The reform was embodied in a House bill introduced by A. D. MacLean, whose measure also appealed to Josephus Daniels, because it provided at first for a reduction

[22] See Watson, "The Defeat of Judge Parker," 234.
[23] Minutes of the Board of Trustees, the Consolidated University of North Carolina, February 16, 1948, University Archives.
[24] Daniels to Gardner, November 22, December 31, 1928, Daniels Papers.
[25] *News and Observer*, March 19, 1929.

in ad valorem property taxes. Daniels saw no tax reform more necessary than easing the burden from the small farmers of a rural state and shifting it by means of luxury sales taxes and taxes on industry. At first the bill had the support of nobody but its sponsor and Josephus Daniels. Then the editor got the support of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Dr. Arch T. Allen, whom he invited to press for the eight-month bill by writing a *News and Observer* article. In his invitation to Allen, Daniels took note: "The opponents of the eight months' school term are trying to use the negro issue as a red herring."[26] The industry lobbyists made the point that the majority of children to be benefited were Negroes, since most schools in the state already had an eight-month term and the underprivileged remainder lived mostly in the rural areas. When the Senate provided for a too-small public school equalization fund of $6.5 million, Daniels editorialized that "The children's eight months right to schools was postponed to the pleadings of those able to pay taxes that they be excused."[27]

The rear guard battle to resist the scuttling of the measure was made by Representative F. D. Winston after MacLean had given up. Daniels wrote Winston hopefully but realistically, "I hope you are going to win but the odds are terrible."[28] He was right. The resulting measure, although foreshadowing eventual state assumption of support of all public schools, did not provide the eight-month school term. Its doubling of the public school equalization fund in the last "prosperity" legislature would have comforted Daniels more if it had provided tax relief for the small farmers of the state. In a prosperous year the legislature had failed to reduce the thirty-cent ad valorem property tax. Throughout the session Daniels' *News and Observer* agitated for raising the needed revenue on a fifty-fifty basis from an equal statewide ad valorem tax (now widely unequal because property was long overvalued) and from commercial and industrial activities which, Daniels claimed, were not paying their fair share.

The stock market crash of 1929 acted merely as a punctuation mark in the story of North Carolina's deepening agricultural—and now total—depression. The state Democratic platform of 1930 recognized the need for substantial reduction of taxes on property and pledged the party to work for it. By the end of that year it was widely apparent that farms in the state could not be rented for enough to pay taxes on them, that industries were shutting down right and left. At that time delin-

[26] Daniels to Allen, January 30, 1929, Daniels Papers.
[27] *News and Observer*, March 13, 1929.
[28] Daniels to Winston, March 15, 1929, F. D. Winston Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

quent taxes on real property came to nearly $7.5 million, and more than 150,000 parcels of property were advertised for tax sales.[29] Resisting the anxious calls for a special session of the legislature, Governor Gardner set up a series of tax and revenue investigations plus a complete study of state and county government by the Brookings Institution of Washington. Its year-end report recommended a sweeping centralization of state government functions (including a consolidated university), and elimination of unnecessary state offices and county units. Josephus Daniels quarreled with none of this but, as usual, got down to cases. Like presidential aspirant Franklin Roosevelt, he wanted reform and relief quickly lest the men in the streets take matters into their own hands; Daniels recognized the need to forestall a new populist revolt—or worse.[30] To Governor Gardner, with whom he was no longer so close, Daniels wrote a long letter suggesting three revenue principles to stress in approaching the new General Assembly: (1) revaluing and thus equalizing disparate property valuations throughout the state; (2) taxing foreign corporations doing business in the state; and (3) taxing the untaxed.[31] Some of his spirit on this last-named point may be gained from his words to Senator Carter Glass: "The Duke Power Co. is charging high rates and making big money in North Carolina and poses as a religious organization [through the benefactions of the Duke Endowment tied to company profits]! Isn't that the limit?"[32]

For the one hundred and forty days of the "Long Parliament" of 1931, the *News and Observer* unceasingly proclaimed, "Taxes on property must be reduced." The Governor agreed, but he and Daniels differed on procedure; he looked to retrenchment and Daniels sought new sources of revenue. Two proposals for the latter deeply divided the legislators, who fought so unceasingly that neither proposal was adopted that session—a general sales tax and a luxury sales tax. Daniels ranged himself against a general sales tax, regarding it as an indefensible imposition on the people least able to pay. He supported instead the Hinsdale bill, which proposed taxes on a list of enumerated items it designated luxuries, such as tobacco, playing cards, chewing gum, automobiles, and admission to commercial entertainment. Needless to say, additional items came under scrutiny and it was not long before the tobacco, power, and bottling interests joined in a bitter fight against any luxury tax. Daniels fought just as bitterly, because

[29] *Report of the Tax Commission, 1932*, cited in Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension*, 60.
[30] Daniels to L. A. Bethune, November 25, 1930, Daniels Papers.
[31] Daniels to Gardner, December 23, 1930, Daniels Papers.
[32] Daniels to Glass, February 26, 1931, Daniels Papers.

the luxury tax was needed to implement the state's taking over, operating, and maintaining the public school system. One way or another this had to be, for many of the counties were now unable to support public education. In an attempt to defeat the interests Daniels, along with state Grange Master W. Kerr Scott, tried to rally the farm people and printed in the *News and Observer* a petition to be signed and sent to the legislators. The petition supported the school take-over in the MacLean Bill "for relieving the present crushing tax burden on the houses and farms of North Carolina. We call for the proper taxation of the most prosperous interests in the state in such a manner as to make them bear their fair and just share of taxation, supplemented by a luxury tax to insure the operation of the MacLean Law." [33]

Hammering away at privilege, Daniels hit out repeatedly at the Duke Power Company. He tried mightily to dissociate it from Duke University, of which he was now—as of all educational institutions—a warm friend. (He and Mrs. Daniels often drove over to visit on the new West Durham campus.) For example, on April 22, 1931, he wrote an enthusiastic report from Duke University, "A Significant Advance and Novel Experiment," about the new Duke Hospital and School of Medicine. Yet in that same spring of 1931 he published one of his most trenchant editorials, "The Duke Threat." An official of the company had let it be known to the South Carolina legislature, then contemplating a power company tax, that such an enactment would cause the Duke Foundation to cut down its benefactions in the Palmetto State. In North Carolina a Durham legislator warned that a "recapture clause" sought in the General Assembly against power companies "would be taxing retired Methodist ministers and charity wards." In another editorial on April 2, "Blessing or Curse," Daniels put it most bluntly: "The Duke Foundation is a noble benefaction. If the Duke Power Company should be permitted to use its [The Duke Foundation's] good name to escape just taxation in the Carolinas it would be a curse. . . . The other power companies swing onto the coat-tails of this company, part of whose earnings go to the holiest purposes, and thereby escape just taxation and all are enabled to charge excessive prices for light and power." Lobbying in the 1931 legislature probably was the most frenzied in the state's history, and in those troubled times there was apparently more distrust of the legislators than usual. Before the "Long Parliament" came to a close, Josephus Daniels had received a great volume of laudatory mail. The disillusioned former state leader of the Ku Klux Klan of the twenties, Judge

[33] *News and Observer*, March 29, 1931.

Henry A. Grady, expressing a rural and populistic outrage at the lobbies and their corrupting influence, suggested the announcement of A. D. McLean or of Josephus Daniels as candidate for governor.[34] The linking of the two names did not do Daniels full justice. Unlike A. D. MacLean, who had extensive commercial property, the editor could not be charged with a conflict of interest in seeking a lower ad valorem property tax.

The marathon legislative session of 1931 accomplished sweeping reform in the state.[35] North Carolina took over the county roads and schools, merged the three leading state educational institutions into the Consolidated University of North Carolina, and stabilized the credit of smaller governmental units through a Local Government Act. The revenue bill was a compromise that pleased nobody. Corporate income and franchise taxes were raised by $2.25 million. These were somewhat offset by the reduction in local taxes made possible by state maintenance and operation of roads and schools. The compromise called for a fifteen-cent ad valorem tax for the schools, but this apparent halving of the property tax was a mirage effected through further postponement of a revaluation of property. In addition, the revenue bill provided for a known biennial deficit of some $5 million. Josephus Daniels editorialized in his legislative review:

> The deficit-breeding revenue measure was rushed through under the whip and spur of those who preferred to deal a staggering blow to education and to issue bonds for current expenses than to impose just taxation on millions of dollars worth of property untaxed or undertaxed or let the users of non-essentials bear a fair part of the burdens of government. . . . No such lobby has been seen in Raleigh since 1887 (and that was smaller and gave less display of extravagance) when it maintained an open bar for legislators in the Yarborough House.[36]

In later years Daniels acknowledged Governor Gardner's constructive leadership, recalling of him: "He held the rudder true in progress in education, roads, and devised ways to carry on every state function in a day of distress and depression."[37] But the bitter political fights of those days probably helped stimulate Daniels' only known use of profanity. As reporter Ben Dixon MacNeill recalled it, Daniels would then say, at the mention of one of three Tar Heel politicians, "MacNeill, he is a son-of-a-bitch, net."[38]

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[34] Grady to Daniels, May 5, 1931, Daniels Papers.

[35] On the North Carolina legislature of 1931, see Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension*, 59-91; Gill interview. Gill represented Scotland County in the 1931 General Assembly.

[36] *News and Observer*, May 31, 1931.

[37] Daniels, "Life Begins at Seventy."

[38] MacNeill to Jonathan Daniels [June 30, 1950], in Jonathan Daniels Papers.

There was a great deal of discontent in the depression-stricken state, and there was apparently much grass roots support for Josephus Daniels for governor.[39] His collected papers bear witness to it. From Scotland County in the East came promise of widespread support because "Josephus Daniels . . . is not stuck up and understands poor folks. . . ." From Rutherford County in the West came a plea that Daniels as governor could defend the small taxpayers from "the domination of the public utilities and other big interests, in our political affairs. . . ."[40] Daniels had a long record of declining to offer for elected office, but he was now tempted more than at any time in his life. Delegations came to see him throughout the fall of 1931, and he was his usually cautious self with these admirers. There is no doubt that he put great reliance, as always, on the advice of his older brother Judge Frank A. Daniels, who openly disapproved and who begged him not to "weaken your influence and that of your paper which is to be left as an inheritance to your children."[41] Nevertheless, the surprise withdrawal of one of the most promising gubernatorial hopefuls, Attorney General Dennis G. Brummitt, on November 2, 1931, put additional pressure on Daniels to make an announcement. So did the possible gubernatorial hopes of his own political ally, A. D. MacLean. But Daniels' serious injury in an automobile accident on January 13, 1932, turned the tide. A month later he made a formal withdrawal from the approaching contest, to the unanimous applause of his wife, "Miss Addie," and the other Danielses. He was in his seventieth year, and it was generally concluded that he was too old and battered for hard political service. Daniels would show *them.*

The automobile injury might have daunted the will to recover of an old man who was not morally certain, like Daniels, that 1932 was the year of destiny for Franklin D. Roosevelt. Daniels rode as a passenger —in fact he never learned to drive a car—in the automobile of a prominent Atlanta attorney when their car was sideswiped, forced down an embankment and into a tree. It occurred in an Atlanta suburb on the return from Mount Berry, Georgia, where Daniels had helped celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the Berry Schools for underprivileged youngsters. "I'm just a scarred soldier," he murmured to friends during the long wait, in good spirits, to enter the X ray and operating rooms at St. Joseph's Infirmary. Actually his head was cut open, leav-

[39] See E. David Cronon, "Josephus Daniels as a Reluctant Candidate," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXIII (October, 1956), 458-465, hereinafter cited as Cronon, "Josephus Daniels."

[40] H. O. Covington to Daniels, undated [1931], and O. R. Coffield to Daniels, June 3, 1931, quoted in Cronon, "Josephus Daniels."

[41] Judge Frank A. Daniels to Daniels, October 4, 1931, Daniels Papers.

ing that most vivid of several scars on his forehead; his left arm broken in several places between elbow and wrist, leaving the hand somewhat stiffened for life; and his left leg badly cut by glass.[42] Upon release from the operating room, X-rayed and stitched up, the old warrior almost immediately dictated a letter to President Herbert Hoover on behalf of another try for a Supreme Court nomination for North Carolina's Chief Justice Walter P. Stacy.[43] The Commercial National Bank had failed with Daniels' savings, depressed business conditions threatened the very existence of the *News and Observer,* and the editor was now laid up in St. Joseph's Infirmary. At this juncture, January 18, 1932, his wartime friend Bernard Baruch voluntarily came forward with a providential loan of $25,000—truly a fortune in those days.[44]

"Miss Addie" hurried to her husband's bedside, she who was always his best restorative, where she mixed "love and tenderness and discipline in equal proportions," as Daniels wrote home to his sons.[45] Martha Berry, who was understandably distressed at Daniels' injury while in Atlanta to visit her school, came in with chicken and custard. One of the editor's first acts on returning to Raleigh for convalescence was to write Miss Berry, whose educational efforts he so admired and whose efforts at providing equal opportunity tallied so well with his own ideals:

> . . . I am home again bringing back with me beautiful and lasting memories I spent at Mount Berry with you. Nothing, not even an automobile accident, can ever efface the happy memories and the inspiration of that day, and my admiration for the demonstration of the great things you have done there, the stimulus it has brought elsewhere, the log houses and the cathedral effects seen nowhere else, all topped with the scores and scores of bright faced youths who had entered the Door of Opportunity you had opened to them. And the beauty of the lovely girls cannot be effaced or the echoes of the beautiful songs. They are mine now and forever more truly than any material possession.[46]

After some additional hesitation on the editor's part, the importunities of his family and friends now held sway—he decided not to compete for governor. On February 15, the *News and Observer* carried "A

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[42] Associated Press dispatch, *News and Observer*, January 14, 1932.
[43] Daniels to Hoover, January 16, 1932, Daniels Papers.
[44] On the amount of the loan, see letter from the office of Baruch to Daniels, April 29, 1936, Daniels Papers; the circumstances concerning the loan were described in a letter from Bernard M. Baruch to the author, September 25, 1962.
[45] Daniels to his sons, January 20, 1932, Bagley Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection.
[46] Daniels to Martha Berry, January 29, 1932, Bagley Family Papers.

Statement by the Editor," in which Daniels recognized that his support came because of program and not personal popularity, and that the program, which he restated at length, could get his more effective long-term support in the newspaper than in the executive mansion. Nevertheless, on the very day of the announcement, he opined to a supporter in Charlotte, "I have no doubt that I would have been nominated. . . ."[47] And it was a conviction the editor held all his life. In the unpublished memoir composed shortly before his death, Daniels wrote of 1932 when "I was urged and tempted to become a candidate for Governor, when the nomination was assured." Also from the unpublished memoir, "'You are one North Carolinian,' said Governor O. Max Gardner, 'perhaps the only one, who can say that when the Governorship was practically in his grasp he "declined the crown."'" By now Gardner and Daniels, who liked one another personally, were congenial allies in the task of making Franklin D. Roosevelt President of the United States.

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[47] Daniels to E. Randolph Preston, February 15, 1932, Daniels Papers.

INDIAN AGRICULTURE IN THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

By G. Melvin Herndon*

Agriculture was a conspiciously essential part of Indian subsistence in southeastern North America. The natives were hunters, but they were also agriculturists. They lived in fixed habitations, tilled the soil, and subsisted as much, if not more, on their agricultural products than they did from those of the chase; scarcity of food in the winter, soil depletion, hostile Indian tribes, or white settlers forced the Indians to move about.

The early accounts contain numerous references to the "Indian fields" and villages. William Strachey mentioned Kecoughtan, Virginia, where a large concentration of Indians displayed great skill as husbandmen on land suitable for cultivation.[1] The German traveler, John Lederer, in 1670, found a group of Siouan Indians living near present Clarksville, Virginia, that put in an immense store of corn, and he observed that they always had a year's supply of provisions in reserve.[2] In 1775 James Adair wrote: "And their tradition says they did not live straggling in the American woods, as do the Arabians, and rambling Tartars; for they made houses with the branches and bark of trees for the summer-season; and warm mud-walls, mixt with soft dry grass, against the bleak winter."[3] From the experience of the Indians the colonists learned how to live in Colonial America. The natives taught the white settlers how to clear the land, what seeds to plant, what soils to cultivate and how to plant and cultivate their crops. There is little doubt that the Indian contributed much to the survival of the early colonists and to American agriculture.

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[1] Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund (eds.), *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania (1612)*, by William Strachey, gent. (London: Hakluyt Society [Second Series, No. CIII], 1953), 67, hereinafter cited as Strachey, *Virginia Britania.*

[2] Clarence W. Alvord and Lee Bidgood, *First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1912), 154.

[3] James Adair, *The History of the American Indians; Particularly Those Nations Adjoining to the Missis[s]ippi, East and West Florida, Georgia, South and North Carolina and Virginia . . .* (London: Printed for Edward and Charles Dilly in the Poultry [*sic*], 1775), 405, hereinafter cited as Adair, *History of the American Indians.*

The first task performed by the Indian farmer was that of clearing the land of trees and bushes. He usually selected the most fertile soil for cultivation, which was generally along river bottoms or near other bodies of water. The advantages for hunting and fishing probably had something to do with the selection of a site for planting, but no doubt the Indians understood the value of good soil. The method of clearing seems to have been the same from Virginia to Florida. Adair wrote that "In the first clearings of their plantations, they only bark the large timber, cut down the sapplings and underwood, and burn them in heaps; as the suckers shoot up, they chop them off close to the stump, of which they make fires to deaden the roots, till in time they decay."[4] This process is almost identical with that described by Captain John Smith, Robert Beverley, John Lawson, and Alanson Skinner.[5] Lawson noted that in North Carolina the best lands were not always used because of the size of the trees on them,[6] while Henry Spelman affirmed a more robust treatment than Adair: "the[y] cutt doune the greate trees sum half a yard aboue the ground, and ye smaller they burne at the roote pullinge a good part of barke from them to make them die. . . ."[7]

The Indians usually built their villages of varying sizes in the midst of these clearings.[8] Smith says, "Their houses are in the midst of their fields or gardens, which are small plots of ground. Some 20 acres, some 40. some 100. some 200. some more, some lesse. In some places [there were] from 2 to 50 of those houses together, or but a little separated by groues of trees."[9] According to Strachey, the village of Kecoughtan contained about 1,000 Indians, 300 houses, and 2,000 or 3,000 acres of cleared land suitable for planting.[10]

Among the Algonquins, located from Virginia to the Neuse River, each family had its own carefully cultivated garden. This garden was

[4] Adair, *History of the American Indians*, 405-406.

[5] Lyon Gardner Tyler (ed.), *Narratives of Early Virginia, 1606-1625*, unnumbered volume in J. Franklin Jameson (ed.), *Original Narratives of Early American History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons [19 volumes, 1906-1917], 1907), 95-96, hereinafter cited as Tyler, *Narratives of Early Virginia;* Strachey, *Virginia Britania*, 79; Louis B. Wright (ed.), *The History and Present State of Virginia*, by Robert Beverley (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947), 143, hereinafter cited as Beverley, *Present State of Virginia*; Alanson Skinner, "Notes on the Florida Seminole," *American Anthropologist*, XV (January, 1913), 76.

[6] Frances Latham Harriss (ed.), *Lawson's History of North Carolina* (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1937), 84, hereinafter cited as Harriss, *Lawson's History*.

[7] Henry Spelman, "Relation of Virginia," in Edward Arber (ed.), *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, President of Virginia and Admiral of New England, 1580-1631* (Edinburgh: John Grant, 2 volumes, 1910), I, cxi, hereinafter cited as Arber, *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*.

[8] David Bushnell, Jr., *Native Village Sites East of the Mississippi* (Washington: Government Printing Office [*Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 69*], 1919), 32.

[9] Arber, *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*, I, 363.

[10] Strachey, *Virginia Britania*, 67.

Village of Secoton, a watercolor by John White, showing on the right the three plantings of corn typical of Indian agricultural practices discussed in this article. The top field is described as "Their rype corne" and includes a small shelter on a raised platform for use by "watchers," whose duty it was to keep the birds from injuring the corn. The second field is labeled "Their greene corne," and the third, "Corne newly sprong." Faint indications of hills can be distinguished in the bottom field. This illustration is from *The American Drawings of John White, 1577-1590,* edited by Hulton and Quinn.

commonly a small plot of ground 100 by 200 feet, and it furnished food until the large fields could be harvested. The large fields which supplied most of the food for the entire population lay on the outskirts of the village. Little houses or shelters raised upon platforms were built in the fields and were occupied by watchers, usually women or children, whose duty it was to keep the birds from injuring the crops.[11] This practice was also customary among the ancient Tumucua tribes in northern Florida.[12]

Lands belonging to the Indian tribes were divided into communities or petty provinces, each governed by its local chief, who was usually subject to a higher chief. To the greater chieftains the people paid tribute of corn, wild beasts, deer, and other gifts. The gardens of the principal chiefs among the Algonquins were cared for by the people, who met by appointment to plant and later harvest the crops. The Creeks paid their chiefs tribute by contributing a portion of their own harvest to the king's granary, which was a public treasury to which every member had a right of free and equal access when his own private stores were consumed. It served also as a surplus to accommodate travelers, to assist neighboring villagers whose crops had failed, and to afford provisions for expeditions against hostile tribes.[13] There was no fixed rule as to the size of a garden or cornfield an individual or family might plant. Each member of the village could clear as much land to cultivate as he pleased, and as long as it was cultivated his right to it was protected; if abandoned, anyone might acquire the right to use it. According to the custom or law, the land belonged to the tribe and no person could acquire an absolute title to any part of it.[14]

Tillage as practiced by the Indian differed from that practiced by the European. The field crops grown in England at the time of the discovery of America were largely broadcast seeded. Virtually every crop grown by the Indian was planted in rows and each stalk or plant hoed to keep down the weeds—one of several examples illustrat-

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[11] Charles C. Willoughby, "The Virginia Indians in the Seventeenth Century," *American Anthropologist*, IX (January, 1907), 82-83, hereinafter cited as Willoughby, "Virginia Indians."

[12] John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors* (Washington: Government Printing Office [*Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 73*], 1922), 360.

[13] G. K. Holmes, "Aboriginal Agriculture—The American Indian," in L. H. Bailey (ed.), *Cyclopedia of American Agriculture* (New York: Macmillan Company, 4 volumes [Second Edition], 1910), IV, 33, hereinafter cited as Holmes, "Aboriginal Agriculture."

[14] Lucien Carr, "The Food of Certain American Indians and Their Methods of Preparing It," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, New Series, X (April 1, 1895), 163, hereinafter cited as Carr, "Food of Certain American Indians"; Willoughby, "Virginia Indians," 57.

ing that American farm practices were influenced by Indian agriculture. Intertillage of such crops as tobacco, corn, and beans had been commonly practiced in America by the white man more than one hundred years before Jethro Tull wrote his *Horse Hoeing Husbandry* (1733) and had been in use by the Indians for centuries. In their common method of hill planting, the soil in the intervening spaces was not broken. The hills were from twelve to twenty inches in diameter and about three feet apart, and the soil in these hills was all that was stirred or loosened. As the tobacco plant or corn stalk grew, loose dirt was scraped around it thus keeping down the weeds and grass. Hilling may have been practiced for a more important reason, to prevent the plants from falling over during high winds and wet weather. Hilling promoted the production of buttress or bracer roots on the lower part of the stem in both corn and tobacco. The same thing cannot be accomplished by deep planting. Certain peculiarities about the structure and development of both of the above plants cause the main part of the root system to develop near the surface of the soil regardless of the depth of planting.[15] The hills were used over and over in successive seasons and became quite sizable mounds of earth. The early colonists followed the Indian method of seeding but often neglected the weeding and were frequently subjected to ridicule for their shiftlessness by the painstaking Indian squaws.

Later, in using animal labor for cultivation the colonists found it more feasible to kill the weeds and grass by breaking and stirring the intervening ground, and more modern methods of cultivation subsequently evolved. Thus the colonists provided the chief requisite for soil erosion by stirring the soil over the entire field. As long as an unbroken sod was retained between each hill, there was little danger of any significant amount of erosion. For this reason it appears that the Indians were able to grow corn on the same field longer than the white settlers. Recent tests have proven that row crops are not benefited by frequent cultivation if the weeds are kept out by other means, another instance where modern agriculturists have discovered that many of the farming practices of the Indians were based on sound principles.

The Indians practiced a rotation of fields rather than a rotation of crops. A field was "cropped" until it no longer produced profitable yields, then it was abandoned and new land cleared. The colonists followed the Indian example, as clearing new land was more feasible than fertilizing the old. Several years later the abandoned fields were

[15] Paul Weatherwax, *Indian Corn in Old America* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1954), 70, hereinafter cited as Weatherwax, *Indian Corn.*

frequently taken over by someone else or returned to cultivation by the original holder. So added to the several other Indian agricultural practices adopted by the white settlers was that of restoring fertility by resting land.[16]

The Indians could scarcely have avoided the beneficial effects of decaying organic matter on plant growth, yet, outside of New England, they appear to have made little or no use of any kind of manures. Smith wrote: "In *Virginia* they never manure their outworne fields, which is very few, the ground for the most part is so fertile: but in *New-England* they doe, sticking at every plant of corne a herring or two. . . ."[17] On Roanoke Island Hariot observed:

> The ground they neuer fatten with mucke, dounge or any other thing; neither plow nor digge it as we in England, . . . [they] doe onely breake the vpper part of the ground to rayse vp the weedes, grasse, & old stubbes of corne stalkes with their rootes. The[se] which after a day or twoes drying in the Sunne, being scrapte vp into many small heapes, to saue them labour for carrying them away; they burne into ashes. (And whereas some may thinke that they vse the ashes for to better the grounde; I say that then they woulde eyther disperse the ashes abroade; which wee obserued they do not, except the heapes to be too great: or els would take speciall care to set their corne where the ashes lie, which also wee finde they are careless of.) And this is all the husbanding of their ground that they vse.[18]

Again the colonists copied the Indian, even after the introduction of a considerable number of livestock, which the Indian did not possess. The colonist failed to fertilize his crops for the same reasons as the Indian: scarcity of manures, the amount of labor required, and, most importantly, the abundance of fertile land.

According to contemporary accounts, one of the most common characteristics of Indian agriculture was that the planting and cultivation was done largely by the women, though the amount contributed by the male varied somewhat in different areas. In preparing a field for cultivation, the first task was to clear it; this portion of the work belonged to the men. They girdled and killed the trees, burned the brush and dead wood, and then handed the field over to the squaws who broke up the ground for the making of hills, using hoes made of wood, bone, stone, or shell.[19] Smith related:

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[16] It might be noted here that agriculturists now insist that resting land does not restore fertility; however, this was a common belief until the twentieth century.

[17] Arber, *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*, II, 952.

[18] Thomas Hariot, *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (New York: History Book Club, Inc., 1951), unnumbered 17-18, hereinafter cited as Hariot, *A Brief and True Report*.

[19] Carr, "Food of Certain American Indians," 164.

Jacques le Moyne, an artist who accompanied René de Laudonnière's expedition to Florida in 1564, gave this description of the agricultural practices of the natives: "The Indians till the soil very diligently, using a kind of hoe made from fish bone fitted to wooden handles. Since the soil is very light, these serve well enough to cultivate it. After the ground has been well broken up and leveled, the planting is done by the women, some making holes with sticks, into which the others drop the seeds of beans or maize." Above is a Theodore de Bry engraving of a Le Moyne watercolor. The women wear skirts made of Spanish moss. From *The New World*, edited and annotated by Stefan Lorant (New York: Duell, Sloane & Pearce, 1946).

The men bestowe their times in fishing, hunting, wars and such manlike exercises, scorning to be seene in any woman like exercise; which is the cause that the women be verie painefull and the men often idle. The women and children do the rest of the worke. They make mats, baskets, pots, morters; pound their corne, make their bread, prepare their victuals, plant their corne, and gather their corne, beare al kind of burdens, and such like.[20]

According to Hariot, the men also helped prepare the ground for seeding:

. . . a fewe daies before they sowe or set, the men with wooden instruments, made almost in [the] forme of mattockes or hoes with long handles; the women with short peckers or parers, because they vse them sitting, of a

[20] Arber, *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*, I, 67.

foote long and about fiue inches in breadth: doe onely breake the vpper part of the ground. . . .[21]

It has been said that in North Carolina the women never planted the corn, and that among the Tunicas of the lower Mississippi valley all of the work was done by the men.[22] Some confusion on this point may have been due to the fact that in addition to the communal field there were small garden areas about most Indian villages which were maintained entirely by the women.

The Indians carried on their work much in the manner of the husking, quilting, and other "work frolics" that became common among the colonists.[23] The people of each village worked together in common fields, though the allotments of the different households were separated by a narrow strip of grass, poles, or some other suitable natural or artificial boundary. Among the Creeks, care of the fields was under the charge of an overseer, said to be elected: "He called the men to the square by going through the village blowing upon a conch shell or uttering a loud cry. Immediately they gathered with hoes and axes, and then marched in order to the field as if they were going into battle, headed by their overseer. The women followed in detached parties bearing the provisions for the day."[24] As a general rule the planting season for the out-fields began when the wild fruit had ripened, so as to draw off the birds and prevent them from picking up the grain.[25] The small garden plots in or near the village were planted earlier and provided the first harvest.

Work began at one end of the common field, in a plot of ground chosen by lot, and when the task on that one was completed, they moved to the next adjoining one, and so on until the entire field was planted.[26] Sometimes one of their orators cheered the workers on with jests and humorous old tales and sang some of their most agreeable tunes while beating a drum. At the end of a workday, all of the workers were usually feasted by the families for whom they had worked on that particular day.[27] Work usually ceased around noon for the

[21] Hariot, *A Brief and True Report*, unnumbered 17.

[22] John R. Swanton, *Aboriginal Culture of the Southeast* (Washington: Government Printing Office [*Forty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*], 1928), 691, hereinafter cited as Swanton, *Aboriginal Culture*.

[23] Carr, "Food of Certain American Indians," 162.

[24] John R. Swanton, *Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy* (Washington: Government Printing Office [*Forty-second Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*], 1928), 443.

[25] Adair, *History of the American Indians*, 406.

[26] Mark Van Doren (ed.), *The Travels of William Bartram* (New York: Dover Publications, 1928), 401.

[27] Carr, "Food of Certain American Indians," 163.

day, and after the feast the afternoon was devoted to a ball game and the evening to dancing.[28]

The following is one of the better accounts of their manner of planting corn:

> . . . beginning in one corner of the plot, with a pecker they make a hole, wherein they put foure graines with that care they touch not one another, (about an inch asunder) and couer them with the moulde againe: and so through out the whole plot, making such holes and vsing them after such maner [*sic*]: but with this regard that they bee made in rankes, euery ranke differing from [the] other [by] halfe a fadome or a yarde, and the holes also in euery ranke, as much. By this meanes there is a yarde spare ground betwene euery hole: where according to discretion here and there, they set as many Beanes and Peaze: in diuers places also among the seedes of Macócqwer [squash and pumpkin] Melden [an herb] and Planta Solis [sunflower].[29]

Corn was grown over a larger area of North America than any other domesticated plant and is certainly one of the oldest in America. It was the main dependence of all tribes south of the St. Lawrence River and east of the Mississippi.[30]

The Indians grew three or four varieties of corn. Hariot mentioned three types, two of which grew to be 6 or 7 feet tall, and ripened in 11 or 12 weeks after planting; the third grew to a height of about 10 feet and ripened in 14 weeks. Each stalk might have from 1 to 4 ears on it, with some 500 to 700 grains on each ear. The grains were about the size of an English pea and might be of several colors, white, red, yellow, or blue.[31] Near Jamestown Smith observed: "Every stalke of their corn commonly beareth two eares, some 3, seldome any 4, many but one, and some none. Every eare ordinarily hath betwixt 200 and 500 graines." [32] They began planting in April, but the chief plantings came during May and continued until the middle of June. What was planted in April was harvested in August, that planted in May was harvested in September, and that planted in June was harvested in October. Perhaps the best description of Indian corn was given by Beverley in 1705:

> There are Four Sorts of *Indian* Corn, Two of which are early ripe, and two late ripe. . . .
>
> The Two Sorts which are early ripe, are distinguish'd only by the Size, which shows it self as well in the Grain, as in the Ear, and the Stalk. There is some Difference also in the Time of ripening.

[28] Swanton, *Aboriginal Culture*, 691.
[29] Hariot, *A Brief and True Report*, unnumbered 18.
[30] Carr, "Food of Certain American Indians," 159.
[31] Hariot, *A Brief and True Report*, unnumbered 15.
[32] Arber, *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*, I, 62.

The lesser Size of Early ripe Corn, yields an Ear not much larger than the Handle of a Case Knife, and grows upon a Stalk between Three and Four Foot high. Of this are commonly made Two Crops in a year. . . .

The larger Sort differs from the former only in Largeness, the Ear of this being Seven or Eight Inches long, as thick as a Child's Leg and growing upon a Stalk Nine or Ten Foot high. This is fit for eating about the latter End of *May,* whereas the small Sort (generally speaking) affords Ears fit to roast by the Middle of *May.* The Grains of both these Sorts, are as plump and swell'd as if the Skin were ready to burst.

The late ripe Corn is diversify'd by the Shape of the Grain only, without any Respect to the accidental Differences in Colour, some being blue, some red, some yellow, some white, and some streak'd. That therefore which makes the Distinction, is the Plumpness or Shrivelling of the Grain; the one looks as smooth and as full as the early ripe Corn, and this they call *Flint-Corn*; the other has a larger Grain, and looks shrivell'd with a Dent on the Back of the Grain, as if it had never come to perfection; and this they call *She-Corn. . . .*[33]

According to one scholar, "It may even be said that in four and a quarter centuries during which the white race has been growing maize almost nothing has been produced that can not be duplicated among the cultures of the aborigines. The most highly developed varieties of flint, flour, pop, and sweet types are little if any superior to individual types in native cultures, the chief advance having been toward uniformity."[34]

There were no conspicuous differences in the manner in which corn was harvested and stored. Among the Algonquins the women gathered the corn, each family receiving only what was grown on its own plot. The corn was picked and placed in hand baskets, emptied into larger baskets as each was filled, and later placed on mats to dry. When sufficiently dry, the corn was next placed in the house in piles and shelled by "wringinge the ears in pieces between their hands." The shelled corn was then placed in a great storage basket which took up a large part of the house. Late corn that had to be harvested while still green was frequently roasted and buried in the ground.[35] The corn might be stored in a crib raised on eight posts about seven feet above the ground[36] and curing hastened by fires built underneath. Thus the granary, public or private, might be a portion of the wigwam, a hole in the ground, or a storehouse raised above the ground.

The husks of an ear of Indian corn were thick, tough and coarse,

[33] Beverley, *Present State of Virginia,* 143-144.

[34] Guy N. Collins, "Notes on the Agricultural History of Maize," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1919* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 2 volumes and a supplement, 1923), I, 423.

[35] Holmes, "Aboriginal Agriculture," 30.

[36] Harriss, *Lawson's History,* 12.

According to Le Moyne, the Indians stored the surplus from their harvests "in low and roomy granaries, built of stone and earth and thickly roofed with palm branches and a kind of soft earth. To keep the contents better, the granaries are usually erected near a mountain or in the shade of a river bank, so as to be sheltered from the direct rays of the sun." Above is an engraving by De Bry based on a Le Moyne drawing. From *The New World*, edited and annotated by Stefan Lorant.

fitted snugly, and extended well beyond the ear. To loosen and remove them was not an easy task and reached imposing proportions when multiplied by the number of ears to be husked. To ameliorate this task the Indians of eastern North America invented the homely husking peg, which the white man adopted. In its primitive form it was essentially a smooth, round rod of bone or hard wood about half an inch in diameter and three or four inches long. One end tapered down to a blunt point, and a shallow groove or two around it near the middle held a loop of cord or leather, through which one or two fingers were inserted to hold the tool on the hand. The blunt point of the peg was inserted into the snugly fitting husks at the tapered end of the ear, and by applying pressure on the husks held between the peg and the thumb of the hand holding the peg, the husks were peeled back and snapped off at the opposite end of the ear, thus freeing the ear from its husks.[37]

[37] Weatherwax, *Indian Corn*, 78-79.

As to yields, one account reported 364 bushels of corn as the product of 13 gallons of seed;[38] another in terms of English measure—200 London bushels of a mixed crop of corn, beans, and peas from an English acre;[39] and a third estimated an average yield as 40 bushels per acre.[40] Corn, beans, and squash were frequently planted in the same field, another practice adopted by the colonists. The Indians domesticated several kinds of beans: the common bean, often referred to as the kidney or Indian bean; the lima bean; and the scarlet-runner bean. All three types were grown in the southern colonies. The early writers on the American crops frequently employed the phrase "beanes and pease." Just what was meant by the term "pease" is difficult to determine. It may have been used to indicate more than one specie of bean; at times it seems to have been used to mean a small bean.[41] Hariot speaks of two kinds of native beans, called by the English beans and peas respectively, though the latter seems to have been quite different from European peas.

> *Okindgier*, called by vs Beanes, because in greatnesse & partly in shape they are like to the Beanes in England; sauing that they are flatter, of more diuers colours, and some pide [piebald]. The leafe also of the stemme is much different. In taste they are altogether as good as our English peaze.
>
> *Wickonzowr*, called by vs Peaze, in respect of the beanes for distinctiõ sake, because they are much lesse; although in forme they little differ; but in goodnesse of tast much, & are far better than our English peaze. Both the beanes and the peaze are ripe in tenne weekes after they are set.[42]

Smith mentioned another type of pea which the Indians called "*Assentamens*, which are the same as they cal in Italye, *Fagioli*. . . ."[43] Beverly wrote: "They have an unknown Variety of them, (but all of a Kidney-Shape) some of which I have met with wild. . . ."[44] These wild peas may have been the marsh pea.[45]

There is also some uncertainty as to the various kinds of creeping vines cultivated by the Indians. Many of the creeper plants the white

[38] Arber, *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*, II, 952. Smith was somewhat skeptical of this report: "All things they plant prosper exceedingly: but one man of 13. gallons of Indian corne, reaped that yeare 364. bushels London measure, as they confidently report, at which I much wonder, having planted many bushels, but no such increase. . . ."

[39] Hariot, *A Brief and True Report*, unnumbered 18.

[40] Holmes, "Aboriginal Agriculture," 31.

[41] Beverley, *History of Virginia*, 144.

[42] Hariot, *A Brief and True Report*, unnumbered 16.

[43] Arber, *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*, I, 62.

[44] Beverley, *History of Virginia*, 144.

[45] John R. Swanton, *Indians of the Southeastern United States* (Washington: Government Printing Office [*Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 137*], 1946), 269, hereinafter cited as Swanton, *Indians of the Southeastern United States*.

explorers had never seen, and those were named for the European plants which they most resembled. The evidence seems quite clear, however, that several kinds of squash and the ordinary field pumpkin were common food crops of the Indians. One observer described these plants as follows:

> *Macócqwer,* according to their seuerall formes called by vs *Pompions, Mellions,* and *Gourdes,* because they are the like formes as those kindes in England. In *Virginia* such of seuerall formes are of one taste and very good, and do also spring from one seed. There are two sorts; one is ripe in the space of a moneth [*sic*], and the other in two moueths [*sic*]." [46]

Beverley gave a more detailed description of the several kinds of creeping vines in Virginia. He mentioned muskmelons; several kinds of watermelons, red, yellow, and white meated, and some with yellow, red, and black seeds; pumpkins; two kinds of squash called ecushaws and macocks; and gourds, which the Indians never ate, but planted for other uses, such as use of dried shells for containers.[47]

There is a belief that muskmelons and watermelons were introduced to the Indians by the Europeans.[48] Captain John Smith made no mention of them in his descriptions of Virginia published in 1612, but in 1621 he reported that

> A small ship comming in December last from the Summer-Ilands, to Virginia, brought thither from thence these Plants, viz. Vines of all sorts, Orange and Leman trees, Sugar Canes, Cassado Roots (that make bread) Pines, Plantans, Potatoes, and sundry other Indian fruits and plants, not formerly seen in Virginia, which begin to prosper very well.[49]

Melons appear several times in the accounts of the various Raleigh expeditions. Hariot mentioned melons and Captain John White in 1587 wrote of seeing melons of "divers sorts." While these sixteenth-century American melons may have been squash or pumpkins, there is nothing in the statements which would exclude watermelons. There is good presumptive evidence that the melons which were served raw might have been watermelons.

There is some controversy as to whether the sweet potato is of American or Asian origin. It is generally conceded that America was its original home. According to L. C. Gray, "sweet potatoes were in

[46] Hariot, *A Brief and True Report,* unnumbered 16.
[47] Beverley, *History of Virginia,* 142.
[48] Willoughby, "Virginia Indians," 84.
[49] Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons [20 volumes, 1905-1907], 1906), XIX, 147, hereinafter cited as Purchas, *Pilgrimes.*

common use in the West Indies when the Spaniards discovered these islands. We have no account of their employment by the Virginia Indians at the time Jamestown was settled but they were cultivated by the Indians of northern Florida and eastern South Carolina."[50] Various roots, such as tuckahoe or wampee or koonti, used by the Indians were identified as potatoes by early explorers and settlers. Strachey says that potatoes had been given a trial in his time (1610-1612).[51] Smith mentioned white, red, and yellow potatoes among the products brought by the English from Bermuda in 1620.[52]

It is the opinion of Gray that "Tomatoes, Jerusalem artichokes, garden peppers, and sunflowers were among the less important contributions of the New World to agriculture."[53]

Tobacco was firmly established throughout the eastern and southern United States at the time of discovery. In the Southeast it is mentioned first in Jacques le Moyne's narrative of the Huguenot colony in Florida. In 1584 Arthur Barlowe noted tobacco growing along with corn in the fields of the Algonquin Indians of North Carolina.[54] In 1607 George Percy was shown a "Garden of Tobacco" by a Powhatan Indian.[55] Strachey offers the fullest account of Indian tobacco in Virginia:

> There is here great store of Tobacco, which the Saluages call *Apooke*; howbeyt yt is not the best kynd, yt is but poore and weake, and of a byting tast, yt growes not fully a yard aboue the grownd, bearing a little yellow flower, like a henn-bane, the leaves are short and thick, somewhat rownd at the vpper end: . . . the Saluages here dry the leaves of this Apooke over the fier, and sometymes in the Sun, and Crumble yt into Powlder, Stalks, leaves, and all, taking the same in Pipes of Earth which very ingeniously they can make. . . .[56]

At the end of the seventeenth century Beverley wrote:

> How the *Indians* order'd their Tobacco, I am not certain, they now depending chiefly upon the *English*, for what they smoak: But I am inform'd, they used to let it all run to Seed, only succouring the Leaves, to keep the Sprouts from growing upon, and starving them; and when it was ripe, they pull'd off the Leaves, cured them in the Sun, and laid them up for Use. . . .[57]

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[50] Lewis Cecil Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 2 volumes, 1933), I, 4, hereinafter cited as Gray, *History of Agriculture.*

[51] Strachey, *Virginia Britania,* 38.

[52] Purchas, *Pilgrimes,* XIX, 147.

[53] Gray, *History of Agriculture,* I, 5.

[54] Swanton, *Indians of the Southeastern United States,* 382.

[55] Tyler, *Narratives of Early Virginia,* 16.

[56] Strachey, *Virginia Britania,* 122-123.

[57] Beverley, *History of Virginia,* 145.

The native tobacco, *Nicotiana rustica,* was inferior to *Nicotiana tobacum* introduced into Virginia by John Rolfe from the West Indies; and, as Beverley noted, by the end of the seventeenth century the Indians of Virginia were depending mainly upon the English for their ordinary smoking tobacco. The colonists soon found the native Indian tobacco unsatisfactory to their taste and imported a new variety that truly became the "golden weed" for several of the colonies; but it must be remembered that it was the Indian who taught the colonists how to grow it.

Of all the hay and pasture plants of importance east of the Mississippi, there is scarcely one which was not introduced by the colonists. Many early explorers wrote of "goodly meadows," not knowing that the salt marsh grasses they saw growing along the coast were very inferior for forage. Had the Indian of the Southeast possessed horses and cattle before the coming of the white men, perhaps he might have developed an excellent hay crop from the wild rye that was found growing from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico,[58] or from the several varieties of peas and beans.

If the natives of southeastern North America had been ignorant of agriculture, the colonization of America would probably have been delayed, for without aid from the Indians the planting of Jamestown might have failed. It was largely through the knowledge of agriculture learned from the Indians that the colony was enabled to survive the first few years. Perhaps the next greatest contribution of the Indians was the clearing of land for crops which the whites sooner or later took over, by force or other means. This speeded up the colonization by a considerable degree, for it would have taken generations for a small handful of colonists to clear enough land for survival. It has been said that the Valley of Virginia and sections of the Carolina Piedmont were without trees when the Europeans first came. Those sections and the areas used by the Indians for farming were practically the only breaks in the forests.

In some instances Indian agriculture was further advanced than that of the Old World. The colonists learned many valuable lessons in New World agriculture from the natives and several of their principles and practices have been proven sound by American agriculturists.

[58] Gray, *History of Agriculture,* I, 4-5.

BOOK REVIEWS

For History's Sake: The Preservation and Publication of North Carolina History, 1663-1903. By H. G. Jones. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966. Preface, introduction, illustrations, bibliography, index. Pp. xvi, 319. $7.50.)

This thoroughly researched, well-organized, clearly written, and highly readable volume tells the story of the public records of North Carolina from the issuance of the 1663 Charter to 1903, when the state established the North Carolina Historical Commission (now the State Department of Archives and History). Dr. Jones, who has been State Archivist since 1956—and an extremely competent one—discusses in depth the creation, preservation, destruction, use, and publication of public records for a period of two and a half centuries. By painstaking use of the original records about which he is writing, he has been able to confirm many—though not all—of the traditions relating to the neglect of North Carolina's public records.

The author begins with an introductory statement defining "records" and emphasizing the fact that "records" become "archives" only when they are so designated by an appropriate authority. Part One of the volume has four chapters dealing with "The Public Archives, 1663-1903." In Chapters I and II: "Record Keeping in Proprietary Carolina, 1663-1728," and "Record Keeping in the Royal Period, 1729-1776," Dr. Jones shows that some government officials realized the importance of public records for administrative, legal, and historical purposes, "and many modern concepts of the care of official records are grounded in laws and traditions of the Colonial period."

In Chapters III and IV: "War and Its Aftermath: Dislocation and Settlement, 1774-1794," and "The Vicissitudes of the Records, 1794-1903," the author discusses the laws governing the records; the repeated moving of records due to changing the seat of government or because of threats brought on by war, such as the hitherto unknown story of the movement of the state records across the mountains to escape the British army in 1781, and the well-known story of the evacuation of the records from Raleigh as General Sherman approached that city in 1865; the conditions of buildings housing the

records and the calamities that befell them, such as the burning of the Capitol in 1831; the care or neglect with which custodians tended the records, and the efforts of individuals who sought to provide greater security for the records. Chapter IV, one of the best in the book, has four logical subdivisions: "The State Records in Raleigh, 1794-1861" (from the building of the Capitol to the state's secession); "The Records and the War, 1861-1888" (it was not until the latter date that the federal government delivered North Carolina records in its possession to the state); "The Records in the Postwar Period, 1865-1903"; and "The Records of Counties and Municipalities, 1794-1903." The author is to be congratulated for his wisdom in discussing these significant though frequently overlooked records.

Part Two, which will probably have the widest appeal to historians, is divided into three chapters and deals with the "Collection and Publication of the Records, 1843-1868," by George Chalmers, Hugh Williamson, François Xavier Martin, Archibald D. Murphey, Joseph Seawell ("Shocco") Jones; John H. Wheeler, David L. Swain, and Francis Lister Hawks; and with William L. Saunders and *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (1879-1891), and Walter Clark and *The State Records of North Carolina* (1893-1907).

Part Three, "Caretakers for Clio, 1833-1907," is an extremely interesting account of the foundation of "Six Early Historical Societies, 1833-1887," with special emphasis on the North Carolina Historical Society; "The Dispersal of the Swain Collection, 1880-1930"; and "The Establishment of a State Archival-Historical Agency, 1893-1907."

The book also contains a selected bibliography and a thorough index. Ten excellent illustrations, six of which are portraits (Williamson, Murphey, Swain, Wheeler, Saunders, and Clark), add to the attractiveness of the volume. The endpaper, a "View of Raleigh, 1872," will be of interest to many of the book's readers. Dr. Jones has rendered a great service to the archival profession and also to state and local historians.

Hugh T. Lefler

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Old Salem in Pictures. Photography by Bruce Roberts. Text by Frances Griffin. (Charlotte: McNally and Loftin, 1966. Foreword, illustrations. Pp. 64. $3.95.)

James A. Gray's foreword to this charming black and white picture book says that it is intended "to recreate the mystique that was, and

is, Old Salem." Veteran photographer Bruce Roberts' eighty-six superb pictures (eighty-seven, counting the cover) are skillfully interwoven with eight and one-half pages of excellent text and exceptionally generous captions by Salem publicist Frances Griffin to give the reader the illusion that he is actually seeing daily life in the eighteenth-century Moravian community—not in the twentieth-century restored town.

No modern utility lines or motor cars are visible; the faces of men, women, and children are carefully chosen (and all are worth study); costumes are not too spick and span (loose threads and wrinkles show here and there); leaves drift across the diagonal brick walk in Salem Square—in short, it *is* Old Salem.

Altogether, sixteen restored structures are shown, and architectural historians will enjoy studying the thousand and one structural details that are visible. Nine craftsmen are shown at their tasks, and both pictures and text emphasize the Moravians' painstaking regard for highest quality. Every bit as fascinating are the photographs of daily routine—the tavernkeeper welcoming his guests by lantern light to historic Salem Tavern, the watchman blowing his conch shell, an intent boy doing sums on a huge abacus.

The fourth and closing section of the book, "The Spirit of Salem," focuses on "the simple day-to-day religion that was the heartbeat of early Salem [and] has remained unaltered through these two centuries"—the great Easter sunrise service in God's Acre, the Christmas Eve lovefeast by candlelight, and always music, trumpet, trombone, organ, and flute, for every occasion of faith and fellowship.

A simple black and white map of Old Salem—useful and highly decorative—serves as endpapers for this attractive first picture book from restored Salem.

Copies of the book may be ordered from the publisher.

Mary Claire Engstrom

Hillsborough

38th Evac: The Story of the Men and Women Who Served in World War II with the 38th Evacuation Hospital in North Africa and Italy. By LeGette Blythe. (Charlotte: Heritage Printers, 1966. Foreword, calendar, illustrations, rosters, index. Pp. 261. $15.00.)

Beginning with a lawn party in Charlotte on October 12, 1940, the author narrates the history of the 38th Evacuation Hospital from its

organization and training, through its service in North Africa and Italy, to its dissolution in Florence on July 3, 1945. Although some of its original personnel came from other states, the nucleus of the unit was the Charlotte Memorial Hospital staff, a fact which explains the author's interest in the subject. Quoting copiously from letters, orders of the day, newspaper accounts, and reminiscences, Mr. Blythe recounts in full every incident he could unearth about the men, women, and patients of the hospital unit. Sometimes the events are humorous, as that of the cook upsetting the dignity of a staid colonel; sometimes dramatic, as often occurred in the surgical tents during a heavy offensive; frequently pathetic when describing the war-torn towns; often sad when recounting the deaths of friends. The unit served during such famous battles as those of Oran, Anzio Beachhead, and Montecatini, seeing duty continuously from November, 1942, to the end of the European combat. Around it all, Mr. Blythe has managed to create an atmosphere of heroism, of a difficult job done well in a casual American way, with praise from the famous war correspondent Ernie Pyle, and citations from commanding generals. A large number of snapshots, drawings of encampments, and a few magnificent studies by Margaret Bourke-White are reprinted.

The researcher will question the lack of information as to the location of the letters and diaries cited. The reader will find the double-columned pages and the heavy book awkward to manage. The chief appeal will be to the personnel of the unit, who can here relive five years of their lives in minute detail. Barring the deposit of the quoted primary sources in an archives, however, the book will remain a full, well-indexed assemblage of the raw materials from which history will later be written.

Copies of the book may be purchased at the Charlotte Bookshop.

Sarah McCulloh Lemmon

Meredith College

Tar Heels Track the Century. By Pocahontas Wight Edmunds. (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Company, 1966. Introduction, illustrations, notes, index. Pp. viii, 355. $8.95.)

The author, a Virginia writer, has painted charming pen portraits of ten North Carolinians who have made an imprint on the national arena since the Civil War. She begins and ends with voluntary expatriates: Andrew Johnson, "the only unschooled and only challenged

president," and Thomas Clayton Wolfe, "mountaineer in literature," and sandwiches in two others of this ilk: O. Henry (William Sydney Porter), "a tale teller of one city," and Walter Hines Page, "the intent editor and ambassador." The other six, with the possible exception of James Buchanan Duke, "the tycoon undertaking a university," were almost professional North Carolinians, fiercely loyal to the end: Zebulon Baird Vance, "state's man and statesman"; Matt Whitaker Ransom, "courtly general and senator"; Charles Brantley Aycock, "the nation's educational governor"; Furnifold McLendel Simmons, "master of politics"; and Josephus Daniels, "spokesman in three capitals."

The parade of Tar Heels (which she does not capitalize) who tracked the last century thus consists of a United States president, two governors (one a senator also), three senators (one an ambassador to Mexico also), two editors (one an ambassador to Mexico and Secretary of the Navy and one an ambassador to the Court of St. James also), a short story writer, and a novelist.

All save one—the cavalier Ransom—have had at least one full-length biography. Therefore, with this exception, the author has thrown little new light on her subjects and her research did not delve into any primary sources, except conversations with a few people closely connected with her subjects. Yet she has painted with roseate and sometimes flamboyant hues, delightful, impressionistic, off-beat sketches of those whom she chooses to include in her hall of fame. Perhaps the one most to be queried is the Tennessean Johnson. And perhaps his place might have been taken by the Pulitzer prize-winning playwright, novelist, and humanitarian, Paul Green; or the "good roads" governor, architect of university consolidation, and appointee to the Court of St. James, O. Max Gardner; or the university president, senator, and United Nations' mediator, Frank Porter Graham.

For readers interested in a once-over-lightly treatment of these ten Tar Heels, here is the book.

Blackwell P. Robinson

University of North Carolina at Greensboro

North Carolina Picadillo. By J. K. Rouse. (Salisbury: Rowan Business Forms, Inc., 1966. Illustrations, index, appendix. Pp. 112. $5.95.)

This slender volume of high-gloss, letter-size pages is not just a picadillo but a loosely organized collection of picadillos—tender tidbits and pleasing morsels gathered from the fruitful field of local history in a tier of North Carolina's central Piedmont counties.

A dozen or so of these picadillos comprise interesting biographical and family sketches about early settlers in Rowan, Cabarrus, Davie, and neighboring counties. Another dozen relate background of old churches and a variety of other historic sites—ancient homesteads, an old gold mine, the haunts of Daniel Boone and Peter Stewart Ney, and "Smithfield," the local version of the stately plantation house where George Washington slept during his tour of the South in 1791 (authenticated, of course, by the first President's journal). The book has a few picadillos to delight every school of local history buffs, but the genealogists and those who like good pictures will be most pleased with it.

Included are a few poems by Peter Stewart Ney, the Rowan schoolmaster who is reputed to have been Napoleon Bonaparte's famous Marshal Ney. These poetic picadillos have legendary rather than historic interest. As to their literary merit, Marshal Ney's fame would better rest upon his military record.

Varieties of type and format used in this volume range as widely as the subject matter. Most of the type is rather uncomfortably small, though of good quality.

A fine feature of the book is its pictorial illustrations. Pictures are abundant, comprising in all thirty-seven items of which thirteen are full-page, and twelve are half-page in size. Pictorial subjects include old water mills, covered bridges, old homesteads, churches, memorials, public buildings, and sylvan scenes. Only one is a portrait.

"The articles in this book are presented to give the reader a backward glance, with the sincere hope that it will inspire more interest in preserving the past for the future," the author states, by way of introduction. His well-documented assortment of interesting picadillos should well serve this purpose.

Charles R. Holloman

Department of Community Colleges

Richmond at War: The Minutes of the City Council, 1861-1865. Edited by Louis H. Manarin. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press [Official Publication No. 17, Richmond Civil War Centennial Committee], 1966. Preface, introduction, illustrations, notes, appendixes, index. Pp. xii, 645. $12.50.)

Occasionally a reviewer has an opportunity to comment upon a book which really arouses his interest. This volume is a splendid con-

tribution to knowledge, to local history, to scholars, to genealogists, and to anyone who likes to see a task well done.

Publication of these minutes represents a dream completed for J. Ambler Johnston, the tireless chairman of the Richmond Civil War Centennial Committee and his loyal associates on that committee, who painstakingly and conscientiously guided the printing of twenty-six invaluable items, ranging from a splendid 1865 map of Richmond to these city council minutes.

The volume includes the council's deliberations from April 5, 1861, through the terse entry for April 3, 1865: "The City was, on this day, occupied by the United States forces, and the Council did not, therefore, meet." Between these two dates is recorded actions by the men who were charged with the government of the municipality which was the seat of government for the county of Henrico, the state of Virginia, and the Confederate States of America. The decisions of the council members reflect their zealous regard for states' rights, even municipal rights, when they stubbornly insisted upon their authority to direct their own affairs, to control their streets, and even to command their defenses.

These proceedings reflect the innumerable problems faced on the southern home front. The council even had to handle problems of drink and female camp followers, and it faced the tragedy of war's suffering soldiers and survivors. Although the gentlemen of the council were firm in their loyalty to the Old Dominion and the C.S.A., this attitude did not cause them to refrain from a pugnacious attention to the city's wartime needs.

Early in the conflict they spent municipal funds to fortify and defend the city. Then, they did not hesitate to pay the costs of care for the wounded men in gray. Perhaps the most impressive work of the council, however, was its valiant effort to provide relief for the people who crowded the city. They assumed a local duty to regulate prices at food shops and provide food for the poor and needy at cost. The council attempted to balance financial ledgers amid raging inflation, an effort which consumed many hours of deliberation and anxiety. Law enforcement was another frequent item of discussion before the council and resulted in a number of confrontations with local Confederate authorities.

Only a detailed summary could do justice to the many and varied topics covered in these minutes. It is not inappropriate to insist that this work includes the raw material for any observer to obtain a clear understanding of the problems home front residents faced during the war. Since Richmond almost was a combination of frontline and home

front as well, this work is doubly valuable. The editor has done a splendid job in providing explanatory material and the University of North Carolina is to be congratulated for putting the notes at the foot of the page where they belong in a work of this nature. Manarin's notes are complete enough to provide adequate information but they are never oppressively wordy. There are many rare contemporary photographs and well-chosen prints from magazines of the war period to add to visual attractiveness and the academic utility of the volume. The appendixes include a number of city ordinances, plus brief but highly informative biographies of the members of the wartime city council. The index is copiously thorough, a proper appendage to a fine volume.

Haskell Monroe

Texas A. & M. University

Robert Toombs of Georgia. By William Y. Thompson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966. Illustrations, bibliography, index. Pp. xiii, 281. $7.50.)

Robert Toombs (1810-1885), a regional and national figure during much of his lifetime, has been the subject of two previous biographies: Pleasant A. Stovall's *Robert Toombs* (New York, 1892) and Ulrich B. Phillips' *The Life of Robert Toombs* (New York, 1913). Stovall's volume was an undisciplined treatment of the obstreperous Georgian by a friend, and in Phillips' penetrating examination of Georgia politics Toombs often became little more than a background character. Thompson's highly competent biography meets this generation's need for a study which incorporates the findings of recent scholarship about Toombs and his times.

Thompson covers in fifty pages the salient aspects of Toombs' early life: his boyhood, his boisterous years at the University of Georgia, his later education after dismissal from the Athens institution, his early practice of law, his marriage, his service in the lower house of the Georgia legislature, and his first two terms in Congress. The remaining two hundred pages are divided in almost equal measure between Toombs' career in the 1850's and his later life.

Appraising Toombs as intelligent, independent, and basically conservative, Thompson believes that the Georgian failed to achieve greatness because of a "fatal flaw" which occasionally caused him, when under pressure, to "explode in any direction, after which he

would assemble the pieces and resume his former character." A striking instance of the disassembling tendency, according to the biographer, occurred at the time of Georgia's significant debate on the question of secession following Lincoln's election in 1860, when Toombs moved into the front lines of those who were demanding immediate withdrawal from the Union.

Thompson believes that his subject deteriorated rather steadily during the trying years of war and Reconstruction. Pointing to Toombs' increasing dissatisfaction with President Davis' overall conduct of the war and with the Confederacy's military leadership (West Point generals in particular), the biographer finds little to commend in the Georgian's own wartime service. During the postbellum era Toombs refused to cooperate with the "New Departure" oligarchy's industrial program and became instead an unreconstructed champion of the old ideals centering around the "Lost Cause." Hence, Thompson contends, the unforgiving and unforgiven old rebel failed his state and section during a grim period. The stricture seems rather harsh to this reviewer, although it is balanced somewhat by words of praise for Toombs' contributions as constitution maker in 1877 and as legal counsel for the state in railroad litigation. One suspects that those less inclined than the author toward the liberal tradition might reach a markedly different final judgment of the man in whom many have seen "a flashback to the time when 'Georgia was Georgia.'"

Horace H. Cunningham

University of Georgia

Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D.C., 1963-1965. Edited by Francis Coleman Rosenberger. (Washington, D.C.: Columbia Historical Society, 1966. Introduction, illustrations, membership roster, notes, indexes. Pp. xx, 513. $12.50.)

The Columbia Historical Society was organized in 1894 to collect, preserve, and disseminate knowledge about the "history and topography of the District of Columbia and national history and biography." This third volume of its *Records* to appear under the editorship of Mr. Rosenberger is comprised of twenty-four papers, a chronicle of events for 1965, the report of the society's recorder, lists of officers and members, necrology, and indexes. The inclusion of indexes is a welcome improvement over the two previous volumes, but the subject index is not comprehensive enough.

The papers are arranged roughly chronologically by subject matter. They begin with an account of the Washington area between 1608 and 1708 and end with the "Goals of the Landmarks Committee" in 1964.

Five of the pages are concerned with architecture and five with the Civil War. The interest in the Civil War is understandable. The president of the society, Major General U. S. Grant III, served as chairman of the Civil War Centennial Commission, and this volume spans three years of the centennial.

The story of three generations of Clagetts and of the careers of two deceased local historians, John Clagett Proctor and his daughter Maude Proctor Callis, are the principal biographical articles.

Culture and education are covered in papers on the Smithsonian Institution, the Washington Art Association, educational associations, and Gallaudet College for the deaf.

Illustrations greatly enhance the articles on Victorian homes in Washington, the White House stables and garages, and "Old N Street in Georgetown." The work of Josephine Griffing with freedmen between 1864 and 1872 is made more meaningful by photographs of the government barracks and shacks where they were housed.

It is regrettable that the scholarship and style of several of the papers do not match in quality the handsome format of the volume. Mr. Rosenberger concedes in the Introduction that he has "perhaps been more permissive than scholarly discipline would dictate in accommodating the individual preferences of the authors." Several of the papers that were delivered before the society (a few were not) are better suited for inclusion in a reference work such as the *Records* than for delivery before an audience. In the future, the editor might well consider consigning the weaker papers to the archives of the society without benefit of publication.

Mattie Russell

Duke University

Cotton Kingdom of the New South: A History of the Yazoo Mississippi Delta from Reconstruction to the Twentieth Century. By Robert L. Brandfon. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967. Preface, maps, bibliography, index. Pp. xiv, 227. $6.95.)

Historians until recently have ignored the years between the end of Reconstruction and the beginning of the twentieth century. Yet

these were critical years in the history of the nation—"the Emergence of Modern America." For the South this neglect was almost total until the post-World War II years when graduate students were encouraged to write state and local studies of the period. The monograph being reviewed here is one of such studies—a doctoral dissertation at Harvard University. It is a most successful study, and Harvard University Press has done an excellent job of printing this volume.

Professor Brandfon has a very acceptable style of writing. Indeed this reviewer found the volume to be very interesting as well as informative reading. The work is based on an exhaustive study of all available manuscript sources with special use of the materials derived from the Illinois Central Railroad archives deposited in the Newberry Library, Chicago; federal case files; and letters of Delta planters found in the Agricultural Division of the National Archives in Washington. Unfortunately, manuscript sources in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History for this period relating to this problem are both limited and unrevealing. The author has also made a careful study of all printed sources. Thus, both as researcher and writer he has performed his task admirably.

Professor Brandfon has shown in this volume how a rich enclave, the Yazoo Mississippi Delta (the "once impenetrable frontier of alluvial swamp"), came to be created in the midst of poverty after the Civil War and of the consequences that followed. "By the twentieth century, the largest of the planters of the Yazoo Delta were some of the wealthiest planters in the world. And they lived in Mississippi, the poorest state in the Union!" The study focuses on the various factors that went into the development of the Delta and on the interaction of these forces with the Delta's all-pervading concern for cotton growing. Improved river transportation, building of levees, stimulation of land values by speculation, introduction of outside capital, use of immigrant labor, and railroad building resulted, however, in a prosperity for the Delta that accentuated the contrast between it and neighboring deprived areas and deepened sectional divisions. This monograph will certainly lead to a better understanding of the "new political configurations that jolted the South" in the twentieth century.

Professor Brandfon correctly maintains that the history of these few rich enclaves in the South is "the starting point for the history of the South in the twentieth century." This reviewer looks forward to the publication of similar studies for the other areas of the South.

John Edmond Gonzales

University of Southern Mississippi

The South Since Appomattox: A Century of Regional Change. By Thomas D. Clark and Albert D. Kirwan. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967. Illustrations, notes, index, bibliography. Pp. vii, 438. $7.50.)

This book by two nationally known southern historians is a comprehensive and balanced account of the South during the century since the end of the Civil War. With keen perception, wit, information abounding, and lively prose, it studies in depth the many forces working to transform the South economically, politically, and socially since Appomattox. The book begins with an overall interpretative chapter on the New South and then moves chronologically through Reconstruction and the Agrarian Revolt. The remainder of the book, and the bulk of it, is developed topically running from agriculture through demagoguery and reform, industrialism, education, literature, the New Deal, the South in the electrical age, politics, the Negro, urbanization, the segregation decisions, the civil rights movement, and finally the evolving South. There is an excellent bibliography for each one of these topics at the end of the book.

Professors Clark and Kirwan both know the South and its history as well as anyone and have written extensively about it, and this book is a product of their long years of work on the South. It is fortunate to have their mature and discerning judgments and keen insights and to learn from two masters what has been going on in the South in the hundred years since Appomattox. Though the authors write in a sympathetic and understanding manner, they condemn the South when it is necessary, for example, in its unwillingness to diversify and modernize agriculture after the Civil War, in its efforts to deny the Negro his rights, and in the extremes of conduct among southern politicians.

Some of the interesting conclusions in the book are: (1) The Redeemers were not so much anti-farmer in outlook as they were neglectful of the farmer. (2) Fear of "Negro domination" was not the only reason for legal disfranchisement of the Negro. Voters in white sections also sought to curtail the over-representation which plantation counties had for their non-voting Negroes, and there was a genuine desire for democratic reforms. (3) The failure of southern farmers to keep abreast of technological improvements in farming, and the absence of home capital to purchase tools and supplies affected southern agriculture more significantly in the post-Civil War years than the destruction of property on southern farms during the war. (4) Despite the criticism made against the crop-lien system, it is a certainty the South after 1865 could not have carried on as well as it did without it. (5) The agragrian revolution and the

institution of the primary election were not responsible for bringing demagogues for the first time into southern politics. And (6) the so-called coalition in Congress between southern Democrats and northern Republicans in recent years is largely a myth.

This is a splendid history of the South and every American should read it to understand better this section of the country.

Vincent P. De Santis

University of Notre Dame

Technology in Early America: Needs and Opportunities for Study. By Brooke Hindle. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966. Foreword, directory of artifact collections, index. Pp. xx, 145. $4.50.)

Guidebooks can be very helpful to the historian entering a new field, and this one is well done. It surveys the literature and the artifact sources for the study of American technology through the Colonial and national periods to 1850. It offers, too, many thoughtful comments on the nature, scope, and limits of technology as a focus for historical study. Brooke Hindle of New York University presents two essays, one interpretive and the other bibliographical. He wants to integrate the history of technology with other kinds of history. "The greatest need," he says, "is to stand at the center of technology—on the inside looking out," instead of "looking at technology through the eyes of science, economics, political reflections, social results, or literary antagonisms." The bibliographical essay deals with guides and sources, and with a long list of crafts and industries and with such related subjects as power, heat, light, electricity, and education.

An accompanying essay by Lucius F. Ellsworth of the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, entitled "A Directory of Artifact Collections," discusses the writings on artifact collections and gives a long, classified, and annotated list of museums and their collections. As one who has tried to find some of these things without a guide, this reviewer looks with much favor on such a publication. If one wants to know where mining relics such as picks, sledges, chisels, bits, and lamps are on display, page 104 indicates that the Bucks County Historical Society of Doylesville, Pennsylvania, has them. Ice harvesting tools can be found in the Skenesborough Museum of Whitehill, New York. And so it goes.

This is the fifth publication in the *Needs and Opportunities for Study* series of the Institute of Early American History and Culture. It grew out of a conference on October 15, 1965, sponsored by the institute and the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation.

James F. Doster

University of Alabama

Naval Documents of the Revolution, Volume 2. Edited by William Bell Clark. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office for the Naval History Division, United States Navy Department [projected 15 volumes, 1964—], 1966. Foreword, introduction, preface, appendixes, bibliography, index. Pp. xlvi, 1,463. $8.50.)

Naval Documents of the Revolution, Volume 2, is a continuation of the ambitious project of the Navy Department's Division of Naval History to collect, edit, and publish all available documentary evidence of the influence of sea power in the American Revolution. For inclusion in the first two volumes of the series, sixty-two depositories in the United States and abroad have been searched for every item which might bear even remotely upon waterborne operations, and the search for additional material continues. A few items were found in such a seemingly unlikely source as the Moravian Archives in Winston-Salem.

As in Volume 1, the book is divided into sections pertaining to the American and European theaters of operations. Within each section material is chronologically arranged, covering a period of less than three months in the fall of 1775. During this brief span there were momentous developments on both sides of the Atlantic as the tempo of the war sharply increased.

France continued to watch events with interest, and in Britain the voices of the doves of the period were drowned by the demands of the hawks that the rebellion be crushed. Vice Admiral Samuel Graves, with an inadequate force of obsolete and undermanned ships, was assigned the impossible task of blockading the American coast and supporting land operations. When he failed he was relieved of command. Efforts to rebuild the navy were evidenced by orders to dockyards to speed up delivery of new ships on order.

Washington's little "navy" of schooners and other seagoing odds and ends achieved considerable success against British supply ships and influenced the Continental Congress to enact, on October 13,

1775, the first naval legislation in American history. The act provided for the procurement of a number of vessels and for their conversion to men-of-war. Lieutenant John Paul Jones hoisted the Grand Union flag over one of these ships, the "Alfred," in December, 1775. On November 10, 1775, Congress passed a resolution establishing the Marine Corps.

Volume 2 includes a foreword by President Lyndon B. Johnson. It is well illustrated with photographs, charts, broadsides, and a variety of other items, and it contains an interesting pictorial essay of navigational facilities available during the period. There are also a number of interesting appendixes, including one containing records of the Port of Roanoke, North Carolina. An excellent index is provided.

When the projected series of approximately fifteen volumes is completed, historians, students, and readers in general will have available at their fingertips practically all surviving documentation dealing with the birth of the American Navy and the naval phase of the Revolution.

A. M. Patterson

State Department of Archives and History

The American Naval Revolution. By Walter R. Herrick, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. x, 274. $7.50.)

The history of the United States Navy in the thirty-three years between the Civil War and the war with Spain is a story of decline and resurgence. From a position of naval power in 1865, the United States entered a period of decline and deliberate reduction which left it in 1880 one of the weakest navies in the world. The growth of the navy that defeated Spain in 1898 and that became Theodore Roosevelt's great white fleet is one of the most dramatic stories of the American past; it is with this story that Dr. Herrick deals.

The history of the rise of the new navy is not a simple one; Dr. Herrick tells it well and understandably. It may be, however, that he has oversimplified it. The years after 1881, when the ships of the navy that defeated Spain were built, were complex. This was a time of nationalism and, indeed, of jingoism; this was the time of Alfred Thayer Mahan; this was the time of industrialism and of the growth of business. During these years frontier America came to an end; Populism flared; and the United States turned outward. All of these elements contributed to the rise of the new navy and to emphasize the role of Mahan, for example, is to oversimplify.

Many people—politicians and professional navy men—were involved in what Herrick calls the revolution in the American navy. Certainly his implication that Secretary of the Navy Benjamin Tracy was primarily, if not solely, responsible for this development may properly be questioned. Tracy's role was important, but others were equally important.

The documentation of the study is impressive and the Bibliography is extensive. This reviewer cannot help but wonder, however, why the general correspondence files of the Secretary of the Navy for the period beginning in 1885, which are now in the National Archives, were not used. There are also in the National Archives records of certain of the naval boards and commissions that functioned during and prior to the war with Spain; there is no indication that they were examined. The author has the distressing habit of citing citations in other secondary works, indicating the primary source to which the other author refers. In at least one such instance a quotation is incorrectly quoted and it does not appear on the page on which Dr. Herrick's footnote indicates that it does.

The book contains a few annoying errors. For example, a picture identified as Theodore Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy (1897-1898), is actually a photograph of Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., Assistant Secretary of the Navy (1921-1924).

Thornton W. Mitchell

State Department of Archives and History

Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Lyndon B. Johnson, Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and Statements of the President, 1965. Book I—January 1 to May 31, 1965. (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, for the National Archives, 1966. Foreword, preface, list of items, index. Pp. lxvii, 596, A-84. $6.25.) *Book II—June 1 to December 31, 1965.* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, for the National Archives, 1966. List of items, appendixes, index. Pp. lxii, 597-1,206, A-84. $6.25.)

In these books are gathered most of the public messages and statements of the thirty-sixth President of the United States that were released by the White House in 1965. Similar volumes are available covering the period November 22, 1963-December 31, 1964, and the administrations of Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy. A volume covering the year 1966 is under preparation. Historians have reason to be grateful that the National Historical Publications Commission recommended the establishment of this official series in which

presidential writings and utterances of a public nature could be made promptly available. As in earlier volumes, the items are presented in chronological order. This arrangement together with a subject index enhances the serviceability of the work.

Once again even the most casual reader is impressed by the enormous range of problems and issues which confront the institution of the American Presidency. The reader is also reminded of the industry of the Eighty-ninth Congress and of the remarkable legislative record and "dedicated devotion" (to use the President's words) of that body.

President Johnson's major formal addresses reveal the mind of a concerned, dedicated, decent, patriotic leader; a man with a strong moral bias and some sense of history. Yet surely none of the addresses approaches the eloquence and passion of Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address or Wilson's War Message. President Johnson's most engaging side is revealed in his informal remarks, toasts, notes of congratulations, and letters of condolences, and one comes to a new understanding of and liking for the man. The limitations of his awareness of the modern world are, however, also discernible, as for example in his answer to a press conference question concerning Vietnam: "I think I'll go back to my July statement and say that we are very anxious to have peace in that area of the world, and as soon as folks there are willing to leave their neighbors alone, why, we can have peace."

Robert Moats Miller

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

North Carolina Highways and Its Builders, Volume II, has been published by Superior Stone Company, Raleigh, and dedicated to the late president of the company, W. Trent Ragland, who conceived the idea for the book and saw Volume I through the press in 1952. The purpose of this second volume is to tell the story of roadbuilding in North Carolina in the fourteen-year interim and to introduce the governors, highway officials, contractors, and suppliers who have had a part in the development of the state's highways. This buckram-bound volume, designed and illustrated by Stuart Studio, Inc., of Greensboro, continues the nine-by-twelve format and is printed on an excellent grade of paper. The text was written by John Harden, author of *The Devil's Tramping Ground* and *Tar Heel Ghosts,* with the assistance of the staff of his public relations firm. The 252-page book is divided into

four parts: "A History of North Carolina Roads to 1965," "North Carolina's Official Highway Organization," "Builders and Suppliers—North Carolina Highways," and "A Picture Story—North Carolina Roads and Highways." The first three sections are profusely illustrated, and the fourth is composed of ten pages of photographs which highlight the development of the state's highway system. There are two maps, an official highway map and a small sketch illustrating the proposed interstate system. Color photographs of the Herbert C. Bonner Bridge and of Interstate 40, advancing through Pisgah National Forest, make up the front and back endpapers respectively. An index to names is included. Copies of this handsome publication are being distributed by Mr. W. Trent Ragland, Jr., to those who have contributed to making North Carolina a "good roads" state.

The Iredell County Committee of the National Society, Colonial Dames of America, has compiled and published *Fourth Creek Memorial Burying Ground, 1756, Statesville, North Carolina: History, Legends, Inscriptions,* the major portion of which is an alphabetical listing of cemetery inscriptions dating from 1759 to approximately 1888. The paperbound booklet, published in a four-by-nine format on a good quality of paper, includes a preface, which gives a brief history of the cemetery, a foreword, and lists of bibliographical sources and patrons. Copies may be purchased for $1.00 from the First Presbyterian Church office, the Public Library, the Chamber of Commerce, or from any member of the county committee of the Colonial Dames, Statesville, N.C.

Steelman's: The Beloved School in the Pines, New Hope Baptist Church Community, Iredell County, by Tracy Caudle, is a brief history of the school from its beginnings in 1880 to its abandonment in 1924. The school was named for the author's grandfather, who gave the land and who, with J. L. Cain, constructed the one-room building. The 12-page pamphlet includes a sketch of and is dedicated to Miss Della Arnold, one of Steelman's teachers. Also included is a photograph of the school and a listing of students for those years for which registers were available, as well as teachers' names and salaries, and titles of textbooks used. For information as to how copies of the booklet may be obtained, write to Mrs. Caudle at Route 2, Box 57-A, Elkin, N.C.

Mrs. Doris Futch Briscoe has begun what promises to be a useful source for historians and genealogists in her recent publication of

Mecklenburg County Court Minutes, Book I, 1774-1780. Mimeographed in 194 pages and including an index to most of the names in the text, the paperbound volume is available for $10.00 from Mrs. Briscoe, 3137 Commonwealth Avenue, Charlotte, N.C., 28205.

Rosser Howard Taylor, author of *Carolina Crossroads,* states in the Preface that "This is a book about the plain people of a crossroads village and vicinity in the South at the end of the horse-and-buggy era." Dr. Taylor, a professor emeritus of history at Western Carolina College, Cullowhee, has taken an affectionate look backward at the olden days and has made a record for posterity of his subjective evaluation of the way things were. In addition to 160 pages of text, there is a 12-page index. The book, which sells for $4.95, is illustrated and has a washable hard-cover binding. Copies may be purchased from the Johnson Publishing Company, Murfreesboro, N.C.

A Time for Poetry: 1966 is an anthology of 128 poems written by 37 members of the North Carolina Poetry Society and selected on a competitive basis by a panel of impartial judges from verse solicited from all members of the society. Varying widely in style, subject matter, and content, the poems in this volume should appeal to readers of divergent ages and backgrounds. Many of the selections have appeared previously in books, magazines, and newspapers. The clothbound volume, with many of its 185 pages half blank and a dustjacket which seems more utilitarian than poetic, sells for $4.50. Copies may be ordered from the publisher, John F. Blair, 404 North Carolina National Bank Building, Winston-Salem, N.C.

The North Carolina Poetry Society has made available *Award-Winning Poems, 1966,* which includes prize poems from the society's five contests held during 1966. The 36-page booklet is bound in an attractive paper cover. Also available from the society are *Award-Winning Poems, 1964-1965,* and *Past the Flame of Words,* the latter of which is composed of the 1965 Brotherhood Contest poems. Any of the three titles may be purchased for $1.00 each or three copies for $2.75. Orders should be sent to North Carolina Poetry Society Books, Box 176, Burlington, N.C., 27215.

The University of Chicago Press has initiated publication of a *Classic American Historians* series under the general editorship of Paul M. Angle, the purpose of which is to reprint selected writings from the works of nine great nineteenth-century historians [Henry] Adams,

Bancroft, McMaster, Parkman, Prescott, Tyler, Rhodes, and Nicolay and Hay. Two volumes are at hand, *Abraham Lincoln: A History,* by John G. Nicolay and John Hay, abridged and edited by Mr. Angle, and *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850,* by James Ford Rhodes, abridged and edited by Allan Nevins. Mr. Angle has selected representative chapters from the Nicolay and Hay study of Lincoln, originally encompassing ten volumes, to make up a 393-page volume, which begins with a summary of the events leading up to Lincoln's election as president and concludes with the authors' appraisal of Lincoln's place in history. In addition to a 13-page introduction, the editor has written a brief commentary to precede each chapter. For *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850,* Allan Nevins has selected chapters from the first five volumes of the original seven-volume study, to make up a 576-page volume which covers the period 1850-1865. Editor Nevins has supplied a 20-page introduction as well as a summary and commentary to precede each chapter. Both volumes include an index and bibliographical note; footnotes have been omitted. Prices for the clothbound and paperbound editions of *Abraham Lincoln: A History* are $8.50 and $3.45, and for *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850* are $10.00 and $3.95, respectively. Order from the publisher at 5750 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Ill., 60637.

To commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of its establishment in 1916, the Marine reserve officers of Public Affairs Unit 4-1 have written *The Marine Corps Reserve: A History.* The team of writers have kept the 311-page history readable and lively by interspersing anecdotes, human interest stories, and 48 pages of photographs along with what could have been an interminable listing of personnel, numerical units, battles, geographical names, and statistics. Footnotes have been omitted, but for the benefit of researchers a documented and annotated copy of the history is available in the archives of the Historical Reference Section, Headquarters Marine Corps, Washington, D.C. In addition to a foreword, introduction, and index, there are nine appendixes and a brief bibliographical note. Clothbound copies of the book may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at $3.50 each.

A new report in the National Archives' *Preliminary Report Series* is Number 166, *Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the National Park Service,* compiled by Edward E. Hill. The 52-page inventory includes a listing of the printed, written, photographic, sound, and carto-

graphic records relating to the National Park Service which are now being processed by the National Archives. Of particular interest to historians is a description of the records of the Potomac Company and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company which span a 130-year period from 1785 to 1938. This publication is available free of charge from the Exhibits and Publications Division, National Archives, General Services Administration, Washington, D.C., 20408.

Louisiana State University Press has issued a paperbound edition of *American Negro Slavery,* by Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, which was first published in 1918. Those who question the wisdom of reprinting this venerable work at this time should reserve decision until after reading the Foreword to the new edition, "Ulrich Bonnell Phillips and His Critics," by Eugene D. Genovese. Genovese surveys briefly the important works published on the subject of slavery during the last decade, but devotes much space to a critique of *The Peculiar Institution* by Kenneth Stampp, which has replaced Phillips' work on many college syllabuses. Racism kept Phillips from being a great historian, says Genovese, but he concludes that ". . . Phillips, despite his bias, still has much to say to us, however much more remains to be said by a new generation. *American Negro Slavery* is not the last word on its subject; merely the indispensable first." Copies of the 524-page book, which includes an index, may be ordered from the publisher at Baton Rouge for $2.95 each.

The *North Carolina Historical Review* is printed on Permalife, a text paper developed through the combined efforts of William J. Barrow of the Virginia State Library, the Council on Library Resources, Inc., and the Standard Paper Manufacturing Company. Tests indicate that the paper theoretically has a useful life of at least 300 years.

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW EDITORIAL POLICY

The Editorial Board of the *North Carolina Historical Review* is interested in articles and documents pertaining to the history of North Carolina and adjacent states. Articles on the history of other sections may be submitted, and, if there are ties with North Carolinians or events significant in the history of this state, the Editorial Board will give them careful consideration. Articles on any aspect of North Carolina history are suitable subject matter for the *Review,* but materials that are primarily genealogical are not accepted.

In considering articles, the Editorial Board gives careful attention to the sources used, the form followed in the footnotes, and style in which the article is written, and the originality of the material and its interpretation. Clarity of thought and general interest of the article are of importance, though these two considerations would not, of course, outweigh inadequate use of sources, incomplete coverage of the subject, and inaccurate citations.

Persons desiring to submit articles for the *North Carolina Historical Review* should request a copy of *The Editor's Handbook,* which may be obtained free of charge from the Division of Publications of the Department of Archives and History. *The Handbook* contains information on footnote citations and other pertinent facts needed by writers for the *Review.* Each author should follow the suggestions made in *The Editor's Handbook* and should use back issues of the *North Carolina Historical Review* as a further guide to the accepted style and form.

All copy should be double-spaced; footnotes should be typed on separate sheets at the end of the article. The author should submit an original and a carbon copy of the article; he should retain a second carbon for his own reference. Articles accepted by the Editorial Board become the property of the *North Carolina Historical Review* and may not have been or be published elsewhere. The author should include his professional title in the covering letter accompanying his article.

Following acceptance of an article, publication will be scheduled in accordance with the established policy of the Editorial Board. Since usually a large backlog of material is on hand, there will ordinarily be a fairly long period between acceptance and publication.

The editors are also interested in receiving for review books relating to the history of North Carolina and the surrounding area.

Articles and books for review should be sent to the Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, Box 1881, Raleigh, North Carolina.