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The North Carolina Historical Review



Autumn 1967

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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COVER—This large storage jar was found in fragments on the floor of "Russellborough" at Brunswick Town and was restored by the archaeological staff of the State Department of Archives and History. For an article on the history of " 'Russellborough': Two Royal Governors' Mansion at Brunswick Town," see pages 360 to 372. Photograph supplied by Stanley A. South.

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CONTENTS

THE END OF THE REBELLION 321

ROBERT B. MURRAY

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1852:
DEATH KNELL OF THE WHIG PARTY OF
NORTH CAROLINA 342

JAMES R. MORRILL

"RUSSELLBOROUGH": TWO ROYAL GOVERNORS'
MANSION AT BRUNSWICK TOWN 360

STANLEY A. SOUTH

HENRY PATTILLO IN NORTH CAROLINA 373

DURWARD T. STOKES

ABOARD A BLOCKADE RUNNER: SOME CIVIL WAR
EXPERIENCES OF JEROME DuSHANE 392

HUGH G. EARNHART

BOOK REVIEWS 400

INDEX TO VOLUME XLIV—1967 437

BOOK REVIEWS

- LONSDALE AND OTHERS, *Atlas of North Carolina*,
by Christopher Crittenden. 400
- MITCHELL, *Messages, Addresses, and Public Papers of Terry Sanford*,
Governor of North Carolina, 1961-1965, by Oliver H. Orr, Jr. . . . 401
- EVANS, *Ballots and Fence Rails: Reconstruction on the Lower Cape*
Fear, by Herbert O'Keef 402
- MALVIN, *North Into Freedom: The Autobiography of John Malvin*,
Free Negro, 1775-1880; and
WALSER, *The Black Poet, being the remarkable story (partly told*
my [sic] himself) of George Moses Horton, a North Carolina
slave, by Thomas D. Clark 403
- BOWLES, *A Good Beginning: The First Four Decades of the*
University of North Carolina at Greensboro,
by Mary Lynch Johnson 405
- WALSH, *The Writings of Christopher Gadsden, 1746-1805*,
by J. Edwin Hendricks 407
- SHERMAN, *Robert Johnson: Proprietary & Royal Governor of*
South Carolina, by James K. Huhta 408
- MIDDLETON, *Henrietta Johnston of Charles Town, South Carolina:*
America's First Pastellist, by Ben F. Williams 409
- SAMFORD AND HEMPHILL, *Bookbinding in Colonial Virginia*,
by William S. Powell 410
- ISAAC, *Jefferson at Monticello: Memoirs of a Monticello Slave*; and
PIERSON, *Jefferson at Monticello: The Private Life of Thomas*
Jefferson, by Noble E. Cunningham, Jr. 411
- BONEY, *John Letcher of Virginia: The Story of Virginia's Civil*
War Governor, by Richard D. Younger 412
- WHITE, *Messages of the Governors of Tennessee, Volume II*,
1883-1899, by James W. Patton 413
- COULTER, *The Toombs Oak, The Tree That Owned Itself, and*
Other Chapters of Georgia, by Sarah McCulloh Lemmon 415
- BERTELSON, *The Lazy South*, by Edwin A. Miles 416

CROWE, <i>The Age of Civil War and Reconstruction, 1830-1900:</i> <i>A Book of Interpretative Essays</i> , by Richard N. Current	418
SPAIN, <i>At Ease in Zion</i> , by Roger H. Crook	419
WYNES, <i>Forgotten Voices: Dissenting Southerners in an Age of Conformity</i> , by Allen J. Going	420
ANDERSON, <i>With the Bark On: Popular Humor of the Old South</i> , by David L. Smiley	421
DILLON, <i>Benjamin Lundy and the Struggle for Negro Freedom</i> , by Philip Davidson	422
LUDLUM, <i>Early American Winters, 1604-1820</i> , by Beth Crabtree	423
STEINBERG, <i>The First Ten: The Founding Presidents and Their Administrations</i> , by Gilbert L. Lyan	424
LANGLEY, <i>Social Reform in the United States Navy, 1789-1862</i> , by Alvin A. Fahrner	425
SHANNON, <i>The Centennial Years: A Political and Economic History of America from the Late 1870's to the Early 1890's</i> , by James A. Tinsley	426
LINK, DAVIDSON, AND HURST, <i>The Papers of Woodrow Wilson</i> , Volume II, 1881-1884, by Robert F. Durden	427
KIRKENDALL, <i>Social Scientists and Farm Politics in the Age of Roosevelt</i> , by Stuart Noblin	429
PINE, <i>The Story of Surnames and The Story of Heraldry</i> , by C. F. W. Coker	430
OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS	432

1870
1871
1872
1873
1874
1875
1876
1877
1878
1879
1880
1881
1882
1883
1884
1885
1886
1887
1888
1889
1890
1891
1892
1893
1894
1895
1896
1897
1898
1899
1900

THE END OF THE REBELLION

BY ROBERT B. MURRAY*

The date of the legal end of the Civil War affected the legal rights of thousands of loyal Americans. It was therefore of vital importance that the precise end of that conflict be determined.

In a foreign war the treaty of peace is evidence of the time of the war's termination. But what determines the time of ending of a domestic conflict? This question was answered by the United States Supreme Court in its December, 1869, term in the case of *United States v. Anderson*.¹

What brought the case to the Supreme Court? Who was Anderson? What guides did the court use to determine the legal end of the conflict? The answers to these and other questions show the inclination of the court to treat with liberality those who had remained loyal to the United States throughout the conflict—even those who had lived in the South.

Congress had provided for the establishment of a Court of Claims in February, 1855, and persons whose property had been taken for public use were entitled to file suit for recovery in the court. When the Court of Claims was established, provision was made for three judges; in March, 1863, its membership was increased to five.²

After passage of the Captured and Abandoned Property Act of March 12, 1863—the key statute in the Anderson case—the Court of Claims soon found itself handling a large number of the so-called “cotton cases.” Under the provisions of the enactment, the Secretary of the Treasury was authorized “to appoint a special agent or agents to receive and collect all abandoned or captured property in any state or territory . . . designated as in insurrection. . . .”³ Such property was to be appropriated to public use or forwarded to a loyal state where it was to be sold. Sales were to be by auction, and proceeds were to

* Mr. Murray is an attorney in Colorado Springs, Colorado.

¹ *United States v. Anderson*, 9 Wall. 56 (1869).

² Frank W. Klingberg, *The Southern Claims Commission* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press [Volume L of *University of California Publications in History*, edited by J. S. Galbraith, R. N. Burr, and Brainerd Dyer], 1955, 34, hereinafter cited as Klingberg, *Southern Claims Commission*; 10 Stat. 612, c. 122; 12 Stat. 765, c. 92 [s. 1]).

³ 12 Stat. 820, c. 120 [s. 1].

United States



of America.

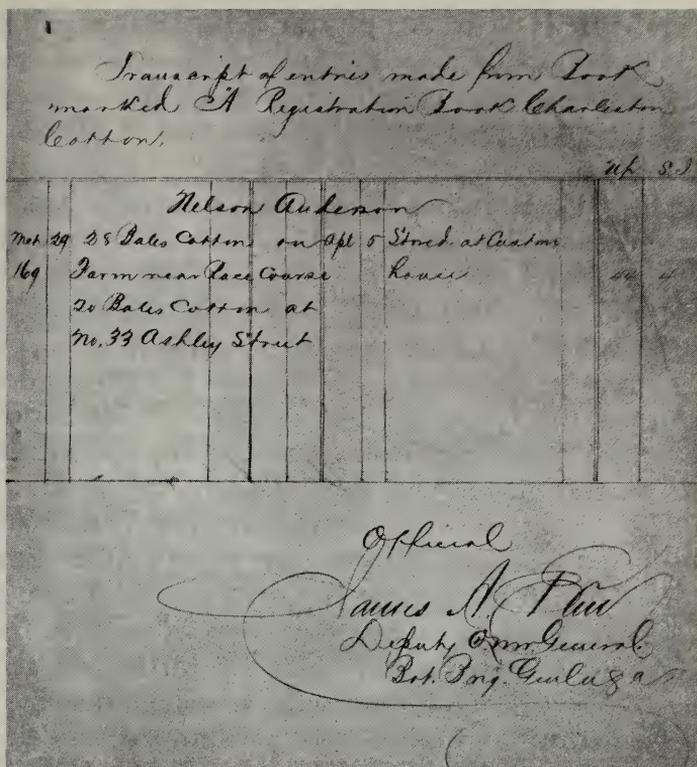
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TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

In pursuance of the Act of Congress of 22^d of February, 1849, relating to the certification of records under seal by the Secretary of the Treasury, and of the Act of February 24, 1855, section 13, empowering the United States Court of Claims "to call upon any of the Departments for any information it may deem necessary," and whereas the last provision of the above-named section, to wit: That the head of no Department shall answer any call for information or papers if, in his opinion, it would be injurious to the public interest, is in no wise violated by the transmission of the annexed information: Therefore, on this 8th day of June, in the year A. D. one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight, the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, in answer to the ^{request} of the above-named Court of Claims, dated June 5th, 1868, submits the following ~~manuscript of original papers and records~~ being the information now on file in his Office touching the matters inquired of by said rule in the case of *Nelson Anderson vs. The United States*, to wit:

That no information exists in this Department concerning the above named cause, other than that all the Cottons captured by the military forces of the United States, at Charleston in the State of South Carolina, were turned over, without any identification of separate lots, to Simeon Draper, U.S. Cotton Agent at New York, who sold the same for and on account of the United States Government; that the average net proceeds for each bale, as nearly as can be ascertained, are \$31⁷²/₁₀₀ for Upland and \$37⁶⁴/₁₀₀ for Sea Island Cotton, the same being estimated on a currency basis.

Wm. D. Draper
Secretary of the Treasury.



The Treasury Department and War Department records, left and above, were introduced in evidence during the hearing of the Anderson case before the Court of Claims. Reproduced from microfilm of Anderson case in National Archives, Washington, D. C.

be paid into the federal treasury.⁴ The Secretary of the Treasury was to keep a book of accounts showing from whom property was received, the costs of transportation, and the amount of the proceeds. The law further provided:

And any person claiming to have been the owner of any such abandoned or captured property may, at any time within two years after the suppression of the rebellion, prefer his claim to the proceeds thereof in the court of claims; and on proof to the satisfaction of said court of his ownership of said property, of his right to the proceeds thereof, and that he has never given any aid or comfort to the present rebellion, to receive the residue of such proceeds, after the deduction of any purchase-money which may have been paid, together with the expense of transportation and sale of said property, and any other lawful expenses attending the disposition thereof.⁵

⁴ 12 Stat. 820, c. 120, s. 2.

⁵ 12 Stat. 820, c. 120, s. 3.

Under the provisions of the Act of March 12, 1863, many claimants filed petitions seeking relief from the federal government, and one of these was the drayman and cotton sampler by the name of Nelson Anderson. The census of 1860 listed 1,455 free men of color in Charleston, South Carolina;⁶ in his petition to the Court of Claims, which was filed on June 5, 1868, Anderson alleged that he was "a citizen of the United States of color." He had owned 38 bales of upland cotton and 10 bales of Sea Island cotton which he had purchased at various times in 1863 and 1864. Part of the cotton had been stored on the farm of one Dr. North on Charleston Neck and part at his own home at 33 Ashley Street in Charleston. On March 8, 1865, Anderson had dutifully reported the condition and location of his cotton to the military authorities as he was required to do. The cotton was seized, taken by the federal government agents about the middle of April, 1865, marked "N Anderson #169," shipped to New York, consigned to Simeon Draper, and sold, with the proceeds being paid into the United States treasury. Though he was not aware of the exact amount of the proceeds, Anderson brought a claim for the exact sum realized, whatever that might be, over and above costs. He further alleged that he had not given aid or encouragement to the rebellion, that the property had never been that of the Confederate government, and that he was the bona fide purchaser. Anderson signed the petition with his mark, giving his post office address as Summerville, South Carolina. The petition was filed by T. J. D. Fuller, solicitor, with a Washington, D.C., address.⁷

Anderson's lawyer was a native of Vermont who had represented Maine in the United States House of Representatives from 1849 to 1857. He had served as second auditor of the treasury from 1857 to 1861 and was practicing law after the war before both the Court of Claims and the Supreme Court in Washington.⁸ Fuller handled numerous cotton cases before the Court of Claims.⁹ At the time of filing the petition for Anderson, Fuller also sought an order of court to obtain

⁶ Joseph C. G. Kennedy, *Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census, Under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), 449.

⁷ Petition of Nelson Anderson to Court of Claims, filed June 5, 1868, microfilm copy of Court of Claims record of case of *Anderson v. United States*, National Archives, Washington, D.C., hereinafter cited as *Anderson Petition*; microfilm documents from original Court of Claims record will hereinafter be cited as National Archives record.

⁸ *Who Was Who in America: Historical Volume, 1607-1896* (Chicago: A. N. Marquis Co., 1963), 193, hereinafter cited as *Who Was Who*.

⁹ See opinions in Volumes III and IV of *United States Court of Claims Reports*.

copies of the papers in the Treasury and War departments relating to the claimant's cotton.¹⁰

On June 8, 1868, the Treasury Department submitted a report indicating that there was no information

other than that all the cottons captured by the military forces of the United States, at Charleston, in the state of South Carolina, were turned over, without any identification of separate lots, to Simeon Draper, U.S. Cotton Agent at New York, who sold the same for and on account of the United States Government; that the average *net* proceeds for each bale, as nearly as can be ascertained, are \$131 20/100 for Upland and \$237 64/100 for Sea Island Cotton, the same being estimated on a currency basis.¹¹

The transcript from the War Department record showed in the Anderson account for March 29 a total of 28 bales of cotton on a farm near the race course and 20 bales at 33 Ashley Street; the April 5 record showed 44 bales of upland and 4 of Sea Island cotton stored at the custom house.¹²

An answer to the petition was filed by the government on June 30, 1868. The United States, as defendant, denied all of Anderson's allegations, including those of obligation to pay for the cotton and of loyalty of the claimant. The answer also averred that the petition had not been filed within two years after suppression of the rebellion as required by the Act of March 12, 1863; the contention was also made that Anderson, at the time he filed his petition, was an alien.¹³ A later plea of alienage cited a congressional act of July 27, 1868, which prohibited an alien from filing a claim against the United States in any court under the March 12, 1863, act and which had been passed to defend the treasury against unlawful claims. The government also argued that Anderson's cotton had been lawfully seized under the March 12, 1863, statute.¹⁴ The plea of alienage was signed by T. Lyle Dickey, who served as assistant attorney general of the United States from 1868 to 1870.¹⁵

The rules of practice of the Court of Claims provided for the ap-

¹⁰ Order of court upon Departments of Treasury and War, June 5, 1868, National Archives record.

¹¹ Treasury Department record, signed by H. McCulloch, Secretary of the Treasury, June 8, 1868, filed June 11, 1868, National Archives record, hereinafter cited as Treasury record.

¹² Certified copy of entries from War Department book marked "A Registration Book Charleston Cotton," signed by James A. Blue, July 6, 1868, filed July 9, 1868, National Archives record, hereinafter cited as War Department record.

¹³ Answer of Defendants, by John J. Weed, Assistant Solicitor for the United States, filed June 30, 1868, National Archives record.

¹⁴ Plea of Alienage, signed by T. Lyle Dickey, Assistant Attorney General, filed December 21, 1868, National Archives record; 15 Stat. 243, c. 276, s. 2.

¹⁵ *Who Was Who*, 149.

My name is Nelson Anderson I am fifty years of age. I have lived in Charleston So. Ca. for almost my whole life and in Summerville So. Ca. since Christmas last. I am Cotton sampler by trade and I am the claimant in this case.

During the war I owned some cotton thirty eight Bales of Upland and Ten Bales of Sea Island. I bought this cotton from Capt Ducil at Potters wharf Cotton press. this was a part of the cotton of the Sea Island cotton (10) Ten Bales and of the Upland Cotton (28) twenty eight Bales. I bought the remainder in bulk from Fleming corner of Hayne & ~~Street~~ ^{Church} Streets. I reported my cotton from Capt Sturdivant on the eighth day of March and on the same day it was seized by Capt Sturdivant. I had eighteen (18) Bales of cotton stored at J. Norths farm at the Race Ground. and the Balance of it at no 33 Ashley St Charleston So. Ca. It was taken a month after I reported it this Cotton when it was seized was brought to the Custom House. When my cotton was taken it was good cotton, except ten Bales were damaged by being wet. I was all the days of my life a loyal man to the United

The first page of Nelson Anderson's deposition gives details concerning his acquisition of cotton and its later seizure by United States officials. Reproduced from microfilm of Anderson case in National Archives, Washington, D. C.

pointment of a permanent commissioner and special commissioners as needed to take testimony.¹⁶ Under these rules of the court William Gurney, a commissioner stationed in Charleston, South Carolina, took depositions in the case on June 23 and 24, 1868. Anderson, his local counsel H. H. Byron, and the government's Charleston attorney W. James Whaley were present for the hearings at which the claimant and six witnesses testified. Though his testimony was later ruled incompetent by the court, Anderson's deposition gave in some detail information about his life as well as the circumstances surrounding his purchase of cotton. He was fifty years old, a lifelong resident of Charleston until the preceding Christmas when he had moved to Summerville. He had been a cotton sampler by trade and had bought cotton from both Phillip M. Doucen and Daniel F. Fleming. Both of these men appeared as witnesses for Anderson, testifying that they had known him for years, had sold cotton to him, and had been paid the market rate. They verified Anderson's testimony concerning his employment by local firms engaged in various aspects of the cotton business. The cotton purchased from Fleming had been damaged, but Anderson had taken it to the race ground, dried and packed it, and rebaled it into ten bales. The claimant explained that he had worked as a cotton sampler to Caldwell, Blake, and Company and had been paid ten cents a bale for each bale he had repaired.¹⁷

On March 8, 1865, following the evacuation of Charleston by the forces of the Confederacy, Anderson reported to the United States military authorities, and his cotton was seized and shipped to New York in April.¹⁸ Anderson testified that when "they" called for him, he packed his cotton and went with it the whole way to the custom house.¹⁹ At the rate of \$131.20 for upland and \$237.64 for Sea Island cotton, Anderson's forty-eight bales were sold for \$6,723.36.²⁰

The Captured and Abandoned Property Act of March 12, 1863, by

¹⁶ Rule XIX of "Rules of Practice of the Court of Claims," preceding reported cases in Volume III of *United States Court of Claims Reports*.

¹⁷ Depositions of Nelson Anderson, Phillip M. Doucen, and Daniel F. Fleming, June 23-24, 1868, National Archives record, Anderson's deposition hereinafter cited as Anderson Deposition. It is of interest that the commissioner notified those concerned on June 5 that depositions would be taken on June 22. On June 22 the claimant and his witnesses did not appear and the hearings were adjourned without question until the next day. See National Archives record. Doucen's name is spelled in various ways in the original documents, but the spelling used here is that used in the Supreme Court opinion. See also the deposition of Richard D. Hart, June 23, 1868, who was employed by military authorities to mark cotton and who had marked Anderson's cotton.

¹⁸ Anderson Petition.

¹⁹ Anderson Deposition.

²⁰ See Treasury and War Department records. There was some controversy over the determination of the actual amount owed Anderson, but this matter is irrelevant to the discussion of the case here.

providing for the sale of cotton and other products such as sugar, rice, and tobacco,²¹ endeavored to assure basic commodities for use in the North where they were in short supply while at the same time depriving the South of products which constituted the backbone of its economy.

The 1863 law provided, however, that if any of the items actually confiscated under the act were owned by individuals who had remained loyal to the Union, the net proceeds of the sales were to be paid to them.²² Anderson's petition alleged that he had not given aid or encouragement to the rebellion but had desired its overthrow and suppression. In his testimony he stated that he had always been loyal to the United States and had opposed the rebellion, that he had never worked in favor of the Confederates and they did not make him work on any batteries, that he had only "minded" some cotton for them once but they would not pay. He added that they said they would give him 100 lashes in pay. Anderson emphasized, on redirect examination, that he did not "mind" the cotton voluntarily, but that he had to do the work against his will when ordered by the Confederates to do so.²³

Nelson Anderson's loyalty was proved by the testimony of other witnesses. John L. Fennick, also a Negro, testified that he was a cotton dealer and had known Anderson for twenty-three or twenty-four years and had often talked with him during the war. He knew that the claimant had been loyal, testifying:

I heard him say in the early part of the war at the time of the Bombardment of Fort Sumter, that he "was sorry to see it and he hoped [Robert] Anderson would be successful." During the war we spoke to each other often, and when we heard of a Battle in which the Union forces were not successful he always grieved over it. He often expressed to me a wish that he could assist the Union Force. This was his tone up to the time I left him.

On cross-examination Fennick, who declared himself to be a loyal man, added, "I only heard him speak of his loyalty I never saw him do anything to prove it."²⁴

Two other Negroes also attested to the loyalty of Anderson, and one of them offered evidence of tangible aid to the enemy's prisoners. William Miller, who had known Anderson from boyhood, was in the employment of the Freedman's Bureau. During the war he had often

²¹ 12 Stat. 821, c. 120, s. 6; Klingberg, *Southern Claims Commission*, 32-33.

²² 12 Stat. 820, c. 120, s. 3.

²³ Anderson Petition and Deposition.

²⁴ Deposition of John L. Fennick, June 24, 1868, National Archives record.

talked with Anderson and knew that he wanted to see the rebellion crushed. He said Anderson had given him \$10 or \$20 in Confederate money to be used to help prisoners from the "Isaac P. Smith" and from Morris Island and had offered to give more if it were needed. He added that before more could be given the "Commanding General" put a stop to it. On cross-examination the witness testified that Anderson sometimes expressed himself before white men but "appeared to be on the good side of them. They took no notice of it in him where if it had been me they would have lashed me." The affiant told of raising \$200 to be given to the imprisoned men.²⁵

The other affiant was John F. Robertson, a man who had known Anderson during the war, who expressed certainty as to the claimant's loyalty by telling of an incident in which some men running the blockade had wanted to buy cotton from Anderson; Anderson had refused to sell. Robertson had worked with the petitioner and knew that he had had cotton; he testified that he had marked forty-eight bales without being paid or expecting pay for the work.²⁶

Members of Congress realized that most of the individuals who had lived in the South and remained loyal would find it impossible to file claims during the war; it was for this reason that the act provided that persons would have two years after the close of the conflict to file their claims.²⁷ The first cases involving cotton claims were heard in the

²⁵ Deposition of William Miller, June 24, 1868, National Archives record.

²⁶ Deposition of John F. Robertson, June 24, 1868, National Archives record. The question of loyalty was the issue in many cases before the Court of Claims. The court tended to be liberal in finding a claimant to have been loyal to the Union throughout the war. A favorable verdict was rendered the claimant where he did patrol duty in the home guard at night, the court holding that this duty was forced on him and was police, not military, duty, *Cornelius B. Miller et al. v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 288 (1868); where the director of a bank had subscribed to a Confederate loan drive and whose bank had subscribed, the court finding that the directors were afraid they would be removed if they failed to subscribe and that the loans had been made in Confederate money, that the claimant had been placarded in the streets as a public enemy because of his reluctance to subscribe to the loan, and that the bank was under the influence of northern men and was called the "Yankee Bank," and that the claimant had sold his bonds in about two weeks, these facts determining the outcome despite the fact that the claimant had two sons in the Confederate army, *Edward Padelford v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 316 (1868); where a river pilot was captured and made to live in the insurrectionary area a year, *Henry A. Ealer v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 372 (1868); where a man refused to bear arms against the United States but did serve in the fire patrol of Charleston subject to call as a home guard and who had obtained merchandise through the blockade for his friends, family, and Union prisoners, *Charles J. Quinby v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 417 (1868); where a claimant had a son in the Confederacy and occasionally contributed to Confederate soldiers and was a member of the home guard who actually went out in arms against Stoneman, the court holding that he had been ordered to resist as Stoneman approached Macon, *Asher Ayers v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 422 (1868).

²⁷ 12 Stat. 820, c. 120, s. 3.

December, 1866, term of the Court of Claims.²⁸ Because the act established a trust fund, no specific appropriation was required for this category of claims, and the awards by the Court of Claims showed the lenient attitude adopted by the court toward those claiming compensation from the federal government.²⁹

The case of *Anderson v. United States* was heard by the Court of Claims at its December, 1868, term. Chief Justice Joseph Casey's opinion indicated the court's finding of Anderson's ownership of the property, his loyalty, and his compliance with the law in filing his claim within the two years as prescribed by the 1863 statute.³⁰

In cases involving claims in excess of \$3,000 either the claimant or the government had the right to appeal to the United States Supreme Court; after the passage of another act on June 25, 1868, the government was permitted to appeal any decision adverse to it in the Court of Claims.³¹ Under these provisions there were many cases from the Court of Claims which could have been appealed, and it is not known why government attorneys chose Nelson Anderson's case for appeal; it was probably selected because of the number of pertinent points raised in the particular case. Questions of ownership, admissibility of testimony, loyalty, and the statute of limitations were all raised before the Court of Claims, and the answers to these questions would affect the rights of hundred of others seeking relief under the Captured and Abandoned Property Act of March 12, 1863.

Consequently, on May 22, 1869, the United States attorneys moved for an allowance of appeal to the Supreme Court, and an order allowing the appeal was granted by the Court of Claims in Washington on May 24. The transcript of the record was sent up to the high court and arguments were heard at the December, 1869, term. The opinion was affirmed on February 28, 1870.³² The Court of Claims record shows that, for the purpose of the appeal, the Anderson case was combined with three others. Arguments were consolidated and the Supreme Court, in handing down the Anderson opinion, at the same time disposed of all of these cases.³³

²⁸ See *Margaret Bond v. United States*, 2 C. Cl. Rep. 529 (1866), in which the claimant was awarded \$2,823.75, and a list of thirteen other cases with the sums awarded in each on 535-536 of Volume III of the *United States Court of Claims Reports*.

²⁹ Klingberg, *Southern Claims Commission*, 35.

³⁰ *Nelson Anderson v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 467 (1868).

³¹ 12 Stat. 766, c. 92, s. 5; 15 Stat. 75, c. 71 [s. 1].

³² See transcript of record and supporting documents in National Archives record; *United States v. Anderson*, 9 Wall. 56 (1869).

³³ The printed Supreme Court opinion does not actually name the three additional cases, but the National Archives record does.

The three cases heard with the Anderson case were those of *Stanton v. United States*,³⁴ *Pollard v. United States*,³⁵ and *Kohn v. United States*.³⁶ The Stanton case involved cotton saved by an overseer and hidden until it was seized in October, 1862, and sold by the federal government. The claimants were three children, heirs of one Frederick Stanton, whose wife was guardian of minor children. The question of loyalty of the mother and children was involved; the Court of Claims decided that proof of loyalty was not so strong as if the children had been older but that there was no proof of acts of disloyalty. The family had the reputation of being Union people, and the court found they were entitled to recover \$51,696.16.³⁷

The Pollard case also raised the question of loyalty. William Pollard was, like Anderson, a Negro. Proof existed that he had harbored Union prisoners, aided their escape, helped Union men escape from serving in the rebel army, and helped them through the lines. He had purchased cotton in 1864 and had stored it until it had been moved by the federal government after Sherman had overrun Savannah. The men who sold the cotton to Pollard were in the service of the Confederate government, residents of Savannah. One had been a captain in the army until 1862 and the other had been deputy collector of the port of Savannah when the city was captured. The loyalty of the vendors, the question as to whether or not the sale was bona fide, and issues similar to those in Nelson Anderson's case were discussed by the Court of Claims opinion. The court found in Pollard's favor, holding the sale to be bona fide and stating that sales by rebels or transactions within rebel territory were not forbidden by the statute of July 17, 1862, a statute which provided for confiscation of specified properties and which made null and void sales by persons owning property within loyal territory who aided in the rebellion. The court found that the statute merely voided sales as against the United States. The court referred to the loyal as "the faithful few among the faithless found," and concluded that the 1863 act purposely protected them. The loyalty of the vendor was not required, and the statute of June 25, 1868, prohibiting testimony in support of claims by claimants or persons deriving title from claimants against the United States,

³⁴ *Huldah L. Stanton, Tutrix and Guardian, v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 456 (1868), hereinafter cited as *Stanton v. U.S.*

³⁵ *William Pollard v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 328 (1868), hereinafter cited as *Pollard v. U.S.*

³⁶ *Morris Kohn v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 436 (1868), hereinafter cited as *Kohn v. U.S.*

³⁷ *Stanton v. U.S.*

did not alter this interpretation. The claimant was awarded \$10,020 for the proceeds from sixty bales of upland cotton.³⁸

The third case combined with that of Anderson involved a man who, German by birth, was a naturalized citizen of the United States. Here again, the Court of Claims found the claimant to be loyal and found further that a petition filed on October 14, 1867, was within the two-year statute of limitations. Kohn was awarded \$109,771.20.³⁹

In the three cases heard with the Anderson appeal, the United States government was represented by Attorney General Ebenezer Rockwell Hoar and Special Counsel Robert S. Hale. Hoar, a graduate of Harvard Law School, had served as judge of the Court of Common Pleas in Massachusetts before resigning in 1855 to practice law. In 1859 he became associate justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, a post he held for a decade prior to his appointment as attorney general by Ulysses S. Grant.⁴⁰ Hale was a graduate of the University of Vermont who later studied law under Augustus C. Hand in Elizabethtown, New York, and practiced law there. After eight years as county judge and surrogate of Essex County, Hale entered private practice. In 1868 he was appointed special counsel of the Treasury Department and in that capacity handled many cases arising under the Captured and Abandoned Property Act.⁴¹

While the Supreme Court opinion shows five attorneys—T. J. D. Fuller, A. G. Riddle, George Taylor, J. A. Wills, and W. Penn Clarke—representing Anderson, only Fuller actually appeared for Anderson; the others were attorneys in the Pollard, Stanton, and Kohn cases. The names of these lawyers appear often in the opinions of the Court of Claims, and they evidently had thriving practices in Washington.

United States v. Anderson was argued before the Supreme Court of the United States at its December, 1869, term. Hoar and Hale, for the government, made the same points previously stressed in the Court of Claims. The attorneys argued that the claim, filed June 5, 1868, was too late; that when the courts were reopened and when armed aggression against government had ceased, there was no longer civil war. They contended that the rebellion was suppressed as a matter

³⁸ *Pollard v. U.S.*; 12 Stat. 590, c. 195, s. 5; 12 Stat. 820, c. 120, s. 3; 15 Stat. 75, c. 71, s. 4.

³⁹ *Kohn v. U.S.*

⁴⁰ Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, and Others (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 22 volumes and index, 1928—), IX, 86-87, hereinafter cited as *Dictionary of American Biography*. After retiring from the cabinet in 1870, Hoar served a term in Congress.

⁴¹ *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, 110-111. Hale also served a term in Congress in the 1870's.

of fact after Kirby Smith⁴² surrendered on May 26, 1865, and that Anderson's right to file a claim expired two years from that date. Presidential proclamations were regarded by the government attorneys as executive recognition of the fact that peace was restored; these proclamations did not in themselves create peace. They continued their argument to the effect that if an executive act was, indeed, necessary to establish the fact of suppression, then that of April 2, 1866, recognized an end to the rebellion in South Carolina and was applicable to Nelson Anderson. Because the cause of action arose in that state, the statute would run from the time the rebellion was suppressed there. They discussed other acts and proclamations relating to the war's end, arguing that they had no applicability to the Captured and Abandoned Property Act.

Hale and Hoar continued the same line of argument used in the Court of Claims when they emphasized the point that the loyalty of Fleming and Doucen, vendors to Anderson, was not proved. Residence in South Carolina was presumptive evidence that they were rebels, and a sale by them had been made void under the act of July 17, 1862. Nothing in the act of March 12, 1863, repealed provisions of the earlier confiscation act which had prohibited sales between certain specified classes of people, so the attorneys insisted. Proof of ownership meant lawful ownership, and Hale and Hoar contended Anderson had not derived legal title to the cotton. The points relating to alienage and the proper means of determining the amount of the proceeds were not stressed by the lawyers.

With regard to the two-year statute of limitations, Hoar and Hale concluded that Anderson's petition filed June 5, 1868, was barred under any available test. They cited the *Prize Cases*, 2 Black. 667, defining a state of civil war to be in existence when the course of justice was interrupted; conversely, they contended the opening of the courts and resumption of normal activity was evidence that the rebellion had ended.⁴³

Anderson's attorney and those for the Pollard, Stanton, and Kohn cases argued that the ending of the war was a legislative question and, therefore, the court should not change the date Congress had

⁴² Edmund Kirby Smith was in command of the Trans-Mississippi Department from 1862 to 1865. He received the permanent rank of general in the Provisional Army in February, 1864. Smith was almost the last Confederate general in the field; he surrendered to General E. R. S. Canby on May 26, 1865. It is interesting to note that General Smith was the last survivor of the full generals of the Confederacy. He died March 28, 1893. Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Gray: Lives of the Confederate Commanders* ([Baton Rouge]: Louisiana State University Press, c. 1959), 280.

⁴³ *United States v. Anderson*, 9 Wall. 56 (1869); National Archives record; 12 Stat. 590, c. 195, s. 5; 12 Stat. 820, c. 120.

recognized as the end of the war. Congressional legislation had accepted President Andrew Johnson's proclamation of August 20, 1866, as the true end of the conflict. Legislation passed March 2, 1867, had declared that earlier congressional action of June 20, 1864, providing for an increase in the pay of soldiers in the army, was to continue for three years "after the close of the rebellion, as announced by the President of the United States by proclamation, bearing date the twentieth day of August, eighteen hundred and sixty-six." This congressional recognition of the August 20 date, Anderson's lawyers contended, left no doubt that the claimant was well within the two-year period allowed for filing of claims.⁴⁴

The lines were ably drawn. The government relied on either the practical aspects of the surrender of Confederate generals or on prior court rulings to establish the legal end of the war. If the court applied any of these tests, Nelson Anderson had filed his claim too late. Anderson's attorneys, on the other hand, relied upon precedents which seemed to establish that the end of the war was a political determination which had already been made by Congress as August 20, 1866. They maintained that the court should not interfere with this date but should ratify it. If the court accepted this date, Nelson Anderson had filed his claim within the two-year period and was entitled to the return of the net proceeds from the sale of his cotton.

The opinion in the case of *United States v. Anderson* was written by Justice David Davis of Illinois. Davis, a graduate of Yale Law School and an intimate friend of Abraham Lincoln, had been appointed to the Supreme Court by Lincoln in December, 1862.⁴⁵

Justice Davis opened his opinion by reciting some of the essential provisions of the Captured and Abandoned Property Act of 1863. He noted particularly the act's application to the loyal people of the South, stating that Congress had distinguished between property owned by them and property of the disloyal. He pointed out that Congress had, in a spirit of liberality, constituted the government a trustee for so much of the property as belonged to the faithful southern people. He observed that all people of this class had the opportunity at any time within two years after the suppression of the rebellion to file their claims and establish their right to the proceeds from the sales of that portion of property they owned. All that was necessary was

⁴⁴ *United States v. Anderson*, 9 Wall. 56 (1869); National Archives record; 14 Stat. 814 (Appendix No. 4); 14 Stat. 422, c. 145, s. 2; 13 Stat. 144, c. 145.

⁴⁵ *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 110-111. Davis served as administrator of Lincoln's estate.

the establishment of ownership of the property and proof of loyalty.⁴⁶

The question of ownership had been raised in the Court of Claims, the contention being that the vendors in South Carolina were rebels prohibited from selling. Justice Davis and members of the court refused to find that the confiscation law of July 17, 1862, imposed a disability to be considered in interpreting the law of March 12, 1863. The court held that had the privilege of buying and selling been limited to loyal citizens dealing with other loyal citizens, the law would have specifically made such a provision. The law was intended to treat all alike and not to discriminate in favor of those who could trace title through loyal sources. The 1863 law extended privileges to loyal owners; it crippled rebels. The statute required that the property of friend and foe be taken, but those citizens who remained loyal would later be allowed to redeem the value of their confiscated property.⁴⁷

The competency of the vendors as witnesses had been questioned by attorneys for the government, who cited the fourth section of the June 25, 1868, act.⁴⁸ This act provided that no plaintiff or person from whom title against the United States was derived could be a competent witness in support of the claimant's cause. The Supreme Court held that Doucen and Fleming were not excluded by the rule as they had no interest in the outcome of the suit. Anderson had no claim against the United States through them because Doucen and Fleming had never had a claim against the United States. When the property was taken by the government, it belonged to Anderson. His claim was only contingent upon the proceeds from the sale of his cotton reaching the treasury.⁴⁹ Thus the question of Anderson's ownership was settled.

Of course the primary question was that involving the two-year statute of limitations. Justice Davis observed that there was nothing in the act to prevent a person from filing a claim immediately after the proceeds of the sale reached the treasury, but such action was made impossible by war. Persons who might have escaped as the Union forces took over could certainly have proceeded immediately

⁴⁶ *United States v. Anderson*, 9 Wall. at 64-69.

⁴⁷ *United States v. Anderson*, 9 Wall. at 65-67; 12 Stat. 590, c. 195, s. 5; 12 Stat. 820, c. 120.

⁴⁸ 15 Stat. 75, c. 71, s. 4.

⁴⁹ *United States v. Anderson*, 9 Wall. at 67-68 (1869). The question of the loyalty of the vendors was discussed in *Henry Wayne v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 426 (1868), a case involving a sale shortly before Savannah was taken by Sherman. The Court of Claims held that the loyalty of the vendors was not an issue, that the claimant only had to prove that he had a good title at the time the cotton was captured.

to file their claims. The important issue was concerned with the date of expiration of two years after the suppression of the rebellion. The Supreme Court held that the suppression in one locality was not tantamount to suppression of the rebellion and that an interpretation which allowed one rule for one area and a different standard for another section could not be permitted.⁵⁰

When was the rebellion entirely suppressed? Did Congress intend that all of the people in the South affected by this act take notice of the time the last Confederate general surrendered and start counting the two-year period from that date? The inherent difficulty in determining such a matter, Justice Davis held, rendered it certain that Congress did not intend for people to make such decisions for themselves. Some public proclamation or legislation was needed.

President Andrew Johnson actually issued three proclamations recognizing the end of the rebellion. That of June 13, 1865, related to Tennessee;⁵¹ that of April 2, 1866, to Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Florida.⁵² Though various other proclamations and acts of Congress had a bearing on the subject, Davis stated that it was only necessary to notice the presidential proclamation of August 20, 1866, and the act of Congress of March 2, 1867.⁵³ The August 20, 1866, proclamation related to Texas, and in it the President stated:

And I do further proclaim that the said insurrection is at an end, and that peace, order, tranquillity and civil authority now exist in and throughout the whole of the United States.⁵⁴

This was the first official declaration that the rebellion had been suppressed everywhere; this proclamation was accepted by Congress when, on March 2, 1867, the provision was made that the act of June 20, 1864, fixing the pay of noncommissioned officers and privates through the term of the rebellion, was to remain in force for three years after the close of the rebellion as announced by the President in his proclamation. Congress thereby, said the court, adopted August 20, 1866, as the day of close for this purpose. The Supreme Court reasoned that Congress would certainly not intend a harsher rule for claimants, and that the point of time should be construed liberally in favor of those who adhered to the Union. The court accepted the August 20,

⁵⁰ *United States v. Anderson*, 9 Wall. at 68-69.

⁵¹ 13 Stat. 763 (Appendix No. 40).

⁵² 14 Stat. 811 (Appendix No. 1).

⁵³ *United States v. Anderson*, 9 Wall. at 69-70; 14 Stat. 814 (Appendix No. 4); 14 Stat. 422, c. 145, s. 2.

⁵⁴ 14 Stat. 814 at 817 (Appendix No. 4).

1866, date as being applicable so far as rights secured by the Captured and Abandoned Property Act was concerned. Nelson Anderson, having filed his claim on June 5, 1868, had filed within the two-year period and was, therefore, entitled to receive the net proceeds of \$6,723.36, the amount determined to have been realized from the sale of his cotton. The decision of the Court of Claims was affirmed.⁵⁵

Interestingly enough, the Court of Claims had reached the same conclusion with regard to the two-year statute of limitations in a case it had heard prior to the Anderson hearing. In *Grossmayer v. United States*, the first case before the Court of Claims in which the statute of limitations was discussed, Chief Justice Casey had held that the date of the suppression of the rebellion was a political rather than a judicial question; that the President, in opening war, had exercised power under acts of February 28, 1795, and March 3, 1807, authorizing him to call out the militia; that his proclamation of April 15, 1861, had taken such action; that on April 19 and 27 he had declared a blockade of southern ports and on May 3, 1861, he had called for volunteer regiments with the result that the regular army was increased; that the proclamation of May 10 had declared martial law on the coast of Florida. The court pointed out the fact that all of this action occurred prior to the convening of Congress, but that these acts were ratified by Congress when it convened the following July 4. A congressional act of July 13, 1861, provided that the President could lawfully, by proclamation, declare a state of insurrection; later in July Congress defined the meaning of "suppression of rebellion" and other terms; on June 7, 1862, the President was authorized to declare in what states and parts of states insurrection existed; the proclamation of July 1, 1862, designated certain states as being in rebellion and again designated them in the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863. Justice Casey continued by reviewing proclamations issued as the war ended, summarizing those of June 13, 1865, April 2, 1866, and August 20, 1866, relating to the suppression of the rebellion in various areas. The court then discussed the congressional action continuing in effect pay for soldiers for three years after the close of the rebellion as announced by the President as August 20, 1866. The judiciary had no choice but to follow the decision made by Congress in adopting the presidential proclamation as the date of the close of the rebellion.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ *United States v. Anderson*, 9 Wall. at 70-72; 14 Stat. 422, c. 145, s. 2; 13 Stat. 144, c. 145; 14 Stat. 814 (Appendix No. 4); National Archives record.

⁵⁶ *Henry Grossmayer v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. at 5, 14-28 (1868); 1 Stat. 424, c. 36; 2 Stat. 443, c. 39; 12 Stat. 1258 (Appendix No. 3); 12 Stat. 1258 (Appendix

The Grossmayer case was the first decided under the Captured and Abandoned Property Act after provision had been made for appeals by the government of any decision adverse to it in the Court of Claims.⁵⁷ The decision granting recovery to the claimants in the Grossmayer case was reversed by the Supreme Court, but the reversal was on grounds other than the point involving the statute of limitations.⁵⁸

The Anderson opinion in the Court of Claims cited as precedent the reasoning outlined in the Grossmayer opinion.⁵⁹ The cases were heard in reverse order in the Supreme Court; there the Anderson case was decided prior to the Grossmayer case. George Taylor represented Grossmayer; he was also the attorney in the Stanton case, one of those combined with the Anderson case for purposes of appeal to the Supreme Court. Hoar and Hale represented the government in both appeals.

The Anderson case created little interest in the press, though the date set by the court was to affect the rights of many filing claims under federal legislation. The only notice carried in the *Charleston Daily Courier* appeared in the issue of March 1, 1870, under a February 28 Washington dateline:

The Supreme Court to-day in the cotton cases, appealed from the Court of Claims, took the President's Proclamation of August 20, 1866, as the date of the termination of the war. This affects many cotton cases and other litigation.⁶⁰

The *Charleston Daily News* for the same date carried exactly the same item, and two days later, that paper had a four-paragraph summary of the decision in the Anderson case and "three other similar cases" appealed from the Court of Claims. No mention was made of Nelson Anderson and the fact that he was a resident of South Carolina.⁶¹

The *Daily National Republican* of Washington summarized the decision briefly and commented, "The executive and legislative branches of the Government having united on the date, it is accepted as the actual and proper one by the judiciary."⁶² The David Davis Papers

No. 4); 12 Stat. 1259 (Appendix No. 5); 12 Stat. 1260 (Appendix No. 6); 12 Stat. 1260 (Appendix No. 7); 12 Stat. 255ff., which quotes the several congressional enactments; 12 Stat. 257, c. 3, s. 5; 12 Stat. 281, c. 25; 12 Stat. 422, c. 98, s. 2; 12 Stat. 1266 (Appendix No. 14); 12 Stat. 1268 (Appendix No. 17); 13 Stat. 763 (Appendix No. 40); 14 Stat. 811 (Appendix No. 1); 14 Stat. 814 (Appendix No. 4).

⁵⁷ *Henry Grossmayer v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. at 29; 15 Stat. 75, c. 71.

⁵⁸ *United States v. Grossmayer*, 9 Wall. 72 (1869).

⁵⁹ *Anderson v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 467 (1868).

⁶⁰ *Charleston Daily Courier* (South Carolina), March 1, 1870. Files of this newspaper for the period covering the case give no information other than this one report.

⁶¹ *Charleston Daily News* (South Carolina), March 1, 3, 1870.

⁶² *Daily National Republican* (Washington, D.C.), March 1, 1870.

contain nothing relating to the Anderson case, an indication that Justice Davis did not regard the opinion as being extraordinary.⁶³

In cases which followed the Anderson case, the Supreme Court found the date of the termination of the war in a given locality to be the pertinent date rather than the end of the conflict as a whole. The question of the end of the rebellion was considered in relation to the purpose for which the question was asked, but the Supreme Court, in the Anderson case, interpreted the law in a way which would offer loyal southerners every opportunity to present their claims.⁶⁴ In providing for recovery by those people, "Congress was renouncing a part of its strict belligerent rights as the Supreme Court understood them."⁶⁵

It is difficult to understand why the Anderson case has received so little attention in secondary works of the Reconstruction period.⁶⁶ The answer to the question concerning the end of the rebellion is itself of interest; the fact that Nelson Anderson was a Negro makes it particularly so. William Pollard, whose case was combined with Anderson's, was also a Negro; both men were draymen, property owners, dealers in cotton, southerners who remained loyal to the Union throughout the war. The attorneys who represented these men in the Supreme Court, T. J. D. Fuller and Albert Riddle, practiced law in Washington and handled many cotton cases in the Court of Claims. Both men served terms in Congress. Riddle may have had some philanthropic motive in representing a Negro because he had always been bitter in his opposition to slavery and had distinguished himself in Congress by his arguments on the bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia.⁶⁷

⁶³ See David Davis Papers, Manuscript Department, Duke University Library, Durham.

⁶⁴ Charles Gordon Post, "The Supreme Court and Political Questions," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, LIV (Number 4), 1936, 45-47. The cases cited therein are concerned with statute of limitations application in the case of liens, promissory notes, and other business matters; the Anderson case is not cited as precedent in any of these. See, for example, *Brown v. Hiatts*, 15 Wall. 177 (1872); *Batesville Institute v. Kauffman*, 18 Wall. 151 (1873); *Ross, Administrator, v. Jones*, 22 Wall. 576 (1874); and *Carroll et al. v. Green et al.*, 92 U.S. 509 (1875).

⁶⁵ James G. Randall, "Captured and Abandoned Property During the Civil War," *American Historical Review*, XIX (October, 1913), 66, hereinafter cited as Randall, "Captured and Abandoned Property."

⁶⁶ See, for example, Eric L. McKittrick, *Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c. 1960); Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Era of Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965); Joel Williamson, *After Slavery: The Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction, 1861-1877* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, c. 1965); John Hope Franklin, *Reconstruction: After the Civil War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c. 1961); Francis Butler Simkins and Robert Hilliard Woody, *South Carolina During Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1931).

⁶⁷ *Who Was Who*, 193; *Dictionary of American Biography*, XV, 591.

The claimants in the cotton cases may have been poor, unknown people, but the Court of Claims' liberality in favor of the claimants made many of them fairly well off financially, and their lawyers undoubtedly were able to collect their legal fees.⁶⁸ Reports made in May, 1868, showed gross proceeds from the sale of cotton to be \$29,518,041 and the gross for other captured and abandoned property to be \$1,309,650; the net total was \$25,257,931, over 95 percent of which was for cotton. A report of the Treasury Department showed that up to February 4, 1888, the *net* receipts from captured and abandoned property were \$26,887,584.39, with \$15,880,664.19 of this coming as receipts from the sale of cotton of individuals. The total amount paid out in judgments up to February 4, 1888, was reported as being \$9,864,300.75.⁶⁹

It is of note that no attention was given to the fact that Anderson and Pollard were Negroes. Except for five words in the Supreme Court opinion that Anderson was "a free man of color" and similar brief mentions in the papers relating to the case, the fact would be unknown. The Court of Claims handled numerous cases involving Negroes,⁷⁰ but nothing was said in any of them to indicate that there

⁶⁸ A few examples show that sums of \$51,696.16, \$18,825, \$123,138.35, \$20,736, \$76,293.60 \$35,011.68, \$2,047.52, \$50,581.60, \$262.40, \$393.60, and \$2,823.75 were awarded by the Court of Claims in the cases of *Stanton v. U.S.*, which was upheld by the Supreme Court; *Cornelius B. Miller et al. v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 288 (1868); *Edward Padelord v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 316 (1868); *Henry A. Ealer v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 372 (1868); *Charles J. Quinby v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 417 (1868); *Asher Ayers v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 422 (1868); *Henry Wayne v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 426 (1868); *Julius A. Hayden v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 475 (1868); *W. T. Oliver v. United States*, 3 C. Cl. Rep. 62 (1867); *Thomas Aiken v. United States*, 3 C. Cl. Rep. 307 (1867); and *Mary Bond v. United States*, 2 C. Cl. Rep. 529 (1866).

⁶⁹ Randall, "Captured and Abandoned Property," 69, 77, 74. The question of the effect of pardon and amnesty on the right of a claimant filing under the provisions of the Captured and Abandoned Property Act was raised in *United States v. Klein*, 13 Wall. 128 (1871). The Supreme Court adhered to the liberal interpretation of the law, holding that Congress intended to restore property to loyal owners and also to those who had been hostile but later became loyal. After the issuance of a proclamation of general amnesty, the restoration of property to all bona fide owners became the duty of the government. Therefore, all who had been dispossessed through the operation of the Captured and Abandoned Property Act were, regardless of the question of their original loyalty, entitled to full restitution. The Klein case was not decided until 1871; under the decision in the Anderson case, those unable to claim original loyalty were barred from recovery by the operation of the statute of limitations. Various bills were introduced in Congress to restore the rights of the people falling in this category, but nothing was done. As late as 1913 there was a balance of \$4,992,349.92 in the treasury from the proceeds realized under the 1863 act. The Treasury Department contended that this sum was about equal to the total value of the cotton which had belonged to the Confederate government and, therefore, there was nothing left in trust for individuals. See James G. Randall, *Constitutional Problems Under Lincoln* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1926), 338-340; Randall, "Captured and Abandoned Property," 78.

⁷⁰ See, for example, *Edward Fordham v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 469 (1868); *Eliza A. Habersham, Administratrix, v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 433 (1868); *Henry Wayne v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 426 (1868); *Delancy Jenkins v. United States*, 4 C. Cl. Rep. 587 (1868); and *Henry G. Thomas v. United States*, 3 C. Cl. Rep. 52 (1867).

was anything unusual in this. The Anderson and Pollard cases decided in the Supreme Court's December, 1869, term, arose just twelve years after the Dred Scott decision which determined that a Negro was not a citizen and therefore had no standing in courts of the United States.⁷¹ The Anderson case was filed in the Court of Claims before the Fourteenth Amendment became effective in July, 1868.⁷²

The Anderson claim affords an opportunity to examine at first hand a case involving a Negro, one in which the claimant was treated as a complete equal without fanfare and without the benefit of constitutional amendment. It is equally of interest that the decision regarding the property of one Negro from South Carolina affected the legal rights of hundreds of other individuals filing claims under the Captured and Abandoned Property Act of March 12, 1863, claims which could have been filed at anytime prior to August 20, 1868, two years after the official determination of the day the rebellion ended.

⁷¹ *Dred Scott, Plaintiff in Error, v. John F. A. Sandford*, 19 How. 393 (1856).

⁷² J. G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., c. 1937), 787-789.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1852: DEATH KNELL OF THE WHIG PARTY OF NORTH CAROLINA

BY JAMES R. MORRILL*

As the United States moved inexorably toward the presidential election of 1852, every portent indicated that the political contest would center upon the ominous, persistent issue of slavery and, more particularly, upon the Compromise of 1850 and its fugitive slave law. Having become law through the efforts and support of President Millard Fillmore and of congressional moderates, northern and southern, from both major political parties, the Compromise measures had sought to eliminate slavery as a political issue; the settlement, however, had been denounced by antislavery elements and had been received only with acquiescence by the more militant champions of southern rights. As the presidential election approached, antislavery Whigs, more numerous and influential than their Democratic counterparts, sought to promote and control the candidacy of General Winfield Scott, who was not publicly committed to the Compromise. Although Scott's nomination was uncertain, northern domination of the Whig party virtually assured that the party's presidential nominee would be from that section of the country, and the presence of a vocal, significant antislavery faction within the northern wing created considerable doubt that a platform and ticket acceptable to the South would be forthcoming. The resultant anxiety among southern Whigs contrasted sharply with the confidence of southern Democrats. Since 1844 the northern wing of the Democratic party had been content, for the sake of office, to let the southern wing provide the party's leadership and platform, a situation which had tended to corroborate the claim by southern Democrats that their party was the true champion and defender of southern rights. Largely indifferent to the slavery issue, the northern wing contained a number of presidential hopefuls who were acceptable to the South. Thus the equanimity among southern Democrats and the apprehensions of southern Whigs were both well founded.

* Dr. Morrill is assistant professor of history at the University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky.

The serious concern among southern Whigs became manifest in North Carolina during late 1851 and early 1852. While almost unanimously endorsing President Fillmore for the nomination on the basis of his support of the Compromise,¹ Whig newspaper editors and other Whig leaders suffered no illusions about his chances and thus emphasized that they would support the party's nominee only upon the essential condition that he publicly and unequivocally endorse the Compromise settlement.² Scott's strong candidacy and lack of public commitment to the Compromise clearly prompted the warning and lent urgency to it. Despite their anxieties, however, North Carolina Whigs disavowed the proposal being made in other states that the southern wing threaten to boycott the Whig national convention as a means to gain prior concessions from the North; nor did the state's Whigs support proposals to form a Union party or to seek Fillmore's election directly through the Electoral College rather than through the party machinery.³ Seeing no realistic alternative to attending the national convention, the Whig party of North Carolina was determined to secure Fillmore's nomination if possible and to strive, in any event, to make the Whig ticket and platform acceptable to the South.

By the early spring of 1852 Scott's candidacy, which antislavery

¹ Fillmore's popularity is abundantly manifest in the correspondence of North Carolina Whigs. See, for example, the numerous letters of early 1852 to William Alexander Graham in the William Alexander Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection. See also the William D. Valentine Diaries, April 26, May 13, 19, 1852, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Valentine Diaries. The *Hillsborough Recorder*, October 15, 1851, reported that every Whig newspaper in North Carolina had endorsed Fillmore, a statement which extant newspapers tend to confirm. As revealed in the *Raleigh Register's* issues of late 1851 and early 1852, every Whig public meeting in North Carolina endorsed the President for the nomination.

² For editorial comments regarding Fillmore's bleak prospects and North Carolina's insistence that the nominee endorse the Compromise, see *Raleigh Register*, November 8, 1851; *Weekly Commercial* (Wilmington), November 8, 1851, and February 12, 1852, hereinafter cited as *Commercial*; *Old North State* (Elizabeth City), November 1, 1851, and January 31, 1852, hereinafter cited as *Old North State*; *Hillsborough Recorder*, October 15, 1851; *Greensborough Patriot*, October 4, 1851; *Commercial*, January 20, 1852, quoting the *Weldon Patriot*. Pessimistic evaluations of Fillmore's chances are found in the following letters to William Alexander Graham in the Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection: Calvin Henderson Wiley to Graham, October 28, 1851; James West Bryan to Graham, January 25, 1852; William Johnston to Graham, March 25, 1852; Henry W. Miller to Graham, March 20, 1852; Charles W. Johnston to Graham, March 29, 1852. Reports concerning Whig political rallies are found in the issues of the *Raleigh Register*.

³ These proposals were being seriously considered in some southern states. Arthur Charles Cole, *The Whig Party in the South* (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1913), 240-241, hereinafter cited as Cole, *Whig Party*. For a study of the Union party movement, see Cole, *Whig Party*, 174-211. For contemporary reports and North Carolina's reaction to them, see *Raleigh Register*, October 4, 1851; *Raleigh Register*, October 11, 1851, quoting the *Fayetteville Observer*; *Old North State*, November 1, 1851; *Raleigh Register*, October 15, 1851, quoting the *Wilmington Herald*.

elements ever more significantly surrounded,⁴ had become sufficiently powerful to force his name and his uncertain position regarding slavery more explicitly into the editorial columns of southern Whig newspapers. The fact of the matter was that Scott's inner convictions concerning the institution of slavery were vague and ambiguous,⁵ and his attitude toward the political settlement of the issue was also a subject of widespread conjecture and controversy. It was well known in some quarters that Scott had privately favored the passage of the Compromise measures.⁶ It was a fact of public life on the other hand that the General had never formally endorsed the Compromise. During early 1852 Winfield Scott did nothing to eliminate the doubts and uncertainty, for upon the advice of William H. Seward he continued to refrain from public commitment to the Compromise.⁷ Scott's private support of the Compromise of 1850 and his obvious political availability were sufficient inducement to woo some southerners into the General's ranks, but most southern Whigs were becoming increasingly insistent that he publicly declare himself unreservedly in favor of the Compromise settlement. In 1852, therefore, Scott's acceptability was a matter of controversy among southern Whigs as well as between Whigs and Democrats.

The dispute among North Carolina Whigs became apparent in March, 1852, when Seaton Gales, editor of the *Raleigh Register*, announced that while he preferred Fillmore as the Whig nominee, the *Register* would accept either Daniel Webster or Winfield Scott because "they both proved their devotion to it [the Compromise] whilst it was under consideration."⁸ Although Gales considered Scott's public endorsement of the Compromise to be unnecessary and although several other Whig editors began to refer to Scott sympathetically, a number of Whig newspapers indicated that they could not support the

⁴ Cole, *Whig Party*, 229. See also Frederick Bancroft, *The Life of William H. Seward* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 2 volumes, 1900), I, 301, hereinafter cited as Bancroft, *Life of Seward*.

⁵ Cole, *Whig Party*, 258-259; Edward Everett Hale, Jr., *William H. Seward* (Philadelphia: George Jacobs & Company, 1910), 209, hereinafter cited as Hale, *William H. Seward*. Cole states that Scott's "personal predilections were in full sympathy with the platform." Hale writes that Scott opposed the extension of slavery. The entire matter of Scott's views on slavery seems to be insufficiently explored.

⁶ Cole, *Whig Party*, 229; William Alexander Graham to James Graham, August 25, 1850, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton (ed.), *The Papers of William Alexander Graham* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History [projected multivolume series, 1957-], 1960), III, 370; William Alexander Graham to [?] letter fragment, June 29, 1852, William Alexander Graham Papers, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Graham Papers, State Archives. That other North Carolina Whigs were convinced of Scott's soundness will be revealed later in this paper.

⁷ Cole, *Whig Party*, 229.

⁸ *Raleigh Register*, March 17, 1852.

General without his public approbation of the 1850 settlement.⁹ Undoubtedly most North Carolina Whigs demanded Scott's unequivocal endorsement of the Compromise,¹⁰ and until he should make such an endorsement, his candidacy aroused little enthusiasm within the state. Whig editors, in fact, noted a general apathy toward the entire matter of the presidential election.

While uncertainty and anxiety perplexed the Whigs, North Carolina Democrats faced the coming election with confidence derived from southern control of the party. The man most preferred by state Democrats for the presidential nomination was apparently James Buchanan of Pennsylvania,¹¹ but because no Democratic candidate posed a threat to the vital interests of the South, the North Carolina party did not view the nomination as a matter of immediate or dire concern. It was of some concern, however, that the balanced popularity of the chief aspirants might combine with the two-thirds rule at the Democratic national convention to thwart the ambitions of the major candidates and necessitate the selection of a compromise, "dark-horse" nominee.¹² Although such an outcome would be politically disadvantageous, traditional southern domination of the convention made the possibility less than ominous. Democratic newspapers stressed the soundness of all the party's candidates, and the editor of the *Wilmington Journal* felt confident enough to propose that the state party neither endorse a candidate nor instruct its delegates so that North Carolina could be free at the national convention to entice proposals regarding the vice-presidential nomination.¹³ Clearly North Carolina Democrats considered themselves to be in a strong position both within their own national party and with respect to the Whig opposition.

⁹ *Old North State*, April 17, 1852; *North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), March 20, 1852, hereinafter cited as *North Carolina Standard*, quoting the *Asheville News*; *North Carolina Standard*, March 31, 1852, quoting the *North Carolina Star* (Raleigh).

¹⁰ In the William Alexander Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection, the following letters to William Alexander Graham express and/or report coolness or hostility toward Scott's candidacy: James West Bryan to Graham, January 25, 1852; James W. Osbourne to Graham, January 12, 1852; William Johnston to Graham, March 25, 1852; Henry W. Miller to Graham, March 20, 1852; Edward J. Hale to Graham, April 21, 1852; Augustine H. Shepperd to Graham, April 26, 1852; see also Dennis Heartt to Willie P. Mangum, March 31, 1852, Henry Thomas Shanks (ed.), *The Papers of Willie Person Mangum* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 5 volumes, 1950-1956), V, 222, hereinafter cited as Shanks, *Papers of Mangum*.

¹¹ Several Democratic newspapers endorsed Buchanan. See *North Carolina Standard* January 21, 1852, quoting *Republican and Patriot* (Goldsboro), and the *Warrenton News*. See also J. R. J. Daniel to General W. A. Blount, February 12, 1852, John Gray Blount Papers, State Archives. North Carolina Democrats supported Robert Strange of North Carolina for the vice-presidential nomination.

¹² *Wilmington Journal*, November 17, 1851, and February 20, 1852.

¹³ *Wilmington Journal*, April 27, 1852.

Secure behind a host of acceptable candidates, the Democrats sought to increase Whig dissension by proclaiming Scott's unsoundness and his antislavery affiliations, by warning the southern Whigs that the General's nomination would be imposed upon them at the Whig national convention, and by chiding and condemning southern Whigs for associating with the mortal enemies of the South. As Democratic accusations and Whig misgivings about Scott's acceptability intensified, and as Scott continued to maintain silence regarding the Compromise, the Whig party machinery became ever more sorely tested. In an effort to establish confidence in the General and to prepare southern Whigs for Scott's probable nomination, a Whig congressman from North Carolina publicly addressed himself to the topic of Scott's attitude toward the Compromise. Representative Edward Stanly, who preferred Fillmore but believed Scott's nomination had become inevitable, announced in April, 1852, that he, Stanly, personally knew that Scott had favored the settlement. North Carolina Whigs, Stanly argued, wanted a nominee of "tried patriotism and unsuspected integrity," not one who wrote letters and made pledges on the eve of elections in order to solicit support.¹⁴ While generally honoring Stanly's right to his own opinions, North Carolina Whigs replied firmly that Scott's public pledge supporting the Compromise was indeed necessary to obtain their support.¹⁵

Although Stanly's insistence that Scott was sound engendered no severe criticism, the actions of Willie Person Mangum, United States Senator from North Carolina and Whig party leader, stirred resentment among North Carolina Whigs and clearly revealed the difficulties within the party's southern wing. In early April Senator Mangum, who was personally convinced of Scott's soundness, announced from the Senate floor that he actually preferred Scott over Fillmore for the Whig presidential nomination.¹⁶ Furthermore, on April 20 Mangum presided at a Whig congressional caucus and ruled that an endorsement of the Compromise was out of order because the matter lay within the purview of the Whig national convention rather than

¹⁴ Stanly's public letter dated April 6, 1852, can be found in the *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), April 22, 1852, hereinafter cited as *Carolina Watchman*. An inaccurately printed version is in the *Raleigh Register*, April 14, 1852.

¹⁵ *North Carolina Standard*, April 28, 1852, quoting the *North Carolina Star* and the *Newbernian* (New Bern), hereinafter cited as *Newbernian*; *Hillsborough Recorder*, April 21, 1852.

¹⁶ The speech is found in Shanks, *Papers of Mangum*, V, 726-737. Mangum emphasized Scott's political availability and soundness.

within that of the caucus.¹⁷ The majority sustaining Mangum's ruling included Edward Stanly and James Turner Morehead of North Carolina. Following the vote, a number of southern Whig congressmen, including David Outlaw and Thomas Lanier Clingman of North Carolina, withdrew from the caucus in protest against the ruling. The opposition by Mangum, Stanly, and Morehead to the introduction of the endorsement resolution was procedural in nature and in no way constituted a substantive rejection of the Compromise of 1850, but their parliamentary position apparently escaped some North Carolina Whigs. Mangum, who made the ruling and who had previously proclaimed his preference for Scott, underwent a barrage of criticism which was intensified by the insistence of Outlaw and Clingman that the caucus had indeed been authorized to entertain the endorsement resolution.¹⁸ Trying to muffle the dispute and maintain party unity, North Carolina Whig editors insisted that all persons involved had acted from sincere, honorable, and disinterested—if conflicting—convictions;¹⁹ but mutterings could be heard, despite Mangum's announced intention to retire, that the Senator had sold himself to Scott for the vice-presidential nomination.²⁰

Amid the controversy surrounding events in Washington, the North Carolina Whig convention met at Raleigh on April 26-27.²¹ The adopted platform expressed devotion to the Union; endorsed Millard

¹⁷ For accounts of the Whig caucus of April 20, 1852, see *Congressional Globe*, Thirty-second Congress, First Session (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Globe Office, 1852), 1158; *Greensborough Patriot*, May 1, 1852; *Raleigh Register*, April 28, May 5, 22, 1852.

¹⁸ The eleven men who withdrew from the caucus published a letter in late April in an effort to justify their action. The letter is in the *Raleigh Register*, May 5, 1852.

¹⁹ *Old North State*, April 24, 1852; *Hillsborough Recorder*, April 28, 1852; *Greensborough Patriot*, May 8, 1852; *Commercial*, May 1, 1852; *Raleigh Register*, April 28, 1852.

²⁰ Later at the Whig national convention the Scott forces did approach Mangum about the vice-presidential nomination, but Mangum declined. As Mangum wrote privately after the convention: "The nominations are made and are right—I might have been second but declined — The ill temper of No. Caro. is such that I thought it might hazard the vote.—" Willie Person Mangum to Martha P. Mangum, June 23, 1852, Shanks, *Papers of Mangum*, V, 234. For immediate criticism of Mangum's speech of April 15, see *Old North State*, April 24, 1852; *Carolina Watchman*, April 29, 1852, quoting the *Goldsboro Telegraph*; *Old North State*, May 15, 1852, quoting the *Newbernian*; *North Carolina Standard*, April 28, 1852, quoting the *Raleigh Times* and the *Wilmington Herald*; *Commercial*, May 11, 1852, quoting the *North Carolina Argus* (Wadesboro); *Greensborough Patriot*, May 8, 1852; *Raleigh Register*, April 28, 1852; *Carolina Watchman*, April 24, 1852, quoting the *Fayetteville Observer*; *Commercial*, April 22, 1852. For private expressions of disapproval, see William Alexander Graham to James West Bryan, April 17, 1852, Bryan Papers, Southern Historical Collection; James W. Osbourne to Edward J. Hale, May 29, 1852, Edward J. Hale Papers, State Archives; Augustine H. Shepperd to William Alexander Graham, April 26, 1852, Graham Papers, State Archives.

²¹ The official account of the Whig state convention is found in the *Raleigh Register*, May 1, 1852.

Fillmore for the presidential nomination and William Alexander Graham of North Carolina for the vice-presidential nomination;²² promised that the Whig party of North Carolina would support any nominee who was unequivocally in favor of the Compromise as a final settlement; and warned that no presidential or vice-presidential nominee could obtain the vote of the Whig party of North Carolina unless he were "beyond doubt" in favor of maintaining all the Compromise measures. The North Carolina Whigs thus contributed to the increasing pressure which the South was bringing to bear upon Winfield Scott.

Southern pressure, however, seemed unable to break the General's silence, and as the Whig national convention approached, Whig fears and disaffection became more pronounced. A number of party leaders, including David Outlaw and Thomas Clingman, indicated that they could not support Scott under existing circumstances.²³ Thomas Loring, editor of the *Wilmington Commercial*, proclaimed irrevocable opposition to Scott and proposed that if the General should be nominated, North Carolina thereupon field an independent ticket consisting of Fillmore and Graham.²⁴ Alarmed at the threatened defection, other Whig editors expressed confidence in Scott's soundness and urged calm and restraint among party members.²⁵ On the eve of the national convention one faction of North Carolina Whigs was convinced of Scott's soundness, another of his unsoundness, while the majority remained uncertain²⁶ and, to some extent, apathetic about his candidacy.

Also by the time of the national convention, southern pressure upon Scott had begun to produce significant results. As convention delegates converged upon Washington and the convention city of Baltimore,²⁷ Scott began to abandon his antislavery advisers and to give

²² Graham's name was being widely mentioned in other states for the vice-presidential nomination.

²³ David Outlaw to Joseph B. G. Roulhac, April 23, 1852, Ruffin-Roulhac-Hamilton Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Ruffin-Roulhac-Hamilton Papers; Outlaw's speech of June 10, 1852, in the House of Representatives reported in *North Carolina Standard*, May 15, 1852. For other signs of defection see John Kerr to William Alexander Graham, May 22, 1852, Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection; Valentine Diaries, April 26, 1852; *Commercial*, May 4, 1852; *Raleigh Register*, May 12, 1852; *Raleigh Register*, May 19, 1852, quoting the *Fayetteville Observer*; *Carolina Watchman*, June 3, 1852.

²⁴ *Commercial*, May 4, 1852.

²⁵ *Raleigh Register*, May 19, 1852; *Carolina Watchman*, June 3, 1852; *Old North State*, June 5, 12, 1852; *Greensborough Patriot*, May 8, 1852.

²⁶ An illustration of Whig uncertainty regarding Scott is found in the Valentine Diaries, May 13, 1852. Valentine writes that while Scott is "perhaps" in favor of the Compromise, "many do not like to take him under an uncertainty."

²⁷ A detailed, although incomplete account of the Whig national convention can be found in the July 1, 1852, issue of the *Signal* (Washington, D.C.), a Whig news-

oral and written private assurances that he would accept a party platform which contained an endorsement of the Compromise of 1850.²⁸ Encouraged by these assurances but far from sanguine about the convention prospects, the southern delegates caucused on the night of June 15 and issued therefrom an ultimatum demanding the convention's unequivocal endorsement of the Compromise as the price for continued southern participation.²⁹ The intense southern pressure subsequently secured a number of concessions from the convention, which convened on June 16. By a vote of 199 to 97 the delegates yielded to southern insistence that the convention adopt the platform prior to receiving nominations. A northern resolution that each state be represented on the platform committee by the state's Electoral College strength was withdrawn as a result of adamant southern opposition. Most importantly, the platform presented to the convention was one which called for the cessation of antislavery agitation and pledged the Whig party to "acquiesce" in the fugitive slave law and the other Compromise measures as a final settlement.³⁰ When it became apparent that the platform would be adopted, a number of antislavery delegates withdrew in protest from the convention hall. The subsequent adoption of the platform, by a vote of 226 to 66, divorced the Whig party from the antislavery movement and thus preserved the national character of the party.

The southern delegations, which were determined and obligated to support Fillmore, could only acknowledge that the South had been well treated on several crucial matters. Thus as the balloting began, the southern commitment to Fillmore was qualified by a tacit political debt to the northern wing. Despite the obligation, the South presented an almost unbroken front for Fillmore through forty-seven ballots, during which the President and Scott maintained a rough parity while a small Webster faction prevented either major candidate from obtaining a majority. The Webster men, who were without instructions

paper published during the campaign by George S. Gideon. A bound volume of the issue is in the Louis R. Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. A descriptive account of the convention is in Cole, *Whig Party*, 245-258.

²⁸ David Outlaw to Joseph B. G. Roulhac, April 23, 1852, Ruffin-Roulhac-Hamilton Papers; Cole, *Whig Party*, 248, 252.

²⁹ Cole, *Whig Party*, 228, 245.

³⁰ The word "final" was omitted in the early editions of the platform, and the omission became something of an issue in the South. Northern Whig editors hastened to assure the South that the word "final" had appeared in the official platform, and that the omission had occurred when reporters had failed to hear the word "final" above the noise of the convention hall. It is probable that the word continued to be deleted in the North while in the South "final" quickly appeared within the text of the platform. One may find today both versions of the platform. See *Wilmington Journal*, June 28, 1852; *Raleigh Register*, June 30, 1852.

from Webster,³¹ spurned southern overtures, while Scott's agents, both before and after the adoption of the platform, worked quietly and persuasively upon individual southerners to whom the General had given private assurances.³² The results of these negotiations first became evident in the pro-Compromise platform and, subsequently, upon the forty-eighth presidential ballot, when three Missouri delegates shifted to Scott. On the fifty-third ballot the General secured the nomination with the vital support of eight votes from Virginia, three from Missouri, and three from Tennessee. The North Carolina delegation remained steadfast for Fillmore until the end but joined in making the nomination unanimous after a Virginia delegate read to the convention a private letter from Scott which pledged endorsement of the platform. The vice-presidential nomination subsequently went, on the second ballot, to William Alexander Graham of North Carolina, for whom the state's ten delegate votes were enthusiastically cast. Following the convention's adjournment Winfield Scott formally accepted the nomination and the platform, and thereby irrevocably severed his connections with the antislavery movement.³³ Secretary of the Navy Graham, who had preferred Fillmore but believed Scott sound, accepted the second place on the ticket.³⁴

North Carolina Whigs had cause for distress over Fillmore's defeat, but they had reasons also for satisfaction and relief. Southern intransigence had secured an acceptable platform and Scott's endorsement of it, and Graham's nomination was especially gratifying to the North Carolina party. Many Whigs, therefore, counted their blessings and privately acknowledged that the South had fared well considering the circumstances.³⁵ Despite the northern concessions, however, numerous Whigs received Scott's nomination with bitter disappointment, and some swore that they would abstain from the election or even vote Democratic.³⁶ Although Scott's unqualified acceptance of

³¹ *Wilmington Journal*, June 25, 1852. When Webster's men wired Webster for advice or instructions, he replied, "I have nothing to say."

³² Cole, *Whig Party*, 250, 253, 254, 255.

³³ Bancroft, *Life of Seward*, I, 303; Hale, *William H. Seward*, 210-211. Seward was bitterly disappointed at Scott's actions before and during the convention and in the General's unqualified acceptance of the platform.

³⁴ For Graham's opinions regarding Fillmore and Scott see the numerous correspondence to and from him in the Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection. The letters to Graham, particularly those written after the Whig national convention, allude to statements which Graham had previously made.

³⁵ Valentine Diaries, June 26, 28, 1852; S. S. Webb to Joseph B. G. Roulhac, June 28, 1852, Ruffin-Roulhac-Hamilton Papers.

³⁶ Numerous letters of late June and July, 1852, to William Alexander Graham express and/or describe Whig disappointment and defection over Scott's nomination. See the Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection and State Archives; Valentine Diaries, July 2, 1852.

the platform, together with Graham's presence on the ticket, gradually soothed some misgivings,³⁷ a segment of the Whig party of North Carolina remained unreconciled to the nomination of a man who had been associated with Seward and who had only belatedly endorsed the Compromise as a means to obtain the nomination. A prominent irreconcilable was Thomas Loring of the *Wilmington Commercial*, who, having warned prior to the convention that he would not support Scott, announced that despite the General's endorsement of the platform, the *Commercial* would oppose Scott's election because the Whig nominee was surrounded by antislavery elements and because southern rights took precedence over political affiliation.³⁸ After the *Asheville News*, reflecting the views of Thomas Clingman, expressed keen disappointment at Scott's nomination,³⁹ Thomas Loring encouraged western dissidents to take the lead in forming an independent Fillmore-Graham ticket. In the weeks immediately following the convention, however, no such action was forthcoming, and other Whig editors closed ranks around Scott and emphasized his acceptance of the platform. The existence of disaffection and defection of undetermined proportions gnawed nevertheless at the confidence and the prospects of the Whig party.

The Democratic party of North Carolina, which delighted at Scott's nomination, had, meanwhile, held its state convention and had participated in the party's national convention. Meeting at Raleigh on May 13,⁴⁰ the state convention expressed a willingness to "adhere" to the Compromise; insisted that the South's rights be observed; and warned that the Democratic party of North Carolina would refuse to support any nominee who failed to express "full, prompt, and explicit" approval of the fugitive slave law. Exuding confidence concerning the nominations and mindful of the advantages of remaining uncommitted, the delegates refrained from endorsing a presidential candidate. It was only after the convention had adjourned that some Whig leaders voiced regrets and misgivings that North Carolina's failure to endorse James Buchanan had perhaps seriously damaged his prospects at the national convention.⁴¹

Approximately thirty delegates and alternates from North Carolina attended the Democratic national convention, which convened in

³⁷ The letters referred to in the preceding footnote also stress that Graham's presence on the ticket was beneficial and reassuring.

³⁸ *Commercial*, June 22, 24, 1852.

³⁹ *North Carolina Standard*, quoting the *Asheville News*.

⁴⁰ The official account of the Democratic state convention is in the *North Carolina Standard*, May 15, 1852.

⁴¹ *Wilmington Journal*, May 28, 1852.

Baltimore on June 1.⁴² Southern delegates unanimously supported the adoption of the two-thirds rule, which passed by a vote of 273 to 13 and thus required 192 votes for nomination. The entire North Carolina delegation supported a motion that the platform be adopted prior to the nominations, a motion which northern and southern moderates, who feared a divisive platform struggle, combined to defeat by a vote of 155 to 123. The subsequent balloting for the presidential nomination resulted in exactly what the Democrats had feared: the inability of any candidate to obtain the required number of votes. For thirty-three ballots the North Carolina delegates generally supported Buchanan, with individual votes occasionally cast for Stephen A. Douglas in an unsuccessful effort to break the deadlock. On the night of June 4 North Carolina participated in a pro-Buchanan caucus, which concluded that the Pennsylvanian could hope to win only after every other candidate had proved unable to obtain the nomination.⁴³ To secure Buchanan's nomination if possible, and, in any event, to break the deadlock in favor of an acceptable candidate, the caucus agreed that the delegations from North Carolina, Virginia, and Mississippi would test the air with the flags of other candidates. The next day found North Carolina supporting William L. Marcy of New York from the thirty-sixth through the forty-eighth ballot. As Buchanan's prospects failed to brighten, North Carolina's delegation, after consultation with the other southern delegations, threw its entire strength to Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, whom Virginia had nominated on the thirty-fifth ballot and who was acceptable to the South because of his endorsement of the Compromise and his staunch defense of southern rights. In announcing North Carolina's switch to Pierce, James C. Dobbin made a dramatic appeal which stampeded the weary convention and secured Pierce's nomination on the forty-ninth ballot.⁴⁴ On the second ballot the vice-presidential nomination went to William Rufus King of Alabama. The platform, which was

⁴² An account of the Democratic national convention is in the *North Carolina Standard*, June 5, 12, 1852. An excellent descriptive account of events in Baltimore (and Washington) is found in Roy Franklin Nichols, *The Democratic Machine, 1850-1854* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company [Number 248 of *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*, 605 Studies, 1897-1962]), 131-144, hereinafter cited as Nichols, *Democratic Machine*.

⁴³ Nichols, *Democratic Machine*, 137-138; Roy Franklin Nichols, *Franklin Pierce: Young Hickory of the Granite Hills* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931), 207, hereinafter cited as Nichols, *Franklin Pierce*. This is the definitive biography of Franklin Pierce.

⁴⁴ Dobbin's speech can be found in the *North Carolina Standard*, June 16, 1852, and in J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, *Party Politics in North Carolina, 1835-1860* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press [Volume XV of *James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*], 1916), 154, hereinafter cited as Hamilton, *Party Politics*.

already known to everyone but which was formally announced after the nominations had been made, declared that Congress had no power to interfere with slavery in the states; stated that all further antislavery agitation should be resisted; opposed renewal of antislavery agitation in Congress; and promised enforcement of the Compromise measures, including the fugitive slave law. Thus the 1852 Democratic convention had adopted a platform and nominated a ticket acceptable to the South. North Carolina Democrats took satisfaction from the fact that the state's delegation had acquitted itself with finesse and distinction.

Neither party's southern wing, in fact, could seriously quarrel with the national platforms, for despite differences of wording and despite the inevitable campaign accusations, both the Democratic party and the Whig party had chosen to abide by the Compromise of 1850. The greatest handicap faced by southern Whigs was the nomination of a man who had been associated with antislavery elements and who had publicly endorsed the Compromise only after the nomination had been tendered. The largest problem confronting the Democrats was the nomination of an obscure, compromise candidate who was almost completely unknown in the South. Because its presidential nominee rather than its platform was each party's chief vulnerability, the campaign quickly and primarily became one of vituperative assaults upon the character, qualifications, and soundness of both Scott and Pierce. The initial Whig attack emphasized the very obscurity of Franklin Pierce, an obscurity which candor—if not politics—could only concede and which had thoroughly shocked North Carolina Democrats.⁴⁵ The obvious and immediate task of Democratic editors, therefore, was to make Pierce known to his own party and to extol his virtues and qualifications. Thus the inevitable process of exaggeration began its tortured course. Pierce was, in fact, a party regular who had served without distinction in both houses of Congress and also without notoriety as a general in the Mexican War. Fearful of what the slavery issue could do to Democratic unity, he had unhesitatingly defended the rights of the South and, in particular, had advocated strict enforcement of the fugitive slave law. Pierce's obscurity and soundness challenged the Whigs to discover or manufacture specific charges against him. In addition to the continuous comments regarding Pierce's undistinguished career, three major accusations came to be leveled at him: first, that he had displayed cowardice during combat in Mexico;

⁴⁵ For a description of Democratic disappointment at Pierce's nomination, see Valentine Diaries, June 11, 1852.

second, that in early 1852 he alone among Democratic presidential candidates had failed to respond to a southern inquiry regarding the fugitive slave law; and third, that in New Boston, New Hampshire, in January, 1852, he had told an audience that he considered the fugitive slave law to be "inhumane." The cowardice accusation was a campaign distortion of an incident in which Pierce had fainted from exhaustion and the pain of a knee injury. Pierce's failure to reply to the inquiry regarding the fugitive slave law stemmed primarily from his own refusal to consider himself a candidate. His New Boston statement was an emotional response to antislavery hecklers and did not accurately reflect his true convictions.⁴⁶ The Whig Party squeezed the three accusations for all the political advantage which they might contain, while the Democratic newspapers sought to refute the charges and convince the public of Pierce's merits and soundness. At the same time, of course, the Democrats were relentlessly castigating the Whig presidential nominee.

The presidential campaign inevitably became a feature of the North Carolina gubernatorial election, which, as the first state election in the country following the national conventions, was considered both by persons inside and outside the state as a barometer for the national contest.⁴⁷ During a series of debates with Whig gubernatorial nominee John Kerr, David Settle Reid, the Democratic incumbent, eulogized Pierce, accepted the Compromise, and charged that Scott had no qualifications for office and had been nominated by Seward. Kerr endorsed the Compromise, declared Scott to be a friend of the South, and accused Pierce of cowardice and unsoundness.⁴⁸ If the debates were unnoteworthy for their originality, the newspapers ascribed great and direct national significance to the gubernatorial race. The *Raleigh Register* informed its readers that a vote for Kerr was a vote for Scott, while a vote for Reid was a vote for Pierce, "who LOATHES the Fugitive Slave Law!"⁴⁹ The *North Carolina Standard*, on the other hand, warned that Seward was closely watching the North Carolina election, that a vote for Kerr was indeed a vote for Scott, and that a vote for Scott in 1852 constituted a vote for Seward in 1856.⁵⁰ Reid's August

⁴⁶ Nichols, *Franklin Pierce*, 192, 201-202; for other details concerning Pierce's career relative to the campaign, see 29-30, 41, 47, 53-54, 57-59, 73, 90, 98, 101-105, 110-111, 115-120, 151-159, 172, 175.

⁴⁷ Valentine Diaries, August 4, 1852; William Alexander Graham to John Barnett, July 6, 1852, copy in Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection; *North Carolina Standard*, August 18, 1852, quoting the *Richmond Enquirer*.

⁴⁸ *North Carolina Standard*, June 26, July 3, 7, 17, 21, 24, 1852. For other accounts of these debates see the June and July, 1852, issues of the *Raleigh Register*.

⁴⁹ *Raleigh Register*, August 4, 1852.

⁵⁰ *North Carolina Standard*, July 28, 1852.

victory by a vote of 48,567 to 43,003 delighted Democrats and perplexed Whigs not only in North Carolina but elsewhere as well.⁵¹ North Carolina Democrats insisted that Pierce's popularity had contributed to Reid's victory, while the Whigs argued that state rather than national issues had caused Kerr's defeat. Undoubtedly the national campaign played a subordinate role in the gubernatorial outcome, but despite Whig expressions of confidence and renewed dedication, the sharp defeat dealt the party's national aspirations yet another blow. The Whig mood could not have been improved by the *Wilmington Commercial's* assertion that Kerr's defeat was attributable to Scott's nomination.⁵²

The North Carolina Whigs had to contend not only with the Democrats but also with worsening conditions within their own party leadership. Whig Congressman James Caldwell clearly intended to boycott the campaign;⁵³ Representative David Outlaw's position was uncertain, but he seemed decidedly unenthusiastic about the presidential nominee;⁵⁴ Thomas Clingman was firmly exerting himself against his own Whig party;⁵⁵ the *Asheville News*, publicly reflecting Clingman's unofficial defection, announced in early July that it would support the Democratic rather than the Whig ticket;⁵⁶ and in August Thomas Loring, who praised the *News's* decision to support Pierce but who was committed to the formation of an independent party, joined with a number of other eastern Whigs to establish a National Republican party.⁵⁷ Because President Fillmore had previously dissociated himself from all third party movements, the National Republicans raised the standard of Webster and Graham. Although Graham quickly

⁵¹ *North Carolina Standard*, August 18, 21, 25, 1852; *Carolina Watchman*, August 26, 1852; Edward Stanly to William Alexander Graham, August 17, 1852, Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

⁵² *Commercial*, August 14, 1852.

⁵³ David Lowry Swain to William Alexander Graham, July 6, 1852, and T. M. Blount to William Alexander Graham, August 16, 1852, Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection; Asa Biggs to David Settle Reid, August 23, 1852, David Settle Reid Papers, State Archives; William Alexander Graham to Samuel F. Patterson, August 25, 1852, Lindsay Patterson Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Patterson Papers.

⁵⁴ T. M. Blount to William Alexander Graham, August 16, 1852, Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection; William Alexander Graham to Samuel F. Patterson, August 25, 1852, Patterson Papers; Valentine Diaries, July 15, 1852.

⁵⁵ See the following letters to William Alexander Graham in Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection: David Lowry Swain to Graham, July 6, 1852; James W. Osbourne to Graham, July 23, 1852; William W. Morrison to Graham, August 3, 1852; Edward Stanly to Graham, August 17, 1852. Clingman encouraged the *Asheville News* to abandon the Whig ticket, he encouraged his friends in the First District to oppose Scott, and he circulated pamphlets which described Whig dissatisfaction in other southern states.

⁵⁶ *Commercial*, July 19, 1852, quoting the *Asheville News*.

⁵⁷ *Commercial*, August 10, 1852.

asked that his name be withdrawn,⁵⁸ it continued for several weeks thereafter to appear on the National Republican ticket printed in the *Commercial*. The founding of the independent ticket elicited considerable criticism among party regulars, but Whig editors generally used moderation and sweet reason in an effort to bring vacillating and alienated Whigs into line. Actually, Loring's activities worried Whig leaders far less than did those of Clingman, for the latter's First District was a traditional Whig stronghold and was, in the opinion of many persons, the key to the election.⁵⁹ In early October, Whig fears were realized when Clingman, stressing Scott's antislavery associations, formally divorced himself from the party and announced himself in favor of the Democratic ticket.⁶⁰ Whig newspapers accused Clingman of trying to seek a United States senatorship through the Democratic party.⁶¹ Whigs contemptuously read Clingman out of the party which he had already abandoned because, he contended, it no longer sufficiently protected southern rights and interests.

Faced with overt defection, the Whig organization worked all the more feverishly to rally the party behind the national ticket. Whig editors stressed the party's platform and Scott's acceptance of it; Whig political rallies, outnumbering those of the Democrats, expressed confidence in the party's nominee; and Whig speakers took to the stump for Scott in generous numbers. In early August the North Carolina Whigs were encouraged by the arrival of William Alexander Graham, who had resigned as Secretary of the Navy subsequent to his nomination at the Whig national convention. Although Graham, in accordance with political custom, did not publicly campaign, he did correspond privately with Whig leaders, and his presence at Hillsborough lent prestige to his party's efforts. After Congress adjourned at the end of August, several other prominent Whigs returned to the state. Among the arrivals was Senator Willie Mangum, who, upon encountering lingering resentment, limited himself to modest campaigning for Scott in the Raleigh area.⁶² After several weeks in New

⁵⁸ See Graham's letter dated August 24, 1852, in the *Commercial*, August 31, 1852, and also in the *Raleigh Register*, September 1, 1852.

⁵⁹ William Alexander Graham to Samuel F. Patterson, August 25, 1852, Patterson Papers; James W. Osbourne to William Alexander Graham, July 23, 1852, and Samuel F. Patterson to William Alexander Graham, September 2, 1852, Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection; Nicholas W. Woodfin to David Lowry Swain, August 17, 1852, Walter Clark Papers, State Archives; W. T. Alston to Willie Person Mangum, September 21, 1852, Shanks, *Papers of Mangum*, V, 240-241.

⁶⁰ See Clingman's public letter in the *North Carolina Standard*, October 8, 1852.

⁶¹ After joining the Democratic party in 1852 Clingman did serve as a United States senator from North Carolina.

⁶² For Mangum's reception and activities in North Carolina, see the following in Shanks, *Life of Mangum*, V: W. T. Alston to Willie Person Mangum, September 21,

York, Edward Stanly campaigned effectively for Scott in North Carolina. Whig Senator Edmund Badger, whose attitude toward Scott had been a matter of continuous conjecture, made clear in September that he supported the party's nominees.⁶³ Although a physical malady limited Badger's campaigning,⁶⁴ his endorsement of the Whig ticket deprived the Democrats of campaign fodder and bolstered Whig morale. Another victory for party unity came in late September when Representative David Outlaw formally endorsed Scott and, shortly thereafter, embarked upon a series of speeches which stressed the General's acceptance of the Whig platform.⁶⁵ If Outlaw's commitment constituted a triumph for party discipline, so did the collapse of the National Republican movement. At a poorly attended meeting on October 1, Graham's name was replaced by that of Charles Jenkins of Georgia, a man whose presence on the ticket hardly enhanced the party's bleak prospects. On October 11 the organization disbanded itself for want of interest or support.⁶⁶ Thomas Loring attributed his participation in the movement to pressure from other dissatisfied Whigs; thereafter the *Commercial* abstained from the campaign.

Political apathy had permeated not only the thin ranks of the National Republicans but also had thoroughly invaded the camps of both major parties. Whig leaders privately acknowledged that the masses were unenthusiastic toward Scott and the whole matter of the election. The Democrats encountered stubborn indifference which stemmed in part from overconfidence and in part from the fact that Franklin Pierce generated no excitement among North Carolinians. Democratic newspapers continued to proclaim and exaggerate his virtues and to defend him from attack speakers extolled his qualifications; rallies adopted resolutions which praised his attributes. Beneath the sound and fury, however, lay political lethargy which was as easy to understand as it was to detect. The campaign had, in fact, become threadbare long before election day. By the end of August the issues—

1852, 240-241; Seaton Gales to Willie Person Mangum, September 23, 1852, 242; Martha Person Mangum to Mary S. Mangum, September 29, 1852, 244; E. F. Lilly to Edward J. Hale, September 22, 1852, 241-242. See also the *Hillsborough Recorder*, September 22, 1852.

⁶³ See Badger's public letter dated September 21, 1852, in *Raleigh Register*, September 25, 1852. Badger's biographer states that "in all probability" Badger's endorsement of Scott was "nothing more than campaign talk." Lawrence Foushee London, "The Public Career of George Edmund Badger" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1936), 190, hereinafter cited as London, "Career of Badger."

⁶⁴ London, who does not mention Badger's physical debility, states that Badger's failure to campaign actively "may indicate his lack of enthusiasm for Scott." London, "Career of Badger," 190.

⁶⁵ *Raleigh Register*, October 6, 1852.

⁶⁶ *Commercial*, October 14, 1852.

of lack of them—and the personalities were well known, the accusations had all been leveled, and the rebuttals had all been made. The empty, repetitious rhetoric of the newspapers clearly revealed the shortage of meaningful campaign material, a shortage which even further encouraged invective and abuse. The *Wilmington Commercial* noted wryly that a foreigner would think the parties had nominated “the greatest scamps in the country.”⁶⁷ Making the same observation and undoubtedly reflecting the views of many men of both parties, one Whig wrote that “quiet, fraternal men” would be relieved when the campaign of slander had ended.⁶⁸

The campaign did indeed come wearily to an end on November 2, when the Democratic ticket narrowly carried North Carolina by the vote of 39,744 to 39,058.⁶⁹ Taken by themselves, these figures would seem to indicate that the Whigs, in view of their difficulties, did well for Winfield Scott. A comparison of the returns with those of two previous elections, however, establishes that the Whigs abandoned Scott in significant numbers and that the election’s closeness resulted from Democratic overconfidence and from indifference toward Franklin Pierce. The Whig party’s misgivings about its 1852 presidential nominee are clearly revealed by the fact that North Carolina had cast 43,715 votes for Whig presidential nominee Zachary Taylor in 1848 and by the fact that the Whig gubernatorial candidate had received 43,003 votes in August, 1852. Having been significantly greater in 1848 than it was in November, 1852, Whig strength had still been evident as late as the summer of 1852. The returns of the 1852 presidential election clearly mark a decline in the stature of the Whig party of North Carolina, a decline attributable in no small part to the unpopularity of Winfield Scott which Graham’s presence on the ticket could not overcome.

Democratic overconfidence and apathy are also revealed by a comparison of election statistics. Although the Democratic vote in the 1848 presidential election had been only 35,566—more than 4,000 votes below the 1852 presidential vote—the Democratic vote in the

⁶⁷ *Commercial*, September 7, 1852.

⁶⁸ Valentine Diaries, September 25, October 22, 1852.

⁶⁹ The vote has been compiled from the county returns given in the *North Carolina Standard*, November 17, 1852, and in R. D. W. Connor (comp. and ed.), *A Manual of North Carolina . . . , 1913* (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 1913), 985-986, hereinafter cited as *Manual*, 1913. It should be noted that while the county returns in the *Manual*, 1913, are correct, the total returns for the presidential elections of 1848 and 1852 and of the gubernatorial election of 1852 (997-998) are incorrectly added. Those arithmetical errors have caused Scott to be listed in the *Manual*, 1913, as the winner in North Carolina in 1852. Using these incorrect totals, Hamilton, *Party Politics*, 150, has been misled to state that Scott carried North Carolina.

gubernatorial election of 1852 was 48,567, almost 9,000 more votes than the state cast for Franklin Pierce three months later. While state issues would influence the gubernatorial returns,⁷⁰ the sudden, dramatic decrease in Democratic strength between August and November must be largely attributed to indifference toward Pierce and to the Democratic conviction that Scott would not carry North Carolina. The small vote for Pierce would suggest also that most anti-Scott Whigs preferred to boycott the campaign rather than to vote for the Democratic ticket.

An examination of the 1852 presidential returns reveals also that the defection of Thomas Lanier Clingman was indeed a decisive political event. The First District cast 1,825 fewer votes for Scott than for Taylor, a decrease more than three times that of any other district; the First District's vote for Scott was 2,422 below the District's 1852 Whig gubernatorial vote, a decline almost five times that of any other district. The defection of Clingman (and of other North Carolina Whigs) illustrates southern gravitation away from the Whig party, a gravitation accelerated by the nomination of Winfield Scott.

The plight of the Whig party was indeed a national phenomenon. By dissociating the party from the antislavery movement, the Whig national convention of 1852 had preserved the party's national character, but that achievement quickly turned to ashes. Divided seriously over the slavery issue, the northern wing faced a powerful, largely united Democratic opposition; divided over Scott's acceptability despite his endorsement of the Whig platform and ever conscious of the strong antislavery element among northern Whigs, southern Whigs were in an increasingly untenable political position. Confronted with these difficulties, the Whig party was able to carry only Vermont, Massachusetts, Kentucky, and Tennessee for Winfield Scott. As part of the general collapse, the Whig party of North Carolina went into a decline from which it did not recover. Although neither the state nor the national party completely disappeared for another several years, Winfield Scott was the last Whig presidential nominee. By 1856 the agitation of the slavery issue had restructured the political spectrum in such a way as to preclude the existence of two viable national parties. The demise of the Whig party as a national organization preceded by only several years the fragmentation of the Democratic party, and the disappearance of national parties was a prelude to civil war.

⁷⁰ The Democratic party advocated that the possession of fifty acres of land be eliminated as a qualification for voting for members of the state Senate. David Settle Reid had won the gubernatorial election of 1850 as a champion of free suffrage and in August, 1852, he was, as indicated in the text, reelected.

“RUSSELLBOROUGH”: TWO ROYAL GOVERNORS’ MANSION AT BRUNSWICK TOWN

BY STANLEY A. SOUTH*

Early in September, 1748, Spanish ships sailed twelve miles into the Cape Fear River and attacked the little town of Brunswick, taking possession of all of the vessels in the harbor and plundering the town for three days before being driven away by townspeople under the leadership of William Dry. During the rout of the invaders from the town, the Spanish ship “Fortuna” blew up and sank in the harbor, killing Captain Vincent Lopez, all of his officers, and most of the crew.¹

By 1751, probably as a result of that dramatic incident at Port Brunswick, His Majesty’s Sloop “Scorpion” was stationed there under the command of Captain John Russell. On October 31 of that year William Moore of Orton Plantation sold to Captain Russell fifty-five acres of land adjoining the northern boundary of Brunswick Town for one pound per acre.² It was on this land that Russell began to build his home. Russell died in December, 1752, however, and by an instrument dated April 16, 1753, his widow acknowledged a bonded indebtedness of £700 proclamation money to Richard Quince, a prominent Brunswick Town merchant, and appointed Quince as her attorney to dispose of “a certain plantation or Tract of fifty-five acres of Land situate near Brunswick in New Hanover County whereon a new house is lately erected and not as yet finished,” along with the Negro slaves and other goods and chattels “at the highest price he . . . can get for same.”³ By November 18, 1754, when William Moore made his last will and testament, the property was once again in his possession and

* Mr. South is archaeologist with the State Department of Archives and History. This paper was read at the seventh annual Conference on Historic Site Archaeology held at Avery Island, Louisiana, November 3, 1966.

¹ *South Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), October 31, 1748.

² New Hanover County Registry Records, New Hanover County Courthouse, Wilmington, Book C, 302, hereinafter cited as New Hanover Records. A microfilm copy of these records is on file in the State Archives, Raleigh.

³ New Hanover Records, Book D, 79-80. In this instrument, which was executed by Alice Russell, “widow and relict” of the late John Russell, on April 16, 1753, it is stated that Russell’s will was published on “the thirteenth day of December last past,” which would indicate that he had died a few days earlier.

he directed that it be sold as soon as convenient. It was then known as "Russellborough,"⁴ though being just the shell of a house,⁵ it was not likely to have ever been occupied by Russell.

During those years there was no fixed seat of government in the colony, the records and assemblymen moving from place to place as each town competed to become the center of political activity. The executors of William Moore's estate were interested in further development of Brunswick Town, not only as an official port of entry, but as the seat of government of North Carolina. With this in mind, they approached Royal Governor Arthur Dobbs, who was living in New Bern at the time, and offered him the fifty-five acres of "Russellborough" with its unfinished house for the sum of five shillings and one peppercorn, the latter to be delivered at the end of one year of residence on the property.⁶ The arrangement with the peppercorn was apparently an attempt on the part of the executors to retain some degree of control over the property for one year and in doing so to insure that Brunswick Town would be the seat of government for at least that period of time and, hopefully, longer.

Governor Dobbs was approached at an opportune time by the gentlemen from Brunswick. His health was bad, and he attributed that to the "aguish" climate of New Bern. He wished for a healthier climate. Dobbs was also concerned over the high rent he was paying, so the offer of fifty-five acres plus the shell of a fine house at Brunswick looked good to him; consequently, he moved to "Russellborough" in 1758.⁷ Although New Bern and Brunswick were both coastal towns, equally subject to fevers and "ague," Dobbs felt that the move helped his health. And indeed it must have, for in 1762 when he was seventy-

⁴ In his will, William Moore mentioned "my house Russellborough," and he named as his executors his wife, Mary Davis Moore, her father, John Davis, Sr., and George Moore. New Hanover Records, Book D, 134-135. In a deed to Arthur Dobbs executed March 1, 1762, the executors of Moore's estate also made reference to "Russellborough." New Hanover Records, Book D, 326-327.

⁵ In a report to the Board of Trade, August 3, 1760, Governor Dobbs said: "It is also notoriously evident that the unhealthy situation of the Town of Newbern deprives it of the least claim to such an advantage, as appears by the unanimous vote of the Assembly now upon their Journals, to wit, that the Town of Newbern upon account of its being an unhealthy situation was improper for the seat of Government. Besides this unanswerable objection I myself was under a necessity of leaving it, for exclusive of the want of every necessary convenience, I was apprehended to be dying upon account of the unhealthiness of the place and as the shell of a very good house situate on a healthy soil near Brunswick on Cape Fear River was offered me I removed thither where under God my health is re-established." William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1890), VI, 300, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Colonial Records*.

⁶ New Hanover Records, Book D, 326-329.

⁷ Desmond Clarke, *Arthur Dobbs, Esquire* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957), 152, hereinafter referred to as Clarke, *Dobbs*.

three years old, he married Justina Davis, a fifteen-year-old Brunswick maiden.⁸

With the move of Dobbs to "Russellborough," the building was completed and several outbuildings were added. This house was to be the residence of two royal governors for the next twelve years, which created a great increase in the political activity for the little town of Brunswick. During the years that Dobbs and his teen-age bride lived at Brunswick their residence was known as "Castle Dobbs," as was the Governor's ancestral home in Carrickfergus, Ireland.⁹

Just before embarking for England in March, 1765, Dobbs died, and "Castle Dobbs" devolved to his son, Edward Brice Dobbs, who sold it two years later to Royal Governor William Tryon for £300 sterling—a substantial increase over the five shillings and one peppercorn paid by Dobbs for the property.¹⁰

Tryon had already arranged to lease the governor's house, and within a month following Dobbs' death the new governor moved into "Castle Dobbs," later changing its name to "Bellfont."¹¹ During the first days of their occupancy the Governor and Mrs. Tryon concentrated on renovating the house that was to be their home for the next five years. Tryon wrote to a friend, telling of his new situation and giving a description of his home, the only such description of a Brunswick Town house known to exist:

As you are acquainted with M^{rs} Tryons Neatness you will not wonder that we have been pestered with scouring of Chambers White Washing of Cielings [*sic*], Plaisterers Work, and Painting the House inside and out. Such is the Sickness and indolence of the Workmen in this Hot Climate that I shall not I am persuaded get rid of these nuisances this month. This House which has so many assistances is of an oblong Square Built of Wood. It measures on the out Side Faces forty five feet by thirty five feet, and is Divided into two Stories, exclusive of the Cellars the Parlour Floor is about five feet above the Surface of the Earth. Each Story has four Rooms and three light Closets. The Parlour below & the drawing Room

⁸ Clarke, *Dobbs*, 186-187.

⁹ Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, Goldsboro, and Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 16 volumes and 4-volume index [compiled by Stephen B. Weeks for both *Colonial Records* and *State Records*], 1895-1914), XXII, 301.

¹⁰ New Hanover Records, Book E, 309.

¹¹ In a letter to the Earl of Halifax, October 15, 1764, Tryon said, "Among my lesser disappointments is the want of a house, as the Governor has declined letting me his villa till his departure. . . ." *Colonial Records*, VI, 1053. For the change of the name of the house to "Bellfont," see Lawrence Lee, *The Lower Cape Fear in Colonial Days* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), 189; also see Collet's "A Compleat Map of North-Carolina from an actual Survey," in William P. Cumming, *North Carolina in Maps* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1966), Plate VII. This map, which was made in 1770, bears the notation "Gov. H. Bellefont" outside Brunswick.

are 20 x 15 feet each; Ceilings low. There is a Piazza Runs Round the House both Stories of ten feet Wide with a Ballustrade of four feet high, which is a great Security for my little girl. There is a good Stable and Coach Houses and some other Out Houses. if I continue in this House, which will depend on Capt. Dobbs' Resolution in the manner he disposes of his Effects here, I shall & must build a good Kitchen, which I can do for forty Pounds Sterling of 30^l x 40^l—The garden has nothing to Boast of except Fruit Trees. Peaches, Nectr^s Figgs and Plumbs are in perfection and of good Sorts. I cut a Musk Melon this week which weighed 17½ Pounds. . . .¹²

In November, 1765, and again in 1766 the Lower Cape Fear area was the scene of violence as citizens arose in arms to protest the Stamp Act. Tryon's home was surrounded by five hundred "inhabitants in arms," as he called them, and he was placed under virtual house arrest. These incidents were among the first in which armed resistance was used against the officers of the King by American colonists.¹³

In April, 1769, C. J. Sauthier drew a detailed map of Brunswick Town showing "His Excellency Governor Tryon's House and Plantation." This map shows the main house at "Russellborough" and reveals that in 1769 there were eleven outbuildings associated with it. These buildings included the stable and coach houses mentioned by Tryon in his description and the kitchen he planned to build. The garden with walks and the position of individual trees are shown; to the south of the house a flag is flying on a flagpole. The map indicates that the low marsh area between the house and the river was extensively cut with canals to enable the growing of rice. Sauthier's map will continue to be a valuable aid in the interpretation of this site.¹⁴

In 1770 William Tryon moved into the controversial "Tryon's Palace" at New Bern,¹⁵ and in January, 1771, he sold his Brunswick Town house to William Dry for £600.¹⁶

William Dry, the port collector of customs for Brunswick, was a

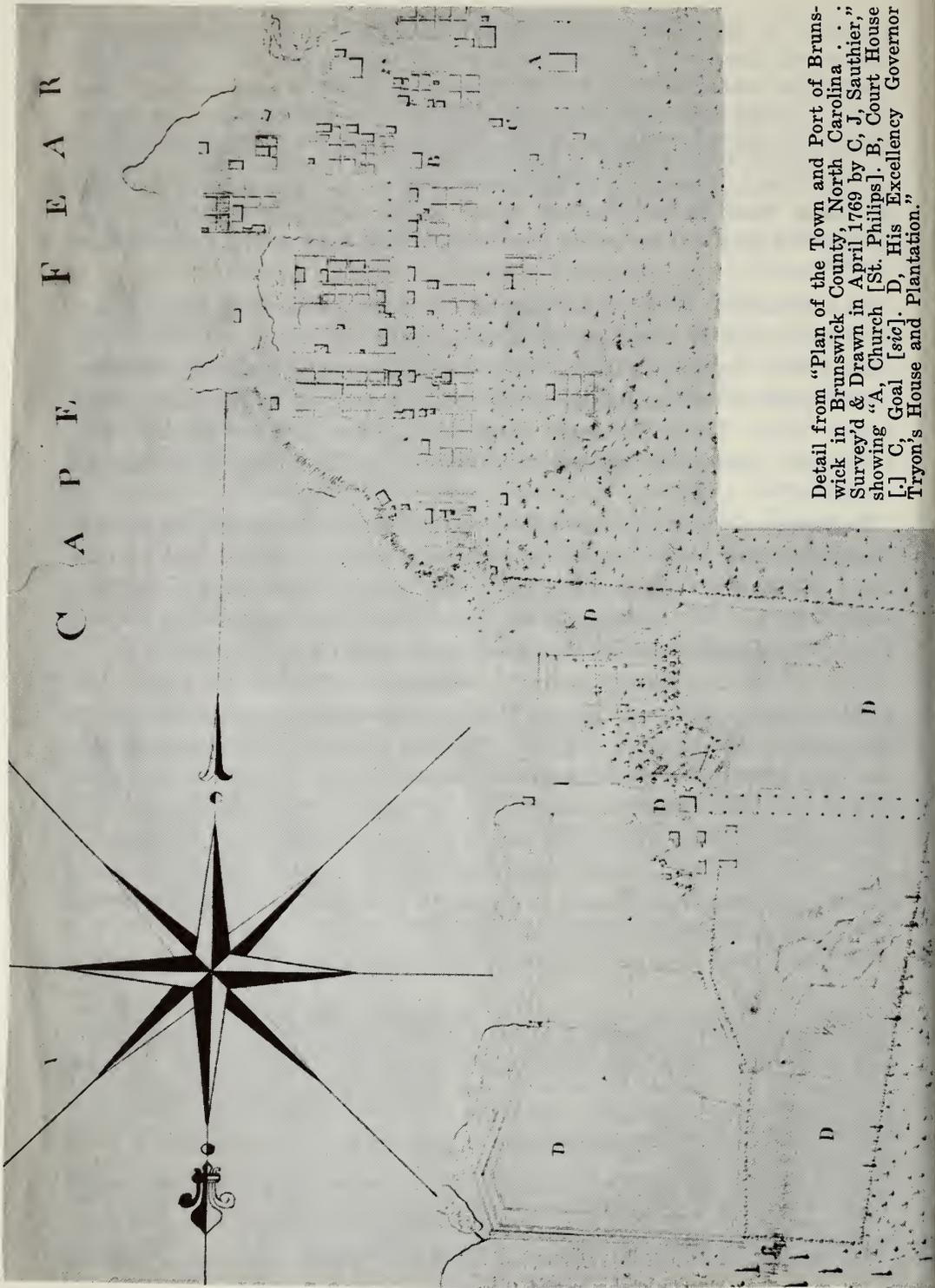
¹² Copy of a letter from Governor Tryon to Sewallis Shirley, July 26, 1765, in the Bruce Cotten Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, given to Brunswick Town State Historic Site by Miss Gertrude Carraway of New Bern. A published copy of this letter will be found in William S. Powell (ed.), "Tryon's 'Book' on North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXIV (July, 1957), 406-415. One of the Governor's house guests referred to the residence as "Castle Tryon." Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 161.

¹³ R. D. W. Connor, *Cornelius Harnett* (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton Printing Company, 1909), 35-36.

¹⁴ C. J. Sauthier, "Plan of the Town and Port of Brunswick, in Brunswick County, North Carolina, surveyed and drawn in April, 1769," copy on file in State Archives.

¹⁵ Alonzo Thomas Dill, *Governor Tryon and His Palace* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955), 117.

¹⁶ Brunswick County Registry Records, Brunswick County Courthouse, Southport, Book D, 85. A microfilm copy of these records is on file in the State Archives.



Detail from "Plan of the Town and Port of Brunswick in Brunswick County, North Carolina Survey'd & Drawn in April 1769 by C. J. Sauthier," showing "A, Church [St. Philips]. B, Court House [.] C, Goal [sic]. D, His Excellency Governor Tryon's House and Plantation."

man of some means.¹⁷ He continued to call the house "Bellfont"¹⁸ and entertained such men as Josiah Quincy, who said that Colonel Dry's mansion is justly called "the house of universal hospitality."¹⁹ Although Dry was employed in the King's business, his politics was such that one visitor, after listening to Dry's views, said: "He [Richard Quince] is deeply engaged in the new system of politicks, in which they are all more or less, tho' M^r Dry, the collector of customs, is the most zealous and talks treason by the hour."²⁰ His views eventually resulted in his being removed from his official duties for the King; thereafter he continued to devote his energies to the cause of the Revolution.²¹

On April 5, 1776, the *Virginia Gazette* reported:

Captain Collett has lately committed divers acts of piracy and robbery. Amongst others he set fire to the elegant house of Col. Dry . . . destroying therein all the valuable furniture, liquors, etc. . . .²²

With the burning of the house, its eighteen-year period of occupation was sealed in the earth and, fortunately, the site was never again occupied. This ruin, along with those of the town of Brunswick, was sold to the owner of Orton Plantation by the state of North Carolina in 1842²³ for \$4.25.

During the Civil War earthworks were built at Fort Anderson nearby, but the area of the ruin of "Russellborough" was not disturbed. By the late nineteenth century the fields to the west of the area of the ruins of "Russellborough" were known as the "old palace fields," but the site of the house had been lost in a dense jungle-like overgrowth. James Sprunt, owner of Orton Plantation and historian of the Cape Fear area, in the 1890's inquired of a Negro who had formerly been a slave as to the location of the home of Governor Dobbs or Governor Tryon. The old gentleman answered that he did not know of those

¹⁷ For a brief biographical sketch of William Dry, see Evangeline Walker Andrews (ed.), with the collaboration of Charles McLean Andrews, *Journal of a Lady of Quality; Being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the years 1774 to 1776*, by Janet Schaw (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1923), 314-315, hereinafter cited as Andrews, *Journal of a Lady of Quality*.

¹⁸ When Frederick J. Hill, the owner of Orton Plantation, acquired "Russellborough" in 1842, the grant from the Secretary of State cited the "Bell Font" line as one of the surveyor's calls. The grant was entered April 27, 1842, and recorded April 28, 1845, when Hill paid for the property. See Land Grant Records of North Carolina, Office of the Secretary of State, Raleigh, Land Grant Book 150, 303, File No. 1566, hereinafter cited as Land Grant Book.

¹⁹ Andrews, *Journal of a Lady of Quality*, 315.

²⁰ Andrews, *Journal of a Lady in Quality*, 145.

²¹ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 101.

²² *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), April 5, 1776.

²³ Land Grant Book 150, 303. See n. 18.

governors but that he did know the location of the ruin of the house of "governor palace," and the old slave took Sprunt to the site of "Russellborough."²⁴

Through the interest of Sprunt and the North Carolina Society of the Colonial Dames of America, the site of "Russellborough" was marked in 1909 by a monument faced with small yellow Dutch bricks dug from one of the cellar floors of the ruin. An access road was constructed to the monument across two corners of the ruin. A laborer involved in that work remembered seeing the mouth of a tunnel and he said that some of the workmen wanted to dig into it to look for treasure, but Sprunt ordered that the tunnel be covered. Sprunt explained that someday someone might want to uncover the ruin to learn about the governors who had once lived there—this admirable attitude of the historian undoubtedly saved "Russellborough" from damage. Fifty years later the laborer predicted to the author that a brick tunnel would be found when the excavation was carried out at the site of "Russellborough."

When the excavation of "Russellborough" began in May, 1966, a number of pits dug by treasure and relic hunters could be seen, indicating that some disturbance of the context of the ruin could be expected. As excavation progressed, however, it became apparent that the holes seldom reached sufficient depth to disturb the cellar floors or the plaster layer covering them.

Removal of the brick and stone rubble from the area revealed a stone foundation wall two feet thick, measuring 36 by 44 feet with a central stone wall paralleling the long axis of the house. The two halves were bisected by a partition wall of yellow Dutch brick on one side and the charcoal remains of a wooden partition wall on the other. The partitions divided the ruin into four rooms. Ten feet from the central ruin and extending around it was a brick wall with engaged footings for columns, obviously the support for the "piaza" mentioned by Governor Tryon. With this porch foundation, the ruin measured 56 by 65 feet.

Excavation of the area between the porch wall and the foundation wall of the house yielded no artifacts of any kind, except along the north side where thousands of fragments of wine bottles revealed the apparent location of the wine storage area beneath this part of the porch. In the deposit were 158 bottle seals impressed with "W Dry

²⁴ James Sprunt, *Tales and Traditions of the Lower Cape Fear, 1661-1896* (Wilmington: LeGwin Brothers, Printers, 1896), 70, hereinafter cited as Sprunt, *Tales of the Lower Cape Fear*.

Cape Fear 1766," providing dramatic evidence for the report in the *Virginia Gazette* of April 5, 1776, which bemoaned the loss by fire of "the elegant house of Col. Dry . . . destroying therein all the valuable . . . liquors, etc. . . ." By weighing a whole bottle and dividing this figure into the weight of all the fragments recovered from the deposit, it was determined that at least three hundred bottles were stored in this area of the cellar when the house was burned.

The floor of the northeast room of the cellar was found eighteen inches below the surface of the ground and it was paved with yellow Dutch bricks placed on edge. Extending into the room three feet from the north wall were two brick arms sixteen feet apart, probably representing supports for a wooden framework for the storage of barrels lying on their sides. The arms of a central chimney extended into the room from the south wall, in front of which were found the fragments of a very large storage jar that had been sitting beside the fireplace when the burning house fell. This jar has been restored, revealing the letters "I F" in a relief seal on opposite sides of the vessel. Similar jars have been recovered in Williamsburg, are known in the West Indies, and it is assumed that they are Iberian in origin. Also found beside



The large storage jar pictured on the cover is shown above as it was discovered beside a fireplace at "Russellborough." The floor, which can be seen distinctly in the left foreground, is of yellow Dutch brick. Photograph supplied by the author.



Pictured above as they were found are broken medicine bottles, a whole porcelain teacup, two William Dry wine bottles, a pair of brass dividers, and straight razors. Photograph supplied by the author.

this fireplace was an amphora-shaped bottle, another rare type at Brunswick Town. The presence of a fireplace would indicate that this cellar room was once probably used as a servants' quarters, although at the time of the fire it was not likely used for that purpose.

The adjoining room to the south also had a Dutch brick floor over most of its area. Many of the artifacts recovered from this room were in the layer of plaster from the walls that covered the floor in a thick white deposit. The fragments of a marble mantelpiece were lying with a flintlock musket and bayonet on the hearth in front of the arms of the fireplace. The bricks which formed the back of the fireplace were laid in a herringbone pattern, providing a clue to the quality of workmanship that went into the construction of the house.

Lying on the floor where they had fallen were a mass of wine bottle fragments, indicating that wine was stored there also. Lying together were two William Dry bottles, a pair of brass dividers, broken

medicine bottles, one still containing medicine whose primary ingredient was lead, a whole porcelain teacup, and several straight razors. With these objects were cabinet hinges and door locks, indicating that they had been stored together in some type of enclosed cabinet. Nearby was a copper teakettle and the remains of four fire-damaged grindstones. This room, too, had apparently been designed originally as servants' quarters and may have been used as such at the time of the burning of the house.

The adjoining room to the west was floored with sand and also had two brick arms extending into the room, as did the northeast room, probably for the support of barrels of rum or wine placed on a wooden platform between the arms. Between the brick supports, the charcoal remains of what may have been a platform was found. In the northwest corner of the room a number of crucibles of varying sizes were unearthed. Each will nest inside the other to make a set. Crucibles of this type were used by silversmiths for melting metals, and just why William Dry would have so many of these little vessels stored in his home provides food for conjecture. Also found here was a flintlock pistol.

The fourth room was of particular interest because it was covered with a plaster floor whose surface was quite irregular. Several whole wine bottles were recovered there. Two feet from the north central part of a room a brick well was found, which proved to be five feet deep with a two-foot stand of water. Inside the well an iron ring slightly smaller than the well was discovered. Hooks were mounted around the ring at regular intervals—obviously this was a device for suspending objects inside the well for cooling. The presence of wine bottles at the bottom of the well might indicate that wine was one of the items being cooled there. In the corner of the room barrel bands of iron were found lying one inside the other, indicating that barrels were present there also. This room at one time was probably connected through an opening in the stone foundation wall to the wine storage area beneath the porch, but the opening was later sealed with small stones mixed with a mortar of clay instead of cement. This room probably served also as the dairy for "Russellborough."

As the northeast corner of the brick foundation for the porch support was being excavated, an arched row of bricks was seen forming part of the foundation wall. As more of the arch was revealed the mouth of a tunnel was seen. Immediately in front of the tunnel open-



The tunnel at "Russellborough" with objects lying in place. Photograph supplied by the author.

ing was an object made of tabby,²⁵ twenty inches square at one end with a round, tapering hole throughout its eighteen-inch length. Just what this object was used for is unknown, though its function may have been in connection with a water closet associated with the tunnel and the porch.

The area in front of the mouth of the tunnel had been disturbed to a depth of the bottom of the mouth of the tunnel and was filled with bricks and sections of the brick wall support for the porch. A fragment of modern red glass indicated that the mouth of the tunnel must have been exposed at sometime during the twentieth century but was recovered. This fact correlated with the information provided by the laborer, as reported earlier. The tunnel mouth was located directly beneath the access road to the 1909 monument. This fact indicated that in order to construct the road over the edge of the ruin, parts

²⁵ Tabby is a cement made of lime, sand or gravel, and oyster shells, which was commonly used for the construction of houses on the coast of South Carolina and Georgia during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

of the brick wall had to be leveled to make way for the road, which would account for the disturbance near the tunnel mouth.

As excavation of the tunnel was carried out, it was determined that the lower half was filled with quantities of artifacts such as wine glasses, plates, teacups, saucers, bottles, and an unbroken earthenware, olla-shaped jar. The tunnel proved to be thirty feet long, sloping downhill toward the river and resolving into an open brick-sided ditch at its opposite end. The floor of the tunnel was bricked and unmortared, whereas the arched overhead was constructed with lime-mortared bricks. Obviously this tunnel constituted some sort of drainage system from the cellar to the river, most likely a sewer.

Forty feet north of the ruin of "Russellborough" a stone foundation wall could be seen standing two feet above the surface of the ground. Excavation of this ruin revealed a foundation of a building 32 by 52 feet constructed of stone and brick with an ell on the south end. This building was shown on the 1769 Sauthier map of Brunswick Town and may represent the kitchen Governor Tryon said he planned to build sometime after 1765. Its interpretation as a kitchen is based on the fact that a foundation for a bake oven was found attached to a seven-foot wide fireplace. An interesting feature of this fireplace was a bricked storage box at the left side which contained soot and ashes, apparently having fallen to the ground from the level of the hearth itself, some distance above the excavation level. The function of this separate "soot box" is not known. The kitchen was divided into three rooms, the central room having a small hearth, likely for supplying heat for the servants, whose quarters were probably located there. The northernmost room, with a brick foundation was perhaps a storage room for supplies for the kitchen. A small section of Dutch brick flooring was found in the "servants' quarters" room of this building.

Few artifacts were found in the area of the ruin itself, but directly to the east, on the downhill slope of the bank, a round pit outline was seen when the topsoil was removed from the area. This pit was only three feet across and one foot deep, but it contained an incredible amount of broken dishes and bottles. Fragments of broken china were so tightly packed into the pit that sand had not been able to sift in, leaving hollow spaces between the fragments. A total of 2,320 fragments of china were recovered, from which over 40 ceramic vessels were completely restored, including teacups, saucers, sauceboats, chamber pots, bowls, plates, platters, pitchers, and jugs. Besides this unusual collection of objects there were two William Dry bottle seals,

nine Pymont water bottle seals,²⁶ and 163 pounds of bottle fragments. Using a whole bottle weight of one and one-half pounds, the total number of bottles in this pit would be 108. This compared favorably with the count of 103 bottle necks and 112 bottle bases determined from fragments of these parts counted.

Of the ceramic types recovered from the pit 59 percent were of white salt-glazed stoneware, 20 percent were of creamware, and 7 percent were of Oriental porcelain. A surprising fact is that there were no fragments of mottled-glaze creamware present, as one might have expected from a pit of this date. From the presence of the 1766 bottle seals and the historic proof that the site was sealed in 1776, it is known that this group of artifacts dates during the ten-year period from 1766 to 1776. The fact that the objects were closely packed into the pit in a solid mass of fragments would tend to indicate that this deposit was the result of disposal of a mass breakage of china and bottles which occurred at one moment in time during the occupation of the site. One restored teacup was of blue transfer-printed ware with the "C" mark of the Worcester pottery, the earliest transfer-printed ware yet found at Brunswick Town.

The contents of this pit, along with the artifacts recovered from the tunnel and the ruin of the house and kitchen at "Russellborough," are still being cataloged, processed, and restored. The continuing interpretation of this excavation should prove of considerable value to archaeologists and historians interested in the most significant ruin yet revealed at Brunswick Town.

With completion of the excavation at "Russellborough," the 1896 prediction of James Sprunt has been realized. At that time he said, "A careful excavation of this ruin would doubtless reveal some interesting and possibly valuable relics of Governor Tryon's household."²⁷ The continued interest of the Sprunt family made possible the establishment of Brunswick Town as a State Historic Site, leading to discoveries of inestimable historic worth, such as those at "Russellborough."

²⁶ In the eighteenth century mineral waters from the spa at Pymont (Piermont), the capital of Waldeck, Germany, were popular in England, and bottles carrying this water have been found in Virginia as well as in this pit at "Russellborough." Ivor Noël Hume, "The Glass Wine Bottle in Colonial Virginia," *Journal of Glass Studies* (Corning, N.Y.: Corning Museum of Glass, 1961), Volume III, 109.

²⁷ Sprunt, *Tales of the Lower Cape Fear*, 71.

HENRY PATTILLO IN NORTH CAROLINA

BY DURWARD T. STOKES*

Henry Pattillo was an outstanding minister of the Presbyterian church in North Carolina during the latter half of the eighteenth century. "Father Pattillo,"¹ as he came to be reverently known throughout the Carolina Piedmont, was not only a pioneer leader in the church but a teacher of unusual ability, as well as a very influential participant in the political activities that attended the transition of North Carolina from an English colony into an American state. Extant knowledge of his personal life is meager, but a considerable amount of material exists which has testified to the results of his career. As was customary with many men of letters in that day, Pattillo kept a journal, fragments of which have been preserved, and it was from that manuscript that most of the facts about his youth have been gleaned.²

Pattillo did not begin the writing of his journal until he was twenty-eight years of age and was immersed in his ministerial career. He was cryptic about his boyhood and apparently dismissed that period of his life as relatively unimportant. The writer did record enough facts to be combined with statements of his contemporaries to give an outline of his life, however. He was a native of Scotland, born in the village of Balermic near the city of Dundee in the year 1726. His father was George Pattillo, a connection of the Argyll family, and his mother's name was Jane. Henry had two brothers, George and William, and several sisters, but there is no record known of their names.³ The original name of the family in Scotland was Pattulock, which was

* Mr. Stokes is assistant professor of history at Elon College, Elon College.

¹ James R. Rogers, *The Cane Ridge Meeting-House* (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Company [Second Edition], 1910), containing a reprint of *A Short History of the Life of Barton W. Stone, written by Himself, Designed Principally for His Children and Christian Friends*, 128.

² Journal of Henry Pattillo. The fragments of this journal are among the Pattillo Papers in the library of the Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia. These papers contain Pattillo's will, two letters to his wife, several notebooks, sermons, and other manuscripts. All reference to this material will be hereinafter cited as Pattillo Papers.

³ Mrs. James Logan Jones, *The Pattillo Family* (Macon, Georgia: Privately printed by J. W. Burke Company, ca. 1936), 123-124; see also Pattillo Papers. An entry in Pattillo's Journal refers to the birth of one of his children: "Being doubtful of the Life of the little infant, I had it offered to God in my Sickness, by receiving the Seal of Baptism and in Memory of my aged Mother named it Jane."

spelled in a number of ways, ranging from Pattillo to Petilly.⁴ In his own words, he was a child of "Religious Parents, educated with Care and Tenderness *above many mine Equals*; and that in the Middle of Scotland," and his rearing was further described as "of pious parents, who were well situated in the point of religious privileges."⁵ The parents were sufficiently prosperous to educate their children, but nothing more is known about them. For reasons never stated, Henry Pattillo left Scotland in the company of his brother, George, and came to America in about 1740.⁶

The brothers settled in the colony of Virginia, possibly because they had relatives living there. In 1728 a James Pattillo was made inspector of tobacco in Prince George County, Virginia. His children were James, Ann, and Henry.⁷ That family may have been instrumental in the decision made by the two young Scotsmen to come to America in search of a new life. They may also have been helpful to the young Henry, who found employment in a mercantile establishment. His work was "to learn the duties of the counting-house," but the youth soon became disappointed with his occupation and felt "in his absence from religious instructions and restraints[,] the overcoming power of temptation, which for a time prevailed over his early instructions and pious resolutions."⁸

During that period of his life, the young man believed that he would be better satisfied in another type of work, so he began teaching school. While engaged in that capacity, Pattillo continued to wrestle with his own inner convictions. He described his thoughts in his *Journal*:

Here, by what means I cannot tell, it being so gradual, I got such astonishing views of the method of salvation, and of the glorious Mediator; such sweetness in the duties of religion; such a love to the ways of God; such an entire resignation to and acquiescence in the divine will; such a sincere desire to see men religious, and endeavor to make those so with whom I conversed, that after all my base ingratitude, dreadful back-

⁴ Henry Pattillo, *A Geographical Catechism*, edited by N. W. Walker and M. C. S. Noble (Chapel Hill: University Press [*University Reprints Number One*], 1909), unnumbered first page of the Preface, hereinafter cited as Pattillo, *Catechism*. The original manuscript is in the Pattillo Papers.

⁵ Pattillo Papers.

⁶ William Henry Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina, Historical and Biographical* (New York: Robert Carter, 1846), 214, hereinafter cited as Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina*.

⁷ Worth S. Ray, *The Mecklenburg Signers and Their Neighbors* (Austin, Texas: Privately printed, 1946), 430-431. Ray's conclusion that Henry Pattillo, the teacher, and the Henry Pattillo who was a son of James Pattillo were the same does not agree with Pattillo's *Journal*; however, the fact that a family by the name of Pattillo lived in Virginia at the time is acceptable.

⁸ Pattillo Papers; see also Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina*, 214.

sliding, broken vows, frequent commissions of sin, loss of fervor, and frequently lifeless duties since that time, I must, to the eternal praise of boundless free grace, esteem it a work of the Holy Spirit, and the finger of God.⁹

Pattillo continued to devote much thought to the mission of Christianity in the world and its relationship to his own life. He made it a point to pray several times each day and said, "I used, when alone, to speak out in meditation, and do esteem it an excellent medium to fix the heart on the work."¹⁰ He discussed the value of Christian living with individuals whenever he had an opportunity and constantly felt himself propelled by an ever increasing desire to enter the ministry. He explained his feelings in his diary:

. . . I can boast of but little success in these endeavors, yet my feeble attempts produced in me an indescribable desire of declaring the same to all mankind to whom I had access; and as I could not do this in a private station, I was powerfully influenced to apply to learning in order to be qualified to do it publicly.¹¹

Thus in the year 1750 Pattillo made his final decision and began planning to obtain the higher education he felt was necessary to complete his ministerial training. Just at that time he became acquainted with the Reverend John Thompson, a minister who had been sent by the Synod of Philadelphia to visit the Presbyterian churches in North Carolina and Virginia. After discussing his plans with that clergyman, Pattillo was convinced that he should go to Pennsylvania to complete his theological studies and he actually began the journey to the North. He had traveled for only a few hours, however, before he became the victim of a severe attack of pleurisy. Illness kept him in Virginia until the next year and completely disrupted his plans to go to Pennsylvania.

While convalescing, Pattillo was invited by the venerable Samuel Davies to reside at his home and continue his studies there. This was a fortunate arrangement for the student, as Davies was a well-educated and able man and, among the Presbyterians in the colony, "first upon the list of worthies."¹² He was so convinced of the need for a religious revival that he was engaged in the same year he met Henry Pattillo in sponsoring an attempt to persuade the renowned

⁹ Pattillo Papers; see also Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina*, 214-215.

¹⁰ Pattillo Papers; see also Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina*, 215.

¹¹ Pattillo Papers.

¹² William Henry Foote, *Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company [Second Series], 1855), 40, hereinafter cited as Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*.

Jonathan Edwards to come to Virginia on an evangelistic mission.¹³ Because of the lack of schools in the South as well as the difficulty for students to attend colleges in the North, the ministerial educator opened his home to young men in order that a number of them could live there and study with him. Pattillo was fortunate to be one of that number, and he continued his residence and training in the Davies home for seven years.

The Synod of New York commissioned Davies and Gilbert Tennent in 1753 to make a trip to England in search of funds to promote the College of New Jersey, forerunner of Princeton University. During Davies' absence, Pattillo fell in love with Mary Anderson and wished to marry her, even if his plans to complete his education at the College of New Jersey would consequently have to be abandoned. Davies wrote from England to suggest that the marriage be delayed until Henry completed his education. Nevertheless, the wedding took place in 1755. His wife had some resources of her own on which the couple lived, and Henry supplemented the family income by the earnings from his teaching in Hanover. The young pair did not live luxuriously, for Pattillo described their residence as "a house 16 by 12 and an outside chimney, with an 8 feet shed—a little chimney to it."¹⁴ On June 13, 1757, the house was struck by lightning. None of the occupants was injured although at the time, in addition to Henry, his wife, and young child, within the small building were his wife's sister, six students, and a Negro boy.¹⁵ The young father was happy in his new circumstances, however modest, and his relationship with Davies continued on a friendly basis, even though he had disregarded his mentor's advice. After Davies returned from England, Pattillo studied with his teacher until 1758.

In 1755 the Synod of New York established the Presbytery of Hanover, which included Virginia and North Carolina within its territorial bounds. This move was due in no small part to the efforts of Davies, who was properly called "the father of Hanover Presbytery."¹⁶ On September 29, 1758, the Presbyterian church court met at Cub Creek, in Lunenburg County, Virginia, and Henry Pattillo was licensed as a minister. That was a happy day for the man who had waited long and studied hard in preparation for the occasion. His certificate was signed by his benefactor, Samuel Davies, as moderator of the presby-

¹³ Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*, 41-42.

¹⁴ Pattillo Papers.

¹⁵ Pattillo Papers.

¹⁶ Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*, 40

tery, which made it even more precious to Pattillo, and it read, he "having declared his assent to, and approbation of, the Westminster Confession of Faith and Directory, as they have been adopted by the Synod of New York, agreeably to the practice of the Church of Scotland,"¹⁷ was duly licensed.

There were a number of preliminary stages through which the candidate had to pass before he received his certificate. The presbytery met at Hanover on April 27, 1757, and Pattillo's name appeared for the first time in the records of that body. The entry in the minutes read:

The Presbytery Appoint mr. Pattillo as pieces of Trial to be delivered at our next in June, a Sermon on Acts 10. 43 first Part. *To him gave all the Prophets Wittness*; and an Exegesis on that Question, Num Pena Inferorum sit deina?¹⁸

Pattillo complied with his instructions, and when the presbytery met at the same place, June 8, 1757, the minutes read, "Mr. Pattillo delivered a Discourse upon Acts X. 43 according to Appointment."¹⁹ The presbytery adjourned until the next day, at which time the following entry was made in the record:

They [the presbyters] also considered mr. Pattillo's Discourse, and approve it as a satisfactory Part of Trial.

He likewise delivered an Exegesis from the Question Appointed, which was approved.

The Presbytery having examined him at their last meeting as to his religious Experiences to their Satisfaction, proceeded to examine him extempore as to his Knowledge in Logic, and the Latin, Greek and Hebrew Languages; in which he gave such Specimens as were generally satisfactory.

The Presbytery appoint him to compose a Sermon on Mark 16. 16, and appoint messieurs Todd, and Wright and Davies a Committee to hear it, and make farther Trials of him; to meet at Providence the third Wednesday of July. Concluded with Prayer.²⁰

The instructions of the presbytery were carried out, and on July 20, 1757, the committee and Pattillo met at Providence. The following minutes were recorded of the meeting:

The Committee met according to Appointment, ubi post Preces sederunt,

¹⁷ Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina*, 215-216; see also William M. E. Rachal (ed.), "Early Minutes of Hanover Presbytery," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 63 (January, 1955), 69, hereinafter cited as Rachal, "Hanover Minutes." The original minutes, which are in the library of the Union Theological Seminary, read: ". . . declared his Assent to, and Approbation of the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms and Directory, as they have been adopted by the synod of New-york. . . ."

¹⁸ Rachal, "Hanover Minutes," 66.

¹⁹ Rachal, "Hanover Minutes," 67.

²⁰ Rachal, "Hanover Minutes," 67.

messieurs Todd, Wright, and Davies. mr. Wright chosen moderator mr. Davies Clark [*sic*].

Mr. Pattillo opened the Committee with a Sermon on Mark 16. 16, according to Appointment.

The Committee, upon a thorough Consideration of Said Sermon, unanimously approve of it, as a satisfactory Part of Trial. The Committee proceeded to examine mr. Pattillo upon Ontology, Pneumatics, Ethics, Rhetoric, natural Philosophy, Geography and Astronomy; in all which he discovered a very satisfactory Degree of Knowledge. And they appoint him to prepare a Lecture on Daniel VII, 19-27, and a Sermon on the 27th verse of said Chapter.²¹

Pattillo carried out his instructions to the letter, and fulfilled the requirements of the committee before the presbytery when it met at Cub Creek, September 28, 1757.²² In spite of its thoroughness up to that point, however, the examination was not finished. The record continued:

The Presbytery farther examined mr. Pattillo in sundry Questions in Divinity, examined and sustained his Lecture and Sermon, and re-heard his religious Experiences: and upon a review of the sundry Trials he has passed through they judge him qualified to preach the gospel. . . . And appoint the moderator to give him some Solemn Instructions and Admonitions with respect to the discharge of his office: which was done accordingly.²³

That was the occasion on which the presbytery directed the certificate to be prepared, but the candidate was not then ordained. In April, 1758, the Presbytery ordered:

Appointed that the next Presbytery meet at Captain Anderson's in Cumberland. The 2d Wednesday of July, and that mr. Pattillo open the Presbytery with a Sermon on Isaiah LV-1, and that he deliver an Exegesis on this Question, *Num, et quo sensu, quartum Praeceptum Decalogi sit morale?* both as Parts of Trial for Ordination.²⁴

The presbytery decided at the same meeting that if Pattillo complied favorably with his instructions he should be "ordained to the holy ministry the Day following."²⁵ That event took place as scheduled in September, 1758.²⁶

²¹ Rachal, "Hanover Minutes," 68.

²² Rachal, "Hanover Minutes," 68.

²³ Rachal, "Hanover Minutes," 68-69.

²⁴ Rachal, "Hanover Minutes," 74.

²⁵ Rachal, "Hanover Minutes," 75.

²⁶ Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina*, 215. This account is confusing because Foote quoted the 1758 date as the time of licensure instead of the ordination. The licensure took place in 1757. Licensure and ordination were two separate steps in the process of the approval of a minister by a presbytery. The Presbytery Minutes are accepted as correct in this case.

The requirements with which Henry Pattillo had to comply in order to become an ordained minister have been quoted in detail in order to emphasize that it was not an easy matter to become an approved minister in the Presbyterian church in the eighteenth century.

Immediately after being licensed to preach in 1757, Pattillo was given the assignment of visiting churches which had no ministers and holding services for those congregations. Because of the rapidly growing population in North Carolina and Virginia caused by the heavy Scotch-Irish migration at the time, congregations were organizing much faster than ministers could be found to supply them. As the case of Pattillo showed, the education and training required of a Presbyterian minister was a lengthy affair, and there were few ministers in 1757 in the southern colonies. Therefore, many of them were given assignments to travel from church group to church group in order that a service could be held occasionally in each one. On his first tour Pattillo ministered in that fashion to the congregations at Meherrin, Nutbush, Hico, Eno, Chesterfield, the Byrd, Louisa, Amelia, at Halifax Courthouse, and in the Albemarle territory.²⁷ On his second, he visited Willis' Creek, the Byrd, Buck Island, Cove, Louisa, and Orange.²⁸

The Hico and Eno churches were established in North Carolina by 1758 and those churches petitioned the Presbytery "particularly, for mr. Pattillo,"²⁹ but at that time the minister accepted a call from the churches at Willis, the Byrd, and Buck Island. It was customary for one clergyman to minister to a group of churches located in the same general area, and that was the case with Pattillo's first charge. After a stay of four years with those congregations, he requested and was granted a release from the group, giving insufficient support as his reason. He did not make plain whether or not he meant financial support, but that seemed reasonable in view of the fact that he was always able to maintain cordial relations with the other congregations to which he ministered.³⁰

The second charge accepted by the preacher was the group composed of the Cumberland, Harris Creek, and Deep Creek churches in Virginia. He ministered in that area from 1763 until 1765. He then severed those connections to accept a call from Hawfields, Eno, and Little River in Orange County. Pattillo worked with that group for

²⁷ Rachal, "Hanover Minutes," 69.

²⁸ Rachal, "Hanover Minutes," 72.

²⁹ Rachal, "Hanover Minutes," 72.

³⁰ Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina*, 217.

nine years and during that period, by means of his energetic efforts, accomplished some of the most outstanding results of his entire ministry. He became so firmly intrenched in the hearts of the people that even after he left the Orange County churches he was persuaded to labor in the Piedmont section of North Carolina throughout the remainder of his life.³¹

When Pattillo came to the Hawfields group of churches, the Presbyterian church in Carolina was in its infancy as an organization. There were no more than three ministers of that denomination in the colony prior to his arrival. The churches which called Pattillo were in the center of the fast growing Presbyterian population. Under Pattillo's ministry and leadership they became vital factors in the development of the Presbyterian organization in North Carolina, and all three churches have continued their active work in the cause of Christianity until the present day.

Henry Pattillo was both a student and teacher all of his life. To him education was only secondary to preaching the Gospel. From his youth he supported himself either wholly or in part by teaching school. Indications are very strong that he continued to teach school during the earliest days of his ministry.³² At any rate, it was not long after his arrival in North Carolina that he began a school in his home. While never as renowned in the educational field as David Caldwell's Log College in adjacent Guilford County, the Pattillo school supplied the only educational facilities available for a number of young men. Some of these students, one of whom was Nathaniel Rochester,³³ used their education to advantage in making a name for themselves in the world. After Pattillo left the Orange churches, he operated a school in Granville County for six years before he accepted another call to a church. One of the pupils in the latter school was Charles Pettigrew, who became an educator in his own right.³⁴ At a later date William Blount, an important figure in both mercantile and political affairs in North Carolina, sent one of his sons to Pattillo's school.³⁵

Shortly after the arrival of Pattillo in North Carolina, two other

³¹ Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina*, 217.

³² Herbert Snipes Turner, *Church in the Old Fields* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), 55-56, hereinafter cited as Turner, *Church in the Old Fields*.

³³ Samuel A. Ashe and Others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina: From Colonial Times to the Present* (Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 8 volumes, 1905-1917), III, 341, hereinafter cited as Ashe, *Biographical History*.

³⁴ Ashe, *Biographical History*, III, 390.

³⁵ Henry Pattillo to Charles Pettigrew, December 13, 1788, Pettigrew Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Pattillo-Pettigrew letter.

Presbyterian ministers answered calls in the colony. While the relations with the Virginians were happy ones, the distance involved for the ministers to travel to meetings was a real hardship on the North Carolina clergy. Inspired by the energetic leadership of Pattillo, the ministers in the Piedmont joined in a request for the establishment of a new presbytery. The petition was signed by David Caldwell, Hugh McAden, Joseph Alexander, Hezekiah Balch, James Creswell, and Henry Pattillo. It was granted by the synod in 1770, and the new Presbytery of Orange contained all the territory from the Virginia line southward. The new organization held its first meeting at the Hawfields Church, in the fall of the same year.³⁶ The part played by Henry Pattillo in the event was his most important contribution to the development of organized Presbyterianism in Carolina, although he was also an active participant in the creation of the Synod of the Carolinas in 1788. At that time there were ten ministers in Orange Presbytery, and the denomination was growing at a fast pace.³⁷

Besides ministering to his congregation and promoting the education of his people, Henry Pattillo was intensely interested in the contemporary political situation. That situation was far from static during the years of his pastoral work with the Hawfields churches, for it was at that time the Regulator movement flared up in all its fury. Of the 883 known Regulators, some were at least acquainted with Pattillo and very likely were members of his congregations.³⁸ The minister was sympathetic with the aims of the oppressed people but not with their methods of obtaining justice, and he joined with three of his fellow clergymen in two expressions on the subject. The first was a letter to the Royal Governor, William Tryon:

We the Subscribers His Majesty's ever dutiful and loyal Subjects Presbyterian Ministers in this Province beg leave to approach your Excellency with cordial professions of unshaken duty and loyalty to His Majesty's sacred Person and Government and to testify our duty and ready submission to the Laws of this Province and to your Excellency's Administration. With these sentiments glowing in our breasts, we cannot but express our abhorrence of the present turbulent and disorderly spirit that shows itself in some parts of this Province, and we beg leave to assure your

³⁶ Foote, *Sketches of Virginia*, 89-90; see also Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina*, 217. During the first half century after their organization, fire destroyed the church buildings at Little River, Hawfields, and Eno. The church records were stored in the buildings and were therefore lost in the flames. John Witherspoon kept the presbytery records in his home, near Hillsborough, which also burned January 1, 1827, with the consequent loss of those records. Intimate details concerning the growth of those organizations and their connection with Pattillo cannot be supplied from those sources.

³⁷ Turner, *Church in the Old Fields*, 67-68.

³⁸ Elmer D. Johnson, "The War of the Regulation: Its Place in History" (unpublished master's thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1942), 115.

Excellency that we will exert our utmost abilities, to prevent the infection spreading among the People of our charge, and among the whole Presbyterian Body in this Province as far as our influence will extend. . . .³⁹

That letter was signed by Hugh McCaddon [McAden], James Creswell, Henry Pattillo, and David Caldwell and dated from Hawfields, August 23, 1768.

In the same meeting at Hawfields the ministers drafted and sent out the following letter to the churches in their presbytery:

It is with great concern and regret that we view the present Opposition to Order, Law and Government in sundry parts of this Province, and it is with equal concern that we find ourselves unable to assert with truth, that not one of our Profession is engaged in it: It is however our hope and wish, that the number of regular Presbyterians, among the present Insurgents is very small, and to those who may have been seduced from the peaceable Department and Loyalty of their Profession & Ancestors, we affectionately address Ourselves as followeth.

.....
 We are sensible the movers of the present Insurrection, have put the cry of King, Loyalty, Allegiance, into the mouths of their unwary Adherants; which doubtless was the snare that caught you and many others, but we earnestly recommend to you to consider, that the opposition is directly levelled against Government and Law; for the Oath is what the Law nowhere prescribes, and that Oath to do unlawful things viz: to call Officers to a Settlement, in a way that Law has not allowed, and lastly that Oath is taken not to pay their Taxes, expressly contrary to the Laws of our Country, and the plain word of God. These things should detach every loyal Subject from them especially as you are assured by the Governor's Proclamation, that Justice will be done on all that have oppressed you on proper complaint, by a due course of Law. Should any object that are bound by this Oath, we answer, such Persons have involved themselves in guilt by taking such an unlawful Oath, and greater guilt will lie upon them if they keep it, We therefore tenderly sympathizing with such do recommend to them Repentance for taking that Oath, and give it as our opinion that it ought to be broken. . . .

Submit yourselves to every ordinance of Man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the King as supreme, or unto Governors as those that are sent by him for the Punishment of Evil Doers, and for the Praise of them that do well. . . .⁴⁰

Those were the efforts, made in vain, of Pattillo and his associates to stem the rising tide of violence during the War of the Regulation. Tryon was impressed even though the Regulators were not then dispersed. When the Governor came to Orange County later in the year

³⁹ William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1890), VII, 813-814, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Colonial Records*.

⁴⁰ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 814-816.

to suppress the disturbance with the power of the militia, Pattillo was one of the ministers called upon to give spiritual advice to the soldiers. "It is ordered that the Reverend M^r Micklejohn and M^r Pattilo [*sic*] have thanks for the sermons preached to the Troops," was the command of Lieutenant General Rutherford at the time.⁴¹ It would indeed be interesting to know what the Presbyterian clergyman said to the men. The remarks of the Anglican Micklejohn have been preserved, and they were most emphatic in predicting the dire consequences of the judgment of the Almighty against those who acted rebelliously toward their King. Nevertheless, blood was shed, and the conquered Regulators were required to take an oath of allegiance to the Crown before all were released, except the few leaders who were hanged.⁴²

In spite of the unhappy consequences of the War of the Regulation, Pattillo continued his activity in many phases of the life of the province. His name appeared on a petition to Governor Tryon for "a Publick Inspection" of tobacco at the Town of Hillsborough;⁴³ in 1771 he was named a trustee for Queen's College;⁴⁴ in 1776, a trustee of Granville Hall;⁴⁵ and he participated in "An Act to Establish Warrenton Academy."⁴⁶ He moved eastward from the Hawfields churches in 1774 and became a resident of Bute County (present day Franklin and Warren counties), where he continued the operation of his school. In 1775 he was sent by that county as a delegate to the first Provincial Congress, which met at Hillsborough. His fellow delegates were Green Hill, William Person, Thomas Eaton, Jethro Sumner, and Josiah Reddick.⁴⁷ Among the acts of the Congress was one which read:

We the Subscribers professing our Allegiance to the King, and Acknowledging the constitutional executive power of Government, do solemnly profess, testify and declare that we do absolutely believe that neither the Parliament of Great Britain, nor any Member or Constituent Branch thereof, have a right to impose Taxes upon these Colonies to regulate the internal police thereof; and that all attempts by fraud or force to

⁴¹ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 835.

⁴² William K. Boyd, *Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina* (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 1927), 397-412. Micklejohn's sermon was reprinted from the original copy in the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁴³ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 80a.

⁴⁴ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 487.

⁴⁵ Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, Goldsboro and Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 16 volumes and 4-volume index [compiled by Stephen B. Weeks for both *Colonial Records* and *State Records*], 1895-1914), III, 809, hereinafter cited as Clark, *State Records*.

⁴⁶ Clark, *State Records*, XIV, 297, 863.

⁴⁷ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 164.

establish and exercise such Claims and powers are Violations of the peace and Security of the people and ought to be resisted to the utmost. And that the people of this province, singly and collectively, are bound by the Acts and resolutions of the Continental and Provincial Congresses, because in both they are freely represented by persons chosen by themselves. . . .⁴⁸

The grievances protested in the act were very much the same as those which the Regulators sought to adjust, but apparently Pattillo felt no qualms in joining the movement of the populace when it was executed in an orderly manner and through a proper organization, though he had opposed the violent tactics of the Regulators. The conviction was necessarily deep, for the Congress required a strong expression of his patriotism. Before resolving, "That the Rev^d. Mr. Henry Patillo [*sic*] be desired to read prayers to the Congress every morning,"⁴⁹ that body made the clergyman a member of a committee, whose duties were:

. . . to confer with such of the Inhabitants of the Province, who entertain any religious or political Scruples, with respect to associating in the common Cause of America, to remove any ill impressions that have been made upon them by the artful devices of the enemies of America, and to induce them by Argument and Persuasion, heartily to unite with us for the protection of the Constitutional rights and privileges thereof.⁵⁰

The Congress went even further in its actions and agreed to protect any of the former Regulators who broke the oath to the Crown which they had been required to take by force and appointed Richard Caswell, Maurice Moore, and Henry Pattillo to attempt to persuade them to break their vows and join the Patriots. This was asking a good deal of a minister who had joined his colleagues of the cloth in condemning the Regulator movement. William L. Saunders appraised the situation when he commented:

But what a vast amount of assurance it must have required for Maurice Moore and Caswell and Patillo [*sic*] to attempt to persuade the Regulators that the oaths they had been forced to take at the point of a bayonet after the battle of Alamance were not binding on their consciences! Patillo [*sic*] was one of the Presbyterian divines who, in 1768, united in a pastoral letter to the people of their faith denouncing the Regulators as criminals.⁵¹

Again, the only possible explanation was that the orderly march of events in America, particularly in North Carolina, toward a showdown

⁴⁸ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 171.

⁴⁹ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 169.

⁵⁰ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 169.

⁵¹ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, viii.

with the Mother Country, appeared in a different light to Pattillo's mind, as to most of the colonials, than the roughneck actions of the Regulators. The period of attempted adjustment had changed to the time of revolution.

Throughout the proceedings of the Congress, Pattillo was mentioned in a number of ways. He was made a member of the Provincial Council for the Halifax District;⁵² another action in which he was involved was described in the minutes:

The Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the whole house accordingly and unanimously chose the Reverend Mr. Patillo [*sic*] Chairman; and after some time spent therein, came to a Resolution thereon.⁵³

The committee decided that a plan of union for the colonies was not feasible at that time.

There is no evidence existing which would support the idea that Henry Pattillo changed from loyal supporter of the British Crown to an ardent American Revolutionary within five years because of personal gain for himself, either through promotion in the political affairs of North Carolina or to improve his financial condition. In 1755 the members of the ill-fated Transylvania Company, while pleading for help in their project from the Continental Congress, in Philadelphia, stated their wish "That a present of six hundred and forty acres of Land be made to the Reverend Mr. Henry Patillo [*sic*] on condition that he will settle in the said Colony."⁵⁴ Judge Henderson, Thomas Hart, and the other members of the company simply wished to promote the migration of colonists to the West, and the offer to Pattillo from men who were prominently attached to the Church of England was a testimony to the clergyman's popularity and not a bribe for any services of a political nature he might render the Transylvanians. He refused the western land, however.

By 1780 Pattillo had become pastor of the churches at Nutbush and Grassy Creek in Granville County. He remained with that charge until his death in 1801. It was during that period that the clergyman published several books from the material he had written. One of the most interesting of his works was entitled *A Geographical Catechism*. On the title page the purpose of the book was explained: "To assist those who have neither Maps nor Gazetteers, To Read NEWS-PAPERS, HISTORY, OR TRAVELS; With As Much of The Science of ASTRONOMY, and the Doctrines of the AIR, As is judged sufficient for the Farmer,

⁵² Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 215.

⁵³ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 191.

⁵⁴ Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 261.

who wishes to understand something of The Works of GOD, around him; And for the studious YOUTH, who have or have not a prospect of further prosecuting those SUBLIME Sciences.”⁵⁵ The book was composed of questions and answers, fairly simple in the beginning, but with the answers becoming progressively longer toward the end. The first question was:

What is the meaning of the word, *Geography*? Answer. It is compounded of two Greek words, Ge, the Earth, and graphe, a description; and is the science that describes the Earth, or the globe of sea and land.⁵⁶

After a journey around the world through questions and answers, the book ended with a description of America. The author said:

We come in the last place to the freest, happiest, most plentiful part of the globe; and the farthest removed from tyranny. . . . A country in which religion is unrestrained; morality in repute; education promoted; marriage honourable, and age revered.

Q. 104. Pray, sir, where lies this terrestrial paradise?

A. Within the limits of the UNITED STATES; and the spot you stand on, makes a part of it. . . .⁵⁷

Another publication was a collection of Pattillo's sermons. In the Preface of the book the author stated:

I expect to be read by many with a double pleasure; one arising from the force of truth; another because this is an *American* production, and the work of one whom they have often heard from the pulpit.⁵⁸

One of the sermons in the book was entitled “The Division Among Christians,” and the preacher showed plainly that he was concerned with denominational stress. He wrote:

Had the Christian world in all ages sacrificed a few grains of orthodoxy for charity, it would have been an immense gain by the exchange: for if *charity* be greater than *faith* and *hope*, I would not hesitate to pronounce it greater than orthodoxy. . . . may the day speedily arrive when the greatest contention among christians shall be, who shall love their Redeemer best, and who shall serve him with the greatest zeal. Amen.⁵⁹

The concern of the author over denominational strife was further emphasized by the inclusion of another sermon, “A Sermon on the Unity of the Christian Church.”⁶⁰ This concern was also stressed by

⁵⁵ Pattillo, *Catechism*, iii.

⁵⁶ Pattillo, *Catechism*, 7.

⁵⁷ Pattillo, *Catechism*, 51-52.

⁵⁸ Henry Pattillo, *Sermons* (Wilmington, Delaware: James Adams, 1788), iii, hereinafter cited as Pattillo, *Sermons*.

⁵⁹ Pattillo, *Sermons*, 42, 56.

⁶⁰ Pattillo, *Sermons*, 1.

the inclusion in the book of a letter dedicating one of the sermons to Francis Asbury:

To the Revd. Mr. Francis Asbury, Superintendent, and to the Elders and Lay Preachers of the Methodist Society, in America. Dear Brethren:

.....
 As soon as I resolved to publish this discourse, I purposed to dedicate it to you, Gentlemen. My motives are these. 1. I love your persons, and honour your piety and zeal; though I differ from you in some of the doctrines of Christianity. 2. I wished you, my brethren, to read this discourse; which coming thus directed to you, makes it, in a sense, as much your property as a private letter. 3. I wished our Methodist brethren to know the Calvinistic doctrine, on the subject of divine decrees and predestination, as far as my small abilities could unfold them in the bounds of one discourse; and as far as I understood them myself. . . .

Let not the sons of the same Father fall out by the way to that celestial Canaan, where the Calvinist and the Arminian shall regret that they did not sooner taste the heaven of brotherly love. Allow me the transcendent pleasure of hoping, that you will acknowledge me.

Your brother in Christ Jesus, Henry Pattillo.
 Granville, North Carolina
 Jan. 14, 1787.⁶¹

Another sermon in the collection was entitled "An Address to the Deists."⁶² Pattillo had become quite aware of the popularity of that theological concept in the latter years of the eighteenth century, not only in North Carolina, but elsewhere throughout the land. In a letter to Charles Pettigrew written in 1788, Pattillo referred to Micklejohn, the former Anglican with whom he had preached to the Regulators, and said:

Our Episcopalians are getting Mr. Micklejohn to N. B. [Nut Bush, in Granville County], once a month. I heard him last visit. He is an artist at avoiding Jesus Christ, both name and substance. The first thorough deistical sermon I ever heard. I have invited Mr. Jarratt to sew some good seed with the tares, before Christianity is totally eradicated.⁶³

In the same letter, Pattillo mentioned that his book had been published and was for sale; the hardback copies were priced at \$1.00 and the paperback copies at 25 cents.

An insight into the less formal and more humorous side of Pattillo's thoughts were revealed in some random jottings from his notebook, which he labeled "Satirical Observations." Among these, he wrote:

⁶¹ Pattillo, *Sermons*, 102.

⁶² Pattillo, *Sermons*, 199.

⁶³ Pattillo-Pettigrew letter. The Jarratt referred to was the Reverend Devereux Jarratt of Virginia, a former Anglican priest who was interested in interdenominational evangelism.

I dont like a note folded like a cocked hat.

He was a Helot & She was a *Shalot*.

The company was not "picked" — but the pockets of visitors generally are.

He is so confident of being right in everything that if he could he would set the Sun every day by his watch.

He was so deeply affected that he drinks only *black tea*.⁶⁴

Pattillo had a certain amount of humor in his personality, but his writings were usually in a serious vein. His concern for education and Christian family life in particular was clearly expressed in two of his manuscripts. In the first, entitled "Rules for christian societies, or fellowship meetings," Pattillo gave six rules for the promotion of Christian education by means of formal organizations: "Exercises are prayer, scripture & good book reading and speaking on question projected at the last meeting." He further said the Lord's Day was an appropriate time for meeting since the purpose of such societies was "to promote the Glory of God," and "Females are to be admitted for they 'who have frequently more virtue & less vice than the males,'"⁶⁵ should be invited to attend.

The second paper was addressed "To heads of Families" and stated:

A family is a little community within itself, of which smaller communities, states and kingdoms are composed. Out of your families are to arise the future citizens of these States. Cast back your eyes to the *American Revolution*. Never forget the wonder God hath wrought for your country. The acknowledged independence of America, is an event that engages the eager attention of all christendom. It has, to a vast extent of continent, secured those *civil and religious* liberties, which are unknown in any other part of the globe.⁶⁶

In 1787 Hampden-Sydney College honored the clergyman by conferring upon him the degree of Master of Arts. This award was doubly appreciated because Henry Pattillo had a genuine love of learning and was aware of the recognition of his accomplishments in that field which the degree signified; and because the award was signed by John B. Smith, who was the president of the college at the time.⁶⁷ Pattillo especially admired Smith and referred to the abilities of the minister in a letter to Charles Pettigrew:

We have had President Smith of P. Edward [Prince Edward County, Virginia], two or three times among us. What a clear head; what an

⁶⁴ Pattillo Papers.

⁶⁵ Pattillo Papers.

⁶⁶ Pattillo Papers.

⁶⁷ Pattillo Papers. These papers contain the original certificate of award.

elegant & ready tongue, and what a glow of religion attends that little Seraph in all his motions! And how greatly are his labours blest!⁶⁸

Pattillo was able to earn only a simple living during his life, and sometimes barely that. When he lived in Bute County, he was merely listed as a "Taxable," without any description of his property.⁶⁹ In 1772 he sold one hundred acres of land in Prince Edward County, Virginia, to Miller Woodson.⁷⁰ In 1789 he purchased five thousand acres of land in Hawfields for £120 from Cullen Pollock of Edenton⁷¹ but sold the same tract to Robert Tennen four years later for £230.⁷² In a letter to the Reverend William Williamson, he commented that he had received \$80.00 for a season's work, and thought it a "great thing," as "Mr. Campbell on Ohio received but thirty-five dollars in a whole year."⁷³

After he moved to Granville County, Pattillo became concerned about his health. In 1780 he wrote to his friend Charles Pettigrew, "I am extremely frail, and I judge this frame incapable of reparation, until sown a natural & raised a spiritual body."⁷⁴ Because of his physical condition, he made a will in 1782, which contained a loving tribute to his family, but he neither named all of them, nor described his property. The document only mentioned "my little estate." He did, however, name two sons-in-law, Richard Harrison and Robert Lanier, in addition to his son Henry Pattillo.⁷⁵ In a later will made in 1800, he mentioned a son, John Franklin Pattillo, and a daughter, Mildred (Milly). This was the only mention made of his children.⁷⁶

In 1784 the Granville congregations to which Pattillo was ministering presented him with a three-hundred-acre tract of land on Spicemarrow Creek for a permanent home. It was that farm which he left to his family in the will of 1800.⁷⁷ In 1792 Elizabeth Burden willed the preacher one half of her crop of corn and to his wife her wearing apparel.⁷⁸ In spite of the generosity of his parishioners, however, Pattillo was forced to a meager existence in his old age. He lost his

⁶⁸ Pattillo-Pettigrew letter.

⁶⁹ Bute County Tax Records, State Archives.

⁷⁰ Deeds of Prince Edward County, Virginia, Deed Book 5, page 74, published in the *Edward Pleasants Valentine Papers* (Richmond: Privately printed by the Valentine Museum, 4 volumes, 1918), III, 1839.

⁷¹ Orange County Deed Books, Orange County Courthouse, Hillsborough, Deed Book 4, page 219, hereinafter cited as Orange County Deed Books.

⁷² Orange County Deed Books, 14, page 425.

⁷³ Henry Pattillo to William Williamson, December 4, 1799, the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

⁷⁴ Henry Pattillo to Charles Pettigrew, June 21, 1780, Pettigrew Papers.

⁷⁵ Pattillo Papers.

⁷⁶ Pattillo Papers. As noted earlier, Pattillo's Journal mentioned a daughter Jane.

⁷⁷ Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina*, 220.

⁷⁸ Granville County Will Books, Granville County Courthouse, Oxford, Will Book 2, page 317.

savings by extending help to his family and very nearly lost everything when his son failed in business. The situation was explained by a contemporary:

Rev. Mr. Pattillo [*sic*] endorsed notes for his son, who was extensively and prosperously engaged in the mercantile employment. By the unexpected failure of his principal debtors, the son was obliged to relinquish his business; and the father, as well as the son, was stript of his last farthing.⁷⁹

A description of Pattillo as he was remembered by Mrs. John Holt Rice, who knew him in the prime of life, pictured him as a heavy man with a large frame and coarse features, which were usually lighted with a cheerful smile. He had a loud, commanding voice and his delivery was impressive. He was poor, but not unhappy with his lot, and extremely earnest in his work. Next to his ministry, his great love was books, a natural affinity for a scholar.⁸⁰ Archibald Henderson related that Henry Pattillo "accepted with equanimity the burning of his house in his absence, so great was his relief on learning his books had been saved."⁸¹

After a visit to him in his last days, Z. Lewis wrote the following account:

The Rev. Henry Pattillo is seventy-four years of age. His white, trembling, palsied head is filled with sound and useful knowledge. He appears to be an eminently pious and faithful minister of the gospel; a kind and attentive husband; an affectionate and indulgent father; a cheerful and pleasant companion; and a polite, noble and generous friend. Mrs. Pattillo is an amiable and respectable woman. Long have this unfortunate pair travelled hand in hand the high road to heaven. Often on their way, have they been called to struggle with adversity. A long and tedious distance have they journeyed through the vale of extreme poverty. "Seven times have we eaten our last morsel; and where to look for more, but to heaven, we knew not. To heaven we looked; and before we were again hungry, we were furnished with sufficient & comfortable food. It seemed," continued he, "it truly seemed as tho' a kind Providence had poured it down from above. . . . we are now, blessed be God! in comfortable circumstances; and our future earthly wants will be few."⁸²

Lewis was so impressed with the Pattillo family that he continued his report of the visit with his own summary:

⁷⁹ Z. Lewis, "Anecdote of Mr. Pattillo," *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine*, Vol. I, No. 6 (December, 1800), 232-233, hereinafter cited as Lewis, "Pattillo Anecdote."

⁸⁰ William Buell Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit* (New York: Robert Carter, 4 volumes, 1858), III, 198.

⁸¹ Archibald Henderson, *North Carolina: The Old North State and the New* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 5 volumes, 1941), I, 571.

⁸² Lewis, "Pattillo Anecdote," 232.

Yes, grateful happy pair! Your wants on earth will hence be few. You will soon come to the end of your journey. You will soon enter through the gates into the City, and arrive in safety at your Father's house. With propriety may you adopt the language of the Christian poet:

"We'll soon be wafted o'er
This life's tempestuous sea,
Soon shall we reach the peaceful shore
Of blest eternity."⁸³

Lewis underestimated the Christian zeal of the man who had contributed so generously of his strong physique and agile mind to the cause of Carolina Christianity. In his seventy-fifth year the feeble preacher went on an evangelistic mission to Dinwiddie County, Virginia, and died while there in the year 1801.⁸⁴ Friends wrote back to North Carolina that his passing was entirely calm and peaceful.⁸⁵ So the minister left this world, away from his home and family, but to the end preaching the Gospel to his fellowmen. His burial place is unknown to this day, but his life has remained an inspiration to North Carolinians for two centuries. Self-made minister, educator, and patriot, Pattillo showed what could be accomplished by work and will.

The Reverend Drury Lacy conducted a commemorative service at the Granville churches of the departed pastor. His text was taken from Romans, 14: 7-8:

That his life was a pattern of resignation and thankfulness has been remarked even by those who had a slight acquaintance with him. . . . Thus he closed his life on a preaching tour, being far advanced in his 75th year, which doubtless does honor to his character, and should serve to stimulate all his younger brethren in the ministry to follow his example, and to be willing to spend, and be spent in the cause of their Saviour, and in the cause of religion.⁸⁶

⁸³ Lewis, "Pattillo Anecdote," 233.

⁸⁴ *Raleigh Register and North Carolina State Gazette*, August 25, 1801; under "Obituaries," announcement was made, "In Granville County, lately, the Reverend Henry Pattillo."

⁸⁵ Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina*, 222-223.

⁸⁶ *A Sermon Preached on the Occasion of the Death of the Rev. Henry Pattillo to His Former Congregations in Granville County, North Carolina, Oct. 11th, 1801, by the Rev. Drury Lacy* (Philadelphia: Privately printed by William W. Woodward, 1803), 27-29.

ABOARD A BLOCKADE RUNNER: SOME CIVIL WAR EXPERIENCES OF JEROME DuSHANE

EDITED BY HUGH G. EARNHART*

Jerome DuShane was born in western Pennsylvania and spent his boyhood around New Castle, then located in Beaver County. He had a typical nineteenth-century boyhood, roaming and exploring the hills and streams with Alexander Long, to whom the following letter is addressed. Prior to the Civil War DuShane moved to Virginia and enlisted in the Confederate Army.

His first duty was with Stonewall Jackson's Foot Cavalry in the Shenandoah Valley. On March 11, 1864, because of an injury he had received, he was transferred from the Stonewall Brigade to the Signal Corps and assigned to a blockade runner. As a signal officer he was stationed first aboard the "North Heath" and later with the crew of the "Lady Sterling." Both ships operated between Bermuda and Wilmington.

In the blockade adventures which the letter that follows describes, DuShane shows the patriotic pride that the Confederates felt when late in the war they still were able to outwit the Union blockading fleet which patrolled the waters outside Wilmington.

Jerome DuShane's letter is reproduced as he wrote it, except for a few editorial interpolations which have been added for easier reading. The original letter is in the Alexander Long Papers at the Cincinnati Historical Society.

New Castle, Pa.

January 21, 1868

Dear Aleck,¹

I have thought of writing you for a long time, but [have] put it off from time to time; so this afternoon I thought I would undertake it.

But I will commence by saying I am a *Rebel*—so called because of my grandfather before me. So if you don't like the confession you had better not read any further, but burn this letter.

* Mr. Earnhart is acting chairman of the Department of History, Youngstown University, Youngstown, Ohio.

¹ Alexander Long was born in Greenville, Mercer County, Pennsylvania, December 24, 1816. He was a prominent Cincinnati lawyer from 1850 to 1880 and served as a member of the state house of representatives in 1848 and 1849. Long was elected

When the war broke out, I was living in Virginia and was among the first to take up arms in behalf of the noblest cause man ever engaged in. Although over, [it] was a war justly fought with a heroism that no other nation has ever shown. We were compel[le]d after a noble struggle of four years to succumb to overwhelming numbers. But in the end it has shown it would have [been?] far better if every man, woman and child in the South had fallen in her defence, for what rights have they now got worth living for? It makes me almost weep when I think of the sad conditions of the people of the South at the present time. The finest portion of God's earth made a second Hayti and Santa Domingo.²

But I will not dwell on this gloomy subject, but speak of other things. Up to the last year of the war I belonged to Stonewall Jackson's "foot cavalry," when my health became somewhat in danger. I was transfer[re]d to the Signal Corps and sent to the Island of Bermuda to take charge of a Blockade Runner as signal officer.³ On our way out nothing of special interest transpired, we pierced the Yankee blockading fleet without them recognizing us. I had to wait about three weeks in Bermuda before my vessel was ready for sea, so I had plenty of time to explore the island, which I did. It is a beautiful island, the climate delightful. I wish I were there now. At last the "N.H."⁴ was ready to try her back at "blockade running." We started for Wilmington, N.C., and nothing of interest occur[re]d until we got within about 130 miles of Wilmington when one of the most exciting chases commenced I ever saw. Throughout the night we had let some of our fires go out so as to enable the firemen to clean out the furnaces,⁵ consequently the Yanks gained on us very quickly[.] They could have fired into us easily, but I suppose they felt so confident of capturing us that they thought they would not force their "prize." We soon got up a good head of steam, when we began to widen the distance between us; but it was not very long before the man in the mast-head sung out "sail on our eastward beam," sure enough, just a few miles off was another Yankee cruiser. So we had to change our course, consequently that gave the first Yank great[er] advantage

as a Democrat to the Thirty-eighth Congress (March 4, 1863-March 3, 1865) and was an unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1864. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1961: The Continental Congress, September 5, 1774, to October 21, 1788, and the Congress of the United States from the First to the Eighty-sixth Congress, March 4, 1789, to January 3, 1961, Inclusive.* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, Eighty-fifth Congress, Second Session, *House Document No. 442*, 1961), 1231.

² DuShane is no doubt referring to the numerous Negro revolts that eventually led to Negro domination in the two governments.

³ He was transferred on March 11, 1864. When the practice of blockade running was reduced to a system during the last two years of the Civil War, a signal service was organized on shore and signal officers were assigned details aboard each vessel.

⁴ The "North Heath," an English Clyde-built steamer, was 260 feet long, weighed 343 tons, and had large paddle wheels. The United States consul at Cardiff described her as being "very, very sharp" and would be "hard to catch." She was sunk in the Cape Fear River in December, 1864, when the Union threatened to attack Fort Fisher and Wilmington. Richard Rush and Others (eds.), *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 30 volumes, 1894-1914), Series I, IX, 538; Series I, XI, 785-786, hereinafter cited as *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies*.

⁵ This was an established practice so that the blockade runner would produce less smoke as it attempted to run past the Union blockading fleet.

over us, but ours was a very fast craft. But in the course of three or four hours we had both Yanks several miles behind us. We began to think ourselves all right, when the man aloft sung out, "sail ahead"—which proved to be another Yank, so we had again to change our course. We had been running North, but now had to run due West towards Fort Macon,⁶ then in the hands of the Yanks, but we had no other alternative. The question now was, was the land far enough off so as to give us a chance to get the three Yanks that were chasing us far enough astray of us so to allow us to change our course towards the North again—for the position of the Yanks at this time prevented us from going South. The chase was now getting pretty exciting, our ship was making about fifteen miles an hour, and at 4 o'clock P.M. we had the Yanks pretty well astern of us, but just then the man at the look out sung out "land ahead," sure enough just ahead of us was land and a few miles to our right stood the Fort above spoken. We thought it all up with us now, but we were determined not to give up till the very last moment[.] If it should come to the worst, we intended running our ship on the rocks and take[ing] our chances of escaping. After a short consultation it was decided to change the course of our ship and run North, as our only chance of escape. At this time we were four or five miles South of the Fort, but we steamed boldly towards it and it was some time before the Yanks at the Fort could make us out, but when we got opposite them they saw it was a chase so they started two vessels from the Fort after us, when the chase again commenced in earnest.

One of the Yanks was very fast and both were firing shell and solid shot at us. The fast Yank was putting on her "big lick" when all at once a tremendous "bustification" took place and the steam shot up a hundred feet into the air so she was compelled to give up the chase[.] We soon left the other one far enough behind. At this time the Yank who gave chase in [the] morning was on our starboard beam, running parallel with us, his objective was to push us in towards land, but fortunately for us, it was now getting dark, so we turned around and went back on our old tracks. We passed the two Yanks from the Fort, the one that had "bust her biles" had gotten fixed up again, ready to renew the chase, but the darkness favored us, as it enabled us to give them all the slip.

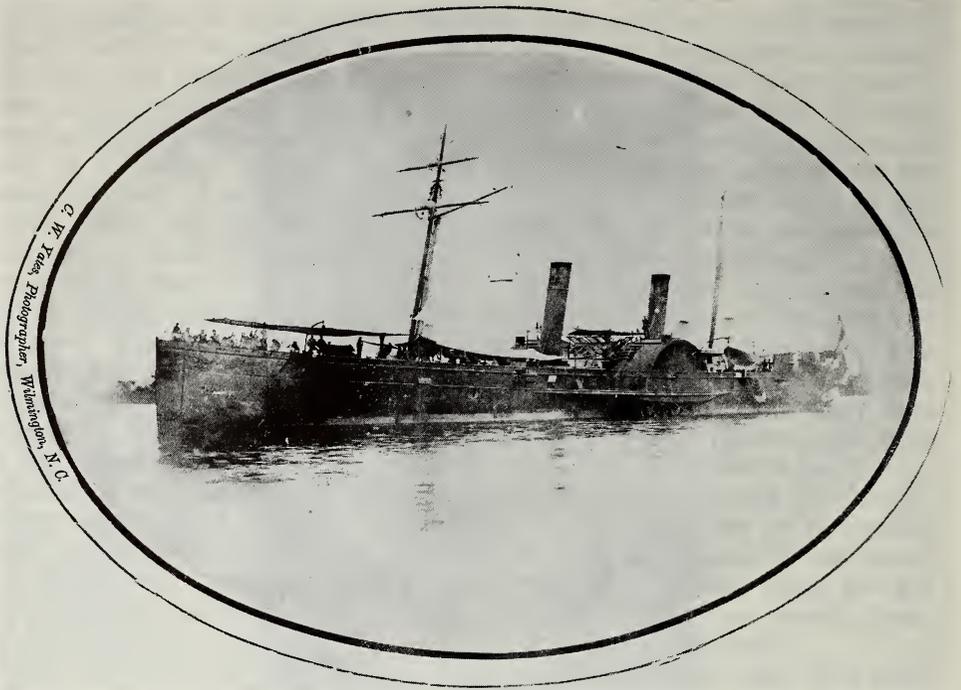
We were now about eighty miles from Fort Fisher,⁷ which we reached about 2 o'clock A.M., but we could not cross the "Bar" as it was low water. I will here explain about "Bar" etc. When the tide is out there is not sufficient water in [the] Cape Fear River for a vessel to enter from the

⁶ Fort Macon fell under Union control on April 26, 1862. As a result of Ambrose E. Burnside's successful expedition against the fort, the Union controlled the Pamlico and Albemarle Sound waterways. For a secondary account of the fall of Fort Macon, see John G. Barrett, *The Civil War in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), 113-120, hereinafter cited as Barrett, *Civil War in North Carolina*.

⁷ Fort Fisher, located at the tip of Confederate Point and the key to defending Cape Fear, was named in honor of Colonel Charles F. Fisher who was killed at First Manassas. Battery Bolles construction began in April, 1861, and this became the nucleus for the larger installation built under the command of Major (later Colonel) William Lamb. For a physical description of this "Rock of Gibraltar" in the South, see Barrett, *Civil War in North Carolina*, 265-266.



Fort Fisher, near the tip of Confederate Point, protected the New Inlet entrance to the Cape Fear River and the port of Wilmington. Photograph from *Tales and Traditions of the Lower Cape Fear, 1661-1896*, by James Sprunt.



Jerome DuShane served as signal officer aboard the Confederate blockade runner "Lady Sterling," pictured above, at the time of her capture on the night of October 28, 1864. Photograph supplied by the U.S. Naval Photographic Center, Washington, D. C.

ocean, consequently all vessels have to go in when it is high tide which occurs every twelve hours. Well that night it was high water at 9 o'clock P.M. consequently it would not be high tide again till 9 o'clock the next morning; therefore we had to anchor outside near the Yankee fleet, but fortunately for us they did not discover us until daylight[.] Then they attempted to cut us off from the Fort [Fisher], but Col[onel] Lamb,⁸ commander of the Fort, sent a few shells after them, so they thought it best to give up. At 9 o'clock we went in and this ended the great chase.⁹

I will here state that all our vessels had to go out and come in when there was no moon, the darker the night the better as the Yankees always kept from ten to fifteen vessels guarding the mouth of the [Cape Fear] River, and we had to run through this fleet going out and coming in.

⁸ Colonel Lamb was a "dashing young Confederate Officer" from Virginia who designed and constructed Fort Fisher to withstand the heaviest Union artillery. James Sprunt, *Chronicles of the Cape Fear River* (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton, 1914), 333.

⁹ The date of arrival is not reported but the "North Heath" cleared Bermuda on March 10, 1864, and was reported headed for Wilmington. *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies*, Series II, III, 1085.

We discharged our cargo¹⁰ and took on cotton with the intention of going to Halifax, Nova Scotia[.] We had scarcely [*sic*] passed the blockading fleet when we sprung a leak, but there was no turning back now, so we concluded we would try to make Bermuda.

Sometimes the firemen were up to their knees in water, but managed to keep the ship afloat till we reached Bermuda.

It was very fortunate for us [that] we did not fall in with any Yankee cruisers, as we certainly would have been taken.

I left the "N.H." at Bermuda and went to Halifax to take charge of the "L.S."¹¹ then nearly [ready] to try her chances at blockade running. We had a very successful trip from Halifax to Wilmington[.]¹² We had but one short chase, the Yankee was too slow for our craft, so we soon left him. We got in safe, discharged our cargo, took on cotton and started down the [Cape Fear] River, but just before reaching Fort Fisher we broke one of our cylinders consequently we had to put back to Wilmington for repairs. We got it fixed. We got it fixed up, so we thought, so we could make the trip, but before we could get into the ocean, it broke again. About this time we were expecting an attack upon Fort Fisher, and did not know what might be the result, so we held a "council of war," and decided to make the attempt with but one cylinder.¹³

Well, we started and just as we crossed the "bar" we ran close up to a Yank, she let fly at us, and the very first shot sent a shell into the fore part of our ship and bursted [*sic*] among [the] cotton setting it on fire, then the chase commenced in earnest.¹⁴ It was not long before three or four more Yanks [were] after us, giving us "Hail Columbus" all the time.¹⁵

Some of them were close up along side of us, but I believe we could have finally escaped them, if it [had] not been our ship was on fire, the heat and smoke drove the firemen from their posts. They did not catch us until we had run about 20 miles. We had as brave a Captain as ever walked the deck of a ship. He was an Englishman,¹⁶ and the whole crew about sixty men—were English and Irish, but they were a cowardly set. The Captain and myself wanted to sink the ship and take our chances in our small boats, but the crew would not hear of it, so we had no other

¹⁰ The cargo consisted of "317 cases, 616 bags, and general manufactured goods." Frank E. Vandiver, *Confederate Blockade Running Through Bermuda* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1947), 128.

¹¹ The "Lady Sterling" was an 835-ton, 242-foot side-wheeler. Pulling a 13' 3" draft, she left Wilmington on October 28, 1864, with one engine and still making 13 knots. She had been built by the British. *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies*, Series II, I, 124.

¹² The "Lady Sterling" cleared Halifax on September 22, 1864, for Wilmington via Nassau. On September 30 she was reported in the Cape Fear River. *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies*, Series I, X, 476; Series I, III, 710.

¹³ The official report of the capture of the "Lady Sterling" affirms that one cylinder was inoperative when she left Wilmington on the night of October 28, 1864. *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies*, Series I, XI, 9.

¹⁴ This incident was also reported in the capture report. The shelling by the "Eolus" set the cotton afire. *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies*, Series I, XI, 9.

¹⁵ DuShane must have miscounted in the confusion of the chase or his memory erred. The only two Union ships that forced the surrender were the "Eolus" and the "Calypso." *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies*, Series I, XI, 5.

¹⁶ The captain has been identified as D. Cruikshank of London.

alternative but [to] surrender. The Yanks had very hard work to save the vessel, they put the crew of four or five from their ships to work, throwing out the burning cotton, by that means they saved her, but she was pretty well riddled, there were no less than nine holes through her.¹⁷ I tell you it was the hottest place I ever was in, but fortunately I escaped with a few bruises. The Yanks took us to New York [City] where they discharged all the sailors, but they kept the Captain, 1st Mate, Chief Engineer and myself. We were put into the county jail until they could dispose of our cases.¹⁸

After I had been in jail about a week, I had an intimation that they rendered sending me to one of their "hospitals," so I concluded I would "block that little game[.]" I did it "thusly," *threw gold pieces into the eyes of several of their high officials*, and by that means had very little trouble in making my escape. You may be sure I did not stay long in N.Y. I took the first train for Boston, and there took a steamer for Halifax where I arrived safely. I remained in Halifax sometime waiting for a chance to get back to the South, but the opportunity offered, our generals surrendered and the war closed. As I did not wish to go back South after our noble cause had been lost, I went to England and France. I remained there for sometime, then returned to Halifax, from there I sailed for the West Indies. I visited Saint Thomas (Seward's late purchase),¹⁹ Saint Croix, and Porto Rico.

After getting tired of that country I sailed for New Brunswick, British North America. From N.B. I went to Halifax, from there to Prince Edward Island, from there to New Brunswick again, from there back to Halifax where I remained until June 1867 when I sailed for New York. I staid in New York until the last of June when I came out here, so here I am yet; but I expect to start next Spring for some place not yet marked out.

I would like very much to go to Cincinnati, that I might once more take you by the hand. While the war was going on I got hold of a speech you made in Congress[.]²⁰ I was proud of it, I was proud I could point to it and say I was personally acquainted with its author, that we were boys

¹⁷ It was the crew of the "Calypso" that actually extinguished the fire and threw about one hundred bales of burning cotton overboard. The chase lasted about 2 hours and 35 minutes and covered a distance of about 34 miles. *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies*, Series I, XI, 6-7.

¹⁸ The identity of the first mate and chief engineer is not known. The "St. Cloud" towed the "Lady Sterling" to New York harbor. She was sold in the Prize Court to the U.S. Navy for \$135,000 and renamed the "Hornet." The cargo consisted of 980 bales of cotton, 3 tons of tobacco, and \$3,415 in coins. *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies*, Series I, XI, 6-7. The cargo sold for more than \$500,000, and each crew member aboard the "Eolus" received \$2,000 in prize money. Hamilton Cochran, *Blockade Runners of the Confederacy* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1958), 293.

¹⁹ When DuShane wrote this letter, Secretary of State William Seward had suggested the purchase of this island, but Reconstruction politics delayed the final action. It was finally purchased in 1917 for \$25 million.

²⁰ On April 8, 1864, Alexander Long, who was a radical Peace Democrat, delivered upon the floor of the House of Representatives a strong anti-Union, anti-Lincoln speech which almost caused his expulsion from that body. *Congressional Globe*, Thirty-eighth Congress, First Session (Washington: Congressional Globe Office, 1864), 1501ff. For a secondary account see Frank L. Klement, *The Copperheads in the Middle West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 229-230.

together. Often do I think of the times when we "hunted the coon and the possum" together, but those times have passed away forever. What changes have taken place since we were boys. The woods we used to hunt through have nearly all disappeared, so great has been the change. I can scarcely realize the fact that this is the place where I passed my early boyhood.

I will now close this wandering epistle, lest I weary you.

If at anytime you can spare the time to write me, I shall be most happy to hear from you.

Yours very truly

Jerome DuShane

BOOK REVIEWS

Atlas of North Carolina. By Richard E. Lonsdale, director and chief cartographer, and Others. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967. Illustrations, maps, tables, charts, notes. Pp. x, 158. \$7.50.)

This, indicates the introduction by Dr. Richard E. Lonsdale, associate professor of geography at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, is not "the traditional type of atlas." Indeed it is not. An atlas, according to earlier notions, was simply a book of maps, perhaps with a little additional material thrown in. But the present work is much broader and more comprehensive in scope—contains not only many and varied types of maps for different dates, but graphs, pictures, tables, text, and other materials.

The arrangement is mainly topical. First come natural resources, including such topics as land surface, soils, natural vegetation, and so on to coastal fisheries and climatic characteristics. Next comes certain historical information, beginning with the aborigines and early European colonists, running through the Revolutionary and Civil wars, and especially featuring population growth and changes—changes in population by counties, changes in Negro population, urbanization, recent decline in rural population, and out-migration.

A number of varied topics follow—politics, education, hospitals and health, culture, newspapers, retail sales, railroads, highway traffic flow, airports and air routes, and various others. Under manufacturing are covered, as one would expect, textiles, tobacco, furniture, lumber, the clay-brick industry, electrical products, and others. Under the general topic of agriculture, the principal products are shown—tobacco, cotton, peanuts, cattle, broilers, eggs, and others.

Contributors to the volume include many of the best possible specialists in geography, history, agriculture, industry, and allied fields, mainly from the university at Chapel Hill, but others from North Carolina State University, state government, and elsewhere. The book is designed for "businessmen, educators, students, state officials, and interested citizens." No doubt it will be useful in universities, colleges, and high schools. The present writer knows of no other compendium where can be found so much information so graphically presented in so small a compass. Errors appear to be few. But—the Andrew Johnson

birthplace is not—repeat NOT—on the campus of North Carolina State University; it is in Raleigh's Pullen Park. Dr. Clarence Poe and the present writer were responsible for its location there in the late 1930's.

Christopher Crittenden

State Department of Archives and History

Messages, Addresses, and Public Papers of Terry Sanford, Governor of North Carolina, 1961-1965. Edited by Memory F. Mitchell. (Raleigh: Council of State, State of North Carolina, 1966. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xxxvii, 792. Free.)

Governor Terry Sanford had much on his mind and he said most of it. This competently edited documentary record, limited at his request to one volume, contains 65 judiciously selected addresses in toto, clear summaries of 165 more, and a list of 569 others. The total comes to a staggering 799. Completing the volume are well-chosen miscellaneous gubernatorial statements; a biographical sketch by Sanford's press secretary, Graham Jones; a long list of appointments that by unfortunate tradition omits most nonstatutory positions (thus one encounters names of special police but finds no appointment of key staff aides John Ehle and George Stephens, Jr., or of some significant Governor's commissions); concisely worded editorial notes; and an extensive index.

These are the records of an earnest, compassionate, contagiously optimistic man who wanted to be governor, who made bold promises in order to win the office, and who, having been victorious, labored obstinately for four years to fulfill those promises, whether the voters liked it or not. Announcing the arrival of a "new day in North Carolina," he repeatedly exhorted his constituents to build a "better North Carolina" and to move the state to the "forefront of the nation."

In speech after speech—some occasionally eloquent, a few refreshingly imaginative, others at times wearying, all of them sincere and determined (who wrote what? the reader wonders, remembering Sanford's staff of bright, sometimes stiff, young men)—the Governor pleads for "quality education" ("the rock," he said, "upon which I will build the house of my administration"). Like a predecessor, Charles B. Aycock, Sanford was primarily an advocate rather than a philosopher of education. And like Aycock, he was strikingly successful. Impressively reflected in the Sanford papers are major achievements: large increases in teacher pay, a \$100 million bond issue for school

construction, the Governor's School, the Advancement School, the School of the Arts, Operation Second Chance, the Learning Institute, a projected system of community colleges, and new senior colleges. Other efforts were directed toward legislative reapportionment, court reform, aid to the mentally retarded, a poverty program, and enlarged opportunities for Negroes.

Some problems had to be neglected, of course. Missing from the ambitious roll of undertakings (Sanford once listed 88 "different irons in the fire") are, for example, major assaults on abuses of the natural environment and emphasis on birth control as a logical weapon against poverty and mental retardation. But Sanford, like other mortals, had to choose his causes, and who can deny after examining these documents that he chose well.

A limited number of copies are available by request from the State Department of Archives and History, Publications Division, Box 1881, Raleigh, N.C., 27602.

Oliver H. Orr, Jr.

Library of Congress

Ballots and Fence Rails: Reconstruction on the Lower Cape Fear. By W. McKee Evans. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. [Sponsored by the American Association for State and Local History, Nashville, Tennessee], 1967. Preface, maps, appendixes, bibliography, index. Pp. xiv, 314. \$7.50.)

The American Association for State and Local History picked well when it selected this book for its \$2,500 annual prize. It is superb local history but it is more than that, too. By telling the local history of the Lower Cape Fear during the confusing years of Reconstruction, Dr. Evans has given a picture that could have been gotten in no other way.

Dr. Evans is a very good storyteller, and much of the strength of this book lies in that fact. His characters are considerably more than just names on printed pages but emerge as the troubled or bitter or triumphant individuals of the Reconstruction period.

There are the well-known characters such as the northern conquerors, as well as the Ashes, the Bellamys, the Dawsons, the Kidders, the Moores, George Swepson, and William W. Holden. Those names would have to figure in any history of that region, for they were either prominent on the Lower Cape Fear or prominent across the whole state during Reconstruction.

But the names of people who haven't been heard of for a couple of generations have their places in this book, and it is a much better book because of that. These forgotten people help bring all the era to light because of the stories Dr. Evans tells about them. There is John P. Sampson, for example, a native of Wilmington who had studied in the North and had been editor of a Cincinnati newspaper. He appeared to be a handsome young white man—but he was a Negro. His father had been owned by the wealthy Sampson family of Sampson County. His owner had brought him to Wilmington at the age of eighteen and arranged a carpenter's apprenticeship for him. Sampson's father was supposed to have been a Negro, a slave, and a carpenter, but in Dr. McKee's words, "He had neither looked like a Negro, behaved like a slave, nor spent money like a carpenter. In fact, if the real source of the Sampson family's income had come from work on the carpenter's bench, the father must have been a craftsman indeed, the census of 1860 evaluating his property at \$35,000." Sampson was a member of the New Hanover delegation for the Constitutional Convention in Raleigh.

Then there is George Z. French, who came to Wilmington as a Union Army sutler and who became a leading citizen whose experiments in farming became well known. He made a great deal of money but politically was identified with men who were unsuccessful, poor, and had dark skins. When he was seventy, a white-supremacist mob dragged him through Wilmington with a rope around his neck and drove him from the community which he had served so well.

No one should forget Miss Amy Bradley, who came down from the North to establish free education. The yeoman's job she did is still reflected in the schools of New Hanover County, though she herself isn't remembered there anymore.

Dr. Evans, who received the Ph.D. degree at Chapel Hill, is assistant professor of history at California Lutheran College in Thousand Oaks.

Herbert O'Keef

Raleigh Times

North Into Freedom: The Autobiography of John Malvin, Free Negro, 1775-1880. Edited by Allan Peskin. (Cleveland: Press of Western Reserve University, 1966. Introduction. Pp. viii, 87. \$4.00.)

The Black Poet, being the remarkable story (partly told my [sic] himself)

of *George Moses Horton, a North Carolina slave*. By Richard Walser. (New York: Philosophical Library, 1966. Drawings, foreword, notes and sources, index. Pp. viii, 120. \$3.50.)

John Malvin was born a slave in Virginia and in 1828 moved to northern Ohio. In Cleveland he learned that the land of freedom held remarkably slender promise for freedmen. There persisted a fear that a Negro migration from the South would flood the Western Reserve. Outwardly it seemed the Negroes were happy in this western island of New England migration and, too, they seemed prosperous. A closer look, however, showed the contrary. Segregation prevailed, and clearly there was a double standard in court trials and in economic affairs. Malvin was successful in persuading the Baptists to break barriers erected against the Negro. This was perhaps the most notable accomplishment of this former slave.

As a minister in the post-Civil War years, Malvin became an influential leader of his people. In established communication with white neighbors he gained their trust and respect. In 1879 he was honored in a public testimonial dinner which reflected how far he had gone in gaining favor for his people. The autobiography was written from an old man's memory and though it reflects the trials of a freedman adjusting to all of the complexities of freedmen within the social and political framework of a white society, it no doubt smooths out many of the bumps. Outwardly this society opposed slavery but it was highly uncertain as to the position which the freedman could expect to occupy in the institutions of freedom.

In *The Black Poet*, Richard Walser has produced a highly exciting story of the life and literary career of George Moses Horton. This unusual slave was born in Northampton County near the Virginia line. He was the slave of William Horton and then of Hall Horton, a son of the former. Sometime in the early part of the first decade of the nineteenth century George Moses learned the alphabet and became conscious of the art of reading, if he did not actually learn to read. As a youth of nineteen or twenty he began to wander into Chapel Hill where he sold fruits and verses to students. For the next half century the slave poet became a familiar figure on the University of North Carolina campus. During this time he turned out a tremendous volume of poetry, much of it on commission from lovelorn students who wished to impress southern maidens with their poems. How little they knew that the muse had inspired not their gallant lads

but a humble slave who could fit his poetic mood to the demands of his commissions.

George Moses Horton was in time to have as friends and benefactors Joseph Caldwell, David L. Swain, Governor John Owen, James Knox Polk, and Shepard Pettigrew. He was also befriended by the sensitive Caroline Lee Hentz, a professor's wife, and by the printer Weston Raleigh Gales.

In time he had poems published in the Lancaster, Massachusetts, *Gazette*, the *Liberator*, and the *Southern Literary Messenger*. In short he became one of the Old South's first literary figures. With the assistance of friends he published a slender booklet, *The Hope of Liberty*, 1829, and *Naked Genius*, 1865.

Never did a southern poet become so enmeshed in the vagaries of history. The turnings of life for George Moses Horton were made abrasive by the evil breaks of the times. The Nat Turner Rebellion, the rising tempo of sectional emotions, the Civil War, and ultimate freedom. In ultimate freedom, however, the old man failed to find the patronage necessary to sustain his literary career. Philadelphians, for instance, were too sophisticated to patronize the humble émigré from the South.

Though rewards were mixed in the lifetime of this unusual southerner and slave, he has found his staunchest friend in Professor Walser who has produced an ably searched account of his life. This is a significant note to both slavery and southern literary history. As a worthy by-product are the reflective views of southern mores and attitudes in a university community in the antebellum years.

Thomas D. Clark

University of Kentucky

A Good Beginning: The First Four Decades of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. By Elisabeth Ann Bowles. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967. Preface, illustrations, bibliography, index. Pp. vi, 193. \$6.00.)

From the North Carolina State Normal and Industrial School to the University of North Carolina at Greensboro was a long step—almost a giant stride. In this book Elisabeth Ann Bowles has recorded the most significant era in the seventy-five years of the history of the institution—the years from 1892, when it opened, to 1932, when it became the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina.

Prepared originally as a thesis at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, the book is a detailed and well-documented account of the forty years. Miss Bowles, an alumna of the school of which she writes, has enlivened the history with some vivid glimpses of personalities and customs; readers will probably wish that there were more of such details. The volume is generously illustrated with discriminatingly chosen photographs.

The name first given the school was in keeping with the original purpose as stated by Charles Duncan McIver, founder and first president, in the *Prospectus*, to "increase the efficiency of a woman's work in whatever walk of life her lot may be cast." In 1892 the only conceivable walk of life for a woman was teaching, stenography, or housekeeping; hence the three departments were pedagogy, business, and domestic science. Of the three, the training of teachers was by far the most important.

A school of this nature met the urgent need in education at a time when "it appeared that North Carolina had the poorest school system of any state or territory in the nation with the possible exception of South Carolina." Moreover, there was little interest in any kind of education for women. Obviously academic standards could not be high, either in admission requirements or in the courses given; the author says that "the curriculum of the Normal of 1892 was the equivalent of a high-school program." Diplomas were granted rather than degrees; and in addition to the four-year curriculum, one-year courses were offered in each of the three departments.

Though the increase in numbers of the students and faculty, the enlargement of the campus, and the corresponding addition of buildings and equipment were important factors in the growth of the institution, the development of the curriculum was the most striking and distinctive aspect of the period. Back of the specific purpose for which the school was founded was a larger purpose expressed by McIver in a statement still carried in the current catalog, "It desires to be of the greatest possible use to the people of North Carolina." As educational conditions in the state improved, the normal school, under the wise guidance of McIver and his successor, Julius I. Foust, became a college. Its admission requirements and curriculum were strengthened until the North Carolina College for Women took its place among the liberal arts colleges of the state. Its status as such was recognized in 1921 by its admission to the Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges of the Southern States.

The chapter concerning the faculty rightly emphasizes the early members. In a small, new school the teacher has a more important part in shaping policies and a deeper influence on the students than is possible in an institution in which students are counted by thousands rather than hundreds.

The regulations, organizations, activities, and traditions of those early days doubtless seem quaint to college students of 1967. As in other colleges, the campus life was of much greater importance then than now, when "colleges serve as a springboard for weekends."

The first graduates in 1893 formed the Alumnae Association and adopted as their motto "Service." The contributions which the alumnae have made to their communities and the state, as well as their family and professional activities, amply justify the motto.

Mary Lynch Johnson

Meredith College

The Writings of Christopher Gadsden, 1746-1805. Edited by Richard Walsh. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1966. Illustrations, introduction, notes, appendix, index. Pp. xxviii, 342. \$10.00.)

Christopher Gadsden referred to himself as "Don Quixotte Secundus," and it is almost such a man who emerges from the pages of *The Writings of Christopher Gadsden*. Constantly struggling to bring honor to himself and to further his cause (in this instance, his country) Gadsden was always tilting—frequently at windmills. Gathered in this volume are most of the extant products of the facile, though careless, pen of this greatly neglected South Carolina merchant and revolutionary. Included in the book are letters concerning Gadsden's own affairs as well as those of his colony, state, and nation. There are also newspaper advertisements, polemical essays on politics, and well-done editorial identifications of whatever person or audience Gadsden happened to be addressing.

This volume does not take the place of a biography of Gadsden. Indeed, it becomes even more desirable that someone study this complex man and skillfully evaluate him and his relationship to his times. Richard Walsh does a masterful job of editing the papers of a man who "often wrote in haste, ignoring punctuation and rules of grammar, at the same time inventing abbreviations." The introductory summary of Gadsden's life is too brief to show satisfactorily why its subject shifted from a leader of the mechanics of Charles Town to an

opponent of government by the masses in both South Carolina and the nation. Reference to Walsh's *Charleston's Sons of Liberty* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1959) will provide some but not all of the answers. Gadsden's carelessness in construction and his multitude of correspondence are dealt with adequately in the editorial processes. His classical allusions and his frequent use of Latin phrases are not so adroitly handled. In an age when classical knowledge is at a premium, more delineation of sources and topics would be helpful, and a less free hand in rendering translations would preserve more of the flavor of the original.

Despite these failings and some unanswered questions concerning the few items not included, this is a valuable addition to the literature of Revolutionary and early national United States history.

J. Edwin Hendricks

Wake Forest University

Robert Johnson: Proprietary & Royal Governor of South Carolina. By Richard P. Sherman. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1966. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xii, 203. \$6.75.)

In 1930 the eminent Yale historian Leonard Labaree wrote: "In spite of what has been accomplished and what is now in progress, many opportunities remain for needed biographies of colonial governors." In 1967 it is still regrettable that pathetically few studies have been made of the 214 men who actually served in the office of royal governor in the New World to the end of the American Revolution. In the face of this paucity, it was a pleasure to see this biography of a man who was both a proprietary and royal governor of South Carolina. Richard P. Sherman, professor of history at Los Angeles' El Camino College, has assembled a creditably researched biography, utilizing a variety of official and semiofficial records and correspondence.

Robert Johnson, son of Sir Nathaniel Johnson, became governor in 1717 at a time when the forces of resistance to proprietary rule were massing in a campaign to assure royal status for South Carolina. Sherman portrays Governor Johnson as a highly competent administrator in not only having to cope with the machinations of the "popular party," but also in having to deal with Indians, pirates, Spanish, immigration, land disputes, and merchant-planter frictions. Even though deposed as governor after the "Charleston Revolution,"

Johnson was regarded with good will and respect by the people of South Carolina when he left for England in 1723.

Johnson returned to South Carolina in 1730 as royal governor "full of confidence in the future of the Province." In the four years' tenure as governor before his death in 1735, Johnson restored political harmony although confronted with a legislature bent on a quest for power. "His art of ruling was the major step in developing South Carolina into a firm and loyal Province of the British Crown."

Sherman's greatest contribution is in revealing the efforts by Johnson to secure the frontier of South Carolina by developing the so-called "immigrant buffer" concept through his "Township Plan of Settlement."

Unfortunately, though capably researched, it is this reviewer's opinion that in respect to interpretation and literary presentation this study is overshadowed by the portions dealing with Johnson in the late M. Eugene Sirmans' *Colonial South Carolina: A Political History, 1663-1763*.

James K. Huhta

Middle Tennessee State University

Henrietta Johnston of Charles Town, South Carolina: America's First Pastellist. By Margaret Simons Middleton. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1966. Foreword, illustrations, introduction, index. Pp. xvi, 88. \$6.00.)

Information concerning the history of art in the South is very scarce. It is therefore pleasant to report that in her eighty-eight page volume Margaret Simons Middleton has made a major contribution in this very neglected area with an interesting and well-documented account of the life and works of Henrietta Johnston. She has sketched in words, as Mrs. Johnston herself did with her famous pastels, a vivid picture of Colonial Charles Town and the faces seen in it.

Life was not easy in the early eighteenth century for Henrietta, wife of the ailing Commissary for the Bishop of London, Gideon Johnston. There are intriguing accounts of the trip across the ocean to America; the loss at sea of Johnston; reconciliation of the loss by Henrietta and her family; and later the safe return of Johnston after harrowing experiences. A variety of hardships, a trip back to England for each of the family, separately, the fact that her husband was never well received in Charles Town, and finally his death, all contributed

to the building of the staunch character of the pastellist. Ultimately, the final decision to take up the pastellist trade as a livelihood was proof of her maturity and strength.

Mrs. Johnston leaves an ever-growing number of delicately delineated faces of Charles Town folk and a meager group of letters which Mrs. Middleton has carefully interspersed in her charming presentation of America's first pastellist.

This book rates a place alongside of Mrs. Middleton's indispensable study, *Jeremiah Theus: Colonial Artist of Charles Town* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1953).

Ben F. Williams

North Carolina Museum of Art

Bookbinding in Colonial Virginia. By C. Clement Samford and John M. Hemphill II. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1966. Foreword, preface, illustrations, appendixes, bibliography, index. Pp. xxi, 185. \$4.00.)

This work, a volume in the *Williamsburg Research Studies*, is reproduced from typed copy. It was prepared by Mr. Samford, master bookbinder at Colonial Williamsburg, and Mr. Hemphill, associate professor of history at Southwestern at Memphis, in the series intended "to supply the day-to-day information essential to the accurate preservation and restoration of Virginia's colonial capital, and to supplement the interpretation of Williamsburg." Seven reports have already been published, but this is the first in the category of the handcrafts.

Virginia's first established printer, William Parks, had not only been a printer but also a bookbinder in Maryland before moving to Williamsburg. He brought both arts with him in 1730 and immediately began their practice. In addition to printing he was expected to provide suitable plain coverings for the laws of the colony. Parks' successors through the remaining years of the eighteenth century provided not only practical bindings but handsomely decorated ones as well. There are illustrations of books bound in calf and in blue and red morocco by these craftsmen, and many of them are decorated with gilt and with blind tooling.

Quotations from numerous documents of the period and from contemporary newspapers explain the materials used by bookbinders, the methods they employed, and something of the books themselves. There are detailed descriptions of surviving bindings of the time known

to have been the product of Virginia shops. Extracts from the daybook of printer-bookbinder William Hunter from 1750 to 1766 tell much of the variety of titles with which he worked, who some of his clients were, and the charges he made for his work.

There are careful bibliographical descriptions of the eighteenth-century books examined by the authors and accepted as examples of the work of Virginia bookbinders. There are sixteen examples of decorative devices used on bindings, and a classified bibliography of sources. The index is adequate, and the paper binding of this history of handsome and practical leather bindings of the eighteenth century seems more substantial than the average paper binding of the twentieth century.

The authors have surely combed every possible source, and they undoubtedly have related everything of interest which they found on the subject. Much of what they say, however, is based on what was typical of the time or on what can be deduced from surviving bindings presumed to have come from the hands of Virginia bookbinders. Readers are grateful for the information they have garnered but leave the book wanting to know more of this rare Colonial craft.

William S. Powell

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Jefferson at Monticello: Memoirs of a Monticello Slave, as dictated to Charles Campbell by Isaac. *Jefferson at Monticello: The Private Life of Thomas Jefferson*, by Rev. Hamilton Wilcox Pierson. Edited by James A. Bear, Jr. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1957. Editor's note, introduction, illustrations, appendix, notes, index. Pp. xiv, 144. Paper, \$1.85; cloth, \$4.00.)

James A. Bear, Jr., the curator of Monticello, has brought together in this volume the only known reminiscences of life at Monticello by men—one a slave, the other an overseer—who lived there under Jefferson's direction. Isaac, whose memoirs were recorded by Charles W. Campbell in 1847, was born a slave at Monticello in 1775, spent four years as a tinner's apprentice in Philadelphia while Jefferson was secretary of state, and later worked as a tinner and nail cutter at Monticello. The view of the master of Monticello from the eyes of a slave provides an unusual and engaging glimpse of the domestic life of Jefferson. Less familiar than the memoirs of Isaac, which have appeared in two previous editions (1951, 1955), is the account based

on the reminiscences of Edmund Bacon, who served as overseer or, as Jefferson called him, farm manager at Monticello from 1806 to 1822. The narrative was written by Hamilton W. Pierson, who, while president of Cumberland College in Kentucky from 1858 to 1861, found Bacon living on a farm in nearby Trigg County. In a series of interviews he recorded Bacon's recollections, which were supported by letters, instructions from Jefferson, and other papers in Bacon's possession. The account, in which the reminiscences and the papers were incorporated, was printed in 1862, and, while used by James Parton in his biography of Jefferson, is not widely known today.

The usefulness of the two accounts is enhanced by their publication together where the recollections of the two men may be compared. Both documents share the defects inherent in recollections as historical sources and the further difficulty that neither account was actually written by the participant himself but was recorded by a third party. Yet, in general, the accounts strengthen each other, both in regard to broad impressions and specific details. The wider range of observation enjoyed by the overseer makes his recollections the fuller, though, as the editor suggests, Bacon implied a greater intimacy with Jefferson than the contemporary records would indicate. The accounts must be used with caution, but the editor has carefully provided footnotes to aid the reader and the scholar, and the narratives serve to broaden the picture left by the contemporary records of Jefferson's personal characteristics and his private life at Monticello.

Noble E. Cunningham, Jr.

University of Missouri

John Letcher of Virginia: The Story of Virginia's Civil War Governor. By F. N. Boney. University: University of Alabama Press [*Southern Historical Publications No. 11*], 1967. Introduction, notes, selected bibliography, index. Pp. 319. \$6.95.)

John Letcher, Civil War Governor of Virginia, has long been overshadowed by two more colorful and controversial Confederate Governors, Zebulon B. Vance of North Carolina and Joseph E. Brown of Georgia. Professor F. N. Boney has redressed the balance in this first biography of a neglected political figure.

Letcher came from the Valley of Virginia and throughout his political career was a spokesman for the western counties. At one time he opposed slavery, but when the institution became important in

western Virginia, his opposition changed to vigorous support. In tracing the political career of Letcher, Professor Boney does an excellent job of explaining the intricacies of Virginia politics. Letcher served eight years in Congress and became governor in 1860 on the eve of the Civil War.

Letcher was typical of those western leaders who opposed secession. He called for harmony between the sections and in December, 1860, condemned South Carolina's hasty action. The Virginia Governor continued to resist the pressure of the Radicals until the firing upon Ft. Sumter. After Virginia left the Union, Letcher devoted his energies to arming the state.

Professor Boney presents a detailed account of Letcher's governorship. Along with other southern governors, he objected to the centralizing tendencies of the Confederacy, but unlike Vance and Brown, he did not engage in obstructionist tactics. The presence of the Davis government in Richmond tended to overshadow the governor of Virginia and the proximity of the fighting front made the actions of the Confederate government more understandable.

Letcher did not oppose conscription or the imposition of martial law, but he did embarrass Confederate authorities by his insistence that they turn Union prisoners of war over to the state of Virginia for trial on charges of treason. Although the Virginia Governor was less troublesome to President Davis than some southern governors, he did not provide the vitally necessary dynamic leadership for the state. It is here that there is the sharpest contrast with the administrations of Governors Vance and Brown.

Author Boney presents Letcher as both a timid and inflexible leader unsuited to a wartime emergency and as a realistic governor ready to "replace hoary doctrine with common sense and flexibility," but he makes a stronger case for the former.

Richard D. Younger

University of Houston

Messages of the Governors of Tennessee. Volume VII, 1883-1899. Edited by Robert H. White. (Nashville, Tennessee: Tennessee Historical Commission, 1967. Pp. vi, 769. Illustrations, appendixes, topical index, general index. \$4.00.)

This is the seventh time that Robert H. White has applied his prodigious knowledge of Tennessee history to the task of compiling

and editing the messages of that state's governors to its legislature. Covering the years 1883-1899, this volume comprehends the administrations of four governors (or five, depending on how one counts Robert L. Taylor's third but not successive term): William Brimage Bate, 1883-1887; Robert Love Taylor, 1887-1891; John Price Buchanan, 1891-1893; Peter Turney, 1893-1897; and Robert L. Taylor, 1897-1899. Quite appropriately, Dr. White labels this period as one of "Sunshine and Shadow," in view of "so many 'ups and downs,' consisting in part of legislative filibustering and general pussy-footing," that occurred during this almost two decades of Tennessee government. Aside from war and reconstruction, no other period of the state's history embraced so many legislative crises or required the calling of so many special sessions in addition to the regular ones in an effort to transact valid public business.

As in earlier volumes issued in this series, the editor has supplied a biographical sketch of each governor, an account of the circumstances surrounding his nomination and election, and a convenient summary of the main events of his administration. In addition, there is appended to each message a detailed explanation of the problems that called forth the message in question along with information as to the success or failure it met with in the legislature. Such a procedure has the effect of providing what is substantially a legislative history of the state during the period covered by the particular volume.

Among the events occurring in Tennessee history during the years 1883-1899 and treated in this volume, especial significance attaches to the absconding of the state treasurer during the Bate administration, leaving behind him a deficit of nearly \$300,000; the so-called "War of the Roses," perhaps the most unique political canvass in American history, pitting blood brothers "Bob" and "Alf" Taylor against each other in a gubernatorial race; the appearance and rapid spread of the Farmers' Alliance in Tennessee, resulting in the election of John P. Buchanan, whose one term was disturbed by repeated riots among East Tennessee coal miners who objected to competing with leased convicts from the penitentiary; the storm created by a series of political movements, including the alleged "steal" of the governorship by the Democrats in 1895, that handicapped both of Peter Turney's terms of office; and the reentry of Robert L. Taylor into the political arena in 1897 as in all probability the only Democrat who could have been elected after the machinations of this party during Turney's administration.

Three more volumes will be required to complete the ten that are projected in this series. It is to be hoped that these will be forthcoming within the not too distant future and that they will prove as interesting and instructive as the seven that have appeared thus far.

James W. Patton

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

The Toombs Oak, The Tree That Owned Itself, and Other Chapters of Georgia. By E. Merton Coulter. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1966. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. vii, 264. \$6.00.)

The nine essays in this book originally appeared in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* and have been gathered into a volume apparently as a tribute to Professor Emeritus E. Merton Coulter. They are chiefly of a problem-solving and debunking nature; it seems that Robert Toombs did not deliver a famous oration under the Toombs Oak, nor did the "Tree That Owned Itself" ever own itself. Other legends and traditions are also explored and exploded by the author. The story that "Home, Sweet Home" was composed by John Howard Payne for a Georgia sweetheart is revealed as pure invention, as is also the charge that Payne assisted in plotting an Indian uprising. The two essays contributing most valuably to historical knowledge are "Slavery and Freedom in Athens, Georgia, 1860-1866," and "Henry M. Turner: Georgia Negro Preacher-Politician During the Reconstruction Era." Certainly the most sensational is the account of the Woolfolk murder trials of 1887-1890; the dullest is the seven-page account of the Acadians in Georgia, which hardly seems worthy of the time spent in research. The two remaining essays describe the formation of Clarke County, Georgia, and the career of mathematics professor and Confederate volunteer, William D. Wash.

Professor Coulter, as always, sets a high standard of utilization of all possible sources in state and local history. This reviewer still objects to the publisher who places footnotes at the back, especially interesting explanatory footnotes, of which there are many in this volume. The illustrations would have been better if printed on glossy paper.

Except for convenience, the book has no special *raison d'être*, but it will be of interest to Georgians and to friends of Professor Coulter.

Sarah McCulloh Lemmon

Meredith College

The Lazy South. By David Bertelson. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967. Preface, notes, index. Pp. xiv, 284. \$6.75.)

At a time when contemporaries have written epitaphs for Dixie and historians have questioned whether southerners have ever really been so unlike other Americans, David Bertelson has written a volume in which he maintains that the people south of the Mason-Dixon line have always been different—from the earliest settlements to the present time.

Bertelson implicitly rejects Carl Bridenbaugh's contention that there was no "Colonial South," but merely a heterogeneous people living in the colonies below Pennsylvania; on the contrary, he asserts that the inhabitants of that region had by the mid-eighteenth century "defined a style of life and a set of values which can appropriately be called Southern." Was it slavery that made the South distinctive? No, says Bertelson: "Negro servitude did not make the southern colonies different from New England and Pennsylvania. They were different first." Were geographical conditions responsible? No again, he argues: "Geography did not create the South. . . . The difference lay not in the land but in the people. . . ." And what then made the southern people unlike other Americans? It was, he maintains, "the different attitudes and assumptions which they brought with them and their descendants perpetuated."

What really mattered were the regional attitudes concerning work. The founders of both New England and Virginia were concerned—as were many Englishmen of their day—with the elimination of idleness, which they interpreted in the traditional sense as meaning the "absence of rational, purposeful, socially oriented labor." In Massachusetts, where the Puritan fathers stressed work as the fulfillment of man's obligation to God, an authoritarian social order was established and a hardy concept of social unity prevailed. In Virginia, on the other hand, the founders hoped that the prospect of reward would lure men out of idleness, but they soon discovered that a system based

almost exclusively on personal economic advancement failed to develop a strong sense of community.

Virginians soon applied a second meaning to idleness: the failure to take advantage of economic opportunities. Thus work tended to be regarded as synonymous with busyness in pursuit of wealth. Why should one work if the activity failed to yield rewards? And why should one be content to live modestly by the sweat of his own brow when he could live prosperously by utilizing slave labor? Yet the old traditional view of idleness did not completely die. While spokesmen of the Old Dominion and other southern colonies often praised the qualities of graciousness and easy living which they associated with their society, they also wrote jeremiads deploring the fact that their settlements lacked those orderly characteristics they admired in the more traditionally industrious society of New England. Such lamentations, Bertelson maintains, "represented a desire for the kind of society the age accepted as natural, [but] they were also an admission of how strongly colonists were attached to the way things were."

By the antebellum period a tradition of praising leisure had been transformed into a means of justifying the superiority of southern social values. As economic depression pervaded the older plantation areas, it was comforting to believe that the southern planter whose fortune had ebbed away lacked the mercenary outlook of the enterprising, acquisitive Yankee. Yet, as Bertelson points out, this attitude served the region ill. While some southerners urged diversification to economy of the South, the strong allegiance to the "Southern way of life" effectively blocked industrial progress.

Bertelson has written a provocative book in which he challenges the views of such historians of the South's past as Wilbur J. Cash, C. Vann Woodward, and David N. Potter. "To the degree that America has meant economic opportunity without social obligations or limitations," he writes, "Southerners are Americans and Americans Southerners. Yet America has also been a nation of men professing a common allegiance and social values which have operated to check unlimited self-aggrandizement and its effects. In this sense the jeremiads were not really mistaken in noting differences North and South." In other words, it would seem, southerners have come closer than other Americans to fitting the stereotype of the greedy, self-centered, predatory Yankee!

Edwin A. Miles

University of Houston

The Age of Civil War and Reconstruction, 1830-1900: A Book of Interpretative Essays. Edited by Charles Crowe. (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1966. Preface, bibliographies, notes, index of authors. Pp. x, 479. \$6.60.)

One of the publishing phenomena of the age is the plethora of college history "readings" books now pouring forth from the presses. Among these anthologies the large paperback "book of interpretative essays" that Professor Charles Crowe of the University of Georgia has put together stands out as one of the most distinguished. It concentrates upon a single theme of the period 1830-1900: the struggle for the elevation of the Negro from slavery to full citizenship. All the selections come from the works of recent historians who are committed, in varying degrees, to the cause of civil rights. The editor explains: "It seems self-defeating for those who wish to depart from the narrow vista of the textbook world to assign students, without adequate explanation, and as if the scholarship of the various generations existed on the same plane of meaning, the more precise, sophisticated and thoughtful work of leading contemporary scholars such as Kenneth M. Stampff, John Hope Franklin and C. Vann Woodward, side by side with essays by James Ford Rhodes, William A. Dunning, and Ulrich B. Phillips from the high era of racism and imperialism of fifty years ago." Well said, but if the object is historical understanding as well as the advancement of a present-day cause, surely there is also a place for items (with "adequate explanation") that would show the tangle of emotions and rationalizations—and even occasional elements of truth and virtue—on the other side. Though this collection hardly reflects the complexity of the subject, it does extremely well what it sets out to do. Every one of the selections is interesting, important, well worth reading in its own right. The bibliographies are remarkably comprehensive and up to date, so far as the newer writings are concerned. The editor's own essays, introducing the ten sections into which the volume is divided, are gems of historiographical summary and interpretations. All in all, the book is to be recommended to the student, teacher, and general reader as the best available introduction to the current trend in the historiography of slavery, antislavery, emancipation, Reconstruction, and the ensuing triumph of racism.

Richard N. Current

University of North Carolina at Greensboro

At Ease in Zion: A Social History of Southern Baptists, 1865-1900. By Rufus B. Spain. (Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 1967. Preface, bibliography, appendixes, index. Pp. xiii, 247. \$6.95.)

At Ease in Zion is a scholarly work with a popular title. The thesis of this "social history of Southern Baptists, 1865-1900" is aptly summarized in the title. In a time of rapid social change and of the emergence of serious social problems, the largest religious group in the South remained essentially "at ease."

To gather his information the author made some use of official denominational reports. His chief source, however, was the weekly denominational papers. That these are the best sources cannot be questioned. The adequacy of such a sampling study as the one described on page 215, however, is open to question.

The author explains in his Preface that the views of the editors were not official but only representative. Yet he uses editorials in the same manner as he does denominational reports, thereby implying that the views were official. He rarely identifies an editor by name, again implying that it is the denomination speaking. And one wonders: Were there no differences between the various editors of the same state paper between 1865 and 1900? Were there no differences between the various state papers?

This reviewer is concerned about what the author does *not* say. In order to understand the Baptists in the South, it is necessary to understand the rest of the South. What did the Methodists think? The Presbyterians? The Disciples? The Episcopalians? Were Baptists radically different? If so, what were those differences? If not, did they simply reflect the dominant culture or did they change it to fit their pattern? Were they ever in advance of their culture? Occasionally the author indicates that he is aware of this problem. He says, for example, that the "beliefs of Baptists about Negroes and whites" were not "held exclusively by Baptists." But he proceeds then to talk about "the racial views of Baptists"! Perhaps they were not *Baptist* views but *southern* views.

This book is helpful to the historian and the churchman. It confirms some preconceived ideas and upsets others. It helps explain certain ideas that are current in the South today. It would be more helpful if it could be compared with similar studies of other southern religious groups.

Roger H. Crook

Meredith College

Forgotten Voices: Dissenting Southerners in an Age of Conformity.
Edited by Charles E. Wynes. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967. Illustrations, introduction, suggested readings. Pp. xii, 138. \$4.50.)

In the current period of racial tensions it is helpful to recall that similar problems plagued an earlier era. And it is of interest to see how some perceptive, thinking southerners spoke out against the then prevailing attitudes.

Professor Wynes has brought together in this slim volume seven such essays ranging in time from those by George Washington Cable and Thomas U. Dudley in 1885 to that by Quincy Ewing in 1909. A brief introduction sketches the rapid growth of racism, segregation, and disfranchisement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The essayists then speak for themselves in analyzing and criticizing in various ways the prevailing southern racial attitudes and patterns. In a brief introduction to each essay, Wynes provides relevant biographical information on the writer and summarizes the principal significance of the essay.

Some of the writers, such as Cable (whose "Freedman's Case in Equity" accounts for one fourth of the book) and Lewis Harvie Blair, have enjoyed recent revivals in other publications. The other essayists are: Dudley and Ewing (both Episcopal ministers), John Spencer Bassett and Andrew Sledd (both college professors who experienced harsh adverse reactions to their ideas), and Thomas E. Watson (who completely reversed his friendly attitude toward Negroes in his embittered later years). Some of the arguments are based on moral and ethical reasoning, and others on more legalistic and pragmatic grounds. To this reviewer, the essays by Cable and Ewing are the most thoughtful and significant. Both go to the heart of the problem by exposing the hypocrisy of southerners in defending a caste system designed permanently to degrade the Negro.

It may be difficult, as the editor observes, to understand how some of these writers accepted the now completely discredited beliefs concerning the innate inferiority of Negroes. Nor is it easy to comprehend why this seemingly mild criticism (such as Sledd's denunciation of lynching) should have provoked such bitter resentment. A collection of southern writings illustrating all shades of opinion on the Negro problem might make the early twentieth-century ideas clearer to present day readers.

Allen J. Going

University of Houston

With the Bark On: Popular Humor of the Old South. Compiled and edited by John Q. Anderson. Drawings by Mary Alice Bahler. (Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 1967. Foreword, introduction, illustrations, index. Pp. xi, 337. \$7.50.)

Whether viewed in the heroic mold of Dale Van Every's "frontier people" series or in the caricature of Snuffy Smith and Dogpatch, the backwoods American of the pre-Civil War generation was a unique individual. "The ruder but not less noble specimens of human kind that are dwellers of the Western tier of the States," one observer called them, were loyal to friends and unrelenting to foes, blunt and straight-forward in their discourse, robust and ribald in their amusements. Their entertainments were usually games made of essential activities, like the turkey shoot or the husking bee, and their humor was an extension of reality into the hyperbole of the tall tale. A reading of popular fun fiction by and about frontiersmen therefore offers insights into the miseries and joys of backwoods life.

This book is a collection of seventy short newspaper stories illustrating popular humor in the Old Southwest—not, as the subtitle implies, of the Old South. All but seven of these selections appeared in William T. Porter's weekly newspaper *Spirit of the Times* between 1831 and 1860. Most of them were the work of authors who prudently disguised themselves behind colorful pseudonyms such as "The Turkey Runner," "Ruff Sam," "Obe Oilstone," or "Pardon Jones." They dealt with universal plots—the boring story-teller on the river steamer whose tallest tales were topped, the champion horsetrader taken in by a jokester, the nonsense sermon of an illiterate evangelist, or the embarrassed gentleman who unwittingly undressed for bed in the darkened stateroom of a strange lady. Perhaps the best written is an account of a new town in Arkansas whose enthusiastic promoters "in their mad dreaming" were certain that half-a-dozen railroads could center nowhere else. "Concordia," the author of the satire, was a well-read and widely traveled observer of life and language.

As humor these tales are mostly failures, so rapid is the attrition that wit suffers from time. As belles lettres they must be relegated to the category of subliterature or regarded as promising prototypes of realism. But as witnesses to the lives of the backwoodsmen, "noble specimens of nature's man that form the barebreasted wall of our vast frontier," they are superb. The selection is judicious, the editing

meticulous but unobtrusive, and the printing is handsome. These stories convey an image of frontier life as it was, or, as Davy Crockett would say, here is the backwoodsman "with the bark on."

David L. Smiley

Wake Forest University

Benjamin Lundy and the Struggle for Negro Freedom. By Merton L. Dillon. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1966. Frontispiece, bibliography, index. Pp. viii, 285. \$6.75.)

This book fills a real void in the history of the early antislavery movement. It is the first full-length biography of Benjamin Lundy, the editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*; and because he was involved in so many aspects of the movement, it serves also as a useful study of some of the first organizations of this sort. As a Quaker, Lundy determined to do all that he could to do away with slavery, and he cultivated southern antislavery leaders. One of the important contributions of the book is to show that some of the first and most important antislavery movements developed in the South and the West rather than in the East. Lundy was actively interested in anything that would further the end of slavery. He started a humane society in 1816 and began the publication of his newspaper in 1821. He supported existing colonization societies and tried to organize several efforts of his own. He was actively interested, for example, in a colony in Haiti and even undertook a visit to Texas to investigate the possibility of establishing a substantial Negro colony there.

It was Lundy who first drew William Lloyd Garrison into the antislavery movement. Lundy was in a sense more practical than Garrison and less inclined to immediate and drastic measures. Lundy recognized that there were racial problems involved in the abolition of slavery and that was the reason he so strongly supported the colonization movement.

Although the author was handicapped by the fact that Lundy's personal papers were destroyed in the burning of Pennsylvania Hall, he has drawn a remarkably vivid picture of Lundy, the man. Frail and sickly throughout his life, Lundy still was carried forward by his

overriding desire to free the slave and to do it under circumstances which would make a good life possible for the freed Negro.

The book is well written and well documented.

Philip Davidson

University of Louisville

Early American Winters, 1604-1820. By David M. Ludlum. (Boston: American Meteorological Society [*History of American Weather Series*], 1966. Foreword, index. Pp. xii, 285. \$10.00.)

Early American Winters, 1604-1820 is the second historical monograph in the *History of American Weather Series* published by the American Meteorological Society. The author explains his intent as the recording in chronological order and proper geographical setting of meteorological details pertaining to extreme weather conditions over the eastern United States. He has accordingly arranged accounts under the headings of the "Northeast," the "Old South," and the "Old Northwest," concluding with a "Winter Anthology," giving local color or expanding accounts found in the main body of the text. Weather conditions have never been the object of organized study beyond previous accounts of major storms of particularly extreme seasons. The content is naturally weighted toward the northeastern area where, as Ludlum observes, the weather was more extreme and observers were more prevalent and more literary.

Earliest accounts come from New France in Champlain's diary of his exploration in Canada. Plymouth landing is described as a "happencance largely induced by the current meteorological situation." Pennsylvania is represented in a letter from William Penn describing the winter and extolling the climate. The Carolinas offer no daily accounts but "several interesting climatological documents written in defense of the questioned salubrity of the region."

In the eighteenth century the significance of the Great Snow of February-March, 1717, is recognized in the statement "there is no event of a non-political nature in New England history that has acquired such a reverential status." Winters of the Revolution include accounts of the Quebec expedition, the winter siege of Boston, Trenton, Princeton, Morristown, and Valley Forge. The Old South in the eighteenth century produced few observations in personal diaries or newspapers. Sources are largely letters and reports of public officials

and such volumes as John Lawson's and John Brickell's histories of North Carolina, the journal of Ann Manigault, and John Bartram's diary. Other interesting sources are George Washington's recordings of meteorological events and Thomas Jefferson's *Garden Book* and *Weather Memorandum Book*. The "Winter Anthology" contains some particularly pleasing narratives, such as "A Sermon Preached at Narraganset, March 15, 1740," by missionary James MacSparran, and "A Snowstorm as It Affects the American Farmer," by St. John de Crèvecoeur. In addition to his contribution to scientific literature on meteorology, Ludlum has succeeded in making the weather an interesting topic for reading and conversation. Each section is carefully footnoted and the anthology selections are preceded by brief pertinent sketches of the writers. Scientific charts add value to the descriptions. The author's continuing interest in the subject is found in his plea to researchers for aid in locating further meteorological records or descriptions of weather, either in manuscript or in print.

Beth Crabtree

State Department of Archives and History

The First Ten: The Founding Presidents and Their Administrations. By Alfred Steinberg. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1967. Foreword, bibliography, index. Pp. ix, 493. \$6.50.)

The presidency is highly honored in America, Steinberg points out, even when a particular president is not respected. This he attributes not primarily to the immense power of the office, but to the good foundation laid by the first ten presidents. A few examples: Washington took over the treaty-making power, Jefferson drew the actions of Congress so firmly under control that he enabled the White House to play a prominent role in initiating legislation, and Tyler succeeded, after a hard fight, in establishing the rule that when a president dies in office the successor becomes a full president rather than an "acting president."

This is a story of the day-to-day experiences in the lives of the nation's chief executives. It is written in a lively style and is full of human interest items. The important laws are mentioned, not to analyze them but to show how they affected the presidency.

In such a general work as this, based essentially on secondary works, it is inevitable that some errors should creep in, such as,

"Hamilton argued that the Federal Government . . . could do anything so long as the Constitution did not expressly forbid it," and America "expected a French invasion" in 1798. One wonders, also, if the nation's leaders were so completely self-centered as Steinberg indicates. Jackson, Clay, and Tyler, especially, are pictured as men whose sole concern on every issue was how it would affect their personal political fortunes.

The controversies of the day are always kept in focus, and nearly every president is seen as a constant target of malicious criticism by his rivals and enemies. Presidents of great stature or firm will, such as Washington, John Adams, Jefferson, and Jackson, came breasting through; but others, such as J. Q. Adams, Van Buren, and Tyler, seem to have suffered so intensely as to make it appear not worthwhile to be a president.

This book will make good reading for high school and college students and for general readers. It is hoped that Steinberg will continue the work through two more volumes.

Gilbert L. Lycan

Stetson University

Social Reform in the United States Navy, 1789-1862. By Harold D. Langley. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1967. Preface, bibliography, index. Pp. xv, 309. \$8.50.)

The purpose of this study as indicated by the author in his Preface is to examine the impact of the nineteenth-century reform fever on the United States Navy, especially on the "common sailor."

Professor Langley begins his study by reviewing briefly the history of the United States Navy during its formative years, 1789-1815. He follows this review with a study of the years of decline and reform, 1815-1862.

After discussing the decline which set in in the Navy in the years following the War of 1812, Professor Langley proceeds to illustrate the influence of reform efforts on the life of the common seamen by thoroughly investigating and vividly reporting the results of four related themes. He begins with the origins and activities of religiously motivated societies dedicated to working with and on behalf of naval and merchant seamen, with special emphasis on the American Seamen's Friend Society. The author credits this society and its associated

organizations with promoting reforms which resulted in drastic changes in the life of the "common sailor" by 1862. In addition to the religious life of the seamen, members of the Friend Society gave special attention to the custom of corporal punishment and the giving of a daily ration of intoxicating liquor to seamen. They also directed their attention to abuses in connection with enlistments and discharges. The author carefully traces the steady progress toward ultimate success in all the foregoing areas of activity. Flogging as a means of punishment was abolished in 1850, the liquor ration was discontinued in 1862. By that year the policies of the Navy regarding enlistments and discharges had been radically changed in favor of the seamen. Professor Langley considers all these reforms the equivalent of the "rise of the common man" so far as the navy enlisted man was concerned.

Professor Langley's study is scholarly, readable, and fills a void in American historiography. The footnotes and excellent bibliography indicate a painstaking study of the source materials and secondary works relating to the study. A warm sympathy for the navy enlisted man is revealed throughout the volume. The author has succeeded in portraying in a fascinating manner the impact of the humanitarian spirit on the "common sailor" from 1798 to 1862.

Alvin A. Fahrner

East Carolina University

The Centennial Years: A Political and Economic History of America from the Late 1870's to the Early 1890's. By Fred A. Shannon. Edited by Robert Huhn Jones. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1967. Illustrations, preface, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xx, 362. \$6.95.)

This book is an unexpected and welcome bonus—a posthumous dividend from the pen of Fred A. Shannon. When he died in 1963 even Professor Shannon's critics in the historical profession recognized that a craftsman of the first order was gone. A debt is owed, therefore, to Shannon's former graduate students collectively and to Robert Huhn Jones in particular for editing and carrying through to publication this manuscript on which their mentor had been working for eight years and had virtually completed by the time of his death. While *The Centennial Years* is rather narrowly circumscribed topically and chronologically to "a political and economic history of America from the late 1870's to the early 1890's," the fact that Shannon was most

noted for his work in nineteenth-century agricultural history made it appropriate for him to focus the attention of his last years on that period when farming, industry, and commerce were in a state of rapid and sometimes violent change.

There is relatively little new factual knowledge in this book. The author eschewed manuscript collections as unnecessary for a "general treatise." But however much one way quarrel with that decision, he cannot find fault with Shannon's thorough and careful review of the printed word—twenty-four pages of tightly printed bibliographical entries attest to his scholarship. In fact, the book's significant contribution is Shannon's distillation of the current and historical literature relating to this pivotal period of American history and his trenchant analysis of the events which took place. This analysis, as those who knew Shannon's earlier writings would expect, is a relatively unsophisticated defense of the farmer, the industrial worker, and the underdog, generally accompanied by a caustic attack on the "robber baron," the inept labor leader, and the corrupt politician. As Editor Jones observes in a lengthy and helpful preface, Shannon was an unreconstructed Populist and because of this his book is a healthy antidote to the entrepreneurial and urban historians who describe the antics of the business leaders of the period in terms of "industrial statesmanship" and who seize upon chance remarks or irrelevant inconsistencies in the farmers' protests to condemn out of hand the agrarian movement.

James A. Tinsley

University of Houston

The Papers of Woodrow Wilson. Edited by Arthur S. Link, with John W. Davidson and David W. Hurst, associate editors. Volume II, 1881-1884. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xvi, 680. \$15.00.)

Shortly after his abrupt withdrawal from the University of Virginia Law School late in 1880, Woodrow Wilson confessed to one of his closest friends from Princeton days: "I've fallen fairly in love with speech-making—which is a real luxury after one struggles to the lead . . . of a body of men and begins to realize that he can gain a hearing when others might find difficulty in doing so, and can, by an effort, change a vote while others fail to command their hearers' sympathies. . . . I think that an orator *is* made, in great part, and if

there be in me any stuff worth the working, I intend to make as much of an orator out of myself as indefatigable labor can bring out of the materials at hand."

With this kind of ambition pushing him on, Wilson still clung to his notion of becoming a lawyer. This volume covers the eventful period when he actually tried the law for about a year in Atlanta, found it intellectually disappointing, and moved on in the fall of 1883 to enter upon graduate studies in history and political science at Johns Hopkins University. These were the years, too, when he fell in love with and was rejected by his cousin, Hattie Woodrow. Then in the spring of 1883, while visiting in Rome, Georgia, he attended services at the First Presbyterian Church and was impressed by a young woman in a nearby pew. She turned out to be the preacher's daughter, Ellen Louise Axson, and by September of the same year, on the eve of his departure for Baltimore, Wilson had become engaged to her and begun the correspondence which makes up a substantial and fascinating part of this volume.

Buoyed by his new and great love, Wilson entered on his graduate studies. His letters described the sessions of Professor Herbert Baxter Adams' famed "Seminary," where graduate instruction first came of age in the United States. Before many weeks had passed, the twenty-seven-year-old Wilson, who already knew that he wanted to pursue his constitutional studies, decided that he would receive "little aid or stimulation" from his professors. "Of our three Ph.D.'s," he reported to Ellen, "one is insincere and superficial, the second a man stuffed full of information but apparently much too full to have any movement which is not an impulse from somebody else, and the third merely a satellite of the first." (The editors suggest that he was referring to Adams, Richard T. Ely, and John F. Jameson, probably in that order.)

But the library facilities were splendid, "many very choice spirits . . . from all parts of the country" were gathered at the Hopkins, and, more than ever, he was determined to fulfill his "very pronounced political ambitions" by becoming a professor, by acquiring "a special training in historical research and an insight into the most modern literary and political thoughts and methods, in order that my ambition to become an invigorating and enlightening power in the world of political thought and a master in some of the less serious branches of literary art may be the more easy of accomplishment." Admitting his presumption, he nevertheless confessed his consciousness in "his

most secret heart of making not the least pretension to *genius* and of relying altogether on hard work and a capacity for being taught."

Robert F. Durden

Duke University

Social Scientists and Farm Politics in the Age of Roosevelt. By Richard S. Kirkendall. (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1966. Introduction, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xii, 358. \$7.00.)

It is a truism that the writing of "recent" history poses special hazards—the problem of perspective, the restrictions placed on important documents, the influence of current biases and prejudices. Yet historians who investigate the later years often enjoy such compensating advantages as the sheer quantity of information available and the opportunity to interview prominent participants. Professor Kirkendall has been fortunate in realizing most of the advantages and at the same time escaping most of the hazards. His impressive research is at its best in utilization of the voluminous records of the United States Department of Agriculture in the National Archives, and of Columbia University's Oral History Collection, and his own numerous interviews. He also proves adept at using all types of published material.

Strongly influenced by Merle Curti since his graduate-school days, Kirkendall is generally interested in intellectual history, and particularly interested in intellectuals who go into the service of government. For his book he concentrates on the rather large group of social scientists whose planning for agriculture between 1930 and 1946 was widely known, controversial, and significant. The "service intellectual" of the New Deal was a direct descendant of the "scholar in politics" of the Progressive era.

Analysis of the role played by these university-trained men—"brain trusters"—begins with the first year of the depression, when two of the ablest, M. L. Wilson and Howard Tolley, worked with a Minnesota congressman in preparing a bill. That bill set forth the basic principles which all three favored for American farmers: agricultural adjustment, research and education, and democratic planning. Two years later the social scientists, now including Rexford G. Tugwell, persuaded Franklin D. Roosevelt to accept the domestic allotment program to control production. From 1933, when the Agricultural

Adjustment Administration was established, to 1940, when Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace resigned to run for vice-president, the planners made marked headway with the support of Roosevelt and Wallace. But the years of war, political considerations, and the hostility of Farm Bureau leaders combined to check the intellectuals. Their frustration was epitomized by the resignation of Tolley as chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in 1946 (Wilson remained in the Department of Agriculture "until driven from the place by Ezra Taft Benson in 1953").

The policies of the social scientists touched every section of the nation. And every section contributed individual intellectuals to the various branches of the USDA. For example, two ardent New Dealers who were natives of the Midwest were called to Washington from careers in the South: Paul Appleby, editor of a newspaper at Radford, Virginia, became the department's top administrative expert; and Carl C. Taylor, professor and dean at North Carolina State College, the department's leading sociologist.

Carefully and clearly the author reveals the personalities, the thinking, and the performances of his big cast. While his sympathies are with the social scientists, he does not deal unfairly with the farm leaders, businessmen, and politicians who opposed them. The net result is a work of excellent scholarship. Richard S. Kirkendall, who received his doctorate at the University of Wisconsin, is now associate professor of history at the University of Missouri.

Stuart Noblin

North Carolina State University at Raleigh

The Story of Surnames. By Leslie Gilbert Pine. (Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle Co., Inc., 1966. Selected bibliography, index. Pp. 152. \$4.75.)

The Story of Heraldry. By Leslie Gilbert Pine. (Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle Co., Inc., 1966. Illustrations, notes, selected bibliography, index. Pp. 164. \$4.75.)

Some years ago L. L. Lohr of Lincoln County reported that at a family reunion of the great-grandchildren of a German immigrant named *Klein* the following were among those present: Peter Klein, John Kline, Jacob Cline, John Small, George Little, and William Short. Each of the last four of these surnames is, of course, an English/American adaptation or translation of the German word *klein*, and its

use in North Carolina reflects the rather casual tendency of Americans—and indeed many other nationalities—to change family names. Name changes, whether for convenience, snobbery, or whim, raise a problem that is perplexing to both historians and genealogists; and Leslie Gilbert Pine, in his *The Story of Surnames*, has provided a very useful historical and etymological introduction to the subject.

Mr. Pine, who is a former editor of *Burke's Peerage* and *Burke's Landed Gentry*, is concerned primarily with family names found in the British Isles, and with those of other nationalities only as these may influence British names. He demonstrates that surnames are a comparatively modern invention, dating in England only from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and from a later date in Wales and other parts of the British Isles. He accounts for them etymologically as deriving from place names, from patronymics, or from nicknames; and he includes informative chapters on names of Norman, Welsh, Scottish, Irish, and of miscellaneous derivation. He is quick to point out that little can be determined from a surname standing alone, and by way of example, he points out that a family named Stewart could possibly descend from the royal family of that name, from someone who acted as steward in that royal household, from someone who acted as "sty-ward" or pig farmer, or from someone who simply liked the sound of the name and adopted it.

For one who is curious about names that begin with O', Mc, Mac, M', or ap, those which are hyphenated like Plunkett-Ernle-Erle-Drax and Grace-Groundling-Marchpole, *The Story of Surnames* is pleasant reading.

A companion volume to the above is *The Story of Heraldry*, dealing with those mysteries of coat armor which may be more perplexing to Americans than to their English cousins but for which there seems to be no less interest. Mr. Pine briefly discusses the origins and purposes of coats of arms (or crests, as these are sometimes called, erroneously), traces the history of heraldry and the College of Arms in Great Britain and the Commonwealth, and discusses recent and current armorial practices and techniques in Great Britain and America. He has included a useful glossary of some of the more frequently encountered heraldic terms, although not all of the terms used in the volume are included. There are a number of line drawings of coats of arms. Some of these illustrate heraldic problems and practices discussed in the text; others bear no apparent relation. This reviewer would have preferred to see more graphic illustrations of such heraldic descriptions as "azure a lion rampant double queued argent, crowned

or," "gules a fer de mouline ermine," and "checky or and azure, a fess gules," even though the colors called for in these examples could not be shown.

The romantic language of heraldry is not limited to coat armor descriptions in Old French. Such offices of the College of Arms as Garter, Clarenceux, and Norroy Kings of Arms; Richmond and Somerset Heralds; and Rouge Croix, Blue Mantle, Rouge Dragon, and Portcullis Pursuivants are included in the nomenclature of British heraldry very much alive today; and Mr. Pine discusses both the origins and the areas of responsibility for each of these.

Both *The Story of Surnames* and *The Story of Heraldry* include chapters on sources of information and suggested reading for those who wish to proceed beyond the introductory discussion which has been the author's intention.

C. F. W. Coker

State Department of Archives and History

OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Cradle of the Colony: The History of Chowan County and Edenton, North Carolina, by Thomas C. Parramore, assistant professor of history at Meredith College, is a well-researched, entertaining, and readable study of Edenton and Chowan County from 1586 to the present day. The author describes the study hopefully as "a prelude to much work that needs to be done in exploring and synthesizing the voluminous early records in the Cupola House papers, the Hayes collection, the County Court records and many archives." Dr. Parramore touches upon at least a dozen subjects for which definitive studies are needed. The 92-page paperbound pamphlet is printed on a good quality of paper; it is attractively illustrated with portraits, engravings, photographs, and sketches. Copies may be purchased from the publisher of the study, the Edenton Chamber of Commerce, Edenton, N.C., 27932, for \$1.00 each.

History of the Providence Presbyterian Church, 1767-1967, by Louise Barber Matthews, has been written and published to commemorate the bicentennial of the church which is located near Matthews in Mecklenburg County. The author begins the story with the

origin of the Scotch-Irish peoples and their migration to America in the second decade of the eighteenth century and concludes with the present ministry of the Reverend Tom A. Cutting, Jr. The 338-page book, which is unusually long for a local church history, is heavily footnoted, albeit most of the documentation is based on secondary sources. Biographical sketches of the early ministers who served the Providence congregation, such as William Richardson, Robert Archibald, James McRee, Thomas Reese, James Wallis, and Samuel Williamson, provide engrossing reading. In addition to a 16-page section of photographs, original sketches have been contributed by the Charlotte artist Al Fincher. There are 15 appendixes, among which are lists of early missionaries, ministers, and supplies, land records, and a cemetery census. A bibliography and index have also been provided. The clothbound book, which is printed on a good, heavy stock, may be purchased from the Bicentennial Committee of the Providence Presbyterian Church, Route 1, Box 300, Matthews, N.C., 28105, at \$7.50 each.

The Genealogical Publishing Company, 521-523 St. Paul Place, Baltimore, Md., 31202, has reprinted in a clothbound edition *King's Mountain Men*, by Katherine Keogh White, which originally was published in 1924. The book is divided into two sections, the first of which is made up of a miscellany of court records of Watauga, Washington County, N.C. (later Tennessee), 1778-1782, letters to and from Lyman C. Draper, two militia rosters, an excerpt from the diary of Captain Alexander Chesney, and pension declarations filed by King's Mountain participants and their heirs. Section Two is composed of brief biographical sketches of soldiers who may or may not have served at King's Mountain. There is an appendix which lists Tennessee Revolutionary pensioners, a bibliography of principal works consulted in preparation of the study, and an index. Although the major portion of the book is based on original source material in the Lyman C. Draper King's Mountain Papers at the Lawson McGhee Free Library, Knoxville, Tennessee, the author also used primary sources in other southern states and secondary sources. The documentation and location of source material is obscure in many instances. The price of the 271-page book is \$7.50, and copies may be ordered from the publisher.

The *History of the Third Creek Presbyterian Church*, by the Reverend John Kerr Fleming, is the story of a historic old church, located

in the Third Creek Community near Cleveland in Rowan County. The author, a descendant of early settlers in the community, has done a commendable job in assembling information concerning the church. He was unable to determine the exact date of the church's birth, because early church records have been lost. Evidence points to 1775 as the most probable date, although services are known to have been conducted in the area as early as 1751. John Thompson, the first Presbyterian minister west of the Yadkin River, preached there around 1751. Reverend Samuel E. McCorkle, great educator and preacher, was the first permanent pastor (1788-1792). Many Third Creek families have left their marks on the church, state, and nation, including the Buntons (maternal ancestors of President Lyndon B. Johnson), Flemings, Grahams, Johnstons, Knoxes (maternal ancestors of President James Knox Polk), Morrisons, Phifers, Ramsays, and many others. Perhaps the most notable person to have lived in the area was Peter Stuart Ney, the mysterious schoolmaster, who claimed to be Napoleon's marshal, and who is buried in the Third Creek Cemetery. Appendixes include names of ministers, officers, men in military service, and persons buried in the cemetery; an index is also included. Unfortunately there is no complete list of church members. Copies of the 199-page book, which is bound in hardcovers, may be obtained for \$6.00 from the Office of the Synod of North Carolina, Box 10785, Raleigh, N.C., 27605.

The Clan McBryde: A Brief History of John and Mary Wilkerson McBryde and Their Descendants, by A. M. Patterson, Rear Admiral, U.S. Navy (ret.), is, as the title indicates, a genealogical history. In a brief chapter on "The Highland Scots," the author discusses the origin of the Scots, the clans, and the McBrydes, and the coming of the McBrydes to the Cape Fear area of North Carolina in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. One chapter is devoted to the genealogy of John and Mary Wilkerson McBryde, and one each to eight of their nine children who lived to adulthood and bore offspring. Also included is an illustration and a description of a coat of arms for the Clan McBryde, and an index. The work has been produced by offset in an 8½ inch by 11 inch format; the print is legible and the information is presented in a well-organized manner, which facilitates use of the book for reading or research. Copies of the 153-page paper-bound volume are \$6.00 each and may be ordered from the author at Box 1881, Raleigh, N.C., 27602.

Charles Crossfield Ware, curator of the Carolina Disciplina Library, North Carolina Disciples of Christ, is the author of *South Carolina Disciples of Christ: A History*, published by the Christian Churches of South Carolina. The 216-page book is printed on a glossy paper; it includes 86 photographs, an index, and a chapter giving the life spans of 239 individuals who were influential in the early history of the sect in the Palmetto State. Copies are available in the clothbound edition at \$3.00 each and in a paperbound edition at \$2.00 each. Orders may be placed with the publisher at Box 3636, Charleston, S.C., 29400, or with the author at Box 1164, Wilson, N.C., 27893.

Civil War Chronicle is a retelling of the history of the Civil War in modern newspaper style as written by "reporter" John W. Wheeler, a career officer in the United States Air Force. The format of the book is a simulated two-page tabloid, 11½ inches by 14½ inches, bearing headlines such as "Federalists Routed at Manassas," "Rebels Strike at Chickamauga!," and "Lee Surrenders Rebel Army!" The 126-page volume includes 404 illustrations and is available in a clothbound edition at \$13.50 and in a paperbound edition at \$10.50. Send orders to Fireside Books, 10 South Brentwood Boulevard, St. Louis, Mo., 63105.

The Richmond County Historical Society, Augusta, Georgia, has published *A Guide to the Study of Augusta and Richmond County, Georgia*, compiled and edited by A. Ray Rowland, curator of the society. The 69-page paperbound booklet includes a listing of general works on the history of Georgia, newspapers published in Augusta, Richmond County Courthouse records, and a bibliography listing books, pamphlets, articles, theses, and dissertations dealing with the history of Augusta and Richmond County. Copies of the booklet may be ordered at \$1.00 each from the society, c/o Augusta College Library, 2500 Walton Way, Augusta, Ga., 30904.

The Whig Party of Missouri, by John Vollmer Mering, covers the history of the Whig party in that state from the election of 1824, "when some of Henry Clay's supporters joined with John Quincy Adams' few Missouri followers," to 1855, "when the General Assembly failed to elect a senator." The 275-page book, which is clothbound, includes notes, a bibliography, a county organization of the Whig party in Missouri, and an index. The author received a Ph.D. degree

from the University of Missouri in 1960, and this work is Volume XLI in the *University of Missouri Studies* series. Copies may be purchased from the University of Missouri Press, Columbia, Mo., 65201, for \$5.00 each.

The National Archives has recently published a new finding aid to facilitate use of its holdings, *List of Foreign Service Post Records in the National Archives*, which is Number 9 in its *Special Lists Series*, compiled by Mark G. Eckhoff and Alexander P. Mavro, and revised by Mario Fenyo and John Highbarger. This list is divided into two parts, "Records of diplomatic posts, 1788-1945," and "Records of consular posts, 1790-1949." In addition to a preface and an introduction, this 35-page pamphlet includes two appendixes, "Geographical list of consular posts and agencies," and "Regulations governing the maintenance of Foreign Service post records." For copies of this list and others in the series, write to Publications Sales Branch, National Archives, General Services Administration, Washington, D.C., 20408.