



THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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COVER—Deed from Kiscutanewh to Nathaniell Batts for land on the Pasquotank River, dated September 24, 1660. For an article on these and related Batts documents, see pages 66 to 81.

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## THE CAREER OF THE CONFEDERATE IRONCLAD "NEUSE"

BY WILLIAM N. STILL, JR.\*

The C.S.S. "Neuse" was one of twenty-one ironclad warships constructed and commissioned within the Confederacy. Stephen R. Mallory, Secretary of the Confederate Navy, and many of his officers considered the armored ship to be the most significant element of their naval program. Definitely, after the "Merrimac" affair in the spring of 1862, ironclad construction was emphasized; and, if time had allowed, these vessels might have made a more important contribution to the southern war effort. The story of the "Neuse" illustrates the frustrations encountered by the Confederate government in its attempt to build an ironclad navy.

In the fall of 1862 the Confederate Navy Department contracted for two ironclads to be constructed in the North Carolina sounds.<sup>1</sup> The "Albemarle" and the "Neuse" were designed by John L. Porter, naval constructor, as sister ships, shallow-draft vessels capable of navigating in the shoal waters of the sounds.<sup>2</sup> On October 17, 1862, a contract for the hull of an ironclad gunboat was signed between Mallory and the firm of Howard & Ellis, shipbuilders of New Bern. The hull was to be turned over to an agent of the Navy Department by March 1, 1863, "complete in all respects ready to receive the engine and machinery, and to put in place and fasten iron plating on said vessel, . . . the iron plates and the bolts for fastening the same are to be furnished by the party of the second part [Navy Department]. . . ."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Evidently, several gunboats including ironclads were under construction at Norfolk, Virginia, for the North Carolina sounds. They were to be sent through the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal; the vessels, however, had to be destroyed on the stocks when Norfolk was abandoned to the enemy in the spring of 1862. John G. Barrett, *The Civil War in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), 110, hereinafter cited as Barrett, *Civil War in North Carolina*.

<sup>2</sup> The two vessels were of the same class in size, number of guns, tonnage, and complement; they were to be 158 feet in length, and 35 feet in beam, single screw steamers armed with 2 pivoting 6.4 inch or 7 inch rifles, and with a complement of 150 men each.

<sup>3</sup> The contract for the "Neuse" is found in *Report of Evidence Taken Before a Joint Special Committee of Both Houses of the Confederate Congress, To Investigate the Affairs of the Navy Department* (Richmond: G. P. Evans & Company, 1863), 463-464.

Early in November, 1862, the keel was laid down at Whitehall, a small village on the Neuse River, eighteen miles southeast of Goldsboro.

Commander James W. Cooke, CSN, was ordered to "assist" in the building of the vessel at Whitehall and also with the "Albemarle," under construction on the Roanoke River. He was to obtain machinery and iron for armor, outfit the vessels after launching, and act in an advisory capacity between the contractors and the Navy Department. His most immediate problem, however, concerned defense. Early in the fall, General John G. Foster, in command of a Union force in eastern North Carolina, began raiding inland from his base at New Bern. At the same time gunboats attempted to ascend the Neuse to support Foster. Cooke became alarmed about the vessel at Whitehall. The river had been obstructed at Kinston, and Colonel J. F. Gilmer, head of the Confederate Engineering Bureau, assured the naval officer that, "with a sufficient force the obstructions . . . can be defended against any force the enemy are likely to send against it."<sup>4</sup>

Nevertheless, Cooke's apprehensions were well justified. Although the gunboats turned back because of low water, Foster's force, with its objective the important bridge near Goldsboro, slowly pushed back Confederate troops under General Nathan G. Evans. During the night of December 15, 1862, three companies of Union cavalry with several pieces of artillery reached the bank across the river from Whitehall. A brief fight followed with Confederate forces on the opposite bank during which a few shells were fired into the partially completed hull. Later that night a private in the Third New York Cavalry volunteered to swim across and finish off the hull; he got across but was prevented from accomplishing his mission because of rifle fire. The next morning the main Federal force reached the site; fighting broke out anew and once again the shell-scarred hull was hit.<sup>5</sup>

Evidently, the hull was repairable; for with the reoccupation of the village by Confederates, work was resumed. In February, 1863, the contractors were given their third and fourth payments, and late in

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<sup>4</sup> 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, VIII, 845, hereinafter cited as *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies*.

<sup>5</sup> For an account of the engagement at Whitehall see R. N. Scott and Others (eds.), *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 70 volumes [127 books, atlases, and index], 1880-1901), Series I, XVIII, 61-62, 66-67, 69, 121-122, hereinafter cited as *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies*, Series I, VIII, 467.



Artifacts taken from the "Neuse." From files of Department of Archives and History.

April or early in May they turned the finished hull over to the navy.<sup>6</sup> The vessel was then towed to Kinston where machine shops and other facilities needed to complete her were available.

During the summer and fall of 1863, carpenters worked on the interior of the hull—cabins, crew's quarters and mess rooms, shell rooms and magazines, berths and furniture. At the same time mechanics were drilling the armor plate as it arrived and bolting it to the hull.<sup>7</sup> In addition to the casemate, only the portion of the hull just below the waterline to the main deck was to be armored. Nevertheless, the chronic shortage of iron, which plagued the entire Confederate iron-clad program, seriously delayed completion of the vessel. Manufacturing facilities, including iron foundries and rolling mills, were scarce in the South. As late as February, 1864, a Union officer reporting on the progress of the vessel from information supplied by deserters stated that it was only "a question of iron and time" before the Confederate ship would be completed.<sup>8</sup> The officer's prediction was correct, but the problem of iron was not solved until time had nearly run out.

Less than two weeks after the contract for the "Neuse" was signed, the Navy Department was trying to obtain iron for armor. Mallory wrote to George W. Randolph, Secretary of War, requesting a quantity of rails belonging to the Portsmouth and Weldon Railroad. This could not be secured because of "pressure of the enemy." He then heard of iron belonging to the Atlantic and North Carolina Company, in which the principal stockholder was the state of North Carolina. The Secretary of Navy immediately wrote to Governor Zebulon B. Vance for the rails. On November 21 Vance wrote to Mallory that "upon consultation with the Directors of the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad Company I have concluded to let you have the iron for the gunboat building on the Neuse. . . ."<sup>9</sup> These rails were evidently obtained and shipped to Atlanta, Georgia, to be rolled into two-inch plate at the rolling mill there. More iron was needed not only for the "Neuse" but also for other armored vessels being built in North Carolina. Mallory and various naval officers continually urged the Governor to aid in its

<sup>6</sup> Receipt of payment, February 3, May 23, 1863, File on Ship Construction, Norfolk, Virginia, Navy Section, National Archives, Washington, hereinafter cited as File on Ship Construction.

<sup>7</sup> Vouchers, June through November, 1863, File on Ship Construction.

<sup>8</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XXXIII, 589.

<sup>9</sup> Zebulon B. Vance to S. R. Mallory, November 21 [1862], Letter Books of Governor Zebulon B. Vance, Archives, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Vance Letter Books. See also, *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies*, Series I, VIII, 814; S. R. Mallory to G. W. Randolph, October 28, 1862, and G. W. Randolph to S. R. Mallory, October 29, 1862, *Official Records*, Series I, LI, Part II, 638; George W. Randolph to Stephen R. Mallory, October 30, 1862, War Department Records, Old Army Section, National Archives.

acquisition. In January, 1863, the Secretary of Navy received a letter from Commander Cooke:

It is impossible to obtain any Rail Road iron unless it is seized. The Petersburg Rail Road agent says that he must have the old iron on the Petersburg to replace the worn out rails on that road. The Kinston and Raleigh Road require the iron taken below Kinston to replace the iron on the Charlotte & North Carolina Road and those Roads are considered a military necessity and the whole subject of Railroad iron was laid before the North Carolina Legislature and I am unable to obtain iron.<sup>10</sup>

Mallory forwarded a copy of the letter to Vance and wrote, "The vessels would not have been undertaken had the department not had good reason to believe the Rail Road iron could be obtained in North Carolina." Finally, in May a number of rails were acquired from the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad, and more were promised if new ones could be exchanged. A large quantity of unused new rails was located belonging to the Wilmington, Charlotte and Rutherford Company, but the company refused to part with it. Vance, however, was able to negotiate its release.<sup>11</sup>

In November, 1863, the hull of the "Neuse" was launched with armor (or part of it), but without engines, boilers, shaft, propeller, and other machinery. The shield, or armored casemate, could not be built until machinery had been installed in the hold. In January and February, 1864, the machinery began arriving by rail from Goldsboro and was immediately placed in the vessel.

On January 2 General Robert E. Lee recommended to President Jefferson Davis that an attack be made on New Bern as soon as possible. The operation, he said, should include troops "I can now spare . . . for the purpose, which will not be the case as spring approaches," plus naval forces. The naval force was to be composed of a fleet of small boats and the two ironclads under construction on the Roanoke and Neuse rivers.<sup>12</sup> The plan was approved although the two gunboats, still unfinished, had to be left out. Lee was obviously

<sup>10</sup> James W. Cooke to Stephen R. Mallory, January 23, 1863, copy in Vance Letter Books.

<sup>11</sup> Stephen R. Mallory to Zebulon B. Vance, January 23, 1863, copy in Vance Letter Books. This iron plus that acquired later was for all the ironclads under construction in North Carolina. It is impossible to estimate how much was allotted to each vessel. Apparently the "Albemarle" and those being built in Wilmington had priority. W. F. Lynch to Zebulon B. Vance, May 13, 1863; Zebulon B. Vance to W. F. Lynch, May 18, 1863; David A. Barnes to Haywood W. Guion, May 18, 1863, in the Vance Letter Books.

<sup>12</sup> R. E. Lee to Jefferson Davis, January 2, 1864, *Official Records*, Series I, XXXIII, 1061.

disappointed about this, pointing out in a letter to Davis that "with their aid I think success would be certain. Without them, though the place may be captured, the fruits of the expedition will be lessened and our maintenance of the command of the waters in North Carolina uncertain."<sup>13</sup> The attack was carried out, February 1, 1864, under the command of General George E. Pickett of "Pickett's charge" fame, and failed.

After the abortive New Bern expedition, Pickett was ordered to Virginia and General Robert F. Hoke assumed command of Confederate military troops in eastern North Carolina. Hoke immediately planned an attack on Plymouth, a small but important town near the mouth of the Roanoke River. With the failure at New Bern in mind, he urged that every effort be made to finish the two ironclads. The general not only urged completion, but he actively co-operated by detailing a large number of carpenters and other workmen from his regiments to work on the gunboats. Hoke was so encouraged by the reports from Lieutenant William Sharp, naval officer in charge of finishing the "Neuse," that he predicted the gunboat would be ready by March 1.<sup>14</sup>

The Navy Department was not as optimistic as General Hoke. Commander John Taylor Wood, naval aide to the President, had led the naval boat force in the New Bern expedition. On returning to Richmond he reported on the slow progress of the "Neuse" to Davis. "It was [Wood] . . . who, in his position as aide to the President was stirring Mallory up," wrote an officer in the department.<sup>15</sup> On February 10 the Secretary of Navy ordered Lieutenant Robert Minor to proceed to Kinston immediately, "and endeavor by every means in your power to hasten the completion of the gunboat. . . ." <sup>16</sup> Minor arrived in Kinston on February 14, and after two days of inspecting the work, reported to Mallory:

<sup>13</sup> R. E. Lee to Jefferson Davis, January 20, 1864, *Official Records*, Series I, XXXIII, 1101.

<sup>14</sup> *Official Records*, Series I, XXXIII, 56, 97. Regiments working on the "Neuse" included the Sixth, Twenty-first, Forty-third, Fifty-fourth, and Fifty-seventh North Carolina plus the Twenty-first Georgia. Voucher, File on Ship Construction. There is some evidence to indicate that Hoke believed the attack on New Bern failed because the two ironclads were not present. See the statement of a captured courier for General Pickett, John J. Peck to Henry K. Davenport, n.d., Area Seven File, Navy Section, National Archives, hereinafter cited as Area Seven File.

<sup>15</sup> Robert D. Minor to wife, February 11, 1864, Minor Family Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, hereinafter cited as Minor Family Papers.

<sup>16</sup> Stephen R. Mallory to Robert D. Minor, February 10, 1864, Minor Family Papers. He described this interview to his wife in a letter to her dated February 11, 1864.

Lieutenant Commander Sharp has a force of one hundred and seventy two men employed upon her, including . . . nineteen men from the Naval Station on the Peedee, four from Wilmington and 105 detailed temporary [*sic*] by Brigadier General Hoke from his Brigade now in camp in this vicinity. And additional force . . . can be obtained from the General at any time when their services may be needed. As you are aware the Steamer has two layers of iron on the forward end of her shield, but none on either broadside, or on the after part. The carpenters are now bolting the longitudinal pieces on the hull, and if the iron can be delivered more rapidly, or in small quantities [*sic*] with some degree of regularity, the work would progress in a much more satisfactory manner. The boiler was today lowered into the vessel and when in place, the main deck will be laid in. . . . The river I am told is unprecedently [*sic*] low for the season of the year. . . . I am satisfied that not more than five feet can be now carried down the channel . . . and as the Steamer when ready for service will draw between six or seven feet, it is very apparent that to be useful, she must be equipped in time to take advantage of the first rise. . . . I have advised and directed the immediate construction of four camels, to be used to move the ship on her way down the river. Mr. A. F. Tift left here for Augusta, Georgia on Monday last to hurry forward the remainder of the iron plate—two car loads of which had arrived prior to his departure. Agents have been sent to various points to collect material. . . . At my suggestion Lieutenant Sharp has adopted the plan of working his men from 7 a.m. until 7 p.m. with an intermission of one hour for dinner, and with relief parties who will work from 7 p.m. until 3 a.m. . . . The arrangement has gone into partial affect [*sic*] today and will be completed tomorrow. Lieutenant Sharp informs me that General Hoke has already commenced the removal of the obstructions in the river, but from my inspection of them today I am [sure that it will take two or three weeks] . . . to open a channel sufficient [*sic*] wide for the steamer to pass. Lieutenant Sharp also informs me that he is organizing his crew—twenty-eight now on board, and he will make up the whole number of men allowed the vessel from those in the army who are accustomed to a seafaring life and have volunteered. . . .

I have advised and since directed the immediate construction of a covered lighter of sufficient capacity to carry two days coal and twenty days provisions for the steamer. . . . If the material is delivered here as rapidly as I hope it will be from the arrangement . . . I believe the steamer will be ready for service by the 18th of next month. . . .<sup>17</sup>

Toward the end of the month Minor was able to report that the work was "progressing rapidly." About the same time Lieutenant

<sup>17</sup> Robert D. Minor to Stephen R. Mallory, February 16, 1864, Minor Family Papers. See also, John Taylor Wood to Catesby ap [*sic*] R. Jones, February 26, 1864, Area Seven File; and Robert D. Minor to his wife, February 14, 1864, Minor Family Papers.

Benjamin P. Loyall arrived and relieved Sharp.<sup>18</sup> Loyall was to finish constructing and fitting out the vessel, then assume command of her for the coming operation. On March 9 Loyall wrote, "The *Neuse* floats not—the first course of iron is complete—the second fairly begun—the Guns are in and mounted and I think will work well. But the ignorance and greeness [*sic*] of my conscripts is inconceivable. They surely would make an old tar swear his head off." He also said, "The *stop* is at Wilmington, where there are several car loads of iron waiting transportation. We have been working slowly for the past few days from want of iron, and I don't know how it can be helped. . . ."<sup>19</sup>

Transportation facilities, particularly railroad, were never adequate in the Confederacy, and as the war progressed, those available rapidly deteriorated. This inevitably affected shipbuilding—there was no central location for supplies and materials needed to construct and fit out a ship of war. Shipyards were in various localities, ordnance stores and laboratories in other places, and foundries, machine shops, iron works, and rope walks, were elsewhere. On March 11 Mallory wrote to the Secretary of War, "The ["*Neuse*" and "*Albemarle*"] . . . are completed with the exception of the iron plating, and the mechanics are delayed in their work waiting for it." He then emphasized that "the work upon these vessels has been delayed for months by the want of transportation, and now that they are very near completion I respectfully urge that no further delay on this account may be had, for unless completed at an early day the detention of the boat at Kinston by the fall of *Neuse* River will be disastrous. . . ." The letter was forwarded to A. R. Lawton, the Quartermaster General, who replied, "at present forage and food necessary for our armies in the field demand our entire transportation."<sup>20</sup>

The situation improved little in the next few weeks. An officer commanding one of the units detailed to provide labor to finish the

<sup>18</sup> Stephen R. Mallory had not waited to hear from Robert D. Minor before he relieved William Sharp of his command and replaced him with Benjamin P. Loyall. John K. Mitchell to Benjamin Loyall, February 14, 1864, Personnel Records, Naval History Division, Department of the Navy, Washington. The date of Sharp's arrival to supervise construction of the vessel has not been determined. One authority suggests the spring of 1863. Richard Southall Grant, "Captain William Sharp, of Norfolk, Virginia, U.S.N.—C.S.N.," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XLVII (January, 1949), 51-52.

<sup>19</sup> Benjamin P. Loyall to Robert D. Minor, March 9, 1864, Minor Family Papers.

<sup>20</sup> S. R. Mallory to James A. Seddon, March 11, 1864, *Official Records*, Series I, XXXIII, 1218-1219. In this letter Mallory included an excerpt from a letter from Flag Officer William Lynch. Lynch wrote that there were two carloads at Wilmington awaiting shipment to Kinston and Halifax. A month before two carloads for the "*Neuse*" on the way from Atlanta to Wilmington disappeared and the Flag Officer had several naval officers riding the rails trying to find out what happened to them. Robert D. Minor to his wife, February 11, 1864, Minor Family Papers.

vessel complained in his journal, "I furnish good ship carpenters—the navy keep[s] the workmen waiting for material." He wrote later, "Mr. Howard in charge of the work upon the Boat complains of want of material to finish. Plait [*sic*] iron and even rails are wanted."<sup>21</sup> On April 7 Loyall wrote, "You have no idea of the delay in forwarding iron to this place—it may be unavoidable, but I don't believe it. At one time *twenty one days* passed without my receiving a piece. . . . Every time I telegraphed to Lynch he replies, 'Army monopolizing cars.' It is all exceedingly mortifying to me. . . ."<sup>22</sup>

In spite of the serious transportation problem, by April the vessel was beginning to take shape. All of her officers had reported and were housed about a quarter of a mile from the yard until she was completed. The crew was being assembled—mostly, as one officer described them, "long, lank, *Tar Heels* . . . from the Piney woods. You ought to see them in the boats," he said; "they are all legs and arms and while working at the guns their legs get *tangled* in the tackles and they are always in the wrong place and in each other's way."<sup>23</sup> The two guns (6.4 inch Brooke rifles) were already mounted, and the crews were drilled twice a day with them.

The newly arrived officers were not very impressed with their ship. One called her the "Neus'ance," and another said, "she will be the most crowded and cramped affair you ever saw—there has been unnecessary space taken up for coal, which will only bring her down in the water. . . . Mark what I say—when a boat, built of green pine and covered with 4 inches of iron gets under the fire of heavy ordnance she proves anything but bomb proof. This vessel is not fastened and strengthened more than a 200 ton schooner. Her upper deck is 2 inch pine with light beams and is expected to hold a pilot house. I should not be surprised, if said pilot house was knocked off."<sup>24</sup>

On April 16 Loyall wrote that although the ironclad would not be finished, she would be operational in about a week. Unfortunately, one week was too late. General Hoke had already begun his campaign for control of the sounds without the assistance of the "Neuse." On April 13 General Lee wrote to General Braxton Bragg, in command of Confederate troops in North Carolina, ordering Hoke's units back to Virginia. This was done, he said, because the two ironclads were not

<sup>21</sup> "Descriptive Journal of Company B, 10th North Carolina Artillery Regiment," in William Alexander Hoke Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

<sup>22</sup> Benjamin P. Loyall to Robert D. Minor, April 7, 1864, Minor Family Papers.

<sup>23</sup> Richard H. Bacot to "Sis," March 19, 1864, Richard H. Bacot Papers, Archives, hereinafter cited as Bacot Papers.

<sup>24</sup> Benjamin P. Loyall to Robert D. Minor, April 16, 1864, Minor Family Papers.

finished, and he could see no advantage in leaving needed soldiers in North Carolina.<sup>25</sup> One of the gunboats was ready, however, or at least the "Albemarle" "could be used"; and her commanding officer, James W. Cooke, promised that she would take part in the assault.<sup>26</sup> A combined attack on Plymouth followed April 17 to 20 with the "Albemarle" playing a significant role in General Robert F. Hoke's capture of the town.

After the successful Confederate capture of Plymouth, Union forces withdrew down the Roanoke. Hoke then determined to move against New Bern. Loyall, commander of the "Neuse," was ordered to get underway immediately and co-operate in the attack. Enthusiastically, the ship's crew prepared to move down the river, confident that they would "take the city and sink the gunboats without much trouble . . . and have a fine time afterwards."<sup>27</sup> There was some concern about the obstructions and the depth of the water in the river. It had been falling since early in March, and in spite of several heavy rains, was still quite low. Shoal water, however, was anticipated, and several camels were built to lift the vessel over.<sup>28</sup>

On April 27 the "Neuse" got underway and steamed slowly down the river. The ironclad steamed only about a half mile from her anchorage when a crunching sound was heard, and she grounded on a sand bar. The crew frantically tried to get her afloat again, but without success. By nightfall the bow was four feet out of the water. One bitterly disappointed officer wrote, "We will have to wait for a freshet again and that will probably take place in *July* or *August*."<sup>29</sup>

The news was telegraphed to General P. G. T. Beauregard, who on April 23 had assumed control of the newly created Department of North Carolina. Beauregard wanted to call off the attack, but President Davis advised him to wait and see if the vessel could be freed. By the first of May it was obvious that she was "hard aground" and

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<sup>25</sup> R. E. Lee to Braxton Bragg, April 13, 1864, *Official Records*, Series I, XXXIII, 1278. Troops were encamped in the vicinity of Kinston to co-operate with the "Neuse" in the attack. George [?] to O. W. Hooper, March 27, 1864, Aurelia Hooper Papers, Manuscript Department, Duke University Library, Durham.

<sup>26</sup> Parrett, *Civil War in North Carolina*, 215.

<sup>27</sup> Richard H. Bacot to "Sis," March 19, 1864, Bacot Papers.

<sup>28</sup> Robert D. Minor to Stephen R. Mallory, February 16, 1864, Minor Family Papers.

<sup>29</sup> Richard H. Bacot to "Sis," March 19, 1864, Bacot Papers. Union information about Hoke's projected movement and of the "Neuse" was remarkably accurate.

could not participate in the operation.<sup>30</sup> Beauregard, however, allowed Hoke to continue his movement, but suggested that he use the "Albemarle" in place of the grounded "Neuse." On May 5 the "Albemarle" started down the Roanoke, intending to cross the sounds and enter the Neuse River. Reaching Albemarle Sound she was attacked by Union gunboats and forced back to Plymouth in a crippled condition. That same day General Hoke, who had commenced his attack on New Bern the previous day, received orders to cancel the operation immediately. U. S. Grant was on the verge of beginning an offensive, and Hoke's troops were needed to reinforce Lee.

The "Neuse" remained on the sand bank nearly a month, finally breaking free when the river rose late in May. With military operations in the area suspended, and the troops in Virginia, the vessel was taken back to her old "cat hole." There she remained throughout the summer and fall of 1864. For the crew, duties were rather light during this period; the officers on board tried to find diversion in what they considered a "dull town." One junior officer wrote, "The *Gunboats* (as we are called here) have concluded to have as nice a time as possible and find plenty of amusements. We have the exclusive use of a tin-pin alley, where we exercise our muscles every morning. We pitch Quoits after dinner and have various diversions for the evening; such as boating, visiting, walking. . . ." Courting the opposite sex was, as usual, rather popular with the unmarried crew members, and at least one officer found himself engaged to a young refugee in town.<sup>31</sup>

Loyall's hopes of taking his ship into action gradually disappeared, but when he received an inquiry about a change of command, he wrote, "I would very much regret to give up the idea of carrying into action such a crew as this. And all things considered the ship is not a discredit to the Navy, but would be no mean adversary for our *friends* in the Sound. . . ." <sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, on August 25 he was relieved and ordered to the James River Squadron. Commander Joe Price replaced him.

Although the "Neuse" was operational in the fall and winter of 1864-1865, she remained helpless in the river at Kinston. Troops were not available for a movement down the river, and because of the

<sup>30</sup> Barrett, *Civil War in North Carolina*, 221; Alfred Roman, *The Military Operations of General Beauregard in the War Between the States, 1861 to 1865* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1884, 2 volumes), II, 196-197, 544-547, 542; P. G. T. Beauregard to Braxton Bragg, P. G. T. Beauregard Papers, Duke Manuscript Department; P. G. T. Beauregard to R. F. Hoke, May 1, 1864, *Official Records*, Series I, LI, Part II, 883; W. H. C. Whiting to [P. G. T.] Beauregard, April 27, 1864, *Official Records*, Series I, XXXIII, 1314.

<sup>31</sup> Richard H. Bacot to "Sis," July 18, 1864, March 27, 1865, Bacot Papers.

<sup>32</sup> Benjamin P. Loyall to Robert D. Minor, August 4, 1864, Minor Family Papers.

strongly defended obstructions near the mouth, the ironclad could not move without military co-operation.

Spring came and with it the final collapse of the Confederacy. The fall of Wilmington late in February was followed in March by Sherman's invasion of the state. At the same time a Union force under General Jacob D. Cox was moving in the direction of Goldsboro. For three days (March 7-9), Confederates under Bragg and Hoke tried to stop Cox's advance below Kinston, but the arrival of Union reinforcements forced the southerners to break off the engagement. General Bragg ordered the evacuation of Kinston. The "Neuse" was to cover the retreat of Hoke's division, and "if practicable, before sacrificing, [she was] . . . to move down the river by way of diversion, and make the loss . . . as costly to the enemy as possible."<sup>33</sup> This was impossible because of the lack of coal and provisions; after shelling Union cavalry for a short period, the remaining stores were removed, the guns were spiked, and the ironclad was set on fire and abandoned. She was supposed to blow up when the fire reached her magazine, but a loaded

<sup>33</sup> *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies*, Series I, XII, 190-191.



"Neuse" being raised from the Neuse River in the fall of 1961. From files of Department of Archives and History.

gun discharged, blowing a hole in her below the water line. Within a few minutes she sank in shallow water.<sup>34</sup>

Although the "Neuse" never participated in a battle and fired only a few random shots at an enemy, she nevertheless did perform a service. Her presence in the river occupied Union naval and military forces that might have been used elsewhere. After the "Albemarle" was destroyed, the strategy of the "fleet in being" was carried out by one ship, the "Neuse," which continued to be a passive threat.<sup>35</sup>

[The C.S.S. Gunboat "Neuse" had been buried in the Neuse River for ninety-six years, when she became the object of a great deal of interest and activity. In November, 1961, the banks of the river were alive with men and equipment, preparing to raise the ironclad.

After removal of the sand and debris around the "Neuse," steel barrels were lashed to her sides and the old gunboat was afloat. Severe rains caused the boat to sink again, but in the spring of 1963 the "Neuse" was successfully lifted to the bank of the river.

Situated permanently at the Governor Richard Caswell Memorial in May, 1964, the "Neuse" is finally at rest. Before being moved to her present location, the gunboat was cut into three sections, which were later rejoined. Wood preservative was applied and a stout wooden frame was built to cradle the "Neuse."

An interested group, led by Dan M. Lilley, is working to raise funds to match a challenge grant from the Richardson Foundation of Greensboro and New York. The project involves a total of \$40,000, of which the state of North Carolina has appropriated \$15,000 and the Richardson Foundation is granting \$5,000, leaving \$20,000 to be raised locally. The city of Kinston has set aside \$5,000, and \$1,000 has been obtained through the sale of medals and coins by the committee headed by Lilley. The medals were struck to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of the March, 1865, scuttling of the "Neuse" to prevent its capture. Three kinds of medals are available: \$10.00 (silver), \$3.00 (bronze and silver), and \$2.00 (bronze), all of which contain metal recovered from the "Neuse." (Orders should be directed to Box 824, Kinston.)

When the remaining \$14,000 is raised a visitor center-museum will be constructed to house the artifacts recovered from the "Neuse" and to provide an orientation facility for visitors. In addition to such mundane items as pots and pans, exhibits will include blocks and tackles, percussion shells, grape and canister shot, and the bell from the "Neuse." Future plans include the erection of a protective shelter for the hull of the more than 300-ton gunboat. Editor.]

<sup>34</sup> J. D. Cox to A. C. Rhind, March 14, 1865, *Official Records*, Series I, XLVII, Part II, 838. For the last day of the "Neuse," see Bacot to "Sis," March 27, 1865, Bacot Papers; and Kinston *Daily Free Press*, April 24, 1940.

<sup>35</sup> For various impressions by Union officers of the "Neuse" and her potential threat, see John J. Peck to B. F. Butler, April 14, 1864, February 23, 1864, March 12, 1864, I. N. Palmer to J. R. Shaffer, April 23, 1864, [I. N.] Palmer to [P. J.] Claassen, April 25, 1864, *Official Records*, Series I, XXXIII, 280, 282-283, 589, 672, 960-961, 982; see also, *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies*, Series I, IX, 569-570.

# JOHN ADAMS AND THE MODERATE FEDERALISTS: THE CAPE FEAR VALLEY AS A TEST CASE

BY LEONARD L. RICHARDS\*

Charles A. Beard maintained that the Federalists favored commercial interests and derived their strength from business and shipping cliques, while the Republicans represented agrarian interests and drew their support from planters and farmers.<sup>1</sup> Since his thesis first appeared, other historians have been asking an embarrassing question. With at least nine out of ten Americans farming in the 1790's, why then did the Republicans lose the presidential election of 1796? There was insufficient strength numerically in the commercial groups for the Federalists to form a majority!

Recently Manning J. Dauer presented a thesis which answers this objection. His penetrating analysis led to three conclusions. First, the Federalist party drew part of its strength from the wealthier farmers who grew much of their crop for export. Second, the congressmen who represented these farmers were the moderate Federalists who gave their allegiance to John Adams rather than Alexander Hamilton. And third, the downfall of Federalism came when the agrarian element was driven from the party by the commercial wing's warlike and expensive policies in the late 1790's.<sup>2</sup>

An illustration of Dauer's thesis is the Cape Fear Valley in North Carolina, where the voters continually chose a moderate Federalist, William Barry Grove, to represent them in Congress. The Fayetteville District, however, is a striking exception to Dauer's thesis, for it remained a Federalist stronghold until Federalism disappeared from state affairs in 1815. Indeed, after 1806 the Federalist party was for all practical purposes the only party in the district!

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<sup>1</sup> Charles A. Beard, *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1915), *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Manning J. Dauer, *The Adams Federalists* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1953), *passim*, hereinafter cited as Dauer, *Adams Federalists*.

Why? What was the cause of this puzzling voting behavior? Was it economic interests, or disfranchisement, or state politics, or ethnic background, or some other factor? The purpose of this essay is to answer the questions and to provide further insights into the Federalist period.

Although Beard and Dauer found that economic cleavage determined political alignment, there was very little economically that distinguished the Fayetteville District from her Republican neighbors. Most of the people were "middling" farmers with "Surely more below than above Mediocrity."<sup>3</sup> Only one family out of six owned slaves, and only one in twenty owned more than five.<sup>4</sup> The rich lands were on the banks of the Cape Fear River; the rest of the land was sandy, unproductive pine barrens. Consequently, most people lived as close to water as they could.

The district had only one town; in 1800 the borough of Fayetteville was a place of considerable trade, transporting naval stores, lumber, tobacco, wheat, flaxseed, and cotton down the Cape Fear River to the Wilmington market.<sup>5</sup> The principal exports were naval stores and lumber products. While North Carolina led the world in the production of naval stores, lumbering was more widespread in the Cape Fear Valley. Virtually every farmer logged to supplement his income. About one-half of the wood was produced for the domestic market. Of the remainder most was shipped from Wilmington to the British West Indies. Naval stores were sent mainly to England, though some went to New England. The secondary exports were wheat, tobacco, cotton, and flaxseed. Wheat was usually sent to the West Indies, except in times of scarcity in Great Britain and France. Tobacco and cotton were exported to England and northern Europe. Flaxseed was generally shipped to Ireland and occasionally to England and southern Europe.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Albert R. Newsome (ed.), "Twelve North Carolina Counties in 1810-1811," *North Carolina Historical Review*, VI (July, 1929), 285, hereinafter cited as Newsome, "Twelve North Carolina Counties."

<sup>4</sup> 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), XXVI, 240-253, 299-312, 437-464, 788-802, 968-977, hereinafter cited as Clark, *State Records*.

<sup>5</sup> John Melish, *Travels Through the United States of America* (Belfast, Ireland: Joseph Smyth, 1818), 185.

<sup>6</sup> C. C. Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina, 1763-1789* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936), 53-69; Duke de la Rochefoucauld Liancourt, *Travels Through the United States* (London: R. Phillips, 2 volumes, 1799), II, 314-317, 514-517; Timothy Pitkin, *A Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States of America* (New York: James Eastburn & Company, 1817), 48, 96-104, 109-142.

Although Wilmington exported twice as much as New Bern and Edenton during the 1790's and ranked thirteenth nationally from 1801 to 1805,<sup>7</sup> these figures are misleading. For most of North Carolina's products went out through Virginia and South Carolina, and the more productive land was in the Piedmont region and in the northern part of the state rather than in the Cape Fear Valley.<sup>8</sup> New Bern and Edenton exported less than Wilmington because they lacked adequate harbors; while the Cape Fear River flowed directly into the ocean, the New Bern and Edenton accesses to the sea were dangerous and indirect.

While the borough of Fayetteville was rising in wealth and importance, it had limited influence on the voting behavior of the district. First, less than 5 per cent of the district's voting population lived there in the 1790's. Second, only a few farmers depended on the Fayetteville market. The people in Moore County seldom went to market, and the farmers in Robeson and Richmond counties traded with Charleston, South Carolina, because of inadequate transportation facilities to Fayetteville.<sup>9</sup> The people in Anson County, owing to their distance from the borough, probably carried their goods down the Yadkin River, which runs through Anson County, to Charleston, too. The merchants of Fayetteville seldom tried to acquire this trade. Their primary concern was to increase their trade with the back country by running a canal into Chatham County and the heart of the Piedmont.<sup>10</sup> They were interested, however, in trading with the farmers in their own county of Cumberland. These farmers were the wealthiest in the district; in 1790 one family out of 103 owned more than twenty slaves, while in the other four counties only one in 440 owned that number.<sup>11</sup>

Perhaps their greater wealth influenced their political outlook, but this influence was definitely slight. For Federalism was not stronger in Cumberland County than in the poorer counties; there was always

<sup>7</sup> *Minerva* (Raleigh), January 27, 1806.

<sup>8</sup> Elkanah Watson, *Men and Times of the Revolution, or Memoirs of Elkanah Watson* (New York: Dana and Company, 1856), 70, 299; Archibald Henderson (ed.), *Washington's Southern Tour, 1791* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1923), *passim*; William Winterbotham, *An Historical, Geographical, Commercial & Philosophical View of the American United States* (London: J. Ridgway, 1795), 192-224.

<sup>9</sup> Newsome, "Twelve North Carolina Counties," 284-285; *Hale's Wilmington Gazette*, August 30, 1798.

<sup>10</sup> William Barry Grove to James Hogg, March 17, 1791, Kemp P. Battle (ed.), *Letters of Nathaniel Macon, John Steele and William Barry Grove, with Sketches and Notes* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press [Number 3, *James Sprunt Historical Monograph*], 1902), 85, hereinafter cited as Battle, *Letters of Macon, Steele and Grove*.

<sup>11</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXVI, 240-253, 299-312, 458-464, 788-802, 968-977.

a larger proportion of Federalist voters in Anson and Richmond counties than in Cumberland County.<sup>12</sup> Also, the farmers in Cumberland County were poor compared with the other farmers living on the banks of the Cape Fear River. The large plantations were downstream in the Wilmington District. In New Hanover one family in thirteen owned over twenty slaves.<sup>13</sup> The large planters undoubtedly were more interested in the foreign export market than were the small farmers in the Fayetteville District. Yet New Hanover County was a Republican stronghold.

Beard and many of his followers assumed that many potential Republican voters were disfranchised. In the Fayetteville District, however, disfranchisement was not a factor. Probably every white male over twenty-one had the suffrage. To vote in national elections and for state assemblymen, a farmer had to pay public taxes, which were never high. To vote for state senators, he had to possess fifty acres for six months. Townspeople had to possess a freehold interest. Land was cheap, and everyone could acquire it with a little effort. In Moore County, for example, tracts could be had for as little as 25 cents an acre in 1810.<sup>14</sup>

Usually a large number of men voted. In 1790 there were about 5,500 adult white males in the Fayetteville District, and in 1800, about 6,300. From 1792 to 1802 there were no issues to bring out the vote in congressional elections. William Barry Grove always won by landslides and state elections were held at a different time of the year. Yet in 1790, 36 per cent of the adult white males voted; in 1796, 67 per cent; in 1800, 63 per cent. From 1803 to 1806 the Republicans made their bid for power, and the close elections that followed increased the voting. In 1804, 86 per cent voted, and in 1805, 88 per cent.<sup>15</sup> Clearly, indifference was not the cause of Federalist domination.

The most distinguishing factor of the district was the Scottish

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<sup>12</sup> *North Carolina Chronicle*; or, *Fayetteville Gazette*, February 7, 1791; *Gazette of the United States* (Philadelphia), August 27, 1796, hereinafter cited as *Gazette of the United States*; *National Intelligencer and Washington Advertiser*, September 7, 1804.

<sup>13</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXVI, 821-833.

<sup>14</sup> Newsome, "Twelve North Carolina Counties," 282.

<sup>15</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXVI, 240-253, 299-312, 437-464, 782-802, 968-977; *Raleigh Register and North-Carolina State Gazette*, July 21, 1801; *North Carolina Chronicle*; or, *Fayetteville Gazette*, February 7, 1791; Delbert H. Gilpatrick, *Jeffersonian Democracy in North Carolina* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931), 113, hereinafter cited as Gilpatrick, *Jeffersonian Democracy*; *National Intelligencer and Washington Advertiser*, September 7, 1804; *Annals of Congress*, Tenth Congress, First Session, 1807-1808 (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 42 volumes, 1834-1856), I, 1270-1271, hereinafter cited as *Annals of Congress*.

descent of almost all of the inhabitants.<sup>16</sup> In 1790 Scots made up about 15 per cent of the state's total white population, or roughly 44,000 people. Some were Lowlanders, but more were Highlanders, who had come with their tartans, kilts, and bagpipes. Some had left Scotland after the Highlander defeat in the Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745, but most emigrated in the 1770's.

Contemporary accounts indicate that most of the emigrants were either men of the upper class or their hand-picked followers. In 1771, 500 left Scotland "under the conduct of a gentleman of wealth and merit, whose ancestors had resided in Islay for many centuries past."<sup>17</sup> In 1773 the emigration included "the most wealthy and substantial people in Skye," and 500 of "the finest set of fellows in the Highlands," who carried "at least £6,000 sterling in ready cash with them." From Sunderland, in the same year, 1,500 sailed for North Carolina with £7,500 sterling, "which exceeds a year's rent in the whole county."<sup>18</sup> In 1792 one writer lamented that since 1772, £38,000 had been taken from Scotland by the emigrants from West Ross-shire and Inverness-shire alone.<sup>19</sup>

Most of the leaders had been tackmen or wadsetters under the clan system which in many respects was similar to infantry regiments. In war the tackmen and wadsetters were the captains and lieutenants. But, contrary to present day company grade officers, they were nearly the social equals of their chiefs. They were called gentlemen and lived as such.

After 1745 the British government abolished heritable jurisdictions and military tenures. Soon some chiefs realized that there was no longer any need for middlemen, and by the 1770's many chiefs had extinguished the mortgages and leases held by the wadsetters and tackmen and rented directly to the subtenants at higher rates. Some of the tackmen and wadsetters remained and adapted themselves to the new conditions. Others looked to America, where they hoped to re-establish their former system. According to one of them, they "rather wished to be distinguished as leaders, than by industry," and they said "by spiriting the lower class of people to emigrate, we shall

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<sup>16</sup> Howard F. Baker, "National Stocks in the Population of the United States as Indicated by the Surnames in the Census of 1790," *American Historical Society Annual Report* (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1931), I, 126-134.

<sup>17</sup> *Scots Magazine*, XXXIV (Edinburgh, Scotland, October, 1771) 486, hereinafter cited as *Scots Magazine*.

<sup>18</sup> *Edinburgh Evening Courant* (Scotland, May, 1773), 134-138.

<sup>19</sup> *Edinburgh Advertiser* (Scotland), January 17, 1792.

carry a class to America, and when we are there they must work for us or starve."<sup>20</sup>

The people who came with the wadsetters and tackmen were for the most part hand-picked. Prior to 1745 clan chiefs measured their wealth in the number of men that they could raise for battle. Consequently, the Highlands soon had more people than that rugged terrain could support. After 1745 sheep farming was introduced, and thousands were thrown out of employment and off the farms. As a result, there were more applicants than ship space, and the leaders could be selective.<sup>21</sup> James Hogg, who became one of the leading citizens in North Carolina, took 280 people with him. He solicited none and rejected many who begged for passage. He took only people who paid their own freight, and whose ministers attested to their honesty and character.<sup>22</sup>

These people were accustomed to obeying their superiors. Democracy was foreign to them. Like all military organizations, the clan structure was authoritarian, and Highland society was just emerging from the feudal state. Lowland critics, who traveled through the Highlands periodically, claimed that it was like England before the Norman conquest.<sup>23</sup> Although the American environment would slowly alter clannishness, it had made little headway before the War for Independence. The Scots who fought at Moores Creek Bridge came with broadswords at their sides, in tartan garments and feathered bonnets, and in step to the shrill music of the bagpipe. Throughout the war they adhered to their age-old custom of following their leaders into battle. The names of the officers and soldiers who fought in the loyalist regiments show that there were a large number of men from the same clans—Clan MacDonald and Clan MacLeod, with lesser numbers of Clan MacKenzie, Clan MacRae, Clan MacLean, Clan MacKay, Clan MacLachlan and others—in the same units.<sup>24</sup>

With this heritage it is not difficult to understand why they did not respond to Jeffersonian democracy. Their leaders certainly brought

<sup>20</sup> "Veritas" in *Edinburgh Advertiser*, quoted in *Scots Magazine*, XXXV (May, 1772), 697.

<sup>21</sup> *Scots Magazine*, XXXVII (October, 1775), 536.

<sup>22</sup> James Hogg to Mr. Balfour, *Scots Magazine*, XXXVI (July, 1774), 345-346.

<sup>23</sup> "Lord Selkirk on Emigration," *Edinburgh Review*, VII (Scotland, May, 1805), 187-189.

<sup>24</sup> Robert O. DeMond, *The Loyalists in North Carolina During the Revolution* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1940), Appendix A, hereinafter cited as DeMond, *Loyalists in North Carolina*; Marion Gilroy (compiler), "Loyalists and Land Settlement in Nova Scotia," *Public Archives of Nova Scotia* (Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 8 volumes, 1933-1948), IV, 7-154, hereinafter cited as Gilroy, *Public Archives of Nova Scotia*.

with them a state of mind that was incompatible with the philosophy of Thomas Jefferson, and the rank and file had centuries of tradition to overcome. They tended to be conservative in all things, and one of the best examples of this characteristic was in their religious life. Methodism and revivals were popular neither in Scotland nor among the Scots in America. The Reverend David Caldwell, a Scotch-Irish minister, welcomed the revival of 1801 as a special manifestation of God. He tried to introduce it into both of his congregations. One, which contained mostly Scotch-Irish communicants, went so far as to adopt the evangelical hymns of Isaac Watts. But the other, with a majority of Scottish communicants, rejected his gospel message and continued the old custom of singing psalms.<sup>25</sup>

Another reason for the alienation of the Fayetteville District from the Republicans was the Republican leaders' stand during the War for Independence. Most of the population had been Tories during the war. Anson, Bladen, and Cumberland counties led all others in supplying men to the loyalist regiments and militia. Anson County alone furnished a regiment of loyalist militia for the battle at Charleston.<sup>26</sup> Almost all of the merchants and two-thirds of the farmers in Cumberland County were Tories. When the British invaded North Carolina in 1780-1781, the Tories under arms in Bladen County outnumbered the patriots by five to one. In Cumberland County only eight men reported to a muster to fight the loyalists.<sup>27</sup>

Anti-Tory legislation began immediately with the coming of the war. For the most part, the prominent Republicans of the 1790's were the anti-Tory radicals of the 1770's and 1780's. Timothy Bloodworth led the radicals, and Nathaniel Macon was one of his followers. The leading Federalists, on the other hand, were the conservative Whigs who defended the Tories during this period. Samuel Johnston, James Iredell, William R. Davie, and Archibald Maclaine (MacLaine) were the leaders.<sup>28</sup>

The radicals concentrated mainly on confiscating the large estates. From June, 1784, to November, 1787, a large number of tracts were

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<sup>25</sup> William K. Boyd, *Methodist Expansion in North Carolina After the Revolution* (Durham: Trinity College [Volume 12 of *Historical Society of Trinity College Publications*], 1916), 45.

<sup>26</sup> DeMond, *Loyalists in North Carolina*, Appendix A.

<sup>27</sup> Adelaide L. Fries and Others (eds.), *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History [projected 11 volumes, 1922—]), III, 1055-1058; R. D. W. Connor, *Race Elements in the White Population of North Carolina* (Raleigh: North Carolina State Normal and Industrial College Publication, 1920), 66.

<sup>28</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 511, *passim*.

sold in Anson, Bladen, Montgomery, and Moore counties.<sup>29</sup> Although the Tories may have been able to hold their land, there is no doubt that they suffered at the hands of the radicals. In Cumberland County, for instance, after about half a dozen Whigs had been killed, their friends decided to inflict revenge on the whole county. One patriot split a boy's head open "so that half fell on either shoulder," because a Tory leader had threatened the patriot with instant death if he touched the boy. Another ordered that all prisoners should be killed in the same manner. Rather than suffer this fate, the prisoners ran and were shot down. The patriots then proceeded through the county, killing every man that they found, breaking chests of china, ripping up books, tearing off girls' clothing with their swords.<sup>30</sup>

Even fellow Whigs suffered at the hands of zealous patriots. Archibald M'Bryde happened to be visiting a Tory friend. He was killed before an inquiry was made.<sup>31</sup> Significantly, his son became an ardent Federalist. Robert Rowan, a staunch Whig, was accused of being a Tory and thrown into jail for opposing the ruling faction and criticizing the harsh measures.<sup>32</sup> His stepson, William Barry Grove, also became a Federalist.

Animosities did not end with the war, nor did they end with the ratification of the Constitution. In 1794 "a number of Loyalists, natives of North Carolina" left their homes "to seek refuge . . . from the animosities which still exist in that state." They came into upper Canada, and their friends were following them. In 1796 still more came.<sup>33</sup> At least 150 Scottish families emigrated from North Carolina to Nova Scotia during the 1790's, and because of party battles during the Adams' administration, the numbers increased.<sup>34</sup>

Obviously the average Tory would not be attracted to a party led by Bloodworth and Macon. What would he do, however, if he thought that the Republican candidate was a Tory? Only one Republican did well in Fayetteville elections. Significantly, he had been indicted several times for Toryism.

<sup>29</sup> DeMond, *Loyalists in North Carolina*, 58.

<sup>30</sup> Eli Caruthers, *Interesting Revolutionary Incidents: and Sketches of Character, Chiefly in the "Old North State"* (Philadelphia: Hayes and Zell, 1856), 355, 391, hereinafter cited as Caruthers, *Revolutionary Sketches*.

<sup>31</sup> Caruthers, *Revolutionary Sketches*, 395.

<sup>32</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XI, 627-631.

<sup>33</sup> J. G. Simcoe to the Committee of the Privy Council for Trade and Plantations, September 1, 1794, Ernest A. Cruikshank (ed.), *The Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe* (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 5 volumes, 1923-1931), III, 56, 193.

<sup>34</sup> Gilroy, *Public Archives of Nova Scotia*, IV, 7-154.

The Tory heritage and the agrarian interests of the district affected the outcome of national elections from the beginning, but the commercial interests of the district and the conservative nature of the population did not assert their presence fully until the time of Jay's Treaty.

In 1789 the Fayetteville District was combined with Wilmington into one congressional district. In that year the two candidates for Congress were Timothy Bloodworth and Benjamin Smith. Both were unpopular, but Bloodworth had some popularity in Wilmington. This was enough to win the election.<sup>35</sup> Smith was so unpopular that he received only seven votes in the next election. While Bloodworth was in Congress he represented the agrarian views of his Scottish constituents. His opposition to assumption of state debts and to the excise law was not objectionable. The Scots lost heavily to speculators and held the government responsible for it.<sup>36</sup> And they regarded the excise tax as the most odious form of taxation that could be devised.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, when another candidate appeared in 1790, there was no question who would win. Bloodworth was still unpopular with the Tories, and the election results showed it. In the Scottish counties he lost by 106 to 1,854 votes; in the other counties he won by 980 to 294.<sup>38</sup>

Bloodworth was beaten by William Barry Grove. Virtually nothing is known about Grove's early life, except that he was the stepson of Robert Rowan, an ardent patriot during the War for Independence. He was elected to the House of Commons in 1786, 1788, and 1789. In 1788 he was also a delegate to the convention called to consider the Constitution and voted with the minority against the resolution to postpone consideration. In 1789 he attended North Carolina's second convention to consider the Constitution and voted for ratification. Above all, he championed the interests of Fayetteville during these years. In 1787 he induced the General Assembly to make Fayetteville a district court town, in which superior courts were held twice a year for several counties. In 1789 he succeeded in having

<sup>35</sup> Archibald MacLaine to James Iredell, December 22, 1789, Griffin J. McRee (ed.), *The Life and Correspondence of James Iredell* (New York: Reprint by Peter Smith, 2 volumes, 1949), I, 276, hereinafter cited as McRee, *Iredell*.

<sup>36</sup> William Barry Grove to James Hogg, March 17, 1791, Battle, *Letters of Macon, Steele and Grove*, 86.

<sup>37</sup> *Annals of Congress*, First Congress, Third Session, 1789-1791, I, 1895; "A Petition and Remonstrance to the President and Congress of the United States," William K. Boyd (ed.), *Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina* (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 1927), 491-502.

<sup>38</sup> *North Carolina Chronicle; or, Fayetteville Gazette*, February 7, 1791.

the State Constitution of 1776 amended to make Fayetteville a borough town, entitled to a member in the House of Commons.<sup>39</sup>

Grove was elected to Congress in the winter of 1790-1791; despite his strong record in the House of Commons, the Scottish leaders seem to have regarded him as a young upstart.<sup>40</sup> He was known primarily as "Rowan's boy." He had inherited his stepfather's colonial mansion in Fayetteville, where he lived and carried on his law practice. And he probably had inherited his stepfather's plantation, "Hollybrook." At any rate he lived in an affluent style; he was famous for his hospitality, and his home was a stopover for congressmen journeying to and from the seat of government. Moreover, in 1790 he owned seventeen slaves.<sup>41</sup> Like the other larger planters along the Cape Fear River, Grove probably sent much of his crop to Wilmington to be exported to England and the West Indies. If not, he at least thought like a man whose income depended on the foreign export market.<sup>42</sup>

During Washington's administration Grove was always called a Federalist, but only in the sense that he had favored the Constitution. He was never a follower of Hamilton. Of the leaders, he definitely preferred Jefferson.<sup>43</sup> He criticized both factions, but he seems to have had more respect for the rank and file of the Federalist party. Yet he voted and thought like a Republican. He was always in favor of "applying every nerve of government" toward melting down the public debt and eliminating the "Colossus of Speculation which has infused itself into the administration . . . to the dishonour &c. of Congress. . . ." <sup>44</sup> He was a warm advocate of the French Revolution and a harsh critic of Britain.

Why, then, did he become a follower of John Adams rather than Thomas Jefferson? There were two reasons. First, state politics alienated him from the Republicans in his state. During the late 1780's and early 1790's, the future site of the state capital was the most important single issue of the day in Fayetteville. All the town's politi-

<sup>39</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXII, 1-53.

<sup>40</sup> John Ingram to John Steele, August 19, 1787, Henry McG. Wagstaff (ed.), *Papers of John Steele* (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 2 volumes, 1924), I, 17, hereinafter cited as Wagstaff, *Steele Papers*; John Hay to James Iredell, December 16, 1790, and Archibald MacLaine to James Iredell, December 23, 1790, McRee, *Iredell*, II, 303, 304.

<sup>41</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXVI, 460.

<sup>42</sup> Battle, *Letters of Macon, Steele and Grove*, *passim*.

<sup>43</sup> William Barry Grove to James Hogg, April 3, 1794, Battle, *Letters of Macon, Steele and Grove*, 93-94.

<sup>44</sup> William Barry Grove to James Hogg, January 21, 1795, Henry McGilbert Wagstaff (ed.), *Letters of William Barry Grove* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press [Second section of Volume 9, Number 2, of *James Sprunt Historical Publications*], 1910), 54-55, hereinafter cited as Wagstaff, *Letters of Grove*.

cal and civic leaders had their hearts set on its permanent location there. It was all Grove talked about during his early years in Congress. In 1792 the state legislature was split over the question of who should be elected to the United States Senate. One candidate was critical of the federal government; the other was suspected of being a follower of Hamilton. The Cape Fear men would vote for either if it would assure them of getting the capital.<sup>45</sup> By 1793 it became clear that the prize was lost. For months Grove and his friends refused to believe it, and then they became morose.<sup>46</sup> To make matters worse, the capital was lost to Raleigh, which was nowhere near the size of Fayetteville and not even a dot on the map. Timothy Bloodworth, the leading Republican in the Cape Fear region, was responsible for this disaster, and he became more unpopular than ever. For the Fayetteville politicians, this was a bitter loss, and they did not accept it gracefully. There followed between Fayetteville and the other sections a period of feuding to which legislation was still being sacrificed in 1816.<sup>47</sup>

Second, in national affairs Grove became a moderate Federalist as a matter of expediency. His constituents had been violently opposed to the excise tax, and Grove never forgot it. During the French crisis from 1797 to 1799, he voted usually with the Republicans when cutbacks in the military establishment were proposed and worried often about the effect of additional taxes.<sup>48</sup> On questions of peculiar interest to the South, he voted with his section. He opposed the bill giving bounties to the Great Bank and Cod Fisheries. He naturally favored the law for restoration of fugitive slaves and opposed the proposal to levy duties on tobacco and sugar.

In the dispute with Great Britain, which led to Jay's Treaty, he sided with the Republicans at first. He favored the nonintercourse measure. But his constituents forced him into a neutral position. In April, 1794, he signed a paper which praised France, condemned England, and recommended that firm measures be taken against

<sup>45</sup> William R. Davie to John Steele, December 2, 1792, Kemp P. Battle (ed.) *Letters [of William Richardson Davie], with Notes* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press [Second section of Number 7, *James Sprunt Historical Monograph*], 1907), 27, hereinafter cited as Battle, *Letters of Davie*.

<sup>46</sup> William Barry Grove to James Hogg, April 3, 1794, Battle, *Letters of Macon, Steele and Grove*, 93.

<sup>47</sup> Archibald D. Murphey to Thomas Ruffin, December 22, 1816, William H. Hoyt (ed.), *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey* (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 2 volumes, 1914), I, 91, hereinafter cited as Hoyt, *Murphey Papers*.

<sup>48</sup> The voting charts in Dauer, *Adams Federalists*, accurately present Grove's voting record for this period. See also, William Barry Grove to James Hogg, January 4, 1797. Battle, *Letters of Macon, Steele and Grove*, 115-116.

Britain.<sup>49</sup> Immediately he regretted his stand. He doubted if the people would be willing to pay even a small land tax for defense.<sup>50</sup> A Democratic-Republican club saluted "Citizen Grove" for his firm stand and proclaimed that they were willing to go to war if need be.<sup>51</sup> But the majority proved that Grove's doubts were correct. They accepted Jay's Treaty. The Republicans in town even feared that many "persons inimical to liberty" would stop them from burning John Jay in effigy.<sup>52</sup> And the politicians, who certainly did not want to alienate public opinion during the August elections, toasted the treaty publicly.<sup>53</sup>

Economically, the people might have benefited from the commercial restrictions in Jay's Treaty. Wilmington could handle only small vessels due to a sand bar which partially obstructed the mouth of the Cape Fear. Consequently, her merchants were unable to compete with merchants who used large vessels. One provision in Jay's Treaty limited entry to the British West Indies to vessels not over seventy tons burden. If this provision were enforced by British officials, it would have put Wilmington merchants on an equal footing with the other merchants in the British West Indian trade. This, in turn, would benefit everyone who produced or handled lumber products for the British West Indies. The other part of this provision, which prohibited the export of sugar, coffee, cocoa, and cotton from the United States in American vessels, would hurt the cotton growers in North Carolina. But most farmers in the Cape Fear Region had not switched to raising cotton in 1795.

In April, 1796, Grove deserted his Republican supporters and voted for the appropriation for Jay's Treaty. In the summer of 1796 his stand brought him overwhelming popular support. He defeated Duncan M'Farland by a margin of 2,950 to 1,068. Grove lost only in Robeson County, where M'Farland had a large personal following, but only by twenty votes. Grove received his strongest support in Anson and Richmond counties, which were in the same economic position as Robeson. In Richmond County he won by 890 to 227 votes,

<sup>49</sup> *North Carolina Journal* (Halifax), April 9, 1794, hereinafter cited as *North Carolina Journal*.

<sup>50</sup> William Barry Grove to John Steele, April 2, 1794, Battle, *Letters of Macon, Steele and Grove*, 102, 109-110.

<sup>51</sup> *North Carolina Journal*, April 30, 1794.

<sup>52</sup> *North-Carolina Centinel and Fayetteville Gazette*, July 25, 1795.

<sup>53</sup> Charles Wilson Harris to Dr. Charles Harris, August 13, 1795, H. M. Wagstaff (ed.), *The Harris Letters* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press [Volume 14, Number 1, of *James Sprunt Historical Publications*], 1916), 22, hereinafter cited as Wagstaff, *Harris Letters*.

and in Anson County by 701 to 1.<sup>54</sup> These farmers did not send their goods to Wilmington and probably were not attracted to Jay's Treaty by the hope of commercial gain. They had been loyal to England during the war and were probably still loyal. As former Tories they had no reason to love France, for France had come to the aid of their enemies during the war. And like most conservatives they probably frowned on the French Revolution.

During the French crisis which soon followed Jay's Treaty, Grove desired peace and approved of Adams' peace mission.<sup>55</sup> While this conflict was going on, however, he approved of moderate defense measures. This too was partly the result of public opinion. During this period he constantly referred to the vast amount of mail that he had to answer, and its martial tone. In Wilmington, during January, 1797, one seaman was killed, and two were severely injured by a French frigate.<sup>56</sup> By April the whole southern part of the state had been excited by stories of sailors from the West Indies; with few exceptions the French were called a "pack of damn'd villains," and mobs were being raised to attack the French frigate in Wilmington.<sup>57</sup> In June Grove began to vote for Federalist measures more often than he had before. When Grove reached home in August, he was honored at a public dinner. Among other phrases of adulation, the toastmasters claimed that only Grove enjoyed the approval of his constituents.<sup>58</sup> This charge brought a stinging reply from "A Whig." He branded the Fayetteville District "a circle of Toryism," and fervently hoped that Whiggery, "so suitable to the soil of North Carolina," would soon capture even this district.<sup>59</sup> Grove returned to Congress and voted even more often with the Federalists, and in the congressional election of 1798 "the independent, firm, virtuous Grove" met with no opposition.<sup>60</sup> In the next two years Grove continued to support Adams, and in 1800 he was opposed by another Federalist, Samuel Purviance. Grove defeated him by the overwhelming margin of 3,077 to 880.<sup>61</sup>

During these years Grove also changed his mind toward Thomas Jefferson. In January, 1797, he was happy that Jefferson had been

<sup>54</sup> *Gazette of the United States*, August 27, 1796.

<sup>55</sup> William Barry Grove to James Hogg, June 24, 1797, Wagstaff, *Letters of Grove*, 60-62. See also, William Barry Grove to James Hogg [1800?], Wagstaff, *Letters of Grove*, 85.

<sup>56</sup> *North Carolina Journal*, January 7, 1797.

<sup>57</sup> Charles Wilson Harris to Dr. Charles Harris, April 11, 1797, Wagstaff, *Harris Letters*, 43.

<sup>58</sup> *Hale's Wilmington Gazette*, August 24, 1797.

<sup>59</sup> *North Carolina Journal*, September 7, 1797.

<sup>60</sup> *North Carolina Journal*, October 1, 1798.

<sup>61</sup> Gilpatrick, *Jeffersonian Democracy*, 113.

elected Vice-President. His electorate, however, did not share his opinion. As their elector they chose William Martin, an Adams man who was openly hostile to Jefferson.<sup>62</sup> In addition, the leaders of the district "feared the worst" if Jefferson were elected.<sup>63</sup> By 1798 Grove had adopted their view. And in the election of 1800 Grove and Adams received overwhelming majorities in every county in the district.<sup>64</sup> Although the party battle that occurred during the French crisis may have altered his sentiments, the antipathy to Jefferson and the Republicans in his home district probably had a greater influence on his choice of parties. For Grove was not the only one to change his thinking. In 1793 Samuel Purviance was secretary of the Democratic-Republican club which wanted to burn John Jay in effigy. In 1800 he ran against Grove and received Republican support. In 1803 he ran as a Federalist and was opposed ardently by Republicans. He was elected.

The only successful Republican in the Fayetteville District before 1815 was Duncan M'Farland. In the congressional election of 1804 he polled 2,033 votes to Joseph Pickett's 1,750, William Martin's 1,719, and John Hay's 22 votes.<sup>65</sup> Martin was an Adams elector in 1796 and 1800, and he was the only candidate that Nathaniel Macon considered a Federalist. But Pickett was opposed to Madison's election in 1812.<sup>66</sup> The Republicans came close in two other elections. In 1803 the three Republican candidates got a majority of the votes, but the single Federalist won the election.<sup>67</sup> And in 1805 John Culpepper, a Federalist minister, defeated Duncan M'Farland by 2,569 to 2,511.<sup>68</sup>

The main reason for M'Farland's limited success was the superior state-wide organization of the Republicans. Both parties had political papers in Raleigh by the election of 1800, but the Republicans made sure that their paper was read. In analyzing their defeat in 1800, the Federalists found that the Republicans had been sending the Philadelphia *Aurora*, *General Advertiser* and the *Raleigh Register and North-Carolina Weekly Advertiser* to all corners of the state, whether people subscribed to the papers or not. The Federalists had been

<sup>62</sup> *North Carolina Journal*, December 12, 1796.

<sup>63</sup> Walter Alves to John Steele, December 15, 1796, Wagstaff, *Steele Papers*, I, 147.

<sup>64</sup> *Gazette of the United States*, November 20, 28, 1800.

<sup>65</sup> *National Intelligencer and Washington Advertiser*, September 7, 1804.

<sup>66</sup> William Boylan to John Steele, September 5, 1812, Wagstaff, *Steele Papers*, II, 686-690.

<sup>67</sup> Nathaniel Macon to Thomas Jefferson, September 3, 1803, Elizabeth G. McPherson (ed.), "Unpublished Letters of North Carolinians to Jefferson," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XII (July, 1935), 278-279, hereinafter cited as McPherson, "Letters to Jefferson."

<sup>68</sup> *Annals of Congress*, Tenth Congress, First Session, 1807-1808, I, 1270-1271.

sending their paper only to subscribers, which meant that they were probably affecting the sentiment only of those who were already Federalists. The Federalists planned to take similar measures in 1802,<sup>69</sup> but by then it was too late.

In the Fayetteville District the Federalist party was disorganized. Grove did not have firm control of his followers. Contrary to Grove's wishes, John Willis put the party in jeopardy by contesting an election on the ground that his opponent was a Tory.<sup>70</sup> Grove's control was so weak that in 1803 he did not even sponsor a successor. As a result he did not approve of the Federalist candidate who ran. He detested M'Farland and even threatened to move out of the district if he won. Yet he did not campaign against him. Instead, he adopted the policy of "letting every man paddle his own canoe."<sup>71</sup>

Compared with Grove, the Republican leaders were first-rate politicians. When the Halifax Federalists chose the eminent William R. Davie as their candidate in 1803, Nathaniel Macon saw to it that one of the two Republican candidates withdrew from the election.<sup>72</sup> And Macon insisted on making all political appointments and kept the rank and file in line by controlling the patronage.<sup>73</sup> In the Cape Fear region, Timothy Bloodworth was actively recruiting Benjamin Smith and other influential Federalists into the Jeffersonian camp.<sup>74</sup>

Perhaps the most effective organizer of all, however, was Duncan M'Farland. By trade, he was a builder of roads and bridges; consequently he traveled extensively throughout the district. He campaigned constantly and gave most of his speeches in Gaelic. From his published statements in English, it appears that he was uneducated, but he translated his speeches into Gaelic, and his use of that language was excellent. He organized the Scots into wards, and these groups ran his campaign in their areas.<sup>75</sup>

M'Farland was probably a mobster; he was tried for one crime after another. He was convicted of rape, and he was extradited to

<sup>69</sup> Duncan Cameron to John Moore, September 1, 1802, William E. Dodd (ed.), "Macon Papers," *John P. Branch Historical Papers* (Richmond: Randolph-Macon College, 1909), III, 36-38.

<sup>70</sup> William Barry Grove to James Hogg, January 28, 1798, Wagstaff, *Letters of Grove*, 69-70.

<sup>71</sup> William Barry Grove to John Steele, May 27, 1803, Wagstaff, *Steele Papers*, I, 386-387.

<sup>72</sup> William Richardson Davie to John Steele, August 20, 1803, Wagstaff, *Steele Papers*, I, 405.

<sup>73</sup> Albert Gallatin to John Steele [1801], Wagstaff, *Steele Papers*, I, 238.

<sup>74</sup> Timothy Bloodworth to Thomas Jefferson, January 17, 1804, McPherson, "Letters to Jefferson," 279-280.

<sup>75</sup> *Minerva*; or, *Anti-Jacobin* (Raleigh), August 1, 1803, July 23, 1804, August 6, 1804; *Raleigh Register*, July 23, 1804.

South Carolina for murder, where he was acquitted. Among the lesser crimes, he was charged and acquitted of hog-stealing, forgery, witchcraft, perjury, and Toryism. Although he was acquitted, the more substantial citizens thought he was guilty.<sup>76</sup> And in each trial key witnesses failed to appear or altered their testimonies. M'Farland, of course, always claimed that he was being persecuted for political reasons. And at times the prosecution seemed to have been overly zealous in its attempts to convict him.

At any rate the conservative element of the population hated him and his followers. In Richmond County people referred to his followers as "the ignorant dram-drinking rabble" and voted against M'Farland.<sup>77</sup> In Anson County only a handful of people supported M'Farland. In 1803, 1804, and 1805, most of his votes came from Robeson and Cumberland counties. In Moore County he was successful only when he campaigned vigorously there.

M'Farland contested nearly every election that he lost, but only one was terminated in his favor. This was the congressional election of 1805. Although M'Farland indicated that he was a victim of corrupt election practices, Congress' ground for setting aside the election did not substantiate his claim; its finding was that the election officials had been sworn in improperly—even in the counties that M'Farland had won.<sup>78</sup>

In 1807 M'Farland withdrew to the state legislature, and his departure left a vacuum that the Republicans were unable to fill. His party was strictly a one-man political machine, and the other Republicans were unable to take advantage of it. With his departure the Republican party in Fayetteville collapsed. A factor which aided the collapse was Jefferson's embargo. According to one traveler, every farmer in the district considered it a "ruination."<sup>79</sup> Only Federalist candidates appeared in 1808 and 1810; in both elections Archibald M'Bryde, a lawyer from Moore County, defeated John Culpepper, a Baptist preacher.<sup>80</sup> In 1813 and 1815 M'Bryde was replaced by Cul-

<sup>76</sup> Benjamin Smith to General Henry William Harrington, December 20, 1800, Henry M. Wagstaff (ed.), *The Harrington Letters* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press [Volume 13, Number 2, of *James Sprunt Historical Publications*], 1914), 20, hereinafter cited as Wagstaff, *Harrington Letters*; Joseph Pearson to John Steele, November 24, 1805, Wagstaff, *Steele Papers*, I, 458.

<sup>77</sup> Richmond County to General Henry William Harrington, July 2, 1798, Wagstaff, *Harrington Letters*, 16-18.

<sup>78</sup> *Annals of Congress*, Tenth Congress, First Session, 1807-1808, I, 1270-1271.

<sup>79</sup> J. Franklin Jameson (ed.), "Diary of Edward Hooker, 1805-1808," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1896* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 2 volumes, 1897), I, 912.

<sup>80</sup> *Raleigh Register*, August 25, 1808, August 23, 1810; *Minerva* (Raleigh), August 25, 1808; *Raleigh Minerva*, August 23, 1810.

pepper, who was somewhat less bitter in his opposition to the War of 1812.<sup>81</sup>

In presidential elections the Republicans were successful only once before 1815. That was in 1804 when the Federalists did not contest Jefferson's re-election seriously.<sup>82</sup> In 1808, however, the people voted against Madison.<sup>83</sup> In 1811 the legislature changed the election law so that Madison would receive all fifteen of the state's electoral votes; the right to choose electors was put into the hands of the legislature. Nevertheless, all but one of the eighteen representatives from the Fayetteville District opposed Madison in 1812.<sup>84</sup> Obviously, these Scottish farmers were dyed-in-the-wool Federalists to the end.

From 1790 to 1815 Jefferson and his followers could usually count on the votes of the small farmer. The Scottish farmers along the Cape Fear River were small farmers, yet they showed scant enthusiasm for Jefferson's program. Some of the voters in Cumberland County might have been motivated by economic factors as Dauer and Beard claim. A few politicians and civic leaders held a grudge against the Republicans after they lost the capital to Raleigh. But these factors explain neither the overwhelming popularity that the Federalist candidates usually had nor the reason Republicans let so many elections go uncontested. Rather than economic interests or social status, ethnic and historical background influenced most of the voters. Their Scottish heritage caused them to be conservative in all things and to follow their leaders, with politics being no exception. Their experiences with the anti-Tory radicals during the Revolutionary War reinforced their conservatism and alienated them further from Jeffersonian democracy. All of these points illustrate a factor in American politics which is ignored too often in studies of this era—thousands upon thousands of votes in national elections were dictated by neighborhood feuds, local hatreds, state politics, and ethnic heritage.

<sup>81</sup> *Raleigh Register and North-Carolina Gazette*, March 26, 1813, May 7, 1813.

<sup>82</sup> *Raleigh Register and North Carolina State Gazette*, November 12, 22, 1804.

<sup>83</sup> *Minerva* (Raleigh), November 17, 24, 1808.

<sup>84</sup> William Boylan to John Steele, September 5, 1812, Wagstaff, *Steele Papers*, II, 686-690.

# THE TRIALS OF A REPUBLICAN STATE CHAIRMAN: JOHN MOTLEY MOREHEAD AND NORTH CAROLINA POLITICS, 1910-1912

BY JOSEPH F. STEELMAN\*

John Motley Morehead's election as Republican state chairman in 1910 was calculated to appeal to the rising business and commercial interests that took exception to Democratic policies and leadership. His emergence was hailed as the inauguration of a new era in the political affairs of North Carolina.<sup>1</sup> With the transition from agriculture to industry, Morehead explained, leaders of the business community were more inclined to think as Republicans. The elimination of Negro voters had "silenced the cry of white supremacy" and voters were enabled to reach decisions on the merits of public questions.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, he envisaged steady Republican gains and inroads into the ranks of Democrats.

The North Carolina Republican state convention of 1910 attracted national attention and its proceedings were interpreted as an augury of new leadership and strategy in the party ranks. *Harper's Weekly* praised the Republican reorganization and its leaders who were "endeavoring to make it a real party, bent on carrying elections, instead of a mere gang of seekers after federal offices."<sup>3</sup> William Garrott Brown could report that the "pie counter forces" had been "completely routed."<sup>4</sup> He foresaw that North Carolina would become "one state in which the party will have a chance to grow and in which its delegates to the next national convention may be chosen otherwise than by a clique of officeholders controlled by wire from Washington."<sup>5</sup> President William Howard Taft was personally interested in Morehead's election as state chairman and conferred with him on a

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<sup>1</sup> *Caucasian* (Raleigh), August 25, 1910, hereinafter cited as *Caucasian*.

<sup>2</sup> John Motley Morehead, "Commercial and Political Evolution of North Carolina," *Editorial Review* (November, 1910), 1146-1153.

<sup>3</sup> *Harper's Weekly*, LIV (October 29, 1910), 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Harper's Weekly*, LIV (August 20, 1910), 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Harper's Weekly*, LIV (August 13, 1910), 4.

number of occasions during the 1910 campaign.<sup>6</sup> But there would be occasions when Morehead met with frustration and delay in his efforts to consult with Taft.<sup>7</sup> The President and members of his cabinet took especial interest in the state platform and in the unusually large number of delegates who met in Greensboro.<sup>8</sup> Morehead was embarrassed, however, by Taft's own political ineptitude and by the rising tide of insurgency within the party. Much to his disillusionment, Morehead found that irrelevant issues would dominate the state and congressional campaigns.

Morehead intended to capitalize upon indecision among Democrats over tariff legislation and mounting support among lumber and textile interests of North Carolina in favor of protective policies.<sup>9</sup> He also hoped to attract support for Republican candidates from Democrats who were disillusioned by Governor William Walton Kitchin's vacillating role in state politics.<sup>10</sup> The campaign tactics skillfully employed by the Democrats, however, prevented Morehead from making effective use of these issues. The burden of the Republican campaign involved desperate efforts to answer charges the Democrats raised against Marion Butler and the bond scandals.

There is scant evidence of close personal ties between Morehead and Marion Butler. Disaffected Republicans as well as Democrats turned their wrath upon Butler, claiming that he had engineered Morehead's election as state chairman, and charging that he dominated party strategy. Many Republicans vowed that Butler could not be trusted, and that he was a liability to the party.<sup>11</sup> Spencer B. Adams launched criminal and civil suits against Butler during the campaign. Thomas Settle was outspokenly hostile as was his fellow townsman Virgil S. Lusk. Walter Hildebrand's *Asheville Daily Gazette* took a dim view of Butler's role; so did the *Greensboro Daily News*.<sup>12</sup> Daniel A. Tompkins, who had considerable enthusiasm for

<sup>6</sup> *Caucasian*, August 25, 1910; John Motley Morehead to William Garrott Brown, October 29, 1910, William Garrott Brown Papers, Manuscript Department, Duke University Library, Durham, hereinafter cited as Brown Papers.

<sup>7</sup> William Garrott Brown to John Motley Morehead, October 21, 1910, Brown Papers.

<sup>8</sup> A. Piatt Andrew to William Garrott Brown, September 19, 1910, William Garrott Brown to A. Piatt Andrew, September 22, 1910, and Charles D. Hilles to A. Piatt Andrew, June 2, 1911, Brown Papers.

<sup>9</sup> *Greensboro Daily News*, October 7, 1910; *Statesville Landmark*, November 4, 1910; *Charlotte Daily Observer*, November 4, 1910.

<sup>10</sup> *Charlotte Daily Observer*, October 2, 1910.

<sup>11</sup> Willis Grandy Biggs to E. J. D. Boykin, July 1, 1910, Willis Grandy Biggs Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

<sup>12</sup> *News and Observer* (Raleigh), July 30, 31, August 10, 11, October 20, November 2, 1910, hereinafter cited as *News and Observer*; *Caucasian*, July 28, 1910; *Statesville Landmark*, September 27, 1910.



John Motley Morehead. Photograph obtained by Miss Joyce Walker of the *Charlotte Observer* from Mrs. John L. Morehead of Charlotte.

Morehead's views on economic questions, could not tolerate Butler's identification with the campaign.<sup>13</sup> William Garrott Brown advised President Taft that Butler should receive no recognition from the Republican administration; he declared: "Butler should receive no recognition in any form. He is thoroughly discredited with the better people of the state."<sup>14</sup> Undaunted by hostile criticism, Butler's *Caucasian* launched a dramatic campaign in support of Republican state

<sup>13</sup> Daniel Augustus Tompkins to David Klutz, October 22, 1910, Daniel Augustus Tompkins Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

<sup>14</sup> William Garrott Brown to Charles Dyer Norton, October 13, 1910, Brown Papers.

and congressional candidates and attempted to answer all charges that were hurled against Butler.

The complicated role Butler assumed in the case of *South Dakota v. North Carolina* (1904) has been intimately related in Robert F. Durden's *Reconstruction Bonds and Twentieth Century Politics* and need not be retold in this context.<sup>15</sup> As the *Durham Herald* observed, the Democrats would have been left without an issue if Butler had kept out of the race.<sup>16</sup> His name was inseparably linked with the South Dakota case, and it was charged that he was engaged in a conspiracy to force the payment of repudiated Reconstruction bonds. The fact that his name had appeared in an advertisement in the *New York Evening Post* on April 28, 1905, soliciting the collection of repudiated bonds could not be lightly dismissed. This damaging fact was uncovered by the *Statesville Landmark* and used with telling effect in the campaign.<sup>17</sup> Butler stoutly maintained that his only connection in the bond case had involved the "honest portion" of the debt and that he refused to have anything to do with "fraudulent carpet bag bonds."<sup>18</sup> His disclaimers did not allay completely the fears of voters or convince them that he was not completely in control of the Republican state organization.<sup>19</sup>

Morehead deplored such Democratic tactics which he described in the following way:

The Democratic speakers and the Democratic papers have staked their all on the absurdly false and intentionally deceptive contention that Republican success means the payment of the fraudulent state debt and abrogation of the franchise amendment of the constitution.<sup>20</sup>

He caustically denounced Charles B. Aycock who had intimated that Republicans were conniving with the bondholders. Morehead pointed out that the bonds could not be paid without submitting the matter to a popular referendum as required by the state constitution.<sup>21</sup> Joining the attack upon Democratic strategists Marion Butler defiantly challenged Furnifold Simmons to debate: "You and your party have

<sup>15</sup> Robert F. Durden, *Reconstruction Bonds and Twentieth Century Politics: South Dakota v. North Carolina* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1962).

<sup>16</sup> *Morning Herald* (Durham) quoted in *Union Republican* (Winston), October 6, 1910; the latter paper hereinafter cited as *Union Republican*.

<sup>17</sup> *Statesville Landmark*, November 1, 1910.

<sup>18</sup> *Caucasian*, November 5, 1910; *Greensboro Daily News*, November 4, 1910.

<sup>19</sup> *News and Observer*, August 11, October 13, 29, 1910; *Charlotte Daily Observer*, August 11, 12, 1910; *Statesville Landmark*, August 12, 1910.

<sup>20</sup> *Greensboro Daily News*, October 19, 1910.

<sup>21</sup> *Caucasian*, October 13, 1910; *Greensboro Daily News*, October 8, 1910; *Union Republican*, October 13, 1910.

raised the cry of Butler and bonds and the ghost of negro domination in your desperation to distract the attention of voters from your miserable record of hypocrisy and broken promises. . . ." <sup>22</sup> Butler boasted that he would meet Simmons and Josephus Daniels in debate and that he would "take on both at once." <sup>23</sup> As a parting gesture Butler hired a hall in Raleigh and delivered his celebrated "Raleigh Speech" in which he "exposed and denounced" Simmons, Daniels, and others. <sup>24</sup>

The task of the Republican state chairman was further complicated by the delay in the call of the state convention. Morehead was left with little time to perfect a state organization before the November elections. He could have interceded during the convention to demand the removal of Edward C. Duncan as national committeeman, but he refused to do so. Experience would prove that Duncan's interests ran counter to the wishes of the state chairman. <sup>25</sup>

Negro voting was injected as an issue in the campaign and hampered the Republican cause. "The man who votes the Republican ticket, whether he does so knowingly or not, votes to hasten the re-opening of the question of Negroes voting in North Carolina," declared the *News and Observer*. <sup>26</sup> It is of interest to note that Republican strategists had other notions about Negro voting and office-holding. William Garrott Brown advised Taft that only a limited number of Negroes should exercise the franchise and was reassured by the President that he "agreed . . . in every particular." Taft confided:

My own hope has been that the vote will be restored to the Negro after the division of the white vote at a time when they should become really eligible under proper qualifications to exercise the franchise, in such small numbers, however, as not to threaten control by the baser element of the community.

In my inaugural address I attempted to foreshadow a policy of not making southern appointments from Negroes . . . that prejudice would interfere with the effectiveness of public servants. The appointments instead of helping the race from which they are made retards the growth of that race in its association with the whites and in the benefit that it is to derive from the friendship and protection of the Southern whites. <sup>27</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *Greensboro Daily News*, October 18, 1910; *Caucasian*, October 20, 1910.

<sup>23</sup> *Greensboro Daily News*, October 28, 1910.

<sup>24</sup> *Caucasian*, November 5, 1910.

<sup>25</sup> *Caucasian*, November 17, 1910, April 13, 1911.

<sup>26</sup> *News and Observer*, August 20, 1910.

<sup>27</sup> William Howard Taft to William Garrott Brown, November 3, 1910; see also, William Garrott Brown to Charles Dyer Norton, October 13, 1910, and William Garrott Brown to William Howard Taft, November 7, 1910, Brown Papers.

In spite of emphatic renunciation of Negro support, the race issue contributed manifestly to the decline of the Republican vote in 1910.

Election results in 1910 indicated that the tide of votes ran strongly in favor of the Democratic party. Morehead's strategy and the vigorous support Marion Butler gave the Republican ticket apparently had little effect upon the outcome. All Republican congressional candidates were defeated, and only twenty party candidates were elected to the state House of Representatives; seven Republicans were elected to serve in the state Senate. The only consolation Republicans derived from the campaign was the knowledge that Democratic resurgence in North Carolina was no more pronounced than in other states.<sup>28</sup>

Following the decisive losses sustained in the 1910 election, Morehead called the Republican State Executive Committee into session in Greensboro on December 28, where fifteen of its twenty-one members who were present unanimously endorsed President Taft for renomination. According to the *Washington Post* the North Carolina organization was the first in the nation to endorse Taft's candidacy.<sup>29</sup> Beneath this superficial harmony Morehead was seething against Taft's reversal of position on the handling of patronage which he declared left him "hopelessly floundering." Apparently the President failed to abide by the results sustained in the state convention and chose to continue in office one-term incumbents whose selection had been made by Edward C. Duncan and the "referee regime." Postmaster General Frank H. Hitchcock had recognized Duncan and not the state committee in filling appointive positions. Morehead voiced his opposition to this strategy in a bitterly worded letter to the President's secretary: "The application of this policy to North Carolina means a continued recognition of a system that has been officially repudiated by 90 percent of the Republican party of the state and, in my judgment, will set the party back indefinitely. . . ." <sup>30</sup>

Morehead maintained that Taft had deserted his "real friends" in the state. He confided: "To my mind, the Postmaster-General is approaching 1912 from the standpoint of his personal control of the southern delegates and marketing his wares to the best possible

<sup>28</sup> *Greensboro Daily News*, December 4, 1910; *Caucasian*, November 23, 1911, quoting *Morning Star* (Wilmington).

<sup>29</sup> *Caucasian*, January 5, 1911, quoting the *Washington Post*.

<sup>30</sup> John Motley Morehead to Charles D. Hilles, March 10, 1911, William Howard Taft Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, hereinafter cited as Taft Papers.

personal advantage in case any contest arises.”<sup>31</sup> The state chairman had fought successfully the “patronage controlling machine” that thwarted party advancement, but the President’s conduct “minimized enormously” Morehead’s efforts to rebuild the party. William Garrott Brown ably supported Morehead’s indictment of “delegate-delivering machines” from southern states.<sup>32</sup> He called upon Taft to declare publicly that he would not use offices or officeholders to secure the nomination: “By taking such a stand at once the President would merely make good his own repeated public professions.”<sup>33</sup> Athwart such a course stood Postmaster General Hitchcock who was accused of manipulating appointments in order to control the forthcoming Republican national convention. Such tactics in the past had “hindered . . . the movement for a real and decent Republican party in the South.”<sup>34</sup> Brown suggested a presidential declaration to this effect: “In view of these and similar charges the President emphatically declares that no one is authorized in his behalf, or in behalf of his administration, to make any such use of the patronage; that no one has authority to promise patronage, or the control of patronage, in return for support in any convention or conventions.”<sup>35</sup>

Such a radical proposal contemplated a veritable political revolution and Charles D. Hilles observed that the “line of least resistance would be followed,” which would “result in a continuance of the old repressive measures.”<sup>36</sup> While Taft was impressed by Brown’s “general policy,” he was not willing to issue a “public declaration that in all of the southern states a radical change of policy was to prevail.”<sup>37</sup> Hilles explained the President’s reaction to Brown’s letter: “It is receiving his attention, but he will not act on it impulsively, for it contemplates a revolution in a venerable system which operates in fourteen or fifteen states.”<sup>38</sup> Bitterly, Brown concluded that the Republican party in the South did not “stand for anything in the nature of a principle or policy. It stands for nothing under the sun but an appetite for Federal pie and machinery for getting and dis-

<sup>31</sup> John Motley Morehead to Charles D. Hilles, March 23, 1911; see also, John Motley Morehead to Charles D. Hilles, April 24, 1911, Taft Papers.

<sup>32</sup> William Garrott Brown to Editor of *New York Times*, January 3, 1911, William Garrott Brown to Henry Cabot Lodge, May 30, 1911, and Henry Cabot Lodge to William Garrott Brown, June 1, 1911, Brown Papers.

<sup>33</sup> *Harper's Weekly*, LV (April 22, 1911), 4.

<sup>34</sup> *Harper's Weekly*, LV (May 20, 1911), 4.

<sup>35</sup> William Garrott Brown to William Howard Taft, May 30, 1911, Brown Papers.

<sup>36</sup> Charles D. Hilles to A. Piatt Andrew, June 2, 1911, Brown Papers.

<sup>37</sup> A. Piatt Andrew to William Garrott Brown, June 18, 1911, Brown Papers.

<sup>38</sup> Charles D. Hilles to William Garrott Brown, June 17, 1911, Brown Papers.

tributing it.”<sup>39</sup> Under such circumstances it was not likely to develop into a formidable influence in politics. Privately, Brown continued to advise Morehead on Republican strategy, but he personally endorsed Woodrow Wilson as presidential aspirant. “You have been a Godsend to all of us who take our political writing seriously,” he remarked. “Don’t do as Taft did recently, after inviting my advice about his Southern policy, pat *me* on the back with a compliment and disregard my advice,” Brown told Wilson.<sup>40</sup>

Morehead and his friends looked with misgiving to the approaching presidential campaign and the “same old fight of the old Duncan referee set who are bent on ruling or ruining. . . .” The “referee set,” Gilliam Grissom remarked, were “putting in their time denouncing the President; as a matter of fact some of the President’s appointees, at Duncan’s suggestion, are leading the cry against him.”<sup>41</sup> Morehead believed that practically every Republican identified with “the last State organization” was “outspoken and active in his anti-administration activities.”<sup>42</sup> Whether the President would heed the advice of the state chairman and try to cope with his adversaries was an uncertain question.

When Duncan suddenly announced that North Carolina would send a solid delegation for Taft and Jeter C. Pritchard revealed that he and his following were “unequivocally” for the President’s renomination, Morehead was left “in somewhat of a quandary as to how to proceed.” With wry humor he confessed:

The reversal of position by this element of the party rather cuts the ground from under our position in the State as applied to the President personally.

Accordingly, from the Washington end, we are, if not between the upper and nether stone, most certainly in mid-air. There is, however, always a silver lining. With the Aaron and the Moses of this faction safely herded within the fold, *they* have their footing undermined when it comes to the control of the next convention. I do not believe we will accomplish any thing further in Washington. . . . My present idea is that it is very plainly our business to eschew Washington, where both elements of the party will, no doubt, be in equal favor. . . .<sup>43</sup>

<sup>39</sup> *Harper’s Weekly*, LV (August 19, 1911), 4.

<sup>40</sup> William Garrott Brown to Woodrow Wilson, October 30, 1911, Brown Papers.

<sup>41</sup> Gilliam Grissom to William Garrott Brown, November 2, 1911, Brown Papers.

<sup>42</sup> John Motley Morehead to William Garrott Brown, November 14, 1911, Brown Papers.

<sup>43</sup> John Motley Morehead to William Garrott Brown, November 25, 1911, Brown Papers; see also, John Motley Morehead to [Charles D. Hilles], November 24, 1911, Taft Papers; *Caucasian*, November 23, 1911.

The avowal of loyalty from party leaders did not silence Morehead's protests against the referee system. "I have been up against Hitchcock, his system and the tactics of his henchmen in the State until I am sick, both in heart and at the stomach," he confided. Earlier Taft had promised to recognize the candidates for office recommended by the state executive committee with limited exceptions. This understanding was approved by the state committee but soon Taft reversed this policy. "Well that knocked me off the tree entirely and completely," Morehead related. He reported that in conference with Taft: "I lost my head . . . he told me to moderate my voice; and I finally withdrew from about as awkward a situation as I ever experienced."<sup>44</sup> Since the state committee and local leaders had little to do with distribution of the patronage it was maintained that the results secured in the preceding state convention had been nullified. "What's the use is the most natural, logical, and inevitable conclusion," observed the state chairman.<sup>45</sup> "The President's policy of indefinite, perhaps life tenure is not popular and works very great detriment to us in controlling the situation in the State," he advised Charles D. Hilles.<sup>46</sup> Taft's decision to support the "referee regime" therefore left the champions of a new order "discouraged and disheartened." Morehead proposed that all appointments be halted until factional disagreements were settled. In this way he hoped to keep incumbents in line for Taft's nomination and prevent the reversal of position by those who professed their loyalty to the administration.<sup>47</sup>

Morehead was convinced that those leaders who were suddenly voluble in their affirmation of loyalty to the President intended to "double cross" him at the opportune moment and deliver votes to another candidate. He confided to Hilles: "The President may possibly recall that in 1909 I told him this crowd would gut him . . . in the twinkling of an eye. His rejoinder was 'by God, I know it for I have seen them try it.' Every indication and move points this way." As evidence Morehead noted that the *Greensboro Daily News* took every opportunity to rap at the President, and it strenuously advocated the re-election of Senator Furnifold M. Simmons. "It gravels me beyond expression to see the President supinely submit to adroit political machinations that may mean his undoing so far as concerns North Carolina," Morehead protested. Theodore Roosevelt's emer-

<sup>44</sup> John Motley Morehead to William Garrott Brown, December 1, 1911, Brown Papers.

<sup>45</sup> John Motley Morehead to Z. L. M. Jeffreys, November 27, 1911, Taft Papers.

<sup>46</sup> John Motley Morehead to Charles D. Hilles, November 27, 1911, Taft Papers.

<sup>47</sup> John Motley Morehead to Charles D. Hilles, December 13, 1911, Taft Papers.

gence as a presidential candidate also occupied the thoughts of the state chairman as he revealed in this comment: "If this is correct—that Pinchot is assisting to finance the so-called LaFollette movement in the State—every one beyond the confines of an asylum comprehends the situation."<sup>48</sup>

Throughout the campaign of 1912 Morehead steadfastly fought for the renomination and re-election of Taft. He had to contend with what he believed to be inept handling of the patronage, factionalism in the party, and the emergence of Roosevelt as a candidate of Republicans and Progressives. Morehead supported Taft largely on the grounds of his conservative economic policies, but the impression was left that the state chairman sought the adoption of the spoils system and was "so much occupied with the offices" that his "higher motives" were obscured from the public.<sup>49</sup> The Morehead-Duncan feud waxed hot as the state chairman vowed that while Duncan was at the White House swearing his loyalty, his friends in the state were busy organizing Roosevelt clubs.<sup>50</sup> Aware of the burgeoning Roosevelt campaign, Morehead and his friends secured the reassignment of Thomas Settle to North Carolina to participate in the Taft campaign.<sup>51</sup> In a short time Settle supplied what he believed was "conclusive evidence" that Duncan's friends were actively organizing Roosevelt clubs throughout the state.<sup>52</sup>

On February 28 Morehead staged an elaborate banquet in Raleigh to honor all county chairmen, the state executive committee, and invited guests. It was a calculated effort to unite the party in the campaign and Duncan was conspicuously absent. The executive committee by a twelve to six vote endorsed Taft's administration, but it failed to propose his renomination. This large gathering afforded Morehead another opportunity to elaborate upon his proposal for rebuilding the party in the state and in the South and to deride those "led here, there or anywhere by the halter of federal patronage."<sup>53</sup> Taft's own reaction to intraparty feuding was to follow Morehead's earlier suggestion and to withdraw the names of ten appointees which had been submitted to the Senate for confirmation.<sup>54</sup> The Pres-

<sup>48</sup> John Motley Morehead to Charles D. Hilles, December 20, 1911; see also, Gilliam Grissom to William Garrott Brown, December 20, 1911, Brown Papers.

<sup>49</sup> William Garrott Brown to Gilliam Grissom, January 2, 1912, Brown Papers.

<sup>50</sup> John Motley Morehead to [Charles D. Hilles], February 9, 1912, Taft Papers.

<sup>51</sup> John Motley Morehead to [William Howard Taft], February 16, 20, 1912, White House memorandum, January 27, 1912, and Charles J. Harris to [William Howard Taft], February 12, 1912, Taft Papers.

<sup>52</sup> Thomas Settle to [William Howard Taft], March 11, 1912, Taft Papers.

<sup>53</sup> *Caucasian*, February 29, 1912; *Asheville Gazette-News*, February 29, 1912.

<sup>54</sup> *Caucasian*, February 22, 1912; *News and Observer*, February 21, 29, 1912.

ident then called Morehead and Duncan to a conference at the White House to discuss the withholding of appointments.<sup>55</sup> Morehead recalled that "Duncan maintained his side to the best advantage but was faced by facts which were so damaging that he lost his temper and was advised by the President to cool out a little."<sup>56</sup> Taft's decision to await the outcome of the Republican state convention before making further appointments indicated that he no longer followed the advice of the Postmaster General and national committeeman Duncan.

Morehead's belated *rapprochement* with the White House was eclipsed by the emergence of Roosevelt as the strongest candidate in the race. Fully aware of Roosevelt's appeal, Morehead anticipated defeat in the forthcoming state convention. He expected "the temporary roll of the Convention as made up by the State Committee to be rejected by the Convention and this rejection will be accompanied by the ejection of the State Chairman and his friends."<sup>57</sup>

The organization of the Roosevelt movement and the challenge it posed to the Republican state organization will be treated in a subsequent essay on the 1912 campaign. It should be noted in this context, however, that Morehead acknowledged the strength of Roosevelt's following and accorded full representation to his supporters in the party convention on May 15.<sup>58</sup> Ironically, while Roosevelt delegates made virtually a clean sweep of the convention, they stopped short of removing Morehead as state chairman. He was still the titular leader of the party and committed to Taft's renomination.<sup>59</sup>

The Republican National Convention in Chicago put Morehead's role in an entirely different perspective. After Roosevelt delegates bolted the convention and nominated their leader as the Progressive party candidate, Morehead stoutly maintained that the Progressives had severed all relations with the Republican party. He declared that Taft was the legitimate Republican candidate and those who disavowed their support of the party leader were not entitled to serve as delegates or officers in further deliberations of the party. A further touch of irony was added as Morehead found himself increasingly in agreement with Edward C. Duncan and finally maneuvered his reinstatement as Republican national committeeman.<sup>60</sup> Morehead was

<sup>55</sup> Charles D. Hilles to John Motley Morehead, March 12, 1912, Taft Papers.

<sup>56</sup> John Motley Morehead to William Garrott Brown, March 19, 1912, Brown Papers.

<sup>57</sup> John Motley Morehead to William Garrott Brown, March 19, 1912, Brown Papers.

<sup>58</sup> *Caucasian*, May 16, 30, 1912; *Asheville Gazette-News*, May 16, 1912; *Greensboro Daily News*, May 16, 1912; *News and Observer*, May 16, 1912.

<sup>59</sup> *Caucasian*, May 23, 1912.

<sup>60</sup> *Asheville Gazette-News*, September 5, 1912.

fully aware of impending defeat for the party in the November elections, but he stoutly maintained to the end that he had been consistently loyal to the party, its principles, and its nominee. He was willing to join with the Roosevelt organization in nominating state and county tickets that were acceptable to Republicans and Progressives alike, but he rejected all proposals of co-operation to support the "Bull Moose" presidential ticket. He felt justified in taking such a stand because of:

. . . Mr. Roosevelt's personal declaration that he was no longer a Republican and that no longer could the dear people look to that party for relief but that hereafter, He and the Progressive Party alone were to afford surcease from every ill of humanity from Cramp Colic to Reform of the Currency System.<sup>61</sup>

Morehead's campaign to rebuild the Republican party in North Carolina and make it attractive to an increasing number of voters had, after four years, ended on a note of bitterness, defeat, and pessimism. The division of the Republican party into Roosevelt and Taft factions made his efforts futile.

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<sup>61</sup> John Motley Morehead to Richmond Pearson, August 28, 1912, Richmond Pearson Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

# ATTITUDES IN NORTH CAROLINA REGARDING THE INDEPENDENCE OF CUBA, 1868-1898

BY GEORGE H. GIBSON\*

Smoldering for years under Spanish rule, the fires of rebellion again broke out in Cuba in October, 1868. Cubans were dissatisfied with the persistence of slavery on their island and discontented with the military and absolute government of the Spanish-appointed consul general. They wanted to be free in body and in spirit from the Spanish government. They attacked army posts by day and burned the homes and sugar crops of loyalists by night. Cuban exiles in the northern United States formed revolutionary juntas to spread propaganda, hold mass meetings, bribe newspapers and government officials, and organize filibustering expeditions for the relief of their compatriots in Cuba.

The United States government was sorely tried at home to suppress naturalized citizens with Cuban names and insurrectionary habits and to patrol the seas to prevent filibustering expeditions. The government of the United States was pressed by Americans living in Cuba to denounce the destruction of American property and the imprisonment and execution of American citizens.

If the United States government had been looking for a pretext for vengeful and aggressive hostilities with Spain and the separation of Cuba from Spanish sovereignty, it could have found ample opportunities in the vexing annoyances of Cuban insurrectionary warfare. Although press, pulpit, and platform demanded intervention in Cuba on the part of the rebels, war was not to be undertaken lightly.

In North Carolina there was no cry for war. "The *STANDARD* has never advocated a war with either England or Spain, or with any other nation, except it be to protect American citizens or to vindicate American honor. Let the government demand suitable apologies from England or Spain . . . but let no pressure hurry it into a war that is

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not absolutely necessary to the honor of the nation.”<sup>1</sup> The *Wilmington Daily Journal* said: “The United States is not in any condition to enter into any foreign war.”<sup>2</sup> And the *Newberne Daily Journal of Commerce* declared: “To us the picture [of war] presents *all* the features of a curse, deep, dark and terrible, and *none* of the traits of a national blessing.”<sup>3</sup>

The South was still reeling from the effects of the Civil War, and newspaper editors in North Carolina let it be known that the state was not prepared to participate so soon in another war. On the same day two Raleigh newspapers expounded upon the same theme. “We are unwilling to believe that the reflecting people of any section of our Union will favor war if the matter is left up to them. . . . The sad and bitter experience of our own domestic troubles would deter all considerate people from advocating a war with any power,” declared the *Daily Sentinel*.<sup>4</sup> Echoed the *Weekly North-Carolina Standard*: “The events of our own war are still too fresh in our minds to make us take a step of this kind.”<sup>5</sup> It later reasserted: “Our sympathies are with the Cubans, but we do not wish to see the United States entangled by championing any people. . . . We have just recovered from a war of our own.”<sup>6</sup>

But it was not only the horrors of war which repelled North Carolinians from giving active support to the Cubans; there was the horror of reconstruction. “With a country divided in feeling, in interest, with bitter memories harrowed up continuously by vindictiveness and oppressions and slanders; arrogance and hate on the one part engendering poverty and humiliation on the other, we can assure these fireside veterans that the United States is in no condition to seek a foreign war,” said the *Daily Journal*.<sup>7</sup> To the *Daily Sentinel*, “the possession of Cuba would only extend the area of confusion and add to the difficulties and embarrassments of our domestic situation. We have quite enough to do, at present, in retrieving our finances and consolidating our shattered Union.”<sup>8</sup> To this the *Newberne Daily Times* added: “We would by no means advocate war for we have all

<sup>1</sup> *Weekly North-Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), May 5, 1869, hereinafter cited as *Weekly North-Carolina Standard*.

<sup>2</sup> *Daily Journal* (Wilmington), October 9, 1869, hereinafter cited as *Daily Journal*.

<sup>3</sup> *Newberne Daily Journal of Commerce*, May 21, 1869, hereinafter cited as *Journal of Commerce*.

<sup>4</sup> *Daily Sentinel* (Raleigh), May 12, 1869, hereinafter cited as *Daily Sentinel*.

<sup>5</sup> *Weekly North-Carolina Standard*, May 12, 1869.

<sup>6</sup> *Weekly Standard* (Raleigh), August 24, 1869, hereinafter cited as *Weekly Standard*.

<sup>7</sup> *Daily Journal*, April 24, 1869.

<sup>8</sup> *Daily Sentinel*, May 19, 1869.

had enough of it, and the people are tired of it, and have more profitable employment, in tilling the land and attending to pursuits . . . of peace.”<sup>9</sup>

With slavery abolished and a distressing race problem persisting in the political reconstruction of the South, people at this time did not want to annex new land inhabited chiefly by peoples who would bring more race problems. The *Morning Star* (Wilmington) stated: “Whether an incorporation of several millions of sable citizens into the ‘grand brotherhood of the Union’ . . . will be beneficial to the politics of the country may well be doubted by those who have watched the workings of reconstruction in the Southern States.”<sup>10</sup> Its neighboring newspaper the *Daily Journal* sarcastically commented: “Sooner or later [Cuba] will be annexed. And then for a harvest of ‘reconstruction.’ Fanatics and strong-minded females will have a rich field of operation in educating picaninies [*sic*] and clothing the freedmen with rights, but not much of anything else.”<sup>11</sup>

There was a revulsion in the United States to further territorial expansion or further projection of national influence. The *Weekly North-Carolina Standard* followed this theme in stating: “To the purchase of Cuba we should also object, believing that the United States already has too much territory to need to buy more.”<sup>12</sup>

In June, 1869, President Ulysses Simpson Grant offered the good offices of the United States in an effort to end the fighting between Cuba and Spain. He offered to settle the contest on the basis of abolition of slavery, Cuban independence, and an indemnity to be paid Spain by the Cubans and guaranteed by the United States.<sup>13</sup> Spain refused to consider the proposition until the Cuban insurgents surrendered.<sup>14</sup>

Meanwhile filibustering expeditions continued to be fitted out in northern ports and along the Florida coast. Two editors commented on these expeditions. The *Weekly North-Carolina Standard* said: “We do not think it prudent or politic in our government to permit armed expeditions to leave our shores for purposes of aggression upon the rights of a nation with which we are at peace.”<sup>15</sup> A writer for the

<sup>9</sup> *Newbern Daily Times*, June 16, 1869.

<sup>10</sup> *Morning Star* (Wilmington), January 28, 1872, hereinafter cited as *Morning Star*.

<sup>11</sup> *Daily Journal*, November 14, 1868.

<sup>12</sup> *Weekly North-Carolina Standard*, May 12, 1869.

<sup>13</sup> Hamilton Fish to Daniel Edgar Sickles, June 29, 1869, *House Executive Document Number 160*, Forty-First Congress, Second Session, 13-16, hereinafter cited as *House Executive Document Number 160*.

<sup>14</sup> Daniel Edgar Sickles to Hamilton Fish, August 13, 1869, *House Executive Document Number 160*, 27.

<sup>15</sup> *Weekly North-Carolina Standard*, May 10, 1869.

*Daily Journal* said that filibustering had been secretly encouraged but had gained little popularity with the people.<sup>16</sup>

Finding that support for a war with Spain could not be realized among the American people, avid exponents of Cuban independence sought to get the United States to recognize a state of belligerency between Spain and Cuba. This action would have given the insurgents some status as a government and allowed them to trade in American ports. It would have infuriated the Spanish government and would possibly have led to war. While on a Maine vacation, President Grant was approached by Cuban partisans who urged him to issue a proclamation recognizing Cuban belligerent rights. Grant ordered Secretary of State Hamilton Fish to issue a proclamation to that effect which had already been signed.<sup>17</sup> Fish countersigned the proclamation but did not promulgate it.<sup>18</sup> Grant forgot about the proclamation when he returned to Washington.

Agitation became more pronounced, but Fish persuaded President Grant that recognition of belligerency would not be in the best interest of the United States. Consequently when Grant delivered his first annual message on December 6, 1869, he said that "the contest has at no time assumed the conditions which amount to war in the sense of international law, or which would show the existence of a *de facto* political organization of the insurgents sufficient to justify a recognition of belligerency."<sup>19</sup> Always eager to make a strike at the President, the *Daily Journal* commented: "Upon the question of the Cuban revolution the President starts out to say nothing and succeeds most admirably. . . . We 'sympathize with all people struggling for liberty and self government,' or at least President GRANT says we do. But we don't know that the assurance will do the struggling patriots any good."<sup>20</sup>

Seemingly in answer to the President's message, Representative Clinton Levering Cobb of North Carolina introduced the following resolution into the House of Representatives on December 8, 1869:

<sup>16</sup> *Daily Journal*, June 17, 1869.

<sup>17</sup> Joseph Vincent Fuller, "Hamilton Fish," in *The American Secretaries of State and Their Diplomacy*, edited by Samuel Flagg Bemis (New York: Alfred A. Knopf and Company, 10 volumes, 1928), VII, 140, hereinafter cited as Bemis, *American Secretaries of State*.

<sup>18</sup> *Senate Executive Document Number 108*, Forty-First Congress, Second Session, 245.

<sup>19</sup> John Bassett Moore (ed.), *A Digest of International Law* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 8 volumes, 1906), I, 194, hereinafter cited as Moore, *Digest of International Law*.

<sup>20</sup> *Daily Journal*, December 8, 1869.

*Resolved*, That the House of Representatives participate with the people of the United States in the deep interest which they feel for the success of the republic of Cuba, struggling to establish its liberty and independence; and that it will give its constitutional support to the President of the United States whenever he may deem it expedient to recognize the sovereignty and independence of said republic.<sup>21</sup>

Cobb's resolution was referred to committee and reported back to the House of Representatives in a substitute resolution when belligerency agitation came to a head in Congress in the summer of 1870.

Secretary of State Fish urged President Grant to send a special message to Congress urging strict neutrality.<sup>22</sup> On June 13, 1870, Grant sent a message which stated that there had been no change in the Cuban rebellion which warranted recognition of the rebels. "It is a well-established principle of public law that a recognition by a foreign State of belligerent rights to insurgents under circumstances such as now exist in Cuba, if not justified by necessity, is a gratuitous demonstration of moral support to a rebellion."<sup>23</sup>

In spite of Grant's message, the House of Representatives on June 16, 1870, passed by a vote of 101 to 88 a resolution calling on the President to grant belligerent rights to Cuba. Three North Carolina representatives, including the lone Democrat in the delegation, voted against the resolution, one voted for it, and one did not vote.<sup>24</sup> In the Senate on June 25 it was agreed that the resolution would not be voted upon and the matter was dropped.<sup>25</sup>

Before the controversy came to a head, three North Carolina newspapers recorded approval for the plan. The *Daily Journal* stated: "The belligerent rights of the Cubans must be recognized or they must be abandoned to their fate. . . . Our people sympathize with all others who struggle for freedom and independence."<sup>26</sup> The *Weekly North-Carolina Standard* hoped that the federal government would recognize the belligerent rights of the Cubans and give Cubans a fair field to work out their own destiny.<sup>27</sup> The *Daily Sentinel* also agreed: "We do not undertake to say that the rebels should not be recognized as

<sup>21</sup> *Congressional Globe*, Forty-First Congress, Second Session, 1869-1870 (Washington: Office of the Congressional Globe, 109 volumes, 1834-1873), CIV, 34, hereinafter cited as *Congressional Globe*.

<sup>22</sup> Allan Nevins, *Hamilton Fish: The Inner History of the Grant Administration* (New York: Dodd Mead Company, 1936), 583, hereinafter cited as Nevins, *Hamilton Fish*.

<sup>23</sup> Moore, *Digest of International Law*, I, 194-196.

<sup>24</sup> *Congressional Globe*, CIV, 4506-4507.

<sup>25</sup> *Congressional Globe*, CIV, 4833.

<sup>26</sup> *Daily Journal*, October 9, 1869.

<sup>27</sup> *Weekly North-Carolina Standard*, May 12, 1869.

belligerents, if they are really making strong headway against Spanish rule, and there is, apparently good reason for supposing that they will finally succeed.”<sup>28</sup> After the President’s message and the debates in Congress, the newspapers remained silent concerning belligerent rights for Cuba.

In February, 1871, a board was established in Washington with two members from Spain, two members from the United States, and a mutually selected umpire empowered to settle disputes involving citizenship and indemnity rights—disputes which had plagued relations between Spain and the United States since 1868.<sup>29</sup>

The Cuban rebels continued sporadic fighting and Congress returned to domestic issues. Newspaper editorials regarding Cuba became shorter and less frequent. The *New Berne Times* predicted that Cuban patriotism would yet triumph against all odds.<sup>30</sup> The *Newberne Journal of Commerce* declared that Cuba must be free from Spain: “It is doubtful, however, whether they will meet a response from the administration.”<sup>31</sup> When the Cuban rebels announced they would burn the sugar crop, the *Wilmington Morning Star* exclaimed: “Let the torch flame and their sugar fields become the funeral pyre of Spanish rule in America. Spain will deserve it.”<sup>32</sup> The editor of the *Salisbury Old North State* thought that “between the blunder of Spanish policies at home and military leaders abroad” the island would secure its independence.<sup>33</sup> As the rebellion dragged on the *Newbern Daily Times* said: “The prolonged contest gives renewed hope of victory to the cause of the struggling Cubans, and the sympathies of all lovers of freedom, justice and right, are with them.”<sup>34</sup>

The *Weekly Standard* stated: “If Congress shall be satisfied that the time has arrived for the government to recognize Cuba as an independent government, it will be done—no one will rejoice more than we—for our sympathies are with her, and we believe the sympathies of nine-tenths of our people are on her side.”<sup>35</sup> The *Wilmington Morning Star* made the odds even higher by stating that Cuba had a thousand sympathizers in the United States where Spain had one.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>28</sup> *Daily Sentinel*, May 10, 1869.

<sup>29</sup> French Ensor Chadwick, *The Relations of the United States and Spain: Diplomacy* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1909), 269.

<sup>30</sup> *New Berne Times*, June 8, 1873.

<sup>31</sup> *Journal of Commerce*, September 14, 1869.

<sup>32</sup> *Morning Star*, November 11, 1869.

<sup>33</sup> *Old North State* (Salisbury), November 19, 1869.

<sup>34</sup> *Newbern Daily Times*, November 17, 1869.

<sup>35</sup> *Weekly Standard*, December 6, 1869.

<sup>36</sup> *Morning Star*, January 7, 1872.

Claims and counterclaims poured from Cuba in an unending and ever-widening stream. The *New Berne Times* once made this comment: "The latest news from the Island is so contradictory in character, that but little importance is attached to it."<sup>37</sup> The rebellion had been going on for five years and had become stale when a situation developed that caused the whole United States to take notice. Cuba leaped back into print with the "Virginius" affair.

On October 31, 1873, between Jamaica and Cuba, a Spanish warship ran down the United States steamer "Virginius" and took it to Santiago, Cuba. On November 6 and 7, fifty-three of the steamer's crew of seventy-one were executed as pirates. Thirty-six of those executed were American citizens. Captain Lambton Lorraine of the British warship "Niobe" sailed into Santiago harbor, trained his guns on the city, and prevented the execution of the rest of the crew.

There was an outburst of anger across the United States and indignation meetings were held in northern cities. The Cuban juntas, hopeful of American intervention in Cuba, capitalized on the incident. Excitement ran high in Spain also, and a mob was restrained from sacking the American legation in Madrid.

On November 12, Hamilton Fish telegraphed the chief of the legation to protest to the Spanish government and demand ample reparations, but he also expressed grave doubt as to the ship's right to fly the American flag or carry American papers.<sup>38</sup> Two days later he requested the chief of the legation to present formal demands to the Spanish prime minister. The United States demanded restoration of the "Virginius," release and delivery to the United States of the surviving crew members, a salute to the American flag in Santiago, and punishment of the officials responsible for the incident. The Spanish government was given twelve days to comply.<sup>39</sup>

North Carolina newspapers were full of advice as to how to handle the situation. The *Daily Journal* said: "We trust the President will . . . inaugurate a policy that by its recognition of the Cubans as belligerents . . . will force the Spanish government to observe the laws of civilized warfare." It suggested that the government not say too much, however, lest the Spanish quote as a precedent for their action the military tribunal which tried the assassins of Abraham

<sup>37</sup> *New Berne Times*, July 20, 1873.

<sup>38</sup> Hamilton Fish to Daniel Edgar Sickles, November 12, 1873, *House Executive Document Number 30*, Forty-Third Congress, First Session, 20, hereinafter cited as *House Executive Document Number 30*.

<sup>39</sup> Hamilton Fish to Daniel Edgar Sickles, November 14, 1873, *House Executive Document Number 30*, 29.

Lincoln.<sup>40</sup> The Wilmington *Morning Star* said: "We wish to see the government acting with the honorable traditions of the country and with a little less vacillation, imbecility, and cowardice."<sup>41</sup> The next day the newspaper asked: "Now what will be government do? Shall we have more fishy diplomacy, weak apologies for Spain, toleration of insults; or will Grant make a dignified demand upon the [Spanish] Government for the punishment of the officials responsible for the butcheries at Santiago and guaranties for the safety of American citizens in the future?"<sup>42</sup> Another editorial continued the same theme: "[Grant] has but one honorable course before him—ask the Spanish government to punish [General Juan] Burriel and the others guilty of the inhuman deed of the 6th and 7th of November; to restrain the volunteers and to protect American interests in the island."<sup>43</sup> A week later the Wilmington *Morning Star* concluded: "The feeling all over the country is unmistakable; it is a feeling that Cuba must be free from Spain. . . . No course is open but one which shall vindicate the insulted honor and majesty of our great nation. . . ."<sup>44</sup>

The *Daily Journal* suggested: "The officials engaged in the massacre . . . ought to be punished in the most signal, if not summary manner. A simple apology . . . will only be adding insult to injury."<sup>45</sup> And the *Daily Sentinel* added: "The butchery was hasty and vengeful. . . . We do not expect war to follow this outrage upon our flag and the shooting of citizens of the United States, but we will be surprised if it does not eventuate in the safety and independence of Cuba."<sup>46</sup> A few days later the *Daily Sentinel* concluded: "If the Spanish authorities have committed an outrage on American citizens . . . they should be held to strict accountability, and the settlement should be promptly demanded, but with becoming dignity. There will be no war. . . ."<sup>47</sup>

A small war would undoubtedly have been successful. No European power would have protested a war; American forces would have met little resistance from Spain; a war would have pulled the United States out of the industrial depression of 1873. There were better reasons, however, for staying out of war, large or small. The horrors of the Civil War were still fresh in the minds of the people; the United States had no pressing desire to annex Cuba; there were

<sup>40</sup> *Daily Journal*, November 9, 1873.

<sup>41</sup> *Morning Star*, November 15, 1873.

<sup>42</sup> *Morning Star*, November 16, 1873.

<sup>43</sup> *Morning Star*, November 16, 1873.

<sup>44</sup> *Morning Star*, November 23, 1873.

<sup>45</sup> *Daily Journal*, November 11, 1873.

<sup>46</sup> *Daily Sentinel*, November 14, 1873.

<sup>47</sup> *Daily Sentinel*, November 18, 1873.

internal problems including the industrial panic of 1873; the navy was decrepit; and there was a dubious character to the steamer "Virginus."

Newspapers in North Carolina reflected the desire to stay out of war. "A war with Spain should be avoided if possible . . .," said the *Salisbury Carolina Watchman*.<sup>48</sup> "An appeal to war is a serious, a terrible thing, and every just and wise government will consider well and exhaust every honorable means before embarking on it. We hope war will be averted," the *Daily Sentinel* declared.<sup>49</sup> Two days later it said that "as to the annexation of Cuba we are utterly opposed to it. We hope war will be averted . . . for this generation at least has had enough of carnage and suffering and oppression."<sup>50</sup> In the same issue, but in another editorial, it attacked those desiring war by saying: "The adventurers and carpet-bag gentry, not to speak of the fanatical sentimentalists—the same old horde of Negro-worshippers who succeeded in whelming the North and South in war and desolation—will not be satisfied with calmness, peace, and wisdom."<sup>51</sup>

The *Daily Journal* declared: "No American . . . can expect the government to hastily resort to war in the absence of well-ascertained facts."<sup>52</sup> But several days later it stated: ". . . it is difficult to see how, in accordance with the code of honor observed among nations, the relations existing between the United States and Spain, can any longer remain peaceful. . . . If war comes, it will not come of any precipitate action on the part of the Federal Government."<sup>53</sup> The *Morning Star* warned: "If Spain resolves upon war, averse as the average American mind is to anything of the sort, she can have it, just as much as she pleases and may be a little more."<sup>54</sup>

The North Carolina General Assembly was in session at Raleigh during all the uproar over the "Virginus" and one representative was led to introduce the following joint resolution on November 20:

Now therefore the General Assembly of North Carolina do *Resolve*, that in their opinion it has now become the duty of the government of the United States to recognize the belligerent rights of the patriot army, and to demand ample reparation for the outrage offered to its flag, and swift punishment on the murderers of its citizens.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>48</sup> *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), November 20, 1873.

<sup>49</sup> *Daily Sentinel*, November 23, 1873.

<sup>50</sup> *Daily Sentinel*, November 25, 1873.

<sup>51</sup> *Daily Sentinel*, November 25, 1873.

<sup>52</sup> *Daily Journal*, November 23, 1873.

<sup>53</sup> *Daily Journal*, November 26, 1873.

<sup>54</sup> *Morning Star*, November 22, 1873.

<sup>55</sup> *Daily Sentinel*, November 21, 1873.

The resolution was referred to the committee on propositions and grievances but was not reported out of committee.<sup>56</sup> The same resolution was introduced into the Senate, but a committee recommended that it not pass.<sup>57</sup>

A reporter for the *Daily Journal* interviewed United States Senator Augustus Summerfield Merrimon from North Carolina regarding the "Virginus" affair, and he was quoted as saying:

I am not sufficiently and accurately in possession of the facts connected with the capture of the Virginus to express an opinion as to what definite action our government ought to take in reference to the same. But I am prepared to say that the rights, dignity and honor of the government and our flag shall be fully vindicated, and the government shall do all it may lawfully do to punish those who have so grossly outraged humanity and civilization. I am in favor of firm and cautious, but decided action. I would not take any advantage of the embarrassed condition of the Spanish government, but would deal with that government and Cuba as with the greatest power now unembarrassed.<sup>58</sup>

As the American investigation of the "Virginus" progressed, more and more facts were uncovered which reflected on the dubious nature of the ship and character of the crew. The ship was owned by Cubans and was using American papers secured by perjury and fraud and was flying the American flag illegally. The ship had run arms and supplies to a short-lived Venezuelan revolution and was carrying revolutionists and munitions to Cuba when seized. The Spanish released the "Virginus" to American authorities, and it foundered and sank while being towed to New York. The surviving members of the crew were released, and the Spanish government paid an indemnity of \$80,000 to be divided among the survivors of the executed crewmen. The demand for a salute to the United States flag was dropped when it was discovered that the "Virginus" had flown the flag illegally. General Burriel who ordered the execution of the crew was never tried but promoted to major general in 1875.<sup>59</sup>

The *Morning Star* summed up the whole affair and expressed the relief of the United States that the incident was concluded. "Doubtless Mr. Fish and his circle enjoy keen satisfaction in being rid on such easy terms of further trouble as to the steamer. They will find

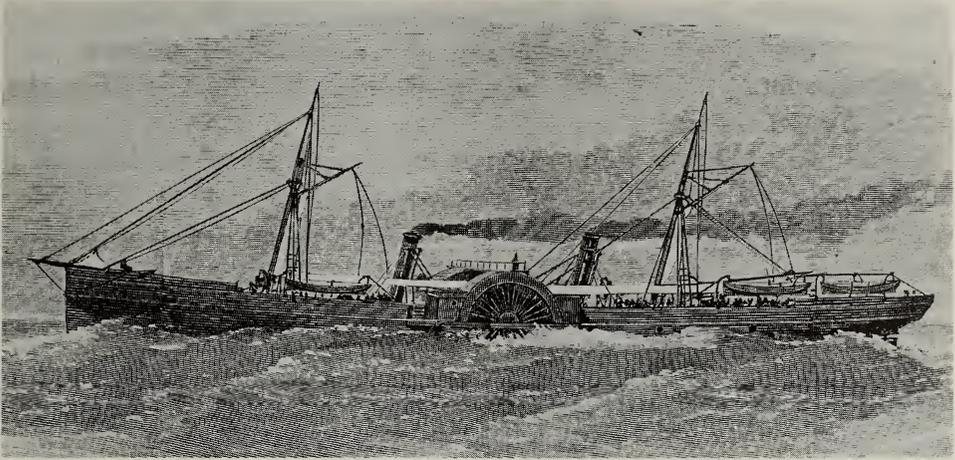
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<sup>56</sup> *Journal of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina at Its Session of 1872-1873*, 26, hereinafter cited as *House Journal*.

<sup>57</sup> *Journal of the Senate of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina at Its Session of 1872-1873*, 108, hereinafter cited as *Senate Journal*.

<sup>58</sup> *Daily Journal*, November 25, 1873.

<sup>59</sup> Nevins, *Hamilton Fish*, 685-688.



The "Virginius" at sea, from a sketch by a Cuban officer. From *Harper's Weekly*, November 29, 1873.

some way to slip out of embarrassment in the prosecution of the owner."<sup>60</sup>

The Cuban question slipped quietly out of the news and was not heard from again although the rebellion dragged on for another five years. The coming of Alfonso XII to the throne of Spain in 1878 stopped the civil war which had been going on in that country. This enabled the government to release forces in Spain for use against the Cubans. The insurrectionists were quickly subdued and peace came suddenly.

If newspapers are an accurate thermometer of the heat of public passions, North Carolinians were too close to the horrors of war and too stunned by the shock of reconstruction to warm to the idea of war with Spain to secure the aims of the Cuban rebellion of 1868. Representatives of the Old North State in Washington and Raleigh and editorialists from Salisbury to Wilmington were willing for the United States to grant Cuban rebels the rights of belligerents or even to recognize the fact of independence when the signs were right, but they would not risk war. The "Virginius" affair of 1873 bred no trigger-happy Carolinians sensitive to national slights. North Carolina was slow to anger and quick to accept the actions and explanations of the Spanish and American governments.

The relations between Spain and the United States during the next fifteen years were marked with less controversy than any pre-

<sup>60</sup> *Morning Star*, December 31, 1873.

vious period.<sup>61</sup> Except for quoting cotton prices in Havana and reporting the occasional late arrival of a mail ship from that city, North Carolina newspapers seldom mentioned Cuba during the period from 1879 to 1894.

Cuba had a long record of misrule and discontent when the United States Congress passed the Wilson-Gorman Tariff in 1894. The tariff wiped out a reciprocity agreement with Spain and replaced it with relatively high duties on sugar. Economic prostration gripped the island and on February 24, 1896, the Cubans once again unfurled the banner of rebellion.

The rebels, no less cruel than the loyalists, adopted the policy of devastating the island so that Spain would be willing to withdraw. They destroyed American property hoping to force American intervention in the rebellion. Cuban juntas in the United States described the Spanish in the worst possible terms and glossed over the fact that the rebels were guilty of crimes similar to those attributed to the Spanish. More than seventy filibustering expeditions were organized among Cuban sympathizers in the United States, but only twenty-seven managed to elude the American navy and revenue cutters.

Many Americans friendly to the ideals of liberty, democracy, and independence thrilled to the cry of *Cuba Libre!* The United States had not engaged in war since 1865 and no foreign war since 1848. The younger generation was tired of just hearing about war and wanted to experience it. The United States had recovered from the panic of 1893 and prosperity had begun. Some felt the United States must expand or explode.

North Carolina showed no lack of sympathy for the rebels. The *North Carolinian* declared: "We think the time has come for this country to show an active sympathy for those neighbors of ours who are making such a bold stand for their independence."<sup>62</sup> And the Pittsboro *Chatham Record* said: "The Cubans are likely, at last, to gain their independence and make their fertile island a Republic. . . . The people of the United States very generally wish them success."<sup>63</sup>

Editorialists had no designs on Cuba as the following quotations indicate. "But Cuba will be free, if Uncle Sam says so. Watch our

<sup>61</sup> James Morton Callahan, *Cuba and International Relations* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1899), 453.

<sup>62</sup> *North Carolinian* (Raleigh), November 19, 1895.

<sup>63</sup> *Chatham Record* (Pittsboro), January 9, 1896, hereinafter cited as *Chatham Record*.

prediction.”<sup>64</sup> “Cuba will yet throw off the Spanish yoke.”<sup>65</sup> The *Raleigh News and Observer* concluded: “We believe that the people of the United States ought to guarantee independence to Hawaii and Cuba, but we want no more negro States in the American Republic.”<sup>66</sup>

The rebellion dragged on and the Spanish government decided to try more energetic action. It sent General Valeriano Weyler to Cuba in February, 1896. Weyler decided to put the Cubans in concentration camps in order that they might be more easily controlled. Under poor sanitary conditions Cubans died by the scores. The *Lenoir Topic* asserted: “If recognition on the part of the United States government will prevent the wholesale murder of prisoners of war, then for the sake of humanity, it is the duty of Congress to at once recognize the Republic of Cuba.”<sup>67</sup> A Durham newspaper thought it saw some relief for the Cuban rebels when it discovered: “Reinforcement for the Cuban patriots has at last arrived. It is the yellow fever, which is killing Spaniards by the thousands.”<sup>68</sup> But the *Chatham Record* complained that it seemed that Congress was more anxious to relieve the Cubans than “to afford relief to our own country and people.”<sup>69</sup>

The United States soon became more vocal in its protests against the ruthless tactics of “Butcher” Weyler and his concentration camps. As a first step it was widely urged that the Cuban revolutionary government be granted belligerent rights. In accordance with this, the Congress of the United States took action on a resolution granting Cuba these rights:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That, in the opinion of Congress, a condition of public war exists between the Government of Spain and the Government proclaimed and for some time maintained by force of arms by the people of Cuba; and that the United States of America should maintain a strict neutrality between the contending powers, according to each all the rights of belligerents in the ports and territories of the United States. Resolved further, That the friendly offices of the United States should be offered by the President to the Spanish Government for the recognition of the independence of Cuba.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>64</sup> *Orange County Observer* (Hillsborough), March 7, 1896, hereinafter cited as *Orange County Observer*.

<sup>65</sup> *Alamance Gleaner* (Graham), April 2, 1896, hereinafter cited as *Alamance Gleaner*.

<sup>66</sup> *News and Observer* (Raleigh), December 1, 1896, hereinafter cited as *News and Observer*.

<sup>67</sup> *Lenoir Topic*, April 8, 1896.

<sup>68</sup> *Morning Herald* (Durham), July 16, 1896.

<sup>69</sup> *Chatham Record*, December 24, 1896.

<sup>70</sup> *Congressional Record*, Fifty-Fourth Congress, First Session, 1895-1896 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1873—), XXVIII, 2256, 2257, hereinafter cited as *Congressional Record*, Fifty-Fourth Congress, First Session.

This resolution was adopted by the Senate on February 28, 1896, with North Carolina's two Senators, one Republican and one Populist, voting for the resolution.<sup>71</sup> The resolution was considered in the House of Representatives and was adopted by that body on April 6, 1896, by a vote of 247 for, 27 against, and 80 not voting. Five North Carolina Representatives (one Democrat, two Populists, and two Republicans) voted for the action, one (a Democrat) voted no, and three (all Democrats) were recorded as not voting.<sup>72</sup>

The *Congressional Record* printed three petitions from North Carolina regarding belligerent rights for Cuba. On January 13, 1896, there was presented a "petition [of citizens of North Carolina] for the recognition of the insurgent Cubans as belligerents in their struggle for freedom."<sup>73</sup> On January 16, 1896, the House of Representatives received a "Petition of G. H. Brown, Jr., and 19 other Citizens of Washington, N. C., asking for the speedy recognition as belligerents of the Cuban patriots in their struggle for freedom."<sup>74</sup> On June 28, 1897, the House was presented with the "Petition of T. H. Hathcock, mayor of Norwood, N. C., and 579 citizens of Norwood and vicinity, favoring the passage of a Senate resolution giving belligerent rights to suffering Cuba."<sup>75</sup>

In the North Carolina General Assembly Thomas H. Sutton of Fayetteville offered a joint resolution requesting Congress to grant belligerent rights to Cuba. The resolution was passed by the House<sup>76</sup> and sent to the Senate where a substitute resolution expressing sympathy for Cuba was placed on the calendar but not considered.<sup>77</sup>

The editor of the *News and Observer* stated: "Looking at the logical consequence of the action of Congress, I say that from this day dates the absolute freedom of Cuba."<sup>78</sup> The *Alamance Gleaner* thought it might or might not have been the proper thing for Congress to pass a resolution to recognize the Cubans, but "on that account it is barely possible that the United States and Spain will go to war."<sup>79</sup> In its judgment there was "a growing sentiment in favor of recognizing by the United States the belligerency of Cuba."<sup>80</sup>

<sup>71</sup> *Congressional Record*, Fifty-Fourth Congress, First Session, XXVIII, 2257.

<sup>72</sup> *Congressional Record*, Fifty-Fourth Congress, First Session, XXVIII, 2, 628.

<sup>73</sup> *Congressional Record*, Fifty-Fourth Congress, First Session, XXVIII, 642.

<sup>74</sup> *Congressional Record*, Fifty-Fourth Congress, First Session, XXVIII, 757.

<sup>75</sup> *Congressional Record*, Fifty-Fifth Congress, First Session, 1897, XXX, 2085.

<sup>76</sup> *House Journal*, 1896-1897, 13, 24.

<sup>77</sup> *Senate Journal*, 1896-1897, 80.

<sup>78</sup> *News and Observer*, March 6, 1896.

<sup>79</sup> *Alamance Gleaner*, March 5, 1896.

<sup>80</sup> *Alamance Gleaner*, December 10, 1896.

President Grover Cleveland, however, was against granting belligerent rights to Cuba, but he did take the suggestion of Congress to offer his good offices to Spain for settling the dispute. Secretary of State Richard Olney gave the Spaniards an opportunity to accept American mediation to end the contest and also assured them that the United States had no designs on Spanish sovereignty.<sup>81</sup> The offer was not accepted.

On December 7, 1896, in his last annual message to Congress, President Cleveland stated that the situation could arise between Spain and Cuba "in which our obligations to the sovereignty of Spain will be superseded by higher obligations, which we can hardly hesitate to recognize and discharge." He warned that intervention would be inevitable if the struggle continued to "degenerate into senseless slaughter."<sup>82</sup>

The *News and Observer* said the message was "most disappointing," for the time had come "to recognize belligerency and thereby help to achieve Cuban independence."<sup>83</sup> The *Chatham Record* did not like the veiled threat of war and stated: "The people of the United States have had enough of war and its far reaching effects, and they are not anxious to engage in another war."<sup>84</sup> The *Charlotte Daily Observer* expressed the general opinion as indicated in newspapers in the state when it declared:

Obediently to the instincts of our people, American sympathy goes out to any people anywhere who are struggling for their freedom; it does go out to Cuba in full measure, increased by the barbarity which the Cubans have suffered at the hands of Governor General Weyler; but how much better if, by our good offices, autonomy or freedom can be secured for the island, than that either should come by hostile interference, followed by war!<sup>85</sup>

When William McKinley assumed the office of President of the United States in March, 1897, the tactics of General Weyler in Cuba were producing results, for the insurrectionists were slowly losing out and the struggle was reduced to sporadic raids and uprisings. The

<sup>81</sup> Richard Olney to Dupuy de Lome, April 4, 1896, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1896* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1861—), 540-544.

<sup>82</sup> James Daniel Richardson (comp.), *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 10 volumes, 1897), IX, 714-745, hereinafter cited as Richardson, *Messages and Papers*.

<sup>83</sup> *News and Observer*, December 8, 1896.

<sup>84</sup> *Chatham Record*, December 24, 1896.

<sup>85</sup> *Charlotte Daily Observer*, November 12, 1897.

results were so satisfactory that when a new liberal ministry assumed office in Spain in October, 1897, it was able to loosen its hold on Cuba. General Weyler was recalled; the concentration camp scheme was modified; imprisoned American citizens were released; and a measure of limited autonomy was granted the Cubans.

Although the rebels were somewhat mollified by this action on the part of the Spanish government, the loyalists in Cuba were indignant. Riots broke out in Havana on January 12, 1898, in protest of the government's lenient treatment of the rebels. The rebels joined in and the country was aflame again. The American consul general in Havana, General Fitzhugh Lee, had suggested that ships be in readiness at Key West to protect American lives and property if necessary. On January 13 he telegraphed that "ships may be necessary later but not now." Despite this message and the quieting of the mob, the United States battleship "Maine" was sent to Havana on January 24.<sup>86</sup> The New Bern *Daily Journal* remarked: "It is not interference for gain or applause, but one which every Christian nation expects of the United States, thus putting a prompt stop to further warfare in Cuba."<sup>87</sup>

The situation became quiet on the news front until February 9 when a New York newspaper published a letter written by Dupuy de Lome, Spanish minister to the United States, making uncomplimentary remarks about President McKinley's annual message to Congress. It said in part:

Besides the ingrained and inevitable bluntness with which is repeated all that the press and public opinion in Spain have said about Weyler, it once more shows that McKinley is, weak and a bidder for the admiration of the crowd, besides being a would-be politician who tries to leave a door open behind himself while keeping on good terms with the jingoes of his party.<sup>88</sup>

The letter had been stolen by a Cuban sympathizer and was probably written during the middle of December, 1897. De Lome resigned from office before being asked.

The *News and Observer* was not upset about the letter but commented: "De Lome told the truth. It is true that de Lome's letter, which he never expected to be printed, was only in line with what the newspapers of this country say of Mr. McKinley every day. The

<sup>86</sup> Lester Burrell Shippee and Royal B. Way, "William Rufus Day," in Bemis, *American Secretaries of State*, IX, 64.

<sup>87</sup> *Daily Journal* (New Bern), January 18, 1898.

<sup>88</sup> Dupuy de Lome to José Canalejas, undated, Moore, *Digest of International Law*, VI, 176.

crime was in a foreigner . . . presuming to write as Americans write." The paper then went on to criticize the administration. "With Cuba, bleeding and starving at our very door, this administration has not given a thought to it, but has bent all its energies to annex the sugar plantations and lepers on the Sandwich Islands."<sup>89</sup>

The de Lome incident was soon followed by a new sensation. On February 15, 1898, a terrific explosion sank the battleship "Maine," anchored in Havana harbor, with a loss of 260 officers and men. The captain of the "Maine" hastily requested the American public to withhold judgment until an official inquiry could be made.

The yellow newspapers in the northern cities began fabricating stories about Spanish responsibility for the explosion, but North Carolina's newspapers decided to wait for the results of the investigation before passing judgment. The *Fayetteville Observer* declared: "The truth is, a vast deal of the utmost rubbish has been printed in connection with the matter of the news of the Maine explosion, which newspaper men ought to be ashamed of. The comparison made with the great dailies of New York are the veriest nonsense . . . some of them have calculated upon the North Carolina public's ignorance of the facts."<sup>90</sup> The *New Bern Daily Journal* observed: "In spite of the jingoes, and the class of yellow journalism which would rush this country into a foreign war, in order that their 'accounts' of the situation might thereby be verified, the masses of the people are not . . . fearful of Spain rushing over and taking possession of the United States."<sup>91</sup>

Several newspapers declared they did not hold Spain responsible for the disaster. The *News and Observer* counseled "calmness and cool judgment" and stated: "Opinion now leans less against the theory of Spanish treachery."<sup>92</sup> The *New Bern Daily Journal* said it was "probably an accident."<sup>93</sup> Said the *Fayetteville Observer*: "There are very few who are willing to express themselves as believing that the Spanish government had anything to do with it."<sup>94</sup>

The *New Bern Daily Journal*<sup>95</sup> and *Fayetteville Observer*<sup>96</sup> also declared that if Spain were found to be responsible, it should pay reparations and not be allowed to make a simple disavowal of the fact.

<sup>89</sup> *News and Observer*, February 11, 1898.

<sup>90</sup> *Fayetteville Observer*, March 5, 1898.

<sup>91</sup> *Daily Journal* (New Bern), March 11, 1898.

<sup>92</sup> *News and Observer*, February 17, 1898.

<sup>93</sup> *Daily Journal* (New Bern), February 18, 1898.

<sup>94</sup> *Fayetteville Observer*, February 24, 1898.

<sup>95</sup> *Daily Journal* (New Bern), March 4, March 8, 1898.

<sup>96</sup> *Fayetteville Observer*, February 26, 1898.

But there was war talk in the air by more aggressive persons and more aggressive northern newspapers. Many newspapers and people throughout the country, however, did not want a war if it could be honorably avoided. The *Alamance Gleaner* stated: "We should be glad to see the trouble settled without resort to arms, but the struggle of the Cubans has greatly wrought up the Americans, and the destruction of the Maine has greatly intensified the feeling that to avert a clash would almost seem miraculous."<sup>97</sup> James M. Pou, ex-chairman of the Democratic state executive committee, was quoted as saying: "While I can't say we will certainly have war, we are closer to it than we have been [in thirty years]. It is very much in the interest of the people of the United States and of the Southern people, and of Democrats especially, for peace to be maintained if it can be honorably. . . ." <sup>98</sup> The *Orange County Observer* declared: "It begins to look like war, and it may be sooner than expected. But we hope not."<sup>99</sup> *King's Weekly* explained: "War appears to be at hand, but it is hoped it may be averted."<sup>100</sup>

The *Alamance Gleaner* suspected that the South was more calm than the rest of the nation when it said:

We do not think there are any considerable number of Southern people who personally want to go to war, and though we are supposed to be a hot-headed mercurial people, there is no section of the country in which less national bluster is being indulged at present.

. . . . .  
The South maintains special calmness at this time of strained relations with Spain. . . . The people are resolved to stand by the government. . . . They are not losing their heads in bellicose excitement. They are waiting coolly and in a judicious frame of mind and making no snap judgments.<sup>101</sup>

Meanwhile, the United States Congress unanimously voted \$50,000,000 for war preparations on March 9.<sup>102</sup> A few days before, North Carolina had its first volunteer in case of emergency. In a letter to Governor Daniel L. Russell, W. H. Keen stated: "Believing the struggle of the Cubans to be the bravest in history and appreciating the fact that humanity's call cannot be stifled, I hereby tender my

<sup>97</sup> *Alamance Gleaner*, February 24, 1898.

<sup>98</sup> *News and Observer*, March 9, 1898.

<sup>99</sup> *Orange County Observer*, March 10, 1898.

<sup>100</sup> *King's Weekly* (Greenville), March 18, 1898, hereinafter cited as *King's Weekly*.

<sup>101</sup> *Alamance Gleaner*, March 17, 1898.

<sup>102</sup> *Congressional Record*, Fifty-Fifth Congress, Second Session, 1897-1898, XXXI, 2631, hereinafter cited as *Congressional Record*, Fifty-Fifth Congress, Second Session.

services to America, if war with Spain comes. . . .”<sup>103</sup> The Statesville *Landmark* interviewed Colonel John Jenkins, a veteran of the Civil War, who stated: “The United States is on the verge of a three year’s war. The proof is in the fact that for several years past the corn blades first appearing in the cornfields have been split into three prongs at the end, and that each prong is in the shape of a sword with a keen edge. This means war and the three prongs signify that it will last three years.”<sup>104</sup>

The theme of war if necessary was further developed by the *News and Observer*. “The South prays that there will not be necessity of war to preserve the National honor, but if war is declared it will not be wanting in patriotic devotion to the flag.”<sup>105</sup> Said the *Fayetteville Observer*: “Everyone agrees that if the public honor is involved, we must not shrink from war. But war is, indeed, a terrible thing. [War brings] death, wounds, suffering, colossal debts, and a strengthening of the central authority.”<sup>106</sup> The *Lenoir Topic* exclaimed rhetorically: “Yes, war is butchery and destruction, but just as long as there is a government as wicked as Spain or an individual as treacherous as a Spaniard, just so long will war be an awful necessity.”<sup>107</sup>

As the naval inquiry into the sinking of the “Maine” stretched on, the New Bern *Daily Journal* declared: “The delay in the Administration taking speedy action in the Cuban matter is becoming unbearable to the people. Action and speedy action in the final settlement of Cuban independence is demanded by everyone in the United States.”<sup>108</sup>

The waiting came to an end on March 28, 1898, when the American Court of Inquiry composed of United States Navy officers allowed its report to be published. After careful investigation, interviews with survivors, and underwater exploration, it was announced that the “Maine” was blown up by a submarine mine on the outside of the vessel. The report clearly stated that the person or nation responsible had not been determined,<sup>109</sup> but nearly everyone suspected Spain and the press in New York crowed: “We told you so!” This report was

<sup>103</sup> W. H. Keen to Daniel L. Russell, March 4, 1898, *Times-Visitor* (Raleigh), March 5, 1898.

<sup>104</sup> *Landmark* (Statesville), March 10, 1898.

<sup>105</sup> *News and Observer*, March 5, 1898.

<sup>106</sup> *Fayetteville Observer*, March 7, 1898.

<sup>107</sup> *Lenoir Topic*, March 23, 1898.

<sup>108</sup> *Daily Journal* (New Bern), March 24, 1898.

<sup>109</sup> *Message From the President of the United States Transmitting the Report of the Naval Court of Inquiry Upon the Destruction of the United States Battle Ship Maine in Havana Harbor, February 15, 1898, Together With the Testimony Taken Before the Court* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1898), 5.

clearly the most important single precipitant of the war with Spain. For those tottering with indecision this was the cause of their falling into ranks and marching to war. The *News and Observer* barked commands, “. . . North Carolina is for war—if war be the only thing by which the Cuban butcheries can be stopped and the island freed.”<sup>110</sup> Two days later it cried: “Let us have war.”<sup>111</sup> But the New Bern *Daily Journal* felt there was “in reality but a very small number of people in the United States who desire a war with Spain. But while this is true, there is equally a small number who desire peace if it must be had at the sacrifice of our principles.”<sup>112</sup> The *Fayetteville Observer* summed it up in one sentence: “Cuba free, without war, if possible; Cuba free, with war, if necessary.”<sup>113</sup> “So far as the popular sentiment can be found,” said the New Bern *Daily Journal*, “there is no question but that few people actually favor war. . . . The feeling is that Cuban Independence should become an accomplished fact.”<sup>114</sup>

At the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill, the weekly newspaper solemnly declared:

Believing in the wisdom of our national officers we feel that we shall not be hurled into a war that is unjust, nor yet allowed to see our flag dishonored. . . . If peace is preserved, we shall thank God for it; if we must fight, none are more ready to don martial garb than are the sons of the University of North Carolina.<sup>115</sup>

President McKinley, however, was not committed to war if diplomacy could achieve the desired results. Consequently, Secretary of State William Rufus Day cabled United States minister to Spain Stewart L. Woodford what were considered to be indispensable concessions for keeping peace. The United States government demanded that Spain grant an armistice to the Cuban insurgents to last until October 1 and revoke the concentration camp orders. If possible, McKinley wanted the Spanish to appoint the President of the United States as final arbiter in the matter if there were no peace settlement by October 1.<sup>116</sup> Woodford replied on March 31, “I believe the ministers are ready to go as far and as fast as they can and still save the

<sup>110</sup> *News and Observer*, March 29, 1898.

<sup>111</sup> *News and Observer*, March 31, 1898.

<sup>112</sup> *Daily Journal* (New Bern), March 30, 1898.

<sup>113</sup> *Fayetteville Observer*, April 2, 1898.

<sup>114</sup> *Daily Journal* (New Bern), April 3, 1898.

<sup>115</sup> *Tar Heel* (Chapel Hill), April 5, 1898.

<sup>116</sup> William Rufus Day to Stewart L. Woodford, March 27, 1898, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Affairs of the United States, 1898* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1901), 712, hereinafter cited as *Foreign Relations, 1898*.

dynasty here in Spain. They know that Cuba is lost. Public opinion in Spain has moved steadily toward peace."<sup>117</sup> On April 5 the Spanish government agreed to the second American demand and on April 9 agreed to the first demand for such a time as it thought prudent. This was a substantial diplomatic victory, but it was not enough.

The *News and Observer* observed that "it would seem this morning that [peace] were in sight. Yet not altogether so, for the American mind has not yet settled down to the ways of peace."<sup>118</sup> The next day it said: "Yesterday relying upon the assurances of Spain, the people of the United States had accepted, sulkily too, the outlook for peace. But [today] it looks all the other way."<sup>119</sup>

McKinley abhorred the thought of war, but he was moved by the growing inhumanity of the Cuban struggle. He had little faith in Spanish promises or their ability to carry them out. The insurgents had not accepted the armistice terms. McKinley believed that Spain would eventually grant Cuba its independence, but the United States would not wait. Fall elections were approaching, and the Republicans feared a Democratic campaign on Free Cuba and Free Silver.

President McKinley, therefore, on April 11, 1898, sent a war message to Congress. He said that rebellion in Cuba was an abating nuisance off the American shore. He cited the country's obligation to protect American property and trade with Cuba. He called for an end to the disturbance which had been a menace to United States peace. He then asked Congress to give "just and careful attention" to the Spanish concessions to his demands.<sup>120</sup>

"What Americans want now is action, and they want it quickly, so as to have done with the whole Spanish business," said the *Raleigh News and Observer*.<sup>121</sup> "The war against Spain has as its basis the real, practical events of every day life,—the preservation of honor, the cause of humanity and the adjustment and maintenance of human rights," said the *New Bern Daily Journal*.<sup>122</sup>

Now the decision was up to Congress. Senator Jeter Connelly Pritchard of North Carolina declared: "I have sympathized all the time with the Cubans in their struggle for liberty and home rule." A short time later he said: "While the people of the South realize the

<sup>117</sup> Stewart L. Woodford to William McKinley, March 31, 1898, *Foreign Relations*, 1898, 727.

<sup>118</sup> *News and Observer*, April 7, 1898.

<sup>119</sup> *News and Observer*, April 8, 1898.

<sup>120</sup> Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, X, 139-150.

<sup>121</sup> *News and Observer*, April 12, 1890.

<sup>122</sup> *Daily Journal* (New Bern), April 14, 1898.

fact that a war will be detrimental to their best interests, at the same time the State of North Carolina is ready and willing to contribute her full quota of brave men in the defense of humanity.”<sup>123</sup> Senator Marion Butler exclaimed: “The crime of February 15 must be avenged by Cuban independence.”<sup>124</sup>

While the Senators debated, *King's Weekly* remarked: “Congress is for war, if the people will do the fighting. Why don't some of the Senators volunteer?”<sup>125</sup> The *Morning Post*, while suffering from a second look at the war crisis, declared: “The Cuban Junta is persuaded that if they can fuse with Uncle Sam, the combination can beat the Spanish. But Uncle Sam will foot the bill while the Junta will reap the benefit.”<sup>126</sup>

On April 19, 1898, according to the *Congressional Record*, Senator Pritchard of North Carolina

presented a petition of the State meeting of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, praying that all honorable means be used to prevent war and that efforts of our people be directed to relieve the present suffering in Cuba and toward the adjustment of all claims in accordance with the principles of sound reason and gospel love. . . .<sup>127</sup>

On the same day, the Congress of the United States passed a joint resolution declaring Cuba free, demanding the withdrawal of Spanish troops from Cuba, directing the President to use armed force to secure these ends, and disclaiming any intention on the part of the United States to annex Cuba.<sup>128</sup>

If public attitudes can be accurately gauged by newspaper editorials, public pronouncements of political figures, and petitions of ordinary citizens, North Carolina had only a slight war fever. Public opinion was not inflamed by the de Lome letter; North Carolinians adopted a wait-and-see attitude after the sinking of the “Maine”; and editors decried the yellow sheets of metropolitan cities which were spreading war germs.

North Carolinians were not entirely immune to the Cuban disease, however. They were concerned about the harsh treatment given to Cuban insurrectionists. They wished that the federal government would grant belligerent rights to the rebels or even recognize Cuban

<sup>123</sup> *Congressional Record*, Fifty-Fifth Congress, Second Session, XXXI, 3983-3984.

<sup>124</sup> *Congressional Record*, Fifty-Fifth Congress, Second Session, XXXI, 3703.

<sup>125</sup> *King's Weekly*, April 1, 1898.

<sup>126</sup> *Morning Post* (Raleigh), April 11, 1898.

<sup>127</sup> *Congressional Record*, Fifty-Fifth Congress, Second Session, XXXI, 4067.

<sup>128</sup> *Congressional Record*, Fifty-Fifth Congress, Second Session, XXXI, 4062.

independence. They became reconciled to the idea of war "if necessary," and when the United States declared war on Spain, young men marched off to join the colors.

During the period from the recrudescence of insurrection in 1896 until the declaration of war in 1898, the citizenry of the Old North State as a whole was slow to anger and slow to fight. Indeed during the last half of the nineteenth century, North Carolinians showed no symptoms of spoiling for a fight or of having any but a casual interest in the affairs of Cuba and Spain. Civil war and reconstruction had inoculated North Carolina from another conflict, and the effects of this immunization had but slightly worn off by 1898.

# NATHANIELL BATTS, LANDHOLDER ON PASQUOTANK RIVER, 1660

EDITED BY ELIZABETH GREGORY MCPHERSON\*

Geographic conditions determined that the first permanent settlers in North Carolina should come from Virginia rather than direct from Europe. But the failure of Sir Walter Raleigh's colonization schemes aroused interest in the New World. During the seventeenth century, one of the great concerns of the British government was the securing of settlers for its American domain. In order to attract settlers and to encourage financial support, liberal concessions were made to individuals and to groups. There were many persons in England interested in coming to America who were financially unable to bear the cost of transportation. On April 10, 1606, the Virginia and Plymouth companies were created in a single charter for the purpose of colonization. Among the proposals to attract settlers was the offer of fifty acres of land to anyone who could pay his transportation to America, and if he transported "at his owne cost" additional persons he would be awarded fifty additional acres for each person he brought into the colony. Ship captains were especially active in the acquisition of land through the transportation of settlers.<sup>1</sup>

A great part of North Carolina and all of the Albemarle region were included in the charter boundaries of the Virginia Company of London in 1606 and in the expanded grant of 1609.<sup>2</sup> Because of the scarcity of surviving documents relating to the early history of North Carolina, it is difficult to write about the settlement of the Albemarle region with any degree of certainty.<sup>3</sup> The establishment of the first permanent English settlement in America at Jamestown, Virginia, May 14, 1607, marked the beginning of a new era of colonization and

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<sup>1</sup> Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, *The History of a Southern State: North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, Revised Edition, c. 1963), 11-12, hereinafter cited as Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*.

<sup>2</sup> Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, 12.

<sup>3</sup> William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1890), I, iii, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Colonial Records*.

a renewal of interest in the fate of Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony. Since ten of the stockholders of the Virginia Company of London had been associated with Raleigh in his efforts to colonize Roanoke Island, it is interesting to note that North Carolina's first permanent settlers came from the expanding Jamestown settlement.<sup>4</sup> Also the first known attempt made in the seventeenth century to search for the Lost Colony was by Captain John Smith who sent two woodsmen from Jamestown in 1608 to the Chowan River region in search of the colonists. No reports of the woodsmen are known to have been made.<sup>5</sup>

One little used source of information relating to America in the seventeenth century is maps, a few of which contain names and legends not found elsewhere. Some indicate concern over the Lost Colony. One of particular interest is a map sent by Zuñiga, the Spanish Ambassador to England, to Philip III with a letter dated September 10, 1608, which contained a legend on the subject.<sup>6</sup>

Similar interest was shown in the Lost Colony, when in May, 1609, the Council of the Virginia Company issued a series of "Instructions, Orders, and Constitutions" to Sir Thomas Gates, the new governor of Virginia, which contained a description of the land to the southward in the Roanoke-Chowan area. It read in part:

. . . Peccarecamicke where you shall finde foure of the english alive, left by S<sup>r</sup> Walter Rawely w<sup>ch</sup> escaped from the slaughter of Powhaton of Roanocke, upon the first arrivall of our Colonie, and live under the protection of a wiroane called Gepanocon enemy to Powhaton, by whose consent you shall neuer recover them, one of these were worth much labour, and if you finde them not, yet search into this Countrey it is more probably then towards the north.<sup>7</sup>

By 1609 a few settlers had moved from the Jamestown area into the Nansemond River valley, which borders on the present Virginia-North Carolina boundary line.<sup>8</sup> In 1610 Captain Samuel Argall led a small expedition into the Chowan River region, but no records concerning the outcome of the expedition have survived.<sup>9</sup> By 1612

<sup>4</sup> Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, 12.

<sup>5</sup> William S. Powell (ed.), *Y<sup>e</sup> Countie of Albemarle in Carolina: A Collection of Documents, 1664-1675*, xiv, hereinafter cited as Powell, *Y<sup>e</sup> Countie of Albemarle*.

<sup>6</sup> William P. Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps: With an Annotated Check List of Printed and Manuscript Regional and Local Maps of Southeastern North America During the Colonial Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), 131-132, hereinafter cited as Cumming, *Southeast in Early Maps*.

<sup>7</sup> Susan Myra Kingsbury (ed.) *The Records of the Virginia Company of London* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 4 volumes, 1900-1935), III, 17.

<sup>8</sup> Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, 12.

<sup>9</sup> Powell, *Y<sup>e</sup> Countie of Albemarle*, xv.

Virginia had begun to recover from its starving time; many colonists had begun to realize that their wealth would be determined by the cultivation of tobacco rather than hunting for gold, but the hope of finding gold, silver, and copper was ever present. Others followed the streams to the southward in search of fertile river valleys and timber.<sup>10</sup>

In 1622 John Pory, Secretary of the Virginia colony, made a sixty-mile overland journey in "Choanoack" and it was reported that he found "Pynes 15 or 16 myle broad and above 60 mile long" suitable for masts and shipbuilding, and an "aboundance of Corne, reaped twice a yeere: above which is the Copper Mines. . . ." Pory's cornucopia report and other economic developments may have had a far reaching influence on the fate of the Virginia Company of London. On May 24, 1624, the company's charter was abrogated. The following year King James I died and his successor was Charles I. By the annulment of the charter the territory held by the Virginia Company reverted to the crown and left the King free to dispose of Virginia at will.<sup>11</sup>

On October 30, 1629, Sir Robert Heath, Attorney General to Charles I, received a grant for the land between thirty-one degrees and thirty-six degrees of north latitude, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Heath's patent was a proprietary grant, over which he was "To have exercise use & enjoy in like manner as any Bishop of Durham within the Bp<sup>ricke</sup> or County palatine of Durham in our kingdome of England ever heretofore had held used or enjoyed or of right ought or could have hold use or enjoy."<sup>12</sup> Here it is of interest to note that a "Mapp of Virginia," 1651, by John Farrer, contains the only reference to Heath's "Carolana" found on any contemporary printed map.<sup>13</sup>

Heath was known to have been interested in attracting French Protestants as colonists, but Charles I laid down certain restrictions on people going to Carolana. "No foreign born persons should be 'entertained' there without special authority, and 'none shall be willingly admitted or entertained into this Plantation wch shall not be of the Protestant religion.' All who remained to inhabit were expected to 'submit and conforme' to the discipline of the established Church

<sup>10</sup> Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, 12.

<sup>11</sup> Powell, *Y<sup>e</sup> Countie of Albemarle*, xv-xvi.

<sup>12</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 7.

<sup>13</sup> Cumming, *Southeast in Early Maps*, 141.

of England.” It has been suggested that royal interference may have put an end to Heath’s plan of colonization.<sup>14</sup>

In 1632 with royal approval Heath assigned his interest in America to Henry Frederick Howard, Lord Maltravers, who knew the value of keeping close ties between Virginia and Carolana.<sup>15</sup> In 1637 Charles I instructed Sir John Harvey, Governor of Virginia, to assist Maltravers in settling Virginia. Oddly enough, Maltravers’ patent approved by the Council of Virginia did not include Heath’s entire patent of 1629.<sup>16</sup> Maltravers was given a strip of land “Being bound from that part of Nansamum river alias Matravers [*sic*]river where it divides itself into branches one degree in Longitude on either side of the river and in latitude to the height of thirty five degrees northerly Latitude by the name and appellation of the County of Norfolk. . . .”<sup>17</sup> This was carved out of the Elizabeth City District.<sup>18</sup> The creation of Norfolk County under a separate government, extending over the area from a little south of the present Suffolk, Virginia, to the present New Bern, North Carolina, might be described as an independent colony or state. While Maltravers was supreme in most matters his patent subjected him to the authority of the governor and Council of Virginia. The patent stipulated that the territory to the southward must be settled with “sufficient strength of people” within a period of seven years and a record of all colonists entering the new colony from Virginia must be kept at Jamestown. The success of Maltravers’ colonization scheme is unknown, but hunters, trappers, traders, and others seeking new land on which to grow tobacco continued to filter into the region.<sup>19</sup>

Vigilant Virginians kept an eye on the region to the southward. “In 1643 the Virginia assembly granted rights to four men, and others who might join them, ‘to undertake the discovery of a new river or

<sup>14</sup> Powell, *Y° Countie of Albemarle*, xviii.

<sup>15</sup> Powell, *Y° Countie of Albemarle*, xvi.

<sup>16</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 15-16.

<sup>17</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 14-15.

<sup>18</sup> For the purpose of administration in 1634, eight political divisions were created in Virginia: Elizabeth City, Warrasqueoc, Warwick River, James City, Charles City, Henrico, Charles River, and Accomack. New Norfolk County was carved out of the southern part of Elizabeth City County in 1636. Later Norfolk County was divided into Upper and Lower Norfolk counties. In 1646 Upper Norfolk County became Nansemond County. By an act of the legislature of Virginia in 1691, Lower Norfolk County was divided into Norfolk and Princess Anne counties. Richard L. Morton, *Colonial Virginia: Volume I, The Tidewater Period, 1607-1710; Volume II, Westward Expansion and Prelude to Revolution, 1710-1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Virginia Historical Society, 2 volumes, 1960), I, 125-126, hereinafter cited as Morton, *Colonial Virginia*.

unknown land bearing west southerly from Appomattake river.'"<sup>20</sup> Three years later Governor William Berkeley sent an expedition against the Indians in the Chowan area. The overland force was under the command of Major General Richard Bennett, a member of the Council of Virginia; and Colonel Thomas Dew, a landholder in Upper Norfolk County, was to head a contingent by water. It appears that the purpose of this expedition was to drive the Indians back in order to open the area to settlers.<sup>21</sup> Henry Plumpton, of Nansmond County, and Thomas Tuke, of the Isle of Wight County, in co-operation with others, purchased from the Indians all the land from the mouth of the Roanoke River to the mouth of Weyanook Creek.<sup>22</sup>

Continued inducements were offered to Englishmen who could settle in the Albemarle region. A limited number of promotional tracts, letters, maps, and other printed matter describing the advantages of coming to Virginia have survived. In the *Moderate Intelligencer* (London), April 26-May 2, 1649, there appeared a rather interesting propaganda letter from a "well-willer."<sup>23</sup> From the account one might think Virginia and Carolana were lands flowing with milk and honey. Besides travel between them was pictured as easy.

In 1650 Edward Williams published a tract in London entitled: *Virginia: More Especially the South Part thereof, Richly and Truly Valued: Viz. The Fertile Carolana, And No Lesse Excellent Isle of Roanoke, of Latitude from 31. to 37. Degr. Relating the Meanes of Raising Infinite Profits to the Adventures and Planters.* It indicated that no settlement had been made.<sup>24</sup>

In 1650 Edward Bland, a Virginia merchant and fur trader, explored the Chowan, Meherrin, and Roanoke river valleys for the purpose of encouraging trade with the Indians. The following year he published an account of the region entitled: *The Discovery of New Brittain, 1650.* Bland and his colleagues requested permission to settle in southern Virginia contending that the settlement of "Virginia's Confines" and the conversion of the Indians would be profitable to trade. Their petition was granted on condition that

<sup>20</sup> Powell, *Y<sup>o</sup> Countie of Albemarle*, xviii.

<sup>21</sup> Powell, *Y<sup>o</sup> Countie of Albemarle*, xviii-xix.

<sup>22</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 676.

<sup>23</sup> Hugh Talmage Lefler (ed.), "A Description of 'Carolana' By a 'Well-Willer,' 1649," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXII (January, 1955), 102-105.

<sup>24</sup> Powell, *Y<sup>o</sup> Countie of Albemarle*, xix-xx.

Bland and his associates would secure a hundred able-bodied men with arms, ammunition, and supplies.<sup>25</sup>

About the middle of the seventeenth century there was a noticeable increase in the number of tracts, maps, charts, and other printed material describing the advantages of coming to Virginia and to Carolana.<sup>26</sup> Such publications revitalized interest in the colonization of Carolana. Professor William P. Cumming has pointed out that the role of the English geographers in keeping their countrymen informed concerning American achievements "demonstrates the intimate connection between the business forces in England that promoted expansion and the literary advocates who supported and justified the movement."<sup>27</sup>

One may well wonder at the tardiness of Virginia in pushing settlers farther south. In view of the lack of official records or contemporary commentaries on colonization, a full account of what took place can never be complete or perfectly accurate. Of particular interest is a private letter, dated May 8, 1654, "Linnehaven," Virginia, written by Francis Yeardley, the second son of Governor George

<sup>25</sup> Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, 15; Powell, *Y<sup>e</sup> Countie of Albemarle*, xx-xxi. On August 27, 1650, Bland in company with Abra: Woode (Wood), Sackford Brewster, and Silas Pennant left Fort Henry, Virginia, and explored the area.

The first recorded discovery of land by the English in the trans-Allegheny region was made by a party sent by Colonel Wood from Fort Henry on September 1, 1671. The party included Thomas Batts, Thomas Wood, who died en route, John Weason, the Indian Chief Perecute, and an indentured servant of Wood. Alexander Brown (ed.), *The Genesis of the United States: A Narrative of the Movement in England, 1606-1616, Which Resulted in the Plantation of North America by Englishmen, Disclosing the Contest Between England and Spain for the Possession of the Soil Now Occupied by the United States of America; Set Forth Through Series of Historical Manuscripts now first printed Together with Reissue of Rare Contemporaneous Tracts, Accompanied by Bibliographical Memoranda, Notes, and Brief Biographies*, (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 2 volumes, 1890), II, 830; Edward D. Neill, *Virginia Carolorum: The Colony Under the Rule of Charles First and Second, A.D. 1625-A.D. 1685, Based upon Manuscripts and Documents of the Period* (Albany: Joel Munsell's Sons, 1866), 279, hereinafter cited as Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*; Nell Marion Nugent (abstracter and indexer), *Cavaliers and Pioneers; Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants, 1623-1666*, with Introduction by Robert Armistead Stewart (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, Inc. [Reprint from 1934 edition], 1963), 88, 110, 137, 255, 301-302, 411, hereinafter cited as Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*; William Waller Hening (ed.), *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature, In the Year 1619* (New York and Philadelphia: R. W. and G. Bartow, 13 volumes, 1823), I, 373, hereinafter cited as Hening, *Virginia Statutes at Large*; Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, I, 200, 202-203; Lower Norfolk and Norfolk County Deed Books, Office of the Register of Deeds, City of Chesapeake (formerly Norfolk County), Chesapeake, Virginia, Deed Book D, 85, hereinafter cited as Norfolk County Deed Book.

<sup>26</sup> William S. Powell, "Carolina in the Seventeenth Century: An Annotated Bibliography of Contemporary Publications," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XLI (January, 1964), 74-104; Cumming, *Southeast in Early Maps*, 21-37, 71-79, 128-170.

<sup>27</sup> Cumming, *Southeast in Early Maps*, 73, n. 77.

Yeadley of Virginia, addressed to his Virginia-born friend, John Farrer, the geographer, then a resident of Huntingdonshire, England, commenting on his discoveries to the southward:

In September last, a young man, a trader for beavers, being bound out to the adjacent parts to trade, by accident his sloop left him; and he, supposing she had been gone to Rhoanoke, hired a small boat, and, with one of his company left with him, came to crave my license to go to look after his sloop, and sought some relief of provisions of me; the which granting, he set forth with three more in company, one being of my family, the others were my neighbors. . . .<sup>28</sup>

Yeadley referred to his voyage as "an ample discovery of South Virginia or Carolina," and described what he saw and his relations with the Indians in the most glowing terms. The party entered at "Caratoke" and visited the Indians who showed them the ruins of the English fort at Roanoke Island. From the Indians they purchased a vast territory including "three great rivers" which they in a "solemn manner took possession of the country, in the name, and on behalf of the Commonwealth of England. . . ." In partial payment for the land Yeadley agreed to build the Indian king an English house furnished with "English utensils and chattels." In compliance Yeadley dispatched a boat with six men, one being a carpenter, to build the house. Yeadley stated that he had already spent "upwards" of £200 sterling on the project and on the approaching July he planned "further discovery by sea and land." Yeadley mentioned a visit from the Indians to his home and their being baptized. In passing, he also referred to a comment by the Indians: ". . . the way to the sea was a plain road, much travelled for salt and copper."<sup>29</sup>

Naturally one wonders who the "young man" was and what motivated Yeadley's interest in him. One feels that he was either well known to Yeadley or the son of an old friend. Professor Cumming offered documentary evidence of the presence of a pioneer settler in the Albemarle—"Nathaniel" Batts.<sup>30</sup> From his account it is obvious

<sup>28</sup> Francis L. Hawks, *History of North Carolina: With Maps and Illustrations* (Spartanburg, South Carolina: Reprint Company [Reprint of E. J. Hale & Sons, 1857-1858 edition], 2 volumes, 1961), II, 17-20, hereinafter cited as Hawks, *North Carolina*; William Patterson Cumming, "Naming Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXII (January, 1945), 37.

<sup>29</sup> Hawks, *North Carolina*, II, 17-19.

<sup>30</sup> W. P. Cumming, "The Earliest Settlement in Carolina: Nathaniel Batts and the Comberford Map," *American Historical Review*, XLV (October, 1939), 82-89; see also, Herbert Paschal, "A State in Search of a Birthday," *The Rebel* [East Carolina College], III (Spring, 1960), 11-14.

that the young man to whom Yeardley referred in his letter to Farrer was Batts.

North Carolina historians have made little or no use of the official records of Lower Norfolk County. In the court records of Norfolk County there is found the only known contemporary account of Batts' house, including the name of the carpenter and the financier, as well as a description of the house, its measurements, and the purpose for which it was built. It is an account of the first house known to have been built in North Carolina. In the court records of Norfolk County, dated November 15, 1655, there is a record of a suit brought against the estate of Colonel Yeardley by Robert Bodnam, a carpenter, for payment for "going twice to the Southward and staying there 5 Monthes upon Coll. Yeardley's occasione what the co<sup>rt</sup> Shall please to allow me—For building of a house to the Southward f<sup>or</sup> Batts to live in and trade w<sup>th</sup> the Indians w<sup>ch</sup> I did Doe by Coll. Yeardley's Appointment and he did promise to see me paid for it." After hearing the plaintiff and the witnesses the court rendered its decision: "We doe find that for this five monthes time or services at the Southward One Thousand weight of Tob and Caske." It is also of interest to note that the house was twenty feet square, containing two rooms and a chimney.<sup>31</sup>

Batts must have made a favorable impression on the people in Lynnhaven Parish, including the leading churchmen and others of prominence. On May 25, 1656, he married Mary Woodhouse,<sup>32</sup> widow and second wife of Colonel Henry Woodhouse, one of the leading citizens in the community.<sup>33</sup> After Batts' marriage to Mrs.

<sup>31</sup> Norfolk County Deed Book C, 180.

<sup>32</sup> Norfolk County Deed Book D, 61. The spelling of Mrs. Woodhouse's name is confusing. In Henry Woodhouse's will dated July 16, 1655, and probated November 15, 1655, he refers to his wife as "Maria." Her second husband, Nathaniell Batts refers to her as Mrs. "Mary" Woodhouse. After her marriage to Batts under her signum one finds "Mary Batts." Norfolk County Deed Book C, 181, 224.

Henry Woodhouse bequeathed the use of his plantation to his wife until his son, Henry, became twenty years of age or "longer if she continued to be his widow." Mrs. Woodhouse was given one-third of the movable property and the remainder was to be divided equally among his children. Each child was also bequeathed a silver spoon. This clause of the will was interpreted by Governor Edward Digges to mean: "And the remainder to have equally divided amongst my Children All y<sup>e</sup> Children as well by the former as the Latter Wife shall have their share. . . ." Norfolk County Will Book C, 196; Edward W. James, "Woodhouse Notes, Woodhouse to Woodhouse," *William and Mary Quarterly*, II (April, 1894), 263-264.

<sup>33</sup> Captain Henry Woodhouse, master of Suffolk County, served as the Governor of the Bermudas from October, 1623, to January 13, 1626/27. On May 22, 1637, Henry "Woodhouse" received a land grant for 500 acres in Lower Norfolk County of New Norfolk for the transportation of himself, his first wife, Mary, his daughter, Elizabeth, and seven other persons. In Virginia he served as a member of the House of Burgesses, 1647-1652; Commissioner of Lower Norfolk County, 1642-1655; and in 1640 he was appointed a vestryman of Lynnhaven Parish. He died in the fall of 1655, and was

Woodhouse he lived at the Woodhouse plantation, which was known as "Roede" and was "commonly called Batts quarters &c" as late as 1664.<sup>34</sup> According to the court minutes of Lynnhaven Parish, Lower Norfolk County, Batts was frequently involved in litigations over the nonpayment of his debts and other matters.<sup>35</sup> On October 15, 1656, Giles Collins sued Batts on behalf of his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of the late Colonel Woodhouse, for the recovery of the property willed to her by her late father.<sup>36</sup> Shortly after Mrs. Woodhouse married Batts she complained to the court that her husband had demanded payment for the board of her children by her late husband.<sup>37</sup> On January 25, 1656/57, Mrs. Batts brought suit against her husband for the recovery of the property bequeathed to her children by her first husband.<sup>38</sup>

The newly discovered documents reveal additional information on Batts and the early history of North Carolina and Virginia. The fact that these records have been unknown to historians through the years gives hope that other surviving records relating to the early history of North Carolina may be found. The locating of these documents is also a reminder that northeastern North Carolina was at one time a part of Lower Norfolk County.

Historians and geographers have been searching for contemporary copies of scattered records of the court and Council of Virginia. The original records in Richmond were burned during the Civil War. Fortunately, Conway Robinson, a historian, had made notes prior to their destruction. Among the missing documents was a record of the Quarter Court held at James City, June 11, 1657. "The court taking into consideration y<sup>e</sup> great pains & trouble w<sup>ch</sup> M<sup>r</sup>. Nathaniell Batts hath taken in the discovery of an Inlett to the southward. . . . Have therefore ordered that y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Batts be herreby protected from his Creditors w<sup>th</sup> in this Country for one year and a day, W[i]thout any trouble or Molestation. . . ." <sup>39</sup> Since Currituck Inlet was open as

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survived by his second wife, Maria, four sons, and several daughters. Norfolk County Deed Book C, 181; Edward W. James, "Henry Woodhouse," *William and Mary Quarterly*, I (January, 1893), 227-232; Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, 57.

<sup>34</sup> Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, 380, 434.

<sup>35</sup> Norfolk County Deed Book D, 3, 6, 7, 9, 10, 15, 18, 21, 43-44, 50, 60-61, 65, 89, 90.

<sup>36</sup> Norfolk County Deed Book C, 181; Book D, 3.

<sup>37</sup> Norfolk County Deed Book D, 43-44.

<sup>38</sup> Norfolk County Deed Book D, 43-44, 60-61.

<sup>39</sup> About 1957 Professor Cumming made a diligent but unsuccessful search for a copy of the minutes of the Quarter Session of the Court of Virginia, held at James City, June 11, 1657, which recognized Batts' discovery of an inlet to the southward. Cumming, *Southeast in Early Maps*, 72, n.73. A contemporary copy is available in Norfolk County Deed Book D, 85; this is reproduced as Document III in this article.

early as 1653 to small craft, it is doubtful that this was the inlet discovered by Batts. The Comberford Map of 1657 shows an unnamed inlet south of Currituck Inlet. John Ogilby's map of "A New Description of Carolina," c. 1672, refers to the same inlet as "Musketto" Inlet, but on Joel Gascoyne's map of 1682 entitled "A New Map of the Country of Carolina," the name has been changed to New Inlet.<sup>40</sup> Probably this was the inlet which Batts discovered to the "Southward" and to which the Indians referred to as the "plain" road to the sea.

Heretofore, the oldest known surviving record of a land grant in North Carolina is in Perquimans County. It is a deed, dated March 1, 1661; since the English calendar year at that time began on March 25, the date was 1662. It is from Kilcocanan King of the Yeopim Indians to George Durant. The land, situated on the north side of Albemarle Sound, is known today as Durant's Neck. This document was registered October 24, 1716.<sup>41</sup> Tucked away in the records of that ancient county of Lower Norfolk, there is an older deed. It is dated September 24, 1660, from the Chief of the Yausapin [Yeopim] Indians to Nathaniell Batts for "all y<sup>e</sup> Land on y<sup>e</sup> southwest side of Pascotanck River from y<sup>e</sup> mouth of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> River to y<sup>e</sup> head of new Begin Creeke."<sup>42</sup> It would be interesting to know whether Batts, who was referred to as the Governor of Roanoke, ever lived on his property in Pasquotank County.

A glance at the seventeenth century maps of North Carolina indicates that Batts left his nomenclature along the coast. One finds "Batts Creek," a tributary to the Neuse River; "Batts Point," between Pamlico River and Machapoungo (Pungo) River; and "Batts Island" at the mouth of Yeopim River in the Albemarle Sound, which by 1672 had been changed from its earlier name of Heriots Isle.<sup>43</sup> Before the end of the seventeenth century Batts Island was called Batts Grave, the name by which it is known today.<sup>44</sup> Through the years the

<sup>40</sup> Cumming, *Southeast in Early Maps*, Plates 37, 39.

<sup>41</sup> Powell, *Y<sup>e</sup> Countie of Albemarle*, xxiv.

<sup>42</sup> Norfolk County Deed Book D, 293.

<sup>43</sup> Nathaniell Batts lived at various places in North Carolina. Cumming, *Southeast in Early Maps*, 72-73, n.74; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 414-415; Richard Benbury Creecy, *Grandfather's Tales of North Carolina* (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton, 1901), 19-21, hereinafter cited as Creecy, *Grandfather's Tales*.

<sup>44</sup> Nathaniell Batts is said to have lived and perhaps died on the island of Batts Grave. He died intestate and his widow was the administratrix of his estate. James Blount stood as surety, November 5, 1679. Later Mrs. Batts married Joseph Chew. "Abstract of Wills Probated Prior to 1760," "Miscellaneous Items: From loose papers among the Records of Albemarle County at Edenton," "Petition of Edward and John Smithwick to Gov. Thomas Harvey, Deputies and Council," J. R. B. Hathaway (ed.), *North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register*, I (January, 1900), 30, 612; III (January, 1903), 79, hereinafter cited as *North Carolina Register*.

island seems to have remained uninhabited. The legend of love and sadness of Jesse Batz and Kickowanna, a beautiful Indian maiden of the Chowanoke tribe, has been preserved under the title of the "Legend of Batz's Grave," which name has made the island famous.<sup>45</sup>

Generally speaking, the further into the past one goes, the more likely that pertinent official documents have been lost. The four newly discovered documents, extending in time from April 20, 1656, to September 24, 1660, are important records which have remained unnoticed until the present. The documents as recorded in the deed books of Lower Norfolk and Norfolk counties are as follows:

## DOCUMENTS

1656-1660

### I

APRIL 20, 1656—MARRIAGE CONTRACT OF NATHANIELL BATTS<sup>46</sup>

Ordered to be Recorded the 15th Ditto [May] 1656

Whereas I Nathaniell Batts am Indebted to some men in Virginia and am now Intended to be married to M.<sup>rs</sup> Mary Woodhouse y<sup>e</sup> relict & widdow of Henry Woodhouse decesed, I doe by these presents firmly bind & Engage my selfe not to meddle w<sup>th</sup> any of y<sup>e</sup> s.<sup>d</sup> widdowes estate in what kind or nature Soever to sattisfie any of my debts or Engagem.<sup>ts</sup> to any person or persons whatsoever, & doe further Ingage not to dispose of any of y<sup>e</sup> Aboves.<sup>d</sup> estate without her Consent—for y<sup>e</sup> true performance of y<sup>e</sup> same, I have hereunto sett my hand & seale y<sup>e</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> day of Aprill 1656<sup>47</sup>

Nathaniell Batts  
his Seale

Witnesses William Clayborne Junior,<sup>48</sup>  
Roger Greene<sup>49</sup>  
John Ayres<sup>50</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Creecy, *Grandfather's Tales*, 19-21.

<sup>46</sup> Norfolk County Deed Book C, 221.

<sup>47</sup> Of the estates recorded in Lower Norfolk County between 1650 and 1700, the estate of Henry Woodhouse was considered one of the largest. Philip Alexander Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, An Inquiry into the Material Conditions of the People Based upon Original and Contemporary Records* (New York and London: Macmillan Company, 2 volumes, 1907), II, 250, hereinafter cited as Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia*.

<sup>48</sup> William Clayborne, Jr., was the son of Captain William Clayborne (Claiborne) and his wife, Elizabeth. Captain Clayborne served as surveyor and also as secretary of the colony of Virginia, and was at one time treasurer of the Virginia Company. Father and son were prominent in both church and state in Virginia. Hening, *Virginia Statutes at Large*, I, 116, 153, 170, 178, 187, 202, 238, 371, 377, 383, 385, 407, 408, II, 249, 347; Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, 2, 3, 4, 6, 18, 48, 70, 178, 244, 247, 302, 339, 353, 358, 359, 376, 398, 409, 422, 423, 467, 490, 506.

<sup>49</sup> In 1653 the Reverend Roger Green (Greene) obtained a land grant for 10,000 acres on the Roanoke River and the south bank of the Chowan River in the present state of North Carolina. He was to plant 100 settlers and for his good offices he was given a bonus of 1,000 acres. There is no documentary evidence that Green's colony materialized. Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, 15.

<sup>50</sup> John Ayres was a land speculator in Virginia; he acquired land by lapsed patents

## II

JULY 10, 1656—MORTGAGE SIGNED BY NATHANIELL AND MARY BATTS<sup>51</sup>

To all to whoeme these presents shall come, Knowe yee y<sup>t</sup> wee whose names are heere unto subscribed Nathaniell Batts & Mary his Wife in y<sup>e</sup> County of Lower norfk. in Lynhaven, doe heere by make over, & firmly assigne Over unto M.<sup>r</sup> Jn.<sup>o</sup> Martin<sup>52</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> same County his heires Exec.<sup>utors</sup> or assigns all our right title & Interest, of one Mare formerly bought of M.<sup>rs</sup> Sara Yardley<sup>53</sup> of a Sad bay Culler of about three yeares & a halfe old—Called by the name of Jones his Mare, also one sad Iron gray Stonehorse, bought formerly of Colo: Jn.<sup>o</sup> Sidney<sup>54</sup> by us y<sup>e</sup> s.<sup>d</sup> Natha: & his s.<sup>d</sup> Wife w<sup>ch</sup> afores.<sup>d</sup> horse & Mare, wee y<sup>e</sup> aboves.<sup>d</sup> petitioners have & doe heerby firmly by these presents make over unto him y<sup>e</sup> s.<sup>d</sup> Martin, as security & absolute surety for y<sup>e</sup> paym.<sup>t</sup> of our debt dew unto y<sup>e</sup> s.<sup>d</sup> M.<sup>r</sup> Martin from us, the aboves.<sup>d</sup> petitioners, of six thousand pounds of tob.<sup>o</sup> & Caske dew unto him, y<sup>e</sup> affores.<sup>d</sup> Martin as by specialty from under our hands doth appeare, & that upon non paym.<sup>t</sup> thereof the afores.<sup>d</sup> Jn.<sup>o</sup> Mar-

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and by the transportation of settlers. Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, 322, 366, 379, 478, 521, 530, 532.

<sup>51</sup> Norfolk County Deed Book C, 224.

<sup>52</sup> Probably John Martin of Lynnhaven Parish was the son of Captain John Martin, Master of Ordinance, whose heirs sold his property in 1643. John Martin, of Lower Norfolk County, was a neighbor of Francis Yeardley, and a vestryman of Lynnhaven Parish. He served as a member of the court of Lower Norfolk County and also in other civic and religious capacities. Edward W. James (ed.), *The Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary* (New York: Peter Smith, 5 volumes, 1951), II, 12, 128, III, 51, 105, 138, 140-141, hereinafter cited as James, *Lower Norfolk County*; Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, 147, 162, 220, 415.

<sup>53</sup> Sarah Yeardley (Yardley) nee Offley, was married three times. First she was married to Captain Adam Thoroughgood, who purchased 200 acres of land in Virginia in 1634. By special recommendation and permission he received a grant for 5,350 acres of land in Lower Norfolk County, June 24, 1635, for the transportation of 105 persons, including Thoroughgood and his wife, Sarah. Their home which was built on this land is considered the oldest house built by an English colonist extant in America. By her first marriage Sarah had several children who married into prominent families. The eldest son, Adam, married Frances, daughter of Argall Yeardley, a brother of Sarah's third husband. Her second husband was Captain John Gookins, who died before November 20, 1647, when she married Captain Francis Yeardley. He was the second son of Governor George Yeardley and was also a leader of the Cromwell party in Virginia. In 1652 he accepted an appointment as a member of the Council of Maryland but soon returned to his home in Lower Norfolk County, where he became a member of the House of Burgesses from that county. He died in 1655, but Mrs. Yeardley remained active until her death the following year. In her will she directed her executor, John Martin, to send her best diamond necklace to England to purchase six diamond rings and two black tombstones. She was buried in the old churchyard of Lynnhaven Parish beside her second husband; the graves are marked by two black tombstones. "Letters Extracted from the County Record Books," *William and Mary Quarterly*, IV (January, 1896), 170; "Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents" [Prepared by W. G. Stanard], "Genealogy. Families of Lower Norfolk and Princess Ann Counties. Gookin Family," "Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents" [Prepared by W. G. Stanard], *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, I (July, 1893), 86, V (April, 1898), 435, 458; Norfolk County Minute and Deed Book A, 255-259, Book C, 203, Book D, 6, 116-117; Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, 21, 22, 71.

<sup>54</sup> John Sidney was an extensive landholder in Lynnhaven Parish. He served as a member of the county and church courts of Lower Norfolk County frequently from 1644 to 1661. For many years he was a vestryman in Lynnhaven Parish. Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, 169; Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, 185, 199, 266, 269.

tin is to take into his possession y<sup>e</sup> Afores.<sup>d</sup> horse & Mare, w<sup>th</sup> therre Increase from y<sup>e</sup> day of y<sup>e</sup> date heareof & to Injoye & make use of them, as his owne proper estate, benefitt, & behoofe, wee y<sup>e</sup> s.<sup>d</sup> petitioners, firmly binding our selves, o<sup>ur</sup> heires or Assig to performe y<sup>e</sup> premisses, afores.<sup>d</sup> according to y<sup>e</sup> true Intent & meaning thereof provided y<sup>e</sup> afores.<sup>d</sup> sume of tob.<sup>o</sup> be not p.<sup>d</sup> according to y<sup>e</sup> true tenor of y<sup>e</sup> afores.<sup>d</sup> obligation, from under y<sup>e</sup> s.<sup>d</sup> petitioners hands, bearing date w<sup>th</sup> these presents. In wittness wheareof wee have here unto sett o<sup>ur</sup> hands this 10<sup>th</sup> of July 1656

Na[t]haniell Batts

Signum

m

Mary Batts

Testis, Rich: Richardson<sup>55</sup>

Peter Malbone<sup>56</sup>

### III

#### JUNE 11, 1657—MINUTES OF QUARTER COURT OF VIRGINIA: COURT ORDER CONCERNING NATHANIEL BATTS<sup>57</sup>

Recorded the: 17<sup>th</sup> August An<sup>o</sup> 1657

Att a Quarter Court held at James Citty: the 11<sup>th</sup> June 1657

Present Samuel Mathewes<sup>58</sup> Esq.<sup>r</sup> L Gov.<sup>r</sup>

<sup>55</sup> In 1632 Richard Richardson was a member of the House of Burgesses of Virginia. Hening, *Virginia Statutes at Large*, I, 154, 178.

<sup>56</sup> On June 13, 1711, Richard Sanderson, Sr., Esquire, age seventy, swore in a deposition that he had lived in the Back Bay area under the government of North Carolina since the year after Charles II was restored, and he remembered that Peter Malbourn (Malbone) was living on Currituck Bay to the southward and he was chosen as a Burgess for the Assembly of North Carolina. "The Indians of Southern Virginia, 1650-1711: Depositions in the Virginia-North Carolina Boundary Case," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, VII (April, 1900), 347-348; Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, 447.

<sup>57</sup> Norfolk County Deed Book D, 85.

<sup>58</sup> Samuel Mathews was one of the wealthiest men in Virginia. He married the daughter of Sir Thomas Hinton, and served as a member of the Council of Virginia in 1625, 1643, and 1656, and was elected by the assembly in 1656 to succeed Governor Edward Digges. Charles Campbell, *History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Co., 1860), 209, 212, 234, 238; H. R. McIlwaine (ed.), *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia, 1670-1676, with notes and excerpts from Original Council and General Court Records, Into 1683 Now Lost* (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1924), 52, 54, 55, 58, 59.

Colo: W <sup>m</sup> Claibourn	M. <sup>r</sup> Nath: Bacon <sup>61</sup>	} Esq. <sup>rs</sup>
Colo: Tho: Pettus <sup>59</sup>	Colo: Geo. Read <sup>62</sup>	
Lt. Colo: Walker <sup>60</sup>	Colo. Abra: Wood <sup>63</sup>	

Captain Francis Willis<sup>64</sup>

The Court taking into Consideration y<sup>e</sup> great pains & trouble, w<sup>ch</sup> M.<sup>r</sup> Nathaniell Batts hath taken in the discovery of an Inlett to the southward, which is likely to be mutch advantagious to the Inhabitants of this Collony; Have therefore ordered that y<sup>e</sup> s.<sup>d</sup> Batts be herreby protected from all his Creditors w<sup>th</sup>in this Country for one year & a day, W[i]thout any trouble or Molestation upon Consideration that the s.<sup>d</sup> Batts shall always be ready upon y<sup>e</sup> Courteous service, & to petition to the next Assembly for Confirmation hereof

Test Thomas Brereton<sup>65</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Thomas Pettus, who received a grant of 886 acres of land in James City County on April 7, 1643, served as a member of the Council of Virginia in 1642, 1652, 1653, 1656, 1658, and 1660. Hening, *Virginia Statutes at Large*, I, 235, 239, 372, 378, 408, 432, 499, 504, 526; Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, 159.

<sup>60</sup> Colonel John Walker of Warwick County served as a member of the House of Burgesses in 1644, 1646, 1649; in 1656 he was appointed a member of the Council of Virginia. Hening, *Virginia Statutes at Large*, I, 283, 323, 359, 422, 427, 499.

<sup>61</sup> Nathaniel Bacon, Sr., and Captain John Walker were chosen by the Governor and Council to fill unexpired terms with the specific reservation that their terms would last until the legislature met. Their appointments were confirmed and they were reappointed for the 1658 term of office. Hening, *Virginia Statutes at Large*, I, 422, 499.

<sup>62</sup> Colonel George Read, a nephew of Sir Windebanke, one of the English Secretaries of State, served in this capacity in Virginia until 1642. Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, I, 124.

<sup>63</sup> Although Wood worked as a servant in Virginia, he soon amassed a large estate and became active politically. In 1654 he was a member of the House of Burgesses of Virginia. Three years later he was serving on the Council and General Court of Virginia held at James City, which on June 11, 1657, issued a court order, recognizing Nathaniell Batts' discovery of an inlet to the southward. For the details see Document III from Norfolk County Deed Book D, 85; Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, I, 157-160; Hening, *Virginia Statutes at Large*, I, 373.

<sup>64</sup> Captain Francis Willis also served as a member of the Council in 1658. He was a practicing attorney and Clerk of the Court in Gloucester County. Hening, *Virginia Statutes at Large*, I, 499; Philip Alexander Bruce, *Institutional History of Virginia, Naval, Educational, Legal, Military, and Political Conditions of the People Based on Original and Contemporary Records* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, and Knickerbocker Press, 2 Volumes, 1910), I, 576, II, 502.

<sup>65</sup> Thomas Brereton who married Jane Claiborne, daughter of Colonel William Claiborne, served as Clerk of the General Court of Virginia, 1654-1661. He amassed a large amount of land by purchases, lapsed patents, and by paying transportation for colonists to Virginia. Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, 296, 306, 356, 360, 407, 408, 409, 500, 531.

## IV

SEPTEMBER 24, 1660—DEED FROM KISCUTANEWH TO NATHANIELL BATTS,  
PASQUOTANK<sup>66</sup>

To all to whoeme these presents shall Come greeting  
These are to Certifie y<sup>t</sup> I Kiscutanewh Kinge of Yausapin have Sold &  
Alienated from my self my heires or assignes y<sup>e</sup> Land w.<sup>ch</sup> M.<sup>r</sup> Mason<sup>67</sup>  
& M.<sup>r</sup> Willoughby<sup>68</sup> formerly bought of mee, but never paid mee for, to  
M.<sup>r</sup> Nath: Batts for a valuable Consideration in hand received, viz &: all  
y<sup>e</sup> Land on y<sup>e</sup> southwest side of Pascotanck River, from y<sup>e</sup> mouth of  
y<sup>e</sup> s.<sup>d</sup> River to y<sup>e</sup> head of new Begin Creeke,<sup>69</sup> to have & to hold to him &  
his heires for Ever, as Witnesse my hand y<sup>e</sup> twentieth fowerth of Septem-  
ber 1660

The Mke of  
Kiscutanewh

Wittnesse Richard Batts<sup>70</sup>  
George Durant<sup>71</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Norfolk County Deed Book D, 293.

<sup>67</sup> The paucity of contemporary records makes the identification of "Mr. Mason" difficult. Thomas Parker of the Isle of Wight County, Virginia, on March 18, 1650, acquired 250 acres of land for the transportation of eight persons; among them were one John Mason and his wife, Sarah. On March 24, 1661, Mason received a patent for 325 acres of land in Upper Norfolk County, Virginia, for the transportation of seven persons. Later Mason settled in Currituck County, where he remained for several years, but little is known about him until September 28, 1694, when he and his wife, Sarah, sold their cattle and land. From Currituck County he moved to Perquimans County. In 1694 he served as a juror. Six years later, at a court held in Perquimans County, John Brunsby was appointed administrator of his estate. Apparently his son, John Mason, remained in Currituck County. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 396, 407, 420; "Abstract of Bertie County Marriage Donds. [sic], *North Carolina Register*, II (April, 1901), 320; Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, 209, 408.

<sup>68</sup> "Mr. Willoughby" was probably the John Willoughby listed among the persons transported by Charles Grymes, October 18, 1653, to Lancaster County, Virginia. He may have been the younger son, of a prominent family in England, who ran away from home. He was not a descendant, although he perhaps was a relative of Colonel Thomas Willoughby (1601-1758) a wealthy merchant of Lower Norfolk County. His only son and heir was Colonel Thomas Willoughby (1632-1672), who was educated at the Merchants and Taylors School in London, and was survived by two minor children, Thomas and Elizabeth. Whoever John Willoughby's forebearers were, he was an active leader in North Carolina and took part in the Culpeper Rebellion. He is said to have accompanied George Durant to England as a representative of the Albemarle in "order to cover all their actions over in England that truth might not come to light." Between 1693 and 1705 he served frequently as a juror in Perquimans County and is said to have been a rather stern judge.

In 1670 Willoughby served as a deputy to the Earl of Shaftesbury, "Register publique in North Carolina," and also as a member of the Governor's Council. He served in the latter capacity under John Harvey in 1679 and under John Jenkins in 1680. As a member of the Council, he signed five of the documents which were presented by the late Thurmond Chatham to the State Department of Archives and History. Powell, *Y<sup>e</sup> Countie of Albemarle*, 41, 45, 48, 50, 53; Ellen Goode Winslow, *History of Perquimans County: As Compiled from Records Found There and Elsewhere* (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton Co., 1931), 8, 54, hereinafter cited as Winslow, *History of Perquimans*; J. Bryan Grimes, *Abstract of North Carolina Wills Compiled in the Office of the Secretary of State, 1665-1760* (Raleigh: E. M. Uzzell & Co., State Printers and Binders, 1910), 327, hereinafter cited as Grimes, *Abstract of North Carolina Wills*; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, I, 180, 254, 258, 259, 266, 274, 279, 297, 320,

321, 446, 590, 623; "Letters Extracted From the County Record Books. *Lower Norfolk County, formed in 1637 from Elizabeth City County,*" *William and Mary Quarterly*, IV (January, 1896), 172; "Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents." Prepared by W. G. Stanard, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, I (April, 1894), 447-450.

<sup>69</sup> After the Lords Proprietors received a charter for the Carolinas on March 24, 1663, they instructed Sir William Berkeley, Governor of Virginia, to provide for the setting up of a government, to arrange for the collection of taxes, and to grant land to settlers in the area north of Albemarle Sound. Among those receiving grants were John Battle, Richard Buller, Philip Evans, Mrs. Mary Fortsen, William Jennings, Thomas Keely, Robert Lawry, Henry Palin, Robert Peele, Thomas Relfe, Mrs. Katharine Woodward, and her daughter, Philarete Woodward. Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, 425, 426, 427, 428. Their grants were for land on "Paspetanke" River and on "New begin" Creek. Part of these grants was within the boundaries covered by the deed of Nathaniell Batts, dated September 24, 1660, Norfolk County Deed Book D, 293.

<sup>70</sup> Richard Batts (Bats) was a wealthy merchant and sea captain. During the last half of the seventeenth century, Batts and other merchants of the Barbados carried on extensive trade with Virginia. Probably Richard Batts was a brother of Nathaniell Batts. Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 328.

<sup>71</sup> George Durant (1632-1694), a mariner, married Ann Marwood, January 4, 1658/59, in Northumberland County, Virginia. The date of his arrival in North Carolina is unknown, but on March 1, 1661/62, he received a deed from the Indians for land in what is known today as Durant's Neck, Perquimans County. He is said to have begun building his house shortly after he received the deed, but no records of proof are available. On April 10, 1665, Richard and Thomas Bushrod purchased land from Durant in Northumberland County, Virginia. On October 20, 1665, Anthony Branch, "upper parish" of "Nancimond" County, obtained a grant for 300 acres of land for the transportation of six persons: "George Durant, thrice, An Durant, Thomas Keile, George Richards." Durant was no stranger in the area because on September 24, 1660, he witnessed a deed of Nathaniell Batts for land located in what is now Pasquotank County. Apparently he was an employee of either Nathaniell or Richard Batts. Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, 442, 543; Grimes, *Abstract of North Carolina Wills*, 105; Winslow, *History of Perquimans County*, 3, 4, 340-341; "Abstract of Wills," *North Carolina Register*, I (April, 1900), 203n.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Papers of John Willis Ellis*. Volume I, 1841-1859; Volume II, 1860-1861. Edited by Noble J. Tolbert. (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History [Limited Edition], 1964. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. civ, 918. \$5.00 per volume.)

The State Department of Archives and History has contributed a great deal to North Carolina's exceptional reputation in historical work, and this addition to a total of over fifty informative and amazingly inexpensive departmental volumes is another worthy contribution.

The collection is preceded by the usual, helpful listing of all the items included and followed by a thorough index. In addition, the editor has provided a competent biographical sketch of over sixty pages, which, while rather heavily detailed, does supply welcome information about a figure whose papers are too often surprisingly sparse.

To the manor (or manner) born, in 1820, Ellis typified the loyalties and attitudes common to the conservative slave-owning class. Formally educated, an attorney, and a Democrat, this precocious gentleman was a state legislator at twenty-three, a superior court judge at twenty-eight, and, by 1859, governor of the state at thirty-eight. Although moderately inclined and no early disunionist, Ellis was irrevocably committed to slavery and state rights and intense in his hatred for those "subversives" of his day, the abolitionists and "Black Republicans." Slavery he pronounced "the true issue involved," but it was an indignant rejection of federal coercion that provided the final rationale for casting the lot of North Carolina with the Confederacy. In the midst of the burdens imposed by this tragic endeavor, the young governor, whose life had already been much burdened with tragedy, died in the summer of 1861.

Here was certainly an impressive life, but in part because of the very brevity of that life, these papers do not provide that richness which one may find, say, in the Ruffin, Worth, or Graham collections. Fully 720 of the 888 documentary pages are devoted to the last four years of Ellis' life, and the bulk of this is undistinguished official

correspondence. But while the chaff is abundant and the personal touches are slight, there is rewarding information on many matters—on internal improvements, debates over ad valorem taxation, public education and welfare, and the sectional crisis. Perhaps most rewarding is that closeness provided to the tasks and the thrills of secession and war, and, in a different vein, this reviewer was delighted with the state engineer's reports of his battles with troublesome workers (slave and free), local profiteers, would-be competitors, and unpredictable waters as he pursued his efforts to perfect the navigability of the Cape Fear River.

Otto H. Olsen

Morgan State College

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*North Carolina: A Students' Guide to Localized History.* By William S. Powell. (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1965. Pp. x, 35. \$.75, 20 per cent discount on 25 or more copies.)

This brief pamphlet prepared by the librarian of the North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, is one of a series edited by Clifford L. Lord, Hofstra University, who writes the introduction for each title. Mr. Powell has written a very interesting and useful publication for teachers of North Carolina history, students, and other interested persons. Each chapter summarizes briefly in chronological order the major facts of each period in the development of the state, suggests with running commentary books to be read, and gives an interpretive list of field trips to the most significant historic places.

The text is smooth, uncomplicated, and to this reviewer provocative of further exploration. While the writing is mature it is not too difficult for youngsters in seventh and eighth grades to read comfortably for a general understanding of the state before studying North Carolina in more detail. The chapters are concerned with the land and the Indians who lived there, the explorers and the early colonists, statehood to 1835, a golden age of development and then the Civil War, and the recovery and progress following that tragic event.

The "Books to Read" which are recommended are all adult books, suitable for the mature student, the teacher, and the adult reader. Some are out of print and probably would be found only in large libraries or in special collections. It would have been helpful to have

had the out-of-print titles identified, as this part of the pamphlet will no doubt be used by many libraries as a buying guide.

In summary this pamphlet encompasses in very few pages much valuable information on North Carolina; it is provocative to further study and supplies guidelines for the exploration it proposes.

Mary Peacock Douglas

Raleigh

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*Tales from Old Carolina: Traditional and Historical Sketches of the Area between and about the Chowan River and Great Dismal Swamps.* By F. Roy Johnson. (Murfreesboro: Johnson Publishing Company, 1965. Illustrations, acknowledgments. Pp. 248. \$4.95.)

A reader finds it difficult to classify this book. It is hardly history, yet there are many historical tidbits in it. Perhaps to call it a collection of lore and legend is better, yet it is not this alone. For want of a better term, it may be called a "social history" of Gates County people from Ralph Lane's expedition to the Civil War, noting superstitions of and strange stories about river-folk and swamp-folk of the upper Chowan.

There are six sections: Explorations, Colonial, Ante-Bellum, Dismal Swamp, Spirit Lore, and Civil War. Though Mr. Johnson does not list his written sources, he quotes frequently from John Lawson, William Byrd, and Porte Crayon, obviously extracting those items which appeal to his temperament and curiosity. In addition, he lists sixty current inhabitants of the area whom he has interviewed and who have told him stories. It is the material from these interviews—primary data never before recorded—that makes the book valuable as folklore. Few people go about listening to the soon-to-be-forgotten tales of the old-timers and putting them into print.

Where else, in a few years, can one learn about the runaways in the Dismal Swamp who developed a "swamp sense" which made wild animals less afraid of them, and about how such denizens "learned to eat anything a bear could and thus enjoyed an abundance of food." Besides the fascinating yarns about these mysterious creatures of the swamp, there are tales of witches who could be killed only with silver bullets, about devils, fairies, and assorted demons.

Mr. Johnson's little book will not please the meticulous reader. Rank misspellings and typographical errors are on almost every page, often delightful in their unintended humor. There are slips—such as

the knighthood Mr. Johnson confers upon Thomas Moore, son of a Dublin grocer and author of the famous poem "The Lake of the Dismal Swamp."

But no matter. For in this book is found the vanishing lore of a place and time which must be recorded now and quickly, or it will be irrevocably lost.

Richard Walser

North Carolina State University at Raleigh

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*Before the Rebel Flag Fell.* Collected and Edited by Thomas C. Parramore, F. Roy Johnson, and E. Frank Stephenson, Jr. (Murfreesboro: Johnson Publishing Company, 1965. Notes. Pp. xix, 132. \$3.00.)

*Before the Rebel Flag Fell* is the story of the Civil War as told by five southerners reflecting as many different viewpoints. All lived in northeastern North Carolina, but their stories may be regarded as typical of many communities in the South during this tragic era.

Reproduced here is the diary of a plantation wife who portrayed with much feeling the cares and hardships of the home front. She was a woman of deep religious conviction and a feeling of concern for the problems of the times. Two common soldiers told of warm comradeships, army life, and their "lady friends Sniffing . . ." as they departed for war. There is also a story of the courage of a field commander and his account of the horrors of war. Finally, a professional historian of literary distinction has provided a microscopic view of the all important human element of the war.

Messrs. Parramore, Johnson, and Stephenson have compiled a valuable and exciting account of the war using the all important ingredient—people. Sketches of the contributors at the beginning of each section provide necessary background information.

Noble J. Tolbert

Chapel Hill

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*After Slavery: The Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction, 1861-1877.* By Joel Williamson. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965. Notes, index. Pp. ix, 442. \$7.50.)

For years it has been said that the place of the Negro in southern life was fixed around and after 1890. Now Joel Williamson, an as-

sistant professor at the University of North Carolina, has probed deeply into the history of South Carolina to demonstrate clearly that in at least one state the black and the white races went their separate ways almost from the date of emancipation. The implications for the historiography of Reconstruction are tremendous, and only after similar studies have been made for the other southern states will the truth finally emerge.

The first two chapters deal with the Negroes who were freed during the war in areas of Union occupation and describe the formulation of policies on such matters as land distribution that in some cases were carried over into the postwar period. The remainder of the book uses a topical approach to describe the economic, social, and political role of the Negro in South Carolina to 1877. The chapters on economics show how "the North disallowed the attempt by white South Carolinians to replace slavery with a controlled "system of labor," describe the efforts of Negroes to acquire lands, and explain the emergence of the contract system of labor. The chapter on religion emphasizes the separation theme while discussing the various denominations that made headway among the Negroes and demonstrating that the church played an important political role. Racial attitudes and the violence that "inevitably" sprang from them are described and analyzed. The most striking conclusion in the sections on social history is the statement that "before the end of Reconstruction, separation had crystallized into a comprehensive pattern. . . ." After describing "The Negro Community" and its various divisions and social problems, the author concludes with a chapter on the political leadership of the Negroes. According to Williamson, the character and ability of Negro politicians and their white Republican colleagues was of a considerably higher degree than has been portrayed in many previous accounts.

From beginning to end this book is a consciously revisionist work, but unlike some revisers who merely make assertions, this author piles up mounds of evidence to support his new interpretations. He used the extensive manuscript collections at Duke University and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and fortified them heavily with contemporary newspaper accounts, magazine articles, and government documents. An amazing amount of detail about the situation in South Carolina came from the *New York Times*. Blessed with an abundance of material, the author has put together his findings into a very solid work of historical scholarship.

There are some minor flaws in the book such as the author's assumption that readers know far more than most of them do. He sometimes loses sight of the Negro or does not relate the topic under discussion to him. On the whole the merits of the book so far outweigh the one or two weaknesses that a reviewer is embarrassed to mention "flaws."

Richard L. Zuber

Wake Forest College

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*Atticus Greene Haygood: Methodist Bishop, Editor, and Educator.* By Harold W. Mann. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1965. Illustration, notes, index. Pp. viii, 254. \$6.00.)

Southern historians for many years have expressed a need for a critical study of Atticus Greene Haygood, President of Emory College, Agent of the Slater Fund, and Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. This excellent biography by Harold Mann, a recent doctoral graduate of Duke University, should fill all requirements, for it is the product of wide reading, conscientious research, mastery of materials, and clear writing.

Atticus Haygood, born in Georgia in 1839, was afflicted with epilepsy during his early years. His father, a lawyer, established a home in which justice and respect for the individual were highly regarded. In this atmosphere Atticus matured with strong tendencies toward idealism, progressivism, and humanism. After graduating from Emory College, Haygood became an influential minister in the Methodist Church. He developed a distaste for revival excesses, sanctification seekers, unctiousness in the pulpit, and especially the Holiness Movement.

In 1880, after five years as President of Emory College, Haygood delivered a commencement address that urged the South to forget the tragic years and to look forward without lamenting the overthrow of slavery. On Thanksgiving Day in the same year he preached a sermon on "The New South" in which he took such an extreme position in behalf of the Negro that some people charged him with defaming the Confederacy. A year later he published a book *Our Brother in Black*—a criticism of the role of the northerners and, in part, an apology for the inactivity of the southerners. The book was favorably received in the North but offended many in the South.

Having identified himself with the cause of the Negro, Haygood was appointed in 1882 as Agent for the Slater Fund, a foundation to assist Negroes to obtain higher education. During eight years as Agent, this exuberant, charming, and genial Georgian reached the peak of his career as he wrote, lectured, and strove to create a "brotherhood" of the races. Dissatisfaction with Haygood's method of reporting and his careless accounting for money led to his removal from office.

This experience seemed no handicap, however, to Haygood's advancement with the church. In 1890 he was elected a bishop of his church and assigned to California. After three frustrating and unhappy years for him and his family, Haygood returned to Georgia. Extremely unbusinesslike, he was usually in financial straits and often in debt. By now broken in purse and depressed in spirit, he was no more his once vigorous self. When he died in 1896, "the eulogists were puzzled as to what they could say about Bishop Haygood's life," but the author approaches a satisfactory explanation by saying that his subject "did not fit into either the prewar or postwar generation."

Walter B. Posey

Agnes Scott College

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*Memorials of a Southern Planter*, by Susan Dabney Smedes. Edited, with introduction and notes, by Fletcher M. Green. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965. Introduction, illustrations, bibliography. Pp. lxix, 337. \$6.95.)

Susan Dabney Smedes, *Memorials of a Southern Planter*, has long been considered something of a classic. It was written, she frankly confessed, so that the grandchildren of Thomas Smith Gregory Dabney might know something of his life as a planter in the ante-bellum South. They would learn much in later days of the wickedness of slavery and of slaveholders, and it was her purpose to tell them just what things were like in that much distorted period. She would give them the other side—the southern side of the story.

Such an approach, of course, would not be entirely objective. It would, however, be warm and human. It would reveal the fact that slavery could be all kinds of things in different places, at different times, and with different slaves and different masters. It was not just

an abstract idea, brutal and impersonal, but an institution which could reflect the personality of a just and kind man who accepted the responsibilities which this peculiar labor system imposed.

As a historical document, the *Memorials* must, of necessity, be used with discretion. Thomas Dabney was not a typical planter, if there ever was such a person, and the author viewed the man and his plantation through a romantic haze, which probably adds more to myth than to historical reality. As a young girl, Susan saw only the pleasant side of a very complex social and economic order. She knew little of the slaves who toiled in the fields. She saw little of the impersonal system which robbed the Negro of his rights as a human being to realize his individual possibilities. Even in memory, what she did see lost much of what was unpleasant and unjust. Most certainly, her book is a poor place to look for the guilt which present-day historians think the slaveholder and his family should have felt.

Professor Green's excellent Introduction makes these things clear, and supplies all that is needed for understanding the author, the planter, and his way of life. Even with all its shortcomings, with such an introduction the *Memorials* still make pleasant reading.

Avery Craven

University of Wisconsin

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*The Crisis of the Union, 1860-1861.* Edited by George Harmon Knoles. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965. Pp. xi, 115. \$3.50.)

This highly provocative volume is an outgrowth of a symposium sponsored by the Institute of American History at Stanford University in March, 1963. Eight prominent historians led discussions on four major themes that attempted to unravel the threads of action and motivation leading to the crisis of the union.

Glyndon G. Van Deusen, research professor emeritus at the University of Rochester, discussed "Why the Republican Party Came to Power." He reasoned: The Republican party was youthful, unburdened by an accumulation of mistakes, possessed of strong leadership in contrast to the feuds, corruption, and bitter sectional quarrels by the Democrats; there was northern discontent with the economic policies of the southern controlled Democrats; Lincoln, as a westerner and a log cabin rail-splitter, was a symbol of the common man and

had wide voter appeal; but above all else, the Republicans claimed the antislavery sentiment. In a critique, Don E. Fehrenbacher, professor of history at Stanford, suggested that the Republican movement survived (in contrast to other contemporary minority parties) because of its platform appeal on economic issues, and the 1860 Republican triumph was primarily a stern rebuke to a Democratic administration that had tried to force Kansas into the Union as a slave state.

Professor Roy F. Nichols of the University of Pennsylvania, discussing the problem of "Why the Democratic Party Divided," declared the party split because of a complex series of personal failures and miscalculations and that the party leadership (group dynamics) did not measure up to the demands of the perilous times. Specifically, this came about when the southern delegates deliberately destroyed the Charleston convention for fear of losing the national political power they were accustomed to control. In reply, Robert W. Johannessen of the University of Illinois placed the failure at Charleston altogether on the calculated policy of southern "fire-eaters." Furthermore, the party breakup did more than destroy the party itself; it guaranteed Lincoln's election and sealed the fate of the Union.

The third topic, "Why the Southern States Seceded," was led by Avery O. Craven of the University of Chicago. To him the question of honor was the paramount reason, but he also stressed northern aggression to slavery and the fear by southern states that their Constitutional rights would not be respected if they remained in the Union. Craven observed that the southern states were right in that their domestic institutions were no longer safe in the Union, but that they erred in not recognizing the more important fact that their institutions were not safe anywhere in the nineteenth century and the emerging modern world. In rebuttal and in an especially sharp analysis of "revisionist" historiography, Charles G. Sellers, Jr., of the University of California, Berkeley, denied the Craven generalization "that the much sought for 'central theme of Southern history' is, and always has been, a proud reluctance to being pushed into the modern world." On the contrary, the South was a vital part of the modern world and was enjoying its greatest economic boom. Sellers suggested the term "aggressive defensive," which enabled southern radicals to shift from defense to aggression in the 1850's and to proclaim the perfection of their way of life so intensely as to convince themselves of the truth of what they were saying and doing.

Finally, David M. Potter of Stanford University spoke on "Why the Republicans Rejected Both Compromise and Secession." The rejection of compromise did not mean an acceptance of separation or war, but rather the underestimation of the danger to the Union because the South had shouted "wolf" (secession) too often before and the 1860 threat was considered only a repeat. Also, the Republican leaders were convinced that secessionism was a superficial phenomenon not representing true southern impulses; thus the refusal to compromise would be the best way to silence the "fire-eaters" and to revive the Southern Unionists. Kenneth M. Stampp, Morrison professor of history at the University of California, added further that the perspective of 1861 (Ft. Sumter) did not necessarily mean war; instead it could have resulted in the immediate collapse of the Confederacy without even a skirmish.

This is a valuable contribution to Civil War study even though no new or startling interpretations are presented. The Institute on American History is to be congratulated for the high standards of this study and its editorship and should be encouraged to sponsor additional similar projects.

Horace W. Raper

Tennessee Technological University

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*Here Come the Rebels!* By Wilbur Sturtevant Nye. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965. Maps, notes, index. Pp. xvi, 412. \$7.95.)

This is a good book with an inadequate title. It has to do with one segment of the Civil War: Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania prior to Gettysburg, which emphasis on the Second Corps, Army of Northern Virginia, commanded by General Richard S. Ewell who succeeded "Stonewall" Jackson in the reorganization of Lee's army after Chancellorsville. The move through the Shenandoah Valley into Pennsylvania and the environs of Harrisburg required that the Federals be driven from Winchester, Berryville, Martinsburg, and other points north and east until the Susquehanna was reached. How this was done, and how the citizens of Pennsylvania prepared to meet the invasion, is the burden of the narrative. Adequate maps enable the reader to cut away some of the fog and confusion of war, and the text gives a reasonable facsimile of what it was like to the man

with the gun. So far as the civilian population was concerned, it seems that the assistance offered by soldiers from New York was nearly as troublesome as the invaders prior to the great battle.

The author, a veteran of thirty-four years in the regular army and formerly chief of the Army's Historical Division in Europe, has produced a carefully researched and well-written narrative. The judgments reached and the criticisms offered seem reasonable; the comments on individuals are usually well-tempered; the lack, on both sides, of adequate military intelligence is shown; and both the military action of the Federals and the problems of preparing the defenses of the state are examined in revealing detail. General Ewell comes off pretty well, though the analysis of his leadership and tactics might have been more searching.

Robert H. Woody

Duke University

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*The Theater in Colonial America.* By Hugh F. Rankin. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xvi, 239. \$6.00.)

This modest volume is a distinct contribution to the scanty history of the fine arts and belles-lettres in Colonial America. From the appearance of two "Adventurers from Virginia" in the London play *Eastward Hoe* (1603) to the demolition of the Williamsburg playhouse during or soon after the Revolution, it traces amateur theatricals, native playwrights, English professional companies, and playhouses themselves from *The Bare and the Cubb* (1665) on the Virginia Eastern Shore and *Gustavus Vasa* (1690) at Harvard to the last professional performances of well-known British plays during the Revolution. The story has foggy beginnings, for materials are scant, but with the founding of newspapers in the Middle and Southern colonies more details of actors, plays, and audience reactions combine into a fairly clear picture of what eighteenth century Americans wanted and received as theatrical entertainment.

Overwhelmingly the Colonial theater was southern. That is, Annapolis, Williamsburg, and Charleston more consistently and for longer periods encouraged the drama than the more northern centers. Not unexpectedly New England, especially Massachusetts, was usually hostile. Fairly late New York and Philadelphia, not without some of

the opposition on "moral grounds" experienced in New England, became supporters of professional companies.

The scanty materials for the seventeenth century suggest that Maryland and Virginia, especially the latter under a playwright governor like Berkeley, may have had a long tradition of private and semi-private theatricals extending into the eighteenth century. *The Bare and the Cubb* of 1665 was surely no isolated phenomenon. And materials now available at Colonial Williamsburg but not used by this author indicate that at least one late seventeenth and early eighteenth century Virginia planter was coauthor of a well-known London play usually assigned to a famous British playwright, and that this same planter aided in producing and directing plays at various mansions along the James River. He may also have worked with the Williamsburg theater of 1716-1718 of which little is known. The later Revolutionary-period plays of Robert Munford appear also to have been written for local (Mecklenburg County) production in the same tradition.

Through the eighteenth century *Gazettes* of Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, and Pennsylvania the author is able to trace with considerable detail and exactitude the traveling repertory companies and a good deal about the size and appointments of the buildings in which they performed. One learns, incidentally, that at least one company acted in North Carolina, and that the theater at Halifax was 60 feet by 30 feet in floor space.

This outline history of one cultural "embellishment" of Colonial life leaves one still asking about several matters such as the apparent head-on collision between theatrical performances and the preachers of the Great Awakening; the extent to which the theater inspired the verses of many kinds which fill numerous pages of the newspapers; and the effect of theatrical speech (and bombast) on the oratory of the pre-Revolutionary and Revolutionary periods, when Addison's *Cato*, for example, was a favorite play.

In conclusion, in describing the demolition of the last Williamsburg theater some time before 1787, the author observes that after that time "Virginians could only manifest their interest in drama by reading plays to one another—just as they had a hundred years before." Surely he forgets that Richmond already had or was just picking up the theater—with even some of the same actors—when Williamsburg gave it up, and that Petersburg and Fredericksburg

continued their Colonial theatrical tradition well into the nineteenth century.

Richard Beale Davis

University of Tennessee

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*The Papers of James Madison*, Volume IV, 1 January, 1782—31 July, 1782. Edited by William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press [Sponsored by the University of Chicago and the University of Virginia], 1965. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xxviii, 486. \$12.50.)

The fourth volume of *The Papers of James Madison* covers the first seven months of 1782 with the same comprehensive editorial annotation which marked the earlier volumes. In addition to Madison's extensive correspondence, this volume includes numerous resolutions to Congress and committee reports which bear Madison's imprint.

Like most Americans in early 1782, Madison eagerly awaited news that the victory at Yorktown would bring British recognition of American independence. These hopes were weakened when news was received of the British defeat of the French fleet in the West Indies in April. Madison was anxious for the ultimate triumph of the American cause and his fears were expressed frequently in his writings. He was especially concerned about British efforts to use trade as a lure to entice Americans away from the fight for independence.

Madison was concerned also with internal problems such as the Western lands, the independence of Vermont, the shortage of both money and troops, and the reluctance of the states to support the Confederation. The editors note a continuing struggle between Madison's desire to use the "implied powers" doctrine to strengthen the central government and his desire to serve the interests of his state. This was the beginning of a struggle which continued throughout his active life.

The extreme thoroughness of the editors in identifying and annotating almost every reference to events or items—no matter how obscure—is happily relieved by one frank admission of fallibility. Their inability to identify Edmund Pendleton's allusion to the "Irish treasurer's Waggon" will make many a historian who has suffered similar

fruitless searches feel a bond of comradeship which the editors' very excellence has heretofore precluded.

The care and comprehensiveness of the editorial work adds immeasurably not only to the usefulness of the *Papers* themselves but also to an understanding of Madison and the general history of the period. As the volumes proceed through the years of Madison's involvement in the formation of the Constitution, the Jeffersonian years and his own presidency, can the detailed and objective annotation continue? Fortunately, the editors thus far have proved themselves more than able to accomplish their chosen task so that their ability to deal with the magnitude of the material ahead is not seriously questioned.

J. Edwin Hendricks

Wake Forest College

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*The Climax of Populism: The Election of 1896.* By Robert F. Durden. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965. Notes, index. Pp. xiv, 190. \$5.00.)

Populism continues to stimulate historical investigation as evidenced by Duke University professor Robert F. Durden's new book, his third significant contribution to late nineteenth century historiography. This is neither a full study of Populism nor an exhaustive account of the election; it is rather a tightly and professionally written analysis of the dilemma Populists faced in 1896 when reforms they had made popular were embraced by the Democratic party under the leadership of William Jennings Bryan. Relying heavily upon the hitherto neglected papers of North Carolina's Senator Marion Butler, national chairman of the Populist party in 1896, Durden throws new light on several aspects of this intriguing election. In doing so, he lines up with John D. Hicks, C. Vann Woodward, Walter T. K. Nugent, Norman Pollack and others in affirming the thesis that Populist contributions to American political and economic policy greatly overshadowed the party's minor defects and idiosyncracies.

This book refutes Henry Demerest Lloyd's often repeated charge that free silver was essentially a false issue interjected into the 1896 campaign, thus diverting reformers from more significant goals. Socialism, not currency reform, Durden argues, was the real "cowbird" that "tried to capture the Populist nest," an attempt notable because

it failed. In further defense of silver, he correctly notes that this issue was in fact the best single umbrella under which all reformers could stand and, contrary to critics then and now, it was never understood to be a panacea for all the ills of American society.

Equally important, it seems to this reviewer, is the clear distinction Durden makes between southern and western Populism. He also presents a more balanced view than has heretofore prevailed of the intra-party squabble between Tom Watson and the mid-roaders who eschewed co-operation with Democrats on the one hand, and Butler and the fusionists on the other. Historians who have long been influenced by Vann Woodward's pro-Watson discussion of this conflict will find the matter put in better perspective here and will come to understand that Butler steered the Populists through the political rapids of 1896 about as successfully as any one could have done. The truth was that the Populist party—as opposed to Populist principles—took on all the characteristics of a Greek tragedy once Bryan captured control of the Democratic party. The question then became not how Populists could retain their separate identity, but how they could surrender it most gracefully and effectively.

In his bibliographical essay entitled "Notes on Sources," Professor Durden ably reviews the recent literature on Populism. Historians who perform similar tasks from now on will have to take careful note of *The Climax of Populism*.

James A. Tinsley

University of Houston

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*Woodrow Wilson*. By Arthur Walworth. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, Second Edition, Revised, 1965. Sources, index. Pp. xiv, 875. \$12.50.)

In its initial appearance this book was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for the most distinguished biography of 1958. It filled well a long felt need for an adequate, readable biography of Woodrow Wilson. At one extreme are Ray S. Baker's *Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters* in eight volumes and Arthur S. Link's *Woodrow Wilson* now being published with five volumes having been released; at the other are the much shorter chronicles written by William Allen White and Josephus Daniels in the mid-twenties, and those more recently done by Harold G. Black and Ruth Cranton. Arthur Walworth has struck

the happy medium. He presents a well-rounded study without attempting a complete treatment of the whole Wilson Era.

Mr. Walworth's book is in a category by itself. Originally published as a two-volume biography of Woodrow Wilson, it probably will not soon be replaced as a competent study of its subject. For several years, the author worked to produce this book. His years of meticulous research in manuscript materials; his numerous interviews with Wilson's relatives and with those who knew him as a university professor, as President of Princeton, as Governor of New Jersey, or as President of the United States; his painstaking writing and revising have all contributed to the remarkable quality of this biography. Not only has the author made good use of available sources, but he also organized the materials carefully and told the narrative artistically. Indeed, it is in the role of literary historian that Arthur Walworth excels.

This study contains several blemishes that no scholar of the Wilson Era will deny. For example, the author has overburdened the book with theological terminology. Of even greater concern to the dedicated student of the Wilson period is the author's repetitious practice of giving quotations without revealing the sources. Many sources are accurately cited but numerous others are not. Moreover, there are many irregularities in the footnotes as well as in the citations in the body of the book. A frontispiece is the only illustration. The Note on Sources lists only some secondary sources published within the last decade, and the Index is by no means complete.

These flaws, however, do not greatly mar this very readable book. Mr. Walworth understands his complex subject thoroughly and presents him sympathetically, usually without blemish or fault. Here, for the first time, Wilson as a family man is adequately presented. The author skillfully handles Wilson's feminine friendships. Although these relationships were always platonic, they gave grounds for vicious gossip by his political enemies.

The publisher's statement on the jacket of the book, that this study "now substantially revised from sources only recently available" is misleading. Only in the first chapter and on the first few pages of the second chapter were any changes noted.

George Osborn

University of Florida

*High Dams and Slack Waters: TVA Rebuilds a River.* By Wilmon Henry Droze. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. x, 174. \$7.50.)

As TVA's electrical program has been highly controversial, publicity has emphasized this aspect of its work. Less controversial and hence less well known is the navigation program. TVA itself devoted little time to this until developments demonstrated its importance as a means of defending the agency against its critics and fulfilling its over-all objectives. The program has now been treated ably and with clarity, brevity, and enthusiasm by Wilmon Droze, a historian trained at Vanderbilt, who sees his subject as a successful test of man's ability to be constructive. Well designed and well organized, the book covers the major dimensions of the subject from sources to consequences and assumes that the proper concern of the historian is continuity and change. The subject could be more fully understood and evaluated if the author had viewed it in a larger context.

In an attempt to show the relation between this aspect of the New Deal and the past, Droze shows that the idea of the government making the Tennessee navigable was not new and that attempts to implement the idea were made before 1933. They, however, accomplished little; great change came only with the New Deal. He fails to point out that the change conformed to the well-established American practice, often successful, of government development of transportation facilities.

The study goes beyond mere description of TVA's efforts to rebuild and promote the use of the river. The various steps are defined, analyzed, and explained, and the growth of commerce on the Tennessee is related to the national revival of water transportation. Furthermore, the author estimates the impact upon the economy, concluding that "the conversion of the Tennessee River from an undependable stream into a reliable commercial artery has contributed measurably to industrial expansion and agricultural diversification in the Tennessee Valley and large areas of its hinterland." But how does this compare with the consequences of alternative ways of using government funds? The author suggests but does not make comparisons of this type. Perhaps a historian has no obligation to do so.

Richard S. Kirkendall

University of Missouri

## OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

A new edition of *North Carolina History Told by Contemporaries*, edited by Hugh Talmage Lefler, has recently been released by the University of North Carolina Press. Documents in the new volume reflect developments in North Carolina as late as 1965; in fact, Governor Dan K. Moore's legislative message of February 4, 1965, in which he presented a program for a greater state, concludes the book. The documentary material selected by Dr. Lefler is invaluable to students of North Carolina history. It is unfortunate that a book of this value and usefulness should be reissued in what appears to be a hasty and careless manner. The new material has been set in a type different from that formerly used; the older material was photographed and reproduced by offset; the result is one book with two different styles of type. The difference is particularly noticeable in the Preface, where a few words in the fifth paragraph have been changed and this paragraph was set in the new type while the first four paragraphs were photographed from the old type. One wonders if Dr. Lefler himself was given an opportunity to review the Preface before it was reprinted because the fourth paragraph should definitely have been brought up to date. These technical objections in no way mar the quality of the book's contents, and students and teachers of North Carolina history will welcome a volume of documents which includes those of recent months. There are 580 pages including the Index. Copies may be ordered from the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, for \$7.50.

*Guide to Manuscripts and Archives in the West Virginia Collection—Number II, 1958-1962*, by F. Gerald Ham, was published in 1965 by the West Virginia University Library in Morgantown. This *Guide* brings up to date the record of materials added since the publication of the first *Guide* in 1958. The West Virginia Collection includes manuscript, printed, pictorial, and audio materials; the archives and manuscript section includes collections of private manuscripts, the university archives, and records of various businesses, societies, and institutions. Inactive public records are also found there. This section is the depository for prints and pictures, maps, newspapers, and various other materials of value to the researcher. Since the first *Guide* was published, approximately 600 accessions were added to the collection; these are described in 437 entries in this supplement. The 147-page book is indexed, and copies may be obtained free from the West Virginia University Library.

*Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S. Truman, Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and Statements of the President, January 1 to December 31, 1950*, is a continuation of the series begun in 1957. Similar volumes have been issued for the years 1945-1949, and these have been reviewed in earlier issues of the *North Carolina Historical Review*. Presidential materials issued from the White House during 1950 and transcripts of news conferences are included. This is the first volume to contain the full text of President Truman's news conferences; addresses and speeches are printed just as they were delivered. The editor of the present volume was Warren R. Reid, assisted by Mildred B. Berry. The 866-page book is indexed and was published by the Government Printing Office in Washington. Copies are \$7.75.

*The Land Utilization Program, 1934 to 1964: Origin, Development, and Present Status* is the subject of Agricultural Economic Report Number 85. This 85-page booklet reviews the government's program of converting farm land to other uses and reviews the utilization of submarginal land projects which were begun in the 1930's. These acres were developed and improved and are today being used as timber lands, as forage for livestock, as recreational facilities, and as wildlife refuges. Persons interested in recent agricultural history will want to order copies of this publication which contains an excellent Bibliography and statistical tables in addition to the text. Unfortunately, there is no Index. Single copies are available from the Office of Information, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., 20250.

A new information service has been initiated by the National Archives and Records Service of the General Services Administration in Washington. Entitled *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*, Volume I, Number 1, was issued on August 2, 1965. The indexed publication, which will be published each Monday, will contain transcripts of news conferences, messages to Congress, and public addresses and statements of the President. Teachers of recent history and of political science will be particularly interested in subscribing to this service at a cost of \$6.00 a year. Prices of individual copies will vary. Subscriptions and further information may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 20402.

*Archeology and the Historical Society* by J. C. Harrington is designed to help the layman identify situations in which archaeology may be helpful and to furnish some practical advice on how to proceed once the need is recognized. The attractive format, illustrations, and a list of selected references make this 48-page booklet well worth the \$1.00 cost. Send orders to the American Association for State and Local History, 132 Ninth Avenue North, Nashville, Tennessee, 37203.

*The Confederate Reveille*, Memorial Edition, published by the Pamlico Chapter of the Daughters of the Confederacy, Washington, May 10, 1898, has been republished as a Centennial Edition by the Pamlico Chapter and the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, December, 1964. This 164-page booklet contains a chapter on Washington during the Civil War; a brief sketch of the Fourth Regiment, N.C.S.T.; brief biographical sketches and pictures of officers; and a list of North Carolina Generals in the Confederate Army. Books are available at \$1.00 from Mrs. J. H. B. Andrews, President, Pamlico Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, 216 College Avenue, Washington Park, Washington, North Carolina.

The edition of Albion W. Tourgée's *A Fool's Errand*, which was edited by John Hope Franklin and published in 1961 by the Harvard University Press, has been reissued in a paper-back version. A full review by Otto H. Olsen was carried in the Winter, 1962, issue of the *North Carolina Historical Review*. Readers interested in obtaining the paper-back edition may purchase it from the Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, for \$2.25.

*In Pursuit of the General: A History of the Civil War Railroad Raid*, by William Pittenger with Foreword by Colonel James G. Bogle and artwork by Harlan Hiney and Wilbur G. Kurtz, is a new edition and exact reproduction of Pittenger's *Daring and Suffering*, published in 1863. Since that time many accounts have been written and great liberties taken with the facts of "the most thrilling railroad adventure," but Pittenger's account, written shortly after his release as a prisoner of war, is the only true story of this famous Civil War event. The "General," carefully restored by the Louisville & Nashville Railroad and reconditioned to run again under its own steam, made a series of Civil War Centennial tours. The book, published by Golden West Books, a Division of Pacific Railroad Publications, Inc., San Marino, California, is \$6.95.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

### DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

#### *Director's Office*

James W. Atkins died at Burnsville, October 13, 1965. He was editor and publisher of the *Gastonia Gazette* until his retirement some years ago. He was a member of the Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History from 1958 until 1963.

The Confederate Roster Advisory Committee, of which Mr. Hector MacLean, Lumberton, is chairman, held a meeting in Raleigh August 6. Mrs. Ernest J. Meiere, Jr., Lexington, president of the North Carolina Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, was present as were several former presidents. Through November 12 the committee had raised more than \$9,000 of non-state funds for the North Carolina Confederate Roster. Under the law every dollar of this is matched equally by state appropriation, but the latter is not available unless and until it has been matched.

Members of the Executive Mansion Fine Arts Committee held several meetings and made trips to Old Salem and to Washington, D. C., in connection with the committee's program to refurbish the mansion suitably. While in Washington, the group toured the White House as well as other places of historic interest. Mrs. John Pearce, a member of the committee, is the museum professional who advised Mrs. John F. Kennedy in refurbishing the White House.

The annual convention of the American Association for State and Local History was held in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, October 13-15. Dr. Christopher Crittenden, who served as the first president of the organization, spoke on "After Twenty-five Years."

Dr. Crittenden represented Governor Dan K. Moore on August 25 when the United Daughters of the Confederacy dedicated a monument to the soldiers and sailors of the Confederacy at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, and on September 15 when "Reynolda," the former home of R. J. Reynolds in Winston-Salem, was donated and dedicated as headquarters of the Piedmont University Center.

The Executive Board of the State Department of Archives and History held its regular biannual meeting September 21. At that time Secretary of State Thad Eure administered the oath of office to the following: Dr. Gertrude Carraway, New Bern (reappointed); Mr. Harry T. Gatton, Raleigh, succeeding Mr. MacDaniel Lewis of Greensboro; and Dr. Hugh T. Lefler, Chapel Hill, succeeding Dr. Robert F. Durden, Durham. Mr. Josh L. Horne, Rocky Mount, was elected chairman.

The Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation has granted \$5,000 to the Wake Forest College Birthplace Society, Inc., toward the completion of the restoration of the interior of the Wake Forest College Birthplace in Wake Forest.

On October 7-10 the National Trust for Historic Preservation held its annual meeting in North Carolina with more than 500 in attendance. The headquarters and most of the sessions were in Raleigh with side trips to Tryon Palace and Old Salem.

The suit of the Daniel Boone Memorial Association against the State Department of Archives and History was heard before Judge William H. Copeland in Wake County Superior Court on October 12-13. The association seeks to compel the payment of \$15,000 which was appropriated by the 1963 General Assembly for the "Daniel Boone homeplace," in Davidson County, provided this place is "approved as a Historic Site by The Historic Sites Advisory Committee." The committee, having previously studied the evidence, had determined that the evidence was insufficient to establish the "Daniel Boone homeplace . . . as a Historic Site." Following a hearing of several hours, Judge Copeland remanded the case to the committee for further study.

Dr. Crittenden spoke briefly at the dedication of a marker to Agricultural Extension Services, Statesville, October 23.

The department was represented at the Southern Historical Association in Richmond, Virginia, November 18-20, by Dr. H. G. Jones, Mrs. Elizabeth W. Wilborn, Mrs. Memory F. Mitchell, and Mr. Thornton W. Mitchell.

#### *Division of Archives and Manuscripts*

Persons from Missouri, Louisiana, Florida, British Guiana, and the Philippines have studied North Carolina's archives-records management program in recent months.

Mrs. Julia C. Meconnahey, an archivist on the staff of the department for more than thirty years prior to her retirement in 1959, died on September 7.

Dr. H. G. Jones, state archivist, and Mr. C. F. W. Coker, assistant state archivist, attended the meeting of the Society of American Archivists and Association of Records Executives and Administrators in New York, October 6-8. Dr. Jones read a paper, "The State Archivist and His Personnel Problems," and was re-elected treasurer of the society. On October 11 Dr. Jones represented the department at the dedication of the Georgia Archives Building in Atlanta. Mr. Thornton W. Mitchell, assistant state archivist (state records), spoke on records appraisal at a symposium on archival administration in Nashville, Tennessee, on November 12.

Miss Kathryn S. Pruitt has been promoted to Archivist I and has transferred to Local Records; Mrs. Ruby D. Arnold has been promoted to Archivist II.

For the quarter ending September 30, the division reported the following statistics: 1,435 researchers were served in person and 1,109 by mail;

753 photocopies, 1,836 xerographic copies, 164 prints from microfilm, 58 typed certified copies, and 124 reels of microfilm were furnished the public; 25,154 pages of deteriorating documents were laminated; and 135,550 linear feet of negative and positive microfilm were processed.

The following additional newspapers have been microfilmed: *Morning Post* (Raleigh, daily), 1897-1905, 33 reels, and *Raleigh Post* (weekly), 1900, 1 reel; *People's Press* (Winston, weekly), 1852-1892, 15 reels; *Daily Pilot* (Winston), 1883-1884, 1 reel.

Among the recent acquisitions are the following records: three manuscript laws of the General Assembly, 1754; photocopies of several Civil War letters and documents relating to Henry A. London and to John Chavis; photocopies of a number of letters and documents relating to Caswell County, 1838-1906; the minute books of the board of directors (1904-1965) and stockholders meetings (1866-1964) of the North Carolina Railroad Company; correspondence, 1825-1925, and genealogical material relating to Mrs. Mattie Wiggins Jones Dameron and others; microfilms of several volumes of records relating to North Carolina in the Draper Manuscript Collection in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; and correspondence and accounts relating to James I. Anderson and Hertford County, c.1870-c.1900. A significant collection of private letters of Zebulon B. Vance and his first wife, Harriet Espy Vance, was received as a gift from the heirs of Mrs. Mary Hendren Vance, but the papers are closed for five years.

Original records have been received from Sampson, Stokes, Transylvania, and Wayne counties. Microfilm copies of various records of Beaufort, Buncombe, Gates, Lincoln, Mecklenburg, and Nash counties have been placed in the Search Room for public use. Microfilming of permanently valuable records of Sampson and Iredell counties has been completed, and work is now in progress in Moore and Stokes counties.

The summary of annual reports of records holdings made by state agencies was submitted to Governor Dan K. Moore on September 17. This report showed that on June 30 state records included 99,086 cubic feet in state agencies; 14,020 cubic feet in institutions; 2,529 cubic feet in licensing and examining boards; and 38,608 cubic feet in the State Records Center. This total of 154,243 cubic feet was an increase of 11,043 cubic feet over the previous year. The volume of new records created was slightly less than the prior year, but there was also a sharp reduction of records destroyed by the agencies. Not only are there more state records than ever before; more of them occupy office space and filing equipment.

A total of 19 "Memorandums of Understanding" have been signed that list essential records and specify how they are to be protected.

In the State Records Center, 2,106 cubic feet were received during the period ending September 30, 1965, and 1,480 cubic feet were disposed of. The net gain of 626 cubic feet brought the total holdings of the center to 39,235 cubic feet. During the same period, 25,616 reference services were performed.

In the Microfilm Project, microfilming of Teachers' and State Employees' Retirement System current account cards for security purposes was

resumed, and filming of Board of Health birth certificates was continued. The filming of Department of Administration, Property Control and Construction Division, plans and blueprints was completed; and filming of the Secretary of State's Land Grant Record Books was begun.

#### *Division of Historic Sites*

Mr. W. S. Tarlton, historic sites superintendent, attended the meetings, October 13-15, of the American Association for State and Local History in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. He is a member of the council and serves as awards representative for the southeastern states. Winners of this year's awards in North Carolina are: the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, Mr. Norman C. Larson, executive secretary; Mr. Earl Weatherly, former president of the Greensboro Historical Museum; Mr. Frank L. Horton, director of research for Old Salem; and the Branch Banking and Trust Company.

Work on the "Cupola House" in Edenton is progressing. The Water Resources Department has completed the first phase of the beach erosion project at the Fort Fisher State Historic Site. The visitor center-museum at the Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace near Weaverville was dedicated on October 23. Congressman Roy A. Taylor made the principal address. Construction of the visitor center-museum at the Brunswick Town Site began in September. Mr. George Demmy joined the staff as archaeological assistant. A new historic site assistant, Mr. L. J. Lee, has been assigned to the Caswell Memorial Site.

Mr. Stanley A. South, staff archaeologist, presided at the Sixth Conference on Historic Sites Archaeology which met jointly with the Southeastern Archaeological Conference, November 11, at Macon, Georgia. He read a paper on an analysis of pottery recovered at Bethabara, the site of an early Moravian settlement.

Mr. Frank E. Walsh, museums co-ordinator, recently prepared *A Guide to North Carolina's State Historic Sites*, which gives a brief sketch of each site.

Mrs. Elizabeth W. Wilborn, staff historian, and Mr. Robert O. Conway, historic sites specialist, represented the department at various marker unveilings.

#### *Division of Museums*

Information and letters inviting membership in the Tarheel Junior Historian Association were mailed to school principals and North Carolina history teachers in September. The September issue of *Tarheel Junior Historian* featuring "Forests of North Carolina—Yesterday and Today," was distributed to club members and to libraries requesting copies. Enrollment in the association to date is seventy-eight clubs.

Two new slide programs, "A Visit to Brunswick Town," and "Early Churches in North Carolina," and a copy of the film, "A Portrait of Bath Town," were prepared for circulation from the extension service.

Exhibits were completed and installed in the new Fort Fisher visitor center-museum and in the new Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace visitor center-museum. In connection with a Meredith College course, five students began museum training in September. A program of tours of the museum for student groups is being continued this fall. In conjunction with the annual meeting of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, a special exhibit depicting the history of pottery in North Carolina was opened to the public until January 1, 1966. Plaques listing the members of the 1840 Senate and House of Commons were installed in the respective chambers of the Capitol in October. Mrs. Sue R. Todd, registrar, presented a fashion show, featuring clothing dating from the 1790's, to the State College Woman's Club, September 16, and to the Quota Club convention in Raleigh in October.

Mr. Robert Mayo, exhibits curator, attended the Midwest Museums Conference September 21-24 in Springfield, Illinois. Mrs. Joye Jordan, museums administrator, attended the following meetings: International Committee for Regional Museums in New York, September 22-26; American Association for State and Local History and the Junior Historian Directors Conference in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, October 13-15; and the Southeastern Museums Conference in Jacksonville, Florida, October 27-30. She served as liaison between the local tour and hospitality committee and the National Trust for Historic Preservation which met in Raleigh in October.

### *Division of Publications*

The list of publications available from the Department of Archives and History has been revised; copies of the new list may be obtained free of charge from the department. Publications distributed during the third quarter included 200 documentary volumes; 140 small books; 2,986 pamphlets, charts, and maps (including 248 Tercentenary pamphlets); 3,675 leaflets and brochures; and 3,955 copies of the list of publications. Two thousand and fifty-six copies of the Autumn, 1965, issue of the *Review* were mailed. Publications of the Confederate Centennial Commission were turned over to the Department of Archives and History when the commission went out of existence at the end of June, 1965. Copies of commission publications still in print may be ordered from the department's Division of Publications.

Receipts for the third quarter totaled \$6,017 with \$4,232 being retained by the department and \$1,785 being turned over to the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association.

The Editorial Board met September 16 to review the over-all publications program. The board unanimously passed a resolution urging that at least one additional editorial assistant be added to the staff, a resolution which was endorsed by the Executive Board at its meeting on September 21. No professional position has been added to the staff of the division since June 1, 1951. Funds for an editorial assistant for eight months to work on the Sanford Letter Book were made available from the Con-

tingency and Emergency Fund; this position was filled by Miss Marie D. Moore on November 1.

Four Meredith College history majors, taking the intern course sponsored by the department, are working in the Division of Publications during the fall semester.

Volume III of *The John Gray Blount Papers*, edited by Dr. William H. Masterson, is scheduled for publication in the near future. Covering the years 1796-1802, the volume will be priced at \$5.00 plus a 25-cent handling charge on mail orders.

### *Colonial Records Project*

Activities of the Colonial Records Project are now directed toward publication of early records of higher courts of the North Carolina colony. The volume being prepared will include minutes, dockets, and file papers for terms of court held in the seventeenth century. Photocopies of the documents to be published are being assembled and transcribed.

The Carolina Charter Corporation is seeking donations to match the \$25,000 grant-in-aid from the state, which is contingent on matching funds from non-state sources. Donations of \$5,000 from the North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati and \$200 from the Belk Foundation have made available like amounts from the state grant. These additional funds have made it possible to expand the project staff. In addition to the editor, the staff now includes five part-time members, whose total working time is equivalent to that of three full-time employees.

A meeting of the Carolina Charter Corporation was held in Raleigh on October 21, with the president, the Honorable Francis E. Winslow of Rocky Mount, presiding. Reports on the Colonial Records Project were presented by the director of the department and by the project editor. Mrs. L. Y. Ballentine, reporting for the committee on finance, stated that the committee had made contacts and planned to make others that were expected to result in sufficient donations to match the \$25,000 grant. In addition to Mrs. Ballentine, the committee on finance includes Mr. Armistead J. Maupin, Mr. James G. W. MacLamroc, and Dr. Henry W. Jordan.

## COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Appalachian State Teachers College announced the following faculty news: Dr. J. Max Dixon was promoted to professor and named chairman of history, and Mr. Malcolm Partin was promoted to assistant professor; additions include Dr. Robert Neal Elliott, professor, Dr. Joseph Manuel Leon, assistant professor, and Mr. William Ira Young, instructor.

New appointments to the history faculty as of September, 1965, at Greensboro College include Mrs. Ann Bowden, instructor, and Mrs. Carolyn H. Smith, instructor and registrar.

Dr. Sarah M. Lemmon, Meredith College, participated in a panel discussion at the Fall Forum of North Carolina Council of Women's Organizations in Greensboro, November 3; she spoke on "Women in Education and in Politics."

Dr. John S. Curtiss, professor of history, Duke University, has published a book entitled, *The Russian Army under Nicholas I.*

East Carolina College announced the following faculty changes: Dr. Henry C. Ferrell and Dr. David N. Thomas were promoted to associate professors; Dr. Lala Carr Steelman was promoted to professor; Dr. Fred Ragan has accepted a one-year appointment as assistant professor effective September 1.

A National Defense Education Act Institute in Recent United States History was held June 8-July 28 at East Carolina College. Thirty-five high school history teachers from North Carolina and four other states participated in the curriculum for improvement in the knowledge and instruction of twentieth century United States history. Instructors were Drs. Henry C. Ferrell, Jr., Charles L. Price, and Joseph F. Steelman of East Carolina College and Dr. Ernest A. Duff, political scientist at Randolph-Macon Woman's College. Dr. John C. Ellen, Jr., East Carolina College, directed the institute. Guest lecturers, specialists in recent United States history, were Drs. Arthur S. Link, Princeton University; Dewey W. Grantham, Vanderbilt University; Robert F. Durden and Richard L. Watson, Duke University; Edward Younger, University of Virginia; and W. Burlie Brown, Tulane University.

Drs. Lawrence F. Brewster and Charles L. Price attended the fall meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina at Davidson College. Dr. Henry C. Ferrell, Jr., attended the Southern Historical Association in Richmond and presented a paper, "Claude Swanson and the Origins of the Byrd Organization."

East Carolina College Symposium on History and the Social Studies—Twentieth Century United States History was held December 3-4 for secondary school teachers of history and the social studies.

Queens College announced the appointment of Dr. John L. Hondros, formerly of Auburn University, as assistant professor of history.

Effective September 1, additions to the history faculty of North Carolina State University at Raleigh include Mr. Donald A. Kawash, instructor, and Mr. Edward B. Billingsley, assistant professor, Fort Bragg Branch.

#### STATE, COUNTY, AND LOCAL GROUPS

The Historical Society of North Carolina met October 29 at Davidson College. Dr. Marvin L. Brown, Jr., professor of history at North Carolina State University at Raleigh, and Dr. Richard L. Zuber, assistant professor

of history at Wake Forest College, were elected members. Dr. Henry S. Stroupe, Wake Forest College, gave the presidential address. New officers are: Dr. James W. Patton, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, president; Dr. Mattie Russell, Duke University, vice-president; Dr. Elmer Puryear, Greensboro College, secretary-treasurer.

The Beaufort Historical Association met July 26 with Dr. John Costlow, president, presiding over the business meeting; reports were given on various projects including plans for a furniture exchange, the publication of a map showing the Old Burying Ground, and a map of the town showing homes built prior to 1864. At the September 28 meeting Mr. John McCormack, Atlantic, spoke on Indian artifacts of the Atlantic area and the whaling industry on Shackleford Banks. On October 26 Mrs. Bess Guion, New Bern, gave an illustrated lecture on the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts at Old Salem.

The Bertie County Historical Association met October 28; Mrs. M. B. Gillam, Sr., president, presided. Efforts are being made to complete the drive for restoration funds for Hope House. Mrs. W. E. White, Colerain, spoke on "Hope Yesterday and Tomorrow."

The Brunswick County Historical Society met August 9. Dr. Arthur W. Cooper, Professor of Botany, North Carolina State University at Raleigh, spoke on the natural history and marsh complex of Baldhead Island.

The Caldwell County Historical Society sponsored the Blue Ridge Arts and Crafts Show November 1-4; proceeds will be used for historical restoration. Several educational films and recordings were presented; Mr. Carter Hudgins, Marion, gave a program on "Rock Collecting" and "Flowers Typical of the Mountain Areas"; and Mrs. Robert Rogers spoke on "Arts and Crafts of Early North Carolina." The Dr. Spainhour Building in Lenior has been moved and reconstructed as a museum. The \$40,000 goal has been reached for the restoration of Fort Defiance.

The Catawba County Historical Association met September 1 at Newton. Mrs. J. W. Inscoe, Jr., was guest speaker. The association met October 6 for the annual business meeting; new officers are as follows: Mr. G. Sam Rowe, Sr., president; Mrs. Rome Jones and Mr. Richard Abernethy, vice-presidents; Mrs. Roy Smyre, secretary; Mrs. Frances Snyder, treasurer; Mr. J. Paul Wagner, historian; and Mrs. Marguerite May, custodian.

The Chatham County Historical Society met October 19 at Pittsboro. Mrs. Elizabeth Wilborn of the State Department of Archives and History was guest speaker.

The Cherokee Historical Association received notification that "Unto These Hills" has been selected by the Department of Commerce, United

States Travel Service in Washington, for inclusion in the world-wide campaign to encourage travel in the United States. This is the only outdoor drama included among the 110 attractions to be publicized in every nation of the world.

The Cleveland County Historical Society has received from the Jefferson Standard Broadcasting Company a kinescope of the Battle of Kings Mountain documentary which WBTV, Charlotte, telecast on its "Land of the Free" program. The society is now searching for suitable temporary quarters for care and display of valuable historical items until a Cleveland County museum can be established.

The Durham-Orange Historical Society met October 20 at Durham. Mr. R. O. Everett, president, presided and was presented a plaque by Mr. Herbert C. Bradshaw, editor of the *Durham Morning Herald* editorial page, on behalf of the society in appreciation "for his continued interest in and work for the Bennett Place." Dr. Richard L. Watson, Jr., head of the Duke University history department, and chairman of the society's history project, reported progress on the writing of a new history of Durham. Dr. W. B. Hamilton, Duke history department, presented a paper on the origin and development of the Research Triangle and pointed out some of the problems that still confront the leaders in the project.

The Franklin County Historical Society met September 30 at Louisburg. Mr. Lindley Butler, president, presided and announced the use of a room in the Louisburg College library for the storage of items of historical value. The association donated \$100 to the Franklin Academy Restoration Committee. The program featured songs of the Revolutionary and Civil War periods. On October 28 the society was shown a color film, "Road to Carolina."

The Haywood Historical Association's board of directors met October 1 at the Lanning Pioneer Cabin which has been leased for use as a museum. Mr. Frank Rogers, president, presided and reported donations of items for the museum. The October 26 meeting featured histories of three churches as follows: Mr. Frank Rogers, First Methodist, Waynesville; Mrs. R. R. Campbell, First Baptist, Waynesville; and Mrs. T. S. Setzer, Maggie Methodist. Mr. Amos Medford spoke on early churches in Haywood County before the Civil War.

The Historic Hillsborough Commission launched a "Friends of Hillsborough" drive in October to aid its current restoration program. The immediate goal is \$14,000 to match a conditional grant of \$7,000 from the Richardson Foundation. The fund-raising committee is composed of Mrs. S. R. Prince, Reidsville, chairman, Mr. James Webb, Greensboro, Dr. Hunter Sweaney, Durham, Mr. Edwin J. Hamlin, Dr. H. W. Moore, and Mr. James H. Coman, Jr., Hillsborough. In October Governor Dan K.

Moore made appointments to the Historic Hillsborough Commission. Re-appointed were Mr. A. H. Graham, Hillsborough, Mr. James Webb, Greensboro, Mrs. S. R. Prince, Reidsville, and Miss Mary B. Forrest, Hillsborough. New appointees were Mrs. Fred Cates, Jr., Mr. H. Conway Browning, Mr. James H. Coman, Jr., Mr. J. P. Hughes, and Mr. Lucius McGehee Cheshire, all of Hillsborough. Terms of all appointees will expire May 1, 1971.

A "Tour of Historic Sites in Northern Orange County" was sponsored September 12 by the Historic Hillsborough Commission, the Hillsborough Historical Society, and the Orange County Historical Museum, together with the Hillsborough Chamber of Commerce. Residents of the Cedar Grove community, led by Mrs. Robert W. Isley, co-operated with the Hillsborough organizations. The tour, which followed a broad semicircle north of Hillsborough, included old churches, chapels and cemeteries; Governor Thomas Burke's grave at Tyaquin; early houses including "Sunnyside," Captain John Berry's country home; Maple Hill, sites of early schools and academies; sites of old mills, including the state's first paper mill (1777); and a number of historical markers. At Cedar Grove, the visitors were told of the recent community restoration of the ancient burial ground. A special Hillsborough exhibit, "A Colonial Town Conserves Its Past," was displayed at the meeting of the National Trust for Historic Preservation in Raleigh, October 7-10; the exhibit was on display later in Hillsborough.

The Orange County Historical Museum Board at its October meeting heard Mr. Kenneth W. Whitsett, Charlotte muralist, present preliminary sketches for three large murals he will paint to cover the entire upper rear wall of the museum. They will depict the Battle of Alamance and the Regulator disturbance, the occupation of the area by Cornwallis and his army, and the Hillsborough Constitutional Convention of 1788.

The steering committee of the Historic Hope Foundation met September 30. Plans were made for an exhibit at the meeting of the National Trust for Historic Preservation October 7-10 in Raleigh.

The Jones County Historical Society met October 18 to plan for the inclusion of Jones County in the eastern North Carolina spring tours of historic sites. Several sites are being considered for restoration and inclusion in the tour.

The Johnston County Historical Society held its quarterly meeting October 31. Mr. C. S. Coats, president, presided. The speaker was the Reverend Albert Picket Dickson, Plumtree, a descendant of John Smith, Jr., for whom the town of Smithfield was named.

The Lower Cape Fear Historical Society met November 17 at Wilmington. Dr. Herbert R. Paschal, head of the department of history at

East Carolina College, spoke on "The Stamp Act." The society's bulletin for November carried "A Letter from the President," by Mr. Douglas Hudson; "A Story of the Port of Wilmington," by James Laurence Sprunt; and Part VIII of an article on "Development of Libraries in the Lower Cape Fear," by Mrs. Barbara Beeland Rehder.

The Mecklenburg County Historical Association met October 18 at Charlotte. Mr. John Staton presided at the business meeting which included the election of officers and discussion of the acquisition of a building. Miss Anne Batten, a teacher at Sedgefield Junior High School, and some of her students showed a film of the restoration of Tryon Palace.

The Moore County Historical Association's board of governors of the Shaw House met September 27 to review progress since the spring meeting and to plan for the coming season. The Shaw House will open February 1 for luncheons and teas. Dr. Colon G. Spence, immediate past president of the association, died October 20.

The New Bern Historical Society sponsored a white elephant sale October 20 at the Attmore-Oliver House.

Members of the Onslow County Historical Society toured Brunswick County August 17 as one phase of their annual tour of North Carolina points of historical interest. The Brunswick County Historical Society was host to the Onslow group which toured Brunswick Town, Forts Johnston and Caswell, and the Battleship "North Carolina." Miss Hathaway Price, vice-president, presided over the September 15 meeting at which Miss Sybil Franck spoke. A short memorial for the late Elmer Grieco was held. At the October 20 meeting, new officers were elected as follows: Mr. K. B. Hurst, president; Mr. N. E. Day and Miss Adelaide McLarty, vice-presidents; Mr. Hedrick Aman, treasurer; Miss Hathaway Price and Mrs. Hedrick Aman, secretaries.

The Person County Historical Society met October 10 at the Ben Reade home in the Mt. Tirzah Community. Miss Annie Belle Crowder, president, presided. Mrs. A. F. Nichols traced the history of the Reade home, and Miss Pamela Reade gave a biography of Edwin Reade. After a tour of the home, a wreath was placed at the foot of a monument dedicated to Stephen Moore and his family.

The Pitt County Historical Society met September 15, in Greenville. Dr. Robert L. Humber, president, presided and introduced Dr. L. F. Brewster, East Carolina College, who spoke on "Some Aspects of Pitt County History, 1790-1860."

The Raleigh Historic Sites Commission at recent meetings heard reports from a number of committees appointed to investigate projects for concentrated action. The Raleigh City Cemetery, which contains a record

of much of the early history of the city, was given priority, and contributions have been made for beautification and preservation. Trees and shrubs will be planted at the entrance gates, and plans are under way for the restoration of the Jacob Johnson monument in co-operation with the Andrew Johnson Memorial Commission.

The Southern Appalachian Historical Association met September 27 and heard a very encouraging financial report on "Horn in the West," the drama sponsored by the association. Directors elected for three-year terms were Mr. Frank Auten, Dr. R. H. Harmon, Mr. J. E. Holshouser, Jr., Mr. James Marsh, Mrs. Earleen G. Pritchett, Mrs. Lee Reynolds, Miss Rachel Rivers, Miss Jane Smith, Mr. Paul Smith, Mr. Ned Trivette, and Mrs. Carrie Winkler. At the October 18 meeting the following officers were elected: Dr. I. G. Greer, president; Dr. R. H. Harmon and Dr. Ray Lawrence, vice-presidents; Mrs. Earleen Pritchett, secretary; and Mr. Lynn Holaday, treasurer.

The Tryon Palace Commission celebrated its twentieth anniversary November 3-4 with addresses by former Governor Luther H. Hodges and Governor Dan K. Moore (address read by Mrs. Moore in the absence of Governor Moore). Mrs. J. A. Kellenberger, Greensboro, president, presided over the various meetings. Short talks were given by Miss Gertrude Carraway, director, Tryon Palace; Mr. D. L. Ward; Mayor Mack L. Lupton; and Miss Virginia Horne, Wadesboro, chairman of the acquisition committee. Color slides of the restoration from its beginnings were shown.

The annual meeting of the Wachovia Historical Society was held October 19. Directors were elected, and a program about archaeological work at Bethabara was given.

The Wayne County Historical Society met October 28 at Goldsboro. Mr. Durwood Wiggins, president, presided. Plans were discussed for the construction of an Indian village of the type the Tuscarora Indians had in the Nahunta section before they were forced to leave following their defeat in the Tuscarora Indian War. Mr. Charles Holloman was guest speaker.

The Yadkin County Historical Society, of which Mr. Jimmie R. Hutchins, Yadkinville, is president, met September 10 at Jonesville. Pictures of old buildings in the county were shown. The organization plans to secure the present county jail when it is vacated and make use of it.

A joint meeting of the Western North Carolina Historical Association and the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association was held in Asheville, July 30-31. Dr. Christopher Crittenden spoke on the work of the State Department of Archives and History. Mr. Robert W. Gray, director of the Southern Highland Handcraft Guild, discussed the development of crafts in western North Carolina and showed slides of various

crafts. Mr. Robert O. Conway gave an illustrated talk on the Vance Birthplace, and Mr. Richard Iobst spoke on "Zeb Vance and Harriet Esby—Portrait of a Marriage."

The Western North Carolina Historical Association met October 30. Mr. Glenn Tucker, president, presided. The Thomas Wolfe Trophy will not be awarded this year; the rules for this award have been revised, and in the future the award will be more widely publicized. It is given for the best book written by a native or resident of the twenty-three western counties or by someone outside the region whose book has the mountain area as its setting. Mr. Charles L. Russell of Brevard gave a history of Ecusta Paper Company. Miss Martha Boswell, Brevard, spoke on "The Impact of the Civil War on the Upper French Broad Valley."

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