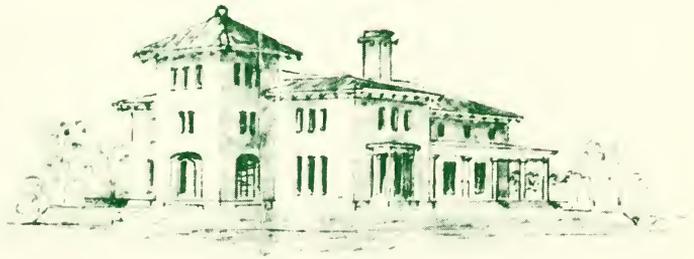
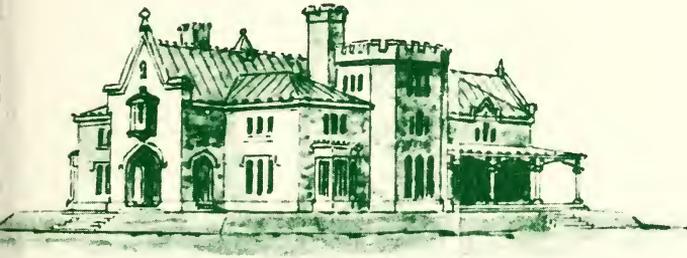


F1  
7:42/1

North Carolina State Library  
Raleigh

N. C.  
Doc.

# The North Carolina Historical Review



Winter 1965

# THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN, *Editor in Chief*  
MRS. MEMORY F. MITCHELL, *Editor*  
MRS. VIOLET W. QUAY, *Editorial Associate*

## ADVISORY EDITORIAL BOARD

MISS SARAH M. LEMMON  
WILLIAM S. POWELL

MISS MATTIE RUSSELL  
GEORGE M. STEPHENS, SR.

HENRY S. STROUPE

## STATE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY EXECUTIVE BOARD

MCDANIEL LEWIS, *Chairman*

MISS GERTRUDE SPRAGUE CARRAWAY  
ROBERT F. DURDEN  
FLETCHER M. GREEN

RALPH P. HANES  
JOSH L. HORNE  
EDWARD W. PHIFER

CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN, *Director*

*This review was established in January, 1924, as a medium of publication and discussion of history in North Carolina. It is issued to other institutions by exchange, but to the general public by subscription only. The regular price is \$4.00 per year. Members of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, Inc., for which the annual dues are \$5.00, receive this publication without further payment. Back numbers still in print are available for \$1.00 per number. Out-of-print numbers may be obtained on microfilm from University Microfilms, 313 North First Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Persons desiring to quote from this publication may do so without special permission from the editors provided full credit is given to The North Carolina Historical Review. The Review is published quarterly by the State Department of Archives and History, Education Building, Corner of Edenton and Salisbury Streets, Raleigh. Second class postage paid at Raleigh, North Carolina.*

COVER—Old English and Italian architectural versions were presented to Governor and Mrs. William A. Graham when they planned to remodel their home, "Montrose," in Hillsboro in the 1850's. The reproductions used on the cover are from files of Mr. and Mrs. A. H. Graham, Hillsboro. For an article on architectural developments at "Montrose," see pages 85 to 95.

# *The North Carolina Historical Review*

VOLUME XLII

PUBLISHED IN JANUARY, 1965

NUMBER 1

## CONTENTS

JAMES DAVIS AND THE BEGINNING OF THE NEWSPAPER IN NORTH CAROLINA .....	1
ROBERT N. ELLIOTT, JR.	
A SOUTHERN DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY: SIMMONS VS. BAILEY IN 1930 .....	21
RICHARD L. WATSON	
THE NORTH CAROLINA MANUMISSION SOCIETY, 1816-1834 .....	47
PATRICK SOWLE	
CONSPIRACY OR POPULAR MOVEMENT: THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF SOUTHERN SUPPORT FOR SECESSION .....	70
WILLIAM J. DONNELLY	
ARCHITECTURAL DEVELOPMENTS AT "MONTROSE" IN THE 1850'S .....	85
JOHN V. ALLCOTT	
BOOK REVIEWS .....	96
HISTORICAL NEWS .....	125

## BOOK REVIEWS

DRAKE, <i>Higher Education in North Carolina Before 1860</i> , by William S. Powell .....	96
WAYNICK, BROOKS, and PITTS, <i>North Carolina and the Negro</i> , by David L. Smiley .....	97
STICK, <i>The Cape Hatteras Seashore</i> , by Herbert O'Keef .....	98
GRIFFITH, <i>Virginia House of Burgesses, 1750-1774</i> , by Herbert R. Paschal, Jr. ....	98
WYNES, <i>Southern Sketches from Virginia, 1881-1901</i> , by Elizabeth Cometti .....	100
ROSE, <i>Rehearsal For Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment</i> , by T. Harry Williams .....	101
COULTER, <i>Joseph Vallence Bevan: Georgia's First Official Historian</i> , by William S. Hoffmann .....	102
STEEL, <i>T. Butler King of Georgia</i> , by Henry S. Stroupe .....	103
STEGEMAN, <i>These Men She Gave</i> , by Norman A. Graebner .....	105
MONTGOMERY, <i>Johnny Cobb: Confederate Aristocrat</i> , by Richard W. Iobst .....	106
EATON, <i>The Mind of the Old South</i> , by James W. Silver .....	107
CRAVEN, <i>An Historian and the Civil War</i> , by Jay Luvaas .....	109
MASSEY, <i>Refugee Life in the Confederacy</i> , by Richard Bardolph .....	111
BAILEY, <i>Southern White Protestantism in the Twentieth Century</i> , by Suzanne Cameron Linder .....	112
BARBOUR, <i>The Three Worlds of Captain John Smith</i> , by Cecil Johnson .....	113
HALL, LEDER, and KAMMEN, <i>The Glorious Revolution in America: Documents on the Colonial Crisis of 1689</i> , by Max Savelle .....	114
SHUMWAY, DURRELL, and FREY, <i>Conestoga Wagon, 1750- 1850: Freight Carrier for 100 Years of America's Westward Expansion</i> , by Percival Perry .....	116
HOPKINS, <i>The Papers of Henry Clay, Volume III, Presidential Candidate, 1821-1824</i> , by Richard D. Goff .....	117
<i>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, 1948</i> , by Willard B. Gatewood, Jr. ....	119
Other Recent Publications .....	120

# JAMES DAVIS AND THE BEGINNING OF THE NEWSPAPER IN NORTH CAROLINA

BY ROBERT N. ELLIOTT, JR.\*

On September 25, 1690, Benjamin Harris, a former London bookseller and publisher who had come to Boston four years before, issued *Publick Occurrences Both Foreign and Domestic*. This was the first newspaper to be published in that part of America which became the United States. *Publick Occurrences* was a small paper, measuring but six by nine and a half inches, with only three of its four pages printed; the fourth was left blank for Bostonians to add their own news when they sent their copies to distant friends.

Harris, dependent largely on visitors to his coffee shop in Boston for news, issued a newsier paper than did many of his successors in the next century. The first issue contained news about Indians and Indian warfare in New England, a suicide in a nearby town, a fire in Boston, and the amorous affairs of the royal family in France. It was probably this last story, along with another hinting at corruption involving a government expedition against the Indians, that caused the Massachusetts authorities to suppress further publication of *Publick Occurrences*. Samuel Sewall wrote in his diary that the paper gave "distaste because it wasn't licensed and for certain passages referring to the Mohawks and the French King." At any rate this first colonial newspaper ended after publication of but one number.<sup>1</sup>

It was altogether fitting that Boston should become the cradle of the newspaper in English Colonial America. It was the largest town in the colonies, the center of foreign and intercolonial commerce; and the presence there of a literate population containing many lawyers and ministers with facile pens placed it foremost as the cultural and literary leader of the colonies. Here, also, printing had been first established in 1638 when Harvard College, then but two years old, had begun production by its printers of sermons, almanacs, catechisms, law

---

\* Dr. Elliott is Associate Professor of Social Studies, North Carolina State of the University of North Carolina at Raleigh.

<sup>1</sup> Sidney Kobre, *The Development of the Colonial Newspaper* (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: n.p., 1944), 13-16, hereinafter cited as Kobre, *Colonial Newspaper*.

books, psalters, and broadsides. Thus 14 years after the demise of *Publick Occurrences* another venture in newspaper publishing was attempted in Boston.

John Campbell, Boston's postmaster since 1700, began to send out handwritten newsletters to merchants and various governors along the Atlantic seaboard almost from the day he took office.<sup>2</sup> These contained mostly items about shipping and government affairs. The demand for these letters soon taxed the postmaster's hand, so he turned to a local printer, Bartholomew Green, to print his letter weekly. In this manner, the *Boston News-Letter*, the first continuous American newspaper, was issued on April 24, 1704. Campbell's *News-Letter* carried the line "Published By Authority," thereby indicating that the authorities had licensed its publication. This meant also that Campbell's news policy would harmonize with the party in control.<sup>3</sup>

The *News-Letter* was slightly larger than *Publick Occurrences*, eight by twelve and three quarter inches, printed on both sides of a single sheet. It cost subscribers 2*d.* a copy or 12*s.* a year. The contents consisted primarily of summaries of news from London papers with a few items about local affairs—arrivals of ships, political appointments, court actions, and the like. At the bottom of the last column were a few advertisements. By modern standards it was not a very lively newspaper. It persisted, however, and under other publishers and, with the addition of *Massachusetts Gazette* to its title, lasted until March, 1776; in its last years, edited by Margaret Draper, it supported the loyalist cause.<sup>4</sup>

Within the lifetime of the *Boston News-Letter*, newspapers were introduced into each of the 13 colonies. Most of these papers were printed on four pages, each averaging about ten by fifteen inches in size. Publication was weekly; though if an important news event broke between publication dates an extra or "supplement" was issued. The average subscription rate was 10*s.* or 12*s.* a year. News primarily of the mother country was taken from the London papers. Local news was limited to certain outstanding events—the death of an important personage, activities of the government, or a major catastrophe. After all, towns in Colonial America were small and local happenings generally known. The people were interested mainly in the affairs of

<sup>2</sup> Kobre, *Colonial Newspaper*, 17.

<sup>3</sup> Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States Through 250 Years, 1690 to 1940* (New York: Macmillan, 1947), 11-14, hereinafter cited as Mott, *American Journalism*.

<sup>4</sup> Douglas C. McMurtrie, *The Beginnings of the American Newspaper* (Chicago, Illinois: Black Cat Press, 1935), 5.

England. They were, generally speaking, English frontiersmen connected, if not by family ties, certainly by commercial and political interests, with England.

Editorials as such were missing from the colonial newspaper, but at the same time objective news reporting characteristic of the modern newspaper was not a style used by the colonial publisher. His story written in the form of an essay was often, if the occasion warranted it, interspersed with editorial comment. Then, too, discussion of public affairs was carried on through contributed letters, sometimes written by the publisher himself, and all bearing pen names.

Copy of all sorts—news of other colonies, of England and the continent, features such as sermons, poems, essays, and letters—was obtained from the newspapers exchanged by the colonial printers and from newspapers brought in by ship captains from overseas. This source was supplemented with letters received by local citizens and reports relayed by travelers. In no sense did a colonial publisher, even in larger towns, have access to a formal news gathering agency.

“Gazette” was the most popular title for the colonial newspaper. This stemmed from the prestige enjoyed by *The London Gazette*, the official newspaper of the British government. Hence if a publisher wished to imply or convey a semiofficial status for his paper he titled it “Gazette.”<sup>5</sup>

This custom was especially popular in the southern colonies. William Parks, official printer to Lord Baltimore’s province in Maryland, began this trend when, in 1727, he began the *Maryland Gazette*. It was continued in South Carolina by Thomas Whitmarsh who, in 1732, started the *South Carolina Gazette* at Charleston. Four years later, in 1736, William Parks, who had become official printer to Virginia, established at Williamsburg the first *Virginia Gazette*.<sup>6</sup> Thus North Carolinians, whose commercial and cultural ties were with Williamsburg or Charleston, had access to a local newspaper well before the press was established in that colony.<sup>7</sup> And in the *Virginia Gazette* of Parks they had one of the most handsome newspapers published in the colonies; a journal especially distinguished for its literary quality. Parks had oper-

<sup>5</sup> Mott, *American Journalism*, 43-65; Clarence S. Brigham, *Journals and Journeymen* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950), 12, hereinafter cited as Brigham, *Journals and Journeymen*.

<sup>6</sup> Clarence Saunders Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820* (Worcester, Massachusetts: American Antiquarian Society, 2 volumes, 1947), I, 218; II, 1,037, 1,158.

<sup>7</sup> That these two newspapers circulated in North Carolina may be inferred from the number of North Carolina items, especially advertisements, appearing in their pages. Also, as late as 1777, the *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg) published by Alexander Purdie and John Dixon, and later by Dixon and William Hunter was advertised in *The North Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), July 18, 1777.

ated presses and published newspapers in England before coming to the colonies.<sup>8</sup> Like Benjamin Harris of *Publick Occurrences*, Parks brought to colonial journalism the more advanced newspaper heritage of England.

William Parks provided North Carolina with more than just a good newspaper. From his shop in Williamsburg this colony acquired its first printer, James Davis. After some years of indecision, North Carolina's Assembly agreed to authorize a revision of its laws and then, in 1749, decided to establish a public printing office to print this revision. James Davis was named to that office at a salary of £160 proclamation money. He arrived in New Bern and set up his press June 24, 1749.<sup>9</sup>

Not much is known about the early life of James Davis. He was born in Virginia, October 21, 1721; where is not known. But in 1745 he was living in Williamsburg.<sup>10</sup> Whether he received training in his art from William Parks is also not clear. Davis, however, was a skilled printer. The only printer in either Virginia or Maryland after 1725 was William Parks. Parks left Maryland to locate in Williamsburg in 1734; he had been operating a branch shop there since 1730. His successor in Annapolis was Jonas Green, who did not come to Annapolis until 1738. At that time Davis was seventeen years old, a little old to begin an apprenticeship. To go to Charleston or Philadelphia, the nearest printing offices, or elsewhere in the colonies, was an expensive undertaking at that time. It seems logical, then, to assume that Davis learned his trade under Parks. This certainly would be no discredit to James Davis, for William Parks was as skilled as any printer in the colonies.

The record is equally uncertain about the source of Davis' printing equipment. Colonial printers used a wooden printing press, much like those used by Gutenberg and the pioneers of printing in the late fifteenth century. With such a press a good, stout pressman could

<sup>8</sup> Lawrence C. Wroth, "North America (English Speaking)," in R. A. Peddie (ed.), *Printing: A Short History of The Art* (London, England: Grafton, 1927), 351-352, hereinafter cited as Wroth, "North America."

<sup>9</sup> See Mary L. Thornton, "Public Printing in North Carolina, 1749-1815," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXI (July, 1944), 183-191, for complete account of Davis' public printing career; Walter L. 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), XXIII, 314-315, hereinafter cited as Clark, *State Records*. Davis was not the first experienced printer to come to North Carolina. Hugh Meredith, Benjamin Franklin's partner in Philadelphia, retired and came to North Carolina in 1732, where he remained until 1739. Carl Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin* (New York: The Viking Press, 1938), 100-101, 117.

<sup>10</sup> William S. Powell, *The Journal of the House of Burgesses, of the Province of North Carolina, 1749* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1949), ix, hereinafter cited as Powell, *Journal House of Burgesses*.

turn out about 200 impressions an hour. Occasionally some versatile printer like Christopher Sower in Pennsylvania built a press for his own use, but until after 1769, when press building became common in Philadelphia and Boston, presses were imported from England. The same was true for type; not until after the Revolution was the American printer freed from English type founders, though in 1769 Abel Buell in Connecticut began to experiment in the manufacture of type from blank punch to finished letter. Furthermore, type was expensive; so most colonial printers began work with the used type of a London printer.

Paper and ink were another story. William Rittenhouse opened a paper mill near Germantown, Pennsylvania, the same year, 1690, that *Publick Occurrences* was issued in Boston. In 1743 William Parks, backed by Benjamin Franklin, began a mill near Williamsburg. Before 1765 there were nine mills operating in the colonies. But it is doubtful that they provided sufficient paper to supply the printing trade, especially for finer printing. In all probability, Davis, along with other printers, was dependent on England for much of his paper. Ink, however, was available in the colonies.<sup>11</sup>

A typical print shop in the American colonies contained two presses, type, and the necessary forms, rules, and other appurtenances in sufficient quantity to enable the printer to produce books, a weekly newspaper, and the daily job work that came to his shop. Books, such as the *Journals* and the revisal of the laws produced by James Davis, used up a great quantity of type. Often the forms were left standing—that is, they were not broken up and the type redistributed until the job was completed. To provide enough type for this kind of work and still have enough available for other productions such as a newspaper, required quite an outlay of capital. For example, the shop of Jonas Green in Annapolis contained over 2,000 pounds of type of varied sorts. The value of the type greatly exceeded the total value of all the rest of his equipment. The total appraisal of such a shop amounted to nearly £100 sterling.<sup>12</sup> When James Davis' shop was destroyed by a hurricane in 1769 he doubtless sustained a great loss, for not only was his "house a mere wreck," but also his printing office was "broke to pieces, his papers destroyed and types buried

<sup>11</sup> Lawrence C. Wroth, *The Colonial Printer* (Portland, Maine: The Southworth-Anthonsen Press, 1938), gives a description of the mechanics of eighteenth-century printing.

<sup>12</sup> Wroth, "North America," 330.

in the sand." The £3 he received from the Assembly for his loss of money was small recompense indeed.<sup>13</sup>

It is doubtful, of course, that when Davis came to New Bern he had as complete a shop as that of Jonas Green. To print the proclamation money,<sup>14</sup> his first work, and the *Journal of the House of Burgesses* issued late in 1749, he needed only a small font of type and a press. About this time, however, he began work on the revision of the laws, for which he had been hired. Governor Gabriel Johnston wrote December 21, 1749, that the revisal is "now in the press."<sup>15</sup> Though Governor Johnston expected this to be completed by the middle of the next summer, it was advertised in *The NOth Carolina Gazette* of November 15, 1751, as "just publish'd." This may have been, however, a second edition, which included the laws passed at the September 26-October 12, 1751, session of the Assembly. An earlier edition, bearing the same imprint date, 1751, ended with the laws of 1750. Meanwhile, Davis had printed the *Journal* for the Assembly session of 1750, was at work on the one just over, presumably had done job work, and in August, 1751, had begun *The NOth Carolina Gazette*. Whether he printed "the Speeches and Addresses at the Opening of each Session," as required by the act establishing his office,<sup>16</sup> is not known. In any case, to have produced the work he is known to have done required a well equipped shop.

Where Davis acquired his type and equipment must be conjectured; available records give no hint. One such attempt was made by William S. Powell,<sup>17</sup> a competent student of early North Carolina history. He compared certain printed works of Davis with those of William Parks and noted a striking similarity in the type used by the two men. Then he compared the work of William Hunter, who succeeded Parks in the operation of the Williamsburg press when the latter died in 1750, and found no such similarity. Mr. Powell suggested that "perhaps Parks purchased a new supply of type and sold all or part of his old fonts to Davis." This quite possibly was the case, for otherwise Davis would have had to buy type from England or from another colonial printer. Had he done so the similarities observed by Mr. Powell would not have been apparent. As to the source of Davis' press or presses, even conjecture is of no help. Nevertheless, James

<sup>13</sup> William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1890), VIII, 74, 136-137, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Colonial Records*.

<sup>14</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 1,023.

<sup>15</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 924.

<sup>16</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 314-315.

<sup>17</sup> Powell, *Journal House of Burgesses*, xi.

Davis began printing in North Carolina with a well equipped shop capable, under the direction of a skillful printer, of executing good work. His early productions indicated that.

James Davis was twenty-eight when he came to New Bern in 1749. Settled, apparently possessing some money, and with a five-year contract as official printer to the colony, he established himself in the town. One of his first acts was to acquire property. When the Governor and Council met in April, 1749, and again that fall, Davis was among those applying for land. He was granted 200 acres in Johnston County and the same amount in Craven County.<sup>18</sup> Then he obtained several lots in New Bern itself; one on the southwest corner of Broad and East Front Streets where after March, 1752, he moved his printing office from its first location on Pollock Street.<sup>19</sup> While thus providing for his economic future, Davis at the same time assured himself a domestic future; he married a local widow, Prudence Hobbs, the daughter of William Carruthers of Beaufort County.<sup>20</sup>

So prepared, James Davis could link his fortunes to the future of New Bern. In 1750 this future looked good. New Bern, founded in 1710 by Baron Von Graffenried for persecuted Palatines and Swiss, had survived the horrors and destruction of the Tuscarora War. It was no longer at the edge of the colony. To the north, the Albemarle region had long been settled, and south of the town, the Cape Fear region was increasing in population. New Bern was thus a centrally located town convenient to the more settled portions of the colony. Moreover, Governor Johnston had made an effort in 1746—unsuccessful, however—to make New Bern the official capital of North Carolina. As a result, several government offices, including that of the printer, were fixed there.<sup>21</sup> This prominence, plus good connections with the back country and a fair port on the Neuse River, attracted merchants. By the time James Davis arrived and became established, New Bern had, perhaps, more mercantile firms than any town in the colony.<sup>22</sup>

These circumstances no doubt prompted Davis to begin a newspaper. In August, 1751, from the "Printing-Office, near the Church," *The NOth Carolina Gazette* was issued. The first number of this paper

<sup>18</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 950, 965.

<sup>19</sup> Alonzo T. Dill, Jr., "Eighteenth-Century New Bern," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXIII (January, 1946), 53, hereinafter cited as Dill, "Eighteenth-Century New Bern"; *The NOth Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), March 13, 1752, July 7, 1753, hereinafter cited as *The NOth. Carolina Gazette*.

<sup>20</sup> Dill, "Eighteenth-Century New Bern," 53.

<sup>21</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 836-837, 844.

<sup>22</sup> Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954), 102, hereinafter cited as Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*; Dill, "Eighteenth-Century New Bern," 47.

has not survived,<sup>23</sup> in fact, only six issues are available today. But from these one can see what North Carolina's first newspaper was like. It was the standard folio of colonial journalism; four pages each measuring eight and a half by twelve and a half inches—what printers call a crown sheet—and issued weekly. The earliest number extant, that of November 15, 1751, was printed two columns to the page, as was the last number surviving, that of October 18, 1759. The issue of April 15, 1757, was numbered 133, indicating that Davis either suspended the *Gazette* for awhile or that he adopted a new numbering system. In either case, between the number issued November 15, 1751, and that of October 18, 1759, there was little change in format. In the earlier number there was no period after "NOth" and the imprint was run under the title on page one. But the issue of April 15, 1757, had a period after "NOth." and the imprint appeared at the bottom of the back page. The same was true also of the last extant number, October 18, 1759. The *Gazette* was available "at Four Shillings, Proclamation Money, per Quarter"; and "Advertisements of a moderate Length, are inserted for Three Shillings the first Week, and Two Shillings for every Week after."

It is not likely that the contents would appeal to a newspaper subscriber today, despite Davis' slogan which appeared just under the title: "With the Freshest Advices, Foreign and Domestic." Page one was usually reserved for an essay, such as "The Temple of Hymen. A Vision," in the number for November 15, 1751; or "Reflections on Unhappy Marriages," the feature for March 6, 1752. This fare was varied, however, for on page one of April 15, 1757, was a letter taken from the *Bristol-Journal*, an English paper. It was signed "Five Millions" and addressed "To the Right Honourable W. P., Esq." Doubtless this was William Pitt, just called to lead England in her struggle against the French. The writer advised him to avoid the pitfalls of public office—bribery, ease, and title.

News, of course, was not overlooked. It was, however, primarily foreign and run under simple headings, such as "London, July 5," "Genoa, Sept. 15," or "From The *Westminster Journal* of July 25." This was hardly "fresh" by modern standards, but certainly current enough to colonial readers, though three months or more old. Domestic news was usually run on pages three or four. In the *Gazette* for March 6, 1732, for example, there were stories from Philadelphia,

---

<sup>23</sup> Charles Christopher Crittenden, *North Carolina Newspapers Before 1790* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press [Volume 20, Number 1, of *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*] 1928), 11, hereinafter cited as Crittenden, *North Carolina Newspapers Before 1790*.

December 15, 1751.

No<sup>th</sup> CAROLINA GAZETTE.

It is the freshest Advice, Foreign and Domestic.

All Persons may be supplied with this PAPER, at Four Shillings, Proclamation Money, per Quarter, by JAMES DAVIS, at the Printing-Office in Newbern; where all Manner of Printing-Works, Book-Bindings, is done reasonably. ADVERTISEMENTS of a moderate Length, are inserted for Three Shillings the first Week, and 5<sup>th</sup> Shillings for every Week after.

The TEMPLE of HYMEN. A VISION.

A Few Days ago I had an Account of the Marriage of a Friend. When Occurrences of this Nature make an Impression upon the Mind, it is insensibly betrayed into little Conjectures upon them. This was my Case in an extraordinary Manner; for having noted some particulars on this Incident, I fell into an easy reverie, when Fancy assum'd the Subject, and fall'd out in the following description.

I was in an Instant plac'd on the Boundaries of a pacific Plain; in the Center of which was presented to the Eye a large Temple consecrated to Hymen, the God of Marriage. At a small Distance from me I observed a giddy Crowd of both Sexes, who were making towards the Building, in order to exhortate the Ceremony of the God. There was flourish'd in passing them, a Damsel, whose Form was so peculiar, and whose sway with the Multitude so universal, that I shall here give my Reader a particular Description of her: It bears the Name of this Fury was Love; in the upper Part of his Head, he carried the Likeness of a human Face; from the Middle downwards he wore the Resemblance of a Goat, his Eyes were turgid sparkling, and his Feet, his Complacencies very irregular, attended with the most sudden Transitions from a sanguine Red to a livid Green, and a Tremor frequently seiz'd every Member.—Close followed him *Dignity*, with a sickly Countenance and supercilious Eye; and *Reverie*, with his Hat flapp'd over his Face, and a Worm gnawing his Vitals. I was shock'd at these monstrous Appearances, and endeavour'd, to observe how readily my Fellow-Creatures gave into the impious suggestions of the Demon. But my surprize was farther excited on a nearer Approach; for I took notice that his Breath was of such a malignant Nature, that all those who nighly advanced within its Influence, were profrely intoxicated, and deprived of their Reason.

I was in such a Consternation at this Discovery, that I hesitated for a while, whether I should enter into Conversation with the little Adventurers formerly mentioned. In the midst of my Suspence, there came towards us a grave old Gentleman of a steady and composed Aspect, whose Name was *Deliberation*. He was one of the principal Agents belonging to the Temple, and so high in the Gods's Favour, that *Hymen* was very rarely known to give his Benediction to. Close upon of the Ceremony to any Couple who were offer'd into his Presence, by this venerable Officer. Upon his joining the Company to the Majesty of which I found he was a perfect stranger, there was expressed an universal Uncertainty and Discontent; and many of them industriously avoided all Conversation with him. But it was very remarkable that all those, who thus impudently turned their Backs on this valuable Minister, in their Return from the Temple, were seized by one or both of the melancholy Attendants of the Fury.

As my Entrance into the Building, I observed the Deity marching at a small Distance towards it.—The first in the Procession was *Love*, in the Form of a Child, who was continually practising a thousand little Arts and Graces, to draw upon him the Smiles of the Gods; and by the tender Regards which *Hymen* cast upon the Child, I found he was a very great Favorite.

The God followed next, holding in his Hand a flaming

Torch, which flared the higher the longer it burn'd, he approach'd us supported by *Reverie*, a Lady of the most engaging Form that I had ever beheld. She was clothed in a white retulgent Garment, and her Head was encircled with Glory.

The next Attendant was *Beauty*, arrayed in the most gorgeous Apparel, and full of health, even to Distraction. She was hand'd along by *Love*, a gay Stripling, wearing a Chaplet of Flowers on his Head, and Wings on his Shoulders.

Then appear'd *Wealth* in the Figure of an old Man, meagre and arid; his Eyes were the Eyes of a Hawk, and his Fingers curved and pointed inwards, like the Talons of a Raven; He was noisy, impudent, and presuming.

The Rhetorick was clost by *Fancy*, ever varying her Features and Dress; and what was very extraordinary, methought she charm'd in all.

The Deity immediately after his Entrance into the Temple, ascend'd his Throne; and sat with his Head gently reclin'd on *Truth's* Bosom. *Love*, and *Beauty*, took their Station on the Right Hand; and on the Left, were dispos'd *Wealth* and *Fancy*.

The God quickly proceeded to the Celebration of the Nuptial Rites; but there was such a confused Sound of Sighs and Laughter, that I could not give the Attention which was requisite, in order to present my Reader with the several Circumstances that occurred; only I took Notice, that many of the Matches were so very unequal, that the God yoked them with Reluctance, and but half consented to his own Infatuation.

After the Ceremony was over, Silence was proclaimed in Court; for *Hymen* was determin'd to decide a Contest, which had been of long standing, between the Prisonages that attend'd the Altar. Upon this Declaration, the whole Multitude divided, and according to the particular Impulses of their Passions, took the Part of the several Competitors. The Young had mark'd themselves on the right hand of the Throne, while others of more advanced Years, had posst'd themselves behind the Disputants on the Left.

*Love* began with entering his Complaint against *Wealth*; setting forth, that his Arrangement had reduced such large Numbers to his Sentiments; that as to himself, his Interest very visibly declined every Day, to the great Prejudice of that State, wherein the Gods had design'd him the Pre-eminence. While he was pursuing his Arguments with great Warmth, *Beauty* step'd forth from amidst the Crowd, and flerd the young Plebeian's face in the Face; who was so highen'd at his sorrowful Countenance, that he flutter'd his Limbs in order for Flight. When *Wealth* rising up address'd the Judge, with flouting the Necessity of his Presence, to make the Married State as replete with Happiness, as it was originally intended by its Institute; together with many other Arguments, which, if they had been deliver'd with the same Modesty as Force, could not have filled of creating a Multitude of Objections to his Side. This his Speech was followed with a shower of Applause from the Company behind. Upon a Incident the old Man began to triumph, and to receive his Discomfit when, through the Violence of his Emotions, his Countenance flew open, and betray'd to View, *Cares* in the Form of *Walters*, hanging at his Breast. Hereupon *Love* flew up, and would have reassum'd his Cause. But *Hymen*, who well knew that the Presence of both was of the utmost Importance in the Performance of his Institution;

The November 15, 1751, issue of *The NOth Carolina Gazette* featured an essay, "The Temple of Hymen. A Vision." From the files of the Archives, State Department of Archives and History.

December 31; Boston, October 21; and New York, December 16. This did not always mean that the news included concerned only events in the cities named. Under the New York date line just mentioned was a story about an epidemic in Honduras which had resulted in the death of many, especially women. Affixed to this story in brackets was this comment: "A fine Time now, for our Ladies of Pleasure to make their Fortunes." Not an editorial, but a shrewd observation by Editor Davis. Then under the head "WILLIAMSBURG, September 20," in the number for October 18, 1759, was a letter from New York, dated September 4, 1759, describing the military campaign in the Niagara region. This was followed by the headline, "NEWBERN, October 18," and this item:

On *Friday* last, an Express arrived here from *Charles Town* [Charleston, S. C.] on his way to *Virginia*, with Dispatches from Governor *Littleton* to the Governor of *Virginia*; the Occasion of which is said to be, the *Cherokees* taking up Arms in Favour of the French; and that they are assembling in Bodies to make Depredations on our Frontiers.

Local news was given its due when the occasion warranted. One regrets that more issues of *The NOth. Carolina Gazette* are not available for the period of the French and Indian War.

Advertising in these few issues of *The NOth. Carolina Gazette* was nearly always found on the back page, printed without display or illustration; much like the classified columns of a modern newspaper. Besides official notices, such as Acting-Governor Matthew Rowan's Proclamation announcing surveys being made by a South Carolina commission in Anson County, or the Craven County sheriff's announcement of a jail break in New Bern,<sup>24</sup> the advertisements were for merchandise, land or runaway slaves. The arrival of a trading ship was also the occasion for advertising. One ship, docked at Beaufort, had on board dry goods, hardware, china, medicines, paint, and other goods to be sold or exchanged for deerskins, tar, or fur.<sup>25</sup> Too, James Davis used the columns of his paper to offer for sale *The Laws of North Carolina*, lampblack, printed forms, and other such wares. Advertising was a major source of revenue for the colonial publisher, as indeed it is for today's publisher. But of greater significance, advertising enables one to gain an insight into the social and economic

<sup>24</sup> *The NOth. Carolina Gazette*, July 7, 1753.

<sup>25</sup> *The NOth. Carolina Gazette*, October 18, 1759.

life of a community such as New Bern. This more than makes up for the sparseness of local news.<sup>26</sup>

James Davis apparently stopped publication of *The NOth. Carolina Gazette* sometime after October 18, 1759. Isaiah Thomas, an early historian of colonial newspapers and himself an active printer at the time, says the *Gazette* was discontinued around 1761.<sup>27</sup> At any rate, Davis began a new paper in June, 1764.

Meanwhile, during the years when he published *The NOth. Carolina Gazette*, James Davis was active on other fronts. In 1753 he published the Reverend Clement Hall's *A Collection of Many Christian Experiences*, the first nonlegal book by a citizen of North Carolina to be published in the colony. Hall was rector of St. Paul's Church in Edenton.<sup>28</sup> But publication was incidental to Davis' other activity that year; he became involved in politics. In 1753 he was made a member of the Craven County Court, an office he held for twenty-five years. One of his first duties was the supervision, with another member, of the construction of a new courthouse in New Bern.<sup>29</sup> The next year he was elected sheriff of Craven County, and while holding this office was chosen by the electorate of New Bern to represent them in the Assembly. This, however, was highly irregular; the House refused to seat him, deciding that he was "not Qualified to serve as a Member for the Town of New Bern he having been Sheriff of Craven County at the time of his Election." Davis apparently preferred a career in the Assembly to that of sheriff, for he resigned the latter office and in 1755 was again elected to the Assembly.<sup>30</sup>

In 1756 Davis was returned to the Assembly by the people of New Bern. Among several bills that he introduced during this session, was one that provided for an improvement in the local government of New Bern. It passed to become the first municipal election and tax law for New Bern.<sup>31</sup> Up to this time every able-bodied resident in New Bern was expected to work on the streets. Under Davis' bill, citizens were permitted to tax themselves to pay for this work. Also

<sup>26</sup> For sample advertising in eighteenth-century North Carolina newspapers, see Wesley H. Wallace, "Cultural and Social Advertising in Early North Carolina Newspapers," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXIII (July, 1956), 281-309.

<sup>27</sup> Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America* (Worcester, Massachusetts: American Antiquarian Society Proceedings, Volumes V and VI, 1874), VI, 167.

<sup>28</sup> William S. Powell, "Eighteenth-Century North Carolina Imprints: A Revision and Supplement to McMurtrie," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXV (January, 1958), 56.

<sup>29</sup> Dill, "Eighteenth-Century New Bern," 53.

<sup>30</sup> Julian P. Boyd, "The Sheriff in Colonial North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, X (April, 1928), 174-175; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 245, 529.

<sup>31</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 672; Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 451-456.

town commissioners, who before had been appointed by the Assembly, could now be elected by the citizens.

Davis went back to the Assembly in 1757; and this time he turned his attention to commerce. In the spring session he introduced a bill to improve navigation at Port Bath. That fall he presented a memorial from various merchants for improving the inspection law on certain commodities exported from the colonies, and he was appointed to the committee to draft such a bill.<sup>32</sup>

For two additional years Davis represented New Bern in the Assembly, bringing in bills for the improvement of public ferries and the completion of the courthouse begun under his supervision several years before.<sup>33</sup> Then in 1760 he was chosen to represent Craven County. At this session, however, he was not as active as he had been previously; in fact, he was fined for nonattendance.<sup>34</sup>

After this James Davis halted his legislative career for awhile. In the meantime, in 1755, he had become New Bern's postmaster. This job was compatible with his work as a newspaper publisher. Then in October of that year when North Carolina's Assembly established its first postal service, Davis was awarded the contract. By this act, Davis obliged himself, for the sum of £100 10s. 8d., "to send all publick letters, Expresses and Dispatches relating to this Province to any Part thereof for the service of the same and once every Fifteen Days send to Suffolk in Virginia and Wilmington on Cape Fear River for the publick a proper messenger to receive Letters and Dispatches at these places; to be conveyed where directed for the full Term of one year."<sup>35</sup> This contract was renewed the next year; but in 1757 Governor Arthur Dobbs complained of Davis' negligence. The Assembly then divided the contract among three applicants. Davis obtained the route from New Bern to Wilmington for which he was paid £40. The next year, however, he received the entire contract again.<sup>36</sup>

No doubt the establishment of a public postal route relieved Davis of one problem. In 1752 he was censured by the Assembly for not delivering to the members the printed laws and journals to which they were entitled. In his defense, Davis claimed that he had sent them, in some instances several times over. But he had not done so by a special messenger. To have employed such, he said, would have meant "a Considerable Reduction in his Salary, so much that it will

<sup>32</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 840, 898.

<sup>33</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 1,051, 1,152; VI, 145, 168.

<sup>34</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 164, 493.

<sup>35</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 555-556, 734.

<sup>36</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXII, 735; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 920, 1,038.

scarce be worth his while to keep a Press, especially as his whole Salary is not much above half what every other Public Printer in America has.”<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, the censure stood. Nor were matters helped any in 1754 when his printing contract was renewed for three years at the same old salary of £160. The next year, however, the Assembly relented and voted Davis an extra allowance of £20 “for his extraordinary Service in his Office this Session inclusive.”<sup>38</sup>

When, in 1757, this contract expired, the Assembly having “found by experience that a Printing Office is of great utility to this Province and very much tending to the Promotion of useful Knowledge among the people,” Davis was reappointed for another three-year term. But in 1760 it was renewed for a one year term only, though his salary was raised to £200.<sup>39</sup> But in 1762, Henry Eustace McCulloch, a member of the Council from Wilmington, tried to get the job for Alexander Purdie, later to achieve distinction as copublisher with John Dixon of William Parks’ old *Virginia Gazette* at Williamsburg. The House, however, refused to concur and Davis was again named public printer.<sup>40</sup>

It is not clear whether or not McCulloch’s attempt to replace Davis as public printer was inspired by Governor Dobbs’ dissatisfaction with Davis. But there was no doubt about the Governor’s attitude when the question of Davis’ appointment came up in 1764. After the Council, acting as Upper House, had killed the House resolution naming Davis public printer, Dobbs sent a letter to the Speaker saying he could “never approve of the late Printer appointed by the Assembly upon account of his negligence. . . .” The House accepted this and appointed a committee to find a new printer. For one reason or another they were not at once successful, but Governor Dobbs was. He found Andrew Steuart in Philadelphia and informed the House that he had appointed him “His Majesty’s Printer.” Upon hearing this the members adopted and sent a stinging resolution to the Council; the House declared: “We know no such *Office as his Majesty’s Printer of this Province* and of *no Duties Fees or Emoluments* annexed or incident to such Office and that the said appointment is *of a new and unusual nature* unknown to our Laws, and is a violent stretch of power.” The Governor and Council, of course, retorted that it was the King’s “undoubted prerogative to nominate and appoint a Printer to publish his proclamations and

<sup>37</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 1,344-1,345.

<sup>38</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 266; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 555.

<sup>39</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 349, 455-456.

<sup>40</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 913.

orders of government, and to publish his laws"; the only right the House had was "to appoint a Printer to publish their votes and resolutions during their sessions." Whereupon the House resolved that James Davis "be appointed to Print the Laws & Journals of this Session of Assembly"; that Andrew Steuart be paid £100 for his expense and trouble in coming to North Carolina; and that the treasurers not pay out any money "without the Concurrence or direction of this House."<sup>41</sup> In short, if the Governor wanted his own printer he could also provide his salary. Thus did James Davis secure reappointment in 1764 and North Carolina get another printer.

During the hassle over his appointment as public printer, Davis began in New Bern a second newspaper. This was *The North-Carolina Magazine; or Universal Intelligencer*. The earliest issue located is that of July 6, 1764, Vol. 1, No. 5. Counting back, Davis must have started this paper June 8, 1764. Despite the title, *The Magazine* was a newspaper,<sup>42</sup> containing the current news, advertisements, and other items common to colonial newspapers. In size, however, and the method of numbering the pages consecutively throughout a volume, it did resemble a magazine. For the first year—until the issue for December 28, 1764—*The North-Carolina Magazine* consisted of eight pages, each six and three quarters by nine and a half inches, known to printers as a quarto. With the issue for December 28, *The Magazine* was reduced to four pages; no issues beyond January 18, 1765, are known. *The North-Carolina Gazette* of February 26, 1766, however, which Andrew Steuart began in Wilmington in September, 1764, quotes "a New Bern" paper of January 14, 1766. And François X. Martin, who published a newspaper in New Bern after the Revolution, using Davis' press and equipment, mentions in his history of North Carolina that Davis published *The Magazine* until about 1768.<sup>43</sup> In any event, Davis returned to his old title and format May 27, 1768, when he began *The North-Carolina Gazette*.

Subscribers paid 4d. a number for *The North-Carolina Magazine* which Davis published each Friday. Apparently he expected his readers to save their copies and have them bound—preferably at his shop no doubt, for he also did bookbinding. In his imprint he announced that "Any single Number may be had to complete Setts,

<sup>41</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 1,122, 1,200, 1,209, 1,256, 1,318.

<sup>42</sup> Clarence S. Brigham, *Journals and Journeymen*, 15-18, clarifies the identity of a periodical in Colonial America as a newspaper or magazine.

<sup>43</sup> François-Xavier Martin, *The History of North Carolina, from the Earliest Period* (New-Orleans, Louisiana: A. T. Penniman & Co., 2 volumes, 1829), II, 186.

at 4d." Davis charged the same advertising rate as when he published *The NOth. Carolina Gazette*; that is, "Three Shillings the first Week, and Two Shillings for every Continuance."

In retrospect, 1764 was a good year to have begun a newspaper in Colonial America. England had just won the long war with France and had emerged from the conflict with a large colonial empire and a huge debt. In an effort to cope with both these problems, English ministries began in 1763 a policy that resulted, some twelve years later, in a final rupture between England and her American colonies. Among the first measures adopted was the American Revenue Act, introduced in Parliament in March, 1764, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, George Grenville. Two provisions of this act, one levying duties on foreign sugar and certain commodities imported into the colony and the other tightening up the customs service, had just gone into effect when Davis began *The North-Carolina Magazine*. A third provision, that of prohibiting the issuance of legal tender currency in the colonies, became effective that fall.

Quite naturally, then, these measures and their reception in Colonial America, occupied a prominent place in Davis' newspaper. For example, in the number for August 3, 1764, Davis began a reprint of the Sugar Act which ran through the next issue, taking up so much space he was prevented from running much else, "which," he hoped, "our readers will excuse." Then in the following number, that of August 17, he ran the text of the Currency Act, and, in this same number, began publishing a petition, which had been sent George III, protesting England's failure to exact an indemnity from France. This was concluded in the issue of August 24. It was signed "The People of Great Britain," to which Davis added, "*To these the Printer here presumes to add, And the GOOD PEOPLE OF AMERICA: who will say AMEN.*" For his paper of November 9 Davis chose a letter which had appeared in the *Boston Gazette and Country Journal* of September 24 denouncing the Sugar Act, and the address adopted by New York's Assembly opposing the entire Revenue Act. Then on November 16 he ran a letter from *The New Hampshire Gazette* (Portsmouth), also in opposition to the Revenue Act, and reported that the people of Boston had agreed to cease all pomp and display at funerals in protest of the act. But the climax of his handling of the Revenue Act was the publication of James Otis' "The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved," which Davis titled "Of the Political and Civil Rights of the British Colonies." This ran through five numbers of *The Magazine*, beginning in that of November 23,

1764. In this same number he reprinted the address of the House to Governor Dobbs at the opening of the Assembly meeting in Wilmington a few weeks before. In this the members thanked the Governor for his efforts to improve trade and commerce in the colony; but, they reminded him, "your Excellency will permit us to observe the Dilemma we are in at this Conjunction: We once esteemed it our inherent Right, as British Subjects, that no Tax could be imposed upon us, but where we were legally represented; depending on the fundamental *Principles* of the *British* Constitution; but, unhappy for us and every Colony in *America*, we now too fatally experience the Contrary: In this depressed Condition, every Attempt towards improvements appears useless." Whatever the lack of editorials in colonial journalism, an editor could succeed in conveying his opinion of a particular issue.

And Davis did this well in still another issue on a matter of local interest. The question of whether North Carolina's capital was to be Wilmington or New Bern assumed special concern when it became known that Governor Dobbs was returning to England for a leave. His place was to be taken by a lieutenant-governor as yet not known. On August 10, 1764, Davis reported that a story from Wilmington announced that "one Col. *Tryon*, an Officer in the Guards" had been "appointed at Home" Lieutenant-Governor of North Carolina, and that Governor Dobbs expected to leave for England the next March. To this story Davis added the following:

The good people of Wilmington, ever intent on the Good of the Province, and always foremost in every Scheme for its Welfare and internal Quietude, immediately upon this News, engaged a large House in Wilmington for the Reception and Accommodation of the Governor on his Arrival in the Province, upon a Certainty that he will settle among them there. But the People of Newbern, having, for their Disobedience, drank largely of the the Cup of Affliction, and entirely depending on the Goodness of their Cause, have engaged a large genteel House in Newbern, for the Governor's Residence; upon a Supposition he will settle rather in the Centre of the Province, than at Cape-Fear, a Place within Fifty Miles of the South Boundary of a Province almost 300 Miles wide, and the Passage to it gloomy and dismal, through hot parching Sands, enliven'd now and then with a few Wire-Grass Ridges, and Ponds of stagnant Water; . . . But as the Passage, so the Entrance, dismal;—a Turkey 15s. a Fowl 2s. 8d. a Goose 10s. Butter 2s. 8d. and so *pro Rata* for every Thing else.—Terrible Horribility.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup> *The North-Carolina Magazine* (New Bern), August 10, 1764, hereinafter cited as *The North-Carolina Magazine*.

The attack on Wilmington and its hopes was followed by a full account of the whole controversy over the location of the capital, balanced in favor of New Bern's claim, of course, and titled "NEW-BERN'S REMEMBRANCER: or, AN ESSAY ON THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT—about as ambitious a headline as he ever attempted. Concluding was this appeal:

Countrymen, as the Assembly stands prorogued to some time in *October next*, and will then probably meet at *Wilmington*, your Constituents, your Country, expect that you will, to a Man, give your Attendance; or perhaps while we are pleasing ourselves with these *Golden Scenes*, the Great Fiat may be passed, and the Door shut against you; the Seat of Government may be *Settled at Wilmington*, and then, too late, we may behold the wretched State of the Province. They have already got the Press there and intend to GIVE LAW TO us all; and if you neglect your Duty *This Time*, imagine what will be done. Can you *Contentedly*, see the Province in this *Discontented* State! Can you see the PUBLIC RECORDS *Carted* from Place to Place, and your Properties and Estates trusted to the Mercy of a Shower of Rain, and at the Discretion of a *Cart-Driver!* Forbid it Heaven! *O Tempora!*<sup>45</sup>

Then, on September 28 Davis, apparently having it on good authority that Tryon favored New Bern as the location of the capital, wrote in his paper:

Mourn, Mourn, ye Wilmingtonians, and put on Sack cloth and Ashes, for the Measure of thy Good Things is full, and the evil-Day is coming upon thee! Mr. Tryan [*sic*], if we have any Skill in Augury, is coming to live in PEACE among us, and deliver us from unleavened Bread; which nothing but his Residence on the GRASSY PLAINS can restore and accomplish.<sup>46</sup>

On November 2, 1764, under a Wilmington date line of October 17, Davis reported that Tryon with his family had arrived and been duly welcomed in Wilmington. The next week, November 9, he had news of another distinguished visitor, this time to New Bern. This was the famous evangelist George Whitefield who had passed through on his way to Georgia. "At the Request of the Gentlemen" of New Bern, Davis wrote, the Rev. Whitefield stayed over through Sunday "and preached a most excellent Sermon in our Church" to a large and crowded audience. After reference to the expected adjournment of the Assembly "now sitting at *Wilmington*," Davis reported that

<sup>45</sup> *The North-Carolina Magazine*, August 24, 1764.

<sup>46</sup> *The North-Carolina Magazine*, September 28, 1764.

Lieutenant-Governor Tryon intended making a tour through North Carolina and was shortly expected in New Bern. But before he arrived "a Quaker Preacher, and his Wife" paid New Bern a visit and preached "to a Numerous Audience." The doctrines "which they chiefly handled," Davis observed, "Were Original Sin, and the Necessity of Regeneration; Moral Reflections on the luxuries, Pomp and Vanities of the World and a particular Caution to the young Ladies against Dress." Davis noticed "that the Caution and Advice to the Ladies, was delivered by the Preacher's Wife, who seem'd to have a more than common Influence of the Holy Spirit; as her Doctrine was delivered with great emphatic Energy and Elocution."<sup>47</sup>

Finally the day of Tryon's visit arrived, and from Davis' description of the reception New Bern gave the Governor, it easily matched the energy and elocution attributed to the Quaker preacher's wife. A "great number of Gentlemen" met Colonel Tryon eight miles from town and escorted him into New Bern where he received the salute of "19 guns from the Artillery." That night "the Town was handsomely illuminated, Bonfires were lighted, and plenty of Liquor given to the Populace." The next evening a "very elegant BALL" was held in the "Great Ball-Room in the Court House," in honor of the Governor, at which "were present His Honour the Governor, and his Lady, the Mayor, Mr. Recorder, and near 100 Gentlemen and Ladies." About ten they had supper, and then all returned to the ball room "and concluded the Evening with all imaginable Agreeableness and Satisfaction." The next day the Masons honored the Governor with "an elegant Dinner" where "the usual and proper healths were drank." After a week in New Bern, Tryon left for Edenton, no doubt impressed with New Bern's hospitality, if not the town itself.<sup>48</sup>

No issues of *The North-Carolina Magazine* survive beyond that of January 18, 1765, so Davis' response to the decision to make New Bern the capital is not known. This action was taken by the Assembly in November, 1766.<sup>49</sup> One can assume that he used all the journalistic devices at his command to applaud the Assembly's decision.

Neither do the issues exist that reported the death of Governor Dobbs who, on the eve of his return home, died at Brunswick, near Wilmington, March 28, 1765. Davis had little reason to be fond of the Governor, but this is hardly cause to expect that he published anything derogatory. Faced with the death of the Royal Governor,

<sup>47</sup> *The North-Carolina Magazine*, December 14, 1764.

<sup>48</sup> *The North-Carolina Magazine*, December 28, 1764; January 4, 1765.

<sup>49</sup> Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, 165.

Davis doubtless rose to the occasion with appropriate language and the customary style of turned rules wreathing the story in black borders.

In all probability there was some substance in Governor Dobbs' charge in 1764 that Davis had been negligent in performing his duties. Not only had he been involved in getting *The North-Carolina Magazine* underway, but also in that same year, entirely on his own, he published a new revisal of the laws, the second since that officially published in 1751. And he began taking subscriptions for another work, *The Office and Authority of a Justice of Peace*.<sup>50</sup>

In the sixteen years since Davis had come to North Carolina, the printing press and newspaper had become important institutions in the life of New Bern and the colony. As printer, publisher, and citizen James Davis was established. One historian of Colonial America has said, "the role of printer in colonial life . . . offered a man of ability and ambition a greater chance to exercise influence over public policy than even the ministry."<sup>51</sup> To what extent this was true of James Davis it is difficult to say. But there is no question that he used his position and his talents to their fullest extent. From his printing office flowed the necessary journals and laws, well executed and free from error, vital to effective government. In his service in New Bern's government, and as legislator, he acted in the best tradition of the colonial printer. His *NOth. Carolina Gazette and Magazine* satisfied the cultural, political, and commercial needs of his readers in a way that no other printed matter did. News hunger is basic to human nature, and in a democratic society, even one as primitive as that existing in Colonial America, the need for serious news—the necessity to know what others are doing and thinking—is essential to reaching responsible decisions. As William Hunter's *Virginia Gazette*, in Williamsburg, described it, the newspaper provides the people with "security against Errors, . . . no false doctrine in Religion, Policy or Physic, can be broached, and remain long undetected. . . . It is their great Preservation against political Empericism."<sup>52</sup> The two papers published by Davis, though not as distinguished perhaps as those in Williamsburg, or in Boston or Philadelphia, did their part.

How many readers Davis had is not known; certainly it was not many, for the number of people in North Carolina who could afford,

<sup>50</sup> *The North-Carolina Magazine*, July 6, 1764.

<sup>51</sup> Carl Bridenbaugh, "America's First Man of The World," *The New York Times Book Review*, November 22, 1959, 1.

<sup>52</sup> Quoted in Carl Bridenbaugh, *Seat of Empire: The Political Role of Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg* (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg, 1958), 28.

or even read a newspaper, was small. The record is silent on circulation figures; one estimate is 100-150.<sup>53</sup> But one thing is certain; with little competition for reading time, Davis' newspapers, as well as those in Colonial America generally, were read more thoroughly and lovingly than is the case with newspapers today. Also, with the scarcity of news media, each copy probably passed through many hands. What became America's standard reading matter, the newspaper, got off to a good start in North Carolina with James Davis and his two ventures into newspaper publishing.

---

<sup>53</sup> Crittenden, *North Carolina Newspapers Before 1790*, 19.

## A SOUTHERN DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY: SIMMONS VS. BAILEY IN 1930

BY RICHARD L. WATSON, JR.\*

The senatorial primary in 1930 in North Carolina brought an end to the political career of Furnifold M. Simmons, a man who had been influential in both state and nation for almost fifty years. A study of this Democratic primary should be instructive, however, to others than those primarily interested in Simmons' career or in local North Caroliniana. The story of the contest, with its personal infighting, twisting of the democratic processes, use of emotional issues, and a lack of attention to things fundamental, serves to illuminate one of the principal ingredients in the American political system—the party primary. It points up the dilemma of a conscientious senator torn among responsibility for national legislation, concern for his local constituents, and the desire for re-election. And this particular primary of 1930 in North Carolina lends support to the contention that bolting a party's nominee is a cardinal sin in American politics and leads to something almost as inevitable as divine punishment.

The story of this primary as it related to North Carolina politics has for the most part already been well told.<sup>1</sup> Some of the local details, however, call for further emphasis insofar as they contribute to an understanding of political techniques in a state such as North Carolina; also a consideration of some of the national issues of the day as they emerged in the campaign led to a better understanding both of those issues and of the relationship between the national legislative process and local politics.

F. M. Simmons entered politics in 1875 at the age of twenty-one. For more than ten years he served as chairman of the Democratic state committee. In this office, he laid the basis for a political organization which was to be a powerful force in North Carolina from

---

\* Dr. Watson is Professor of History, Duke University, Durham.

<sup>1</sup> Elmer L. Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension in North Carolina, 1928-1936* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press [Volume 44 of *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*], 1962), hereinafter cited as Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension*.

1898 to 1928. Success in leading the Democrats to victory over the Republicans and Populists in 1898 and 1900 and in bringing about almost complete Negro disfranchisement resulted in his election to the United States Senate in 1901. He served as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee in the Wilson administrations; and during the 1920's, as ranking Democrat on that committee, he fought Republican policies and performed innumerable services for his constituents.

By 1928 his political position seemed secure. Influential nationally, respected locally, he expected to be returned to the Senate for the sixth time in the election of 1930. He was seventy-four years old, it is true, and frequently ill, but he seemed able to rally his strength whenever the occasion demanded. He had made enemies in his fifty years in politics, but he had numerous friends in strategic positions politically, who would not think of hurting "The Senator" so long as he lived.

Then came the presidential campaign of 1928. Since 1924, when he had supported his friend William G. McAdoo for the presidency, Simmons had distrusted Alfred E. Smith. It was not merely that Smith was a Roman Catholic, or a wet, or a Tammany man, that bothered Simmons; Smith represented an element, which if successful in Democratic politics, would change the nature of the party in which the South had played so prominent a role. Simmons fought Smith in the pre-convention wrangles, and when Smith, after his nomination, made John J. Raskob—a wet, a Roman Catholic, and a Republican—his campaign manager, Simmons publicly threw his considerable influence to the anti-Smith campaign in the state. In spite of the fact that he supported the local Democratic candidates, to the professional Democrats he had bolted, thereby jeopardizing his nomination in 1930.<sup>2</sup>

Quietly taking the lead in building up opposition to Simmons was Josiah W. Bailey, one of Smith's most vigorous supporters in the recent election. Fifty-seven years of age in 1930, he had been graduated from Wake Forest College in 1893 and immediately afterward had become editor of the *Biblical Recorder*, the weekly newspaper of the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina. In 1898 he associated himself with the Simmons organization and supported Simmons for the first twenty years of the century. As a reward for his services, Simmons supported his appointment by President Wilson as collector

<sup>2</sup> Richard L. Watson, Jr., "A Political Leader Bolts—F. M. Simmons in the Presidential Election of 1928," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXVII (October 1960), 516-543.

of internal revenue for the eastern district of North Carolina. Relations between Simmons and Bailey remained friendly until the early twenties when Bailey began to be increasingly critical of some of the key people in the Simmons organization.<sup>3</sup> Even after Bailey was defeated in 1924 for governor by Simmons' choice, Angus W. McLean, the two men remained outwardly cordial, and as late as mid-June, 1928, Bailey insisted that he would never oppose Simmons.<sup>4</sup> Bailey had already enthusiastically endorsed Smith, however, and as the campaign went on in 1928, he became increasingly irritated at Simmons. After the election he began soundings to discover whether anyone would have a chance of defeating the Senator in the primary set for June, 1930. He found not only that there was much anti-Simmons sentiment, but, what was more interesting, that many people were suggesting that he, Bailey, declare as Simmons' opponent.<sup>5</sup>

As the New Year, 1929, approached, the state's attention turned to the inauguration of the new governor, O. Max Gardner, and for the next three months to the activities of the state legislature. Even during the legislative session, however, pro- and anti-Simmons shadow boxing took place. When the legislature passed an Australian ballot law, for example, and put more restrictions on absentee voting, their actions were interpreted as slaps at Simmons, who had opposed the Australian ballot and who had favored liberal absentee voting.<sup>6</sup> More important, another bill was passed by which candidates in primaries were required to fill out and sign an official blank stating party affiliation and pledging their support in the general elections to "all

<sup>3</sup> John Robert Moore, "The Shaping of a Political Leader: Josiah W. Bailey and the Gubernatorial Campaign of 1924," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XLI (Spring, 1964), 190-213.

<sup>4</sup> Josiah W. Bailey to C. F. Burroughs, June 19, 1928, Josiah W. Bailey Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection, Duke University, Durham, hereinafter cited as Bailey Papers.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Bailey to Clyde Hoey, November 12, 1928, Bailey to W. H. S. Burgwyn and others, November 13, 1928, Bailey to Harold Burke and others, November 14, 1928, John Langston to Bailey, November 13, 1928, Robert A. Collier to Bailey, November 23, 1928, Jesse H. Davis to Bailey, November 14, 1928, Bailey Papers. See also, Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension*, 23-24.

<sup>6</sup> *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), January 12, 1929, hereinafter cited as *The News and Observer*. One of the few states not using the standard form of the Australian ballot in 1928, North Carolina adopted in 1929 a modified form by which a voter in a primary might call for assistance in voting from a member of his family, a poll official, or any person approved by the poll officials. The new absentee voting regulations no longer permitted a person to secure an absentee ballot for another and required posting at the polls the names of absentee voters. *The News and Observer*, March 24, 1929; *Public Laws and Resolutions Passed by the General Assembly at its Session of 1929 . . .*, cc. 164, 329, hereinafter cited as *Public Laws* with appropriate year. See also, *The North Carolina Code of 1927 . . .* (Charlottesville, Virginia: The Michie Company, 1928), c. 97, ss. 5960-5968.

candidates nominated by" their party.<sup>7</sup> Everyone knew that this bill too had been inspired by Simmons' actions in 1928. Governor Gardner, who was considered by some as the rising organization man in state politics, played no open role in the anti-Simmons campaign even though he supported the legislation. When, however, in May he appointed three new Democrats to the state Board of Elections, they all were enemies of Simmons, and the chairman, Judge J. Crawford Biggs, "was the first chairman of the state board in many years who was considered as an anti-Simmons man."<sup>8</sup>

Throughout 1929, Bailey's activities were either those of a man who could not make up his mind, or of one who thought it politically expedient to play hard to get. He delivered various "non-political" addresses supporting the Eighteenth Amendment, attacking Herbert Hoover, and urging the reduction of taxes. He tried to talk down his reputation acquired in the mid-twenties of being an economic radical. But he continued to advance numerous reasons why he should not run—his health, his family, his finances.<sup>9</sup> He particularly wrestled with his conscience. He could not forget that in 1917 he had written Simmons pledging support and promising never to run against him. He was now telling his friends that he had predicated this pledge "in my mind upon his remaining loyal to the Party. . . ." <sup>10</sup>

It is impossible to determine what ended Bailey's uncertainty. Perhaps he was never uncertain. Several things did happen in the summer and fall of 1929, however, that gave encouragement to regular Democrats. In the first place, anti-Smith Democrats had not been faring well. In Alabama, Roman Catholic-baiting Senator James Thomas Heflin, who had opposed Smith in 1928, was ruled out of the Democratic party. In the fall elections in Virginia, the regular Democrats overwhelmed the anti-Smith forces backed by Methodist Bishop James Cannon. North Carolinians did not miss the significance of

<sup>7</sup> *Public Laws, 1929*, c. 26; W. P. Horton to Bailey, November 16, 1928, and J. O. Carr to Bailey, November 16, 1928, Bailey Papers; *The News and Observer*, February 2, 1929; *Greensboro Daily News*, February 2, 1929; *Consolidated Statutes of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 3 volumes [Volume III, Supplement], 1920-1924), III, c. 97, s. 6022.

<sup>8</sup> Frank Hampton to Charles A. Hines, June 4, 1929, and M. L. Shipman to F. M. Simmons, September 15, 1929, Furnifold M. Simmons Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection, hereinafter cited as Simmons Papers; *The News and Observer*, May 31, June 9, 1929.

<sup>9</sup> *The News and Observer*, July 3, 5, 1929; Ira Champion to Hampton, July 3, 1929, Simmons Papers; Bailey to R. A. Doughton, May 28, 1929, Bailey to John W. Lambeth, May 23, 1929, Bailey to C. L. Shuping, November 8, 1929, Bailey to Cameron Morrison, November 12, 1929, Bailey Papers.

<sup>10</sup> Bailey to W. B. Jones, September 13, 1929, Bailey Papers.

these developments.<sup>11</sup> Hours after the Virginia returns were in, Simmons received an anonymous telegram warning that the same fate awaited "other traitors of the party." Said the telegram, "one hundred thousand North Carolina Democrats are awaiting a chance at you."<sup>12</sup>

Also, there were several factors which were turning North Carolinians against Hoover and thus against those who had contributed to his election. In mid-July Washington society was "shocked" to learn that Mrs. Oscar De Priest, wife of Representative De Priest, a Negro, had not only been invited to, but also attended, an informal tea at the White House. Even though Simmons denounced this act, North Carolina regulars were quick to think of the incident as a "perfect example of retributive justice."<sup>13</sup> Even more upsetting was the undeniable fact that the United States was facing a depression for which Hoover was blamed. North Carolina's economic situation was becoming desperate, and Simmons, who had indirectly helped to elect Hoover, suffered accordingly.

In short, the climate of opinion was favorable to the Democratic regulars, and it seems likely that Bailey was influenced. By mid-December he was taking the position that if he could not persuade some other Democrat to run, he would be a candidate. He did try to persuade Walter P. Stacy, Chief Justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court, to announce as a candidate against Simmons. Then he turned to W. J. Brogden of Durham.<sup>14</sup> Both refused, and pledged their support to Bailey. Bailey had already prepared an announcement and circulated it to friends. He promised a campaign "of respect and courtesy," but one in which he would subordinate "every consideration to the integrity, the unity, and the victory of the party." On January 2, 1930, he publicly announced his candidacy.<sup>15</sup>

Simmons, vacationing at New Bern, awaited public reaction to Bailey's announcement. He received quick assurances of support. Letters poured in, many describing Bailey as "easy picking." Some

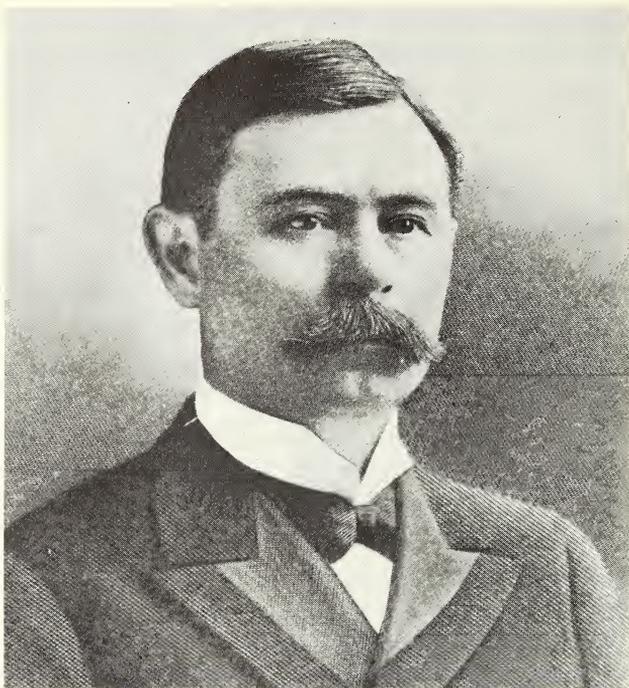
<sup>11</sup> For local press reports, see *The News and Observer*, June 1-2, November 6, December 16-17, 1929.

<sup>12</sup> "Former Supporter" to Simmons, November 6, 1929, with attached note by Alexander M. Walker, Simmons Papers.

<sup>13</sup> *The News and Observer*, June 14, 16, November 18, 1929; Simmons to R. H. Harris, June 18, 1929, Simmons Papers.

<sup>14</sup> Bailey to Doughton, November 29, 1929, and Bailey to Morrison, November 28, 1929, Bailey Papers.

<sup>15</sup> Bailey to W. B. Council, December 26, 1929, and Bailey to Morrison, December 28, 1929, Bailey Papers; T. B. Ward to Hampton, December 29, 1929, and George Pell to Simmons, November 18, 1929, Simmons Papers; *The News and Observer*, January 3, 1930. See also, unpublished announcement in Bailey Papers and Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension*, 25-27.



Furnifold M. Simmons, long-time senator from North Carolina, was defeated by Josiah W. Bailey in 1930. From files of the State Department of Archives and History.

writers declared for Simmons because of his experience. Others venerated him as the "leader who navigated the ship of State through the troublous waters of the 'nineties.'" "Stay in Washington, keep your money, and let your friends, 'the people' look after the election," was the advice of one of his leading supporters.<sup>16</sup>

In spite of the apparent optimism of his friends, Simmons realized that he faced fundamental difficulties in organizing his campaign. His enthusiastic supporters were the anti-Smith Democrats, numbering by a generous estimate, only 70,000 or 80,000. Since Smith had received 286,000 votes in the presidential election, Simmons would have to gain about 100,000 Smith votes and keep all the anti-Smith votes to win the nomination.<sup>17</sup> Under these circumstances, Simmons'

<sup>16</sup> George Rountree to Simmons, January 16, 1930, and N. C. Hines to Simmons, January 3, 1930, Simmons Papers.

<sup>17</sup> Simmons to Hines, January 4, 1930, Simmons Papers. The estimate is based on the assumption that the anti-Smith Democrats voted for Democrat O. Max Gardner for governor in 1928. Smith received 286,227 votes, and Hoover received 348,923. Gardner received 362,009 votes for governor, and Republican H. F. Seawell received 289,415. H. M. London (ed.), *North Carolina Manual, 1931* (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 1931), 89, 99; *Morning Herald* (Durham), January 5, 1930, hereinafter cited as *Morning Herald*.



Josiah W. Bailey, one of North Carolina's leaders in many fields, won Furnifold M. Simmons' seat in the United States Senate in 1930. Photograph by courtesy of Mrs. Josiah W. Bailey, Raleigh.

early moves were exceedingly cautious. Although he announced for re-election on January 11 he did not make known his choices for his campaign organization until February 19. Then he named two Smith supporters, Charles Hines of Greensboro as campaign manager and John Langston of Goldsboro as chairman of his campaign advisory committee. The anti-Smith forces were represented by Mrs. Charlotte Story Perkinson, a dedicated prohibitionist who was named assistant manager.<sup>18</sup>

Bailey's hopes lay in the support of the regular Democrats. Thus he had most to lose by a campaign that might further divide the party and most to gain by effective organization. On February 7, Bailey announced that his campaign would be in the hands of Judge James J. Manning of Raleigh as chairman of the campaign committee and C. L. Shuping of Greensboro as manager.<sup>19</sup> Following this announce-

<sup>18</sup> *The News and Observer*, January 12, February 21, March 4, 1930; Frank McNinch to Simmons, January 18, 1930, and Memo for the Press, March 8, 1930, Simmons Papers. See also, Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension*, 28, 32-33.

<sup>19</sup> *The News and Observer*, February 8, 1930; Bailey to Morrison, January 12, 1930, Bailey Papers. See also, Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension*, 31.

ment, Shuping and Manning went to work, keeping "the long distance phone busy," setting up precinct organizations and writing to approximately 25,000 chosen voters. Bailey began what he called a campaign of silence, which permitted public appearances and commencement addresses, but no official campaign speeches. The aim was to eliminate factionalism; and at the same time to point to the irony of Simmons' asking "as a reward for his bringing about the defeat of the Democratic party that that party shall choose him in the June primary for its Senator of the United States."<sup>20</sup>

In spite of increasing evidence that regulars including the great majority of the young Democratic voters were against him,<sup>21</sup> Simmons and his leading supporters were not pessimistic. They hoped that the prohibition issue would still have appeal, that ministers and women voters would rally as they had in 1928, and that the momentum of Simmons' long service and prestige would carry him through. Indeed the prohibition issue gave Simmons a real advantage in view of his close identification with the dry forces in 1928.<sup>22</sup> On the other hand, Bailey, though by choice a dry, had not been enthusiastic about statutory prohibition in earlier days. Shortly after the announcement of his candidacy, however, he pledged that he would support legislation for more effective enforcement. Moreover, he let it be known that he questioned Simmons' dedication to the dry cause and apparently never-repudiated campaign literature which implied that Simmons "had been drinking all his life until his doctor stopped him."<sup>23</sup>

Few prohibitionists, however, could have been convinced that Simmons was not their champion. "Oh, if we can only keep Prohibition, Mr. Simmons," wrote one official of the WCTU. "It really . . . is difficult to tell which direction the United States is going in—when we realize what Communism, Socialism, Atheism, the Wets, and the rest of that Crowd are doing. . . ." The Anti-Saloon League actively supported Simmons, and in April, Ira Champion, one of its principal national officials, came to North Carolina to work personally for Simmons. Indeed he warned Frank Hampton, Simmons' energetic

<sup>20</sup> Bailey to Morrison, February 10, 1930, James J. Manning to V. O. Riddle, March 10, 1930, D. (F.) Batts Shuping, March 21, 1930, Bailey Papers. See also, Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension*, 30.

<sup>21</sup> *Morning Herald, Daily Charlotte Observer*, hereinafter cited as *Charlotte Observer*, and *The News and Observer*, March 15-16, 1930.

<sup>22</sup> *The News and Observer*, March 29, April 2, 8, 1930; Hampton to J. A. Taylor and others, telegram, March 26, 1930, and William G. McAdoo to Simmons, April 14, 1930, Simmons Papers.

<sup>23</sup> *The News and Observer*, January 22, 1930, Bailey to J. P. Tucker, April 1, 1930, Bailey Papers; Hampton to the Rev. S. F. Conrad, May 16, 1930, Simmons Papers. See also, Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension*, 38-39.

secretary, that more money was needed to organize the "ministers and the women and the moral forces." If they are not "touched" at once, he concluded, "the Senator is gone."<sup>24</sup>

Neither Hampton nor Simmons had to be told that a promising source of votes lay with the women voters, and Charlotte Story Perkinson assumed the responsibility of rallying the ladies. A champion of both prohibition and woman's rights, she insisted that "God directs great movements," and "that in His wisdom the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified that the Eighteenth Amendment might be held."<sup>25</sup> She set up local organizations, wrote campaign tracts, and kept in touch with WCTU officials and with the auxiliaries of the American Legion. "We can ill afford that his labors in the United States Senate should cease," she wrote, "until the Heavenly Father shall declare all his good work on earth at an end."<sup>26</sup>

Unfortunately for Simmons, Bailey followers publicized the record of the two men on woman suffrage. They could show that Bailey's support of it dated from 1917 when a measure to give women the vote in municipal elections was introduced into the state legislature.<sup>27</sup> Simmons at that time had been definitely opposed to woman suffrage. Indeed, he never really favored the Nineteenth Amendment and suggested ratification by the North Carolina legislature only to please President Wilson. North Carolina leaders in the campaign, who had not forgotten Simmons' position, took delight in reminding their friends of the irony of Simmons' now calling for the woman's vote.<sup>28</sup>

Simmons' supporters devoted considerable effort to informing religious organizations of the moral issues of the campaign. A member of his campaign committee was also a district secretary of one of the women's missionary societies. She informed the membership that she was engaged in "missionary work" in her support of Simmons. "None other but a Christian gentleman," she wrote, "could have had [the] courage" to oppose Smith in 1928.<sup>29</sup> Simmons himself wrote

<sup>24</sup> Mrs. R. E. Williams to Simmons, April 22, 1930, and Champion to Hampton, April 30, 1930, Simmons Papers.

<sup>25</sup> *The News and Observer*, April 24, 1930.

<sup>26</sup> Hampton to J. G. Fearing, February 8, 1930, Charlotte S. Perkinson to Mrs. R. A. Harris, March 12, 1930, Perkinson to Mrs. A. D. Frank, March 12, 1930, Perkinson to Hampton, April 18, 1930, Simmons Papers.

<sup>27</sup> Bailey to H. W. Lilly, April 7, 1930, Bailey Papers. See A. Elizabeth Taylor, "The Woman Suffrage Movement in North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXVIII (January, 1961), 45-63; (April, 1961), 173-189, for a detailed study.

<sup>28</sup> Woodrow Wilson to Simmons, June 19, 1920, and Simmons to Joseph P. Tumulty, April 6, 1920, Woodrow Wilson Papers, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; E. Delia Carroll to Editor, *The News and Observer*, May 16, 1930; Gertrude Weil to Manning, April 22, 1930, Bailey Papers. See also, Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension*, 39.

<sup>29</sup> Anna Graham to "My Dear Women," April 1, 1930, Simmons Papers.

personally to numerous ministers. Although he assured them that he would not wish them to exceed "the bounds of propriety," he warned that if it were proven "that a political leader can be destroyed in North Carolina for the reason that he stood with the moral and Church leadership, the consequences to future battles for moral issues will be very hurtful indeed."<sup>30</sup>

Ministers reacted in various ways to these appeals. Some declared publicly for Simmons and distributed literature. One, with a congregation of 500 people, promised to deliver their vote. At least one Baptist minister addressed a mimeographed letter urging support of Simmons as a "Pioneer against the Liquor trade now being arraigned by the devil and his hosts."<sup>31</sup> But others denounced the political activities of the ministry. One friend of Bailey described the organizations of preachers and women as "lying coiled in the grass of prejudice and hypocrisy and striking with their venomous fangs passers by."<sup>32</sup>

Although Simmons favored appeals to the moral forces, he relied principally upon his record in the Senate to persuade his constituents that he should be returned, and it was one of the jobs of Frank Hampton, Simmons' secretary, to see that the Senator's efforts were properly publicized. Simmons was the leading Democratic expert on the tariff and flatly refused to participate personally in his own reelection campaign for the legitimate reason that he was needed in the continuing tariff battle that had opened with the special session of Congress in March, 1929. Simmons' part in the tariff controversy may have been a mixed blessing for him. North Carolinians were divided on the issue, and Simmons himself was no doctrinaire free trader. He was pragmatic rather than dogmatic, preferring a low tariff, but quite sensitive to the North Carolina situation. For example, mica was mined in seven or eight counties in the western part of the state, and the mica interests let it be known that their support in the primary depended on a higher tariff on mica, and Simmons was apparently able to satisfy them.<sup>33</sup>

Much more complicated was the question of the aluminum tariff.

<sup>30</sup> See, for example, (Simmons) to the Rev. Gerald H. Payne, March 28, 1930, Simmons Papers.

<sup>31</sup> J. A. Hartness to Simmons, March 19, 1930, the Rev. J. M. Flemming to Simmons, January 28, 1930, Hampton to Fleming, April 18, 1930, Simmons Papers; Conrad to the Baptist Ministry of North Carolina, May 23, 1930, Bailey Papers.

<sup>32</sup> The Rev. Sankey L. Blanton to Bailey, May 24, 1930, and Brevard Nixon to Bailey Campaign Headquarters, May 9, 1930, Bailey Papers.

<sup>33</sup> G. P. Fortner to Simmons, January 10, 1930, W. W. Bailey to Simmons, February 14, 1930, David T. Fance to Simmons, April 8, 1930, Simmons Papers.

The Aluminum Company of America had announced extensive power projects in the western part of North Carolina which might result in the expenditure of perhaps \$125,000,000 in the state in less than ten years. Such a building program was attractive to a section traditionally poor. Already one project had been started in Macon County. It was rumored that a larger project was "held up indefinitely because of tariff uncertainties." One of Simmons' political friends informed Hampton, moreover, that people were getting the word that Simmons' action in committee in favor of a low tariff had resulted in the loss to the state of some \$52,000,000 in power projects.<sup>34</sup>

Simmons gave careful attention to this problem. He claimed that he had fought in conference to prevent a more substantial cut in the rates. He concluded, however, that aluminum prices were too high, that western North Carolina would not be penalized if duties were reduced, and so supported lower duties.<sup>35</sup>

An issue upon which Simmons counted to keep at least the eastern part of the state loyal to him was that of internal improvements. He had been a member of the Senate Committee on Commerce since 1906 and had fought frequent battles to improve water navigation in North Carolina and elsewhere. Some of these efforts came to a climax during the primary. He continued to fight for a third lock on the Cape Fear River which would make the river navigable to Fayetteville and gained authorization for dredging a 30-foot channel in the same river to Wilmington.<sup>36</sup> He also continued to gain appropriations for the Intracoastal Waterway which envisaged a protected channel for small boats and barges from New England to Florida.

A curious issue having to do with the waterway came to a head during the primary campaign. Before the Civil War, a lock and dam

<sup>34</sup> T. H. Vanderferd to Hampton, March 4, 1930, and William D. Harris to Simmons, March 15, 1930, Simmons Papers; W. W. Watt to Manning, April 30, 1930, Bailey Papers; Norman Cocke to Lee S. Overman, telegram, March 12, 1930, in Lee S. Overman Papers, Southern Historical Collection, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Overman Papers.

<sup>35</sup> J. Fred Rippey (ed.), *F. M. Simmons, Statesman of the New South* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1936), 68; Simmons to W. D. Harris, March 17, 1930, Simmons Papers.

<sup>36</sup> See *The News and Observer*, May 20, 1930; *Cape Fear River at and Below Wilmington, N. C., and Between Wilmington and Navassa, Report on Review of Reports Heretofore Submitted on Cape Fear River Below Wilmington, N. C., and Between Wilmington and Navassa*, House Rivers and Harbors Committee, Doc. No. 39, Seventy-first Congress, Second Session, cited in *Statutes at Large of the United States*, XLVI (1931), Pt. 1, 923; Simmons to J. E. Ashcraft, May 15, 1930, Simmons Papers; *Cape Fear River, N. C., Report on Preliminary Examination and Survey of Cape Fear River, Above Wilmington, N. C. with View to Construction of Lock and Dam About 15 Miles Below Fayetteville*, House Docs., Seventy-first Congress, Third Session, No. 786 (Serial 9,387); *Report of Chief of Engineers, 1934*, Seventy-fourth Congress, First Session, No. 7 (Serials 9,946-9,947), Pt. 1, 393; *Report of Chief of Engineers, Army, 1935*, Seventy-fourth Congress, Second Session (Serials 10,043-10,044), Pt. 1, 474-475.

had been constructed at Great Bridge, Virginia, to keep high tides from flowing into Currituck Sound and thus interfering with the operation of the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal, a sea level, privately-owned canal. Currituck Sound, through which the canal ran, was a fresh water sound of about 300 square miles. It was considered "the most productive single area in America of black bass," and was also a favorite feeding ground for migrating birds. Consequently Currituck became a sportsman's paradise representing an estimated investment of \$5,000,000 in hunting homes and clubs.<sup>37</sup>

In 1912 Congress authorized the purchase of the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal as one link in the recently launched Intracoastal Waterway. At the same time, the Army Engineers apparently concluded that the lock was not essential for navigation, and it was abandoned. Within a comparatively short time, the bass became fewer, and the grasses upon which the migrating birds fed died. It seemed clear that with the abandonment of the lock and dam at Great Bridge, the salt water of the Chesapeake was pouring in and changing the whole environmental complex of Currituck Sound.

A vigorous campaign led by local interests but widely supported by conservationists developed to restore the lock. Representative Lindsay Warren of Washington, North Carolina, brought the question to the attention of Congress, and the Senate Committee on Commerce, of which Simmons was a prominent member, requested an investigation by the Board of Engineers. In 1929, three and a half years after this request, the board submitted a report containing detailed analyses of the problem of the canal but concluding that no lock was necessary for navigation and that it was uncertain whether a lock would preserve the fish and restore the grasses.

In February, 1930, *Outdoor America* carried an article under Simmons' signature describing the situation and appealing "to the people of America for help to avert" a tragedy. An editor's note on this article, reported that Simmons for at least fifteen years had "waged a battle, almost single-handed, to ward off" the destruction of the preserve.<sup>38</sup> Almost simultaneously with the publication of the article, a hearing was held in which Simmons' testimony in favor of

---

<sup>37</sup> The discussion of the Currituck Sound Problem is taken largely from *Hearings Before the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, Seventy-first Congress, Second Session, on the Subject of the Construction of a Lock in the Chesapeake and Albemarle Canal Section of the Inland Waterway from Norfolk, Virginia, to Beaufort Inlet, North Carolina, January 28, 1930.*

<sup>38</sup> *The News and Observer*, January 29, 1930. It is possible that the basic draft for Simmons' article was prepared by Wayne Johnson, a New York attorney. Hampton to Wayne Johnson, October 29, 1929, Simmons Papers.

the bill was again featured, and well before primary day the restoration of the lock was approved. Such publicity aided Simmons, and the opposition was quite legitimately exercised at the nature of the publicity. Indeed Bailey supporters insisted that Representative Warren had done more than Simmons to keep the issue alive, and emissaries were dispatched into the Currituck area to inform the voters that Warren had initiated the investigation as soon as he had entered Congress in 1925.<sup>39</sup>

Actually both Simmons and Warren played important parts in securing approval for the restoration. Warren had organized much of the campaign, and his committee work had been skillful and effective. Nonetheless, Simmons persistently kept at the engineers who were turning in unfavorable reports; he saw that hearings were held, and that decisions were appealed. He succeeded in relieving the locality of having to assume any of the cost of restoration. He argued vigorously that the Intracoastal Waterway was a federal project, that navigation was a federal responsibility, and that to maintain a haven for migratory birds was part of a treaty obligation with Canada.<sup>40</sup>

One national issue with which any sensitive local politician would be involved in 1930 was that of chain stores. The increase in the number of chain stores in the 1920's had created an atmosphere comparable to the anti-monopoly campaign of the 1890's. State legislatures, traditionally responsive to small town appeal, began to approve statutes discriminating against the chains. In 1928 the Senate directed the Federal Trade Commission to undertake "an inquiry into the methods of chain store marketing and distribution."<sup>41</sup> In North Carolina the controversy became lively. The legislature in 1929 approved a measure which would require a fifty-dollar license for every cash retail store operated as a part of a chain in the state.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Bailey to Herbert Peele, January 25, 1930, Charles J. Moore to Shuping, May 21 and 23, 1930, Bailey Papers.

<sup>40</sup> *Hearings Before the Committee on Commerce*, U. S. Senate, Seventy-first Congress, Second Session on H. R. 11781 . . . , Pt. 4, May 19, 1930; *Statutes at Large of the United States*, XLVI (1931), Pt. 1, 922; Lindsay Warren to Richard L. Watson, Jr., August 5, 1961, in author's files.

<sup>41</sup> See *Chain Stores: Cooperative Grocery Chains . . . and Chain Stores: Growth and Development of Chain Stores . . .*, Senate Docs. Nos. 12 and 100, Seventy-second Congress, First Session (Serial 9,501); Ray B. Westerfield, "The Rise of the Chain Store," *Current History*, XXXV (December, 1931), 359; "Anti-Chain Store Legislation in Congress," *Congressional Digest*, IX (August-September, 1930), 202; *Chain Stores, Final Report on Chain-Store Investigation, Letter . . . transmitting in Response to Senate Resolution 224, 70th Congress, Final Report of Federal Trade Commission of Its Investigation of Chain-Store Industry*, Senate Docs., Seventy-fourth Congress, First Session, No. 4 (Serial 9,896).

<sup>42</sup> The Supreme Court upheld this statute in *Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co. et. al. v. Maxwell, Commissioner of Revenue*, 284 U.S. 575 (1931).

Public meetings were held, and the issue was debated on the radio. In fact, so colorful became the radio broadcasts of W. K. Henderson, owner of station KWKH at Shreveport, Louisiana, in opposition to the chain stores, that attempts were made to prohibit his programs.<sup>43</sup>

Simmons was deluged with letters urging him to come to the aid of Henderson and to support the anti-chain store movement. Even though he was reputed to be associated with conservative business interests, actually by disposition he favored local merchants in rural areas. He endorsed the Federal Trade Commission investigation, and lost no opportunity during the primary to let it be known that he considered chain stores a menace. Undoubtedly, as one of his organizers told him, his anti-chain store activities had some effect "where the cross roads store or the filling station is the forum for political discussion."<sup>44</sup>

Bailey, apparently considering Simmons' stand demagogic, was less outspoken on the issue. Some of his followers, however, were concerned about Bailey's reticence. Robert R. Reynolds, rising Asheville politico, warned that "the fight against the chain store is literally sweeping this section. Stand with the home people," he urged Bailey. "Fight the foreign owned chains" that carry "every dollar they get . . . with the exception of the small amount of rent and salaries . . . to New York City."<sup>45</sup>

More significant in its lasting implications than the chain-store issue in the campaign was the role of organized labor. In 1929 and 1930 emotions in the state were highly charged on this subject because of the violence that had broken out during strikes at the Loray Mill in Gastonia and the Marion Manufacturing Company at Marion in 1929. At Gastonia, the chief of police and an unarmed striker, Mrs. Ella May Wiggins, and at Marion, six strikers were killed. The issue was complicated because at Gastonia, Communist organizers were active; thus not only the rights of labor in the mill, in the community, and in the courts, but also the extent of radical participation, were involved.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>43</sup> *New York Times*, January 10, April 27, 1930.

<sup>44</sup> *The News and Observer*, February 23, April 1, 1930; Hampton to John H. Hawley, telegram, April 29, 1930, Simmons to T. M. Kessler, April 19, 1930, D. B. Overcash to Simmons, April 6, 1930, J. H. Canay to Simmons, undated, Simmons Papers.

<sup>45</sup> Bailey to Robert R. Reynolds, February 17, 1930, Reynolds to Bailey, February 18, 1930, John T. Wilkins to Shuping, April 23, 1930, J. C. Coston to Bailey, April 12, 1930, Bailey Papers.

<sup>46</sup> For accounts of these strikes, see Liston Pope, *Millhands and Preachers: A Study of Gastonia* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1942); Samuel Yellen, *American Labor Struggles* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1936); Broadus Mitchell and G. S. Mitchell, *The Industrial Revolution in the South* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1930); and R. E. Williams, "The Textile Battle and Its Present Significance," *The News and Observer*, May 5, 1929.

Simmons was faced with the need of taking a stand on the issue when Senator Burton K. Wheeler introduced into the Senate on April 29 a resolution calling for a congressional investigation of the textile industries of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. Simmons' southern sensibilities were roused by this resolution, and he promptly insisted that, if there were to be any investigation, it should be of the textile mills throughout the United States and not just in the South. He admitted that southern mills paid lower wages but argued that the southern worker enjoyed advantages such as lower rents, free water and light, and fuel at cost. Beware of propaganda that slanders the South, he warned; and at the same time, be aware of substandard working conditions in New England mills and in the needle trades of New York. Some unions, he alleged, want "to control and dominate the factory," and deny "the right of North Carolina citizens to work . . . unless they belong to these unions."<sup>47</sup>

Simmons generally had received the support of trade unions in the past; his attitude in this debate, however, created doubts in the minds of his labor constituents. As soon as he was apprised of this, he hastened to re-establish himself. He assured them that he had "deep sympathy for our laboring classes," that he believed that the "murderer of the poor woman at Gastonia" should be brought to justice, and that there should be an investigation by the "impartial Federal Trade Commission."<sup>48</sup>

Simmons apparently lost little if any ground by this episode. An "act of God" of March 8, 1930, however, put Simmons on the spot politically and must have undermined whatever support he had built up among labor leaders. Probably when Simmons learned of the death of United States Supreme Court Justice Edward Terry Sanford, he saw an opportunity to strengthen his political position. Sanford was a southerner, and it was assumed that he would be replaced by a southerner. North Carolina had two excellent candidates. Simmons himself preferred Chief Justice Stacy of the North Carolina Supreme Court. Stacy, however, was a Democrat, and Simmons

<sup>47</sup> *Congressional Record*, LXXI, Pt. 1, 630-632; Pt. 2, 1,379-1,384; Pt. 4, 4,221-4,226; Senate Committee on Manufacturing, *Working Conditions of Textile Industry in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee, Hearings . . . 71st Congress, 1st Session, on S. Res. 49, Authorizing Committee on Manufactures, or Any Duly Authorized Sub-Committee Thereof, to Investigate Immediately Working Conditions of Employees in Textile Industry of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee, May 8, 9, and 20, 1929* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1929). See also, Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension*, 22.

<sup>48</sup> Simmons to F. Wilson, October 28, 1929, Simmons to Louise Ingersoll, November 14, 1929, J. L. Hamme to Simmons, December 6, 1929, Simmons to William Green, December 11, 1929, Simmons to Hamme, December 20, 1929, Simmons Papers.

was quite aware that Justice John J. Parker, of the United States Circuit Court and a Republican, had a much better chance for presidential appointment and senate approval. Simmons, therefore, backed both of these men for the nomination, and when Hoover chose Parker, Simmons considered himself committed to his support.<sup>49</sup>

Although at first senatorial approval of the appointment seemed assured, opposition quickly developed. Some Democrats, even southerners, opposed Parker because he was a Republican; liberal senators, sensitive about the complexion of the Supreme Court, considered Parker too conservative and not sufficiently distinguished; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was suspicious of his position on the racial question; and the labor leadership insisted that one of his decisions on the circuit court showed that he sympathized with the yellow-dog contract. The question was a complex one; but, whatever the validity of the arguments raised, the coalition was sufficiently strong to defeat Parker's confirmation on May 7, one month before the primary. Simmons consistently supported Parker and voted for his confirmation. He undoubtedly would have lost many votes had he turned against Parker, but at the same time his vote meant that union members who considered the yellow-dog contract a symbol of enslavement would no longer give him their support.<sup>50</sup>

Although it had its weak points, Simmons' record on the national political scene by 1930 was perhaps more impressive than that of any North Carolinian who had preceded him in the Senate. Simmons' regular return to Washington in four previous elections had depended not only upon his record, but also upon his organization. Now the organization no longer could be relied upon, and Simmons and Hampton were too professional to think that the record alone would suffice. Voters must have the record thrust upon them; they must be registered and shepherded to the polls; and their votes must be counted. Simmons' concern about such practical matters led to an attempt on the part of his organization to persuade the state board of elections to see to it that the various Democratic election officers (registrars, poll holders, and markers) would be divided equally be-

<sup>49</sup> Simmons to A. W. McLean, March 14, 1930, and Simmons to C. A. Hines, March 14, 1930, Simmons Papers. For a detailed discussion of this question, see Richard L. Watson, Jr., "The Defeat of Judge Parker: A Study of Pressure Groups in Politics," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, L (September, 1963), 213-233.

<sup>50</sup> Senate Judiciary Committee, *Confirmation of John J. Parker to Be Associate Justice of Supreme Court, Hearing Before Subcommittee, 71st Congress, 2d Session, Apr. 5, 1930* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1930), *passim*.

tween Bailey and Simmons followers. The state board, however, when it met on March 29, 1930, announced that the normal practice of following the advice of county chairmen would be continued. Since most county chairmen now favored Bailey, it was generally conceded that Bailey had won an important round by gaining control of the party election machinery in most localities.<sup>51</sup>

There was in fact something wrong with the Simmons organization. Hampton, informed that the campaign "was a mess" and going "by default," was discouraged. Devoted to the old senator, he could not bear the thought of his defeat. He worked day and night, writing letters, telephoning, drafting broadsides, raising money. Not a temperate man, he occasionally blew up. "Ungrateful skunks . . . and sons of bitches who have eaten bread from the Senator's table," he wrote on one occasion, "are fighting him all over the State and trying to bring a great career to a close in humiliation and defeat and break his heart and throw him out in his old age." Vigor and inspiration were needed; and, since Simmons would not give it, the next best thing was for Hampton to provide it. He had intervened personally in the presidential election of 1928, and his intervention had apparently contributed to the success of the anti-Smith forces. Now late in May, 1930, he established himself at the Hotel Sir Walter in Raleigh and took over Simmons' organization.<sup>52</sup>

Sensing that there was now a danger of losing even the anti-Smith voters, Hampton gave a go-ahead signal to Frank McNinch, brilliant lawyer, eloquent speaker, and chairman in 1928 of the anti-Smith Democratic organization in North Carolina. McNinch was delighted to turn his oratorical guns against "Raskob and the liquor crowd." Hampton also made every effort, as had been his custom, to persuade his friends in state office to get, in a "proper way of course," a good supply of absentee certificates and ballots. One of his closest friends, however, reminded him of the new absentee ballot law that required each voter to request his own ballot. At this Hampton was irritated. Convinced that the Bailey crowd would get as many absentee ballots as they wanted, he informed Frank Grist, commissioner of labor and printing, that he knew Grist would not be able to get ballots through

<sup>51</sup> *The News and Observer*, March 29-31, 1930; Bailey to Morrison, April 1, 1930, Bailey Papers; (H. G. Branston) to Hines, March 31, 1930, and Opie Edwards to Hampton, April 1, 1930, Simmons Papers. See also, Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension*, 35.

<sup>52</sup> Hampton to Lee Hampton, April 29, 1930, Hampton to Simmons, telegram, May 25, 1930, and McNinch to Simmons, May 27, 1930, Simmons Papers. See also, Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension*, 32-34.

regular channels but that he had expected Grist to get them anyway.<sup>53</sup>

Frustrated in his efforts to get the absentee ballots himself, Hampton made a special secretary in Simmons' office responsible for the numerous North Carolinians in Washington. The secretary interviewed each North Carolinian personally, obtained applications for their ballots, and followed them up to be sure the applications were received. In some instances, at least, requests for absentee ballots directed to county boards of election were charged to Simmons' personal account.<sup>54</sup>

Another problem for the professional organizer was the restriction upon spending money in the campaign. North Carolina laws required regular reporting of the amounts spent "to aid in the campaign or election of any candidate for any office in a primary or general election." Furthermore it was illegal for a senatorial candidate to "spend or allow others to spend" more than his annual salary as a senator.<sup>55</sup> In practice, these laws were widely ignored, and many expenditures were made locally which were not reported. Such a relaxed interpretation of the law seems to have been accepted, but there was always danger of an outside investigation.<sup>56</sup> In 1930, for example, a special committee of the United States Senate, of which Gerald P. Nye was chairman, was appointed to investigate senatorial campaigns.<sup>57</sup>

The organization of neither Simmons nor Bailey lived within either the letter or spirit of the law. Some efforts were apparently made to keep the expenditures of central headquarters within the \$10,000 limits provided for a senator, but even the most conscientious efforts in a tough campaign would probably have failed. One or more campaign headquarters had to be maintained. Literature had to be printed and mailed. These functions were more or less open and aboveboard. Somewhat different was the problem of the "worker." In the Simmons camp, for example, the professionals did not have

<sup>53</sup> McNinch to Simmons, May 27, 1930, McNinch to Hampton, June 3, 1930, Hampton to LeRoy Martin, May 5, 1930, Hampton to Frank D. Grist, May 12, 1930, Grist to Hampton, May 16, 1930, Hampton to Grist, May 17, 1930, Simmons Papers.

<sup>54</sup> F. Hunter Creech to J. A. Hartness, June 4, 1930, and Sadie Larkins McCormick to J. A. Taylor, June 5, 1930, Simmons Papers.

<sup>55</sup> He might, in addition, pay his personal travel and subsistence expenses while campaigning. *The North Carolina Code of 1931* . . . (Charlottesville, Virginia: The Michie Company, 1931), c. 82, s. 4185; *Public Laws, 1913*, c. 164.

<sup>56</sup> See, for example, Cameron Morrison's testimony in *Senatorial Campaign Expenditures, 1930, Hearings, 71st Congress, 2nd Session, Pursuant to S. Res. 215, Authorizing Appointment of Special Committee to Make Investigation into Campaign Expenditures of Candidates for Senate: North Carolina, Oct. 13 and 14, 1930* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1930), 9, hereinafter cited as *Senatorial Campaign Expenditures*.

<sup>57</sup> Senate Resolution 215, approved April 10, 1930, *Congressional Record*, LXXII, Pt. 8, 6,841.

confidence in the "moral forces" getting to the polls unless the workers got them there. And workers were professionals who expected payment for their services. John Langston reported, for example, that "every party worker that has been effective in the past" would work for Bailey if they were not paid. Bart Gatling, Simmons' Raleigh manager, warned Hampton early in May that "the other side has already made offers to my men, and I am in danger of losing them." He requested \$600.<sup>58</sup>

Bailey was also bombarded with requests to pay workers and meet other expenses of getting voters to the polls. Neither his organization nor Simmons' tried to keep check on how much was spent locally. Some of these expenditures were large. Cameron Morrison, for example, gave \$2,000 to Bailey's campaign which was reported. He gave in addition \$1,000 to a young man who "loved Mr. Bailey," \$500 each to Bailey's managers in Richmond and Scotland counties, and \$3,000 to Bailey's manager in Mecklenburg County. James Pou, Bailey's father-in-law, contributed \$750 which was reported. But he also paid two field workers, bought radio advertising, and increased his contributions to charity. His unreported contributions amounted to about \$1,500. Moreover, it appears that bills unpaid on primary day were not included within the official \$10,000 amount; Shuping paid personally between \$5,000 and \$6,000 worth of these bills. None of this amount was reported.<sup>59</sup>

Another issue which produced charges and countercharges was that involving the Negro. Simmons was still known as the "chieftain of white supremacy," a title which was bestowed upon him out of the "overflowing love and appreciation of the white people of the State for his fearless and magnificent leadership in the great White Supremacy Revolution."<sup>60</sup> Simmons had gained votes in the past because of this reputation. His supporters hoped to profit from it again.

The Negro question was raised as a campaign issue early in April, 1930, when the *Reidsville Review* devoted its pages on April 2, 1930, to an article in support of Simmons. It praised Simmons especially for his white supremacy activities and contrasted them with Bailey's position. Bailey, it asserted, had at the turn of the century opposed separate railway cars for the white and colored races, had endorsed a proposal to reduce North Carolina's representation if Negro suffrage

<sup>58</sup> Langston to Simmons, April 2 and 23, 1930, and Bart Gatling to Hampton, May 7, 1930, Simmons Papers.

<sup>59</sup> Pou and Shuping testimony in *Senatorial Campaign Expenditures*, 31-38, 22.

<sup>60</sup> Frank Hampton, *For the Senate* (campaign pamphlet), 7, Simmons Papers.

were restricted, and had sneered at the white supremacy issue. Indeed the *Review* accused Bailey of recommending independence in party, and of voting for McKinley in 1896.<sup>61</sup>

The *Review* article was tightly packed and rather difficult reading. Consequently, Frank Hampton and his brother Parks prepared a circular containing a more popular version of the same story. They were aided by the fact that several prominent Negroes such as James Shepard, president of North Carolina College, and a Negro newspaper, the *Carolina Times* of Durham, favored Bailey. The Hamptons took an attack on Simmons, made by the *Times*, and printed it beside allegations that Bailey opposed segregation and disfranchisement. "The idea of anyone opposing separate cars for the white and blacks will work wonders in the western counties," wrote Parks Hampton. And Frank urged that at least 50,000 copies of the circular should be printed with the thought that they be widely distributed particularly where "the prohibition issue is not popular."<sup>62</sup>

The explosive nature of the issue made a counterattack necessary. Bailey insisted that there was "not a word of truth in the circular." He denied that he had sneered at white supremacy, insisting that his first political speech had been in support of the suffrage amendment. He explained his advocacy of political independence by saying that as editor of the *Biblical Recorder*, a religious paper, he "had to pursue an independent course."<sup>63</sup> Bailey's denials were combined with attacks on Simmons. One piece of Bailey literature was in the form of a letter to Simmons written by a voter who had voted for Hoover because of Simmons' leadership. "The first thing that Hoover did was to give a tea in the White House to a Negro wife of the Negro Congressman De Priest," said the repentant voter. "My eyes were opened and I was ashamed. I realized that I had voted against all the instincts of my Southern blood. . . ." <sup>64</sup>

The racial issue became more complicated when it was learned late in May that 375 Negroes had registered in Raleigh to vote in the Democratic primary. Reaction to this news came swiftly. The

<sup>61</sup> *Biblical Recorder* (Raleigh), November 23, 30, December 7, 21, 1898, and April 25, 1900, quoted in *Reidsville Review*, April 2, 1930.

<sup>62</sup> James Shepard to Bailey, January 4, 1930, Bailey Papers; Parks Hampton to Frank Hampton, telegrams, April 17, May 1, 1930, Frank Hampton to Parks Hampton, April 28, May 1, 5, 1930, Simmons Papers. The circular is attached to letter, J. K. Norfleet to Shuping, May 21, 1930, Bailey Papers.

<sup>63</sup> Mary Stewart to Editor, *Charlotte Observer*, May 24, 1930; Bailey to John H. Cathey, May 29, 1930, Bailey Papers. See also, the draft of a campaign circular, *The Charges Against Mr. Bailey*, Bailey Papers.

<sup>64</sup> Editorial, *Pender Chronicle* (Burgaw), May 15, 1930, reprinted as campaign broadside, Simmons Papers.

Raleigh *News and Observer* called it "a dagger at the heart," saying that the Negroes should not have been allowed to register as Democrats since all Negroes were Republicans. Educated Negroes should be protected in their right to register and vote Republican, editorialized *The News and Observer*. "They do not desire to be guilty of the fraud of posing as Democrats."<sup>65</sup> Simmons, thinking that the local "Jones faction" had registered the Negroes in order to gain votes for Bailey, announced publicly that he was "shocked and amazed" and urged the exposure of "the instigators of this indefensible scheme."<sup>66</sup>

The Bailey organization was obviously alarmed. As one Pamlico County man put it, "But for God's sake, yours and mine, and all North Carolina, don't let the 'niggers' in Raleigh vote in a Democratic primary." "The Simmons forces are using that strong against Bailey and it is having effect. . . ." Bailey himself denied that his organization "had anything to do with the registration," and accused the Simmons organization of blackening his character.<sup>67</sup>

On May 31, Bart Gatling, Simmons' Raleigh manager, challenged every Negro registered as a Democrat. Although he initially indicated that he would challenge them on the sole grounds that they were Negroes, the actual complaint put party affiliation or educational qualifications as the basis for the challenge. Of the 472 Negroes challenged, 149 appeared to answer the challenge. With few exceptions all claimed to be Democrats of long standing; most of them were given literacy tests; and all except three were permitted to remain on the Democratic rolls.<sup>68</sup>

It is difficult to steer a straight course through the morass of charges and countercharges in the controversy over Negro voting. Actually for a good many years Negroes had been registered to vote in Raleigh elections, and the various political factions had bargained for their votes. There may not have been anything underhanded in the growing Negro registration in the Democratic party; it may have been that the Negroes themselves had made up their minds how they

<sup>65</sup> *The News and Observer*, May 27, 1930. The *Charlotte Observer*, June 1, 1930, stated that it was "a practice common with the Raleigh politicians of using the Negro vote when it might be advantageous to do so." There were, it appeared, more than 2,000 Negro names on the old books, of which 500 were transferred to the new.

<sup>66</sup> Simmons to Mrs. L. A. Mahler, May 28, 1930, Simmons Papers; *The News and Observer*, May 29, 1930. See also, Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension*, 41.

<sup>67</sup> Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension*, 41; S. M. Carupen to Shuping, May 30, 1930, Bailey Papers; *The News and Observer*, May 30, 1930. See also, A. E. Jones to Shuping, May 30, 1930, Bailey Papers.

<sup>68</sup> *The News and Observer*, May 29, 1930. Although Simmons wanted to make it appear that all Negroes would support Bailey, there was some evidence that Simmons, too, had Negro supporters. B. B. Lipscomb to Simmons, May 28, 1930, Simmons Papers; *The News and Observer*, May 30, June 4-6, 1930.

would register. Testimony at the hearings gave some indication that the Negroes were moving into the Democratic party in North Carolina because they believed that the local Republican leadership wished to make the party "lily white."<sup>69</sup>

The Negro issue was just one of the several devices by which the Simmons forces attempted to win supporters in the closing days of the campaign. There was some hope, for example, that former Governor Angus McLean might lead a grand rally on election eve. But McLean refused to participate, and Simmons made his own final appeal in a written statement. He asserted that he was making his case for re-election upon his record of thirty years in the Senate. He accused his enemies of ignoring his record and attacking only his failure to support Al Smith in 1928. They "ignore also the fact," he went on, that "I have voted for . . . every Democratic nominee—national, state, district, county and local—with one exception. . . ." "I have never fought a battle," he concluded, "against the welfare and glory of my country, my State, and my party."<sup>70</sup>

By the first of June, Bailey had returned to Raleigh to work at his headquarters. Even then he had not decided to make a campaign address. Reports from the troops in the field had indicated a Simmons gain in recent weeks; and so Bailey decided to deliver one climactic, final broadcast at the Raleigh auditorium. This speech was perhaps the clearest statement of the "issues" of Bailey's campaign. He explained that he had intentionally not developed any issues because he wanted to stand not on his own platform but on that of the Democratic party. He denied that Raskob, or any wet organization, had contributed to his campaign and asserted that he would "live and die in opposition to . . . the liquor traffic." He also denied that he or his associates had anything to do with the registration of Negroes. He assured his listeners that he had consistently opposed increasing the tax burdens upon the farmers and people generally. He was given a great ovation as he concluded: "From the mountains to the sea, I confidently predict that the Democracy of North Carolina will go to the polls next Saturday, determined . . . to repair the damage done in 1928, and to march to a great victory in 1930, and a greater still in 1932."<sup>71</sup>

<sup>69</sup> *The News and Observer*, May 28, June 1, 4-7, 1930.

<sup>70</sup> W. G. Holman to Simmons, May 17, 1930, Holman to McLean, May 17, 1930, McLean to Holman, May 26, 1930, C. H. England to McLean, May 26, 1930, McLean to Simmons, May 27, 1930, England to McLean, May 27, 1930, McLean to Simmons, June 2, 1930, Simmons Papers. See also, Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension*, 43; *The News and Observer*, June 6, 1930.

<sup>71</sup> Puryear, *Democratic Party Dissension*, 43; *The News and Observer*, June 6, 1930.

Primary day, June 7, 1930, brought cloudy or stormy weather to most communities. Each side, in fact, claimed that it lost votes because of the rain.<sup>72</sup> Nevertheless, more than 325,000 voters turned out, some 90,000 more than ever before in a North Carolina primary. Bailey received 198,867 votes, almost 70,000 more than Simmons. He carried all but 16 of the 100 counties. Simmons carried seven counties in the East—this was his home stronghold which he had strengthened by support of the waterways. He carried only Mecklenburg and Forsyth counties in the heavily populated Piedmont where the anti-Smith Democrats had won overwhelmingly in 1928. He carried no county west of Iredell.<sup>73</sup>

The defeat plunged Simmons' friends into gloom. McAdoo found it difficult to comprehend and assured Simmons that he was worthy of being in the White House. Others were more emotional. "If Jesus of Nazareth had been crowned King of the Jews and died a natural death while enjoying imperial power, there would be few today . . . who had ever heard his name," wrote a ministerial friend. "Had Thomas Cranmer not been burned at the stake, his name would not appear on the pages of history. Had Woodrow Wilson not suffered defeat in the last days of his life, the honor of his memory would be less."<sup>74</sup> Superficially at least, ranks were closed after the primary in preparation for the election in the fall. In fact, there was much bitterness beneath the surface. From Bailey supporters came accusations that Republicans had registered as Democrats in order to support Simmons in the primary. Now that he was defeated in the primary, the accusation went on, Simmons would run as an independent in order to attract the coalition that had defeated Smith in 1928. At least some of the Simmons followers thought that the election had been stolen from them. They complained of the control of the elec-

<sup>72</sup> J. R. Jones to Bailey, June 10, 1930, Bailey Papers; J. W. Hollowell to Simmons, June 9, 1930, Simmons Papers.

<sup>73</sup> The counties carried by Simmons were Jones, Craven, Lenoir, Onslow, Pender (by one vote), New Hanover, and Hyde in the east; Wilson, Robeson, Caswell, Hertford, Lee, Richmond, Mecklenburg, Forsyth, and Iredell in the rest of the state. The largest number of votes polled in a North Carolina election prior to 1930 was in the election of 1928. *The News and Observer*, June 18, 1930. See also, *Charlotte Observer*, June 9, 1930.

<sup>74</sup> McAdoo to Daniel Roper, June 10, 1930, and McAdoo to Simmons, June 16, 1930, William G. McAdoo Papers, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress; Horace M. Dubose, Jr., to Simmons, June 9, 1930, Langston to Simmons, telegram, June 9, 1930, Simmons to Langston, telegram, June 10, 1930, Simmons Papers; *Charlotte Observer*, June 10, 1930.

tion by Bailey election officials, of the purchase of voters, and of fraudulent voting by absentee ballots.<sup>75</sup>

Simmons became convinced that New York money had been used to rob him of the election.<sup>76</sup> Thus he was delighted when Senator Nye's Senatorial Campaign Committee decided to investigate the various rumors of irregularities. A very brief two-day hearing was held. Cameron Morrison, C. L. Shuping, and James Pou, among others, testified. They were on the defensive, for unquestionably they had spent more money than was permitted by law. Nonetheless, they appeared to be quite willing to talk about it rather apologetically. Editor Josephus Daniels, although he had favored Simmons, concluded that the hearing was a "Godsend" in that "not a scintilla of evidence was elicited to prove that Bailey got any outside money" of significance. At the same time, Daniels pointed out that it had "uncovered indefensible practices of money spent for a candidate through agencies other than the campaign committees and not reported."<sup>77</sup>

Money was not, therefore, the principal factor defeating Simmons. The principal factor was undoubtedly the obvious one: Simmons' failure to support Smith in 1928. As Simmons' colleague, Senator Lee S. Overman, put it, "The people of North Carolina do not like irregularity in politics and especially from a man who had led them all these years insisting upon regularity."<sup>78</sup>

By the time the primary campaign had begun, few of the local professional politicians were willing to support Simmons. This situation was novel. Simmons had never campaigned much for himself. He had relied on local politicians. In fact, Bailey claimed that Simmons' reputation as a campaign fighter was something of a myth, pointing out that he had made only two political speeches in the state between 1916 and 1928. Then in 1928, wrote a Bailey man, "he made two speeches in advocacy of the election of a mossy-back, blue-

<sup>75</sup> Bruce Craven to Bailey, June 9, 1930, W. A. Hunt to Bailey, June 9, 1930, A. A. Bunn to Bailey, June 10, 1930, Bailey Papers; Mary Jones to (Simmons), June 12, 1930, W. Henry Liles to Hines, July 10, 1930, Simmons Papers. In Catawba County, where fewer than 5,000 votes were cast, for instance, there was an estimate of 1,500 absentee votes. T. J. Ray to Simmons, August 18, 1930, C. G. Whitney to Simmons, August 8, 1930, G. W. Murray to Simmons, August 20, 1930, Whitney to Simmons, August 22, 1930, Simmons Papers.

<sup>76</sup> Memo to the Press, June 12, 1930, Simmons to Hampton, August 21, 1930, Ward to Hampton, September 4, 1930, Hampton to Ward, September 11, 1930, Hampton to Simmons, September 15, 1930, Hampton to (Simmons, September, 1930), Simmons Papers; Overman to Bailey, June 13, 1930, Bailey Papers.

<sup>77</sup> *The News and Observer*, October 14, 1930, and Josephus Daniels to Albert S. Burleson, October 11, 1930, Josephus Daniels Papers, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress; *Charlotte Observer*, October 14-15, 1930.

<sup>78</sup> Overman to (Craig) Burton, June 14, 1930, Overman Papers; *Morning Herald*, June 10, 1930.

bellied, monopoly - worshipping, DePriest - entertaining Republican. . . ."<sup>79</sup>

Even Simmons' ability as an organizer was being questioned. He had become increasingly accustomed to leaving the day-to-day business to A. D. Watts, Frank Hampton, and a host of other friends who had worked with him in the nineties and following decades. By 1930 some of them were dead, many were old, and a significant number of them had revolted over Simmons' stand in 1928.<sup>80</sup> Since the Senator had not campaigned actively in the state for some years, young Democrats did not know him. Most young lawyers, the aspiring politicians, opposed him. There was rebellion against the idea of the "Simmons machine." Thus the local machinery became predominantly controlled by the followers of Bailey.

Under the circumstances, Simmons' only hope was to rally those who had been inspired by his stand in the 1928 election and others, such as organized labor and the corporations, who were not traditionally a part of the political organization. None of these groups voted in the way hoped for by the Simmons organization. Indeed, Hampton was infuriated at the "so called moral element" which he said had deserted Simmons when he was in distress, leaving him "naked to his enemies."<sup>81</sup> Yet "the moral element" was divided; Bailey, a Baptist, certainly was not a wet, and he was quite successful in rallying those women who remembered that when Simmons was opposing woman suffrage Bailey was taking the lead in favoring it.

Even so the prohibition issue would probably have had a more decisive effect had not the depression conveniently materialized to nullify the emotional issues. It was widely accepted that Hoover was responsible for the depression, and by 1930 all North Carolina was feeling its effect. In 1928 Simmons had indirectly helped Hoover, and he had not seriously attacked him since. The conclusion was obvious that because of his association, Simmons could be judged guilty of the depression. Simmons' supporters might point to his consistent record of aid to farmers, internal improvements, veterans' benefits, and other favors to constituents. In good times, this record might have been convincing; in depression times, even a constructive record of one who had bolted the party was easily forgotten.

<sup>79</sup> Bailey to Gerald W. Johnson, January 16, 1930, Bailey to W. O. Saunders, March 19, 1930, D. M. Stringfield to Manning, February 17, 1930, Nixon to Bailey, April 23, 1930, Bailey Papers.

<sup>80</sup> For a detailed analysis of this situation, see Bailey to Walter Montgomery, June 12, 1943, Bailey Papers.

<sup>81</sup> Hampton to McNinch, November 20, 1930, Simmons Papers.

Simmons expected to receive support from labor. His decision to support Judge Parker's confirmation, however, had killed that hope. At the other extreme were the corporations whose resources apparently had been at the service of the Simmons organization in the past. Some expected the corporations to come to his help in 1930, but there is no evidence that they did. Perhaps they too were cooled by Simmons' actions in the Senate. Only recently he had stood against private interests' taking over Muscle Shoals; here he was no doubt judged guilty of association again—this time with that alleged radical, George Norris. Moreover, his stand on the tariff did not help him with business in general, in view of the fact that he had resisted all efforts of the Duke Power Company and others to persuade him to support a higher tariff on aluminum.<sup>82</sup>

There were no true issues that clearly separated the contestants in 1930. The aim was to arouse the voter, get him to the polls, and see that he voted right. Violence was frowned upon, but the practices followed by representatives of both sides were questionable to say the least. Race, religion, any subject that might influence the vote were tossed into the ring. People were marched to the polls, absentee ballots manipulated.

Simmons was defeated by a young man, more vigorous, more eloquent, and perhaps more powerful intellectually. The old Senator, who spent most of the ten years remaining to him on his porch at New Bern, would express himself as sympathetic to the New Deal at a time when Senator Bailey was becoming a symbol of the conservative southern Democrat. It is interesting to speculate whether, had he been re-elected, Simmons would have adapted to the changing policies of Franklin Roosevelt as he had supported the changing policies of the earlier Democrat, Woodrow Wilson.

---

<sup>82</sup> Victory Boyden to Simmons, June 9, 1930, Simmons Papers; *The News and Observer*, June 9-10, 1930; *Morning Herald*, June 10, 1930.

# THE NORTH CAROLINA MANUMISSION SOCIETY 1816-1834

BY PATRICK SOWLE \*

In Colonial North Carolina the only group to question the ethics of slaveholding was the Society of Friends. And even they were late beginning. Although as early in 1740 they discussed methods of "using negroes well," they did little to oppose the institution.<sup>1</sup> In 1754 a touring Quaker from New England regretted that among his southern brethren "Negro-purchasing comes more and more in use."<sup>2</sup> In the 1760's, however, serious attention was given to slaveholding, and in 1768 the Western Quarterly, a subdivision of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting, advised its members "not to buy or sell in any case that can be reasonably avoided."<sup>3</sup> Four years later the Western Quarterly advanced its position by ruling that a Friend should not purchase a Negro except from a fellow-Quaker or to prevent the separation of mates or of parent and child. Under no circumstances could a Friend sell a slave to a professional trader.<sup>4</sup> The members of the Western Quarterly continued to advocate their cause, and in 1775 they persuaded the Yearly Meeting to rule that "Friends . . . shall neither buy or sell a negro without the consent of the monthly meeting to which they belong." Manumission was also recommended.<sup>5</sup> Committees were appointed to aid members in emancipating slaves; the committee members later reported that they "found a great willingness, even beyond [our] . . . expectation to promote the work; and a considerable number of slaves [has] . . . been liberated. . . ."<sup>6</sup>

\* Dr. Sowle is Associate Professor of History at Murray State College, Murray, Kentucky.

<sup>1</sup> *A Narrative of the Proceedings of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting on the Subject of Slavery* (Greensboro: Swaim and Sherwood, 1848), 6, hereinafter cited as *Narrative*.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Frothergill, *Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labours of Samuel Frothergill* (Liverpool, England: D. Marples, 1843), 283, quoted by Rufus M. Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (London, England: Macmillan and Co., 1911), 322.

<sup>3</sup> *Narrative*, 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Narrative*, 7.

<sup>5</sup> *Narrative*, 10.

<sup>6</sup> *Narrative*, 11.

Although the total number of emancipated slaves is not known, it appears that many of the Quakers disposed of their Negroes, although some members refused to co-operate.<sup>7</sup>

Legislators in North Carolina feared the Quakers' schemes of emancipation, and in 1777 the General Assembly provided that a slave could not be liberated "except for meritorious services to be adjudged of and allowed by the county court. . . ."<sup>8</sup> In consequence of this act about 40 of the freed slaves were imprisoned. A few were resold into slavery. The Yearly Meeting and the local monthly meetings labored to free their former bondsmen. The Friends repeatedly petitioned the legislature for repeal of the statute, but the lawmakers remained unmoved for it "would be of dangerous consequence to the Community at large to tolerate the owners of slaves to set them free."<sup>9</sup>

After the passage of the 1777 statute prohibiting manumission except for meritorious service the Quakers bypassed the law by allowing their slaves to live as free Negroes. They were allowed to live and provide for themselves as they wished. Again the North Carolina legislature feared such plans, and in 1794 it decided that slaves could not "hire their time."<sup>10</sup> The only recourse left now was to send the slaves north, especially to Pennsylvania. This plan seems to have been put into operation to a limited extent, but, the number of relocated Negroes is not known.<sup>11</sup>

In order to eradicate slavery completely and to evade the statutory impediments, the Yearly Meeting in 1808 devised the "Trustee Plan of Slaveholding." This plan was established with the hope that someday the laws of North Carolina would be relaxed and that the Negroes would be able to enjoy freedom.<sup>12</sup> Trustees were appointed by the Yearly Meeting to hold consignments of slaves in trust from Quaker masters. The trustees worked under the supervision of the Yearly Meeting which held legal title to the Negroes. Nearly all the Quaker

<sup>7</sup> *Narrative*, 13.

<sup>8</sup> John Haywood (ed.), *A Manual of the Laws of North-Carolina . . .* (Raleigh: J. Gales [Fourth edition], 1819), s. xxviii, hereinafter cited as Haywood, *Manual*.

<sup>9</sup> See "Report of the Committee . . . Relative to the Slaves Liberated by the Quakers," January 27, 1779, Legislative Papers of North Carolina, Archives, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Legislative Papers; 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), XIX, 31; XXI, 933; XXIV, 221, 964.

<sup>10</sup> Haywood, *Manual*, s. lx.

<sup>11</sup> *Narrative*, 23.

<sup>12</sup> Nathan Mendenhall to the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia, November 4, 1825, Letter Book of the Meeting for Sufferings of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Guilford College Library, Guilford College, hereinafter cited as Letter Book of Sufferings.

masters participated. As many as 800 slaves were included in the plan. Ironically, the North Carolina Yearly Meeting thus became one of the greatest slaveholders in the South. Legally the Negroes were still in bondage, but they enjoyed many of the advantages of freedom. Some purchased land in the name of the trustees and built up modest homesteads.<sup>13</sup>

The Friends, however, disliked this system. They realized that it was an evasion of duly constituted law. In addition the trustee slaves in their unsupervised lives sometimes ran afoul of the law. Also many elderly slaves had to be supported by the Yearly Meeting, and the females constantly proved their worth by presenting the trustees with new charges. In view of these problems the Yearly Meeting repeatedly petitioned the North Carolina legislature for modification of the slave code.<sup>14</sup>

As slavery became more and more a burden to the Yearly Meeting and as the institution came into increasing use among their non-Quaker neighbors in the North Carolina Piedmont, the Friends sought new measures by which to act against slavery. By early 1816 Charles Osborne, a Quaker minister from Tennessee, found it possible to form small manumission societies at Center, Caraway, Deep River, and New Garden in Guilford County, the center of Quaker strength. "I . . . went . . . to Deep River settlement," he recalled later in life,

Here I was at their monthly meeting, and also had a meeting with a number of them on the manumission business. From here, I went to Springfield and there, had a large public meeting; thence to Center, the next day, and had another at the usual hour; and finding here a society of manumissionists, who had organized in consequence of some papers they had received from us in Tennessee. I had a meeting with them in the afternoon. All these meetings were to satisfaction.<sup>15</sup>

Their mutual interest led these four local societies to convene in a joint meeting. On July 19, 1816, 23 delegates representing approximately 150 members assembled and discussed plans for possible

<sup>13</sup> See inventory, c. 1826, signed by George Swain and Henry Bolinger, agents for Levinia Benbow, wife of a slave owned by a non-Quaker. Listed in the inventory were 38 acres of land, one horse, seven cows, farm implements, and household furnishings. North Carolina Manumission Society Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Manumission Society Papers.

<sup>14</sup> Minute Book of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1794-1837, *passim*, Guilford College Library, Guilford College, hereinafter cited as Minutes of Yearly Meeting.

<sup>15</sup> Charles Osborn, *Journal of That Faithful Servant of Christ, Charles Osborn, Containing an Account of Many of His Travels and Labours in the Work of the Ministry and His Trials and Exercises in the Service of the Lord, and in the Defense of the Truth, As it is in Jesus* (Cincinnati, Ohio: A. Pugh, 1854), 185.

gradual emancipation. Wishing to continue future meetings, they elected officers and appointed a committee to frame a constitution.<sup>16</sup> In December a constitution was ratified at another convention. The new organization was christened the North Carolina Manumission Society. Although Quakers dominated the society, membership was open to all, and occasionally slaveholders and other interested citizens attended.<sup>17</sup>

The society's antislavery attitude was epitomized in the preamble to the constitution. It declared that all men possessed certain rights. The Creator expected men to treat each other "as we would be done by." Though the Negro was different in color, he was entitled to freedom; it was the obligation of every citizen to remove the dishonor of slavery from a Christian nation.<sup>18</sup> The society, however, disavowed political action. A proposal to expel members of the society who voted for slaveholding candidates for the legislature was promptly rejected.<sup>19</sup>

From the initial cluster of four branches the society grew slowly. In December of 1816 there were fewer than 25 delegates at the convention or semiannual "General Association" as it was officially termed. When the first convention of 1817 convened in July a new branch, Reedy Fork, had been formed, and 42 delegates were present. By the next fall the Friends Meeting at Springfield had formed a branch. From the end of 1817 to early 1820 the number of branches remained constant as did attendance at the General Association sessions, while individual membership grew steadily. In 1817 about 200 members could be claimed, New Garden and Center being the largest branches, each with about 70 members. By the autumn of the same year the total rose to 256. The roll books increased until April, 1819, when 281 members were listed.<sup>20</sup>

The society early undertook to proselytize the people of the North Carolina Piedmont. In December, 1816, a committee was appointed to communicate with Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Moravian organizations. "Favorable receptions" were given to the communications, but little seems to have resulted. An exchange with the Tennes-

<sup>16</sup> Henry M. Wagstaff (ed.), *Minutes of the North Carolina Manumission Society, 1816-1834* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, [Volume 22, Numbers 1 and 2, of *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*], 1934), 13-15, hereinafter cited as Wagstaff, *Minutes*. See also, Levi Coffin, *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, the Reputed President of the Underground Railroad* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Robert Clarke Co., 1899), 74, hereinafter cited as Coffin, *Reminiscences*.

<sup>17</sup> Coffin, *Reminiscences*, 75.

<sup>18</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 39.

<sup>19</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 17.

<sup>20</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 34.

see Manumission Society was more fruitful. This institution, also predominantly Quaker, had the same objectives as the North Carolina Manumission Society, and a correspondence which continued for several years was established.<sup>21</sup>

Overtures were made to other institutions. Financial sanction was given at the meeting of the General Association in 1818 for sending delegates to the Quaker-dominated American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery, soon to meet in Philadelphia.<sup>22</sup> A few years later the society wished to send another delegate, but the modest state of the treasury intervened.<sup>23</sup>

During its early years the society made periodic efforts to distribute antislavery literature. At the first convention in 1816 the Center branch delegates presented a document which the General Association printed for distribution. A few years later the society authorized the purchase of \$100 worth of back issues of the *Friend of Peace*, a Quaker antislavery and reform journal, with the hope that members would distribute them among their slaveholding neighbors.<sup>24</sup> Officers of the American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery occasionally sent consignments of material which the society welcomed.<sup>25</sup> Any document which might arouse local animosity or cast a militant light on the organization was rejected. The society, for example, returned a cache of pamphlets to the Ohio Peace Society as not being in accord with the views of the organization.<sup>26</sup>

Between 1816 and 1824 the society sent only one petition to Congress and none to the state legislature. The society probably did not take recourse often to petitions because of the frequent memorials about slavery and the slave trade sent to the state legislature and Congress by the Yearly Meeting. Nevertheless late in 1817, after more than a year of discussion between the branches and the General Association, the corresponding secretary sent a petition to Congress. Although its content is not known, some 256 members signed it. Referred in Congress to a committee considering a similar memorial presented by Baltimore Quakers, it died of neglect at the end of the session.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 17-19.

<sup>22</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 28.

<sup>23</sup> Richard Mendenhall to Joseph Paul, December 22, 1821, Manumission Society Papers.

<sup>24</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 15, 28, 30.

<sup>25</sup> See, for example, American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery to Richard Mendenhall, January 15, 1819; Richard Mendenhall to Joseph Paul, December 22, 1821, Manumission Society Papers.

<sup>26</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 25.

<sup>27</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 20, 21, 23, 25, 27.

The society's most constructive work took place in Negro education. Some time late in 1820 or early 1821 the New Garden branch established a school for Negro children with the hope of making them "useful members of the community, and fit for freedom."<sup>28</sup> Probably the children of trustee slaves and of neighboring masters attended. In the following summer the Coffin family opened a Sunday school for Negroes in New Garden. It was said that slaveholders permitted attendance until dissatisfied masters voiced complaints that some slaves had become "discontented and uneasy, and created a desire for the privileges that others had."<sup>29</sup> The efforts of the branches were noticed by the General Association, and in opening the convention in March, 1821, President Aaron Coffin stated that the society should establish a school for Negroes. The expense of the scheme, he suggested, could be carried largely by the subscribing masters. The delegates did not share Coffin's enthusiasm, and the question was referred to a committee. It was later decided that interest from the modest funds of the society might be employed for this purpose; however, nothing was done to further the matter.<sup>30</sup>

Thus the society during its early years carried on a limited campaign of antislavery activities. Little was done to improve the lot of the slave or to attract public attention to the cause. It was a small organization, not carrying on a controversial or aggressive program, and barely noticed by most North Carolinians. Rarely did the press take notice of its activities. Primarily it was a Quaker organization. Members did not wish to alarm their slaveholding neighbors, for almost from the time of the society's establishment members believed their cause "very unpopular." Richard Mendenhall, prominent in the society and the Jamestown branch, succinctly stated the objectives of the society:

Our intention and object is the most gentle and pacifick manner gradually to promote the abolition of slavery and to endeavor to gain information on the subject—under a hope that some way will open for the relief and instruction of those unhappy beings still having in view the happiness and welfare [*sic*] of all. We are well aware of the importance as well as the delicacy of the subject and that it must be a work of time is the only thing expected or desired. And under these and similar sentiments we have associated together for the purpose of collecting and diffusing information of the subject.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 58.

<sup>29</sup> Coffin, *Reminiscences*, 69-71.

<sup>30</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 59, 62-63.

<sup>31</sup> Richard Mendenhall to Elias B. Caldwell, July 6, 1819, Manumission Society Papers.

From the time of its establishment the society maintained an interest in the American Colonization Society. At the General Association meeting in December, 1816, delegates voted to correspond with that organization. A special committee wrote that the society believed it a "Duty, social, political and Religious to lend our willing aid to any measure that may promote the Grand and Supereminent [*sic*] object in View."<sup>32</sup> While declining to become an auxiliary of the national organization, the society wished to contribute funds, but financial limitations made it impractical.<sup>33</sup> Sympathy with the colonization movement grew, and at the sessions of the General Association in the following year it was moved that the word "colonization" be incorporated into the name of the society.<sup>34</sup> Some delegates, however, dissented vigorously. Some members of the New Garden branch, led by Levi Coffin, walked out of the convention. Late in life Coffin recalled that the few slaveholders present insisted on discussing conditions for manumission. Sharp debate resulted over the importance of colonization. The convention ended by approving the motion; thus, "colonization" was incorporated into the title of the society. "We felt that the slave power had got the ascendancy in our society, and that we could no longer work in it," Coffin charged. "The convention broke up in confusion, and our New Garden branch withdrew to itself, no longer co-operating with the others. The little antislavery band, composed mostly of Friends, continued to meet at New Garden. . . ." <sup>35</sup>

Even though Coffin coupled the change of name to the demands of the slaveholders, the charge cannot be accurately supported. Of the 23 delegates who attended the convention which changed the society's name, 13 were original incorporators of the society. They were probably Quakers. No more than ten could have been slaveholders, and such a high figure is unlikely. The modification of the name, therefore, resulted from a movement generated within the institution, not from the few slaveholders who had recently become members. The withdrawal of Coffin and his like-minded associates who placed more emphasis on the evils of slavery than on the expediency of resettling Negroes began a movement within the society to promote the aims of colonization and to rid the society of the manumissionists.

<sup>32</sup> North Carolina Manumission Society to American Colonization Society, May 25, 1817; Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 210.

<sup>33</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 37.

<sup>34</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 20.

<sup>35</sup> Coffin, *Reminiscences*, 75-76.

Repeatedly, controversy over the official name plagued the society. In August, 1819, a branch representative moved that the word "manumission" be dropped from the title. Discussion ensued, and the General Association gave the problem to a committee which recommended in the following October that the word be retained, a finding concurred in by the house. A rump delegation from New Garden which did not follow Coffin remained in the society and became outspoken opponents of colonization. In October, 1820, the New Garden contingent moved that "colonization" be struck from the name of the society. Action was deferred until the next convention, when the motion was first carried but later directed to the next session for more definite approval. At the next meeting in September, 1821, there was not a quorum, and the final decision was delayed until the next January when, after much debate, it was decided to retain the word.<sup>36</sup>

The internal dissension in the society between the colonizationists and the manumissionists had a profound effect upon the interest of members. A lack of enthusiasm began as early as October, 1819, when only 28 delegates attended the General Association convention. Twelve delegates attended the sessions in the following spring, while in the following October only 15 delegates appeared. This number was duplicated at the next General Association in March, 1821. Soon the situation worsened. A quorum failed to appear at the September, 1821, convention while the next meeting in January, 1822, showed some improvement with the attendance of 18 delegates. Two other General Association sessions in 1822, however, could not muster quorums. During the following two years there was a slight improvement, with 24 attending in December, 1823, and 16 in the following spring.<sup>37</sup>

Little was done to check the decline. In October, 1820, the society appointed two men to attend branch meetings at Caraway and Springfield, then unrepresented at the General Association. They were wholly unsuccessful, and these branches did not attend the following convention.<sup>38</sup> The antislavery cause came to rest more with zealous individuals than with the society. A quaker minister, the Reverend Joseph Hoag, who traveled through Guilford County in 1823, made no mention of the society even though he was an old antislavery adherent.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 35-36, 38, 45, 57, 62, 65.

<sup>37</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 36-37, 42-44, 56, 61-62, 64-68.

<sup>38</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 45-46, 56.

<sup>39</sup> Joseph Hoag, *Journal of the Life of Joseph Hoag* (London, England: A. W. Bennett, 1862), 265-266, hereinafter cited as Hoag, *Journal*.

Such were conditions in the summer of 1824 when Benjamin Lundy, an oldline advocate of colonization, visited the Quaker settlements. Lundy, the Quaker editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, had long promoted Haiti as a refuge for free American Negroes.<sup>40</sup> While visiting the Friends' Meeting at Deep Creek he delivered an address against slavery. Being well received, he gave some 15 to 20 lectures during his sojourn. He created sufficient enthusiasms for the establishment of about 14 societies, all embracing gradual emancipation and colonization.<sup>41</sup> After hearing of the troubles of the Quakers' trustee Negroes he became more certain of Haiti's benefits, and he soon traveled to the island in the hope of promoting a program of colonization for the North Carolina slaves.<sup>42</sup>

Under the influence of Lundy and because of the mounting problems of maintaining the trustee slaves, the members of the society rose to action. President Aaron Coffin, who in February, 1824, had thought it might be advisable to dissolve the society, changed his views by June of the same year and told the delegates to an especially called convention:

Among other communications Lundy has published the following, "That the North Carolina Manumission & Colonization Society are about to Remodel their constitution, so as to become a manumission Society, which he thought would be for the better," I accord with the Idea.—But while I rejoice at the rapid march of freedom, & that the public mind is more enlightened, & ready to subscribe to the Justice of the cause we are embarked in;— . . . we all have professedly the same object in view, the gradual Emancipation of the Slave population; . . . I also think the title ought to be in future, the Manumission Society of North Carolina. If that part of the title is retained, I should not be so tenacious of the rest, but think the old Society ought to be kept up, we are now prepared to go on. . . .<sup>43</sup>

With this introduction the assemblage went on to reaffirm its faith in the old constitution to which had been added a few minor amendments.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Benjamin Lundy and Others, *The Life, Travels and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy, Including his Journeys to Texas and Mexico; with a Sketch of Contemporary Events, and a Notice of the Revolution in Hayti*. (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: W. D. Parrish, 1847), 23-24, hereinafter cited as Lundy, *Life*.

<sup>41</sup> Lundy, *Life*, 22-23; Paul M. Sherrill, "The Quakers and the North Carolina Manumission Society," *Trinity College Historical Society Publications*, Series X (1914), 40.

<sup>42</sup> Rufus M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism* (London, England: Macmillan and Co., 2 volumes, 1921), I, 23-24. See also, Lundy, *Life*, 23-24.

<sup>43</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 78.

<sup>44</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 75.

Again the society actively campaigned for members. While there were only 14 delegates and six branches represented at the convention in September, 1824, membership grew so rapidly by the following spring that 92 men, representing 19 branches, attended the General Association.<sup>45</sup> During the winter of 1825 a committee of ten men contacted the societies organized by Lundy during the previous summer. President Mendenhall stated that the success in recruiting members was more than he "could with . . . most sanguine hopes, have anticipated. . . ." <sup>46</sup> By late 1825 the number of branches had climbed to 28, and 81 delegates assembled for the General Association sessions. At this time individual memberships reached 1,150, and within the next six months 500 more new members were recruited.<sup>47</sup>

Colonization as a solution for the slavery problem thoroughly captivated the growing ranks of the society. Encouraging free Negroes to migrate to foreign republics became the society's official doctrine. The members invited all slaveholders in North Carolina to prepare their bondsmen for ultimate colonization. Members believed that Negroes could be forced, as "an act of humanity," to leave the United States. Reflecting on past experience, a convention concluded that emancipation without provision for colonization might lead to vagrancy.<sup>48</sup> While the doctrine of colonization was dominant in the society's outlook, universal and gradual emancipation remained the ultimate goal.

Lundy's visit to North Carolina and the increasing influence of the colonizationists in the society brought to the Friends' attention a suitable means by which the problems of their trustee slaves might be solved. In 1824 the agents of the Yearly Meeting managed 779 slaves, and births annually increased the total by about 30.<sup>49</sup> The time and effort required to oversee these Negroes became a heavy burden to the Quaker community. The Yearly Meeting in November, 1824, dissolved the old "Standing Committee" which had previously supervised the trustee slaves and empowered a much larger "Meeting for Sufferings" to assume control of the Negroes. The new committee was directed "to take into consideration the situation of the people of

<sup>45</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 79, 93-94.

<sup>46</sup> Aaron Coffin to Benjamin Lundy, March 14, 1825, quoted in *Genius of Universal Emancipation* (Baltimore, Maryland), March, 1825, hereinafter cited as *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

<sup>47</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 97, 111-112.

<sup>48</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 103, 117, 118.

<sup>49</sup> Minutes of Yearly Meeting, 218-219.

colour under Friends' care."<sup>50</sup> The members of the Meeting for Sufferings were avid colonizationists; most of them were members of the North Carolina Manumission Society. Both the president of the society, Richard Mendenhall, and the treasurer, Nathan Mendenhall, were appointed to the Meeting for Sufferings, nearly all of whose members were active in the society.<sup>51</sup> In order to align itself more closely with the Meeting for Sufferings the society early in 1825 established the "Committee on Emmigration."<sup>52</sup>

During 1825 the members of the Meeting for Sufferings and their fellow Quakers engaged in a thorough discussion of the merits of colonization. The general object of resettling the Negroes abroad, or possibly in the free states, met little opposition, but the place of relocation found the Friends considerably short of agreement. Lundy, during his visit to North Carolina, seems to have converted many Quakers, including Nathan and Richard Mendenhall, to Haitian emigration.<sup>53</sup> Other prominent Friends such as George Swain, David Worth, Jacob Hubbard, Jonathan Hadley, and Abel Coffin, who had been members of the Greensboro auxiliary of the American Colonization Society for many years, naturally supported relocation in Liberia, the African colony of that organization.<sup>54</sup> Those favoring Haiti argued that a fully developed society awaited the emigrants, while in Africa the Negroes might lapse into barbarism for lack of adequate guidance. Those supporting Liberia objected to the French and Roman Catholic influences in Haiti.<sup>55</sup> A few wanted the slaves to remain in the United States and to relocate in the free states, but they realized that not all the Negroes could be sent beyond the Ohio River, for "the prejudice against a [free] coloured population, was as great in Indiana, as in North Carolina."<sup>56</sup> By the end of 1825 the Quakers had settled their differences, and the Meeting for Sufferings agreed that both Haiti and Liberia would be suitable places for colonization. The North Carolina Manumission Society endorsed this policy partially, declaring that emigration to Haiti ought to be encouraged primarily with

<sup>50</sup> Minutes of Yearly Meeting, 215.

<sup>51</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, *passim*.

<sup>52</sup> Memorandum of the Emigration Committee, signed by Zimri Stuart, January ?, 1825, Manumission Society Papers.

<sup>53</sup> Minutes of Yearly Meeting, 217; Richard Mendenhall to the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia, November 4, 1825, Letter Book of Sufferings, 15.

<sup>54</sup> *Fifth Annual Report of the American Colonization Society* (Washington, D. C.: Davis and Force, 1822), 117.

<sup>55</sup> Nathan Mendenhall to the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia, November 4, 1825, Letter Book of Sufferings, 15; *African Repository* (November, 1826), II, 284; (July, 1825), I, 158.

<sup>56</sup> Samuel Charles to Jeremiah Hubbard, August 10, 1826, Letter Book of Sufferings, 28.

colonization to Liberia promoted "with a view to give the Emigrants a choice in Countries."<sup>57</sup>

As soon as the Quakers adopted a definite policy, a campaign was launched for funds. The North Carolina Yearly Meeting in November, 1825, authorized an appropriation of \$1,000 for the Meeting for Sufferings. During the following year contributions of nearly \$5,500 were granted by yearly meetings in Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, as well as by wealthy Friends in the free states. Late in the year the North Carolina Yearly Meeting granted an additional \$2,000 to the project.<sup>58</sup>

With solid financial support the members of the Meeting for Sufferings and the manumission society as well as other interested Quakers sought to persuade their Negro charges to emigrate to a free country. In February, 1826, 40 slaves who had agreed to settle in Liberia under the auspices of the American Colonization Society set sail. Within a few months the "Sally Ann" was outfitted in Beaufort, South Carolina, and sailed for Haiti with 121 of the trustee slaves. Two members of the society, Phineas Nixon and John Fellor, accompanied the Haitian expedition.<sup>59</sup> By the following September the voyage had been completed and the Negroes settled.<sup>60</sup> At the same time that the slaves were preparing to leave for Haiti and Liberia, 11 Negroes were sent to Philadelphia and 130 to Indiana and Ohio.<sup>61</sup> These programs cost \$3,500. The Quakers still held over 500 slaves in trust, but the prospect was bright because nearly all the remaining Negroes were willing to leave North Carolina.<sup>62</sup>

With such auspicious beginnings the Meeting for Sufferings and the members of the society's emigration committee redoubled their efforts. Solicitations for help in the next few years brought about \$6,500 from yearly meetings in London, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Maryland.<sup>63</sup> The new donations helped to finance two expeditions from North Carolina to Liberia. In February, 1827,

<sup>57</sup> Minutes of Yearly Meeting, 229-230; Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 103; and Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 10, Guilford College Library, hereinafter cited as Minutes of Sufferings.

<sup>58</sup> Minutes of Yearly Meeting, 230, 242; Minutes of Sufferings, 18, 23, 26; *African Repository* (November, 1826), II, 289; (March, 1827), III, 27.

<sup>59</sup> Minutes of Sufferings, 19; *African Repository* (February, 1826), I, 369; "Report of the Committee that was Appointed to Examine and Settle the Accounts Arising from the Shipment of People of Color to Hayti, 1826," Manumission Society Papers.

<sup>60</sup> H. M. Cooke to Richard Mendenhall, September 15, 1826, Manumission Society Papers.

<sup>61</sup> Address of the Meeting for Sufferings to the North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1826, Letter Book of Sufferings, 36-37.

<sup>62</sup> *African Repository* (November, 1826), II, 288-289.

<sup>63</sup> Letter Book of Sufferings, 41, 42, 43, 54; *The Friend* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), November 10, 1827, hereinafter cited as *The Friend*.

the "Doris" set sail with 80 of the trustee slaves, and in the following November the "Nautilus" left Norfolk with another group of 80. In addition another 70 Negroes were relocated in Indiana.<sup>64</sup> Early in 1828 another ship carried about 60 of the trustee slaves to Liberia.<sup>65</sup> Almost as quickly as the Negroes could be readied they were shipped to Africa. In 1830, 35 departed, followed by about 125 more during the next two years.<sup>66</sup>

The experience of the Quakers with the first and only voyage to Haiti eliminated the possibility of sending any more of the Negroes to the island. The cost of the expedition amounted to almost \$3,000 or \$25 per passenger. The Friends found that the average cost of the passage to Liberia was only about \$18.<sup>67</sup> In addition, the American Colonization Society supervised the African expeditions, while the Meeting for Sufferings and the emigration committee had to cope with the many details arising from the voyage of the "Sally Ann." Also reports coming back from Haiti told of dissatisfaction among the colonists.<sup>68</sup> In view of these problems it was decided that "Africa is the place for them to go."<sup>69</sup>

Such an ambitious program of colonization created problems. The influx of Negroes into Indiana and Ohio aroused bitter feelings among the local residents and even among the Quakers who supposedly were to protect the new migrants. An Indiana editor accused the North Carolina Friends with committing an "unkindly act" in sending the "dangerous" free Negroes to his state.<sup>70</sup> Sentiment became so opposed to the entrance of free Negroes that the legislature of Indiana in 1831 passed a statute requiring entering Negroes to post a bond of \$500. Ohio had passed a similar law many years before.<sup>71</sup> A spokesman of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting wrote that he could not recommend the sending of the Negroes to his state because "this

<sup>64</sup> *African Repository* (January, 1827), II, 351; (March, 1827), III, 25; (November, 1827), III, 284; (December, 1827), III, 317-318.

<sup>65</sup> Minutes of Sufferings, 46-47.

<sup>66</sup> Minutes of Sufferings, 59; James Mace to Nathan Mendenhall, August 2, 1832, Letter Book of Sufferings, 79; *African Repository* (September, 1831), VII, 217; Minnie Spencer Grant, "The American Colonization Society in North Carolina" (unpublished master's thesis, Duke University, 1930), 122.

<sup>67</sup> Minutes of Sufferings, 46-47.

<sup>68</sup> Thomas Kennedy to Nathan Mendenhall, October 2, 1829, Letter Book of Sufferings, 66; *African Repository* (April, 1829), V, 61-62.

<sup>69</sup> Aaron White to Nathan Mendenhall, August 23, 1827, Letter Book of Sufferings, 47.

<sup>70</sup> *Public Leger* [sic] (Richmond, Indiana), n.d., quoted in *African Repository* (March, 1827), III, 25-26.

<sup>71</sup> Emma Lou Thornbrough, *The Negro in Indiana: A Study of a Minority* (Indianapolis, Indiana: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1957), 58; Frank U. Quillin, *The Color Line in Ohio* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: George Wahr, 1913), 22.

description of people generally mingle with the lowest class here and thus remain in a degraded state.”<sup>72</sup>

The legal restrictions of Indiana and Ohio did not impede the North Carolina Quakers, for they discovered that the laws were “seldom enforced.”<sup>73</sup> For a time after the passage of the Indiana law few Negroes were sent to the West, but by the mid-1830’s the movement began again. In 1834 alone about 130 of the trustee slaves settled in the West.<sup>74</sup> As this effort was being carried on the Friends received numerous warnings from their brethren about the “great excitement and prejudices” in the free states.<sup>75</sup> Nevertheless the program continued for several years until the Yearly Meeting held title to less than 100 slaves, most of whom were too old to be moved to the West.<sup>76</sup>

The efforts of the Meeting for Sufferings and the North Carolina Manumission Society were by no means unimportant in the national colonization program. When it is considered that fewer than 4,000 American Negroes were sent to Liberia before 1837, the efforts of the North Carolinians in colonizing about 420 slaves seem especially significant.<sup>77</sup> Over ten per cent of the early settlers of Liberia were former bondsmen of North Carolina Quakers.

After the society helped to launch the resettling program it maintained a close relationship with the national colonization movement. During the winter of 1826-1827 Benjamin Swaim, past-president of the society, was sent as delegate to the convention of the American Colonization Society. The next year the General Association delegates expressed the same desire, but financial limitations caused a negative decision.<sup>78</sup> Nevertheless, individual members carried the liaison much closer. All of the officers of the Greensboro Auxiliary of the American Colonization Society were active members of the North Carolina Manumission Society.<sup>79</sup> In 1826 the American Colonization Society claimed that “in no year since the origins of the Colonization Society, have its friends multiplied so rapidly. . . . The Friends . . . in North Carolina, have given their approbation to our cause.”<sup>80</sup>

<sup>72</sup> John Cook to Nathan Mendenhall, October 26, 1827, Letter Book of Sufferings, 53.

<sup>73</sup> Indiana Yearly Meeting to North Carolina Yearly Meeting, c. 1832, Letter Book of Sufferings, 82-83.

<sup>74</sup> Minutes of Sufferings, 53, 74; *The Friend*, November 22, 1834.

<sup>75</sup> Minutes of Sufferings, 90-91, 85, 87.

<sup>76</sup> Minutes of Sufferings, *passim*.

<sup>77</sup> P. J. Staudenraus, *The African Colonization Movement, 1816-1865* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 251.

<sup>78</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 149, 151.

<sup>79</sup> *The Eighth Annual Report of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States* (Washington, D. C.: James C. Dunn, 1825), 68.

<sup>80</sup> *The Ninth Annual Report of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States* (Washington, D. C.: Way and Gideon, 1826), 51.

At the same time that the members of the society carried on an active antislavery campaign, they feared that their activities would arouse popular feeling. When a controversial issue was broached in a convention, the question was usually avoided by referral to a committee. In 1828, for example, a convention decided that the question of Negro education was "inexpedient" as a society policy, while another convention declined to investigate the case of a Negro supposedly held illegally in bondage.<sup>81</sup> The society also avoided political questions. Never were such matters discussed, and only once did an officer, Richard Mendenhall, violate this unwritten rule when he criticized the federal sanction of slavery in Missouri many years before.<sup>82</sup>

Peculiar to the period after 1824 was the place given to women in the proceedings of the society. The first female auxiliary, Jamestown, was recognized in March, 1825. By September of the following year three more, Springfield, Center, and Kennet, had been sanctioned. The March, 1828, General Association was attended by two others, New Salem and Providence. Frequently the women presented written addresses to the convention sessions and occasionally contributed money to the society. The ladies never participated in discussion. The approving male delegates frequently passed resolutions commending their exertions. The women's activities attracted Lundy's attention, and from time to time he printed the proceedings of their auxiliaries.<sup>83</sup> Some time after 1824 the men gave official recognition to the auxiliaries by amending the society's constitution.<sup>84</sup> The ladies even sent a petition to the state legislature urging that laws be passed punishing miscegenation and preventing the separation of the slave mother and her child.<sup>85</sup>

After the rejuvenation of the society in 1824, members began to approve a series of petitions to Congress and the General Assembly. In the first petition the society prayed Congress to give aid to the colonization movement. "We have an offer from the Government of Hayti," claimed the society,

to receive as many of the coloured population among us, as we think proper to send, and it is understood that they will be admitted to equality

<sup>81</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 107, 152.

<sup>82</sup> Address of President Richard Mendenhall, *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, April, 1825.

<sup>83</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 136, 147, 160. See *Genius of Universal Emancipation* and *Baltimore Courier*, November 12 and December 24, 1825.

<sup>84</sup> Manuscript copy of 1824 Constitution, Manumission Society Papers.

<sup>85</sup> Abigail Albertson and others to the North Carolina General Assembly, c. February 2, 1827, Legislative Papers.

among themselves. . . . We think the subject worthy of the attention of the National Legislature, and hope you will feel disposed to promote their emigration while the opportunity serves.<sup>86</sup>

Although the plea went unanswered, the society was not discouraged. About a year later a memorial was addressed to the state legislature urging a liberalization of the slave code. Again in March, 1826, the General Association approved a petition requesting the prohibition of the interstate slave trade, while in the autumn of the same year another memorial of the same content was sent to the North Carolina Assembly. Subsequent memorials to Congress and the state legislature urged the abolition of the slave trade and slavery in the District of Columbia, financial aid to the colonization movement, and a prohibition against the further introduction of slaves into North Carolina. When the society realized the uselessness of such pleadings, its enthusiasm lagged. After 1828 only a few memorials were approved.<sup>87</sup>

The society continued to distribute antislavery literature. For a time it was hoped that a printing press could be established. President Swaim in September, 1826, urged the General Association delegates to provide a press, but the society decided that the cost would be prohibitive. It was agreed that a periodical might be issued if sufficient subscribers could be recruited. Subsequently a committee prepared a prospectus, but recommended that the project be discontinued because of its high cost.<sup>88</sup> The society, however, did distribute literature, especially at the time that the trustee slaves were being resettled in Liberia and Haiti.<sup>89</sup>

The antislavery enthusiasm of many members went beyond the limited scope of the society. The most aggressive and articulate was William Swaim, the non-Quaker editor of the *Greensborough Patriot*. After he purchased the newspaper in 1829,<sup>90</sup> he informed his readers that one of his objectives as a journalist was to seek "a general improvement in the condition of our coloured population. . . ." <sup>91</sup> The *Patriot*, serving as a medium of publicity for the society, frequently carried the transactions of the General Associations along with antislavery articles.<sup>92</sup> Believing Lundy the "most zealous, consistent, and untiring philanthropist in the United States," Swaim

<sup>86</sup> *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, January, 1825.

<sup>87</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 99, 114, 134, 153-155, 162-163, 170; Legislative Papers, especially Board of Managers to the North Carolina General Assembly, March (?), 1827.

<sup>88</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 130, 134-135, 144.

<sup>89</sup> *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, July, 1825.

<sup>90</sup> *Patriot and Greensborough Palladium*, April 4, 1829.

<sup>91</sup> *Greensborough Patriot*, January 6, 1831.

<sup>92</sup> *Greensborough Patriot*, July 7, 1830.

urged North Carolinians to subscribe to the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.<sup>93</sup>

Others were active. Four members of the society, Benjamin Swaim, William Swain, Thomas Moore, and Richard Mendenhall were subscription agents for Lundy.<sup>94</sup> A few penned their views in letters to the press,<sup>95</sup> while others aided co-operative slaveholders in preparing their slaves for colonization. George C. Mendenhall of Jamestown urged slaveholders to emancipate and colonize their bondsmen during their lifetimes in order to assure freedom for the Negroes.<sup>96</sup> In 1830 Amos Weaver of the Reedy Fork branch was elected to the General Assembly after a campaign in which he was opposed by the "advocates of slavery."<sup>97</sup> Vestal Coffin, a member of the New Garden branch, frequently escorted emancipated slaves to the free states or to the coast for emigration to one of the Negro republics.<sup>98</sup> Other members, either individually or in groups, corresponded with slaveholders in an effort to promote colonization.<sup>99</sup> The manuscript minutes of the Jamestown branch indicate that many individuals carried on limited antislavery activities.<sup>100</sup>

The antislavery zeal of some members of the society may have prompted their participation in illegal activities. Late in life Levi Coffin wrote that there was an active underground railroad in Guilford and Randolph counties. Supposedly Vestal Coffin was the prime mover of this activity.<sup>101</sup> Evidence, though, is meager. Occasionally masters advertised for slaves who had been seduced away from them. "From what I can learn from different sources," a slaveholder claimed, "I am induced to believe that [a slave] . . . has been persuaded to leave me by some white person, who promised him freedom on their reaching some free state."<sup>102</sup> Also an unsigned committee report of the society tells of a runaway Negro who was "secreted by a Quaker

<sup>93</sup> *Greensborough Patriot*, May 9, 1832.

<sup>94</sup> *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, March, 1832, February, 1833.

<sup>95</sup> *Greensborough Patriot*, *passim*, 1830; *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, August, 1830.

<sup>96</sup> George C. Mendenhall to Martha Moore, June 14, 1825, North Carolina Miscellaneous Collection, Duke Manuscript Collection, Duke University, Durham, hereinafter cited as North Carolina Miscellaneous Collection.

<sup>97</sup> *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, November, 1830.

<sup>98</sup> George C. Mendenhall to Martha Moore, June 14, 1829, North Carolina Miscellaneous Collection.

<sup>99</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 147.

<sup>100</sup> Minutes of the Jamestown branch, Manumission Society Papers.

<sup>101</sup> Coffin, *Reminiscences*, 57.

<sup>102</sup> *Western Carolinian* (Salisbury), October 22, 1832. See also *Miners' and Farmers' Journal* (Charlotte), September 29, 1832; *Carolina Observer and Fayetteville Gazette*, September 11, 1832; *Western Carolinian*, August 20, 1832.

on his way . . . to Indiana.”<sup>103</sup> Although evidence is scant, probably some of the Quakers engaged in this dangerous business.

At the same time that the society was conducting a campaign against slavery, the economy and outlook of the South were undergoing basic modifications which were to have a profound influence on southern antislavery activities. As the Southwest was opened to settlement and cotton production, North Carolina, among other states of the older South, became a source of supply for Negroes for that region. Slave prices, generally low during the first quarter of the century, rose after 1825 until the mid-1830's when prime field hands commanded \$600 to \$800.<sup>104</sup> While North Carolina did not share in the cotton boom, slave labor came into more common use in the tobacco fields in the Piedmont. The Quakers could only lament the increasing dependence of their neighbors on slaves.<sup>105</sup>

The growing importance of slavery in the economy of the South and the attacks of the radical antislavery adherents in the North caused southerners to reappraise their domestic institutions. As the abolitionists became more vehement, editors in North Carolina and the South become more convinced of the beneficence of slavery. By 1830 abolitionism had become an “infidel creed and licentious doctrine.”<sup>106</sup> Northern antislavery propaganda, the Nat Turner rebellion, and the consequent fear of insurrection only added to the invectives heaped upon abolitionists. Editors came to see only potential danger in antislavery activities.<sup>107</sup>

The conservative reaction in North Carolina was mirrored in modifications in the slave code. As early as 1826 it was made illegal for a free Negro to migrate into the state. At the same time the legislature deemed it a criminal offense for a free Negro to be found guilty of “idleness” or “dissipation,” conviction bringing up to three years in slavery and the loss of all his children. In 1830 the state tightened

<sup>103</sup> “Report of the Committee Having the Care of the Pitts Negroes,” unsigned, c. 1826, Manumission Society Papers.

<sup>104</sup> Thomas Ruffin to James Iredell, January 27, 1829, James Iredell Papers, Duke Manuscript Collection; *Fayetteville Observer*, January 27, 1835, quoted in Rosser Howard Taylor, *Slaveholding in North Carolina: An Economic View* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press [Volume 18, Numbers 1 and 2, of *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*], 1926), 73, hereinafter cited as Taylor, *Slaveholding in North Carolina*.

<sup>105</sup> Cornelius Oliver Cathey, *Agricultural Development in North Carolina, 1783-1860* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press [Volume 38 of *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*], 1956), 107; Taylor, *Slaveholding in North Carolina*, 32-33.

<sup>106</sup> *Western Carolinian*, March 21, 1830.

<sup>107</sup> *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), October 19, 1833; *Western Carolinian*, October 17, 1831, April 8, 1833; *Raleigh Register*, n.d., quoted in *Liberator* (Boston, Massachusetts), October 15, 1831; *Cape-Fear Recorder* (Wilmington), May 11, 1831.

the manumission laws. In addition to the slaveholder filing a certificate of manumission, he had to post notice at the county courthouse, advertise his intent in a newspaper for six weeks, prove that he held unobstructed title to the slave, and offer a bond of \$1,000, assuring that the Negro would conduct himself well and leave the state within 90 days, never to return. An exception was made for the slave who had rendered meritorious service; he could remain in the state provided the master posted a \$500 bond. Other changes were made in 1830. If a resident free Negro should leave the state and remain away more than 90 days, no longer was he considered a resident of North Carolina, and he was subject to the statute prohibiting the entrance of foreign Negroes. Also, a free Negro or mulatto could not marry a slave, a practice heretofore tolerated.<sup>108</sup>

The Nat Turner insurrection heralded even more drastic modifications. In 1831 the legislature enacted laws prohibiting that a slave or free Negro could no longer "preach or exhort" to slaves. Action taken in the following year sought to terminate the circulation of anti-slavery literature; the first offense brought imprisonment, the second death. The General Assembly also outlawed the teaching of a Negro to read or write.<sup>109</sup>

As the South became more belligerent over slavery, the enthusiasm of the antislavery Quakers lessened. As early as March, 1829, only 46 delegates from 22 branches attended the General Association. At the session in the following autumn 36 delegates represented only 18 branches. Sixteen men were elected to attend the spring convention in 1831, while in the fall a meeting did not take place, probably as a result of the hysteria generated by the Turner rebellion. During the next year no more than 16 delegates could be mustered for either the May or September sessions.<sup>110</sup>

Leaders in the society feared the growing proslavery persuasion in North Carolina because of its possible effects on the antislavery cause. As early as 1826 President Moses Swaim noted that the liberality of the press had declined. He explained that the "deep rooted prejudices" of the people of the state should make the society more cautious.<sup>111</sup> With similar convictions President Henry Powell remarked some years later in 1833:

<sup>108</sup> Frederick Nash, James Iredell, and William H. Battle, revisers, *The Revised Statutes of the State of North Carolina* . . . (Raleigh: Turner and Hughes, 2 volumes, 1837), I, c. CXI, ss. 57-77, hereinafter cited as *Revised Statutes of North Carolina*.

<sup>109</sup> *Revised Statutes of North Carolina*, I, c. CXI, s. 34. See also, c. XXXIV, s. 74.

<sup>110</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 173-174, 181-182, 199-203.

<sup>111</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 126, 129.

I have ever remarked, through my small sphere of observation, that when anything becomes unpopular, the spirit or the principles which seemed to keep it in action sank into Oblivion, and died away, either Religion, Politics, or what not, would share the same fate. This is the case I presume in a great degree with the Manumission Societies. . . .<sup>112</sup>

But more factors than the unpopularity of the antislavery cause precipitated the decline of the society. Established on nonaggressive principles, at no time could it become militant. Thus it seemed not unnatural when President Benjamin Swaim elaborated on this theme in 1828:

We have come together, not to make an ostentatious parade of our accumulating numbers to the terror of the social order,—not to brandish our . . . threatenings against the civil institutions of our beloved country; no, nor even to make a vain glorious boast of our superior proficiency in the science of human government, or to claim the exercise of any undue influence.<sup>113</sup>

While the rising antipathy of the people of North Carolina tended to intimidate the society, the westward movement helped to dwindle the supply of antislavery adherents among the Quakers. During the first half of the nineteenth century the Quaker community in North Carolina was decimated by the flow of its members to the West. As early as 1803 there were 800 Quaker families in Ohio, many of whom had originally come from North Carolina.<sup>114</sup> Soon after 1800 the movement focused on Indiana. Sections of Wayne County, first settled by North Carolina Quakers in 1807, attracted many migrants. Late in life the first settler of the region claimed the honor “of having been the pioneer of the great body of Friends now . . . found in this region.”<sup>115</sup> After 1807 it was said that a “flood of emigrants” came to Indiana from Randolph and Guilford counties.<sup>116</sup> If the New Garden Friends’ Meeting can be taken as representative, 52 families in addition to 28 individuals migrated to Indiana before 1846.<sup>117</sup> Levi Coffin claimed that the death of antislavery activities in New Garden re-

<sup>112</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 227.

<sup>113</sup> *Patriot and Greensborough Palladium*, October 25, 1828.

<sup>114</sup> Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery, a Study in Institutional History* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1896), 256-260, 269-270, hereinafter cited as Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*.

<sup>115</sup> Andrew W. Young, *History of Wayne County, Indiana* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Robert Clarke and Co., 1872), 29.

<sup>116</sup> Henry Clay Fox (ed.), *Memoirs of Wayne County and the City of Richmond, Indiana* (Madison, Wisconsin: Western Historical Society, 2 volumes, 1912), I, 28.

<sup>117</sup> Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, 263.

sulted from the lure of the West.<sup>118</sup> In 1832 a contemporary claimed that 69 Quakers had moved to the West from Randolph County during the previous year.<sup>119</sup> From 1824 to 1848 twenty-three families departed from the Hopewell Meeting, and the church ceased to exist.<sup>120</sup> By 1830 the *Greensborough Patriot*, probably the most popular newspaper among North Carolina Friends, listed a subscription agent in Indiana.<sup>121</sup>

Slavery caused many of the Quakers to leave North Carolina. Opposing the institution on religious and ethical grounds, the Friend could do little in the face of opposition to carry on his activities. Evidence is abundant to demonstrate that many Quakers left the state because of slavery. A traveler recalled that he asked what had become of the Friends and was told: "They all moved off. . . . The Quakers told us for several years, that if we did not use our slaves better they would quit the country, for they could not endure to see it; but we did not believe them until we saw them go. . . ." <sup>122</sup> Levi Coffin recalled that many of his antislavery friends moved to the West to live in a free state.<sup>123</sup>

In 1830 the loyal members of the society began to worry seriously about the declining interest of their brethren in the antislavery cause. The real difficulty was stated by a committee appointed to investigate the problem:

Many of the members seem desirous to promote the cause, but some of them are too remiss in their efforts. Many are rather discouraged from the slow progress of the principles among their Neighbours, which operates against more vigorous exertions on their part. By what [we] could learn, even those who hold Slaves, are many of them not rigid, but admit the impropriety of Slavery. They, however, permit supposed self-interest to overpower conviction.<sup>124</sup>

In order to bolster interest the General Association in September, 1830, resolved that 12 months hence all unrepresented branches were to be expelled from the society. Parliamentary maneuvers delayed en-

<sup>118</sup> Coffin, *Reminiscences*, 76.

<sup>119</sup> *Greensborough Patriot*, December 12, 1832.

<sup>120</sup> Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, 76.

<sup>121</sup> *Greensborough Patriot*, January 6, 1830.

<sup>122</sup> Hoag, *Journal*, 185.

<sup>123</sup> Coffin, *Reminiscences*, 76; *Greensborough Patriot*, May 3, 1832, December 12, 1832; Gordon Esley Finnie, "The Antislavery Movement in the South, 1778-1836: Its Rise and Decline and its Contribution to Abolitionism in the West" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Duke University, 1962), 356-369, hereinafter cited as Finnie, "The Antislavery Movement in the South."

<sup>124</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 168.

forcement, and in the following summer the motion was rescinded.<sup>125</sup> Next the society resorted to advertising. During August, 1832, a brief announcement appeared in the *Greensborough Patriot*: "All branches ever recognized by the General Association are still considered as members of the same and are earnestly solicited to be represented in the approaching session."<sup>126</sup> But this too failed to bring back the errant brothers.

It was against this background that the society began its final years. Only a "bare quorum" was present at the General Association in the autumn of 1832, and the only important question discussed was whether the society should continue to operate. At the next convention, in March, 1833, only 17 delegates attended; they debated the same question and decided in favor of continuation. In July, 1834, twelve delegates from Center, Springfield, and Union assembled in a demoralized convention. After due consideration the members resolved "that this institution has not yet achieved the whole object which Providence has designed for it. Therefore, be it further resolved that we continue this institution." To carry out the decision officers were chosen for the following two years; Benjamin Swaim, an old and faithful member, was elected president. It was then agreed to meet in the Center Meeting House on March 3, 1835. This convention never assembled.<sup>127</sup>

The North Carolina Manumission Society was a manifestation of antislavery sentiment among North Carolinians. It was one of many similar societies that dotted the South prior to 1830. Unlike most, the society was primarily a Quaker organization and incorporated not only the equalitarian principles of the brotherhood of man, but also its own interpretation of Christian doctrine in its approach to slavery.

The society made its most significant contribution to the American antislavery movement when it joined with the Yearly Meeting in the program of colonization. Only at this time did members rise above their usual timidity to advocate a cause in which they believed. The society, however, accomplished little else. Neither did it mobilize public sentiment nor improve the conditions of slavery. Especially in its later years it attracted few interested slaveholders. In failing to capture a non-Quaker element in membership, the society lost effective means of appealing to the community at large.

The society kept the problem of human bondage before the North

---

<sup>125</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 196, 197.

<sup>126</sup> *Greensborough Patriot*, August 15, 1832.

<sup>127</sup> Wagstaff, *Minutes*, 203-205, 208.

Carolina Quaker population. A constant attention to the evils of slavery and, after 1824, to the benefits of colonization helped to consolidate Quaker thought. The Friends' interest in slavery led many of them to migrate to the Northwest where they found a more congenial atmosphere. It is certain that the North Carolina Friends not only made a significant contribution to the southern antislavery movement, but that the resettled Quakers in the West became equally as important in antislavery activities.<sup>128</sup>

---

<sup>128</sup> Finnie, "The Antislavery Movement in the South," 446-453.

# CONSPIRACY OR POPULAR MOVEMENT: THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF SOUTHERN SUPPORT FOR SECESSION

BY WILLIAM J. DONNELLY \*

On December 20, 1860, South Carolina seceded. By January 8, 1861, the Gulf States returned secessionist majorities to their state conventions, and by the end of the month Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas followed South Carolina's example and "resumed" their sovereignty. After the fall of Fort Sumter and Lincoln's call for troops, the seceding Border States, Arkansas, Virginia, Tennessee, and North Carolina, joined the Lower South and completed secession.<sup>1</sup>

Though American historians agreed on the facts of secession, they often differed over its nature and causes. Some stressed the long-term sectional conflict, others the immediate events of withdrawal, as the cause of the South's seceding. Some stressed southern grievances, others blamed Republican victory and intransigence. And whether the South was justified or unwise, whether secession and war were inevitable or repressible, and whether northerners and southerners of the 1860's had conspired or blundered or merely defended their rights influenced historians' views of the Civil War and affected their assessment of secession.

In describing secession, succeeding generations of historians gave differing interpretations of southern support for the movement. To some, conspirators hastily voted the South out of the Union. To others, "the people" worked their will. Most, however, abandoned the exclusive categories of conspiracy and popular movement, gave a

---

\* Mr. Donnelly is Instructor in American History, Saint Paul's College, Lawrenceville, Virginia.

<sup>1</sup> Avery O. Craven, *The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953), 362, 365, 367-369, 372, 375, hereinafter cited as Craven, *Southern Nationalism*; William B. Hesseltine and David L. Smiley, *The South in American History* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1960), 273, hereinafter cited as Hesseltine and Smiley, *The South*; Dwight L. Dumond (ed.), *Southern Editorials on Secession* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931), xx, hereinafter cited as Dumond, *Southern Editorials*.

more sophisticated interpretation of secession, yet still questioned whether or not southerners wanted to secede.

"The present secession movement," Stephen A. Douglas told a large crowd in Chicago in 1861, "is the result of an enormous conspiracy formed . . . by leaders in the Southern Confederacy more than twelve months ago." Abraham Lincoln agreed. Before a special session of Congress of July 4, 1861, Lincoln blamed the war on "seceder politicians" and absolved most southerners from complicity in secession. George Bancroft, at the time more a partisan than a scholar, also viewed secession as a conspiracy. In a letter to a British friend, he emphasized southern unionism, claiming that plotting politicians, not the people, disrupted the Union to erect a "slave empire."<sup>2</sup>

During and immediately after the war, Union sympathizers further elaborated the conspiracy theory. Popular writers and politicians, condemning rather than explaining secession, used their histories to assign personal guilt for rebellion and war. But despite their agreement on the nature of secession, they disagreed on the motives for it. Elliot G. Storke, for example, said the South seceded to protect slavery. William G. Brownlow and Joel T. Headly thought slavery a sham issue and said that the loss of political power and patronage drove the South to secession.<sup>3</sup>

All, however, felt that the majority of southerners were loyal and law-abiding. Disaffected politicians put secession over on the South. They had not acted rashly, for they followed a long-planned and well executed plot. And according to "Parson" Brownlow, one of the "faithful among the faithless" of Tennessee, they enacted "the most wicked, diabolical, and infernal scheme ever set on foot for the ruin of any country."<sup>4</sup>

Henry Wilson, James G. Blaine, and John A. Logan, who in their

<sup>2</sup> *New York Daily Tribune*, June 13, 1861; John G. Nicolay and John M. Hay (eds.), *The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: F. D. Tandy Company, 12 volumes, 1905), VI, 297-325; George Bancroft to Dean Milman, August 15, 1861, in Mark A. DeWolfe Howe, *The Life and Letters of George Bancroft* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2 volumes, 1908), II, 133-143; all as cited in Thomas J. Pressly, *Americans Interpret Their Civil War* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1954), 5, 8-10, hereinafter cited as Pressly, *Civil War*.

<sup>3</sup> Elliot G. Storke, *A Complete History of the Great American Rebellion* (Auburn, New York: The Auburn Publishing Company, 2 volumes, 1863), I, 23-24, hereinafter cited as Storke, *Great American Rebellion*; William G. Brownlow, *Sketches of the Rise, Progress and Decline of Secession* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: George W. Childs, 1862), 116-117, hereinafter cited as Brownlow, *Secession*; Joel T. Headley, *The Great Rebellion: A History of the Civil War in the United States* (Hartford, Connecticut: American Publishing Company, 2 volumes bound in 1, 1866-1867), I, 11, hereinafter cited as Headley, *The Great Rebellion*.

<sup>4</sup> Pressly, *Civil War*, 18; Storke, *Great American Rebellion*, I, 143-144; Headley, *The Great Rebellion*, I, 37-38; Brownlow, *Secession*, 6, 92-93, 158-159.

histories defended Republican principles and waved the bloody shirt, gave later but similar expressions of the conspiracy theme. Wilson, an antislavery advocate, a reconstruction radical, and Grant's Vice-President, identified slavery as the southern cause, and secession as a conspiracy. A decade later, the two veteran Republican politicians, Blaine and "Black Jack" Logan, found the North right and the South wrong, but, like Wilson, admitted that southern politicians "dragooned" the people out of the Union. Only George B. McClellan, in his *McClellan's Own Story*, offered a qualified northern dissent. And though he disagreed with the conspiracy thesis, he still blamed southern extremists for secession.<sup>5</sup>

The South, however, had its own defenders. James Williams and Edward A. Pollard during the war, and Alexander H. Stephens after it, disregarded the conspiracy interpretation in explaining secession, held stubborn and uncompromising northerners responsible for the war, and in general tried to vindicate the southern stand. In *A Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States*, Stephens presented the South's legal rationalizations for seceding and contended that the so-called conspirators "aimed at nothing, and desired nothing," but the Constitution and their rights. But though these southern writers did much to refute the conspiracy thesis, the more critical and less passionate historians of the next generation felt obliged to confront the explanation of secession as a conspiracy.<sup>6</sup>

As the war emotions subsided, better trained and more objective historians eventually interpreted secession. Between 1880 and the first decades of the twentieth century, national historians wrote general surveys of United States history which considered the Civil War and propounded unionist points of view. Most saw slavery as the cause of secession and war. James Ford Rhodes, for example, claimed that the South went out of the Union to protect slavery. He also

<sup>5</sup> Henry Wilson, *History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America* (Boston, Massachusetts: James R. Osgood and Company, 3 volumes, 1872-1884), I, vi-viii; James G. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress: From Lincoln to Garfield* (Norwich, Connecticut: The Henry Bill Publishing Company, 2 volumes, 1884-1886), II, 26; John A. Logan, *The Great Conspiracy: Its Origins and History* (New York: A. R. Hart and Company, 1886), 340-341, 665; George B. McClellan, *McClellan's Own Story* (New York: C. L. Webster and Company, 1887), 37; all cited in Pressly, *Civil War*, 39, 44-46.

<sup>6</sup> Edward A. Pollard, *A Southern History of the War: The First Year of the War* (New York: C. B. Richardson, 1863), 36-38; James Williams, *The South Vindicated: Being A Series of Letters Written for the American Press During the Canvass for the Presidency in 1860, With a Letter to Lord Brougham on the John Brown Raid, and a Survey of the Result of the Presidential Contest, and Its Consequences* (London, England: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1862), 253, 255, 357; Alexander H. Stephens, *A Constitutional View of the Late War Between The States* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: National Publishing Company, 2 volumes, 1868-1870), II, 126, 301, 313-314, 321.

asserted that slavery caused southerners to conjure up their state rights arguments. Hermann von Holst, on the other hand, recognized the causative importance of slavery, but also emphasized the breakdown of understanding between the North and the South. To Von Holst, Lincoln's election persuaded the South to secede. Since the Republicans threatened to stop the extension of slavery, Von Holst contended, southerners felt forced to restrict and to defend slavery while believing that slavery had to expand to survive. The South thus left the Union because of the supposed Republican threat to slavery. But Von Holst considered this threat unreal.<sup>7</sup>

These historians outlined regional, political, and economic variations within the South, described the unanimity of southern opinion in 1861, and dismissed the partisan approach to history and the conspiracy interpretation of secession. During the same era, J. J. McSwain, a southerner, joined with the Unionists in abandoning the conspiracy hypothesis. McSwain stated, however, that "truth and right" rather than "economic expediency" or "political revenge" brought on secession. And he also contended that sectionalism has always characterized American politics and that allegiance to the state was more than a southern sectional monopoly.<sup>8</sup>

But as historians stopped blaming certain southerners for causing the war, they usually implicated the southern people in the secession movement. In the *History of the United States of America, Under the Constitution*, James Schouler refused to view secession as "the crime of a few Southern leaders." Southerners, Schouler said, destroyed the Union as willingly as northerners defended it. Both Von Holst and Rhodes cited South Carolina, where slaveholders and non-slaveholders celebrated secession, to show the popular support for the movement. To prove that the people backed secession, Von Holst also noted the South's calling secession a sovereign right, "older" than and "above" the Constitution, a proposition with which most southerners agreed. Rhodes also found the right of secession a popular

<sup>7</sup> James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States From The Compromise of 1850 To The Final Restoration of Home Rule At The South in 1877* (New York and London, England: The Macmillan Company, 7 volumes, 1900-1919), III, 119-120, 280, hereinafter cited as Rhodes, *History*; Hermann Eduard von Holst, *The Constitutional and Political History of the United States* (Chicago, Illinois: Callaghan and Company, 8 volumes, 1877-1892), VII, 245, 259, 261, 271-281, hereinafter cited as Von Holst, *History*.

<sup>8</sup> Pressly, *Civil War*, 48; Von Holst, *History*, VII, 256-258, 267-269; James Schouler, *History of the United States, Under The Constitution* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 7 volumes, 1894-1913), V, 509, hereinafter cited as Schouler, *History*; J. J. McSwain, *The Causes of Secession* (Greenville, South Carolina: n.p., 1917), iii-iv, 15, 17.

rallying point for the South: Even Unionists like Stephens in Georgia upheld it.<sup>9</sup>

Rhodes, moreover, stated and refuted the conspiracy hypothesis. To Rhodes, those who explained secession as a plot presented little evidence. The vote for conventions in Alabama, in Georgia, and in Louisiana, they contended, was less than that for the presidential election. And in Georgia a storm on election day supposedly kept many conservatives away from the polls. The conduct of the secession conventions further revealed a conspiracy behind the South's withdrawal from the Union. The Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana conventions defeated proposals to submit the secession ordinances to a popular vote. And other conventions voted down resolutions to get a redress of grievances within the Union.<sup>10</sup>

Despite these facts, Rhodes said, previous writers failed to prove "that the politicians led the people by the nose." So-called conspirators, such as Davis and Toombs, had a hard time keeping pace with the people. And in not submitting the ordinances of secession to the people, convention politicians feared the hazard of delay rather than the possibility of popular disapproval. The conventions, moreover, acted with the "best of precedents." Since they had ratified the Constitution without submitting it to the people, they had merely repealed that ratification in the same way. Thus, in seceding the South proceeded in a "regular" and "constitutional" manner. The people knowingly voted for secessionist conventions, and the chosen representatives carried out the popular will.<sup>11</sup>

To Rhodes, southern unionists in 1861 represented a minority. Secret conventions or intimidation were never needed or widely used to suppress them. In fact, the Milledgeville mob, which gathered outside of Georgia's secret convention, expressed the people's choice by demanding immediate secession.<sup>12</sup>

By joining the "rightfulness of slavery and the sovereignty of the States," Rhodes continued, secession became a southern program, spread through propaganda, and gradually pervaded public opinion. Like all movements, secession needed leaders, "but planters and lawyers of local influence, village attorneys, cross-road stump speakers, journalists, and the people acted on the men of national reputation instead of being led by them."<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Schouler, *History*, V, 509; Rhodes, *History*, III, 119-120, 193, 197, 206-215; Von Holst, *History*, VII, 245-247, 275-276.

<sup>10</sup> Rhodes, *History*, III, 273-274.

<sup>11</sup> Rhodes, *History*, III, 272-277.

<sup>12</sup> Rhodes, *History*, III, 278-279.

<sup>13</sup> Rhodes, *History*, III, 277-278.

Later historians followed their predecessors in repudiating the simple conspiracy interpretation of secession. At the same time, however, they questioned the popular support for the movement and directed attention to southern unionism. Civil War and state historians and those writing about various aspects of the sectional struggle outlined the differences between the Lower South and the Border States, the changes in state and local opinion as the South approached secession, and the differences between northern and southern unionism. Agreeing, for the most part, that the war had been a tragedy and a mistake, they played down the conspiracy theme and concentrated on the conspirators.

In 1921, in *The Peaceable Americans*, Mary Scrugham described most Americans' peaceful intentions in 1860, pointed to the needless misunderstanding which divided the sections, and presented some of the evidence used in later revisions of Civil War history. In the same year, Chauncey S. Boucher, disproving the existence of an aggressive, united slave power, agreed substantially with Scrugham's interpretation of secession. To Scrugham, Americans "as a people" failed to foresee or to will "the event which was about to transpire in 1861." Similarly, Boucher found the South without unity throughout 1859 and 1860. Even South Carolina, which in December of 1859 mustered only enough unity to call for a southern meeting to establish a plan of action, lacked agreement as well as a program.<sup>14</sup>

Both Scrugham and Boucher used the election of 1860 as an indication of southern unionism. Secession had not been "a clear-cut issue" in the election; thus, it had never been put to the people. The election returns revealed the strong conservatism of the South. Breckinridge, the representative of southern extremists willing to risk secession, received only 45 per cent of the popular vote. And "neutrals," the backers of Douglas and Bell, won majorities in eight slave states: Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland, Delaware, Tennessee, Georgia, and Louisiana. They secured 45 per cent of the vote in North Carolina, Arkansas, and Alabama. Douglas and Bell, both Union candidates, closely represented the South's true opinion. And, as Scrugham said, since "neither Douglas nor Bell held out any hope for a slave state," the majority for them proved that "the South

<sup>14</sup> Mary Scrugham, *The Peaceable Americans of 1860-1861* (New York: The Columbia University Press, 1921), 11, hereinafter cited as Scrugham, *Peaceable Americans*; Chauncey S. Boucher "In Re That Aggressive Slavocracy," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, VIII (June-September, 1921), 75, hereinafter cited as Boucher, "Aggressive Slavocracy."

preferred the Union without Slavery eventually to slavery without the Union.”<sup>15</sup>

The aftermath of the election presented Scrugham and Boucher with some difficulties. Yet they refrained from using a “conspiracy” to explain secession and admitted that southern unionism disintegrated or became ineffectual in 1861. To Boucher, the period immediately following the election revealed the strongest southern unionism in a decade. Only South Carolina clearly intended to secede, and even South Carolinians remained unsure of support from their fellow southerners. The popular wish for definite action and for a relief of tension forced South Carolina to secede. Given this example, disunionists turned six other states to secession, producing an accomplished fact to which most Unionists became quickly reconciled.<sup>16</sup>

Scrugham, however, found in secession no clear reversal of the South’s predominant unionism. Admitting that secession had been thought of for years and that it was not the work of “hot-headed school boys [acting] on the spur of the moment,” she still saw no basic, determining antagonism between the North and the South. In seceding, southern leaders backed neither disunion nor war. They merely tried to repudiate sectional dominance by wrecking the Republican party. They tested that party with the Crittenden compromise. And when the Republicans rejected compromise, six states left the Union. Eight states, representing a majority of the southern people, waited for an overt act of northern aggression. Lincoln’s call for troops provided this act and united the South.<sup>17</sup>

During the next twenty-five years other historians adopted much of Scrugham’s concern for southern unionism and gave more detailed analyses of the secession movement. Considering secession and war “a bawdy farce,” or the work of an extremist “cabal,” or a sign of the breakdown of statesmanship and of democracy, most with varying intensity condemned secession. But southerner Charles Ramsdell contended that southerners were defending themselves against “a hostile sectional majority,” and northerner Dwight L. Dumond thought that interested and reasonable southerners logically followed

<sup>15</sup> Boucher, “Aggressive Slavocracy,” 77-78; Scrugham, *Peaceable Americans*, 23-24, 40-41, 49-52.

<sup>16</sup> Boucher, “Aggressive Slavocracy,” 78-79; Scrugham, *Peaceable Americans*, 39-40.

<sup>17</sup> Scrugham, *Peaceable Americans*, 54-63, 103.

the Breckinridge Democrats to defend their rights.<sup>18</sup>

All, however, emphasized the lack of unanimous public opinion in the South before, during, and after Lincoln's election. They also noted the strong feeling of certain southerners to preserve the Union. But, as Ollinger Crenshaw pointed out, Unionism in the South was not the equivalent of unionism in the North. For most southern unionists advocated caution and compromise to secure southern rights and seldom denounced secession as the last, possible course of action.<sup>19</sup>

Many of these authors offered evidence to show that most southerners refused to back secession. Only 384,884 of over eight million southern whites owned slaves, and "only a tiny minority owned more than five Negroes." Few southerners, therefore, represented the planter class which hoped to protect slavery in secession. Since the majority in the South lost little or nothing if slavery were abolished, they hardly destroyed the Union to defend slavery. Other interests, according to William B. Hesseltine and David L. Smiley, served to strengthen southern unionism. Southern bankers with northern connections, politicians with long-standing northern alliances, merchants with Mississippi and Ohio River interests, and Catholics, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians with northern fellow churchmen all stood to lose in a breakup of the Union.<sup>20</sup>

The election of 1860 also revealed southerners backing the Union. Six slave states repudiated Breckinridge, the secessionist candidate. Douglas and Bell, the conservative Union candidates, won 48 per cent of the more than 850,000 southern votes. In Louisiana and in Georgia, conservative candidates won majorities of the total vote. And in all the other cotton states, except Texas, they secured 40 per cent or more of the vote. Bell, moreover, won Tennessee, Kentucky,

<sup>18</sup> Gerald W. Johnson, *The Secession of the Southern States* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1933), 15, 27, hereinafter cited as Johnson, *Secession*; George F. Milton, *Conflict: The American Civil War* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1941), 13, hereinafter cited as Milton, *Conflict*; Craven, *Southern Nationalism*, 391; Charles W. Ramsdell, "The Changing Interpretations of the Civil War," *The Journal of Southern History*, III (February, 1937), 4, 14, hereinafter cited as Ramsdell, "Changing Interpretations"; Frank M. Anderson, "Review of Dwight L. Dumond's *Southern Editorials on Secession and the Secession Movement*," *The American Historical Review*, XXXVII (July, 1932), 773.

<sup>19</sup> Craven, *Southern Nationalism*, 349; Ramsdell, "Changing Interpretations," 19-20; William E. Baringer, *A House Dividing: Lincoln As President Elect* (Springfield, Illinois: The Abraham Lincoln Association, 1945), 44; David M. Potter, *Lincoln and His Party in the Secession Crisis* (New Haven, Connecticut: The Yale University Press, 1942), 207-214; Ollinger Crenshaw, *The Slave States in the Presidential Election of 1860* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1945), 299-303, hereinafter cited as Crenshaw, *Slave States*; Dumond, *Southern Editorials*, viii.

<sup>20</sup> Johnson, *Secession*, 34-35; Hesseltine and Smiley, *The South*, 271, 284.

and Virginia. Douglas won Missouri. And both together won a majority in Maryland. Yet, as James G. Randall pointed out, the election only suggested that southerners opposed secession. Though anti-Lincoln and anti-secessionist, many of these "Unionists" agreed to secede after the election of Lincoln.<sup>21</sup>

Since most southerners did not hold slaves and thus had no interest in seceding to protect slavery, and since the popular vote rejected the advocates of secession, vigorous minorities had really carried the South out of the Union. Well organized and boldly led by such extremists as Robert B. Rhett, C. C. Memminger, and William L. Yancey, they overrode the popular opposition or indifference to secession. Benefiting from the unionists' disorganization, they also profited from the dominance of the planters and from the party machinery of the Breckinridge Democrats, which remained intact and operating after the election. Finally, they used Lincoln's election, Republican rejection of compromise, and Lincoln's call for troops after the firing on Fort Sumter to lead a succession of southern states into the Confederacy.<sup>22</sup>

In analyzing the secession movement and the secession conventions of each southern state, modern historians again questioned the southern support for secession. Hesseltine and Smiley noted that during the secession conventions southern unionists often became cooperationists, advocating delay and sectional agreement rather than separate state action. During the hastily called conventions, they said, unionism was much stronger than shown in the meager votes against the secession ordinances. James G. Randall and Avery O. Craven, writing general studies and "revising" Civil War history, and certain state historians, writing about specific state topics and providing much evidence for Randall and Craven, gave state by state analyses which uncovered the variety of southern opinion on the eve of secession. Randall and Craven questioned the popular support for secession. Some of the state historians thought unionism strong. But others

<sup>21</sup> Milton, *Conflict*, 16; Hesseltine and Smiley, *The South*, 264; James G. Randall, *Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath and Company, 1953), 182, hereinafter cited as Randall, *Civil War*.

<sup>22</sup> Hesseltine and Smiley, *The South*, 271-272, 284; Avery O. Craven, "Coming of the War Between the States: An Interpretation," *The Journal of Southern History*, II (August, 1936), 322, hereinafter cited as Craven, "War Between the States,"; Craven, *Southern Nationalism*, 390; Crenshaw, *Slave States*, 299-300, 303; Dumond, *Southern Editorials*, xx; Milton, *Conflict*, 15-17; Allan Nevins, *The War for Union: The Improvised War* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2 volumes, 1959-1960), I, 10, hereinafter cited as Nevins, *War for Union*; Howard K. Beale, "What Historians Have Said About the Causes of the Civil War," *Theory and Practice in Historical Study: A Report of the Committee on Historiography* (New York: Social Science Research Council, Bulletin Number 54, 1946), 81, hereinafter cited as Beale, "Causes of the Civil War."

found that the people generally backed secession. In *And The War Came* in 1950, for example, Kenneth Stampp maintained that in the cotton states leading politicians, state convention delegates, and national representatives used propaganda to advertise secession but nonetheless represented the majority of their constituents in opposing compromise and in supporting separation from the Union.<sup>23</sup>

None, however, disputed that majorities for secession existed in Texas and in South Carolina. In Texas, where the farming West, angered by the federal government's failure to stop Indian raids, joined the planting East in secession, the people approved the ordinance of secession by over 31,000 votes. In South Carolina, Laura White, the biographer of Robert B. Rhett, found secessionists representing a minority and most citizens opposing secession, especially conservative merchants in Charleston and farmers in the back country. Yet she finally agreed with the other historians: After the election of Lincoln South Carolinians, wary of a northern threat to slavery and to their economy, became determined to lead secession.<sup>24</sup>

Historians offered differing interpretations of secession in the rest of the Lower South. In Georgia, where strong and well-led unionism persisted, the convention narrowly defeated a co-operationist attempt for delay. In Mississippi, where in the convention election the popular vote was 40 per cent less than the vote in the presidential election and co-operationists nearly won, few advocated outright secession and unionists maintained a noticeable minority. And Florida had one-third of the state convention and an estimated 36 to 43 per cent of popular opinion for co-operation. But state rights advocates and Stephens' co-operationists in Georgia, partisan editors and petty lawyers in Mississippi, and secessionist radicals in control of patronage and propaganda in Florida finally supported secession and forced their states out of the Union. And as William W. Davis said in his study of Florida, no serious, organized opposition to secession ever developed. In Florida, only one legislator opposed the call for the

<sup>23</sup> Hesseltine and Smiley, *The South*, 273-274; Nevins, *War for Union*, I, 12; Kenneth M. Stampp, *And the War Came* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950), 2, 133, 137. Specific citations of Randall, Craven, and the state historians appear in the notes for the following text.

<sup>24</sup> Charles W. Ramsdell, "The Frontier and Secession," *Studies in Southern History and Politics, Inscribed to William Archibald Dunning* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1914), 63-79; Laura A. White, *Robert Barnwell Rhett: Father of Secession* (New York: The Century Company, 1931), 167, 171, 177, 181; Randall, *Civil War*, 183; Charles E. Cauthen, "South Carolina's Decision To Lead the Secession Movement," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XVIII (October, 1941), 372; Harold S. Schultz, *Nationalism and Sectionalism in South Carolina, 1852-1860: A Study of the Movement for Southern Independence* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1950), viii, 221; John G. Van Deusen, *Economic Bases of Disunion in South Carolina* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928), 330.

secession convention, and only seven convention delegates voted against the ordinance of secession.<sup>25</sup>

Other historians described "vigorous minorities" which opposed secession in Alabama. Representing Alabama's northern counties and urging delay for a convention which represented the whole South, this minority never exhibited its full strength in the light, close vote for the state convention. In the end, however, Alabama conservatives succumbed to an "emotional tide" for secession.<sup>26</sup>

Lewy Dorman and Clarence P. Denman discounted unionism as a force against Alabama's secession. To Dorman, the nationally organized Democratic party had always opposed and blocked Alabama secessionists. With Democrats divided after 1860, he said, secessionists faced no organized opposition and easily enacted their "lawyers' revolution." Denman, on the other hand, considered secession a popular movement in Alabama. According to Denman, such prominent secessionists as William L. Yancey had many "able lieutenants," who in the last phase of the movement acted as the spokesmen rather than the leaders of the people. Despite the divided strength of the unionists in northern Alabama and the comparatively small vote for the state convention, Denman said, both the popular majority in the convention election and the representation in the convention accurately reflected the people's support for secession.<sup>27</sup>

According to Randall and Craven, a large unionist minority in Louisiana, defeated by just over 3,000 votes in the election for the state convention, reluctantly signed a hastily drawn ordinance of secession and "bowed to what was called 'the will of the majority.'" Roger Shugg was more emphatic in denying that the majority in Louisiana backed secession. In his view, a slaveholding minority used

<sup>25</sup> Randall, *Civil War*, 186, 189; Ulrich B. Phillips, *Georgia and States Rights: A Study of the Political History of Georgia* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), 196-198; Craven, *Southern Nationalism*, 364, 368-369; Percy L. Rainwater, *Mississippi, Storm Center of Secession, 1856-1861* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Otto Claitor, 1938), 218-224; Dorothy Dodd, "The Secession Movement in Florida, 1850-1861," *The Quarterly Periodical of The Florida Historical Society*, XII (July, 1933), 53-62, 65; William W. Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1913), 47-68.

<sup>26</sup> See, for example, Randall, *Civil War*, 187; Craven, *Southern Nationalism*, 366-367.

<sup>27</sup> Clarence P. Denman, *The Secession Movement in Alabama* (Montgomery, Alabama: Alabama State Department of Archives and History, 1933), vi-viii, 87-91, 115-117, 122, 153, hereinafter cited as Denman, *Alabama*; Austin L. Venable, *The Role of William L. Yancey in the Secession Movement* (Nashville, Tennessee: The Joint University Libraries, 1945), 33; Lewy Dorman, *Party Politics in Alabama From 1850 Through 1860* (Wetumpka, Alabama: Wetumpka Printing Company, 1935), 172-173.

the traditional powers of their planter oligarchy and overcame a majority who were opposed or indifferent to secession.<sup>28</sup>

Willie M. Caskey and James K. Greer, however, felt that most Louisianians backed secession. Caskey minimized the importance of the large Bell-Douglas vote of New Orleans and eastern Louisiana in the presidential election. Though this majority was often cited as proof of the predominant unionism of Louisiana, Caskey said that in the election of 1860 secession was not actually a question. Many of the so-called unionists, who voted for Bell or Douglas, quickly accepted secession (just as Bell himself did) after the failure of the Crittenden compromise. In the vote for the state convention, moreover, New Orleans registered a 397 majority for immediate secession. And, as Greer pointed out, in the state convention secessionists outnumbered co-operationists two to one, and only 19 of 48 parishes elected co-operationist candidates.<sup>29</sup>

Between the election of the convention and the gathering of the delegates, Caskey continued, Senator Judah P. Benjamin's speech to the United States Senate and Governor Thomas O. Moore's message to the state legislature, both defending southern rights and calling for "effective resistance," further undermined what was left of Louisiana unionism. When the convention seceded, the people followed. Louisiana unionism, largely a production of the *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), a conservative paper with many northern readers, never gained strength or importance. Few unionists or co-operationists were willing to submit to the North without concessions, and most voted for secession and supported the Confederacy.<sup>30</sup>

In describing secession in the Upper South, historians noted much opposition to secession, what Randall called "a prevailing pattern of unionist sentiment against a background of Southernism." Virginians differed greatly over secession, but their vote for the state convention registered a unionist majority of 50,000. The voters of Arkansas elected a unionist majority to the state convention, which then adjourned without acting on secession. In eastern Tennessee, most of the people favored the Union, and throughout the rest of the state,

<sup>28</sup> Randall, *Civil War*, 191; Craven, *Southern Nationalism*, 373, 375; Shugg's views are cited in Beale, "Causes of the Civil War," 64, 68, 73. See also, Roger W. Shugg, *Origins of the Class Struggle in Louisiana: A Social History of White Farmers and Laborers During Slavery and After* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1939), 161-170.

<sup>29</sup> Willie M. Caskey, *Secession and Restoration of Louisiana* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1938), 14-16, 20-25, hereinafter cited as Caskey, *Louisiana*; James K. Greer, "Louisiana Politics, 1845-1861," *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XIII (July-October, 1930), 627-628, 637.

<sup>30</sup> Caskey, *Louisiana*, 27-29, 35-41.

the majority wanted to wait and to remain neutral in the crises between the federal government and the Lower South. On February 9, 1861, Tennesseans voted against holding a state convention. In North Carolina, moreover, where Breckinridge Democrats had been repudiated in the election of 1860, secessionists represented a minority and the voters defeated the first call for convention.<sup>31</sup>

But after the Confederate attack on Fort Sumter and the Federal call for troops, Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina seceded from the Union. Virginia with a chance for increased prosperity as the Confederacy's largest state, Tennessee with a secessionist Governor and a secessionist legislature as its leaders, and North Carolina with seceded states as its neighbors abandoned unionism and opposed federal coercion. Recognizing their predominant social and economic ties with the Lower South, they reluctantly joined the Confederacy.<sup>32</sup>

In 1864 Zebulon B. Vance of North Carolina called secession "a revolution of the polite class, not the people." Earlier another North Carolinian, Jonathan Worth, said that "the very women and children are for war." Some historians agreed with Vance, others with Worth. Though most twentieth-century historians have approached secession as a fact and have spent their time describing its causes, they have also tried to evaluate the attitude of the southern people toward secession. Some historians, citing election statistics and convention votes, found the people "in the van" for secession. Others, citing similar kinds of statistics and noting the secrecy and the haste of the seceding conventions, felt that in secession the people had been thwarted or at least misrepresented. And despite the many conflicting interpretations, Randall, Craven, and others maintained that many southern unionists opposed secession. They hinted, therefore, that times were out of joint, that minorities were often in control, and

<sup>31</sup> Randall, *Civil War*, 245-251; Hesseltine and Smiley, *The South*, 279-283; Beverly B. Munford, *Virginia's Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession* (Richmond, Virginia: L. H. Jenkins, Edition Book Manufacturer, 1915), 10, hereinafter cited as Munford, *Virginia's Attitude*; Craven, *Southern Nationalism*, 382; Mary E. Campbell, *Attitude of Tennesseans Toward Union, 1847-1861* (New York: Vantage Press, 1961), 136-137, 178, hereinafter cited as Campbell, *Tennesseans*; James W. Fertig, *The Secession and Reconstruction of Tennessee* (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1898), 15-23, hereinafter cited as Fertig, *Tennessee*; William K. Boyd, "North Carolina on the Eve of Secession," *Annual Report of The American Historical Association for The Year 1910* (Washington, D. C.: [American Historical Association], 1914), 172, 177.

<sup>32</sup> Johnson, *Secession*, 46; Randall, *Civil War*, 250-252, 254, 258; Campbell, *Tennesseans*, 212; Munford, *Virginia's Attitude*, viii, 301; David Y. Thomas, *Arkansas in War and Reconstruction* (Little Rock, Arkansas: Arkansas Division, United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1926), 83; Hesseltine and Smiley, *The South*, 282-283; James W. Patton, *Unionism and Reconstruction in Tennessee, 1860-1869* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1934), 6-7; Fertig, *Tennessee*, 22.

that given time and compromise unionists might have rebelled "against the rebellion."<sup>33</sup>

State dissatisfaction, which during the war often resulted in defiance of the Confederacy, apparently substantiated the view that secession failed to represent the popular will. Yet the Confederate administration of the war rather than the popular love for the Union engendered most of the Confederacy's internal problems. In North Carolina, for example, where Confederate taxes and troop quotas raised a public uproar, few openly followed ex-Whig John Pool in opposing secession and in refusing to co-operate with the Confederate government. Even William Woods Holden, the leader of North Carolina's "peace" movement during the war, had signed his state's ordinance of secession, calling the act the greatest of his life.<sup>34</sup>

Each generation of historians aided in explaining secession. If early writers promulgated the conspiracy thesis and exhibited a partisan bias, they at least set down the chronology and the process of secession. The national historians—Von Holst, Schouler, and Rhodes—gave up the partisan viewpoint and refuted the conspiracy interpretation. And later historians, writing in the twentieth century and offering differing and often conflicting interpretations of secession, described the variety in southern opinion and noted the existence of southern unionism. Yet they seldom gave sufficient attention to the specific economic aspects of the South's withdrawal from the Union.

Though Hesselstine and Smiley and Shugg described the economic forces surrounding the movement, other historians presented little detailed analysis of the local, class, and economic interests behind secession. To make this analysis, historians had to overcome numerous difficulties. In studying Alabama, for example, Denman came across some of these. He had difficulty determining the backgrounds and view-

<sup>33</sup> Zebulon B. Vance to David L. Swain, September 22, 1864, as quoted in Hope S. Chamberlain, *Old Days in Chapel Hill, Being the Life and Letters of Cornelia Phillips Spencer* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1926), 105; Jonathan Worth to Gaius Winningham, May 20, 1861, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton (ed.), *The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth* (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 2 volumes, 1909), I, 149, as quoted in Craven, "War Between the States," 322. Richard N. Current noted that Seward believed "Southerners would rebel against the rebellion." See Richard N. Current, "The Confederates and the First Shot," *Civil War History*, VII (December, 1961), 359. According to David M. Potter, both Seward and Lincoln counted on the resurgence of Southern Unionism after secession. See David M. Potter, *Lincoln and His Party in the Secession Crisis* (New Haven, Connecticut: The Yale University Press, 1942), 317-318.

<sup>34</sup> Edward McCrady, Jr., and Samuel A. Ashe, *Cyclopedia of Eminent and Representative Men of the Carolinas of the Nineteenth Century* (Madison, Wisconsin: Brant and Fuller, 2 volumes, 1892), II, 315; William K. Boyd, "William W. Holden," *An Annual Publication of Historical Papers: Published By the Historical Society of Trinity College, Durham, North Carolina*, III (1899), 66.

points of Alabama's convention delegates. In some instances, unionist delegates represented the secessionist South, and secessionists represented certain parts of the unionist North. Other delegates had vague or completely indeterminable backgrounds. But without such information, few can properly understand the popular feeling about secession.<sup>35</sup>

Perhaps in some parts of the South the people backed secession, while in others they opposed it. Perhaps most southerners went on "eating and drinking and making merry, marrying, and giving in marriage" and disregarded the crisis at hand. "Minorities" have also been credited with the work of secession. But in fact this fails to make the movement unique in American politics. Politicians, journalists, and the spokesmen of various interests have always been minorities in human society. And in American history, many decisions have been reached without the approval or the disapproval of the people. Thomas R. R. Cobb, therefore, in refusing "to wait to hear from the cross-roads and the groceries" of South Carolina, pronounced no new, conspiratorial, or undemocratic doctrine. In secession, the agents of the states acted through traditional institutions, the state legislatures and the state conventions. If secession had been voted down, a minority would still have reached the decision.<sup>36</sup>

Many historians yet feel required to pronounce on secession and the popular will, a supposed article of democratic faith. Though the question of the southern support for secession begs a final, single answer, it affects and reflects interpretations of the Civil War and of southern society. But unaided by some criteria for sampling the whole of public opinion—such as opinion polls—historians should leave "the people" out of their arguments. And whether or not the South followed or opposed their leaders' leaving the Union, historians still find that the problem of secession—as in James Russell Lowell's comment on slavery—remains secession itself.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Denman, *Alabama*, 110.

<sup>36</sup> *Daily Chronicle and Sentinel* (Augusta, Georgia), October 2, 1860, as quoted in Craven, *Southern Nationalism*, 350. For T. R. R. Cobb's remark, see also Craven, *Southern Nationalism*, 370.

<sup>37</sup> James Russell Lowell said "that the difficulty of the slavery question is slavery itself—nothing more, nothing less." See (James Russell Lowell), "The Question of the Hour," *The Atlantic Monthly*, VII (January, 1861), 121, as quoted in Kenneth M. Stamp, "The Historian and Southern Negro Slavery," *The American Historical Review*, LVII (April, 1952), 624.

## ARCHITECTURAL DEVELOPMENTS AT "MONTROSE" IN THE 1850'S

BY JOHN V. ALLCOTT \*

Through the early 1850's North Carolina's statesman, William Alexander Graham, and his wife were concerned with the improvement of the house and garden of their country estate, "Montrose," at Hillsboro. This was after Graham had been Governor of the state and during the time he was Secretary of the Navy under President Millard Fillmore, a service which interrupted the work at "Montrose." Elegant plans for enlarging the house were prepared by the distinguished American architect, Alexander Jackson Davis, of New York. The plans were attractive to the Grahams, but they seemed perhaps too elaborate or grand in appearance and contained bothersome construction problems. Governor Graham finally gave them up in favor of a simple, direct, and characteristically North Carolina solution.

The present house on the site of "Montrose" is not the one enlarged by Governor Graham; his home was destroyed by fire. But drawings and letters allow one to see and to know the architectural developments at "Montrose" in the 1850's. The story of the developments illuminates the natures of the two men, Graham and Davis. One sees how Graham dealt with a difficult problem close to his heart; and Davis' tactics in dealing with a distinguished and, therefore, a desirable client can be observed. The story also brings out the taste of the fashionable New York architect and of the southern client with strong ties to the architectural customs of his region.

Present-day owners of the property, located near Hillsboro, are Mr. Alexander Hawkins Graham, grandson of Governor Graham, and his wife. Facing the road to Hillsboro is a formal garden with symmetrical, winding roads. (The garden in the 1850's was the special project of the Governor's wife, Susan.) Beyond the garden is the main house built over the foundations of earlier houses on the

---

\* Mr. Allcott is Professor of Art, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.



The original "Montrose" was sketched by Alexander Jackson Davis. From plan and perspective sketch in the A. J. Davis Collection II, Avery Library, Columbia University, New York.

property. Behind the main house is the original office of Governor Graham.<sup>1</sup> There were undoubtedly barns and other outbuildings.

"Montrose" was not the first home of the William Alexander Grahams in Hillsboro. After their marriage in 1836, they lived in rented quarters; when Susan Graham visited her parents in New Bern, Graham stayed in rented quarters or at the hotel in Hillsboro.<sup>2</sup> In January, 1838, Graham bought a small house. "I should not expect to keep it," he wrote to his wife, "but it may serve our present purposes."<sup>3</sup> "Montrose" was purchased four years later, in November,

<sup>1</sup> This and other information on the history of "Montrose" is from interviews of the author with, and letters received from, Mrs. A. H. Graham of Hillsboro, from 1960 to May, 1964, and are hereinafter cited as Notes from Mrs. Graham.

<sup>2</sup> These various arrangements are suggested by remarks in a number of letters, around 1837, between Graham and his wife. These letters are found in the W. A. Graham Papers, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Graham Papers, Raleigh; and W. A. Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Graham Papers, University.

<sup>3</sup> Graham to his wife, December 30, 1837, and January 9, 1838, Graham Papers, Raleigh.

1842, when Graham was in the United States Senate. The complicated purchase from John U. Kirkland involved a cash payment and the trade of Graham's residence and three lots in Hillsboro.<sup>4</sup>

The house which then stood on the property was sketched by Davis when he visited "Montrose." The house was a small, two-story structure with elegant detail; the simple plan is one that was popular in North Carolina in the early nineteenth century. There were two rooms downstairs with a wide hall at one side containing entrance doors and a stairway to the second floor.<sup>5</sup>

Graham called this place "Montrose," after his ancestor James Graham, Duke, Marquis, and Earl of Montrose of Scotland.<sup>6</sup> Governor Graham and his family needed a larger house by 1850; and he wanted a beautiful one.<sup>7</sup> It was natural that, in selecting an architect, he would think of Alexander Jackson Davis, for Davis had been very active in North Carolina. He had dignified the campus of the University at Chapel Hill by adding imposing façades to Old East and Old West buildings, and he had designed a striking home in Greensboro for Graham's friend, Governor John M. Morehead. In 1850 Davis was planning two important North Carolina buildings, Smith Hall (now the Playmakers Theater) at the University, and the State Hospital for the Insane in Raleigh. Governor Graham was familiar with these buildings and, as a member of the Executive Committee of the University's Board of Trustees in charge of buildings on the campus, he knew something of Davis as a person.<sup>8</sup>

As Davis visited North Carolina during the year 1850 on work for the state, Governor Graham hoped to have him come to Hillsboro to study the existing house at "Montrose" and to plan its enlargement. Graham's friends, Governor Morehead and President David L. Swain of the University, were to arrange the visit. During a May, 1850, trip to North Carolina, Davis found himself unable to go to Hillsboro. "He says he is under pressure to get to other points," explained Presi-

<sup>4</sup> Graham items for November 21, 1942, in 1841-1844 day book, John U. Kirkland Account Books, Southern Historical Collection; John Kirkland ledger, 1839-1845; Orange County Deed Books, office of Register of Deeds, Orange County Courthouse, Hillsboro, Deed Book XXX, 115.

<sup>5</sup> Frances Benjamin Johnston and Thomas Tileston Waterman, *The Early Architecture of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1941), 35-36.

<sup>6</sup> Notes from Mrs. Graham.

<sup>7</sup> Graham and his wife, who were married in 1836, had ten children. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, *The Papers of William Alexander Graham* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 4 volumes, 1957-1961), I, 126, hereinafter cited as Hamilton, *Graham Papers*.

<sup>8</sup> See Minutes of the Board of Trustees, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1845-1849, Southern Historical Collection.

dent Swain in a letter which he and Governor Morehead wrote to Graham.<sup>9</sup> But Davis did visit Hillsboro during a second trip to North Carolina in the fall of that year; and doubtless with keen interest, for that summer Governor Graham had been "surprised"<sup>10</sup> by his appointment to serve as Secretary of the United States Navy.

On November 10 Davis made a strenuous night trip from Raleigh to Hillsboro "arriving at 2 A.M. Went up to Graham's to breakfast, and remained until 4 P.M."<sup>11</sup> Governor Graham was in Washington at this time, but Davis talked with Mrs. Graham, who gave him her suggestions for the addition.<sup>12</sup> It is possible that the suggestions of Susan Graham reverberated pleasantly in Davis' ears, sounding very much like his own ideas, for Mrs. Graham owned a book by Davis' friend, A. J. Downing, *Cottage Residences . . . and their Gardens and Grounds*, a book whose text and architectural designs included contributions by Davis.<sup>13</sup>

During his day at "Montrose," Davis must have made pencil sketches of the existing house. The drawings were expertly done freehand sketches which convey essential information about the design and structure of the house.<sup>14</sup>

After returning to New York, Davis undertook a "Study for Gov. W. A. Graham," and on February 4, 1851, "sent him a plan, 1st floor, 2nd floor, and little view perspective," as is recorded in Davis' daybook.<sup>15</sup> The proposal for the enlargement of "Montrose" was very carefully laid out on a horizontal rectangle of paper. A large plan for the first floor was on the left, and a smaller plan for the second floor was shown on the right. At top right were two perspective views, and at lower right was a carefully blocked-out explanation in Davis' beautiful and studied hand, signed "Alex. J. Davis, 93 Exchange, N. Y."

In the plan of the first floor the "Additions are in color"—a dazzling vermilion in the original drawing; "old part in outline." The addition was a massive and grand affair. "Dining-rm, Hall, Parlor" were laid

<sup>9</sup> Swain and Morehead to Graham, May 15, 1850, Graham Papers, University.

<sup>10</sup> Graham to his brother James, July 19, 1850, Graham Papers, University.

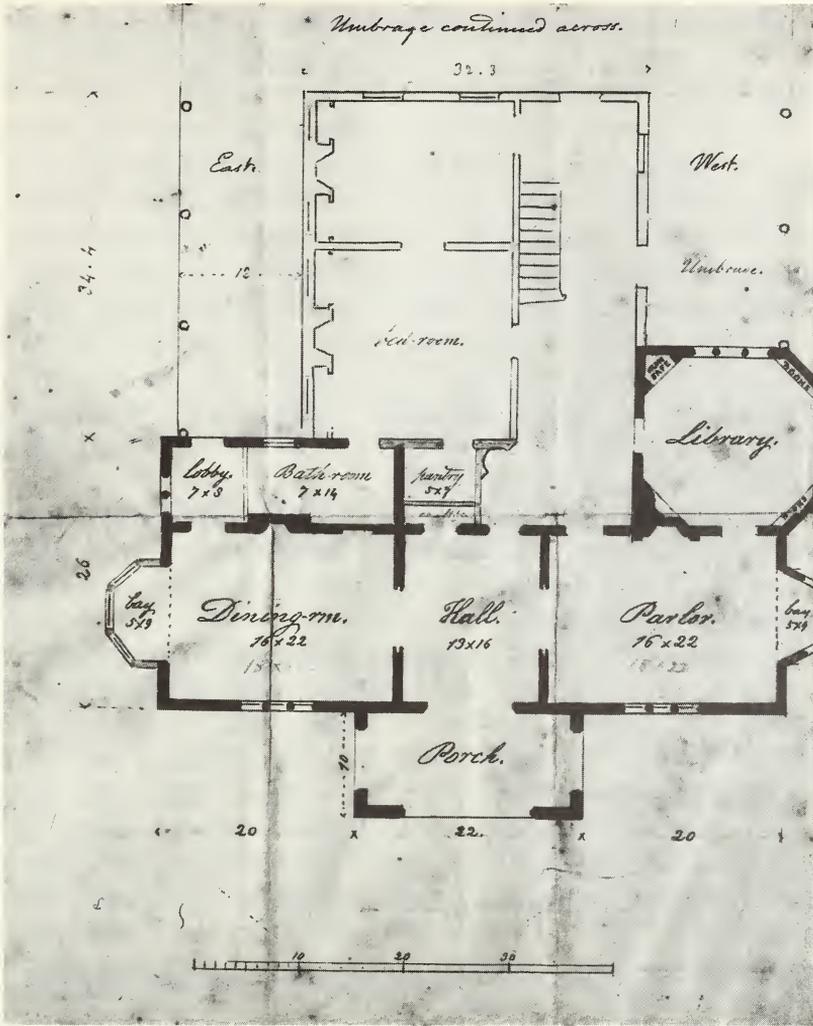
<sup>11</sup> Daybook of A. J. Davis, November 10, 1850, A. J. Davis Collection, New York Public Library, New York, hereinafter cited as Davis Collection, New York Public Library.

<sup>12</sup> Graham to Davis, May 11, 1853, Graham Papers, University.

<sup>13</sup> A 1847 edition of this book inscribed "Mrs. W. A. Graham," is in the library at "Montrose," Hillsboro.

<sup>14</sup> Drawings of "Montrose," A. J. Davis Collection II, Avery Library, Columbia University, New York, hereinafter cited as Davis Collection, Columbia University.

<sup>15</sup> Daybook of A. J. Davis, February 4, 1851, Davis Collection, New York Public Library.



The plan for the enlargement of the first floor of "Montrose" was prepared by Alexander Jackson Davis. Photograph from files of Mr. and Mrs. A. H. Graham, Hillsboro.

out in formal symmetry at front. A door from the dining room, through a "lobby," led to the porch and probably to an outside kitchen. Back of the dining room was a "Bath-room"; a porch, called "Umbrage," surrounded the old house on three sides. At the right was an octagonal "Library."<sup>16</sup> A library was appropriate, for Governor Graham was a

<sup>16</sup> Plans and perspective sketch, Library of Mr. and Mrs. A. H. Graham, "Montrose," Hillsboro, hereinafter cited as Plan and perspective, sketch, Graham Library. A study for these plans, with details not completed, exists in Davis' Collection, Columbia University.

scholar of North Carolina history; indeed, in 1852 he delivered a lecture on "The British Invasion of North Carolina, 1780," before the Historical Society of New York.<sup>17</sup>

The two perspective sketches are typical of Davis' best work and are the most fascinating part of the proposal. They are two charming water color drawings by means of which the architect delicately presents the Victorian question—the choice which a cultivated man must make between two equally modish styles—OLD ENGLISH and ITALIAN. "The Italian version is more simple, in that the library part is but one story high,"<sup>18</sup> and is conceived as an enclosed porch. Davis felt that the library portion could be reduced, but "the great tower, however, should project its full diameter."<sup>19</sup> A great tower, appearing in both versions of the house, was important to Davis; how the Grahams regarded it will be learned later.

The two sketches were much like other villas which Davis designed during this time. The Italian version is curiously similar to the addition which Davis designed in the 1840's for the home of Governor Morehead in Greensboro.

The proposal was sent "to Mrs. Graham at Washington."<sup>20</sup> The reader may be puzzled by Davis' notation in his daybook that he sent the drawings to "him,"—Governor Graham; that is, he sent the plan to "him" by way of Graham's wife. This would have been a logical thing to do, for the Secretary of the Navy was a busy man, and Davis had talked with Mrs. Graham at "Montrose." "Mrs. Graham and myself were pleased with it," Governor Graham wrote to Davis later.<sup>21</sup> Perhaps Mrs. Graham was especially pleased because, as Governor Graham noted in another letter to Davis, the plan "corresponded to suggestions of her own . . . when you visited . . ." "Montrose."<sup>22</sup>

Action on the plan, of course, had to wait. Governor Graham's primary architectural problem was buying a house in Washington; in April, 1851, he succeeded. He purchased a house

built by Mr. Rush, of Philadelphia, while Secretary of the treasury, . . . the plan from a French model which obtained a premium from Napoleon . . . who advertised a reward for the best plan of a House 44 by 38, which should combine the most of domestic comfort with Architectural beauty.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Hamilton, *Graham Papers I*, 23-24.

<sup>18</sup> Plan and perspective sketch, Graham Library.

<sup>19</sup> Plan and perspective sketch, Graham Library.

<sup>20</sup> Graham to Davis, May 11, 1853, Graham Papers, University.

<sup>21</sup> Graham to Davis, July 3, 1854, Davis Collection, New York Public Library.

<sup>22</sup> Graham to Davis, May 11, 1853, Graham Papers, University.

<sup>23</sup> Graham to his brother James, April 14, 1851, Graham Papers, University.

The house had a stable, various other outbuildings, and a small garden with fruit trees, all for \$8,000.<sup>24</sup>

In Washington, Governor Graham's eyes must have been sharpened to architectural problems; President Fillmore asked him to study new plans for the enlargement of the Capitol.<sup>25</sup>

The period of Washington service ended in 1852, when Governor Graham was nominated for the office of Vice-President, and his party lost the election. This meant that the Grahams were able to return to their work on "Montrose." During the campaign in the summer and fall of 1852, the Grahams were already at work in North Carolina.

Gardens came first. On November 4 Governor Graham wrote to President Swain at the University, "Mrs. Graham and myself are examining our grounds with a view to some improvements, and will be greatly obliged to you to request the gardner at Chapel Hill to make us a visit for consultation. We may be able to furnish him some employment in the line of his profession if he shall feel at liberty to undertake."<sup>26</sup>

It was natural that the Grahams would seek the University gardener, because for some years the University had been much interested in the improvement of its grounds and had thought about the teaching of gardening and agricultural science. The gardener at the University during this time was Thomas Paxton, an Englishman thought to have been related to the famous English gardener, Joseph Paxton, who designed the Crystal Palace in London.<sup>27</sup>

Thomas Paxton worked at "Montrose" several times, as one learns in a charming letter written by Susan Graham. Writing to President Swain on March 21, 1853, she said:

Will you think me very unreasonable if I crave permission for Mr. Paxton to remain another week? Much of his time has been taken up in "rough work" and another week for "finishing off" would make such an alteration in the present appearance of things that I must beg the indulgence, providing it will not interfere with your arrangements. Mr. Paxton is willing to remain with your approbation and thinks that his business on the Hill will not suffer from his absence at this time. . . . When Mr. Paxton was here in the winter, I paid him \$1.60 per day, the amount which, according to his statement, he receives from the Faculty. I understood you to say that he could work for me in Hillsboro upon the same terms.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Graham to his brother James, April 14, 1851, Graham Papers, University.

<sup>25</sup> Millard Fillmore to Graham, April 29, 1851, Graham Papers, Raleigh.

<sup>26</sup> Graham to Swain, November 4, 1852, D. L. Swain Papers, State Department of Archives and History, hereinafter cited as Swain Papers.

<sup>27</sup> Swain to Davis, January 3, 1853, Davis Collection, New York Public Library.

<sup>28</sup> Susan Graham to Swain, March 21, 1853, Swain Papers. The 1853 date on this letter may be read as 1855, but the contents of the letter suggest 1853 as the probable date.

Mrs. Graham's reading doubtless influenced her plans for the gardens. The book which she owned by A. J. Downing contained much information on the design and culture of gardens. And since 1839 she had owned a copy of the popular treatise, *The Young Gardener's Assistant*, by Thomas Bridgeman, purchased in Raleigh for her by her husband.<sup>29</sup> It is believed that during these years the "Montrose" garden took form with the many unusual plantings which later made it well known.<sup>30</sup>

In the winter and spring of 1853 the Grahams turned to the postponed problem of the addition to their home. In studying Davis' proposal they found that it contained many problems. Tormented, Governor Graham discussed these problems in a letter to Davis—a remarkable letter, unfinished and unsent, preserved on a tattered sheet of paper at the University of North Carolina. "Within a few months past we have taken up the subject again," wrote Governor Graham, "and have submitted your drawings to Mr. Conrad . . . and Mr. Williams," two Raleigh builders. "Williams," he continued, "seems at a loss as to the mode of joining the roof of the new to that of the old house on your plan, and both seemed desirous to have working drawings." The Raleigh builders thought the Davis design would be costly to build, and Graham asked Davis about this.

He expressed another doubt about the Davis design. "We do not wish the tower as part of the improvement . . . and in consideration of the exceeding plainness of the buildings of our town, we have thought of abandoning this plan . . ." and of proceeding with a simpler idea. He explained the advantages of this simpler plan, which "would require no change in the roof . . . and the house could be inhabited in comfort during the progress of the work, and would be less expensive . . . by at least \$1,000 than the plan now before me, and I therefore am inclined to prefer it."<sup>31</sup>

At this point the letter stops. Having "talked" to Davis, he decided himself what to do. He contracted with Conrad to supervise the construction, and by October 6, had already paid him \$500 for services to that date.<sup>32</sup>

The design of the addition which Governor Graham made to "Montrose" was based on ideas which Graham expressed in the above-quoted draft letter to Davis:

<sup>29</sup> Mentioned in a letter from Graham to his wife, February 9, 1839, Graham Papers, Raleigh. This reference book with quaint Victorian title went through many editions between 1832 and the 1860's.

<sup>30</sup> Notes from Mrs. Graham.

<sup>31</sup> Graham to Davis, May 11, 1853, Graham Papers, University.

<sup>32</sup> Receipt from Conrad to Graham, October 6, 1853, Graham Papers, University.

Have a portico or verandah in front . . . extend the house west of the passage or hall. . . . The addition of a room at south, or rear of the present house, a nursery. . . . Would be less expensive even if the nursery room in the rear be raised two stories with a porch extending to the western side on the residue of the south side of the house. . . .<sup>33</sup>

That Governor Graham actually built according to the above intentions seems substantiated by a later passing reference which he made to the enlargements as "adding across the hall on the West side, with verandahs, etc."<sup>34</sup> The description is understood to mean that the Grahams added a bay beyond the hall on the west, verandahs on front and back, and the nursery on the back.

With the additions as enumerated by Graham, the house became a "typical North Carolina farmhouse," friendly, simple, comfortable.<sup>35</sup>

Work on the house seemed slow to Mrs. Graham, who was at home while her husband was frequently away on business. In July, 1853, as she sat watching the workmen doing advance work for the preparation of lumber for the house, she wrote to her husband, "Clark and Jim . . . they are very slow . . . there is but poor prospect of having the house completed before next summer."<sup>36</sup>

She was right. A year later, June 1, 1854, Conrad wrote to Graham from Raleigh, "I am fully aware of the difficulty in doing your plastering as being just what you say it is, and have told Mr. McKnight what to do. He will also have the leak in the roof stopped. I will be in Hillsboro soon and will call, though I am satisfied that all will be right without me."<sup>37</sup>

By July the work was "nearly completed,"<sup>38</sup> and Graham remembered that he had never written to Davis about the plan which Davis had so carefully prepared for him. He wrote:

You were kind enough to visit Hillsboro' at my request, and afterwards to furnish a plan and drawings of a proposed addition to my dwelling house. Mrs. Graham and myself were pleased with it, but upon our return home again from Washington, thought we could make a more comfortable house by adding across the hall on the West side, with verandahs, etc. The work is nearly completed . . . and I am reminded that you have

<sup>33</sup> Graham to Davis, May 11, 1853, Graham Papers, University.

<sup>34</sup> Graham to Davis, July 3, 1854, Davis Collection, New York Public Library.

<sup>35</sup> This plan-idea is discussed in John V. Allcott, *Colonial Homes in North Carolina* (Raleigh: The Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, 1963), 60-64.

<sup>36</sup> Susan Graham to her husband, July 18, 1853, Graham Papers, Raleigh.

<sup>37</sup> Conrad to Graham, June 1, 1854, Graham Papers, University; Graham to his wife, January 21, 1854, Graham Papers, Raleigh.

<sup>38</sup> Graham to Davis, July 3, 1854, Davis Collection, New York Public Library.

received no compensation for your trouble in my behalf. I therefore beg that you will accept the enclosed draft for Fifty dollars. . . .<sup>39</sup>

Davis must have been a little sad in learning that his proposal had finally been discarded. He may have been disappointed as an architect; however, as a literary man, he was stimulated to write a high-spirited reply which is fully as remarkable as the letter which Governor Graham drafted but did not send to him. He took a sheet of the special note paper with a headpiece showing one of his larger English-style homes, and wrote:

Your check exceeds the amount of any claim I had against you, my having visited Hillsboro' at the suggestion of President Swain and Governor Morehead, . . . tho' I cannot applaud those most worthy friends of mine for having selected me.

After warming himself up along this line he continued with an ultra-Victorian essay on country villas:

The wisest and best of men have ever received the purest and most unmixed happiness in their rural homes. . . . "From simplest sources purest pleasure flows," sings the great poet of Rome, Lucretius, and therefore are you to be congratulated upon your return to your peaceful grove at Hillsboro', and I shall esteem myself complimented if I can assist you in the smallest matter to make it beautiful, so that Mrs. Graham may from her heart exclaim with Catullus on his return to his beloved Sirmio, "O best of all the scattered spots that lie in Sea or Lake. . . ." <sup>40</sup>

His words, "If I can assist you," referred to his desire to purchase such items as furniture and oil paintings for the Grahams as he had earlier done for Governor Morehead and President Swain.

When Davis' letter arrived the house was still not finished. The leaking roof had not been fixed. The following spring, on April 1, 1855, Governor Graham had to mention the roof in a promissory note to his contractors, Conrad and Williams, "One day after date I promise to pay Conrad and Williams \$1,256.04 for work on the house, they are however to make the roof a good one one, as to prevent leakage." Four days later the note was paid; presumably the roof was fixed.<sup>41</sup>

All through the last year there had been various payments to the

<sup>39</sup> Graham to Davis, July 3, 1854, Davis Collection, New York Public Library.

<sup>40</sup> Davis to Graham, July 15, 1854, Graham Papers, University.

<sup>41</sup> Promissory note from Graham to Conrad and Williams, April 1, 1855, Graham Papers, University.

contractors, and payments continued into the fall.<sup>42</sup> By this time, fall 1855, one may guess that the addition was finished—five years after it was started.

The subsequent history of "Montrose" is a tragic one. In 1862 the home was destroyed by fire. At this time the War Between the States was in progress; Governor Graham was serving in the State Senate; he could not rebuild. Instead he bought the William Hooper house in Hillsboro, and the "Montrose" site lay idle. Governor Graham's office, located far enough away from the house to escape fire, was spared; it remains today. In 1874 Major John Washington Graham, son of Governor Graham, built a larger house on the original "Montrose" foundations, but in 1893 this house, too, was destroyed by fire. Major Graham then built the present house a few years later. His son, A. H. Graham, and his wife remodeled the house in 1948; Mrs. Graham developed and enhanced the garden greatly.<sup>43</sup>

---

<sup>42</sup> Various receipts from Conrad and from Conrad and Williams to Graham, 1854 and 1855, Graham Papers, University.

<sup>43</sup> Notes from Mrs. Graham.

## BOOK REVIEWS

Higher Education in North Carolina Before 1860. By William Earle Drake.  
(New York: Carlton Press. 1964. Notes, bibliography. Pp. vi, 283, \$5.00.)

✓ In 1930 the Department of Education at the University of North Carolina accepted a doctoral dissertation by William Earle Drake entitled "Higher Education in North Carolina Before 1860." It was in large measure a history of the University with extended sections on the administration of the young institution. To a much lesser extent there was information on Davidson College, Wake Forest College, Trinity College, and several institutions which have not survived. "Denominationalism" figured in the establishment and operation of these colleges and this subject was explored in some detail. A chapter on "The Curriculum" was based almost entirely on records of the University in Chapel Hill with only an occasional reference to Davidson or Trinity. "Collegiate Interests" and "Manners and Morals" were discussed from a slightly wider range of sources and provided by far the most interesting reading in the dissertation. A chapter on higher education of women consisted of little more than a catalog of academies.

This 1930 dissertation has now been published with hardly a word changed. None of the typical dissertation paraphernalia has been removed. There are summaries at the appropriate places and references to earlier chapters where they should occur. The bibliography has not been brought up to date. No notice is taken of post-1930 changes in names of institutions. The prefatory acknowledgments would lead the unsuspecting reader to believe that many helpful librarians and historians, long since dead, are still active. A study such as this begs for an index but the author provided none.

Still this is better than nothing. Many scholars since 1930 have been indebted to Dr. Drake for his pioneering work, but many more will regret that he did not see fit to do a bit of revising to take advantage of source material which has become available since 1930 and of secondary works published in the meantime.

The book appears in an attractive enough format, but its pages are

marred by a number of typographical errors which any moderately good proofreader should have caught.

William S. Powell

The University of North Carolina  
at Chapel Hill

---

North Carolina and the Negro. Edited by Capus M. Waynick, John C. Brooks, and Elsie W. Pitts. (Published by the North Carolina Mayors' Co-operating Committee, Raleigh. 1964. Illustrations, bibliography, index. Pp. xvii, 309. \$3.00, cloth; \$2.00, paper.)

The Negro revolution in America, conducted generally along lines of peaceful and legal protest, is the most exciting and most significant social development of today. It is, in the words of General Capus M. Waynick, Special Consultant to the Governor on Race Relations, "the greatest drama of the century." Employing nonviolent sit-ins, sing-ins, and pray-ins, Negroes have taken the leadership in the struggle against segregation and legally-enforced injustices. And in North Carolina, as this book makes abundantly clear, they have received encouragement and assistance from public officials both on the state and local levels of government. The result has been a quiet but profound change in the state's traditional pattern of life.

The purpose of this book is to report racial progress in 55 North Carolina municipalities, and to furnish guidelines from their experiences which may help other communities dealing with the problem of Negro discontent and the Negro petitions for first-class citizenship. The selected communities range from those in which the proportion of the Negro population is large, such as Enfield (50.8 per cent), to those in which the percentage is much less, such as Mt. Airy (4.9 per cent), and from those with no reported demonstrations or petitions (Newport and Roanoke Rapids) to those with extended records of Negro action (Chapel Hill and Williamston). For each of the 55 communities there is a factual report listing city officials, biracial committees, and the municipal response to Negro requests. There are, in addition, a review of the legal status of segregation in North Carolina, sample municipal declarations on racial equality, an extended bibliography of the subject, and well-chosen illustrations.

These reports from the Mayors' Co-operating Committee have contemporary value in describing the continuing effort, in Governor Terry Sanford's words, "based on good will and fair play so imple-

mented as to improve the status of the one-fourth of our people who are of the Negro race." More than that, the book will become a source for future historians of the Negro revolution. It deserves a wide audience among public officials, concerned citizens, and students of the state's affairs.

David L. Smiley

Wake Forest College

- ✓ The Cape Hatteras Seashore. Photography by Bruce Roberts, text by David Stick. (Charlotte: McNally and Loftin. 1964. Pp. 64. \$3.95, cloth; \$1.95, paper.)

There is a magic atmosphere about the sea and its shore, and there seems to be a special sort of that magic attached to the Outer Banks. If there is a man on the Banks today who has caught in words some of that special feeling, he is David Stick.

There are not very many words in this little book, but they convey the love many people have for the Outer Banks. David Stick lets his own feelings for the area shine through his words, just as he did in his two previous full length books on the subject, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina* and *Graveyard of the Atlantic*.

Bruce Roberts has caught with his camera much of the feeling for the sea and the sand and the wrecks of the Hatteras area. The double-page endpieces of a sea in anger are both beautiful and terrifying. Roberts is a well known photographer of Charlotte whose work has appeared in *Life*. He has done other photographic essays on North Carolina, and also produced a beautiful mood work on old Harpers Ferry.

Herbert O'Keef

Raleigh

- ✓ Virginia House of Burgesses, 1750-1774. By Lucille Griffith. (Northport, Alabama: Colonial Press. 1963. Appendixes, bibliography, notes, index. Pp. xii, 245. \$10.00.)

Colonial institutional history has not been much in vogue in recent years. The appearance, however, of a number of new and important titles in this area within recent months indicates a continuing interest in the basic institutions of Colonial America. This is quite heartening,

for much solid and useful work can still be done in this area as the study under review clearly demonstrates.

The author has devoted approximately the first third of her volume to an account of the general political structure of Virginia at the mid-eighteenth century, the major political issues of the next quarter of a century, and the provisions and actual implementation of the colony's election laws. This latter topic is by far the most interesting part of this portion of the study. Here the author delves into such topics as election procedure, the extent of suffrage, and electioneering.

Professor Griffith's early chapters, however, serve simply as an introduction to the heart of her study which is an attempt to determine the type of men elected to the Virginia House of Burgesses in the quarter century before the outbreak of the American Revolution. The result is a series of thumbnail sketches which explore the lives and interests of those who served in the Burgesses from seven representative counties. Two of the seven counties studied are in the Tidewater; two are frontier counties; and three are in the general region of the Piedmont. In conscious imitation of the highly successful studies of the English Parliament by the British historians, Namier and Neale, the author presents interesting and at times fascinating accounts of the lives of the Virginia Burgesses. One not only learns of the Burgesses' economic and political interests but also many interesting tidbits of information that tend to make them quite human. For example, Burgess Samuel Duval's wife was, according to a contemporary bard, one

Whose charms the coolest breast must fire  
As brightest objects must inspire  
Like Beauty's queen a thousand Loves  
Her steps attend wher'e'er she moves.

The conclusions which the author draws from this study of the lives of the Virginia Burgesses will not require a rewriting of the pre-revolutionary history of that colony or even of the House of Burgesses. Professor Griffith's account tends merely to confirm what has already been concluded from less substantial evidence as to the makeup of the Burgesses, but beyond question this work enriches and makes more real the story of America's oldest representative body in one of its most important eras.

The reviewer regrets the necessity of pointing out the very poor proofreading and printing job which was done on this volume. It

tends at times to distract the reader and certainly detracts from the volume.

Herbert R. Paschal, Jr.

East Carolina College

---

Southern Sketches from Virginia, 1881-1901. By Orra Langhorne, edited by Charles E. Wynes. (Charlottesville, Virginia: The University Press of Virginia. 1964. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. ix, 145. \$3.75.)

This well edited and readable little volume contains selections from the articles contributed by Orra Gray Langhorne to the *Southern Workman and Hampton School Record* during the period 1881-1901. Mrs. Langhorne (1841-1904) was a native of Rockingham County in the Shenandoah Valley, a region which she loved and never tired of visiting. Her education was exceptional for her day. Bred in a book-loving family, she graduated from Hollins Institute in Roanoke, Virginia; at the age of fifty-six she pioneered in adult education by enrolling as a special student at Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg where she lived after her marriage in 1871. Like her father, Algernon Gray, who upheld the Union cause in the Virginia secession convention and freed many of his slaves during the Civil War, Orra Langhorne was an aristocrat of unorthodox leanings. Although the Grays emerged from the conflict in greatly reduced circumstances, Orra, far from displaying the bitterness so common among southerners, "never ceased to marvel, with a mixture of poignancy for the past, pride in the present, and hope for the future, at the social revolution which had taken place." She became a crusading Republican, a suffragette, and a stanch champion of civil rights for Negroes. Even in her marriage she displayed an independent and compassionate spirit, for her husband, Thomas Nelson Langhorne, was blind.

Orra Langhorne's travels which provided the inspiration for many of her perceptive columns published in the *Southern Workman* were largely confined to the Piedmont and Valley of Virginia and were usually made by train. On these excursions she noted with immense satisfaction the slow erosion of racial prejudice during the decades preceding the legalizing of Jim Crow in Virginia. Through her friendly conversations with Negroes she learned about their problems, their hopes and infrequent successes, their emigration to the North and the

mining areas of the West, and their continued exploitation by the whites, particularly in domestic service.

One could wish that Professor Wynes had not taken such generous advantage of the editorial prerogative of cutting. But perhaps it is better to have too little than too much of a good thing.

Elizabeth Cometti

West Virginia University

---

*Rehearsal For Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment.* By Willie Lee Rose. (Indianapolis, Indiana, and New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1964. Illustrations, appendix, index. Pp. xviii, 442. \$6.50.)

In 1861 a Federal naval force seized Port Royal, one of the famous and glamorous Sea Islands of South Carolina. Port Royal, located about halfway between Charleston and Savannah, offered the navy an admirable base from which its ships of the blockade squadron could patrol this section of the southern coast, and the reasons for the occupation had been wholly military. But the Sea Islands immediately presented the Federal government with another opportunity— and a problem that nobody had foreseen. The plantation owners on the islands, where long-staple cotton was the chief crop, fled at the approach of the navy and the soldiers who followed the ships. About 10,000 slaves remained, however, and they obviously intended to stay on the rich lands that had been their ancestral home.

The opportunity was a twofold one. If the Negroes could be persuaded to work the plantations, precious cotton needed in the northern markets could be produced and shipped out. And if the Negroes did this, the experiment would show that the blacks would work as free laborers. Moreover, in the process, northern missionaries could bring to the bondsmen, as degraded as any slave group in the South, the arts of civilization, could, in short, demonstrate the favorite thesis of the abolitionists: that the slaves deserved to be free. The problem was—who should administer the program and control the great experiment?

As any one at all familiar with Civil War administration might suspect, the operation of the occupation was placed in several hands, governmental and private, and the lines of authority were not always clearly defined. At first Secretary of the Treasury Chase, whose department had a natural interest in cotton and who himself was devoted to the concept of free labor, was the dominating power. Later the

administration was handed over to the War Department, but Chase retained a voice in the selection of the army officials and his agents were always on hand to supervise the cotton crop. Private interests were represented by a group of dedicated missionaries of both sexes, from Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, who were known collectively as "Gideon's Band" and who had strong support in various agencies in Washington.

The work of all three factions form the substance of Mrs. Rose's book. Quite properly she devotes the major space to the labors of the missionaries, who were closest to the Negroes and who would in the last analysis determine how revolutionary the experiment would be. In the end, it would not turn out to be much of a departure. Port Royal was clearly an early experiment in a kind of collective society sponsored by the government. But nearly all of the people connected with it, including the missionaries, believed in the capitalist ideals of individual ownership of property and in the economics of the free market. The purpose was, in summary, to prepare the former slaves to live in the society of the nineteenth century. Not even this objective was completely realized. At war's end many of the former white owners reappeared and claimed their lands. Still a number of the blacks, a larger number than has been supposed, managed to hold on to their properties.

The real importance of the Port Royal experience is that it foreshadows the confusions and contradictions of the later Reconstruction era. "All the goals, motives, and ironies first seen at Port Royal would be written large in the history of the turbulent years between 1865 and 1877," Mrs. Rose writes. She describes the rehearsal with restraint and sympathy and with a fine eye for the shading in motive of both whites and blacks. Not much has been known about the Sea Islands occupation, and the book is a contribution to both Civil War and Reconstruction history. It is richly deserving of the recognition accorded it in the Allan Nevins History Prize.

T. Harry Williams

Louisiana State University

---

Joseph Vallence Bevan: *Georgia's First Official Historian*. By E. Merton Coulter. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1964. Wormsloe Foundation Publications Number Seven. Notes, index. Pp. xvii, 157. \$5.00.)

This is the biography of an obscure man. Bevan lived but thirty-two years and played no very important role in history.

Bevan was an unusual man. He was the son of a prosperous Georgia planter and lumberman. He attended the Universities of Georgia and South Carolina, and Coulter provides the reader with interesting information about the two schools during the period Bevan attended. Bevan then went to England and Scotland for further study and there met the philosopher William Godwin. Much of the book concerns the correspondence of the prominent Godwin with the young American, and Bevan was the recipient of Godwin's well publicized *Letter of Advice to a Young American on the Course of Study it Might be Most Advantageous for him to Pursue*. Bevan's study was cut short by the death of his father, and the young student returned home. For reasons unclear to Dr. Coulter the young scholar received very little money. In order to earn a living Bevan edited the *Augusta Chronicle*, and Coulter fills a chapter with Bevan's editorial comments. After Bevan sold his paper he became a lawyer, but was more involved in history. A chapter deals with Bevan's involvement in selecting evidence to support the side of Governor Troup during the controversy over removal of the Creek Indians. This is followed by the most interesting chapter in the book, an account of Bevan's problems as he attempted to collect documents and write a massive history of the state. Bevan gave up. The rest of the space is filled with odd facts concerning Bevan's role as state legislator, as editor of the *Savannah Georgian*, and information concerning future developments in collecting and storing state documents.

Dr. Coulter's reputation as one of the nation's outstanding historians is well deserved, but this book adds nothing to it. One suspects that Dr. Coulter has found all the facts that will be uncovered about Bevan, but they are not enough for even a short book. Often one feels that the author is merely including bits of information because he had the notes; one regrets that he could not have written a short article on Bevan and turned his great talent toward a more important subject.

William S. Hoffmann

Delta College

---

T. Butler King of Georgia. By Edward M. Steel, Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1964. Notes, bibliographical note, index. Pp. viii, 204. \$5.00.)

If a great wealth of national prominence were prerequisites for being the subject of a biography, Thomas Butler King would never have

had his written. He was frequently on the verge of spectacular financial or political success but never reached the heights for which he seemed destined. Yet, well-told stories of the lives of supporting actors such as he can illumine the times in which they lived, and this one does.

King, a native of Massachusetts, married Anna Page, heiress to a substantial cotton plantation on Saint Simons Island, Georgia. Within a few years after his arrival in Georgia, enough additional lands had been purchased to raise his total holdings to 20,000 acres and the number of his slaves to 355.

Unwilling to limit his career to planting, King ventured into politics and the promotion of a variety of economic schemes. In the 1830's, when his political affiliation was with the state rights party, he represented Glynn County in the Georgia Senate, sought unsuccessfully to develop Brunswick as the leading port of Georgia, and lost heavily on a proposed Brunswick and Florida railroad. The close of the decade, however, found him "the flower of the Georgia delegation" in the national House of Representatives.

Having campaigned hard for the Whig candidates, King fully expected to become Secretary of the Navy in Zachary Taylor's cabinet. Passed over for this appointment, he was instead sent as the President's special agent to California to advise leaders there as they moved toward the formation of a state government. He later opened law offices in San Francisco, invested extensively but fruitlessly in gold mining, and served President Millard Fillmore as Collector of the Port of San Francisco. This position made King "the most powerful federal official on the Pacific Coast."

Still interested in railroads, King worked during the fifties in Texas and Washington as lobbyist for several companies seeking to build a transcontinental road over a southern route. Despite the national character of his earlier interests, he did not hesitate to go with his state down the road of secession. The opening of hostilities found him in France serving as the diplomatic representative of Georgia to the nations of Europe.

Along with the full account of the varied career of T. Butler King, Professor Steel has included a shorter description of the activities of the other members of his family, which he usually left behind during his travels. Mrs. King, nurse to the slaves and hostess to a steady stream of guests, emerges as the heroine. Some readers will find this intimate picture of the home life of two generations of a planter family the most interesting aspect of the book. The volume is based

almost entirely on manuscript materials, including especially the family papers, and is written in a clear, readable style. This reviewer's only complaint is that the 24 pages of footnotes are at the end of the book where they will either slow the reader or be ignored.

Henry S. Stroupe

Wake Forest College

---

These Men She Gave. By John F. Stegeman. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1964. Notes, index. Pp. viii, 179. \$4.75.)

In 1860 Athens, Georgia, was a quiet, prosperous town of 5,000, half white and half black. Among its proud possessions were Franklin College, later the University of Georgia, and the noted Cobb brothers, Howell, then a member of President James Buchanan's cabinet in Washington, and Thomas R. R. Following Abraham Lincoln's election in November, 1860, this town, like countless others in the South, enthusiastically cast its vote for secession. Like others, it suppressed with charges of treason those who preferred to take their chances in the Union. Like many other southern communities, Athens eventually paid an exorbitant price for its involvement in the American Civil War.

This book is a dramatic account of the war's impact on Athens. And the author, through this study of the experience of one community describes in large measure the momentary triumph and ultimate failure of the entire Confederacy. Athens suffered all the problems entailed in fighting an unsuccessful war—shortages in physical equipment and human skills, taxes and inflation, declining discipline and decaying houses, illness and death, and profound material if not human degeneracy. The relocation of Cook and Brother Gun Factory in Athens late in 1862 gave the town's economy a momentary lift but not enough to save it. Early in January, 1864, the Athens *Southern Watchman* recorded what three years of war had wrought: "Nothing disturbs the solemn stillness except now and then a rickety ox-cart whose unlubricated axles make melancholy music. Our great thoroughfare which once was crowded with country wagons laden with the rich products of a generous soil, is now bare and desolate—its stores closed—the noise of trade hushed—nothing to break the stillness. . . ."

As the volume's title suggests, the author emphasizes less the civilian life in wartime Athens than the experience of her soldiers at the front.

Yet only those who might prefer a social or economic history of a Confederate town to a partial description of Lee's campaigns will be disappointed, for the book has been written with care, style, and clarity. Tom Cobb's Legion, which comprised the Athens and Clarke County men, fought as a unit from the Peninsular campaign of 1862 until Tom Cobb's death at Fredericksburg. Thereafter it was broken up, never to be reunited. Eventually, the Athens units lost all their officers and over 100 men from the ranks. Athens itself escaped destruction. Federal cavalry units approached the town in August, 1864, but were driven off. The danger had passed. Yet for the people of Athens the price of defeat came high, and the author, through his effort to balance the disasters on the battlefield with those at home, makes clear the burdens which the Civil War imposed on the people on the South.

Norman A. Graebner

University of Illinois

---

Johnny Cobb: Confederate Aristocrat. By Horace Montgomery. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, University of Georgia Monographs No. 11. 1964. Illustrations, footnotes, bibliographical notes, index. Pp. vii, 104. \$3.00.)

Professor Montgomery of the History Department of the University of Georgia has written a careful account of life among the aristocracy in Confederate Georgia. Johnny Cobb was a son of Howell Cobb, ardent secessionist, and Confederate major-general who had been Secretary of the Treasury in the administration of James Buchanan. When war came the younger Cobb enlisted as a private in Company B, Second Battalion, Georgia Infantry. He later transferred to the Sixteenth Georgia Infantry, after its organization with Howell Cobb as colonel. Johnny served on his father's staff and saw active service in Virginia, although he did not participate in any battles. Instead, his father arranged for him to be sent home as manager of the extensive Cobb plantations in Georgia. Johnny promptly made his headquarters at the "Bear's Den," a large Cobb plantation near Macon.

Johnny Cobb married Lucy Pope Barrow in July, 1863. Their story is sometimes tragic, sometimes gay, always refreshing. Life was often difficult, even for such wealthy planters as the Cobbs. The Confederate government was always attempting to impress their overseers into

the army. The Cobbs and the Barrows had a plentiful food supply and sold their surplus pork to the Confederate government. Confederate taxes were necessarily high and caused much complaint and discomfort.

The thread of approaching disaster is woven throughout the book. The inability of General Joseph E. Johnston's Army of Tennessee to stop Sherman's Armies of the Ohio, the Tennessee, and the Cumberland would eventually open the road into Georgia. The presence of Sherman's troops, their capture of Atlanta, and the March to the Sea would forever destroy the cherished way of life of people like the Cobbs and the Barrows.

This book is a family history of the Cobbs and the Barrows, two important Georgia families, during the Civil War. Professor Montgomery fails to mention the fact that the experiences of Johnny and Lucy Cobb were typical of the experiences of thousands of other young southern aristocrats caught in the cataclysm of the Civil War. Another weakness of the book is the omission of a descriptive chapter giving the background of the Cobb and Barrow families and their proper position in the social system of ante-bellum Georgia. The book is delightful rather than authoritative, but it provides interesting and profitable reading nonetheless.

Richard W. Iobst

State Department of Archives and History

---

✓ The Mind of the Old South. By Clement Eaton. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1964. Illustrations. Pp. xiii, 271. \$6.00.)

For twenty-five years Clement Eaton has been a (perhaps the) recognized authority on southern ante-bellum intellectual and social history. Time and again he has dared to hypothesize in subjective areas where most historians apparently have feared to tread. For this historians will ever be in his debt. In the present volume Professor Eaton has "tried to trace the development of the Southern mind through representative individuals." Actually, he has given 12 stimulating essays on 15 men, on two subjects even he is not at ease with ("The Southern Yeomen: The Humorists' View" and "The Religious Experience: The Evangelical, Calvinistic, and Genteel Traditions"), and on his conclusion, "The Dynamics of the Southern Mind." Although the volume is eminently readable, Clement Eaton's plan and some of his generalizations are confusing and perhaps contradictory.

There is no doubt that southern mores changed appreciably between Jefferson and Jefferson Davis; nor that southerners of the 1850's may be characterized as having an exaggerated sense of honor, as believers in a profound religious orthodoxy, as possessing intense local patriotism, as being extremely conservative and intolerant toward heterodox ideas, and even as possessing a "powerful and mysterious race feeling." Few would deny that the ministry produced no social critic, that after 1830 slavery helped close the southern mind to new and liberal notions, or that the South "blundered into the great tragedy of the Civil War."

But to argue that John Hartwell Cocke is representative of "the liberal mind," or Maunsel White of "the commercial mind," or William Gilmore Simms of "the romantic mind," or Joseph Le Conte of "the scientific mind," or even that such minds exist is something else again. In any case, Mr. Eaton finds it difficult to classify the exact kind of mind exhibited by James Henley Thornwell and Leonidas Polk (conservative? religious? evangelical?) or by Augustus Baldwin Longstreet or Hugh Swinton Legaré, though he warily implies a "status-quo mind" for James H. Hammond, and is willing to concede that the Negrophobic Hinton Rowan Helper and the radical Cassius Marcellus Clay might be described as eccentric. The author could not find adequate source material to depict any sort of "Negro mind," which makes one suspect that his sketches stem primarily from the accessibility of first hand data. It is obvious that the Kentucky professor has searched for his facts from the Athenaeum to the Huntington Library, for on every other page he tells where this or that letter or diary rests today.

Although the reviewer was fascinated by each and every essay, he found it hard to understand why South Carolina planters moved to Mississippi if there were no strong economic reason for them to be dissatisfied with slavery. Or why, if southerners were so emotional about the nullification crisis, no other state supported South Carolina. Or why Mr. Eaton would declare that within two generations of William Tappan Thompson's prophecy (in 1845) that education would make the southern masses a great people, this had come to pass. How can anyone generalize about the South from the life of Legaré, and if Legaré was typical of anything why was he so discontented and alone when he returned to his humdrum America?

Still, this is a fine series of essays which are thoroughly recommended for style and content, especially to those hardy souls who dare venture into the realm of conjecture. What Professor Eaton, who

has spent a long life reading manuscripts in this field, has to say is always worth listening to. If he states that he has found little evidence of a guilt complex among southern people after 1835, one does not question him. It may be difficult, though, to understand the need for quoting Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes on Franklin Roosevelt to explain Hammond, and to blame romanticism for the demand of southerners that they be permitted to take slaves into territory uneconomical for slavery. It could be that these people were just stupid. If romanticism was responsible for southern heroism in the Mexican War, readers would like to know the cause of heroism in the Revolution. Maybe there wasn't any. One thing is clear: It has taken more than Clement Eaton's romanticism to produce his absorbing interpretation of the South.

James W. Silver

University of Mississippi

---

*An Historian and the Civil War.* By Avery Craven. (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press. 1964. Pp. 233. \$5.95.)

In these essays an eminent historian retraces some of his steps in the search for reasons why the nation drifted apart after 1830 and how at last it slipped into war. Written over a period of thirty-five years and for different audiences, these essays inevitably contain redundancies and an occasional unsupported generalization, but these do not detract from either the basic themes or the trim style of *An Historian and the Civil War*.

Commencing with a look at the agricultural reformers of the antebellum South, the author views the improvements advocated by John Taylor of Caroline and Edmund Ruffin as more than an effort to restore the fertility of the soil. They also, he argues, had in mind the restoration of the South as a section by providing it with the constitutional and agricultural weapons needed in the coming struggle with the industrial North. From here several roads led to Fort Sumter. One was the expansion of local and class issues into sectional ones, which eventually became intensified by the growing interdependence of society caused by industrialization and the revolution in communications. Another was the mounting fury of the abolitionist attack, which began as a part of the "larger humanitarian impulse" in the 1830's and by distortion and indoctrination converted the

"slaveocracy" into a hated and dreaded symbol, in the process triggering every defense—Biblical, historical and constitutional—that the South, growing increasingly conscious and bitter, could employ.

Thus the underlying cause of the Civil War, according to Professor Craven, was emotional. After 1840, when few issues were allowed to stand on their merits, the politicians on both sides "gave an air of reality to the abstractions of those who had evolved the slavery question into a struggle of civilizations." As emotions began to rule, the democratic process broke down, the two sections became engaged in what today would be called a "Cold War," until finally, when the national political parties that for years had worked for sectional agreement and national compromise had yielded to sectional parties, the conflict became "irrepressible."

This is a worthwhile book. In contrast to so many of the water-soaked items that have floated by in the recent flood of Civil War literature, this volume describes a national tragedy rather than "a romantic museum piece." Professor Craven's thoughtful assessment of the appalling cost of the conflict, not only in life and property but also in human values, political conduct, and economic order, gives added emphasis to his thesis that the American Iliad was something to regret rather than glorify.

And in attempting to learn from the "blindness, the blundering, and the helplessness of men" trapped on the verge of conflict, the author presents history as a meaningful dialogue between past and present. As such it is loaded with lessons for today. The struggle between "right" and "rights" is still going on, however one interprets it. The conflict between those who would appeal to the constitution to protect certain rights and interests and those who invoke the "higher law" stressing the abstract rights as stated in the Declaration of Independence has yet to be resolved. And finally, in today's "Cold War" no less than the issues that at present face the nation, is there not a similar danger that concrete issues might be reduced to abstract principles to the point where compromise is difficult, if not impossible. As Professor Craven emphasizes time and again, concrete interests can be adjusted, but when abstract values are in conflict, when everything is seen as being right or wrong, then the solution to men's problems becomes infinitely more difficult.

Jay Luvaas

Allegheny College

Refugee Life in the Confederacy. By Mary Elizabeth Massey. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 327. \$8.00.)

Mary Elizabeth Massey, Chairman of the Department of History at Winthrop College, established her reputation as a student of Confederate social history several years ago with the publication of her *Ersatz in the Confederacy*. She has now put students of southern history still further in her debt by her new book, *Refugee Life in the Confederacy*.

Derived from painstaking and wide-ranging research—one has the feeling that she has seen everything that the historical record affords on the subject—this study sets down the poignant story of the harassed victims who were displaced and dislocated by invasion (both real and threatened), and the shocks and attritions of war. One wonders that so moving and so significant a story should so long have lacked a historian. It is gratifying, moreover, to have a book that still has something fresh and important to say about the Civil War theme—most of whose topics, sub-topics, and sub-sub-topics are approaching (if they have not passed) the point of exhaustion.

The North, of course, largely escaped the disasters that Dr. Massey describes, and it is clear that these misfortunes had a very real bearing upon the collapse of civilian and soldier morale which, in the end, doomed the Confederate cause. The author concludes that the South's civilians were psychologically unprepared for a "war on their doorsteps," and, before they could realize the precariousness of their situation, found themselves incredibly and directly and personally involved in war. Her study persuades her, too, that southern leadership showed a surprising lack of interest in the problem (unless it in some way touched the military situation), so that the hapless civilians were, for the most part, left to fend for themselves.

It is an altogether fascinating, if depressing, narrative, and one marvels again at the fortitude of a people who could for so long carry such fearful burdens with so little realistic prospect of success.

The book is well written, handsomely printed and bound. Extensive notes, gathered in the back of the book, assure the reader of the authority of the text, and a bibliography and index add to the scholarly value of the work.

Richard Bardolph

The University of North Carolina  
at Greensboro

Southern White Protestantism in the Twentieth Century. By Kenneth K. Bailey. (New York, Evanston, Illinois, and London: Harper and Row. 1964. Preface, notes, bibliographical essay, index. Pp. x, 180. \$3.75.)

Recent southern historiography has turned toward the interpretation of the region through social myths or mental pictures of what southerners think they are or what others consider them to be. The plantation myth and the Civil War myth are probably among the best known, but the Bible Belt stereotype and the idea of the benighted South as popularized by H. L. Mencken are also widely accepted. In *Southern White Protestantism*, Kenneth K. Bailey contributes somewhat to the benighted Bible Belt myth, but as a southerner, he writes with more understanding than criticism. He presents evidence in support of the sectional nature of religion as a determining factor in southern history.

The author's purpose is to survey the responses of the white Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians in the South to the challenges of the twentieth century and to portray these denominations in interaction with their culture. Bailey gives an excellent background of nineteenth-century factors which influenced reactions to major twentieth-century problems.

The social gospel movement was significant before World War I, but with post-war disillusionment it declined, giving place to the fundamentalist-modernist controversy and the crusade against Darwinism. The presidential election of 1928 helped to heal the fundamentalist-modernist schism by offering an opportunity for these churchmen to unite in promoting prohibition and Protestantism. Creating common problems, the depression lessened sectionalism and brought denominations closer to national unity.

Since 1940 interest in social reform has increased. The three denominational governing bodies have advocated integration, but many local congregations have been slow to comply. Despite the racial issue, sectionalism declines with the waning of poverty and agrarianism. Still, among the southern denominations there is a continuing influence of the past.

In interpreting these issues Bailey stresses the emotionalism of southern religion; the ecclesiastical isolationism; and the fact that due to regional poverty, a large percentage of religious leaders were semieducated. For a more balanced account, the author should have included examples of liberal thought and practice. In failing to give credit to educated southern churchmen who fought for social re-

form, freedom of teaching in the 1920's, and interracial co-operation before 1940, the author contributes to the myth of the benighted South. Nevertheless, the outspoken liberals were definitely in the minority, and perhaps the author felt that he should emphasize the general reactions of the major denominations.

This book will prove most valuable to historians, clergymen, and others interested in interpreting current problems and reactions of the South. Bailey has written with clarity and insight. The scholarly and well documented book is readable and relevant to present attitudes.

Suzanne Cameron Linder

James A. Gray High School  
Winston-Salem

---

✓ The Three Worlds of Captain John Smith. By Philip L. Barbour. (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin. 1964. Illustrations, commentaries, bibliography, maps, index. Pp. xix, 553. \$7.50.)

This volume should be a book to end all books about Captain John Smith: It has nearly 400 pages of text, about 90 pages of commentaries and notes, more than 30 pages of bibliography, a copious index, 15 illustrations of contemporary characters and events, and six maps (not contemporary) of areas discussed. The book is arranged, as suggested in the title, into sections on Smith's early adventures in southeastern Europe, his life in the infant colony of Virginia, and his promotional efforts in England in the last years of his life (largely in the form of writing) to stimulate colonizing interest and activity.

It can almost be said that Barbour attempts a biography of Smith in the grand style of Freeman's *Lee*. The great difficulty in accomplishing a work of this proportion would seem to be the paucity of factual material. The author, however, refuses to be intimidated by this formidable obstacle. He uses the available material, not once but several times, and when authentic material is not available, he postulates, surmises, and imagines with endless prolixity. Barbour, himself, explains his approach in his preface:

In presenting this study of Captain John Smith I have worked on what I believe may be called a scientific basis. To round out the story, I have added hypothetical explanation, without which it would be empty sequences of fact. The *persons* of the action would be but historical puppets. But by

filling in with surmise and hypothesis where necessary, I trust I have explained the facts.

Two fragmented quotations taken almost at random from widely separated portions of the book illustrate the methodology on which much of the work is based. On pages 14 and 15, Barbour writes: "The *possibility* that Smith borrowed his reading material from Lord Willoughby hints at the great *probability*. . ." On page 354 one finds, "In fact it *may be surmised* without *too much implausibility*. . ." (The italics are the reviewer's.) The volume is studded with qualifications of this kind which reveal the author's knowledge of the time and area in which Smith lived, and his active imagination, if not the historicity of the result. The notes and commentaries frequently give the author's justification of his surmises.

Though Barbour strives to write with objectivity, Smith is his hero whose virtues, real and imaginary, are extolled, whose faults are glossed over or explained away, and whose opponents are frequently inspired by base motives.

In all fairness, however, it ought to be said that this book is a labor of love for which the author collected material from many sources and over a period of five years. The effort, devotion, dedication, and thought that have gone into its making should not be discounted or minimized. It may be that a less dyspeptic reviewer, more learned in the lore and history of Elizabethan and Stuart England and perhaps less steeped in Von Ranke's sterile *wie es eigentlich gewesen* would have better appreciation for and more understanding of *The Three Worlds of Captain John Smith*. The book is a monument to the energy, research, and ingenuity of its author. Readers will probably vary in their responses.

Cecil Johnson

The University of North Carolina  
at Chapel Hill

---

The Glorious Revolution in America: Documents on the Colonial Crisis of 1689. Edited by Michael G. Hall, Lawrence H. Leder, and Michael G. Kammen. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia. 1964. Pp. xv, 216. \$2.50.)

This is a useful little book. It is a collection of original documents related to the rebellions of 1689-1690 in Massachusetts, New York,

and Maryland. It does for these three colonies what Charles M. Andrews' *Narratives of the Insurrection's* (New York, 1915) did for these, plus Virginia and North Carolina, but it includes a considerable number of documents not included in the Andrews volume. For each of the three Parts devoted to the three rebellions, the book follows the same general pattern: (a) documents illustrative of the "Seeds of Discontent," (b) documents illustrative of the "Pattern of Revolution," and (c) documents illustrative of "The Consequences of Rebellion." Within each section, however, the sub-topics covered vary according to the local historical realities of the rebellion concerned. There is a general prologue, entitled "The Colonial Crisis of 1689" and an epilogue called "The Revolutionary Settlement in America," and each of the three sections of each of the three parts has its own introduction. There is a brief selected list of "suggested Readings."

The documents presented constitute a fine selection. The introductions to the sections are brief and rather general, almost too sketchy to be very useful. There are no footnotes, and no editorial explanations of specific incidents and ideas in the documents. The book would also be much more valuable and useful if each document had its own headnote.

Some of the titles to the documents are misleading, even inaccurate. For example, document 4, A (p. 20) is entitled "The Magistrates Draft a Bill Recognizing the Authority of Parliament, February 24, 1682." But this title is not accurate: The Massachusetts Magistrates had no intention of recognizing the authority of Parliament in Massachusetts. They re-enacted for Massachusetts the Navigation laws of Parliament. In any case, the bill did not become law because the House of Deputies refused to vote for it.

On the other hand, document 4, B (pp. 21-22), to which the magistrates refused their assent, is entitled "The House of Deputies Denies Parliaments' authority, February 23, 1682." Here, too, the bill refers not at all to Parliaments' authority. It simply re-enacts, in its own words, for Massachusetts, the provisions of the major Navigation Acts then on the English lawbooks.

The fact is that both the Magistrates' bill and the House bill re-enacted English Navigation Acts for Massachusetts. Both houses deliberately avoided any reference to, or admission of "The Authority of Parliament" in Massachusetts. Both houses, recognizing that the colony was under fire because of its evasion of the Navigation Acts, were attempting to make an arrangement that would appease

Edward Randolph and the Crown, while evading any recognition of the "Authority of Parliament" within the colony. The two houses differed only in the method used.

It is the opinion of this reviewer that the editors, in their "Epilogue," exaggerate the importance of the "American Revolutions of 1689" (*sic*) in the history of both the colonies and the British Empire. That the political disturbances in these three colonies—and in others—during these years hastened, or illustrated, a tendency in the colonies toward a more generally uniform system of representative institutions is probably true. But it may be doubted whether they had any significant effect upon English colonial policy; nor is there any convincing evidence to show that had these three colonies "not rebelled when they did, there is every reason to believe that the aggressive centralizing forces of the executive bureaucracy in London would have dominated the constitution of the empire in America" (p. 213). Surely such a guess attributes too much intelligence, consistency, power, and purity of politics to the English bureaucracy and too little to the Americans.

Nor can it be shown that these rebellions really shaped "a set of imperial relationships" or defined "the rights, liberties, and privileges of American subjects," or "made possible the formation of the first British Empire" (p. 214). Such statements all too casually ignore the historical facts and forces at work both in England and in the colonies. These rebellions had their importance in the evolution of the colonies and of the British Empire; but they were not *that* important.

Max Savelle

University of Washington

---

Conestoga Wagon, 1750-1850: Freight Carrier for 100 Years of America's Westward Expansion. By George Shumway, Edward Durrell, and Howard C. Frey. (York, Pennsylvania: George Shumway and the Early American Industries Association, Inc. 1964. Illustrations, tables, maps, index. Pp. xi, 206. \$12.50.)

While the novelist and the cinema have glorified the latter-day "prairie schooner," the granddaddy of the covered wagon, the Conestoga, has been neglected. This volume seeks to enshrine it in its proper historical niche.

This first book-length publication of the Early American Indus-

tries Association illustrates not only the arts and crafts of the carpenter, wheelwright, and the blacksmith of the Colonial Period, but also the tremendous role which Conestogas played in the development of America from the French and Indian War until railroads rendered them obsolete.

German and English settlers in the Conestoga River Valley of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, developed a special wagon and a horse to meet the needs of hauling freight from Philadelphia over the Allegheny Mountains to the Ohio River. The Conestoga wagon was artistically designed and sturdily built of white oak, with red running gear, a light blue box, and ironwork individually unique. Drawn by six Conestoga horses, these wagons could haul up to 8,500 pounds.

The earliest known reference to a "Conestogoe Waggon" is 1717; Benjamin Franklin obtained 150 Conestogas for Braddock's Expedition in 1755. The wagon is also identified with Forbes' Road across Pennsylvania, the Great Wagon Road from Philadelphia to the Yadkin River in North Carolina, and reached its peak use on the National Road in the Westward Movement between 1815 and 1850.

An intriguing folklore developed around Conestoga wagon travel and among the surviving popular expressions is "I'll be there with bells on!" The book is more than a romantic tale, however, and contains over 100 excellent illustrations of surviving Conestoga wagons and accessories. The book is, indeed, what the Conestoga wagon was, a work of art serving a useful purpose, written in loving detail by those who know its nomenclature and appreciate its significance in the development of America. It will interest the general reader and will be indispensable to museums.

Percival Perry

Wake Forest College

---

The Papers of Henry Clay, Volume III. Presidential Candidate, 1821-1824.

Edited by James F. Hopkins. Mary W. M. Hargreaves, Associate Editor.  
(Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press. 1963. Index. Pp. viii, 933. \$15.00.)

This is the third of a projected ten-volume publication of the complete papers of Henry Clay. The book covers Clay's career from January 1, 1821, as he was about to take a decisive hand in settling the Missouri question, to December 31, 1824, as he pondered his

next political move after his presidential ambitions had been shattered by the election of 1824. This volume is, of course, primarily a tool for researchers, but the casual history enthusiast interested in getting the sense of a period by reading primary sources will find himself well rewarded. Here one can participate in American culture of the 1820's through the personality of Henry Clay—the impeccuous western gentleman attempting to avoid financial chaos by engaging in land speculation and by taking any law case he could find, whether for local interests, for the Jefferson family, or for the Bank of the United States; the “local boy” involved with Kentucky politics, church affairs, and education; the hard-boiled sectional politician pushing through his “American System”; the aggressive Democrat supporting revolution in Latin America, Spain, and Greece; the compromising nationalist forging the Missouri Compromise and backing the American Colonization Society.

The dominant theme of the years 1821-1824, however, as the title suggests, is Clay's first attempt to gain the presidency, an attempt which reflects the eternal and the ephemeral in American politics. Such items as Clay's beginning his campaign three years before election day, or the statement “I do not feel myself required to discountenance or repress the exertions which they [his friends] are disposed to make on my behalf,” or the imputation of his defeat to a hostile press, government patronage, and “fabrications” all ring a familiar note today. On the other hand, Clay's maneuverings display techniques and attitudes of an era of genteel politics which was already on the wane. For example, there was his practice of eschewing public statements and letting his friends and friendly newspapers spread his views; or, there was his old-fashioned philosophy of government contributing to his decision to support Adams over Jackson in the crucial vote in the House of Representatives: “What . . . should be the distinguishing characteristic of an American Statesman? Should it not be a devotion to civil liberty? Is it then compatible, to elect a man, whose sole recommendation rests on military pretensions?”

As a research tool, this volume continues the major virtues and minor vices of the University of Kentucky enterprise. It is commendably exhaustive, containing all the incidentals of Clay's life as well as the “state papers.” (Sometimes these items do as well as any notable letter to mirror a bygone day: *e.g.*, a tuition bill from Transylvania University for \$13.33.) The book is set in large, clear type, with well-annotated footnotes which are extensively cross-referenced.

One must necessarily make do with an index of proper names until the final comprehensive index volume appears. While the book is certainly complete enough for any researcher, its usefulness is impaired by the lack of a biographical chronology and a table of contents listing the documents chronologically—techniques found in the Jefferson papers. This publication presents another sound collection of documents, and thus another step toward improving the quality of American historical scholarship.

Richard D. Goff

Michigan State University

---

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, 1948. (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, for the National Archives. 1964. Appendixes, index. Pp. ix, 1,079. \$9.75.)

This large, handsome volume containing the significant executive documents and public pronouncements of President Harry S. Truman for 1948 is the fourth in a government-sponsored series of presidential papers to deal with the Truman administration. The editor, Warren R. Reid, has demonstrated in this work the same care and skill that marked the earlier volumes. Researchers will find their tasks much simpler as a result of his judicious solutions to problems of arrangement, indexing, and explanatory notes.

The 288 items in the text include a wide variety of materials which, considered collectively, reveal much about the problems and policies of the Truman administration in a crucial year. Although foreign affairs and especially the East-West rivalry occupy an important place, the documents in this volume are focused upon domestic issues such as social security, labor legislation, housing, civil rights, education, rent and price controls, farm questions, medical care, and internal security. In short, these records not only depict the emergence of the Fair Deal as a comprehensive program for social and economic advancement, but also provide glimpses into the tug of war which it provoked between a Democratic president and a Republican congress.

Of particular interest are the numerous items dealing with the presidential campaign of 1948. The verbatim transcripts of the President's news conferences and whistle-stop speeches offer an extra-

ordinary view of Truman the politician. In a hard-hitting campaign that carried him from Skyomish, Washington, to Fall River, Massachusetts, the President assailed the Republican Eightieth Congress as a "do-nothing" body dominated by economic royalists whose philosophy of individualism promised far more raggedness than ruggedness. Skilled in the art of stump-speaking, Truman emphasized civil rights in Harlem, the possible return of "Hoover carts" in North Carolina, flood control in Oklahoma, and labor's welfare in Michigan. His "rear platform remarks" which constitute a sizable portion of this volume capture to a remarkable degree the image of an astute, tough-minded politician who played the odds against a "poll-happy" opposition and won.

Willard B. Gatewood, Jr.

The University of Georgia

---

#### OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Dr. Charles Crossfield Ware continues a series of monographs with his recent publication, *Coastal Plain Christians*. The five booklets published to date cover the historical development of the Union Meeting Districts and their component churches, which are affiliated with the North Carolina Christian Churches. *Coastal Plain Christians* includes sketches of 14 Disciples of Christ churches located in the east central part of North Carolina. Churches in Durham, Edgecombe, Halifax, Nash, Wake, and Wilson counties are discussed. Persons interested in church history will find this 78-page publication of value. Copies are available for \$1.00 each from Dr. Ware at Box 1164, Wilson.

Another recent church history is *A History of the First Presbyterian Church of Mocksville, North Carolina*, by James W. Wall. The church whose history is traced in the book is nearly two hundred years old, and its story is given in a comprehensive study which necessarily includes information about individuals as well as the church itself. Mr. Wall has relied on primary materials collected by a former pastor of the church, on legal records, on interviews with people who recalled the late 1800's and early 1900's, and on materials relating to the history of Mocksville and Davie County but which had a bearing on the history of the First Presbyterian Church. The fact that the publication is carefully documented should be

noted; too often, church histories are not prepared with the care obviously devoted to this study. Statistical data, cemetery records, names of members, and other such matters are given in appendixes. The book is indexed and illustrated. Copies, clothbound, 136 pages, are available for \$5.00 each from Mr. Wall, 445 Church Street, Mocksville, or from the First Presbyterian Church, Mocksville.

*A History of Old Fourth Creek Congregation, 1764-1964 . . .* was published on the occasion of the two hundredth anniversary of the church now known as the First Presbyterian Church of Statesville. Sections giving the history of the women of the church, the youth in the church, the history of the First Presbyterian Church of Statesville, and the Fourth Creek Burying Ground give an indication of the contents of this paper-bound publication. The brochure was planned and edited under the direction of the historical subcommittee of the church. Excellent illustrations add immeasurably to the value of the 29 pages. The price is 50 cents per copy plus 25 cents handling charge. Orders may be sent to the First Presbyterian Church, P. O. Box 467, Statesville, N. C., 28677.

The *Virginia Baptist Register*, Number Three, may be ordered from The Virginia Baptist Historical Society, University of Richmond, Richmond, Virginia, 23173. The price is \$1.50; the cost to members of the Society is \$1.00. Numbers One, 1962, and Two, 1963, are still available at the same price as Number Three.

Volume I, Number 1, of *America: History and Life*, was issued in July, 1964. The editor of this guide to periodical literature, which contains abstracts from articles in leading journals, is Eric H. Boehm. Included are surveys of 500 United States and Canadian periodicals and 1,000 foreign publications. For information about subscription rates to the periodical (issued three times a year) write to American Bibliographical Center, Att.: ASP, 800 East Micheltorena Street, Santa Barbara, California, 93103.

The Indiana Historical Bureau, Indianapolis, has recently published *Governor Samuel Bigger: Messages and Papers, 1840-1843*, edited by Gayle Thornbrough. This volume is the seventh in the series of papers and messages of the governors of Indiana. The 669-page book is footnoted and indexed and contains as a frontispiece a picture of Governor Bigger. Copies at \$7.50 each may be obtained

from the Director, Hubert H. Hawkins, Indiana Historical Bureau, 140 N. Senate Avenue, Indianapolis 4, Indiana.

*English Wills: Probate Records in England and Wales With a Brief Note on Scottish and Irish Wills*, by Peter Walne, County Archivist of Hertford, is a special report of the Virginia Colonial Records Project. Persons interested in the probate of English wills will find information concerning the possible locations of American wills which might have been recorded in England as late as 1858. The report was published by the Virginia State Library in Richmond. Copies are available from the publisher at \$2.00 a copy; a 25 per cent discount is offered to libraries and dealers.

A 23-page booklet, *Brief Chronological History of Johnson City, Tennessee, and Three Suggested Historical Tours of the Johnson City Area*, is by Mary Hardin McCown and was published with the co-operation of the Johnson City Chamber of Commerce. Johnson City's history goes back to the days just after the American Revolution. The historical sketch concludes with one footnote indicating that the data were obtained from "available records of Johnson City and Washington County, Tennessee." There is no further breakdown. The three tours are outlined in some detail, with descriptions of each point of interest and with accompanying maps. Persons interested in this publication should write to Mrs. L. W. McCown, 512 E. Unaka Avenue, Johnson City, Tennessee. The cost is 50 cents.

Mary Hardin McCown transcribed certain Tennessee records which she, Nancy E. Jones Stickley, and Inez E. Burns then compiled. Published under the title *Washington County, Tennessee Records*, Volume I, a 257-page book, contains Washington County lists of taxables, 1778-1801; the abstract of Washington County minutes of the court of pleas and quarter sessions, 1778-1801; lists of officers of Washington County, 1778-1801; and miscellaneous records in Washington County. The hundreds of names will make this publication of particular value to genealogists, but the lack of an Index is a liability. The price of the book is \$13; copies may be ordered from Mrs. L. W. McCown, 512 E. Unaka Avenue, Johnson City, Tennessee.

*Inventory of the Mallory Family Papers, 1808-1958*, compiled by Charles R. Schultz, Keeper of Manuscripts, Mystic Seaport Library,

is another publication of interest to genealogists. The 24 pages contain a biographical sketch of the Mallory family, a physical description of the papers, box and folder breakdown and list of volumes, and subject tracings. Further information may be obtained from the Mystic Seaport Library, Marine Historical Association, Inc., Mystic, Connecticut.

One of the most interesting recent publications of the National Archives is entitled *Civil War Maps in the National Archives*. The 127-page study describes approximately 8,000 maps, charts, and plans pertaining to the Civil War. There are two distinct parts, one of which is a guide giving brief item descriptions of all Civil War maps and related records located in the Cartographic Branch of the National Archives. A number of exceptionally significant items have been selected for inclusion in the second part which fully describes those maps. A comprehensive Index adds to the value of the publication. Copies of this illustrated book are for sale from the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 20402, for 75 cents each.

Another National Archives publication, 24 pages in length, is *National Archives Accessions*, a supplement to the National Archives Guide. Issued in September, 1964, there is a section on the early correspondence filing systems of the office of the Secretary of the Navy, by Kenneth F. Bartlett, and accessions for the year July 1, 1962, through June 30, 1963. The indexed study was published by the Government Printing Office and is free of charge.

Special Lists Number 20, *Papers of the United States Senate Relating to Presidential Nominations, 1789-1901* (Record Group 46), was compiled by George P. Perros, James C. Brown, and Jacqueline A. Wood. Published by the National Archives, this particular publication lists numerous names of presidential appointees presented to the Senate for confirmation. An index of names is included in the back of the 111-page report. This publication is free from the Exhibits and Publications Division, National Archives, General Services Administration, Washington, D. C., 20408.

The State Department of Archives and History has recently received two additional National Archives reports in its *Preliminary Inventories* series. Number 161, *Preliminary Inventory of the Records*

of the Bureau of the Census, was compiled by Katherine H. Davidson and Charlotte M. Ashby; Number 162, *Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the 1961 Inaugural Committee*, was compiled by Marion M. Johnson. The publication relating to census records contains 141 pages; the inaugural committee report has 18 pages. Both are available free of charge from the Exhibits and Publications Division, National Archives, General Services Administration, Washington, D. C., 20408.

A 35-page pamphlet, *Hillsborough and the Regulators*, written by Annie Sutton Cameron, published by the Orange County Historical Museum, contains a chapter on Hillsboro as it appeared in 1768. The booklet, designed for seventh grade North Carolina history students, is available at The Orange County Historical Museum, Hillsboro, at a nominal cost.

# HISTORICAL NEWS

## DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

### *Director's Office*

The Department's Executive Board met in Raleigh on September 15 with all members present. One of the chief actions taken was approval of a resolution urging that an immediate move be made to check erosion at Fort Fisher. (Subsequently, Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director, discussed this matter with the Governor and various state agencies, and it appeared that at least a temporary solution would be found shortly.)

The Raleigh Historic Sites Commission, of which Mr. W. H. Trentman is chairman, met regularly every month. One of the meetings was a picnic a few miles south of Raleigh at Penny's Mill, which now belongs to North Carolina State of The University of North Carolina at Raleigh. Initial steps were taken which, it is hoped, will lead to the preservation of the mill.

Dr. Crittenden made many trips to different places in the state and delivered addresses to various groups, including several civic clubs, the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and historic site organizations.

A travel information conference for innkeepers, restaurateurs, and those engaged in similar businesses was held at East Carolina College, Greenville, October 27. The program was repeated on succeeding days in Winston-Salem and in Asheville. Since historic sites were involved, the department sent representatives to the first and third conferences.

### *Division of Archives and Manuscripts*

The Society of American Archivists' Distinguished Service Award was presented to the State Department of Archives and History October 8 in Austin, Texas. The award, presented for the first time, cited the North Carolina archival-records management program on the following counts: demonstrably contributing to archival theory and developing new archival practices; showing extraordinary ingenuity and resourcefulness in improving efficiency of operations and improving methods of work; serving its constituents in an outstanding fashion; bringing great credit to the archival profession by being a model for other organizations; going beyond the normal performance requirements expected of an archival agency and so being an incentive to others; publishing exemplary and meritorious finding aids and statements of available service; and developing over a period of years an archival program of such depth and scope as to warrant special recognition.

The 32-inch trophy was accepted at Austin on behalf of the department by State Archivist H. G. Jones. Later, on November 23, Dr. Everett O. Alldredge, Assistant Archivist of the United States, and outgoing president of the society, formally presented the trophy to Governor Terry Sanford in a ceremony in the Governor's office in Raleigh. Those attending included Mr. McDaniel Lewis, Chairman of the Executive Board of the department; Dr. Crittenden; and Mr. Jones. The trophy will be displayed in the department until next year's annual meeting of the society, and a smaller cup will be retained permanently.

Mr. Lewis and Dr. Alldredge spoke at a staff meeting in the department prior to the ceremony.

Mr. Jones discussed North Carolina's archival-records management program at a Documents Workshop at the Institute of Government in Chapel Hill, September 11, and the Watauga Club in Raleigh, October 20. His dissertation, "The Public Archives of North Carolina, 1663-1903," was accepted at Duke University on September 22 and the Ph.D. degree will be awarded in June, 1965. He and Admiral A. M. Patterson, Assistant State Archivist (Local Records), represented the department at the Society of American Archivists meeting in Austin, Texas, October 6-10.

Mr. Jones attended a meeting of the Governor's Commission on Library Resources in Raleigh, November 16. He wrote a unit titled "Manuscript Collections in North Carolina" which was incorporated in the Commission's report, *Resources of North Carolina Libraries*, edited by Dr. Robert B. Downs of the University of Illinois and published in Raleigh in November.

In the Archives, a restudy of several large record groups resulted in their rearrangement and the preparation of new finding aids. Included were the records of the State Department of Archives and History, the Colonial General Court, the North Carolina Railroad Company, and the North Carolina Memorial Building Commission. An inventory of election returns has been completed and abstracts are being prepared for selected races. A significant accession comprised seven letters written in 1864-1865 by R. H. Bacot, a Confederate naval officer who served on the C.S.S. "Neuse." The letters were a gift of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission.

Registered researchers during the quarter ended September 30 numbered 1,144, and 1,017 letters requiring reference to the Search Room were answered. Copies furnished the public totaled 1,521, plus 11,725 feet of microfilm. During the period 25,490 pages of deteriorating records were restored by the laminating process, and 1,368 reels (135,240 linear feet) of microfilm were processed.

Mr. C. F. W. Coker, Assistant State Archivist (Archives), and Miss Beth Crabtree, Archivist II, recently spoke to several groups in North Carolina.

Mrs. Frances T. Council, Archivist II, resigned effective October 16 prior to her move to Washington, D.C. Mr. Don R. Nichols, a graduate of Lenoir-Rhyne College and a former teacher, joined the staff on temporary assignment October 5.

The Local Records Section has completed the microfilming of the permanently valuable records of Randolph and Richmond counties, the forty-fourth and forty-fifth counties to be completed since the project began in 1959. Section operators are now at work in Buncombe, Guilford, and Mecklenburg counties. The county commissioners of Buncombe County have created the position of records administrator, the first such position in the counties.

Original records, varying in quantity and types, were received recently from Buncombe, Forsyth, Franklin, and Richmond counties. A list of the newly acquired records is available for use in the Search Room. A large group of Tyrrell County records has been arranged and finding aids prepared.

Mr. Nash A. Isenhower resigned as Clerk III (Microfilm Camera Operator) on September 18 to return to college, and he was succeeded on October 12 by Mr. William B. Batton, a graduate of King College.

In the State Records Section, a records retention and disposal schedule was approved for the Department of Community Colleges, and a files reorganization in the Driver Education and Accident Records Division of the Department of Motor Vehicles and a correspondence survey in the same department's Registration Division were completed.

The annual report of records holdings submitted to Governor Sanford revealed that as of June 30, 1964, there were 95,141 cubic feet of records in state agencies in Raleigh, 2,632 cubic feet in the licensing and examining boards, 12,719 cubic feet in the institutions, and 32,891 cubic feet in the Records Center. During the quarter ending September 30, 2,263 cubic feet of records were received in the center and disposition made of 1,225 cubic feet. The staff performed 13,497 references during the same period.

Mr. T. W. Mitchell, Assistant State Archivist (State Records), spoke on records management at the Institute of the Graduate School of Library Science, University of Illinois, at Allerton Park, Illinois, on November 2.

### *Division of Historic Sites*

In 1960 the Richardson Foundation of Greensboro and New York granted \$50,000 to the Department of Archives and History for the preservation of historic sites. More than 14 projects received funds from this challenge grant. The foundation recently made another grant of \$100,000 to the department to be disbursed in 1965, 1966, and 1967. This sum also will be used as challenge grants to local preservation and restoration projects in North Carolina under specified criteria. Interested local groups may obtain further information from the department.

On October 26 in Greensboro Mr. H. Smith Richardson, Greensboro and New York, Chairman of the Board of the Richardson Foundation, and several other representatives of the foundation met with Dr. Crittenden and other department representatives to discuss general principles and procedures. After the meeting two of the Richardson representatives and several staff members from the Division of Historic Sites toured

historic sites from Winston-Salem and Salisbury in the west to New Bern, Bath, and Edenton in the east.

Mr. Tarlton attended the meetings in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, of the American Association for State and Local History on October 27-28. Mr. Tarlton is a member of the council of the association and is the southeastern representative of the awards committee.

On October 16 the Historical Highway Marker Advisory Committee met in Chapel Hill and approved 13 inscriptions for markers.

The Historical Halifax Restoration Association's Board of Directors met with department representatives in Raleigh on November 4. Mr. Ray S. Wilkinson told of plans for future development, and arrangements were discussed for the observance of Halifax Day in April, 1965. Mr. Fletcher Gregory, Sr., has donated approximately ten acres of land to the historic area of Halifax.

The Historic Sites Advisory Committee met on November 5 in Raleigh. The committee endorsed procedures for administering the recent \$100,000 grant to the department by the Richardson Foundation.

The Cherokee Council of the Boy Scouts of America in Alamance County held its annual camporee at Alamance Battleground State Historic Site on October 9-11 with 487 boys attending. Mr. Wayne Smith, Historic Site Assistant, presented a slide-lecture to the group.

Mr. James E. Ivey, Historic Site Assistant at the Charles B. Aycock Birthplace, reports a 100 per cent increase in visitation this year over last year. Work progresses on the stables; and the Fremont Garden Club has planted bulbs at the site.

A chain link fence is to be installed around the Gunboat "Neuse" at the Caswell Memorial Park near Kinston. The "Neuse" was not damaged during the recent flooding in eastern North Carolina, although water reached the bottom of the vessel. Mr. H. C. Casey, caretaker of the "Neuse," will serve as a guide on week ends.

Several patriotic and civic groups visited the Historic Bath State Historic Site. The Historic Bath Commission met in Raleigh on October 6. Work progresses at the Bonner House property with a number of outside improvements.

*The Smithfield Herald* on September 15 featured pictures and the story of the Visitor Center-Museum, which was opened recently at the Bentonville Battleground State Historic Site. Mr. Jack Rose, Historic Site Assistant, states that the recent publicity has increased visitation greatly. On November 2 Mr. W. K. Dorsey, Travel Supervisor of the Cape Fear Technical Institute, met with a group at Bentonville to prepare a travel film on the Bentonville site.

Nearly 200 persons attended the annual meeting of the North Carolina Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy at the Brunswick Town State Historic Site on October 13. In a dedication ceremony Dr. Crittenden accepted, for the Department of Archives and History, three foot-bridges which had been donated by the above organization. Mr. Stanley A. South, Archaeologist, spoke on "Fort Anderson, 1861-1865." In the afternoon a memorial service was held inside the ruins of St.

Philips Church. The site of the courthouse ruins is being excavated at Brunswick Town by Mr. South and Mr. William G. Faulk, Jr., Historic Site Assistant.

According to Mr. William H. Reid, Historic Site Assistant at the Fort Fisher State Historic Site, approximately 400 feet of the palisade fence has been installed, or about one-third of the total length. With the exception of materials being used, the palisade is an exact replica of the original and is being placed near the original site according to archaeological findings. Bids for the Fort Fisher visitor center-museum were opened on October 13, and contracts will be awarded in the near future. Mr. South attended the fifth annual Conference on Historic Site Archaeology at New Orleans on November 5. He also attended the Southeastern Archaeological Conference while there.

Bids on the construction of a visitor center-museum at the Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace State Historic Site were opened October 8, but proved to exceed original estimates of the cost of the building. Architect's plans for the structure were revised and construction work was expected to begin shortly.

After an inspection visit to Fort Defiance, near Lenoir, by Messrs. Tarlton, A. L. Honeycutt, Jr., and Robert O. Conway, of the Division of Historic Sites, the members of the Caldwell County Historical Society voted to restore this historic house, built by General William Lenoir. The society later obtained an option on the property, which includes many of the original furnishings of the Lenoir family.

On October 28 a special committee which met in Asheville voted to incorporate for the purpose of establishing a Museum of the Southern Highlands. The project was suggested by a member of the division staff.

### *Division of Museums*

Correspondence with teachers of North Carolina history resulted in the organization of 50 new Tarheel Junior Historian Clubs. Club memberships are renewed each year and new clubs are invited to join throughout the school term.

Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museums Administrator, and Mr. Samuel P. Townsend, Administrative Assistant, attended the annual meeting of the Southeastern Museums Conference in Savannah, Georgia, October 21-24.

The Tarheel Junior Historian Association was represented by Mr. Townsend at the Junior Historian Directors Conference in Newark, New Jersey, September 30-October 2.

Mrs. Sue Todd, Registrar, attended the annual meeting of the Early American Industries Association in Wilmington, Delaware, October 8-11.

A new series of programs to be held the fourth Sunday of each month was begun September 27 when Mr. Tony Zurek and Dr. J. Keith Lawson of Chemstrand Research Center, Inc., presented a demonstration and discussion of glass blowing. The second program, October 25, featured Mrs. William J. Newberry who displayed and discussed dolls from four collections. Public response resulted in overflow crowds on both occasions.

New exhibits regarding the Civil War in North Carolina were completed and installed in the Mobile Museum of History. The unit resumed its schedule across the state October 29 after an initial showing at the North Carolina State Fair.

Construction and installation of exhibits were completed at Bentonville Historic Site Visitor Center-Museum.

The building for the future Museum of the Albemarle near Elizabeth City was designed, and drawings were submitted. Meetings were also held concerning the museum.

Items from the 1900 lingerie collection were displayed at the Arts Festival in Smithfield September 17. In connection with the festival two staff members modeled selected costumes on the noon news program of WRAL-TV which promoted the festival through the director of women's activities, Bette Elliott.

### *Division of Publications*

Mrs. Violet W. Quay assumes the responsibility of Editorial Associate with this issue of *The North Carolina Historical Review*. Mrs. Quay was promoted to the position in the division from her former employment on the staff of the Colonial Records Project. She succeeded Mrs. Elizabeth W. Wilborn who received a promotion and transferred to the Division of Historic Sites. Mrs. Nancy S. Bartlett joined the staff of the division in September as an editorial assistant on the Sanford Papers, which are being edited by Mrs. Memory F. Mitchell, Editor.

The Editorial Board of the State Department of Archives and History met on September 23 in the office of the editor. All members were present and the entire program of the Division of Publications was reviewed. Following adjournment, the members were given a tour of the new offices and storage areas used by the division.

For the third quarter, total receipts were \$5,271 with \$3,864 being retained by the department and \$1,407 being turned over to the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association. Publications distributed included 762 documentary volumes; 12 copies of the *Index to The North Carolina Historical Review*; 47 letter books of governors; 109 small books; 2,651 pamphlets, charts, and maps (including 243 Tercentenary pamphlets); 7,740 leaflets and brochures; and 5,389 copies of the list of publications available from the department. In addition to this total of 16,710 were 2,129 copies of the Autumn, 1964, issue of *The Review*, 2,027 copies of the July issue and 2,269 copies of the September issue of *Carolina Comments*.

Plans are being made to issue *The Papers of John Willis Ellis* in two volumes early in 1965; each volume will be \$5 plus the usual handling charge. Orders should be sent to the Division of Publications.

A conference with Bishop Kenneth G. Hamilton, who is editing the *Moravian Records*, and other representatives of the Moravian Archives was held on October 28 in Dr. Crittenden's office. Tentative plans are

being made to publish two additional volumes in this series, making a total of 11, so as to include recently discovered significant records of the Helfer Conferenz.

A new publication is a single sheet showing pictures of the governors of North Carolina with their terms of office. The sheet is available for 50 cents, plus 10 cents handling charge, from the Division of Publications.

Copies of the 1962-1964 *Biennial Report* of the department are available to interested persons. Copies will be sent upon receipt of a 10-cent handling charge; orders should be sent to the Division of Publications.

### *Colonial Records Project*

The inventory of Colonial court records in the custody of the State Department of Archives and History has been completed. All higher court records and substantial samples of lower court records have been inventoried. The data thus obtained will be used in assembling court records to be published and in acquiring the information on the legal system of the colony that is necessary to edit court records.

The inventory of documents pertinent to the project held by the Virginia Historical Society also has been completed. The records reported include correspondence between the governors of the two colonies regarding piracy, Indians, and the boundary line. Depositions of Indians and white settlers relevant to the boundary line, memorandums on preparations for the boundary survey, accounts of travels and explorations in North Carolina, and manuscripts of William Byrd's *History of the Dividing Line* and *Journey to the Land of Eden* also are in the collections of the Virginia Historical Society. The more important records relating to North Carolina are in the Lee-Ludwell Papers, the William Byrd Letter Books, and the Westover Papers.

### NORTH CAROLINA CONFEDERATE CENTENNIAL COMMISSION

On August 1-2 Mr. Norman Larson, Executive Secretary, met in Charleston with the South Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission to discuss its participation in the Averagesboro centennial program. The Harnett County Centennial Committee and representatives from South Carolina's commission met with Mr. Larson on September 24 and again on October 23 to plan for the Averagesboro program.

In the re-enactment of the Battle of Jonesboro, Georgia, August 28-30, North Carolina was represented by Mr. Larson, Mr. Robert W. Jones, Public Information Officer, and Colonel W. Cliff Elder, commission member from Burlington.

On October 1 Dr. Crittenden and the staff of the commission held a finance committee meeting in Durham to discuss the Andrew Johnson-Bennett Place commemoration.

On October 13 Mr. Larson participated in a United Daughters of the Confederacy dedication program at Fort Anderson. He addressed the group at its Wrightsville Beach Convention October 14.

At a meeting of the Confederate States Centennial Conference in Montgomery, Alabama, October 15-18, Mr. Larson presented an illustrated talk on the Gunboat "Neuse" and related recovery efforts of the local centennial committee. Several commission members attended the Alabama conference.

The fourteenth plenary meeting of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission was held in Raleigh, October 28.

Mr. Larson met in Asheville with Colonel Paul Rockwell on October 30-31 to discuss motion picture production and centennial plans for the Battle of Asheville.

Mr. Larson and Mr. Jones represented the commission at numerous meetings and special events throughout the state during recent weeks.

### COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Dr. Henry S. Stroupe, head of the Department of History of Wake Forest College, reports the following faculty changes: Dr. David L. Smiley has been promoted to professor; Dr. Thomas E. Mullen has been promoted to associate professor; Dr. Robert C. Gregory has been granted a leave of absence for the 1964-1965 academic year to participate in the Cooperative Program in the Humanities at Duke University and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Mr. Thomas S. Morgan, Jr., instructor, will replace Dr. Gregory for the year.

Dr. W. H. Plemmons of Appalachian State Teachers College announces the promotion of Mr. William Fife Troutman, Jr., from associate professor to professor of political science.

Dr. Sarah M. Lemmon, chairman of the Department of History and Political Science at Meredith College, moderated a 30-minute panel, "Election Year, 1964" for TV classes in government and United States history on WUNC-TV October 30 and November 2. She served on a visiting team to Pembroke State College, November 8-11, and was assigned to report on general education and social studies teacher education for the new teacher certification plan of the State Department of Public Instruction. Mr. Thomas C. Parramore has completed his doctoral work at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; the Ph.D. degree will be awarded in June, 1965.

Dr. Richard L. Watson, Jr., chairman of the History Department at Duke University, served as chairman of the program committee for the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association in Little Rock, Arkansas, November 12-14. Reading papers at the meeting were Dr. Robert I. Crane, "The Military in Independent India"; Dr. Mark Van Aken, "Latin-American Student Movements in Uruguay"; and Dr. Warren Lerner, "Soviet Occupation Policy During the Russo-Polish War, 1920." Dr. Robert F. Durden was a member of the nominating committee.

Dr. Robert H. Woody was elected to the executive council and an alumnus of Duke University, Dr. Hugh T. Lefler of The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, was elected vice-president (to become president in 1965-1966).

The Commonwealth-Studies Center of Duke University, to celebrate its tenth birthday, organized, with the Institute of Commonwealth Studies of the University of London, a conference on "A Decade of the Commonwealth" at Bellagio, Italy, June 28-July 4. Dr. William B. Hamilton read a paper on "The Transfer of Power in Historical Perspective" and is co-editing the papers from the conference for publication in the Duke Center's series.

The Cooperative Program in the Humanities of Duke University and The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill has several Fellows from various institutions spending the year at Duke pursuing their own research and writing.

Dr. John S. Curtiss read a paper on "The Diplomacy of the Crimean War" at the Southern Conference on Slavic Studies, New Orleans, October 16; Dr. Warren Lerner was named chairman of the program committee. Dr. Robert I. Crane published "Teaching about India in the High Schools," in *The High School Journal* (May, 1964); "Technique and Method in Social History," in O. P. Bhatnagar (ed.), *Studies in Indian Social History* (Allahabad University Press, 1964); and "Indian History for the Undergraduate," in W. T. de Bary and A. T. Embree (eds.), *Approaches to Asian Civilization* (Columbia University Press, 1964). Dr. Donald G. Gillin had an article, "'Peasant Nationalism' in the History of Chinese Communism," in *The Journal of Asian Studies*, XXIII (February, 1964), and Dr. Irving B. Holley, Jr., published *Buying Aircraft: Materiel Procurement for the Army Air Forces* (Government Printing Office, 1964). Dr. Anne Firor Scott published "After Suffrage: Southern Women in the Twenties" in *The Journal of Southern History*, XXX (August, 1964), and submitted the report of the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women in North Carolina, of which she was chairman, to Governor Terry Sanford November 24. Dr. Alan K. Manchester's *British Preeminence in Brazil* (The University of North Carolina Press, 1933) has been reprinted by Octagon Books, Inc., of New York. Dr. Richard L. Watson's "American History: A Review of Recent Literature" appeared in *Social Education*, XVIII (October, 1964); Dr. Robert F. Durden published "The Battle of the Standards in 1896 and North Carolina's Place in the Mainstream" in *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, LXIII (Summer, 1964).

Dr. William J. Block, Department of History and Political Science, is 1964-1965 chairman of the Faculty Senate at North Carolina State of The University of North Carolina at Raleigh. Dr. Burton F. Beers is serving as chairman of the faculty of the School of General Studies. Dr. Ralph W. Greenlaw directed a summer program in Raleigh training 70 Peace Corps volunteers for community development and forestry projects

in southern Chile. Dr. Abraham Holtzman spoke to the Duke University faculty-graduate student seminar in political science on "Problems Facing Executive Lobbyists in Dealing with the Committee Systems of Congress." He was also a member of a panel on "Politics in the South," at a meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, at Durham, in November.

Dr. Herbert R. Paschal, Jr., director of the Department of History, East Carolina College, announces the following changes in the faculty: Mr. Wyatt Brown promoted from instructor to assistant professor; Dr. Charles L. Price from associate professor to professor; Dr. Joseph F. Steelman from associate professor to professor. New faculty members include Professor Loren K. Campion, Central and Eastern European history; Professor Thomas C. Herndon, Ancient and Medieval history; Professor Elaine M. Paul, Modern European history. *Essays in American History*, Volume I of East Carolina College Publications in History, 1964, contains essays by six members of the social studies faculty. Dr. Steelman was chairman of a session on "Progressivism in the South" at the meeting of the Southern Historical Association, Little Rock, Arkansas, November 12-14. Dr. Paul Murray was chairman of the R. D. W. Connor Award Committee of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association for 1964. Professor Thomas C. Herndon wrote a paper, "A Note on Medieval Wound Treatment and Bartholemeo dal Sarasin (fl. 1944)," in the *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 1964. Mr. Herndon and the late Loren C. MacKinney were co-authors of an article "Abnormal Cranial Sutures in Ancient, Medieval and Renaissance Anatomical Treatises: The Evolution of the Hippocratic-Aristotelian-Galenic-Vesalian Tradition," in *Storia E Letteratura*, 1964. Professor Kathleen E. Dunlop wrote three articles which appeared in UNESCO, *A Dictionary of the Social Sciences*, in October. Dr. Richard C. Todd was elected national vice-president of Phi Sigma Pi, national honorary and professional fraternity, for 1964-1966.

#### STATE, COUNTY, AND LOCAL

The Executive Committee of the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians held a luncheon meeting at Chapel Hill September 13. Plans were made for a tour of Anson County, October 18, and for the annual meeting of the society, December 5, in Raleigh.

The Historical Society of North Carolina met at Duke University on November 6. Papers were presented by Dr. Robert N. Elliott, Jr., Dr. Joseph Morrison, and Dr. Marvin L. Skaggs. Dr. Henry S. Stroupe was elected president; Dr. Stuart Noblin, vice-president; and Dr. H. H. Cunningham, secretary-treasurer.

The Department has received copies of the Report of John R. Woodard, Jr., Director of the North Carolina Baptist Historical Collection, and the

Minutes of the North Carolina Baptist Historical Committee meeting held at Wake Forest College, Winston-Salem, August 18, 1964.

Two copper engravings, dated 1878, of the area west of Morehead City northward along the coast to Ocracoke, covering the outer banks, are on loan to the Beaufort Historical Association. The plates were used by the Coast and Geodetic Survey. Dr. John Costlow, president of the association, is seeking six other engravings used to print charts of the 1850's. Dr. Costlow announced the appointment of Mr. John Mease as chairman of the restoration buildings and grounds committee.

The Carteret County Historical Society re-elected its entire slate of officers on October 17. The officers are: Mr. John R. Gibson, Cedar Point, president; Mr. Grayden Paul, Beaufort, vice-president; Mr. Thomas Resser, Beaufort, secretary; and Mr. F. C. Salisbury, Morehead City, treasurer. Mrs. Margaret Simmons read a paper on Colonial Beaufort prepared in 1963 by Mr. Charles L. Paul. Mr. Salisbury gave a report on the distribution of historical papers throughout the county.

The Pasquotank Historical Society is sponsoring a column, "Albemarle's Historical Genealogy Researcher," in the *Elizabeth City Advance*. Written by Mr. E. O. (Jack) Baum, the column discusses various events in the history of the area. The column for August 10, for example, was about shipwrecks on the North Carolina coast.

The Perquimans County Historical Society met on September 28 in the Perquimans Library.

The Bertie County Historical Association met October 29. Officers elected were: Mrs. M. B. Gillam, Sr., president; Mr. Francis Speight, Miss Stella Phelps and Mr. Wayland Jenkins, Jr., vice-presidents; Mrs. Walter Bond, secretary; Mr. Thomas Norfleet, treasurer; Dr. W. P. Jacks, executive adviser. Mrs. Gillam gave the program on "The Old Houses of Windsor and Some of the People Who Have Lived in Them."

The New Bern Historical Society met October 8. Plans for 1965 were discussed and the following officers were elected: Mr. R. L. Stallings, Jr., president; Mrs. Clarence Beasley, vice-president; Mrs. Phillip Steiner, secretary; Mr. R. A. (Del) Ipock, treasurer. Mr. John R. Taylor, who has served as president for the past eleven years, will be finance chairman for the coming year.

During the latter part of August, the Tryon Palace Commission reported visitors from 33 states, the District of Columbia, England, Austria, Mexico, and New Zealand. Paid admissions since the formal opening of the palace have totaled 162,407, including 118,000 adults and 43,807 children.

The Catawba County Historical Association re-elected all of its officers at the Newton meeting, October 9. The officers are: Mr. Thomas Warlick, president; Mr. S. Samuel Rowe and Mrs. Rome E. Jones, vice-presidents; Mrs. Roy Smyre, secretary; Mrs. Frances J. Snyder, treasurer; Mrs. Marguerite W. May, custodian; Mr. J. Paul Wagner, historian. Dr. J. E. Hodges presented a short historical talk to the 50 members present.

The Yancey County Historical Association met October 2 at the Library in Burnsville; Mr. O. W. Wilson presided. The purpose of the organization is to gather historical material for a comprehensive history of Yancey County. Persons are asked to send information on such topics as early settlers, nationalities, churches, schools, business, industry, architecture, geology, and Indian wars.

The Mecklenburg Historical Association has re-elected the Reverend John S. Staton president. Other officers elected were Mr. James B. Vogler and Mr. Irwin Belk, vice-presidents; Mrs. Frank Alford, secretary; and the Reverend Leon Adkinson, treasurer. Mr. Victor C. King was appointed historian, and Mr. Adkinson, chaplain. The association will meet the third Monday in January, March, May, and October.

A program and plaque dedication honoring John Berry of Hillsborough, early builder-architect (1798-1870), was presented by the Hillsborough Historical Society September 11. The 32" x 40" bronze plaque was presented to Orange County by Mrs. Alfred G. Engstrom, president of the society, and was accepted by Mr. Donald M. Stanford, chairman of the Orange County commissioners. Dr. Henry S. Stroupe, of Wake Forest College, delivered "A Tribute to John Berry," and Professor John V. Allcott, of The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, gave an illustrated lecture on "John Berry's Hillsborough Architecture." The 463-member society held its third annual meeting October 9. Officers were elected; the budget of \$5,700 was approved; and reports of officers and committees were heard. The program featured a colored slide lecture by Mrs. George B. Daniel, Jr., of Chapel Hill, on "Early Hillsboro and Orange County Furniture, 1760-1830."

The Davie Poplar Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Chapel Hill, has placed a bronze plaque at Ayr Mount, the one hundred and sixty year-old brick home of the Kirklands in Hillsboro.

The Historic Hillsborough Commission met October 14 at the Colonial Inn in Hillsboro for dinner and a business session. Mrs. Alfred G. Engstrom replaced Dr. Robert J. Murphy as chairman of the commission. Dr. Crittenden spoke briefly, and a discussion followed.

The Lower Cape Fear Historical Society met October 30. Mr. Lee Adler II spoke on "The Historic Restoration Program in Savannah," and showed

pictures of both interiors and exteriors of many Savannah homes that have been preserved in recent years.

The Bladen County Historical Society meeting of October 30 in the Bladen County courthouse was presided over by President Finley Rogers. Mrs. John D. Beatty, historian, spoke on "Collecting Bladen County Records"; progress reports were given on Harmony Hall and the Bladen County history.

Dr. Julian C. Yoder presided at the Western North Carolina Historical Association's fall quarterly meeting October 24 at the Pack Memorial Library. A film, "The Vanishing Frontier," dealing with changes in the Appalachians, was shown. Mrs. Alan Wallace of Brevard presented a paper on "Naturalists in Western North Carolina."

The Wake County Historical Society met in Raleigh on November 15. The Carolina Charter Tercentenary film, "Road to Carolina," was shown. Announcement was made of a \$25 award to be given by the society yearly to the school having the best Junior Historian Club in Wake County.

The Pitt County Historical Society, at its November 5 meeting, elected Dr. Robert Lee Humber president.

The Haywood County Historical Society staged an old-fashioned dress pageant November 10 in the courthouse at Waynesville. Costumes dated back to the Civil War era.

Mrs. Elizabeth H. Hummel, president of the Granville County Historical Society, presided at the meeting October 29 at the courthouse. Projects for 1965 include preparation of plots of all church cemeteries in Granville County, indexing the oldest records in the office of the Granville County Clerk of Superior Court, and obtaining additional historical markers for the county.

The Franklin County Historical Society held an organizational meeting in Louisburg October 29. Mr. C. F. W. Coker, Assistant State Archivist (Archives), spoke on the work of the State Department of Archives and History.

After an expenditure of some \$10,500, the McDowell County Historical Society opened the Carson House, near Marion, October 4, at a historic site and county museum. The Carson House was the home of several members of the Carson family who were leaders in the early history of western North Carolina.

The history of Edgecombe County courthouses from Colonial days to the present was interestingly traced by Mr. Don Gilliam, Jr., clerk of

superior court, at the meeting of the Edgecombe Historical Society, November 10, at the new courthouse in Tarboro.

Dr. Colin Spencer presided over the meeting of the Moore County Historical Association, November 24, at the Southern Pines Country Club. Mrs. Jack McPaul's group of costumed singers presented a program of folksongs.

The Brunswick County Historical Society met November 9 at the Sacred Heart Parrish House at Southport. Mrs. M. H. Rourk was re-elected president; Mrs. Ed Driscoll of Southport, vice-president; and Miss Helen Taylor of Winnabow, secretary-treasurer. The celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of Brunswick County was observed on November 15.

### MISCELLANEOUS

Grants-in-aid are available from the Harry S. Truman Library Institute, up to a limit of \$1,000 each, for projects involving the Truman Administration and the history and nature of the presidency of the United States. Applicants should write to Dr. Philip C. Brooks, Director, Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Missouri, for information and application forms.

The University of Delaware, in co-operation with the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, will award two or more Hagley Museum Fellowships in April, 1965, for the academic years 1965-1967. Recipients of these grants take graduate work in history and related fields at the University of Delaware and will receive training in museum work at the Hagley Museum, Wilmington, Delaware. Each fellowship carries an annual stipend of \$2,000, and is renewable upon satisfactory completion of the first year. Applications should be received by March 5, 1965. For further details, address the Chairman, Department of History, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware.

The National Trust for Historic Preservation will hold a two-week seminar for historic museum associates February 7-20, 1965, at Woodlawn Plantation, Mount Vernon, Virginia. The seminar, which is limited to 14 persons, is being offered for the third year and will include lectures by members of the staffs of the National Trust, Smithsonian Institution, National Park Service, National Gallery of Art, and other organizations in the Washington area. Further information may be obtained from Dr. William J. Murtagh, 815 - 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20006.

## THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW EDITORIAL POLICY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

