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# The North Carolina Historical Review



Autumn 1965

# THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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COVER—Springhouse at Panacea Springs, from a photograph owned by Mr. Clifton C. Alston of Littleton and lent to the Department of Archives and History by Dr. Ralph Hardee Rives. For an article on Panacea Springs, see pages 430 to 439.

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# BAPTISTS AND THE NEGRO IN NORTH CAROLINA DURING RECONSTRUCTION

BY JOHN L. BELL, JR.\*

The Baptists of North Carolina, as did other denominations, faced numerous problems arising from the emancipation of the slave members of their churches. Everyone accepted the Negro as a permanent part of southern society, so the central problem was to determine what the church should do to make him a useful citizen. Baptists pursued a positive program of teaching Negroes to read and write and of providing religious services for them. On the other hand, concurrent with their aid to the Negroes, Baptists desired that their colored members should form their own churches as soon as possible. Consequently, Negro Baptists organized a general association in 1867 and a state convention in 1869. By 1875 Negroes had almost completely withdrawn from Baptist churches.

After acclimating themselves to the immediate implications of emancipation, white North Carolina Baptists<sup>1</sup> instituted a program of local educational aid and spiritual succor for the Negroes. Some individual churches organized Negro Sunday schools and tried to preach to Negroes who were not church members.

Baptists of both races acquiesced in the changed relationship between master and slave after 1865. The Negroes quietly accepted their new freedom while remaining, in general, kindly disposed toward their former masters. One observer noted that unrest and antagonism appeared only among those freedmen "who have been exposed to the contamination of intruding theorists and speculators . . . who deem their errand of philanthropy unaccomplished unless they can detach the colored [people] from the whites, and excite strife between the two classes."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Three major Baptist bodies existed in North Carolina from 1865 to 1875: Free-will Baptists, Primitive Baptists, and Missionary Baptists. The third body, officially represented by the North Carolina Baptist State Convention, is the subject of this study.

<sup>2</sup> *Biblical Recorder* (Raleigh), February 22, 1866, hereinafter cited as *Biblical Recorder*. All citations to the *Biblical Recorder* in this article are to microfilm copies in the North Carolina Collection, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

On the other hand, Baptist churches accepted the fact of the Negroes' freedom and continued their mission of caring for the Negroes' spiritual interests. Green River Association, comprising Rutherford, Polk, and McDowell counties, felt no enmity toward the free Negroes; it advised its churches to consult their Negro members in all matters concerning them and to treat them with "kindness and forbearance."<sup>3</sup> The churches of Tar River Association in Franklin, Nash, and Warren counties, having nearly an equal membership of both races, resolved to treat their Negro members "with the spirit of kindness and brotherly love, and [to] make their present connection with us as pleasant and profitable to them as we can, until the way is prepared for a proper separation from us."<sup>4</sup> Sandy Creek Association, whose boundary extended to the limits of Chatham, Orange, Randolph, and Moore counties, saw no reason to discontinue to strive for the religious improvement of the Negroes merely because they had been emancipated.<sup>5</sup> The association placed no blame upon the freedmen for the disrupted social system, but it did think that emancipation should impress upon white and black alike the mysterious workings of God's Providence.<sup>6</sup> Not even the Eastern Association could bring itself to condemn the Negroes for their inactive part in the great social disruption: "The change is not one for which they are responsible, and no ill-feeling should be entertained towards them in consequence of it."<sup>7</sup>

In this atmosphere of acquiescence to the changed social order, North Carolina Baptists proposed opening Negro Sunday schools to be operated by individual churches on their own initiative. Baptists further wished to aid the Negro through state missions, which desired to provide ministers to preach the gospel to Negroes who were not church members. Both programs were designed only for temporary operation, and neither program, under central direction, attained any size or distinction other than demonstrating Christian charity toward

<sup>3</sup> *Minutes of the Twenty-Eighth Anniversary of the Green River Baptist Association, Held with Coopers' Gap Church, Polk County, N.C., October 5th to the 8th, 1866* (Rutherfordton: The Star Office, 1866), 6, hereinafter cited as *Minutes, Green River Association*.

<sup>4</sup> *Proceedings of the Tar River Baptist Association, Bear Swamp Church, Thursday, October 7th, 1866* (Petersburg, Virginia: Ege and Ellyson, Printers, 1867), 9, hereinafter cited as *Minutes, Tar River Association*.

<sup>5</sup> *Minutes of the One Hundred and Seventh Session of the Sandy Creek Baptist Association, Held with the Church at Rives' Chapel, Chatham County, N.C., October 29-September 1st [sic], 1865* (Raleigh: Biblical Recorder Book and Job Printing Office, 1866), 9, hereinafter cited as *Minutes, Sandy Creek Association*.

<sup>6</sup> *Minutes, Sandy Creek Association, 1867*, 11.

<sup>7</sup> *Minutes of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Session of the Eastern Association, Held with Bear-marsh Church, Duplin Co., N.C., October 8-11, 1867* (Raleigh: Biblical Recorder Publishing Company, 1867), 15, hereinafter cited as *Minutes, Eastern Association*.

the Negroes. The burden of instructing and preaching to the freedmen fell upon individual churches.

The Southern Baptist Convention urged the establishment of Sunday schools because they would provide a means for the religious instruction, and eventual salvation, of Negroes.<sup>8</sup> The convention also urged state conventions to appoint missionaries to organize and supervise Negro Sunday schools; it hoped that such schools might interest Negroes in becoming missionaries to Africa.<sup>9</sup> These proposals, however, produced few direct results in North Carolina.

The North Carolina Baptist State Convention of 1865, recognizing its Christian duty "to instruct the ignorant, to assist the needy, and to do good to all men," urged its churches to organize Sunday schools for the religious instruction of Negroes.<sup>10</sup> The convention saw nothing improper or degrading in employing white church members as teachers in Negro schools.<sup>11</sup> Again, in 1867 the State Convention requested its churches to establish Negro day schools and Sunday schools, "and such other institutions as have for their object to promote the spiritual and intellectual well-being of the race."<sup>12</sup>

Local opinion was not unanimous on the utility of Sunday schools for Negroes, but it did agree that schools should be provided for them. Several local church bodies pointed to the desirability and necessity of Negro Sunday schools. Baptists in the vicinity of Shelby, Charlotte, and Kings Mountain desired to provide religious instruction for the Negroes, "especially that they may read that blessed Book whose truths, understood and practiced, constitute the only sure basis of the peace and prosperity of society. . . ." Kings Mountain Association urged this educational duty upon its members as a family and individual responsibility until Sunday schools, using the New Testament as a textbook, could be established.<sup>13</sup>

Baptist members of the Eastern Association, who lived among a sizable population of Negroes, proposed that their churches use Sunday schools as a means of social control over colored members. "If our brethren do not engage in this work [Sunday schools], there

<sup>8</sup> *Proceedings of the Southern Baptist Convention, Held at Russelville, Kentucky, May 22d, 23d, 24th, 25th, and 26th, 1866* (Richmond, Virginia: Dispatch Steam Presses, 1866), 86, hereinafter cited as *Proceedings, Southern Baptist Convention*.

<sup>9</sup> *Proceedings, Southern Baptist Convention, 1872*, 24.

<sup>10</sup> *Proceedings of the Thirty-Fifth Annual Session of the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina Held with the Church at Forestville, November 1-4, 1865* (Raleigh: Biblical Recorder Book and Job Printing Office, 1866), 16, hereinafter cited as *Proceedings, North Carolina Baptist State Convention*.

<sup>11</sup> *Proceedings, North Carolina Baptist State Convention, 1866*, 19.

<sup>12</sup> *Proceedings, North Carolina Baptist State Convention, 1867*, 26.

<sup>13</sup> John R. Logan, *Sketches, Historical and Biographical, of the Broad River and King's Mountain Baptist Associations, from 1800 to 1832* (Shelby: Babington, Roberts, and Co., 1887), 113-114, hereinafter cited as Logan, *Sketches*.

will come those among them for this purpose, whose presence and influence will be anything else than agreeable to them," argued J. L. Carroll, chairman of the associational committee on religious instruction of Negroes. "If the highest motives of Christian duty are not sufficient to prompt them [the churches] to action," he continued, "there are other considerations, seriously affecting their social and political relations, to urge them to it."<sup>14</sup>

Similarly, the Baptist churches of Wake and Franklin counties felt that uneducated Negroes, "ignorant and credulous, and possessing lively emotions and strong passions," might become a dangerous element in every community. It was imperative that these docile and emotional Negroes be taught by southern men. These Baptists near the state capital concluded: "If *we* do not enter on this work [Sunday schools], others, who . . . are not so well qualified for the task, will fall in among them and mould them according to their own will."<sup>15</sup>

Negro Baptist Sunday schools, in spite of their desirability, were not numerous in North Carolina. L. Simmons, a Baptist minister, successfully organized a system of colored day schools and Sunday schools in Montgomery County. "My school is still in successful operation—six nights in the week with fifteen to twenty scholars, and every Sunday, save the one for monthly meeting at our church, with forty to fifty scholars," reported Simmons in 1867. "Although the labor is very exhausting, for I am getting old and have but little assistance, yet the thought that I am doing good to the poor, ignorant creatures more than repays me for my trouble with them."<sup>16</sup> J. M. Justice reported from Rutherfordton the successful operation of a church-directed Sunday school for Negro children. The Rutherfordton church also conducted a day school for about forty colored children "who manifest great interest in the school and are learning rapidly."<sup>17</sup> Mt. Vernon Baptist Church in Forestville, fifteen miles north of Raleigh, organized a Sunday school for its Negro members in 1867. James S. Ray, white, and George Dunn, colored, superintended that school which enrolled 135 pupils and seven teachers. By 1869 the Mt. Vernon Sunday school declined in attendance to 90 pupils and five teachers. No report was made in 1871 or afterward.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Minutes, Eastern Association, 1867, 15.*

<sup>15</sup> *Minutes of the Sixth Annual Session of the Central Baptist Association, Held with the Church at Franklinton, Franklin County, N.C., October 5th-7th, 1865* (Raleigh: Biblical Recorder Book and Job Printing Establishment, 1865), 6, hereinafter cited as *Minutes, Central Association.*

<sup>16</sup> *Biblical Recorder, June 26, 1867.*

<sup>17</sup> *Biblical Recorder, July 10, 1867.*

<sup>18</sup> *Minutes, Central Association, 1867, 15; 1869, 10.*

The operation of Sunday schools was not the only activity in which North Carolina Baptists made small, but positive, contributions to the religious welfare of Negroes. Because of their traditional emphasis upon the Great Commission,<sup>19</sup> Southern Baptists considered the greater part of their Christian mission fulfilled when they preached the gospel to sinners. To provide preaching for the Negroes was therefore a major duty of white churches and a special mission of the southern and state conventions.

The North Carolina Baptist State Convention had been organized to perform four major functions, two of which included dispatching missionaries within North Carolina and co-operating with the Southern Baptist Convention in the promotion of missions.<sup>20</sup> In the light of these responsibilities, the State Missions Board of the North Carolina convention concluded in 1865 that the recently emancipated Negroes presented a new and interesting challenge for mission activity. "They are now occupying a new position, with new trials and temptations, and they have peculiar claims on us," advised the State Missions Board in its annual report. "To save them from vice and utter moral ruin we must throw around them the restraining influences of the Gospel."<sup>21</sup> In support of the request of the Missions Board, the convention advised white pastors to continue ministering to their Negro members.<sup>22</sup>

The Southern Baptist Convention, meeting in Atlanta in 1867, spent the last day of the session discussing the condition of the freedmen. From the convention's deliberations emerged three resolutions proposing mission activities among the colored people. The convention affirmed its interest in the moral and religious improvement of the Negroes; advised white ministers and churches to evangelize and enlighten them; and directed the Domestic Missions Board to establish and encourage missions for the Negroes' benefit.<sup>23</sup> Although the North Carolina convention employed a missionary to establish liaison in missions with the Southern Baptist Convention, North Carolina received only one of the 105 missionaries sent out by the Domestic Missions Board to work among whites and Negroes.<sup>24</sup> In 1869 a "Freedmen's Board Department" for the education of freedmen was recommended to the Southern Baptist Convention as an addition to

<sup>19</sup> "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you. . . ." Matthew 28:19-20.

<sup>20</sup> *Proceedings, North Carolina Baptist State Convention, 1865, 3.*

<sup>21</sup> *Proceedings, North Carolina Baptist State Convention, 1865, 11.*

<sup>22</sup> *Proceedings, North Carolina Baptist State Convention, 1865, 16; 1866, 19-20.*

<sup>23</sup> *Biblical Recorder, May 22, 1867.*

<sup>24</sup> *Biblical Recorder, June 5, 1867; January 29, 1868.*

the Missions Board, but the proposal was rejected because its activity would place the Missions Board even deeper in debt.<sup>25</sup> Thus was the Southern Baptist Convention limited in its missionary activities among the Negroes by lack of financial resources rather than by purpose and intent.

The North Carolina Baptist State Convention received no better financial support for Negro mission activities. In 1865 the convention received for its entire program, which included state and foreign missions, education of ministers, Sunday schools, and colportage, only \$390.78. Of this amount, \$84.69 was designated for state missions.<sup>26</sup> The financial picture appeared even darker in 1866 when of a total collection of \$209.13, only \$65.38 was apportioned for state missions.<sup>27</sup> In the unstable period between 1865 and 1867, when they were more willing and anxious to aid their Negro members, North Carolina Baptists had no financial base upon which to erect a centrally directed program of Negro mission activities.

At least two white missionaries did work among North Carolina Negro Baptists before 1870. C. J. Nelson served as pastor to a Negro church of sixty members in Goldsboro for one year. His great energy and direction contributed to the success of the church and the completion of a new house of worship in 1867.<sup>28</sup> S. W. Lunn was appointed missionary to the Negroes by Welsh Neck Association, whose churches were located along the state line in North Carolina and South Carolina.<sup>29</sup>

Despite their genuine interest in the religious welfare of their former Negro slaves, North Carolina Baptists wholeheartedly approved the complete withdrawal of Negroes from white churches as soon as possible. What, if anything, explains this seeming contradiction in the action of white Baptists who on the one hand called for more Negro Sunday schools and special preaching services but on the other politely requested the Negroes to leave their churches? Was such action not inconsistent with the command of the Great Commission to carry the gospel to all lands and all people? Apparently, white Baptists felt that their actions expressed neither inconsistency nor contradiction. Their fixed purpose to maintain the accustomed system of social inequality between whites and Negroes they felt to be superior to any positive Christian duty to the Negro.

<sup>25</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, June 2, 1869.

<sup>26</sup> *Proceedings, North Carolina Baptist State Convention, 1865*, 19.

<sup>27</sup> *Proceedings, North Carolina Baptist State Convention, 1866*, 21.

<sup>28</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, July 3, 1867.

<sup>29</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, April 24, 1867.

The social system in which several generations of southerners had been reared before 1865, decreed that the Negro was the intellectual and social inferior of any white man. The Negro's inferiority and his position as a slave in society also relegated him to a passive and minor role in the Baptist churches in which he worshiped. Accordingly, slave members of Baptist churches had no voice in church government, save occasionally in matters which concerned slaves only.<sup>30</sup> Negroes sat apart from white congregations, either in galleries or "lofts" of large churches or in rear seats which had been "railed off" for them in smaller churches. They sat near the whites only during communion service or on other special occasions.<sup>31</sup>

Neither abolition of slavery nor defeat in war altered the fixed white opinion that Negroes should retain their inferior status in white churches as a condition of their worship. J. D. Hufham, a leader of North Carolina Baptists, recognized only two courses concerning Negro membership: Either form separate churches for Negroes, or admit them to white churches with equal privileges in church government and discipline. Hufham declared separation to be the better course because equal privileges for Negroes were "not to be thought of."<sup>32</sup> Central Association in 1865 proposed the same alternatives: Negroes could remain in white churches only by submitting to the church regulations enforced under slavery; if they desired equality, they could find it only in separate churches.<sup>33</sup> Even with the advent of political equality for Negroes, Baptists were unwilling to grant them equal privileges with white members. "If our original code of discipline toward our brethren of African descent was right, then emancipation from slavery has not made it wrong," concluded an article in the *Biblical Recorder*.<sup>34</sup>

While Baptists would not accept equal privileges for Negroes in local church government and discipline, they just as vociferously denounced any move toward social equality within higher church organizations. The problem of membership of Negro churches in white associations developed into an issue over social equality in the Southern Baptist Convention of 1869. Richard Fuller, pastor of a church in Baltimore, advanced a program which was ahead of his time. In order to make the Negro feel that in Christ there was neither

<sup>30</sup> *Proceedings, North Carolina Baptist State Convention, 1867, 25.*

<sup>31</sup> William A. Graham, *The History of the South Fork Baptist Association, or the Baptists for One Hundred Years in Lincoln, Catawba and Gaston Counties, North Carolina* (Lincolnton: Journal Printing Co., 1901), 59-60.

<sup>32</sup> *Proceedings, North Carolina Baptist State Convention, 1867, 25.*

<sup>33</sup> *Minutes, Central Association, 1865, 7.*

<sup>34</sup> *Biblical Recorder, January 30, 1867.*

male nor female, Jew nor Gentile, African nor American, Fuller proposed that Negro churches be accepted into white Baptist associations. A. M. Poindexter of Virginia was unwilling to accept Fuller's plan because it disregarded the social implications of uniting white and Negro churches in the same association. "The Bible never intended, when it said that we are all one in Christ, to abolish social distinctions," argued Poindexter. "If you would admit them [the Negroes] as representatives in associations, you would have also to admit them to your homes, to your tables and lay them upon your beds." A sufficient number of delegates concurred in Poindexter's dread of social equality to defeat Fuller's proposal.<sup>35</sup>

North Carolina Baptists, as evidenced by their statements and actions, were united in their opposition to social equality in their churches or in any other place. John R. Logan, one-time state senator and a leading Baptist layman, declared that social equality in Baptist churches was not even to be considered, much less desired.<sup>36</sup> Tar River Association, comprised of churches mainly in Franklin, Nash, and Warren counties, received a request for membership in 1869 from Shiloh Colored Baptist Church in Granville County. Shiloh members, specifically renouncing in their request any desire for civil or social equality, desired only to be placed under the "protection, guidance, and fostering care" of the association. Tar River Association admitted Shiloh Colored Baptist Church into its fellowship with the understanding that the resolution of admission "confers not nor shall be in any way construed to confer upon said Shiloh Church, or any delegate thereof, any social, political, or civil right, whatever, in this Association."<sup>37</sup> Evidently the arrangement worked well, for in 1870 the white delegates, as a token of their "Christian sympathy and brotherly love," contributed money for the purchase of a Bible for the colored church.<sup>38</sup>

Strong Baptist opposition to social equality was further demonstrated in 1870 by the *Biblical Recorder's* disapproval of the move in Catholic churches in Baltimore to have whites and Negroes sit together and intermingle socially. Apparently, the Baptist paper was also piqued because some northern churches demanded that Southern Baptist churches be reconstructed to effect social equality between the races. The *Recorder* penned an indignant reply: "Any law or rule requiring both colors to sit on the same bench, to study at the same desk, to eat at the same table, or to sleep on the same beds, would be

<sup>35</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, June 2, 1869.

<sup>36</sup> Logan, *Sketches*, 116.

<sup>37</sup> *Minutes, Tar River Association, 1869*, 9.

<sup>38</sup> *Minutes, Tar River Association, 1870*, 6.

superfluous tyranny, equally hateful and injurious to persons of both colors."<sup>39</sup>

Another factor, not easily documented, emerged to hasten the move by both races for separate churches and associations. This second factor was the desire of the Negroes themselves for some measure of equality and self-determination commensurate with their new-found freedom. The Negroes early perceived that emancipation had not brought any change in their relationship with whites within the Baptist churches of which they were members. As in times of slavery, they were required to sit in galleries or rear seats; they had no voice in church government; and in church they were forced to observe all the social barriers that existed between slave and master. Although an act of government had given the slaves their freedom, Baptist churches had not emancipated them. The younger Negroes saw that the achievement of relative equality and participation in church affairs required that they worship to themselves. J. D. Hufham recognized this desire for equality when in 1867 he advised the North Carolina Baptist State Convention that the majority of Negroes were unwilling to remain in white churches "on the old footing," the only condition upon which whites would accept Negro members. "Disguise it as we may," said Hufham, "our colored brethren are disposed to independent action—they want preachers and churches of their own."<sup>40</sup>

Even after their separation from white churches, Negroes expressed their disapprobation of a social system which regarded them as inferior beings and treated them accordingly. Roanoke Association, the first Negro association to be organized in North Carolina, resolved in 1869 "that proscription on account of caste or color, is unwarranted by any law or rule of *decency* or sound morality, and [is] contray [*sic*] to the spirit of the times. . . ." Furthermore, Roanoke Association considered racial discrimination to be "but the relic of a cringing ex-crescence of slavery" which "deserves the disapprobation of every just, honorable, and liberty loving citizen. . . ." <sup>41</sup> And in 1870 Negro Baptists of eastern North Carolina deplored the prevalence of racial prejudice among white Baptists. "And as the scriptures regards [*sic*] no man on account of the *color* of his *skin*," advised the Negro Baptists, "we encourage all men to do likewise." Roanoke Association also found it difficult in 1870 to understand the indifference with which white

<sup>39</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, February 23, 1870.

<sup>40</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, June 5, 1867.

<sup>41</sup> *Minutes of the Fourth Annual Session of the Roanoke Missionary Baptist Association [Negro], Held with the Church at Philadelphia, Camden County, N.C., May 26-28, 1869* (Elizabeth City: North Carolinian Power Press, 1869), 7, hereinafter cited as *Minutes, Roanoke Association [Negro]*.

Baptists lately looked upon Negro churches. It resolved that its own churches would regard white Baptists "as brethren and sisters, Pilgrims to a better land, and will pray the Lord to soften their obdurate hearts, and cause them to see the error of their ways."<sup>42</sup>

Thus arose the rigid and incompatible demands of both races which led to the approval on both sides of separate Negro churches. White Baptists demanded that free Negroes remain in their inferior social position, changed not at all from slavery times. The Negroes quietly and orderly requested a measure of equality in the white churches. Their desire was not to be attained in the face of rigid white opposition to equal church privileges and to social equality, so they gradually withdrew to their own churches.

That both races effected the withdrawal of Negro Baptists in a gradual, friendly, and co-operative manner is a tribute to their good judgment. The North Carolina Baptist State Convention and many of the associations passed resolutions, mainly between 1865 and 1867, recommending that Negro Baptists withdraw to their own churches as soon as they could be established. White Baptists were requested to aid the Negroes in their withdrawal. Negroes who were willing to accept the social customs imposed by the whites, however, could remain members of the white churches indefinitely.<sup>43</sup> Many elder Negroes who were attached to their former masters and the white churches refused to leave, but most Negroes desired freedom of religious action and departed.<sup>44</sup>

White North Carolina Baptists generally tried to be helpful to the Negroes in establishing their own churches. Olive Chapel Baptist Church near Apex, after voting in 1866 to grant letters of dismissal to Negroes who desired to leave, offered its services to help the Negroes construct their own church. The Negroes decided to build near Friendship, and white members of Olive Chapel contributed plans, labor, and lumber in the construction of the new Negro Church.<sup>45</sup> The Baptists in Murfreesboro aided Elder Lemuel W. Boone, a Negro minister, in the organization of a Negro church in November, 1866. Afterward, they helped him secure funds for a building, "for the erec-

<sup>42</sup> *Minutes, Roanoke Association [Negro], 1870, 5.*

<sup>43</sup> *Proceedings, North Carolina Baptist State Convention, 1866, 19-20, 1867, 25-26; Biblical Recorder, June 5, 1867, May 27, 1868; Minutes, Central Association, 1865, 7, 1866, 6; Minutes, Eastern Association, 1865, 5-6; Minutes, Sandy Creek Association, 1865, 10; Minutes, Tar River Association, 1866, 9.*

<sup>44</sup> J. A. Whitted, *A History of Negro Baptists of North Carolina* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1908), 14-15, hereinafter cited as Whitted, *History of Negro Baptists*.

<sup>45</sup> Garland A. Hendricks, *Biography of a Country Church* (Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press, 1950), 54-55.

tion of which our citizens of every class contributed cheerfully.”<sup>46</sup> Chapel Hill Baptist Church dismissed most of its Negro members in November, 1865, but the church granted them the privilege of continued use of the building until 1871.<sup>47</sup> Catawba Association appointed in 1869 three white ministers to aid six colored churches in Gaston County to organize their own association.<sup>48</sup>

Numerous white churches released their Negro members in a body as soon as the Negroes procured the services of a minister and a place of worship. In June, 1868, the Raleigh First Baptist Church, while meeting in a business session, received with surprise a delegation from the church's Negro members. “Brother Henry Jett, one of the delegates, . . . stated that the colored church wished the white church to dismiss them in a body, either by letter or by a simple vote, they having already organized a separate body under the name of the First Baptist Church, Colored.”<sup>49</sup> The session of the Raleigh First Baptist Church granted the request and wrote letters of dismissal to 200 of its Negro members.<sup>50</sup> The First Baptist Church of Charlotte acted similarly in January, 1868. At that time “Brother Alfred,” who had become deacon and quasi-minister to the colored members in 1867, recommended fifty-five of them for membership in a separate Negro congregation. The church accordingly granted them letters of dismissal.<sup>51</sup> On October 12, 1872, the First Baptist Church of Lumberton dismissed all of its twenty Negro members to join Sandy's Grove Colored Church nearby.<sup>52</sup>

On occasion, Negro members of white churches were dismissed under unpleasant circumstances. Chowan Association, located in northeastern North Carolina, in 1867 advised all of its churches to dismiss Negro men who had run away from their masters during the war to join the Union Army. L. W. Boone, a Negro minister, asked that the resolution be rescinded, but the association replied that its action was based upon the Scriptures and must stand.<sup>53</sup> The Rose of Sharon

<sup>46</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, January 16, 1867.

<sup>47</sup> A. C. Howell, *A History of the Chapel Hill Baptist Church, 1854-1924* (Chapel Hill: n. p., 1945), 18.

<sup>48</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, October 20, 1869.

<sup>49</sup> Andrew J. Rogers, *Brief History, Formation and Growth of the [Colored] First Baptist Church of Raleigh, N.C.* (Raleigh: Capital Printing Co., 1927), 6.

<sup>50</sup> *Manual and Directory of the First Baptist Church of Raleigh, N.C.* (Raleigh: Alford, Bynum and Christophers, Printers, 1900), 23.

<sup>51</sup> Carrie L. McLean, *First Baptist Church, Charlotte, N.C., 1832-1916* (Charlotte: Washburn Press, 1917), 26.

<sup>52</sup> *The First Baptist Church, Lumberton, North Carolina: One Hundred Years of Christian Witnessing, 1855-1955* (Nashville, Tennessee: Ambrose Printing Co., 1955), 54-55.

<sup>53</sup> James A. Delke, *History of the North Carolina Chowan Baptist Association, 1806-1881* (Raleigh: Edwards, Broughton and Co., 1882), 87.

Baptist Church near Durham had rarely dismissed Negroes for violations of church laws before 1865, but between 1865 and 1874 "they were frequently brought up for various offenses and turned out."<sup>54</sup>

Although North Carolina Baptists kept no accurate membership statistics for several years after the war, one informed minister, J. D. Hufham, estimated in May, 1867, that the churches had retained only a fragment of their "very large" colored membership which existed at the close of the war.<sup>55</sup> Apparently, most of the Negroes who left white churches between 1865 and 1867 departed in 1865, because several of the few associations which did enumerate white and colored members showed only a slight, if any, decrease in colored membership between 1865 and 1867. The greatest exodus of Negroes from white churches occurred after 1867 when the Negroes had organized their own general association for North Carolina.

Brown Creek Association in Union and Anson counties began counting Negro members separately only in 1870 when it reported 1,176 white and 125 colored members. By 1875 white membership had increased to 1,294, but Negro membership had dropped to 28.<sup>56</sup> The Central Association in Wake and Franklin counties had 337 colored members in 1866, 524 in 1867, 413 in 1868, but only 55 in 1874.<sup>57</sup> The Eastern Association, extending over a wide area in eastern North Carolina, reported a Negro membership for the years 1865, 1866, 1867, and 1868, respectively, of 1,461, 1,089, 1,013, and 794. In 1870 no Negro members were listed.<sup>58</sup> The Negro contingent of Green River Association in the mountainous region of the state increased in number between 1865 and 1867 from 189 to 198.<sup>59</sup> The Negro membership of Pee Dee Association also increased in the same period from 371 to 441, but declined to 38 in 1872.<sup>60</sup>

Many associations did not even list Negro members separately after 1875. Associational and local church records thus indicate that only a handful of Negroes remained in white churches by 1875. The greater part of them had withdrawn to form their own Baptist churches under their own control.

<sup>54</sup> R. T. Howerton, Jr., "The Rose of Sharon Baptist Church," *Trinity College Historical Papers*, VII (1907), 42-43.

<sup>55</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, June 5, 1867.

<sup>56</sup> *Minutes of the Sixteenth Annual Session of the Brown Creek Association, Held with the Church at Deep Creek, Anson County, North Carolina, October 7 & 8, A.D. 1870* (Raleigh: Nichols and Gorman, Book and Job Printers, 1870), 15; 1875, 14.

<sup>57</sup> *Minutes, Central Association, 1866*, 16; 1867, 16; 1868, 25; 1870, 21.

<sup>58</sup> *Minutes, Eastern Association, 1865*, 16-17; 1866, 19; 1867, 25; 1868, 25; 1870, 21.

<sup>59</sup> *Minutes, Green River Association, 1865*, 8; 1867, 5.

<sup>60</sup> *Minutes and Proceedings of the Fifty-First Anniversary of the Pee Dee Baptist Association, Held with Forks of Little River Church, (Montgomery County,) October 19, 20, 21, 1866* (Wadesboro: Printed at the Argus Office, 1867), 15; 1867, 16; 1872, 12.

If Negroes were to have their own churches, as white and Negro Baptists desired, Negro pastors had to be secured and trained as early as possible. Baptists were not as exacting in the educational requirements for their ministers as were Presbyterians and Episcopalians. For that reason, uneducated Negroes were acceptable as ministers for the work of establishing the first Negro churches. Negro Baptists, with the aid of white pastors and congregations, quickly secured a sufficient number of Negro ministers to lead their independent churches.

A few Negro Baptist ministers remained from the ante-bellum period and formed the nucleus of the new colored ministry. Such was the role of a slave of Thomas L. Cowan, Harry Cowan, who was born in 1810, converted in 1825, and licensed to preach in 1828. After his ordination in 1830, Harry Cowan organized five churches, three in Rowan County and two in Davidson County. From his master Cowan received a horse with a saddle and bridle on which to make preaching tours of his master's four plantations.<sup>61</sup> But Cowan early encountered the trials and tribulations of a Christian minister. He related how the "overseer was hostile to me, mocked my baptizings, clubbed me and fed me half rations." He was, however, "forced to beg my pardon and dismissed from service."<sup>62</sup> The reaction of whites to Nat Turner's insurrection in 1831 caused them to view with suspicion the work of any itinerant Negro preacher. Harry Cowan thus was limited to holding religious services within a forty-mile radius of Salisbury, and then only as white supervision permitted. His ministry was severely curbed until 1865, when he entered the work of organizing independent Negro churches and caring for the religious needs of his people. By his own account of postwar activities, he "organized, or assisted in organizing, 37 churches, baptized over 1,500 converts, preached 1,000 funerals, and married an equal number of persons." Harry Cowan also led in the formation of the North Carolina Colored Baptist State Convention in 1869.<sup>63</sup>

Joseph Baysmore of Halifax County also began religious work as a slave and later became a leader in the postwar movement for separate Negro churches. Born in 1823 to a mother who taught him the Lord's Prayer and brought him up in "fear of the Lord," Baysmore was baptized at the age of twenty-eight and immediately began holding prayer meetings for his fellow slaves. "My owner was good to me, and when I was baptized they give [*sic*] me the liberty of holding prayer

<sup>61</sup> Charles B. Williams, *A History of the Baptists in North Carolina* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1901), 161, hereinafter cited as Williams, *History*; Whitted, *History of Negro Baptists*, 10-11.

<sup>62</sup> Williams, *History*, 161-162.

<sup>63</sup> Williams, *History*, 162-163.

meetings, by which the whole people of the place were convicted from their evil way and returned to the Lord," related Baysmore in his later years. ". . . it was by the providence of God that I possessed a little share of education and by studying and practicing it the same I grew [sic] more and more in the light of literature, by which I was able to read the Bible." In 1865 he began preaching to a small church of five members. After being ordained in November, 1866, Baysmore received twenty-six members by letters from the white Baptist church in Weldon. Besides serving in political positions as justice of the peace and registrar for the constitutional convention election of 1867, Baysmore organized eight churches—four each in Halifax and Northampton counties—and baptized 900 persons.<sup>64</sup>

As soon as they saw the trend of events leading toward widespread withdrawal of Negroes from white churches, Baptists concurred in giving encouragement and moral support to Negro ministers. No sooner had the Southern Baptist Convention of 1867 advised white pastors to instruct Negro licentiates and ministers than the North Carolina Baptist State Convention urged the same measure.<sup>65</sup> The Southern Baptist Convention of 1869 again considered the problem of education for Negro ministers. One report recommended that a department for the theological education of colored ministers be opened in the Domestic Missions Board. The plan was rejected because it would drive the already debt-burdened Domestic Missions Board even deeper into debt. The convention agreed to a man, however, that the education of Negro ministers was necessary for improving the condition of Negroes in the South. Unofficially, the Southern Baptist Convention of 1869 transmitted the kindly, but impractical, offer of its seminary professors to give private instruction to any colored ministers who should desire it. Officially, the convention went on record as saying "that we, the Baptists of the South, recognize the high and sacred duty of giving a pure gospel and enlightened ministry to the colored population now living among us."<sup>66</sup> But Southern Baptists, mainly because of a lack of funds, developed no practical system of education for Negro ministers either in North Carolina or the South.

North Carolina Baptists possessed, but failed to avail themselves of, the means for educating Negro ministers between 1865 and 1870. Henry Martin Tupper, a discharged Union Army enlisted man who

<sup>64</sup> Joseph Baysmore, *A Historical Sketch of the First Colored Baptist Church, Weldon, N.C., with the Life and Labor of Elder Joseph Baysmore, with Four Collected Sermons* (Weldon, N.C.: Harrell's Printing House, 1887), 1-2.

<sup>65</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, May 22, 1867; *Proceedings, North Carolina Baptist State Convention, 1867*, 26.

<sup>66</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, June 2, 1869.

had been educated at Amherst College and Newton Theological Seminary, organized under the auspices of the American Baptist Home Mission Society a small theological school at Raleigh on December 1, 1865. The school's original aim was the training of Negro ministers and Christian workers.<sup>67</sup> When incorporated in 1875 and named "Shaw University" after its chief benefactor, Elijah Shaw of Massachusetts, the school was designed for "educational purposes" and operated classical, normal, and theological departments. The charter of 1875 also provided that no student was to be denied admission because of "race, color, or any previous condition of servitude."<sup>68</sup>

Tupper endured many hardships to gain recognition for his work among the Negroes of North Carolina. Not only was he socially ostracized by the white people of Raleigh and North Carolina, but he was also threatened by the Ku Klux Klan because of his treatment of the Negroes as social equals.<sup>69</sup> In October, 1869, Tupper informed the *Biblical Recorder* of the opening of the second session of "Raleigh Baptist Institute for the Education of Colored Men for the Ministry." He invited North Carolina Baptists to aid in the selection of colored men of good moral and religious character to attend the school which was supported by the American Baptist Home Mission Society. Free board, lodging, and tuition were offered to Negro men who gave evidence of their call to preach the gospel.<sup>70</sup>

J. S. Purefoy, a white Baptist minister, responded to Tupper's request and asked that North Carolina Baptists investigate the school and, if found worthy, urge Negroes to attend it. "It is a generous and noble thing on the part of the American Baptist Home Missionary Society to establish such a school," said Purefoy. "They are proposing to do a work which we are unable to do and one that is as much needed as any enterprise in which we are now engaged."<sup>71</sup> The *Biblical Recorder* gave approval to Tupper's work in time for the 1870 opening of his school for ministers.<sup>72</sup> North Carolina Baptists thus moved not only toward friendlier relations with northern teachers,

<sup>67</sup> Whitted, *History of Negro Baptists*, 147-151.

<sup>68</sup> *Laws and Resolutions of the State of North Carolina Passed by the General Assembly at Its Session 1874-'75, Begun and Held in the City of Raleigh on Monday, the Sixteenth Day of November, A.D., 1874*, c. 153; Whitted, *History of Negro Baptists*, 20.

<sup>69</sup> Whitted, *History of Negro Baptists*, 153; see also, George Campbell, *White and Black: The Outcome of a Visit to the United States* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1879), 26.

<sup>70</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, October 20, 1869.

<sup>71</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, November 3, 1869. The North Carolina Baptist State Convention also gave semiofficial sanction to Shaw University in 1872, *Proceedings, North Carolina Baptist State Convention, 1872*, 26.

<sup>72</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, June 8, 1870.

but also to a more liberal position regarding the education of Negro ministers.

Negroes went through the same ceremonies and formalities as did whites in becoming ministers. At Wilmington in 1867 a select group of white ministers examined E. E. Eagles, a Negro licentiate, concerning his call to the ministry, Christian experience, and doctrine. Having passed the test very satisfactorily, Eagles was ordained before a large congregation. Elder J. B. Hardwick, also white, presented him with a Bible. Afterward, the select group of ministers and part of the congregation extended to Eagles the "right hand of fellowship."<sup>73</sup>

By 1871 the Negro Baptist State Convention listed eighty-eight ministers who served churches as far west as Asheville and as far east as Edenton. Several towns had more than one Negro minister. Warrenton, Salisbury, and Wilmington had two ministers each; Oxford and New Bern had three; and Raleigh had five.<sup>74</sup> Elder A. D. Phillips served as the Negro Convention's first missionary to Africa.<sup>75</sup> "These pioneers . . . were unlettered men, could scarcely read a single line intelligently, and were almost entirely dependent on the Holy Spirit for inspiration and mental illumination," reminisced one historian of North Carolina Baptists.<sup>76</sup>

Although their spiritual and educational progress seemed to them unusually retarded, Negro Baptists organized a general association in 1867 and a state convention in 1869, acquired the basic skills of self-government, and thereafter increased rapidly in membership.

By 1867 Negro Baptists had a sufficient number of ministers and churches to constitute a state-wide general association. Roanoke Association, organized in 1865 on Roanoke Island, was the first Negro association in North Carolina.<sup>77</sup> L. W. Boone laid the foundation for Chowan Association in the winter of 1866-1867 by founding twenty Negro churches with 3,000 members.<sup>78</sup> White Baptists had earlier given their sanction and support to the formation of Negro churches and associations, and they stood ready to grant their approval to the establishment of a colored general association for North Carolina.

A small group of Negro ministers, led by Meredith Ligon, issued in September, 1867, a call for an assembly of two delegates from each Negro Baptist church in North Carolina. The delegates and Negro ministers were to meet in Goldsboro on October 18, 1867, to organize

<sup>73</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, June 5, 1867.

<sup>74</sup> *Proceedings, North Carolina Baptist State Convention, 1871*, 76-77.

<sup>75</sup> *Proceedings, North Carolina Baptist State Convention, 1871*, 18.

<sup>76</sup> Williams, *History*, 163.

<sup>77</sup> Williams, *History*, 162.

<sup>78</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, January 16, 1867.

a general association. "We deem it unnecessary . . . to do more than to call your attention to the importance of some such organization as we propose forming," stated the Negro leaders to their brethren across the state. "We need it for the improvement of our ministry and the denomination throughout the state. . . ." <sup>79</sup> The Negro ministers planned their first state assembly to coincide in time and place with the regular session of the North Carolina Baptist State Convention, which would thus be able to render them technical aid and moral support. The convention assembled on October 16 and appointed a committee of seven white ministers, as requested by the Negroes, to aid them in organizing their general association. <sup>80</sup> The Negro delegates met concurrently in Goldsboro as planned and organized the "General Association for Colored Baptists of North Carolina." <sup>81</sup> Two years later, in 1869, the General Association, having gained enough strength, became the "Baptist Educational and Missionary Convention of North Carolina." <sup>82</sup> E. E. Eagles, S. M. Jones, Harry Cowan, and Lemuel W. Boone were outstanding in the formation of the convention. <sup>83</sup> Thus, by 1867 Negro Baptists had an organization which would speed the withdrawal of Negroes from white churches and perpetuate the Negro Baptist faith in North Carolina.

Although a separate and organized church facilitated the rapid numerical growth of Negro Baptists, it assured them of neither easy success nor doctrinal uniformity among their congregations. One historian of Negro Baptists in North Carolina characterized their postwar condition as one of ignorance, poverty, discouragement, and bitter and disappointing struggles. <sup>84</sup> A white visitor of the Weldon African Baptist Church in 1869 observed that the congregation was very noisy during the sermon on "Baptist Doctrine and Methodist Manners." He further noted that many Negroes were "intensely profane" and showed no desire for any knowledge of God. <sup>85</sup> S. J. Wheeler of Windsor toured the Negro churches of Hertford County early in 1869. He observed that their churches increased by ten or fifteen members each Sunday, but concluded that they were not spiritually progressing. "An impression prevails among many of them," reported Wheeler, "that their own feelings and impulses afford better evidences of the teachings of the Holy Ghost, than the Bible. They profess to think that while the Scriptures may instruct white christians, their instruction comes more di-

<sup>79</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, September 25, 1867.

<sup>80</sup> *Proceedings, North Carolina Baptist State Convention, October, 1867*, 18-19.

<sup>81</sup> *Minutes, Roanoke Association [Negro], 1868*, 5, 7.

<sup>82</sup> Whitted, *History of Negro Baptists*, 34.

<sup>83</sup> Williams, *History*, 162.

<sup>84</sup> Whitted, *History of Negro Baptists*, 37.

<sup>85</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, May 19, 1869.

rectly from the great source of light.”<sup>86</sup> Roanoke Association also experienced growing pains when it was compelled to revoke the preaching license of Miles Harvey, who was to remain suspended “until he has retrieved his former character and reputation in the church.”<sup>87</sup> Furthermore, Roanoke Association, which must have been more lenient in enforcing church discipline than white associations, excommunicated 68 members in 1868, 57 in 1869, and 105 in 1870.<sup>88</sup>

The very evidence which points to sizable elements of uneducated, undisciplined, and immoral members in pioneer Negro churches points also to the churches’ ability to govern and discipline themselves. The fact that Roanoke Association suspended one licentiate and excommunicated numerous members between 1868 and 1870 signified that it possessed the faculty of self-criticism and the ability to enforce discipline. Moreover, when Negro Baptists moved from one town to another, these early churches realized the necessity of attesting to the good character of their departing members in order to insure a high moral quality among Negro Baptists.<sup>89</sup>

Local churches also demonstrated their ability to give financial support to their ministry by instituting plans of systematic benevolence. The Meherrin Baptist Church assessed its male members one cent per week and its female members one-half cent per week. The payments were to be made to the deacons quarterly or semiannually, and “the monies raised shall be subject to the order of the Church, and appropriated as the Church shall direct.”<sup>90</sup>

The Baptist Educational and Missionary Convention of North Carolina grew rapidly in service and membership after its organization in 1869. By 1882 the convention’s 95,000 members were gathered into 800 churches and were served by 450 ministers.<sup>91</sup> By the turn of the century Negro Baptists had experienced a phenomenal growth. The convention supported one college and 12 academies and high schools,

<sup>86</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, January 6, 1869.

<sup>87</sup> *Minutes, Roanoke Association [Negro]*, 1868, 7, 8.

<sup>88</sup> *Minutes, Roanoke Association [Negro]*, 1868, 13; 1869, 9; 1870, 5.

<sup>89</sup> Elder J. M. C. Luke granted to Roxanna Vincent the following letter of dismissal from Corinth Baptist Church in Northampton County: “This is to certify that Sister Roxanna Vincent is a member of this church in good standing: has petitioned for a letter of dismission, the same is granted her: but she is held amenable [*sic*] to this church untill [*sic*] she shall have joined some other of the same faith and order: done in conference Saturday before the 3rd Lords [*sic*] day in April AD. 1866—” It was signed “Elder J. M. C. Luke *Modr.*” Baptist Church (Colored) Papers, Manuscript Department, Duke University Library, Durham, hereinafter cited as Baptist Church (Colored) Papers. See in the same collection letters of dismissal from the Negro Baptist Church in Murfreesboro to a church in Meherrin in 1867.

<sup>90</sup> Manuscript resolutions of the Colored Baptist Church at Meherrin, no date, Baptist Church (Colored) Papers.

<sup>91</sup> *Minutes of the Sixteenth Annual Session of the [Negro] Baptist State Convention, of North Carolina, Held with the First Baptist Church, Durham, October 18th, 19th, 20th, and 21st, 1882* (Raleigh, 1883), 3.

sent out 7 regular missionaries and one foreign missionary, and included in its organization 40 associations, one Sunday school convention, 900 ministers, 1,100 churches, and 160,000 communicants.<sup>92</sup> The convention had also published, at different times prior to 1908, five periodicals: *Gold Dust*, *Baptist Headlight*, *African Expositor*, *Chowan Pilot*, and *Baptist Sentinel*.<sup>93</sup>

The interaction of several factors arising from the background of slavery and war caused the withdrawal of Negroes from white-controlled Baptist churches in North Carolina in the decade following the Civil War.

First, white Baptists regarded the Negro as an inferior being with whom association as a social equal should be avoided at all costs lest his inferiority and undesirable characteristics be transmitted to whites. For this reason, Negroes were required to sit in a body apart from whites in Baptist churches; only equals sat together. Negroes could not be elected to office in a white church, for rulers are superior to the ruled. Nor could Negroes vote in church elections; for them to be allowed to do so would be an admission of their equality. The presence of Negro churches in white associations could not be tolerated either, for the assembly of delegates at an associational meeting is an assembly of equals. White Baptists believed in the inferiority of their black brothers in Christ but still were affectionately concerned for their religious welfare. Understanding and mutual concern, not antagonism and discord, were the norms of race relations in Baptist churches.

Second, freedom had given Negro Baptists a new lease upon life and a desire to reap its natural consequences by participating in the affairs of the Baptist churches of which they were members. A free man with freedom of choice had no desire to sit in the seat of a slave. A free man wanted equal participation, not to be the subject of constant dictation. The Negroes were not adamant or bitter in making demands of equality on their white co-members. Their long years of experience with their white masters had taught them to accept the white man as he was. Besides, they were in no position to make demands. Their only alternative was to withdraw from white Baptist churches, form their own churches so that they could govern themselves, and, with regard to white Baptists, "pray the Lord to soften their obdurate hearts, and cause them to see the error of their ways."<sup>94</sup>

<sup>92</sup> Williams, *History*, 166.

<sup>93</sup> Whitted, *History of Negro Baptists*, 40.

<sup>94</sup> *Minutes, Roanoke Association [Negro]*, 1870, 5.

## STEPHEN BEAUREGARD WEEKS: NORTH CAROLINA'S FIRST "PROFESSIONAL" HISTORIAN

BY H. G. JONES \*

On May 5, 1918, the mortal remains of Stephen Beaugard Weeks were lowered into the red clay of the old homeplace of the late Senator Willie Person Mangum in northern Durham County. Today a historical marker on Highway 501 reads, "Stephen B. Weeks. Historian, bibliographer, collector of North Carolina books and manuscripts, professor at Trinity College, 1891-1893. Grave six miles northeast." This is an exceedingly modest reminder of the legacy of North Carolina's first historian trained in modern methodology and dependent upon his specialty for a livelihood.<sup>1</sup> During the centennial of the birth of Stephen B. Weeks, it is appropriate that his contributions to the history of North Carolina be recalled.

Weeks was born on February 2, 1865, near Nixonton in Pasquotank County.<sup>2</sup> His parents, James Elliott Weeks and Mary Louisa Mullen Weeks, died while Stephen was an infant, and the boy was reared, as if he were their own son, by his father's sister and her husband, Robertson Jackson. The Weeks family had for several generations lived in

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\* Dr. Jones is State Archivist of North Carolina. This article is an adaptation of a paper read at the Stephen Beaugard Weeks Centennial Dinner held in the Carolina Inn, Chapel Hill, June 3, 1965.

<sup>1</sup> The State's leading newspaper noted in an editorial obituary that Weeks' career "ought to be given liberal mention in every history of the State." *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), May 4, 1918.

<sup>2</sup> For brief biographies of Weeks see the following: Thomas M. Pittman, "Stephen Beaugard Weeks," Samuel A. Ashe and Others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina: From Colonial Times to the Present* (Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 8 volumes, 1905-1917), V, 433-442; Albert Ray Newsome, "Stephen Beaugard Weeks," Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, and Others (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 22 volumes and index, 1928-1958), XIX, 603-604; Albert Nelson Marquis and Others (eds.), *Who's Who in America: A Biographical Dictionary of Notable Living Men and Women of the United States* (Chicago: A. N. Marquis Company, 1899—[annually]), IX (1916-1917), 2,611; Mary Weeks Lambeth, *Memories and Records of Eastern North Carolina* (Nashville, Tennessee: Curley Printing Company, 1937), 118-124; Bettie Freshwater Pool, *Literature in the Albemarle* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Baltimore City Printing and Binding Company, 1915), *passim*; Mangum Weeks to the Author, May 23, 1965, in Author's possession; and Author's interview with Mangum Weeks (a son of Stephen B. Weeks), June 2, 1965, a sound recording of which is in the Archives, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

the Albemarle region and, though of modest economic means, occupied a position of considerable respect among their neighbors. Stephen Weeks' mother was of Huguenot descent.

At the age of fifteen Weeks was sent to the Horner School at Henderson, and in 1882 he entered The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill where a new world was opened to him—the world of books. He read voraciously among the some 6,000 volumes in the Philanthropic Society Library, published a *Register of Members* of that society, wrote prolifically for the *University Magazine*, and graduated with second highest honors in 1886. He remained at the university, acquiring a master's degree in 1887, and the following year he was awarded the first degree of doctor of philosophy ever given by the Department of English (the fourth awarded by the university). Shortly afterward, on June 12, 1888, he married Mary Lee Martin, a daughter of Reverend Joseph Bonaparte Martin, a Methodist minister, and a granddaughter of General Joseph Martin whose papers Weeks subsequently edited. Mary Martin Weeks died on May 19, 1891, after bearing two children, one of whom, Robertson Jackson Weeks, a retired naval officer, now lives in California.

Although his academic training had been largely in languages, Stephen Weeks exhibited even as an undergraduate a keen interest in history. This interest was quickened when he entered The Johns Hopkins University on a scholarship in the fall of 1888 and came under the influence of Herbert Baxter Adams, America's foremost exponent of the German or "scientific" school of historical investigation. Weeks enthusiastically participated in Adams' famed southern history "Seminary," and by the time he received his second doctoral degree in 1891 he was a confirmed disciple of von Ranke's methods as transmitted through Bluntschli and Adams.<sup>3</sup> His dissertation, "The Religious Development in the Province of North Carolina," later published in segments, remains a standard work on the subject.

With an impressive number of historical articles on varied subjects

<sup>3</sup> For the story of Adams' influence upon southern history, see Wendell Holmes Stephenson, *Southern History in the Making: Pioneer Historians of the South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964), 52-70, hereinafter cited as Stephenson, *Southern History in the Making*; and W. Stull Holt (ed.), *Historical Scholarship in the United States, 1876-1901: As Revealed in the Correspondence of Herbert B. Adams* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1938), *passim*.

The most useful aspect of the von Ranke-Adams tradition has been described recently as "the intense scrutiny and validation by well-tested procedures of each source and each statement in it." Harold T. Parker, "Introduction," Richard Herr (ed.), *Ideas in History* (Durham: Duke University Press [in page proof; to be published 1965]), xviii.

already to his credit,<sup>4</sup> the twenty-six-year-old scholar accepted an offer to teach history and political science at little Trinity College in his native state. In the Randolph County community Weeks found that "the library is small; the boys do not know how to use books; they come to us with no training and their historical knowledge is in most cases an absolute zero. . . ."<sup>5</sup> Within seven months Weeks fully established at Trinity the Department of History and Political Science, founded the Trinity College Historical Society, and introduced a spirit of scholarship from which the institution has never recovered. But, after only two years at the college, he, along with several other teachers, resigned following a bitter controversy with President John Franklin Crowell.<sup>6</sup>

The summer of 1893 was a busy one for Weeks. His first wife having died two years earlier, he married, on June 28, 1893, Sallie Mangum Leach, a daughter of Martin W. Leach of Randolph County and a granddaughter of Senator Willie P. Mangum. She gave birth to four children, two of whom, Miss Sallie Preston Weeks and Mr. Willie Person Mangum Weeks, survive and now live in the metropolitan Washington area. With a new wife to support, Weeks was unable to accept President George T. Winston's offer of the librarianship of The University of North Carolina at a salary of \$500 per year.<sup>7</sup> Judge Walter Clark, who had resumed, where William L. Saunders left off, the publication of the revolutionary records, wanted to appoint Weeks as "historical agent" to collect materials on North Carolina history, but salaries were not provided by the act authorizing the publication.<sup>8</sup> Weeks was particularly disappointed that arrangements could not be made for him "to do for N. C. what Lyman C. Draper did for Wisconsin and the great Northwest."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>4</sup> William S. Powell, *Stephen Beauregard Weeks, 1865-1965: A Preliminary Bibliography* (Chapel Hill: The North Carolina Collection, The University of North Carolina, 1965), 7-10, hereinafter cited as Powell, *Weeks Bibliography*. This paper makes no effort to list the publications of Stephen B. Weeks as they are given in Powell's *Bibliography*.

<sup>5</sup> Weeks to Herbert Baxter Adams, October 10, 1891, Herbert Baxter Adams Papers, The Johns Hopkins University Library, Baltimore, Maryland (photocopies in Manuscript Department, Duke University Library, Durham), hereinafter cited as Adams Papers.

<sup>6</sup> For a review of this controversy, see Earl W. Porter, *Trinity and Duke, 1892-1924: Foundations of Duke University* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1964), 42. Weeks' side of the story is told in his letters to Adams, May 5, 25, and June 10, 1893, Adams Papers.

<sup>7</sup> Weeks to Adams, June 10, 1893, Adams Papers.

<sup>8</sup> George T. Winston to Walter Clark, June 15, 1893, and Weeks to Clark, July 19, 1893, Aubrey L. Brooks and Hugh T. Lefler (eds.), *The Papers of Walter Clark* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2 volumes, 1948-1950), I, 269-270, 273, hereinafter cited as Brooks and Lefler, *Clark Papers*.

<sup>9</sup> Weeks to Adams, June 10, 1893, Adams Papers.

When Trinity College finally paid him \$1,120 in salary arrears (out of a total salary of \$2,700 for the two years), Weeks purchased his first typewriter and decided to devote the next year to studying and writing. During the summer he conducted research in Chapel Hill, Raleigh, and Guilford College, and in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Madison. The academic year 1893-1894 was spent back at Johns Hopkins on a fellowship. That his reputation had spread beyond North Carolina was indicated by his delivery of papers before the American Society for Extension of University Teaching, the World's Congress Auxiliary on Government, and the American Historical Association.

Again faced with the necessity of earning a living, and getting no suitable offer from his native state, Weeks in July, 1894, accepted a position in Washington as specialist in educational history and associate editor of the *Annual Report* of the Bureau of Education of the United States Department of the Interior. The succeeding five years were both happy and productive ones because the position gave Weeks ample time to exploit his research propensity. More than two dozen reviews, articles, and monographs—some of book length—flowed from his pen. In 1895 he was invited to deliver an address at the centennial celebration at The University of North Carolina, and in 1896 he was one of the founders of the Southern History Association, the first organization aimed at lifting the study of southern history from the depths of post-Civil War rancor. He was temporary chairman at the organizational meeting of the association, delivered the first paper before the group (appropriately titled "The Promotion of Historical Studies in the South"), served on the administrative council for several years, and wrote numerous articles, not all of which were signed, for the *Publications* of the association.<sup>10</sup>

The North Carolina historians of the old school, from Hugh Williamson through William L. Saunders, were stalked by tragedy. The first of the new school, Stephen B. Weeks, did not escape a similar fate. In 1899 he developed a severe lung ailment and tuberculosis was feared. Upon advice of his physician and at his own request, he was transferred to the Indian Service in the Department of the Interior and in the fall he moved to the Southwest to become principal teacher in the Indian School at Santa Fe, New Mexico Territory. Four years later he was promoted to the superintendency of the San Carlos Agency School in Arizona Territory, where he remained until 1907. A combination of the southwestern air and rigid self-discipline brought a gradual improvement in his health, but for Weeks, the scholar, the

<sup>10</sup> See *Publications of the Southern History Association*, I (1897)-IX (1905), *passim*.

eight-year exile was a stormy and unhappy one. He had left behind in the East the greater part of his library and research materials; his teaching staff was mutinous; his students were sometime violent.<sup>11</sup> Though he liked the country, he longed for the companionship of his family (which had moved back East) and for the comradeship of his fellow scholars. In despair, he wrote, "I came here for my health and because it offered me a chance to make a part of my expenses not because I loved the Indian. . . . I am not an administrator. I am not an educator. I am not a teacher. I am a scholar and investigator and that is all." He considered returning to western North Carolina where he might "buy a small farm, live simply and cheaply and spend my time on the work I have my heart in."<sup>12</sup> In 1907, when he learned that the General Assembly had appropriated funds for a salaried secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, he excitedly applied to Governor Robert B. Glenn for the job.<sup>13</sup> But R. D. W. Connor, until then a part-time secretary of the commission, was given the new position.

While in the Southwest Weeks contributed a number of sketches for inclusion in the multivolumed *Biographical History of North Carolina*, edited by Samuel A. Ashe and published by Charles L. Van Noppen in Greensboro. Impressed with these articles Van Noppen in 1907 offered and Weeks accepted a place in his firm. Weeks moved to Greensboro and for the next two years served as associate editor for the seventh volume of the *Biographical History*, and during the same period revised and rewrote some parts of the first volume of Ashe's *History of North Carolina*,<sup>14</sup> the first general history to make use of the vast store of original source materials made available through the published colonial and state records edited by Saunders and Clark. Then, in 1909, in order to be with his family (which had moved from Washington to Trinity), Weeks became principal teacher in a public school on the former site of the old Trinity College in Randolph County.

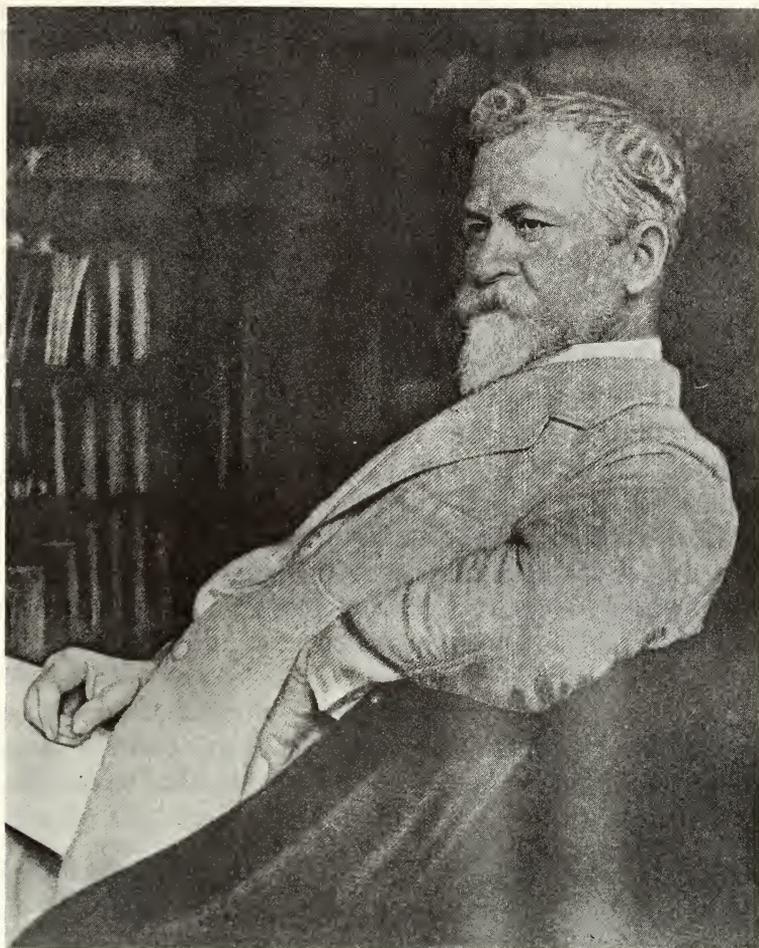
In 1911, remembering the five good years previously spent with the Bureau of Education, Weeks returned to that agency in Washington with the title of historian. Again he was given an opportunity to put his talents and time into research, an opportunity that he seized upon,

<sup>11</sup> See, for instance, Weeks to Colyer Meriwether, December 22, 1904, and February 27, 1905, and Weeks to [George S.] Wills, March 1, 1905, in Stephen Beauregard Weeks Papers, Southern Historical Collection, The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Weeks Papers.

<sup>12</sup> Weeks to [George S.] Wills, March 1, 1905, Weeks Papers.

<sup>13</sup> Weeks to Governor Robert B. Glenn, March 16, 1907, Governor's Papers, Archives.

<sup>14</sup> (Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 2 volumes, 1908-1925).



Portrait of Stephen B. Weeks by Paul E. Menzel. This print was made from an engraving by E. G. Williams and Brother, New York City; it appears in Volume V, facing 433, of Ashe, *Biographical History of North Carolina*. The portrait was painted about 1917 although the volume containing the engraving has a publication date of 1906. This, coupled with the fact that most copies of Ashe's *Biographical History* carry an earlier picture of Weeks, indicates that Weeks had Charles L. Van Noppen, the publisher, substitute the Menzel picture in the copies that were bound after 1917. The original portrait hangs in the North Carolina Collection, The University of North Carolina Library.

as his bibliography attests. Of his many publications those on education in the southern states were the most valuable.<sup>15</sup> In 1914 he was featured speaker at the annual meeting of the State Literary and Historical Association in Raleigh. His address on his predecessor North

<sup>15</sup> Wendell H. Stephenson, "Herbert B. Adams and Southern Historical Scholarship at the Johns Hopkins University," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLII (March, 1947), 18.

Carolina historians is perhaps his most profound statement of his interpretation of history.<sup>16</sup> He continued to contribute sketches, not all of which were published, for the *Biographical History* and he assisted Ashe and Van Noppen in editing Volume VIII.

Upon Weeks' return from the Southwest, all traces of tuberculosis had been eradicated and he was again a specimen of good health. A man of medium build—about 5'11" and 170 pounds—he had wavy brown hair, blue eyes, and a somewhat ruddy complexion. He wore a mustache and a Van Dyke beard, and his high collar and plain white bow-tie, an attire affected while a student at Johns Hopkins, were characteristic. He was an erect, rapid walker, a good though not scintillating public speaker, and a provocative conversationalist. He was both vigorous and forthright in expressing his opinions. Aside from his seriousness about serious things, he had a keen sense of humor which delighted his children. Though Stephen Weeks doubted his teaching effectiveness, his son has said that in three great universities he found no teacher "more inspiring" than his father.<sup>17</sup>

Thus at the age of fifty-three, Weeks' productive years appeared to be ahead of him still. Though he suffered a mild stroke in the fall of 1917, he partially recovered and returned to work. But a heart and kidney complication, along with high blood pressure, led to a further deterioration of his health, and he died in Washington on May 3, 1918. His second wife, Sallie Mangum Leach Weeks, survived him by nearly sixteen years.

Now, almost a half-century after the death of Stephen Beauregard Weeks, it is possible to discern four distinct but interrelated areas in which he contributed significantly to the study of and interest in North Carolina history.

1. Stephen B. Weeks was North Carolina's first "professional" historian. He introduced at Trinity College—and consequently in North Carolina—the modern concept of historical methodology as taught by the German school, and he appears to have been the first historian in North Carolina to take up history as a means of earning a living. And, though President Crowell had assumed a "Chair of History and Constitutional and International Law" at Trinity as early as 1887,<sup>18</sup> and

<sup>16</sup> Weeks, "The North Carolina Historians," *Proceedings and Addresses of the Fifteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association* (December 1-2, 1914) (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 1915), 71-87, hereinafter cited as Weeks, "The North Carolina Historians."

<sup>17</sup> Mangum Weeks to the Author, May 23, 1965, in Author's possession.

<sup>18</sup> Journal of the North Carolina Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1886-1889, 112, Duke Manuscript Department.

though other southern colleges may challenge the claim of Robert Lee Flowers that "the first distinct Chair of History established at any Southern Educational Institution was at Trinity, when Dr. Stephen B. Weeks was elected to the Chair of History" in 1891,<sup>19</sup> Weeks' distinction as being one of the pioneers in launching modern historical studies in the South cannot be challenged.

Weeks brought with him from the Adams "Seminary" a new concept of the teaching of history, and he popularized in the state the term "original investigations." The classroom, he felt, was quite adequate for lower classmen who were taught history in broad outline. But by the time a student was a senior, Weeks thought he should be taught to examine sources, compare authorities and to draw his own conclusions, the results of which were laid before fellow students for discussion and criticism. To carry out this plan of study, Weeks set out to provide, first, the source materials for research, and second, a forum for discussion and study. Within six months after he arrived at Trinity he had issued an appeal for original materials. He wrote, "We wish to devote ourselves to original work in the field of Southern history. We have a wide field at our very doors, unexploited, and waiting for us to step in and take possession."<sup>20</sup>

Having had "reasonable success" in impressing upon the students and friends of the college the need for collecting historical materials, Weeks was ready for his next step—the establishment of a seminar. In April, 1892, he organized the Trinity College Historical Society which was to be to Trinity "what the Historical Seminary is to the Johns Hopkins, a common meeting-place for the exchange of ideas."<sup>21</sup> Thus the spirit of the famed Adams' seminar at Baltimore was transferred to the tiny North Carolina college. Weeks himself took the office of corresponding secretary, but he left the remaining positions to students. The purposes of the organization included the collection of source materials, the encouragement of original work in the field of southern history, and the promotion of the study of that history by means of lectures and publications.<sup>22</sup> At its first formal meeting, Weeks read the initial paper. Asked the *Trinity Archive*, "With Dr. Weeks . . . to direct the operations, why cannot Trinity be made the historical

<sup>19</sup> *Trinity Archive* (Trinity College, Trinity and Durham, North Carolina), March, 1902, 363, hereinafter cited as *Trinity Archive*.

<sup>20</sup> *Trinity Archive*, February, 1892, 182-183.

<sup>21</sup> *Trinity Archive*, June, 1892, 368.

<sup>22</sup> For a detailed account of the founding of the society, see Nannie M. Tilley, *The Trinity College Historical Society, 1892-1941* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1941), 5-22.

centre of the South Atlantic States?"<sup>23</sup> In his second year at Trinity, by then transplanted to Durham, Weeks guided the society through six meetings at each of which papers based upon original research were read, including three by the professor himself.

Weeks' mark on Trinity was not erased by his angry departure in May, 1893. Indeed, his imprint remains on the rechristened institution in Durham. The Department of History and the seventy-three-year-old Trinity College Historical Society were not merely founded by Weeks; they were nurtured by successors whom he influenced. For it was Weeks who, in September, 1891, urged his mentor, Herbert Baxter Adams, to admit to the Johns Hopkins seminar a young man whom Weeks had not taught but in whom he had great faith—John Spencer Bassett. Weeks proudly wrote, "I claim Mr. Bassett as the first fruit of my labor for the higher culture in N. C."<sup>24</sup> Then, through an interesting chain of coincidences, it was Bassett who was elected as Weeks' successor at Trinity, who strengthened both the department and the society, and who began the college's manuscript collection. Furthermore, it was Bassett who inspired still another young student ("the best student I have had," he wrote<sup>25</sup>) to enter the profession, though William Kenneth Boyd chose to study under William A. Dunning at Columbia rather than under Adams. Boyd then returned to Trinity and succeeded his former professor and, in turn, brought national recognition to the Department of History. As late as 1916 Boyd reminded Weeks that his influence was still felt in Durham.<sup>26</sup> Let twentieth-century Duke University, in its days of influence and affluence, not forget the Stephen B. Weeks legacy.

2. Stephen B. Weeks molded the key which unlocked the secrets hidden in more than 25,000 pages of the Saunders' *Colonial Records*<sup>27</sup> and Clark's *State Records*.<sup>28</sup>

Unsuccessful in obtaining funds so that he could hire Weeks to

<sup>23</sup> *Trinity Archive*, May, 1892, 343.

<sup>24</sup> Weeks to Adams, September 26, 1891, Adams Papers. Though Weeks had assisted Bassett in gaining admission to Johns Hopkins, a coldness developed between the two men. Bassett wrote several years later of another promising young North Carolina historian, "I fear that [Charles L.] Raper will develop into a Weeks. He may be trained so that he would remedy his faults, but he is *conceited and very obstinate*. He is bitter by nature." Bassett to Adams, May 22, 1898, Adams Papers.

<sup>25</sup> Bassett to Adams, May 27, 1900, Adams Papers.

<sup>26</sup> See Weeks' reply to Boyd, January 30, 1916, William Kenneth Boyd Papers, Duke Manuscript Department, hereinafter cited as Boyd Papers.

<sup>27</sup> William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1890).

<sup>28</sup> Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, Goldsboro, and Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 16 volumes and 4-volume index [compiled by Stephen B. Weeks for both *Colonial Records* and *State Records*], 1895-1914).

become historical agent, Judge Walter Clark nevertheless received from him assistance in examining records relating to North Carolina in several northern repositories.<sup>29</sup> Then, when the General Assembly of 1895 directed the preparation of an index to the combined Saunders-Clark series, Weeks accepted a task which put all future historians in his debt. For \$1,200 he agreed to do the job "because I am anxious to have the best index possible and think that I can do it in the best way."<sup>30</sup>

Amidst his full-time job in Washington and his other historical activities, Weeks found time to prepare an estimated 300,000 index cards for the first fifteen volumes.<sup>31</sup> His transfer to the Southwest, however, and the delays of the printer, slowed him down and it was not until 1914 that the fourth and final volume of the index was published.

In addition to preparing the monumental index to the colonial and state records, Weeks also indexed the 1790 federal census of North Carolina, and this important document was published as Volume XXVI of the combined series. Even more importantly, he wrote a "Historical Review" of the State's efforts to preserve its records from the earliest times, a remarkably good though incomplete study which was published in the last volume.

Finally, on August 3, 1914, Weeks, then back in Washington, completed the work that had taken eighteen years of

exacting labor and unremitting attention to atrophying details . . . a task difficult, laborious, exhausting, and thankless, but far from uninteresting; a task carried on amid the distractions of other employments, accomplished in sickness and death, in pleasure and pain, in good report and ill report, . . . in struggle and defeat, within sight of the Nation's Capitol, on top of

<sup>29</sup> See, for instance, Weeks to Clark, January 1, 1895, Brooks and Lefler, *Clark Papers*, I, 277.

<sup>30</sup> Weeks to Governor Elias Carr [April, 1895], Superintendent of Public Instruction Records, Archives, hereinafter cited as Superintendent of Public Instruction Records. Subsequent negotiations resulted in an increase in the amount paid Weeks for work on the series. Including \$375 for indexing the 1790 census and \$500 for salvaging a portion of the index damaged by water while in possession of the printer, Weeks had received by 1913 a total of \$2,955 (some of it in books), and he asked for an additional \$427.50. Weeks to Clark, November 11, 1913, Walter Clark Papers, Archives. For other references to the prolonged negotiations, see S. F. Telfair to Clark, March 22, 1895, Brooks and Lefler, *Clark Papers*, I, 279; Weeks to Governor Ellis Carr [April, 1895], and Weeks to John C. Scarborough, June 1, 1895, Superintendent of Public Instruction Records; Weeks to M. O. Sherrill, December 31, 1906, and September 23, 1912, Correspondence of the State Librarian, North Carolina State Library Records, Archives; and the following in Minutes of the Trustees of the Public Library of North Carolina, Archives: minutes of meetings of November 18, 1901, March 22, 1909, and July 1, 1909, and letters from John C. Scarborough to Weeks, May 27, 1895, and Clark to Sherrill, January 30, 1906, copied in the minutes.

<sup>31</sup> *Publications of the Southern History Association*, III (1899), 350; Weeks to Clark, July 3, 1898, Brooks and Lefler, *Clark Papers*, I, 382.

New Mexican mountains, under the spell of the awe-compelling silence of Arizonan deserts, and amid the beautiful rural scenery of Piedmont North Carolina. . . .<sup>32</sup>

The greatest treasure-trove of North Carolina history had been opened.

3. Stephen B. Weeks was the state's foremost bibliographer and collector of his time.

Disappointed during his student days by the paucity of North Carolina books at The University of North Carolina, Weeks had begun even then collecting materials on his native state, graduating from newspaper clippings to general histories and finally to specialized works of Caroliniana. As a student at Johns Hopkins he contributed items to the Southern History Room there,<sup>33</sup> and he owned about 300 titles when he arrived at Trinity College. Already he had been at work on and had published in the *Southern Educator* the beginnings of a bibliography of North Carolina.<sup>34</sup> In 1895 he published as Number 48 of Justin Winsor's *Bibliographical Contributions* of the Library of Harvard University<sup>35</sup> a list of 1,491 titles, 863 of which Weeks had in his possession by that time. He continued to add cards to his bibliography and items to his collection by visiting bookstores, ransacking old houses, trading with other collectors,<sup>36</sup> and reading book catalogs (he claimed to have read an average of 23,763 pages of book catalogs per year for at least fifteen years).<sup>37</sup> He also printed want-lists and wrote letter after letter; he estimated that he wrote a thousand letters trying to complete his set of the *University Magazine*. By 1905 his collection had grown to 3,300 items, and eight years later he wrote, "I have added six new items today! It [the collection] now numbers over 7100 books and pamphlets, but alas there are many I dont have.

<sup>32</sup> Weeks (comp. and ed.), *Index to the Colonial and State Records of North Carolina. Covering Volumes I-XXV* (Goldsboro, Charlotte, and Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 4 volumes, 1909-1914), IV (XXX of the combined Saunders-Clark series), v-vi.

<sup>33</sup> Stephenson, *Southern History in the Making*, 61.

<sup>34</sup> Weeks, "A Bibliography of North Carolina's Historical Literature," *Southern Educator*, II (February, 1892), 1-4; II (March, 1892), 5-8; II (April, 1892), 9-12; II (July, 1892), 13-16; II (August, 1892), 17-20.

<sup>35</sup> Weeks, *A Bibliography of the Historical Literature of North Carolina* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Library of Harvard University, 1895).

<sup>36</sup> See, for instance, Weeks to Thomas M. Pittman, December 24, 1899, Thomas M. Pittman Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Pittman Papers; and Weeks to James H. Whitty, February 22, 1897, James H. Whitty Papers, Duke Manuscript Department.

<sup>37</sup> Weeks, "The Weeks Collection of Caroliniana," *Literary and Historical Activities in North Carolina, 1900-1905* (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 1907), 575-603, hereinafter cited as Weeks, "The Weeks Collection."

... [E]very item added makes me hunger that much more for those I dont have."<sup>38</sup>

One point should be emphasized: Weeks did not collect merely for the sake of collecting. He collected because he wanted his materials to be placed eventually in a library, along with those of Thomas M. Pittman of Henderson, F. A. Sondley of Asheville, and H. R. Scott of Reidsville, so that scholars would have access to "a mass of material beyond the rivalry of future collectors and in fullness perhaps unsurpassed by any similar Collection in other States."<sup>39</sup> It was in keeping with the wishes of Stephen B. Weeks that his family in 1918 allowed his collection of more than 9,000 items on every conceivable phase of North Carolina history to go to The University of North Carolina where it forms the nucleus of the great North Carolina Collection.<sup>40</sup>

4. Stephen B. Weeks was a prolific writer of history. A bibliography of his works<sup>41</sup> lists almost two hundred books, articles, sketches, and reviews. Many more were published without Weeks' by-line. His subjects ranged from Shakespeare to Blackbeard, from German socialism to southern education, from Negroes in the South to Spaniards in the Southwest, from dueling to religion, from biography to bibliography.

Two of Weeks' contributions are not mentioned in the bibliography of his works. The first of these was his revision of the first volume of Samuel A. Ashe's *History of North Carolina*. This, the first general history to be written after the publication of primary sources, was described by Weeks as coming up to the "most rigid standards of the highest modern historical scholarship and . . . it is one of the very few books ever published by North Carolinians that can rise to this test."<sup>42</sup> It also won the distinction of being, in effect, condemned by the 1909 General Assembly because it dared to point out the absence of documentary evidence to support the claim that a certain meeting was held in Mecklenburg County on May 20, 1775.<sup>43</sup> To Weeks, this

<sup>38</sup> Weeks to Mrs. Adeline Burr Davis Green (undated but 1913), Adeline Burr Davis Green Papers, Duke Manuscript Department.

<sup>39</sup> Weeks, "The Weeks Collection," 602.

<sup>40</sup> See Louis Round Wilson, "The Acquisition of the Weeks Collection of Caroliniana," in this issue.

<sup>41</sup> Powell, *Weeks Bibliography*.

<sup>42</sup> Weeks to William Kenneth Boyd, October 8, 1908, Boyd Papers.

<sup>43</sup> A bill to permit county boards of education to purchase copies of the book for rural libraries was defeated in the House of Representatives because the volume gave "both sides" to the controversy over the authenticity of the "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence." See Weeks to the Editor, *The Nation* (New York, New York), LXXXVIII (April 1, 1909), 330.

was sad evidence that North Carolinians were still more interested in state and family pride than in historical accuracy.

Another project was begun when Weeks acquired the papers of Willie Person Mangum, his second wife's grandfather. Intermittantly for sixteen years he worked both toward editing the papers for the North Carolina Historical Commission and writing a biography of the nineteenth-century leader. Weeks died before the task was completed, but his typed copies and editorial notes were of great aid to Henry Thomas Shanks in carrying on the work that was finally published by the State Department of Archives and History.<sup>44</sup>

As a historian, Stephen Weeks was as vulnerable to new sources as historians always have been. Even as a graduate student in Adams' seminar his fellow students criticized his paper contending that the Robeson County Indians were descendants of the Lost Colonists. Plausible, yes, they said, "yet it was a matter that could not with existing information be demonstrated."<sup>45</sup> A similar judgment might be passed today on some of Weeks' other conclusions, but the fact that his more important works have stood the test of time and of new evidence is a tribute to his scholarship. He himself recognized the hazards of his profession. In 1914 he told his fellow North Carolinians, "Historical truth is a progressive evolution, the product of successive generations of painstaking scholars. . . . It is only by continued research, by repeated investigation and reweighing of old beliefs in the light of fuller evidence that we can hope to arrive at ultimate truth."<sup>46</sup> Stephen Weeks, in spite of a few studies characteristic of an all-knowing graduate student, seldom claimed to have arrived at the ultimate truth. This, more than any other single characteristic, is the

<sup>44</sup> Weeks to William Kenneth Boyd, December 12, 1915, Boyd Papers; Henry Thomas Shanks (ed.), *The Papers of Willie Person Mangum* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 5 volumes, 1950-1956), I, vii-viii.

<sup>45</sup> Stephenson, *Southern History in the Making*, 136.

<sup>46</sup> Weeks, "The North Carolina Historians," 84. It is interesting to note that by 1914 Weeks had modified his views on the writing of history. While he did not reject his previously-held opinions of the importance of accuracy of facts, he noted that the monographs of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries "reflect clearly the vices of the German school in which they [the writers] have been trained. Laborious and sometimes painfully accurate, they have been often small minded; in the letter of accuracy they have lost the spirit of history; they have written from a local and not from a world point of view, and they have not always escaped the perils of the new historical method: Excessive devotion to the letter of the documentary material; the absence or the suppression of the historical imagination; belief in von Ranke's theory that it is merely the office of the historian to give facts, that it is not his duty to adorn a tale, point a moral or preach a sermon; sometimes a lack of perspective and in particular a fear that power over language or literary style may call down the awful anathema of being 'unscientific' has made many writers of the modern school seek to produce work that is merely scientific and learnedly dull, rather than work that might lay claim to some of the charms of literature." Weeks, "The North Carolina Historians," 72.

mark of a scholar who knows that new sources may be discovered tomorrow to alter today's "truth."

Weeks' greatest disappointment was his belief that his fellow North Carolinians failed to appreciate his work. Dejected and disappointed, he wrote another collector of Caroliniana, ". . . if I had studied Egyptian history in Idaho as thoroughly as I have N.C. history I should have been much more appreciated in my native state!"<sup>47</sup> That Stephen B. Weeks was mistaken was indicated in 1965 when his fellow historians and collectors paused to review his contributions to the history of his native state. Furthermore, the great North Carolina Collection of The University of North Carolina Library at Chapel Hill, the nucleus of which is the Weeks Collection, will stand as a permanent monument to him. Some of his more dependable writings will continue to be used by historians. And the Duke University Department of History, now basking in scholarly splendor, will acknowledge Weeks as its founder and as the first North Carolina professor to speak the language of modern historical scholarship. It is fortunate for his native state that Stephen Beauregard Weeks did not decide to study Egyptian history in Idaho.

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<sup>47</sup> Weeks to Thomas M. Pittman, December 24, 1899, Pittman Papers.

# THE ACQUISITION OF THE STEPHEN B. WEEKS COLLECTION OF CAROLINIANA

BY LOUIS ROUND WILSON\*

The acquisition in 1918 of the Stephen B. Weeks Collection of Caroliniana marked the accomplishment of an undertaking in which I had long been interested and for which I had devoutly hoped.

My first intimation of the importance to historians of such materials as the collection contained came to me in 1893-1894, a year before I entered college. My brother, E. M. Wilson, a graduate of The University of North Carolina who was then a graduate fellow at Haverford College, wrote me to borrow for him some North Carolina historical materials from J. M. Spainhour, who was a neighbor of ours, and a collector of North Caroliniana. My brother was writing a monograph on Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina to be submitted in competition for a \$100 cash prize offered by John Sprunt Hill for historical work relating to North Carolina. Hill had established the prize at the university soon after his graduation in 1889 and it was being awarded for the first time in 1893-1894. I borrowed such materials as were pertinent to supplement materials available at Haverford. My brother completed his paper, and, fortunately, was adjudged the winner in the contest. His paper was published in 1900 as the second number of *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science* under the title, *The Congressional Career of Nathaniel Macon*.

My interest was further stimulated in 1898-1899 when I came to the university as a Senior and wandered one day through Memorial Hall. There I discovered from the tablets on the walls of that remarkable, turtle-shaped building, that my native county, Caldwell, was named for Joseph Caldwell, the first President of the university, and that Lenoir, my home town, was named for General William Lenoir, also

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\* Dr. Wilson, Librarian at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill from 1901 to 1932, is now retired and is living in Chapel Hill. In this first-person-singular article, he describes the negotiations that led to the acquisition of the Stephen B. Weeks Collection of Caroliniana, consisting of nearly 10,000 volumes. Purchased by the university in 1918, the collection formed the nucleus of what was to become the North Carolina Collection in the Louis Round Wilson Library of The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. In the absence of Dr. Wilson, who was ill, Dr. Richard L. Watson of the Department of History at Duke University read this paper at the Stephen B. Weeks Centennial Dinner in Chapel Hill on June 3.

of Caldwell County, who served as "President *pro tem*" of the first meeting of the Board of Trustees of the university.

The idea of a North Carolina Collection, however, did not take definite form in my mind until 1901 when I became Librarian of the university. Three events in the autumn of that year gave concrete form to my interest. I became responsible for handling the publications relating to North Carolina, which then were kept on six, four-foot shelves and in two drawers at the bottom of a standing double-faced wooden bookstack in the rear of the library. The less rare materials were placed on the shelves, while the rarer materials were stored in the drawers below.

The idea was strengthened by the preparation by Kemp P. Battle, Eben Alexander, and me of an exhibit at the State Fair in October in which various North Carolina publications from the library and other materials from Battle's office were displayed, and for which the library was awarded a gold medal.

In both of these activities I discovered the beginning of the Weeks Collection in *A Bibliography of the Historical Literature of North Carolina*, published by Weeks in 1895 as Number 48 of the *Bibliographical Contributions* of the Library of Harvard University. This publication had suddenly become a useful reference book to me, and through it I came to know of its author and his work of collecting Caroliniana, which he was making a life-long undertaking.

When I wrote my first annual report as librarian in December, 1901, the idea became even more definite. I included in my report a recommendation that a special glassed, locked section of shelving be provided for the Carolina Collection since the rarities such as Lawson's *History of North Carolina; A Collection of all the Public Acts of Assembly, of the Province of North Carolina: Now in Force and use*, published by Davis in 1751 at New Bern; and Fuller's *Sea Gift*, the novel of university life before the Civil War, were unrestricted in access and use.

I expressed the idea later on several occasions. In a recommendation in my annual report for 1904, I urged the provision for space for the Carolina Collection in a fireproof library building. In 1905 I prepared a circular used by President Francis P. Venable in seeking endowment funds for library materials to match the building fund offered by Andrew Carnegie, two of the items for which endowment was to be sought being Caroliniana and materials relating to the South. In the building erected in 1907, I planned for the inclusion of a small vault for manuscripts in the stack and a large room on the second floor for the shelving and use of the then-growing collection.

In 1905 Hill changed his support of the history prize and history fellowship previously established to a \$5,000 endowment fund for Caroliniana and, in 1907, the library was moved into the new Carnegie Library building.

J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, an ardent collector of historical materials, joined the faculty in 1905 as Professor of History. In 1907 he was put in charge of transferring to the vault the manuscripts which belonged to the then-existing North Carolina Historical Society from Battle's office in Old West building. His helpers were library assistants John W. Umstead, 1909, and B. E. Washburn, 1906. The highlight of the transfer was not the discovery of a rare manuscript such as the long-lost "Davie" copy of John McKnitt Alexander's draft of the controversial Mecklenburg Declaration. Instead, it was the discovery by Umstead, when the transfer was all but completed, of a human skull which some forgetful medical student of an earlier day had left there by chance while preparing for an anatomy quiz. It was covered with a thick layer of dust in which, with a match stick, Umstead inscribed a Shakespeare-inspired admonition: "Woe be to him who dares to move me from this resting place." According to Hamilton, the sole but amused witness of the drama, Washburn "froze with horror" when he saw the skull, read the foreboding warning, and realized that he was the hapless object of the impending doom!

Between 1907 and 1917 the collection grew, and in 1917 Hill provided funds for the support of a librarian of the collection until the university could provide funds for the position. Miss Mary L. Thornton was added to the staff as librarian of the collection and continued her splendid service until her retirement and the publication of her comprehensive *Bibliography of North Caroliniana, 1589-1956*, in 1958.

In February, 1918, after a serious illness, Weeks wrote to Charles L. Van Noppen that he found it desirable to dispose of his collection, appointed him his agent, and authorized him to sell it for \$25,000. He also suggested that Van Noppen offer it to the university as a possible purchaser, since I had requested him in 1911-1912 to give the university the opportunity of purchasing it if he should decide to offer it for sale. Van Noppen forwarded the letter to President E. K. Graham and, as an interested alumnus of the university and publisher of the *Biographical History of North Carolina*, he offered to waive his commission of \$1,000 if the university acquired the collection.

Acting for the university, I informed Weeks that we greatly desired to acquire the collection and asked for an option on it for six months. This was necessary since some time would be required to

bring the matter to the attention of the trustees, to inspect and evaluate the collection, and to devise ways and means of paying for it if it was decided to proceed with the purchase. On March 15, 1918, the option requested was given and further correspondence followed, concerning what the collection would include and other details.

The death of Weeks on May 3, 1918, speeded up negotiations. His son, Mr. Mangum Weeks, class of 1915, retained Van Noppen as agent and continued the option. The university, in turn, acted immediately. President Graham had me prepare a statement concerning the nature and extent of the collection, the uses to which it could be put, and the reasons why the university should acquire it. The most obvious reason was that it was the largest collection (10,000 items) in existence of important printed material relating to all phases of North Carolina life. Weeks, a well-known, trained historian and author of many historical articles and monographs, had been engaged in assembling it over a period of more than thirty years, and its acquisition would give the university great distinction. Furthermore, it would become a lodestone for attracting other materials of a similar nature.

In urging its acquisition when we first learned the collection was for sale, I pointed out to President Graham that he as President and I as Librarian had a special responsibility to secure it for the university and the state. Two previous collections of similar materials, though not nearly so extensive, had seemingly been largely lost to North Carolina. The first, the François Xavier Martin Collection, had been assembled by Martin, a native Frenchman, at New Bern between 1782 or 1783 and 1809. It was supposed to consist of notes prepared by him and various books, pamphlets, laws, and copies of early newspapers which he had collected as an early North Carolina printer, author, and legislator for use in the publication of his *History of North Carolina*, an undertaking which he did not carry out until 1829. In 1809 he was appointed by President James Madison to a judgeship in the Territory of Mississippi. A year later he was transferred to a similar position in the Territory of Orleans. In shipping his collection from New Bern via New York, to New Orleans, it was exposed to sea water and upon its arrival in New Orleans, the materials were so depredated by the ravages of mice, worms, and insects as to render it unusable to anyone except Martin himself.

The second collection had been assembled at Chapel Hill by David Lowry Swain, President of the university and a representative of the State Historical Society. Upon Swain's unexpected death in 1868, the collection was adjudged by the administrators of his estate an essential part of it, and it had been assigned to his widow, who had moved

to Illinois. Its identity as a collection had been broken and it, as well as the Martin Collection, was seemingly largely lost to North Carolina. I insisted that to let the Weeks Collection be dispersed or go elsewhere than to the university would constitute a decidedly black mark against each of us, personally and officially. There were other reasons, of a personal nature. Weeks had taught English a short time at the university, had been the first recipient of the Ph.D. degree from the English Department of the university in 1888, had taught at Trinity College when it was in transition from Randolph County to Durham, had established the Trinity College Historical Society which is still in existence, and had become a fellow at Johns Hopkins and had taken a second Ph.D. degree,—this time in history. He had been actively writing and preparing the indexes of both *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* and *The State Records of North Carolina*. His work and association had been too intimate and valuable for the university to allow the collection to be divided or to go elsewhere.

My action, based upon the then-existing but incompleting information that both other collections had been largely lost to the state was sound. Fortunately, extensive recent investigations by Dr. H. G. Jones and Dr. Carolyn Wallace have shown that the Martin Collection was much overrated; that two of the five manuscript volumes of which it consisted are contained in the Saunders Papers of the Southern Historical Collection; and that much of the Swain Collection was placed in a bank vault in Raleigh, was used by the editors of *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* and *The State Records of North Carolina*, and is to be found in collections of papers in the State Department of Archives and History and in the Southern Historical Collection. It is also to be noted that Needham Tyndale Cobb, Jr., great-grandson of President Swain, placed a number of books and five volumes of manuscripts from the Swain Collection on loan to the university library, where they have been since July 13, 1918.

Action on the matter, when presented to the Executive Committee on June 4, 1918, was prompt and favorable. It appointed a committee consisting of Hill, R. D. W. Connor, Hamilton, and me to inspect the collection, and agreed that if the committee recommendation was favorable, the university would purchase the collection if it could be secured within the limit of \$24,000.

The committee reported its decision to acquire the collection, and when Van Noppen and I met with Graham on July 19, 1918, a general agreement, based upon previous correspondence concerning certain materials, was quickly reached. Van Noppen tendered the collection

for \$24,000. President Graham asked me what the opinion of the committee was. I replied that it felt that since the collection duplicated a considerable number of titles in the university's collection, the price seemed high; that the net, nonduplicate material was well worth \$15,000; that the duplicates would serve as replacements in some instances, and in time would add considerably to the collection's value. Van Noppen conceded the point concerning duplication and proposed that we compromise for \$20,000, with cash payment upon the shipment of the materials, and on January 1, 1919, notes for the remainder, with interest at 6 per cent payable on January 1, 1920-1922. President Graham approved the proposal, and the transaction was closed. The collection was saved for the university and the state. As prophesied, it has drawn other collections of similar materials to the university, and today is an essential part of the most complete assemblage of materials relating to North Carolina in the world.

To the present generation of university officials who are familiar with the routines of approval of authorizations of purchases by advisory budget commissions, departments of administration, and other state officers, the financial procedure described above may seem fantastic. It will seem even more so when I add that the purchase was made when the nation was at war, and the university was very uncertain of funds. But in those days, the university could buy on credit and give notes. Consequently, it secured the collection and incurred the debt. The matter did not stop there, however. Owing to the high cost of living which overtook the nation during World War I, almost every state institution in North Carolina ran into debt in 1918 for coal, flour, sugar, coffee, bacon, and other articles. The General Assembly of 1919, realizing that in spite of high prices the institutions had to carry on, took unprecedented action. It passed a blanket measure authorizing the wiping out of all indebtedness incurred by state institutions! Charles T. Woollen, the business manager, included the remaining indebtedness on the collection in the university's total, and the acquisition of the Weeks Collection became a matter of history.

## PANACEA SPRINGS: FASHIONABLE SPA

BY RALPH HARDEE RIVES \*

The once fashionable spa known as Panacea Springs was located three miles from Littleton, near the boundary line between Warren and Halifax counties. It was one of the last of those halcyon watering places which blossomed and flourished in Europe and America in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries.<sup>1</sup>

To hundreds of Carolinians summertime still conjures up images of the Panacea Springs Hotel with its wide verandas, rustic cypress bridges, evergreen walks, groves of pine trees, hexagonal springhouse, and spacious lawn that spread down to the twenty-acre lake. When the century was young, the arrival of June was a fair reminder to dust off the trunks in the attic and begin assembling a fine new wardrobe for a stay at "the springs."

Eastward, on the coast, Wrightsville Beach, Atlantic Beach, and Ocean View were rapidly developing as pleasure resorts and, with the advent of the automobile, the era of the mineral springs soon ended. But, in 1900-1910 and even as late as 1915, eastern Carolinians who sought to escape the heat and the malaria still journeyed to Panacea Springs and partook of the water and the social life in equal doses.

These famous springs were located on an original land grant from the Earl of Granville to Joseph John Williams.<sup>2</sup> It is possible that the

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<sup>1</sup> The following mineral springs resorts were operated in North Carolina during the early years of the twentieth century: All Healing Springs, Taylorsville; Barium Springs, near Statesville; Catawba Springs, Hickory; Cleveland Springs, Shelby; Connelly Mineral Springs, Burke County; Davis White Sulphur Springs, Hiddenite; Ellerbe Springs, near Rockingham; Glen Alpine Springs, near Morganton; Hayward White Sulphur Springs, Waynesville; Hot Springs, Madison County; Jackson Springs, Moore County; Lincoln Lithia Springs, Lincolnton; Moores' Springs, Stokes County; Mount Vernon Springs, Siler City; North Carolina Hot Springs, Madison County; Panacea Springs; Piedmont Springs, Stokes County; Red Springs, Robeson County; Rocky River Springs, Stanly County; Seven Springs, near Goldsboro; Vade Mecum Springs, Stokes County; White Sulphur Springs, Mount Airy. For advertisements of these resorts and out-of-state spas, see scattered issues of *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), 1907-1916, hereinafter cited as *The News and Observer*. See also, State Board of Agriculture, *Handbook of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State Board of Agriculture, 1893), 236-241, hereinafter cited as *Handbook*, and Ralph Hardee Rives, "Spas Were Once the Seat of Health and Fashion in State," *The News and Observer*, May 16, 1965.

<sup>2</sup> Lucy E. Williams Beane (Mrs. I. L.), Littleton, to Ralph Hardee Rives, January 29, 1964.

Tuscarora Indians knew of the springs before the arrival of the English settlers; however, slaves who discovered the water around 1802 found that the mineral content possessed mysterious curative qualities.

Eventually, Thomas W. Harris, prominent Methodist layman, orator, and agricultural leader, inherited the tract of land on which was also situated "Sunnyside," his ancestral home. Analysis of the spring water showed the mineral sediment to be rich with calcium, iron, and sodium.<sup>3</sup>

When "Sunnyside" was destroyed by fire, Harris decided to erect a new residence with accommodations for paying guests who would be attracted by the healing spring water which he appropriately named "Panacea." The Harris family moved into "Indianola Inn," located between Panacea Springs and Airlie, about 1873.<sup>4</sup>



Indianola Inn, 1898. From photograph owned by Mrs. B. L. Rives, Wilmington, in files of Dr. Ralph Hardee Rives, Enfield.

<sup>3</sup> Author's interview with Alice Patterson Geddie (Mrs. Hendrix R.), Wilmington and Warrenton, a granddaughter of Thomas W. Harris, April 18, 1964, hereinafter cited as Geddie interview. See also, *Littleton Female College, Littleton, N. C., Session 1887-1888* (Franklinton: Littleton Female College, 1887), 16; *The Littleton News*, May 14, 1937. A report on an analysis of the Panacea water indicated "Only 13+ Grains of Active Principle per gallon . . . but this is where the secret is . . ." *The News Observer*, July 23, 1911.

<sup>4</sup> Ruth M. H. Mincher, "Curative Waters Made Panacea Springs Famous County Resort," *The Roanoke Rapids Herald*, May 11, 1958, hereinafter cited as Mincher, "Curative Waters."

Accounts of the hospitality to be found at "Indianola Inn" spread rapidly and soon prominent families from adjoining communities and counties began to make reservations at the new resort. Many of the guests brought their own servants, necessitating the maintenance of special servants' quarters at the inn.

A large vegetable garden, smokehouse, cellar, potato hills, chickens, and sheep became traditional symbols of the elegant cuisine for which "Indianola Inn" was noted.

Each summer morning at ten o'clock a hack took the guests to the springs. Following was a wagon filled with cantaloupes and watermelons to be enjoyed in the shade alongside the huge rocks for which Panacea would be so well remembered in future years.<sup>5</sup>

In the evenings, Harris' wife often entertained guests with music at the melodeon. She was an outspoken opponent of card playing and after her death it was rumored that if guests at the inn happened to indulge in a game of cards, her spirit would quickly return to blow out the lights.<sup>6</sup>

The Panacea Springs post office, situated in the inn, had seventy residents in its postal zone in 1890.<sup>7</sup> That year Harris sold 100 acres of land, including the springs, to the Panacea Springs and Hotel Company. He kept 100 shares of stock.<sup>8</sup>

George S. Prichard, a Greenville tobacconist, conceived the idea of a large resort hotel near the site of the springs and in 1907 bought the controlling interest in the Panacea Springs Company.<sup>9</sup> He chose a natural hillside which overlooked the springs and built there the Panacea Springs Hotel.

The frame structure had a columned porch 300 feet long and 10 feet wide, was painted yellow with green blinds, and had its own elec-

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<sup>5</sup> Author's interview with Frances Sessoms Rives (Mrs. Ben Long), Wilmington, April 18, 1964, hereinafter cited as Rives interview. Mrs. Rives, who was born at Panacea Springs, was a student and later a professor of art at Littleton College. She was well acquainted with Panacea Springs during the period prior to World War I. For reference to Panacea Springs and the hotel see *Handbook*, 2.

<sup>6</sup> Geddie interview.

<sup>7</sup> Levi Branson (ed.), *Branson's North Carolina Business Directory, 1890* (Raleigh: Levi Branson, 1889), 339.

<sup>8</sup> Warren County Deed Books, Warren County Courthouse, Warrenton, No. 55, 165-171, hereinafter cited as Warren County Deed Books.

<sup>9</sup> Author's interview with George S. Prichard, Jr., Wilmington, April 18, 1964, hereinafter cited as Prichard interview; see also, Warren County Deed Books, No. 73, 222-226.



Hotel, Panacea Springs. From photograph owned by Mrs. B. L. Rives, Wilmington, in files of Dr. Ralph Hardee Rives, Enfield.

tric plant. The huge entrance lobby with its thick red carpet was adorned with a large open fireplace and handsome late-Victorian upholstered furniture. Original plans called for 150 rooms though only half of these were completed by the time of the opening.

A landscape gardener from Richmond designed the picturesque walks, gardens, and bridges for which the hotel became famous.<sup>10</sup> A springhouse and a pavilion were built; a bathhouse was erected so that people with various skin diseases, such as eczema, could conveniently bathe in the ochre-colored sediment of the water.

During the first season, which opened in June, 1907, Prichard averaged 150 guests at a time. Many of the people arrived on stretchers and were miraculously "cured" by the water; indeed, it was popular hearsay among the local inhabitants that Panacea guests "came on a stretcher and left eating ham at night."<sup>11</sup>

The corner rooms rented for \$20 a week per person, American plan, while regular rooms, each with two windows, were half that price.<sup>12</sup> Two double beds in each room and special rates for the season encouraged families to come to the resort.

Prichard built a special highway from the regular county road to

<sup>10</sup> Prichard interview.

<sup>11</sup> Rives interview.

<sup>12</sup> Prichard interview.

the springs. At first, horse-drawn buses met hotel guests who came via the Seaboard Air Line Railway and took them on the fifteen-minute drive to the hotel. Two years later, however, there was automobile service from all trains to Panacea Springs.<sup>13</sup>

The water lost none of its strength when properly bottled, and Prichard began to ship as many as 150 cases each week to various points in North Carolina and Virginia. Each of these cases contained twelve one-half gallon demijohns. The water was shipped by train, in carloads, to Norfolk distributors. A boardinghouse owner in Richmond refused to serve any other water. Distributors were later located in Greensboro, Burlington, Durham, Oxford, Wilson, Raleigh, and New Bern.<sup>14</sup> The water could, of course, be ordered from the springs. The precipitate and water "can be sent you anywhere on the habitable globe" boldly boasted one Panacea advertisement.<sup>15</sup> Members of the North Carolina Bankers Association meeting at Morehead City in June, 1912, "drank freely, continuously and appreciately [*sic*] of this great water during their entire session and had many good things to say of its high qualities."<sup>16</sup>

The hotel was originally expected to remain open on a year-round basis but because of the expense of heating, it was used only for the summer season from June 1 until October 1.

In June, 1908, Prichard died; his widow managed the hotel until the end of that season. The Panic of 1907 had created a temporary financial depression but the property was purchased in 1909 by Eugene Johnston of Littleton and M. C. Braswell of Battleboro.<sup>17</sup>

Since neither of the new owners had ever been affiliated with the resort business, they were fortunate in hiring A. J. Cooke, formerly manager of the Mecklenburg Mineral Springs Hotel in Chase City, Virginia, to operate the hotel for them.<sup>18</sup> Other managers of the Panacea Springs Hotel who followed Cooke included T. Clement Jones, Jr., T. Alex Baxter, John L. Harrison, and Charles H. O'Berry.

Carpenters and decorators were pressed into action and twenty-five additional rooms, singles and suites, were completed by the grand

<sup>13</sup> *The News and Observer*, June 19, 27, 1909. One of the first motorcades in the state was to Panacea Springs; on several occasions, drivers lost control of their automobiles and went into Panacea Springs Lake. Rives interview.

<sup>14</sup> *The News and Observer*, May 21, 1911; see also, *The News and Observer*, June 7, 1911, which reported that Panacea water "is pure and wholesome and is bottled under the strictest sanitary regulations."

<sup>15</sup> *The News and Observer*, June 4, 1911.

<sup>16</sup> *The News and Observer*, July 7, 1912.

<sup>17</sup> *The News and Observer*, June 6, 1909; see also, Warren County Deed Books, No. 86, 164-165. Prichard was buried near Panacea Springs; his obituary appeared in *The Progress* (Enfield), June 5, 1908, hereinafter cited as *The Progress*.

<sup>18</sup> *The News and Observer*, May 28, 1909.

opening on June 10, 1909. An extensive advertising campaign pointed out that the hotel was 475 feet above sea level, conveniently located between Norfolk and Raleigh, that special week-end rates were available from all points on the Seaboard Air Line Railroad, and that the water was good for indigestion, nervous dyspepsia, constipation, diarrhea, kidney and liver diseases, insomnia, rheumatism, gout, nervous prostration, eczema, scrofula, and all blood and stomach troubles.<sup>19</sup> Panacea Springs was described as "a place to fortify your systems against Malaria, [Typhoid] Fever and that 'let-down' feeling so prevalent in summer. . . ." <sup>20</sup> One 1911 advertisement declared: "Money Spent for Panacea Mineral Spring Water is an investment incomparably more judicious than in Government bonds. The one brings Health and Happiness—the other may bring neither."<sup>21</sup> The water was reportedly a cure for every disease except tuberculosis, alcoholism, and leprosy.

A resident physician was available in the hotel; the chef was "one of the most competent in the South"; and guests were invited to enjoy riding, driving, boating on the lake, trapshooting, the pool and billiard parlors, and bowling.<sup>22</sup> Tennis courts were laid off and plans were made for a golf course. Bridge games, gypsy teas, and shirtwaist dances became popular pastimes for hotel guests.<sup>23</sup>

Barbecues held under the tall pine trees became traditional at Panacea Springs and usually preceded any important social event. Official "barbecuers" were Ned Snow, Sam Dowtin, and Mott Meade; their fame was widespread.<sup>24</sup> The word "soption," referring to the essence of the barbecued pork, is considered an original Panacea coinage.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>19</sup> *The News and Observer*, June 6, August 12, 1909; May 21, 23, 25, 27, June 2, 3, 4, 17, 27, 30, July 1, 2, 8, 9, 16, 29, 1911.

<sup>20</sup> *The News and Observer*, July 1, 1911; see also, *The News and Observer*, June 6, 1911, which advised "Give it to the little ones. Now is a hard season on them."

<sup>21</sup> *The News and Observer*, June 11, 1911.

<sup>22</sup> *The News and Observer*, June 6, 1909; July 2, 16, 1911; July 3, 1912; July 17, 1914.

<sup>23</sup> *The News and Observer*, July 30, 1911; June 16, 1912; July 6, 19, 1913; July 17, 1914.

<sup>24</sup> Rives interview; Mincher, "Curative Waters"; *The News and Observer*, July 27, 1912. For accounts of barbecues at Panacea Springs see scattered issues of *The News and Observer*, including those of August 12, 1909; June 16, July 27, 1912; June 28, 29, July 6, 11, 19, 1913; June 30, July 1, 1915.

<sup>25</sup> Rives interview. The word "soption" is not included in George P. Wilson (ed.), "Folk Speech" in Paul G. Brewster and Others (eds.), *Games and Rhymes . . .*, Volume I of *The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore*, edited by Newnan I. White (Durham: Duke University Press, 7 volumes, 1952-1964), I, 503-618, or in "Food and Drink" in Blackwell P. Robinson (ed.), *The North Carolina Guide* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1955), 8-11. The words "sop" and "soppings" appear under the heading, "Food," in Lester V. Berrey and Melvin Van Den Bark, *The American Thesaurus of Slang* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1952), 95-429, 759, 847.

**The New Panacea Hotel**

A. J. COOKE, Manager.

**PANACEA SPRINGS, N. C.**

Grand Opening Ball of the Season June 18th

A full orchestra from Baltimore has been engaged and will furnish the music for the season. The new Panacea Hotel, just completed, contains 100 rooms, single and ensuite, with every modern comfort and convenience. Cuisine and service absolutely satisfactory. Reasonable rates. For rates and booklet, address,

**A. J. COOKE, Manager Panacea Hotel**  
Panacea Springs N. C.

Advertisement of Panacea Hotel from *The News and Observer*, June 15, 1909.

For five years the huge dining room with its round and oblong tables also served as a ballroom. The orchestra played from a balcony overlooking the room and when the evening meal (always called supper) was completed, the tables and chairs were placed along the walls for the dance. A special new ballroom, called "one of the best in the South," was built as an annex to the hotel in 1912.<sup>26</sup>

The Crocha String Band of Washington, D. C., played for several seasons at the Panacea Springs Hotel.<sup>27</sup> This Italian orchestra was composed of Sam Crocha, violinist, and his two nephews, Francisco and Pascholina, violinist and harpist. In 1913 Signor V. Varrella's orchestra played at the hotel.<sup>28</sup> V. E. Fountain of Tarboro and Richmond was on the staff as "dancing master" in 1916.<sup>29</sup>

A rather glowing newspaper account of the season of 1909 reported: "A good orchestra and a large ball-room is [sic] attracting a great

<sup>26</sup> *The News and Observer*, August 25, 1912.

<sup>27</sup> Pritchard interview; *The News and Observer*, July 7, 1907.

<sup>28</sup> *The News and Observer*, June 8, July 6, 1913.

<sup>29</sup> *The News and Observer*, May 29, 1916.

number of young people while the shady nooks on the long veranda lit by the beams of a curious moon are the rendezvous of couples where Cupid manes [*sic*] a third party.”<sup>30</sup>

The Panacea Springs Hotel is probably best remembered for the germans which were held there, sometimes as often as three evenings a week. The opening german held about mid-June and the traditional Fourth of July barbecue and german were the two outstanding social affairs of the annual summer season.<sup>31</sup> The opening german of 1913, held June 14, was described in *The News and Observer* as “the largest and most brilliantly successful social event in the history of these noted Springs. . . . The weather conditions . . . and the roads were good, so that automobiles could easily make the trip. From early in the afternoon until late in the evening, car after car arrived. . . .”<sup>32</sup>

Former Littleton resident, Frances Sessoms Rives of Wilmington, recalling her childhood associations with Panacea Springs, told of a ball she attended there: “I was a privileged little girl, invited to sit on one of the side-lined chairs. My dress for the ball was my best white, ruffled and lace-trimmed, tied around the waist with a wide blue sash. Grace, elegance, lovely maidens and gallantry abounded, making the remembered picture very clear and beautiful even now.”<sup>33</sup>

Old newspapers contain accounts of numerous “automobile parties” motoring from nearby towns to Panacea Springs during this pre-World War I era.<sup>34</sup> Such excursions were usually made for the germans or special week-end parties.

<sup>30</sup> *The News and Observer*, July 11, 1909.

<sup>31</sup> “The spacious ball room of the Panacea hotel was a scene of beauty and brilliancy on the occasion of the opening german of the season at this popular resort. The decorations were most tastily arranged, and as the couples who took part in the beautiful dance marched upon the floor, the music by the splendid orchestra announced the beginning of the evening’s enjoyment.” *The News and Observer*, June 22, 1909. On July 4, 1914, there was a “tempting bill of fare” for the six o’clock meal enjoyed by “hundreds of guests.” The ballroom doors were opened at nine o’clock “presenting a scene of artistic beauty, appropriately decorated with American flags and graceful bunting of patriotic red, white and blue. During the evening, from a cozy corner formed of red, white and blue bunting and draped with American flags, refreshing punch was served.” *The News and Observer*, July 10, 1914. There were eighty-three couples at the opening german of 1916, when V. E. Fountain of Tarboro and Daisy Crump Whitehead (Mrs. E. L.) of Enfield began the evening’s “gayeties” with the first dance. “The ball-room was artistically decorated in white, pink and green. . . . Mr. W. E. Fenner directed the Grand March, during which Mr. Fountain handed the favors, blue caps, to the ladies; while Mrs. Whitehead presented red caps to the gentlemen. At midnight the dancers were invited to an elegant two course luncheon in the dining room.” *The Progress*, June 16, 1916; see also, *The News and Observer*, July 7, 1907; June 22, July 17, 21, August 1, 1909; June 11, 28, 1911; July 27, August 25, 1912; June 8, 29, 1913; June 20, 1916; *The Progress*, June 14, 1912; June 13, 1913; June 4, 1915.

<sup>32</sup> *The News and Observer*, June 22, 1913. Special invitations were extended to local cotillion and german clubs and a complimentary buffet banquet was given to the dancers. *The News and Observer*, June 8, 1913; *The Progress*, June 13, 1913.

<sup>33</sup> Mincher, “Curative Waters”; Rives interview.

<sup>34</sup> *The News and Observer*, July 21, August 1, 12, 1909; July 6, 19, 1913.

In August, 1909, the press proudly announced that an automobile party had returned from Panacea Springs to Durham, a distance of nearly ninety miles, in only four hours.<sup>35</sup>

Charles B. Aycock and his wife were guests at the Panacea Springs Hotel in 1911.<sup>36</sup> John Philip Sousa was also reportedly once a visitor there. The hotel register revealed guests from such distant places as Knoxville, Savannah, Ocala, Chicago, Washington, D. C., Baltimore, and from Indiana, Texas, New York, and California. The great majority of the guests, of course, were from Tidewater Virginia and from communities east of Raleigh.<sup>37</sup>

Sarah Myrick Parker of Enfield, in reminiscing about her girlhood in Littleton, recalled the thrill of living in a resort town. "Everyone in Littleton who would took boarders," she recalls, "and other people had a house full of company all the summer!"<sup>38</sup>

When Panacea Springs was a flourishing resort, nearby Littleton Female College, a private school owned and operated by the Reverend J. Manly Rhodes, enjoyed the reputation of being "One of the most successful and best-equipped boarding schools in the South."<sup>39</sup> As a part of their training in "physical culture," the young ladies occasionally took hikes out to the springs. Sophia Forbes Davenport of Mackeys, who attended the college from 1904 to 1907, recalled that "we took a picnic lunch one Easter Monday and took turns riding what would probably be called a 'pick-up' this day and time. It was horse-powered. We were too young and had too much fun to really get tired."<sup>40</sup> Lula Hunter Skillman of Thomasville, Georgia, remembered that in 1918, the year before the college was destroyed by fire, "two of the teachers and a small group of Campfire Girls walked from the college to Panacea and back one Saturday—the longest hike of my life."<sup>41</sup>

The Panacea Hotel staff served the annual Littleton College Alumnae Banquet in the college dining hall in 1908.<sup>42</sup> An Italian orchestra

<sup>35</sup> *The News and Observer*, August 12, 1909. A newspaper report noted that N. H. Tate of Littleton had gone to Durham to inspect an automobile "that will be used on the new auto route between Littleton and Panacea Springs." *The News and Observer*, June 19, 1909.

<sup>36</sup> *The News and Observer*, July 16, 1911.

<sup>37</sup> Mincher, "Curative Waters"; see scattered summer issues of *The News and Observer*, 1907-1916, for lists of guests staying at the hotel.

<sup>38</sup> Author's interview with Sarah Myrick Parker (Mrs. Romulus B.), Enfield, April 24, 1964. Mrs. Parker was also a student at Littleton Female College.

<sup>39</sup> *The News and Observer*, June 20, 1909.

<sup>40</sup> Sophia Forbes Davenport (Mrs. W. B.), Mackeys, to Ralph Hardee Rives, February 18, 1964.

<sup>41</sup> Lula Hunter Skillman (Mrs. C. E.), Thomasville, Georgia, and Arcola, to Ralph Hardee Rives, February 1, 1964.

<sup>42</sup> *The News and Observer*, May 29, 1908.

(probably the Crochas) furnished music for the occasion.

Following World War I, the Panacea Springs Hotel was closed except for semiweekly dances which attracted many young couples who belonged to a new generation. The old stringed instruments gave way to saxophones and other brass instruments, and according to newsman Bignall Jones of Warrenton, "the tempo and pace of the dances grew wilder and wilder, until their very excesses proved their undoing."<sup>43</sup>

In August, 1920, Ethel Leatherwood, Halifax County home demonstration agent, held the first summer camp for county 4-H Club girls at Panacea Springs.<sup>44</sup> Members of the Littleton College Memorial Association, established in 1927 by alumnae of the former college, held a number of their annual reunions at the site of the old resort.<sup>45</sup> Several families of the area chose Panacea Springs for large barbecues and family gatherings during the 1930's and early 1940's.

In 1933 the charter of the Panacea Springs and Hotel Company was abandoned. Four years later there was an unsuccessful drive on behalf of Littleton citizens and adjoining communities to persuade the federal government to locate a veterans' hospital at Panacea Springs.<sup>46</sup> During World War II the hotel was sold, torn down, and removed to a nearby town where the materials were used for a number of small residences. Like many other mineral springs resorts, the Panacea Springs Hotel faded into history, and it is no more now than a dream remembered.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>43</sup> *The Warren Record* (Warrenton), August 10, 1956.

<sup>44</sup> Ethel L. Barnhill, "Review of Home Demonstration Work in Halifax County from November 1918 to June 1922," *Roanoke Rapids Herald*, Special Edition, 1939, Section D.

<sup>45</sup> Ralph Hardee Rives, "Littleton Female College," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXIX (Summer, 1962), 376-377; see also, assorted memorabilia including photographs in The Littleton College Memorial Collection, North Carolina Wesleyan College, Rocky Mount. Students at the college were often encouraged to drink the Panacea water for their health. Author's interview with Emma Wilcox Basnight (Mrs.), Greenville, July 10, 1965.

<sup>46</sup> *The Littleton News*, May 14, 1937.

<sup>47</sup> The following persons furnished to the author personal reminiscences and materials about Panacea Springs: Fannie Rives Vinson Palmer (Mrs. Horace), Ruth M. H. Mincher (Mrs. Robert W.), Pearl Wright Bobbitt (Mrs. Sol B.), Pauline Moss Bowers (Mrs. Watson), all of Littleton; Pattie Alston Macon (Mrs. G. W.), Henderson; Agnes Hunter Davis (Mrs. J. C.), Warrenton; Geneva Merritt House (Mrs. Joseph A.), Maude Randolph Leonard (Mrs. C. J.), Ralph C. Rives, Blanche Hardee Rives (Mrs. Ralph C.), Mattie Brinkley Kimball (Mrs. B. Robert), Rebecca Kimball, B. D. Kimball, John King Newton, Isabel Peirson Dickens (Mrs. Sammy W.), Margaret Quincey, all of Enfield; Emily Love Spencer (Mrs.), South Mills.

# PROVINCIAL TAXES IN NORTH CAROLINA DURING THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF DOBBS AND TRYON

BY MARVIN L. MICHAEL KAY\*

Colonial North Carolina's tax structure, by depending primarily upon the poll tax, was highly inequitable. Over 90 per cent of the provincial taxes levied in North Carolina during the years 1748-1771 were either poll taxes or liquor import duties; the poll tax was two and one-half to three times as important as the liquor duties. If county and ecclesiastical taxes are included in the calculation, the poll tax assumes an even greater importance since this was, almost exclusively, the tax used on the local level.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For laws concerning provincial taxes and fees levied for the period in question see the following: 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), XXIII, 255-256, 295, 308-309, 314-315, 329, 347-348, 362-363, 371-375, 392-398, 400, 401-402, 422-424, 467-468, 494, 516-518, 539-541, 542, 613-614, 617, 627-629, 664-665, 675, 678-680, 690, 711-713, 749, 781-783, 801, 814-819, 840-841, 850-851; XXV, 254-255, 266-267, 309-310, 331-333, 345-348, 349, 350-352, 361-364, 370-372, 394-395, 397-398, 457-458, 492-493, 498-499, hereinafter cited as Clark, *State Records*. For material concerning a controversy which occurred in 1772 over the continuation of a 1s. poll tax assessed in 1748 and reassessed in 1754 and a 4d. per gallon liquor duty levied in 1754, see William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1890), IX, 166, 228-235, 300-301, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Colonial Records*. For material concerning controversies arising over the continued collection of 1s. and 2s. poll taxes levied in 1760 and 1761 respectively, see Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 922-923, 983, 986; VIII, 478-479. Three important contemporary reports which substantiate the information gleaned from the statutes and that obtained from the reports of John Burgwin, Clerk of the Council and of the Committee of Accounts (see below), may be found in Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 213-214; English Records—Plantation General Correspondence, Entry Books, Petitions, Miscellaneous, 1764-1778, and English Records—Governors' Letters, Drafts of Letters, Miscellaneous, 1702-1783, Archives, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. For John Burgwin's reports to the assembly concerning tax levies, collections, and arrears see Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 984-985; VIII, 139, 278-281; IX, 166, 572-575; William K. Boyd (ed.), *Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina* (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 1927), opposite 416, hereinafter cited as Boyd, *Eighteenth Century Tracts*; D. L. Corbitt (ed.), "Finances and Delinquent Taxes of North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, V (January, 1928), 112-118. An important statement about taxation by three members of the council in 1768 may be found in D. L. Corbitt (ed.), "Rough Notes of the Council Journal," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, VIII (July, 1931), 346-347.

In addition to the basic inequity of the tax structure, inefficiency and corruption characterized the administration of provincial taxes.<sup>2</sup> This maladministration was closely related to the practice of paying officials by fees and commissions for specific services.<sup>3</sup> The abuses accompanying the handling of public monies, however, were in Colonial North Carolina also a reflection of the form of government, the power arrangements in the colony, and the views of the ruling elite. A relatively small number of individuals and families controlled the local and provincial governments. Their political power depended upon their social and economic strength, the impregnability of their position in local government (comprised of largely co-optive offices), and their subsequent effective control over provincial elections.<sup>4</sup>

The following analysis of how taxes were collected, accounted for, and disbursed, as well as the common abuses, will be limited to

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<sup>2</sup> The amount of public funds mishandled by sheriffs can be traced, but statistics concerning the customs collectors are incomplete and those with respect to the treasurers nonexistent. John Burgwin's first and third reports to the assembly, compiled between November 6, 1769, and December, 1770, are the most important sources of information. The first report reveals that the sheriffs and customs officers were in arrears £64,013 and £2,429 respectively for the period 1754-1770. For an even longer period, 1748-1770, the third report states that only £59,616 was collected and accounted for by the sheriffs. The amazing figures are those showing that the sheriffs' tax arrears totaled more than their official collections. The breakdown, however, of the tax arrears figure with respect to embezzled sums and neglected collections is unknown, but an educated guess indicates that 25 per cent of the poll taxes levied during the years 1754-1770 was embezzled by the sheriffs. It is impossible to estimate the amount of taxes embezzled by the treasurers. For a detailed analysis of taxation in Colonial North Carolina, 1748-1772, see Marvin L. Michael Kay, "The Institutional Background to the Regulation in North Carolina" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1962), 164-168, 286-424, *passim*, hereinafter cited as Kay, "Regulation in North Carolina."

<sup>3</sup> For example, although the sheriffs, who were the collectors of provincial revenues, did receive salaries from both the colony and the county court, by far their greatest income was derived from fees and commissions. For copies of appropriate statutes see Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 122-127, 217-218, 280-281, 424-432, 505, 526-531, 546-547, 571, 716-723, 833-835, 846-849. See also, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 975-982; James R. Caldwell, Jr., "A History of Granville County, North Carolina, the Preliminary Phase, 1746-1800" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of North Carolina, 1950), 51, hereinafter cited as Caldwell, "History of Granville County"; Julian P. Boyd, "The Sheriff in Colonial North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, V (April, 1928), 171, hereinafter cited as Boyd, "The Sheriff in Colonial North Carolina." The two major laws (passed in 1748 and 1771) about fees applicable during the period under review may be found in Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 275-284, 859-862. The treasurers received a 5 per cent commission upon all the monies they received. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 484.

<sup>4</sup> For discussions about North Carolina's colonial "Whig leaders" see Julian P. Boyd, "The County Court in Colonial North Carolina" (unpublished master's thesis, Duke University, 1926), hereinafter cited as Boyd, "The County Court"; Charles Grier Sellers, Jr., "Making a Revolution: The North Carolina Whigs, 1765-1775" in J. Carlyle Sitterson (ed.), *Studies in Southern History* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press [Volume 39 of *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*], 1957), 23-46; Boyd, "The Sheriff in Colonial North Carolina," 151-180; Kay, "Regulation in North Carolina," 1-20, 69-441, *passim*. See footnote 13 for a discussion of county court control over the appointment of the sheriffs.

provincial matters. County and parochial taxes, a study in itself, will not be discussed.

The lists of taxables in each county were provided by the county court clerk who made copies of schedules presented to him by the county court. These tax lists were compiled, in accordance with the provisions of a law passed in 1760. Constables appointed by the county courts and individual justices were assigned to tax districts in each of the counties. The constable summoned all masters or mistresses, or overseers when neither of the first two was available, to appear before the justice of their district and declare all the taxables in the household.<sup>5</sup> The constable was also required to give to the justice of his district a list of all persons so summoned. The justice of each district, after compiling his own list from the declarations made to him, checked it against the constable's list to see if any persons summoned failed to appear. If so, court action was taken against the delinquent, the fine being 40s. for every taxable the delinquent failed to declare. When his own list was compiled, the justice returned it and the constable's list to the county court which, in turn, gave them to the county clerks who made five copies of both lists, one of each for the sheriff, the county court, the vestry, and the treasurer, and display in the county courthouse. The county courts were empowered to see that the clerks were paid for these services.<sup>6</sup>

Between 1755 and 1772, except for custom duties, which were collected and disbursed at the port of entry, provincial, county, and ecclesiastical taxes were nearly always collected by the sheriffs. The sheriff's commission for collecting taxes varied during this period, but after December, 1766, he received an 8 per cent commission for collecting the provincial taxes, and possibly the same commission for collecting the county taxes.<sup>7</sup> His commission for collecting parochial taxes was 6 per cent, beginning with the Vestry Act of January, 1764.<sup>8</sup> In addition to these commissions, he received 2s. 8d. for each distress he made

<sup>5</sup> Taxables included all white males, freemen or servants, sixteen years of age and over; Negroes, mulattoes, and "Persons of Mixt Blood to the Fourth Generation," slave or free, male or female, twelve years and over; and all individuals who married persons of color and their progeny, twelve years and older. See Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 345 (1749), 526 (1760); Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 539 (1767).

<sup>6</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 526-531. A similar law had been passed in 1749. See Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 345-346.

<sup>7</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 156-157; Pitt County, Miscellaneous Papers, 1762-1851, Archives; Legislative Papers, 1765-1767, Archives, hereinafter cited as Legislative Papers, 1765-1767; Papers of Secretary of State, 1770-1772, Archives. No law was found stating the exact commission of the sheriff for collecting the county taxes. It is assumed above that the county courts probably established the same rate as was provided by the assembly for the collection of provincial taxes.

<sup>8</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 606.

for nonpayment of taxes.<sup>9</sup> His power to distrain the property of tax delinquents and frequent abuses of this power continued throughout the period in question despite remedial legislation.<sup>10</sup>

After collecting the provincial taxes, in accordance with a law passed in 1755 defining his duties, the sheriff was to account with the treasurer of his district. If he neglected or refused to account for the taxes, the superior court of the district on the motion of the treasurer might give judgment against the sheriff for the taxes due, minus the sheriff's commission, plus court costs. The important fact to notice here is that the treasurer had to initiate the court action against the sheriff. The act cautioned the sheriff to discontinue the practice of collecting taxes from polls not on the tax lists and keeping the money so collected; he was to account for these monies. In addition, the act provided that treasurers who refused or neglected to disburse the public monies as directed by law were made liable for these funds. The superior court of the treasurer's district, upon the motion of the attorney general or under the directions of the assembly by the motion of any other attorney, was to give judgment against the treasurer for the amount of his delinquency plus 6 per cent yearly interest and double costs.<sup>11</sup>

An act of 1759<sup>12</sup> attempted to prevent dishonest sheriffs from continuing to hold office. The law directed that should a sheriff who had served two successive years in office be recommended by the county court for reappointment he had to present a certificate from the treasurer of his district attesting that he had properly collected, accounted for, and paid the taxes for which he was responsible while in office.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 530, 606.

<sup>10</sup> The Regulators continually complained of the unfair, corrupt, and harmful distraining practices of the sheriffs and their deputies. They argued that the distrainers confiscated much beyond the indebtedness and that they and others made gross and dishonest profits from the staged sales of the distrained property. Similar grievances were stated by many not directly involved in the regulators' movement. See Boyd, *Eighteenth Century Tracts*, 188, and a petition by the inhabitants of Pasquotank to the governor, council, and assembly sent on November 20, 1766, in *Legislative Papers*, 1765-1767.

<sup>11</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 424-432.

<sup>12</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 505.

<sup>13</sup> The law which created the office of sheriff in March, 1739, gave the county courts control over the appointment of these officials and cemented thereby their alliance with the local governing bodies and the assembly. The court nominated three men for the office and the governor appointed and commissioned one of the three, thereby having no effective discretionary power. During the period under review the sheriff's term of office was for one year and no person could be compelled to hold the office any longer. It was made mandatory in the law of 1739 that the sheriff be a justice of the peace, but in 1745 this was repealed although rarely was a person nominated who was not a justice. See footnote 3. See also, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 266; IX, 315, 983, 1,158; X, 404; Secretary of State, Election Returns, Miscellaneous, 1764-1908, Archives; Boyd, "The Sheriff in Colonial North Carolina," 111-113, 127-135.

An act of 1760 amended the rules governing the settling of accounts by the sheriffs with the treasurers. The object of the amendment was to prevent sheriffs, in collusion with one or more justices, from abusing their right to certify the inability of certain polls to pay their taxes. This meant, of course, that the sheriffs would not be held accountable for these taxes. The law directed that no county court should absolve the sheriff from collecting taxes of insolvents unless five or more justices in court agreed to and signed the certificate of allowance.<sup>14</sup>

The same act amended those clauses governing the dates for tax collection and the penalty for late payments. All taxes, therefore, provincial, county, and parochial, were made due on or before the tenth of March each year; the sheriff was directed to collect 2s. 8d. per poll for the single distress allowed for late payment.<sup>15</sup>

An act ratified on January 15, 1768, repealed all past laws concerning sheriffs and their duties in office because these acts had

been found greatly Defective; and there is at present no Law whereby those who have been invested with the Power of applying Public Money, or Collectors of the same, can be compelled to a Speedy Execution of the said Trusts; by Occasion whereof the Public hath been greatly Defrauded, and the Faith thereof much depreciated. . . .<sup>16</sup>

In spite of this declaration the provisions of the two previous acts generally were continued in the law of January, 1768, but the controls governing the collection and accounting for public monies were amended and strengthened. Sheriffs who had not finished their collections before the end of their terms in office were empowered to continue until the job was completed. Past sheriffs in arrears were also empowered to collect all back taxes. In order to prevent the outright embezzlement of public monies, each sheriff was directed to present to the first county court held after each January 1, beginning in 1769, an account signed by the treasurer of his district of his collections and arrearages. This account was to be entered upon the minutes of the court by the clerk and if the sheriff neglected to follow this procedure he was to lose his tax commissions from the preceding year. The same system was to be followed when a sheriff was removed from office prior to the expiration of his term for any reason other than death. Apparently these procedures were designed to publicize the sheriffs' malfeasances.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 526-531.

<sup>15</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 526-531.

<sup>16</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 713.

<sup>17</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 622-624; Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 713-723.

Another clause of the act forbade an incumbent sheriff to serve in the assembly or council. Governor William Tryon hoped this clause would have a salutary effect, since the sheriffs' deputies had committed abuses while the sheriffs attended legislative sessions.<sup>18</sup> It is difficult to believe that he felt this was very important since the high sheriffs themselves were chiefly responsible for the manifold abuses surrounding the office.

A law concerning sheriffs, passed during the November session of the 1768 legislature, empowered the governor to appoint a collector of provincial and county taxes when there was no sheriff commissioned in the county.<sup>19</sup>

Legislation passed in 1770 was designed to give relief to the securities of the sheriffs (bond had to be given by all sheriffs). Some sheriffs in arrears relieved themselves of their responsibilities by leaving the province, their securities thereby becoming liable for the arrearages. This law empowered the securities to collect back taxes.<sup>20</sup>

A more significant law than any of these, one dealing with treasurers, was ratified on January 15, 1768.<sup>21</sup> In accordance with past laws the sheriffs under oath were directed to account yearly with the treasurers before June 10 and the treasurers, for receiving, accounting for, and disbursing the public funds, were to receive 5 per cent of the monies they handled. New to this law, however, was the provision that the county court clerk should lodge with the treasurer of his district all bonds entered into within nine months after their execution. This was designed to facilitate the suing of sheriffs by treasurers, for prior to this time the clerks held the bonds, sending them to the treasurers only upon demand. Still more important was the clause in the act designed to coerce the treasurers to act against errant sheriffs. Previously the treasurers were required to sue sheriffs for tax arrearages, but this act, in addition, made the treasurer liable for the tax arrears of the sheriff if within six months after the date set by law for accounting and receiving the public monies from all collectors the treasurer did not begin suit for the recovery of funds in arrears. The law also attempted to systematize the keeping of records by directing the treasurers to debit the accounts of each sheriff with the total number of taxables and to credit the accounts with the totals of the insolvents and the collections. These accounts and all related ones were to be open to inspection by the governor and laid before the assembly

<sup>18</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 694.

<sup>19</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 767-768.

<sup>20</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 789-790.

<sup>21</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 622-624; Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 723-725.

for its approval. In addition, the treasurer of each district was to give to the governor such "Transcripts or Information" as he deemed desirable.<sup>22</sup>

An efficient, honest handling and disbursement of public monies, therefore, depended upon the treasurers of the province to see that the sheriffs and others carried out their responsibilities as tax collectors. Unfortunately, despite the coercive clause making them liable for the sheriffs' arrears, the treasurers did not maintain fiscal propriety for a number of reasons. They also were guilty of misusing public funds;<sup>23</sup> their system of keeping accounts was grossly inadequate; and most importantly, they were obligated to the sheriffs and assemblymen and colluded with them to prevent the effective application of the reform laws. No treasurer who failed to bring suit against defalcating sheriffs, for example, was ever made liable for the tax arrears of these sheriffs. The remainder of this study will be concerned primarily with this collusion.

Governor Arthur Dobbs, as early as September 25, 1755, in a speech to both houses of the legislature expressed his concern about the unwillingness of those who handled public money to part with it.

I find it is become too much a Practice in this Province that those who are intrusted in the collecting or laying out of Publick Money keep it in their hands and lay it out for their benefit and can't be brought to account without being sued at Law and many die or leave the Province without being brought to Account for the same by which the Publick is defrauded and the remaining inhabitants must make good the debt.<sup>24</sup>

He therefore recommended that "all who have collected or who are to lay out money for the . . . publick" should account for it within a specified time. Here he was primarily concerned with the corrupt and inefficient practices of the sheriffs, but in a letter to the Board of Trade on January 19, 1760, he had much to say about the jumbled accounts of the treasurers of both the northern and southern districts.

I have also sent to your Lordships a Copy of Mr. Barker's accounts who is Treasurer of the Northern District, by which you will see in what Manner the public accounts are carried on, when not brought before and passed by the Council, and not properly audited, when thus undigested and passed by the Assembly having such Influence as Members and Treasurers over the Assembly as to influence them in their favour even to carry points against the Crown by being for Life. Mr. Starkey the other Treasurer

<sup>22</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 724-725.

<sup>23</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 497; VIII, 94, 644.

<sup>24</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 497.

for the Southern District has not furnished me with a Copy to send your Lordships and though he has returned an imperfect list of Taxables and a jumbled indistinct Arrear yet his manner of accounting is very irregular. . . .<sup>25</sup>

The only questionable part of this letter is Dobbs' willingness to ascribe the actions of the assembly to the machinations and influence of the treasurers. To be sure, they were influential gentlemen, but if the treasurers' lackadaisical system of keeping the accounts had not been in line with the assembly's own interests, or the interest of the groups comprising the assembly—the county court rings—there would have been immediate revision of the colony's accounting system. The assembly's control over auditing the treasurers' accounts and its general unwillingness to attack the problem of corruption allowed the malpractices that were rampant. Dobbs, in a letter to the Board of Trade on December 12, 1760, alluded to this audit of provincial accounts by the assembly in which the governor, council, and crown officials played a negligible role. Effective approval of the accounts came by a majority vote of a joint committee of both houses controlled by the assembly.<sup>26</sup>

By the time Tryon became governor, mass defaults by sheriffs, inaccurate and incomplete financial statements, and corrupt handling of public monies by the treasurers, the alleged guardians of the public purse, had failed to disturb the assembly. Only the continued and insistent demands of an alarmed governor, supported sporadically by the council, plus the pressures of an aroused populace, would force the assembly eventually to bestir itself. But by then a major rebellion was under way—the Regulation.

Governor Tryon's comments through the years of his administration illustrate the situation. Early he presented to the assembly plans to prevent the embezzlement of public funds by sheriffs. One proposal was that the assembly should double the commission allowed to sheriffs for collecting the taxes. He felt that with this increased emolument "Gentlemen of the just probity and most responsible" would "offer themselves as candidates for that active and important Office."<sup>27</sup> The assembly complied immediately with the governor's request. The result was that the sheriffs embezzled just as much or more than ever. Perhaps Governor Tryon had something to learn about men of probity and responsibility. With more acumen he asked the assembly to pass

<sup>25</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 217.

<sup>26</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 320; Jack P. Greene, *The Quest for Power: The Lower Houses of Assembly in the Southern Royal Colonies, 1689-1776* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, c. 1963), 72-80.

<sup>27</sup> Legislative Papers, 1765-1767; Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 294.

legislation requiring the enumeration by the treasurers of receipts and expenditures of public monies as well as the balance remaining in their possession and the sums due from other public officers. That he had to make such elementary recommendations about the keeping of accounts seems incredible.<sup>28</sup>

Tryon, in a letter to Earl Shelburne July 4, 1767, recognized the close ties among sheriffs, treasurers, and assembly and the gross corruption involved in the handling of public funds.

By the enclosed reports of the Committee of both Houses met at Newbern to state and settle the publick accounts of this province at the last General Assembly, his Majesty may observe the low state of publick fund of his colony of North Carolina. I have taken every publick and private opportunity of recommending a stricter examination into the Treasurers' receipts and disbursements of the publick money. . . . The Treasurers have hitherto shown so much illjudged lenity towards the Sheriffs that upon a medium the Sheriffs have embezzled more than one half of the publick money ordered to be raised and collected by them. It is estimated that the sheriffs arrears to the publick amount to forty thousand pounds [an underestimate of more than twenty-four thousand pounds] proclamation money, not five thousand of which will possibly ever come into the treasury as in many instances the sheriffs and their securities are either insolvent or retreated out of the province. The treasurers lenity or rather remissness in the material part of their duty I construe to be founded on the principal [*sic*] of caution, for by not suing the sheriffs in arrear they obtain a considerable weight of interest among the connections of these delinquent sheriffs and which generally secures them a re-election in their offices when expired. I flatter myself some better regulations will be established at the next general assembly. . . .<sup>29</sup>

His optimism was rewarded during the legislative session of December, 1767, with the previously discussed law making the treasurers liable for the debt of the sheriffs if the treasurers neglected to bring suit.<sup>30</sup> Tryon, however, in his opening address to the legislature that passed this law, indirectly predicted the eventual failure of the act. He argued that the "embezzlements and irregularities practiced by the several collectors of the public revenues for some time past" could only be prevented if the governor were given an effective role in the process of approving the public account. Despite this, he concluded: "Though this opinion is founded on a principle of equity and distributive Justice to the public, I shall nevertheless on a subject of this delicate nature rest my own judgement entirely on your wisdom and

<sup>28</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 294-295.

<sup>29</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 497.

<sup>30</sup> Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 723-725.

discretion.”<sup>31</sup> These remarks indicate that Tryon knew that he would not be granted a special role in the auditing of the public accounts. He acquiesced on this point, as he had done in the past, and confronted the powerful opponents of reform in the assembly with no more than earnest appeals for remedial legislation.

His refusal to break with the assembly reflected Tryon's strong class affinity with the ruling groups, his general dependence upon leaders of the province and his continuous attempt to avoid contention in order to maintain friendly relations. These factors, plus his willingness to believe that the Regulators, whose unruly spirit he detested, were attacking the royal prerogative and the constitution, predetermined the destruction of the Regulators at Alamance in 1771 by an army led by Governor Tryon himself.<sup>32</sup> Ironically, the officers of the army under his leadership were the same men who were responsible for the corrupt financial structure which both Tryon and the Regulators had opposed.

On October 31, 1769, Governor Tryon again sought administrative reform short of upsetting the political power structure of the province. Presenting the deplorable state of the public finance, Tryon cautiously noted that the wide-spread embezzlement by the sheriffs might be considerably lessened by the vigorous enforcement of the law requiring that the liability for sheriffs' defaults be passed on to the treasurers. He then urged that to prevent malpractice by the treasurers, it was necessary to institute a "constant regular plain and uniform method of keeping the Accounts of the public revenue and of stating and settling these accounts. . . ." <sup>33</sup> He therefore recommended that the treasurers keep day books to record all money received or paid by them, including information such as the date, the exact amounts and persons involved, and "the nature of the transaction." Tryon also urged that a ledger be kept by the treasurers listing all the monies for which the various collectors of public revenue were responsible and crediting their accounts with money paid into the treasury, commissions as provided for by law, and insolvents certified

<sup>31</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 551-552.

<sup>32</sup> An example of Tryon's dependence upon the assembly to secure a personal objective was the building of the mansion which housed the governor and his family and provided chambers for the legislature. Many have written about Tryon's so-called "Palace," but Alonzo Thomas Dill's works are by far the most comprehensive. The edifice eventually cost more than £15,000 in North Carolina currency. Actual building began in August, 1767. In June, 1770, Tryon moved into it and on December 5, 1770, the assembly convened there for the first time. See Alonzo Thomas Dill, Jr., "Tryon's Palace, A Neglected Niche of North Carolina History," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XIX (April, 1942), 119-167; Alonzo Thomas Dill, Jr., *Governor Tryon and His Palace* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, c. 1955), *passim*.

<sup>33</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 94.

by the county courts. Another ledger was to be kept "wherein an account debtor and creditor is opened between the treasurer on one side and every particular fund appropriated by the Legislature on the other side. . . ." <sup>34</sup>

In this last book which Tryon described as "no more than a general abstract of the whole," the treasurer was to debit himself with "the gross account of the Revenue" arising from all taxes. He was to credit himself with the "gross account of insolvencies and deficiencies" for the different taxes, plus monies in the hands of the sheriffs and other collectors, payments he had made, his commissions, and the balance for each tax that remained in his hands. The treasurer was to add to this account a list of the suits which he had initiated in accordance with the law. <sup>35</sup>

Tryon then turned his attention to the auditing procedure and proposed that a standing committee of five to seven members be appointed by the assembly to audit the accounts during a prorogation of the legislature and that a report be made at the next session of the assembly. This report together with all the documents, vouchers, and account books from which the report was made were then to lie on the table in the assembly for all to review. After the approval of the assembly, the material was to be reviewed and reported by a joint committee of both houses. At this point the treasurers were to swear to the governor as to the truth of the accounts whereupon they were to be formally accepted by the assembly. Tryon further recommended, because of the great arrearages of the past and the confusion of public accounts, that settling of these past accounts be taken out of the hands of the treasurers and given over to a person or persons appointed by both houses. <sup>36</sup>

An analysis of these proposals indicates once again that Tryon accepted the inevitable fact of the power structure and contented himself to work within it. By the keeping of adequate books and the implementation by the treasurers of the laws of the province providing for suits against tax collectors in arrears, and through a more formalized and demanding auditing procedure *under the control* of the assembly, Tryon hoped to achieve greater order in the province's finances. It should be noticed that the governor would play no role in this, except that the treasurers would swear before him as to the accuracy of the accounts. Neither was the council to play an integral part, for the membership of the joint committee Tryon called for was not delineated

<sup>34</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 94-95.

<sup>35</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 95-96.

<sup>36</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 96-97.

and Tryon could not but recognize that the existent joint committee serving a similar end was controlled by the assembly. The collection, disbursement, accounting, auditing, and acceptance of the public accounts, therefore, was to remain in the hands of the county court and its officers, the treasurers, and the assembly. The assembly, however, refused even these modest reforms and Tryon thereupon disconsolately berated it for not affecting his plan which

if adopted by the Legislature, and invariably pursued, (otherwise it will be insufficient) will produce the happiest effects to this Country, and I will be bold to affirm, if ever carried, in any future Session, into an Act of the Legislature, it will be acknowledged the most beneficial Session this Colony ever experienced, though it should be the only Act passed in that Session. But this blessing is not to be obtained for the Country, while the Treasurers, late Sheriffs, and their sureties, can command a majority in the lower House, and while a Treasurer is suffered to absent himself, and withhold his public accounts from the General Assembly let the pretense of his absence be ever so urgent. This morning I saw some Public Accounts of the Treasurer for the Southern District. Those accounts are so very irregular, and negligently kept, that the Public must be abused if an amendment is not made to the mode there pursued; but as I am told it is a method his predecessors followed, no censure can lay upon that Gentleman.<sup>37</sup>

Tryon still did not despair. On December 14, 1770, he addressed a new assembly, once again calling for the adoption of his plan and giving the assembly books of his own for the treasurers to use, "considering the difficulties there may be in immediately procuring the record books. . . ." Together with this "needle approach" he again suggested that the settling of past accounts be placed in hands other than the treasurers'.<sup>38</sup>

Finally, on January 24, 1771, less than four months before the military defeat of the Regulators, the assembly acted. It did so only after years of unrest and violence in the province, countless urgings and recommendations by the governor, and reports presented to it by a man of its own choosing, John Burgwin, establishing the sordid state of the colony's finances beyond any doubt. The assembly at this time, by resolves, set up a bookkeeping system for the treasurers similar to that proposed by Tryon, although it still failed to detail the auditing procedure beyond enumerating what material should be placed before the assembly for its inspection.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 104-105.

<sup>38</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 317-318.

<sup>39</sup> Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 379, 459-460. In 1773 other resolves were passed strengthening the auditing system. See Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 580-581.

However inadequate the legislation was prior to January 24, 1771, the history of provincial finances under this last law indicates that earlier passage would not have altered conditions appreciably.<sup>40</sup> For the fact remains that the laws which were passed left control over the financial system in the hands of the local officials, treasurers, and assembly, the very groups responsible for the financial abuses of the time.

It appears that the assembly's actions throughout were those of a most reluctant and unenthusiastic reformer, only moving when the pressures became impossible to resist. Even then, bound by what it considered to be its own self-interest, which did not dictate an effective change in the system of tax collection and the disbursement of public monies, the reform measures acceded to by the assembly were, until quite late, perfunctory gestures. Its will to enforce the existing laws, even more revealing, was virtually nonexistent.

The actions of the governors, in contrast, were more socially conscientious. Certainly this was true of Tryon who appears to have been motivated simply by a desire to mitigate the corrupt practices of the period. Dobbs, however, hoped to build a case to the crown so that it would attempt to control the treasurers and the process of accounting and disbursing of provincial funds. From whatever mixed motives Dobbs or Tryon approached the problem, however, their records, it may be categorically stated, were very good when compared with that of the assembly. Dobbs' actions were colored by a receding hope that the crown would intervene and Tryon's, from the beginning of his administration, by the recognition that it would not. From the single view of establishing a more honest and efficient system governing the handling of public funds, crown intervention would have been desirable. The choices of this period seem to have been between provincial control which was oligarchic and corrupt and imperial control with a promise of honesty. As in so many other spheres of colonial politics, autonomy in the realm of provincial finance secured neither an effective, democratic, nor honest system. This autonomy, rather, strengthened the position of an oligarchy which was self-aggrandizing and contemptuous of the demands of its constituency. In the midst of the ensuing skirmishing, and more than a little disturbed and confused by it all, were the great bulk of the colonists. Some, the Regulators, rebelled. And despite a deep bitterness against a governor who for

<sup>40</sup> For evidence to support this contention see Burgwin's fourth report covering a period one year beyond the law of January 24, 1771. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 572-573. See also, Governor Martin's frequent comments on the same problems in Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 201, 258-259, 690-691, 793-794.

varied reasons refused to countenance their protests while agreeing with many of their stated grievances, they rebelled primarily against those whom they considered to be their most powerful and implacable foes, the members of the assembly, the local officials and the compeers of both—the autonomous controllers of the provincial purse.

## TRENDS IN HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION: JAMES K. POLK

BY JAMES J. HORN\*

In 1949 in a book entitled *Paths to the Present*, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., published an evaluation of American presidents based on a poll of fifty-five professors of history and government. The listing of James Knox Polk in the category entitled "Near Great" may have surprised those unfamiliar with Polk's record.<sup>1</sup> For three quarters of a century, Polk was undeservedly one of the forgotten men of American history. The story of this reversal in historical opinion is an interesting one.

James K. Polk, the first "dark horse" in American political history, was hardly unknown but certainly unappreciated by his contemporaries. The eleventh president possessed little personal magnetism and a good deal of independence. Unlike Clay, Calhoun, and Webster, he had no large political following. When Polk died only three months after leaving office, no great admirers sounded his praises or perpetuated his memory.

Had George Bancroft, his Secretary of the Navy, written Polk's biography or an account of his administration, the President would certainly have received better treatment. Instead, Polk's story was first told by the Whig and anti-slavery historians of his era. Biased historians who favored Polk's Whig opponents maligned the President with such labels as "Polk the Mendacious."

In 1881 Hermann von Holst, relying heavily on secondary sources, viciously denounced Polk in *The Constitutional and Political History of the United States*. Von Holst pictured Polk as the dupe of a "sinister manipulative slavocracy" which "absorbed Texas, provoked the war with Mexico, and tried to spread slavery westward."<sup>2</sup> The European-born historian took the side of Polk's Whig adversaries who believed the President and his southern advisers schemed a war of

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<sup>1</sup> Arthur M. Schlesinger, *Paths to the Present* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949), 93-111.

<sup>2</sup> Harvey Wish, *The American Historian* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), 212.

conquest to expand slavery, enhance his personal glory, perpetuate the strength of the Democratic party, secure his re-election, and obscure his concessions in the Oregon negotiations.<sup>3</sup>

Von Holst's brother in slander was James Schouler, the son of a Whig editor. In Volumes IV and V of his *History of the United States of America Under the Constitution*, Schouler called the dismal, rainy day of Polk's inauguration the beginning of "a new era of woes."<sup>4</sup> Schouler did praise Polk's settlement of the Oregon dispute in which both sides were anxious to retreat from near belligerency. With respect to the Mexican War, however, Polk emerged as the villainous agent of the annexationists whose rapacity was responsible for the mutilation of Mexico. Schouler added that "To provoke this feeble sister republic to hostilities, at the same time putting on her the offense of shedding the first blood, was the step predetermined if she would not sign away her domain for gold."<sup>5</sup> Had Polk been satisfied with Texas alone, there might have been peace despite all the perfidy of the United States, Schouler continued.

Schouler agreed with von Holst in arguing that the Mexican War was waged by southern annexationists to expand slavery: "The maw-worm of sectional greed had lodged at last in the stomach of the new Democracy."<sup>6</sup> In the opinion of Schouler, Polk was the faithful servant of these greedy southern annexationists. Schouler's Whig bias was even more evident in his questionable praise of Zachary Taylor, "beloved by all who served under him, for his unaffected simplicity and kindness of heart. . . . [He] took little interest in political rivalries."<sup>7</sup>

Schouler did praise Polk for his strong achievements, his hard work, and his zeal "in his own way" faithfully to serve the people.<sup>8</sup> Schouler's account of Polk ended with the election of 1848, in which "the iniquitous war with Mexico drove from public confidence the politicians and the political set by whom it was provoked," and the hero of the war was installed in the presidency.<sup>9</sup>

John Bach McMaster, another of the older historians, was less biased, but hardly favorable to Polk. In Volume VII of *A History of the People of the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War*,

<sup>3</sup> Allan Nevins (ed.), *Polk, The Diary of a President* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1929), xiv, hereinafter cited as Nevins, *Polk*.

<sup>4</sup> James Schouler, *History of the United States of America Under the Constitution* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 7 volumes, 1880-1913), IV, 495, hereinafter cited as Schouler, *History of the United States*.

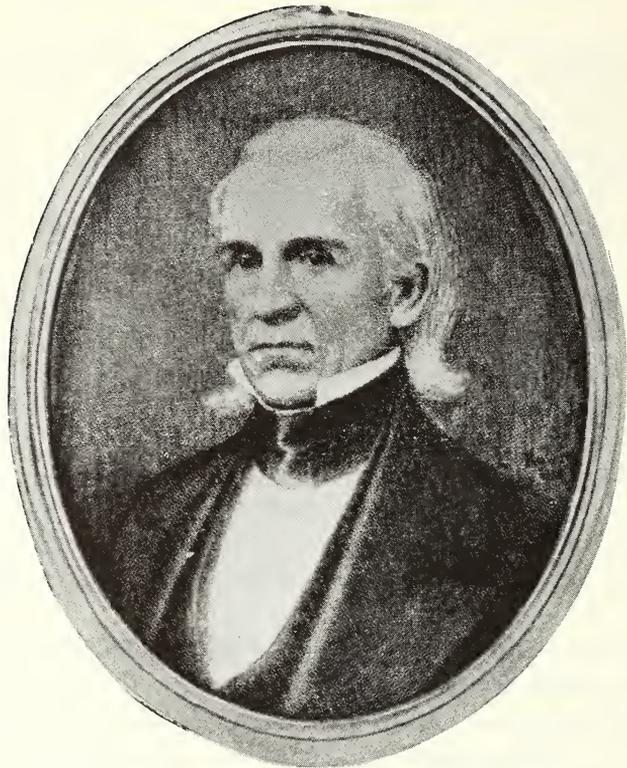
<sup>5</sup> Schouler, *History of the United States*, IV, 525.

<sup>6</sup> Schouler, *History of the United States*, IV, 538.

<sup>7</sup> Schouler, *History of the United States*, V, 5.

<sup>8</sup> Schouler, *History of the United States*, V, 123.

<sup>9</sup> Schouler, *History of the United States*, V, 127.



James Knox Polk, President, 1845-1849. From files of State Department of Archives and History.

McMaster quoted at length both sides of contemporary opinion, refraining from a personal value judgment. The lengthy listing of Whig criticisms and the brief attention paid to Polk's accomplishments did not endear Polk to McMaster's readers.<sup>10</sup>

No fair treatment of Polk's presidency was published until 1922. That was Eugene I. McCormac's *James K. Polk, A Political Biography*, a well-documented work of over 700 pages. This book was the seminal work in the re-evaluation of Polk's presidency.<sup>11</sup> Meanwhile, Milo Milton Quaife had by 1910 published a four-volume edition of Polk's Diary. Historians could at last look at Polk's accomplishments with a new perspective.

While not claiming brilliance or any spectacular qualities for his subject, McCormac found ample room for praise of Polk. He revealed

<sup>10</sup> John Bach McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 8 volumes, 1883-1913), VII, 353-551.

<sup>11</sup> Eugene I. McCormac, *James K. Polk, A Political Biography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1922), 212-725, hereinafter cited as McCormac, *James K. Polk*.

that Polk, soon after his inauguration, had announced to George Bancroft "the four great measures" of his administration: reduction of the tariff, re-establishment of the independent treasury, settlement of the Oregon dispute, and annexation of New Mexico and California. McCormac commented that "as President, few have had a more definite program to carry out or have succeeded so well in accomplishing their purposes."<sup>12</sup> In evaluating Polk's achievements, McCormac held that the lower tariff brought prosperity, the independent treasury was successful, the Polk doctrine was approved and extended, and the policy of expansion added 500,000 square miles to the national domain and extended American power to the Pacific. In 1848, added McCormac, even the victorious Whigs were unwilling to repeal Polk's "four great measures."

McCormac depicted Polk as a man of unusual determination. Resolved to be president in fact as well as in name, Polk dominated his cabinet to a greater degree than most of his predecessors. "As a private in the ranks of the party he was ever ready to submit without complaint to the judgment of the leaders; and now, as party chieftain, he required from others a similar respect for authority."<sup>13</sup>

McCormac attacked von Holst by name, accusing the Whig historian of quoting out of context, misusing federal documents, and suppressing facts favorable to Polk. McCormac dwelt at length on his criticism of von Holst because he believed him responsible for the erroneous ideas of Polk held by teachers and writers of history.

On the causation of the Mexican War, McCormac conceded that there was some justification for the Whig accusation that Polk precipitated the war by ordering Taylor to the Rio Grande. McCormac destroyed the other Whig accusations point by point, however, and disregarded entirely the "dupe of slavocracy" idea. "Despite all that his opponents might say," said McCormac, "it seems clear that the President never welcomed a war, and he neglected no opportunity which gave prospect of ending it."<sup>14</sup> McCormac did concede that Polk had been determined from the beginning to add California and New Mexico to the national domain, and that he pursued his goals with great persistence against all opposition. On the issue of the war, McCormac concluded justly that "Whatever may be thought of his motives or his methods, to him is due the credit (or censure if you

<sup>12</sup> McCormac, *James K. Polk*, 249.

<sup>13</sup> McCormac, *James K. Polk*, 293.

<sup>14</sup> McCormac, *James K. Polk*, 541.

please) of extending to the Pacific the boundaries of the United States."<sup>15</sup>

McCormac also praised Polk highly for his restatement of the Monroe Doctrine in his 1845 address to Congress. McCormac demonstrated that Polk both extended and limited the doctrine at the same time. Polk forbade any European interference, but he spoke only of the North American continent. "While the original Monroe Doctrine had long ceased to have any practical application, the 'Polk Doctrine,'" said McCormac, "has been an active force in our history down to the present day. But whether we approve or condemn the doctrine, it was Polk who first declared that the United States would not permit any interference, solicited or otherwise, in American affairs, by European monarchies."<sup>16</sup>

McCormac concluded his lengthy volume by criticizing historians for not giving Polk the credit he justly deserved. The Whigs, for example, had not even given Polk credit for being a successful conspirator, but made him merely the tool of more capable intriguers. These older historians, said McCormac, were too occupied with the slavery question to see Polk's achievements. "No other President," McCormac concluded, "took his task more seriously nor spent his energies more freely for his country; and few, indeed, have done more to increase the power and prestige of the nation."<sup>17</sup>

Seven years after McCormac's authoritative work, Allan Nevins published a one-volume edition of Polk's Diary. In the foreword to that edition, Nevins adopted the tone of McCormac's treatment in lauding the hard-working President. Nevins said that a fairer perspective, the decay of old sectional and party prejudices, and fuller research were responsible for correcting the injustices of earlier historians.<sup>18</sup>

Like McCormac, Nevins did not claim brilliance for Polk, but attributed the President's success to his plodding, his careful industry, and his strict integrity. Polk was mediocre, said Nevins, but he added that sometimes the mediocre man makes a better president than the great man. Nevins added nothing to McCormac's account, but gave more emphasis to a few aspects of Polk's career. In criticizing the Whigs for their view of Polk as an agent of the South, for example, Nevins demonstrated that Polk refused to support the extreme southern program, alienated John C. Calhoun, proposed extension of the

<sup>15</sup> McCormac, *James K. Polk*, 552.

<sup>16</sup> McCormac, *James K. Polk*, 712.

<sup>17</sup> McCormac, *James K. Polk*, 725.

<sup>18</sup> Nevins, *Polk*, xiv.

Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific, and believed Mexico was unsuited for slavery.

Nevins also mentioned the four goals Polk discussed with Bancroft, since repeated by every historian discussing the Polk administration. When he left the White House, said Nevins, Polk had accomplished them all. Beginning with McCormac and Nevins, the theme of present-day students of Polk can be summed up in Nevins' statement that "Few Presidents have seen more distinctly the objects they wished to achieve, or been more successful in attaining their aims."<sup>19</sup>

Textbooks in American history were not as reluctant to adopt the new view of Polk as some writers would suggest. In 1937 John D. Hicks' *The Federal Union* repeated the acclamations of Polk found in the works of McCormac and Nevins: "Polk's policy of expansion was carried through well before his term of office was over, and without serious failure. Polk was a man of mediocre ability, somewhat lacking in imagination, but by his persistence in the face of obstacles . . . he had accomplished a work in which many an abler man might have failed."<sup>20</sup>

Chronologically examining the more recent works on Polk, the analysis becomes more and more favorable, with the partial exception of Julius W. Pratt. The diplomatic historian published an article in 1943 entitled "James K. Polk and John Bull."<sup>21</sup> Pratt argued that twentieth-century historians had given Polk too much credit for making John Bull back down in the Oregon negotiations. Uncovering new evidence, Pratt contended that England's belligerent tone caused Polk some concern in the face of impending war with Mexico. "The fact was that President Polk had carried his game of looking John Bull in the eye a trifle too far, and John Bull was looking back with a menacing glance."<sup>22</sup> Polk was able to extricate himself from a difficult position by turning the issue over to the Senate, and then agreeing to Senate approval of a compromise. Pratt observed that the President might well be called "Polk the buck-passer."<sup>23</sup>

Pratt's trimming of Polk's sails did not extend beyond the Oregon issue, however. In his *History of United States Foreign Policy*, Pratt's account of Polk was moderately favorable. Pratt showed, for example, that northern, not southern, Democrats wanted to take much more of

<sup>19</sup> Nevins, *Polk*, xix.

<sup>20</sup> John D. Hicks, *The Federal Union, A History of the United States to 1865* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937), 531.

<sup>21</sup> Julius W. Pratt, "James K. Polk and John Bull," *The Canadian Historical Review*, XXIV (December, 1943), 341-349, hereinafter cited as Pratt, "James K. Polk and John Bull."

<sup>22</sup> Pratt, "James K. Polk and John Bull," 346.

<sup>23</sup> Pratt, "James K. Polk and John Bull," 348.

Mexico than was agreeable to Polk. Pratt also agreed with Polk's belief that climatic conditions in Mexico were unfavorable to slavery. Pratt agreed that Polk was justified in his gratifications at the achievements of his presidency. The extent of Pratt's praise is evident in the sentence concluding the chapter on Polk: "If he owed his success as much to good luck as to good management, the successes were nevertheless impressive, and it was natural that he should claim for himself the chief credit therefor."<sup>24</sup>

One of the most flattering of recent works on Polk is unfortunately the least scholarly.<sup>25</sup> Martha M. Morrel's popular biography pretended to historical accuracy, but the historian should not take the author at her word. With neither a single footnote nor listing of sources, the journalist-turned-biographer incorporated secondary source accounts of Polk into a storybook type biography in which the characters converse rather eloquently. More attention is paid to Polk's personal life than his presidency, but the book is so overwhelmingly favorable to Polk that some mention is necessary.

One writer argued in 1954 that Polk's achievements had not received adequate attention from historians. In the light of McCormac's biography and other works, Claude Bowers' notion is erroneous. Bowers' *Making Democracy a Reality, Jefferson, Jackson, and Polk* is a reprint of three uninspiring lectures.<sup>26</sup> Even had historians not given Polk's accomplishments adequate treatment, Bowers added nothing to earlier works. The brief essay by Bowers is entirely one-sided, listing Polk's achievements without detailed analysis. Disregarding Pratt's article entirely, Bowers continued to laud Polk for forcing John Bull to back down over Oregon. Bowers did not even admit that Polk was wrong in believing Texas extended to the Rio Grande.

Bowers was also very careless with facts. At one point he claimed that Polk ignored party politics in giving command in the Mexican War to two Whig generals. The fact that Polk had no better alternative escaped Bowers. Despite the inadequacies of Bowers' essay, it is an addition to the growing stream of complimentary literature on Polk.

Polk's pre-presidential years are most adequately treated by Charles G. Sellers in *James K. Polk, Jacksonian*. Sellers' impressively docu-

<sup>24</sup> Julius W. Pratt, *A History of United States Foreign Policy* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1955), 262.

<sup>25</sup> Martha M. Morrel, "Young Hickory," *The Life and Times of President James K. Polk* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1949).

<sup>26</sup> Claude G. Bowers, *Making Democracy a Reality, Jefferson, Jackson, and Polk* (Memphis, Tennessee: Memphis State College Press, 1954), 41-83.

mented work is as fair to Polk as one might expect from a native of Mecklenburg County, Polk's birthplace.

Sellers realized that much attention has been paid to Polk's presidency and very little to his first forty-eight years—years in which Polk's character was formed and the path smoothed for his climb to the presidency. Indeed, this work is much more than a biography. It is a well-documented account of the man and the events that shaped the years 1795-1843.

The qualities Polk manifested as President are also evident in his early years. Sellers showed, for example, that Polk was not brilliant, but made such thorough and effective use of his abilities that he outshone superior men. Speaking of certain of Polk's abilities, Sellers commented that "none of these things came easily to Polk. Like all his abilities they were acquired only by dint of unremitting effort over a considerable period of time."<sup>27</sup> The result of this feature in Polk's character was demonstrated by Sellers in showing that seven years after his graduation from The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Polk was one of the most successful young lawyers in Tennessee, a colonel of the militia, an intimate of the state's most prominent men, and the leader of Governor William Carroll's Democratic forces in the state legislature. Polk's faithful support of Andrew Jackson was one of the determinants of his success, and it is reflected in the name Sellers chose for his biography.

Sellers capably depicted Polk's abilities as a campaigner, his ambitious nature, his trials and successes as Speaker of the House of Representatives, and his term as Governor of Tennessee. Sellers' biography is the first volume of a projected two-volume work which will certainly be recognized as a valuable addition to the historical literature on James K. Polk.

Another prominent historian who has written accounts favorable to Polk is Norman A. Graebner. Polk is a central figure in "Maritime Factors in the Oregon Compromise."<sup>28</sup> In *Empire on the Pacific*, Graebner further developed his thesis of Pacific expansion as an expression of eastern commercial desires. Showing that Polk's objectives in California were defined in terms of coastal ports, Graebner claimed that Polk was part of the pursuit of commercial empire. His thesis was no doubt overstated, however, in Graebner's assertion that "any

<sup>27</sup> Charles G. Sellers, *James K. Polk, Jacksonian* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1957), 278.

<sup>28</sup> Norman A. Graebner, "Maritime Factors in the Oregon Compromise," *Pacific Historical Review*, XX (November, 1951), 331-345.

interpretation of westward extension beyond Texas is meaningless unless defined in terms of commerce and harbors."<sup>29</sup>

Graebner was less concerned with expansion and more specifically concerned with Polk in an essay which appeared in *America's Ten Greatest Presidents*, edited by Morton Borden.<sup>30</sup> Borden's book is a collection of essays on the first ten presidents listed in the poll mentioned at the beginning of this article.

Graebner's essay is not a lengthy one, but unlike Bowers, he carefully arrived at his conclusions. Graebner gave excellent illustrations of Polk's effectiveness in securing desired legislation, especially with regard to the Walker Tariff. Placing Polk's diplomatic achievements among the most remarkable in American history, Graebner emphasized the fact that Polk wore himself out by his labors, dying three months after leaving office.

Undoubtedly the best account to date of Polk's presidency is Charles A. McCoy's *Polk and the Presidency*.<sup>31</sup> McCoy combined shrewd political insight and sound historical judgment and emerged with an excellent description of Polk's four years as president. McCoy judged Polk to have been one of the few genuine contributors to the institution of the presidency. Working primarily from Polk's Diary and reports in the *Globe* (Washington, D. C.) and the *Union* (Washington, D. C.), McCoy has written the most complete analysis of Polk's accomplishments as president. This is done not just with a view to domestic and diplomatic achievements, but with respect to the presidency as an institution.

In analyzing the presidency from Washington to Polk, McCoy concluded that the presidents preceding Polk had to a large degree failed to exercise immediate or direct control over the executive departments. Polk demonstrated, in true Jacksonian fashion, that he alone would be the responsible agent of his government. Within the executive departments Polk established the absolute, unchallenged, domination of the president over all lesser officials. McCoy added that Polk's control was tighter than Jackson's because it was exerted steadily as a matter of routine, not just in particular incidents.

McCoy also credited Polk with bringing the Treasury Department, previously subservient to the House Ways and Means Committee, under the direct, day-by-day supervision of the President. Further-

<sup>29</sup> Norman A. Graebner, *Empire of the Pacific* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1955), 218.

<sup>30</sup> Norman A. Graebner, "James K. Polk," in *America's Ten Greatest Presidents*, edited by Morton Borden (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1961), 113-138.

<sup>31</sup> Charles A. McCoy, *Polk and the Presidency* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1960).

more, McCoy explained how Polk familiarized himself with the workings of all cabinet departments, even the minutiae of departmental affairs. It was this concern for details that caused Polk to work long hours, and the President was justified in believing that he was the hardest working man in the country, McCoy added.

As Commander in Chief, Polk set the precedent for a civilian to act effectively. Without prior military training, McCoy contended, Polk proved the right and the ability of the President to be Commander in Chief of the armed forces, both in war and in peace. Washington had been a trained soldier and Madison a failure. Polk was also able to deploy his forces in such a way that, for all practical purposes, he transferred the power to declare war from the legislative to the executive branch.

In another respect, McCoy showed that prior to Polk the president had no responsibility over department budgets. Polk advised department heads to revise their budgets downward, and submitted what might be called the first executive budget. In McCoy's opinion, Polk acted in the capacity of what would later be called Director of the Budget.

McCoy further demonstrated Polk's success as chief of foreign affairs. In this respect, McCoy described Polk's ability, in less than four years, to settle every major dispute between the United States and foreign nations. McCoy did not fail to mention Polk's reassertion of the Monroe Doctrine and his expansion of the nation across the continent.

Polk's conception of the president as chief legislator was that he should lead, not be led by Congress. McCoy added that Polk was probably the first of the "modern" presidents in believing that the president was the representative of all the people, while members of Congress represented narrow and special interests.

McCoy also described Polk's wisdom in retaining the power of patronage and thus acting effectively as party chief. Polk could not have remained in control had he surrendered patronage to the leaders of party factions in the various states. McCoy did acknowledge the fact that Polk lacked the charisma which might have secured him a loyal personal following.

Finally McCoy argued that a Jacksonian president had to do more than meet emergencies and defend his prerogatives; instead he had to have a strong program, a definite set of objectives to be accomplished, and the ability to get his program implemented. Polk was successful in this respect, McCoy concluded, because he knew what he wanted and how to get results. Polk came to office with his goals clearly in

mind, and he was able to accomplish every major objective. McCoy added correctly that those who deplore Polk's methods would not give back the territory he acquired. From the standpoint of results, McCoy believed Polk's presidency was one of the greatest, perhaps the greatest.

The popular conception of historical figures is shaped in large measure by textbook accounts. A consensus of the major textbooks in both diplomatic and general American history is a very fair treatment of the eleventh President. Thomas A. Bailey, for example, says that "One can fairly criticize Polk's methods, but one can hardly fail to be impressed with the results."<sup>32</sup> Thomas Williams, Richard Current, and Frank Freidel echo the most frequently repeated remarks: "Probably no other President entered office with so clearly defined a program and accomplished so much of it as Polk. He was the ablest president between Jackson and Lincoln and perhaps the strongest chief executive before the Civil War."<sup>33</sup>

The fact that historians have revised their opinions of Polk since the President's era is now obvious. The fact that Polk left a diary is largely responsible for this shift in historical opinion. Once party and sectional cleavages diminished and historians began to look with new perspective at Polk's fine achievements, a man once so maligned in his own time received considerable praise from his posterity.

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<sup>32</sup> Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1964), 266.

<sup>33</sup> Thomas Harry Williams, Richard N. Current, and Frank Freidel, *A History of the United States to 1877* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf [second edition, revised], 1964), 519.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Slavery and Jeffersonian Virginia.* By Robert McColley. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1964. Index, map. Pp. x, 227. \$5.00.)

This study of the period 1776-1815 aims to show that the "peculiar institution," though deplored and on occasion denounced by the statesmen of Revolutionary Virginia, became only more firmly fixed in the economic and social structure of the new commonwealth. The plantation economy and slavocracy that historians have associated with the expansion of the cotton kingdom after 1815 and the dominant society of the ante-bellum South are now depicted as well established a generation earlier in Virginia. The author analyzes the growth of the agrarian economy and the "pursuit of happiness" by the large planters who controlled politics as well as the way of life among their "people." What he has to say about the life of the slave and the status of the free Negro, about the slave as "the most valuable property" on the market for sale or hire, and about runaway and rebellious Negroes as a threat to society and an interstate problem, constitute familiar themes of the Old South. Set in an earlier chronological framework, they expose Virginia as the mother of slave states and abettor of the domestic slave trade. "Gentlemen's Opinions on Race and Freedom" gave a hollow sound to noble principles concerning the rights of man; the "True Emancipators" of the Revolution were the Methodists and especially the Quakers, whose "practical" immediate demands appear in sharp contrast to the "theory of statesmen."

Although Mr. McColley acknowledges the existence of "more than enough sources [on Jeffersonian Virginia] to divert a lifetime," three major repositories in Virginia and the Library of Congress, he declares, "largely satisfied my curiosity." So far so good for his doctoral dissertation, but not for his book. There is a thinness about the documentation—sometimes none at all to substantiate factual statements—that might have been remedied by research in the rich collections at Duke University and The University of North Carolina. He gleaned some information from Will Books in the Virginia State Archives, but he overlooked the Personal Property Tax Books, from 1782, which would have yielded valuable data by sampling.

As a historical work, the book is marred by the author's caustic impatience with Jefferson and his intellectual contemporaries who never translated their high principles of freedom into emancipation of all slaves. Mr. McColley's commendable concern with the moral issue renders him incapable of evaluating slavery in the economic and social context of that generation, heirs of a century-old system that was neither outmoded as a way of life nor undermined by scientific conclusions concerning race. It was the tragedy of Jefferson's generation that, with better prospect than its successors, it found no practical solution to this vexing problem other than amelioration on an individual basis. Mr. McColley, in fact, assumes the role of attorney when he asserts that "Tobacco sheds and spinning rooms were typical sanatoriums [*sic*] for aging and invalid slaves" (p. 76); that "Theirs [the planters'] was not a society that identified virtue with manual labor" (p. 184); that "Jefferson was most concerned with the evil effect of slavery on white Virginians" (p. 128); that the Ordinance of 1784 was "another case in which Jefferson had in mind the best interests of white people" (p. 171); or that "the Jeffersonian Republicans grasped control of the entire Mississippi Valley . . . , guaranteeing the security of slavery in the vast Louisiana Territory" (p. 181).

It is regrettable that Mr. McColley, with the advantage of his enlightened hindsight, has indulged in argument against the Jeffersonian Virginians for failure to reform their society. While he enables present-day readers to appreciate how firmly entrenched the institution of slavery had become despite the revolutionary spirit of the age, the forensic, and at some points unhistorical, quality of his work can hardly be absolved by his immaturity.

Lester J. Cappon

Institute of Early American History and Culture

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The Diary of Dolly Lunt Burge. Edited by James I. Robertson, Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1962. Index. Pp. xv, 141. \$4.00.)

James I. Robertson, executive director of the Civil War Centennial Commission, here reprints the diary of Dolly Lunt Burge, first printed in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*. An introductory chapter sketches the life of New England-born Dolly Sumner Lunt (1817-1891), wife, in turn, of Samuel H. B. Lewis, Thomas Burge, and William J. Parks. Lewis was a New England doctor who brought Dolly to Georgia in search of health. Burge was a large Georgia landowner, and Parks

was a Methodist minister and agent for Emory College. The diary (1847-1879) contains a careful record of plantation life in middle Georgia from frontier, to plantation, to Civil War and Reconstruction, to partial recovery in the 1880's. Through the pages of her journal pass an array of important Georgia ministers, educators, and prominent settlers. This edition, with footnotes and index, makes this record of life in middle Georgia in the nineteenth century available in book form for the first time.

Malcolm C. McMillan

Auburn University

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The C.S.S. Florida: Her Building and Operations. By Frank Lawrence Owsley, Jr. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965. Appendix, notes, index. Pp. 163. \$6.00.)

After the "Alabama," the C.S.S. "Florida" was the most successful of the Anglo-Rebel commerce raiders. Her first cruise, under John Newland Maffitt, resulted in the capture of forty-five northern merchant vessels. In twenty-one months she inflicted over \$4 million in damages to the Union carrying trade. Among the consequences of the success of the "Florida," and others like her, were the weakening of the southern blockade, intense irritation of the general public along the North Atlantic coast, and the crippling of America's maritime commerce for half a century thereafter.

To trace the career of the "Florida," Dr. Owsley made effective use of substantial categories of unpublished source material in addition to official records and other published works. He found missing portions of the log of the "Florida" and papers from which he has provided a continuous chronicle of the ship's activities. Personal, diplomatic, Treasury and State Department records help fill out the story.

Dr. Owsley emphasizes the flaunting of international law and custom by naval officers on both sides of the Civil War, the most flagrant such act being that by which the "Florida" was finally captured. Readers will find in Maffitt's tenure as captain of the vessel an interesting study of the thrusts and ruses by which a first-rate naval officer sustains his effectiveness. It is also apparent that the "Florida" owed a measure of her success to the solicitous attitude sometimes shown her

by British, French, and other foreign officials. Sixteen illustrations add to the interest of an excellent little volume.

Thomas C. Parramore

Meredith College

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Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction. By William A. Dunning. Introduction by David Donald. (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc. [Reprint of the Macmillan Company's 1897 edition]. Harper Torchbooks. 1965. Introduction, prefatory note, index. Pp. xx, 397. \$1.95.)

It is interesting that this volume should be reprinted at a time when the author's reputation is at its nadir. Trained at Columbia and Berlin, William A. Dunning returned to Columbia, where he attracted many southern students who wrote of the Civil War and Reconstruction with a pro-southern bias. The "Dunning School" has come to be equated with racism, a trait visible in this collection of essays. A basic Radical Republican error, Dunning thought, was the assumption that Negroes were capable of self-government. He saw the "two races so distinct in characteristics as to render coalescence impossible." Slavery "had been a *modus vivendi* through which social life was possible." After emancipation slavery had to be replaced "by some set of conditions" which recognized "the same fact of racial inequality."

Dunning's works are valuable, nevertheless. He was the first to attempt a scientific investigation of Reconstruction and his essays, though inadequately documented by today's standards, were a landmark in historiography. His study of the Constitution is thoughtful and original. The only serious violation of that document during the tragic decade was the Republican principle "that impartial manhood suffrage . . . was a characteristic feature of a republican form of state government." This he regarded as revolutionary. Republicans were criticized for the impeachment of the President, but Dunning did not admire Andrew Johnson whose "bad judgment and worse taste" had alienated them.

Mistakenly believing Negroes received adequate attention in state courts before Military Reconstruction, Dunning contended that southern abuse of freedmen was exaggerated. The Republican's efficient implementation of Reconstruction was admirable but their purpose was condemned. "To stand the social pyramid on its apex was not the surest way to restore the equilibrium of the South," he commented.

Universal manhood suffrage was branded as reckless. Consistently he inaccurately referred to "black" governments and the "political domination of the blacks" in the South. He did not, like some of his students, justify southern terrorism.

Despite racism, and Dunning's lack of access to numerous materials uncovered since it was first published, *Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction* remains one of the best constitutional and legislative histories of the period.

Joe M. Richardson

The Florida State University

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The Burden of Time: The Fugitives and Agrarians. By John L. Stewart. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 552. \$12.50.)

John L. Stewart's *The Burden of Time* is the latest study of the Nashville Fugitives and Agrarians of the 1920's and 1930's, the most important literary groups ever to come out of the South. Obviously a labor of love, the book has been nearly twenty years in the making—and therein lies its major drawback. While Dr. Stewart was tracing and dating letters of his subjects and accumulating information, two books on the Vanderbilt poets have appeared: Louise Cowan's excellent *The Fugitive Group* and John Bradbury's *The Fugitives*, to say nothing of valuable critical studies of the individual poets, including Dr. Stewart's own *John Crowe Ransom*. Dr. Stewart does, however, manage to produce new information, especially on Sidney Hirsch and his astonishingly bad plays, a minor figure who is credited with providing the impetus for the early meetings of the Fugitives and naming the seminal magazine which they edited and published in the early 1920's.

*The Burden of Time* is half history and half criticism. The first section traces the origin, growth, and fragmentation of the group of poets at Vanderbilt University who called themselves, somewhat too poetically, the Fugitives: John Crowe Ransom—the teacher and acknowledged leader—Donald Davidson, Merrill Moore, Allen Tate, Robert Penn Warren, as well as such minor talents as Alec Stevenson and Jesse Wills. Dr. Stewart is most helpful when he develops the shifting of interests from poetry and criticism to agrarianism, a move that left behind all of the Fugitives except Ransom, Tate, and Warren, while

picking up, among others, the historian Frank L. Owsley. The Agrarians, hoping to cling to the values of the old South and stem the tide of northern industrialism, produced the famous symposium published at Chapel Hill, *I'll Take My Stand*. The author has scant sympathy for the romantic view of a "European" South and subsistence farming; in fact, his treatment of *I'll Take My Stand* is a good deal harsher than it need be.

More valuable is the second half of the book, which includes a critical examination of the total canon of the three major figures to grow out of the two movements: Ransom, Tate, and Warren. His skillful and clear chapters on the development of "the big three" should be of interest to any student of southern literature. The author points out the weaknesses of Ransom's critical theories and concludes, rightly, that Ransom's range is a narrow one for a poet of his stature. He seems biased in favor of Warren and is too obviously unsympathetic in his analysis of Tate. More damaging, he almost completely ignores Donald Davidson, a curious omission, since Davidson was a leader of both the Fugitives and the Agrarians.

In spite of his waspish tone and his tendency to include too much of minor significance, Dr. Stewart's exhaustive book is quite readable and is unquestionably an important contribution to the study of the background and literary works of the Vanderbilt poets and the Agrarians.

Guy Owen

North Carolina State University

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*The Case for Liberty*. By Helen Hill Miller. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1965. Illustrations, note on sources, index. Pp. xvi, 254. \$5.95.)

*The Case for Liberty* is a history of the specific colonial incidents which led to the guarantees of the Bill of Rights. Mrs. Miller looks beyond the English precedents for the events which occurred in America making men aware of the possibility that their essential human rights might be violated. Once this was made clear the Americans drew up declarations of rights—culminating in the first ten amendments to the Federal Constitution—to provide assurances that these basic freedoms might always be enjoyed.

For each of the nine basic rights considered, Mrs. Miller, a journalist, presents a clear, well written account of one related event in one

of the colonies. In the account of each event she shows why the colonists were aware of the dangers that violation of a specific right might bring. The historical settings are generally good and both secondary and primary sources have been fully utilized.

Even so, the book is not satisfying. The subject cannot be adequately covered in the chosen manner. Mrs. Miller recognizes this by stating that her choices are "by no means exhaustive; other cases, in other places, stirred popular feeling quite as much as these" (p. xiii). In some instances one feels that other cases stirred more feeling than the cases discussed. Many people other than those involved in the "Gaspee" Affair faced the danger of being transported beyond the colonies for trial. Mrs. Miller does not make tenable her case that the main principle involved in Bacon's Rebellion was the right to bear arms. In other instances discussion of related cases would have strengthened the book. Additional portions of the Bill of Rights should have been considered.

Mrs. Miller has made a beginning on an important subject—although not an altogether successful one. Further attention needs to be given to all the events which contributed to each of the rights assured by the Bill of Rights and some careful evaluation of the relative effectiveness of each event. As for *The Case for Liberty*, its accounts are well told but their full significance is not discussed and a lack of proper evaluation mars the entire work.

J. Edwin Hendricks

Wake Forest College

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The Making of the American Party System, 1789-1809. Edited by Noble E. Cunningham, Jr. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1965. Pp. xi, 177. A Spectrum Paperback. \$1.95.)

This useful collection of documents, a natural by-product of the editor's research for his two books on the Jeffersonian Republicans, is intended to reveal to the reader the beginnings of party politics in the United States during the administrations of the country's first three presidents. Often interesting in themselves, the documents evoke the aura of their times and suggest some parallels in more recent administrations. The selections, which have been rather widely gathered, adequately illustrate both the general theme and the chapter topics and do reasonable justice to both parties. Introductory notes to chapters and individual documents are generally satisfactory; in a few instances further annotations or identifications, if possible, would be

helpful. Chapters deal with attitudes toward the party system; with issues and ideologies; with party managers, newspapers, machinery; with the national nominating caucus; with campaigning and campaign appeals; and with Jefferson's use of the patronage.

Numerous minor political figures, as well as the expected great ones, are introduced through their thoughts and actions. These men recognized the fact of political party development but most of them refused to accept it wholeheartedly and dignify it as a respectable part of the American way at the outset. The practice of party politics preceded the theory. The same pragmatism was evident in the matter of the relationship between issue and ideology for Hamiltonians and Jeffersonians alike; but, as the editor points out, some consideration was given to principles and the parties were divided by more than self interest. The shaping of issues and the supplying of leadership is shown to have come largely from Congress and the administration in the early days, although one might give more emphasis to the influence of local factors even then. Partisanship won out over neutrality among newspaper editors as well as politicians. The predominance of Federalist press support over that of the Republicans seems to have been reversed between 1800 and 1809 but the chronic problem of financing newspapers remained. Campaigning became more personal and direct, emphasizing the growing importance both of appeals to the voters based on performance as well as passion and of the voters' response. The political practitioners presented in Professor Cunningham's selections were the builders of the two-party system—however reluctant they were to admit it—and they were even then making clear the need under that system for party responsibility, including both a responsible administration and a responsible opposition.

Lawrence F. Brewster

East Carolina College

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*The Abolitionists: Reformers or Fanatics?* Edited with introduction by Richard O. Curry. (New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Toronto, London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. The American Problems Studies. 1965. Bibliography. Pp. 122. \$1.50.)

*The Antislavery Vanguard: New Essays on the Abolitionists.* Edited with introduction by Martin Duberman. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 1965. Index. Pp. x, 508. \$10.00.)

*The Abolitionists: Reformers or Fanatics?*<sup>9</sup> is a collection of previously published writings arranged in the form of a debate about the

origins, philosophy, significance, and effects of American abolitionism. Selections are included from the writings of James Ford Rhodes, Gilbert H. Barnes, Dwight L. Dumond, John L. Thomas, David Donald, Robert A. Skotheim, Martin B. Duberman, Frank Thistlethwaite, Thomas F. Harwood, David Brion Davis, Avery O. Craven, C. Vann Woodward, Russell B. Nye, and Stanley M. Elkins. Recent scholarship is well represented in the book. All the essays, except the selection by Rhodes, were first published after 1930 and five were published after 1960.

The theses of the various authors are well known to historians; college teachers who find the "problem" approach to the study of American history valuable in stimulating thought and interest among undergraduates will welcome this collection of essays. The introduction helps to put the essays into perspective and raises provocative questions. It is unfortunate that the editor or publisher chose to omit the original footnotes. Without this documentation, the student will find it difficult to test and evaluate the evidence used to support the theses or interpretations.

In American historiography *The Antislavery Vanguard* is a most significant book. Such re-evaluation as it attempts is long overdue. The volume contains seventeen essays by as many different authors; all except one were written especially for this book and are here published for the first time. The editor conceived the volume with two objectives in mind: "first, to excavate and encourage the tendency toward a more sympathetic appraisal of the [abolitionist] movement, but second, to include all scholarly points of view, so that disagreements in interpretation might be further clarified." He was unable to find contributors to present the traditional view of the abolitionists; consequently, all the essays present new viewpoints and are generally sympathetic to the abolitionist movement. None of the authors, however, has considered it his function to defend or vindicate the abolitionists.

Only a few of the new viewpoints found here can be mentioned. Fawn M. Brodie charges that writers who have given the traditional view of the abolitionists have distorted history by both vituperation and omission. For example, he says that in their efforts to glorify Robert E. Lee, historians have glossed over his support for slavery, while, on the other hand, they have over-emphasized Lincoln's differences with the abolitionists and ignored "the steady evolution of Lincoln's attitude toward Negro rights and massive evidence of his cooperation with men in the radical wing of his party and they with him." Donald G. Mathews, Irving H. Bartlett, and Benjamin Quarles,

in essays on Orange Scott, Wendell Phillips, and Frederick Douglass, indicate the complexity of the problem of generalizing about the characters and motivations of the abolitionists. The essays by James M. McPherson and Willie Lee Rose reveal the fallacy of ignoring the constructive work of abolitionists during Reconstruction and labeling them as irresponsible fanatics and iconoclasts. Staughton Lynd maintains that in the Philadelphia Convention the issues of slavery and sectionalism were very potent forces in the shaping of the Constitution and that any interpretation of the convention which stresses economic factors, large and small state rivalry, or democracy versus conservatism while leaving out the slavery issue is an inadequate interpretation. Robin W. Winks maintains that Canada was neither the great haven for fugitive slaves and stronghold of freedom nor the supporter for American abolitionism that most historians have assumed. Howard R. Temperley maintains that a fair comparison of British and American abolitionism must consider the differences in character and magnitude of the problems they faced as well as tactics and effectiveness. Howard Zinn gives an able and thoughtful defense of the tactics of the abolitionists and compares them to the tactics of present-day "Freedom-Riders."

This volume does not present a synthesized reinterpretation of the abolition movement. Many areas remain to be explored in the light of new understandings and techniques available to today's historians. While the essays are uneven in quality and often contradictory, they suggest new approaches to the study of the abolition movement, and should stimulate research and writing in the field.

Clifton H. Johnson

LeMoyne College

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How They Became President: Thirty-five Ways to the White House. By Rexford G. Tugwell. (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1964. 587 pages. \$8.95.)

Rexford Tugwell, formerly a New Deal Brain Truster but now a political scientist at the University of Puerto Rico, attempts to explain how the presidents have attained their high office and also to provide a handbook for those who would seek the White House.

The book is divided into two parts. Part I contains short sketches of each presidential campaign, and Part II contains a series of very short essays on the intrigues of presidential politics. Both parts are

superficial; in fact, the entire volume is but a surface sketching of presidential politics. The author surely could have made a better contribution by writing a straightforward analysis of the presidency. By dividing the book into two distinct parts, he succeeded in producing nothing more than two booklets. There is little here for the scholar; the book does not contain either bibliography or footnotes.

Professor Tugwell writes as an old New Deal Democrat; Republican presidents are roughly handled, especially Whig and Republican presidents-generals. Former President Eisenhower is severely criticized for ineptness, "While Dulles played God, Eisenhower played Golf. . . ."

The most interesting essay concerned the Kennedy campaign of 1960. The author writes with authority, but the picture of Kennedy is not flattering. Tugwell describes him as a coldly ambitious young man, backed by a family determined to gain the White House. President Lyndon B. Johnson is described more sympathetically; he is another F.D.R. fulfilling the New Deal's unfinished program.

Professor Tugwell's suggestions for attaining the presidency will come as no surprise. One must be of an orthodox faith, of Western origin, and a supporter of the common man. The book, though written by a man who worked with Franklin D. Roosevelt and Lyndon B. Johnson, is a disappointment.

Frank L. Grubbs, Jr.

Meredith College

## OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

*The Lanier Library, 1890-1965*, is the story of the growth of the library in Tryon from 2 to 20,000 volumes. The Lanier Library Association compiled the record to commemorate its diamond jubilee. The collection was started with a donation of two books of Sidney Lanier's poems, given by his wife. Copies of the 128-page book may be ordered from The Lanier Library Association, Inc., 114 Chestnut Street, Tryon, North Carolina, 28782, for \$2.00 each.

Another in the *American Problem Studies* series, published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston, is *The American Revolution: How Revolutionary Was It?* The 122-page, paper-back book was edited by George Athan Billias of Clark University. Selections from leading historians such as George Bancroft, Charles M. Andrews, Arthur M. Schlesinger, and Merrill Jensen give some idea of the varying points of view presented in this publication. Copies may be ordered from the publisher for \$1.50.

The National Archives has recently published *Federal Population Censuses, 1790-1890: A Price List of Microfilm Copies of the Schedules*. The schedules of population contain material of value to historians and genealogists; the information in each successive census tends to become more detailed. The list is arranged chronologically by census year, with names of states, territories, and counties alphabetically arranged thereunder. Prices are quoted so that persons interested in acquiring microfilm copies of particular records can order conveniently. The booklet of 138 pages is available free of charge from the National Archives, the address of which is given below.

Volumes I and II, Number 163, *Preliminary Inventories*, have been published by the National Archives. Compiled by Edward E. Hill, Number 163 is entitled *Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs*. Persons interested in the history of Indians in America will find this guide of tremendous help in doing research on the subject. Copies are available without charge from the Exhibits and Publications Division, National Archives, National Archives and Records Service, General Service Administration, Washington, D. C., 20408. The two volumes contain 459 pages; the index to both volumes is included in the second.

*Stephen Beauregard Weeks, 1865-1918: A Preliminary Bibliography*, by William S. Powell, was published this year as a centennial tribute

to Weeks. The titles listed by Mr. Powell show the extent of the contribution made by Stephen B. Weeks to the study of North Carolina history. The booklet was distributed to persons who attended the centennial dinner held in Chapel Hill on June 3. A limited number of copies of the 19-page publication are still available and may be purchased for 50 cents each. Inquiries should be sent to The North Carolina Collection, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

The North Carolina Good Neighbor Council, D. S. Coltrane, Chairman, has published a 53-page illustrated booklet, *At Work in North Carolina Today*. The brochure gives the stories of individual Negroes engaged in a wide variety of occupations in North Carolina. Sketches of forty-eight persons who took advantage of educational opportunities offered by the state and who are now employed in interesting jobs show progress being made by Negro citizens of North Carolina. Further information about the publication may be obtained by writing Box 584, Raleigh.

*The Inevitable Guest*, edited by John Ardis Cawthon, is "A documented excursion into the South of Civil War days." Letters of a South Carolinian, Jemima Darby, reveal clearly the trials and tribulations of those living in the period 1853 to 1883. Footnotes are given at the end of each chapter; there is a bibliography and an index at the end of the volume. Illustrations add to the interest of this 412-page book, published by The Naylor Company, San Antonio, Texas. The cost is \$10.00.

# HISTORICAL NEWS

## DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

### *Director's Office*

On May 28 dedication ceremonies were held for the new courthouse in Tarboro. Judge Emery B. Denny was the principal speaker and Dr. Christopher Crittenden presented to the Edgecombe Court a facsimile copy of the minutes of the county court of Edgecombe County for 1744-1746.

In the office of Governor Dan K. Moore on June 11, Mr. Dan Paul presented to the museum of the U.S.S. "North Carolina" the sponsor's cup that had been given to his wife, the former Isabel Hoey, now deceased, when the "North Carolina" was launched, June 13, 1940.

The North Carolina hospitality committee for the convention of the National Trust for Historic Preservation met July 19 to plan for the convention which will be held in Raleigh October 7-10. Mr. Ralph P. Hanes, Winston-Salem, is chairman of the committee.

The General Assembly abolished the Heritage Square Commission, the State Capital Planning Commission terminated, and a bill was passed establishing a Capital Planning Commission which includes the Council of State and certain others.

The 1965 General Assembly increased the operating budget of the department as follows:

<i>1964-1965</i>	<i>1965-1966</i>	<i>1966-1967</i>
\$782,084	\$899,417	\$851,037

This is an increase of 15 per cent the first year. In the second year the total decreases by almost \$50,000, due to the fact that the sum appropriated as a grant-in-aid to the Colonial Records Project and the Civil War Roster Project was made only for the first year of the new biennium (1965-1966), but not for the second year (1966-1967). This figure does not include \$3,050,000 appropriated in 1963 for a new Archives and History-State Library Building, plus 1965 appropriations by separate bills for historic sites.

The Raleigh Historic Sites Commission met July 20; Raleigh architect William H. Deitrick, newly appointed chairman, presided. Mrs. Sam Beard is co-chairman. All members were reappointed from the former commission and Mrs. Harry Clark II was added to the membership.

### *Division of Archives and Manuscripts*

Dr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist; Rear Admiral A. M. Patterson, Assistant State Archivist; and staff members Donald E. Tedder and Percy

Hines attended the annual meeting of the North Carolina Association of Registers of Deeds in Statesville June 13-15.

Admiral Patterson on July 10 addressed the National Association of County Recorders and Clerks in San Diego, California, on the subject of "Archival Records—Foundation of the Future." He also attended the convention of the National Association of Counties and visited officials of the Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in Salt Lake City, Utah, relative to the co-operative microfilm program in North Carolina. On his return he visited the Arizona State Archives in Phoenix.

Mr. James O. Hall, Archivist II, attended the 19th Institute on Modern Archival Administration in Washington, D. C., June 7-18.

Miss Beth G. Crabtree, Archivist II, spoke to two local groups recently.

Miss Elizabeth Donnelly, formerly on temporary status, was appointed Archivist I effective August 1. Mr. Donald E. Tedder, microfilm operator, resigned effective July 31.

Two archivists, Miss Betsy Fleshman and Mrs. Judith A. Faulk, completed extension courses in North Carolina history in July.

Among the recent accessions in the Archives are 28 volumes of records of the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad Company, 1858-1964; minute books of the State Board of Equalization, 1927-1932, and of the State School Commission, 1933-1943; and an original copy of the 1850 census of Perquimans County. A private collection of 78 Civil War letters and documents relating to the Bracy family of Robeson County, including letters to and from soldiers at Forts Caswell and Holmes, was given by Mr. Lyman Wilson Sheppard of Erwin. The Isaac S. London Collection has been received, but will not be available for researchers for some months.

During the quarter ending June 30, 1,185 researchers registered in the Search Room and 1,085 letters requiring research were answered. Other statistics for the division included the following: 1,469 reels (144,960 linear feet) of microfilm were processed; 19,637 pages of manuscripts were restored by lamination; approximately 2,400 copies were furnished the public; and 4,700 copies were made for departmental purposes.

As a memorial to the late Clarence H. Poe, long-time publisher of the *Progressive Farmer*, a 24-reel microfilm edition of that weekly journal for the period 1886-1909 was completed. Dedicatory and biographical notes were filmed at the beginning of the first reel. Other newspapers made available on microfilm since the publication of the third edition of *North Carolina Newspapers on Microfilm* are the *Salisbury Weekly Sun* (1897-1904), one reel; *Salisbury Daily Sun* (1897-1905), four reels; and the *Warrenton Gazette* (weekly, 1872-1897), ten reels.

The Civil War Roster project, formerly under sponsorship of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, was transferred to the Division of Archives and Manuscripts, effective July 1, 1965. The editor of the project, Dr. Louis H. Manarin, who was awarded the Ph.D. degree by Duke University on June 7, is assisted by his wife, Mrs. Jo Ann Manarin. Both are continuing research in the records at the National

Archives. The first volume, which will include the artillery units, is now in galley proof and is expected to be published before the end of the year.

Original records have been received in the Local Records Section from Beaufort, Craven, and Iredell counties. Microfilm copies of Gaston and Wilkes county records have been placed in the Search Room for public use. The microfilming of permanently valuable records of Rockingham and Wayne counties was completed and work is in progress in Iredell and Sampson counties.

In the State Records Section progress has been made in developing an essential records protection program for state agencies. "Memorandums of Understanding," listing records deemed to be so essential as to require special protection and specifying how this protection is to be provided, have been signed with the State Treasurer, Tax Review Board, Board of Paroles, Supreme Court, Recreation Commission, and Prison Department.

During the quarter ending June 30, 16,324 reference services were performed by the Records Center staff. During the same period, 1,893 cubic feet of records were accessioned and 249 cubic feet disposed of, for a net gain of 1,645 cubic feet.

#### *Division of Historic Sites*

The 1965 General Assembly appropriated funds through special bills for a total of \$194,594 for the following historic sites in the state: the Cupola House, Edenton, \$16,700; the James Iredell House, Edenton, \$11,600; Fort Butler, Cherokee County, \$6,000; Historic Halifax, \$50,000; Davidson's Fort, Old Fort, \$16,500; Confederate Gunboat "Neuse," Kingston, \$15,000; the House in the Horseshoe, Moore County, \$14,000; Pettigrew State Park, Washington County (Somerset Place), \$19,000; the Barker House, Edenton, \$2,900; Fort Defiance, Caldwell County, \$20,000; "Hope Plantation," Bertie County, \$20,000; and Bentonville Battleground, Johnston County, \$2,894. Two of the above bills had the effect of establishing new State Historic Sites—Historic Halifax, and Pettigrew State Park in Washington and Tyrrell counties.

A deed of gift of the Allen House, Alamance County, was executed by the owner, Mr. Charles Fletcher Allen of New York, making it possible to proceed with the moving of the house to Alamance Battleground. The Burlington Merchants Association, under the leadership of Mr. George Colclough, conducted a campaign to raise \$18,000 to meet a challenge grant of \$4,000 offered by the Richardson Foundation. The Allen House was built about 1780 by a brother-in-law of Herman Husband, leader of the Regulators.

The Visitor Center-Museum at Fort Fisher has been completed, and exhibits installed; a dedication program was held August 11 with Governor Dan K. Moore as the principal speaker.

Satisfactory bids have been received for the visitor center-museum at the Governor Richard Caswell Memorial, and construction is in progress. Contracts totaling \$63,150 are being processed for the visitor center-museum at Brunswick Town and construction will be started soon.

The Visitor Center-Museum at the Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace has been completed and will be dedicated in the fall.

In June archaeological work was resumed for the summer at Bethabara. Mr. Stanley South, Archaeologist, was in charge of this program as well as work at the Palmer-Marsh House in Bath and at Brunswick Town.

Approximately 243,455 persons visited the nine historic sites during the fourth quarter of the fiscal year 1964-1965 as compared to 102,928 for the same quarter the preceding year.

The summer meeting of the North Carolina Museums Conference was held at Old Salem on June 23; Mr. Frank E. Walsh, president, presided. Mr. Nicholas B. Bragg and Mr. James A. Gray were in charge of the program. Several members of the staff attended the conference and toured the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts.

On July 24 Mr. A. L. Honeycutt, Jr., visited the James K. Polk Ancestral Home in Columbia, Tennessee, and discussed the development plans for the Polk Birthplace at Pineville with members of the James K. Polk Memorial Auxiliary, which administers the home and its large collection of Polk memorabilia. The Polk Birthplace plans call for reconstruction of the log cabin in which Polk was born and the construction of a visitor center-museum at Pineville.

On May 3 Mr. W. S. Tarlton and Mr. Honeycutt lectured to a group of North Carolina State University School of Design students on "The Early Architecture of North Carolina and Aids to Dating Old Buildings." Each year the architectural students photograph and make measured drawings of old buildings in North Carolina. Last year the project centered on Historic Hillsborough and this year Historic Beaufort has been emphasized.

On May 4 Mr. Honeycutt investigated the Richmond Hill Law School, home of Richmond M. Pearson, Chief Justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court from 1858 to 1878. The school, where more than 1,000 lawyers studied, is located in Yadkin County. Plans for restoration of the school were discussed with Senator Boone Harding; Mr. James Hutchens, County Auditor; and Mr. Jimmy Hutchens, president of the Yadkin County Historical Society.

On June 8 Mr. Honeycutt conferred with Mrs. Dan K. Moore at the Executive Mansion concerning the work of the Executive Mansion Fine Arts Committee which is now trying to locate the original Samuel Sloan or A. G. Bauer architectural drawings of 1883-1891.

### *Division of Museums*

On July 1 the official title of the museum became the North Carolina Museum of History. The name was changed from the Hall of History because of the repeated interpretation by the public of the name "Hall of History" as a hall of fame, the limiting image created by this connotation, the proposed move into a new building, and the need for a title to equal the scope of the museum and its program.

The May issue of *Tarheel Junior Historian*, featuring "North Carolina Variety Vacationland," was distributed to all clubs and to libraries requesting copies.

The 1964-1965 schedule for the Mobile Museum of History was completed July 5. Over 35,000 students and adults viewed the Civil War exhibit in the traveling unit since its initiation last October. Plans are underway for a new exhibit featuring the stories of tobacco and textiles in North Carolina.

The Assistant to the Museums Administrator, Mr. Samuel P. Townsend, attended the Third Annual Midwest meeting of the Junior Historian Leaders' Conference, June 10-13, in Madison, Wisconsin. Mr. Townsend was also a featured speaker at the Second Conference on Underwater Archaeology in Toronto, Canada, April 15-18.

### *Division of Publications*

Dr. Sarah M. Lemmon, Meredith College, has accepted the editorship of the Pettigrew Papers. Dr. C. O. Cathey had previously been working on this collection but he asked to be relieved of the responsibility. Mr. Max R. Williams of Western Carolina College has agreed to do further work on additional volumes of Graham Papers. Material for several volumes was edited by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton prior to his death, but additional work is needed before the material can be published. Mr. Williams, who did his dissertation on William A. Graham, has just completed the requirements for the Ph.D. degree.

Receipts for the second quarter were \$5,851 with \$4,730 being retained by the department and \$1,121 being turned over to the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association. Publications distributed included 193 documentary volumes; 5 copies of the *Index to The North Carolina Historical Review*; 70 small books; 7,244 pamphlets, charts, and maps (including 175 Tercentenary pamphlets); 20,150 leaflets and brochures; and 2,825 copies of the list of publications available from the department. Not included in the total of 30,487 were 2,230 copies of the May issue of *Carolina Comments* and 2,044 copies of the Summer, 1965, issue of *The Review*.

### *Colonial Records Project*

The Colonial Records Project is now chiefly concerned with publishing a volume of early records of the General Court, which was the highest court of law in North Carolina during most of the colonial period. Transcription of documents and other preliminary work was begun in July. The projected volume will contain seventeenth century records. Its preparation and publication will require about two years.

Drastic reduction in the project staff was made necessary in July because of failure of the General Assembly to appropriate funds for continuous operation at an optimum level. Although the legislature appropriated \$25,000 as a grant-in-aid for the project, the grant must be matched by private funds before being made available. Consequently, one

full-time employee and four part-time employees were released at the end of June, and the staff was reduced to two part-time employees and the editor. As additional funds become available, the staff will be rebuilt.

The office was moved to the Raney Building in July, as the building formerly housing the project was scheduled for early demolition. The new quarters are temporary, as the Raney Building also is scheduled for demolition before the end of the year.

### COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Mr. Luther W. Barnhardt, Associate Professor of History at North Carolina State University at Raleigh, retired July, 1965, after thirty-eight years of service. Dr. Oliver H. Orr, Jr., resigned as Assistant Professor of History to become, on August 2, Specialist in American History in the General Bibliography and Reference Division of the Library of Congress. Dr. Murray S. Downs was promoted from Assistant Professor to Associate Professor. Dr. John M. Riddle was appointed Assistant Professor of History effective July 1. During the 1964-1965 academic year he pursued advanced study in the medieval field as a Fulbright Graduate Fellow in Bonn, West Germany. Dr. Doris E. King has been appointed Visiting Professor of Education beginning February 1, 1966, and Professor of History beginning July 1, 1966. Mr. James S. Saeger was appointed Instructor of History effective September 1, 1965. Mr. Richard G. Lipsey has been appointed Assistant Professor of History in the Fort Bragg Branch of North Carolina State University.

Chancellor John T. Caldwell has announced the appointment of Mr. Maurice S. Toler as University Archivist, a position established by the 1965 General Assembly. Mr. Toler was for six years on the staff of the Department of Archives and History. In his new position he will develop an archival-records management program at the university. This is the first institution of higher learning in North Carolina to establish a full-time archivist position.

Dr. Herbert R. Paschal, Jr., Director, Department of History at East Carolina College, reports that Dr. George Pasti, Jr., served as Director of the Asian Affairs Institute during the summer. Dr. Betty Congleton has published an article, "George D. Prentice and Bloody Monday: A Reappraisal," in the July issue of *The Register* (Kentucky Historical Society). Dr. Fred D. Ragan joined the staff as Assistant Professor in September.

Mr. David W. Southern joined the staff of North Carolina Wesleyan College as Instructor in History, effective in September.

Announcement has been received from Asheville-Biltmore College that Dr. Phillip A. Walker, Professor of History at Asheville-Biltmore College, has been named chairman of the department.

Kenan Professor Fletcher M. Green won the Thomas Jefferson Award for 1965. The cash award for that member of the faculty whose life is in the spirit of Thomas Jefferson was established by Earll McConnel of Hobe Sound, Florida, who gave \$10,000, the income from which is used to make the annual prize at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Professor James Logan Godfrey, former Dean of the Faculty, succeeds Professor Carl H. Pegg as Chairman of the Department of History. Professor Pegg served in this capacity from 1960 to 1965. Mr. Samuel F. Wells, Jr., has joined the department as an Assistant Professor. His specialty is American diplomatic history.

Dr. Hugh T. Lefler, Kenan Professor of History, will revise his article on North Carolina for the new edition of *Collier's Encyclopedia*.

The Department of History of Duke University announces the following promotions: Dr. John W. Cell and Dr. Donald E. Ginter to Assistant Professor; Dr. Warren Lerner, Dr. Anne F. Scott, and Dr. Donald G. Gillin to Associate Professor; and Dr. Robert F. Durden to Professor.

New appointments beginning in September, 1965, are: Professor Richard A. Preston as W. K. Boyd Professor of History, Mr. John Scott Wilson, Mr. Frederick H. Krantz, and Mr. Alden B. Pearson, as instructors.

Dr. Ernest W. Nelson, Professor of History, retired at the end of the 1964-1965 year and was honored at a departmental reception. He will be Visiting Professor of History at the University of South Carolina in the fall semester and at Emory University in the spring.

Guest lectures at various National Defense Education Act Institutes were given during the summer by Professors Colton, Crane, Durden, Gillin, Lerner, Parker, and Watson.

Dr. Haskell M. Monroe, Jr., a contributor to *The North Carolina Historical Review*, is editing *The Papers of Jefferson Davis*. He has asked for information concerning unpublished papers relating to Davis. Rice University, Houston, Texas, is the academic sponsor for this project which has the approval of both the National Historical Publications Commission and the United States Civil War Centennial Commission.

Grants-in-aid up to \$1,000 each are available from the Harry S. Truman Library Institute, to cover travel and living expenses, for projects involving the Truman Administration and the history and nature of the presidency of the United States. For information and application forms, write the Director of the Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Missouri.

The University of Delaware and the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation will award two or more Hagley Fellowships in a two-year program in American economic or technological history leading to a Master of Arts degree. Students take graduate courses at the university, perform research in primary materials at the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, and become familiar with the work of the Hagley Museum. Further infor-

mation may be obtained by writing Hagley Fellowship Program, Department of History, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware.

### STATE, COUNTY, AND LOCAL GROUPS

Dr. John Costlow, president of the Beaufort Historical Association, announced, July 19, two gifts to the Beaufort Restoration Fund, putting the campaign within sight of its \$30,000 goal. Miss Reba Morton will furnish the Bell House with period antique furniture from her collection; Mr. Robert P. McLarty, a descendant of the builder of Bell House, donated \$10,000 toward the restoration.

The April issue of *The Chronicle* of the Bertie County Historical Association was dedicated to the memory of Dr. William Picard Jacocks. Two articles about his life and work were included in the publication.

Dr. Harold J. Dudley, Executive Secretary of the Presbyterian Synod of North Carolina, delivered the main address at the bicentennial of the Bethesda Presbyterian Church in Caswell County on June 27. The church, founded about 1765 as "Hart's Chapel," has been called the "mother of many churches." An 87-page *History of Bethesda Presbyterian Church, 1765-1965*, written by the Reverend William E. Lytch, pastor, is available for \$1.50 from the *Caswell Messenger*, Yanceyville.

The May issue of the Brunswick County Historical Society *Newsletter* featured an article, "Natural History of Smith Island," by Dr. Arthur W. Cooper, chairman of the Conservation and Legislative Committee of the North Carolina Academy of Science. Efforts are being made to preserve for future generations this last remaining example of undisturbed Atlantic coastal wilderness.

The State Department of Archives and History sponsored a summer daily tour service of Historic Halifax buildings and sites, directed by Mr. Charles Boykin, whose office was in Constitution House. Halifax is being restored as it was in the late eighteenth century when the Halifax Resolves were signed on April 13, 1776.

The Catawba County Historical Association met July 7 at Newton. Mr. Loyd Mullinax cited some of the Maiden landmarks that played a leading role in the town's early history and development, including the old Maiden and Providence mills, the old railway depot, South Fork Institute, and the post office.

The newly organized Cleveland County Historical Association met June 25 at Shelby. Mr. Edwin Gill, State Treasurer, was the principal speaker. The Department of Archives and History was represented by Mr. Honeycutt, who spoke on proper objectives of a historical group. The

following officers were elected: Mr. James Allen, president; Mr. David Beam, Mrs. B. A. Harry, and Mr. O. P. Hamrick, vice-presidents; Mrs. Rush Hamrick, Jr., recording secretary; and Mrs. Pansy Fetzer, treasurer. Proceedings were initiated to incorporate the society and to obtain tax exempt status from the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

The Granville County Historical Society met in Oxford May 24. Mrs. Leslie Hummell, president, presided; the organization is seeking information about private or public cemeteries which should be marked.

The Greensboro Historical Museum celebrated its fortieth anniversary June 17 with a luncheon and a tour of the expanded museum. Mr. Henry Norman Walmsley, consul at the British Embassy in Washington, principal speaker, was presented a certificate of honorary citizenship in Greensboro by Mayor William L. Trotter, Jr. Other speakers included Mr. Earl Weatherly, chairman of the museum board; Mr. James MacLamroc, representing the English Speaking Union; Dr. Crittenden; Mayor Trotter; and Mrs. John A. Kellenberger. The following new officers were elected: Mr. David Schenck, president; Mr. John A. Kellenberger, vice-president; Mrs. Kellenberger, secretary; Mr. Charles A. Banner, Jr., treasurer. The museum, which had been closed during the expansion, was opened to the public June 18.

The Historic Hillsborough Commission met May 28, in Hillsborough, following a meeting of its Executive Board. The commission purchased the old Burwell School as its first restoration project. Mrs. Alfred G. Engstrom, chairman, presented the story of the school. The commission approved participation in the bicentennial celebration of the granting of the charter of Hillsborough and of the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of the Presbyterian Church in Hillsborough.

The Hyde County Historical Association met June 26 in New Holland. The business meeting was followed by a talk by Mr. David Stick of Colington, on "History in Your Own Backyard." The following officers were re-elected: Mrs. Allen Bucklew, president; Mrs. Marina Baum, vice-president; Mrs. Juanita Miller, secretary; Mrs. Betty Spencer, treasurer.

The Johnston County Historical Society met on its tenth anniversary, July 18, at the Bentonville Battleground Visitor Center-Museum. Mr. C. S. Coats presided over the meeting which was highlighted by a note-burning to celebrate the debt-free status of the museum.

The Mecklenburg Historical Association met May 20, in Charlotte. Mr. John Staton, president, presided over the celebration of the one hundred ninetieth anniversary of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Hinson, Charlotte, showed color slides of their foreign travels.

The Littleton College Memorial Association held its annual reunion at North Carolina Wesleyan College, July 10. The Reverend William K. Quick, pastor of Saint James Methodist Church in Greenville and secretary of the Methodist Historical Society, North Carolina Conference, was the principal speaker. Dr. Ralph Hardee Rives, who spoke briefly about the beginning of Littleton Female College and the beginning of Methodism, presented a portrait of Frances Asbury to Wesleyan College on behalf of the association. New officers are Mrs. Curtis Crissman, president; Mrs. Lula McCall Usher, secretary; Miss Mary Shotwell, treasurer.

The McDowell County Historical Society met in the Carson House in Marion, June 28. After the business session, Mrs. John Henderson spoke about her trip to Scotland and Ireland where she visited ancestral homes of a number of early McDowell County families.

Members of the Board of Directors of the New Bern Historical Society met June 24. Mr. Robert L. Stallings, Jr., president, presided.

The Directors of the North Carolina Coastal Historyland Association met in New Bern, June 25. Other meetings were held July 13, 14, 15, at Wilmington, Goldsboro, and Elizabeth City, respectively. Mr. P. D. Midgett, Jr., president, presided over the meetings.

The Perquimans County Historical Society at its June meeting accepted an offer of the White-Newbold home, near Hertford, and made plans for conservation of the building. Mr. David M. Warren and Mrs. W. D. Holmes, Jr., of Edenton spoke about the restoration of historical buildings. The following officers were elected: Mr. B. C. Berry, president; Mrs. Alice E. Futrell, vice-president; Mrs. Raymond Winslow, recording secretary; Mr. R. L. Stevenson, treasurer; Mrs. S. M. Whedbee, secretary-curator.

The Rockingham County Historical Society met July 25 in Wentworth. Mrs. S. R. Prince, president, presided. Dr. Hugh F. Rankin, Professor of History at Tulane University, spoke on the Revolutionary War.

The Wake County Historical Society conducted its third annual walking tour of the Capitol Square area in Raleigh, July 5. The tour, led by Miss Beth Crabtree and Mr. T. W. Mitchell, is part of a continuing effort to acquaint citizens of Wake County and North Carolina with their State Capitol area.

The Wilkes Historical Society tour in the Yadkin Valley, on July 18, included the Colonel Nathaniel Folk Law School; the Patterson School, whose history was told by Headmaster George S. Wiese; "Walnut Fountain"; and Fort Defiance, where Mrs. Mildred McDowell Jones told of the history and proposed restoration of the fort.

On July 23-25 the Wisackyola Festival, sponsored by the Waxhaw Woman's Club, emphasized the history of the area. A pageant, "Listen and Remember," traced the history of the Waxhaw section from the discovery in 1670 by John Lederer of Wisacky, the village of the Waxhaw Indians, through the Revolutionary War; scenes on Andrew Jackson and James K. Polk were included. Mr. Frank Crane, Commissioner of Labor, received the Lederer-Lawson award and the Reverend Harry Gamble received the Andrew Jackson award.

The Yadkin County Historical Society met July 10 at Yadkinville. Reports were made on proposed projects, including a request for state markers for unmarked historic sites in Yadkin County.