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THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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COVER—The deer are reproduced from the decorative device on the title page of Edward Williams' *Virgo Triumphans: or, Virginia Richly and Truly Valued*, printed in London in 1650. The author's section on "Virginia in General, but particularly Carolana, which comprehends Beanoak, and the Southerne parts of Virginia richly valued," talks of "Deere in a numerous abundance, and delicate Venison" among the treasured natural resources there. See the article on pages 74-104.

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CALVIN H. WILEY'S VIEW OF THE NEGRO

BY PAUL M. FORD*

Quite properly, Calvin H. Wiley is best known in North Carolina history for his pioneering work as State Superintendent of Common Schools from 1852 to 1865. In addition, his views of the Negro and education for the Negro are of interest, because they were somewhat unorthodox for the times. Wiley himself was a slaveowner,¹ yet he questioned the conditions of slavery in the South as he pursued his career and as the nation moved toward its bloody rendezvous with destiny.

In his novels *Alamance*² and *Roanoke*,³ Wiley treats the Negro sympathetically; the Negro is looked upon, in fact, as a positive value to the society in which he exists. Old Ben in *Alamance* is the guardian of the women of Alamance while their husbands and fathers fight the War of Revolution; Uncle Job in *Roanoke* fights to upset the plot of tyrants who seek to cause a slave rebellion. As Wiley saw the Negro, he was not to be feared but to be trusted, at least in the Revolutionary era.

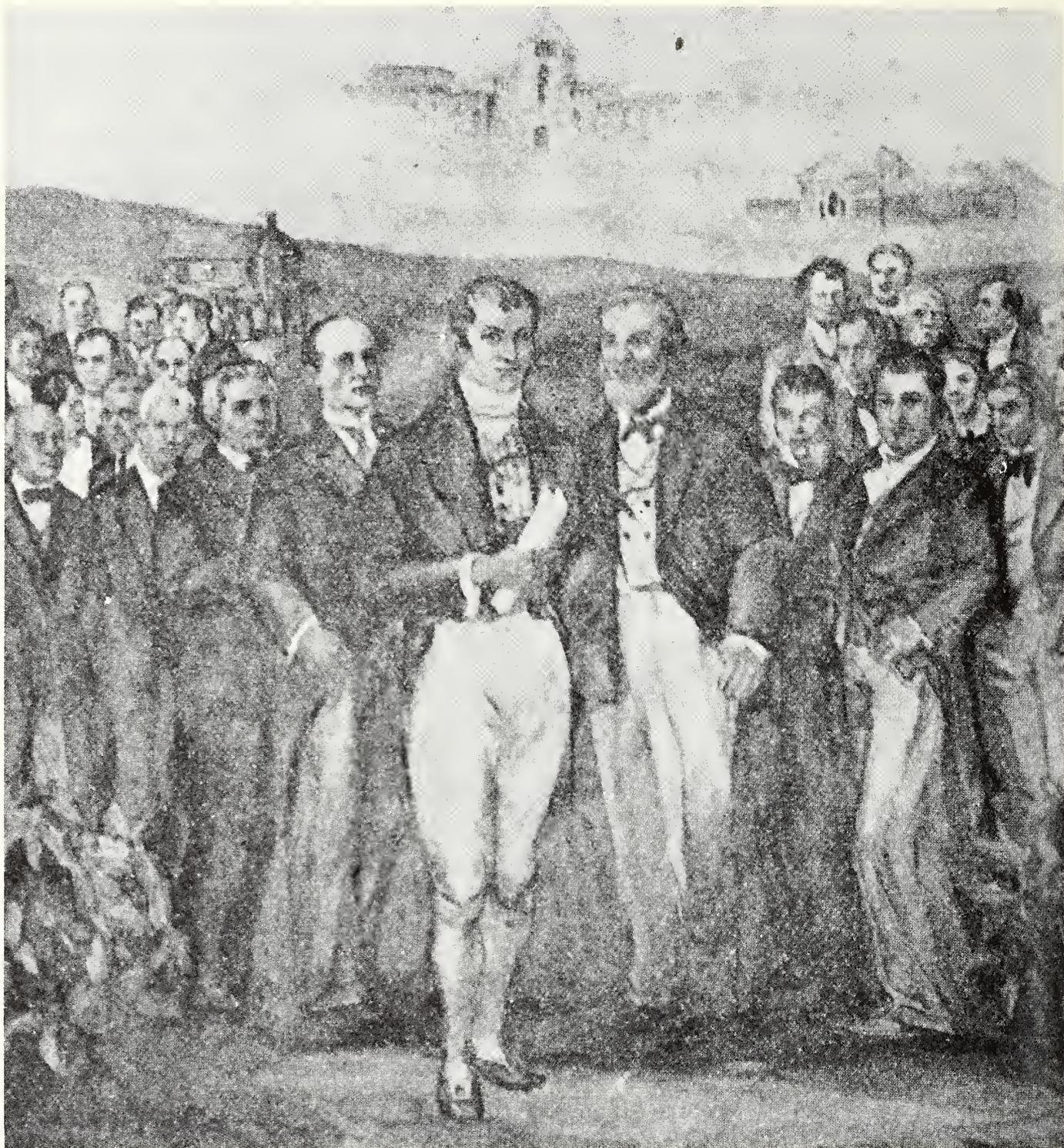
To make his sympathetic treatment more emphatic, Wiley introduces in *Roanoke* an escaped slave, Wild Bill, who is blamed for every murder, robbery, and crime which has been perpetrated in Carolina. The image of Bill is made to correspond with the image of the Negro which was becoming increasingly popular with southerners in the 1840's. This image was the result of fear of Negro insurrection, a vague fear of some nameless crime the Negro would commit, a fear symbo-

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¹ Calvin H. Wiley to S. S. Murkland, June 30, 1865, reprinted in the *Greensboro Patriot*, March 26, 1879.

² *Alamance; or, The Great and Final Experiment* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1847). This novel deals with the activities of a group of men and women from the area near Alamance Church in Guilford County against the British and Tories just before the Revolutionary War.

³ *Roanoke; or, "Where Is Utopia?"* was first published in *Sartain's Union Magazine* of Philadelphia during 1849. It was later published under the title *Life in the South; A Companion to Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: T. B. Peterson, 1852). It is hereinafter cited as Wiley, *Roanoke*, but all footnotes refer to the book edition. This novel was based on the half-true, half-fictional stories about early life on North Carolina's Outer Banks and Roanoke Island.



Three leaders in education in North Carolina—Charles B. Aycock, Archibald D. Murphey, and Calvin H. Wiley. From a drawing in *North Carolina: Yesterday and Today*, by Jule B. Warren.

lized by a black face and embodied in the words “the black terror.”⁴

The Denmark Vesey Plot of 1822 and the Nat Turner Insurrection of 1831 were about the only material aspects of the “black terror” of any significance. Yet even in the early 1830’s Senator George E. Badger of North Carolina indicated that the newspapers of the State went to great lengths to invent stories of slave plots, of the “black terror,” when

⁴ Clement Eaton, *Freedom of Thought in the Old South* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1940), 95, hereinafter cited as Eaton, *Freedom of Thought*.

there was little evidence in fact for the allegations.⁵ Nonetheless, the war against this abstract fear gathered impetus.

In 1830 an act was passed by the North Carolina General Assembly prohibiting any person from teaching slaves to read or write.⁶ Any free person who did so was liable to indictment, and upon conviction would be fined not less than \$100. A free person of color so convicted would be fined, imprisoned or whipped at the discretion of the court—not more than 39 nor less than 20 lashes on the bare back. Any slave convicted of attempting to teach another to read or write would receive 39 lashes.⁷ In 1835 at the Constitutional Convention, where the westerners were being freed from the political inequality which they had so long suffered at the hands of the east,⁸ the free Negro was disfranchised; Negro ministers were barred from preaching.⁹ While freedom and progress came to one group of men, another group of Americans was being condemned to ignorance by the very progress and search for identity of their brothers.

Wiley's description of Wild Bill and of the great fear which all of the characters in *Roanoke* evince of him are calculated to show fully the horror of the "black terror." Once having created this image, Wiley permits it to fall to pieces; he tears the southern conception of the "black terror" to shreds and shows that it is illusion. Thus, Wiley's plea for education for the Negro is implied, never spoken aloud. The explicit statement would come later.

When Walter Tucker, the hero of *Roanoke*, came upon Wild Bill in the forest, Walter immediately informed the savage that he would take him into custody and turn him over to the officials of the colony; he would deliver Bill to justice. Bill answered that so far as he could see, justice was merely the will of the strong exercised to rob and oppress the poor. Bill launched into a long harangue against the white man who had brought the Negro to America as a slave. And if the white man had sinned against the Negro, he had sinned equally against the Indian whose land he had stolen and whose life he had

⁵ Eaton, *Freedom of Thought*, 95.

⁶ Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954), 369, hereinafter cited as Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*.

⁷ Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, 369.

⁸ Charles Clifford Norton, *The Democratic Party in Ante-Bellum North Carolina, 1835-1861* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina [Number 21 of *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*], 1930), 9-10, hereinafter cited as Norton, *Democratic Party*. Up to this time a county's representation in the House of Commons was not based on the density of its population; since the population of the western counties was significantly larger than that of the eastern counties, westerners felt that they should have more representatives in the House. The convention abolished the old system in the House and introduced proportional representation.

⁹ Norton, *Democratic Party*, 9-10.

taken at every possible opportunity—or at every time when so doing satisfied the white man's self-seeking.¹⁰ Walter was stunned by the cogency of this argument. While he tried to marshal his arguments, Bill, who seemed an extremely well-educated Negro, went on with a most telling blow against the morality and religiosity upon which the South prided herself.

Who is God and where is he?: does he not sit in heaven and mark the unexpressed wailings, the inward prayer and the heart sickness of those thousands of thinking, rational, and immortal souls, whom the white men drive and beat as they do their oxen and their horses. Do you know that the negro, as well as the white man, has an undying spirit that looks to Heaven, and that it will meet its master's as an equal at the bar of God? Master! God only is my Master! ¹¹

Bill, in his expression of the Negro as a rational creature with a soul, implies that the Negro is capable of salvation, just as is the white man. For Wiley, whose spiritual heritage was Presbyterian,¹² Bill's argument had great meaning. For according to Presbyterian theology, even though God implanted in a man that spark which would mean salvation, unless he could read the Scriptures, God's revealed truth, he could not be saved. In effect, North Carolina laws which prohibited the education of the Negro damned people whom God may have wished to save.

Once having admitted that the Negro had a soul and therefore was capable of salvation, the southerner like Wiley was faced with unanswerable charges of interfering with God's work. Recognition of the grave charge was postponed, and only a few men, men like Wiley, tried in any way to ameliorate the condition of the Negro. Even for Wiley, the Civil War was necessary to make him take any definite action to educate the Negro.

Walter defended himself before Bill's attack on slavery by insisting that it was not the present South that was responsible for the condition of the slaves, instead the fault lay with the original colonists who had begun the slave trade. Walter claimed that it was far better for the Negro to remain in a state of slavery than to be free, because the Negro was not ready for freedom. Wild Bill responded by asking Walter what

¹⁰ Wiley, *Roanoke*, 79.

¹¹ Wiley, *Roanoke*, 81.

¹² D. C. Rankin to R. D. W. Connor, July 18, 1902, Calvin H. Wiley Papers, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Wiley Papers. Rankin was Wiley's adopted nephew. In his letter to Connor, Rankin makes it clear that Wiley was thoroughly inculcated with Presbyterian theology from his early boyhood. Wiley says much the same in his *Alamance Church; a Historical Address Delivered at the Dedication of Its Fourth House of Worship, on October 18, 1879* (Raleigh: Edwards, Broughton and Company, 1880), 1-3.

he would do if his people revolted against the British, even though the British did not think that Americans were ready for freedom. Walter answered that he would join his countrymen. Wild Bill then asked if the Negro also should have the right to rebellion and Walter said that such a revolt would destroy the country, and, in addition, rebellion was not permissible unless it had a good chance of success.¹³ Essentially then Walter did not successfully answer the moral questions implied by Wild Bill concerning the right to rebel.

Walter claimed that a gradual emancipation of the slaves would begin after they had been educated to take care of themselves.¹⁴ But then, of course, came the question: When is this education to take place and where? In answering Bill's questions, Walter avoids explicit measures which might answer this problem of Negro illiteracy which challenged the very wellsprings of Presbyterian theology. Answers would come later from Wiley, vague at first, and then so well defined that his contemporaries in the Civil War generation could not accept them.

A reader left this chapter of *Roanoke* with the impression that the "black terror" was the unreasoned fear by white men of something which did not exist. Walter Tucker's arguments were weak and Wild Bill's were strong. It seemed that Wiley conceded the rationality and moral goodness of the Negro's position. Wild Bill was a good man and he was done great injustice by the citizens who blamed him for all the crime and evil of the community. When he was at last captured, Bill, an innocent man, was hanged for the sins of others.¹⁵ Clearly it seemed that Wiley was accusing his fellow southerners of creating an illusion, the "black terror," and then proceeding to act as if the illusion were real.

When southern newspaper editors read the installment of *Roanoke* in *Sartain's Union Magazine* of August, 1849, which included the chapter on Wild Bill, Wiley's position was called into question. *The Fredericksburg Recorder* held that Wiley's concept of the Negro's position as expressed in Wild Bill's speeches was false and dangerous.¹⁶ W. W. Holden of the *North Carolina Standard* called for Wiley to give an explanation of his position in light of Bill's arguments.¹⁷ Wiley answered that the character of Wild Bill was like that of other escaped fugitive slaves whose exploits were exaggerated by citizens in the com-

¹³ Wiley, *Roanoke*, 81.

¹⁴ Wiley, *Roanoke*, 82-85.

¹⁵ Wiley, *Roanoke*, 124.

¹⁶ *The Fredericksburg Recorder* (Fredericksburg, Virginia), quoted in the *North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), August 15, 1849, hereinafter cited as *North Carolina Standard*.

¹⁷ *North Carolina Standard*, August 15, 1849.

munities where the fugitives existed.¹⁸ So at this moment, at least, Wiley did not back down in his questioning of the concept of the "black terror." "The rumors of Wild Bill's misdeeds were mere rumors, and true to the history of counties where there are fugitives from justice. . . ." ¹⁹

In December, 1849, Wiley in *A Sober View of the Slavery Question by a Citizen of the South* again came to grips with the problem of Negro slavery and Negro education. The conclusions he reached were nearly permanent, but they would change slightly during the years between 1860 and 1863.

Wiley, just as the Walter of *Roanoke*, justified the position of southern slaveowners on the grounds that they had inherited the institution of slavery. As he pointed out, and correctly so, before the 1820's slavery was looked upon by southerners as a curse that would be abolished in time. Wiley then went on to argue:

Abolition became odious at the south because northern men, by their indiscreet movements, identified it with northern politics and northern sentiment; and, by degrees, its southern friends were driven from its support, until, at last no one south of the Potomac dared to raise his voice in its favor.²⁰

Wiley did not go on to indicate that slavery had become profitable since the 1820's. He simply blamed the northerner for the lack of abolitionist sentiment in the South.

But even supposing that the Negroes were set free, Wiley held that they would be unable to care for themselves financially. According to Wiley's thinking the Negro in the South, like the Negro in the North, like the northern laborer, all uneducated, would be helpless before the educated and selfish whites. "And the white, superior in intellect and privileges, would tyrannize over them, out-wit them, and oppress them without remorse."²¹ It would be equally immoral to send Negroes back to Africa. For they were more Christian and more civilized in America than they could be in Africa. In America their chances of moral progress were great because they were exposed to a higher form of Christian civilization than that in Africa.²²

¹⁸ Calvin H. Wiley to Seaton Gales, October 17, 1849, quoted in the *Greensborough Patriot*, November 3, 1849.

¹⁹ Calvin H. Wiley to Seaton Gales, October 17, 1849, quoted in the *Greensborough Patriot*, November 3, 1849.

²⁰ Calvin H. Wiley, *A Sober View of the Slavery Question, by a Citizen of the South* (Greensboro: n.p., 1849), 3, hereinafter cited as Wiley, *A Sober View of the Slavery Question*.

²¹ Wiley, *A Sober View of the Slavery Question*, 3.

²² Wiley, *A Sober View of the Slavery Question*, 3.

For Wiley, slavery could not be abolished at this time and the North should not interfere with what was a southern problem. The South would solve the problem in good time. Here Wiley used postponement to gloss over the lack of an immediate solution for a major problem. This attitude was characteristic of the optimistic negligence of many other Americans in the middle of the nineteenth century.

It is a Christian, a civilized and a progressive land, and the owners of slaves are enlightened, civilized and Christian men. If they are committing errors against their own interests, they will be sure to find them out in time; if they are burdening their souls with sin, no others can make atonement for them. Let them alone; leave them to the progress of Christian philosophy, to the lessons of their own teachers and preachers; to the increasing light of those peaceful and mighty truths which are destined to purify from oppression, crime, and suffering the whole world. . . .²³

Wiley assumed that Christian progress would continue to come to America, the South, and North Carolina. Christian civilization in the South was different from that in the North, but it was equally good in God's eyes. Both sections of the country had certain faults which must eventually be corrected if progress was to continue. The problem of Negro slavery and Negro education in the South would be corrected, not by northern laws or agitation, but by southern action.²⁴

Just as a white man had to be educated so that he might find a position in society appropriate to his abilities, and in so doing not sin against other men through overambition,²⁵ so also the Negro must be educated before he could be made free. This education would be an attempt to mold the Negro's passions and his mind; but Wiley held that the education of the Negro would be quite different in its beginnings from that of the white man. There were good reasons for this.

The heart and the mind are to be reached, and their better qualities developed by processes differing according to the situation, capabilities and character of the scholar. A race so totally depraved as to have no sense of moral responsibility, no apprehension of a superintending Deity, and no consciousness of an immortal soul within, could hardly be taught by those means which are in vogue among civilized, refined, and Christian nations; would hardly appreciate those gentle appeals and restrictions which are applied to natures that for centuries on centuries have been advancing

²³ Wiley, *A Sober View of the Slavery Question*, 3.

²⁴ Wiley, *A Sober View of the Slavery Question*, 1.

²⁵ Calvin H. Wiley, *An Address Delivered Before the Two Literary Societies of Wake Forest College on the 12th of June, 1845, at the Solicitation of the Euzelian Society* (Raleigh: North Carolina Standard, 1845), hereinafter cited as Wiley, *An Address, Wake Forest College*.

upward from a starting point more elevated than that which is now occupied by the negroes of Africa.²⁶

Wiley believed that the Negro did have a soul, could be educated, and, in fact, should be educated. But in the 1840's and 1850's he made no concrete suggestion for the education of the Negro in North Carolina. He offered another solution. He argued that Negro slavery should be permitted in territories lately annexed from Mexico. White population and Negro population in the new territories would be approximately equal, Wiley thought. Thus, the Negro would be more exposed to the civilizing, Christianizing influence; in this wilderness land white and Negro would become more nearly social equals because of their mutual dependence upon each other for survival. In some way, but Wiley never explained how, the slaves would become landowners, and in time the problem of slavery and education for the slaves would be solved.²⁷

The difficulty with Wiley's solution for these problems is that it is vague, almost visionary. There is no mention made of the means by which the Negro would be freed in the West, no system for his education, no law which would permit him to hold property. All of this was postponed, just as a solution to the problem of the American Indian had always been postponed. Wiley, in his assurance that things would be worked out eventually, had fallen prey to that same habit which was characteristic of other Americans who faced these same problems. So by December of 1849, just four months after the Wild Bill chapter appeared in print, Wiley seemed to give up the soul and the cause of Wild Bill for the arguments of the immature Walter. Though he tried to push the problem of the Negro aside for the next 12 years, still it haunted him.

There runs throughout the argument of *A Sober View of the Slavery Question* the idea that, as Americans move westward, their problems will resolve themselves. Wiley held that man was reformable, that the world was capable of being brought by man with God's aid to some kind of near perfection. This he made abundantly clear in *Roanoke*. But Wiley's optimism led him even further. In an address before the Greensboro Guards on February 22, 1851, Wiley enunciated what was to be his philosophy of history, his interpretation of the progress of Christian civilization.

Wiley's theory was that man had been banished from Eden bearing a heavy burden of sin. As the race of man moved westward, it was

²⁶ Wiley, *An Address, Wake Forest College*, 1-2.

²⁷ Wiley, *An Address, Wake Forest College*, 4-5.

chastened and purified by Providence. The Deity, in fact, drove man westward away from the source of his great crime; so it happened that in the course of their purification men were driven from the European shore to the American shore.

Still onward they went in their pilgrimage, forbid to look backward or turn back, the Avenger pursuing at their heels, but they carried the Covenant with them and they often stopped to read, and scan and study its promises.

Once to the west shore of Europe—they were driven on by the spirit of Cain and came west to America. But the oppressor still pursued and overtook them; and they looked again to be driven westward to find their champion and their resting place. But he arose in their midst; and they prepared to stand their ground and to fight here the battle of liberty and right.²⁸

The oppressor in this case was England; the champion was George Washington.

Americans had stood their ground and won their war for independence. According to Wiley the greatest lesson they had learned was one which Cain had neglected. Americans were their brothers' keepers, guardians. So long as they would remember this lesson, they would continue their march westward toward the return to Eden.²⁹ In a short story written during 1851 Wiley again alluded to this lesson, to the mission of America, to the danger involved in the westward march.

The humble Regulators have spread their leaven over thirteen free and happy states, and far beyond those western hills, away in the valleys of the west, then a howling Wilderness, those sons of Liberty, are descending carrying light, and the freedom, and civilization, toward the shores of the Pacific. . . .

But Cains will be born, fraternal strife will arise and from the blood of the first brother Slain in anger will spring a curse, whose awful effects will follow you from generation to generation, even while this mountain stands. Strain your eyes to the West—far, far out there is the Pacific, and beyond is the paternal mansion of our race. It is a beautiful and glorious Country; and yet since the spilling of the blood of Abel, it has not ceased

²⁸ Calvin H. Wiley, "An Address Delivered Before the Greensboro Guards," February 22, 1851, quoted in *The Weekly Raleigh Register, and North Carolina Gazette*, April 23, 1851, hereinafter cited as Wiley, "Greensboro Guards Address."

²⁹ Wiley, "Greensboro Guards Address."

to be a land of gloom and strife, of bloodshed and terror. Oh! that you would learn wisdom from the past.³⁰

Wiley here admonished his citizen southerners, whose sympathy toward secession was growing, that if in seeking their own self-interest they should break with their brothers, should in fact go to war for their own selfish reasons then God's work and His lesson for Americans, whom He had chosen as His saved, would be upset. So long as Americans could compromise their conflicts, their journey westward toward their goal in the east would prosper. In building God's world, Americans would continue to succeed if only they would continue to reform themselves.

Still we can make a gradual progress toward liberty and happiness; and these are to be found in our entire subjugation of our bad passions and brutal propensities.³¹

Wiley imagined Americans to be of a higher morality than Europeans and others, since Americans had progressed farther west than had any other civilization.

And they who have lingered there [in Europe] are still branded with the marks of Cain—death, moral death, still hovers over them and the dreadful doom pronounced on the first sinning man and woman, has with aggravated horrors, been their constant portion.³²

As Wiley indicated in *Alamance* and *Roanoke*, democracy was the highest form of government that had yet been attained by men. It was natural that America, being God's favored nation, should have a government within whose bounds the citizen was most free and yet where the component parts of the society were most unified. This combination, in the face of God's blessing, made America "an over match for any human force."³³ Americans had no external force to fear. This was a point that Wiley made time after time; he understood that the challenge would come from within the "mighty heart."³⁴ America was destined to success. So too were North Carolina and the South, if only the challenge could be met. And what was the challenge? It was, of course, the condition of the Negro and the South's relationship to the North as a consequence of this condition.

³⁰ Calvin H. Wiley, "Redwood the Regulator; or, The Wizard of the Pilot," *The Weekly Post* (Raleigh), December 13, 1851, hereinafter cited as Wiley, "Redwood the Regulator."

³¹ Wiley, *A Sober View of the Slavery Question*, 1.

³² Wiley, "Greensboro Guards Address."

³³ Wiley, "Greensboro Guards Address."

³⁴ Wiley, "Greensboro Guards Address."

When Calvin Wiley married Mittie Towles, the daughter of a prosperous Raleigh merchant, in the spring of 1862, he had no idea that the War would be a long or hard one.³⁵ He presumed, as did so many others around him, that the invading armies would give up their folly and return to the barren North from whence they had come. Writing to John Cunningham in June, 1862, in response to Cunningham's question as to whether it would be wise to invest in Confederate bonds, Wiley answered that Cunningham should invest in whatever would return the greatest profit. The War would not continue much longer, and the Confederate government seemed to have all the support it needed.³⁶

But as the summer of 1863 passed and with its passing came Lee's heavy losses at Gettysburg and Bragg's defeat at Chickamauga, it became increasingly apparent to Wiley that his reading of the South's destiny, his interpretation of North Carolina's development through God's medium of war, needed qualification. The Lord, God of Battles, did not visit these losses on the South without reason. In his book *Scriptural Views of National Trials: or, The True Road to the Independence and Peace of the Confederate States of America*, published in the late fall of 1863, Wiley discussed the calamity that had befallen the South. The conclusions he reached were of no small significance for his view of the Negro.

The admitted purpose of the book was to examine the reasons why the War was lasting so long and why the South was suffering so.³⁷ Wiley attempted to relate the revealed truth of God to the development of the War to answer these questions. He claimed that he took up this task because the churches of the State and of the South had not made it their responsibility to do so. Later in the book he made explicit what was only implied in his opening pages.

The chief energies of the church are devoted to the founding of seminaries, the construction and ornamentation of houses of worship, and the writing of learned and polished essays for critical audiences; and while the vast majority of the human race are sitting in darkness and the shadow of death, a Church, great in numbers, wealth and education, considers that

³⁵ In his "Address to the People of North Carolina," July 9, 1861, Wiley showed a considerable change from the position he had taken in "Redwood the Regulator" concerning "fraternal strife." By July, 1861, he contended that God had brought about the War Between the States as an instrument by which the South might free itself from the North and thus become more prosperous, spiritually and materially, than otherwise would be the case. Earlier in "Redwood the Regulator" and in *A Sober View of the Slavery Question*, he had argued against war.

³⁶ Calvin H. Wiley to John W. Cunningham, June 5, 1862, John W. Cunningham Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

³⁷ Calvin H. Wiley, *Scriptural Views of National Trials; or, The True Road to the Independence and Peace of the Confederate States of America* (Greensboro: Sterling, Campbell and Albright, 1863), 13, hereinafter cited as Wiley, *Scriptural Views*.

it is performing its mission to a dying world by assembling every Sabbath in its costly and luxurious temples. . . .³⁸

He attacked the fatalism which he saw all around him. Although men seemed to understand that there was some deeper meaning underlying the War than the obvious political issues involved, no one seemed willing to explore more deeply into the causes of the War. It was assumed that the causes of the War were inexplicable; and further, it was assumed that men could do nothing to end the war.³⁹

Wiley argued that to men who had fallen into sin or who had never been educated to know religious truth, God's ways seemed inscrutable. These men did not understand God's commandments because they were blinded by sin. But any man, providing that he had had the education, could understand God's ways.

There is no mystery to any of those things: the reasons and principles of all God's dealings with us are plainly stated, and belong to us and to our children.⁴⁰

The point Wiley made was that the southern churches had neglected their duty to help men understand God's ways and His commandments; they had failed to educate the people of the South. Thus War continued with no chance for abatement.

All the States of the South potentially had brilliant destinies to fulfill, "but their trials are caused by the fact that they are wholly unfit for their coming fate, and so refractory that they will not be taught until the rod had been unsparingly used."⁴¹ The trials could not cease until the southern States profited from them. This War was not just a case of God punishing a South that had sinned; it was a case of God continuing the punishment of His children until they recognized their sin and ceased to commit it. It would be futile to pray to God and ask Him to stop the War; it would be equally useless to try to get aid from the European powers. No matter what the South did, until she recognized her sins and repented the bloodshed would continue.⁴²

To Wiley the South's great sin, the sin which she had not recognized, or had recognized and not dared repent of, was her treatment of the Negro. Wiley found a way to blame the North, at least in part, for this.

³⁸ Wiley, *Scriptural Views*, 85.

³⁹ Wiley, *Scriptural Views*, 13.

⁴⁰ Wiley, *Scriptural Views*, 31.

⁴¹ Wiley, *Scriptural Views*, 70-72.

⁴² Wiley, *Scriptural Views*, 118.

Reforms which the conscience of the whole Church felt were demanded, sternly demanded by the immutable Love of God, were adjourned for the reason that an attempt to effect them would be considered as a triumph to the free soilers; and thus while we could face the sneers of the whole world in defending our interest, we could not endure the gibes of fanatics in the prosecution of our duties.⁴³

Southern churchmen, looking to the North, and hearing the "socialists" and the "free lovers" and the other infidels who paraded as abolitionists, inferred that the full enforcement of the Bible doctrine regarding slavery would be a triumph for the enemies of the Bible.⁴⁴

But Wiley held that it was the duty of the church to point out to the State that laws must be made requiring the lawful marriage of Negroes. Negroes must be permitted to hear the word of God on the Sabbath. Most important of all, until the Negro was given access to the Gospel, through education, and thus given the opportunity to save his soul, the War would continue.⁴⁵

Wiley's *Scriptural Views of National Trials* was published at a time when North Carolinians were seeking an answer to the problem of what part they were to play in the world. The problems and suffering resulting from the War made them ask why all of this should be happening to them. Wiley's answer was optimistic in that it assured men that North Carolina's destiny was not to be continued suffering; it gave men the hope for which they had sought. By the spring of 1864, Wiley had sold more than 4,000 copies of his book in North Carolina.⁴⁶ Thomas Willie wrote to his nephew: "It is pretty well seasoned with the salt of Presbyterianism, but to this I do not object, for these old Scotch Presbyterians can out-fight and out-pray any people on the face of the earth."⁴⁷

Wiley in 1849 in *A Sober View of the Slavery Question* had argued that the Negro must be educated if Christian progress were to continue. Now, in the last years of the War, Wiley justified the education of the Negro in even stronger religious terms. He was certain that without the reform of slavery, the South would suffer even greater hardships than those which had already prostrated her. For although people might read his book and nod their agreement, no one was willing to

⁴³ Wiley, *Scriptural Views*, 189.

⁴⁴ Wiley, *Scriptural Views*, 190.

⁴⁵ Wiley, *Scriptural Views*, 192-197.

⁴⁶ W. M. Kilpatrick to Calvin H. Wiley, May 7, 1864, Wiley Papers. See also, J. Armstrong to Calvin H. Wiley, May 30, 1864, Wiley Papers.

⁴⁷ Thomas Willie to Calvin H. Wiley, June 11, 1864, Wiley Papers.

introduce concrete legislation which would ameliorate the Negro's condition—not even Wiley himself.⁴⁸

In a letter which appeared in the *North Carolina Standard*, June 30, 1865, Wiley again attacked the problem of the southerner's duty to the Negro.⁴⁹ He stated that the North Carolina Negro was but a few steps removed from "the gloomy barbarism of Africa." This condition was due to State laws which had prohibited the education of the Negro. Wiley held that North Carolinians and all Christians had a moral duty to educate the Negro, just as Americans had the same duty to send missionaries abroad to spread Christianity. The two were one and the same thing. But the whites of the slave State were at a particular advantage because the Negroes remained among them; there was no need to travel in this missionary activity.

The political agitations which God had caused to occur during the past four years were warnings to the South. Slavery had been abolished in one swift stroke without the permission of the South. Yet God had left the Negro among the southerners so that the white men would have the opportunity to redeem themselves.

He, God, has left the negroes in the midst of their former masters, almost wholly dependent on them for even the most elementary instruction; a docile and helpless people, forming as it were a great mass of shapeless and plastic clay, to test the artistic skill and energy of a race which claims that the world has never done it justice.⁵⁰

There was another reason for educating the Negro. Always in the past the Negro had looked to the white man for leadership. If the newly freed Negro were completely neglected by his former master, he would wander aimlessly, becoming a public nuisance and perhaps even a threat to property rights of landowners. It was important that Negroes be brought into schools where they could be educated to see their place in society, which would naturally be socially inferior to that of the white man. This would provide much the same harmony between the races which had existed before emancipation. The white man would remain respected and his property safe.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Wiley was not the only southern churchman and educator who spoke in favor of reforming the slave codes during this period. Wiley's tutor in theology, Reverend Eli W. Caruthers of Alamance Church, in 1861 had told his parish that unless the slave laws were reformed the South would be defeated. Caruthers was promptly dismissed from his charge. See John Spencer Bassett, *Anti-Slavery Leaders of North Carolina* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1898), 57-60, and Bell I. Wiley, "The Movement to Humanize the Institution of Slavery during the Confederacy," *Emory University Quarterly*, V (December, 1949), 208-219.

⁴⁹ Calvin H. Wiley to S. S. Murkland, *North Carolina Standard*, June 30, 1865, quoted in *The Observer* (Raleigh), February 15, 1878, hereinafter cited as *The Observer*.

⁵⁰ Wiley to Murkland, *The Observer*, February 15, 1878.

⁵¹ Wiley to Murkland, *The Observer*, February 15, 1878.

Wiley suggested that the excitement which characterized State politics should not blind North Carolinians to the fact that if they did not establish educational facilities for the Negroes then northerners might come who would. These foreign teachers would be apt to imbue the Negro with hatred for the South and southern institutions. The result would be the existence of an alien race, the Negro among the whites. Every Negro in North Carolina should be brought into a school.

The instruction must comprehend all that the blacks need to know to enable them to be self supporting, and to understand the great principles which concern their temporal and eternal welfare; and while the white race is thus engaged it will be destroying the seed beds of social and moral pestilence, will entitle itself to and will receive the lasting respect and deference of the blacks, will be improving and elevating itself, and will be effectually blocking the way of false philanthropists, demagogues, and the whole pestiferous brood of selfish agitators.⁵²

The Negroes would have their own schools. There was no religious principle which dictated that white and black students mix. Wiley was unequivocally dedicated to the segregated school, saying that any attempt at mixing the student population "would be productive of unmitigated evil."⁵³

In a letter Wiley had written to Governor Zebulon B. Vance during the previous winter, he had made the same theological points, emphasizing the white man's religious duty to reform slavery and educate the Negro. Wiley also expressed the opinion that the Negro must not be given social equality with the white. It was essential to the preservation of the social system of the State that Negroes not be used in the army during these last days of the War. For this could result in a coalition of the Negro and the lower white classes against the social structure that existed.

The negroes, in our country, & the meanest class of white people, would constitute a majority; & it would be impossible in such a community to have freedom, even if there were no ambitious scoundrels to take advantage of this state of Society.⁵⁴

If the Negro could be educated immediately to see his place in society, there would be no reason for the class structure of society to become upset.

⁵² Wiley to Murkland, *The Observer*, February 15, 1878.

⁵³ Wiley to Murkland, *The Observer*, February 15, 1878.

⁵⁴ "Calvin H. Wiley [to Governor Zebulon B. Vance] on the Evils of Slavery and the Causes of the Civil War," in Historical Notes, edited by D. L. Corbitt, *The North Carolina Historical Review*, III (October, 1926), 645-646, hereinafter cited as Wiley to Vance, Historical Notes.

It is obvious that Wiley spoke as a conservative rather than as a liberal. He wanted education for the Negro to satisfy God's commandments, yes, but also he wanted education of the Negro so that the class structure of the State would remain as it had been in the past. Wiley had no intention of giving the Negro political or social equality; this was the farthest thing from his mind in 1865.⁵⁵ He was trying to save the old State society while making the appropriate repentance before God and the North. He was extremely fearful lest something should happen to elevate the Negro to a position from which he could dictate the terms of southern life. Once the Negro had been shown through education his proper place in society, the principal problems which the State and the South faced would be resolved. There would be no social upheaval.⁵⁶

Vance replied that he had long entertained views similar to those held by Wiley concerning the reform of slavery and the education of the Negro. But he could see no means, with the financial condition of the State in such a poor way, and with the great lack of man power, for implementing a system of Negro education.⁵⁷

Wiley's interest in the future of the Negro and in the organization of North Carolina society was also expressed just after the close of the War. He learned that his friend, John A. Gilmer, would go North as a member of the North Carolina Peace Commission which was to discuss the reconstruction of the State with President Andrew Johnson. On May 5, 1865, in a letter to Gilmer, Wiley offered his advice as to how the negotiations should be carried on and what conditions the State should ask for.

He said that the federal government should be persuaded that North Carolina left the Union only reluctantly and would be happy to return. If the State were treated with kindness and understanding, the other South Atlantic States would see this and would follow the presidential plan for reconstruction quickly; thus the Union and these States could be bound together by peaceful means rather than by the brutal subjugation of each State by an army of occupation.⁵⁸

The main condition which had to be observed, if there was to be a speedy and effective return of the State to the Union, was that the Negroes should not be freed immediately.

⁵⁵ Wiley to Vance, Historical Notes, 642-648, *passim*.

⁵⁶ Wiley to Vance, Historical Notes, 642-648, *passim*.

⁵⁷ Governor Zebulon B. Vance to Calvin H. Wiley, February 3, 1865, Wiley Papers.

⁵⁸ Calvin H. Wiley to J. A. Gilmer, May 5, 1865, from the private collection in possession of Mary C. Wiley, Winston-Salem, hereinafter cited as Wiley to Gilmer, Mary C. Wiley Collection.

Even under the present circumstances emancipation is dangerous: and I *know* (from conversation with the blacks, or as anyone might imagine) the negroes say that they ought to have lands and stock from their former owners; and as they constitute such a large part of our population, there is danger of conflict.⁵⁹

Wiley thought that emancipation of the Negro population at this time, while it was ignorant and not able to care for itself, would cause chaos in society. It was unfair to the Negro to put him into a position where he must either steal or starve. Since most of the Negroes owned no property, and since industry and agriculture had been disrupted by the War, the free Negroes would have no source of sustenance.⁶⁰

The result of such a condition would be warfare between the freed Negroes and their former masters which would devastate the State. Wiley's plan was that the Negroes remain bound to their present masters for a period of five years. During this period, the Negroes would be paid for their labor according to wage schedules set by the federal authorities. Meanwhile, schools could be established for the Negroes to give them the rudiments of learning which would enable them to care for themselves when their time of final emancipation came.⁶¹ In this way the Negroes would be given an opportunity to make themselves useful in rebuilding the South.

The great purpose is to be able to hold the blacks to wholesome service until the country is reduced to order, or until the blacks can make something to start on. The negroes, having freedom before them at a set time, will be eager to make all they can, thus benefiting themselves and the country, and in the meantime we can have time to see if a place cannot be procured, a territory in the South, on which they or a considerable part of them can be settled to themselves.⁶²

Wiley warned Gilmer to be careful not to cause the President to think that this plan was merely a ruse by which the slaveowners wished to maintain slavery in the South. Apparently Wiley did not understand that Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, was law, and that this law embodied a northern sentiment which was not subject to reconsideration. Gilmer did not mention this subject to the President.⁶³ The Negroes of North Carolina remained free and uneducated.

⁵⁹ Wiley to Gilmer, May 5, 1865, Mary C. Wiley Collection.

⁶⁰ Wiley to Gilmer, May 5, 1865, Mary C. Wiley Collection.

⁶¹ Wiley to Gilmer, May 5, 1865, Mary C. Wiley Collection.

⁶² Wiley to Gilmer, Mary C. Wiley Collection. Wiley himself owned five adult slaves. His daughter, Mary C. Wiley, relates that he taught these slaves to read, even though it was against the law. Interview with Mary C. Wiley, July 13, 1959.

⁶³ J. A. Gilmer to Calvin H. Wiley, July 3, 1865, Mary C. Wiley Collection.

After the War and preceding the advent of the Radicals in the State, Wiley worked for the restoration of the common school system which he had built. But he also continued his dedication to establishing schools for the Negro.⁶⁴ Opposition immediately grew up to challenge Wiley's stand. This opposition was led by former Governor William A. Graham and Governor Jonathan Worth. Worth pointed out that there simply was not enough money available to establish schools for both white and Negro children. To establish schools only for the white population would probably bring down the wrath of the North; for this reason it would be best to postpone the restoration of the common schools.⁶⁵

There was another reason for the reluctance of these leaders to establish the schools. Wiley had claimed that unless the State established education for both the Negro and the white child, northern influences would seek to fill the teaching positions in the now empty schoolhouses with northern teachers. The effect of these "foreign" teachers would be deleterious to the structure of the State's social life. Others feared that if the machinery for the schools were established, then northern interests could take it over by substituting their own teachers for the State's teachers. The very existence of the common school organization would encourage northern reformers to turn it to their own ends.⁶⁶

Worth turned Wiley's arguments for the common schools against him. Not only could the machinery of the common schools be used by northern reformers to inculcate harmful ideas in southern white children, but even worse, Negroes might be taught that they were the social and political equals of the white southerners. If anything would prove a chaotic influence against the harmonious structure of southern society, it would be this. The situation was one that prominent North Carolinians were not willing to risk.⁶⁷

To Wiley it appeared that these men, who were essentially good men interested in the welfare of the State, overlooked the lesson that the War should have taught them. By neglecting the Negro's education, they were guilty of the same sin of omission that in large part had been responsible for God's chastening of the South.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, Wiley was unsuccessful in his efforts; whatever education there would be in the years immediately succeeding the War would be fostered by the Radicals.

⁶⁴ "Governor's Message," *Executive and Legislative Documents of the State of North Carolina, 1865-1866*, Appendix.

⁶⁵ Jonathan Worth to W. A. Graham, January 12, 1866, W. A. Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Graham Papers.

⁶⁶ W. A. Graham to Calvin H. Wiley, February 12, 1866, Wiley Papers.

⁶⁷ Jonathan Worth to W. A. Graham, January 12, 1866, Graham Papers.

⁶⁸ J. Cunningham to Calvin H. Wiley, April 16, 1866, Mary C. Wiley Collection.

A major problem which confronted Wiley in his personal life as well as in his work in building a common school system was that of resolving the apparent conflict between the American value for success and the demands of the Christian ethic.⁶⁹ He held that there should be no conflict between the Christian's temporal life and his spiritual life; the two were one. The building of a materially prosperous America was a Christian duty.⁷⁰ Wiley objected to the preoccupation which some Americans exhibited for material gain in itself; such preoccupation led men to attribute their prosperity to their own efforts alone rather than to the divine justice of God. When men forgot God they became overambitious, sinning against their brothers in the attempt to become financially successful.

The need for the reformation of slavery was a problem which brought Wiley himself face to face with the conflict between the demands of the secular and spiritual life; this conflict was not easily resolved. In 1849 he had expressed the view that the Negro, because he did have a soul, must be taught to read so that he might have access to the Gospel and thus to salvation.⁷¹ Although Wiley believed in the spiritual imperative dictated by the Negro's condition, he knew it would be political suicide to agitate such a question during his early years as superintendent.

Expediency was Wiley's guide during these years. To postpone the problem was more satisfactory than to face it and attempt to solve it while maintaining a career. When it became politically feasible for him to agitate for the education of the Negro and for the reformation of the institution of slavery, Wiley did so. After 1863 Wiley was dedicated to the spiritual, if not the social, uplifting of the Negro. But it was the War—the South's great losses and the need to explain these losses—that enabled Wiley to take his stand. The resolution of the conflict between the Christian ethic and the American success myth was, in this instance, as much a matter of circumstance as of Wiley's premeditation.

It was not only the conviction held by some North Carolinians that the War was God's chastening that gave Wiley the opportunity to express his position on the treatment of the Negroes; it was also their fear that unless the Negroes were placed in schools after the War they would become a milling, plundering race that would upset the social and political stability of the State. If the Negroes' education were left

⁶⁹ Wiley, *An Address, Wake Forest College*, 26. See also, Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition* (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), 95.

⁷⁰ Wiley, *An Address, Wake Forest College*, 26.

⁷¹ Wiley, *A Sober View of the Slavery Question*, 3.

to the northerners, they would be imbued with social ideas that would make the old social order impossible. And certainly Wiley was a defender of the old order. Thus he could speak on a major problem which had troubled him since the late 1840's; he could solve the conflict which it had posed. Yet the solution was reached only after the stage had been set by destiny.

It was almost 35 years after the problem of the Negro and education for the Negro began to trouble Wiley that he was among those who established at Winston a school for Negroes.⁷² In the spring of 1883, after continual prodding by Wiley, the voters of Winston agreed to tax themselves for the support of two graded schools, one for white children and the other for Negroes. Wiley was chosen chairman of the five commissioners elected to establish and supervise the schools.⁷³ He traveled north to Philadelphia to secure additional funds.⁷⁴ Wiley did not seek any reward of particular recognition for this last educational accomplishment. His daughter, Mary C. Wiley, has said that his reward came while he was observing the conduct of a class of Negro children in their graded school at Winston. Pointing to the man standing in the doorway of the classroom, the teacher asked, "Who is that man?" Her class replied, "Dat's de supintindent."⁷⁵ The irony was that Wiley had not been Superintendent of the Common Schools for 20-odd years.

⁷² From 1869 to 1874, Wiley did missionary work for the American Bible Society in Tennessee. In 1874 he became the Society's superintendent for North Carolina and South Carolina and established his home at Winston. Interview with Mary C. Wiley, July 13, 1959.

⁷³ *The Union Republican* (Winston-Salem), April 23, 1883.

⁷⁴ Interview with Mary C. Wiley, July 13, 1959.

⁷⁵ Interview with Mary C. Wiley, July 13, 1959.

THE WILMINGTON COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY AND THE LOYALIST RISING OF FEBRUARY, 1776

BY LAURA PAGE FRECH *

North Carolinians know how important the Battle of Moores Creek was to the American cause in 1776. Not only was Wilmington saved from occupation by loyal Highlanders and British troops, but the ministry and Governor Josiah Martin were forced to give up their plan to put an early end to the rebellion by calling forth the Loyalists of North Carolina. The defeat of the Tories by James Moore, Richard Caswell, and Alexander Lillington and their men has been regarded as a significant event of the American Revolution.

When viewed as a result rather than as a cause, however, the Highland rising at Cross Creek in February, 1776, looms as a symbol of failure. Much has been written about possible causes for the Highlanders' loyalty to the British Crown, but little has been said about the failure of the rebel committees of public safety along the Cape Fear River to prevent the rising of the clans. For even though the Highlanders were strongly inclined to remain loyal to Britain and the Regulators were relentlessly hostile toward the Tidewater planters who were directing the Revolution in North Carolina, the skirmish between Whigs and Tories at the bridge over Moores Creek was not inevitable.

During the final months of 1775 the Committee of Safety of the Wilmington-New Hanover area and the Brunswick Committee were entrusted with the responsibility of keeping Governor Martin quarantined aboard his floating asylum off Cape Fear. Had they been able to prevent his sending messages and receiving visitors, the Cross Creek rising might never have taken place. In December, 1775, however, Samuel Johnston wrote that Martin had managed to communicate with the Regulators, who had become insolent. "The Committees below have been too remiss," he complained.¹

Johnston's charge was all too accurate. Although the Wilmington Committee of Safety knew from an early date of Governor Martin's

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¹ Samuel Johnston to Joseph Hewes, December 21, 1775, Hayes Collection (transcripts), State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Hayes Collection.

plan to raise loyal troops in the back country, Tories who were aiding him remained at liberty in the town as late as February, 1776. In June, 1775, several Highland leaders came through Wilmington en route to Fort Johnston to ask the Governor for arms and commissions to raise troops.² On July 3 the Committee decided to write to Allan Macdonald, husband of the Scottish heroine, Flora Macdonald, to ask whether it was true that he had told Governor Martin he would raise troops.³ There is no record that Macdonald replied to the Committee's request.

On July 7 the Wilmington Committee considered the case of James Hepburn of Cumberland County, who was accused of deriding the safety committees and spreading the rumor that the King had hired 50,000 Russians to subdue the Americans. Hepburn had been to see the Governor, and it was "said, and universally believed," that he and others had gone "to offer their services to the said Governor, and to obtain his orders for raising mercenaries. . . ." ⁴ The Committee had heard also that Hepburn had applied to the Cumberland County Committee for permission to raise a company of militia and then had declared that he had intended to act against the American cause. Whether the Cumberland Committee was acting in the interest of the American cause at this time is not clear. Cumberland County contained many Tories, and at least one member of its safety committee, Farquard Campbell, joined the Loyalists at Cross Creek in February, 1776. The fact that the Wilmington Committee members felt called upon to act would indicate that they thought their Cumberland counterpart unreliable. The Wilmington group drew up a resolution labeling Hepburn "inimical to the liberties of his country and the common cause of America. . . ." ⁵ Within a month he wrote, according to the Committee's "Proceedings," begging to be "restored again to the favor of the public." ⁶ Although he was a delegate to the Provincial Convention which met in August, 1775, Hepburn too was a leader in the Loyalist rising the following February.

² Evangeline Walker Andrews (ed.), with the collaboration of Charles McLean Andrews, *Journal of a Lady of Quality; Being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the Years 1774-1776*, by Janet Schaw (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1922), 193, hereinafter cited as Andrews, *Journal of Janet Schaw*.

³ Proceedings of the Safety Committee at Wilmington, July 3, 1775, William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1890), X, 65, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Colonial Records*.

⁴ Proceedings of the Safety Committee at Wilmington, July 7, 1775, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 72-73.

⁵ Proceedings of the Safety Committee at Wilmington, July 7, 1775, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 72-73.

⁶ Proceedings of the Safety Committee at Wilmington, August 8, 1775, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 141.

Throughout June and July the Wilmington and New Bern committees intercepted letters between Governor Martin and General Thomas Gage at Boston and between Martin and the back-country Loyalists. By July 31 the Wilmington Committee was able to state:

. . . we have learned from undoubted authority, that Governor Martin intends going into the back country, to collect a number of men, for the purpose of disturbing the internal peace of this province—⁷

In its efforts to control Tories and to deal with Governor Martin, the Wilmington Committee had the benefit of the advice and examples of other committees, especially of the one at New Bern, but apparently was not able to profit thereby. The New Bern Safety Committee, seeing clearly where the focal point of the danger lay, decreed early that no one should communicate with the Governor either “personally, or by letter. . . .” On July 10 the Wilmington Committee issued a similar order, stating that no one could communicate with Martin without permission,⁸ but evidently lacked the will and power to execute it. Although the committees on the coast made communication difficult for Martin, they did not succeed in achieving their purpose, as the Cross Creek rising attests.

Samuel Johnston wrote from Edenton on July 21, 1775, to warn the Wilmington Committee that two British officers had debarked there and had gone on to New Bern. The Edenton Committee had told the New Bern one to take them, but should the officers escape, the responsibility would fall on Wilmington. Johnston wrote:

They pretend they are on a visit to some of their countrymen on your river but I think there is reason to suspect their errand of a base nature. . . . I doubt not the prudence of the Gentlemen with you will have suggested the necessity of securing the Highlanders and that proper measures have been adopted for that purpose.⁹

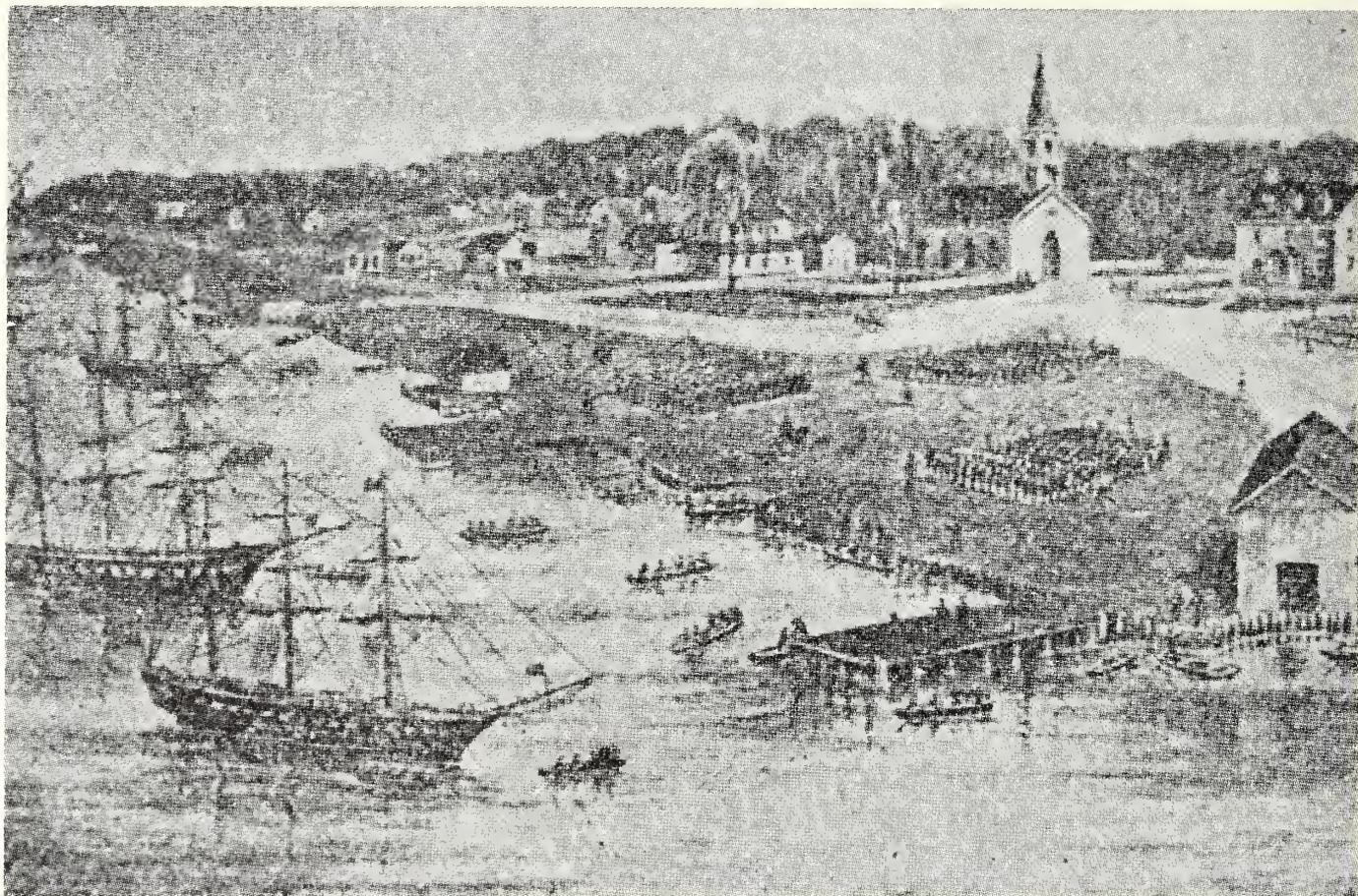
Major Donald Macdonald and Captain Donald McLeod, who had indeed been sent from Boston to recruit loyal troops, went into the back country without visiting Wilmington and remained there until February as guests of the Highland leaders.

During late 1775 and early 1776 Governor Martin, aboard the royal warships off Cape Fear, maintained contact with such Wilmington

⁷ Proceedings of the Safety Committee at Wilmington, July 31, 1775, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 124.

⁸ Proceedings of the Safety Committee at Wilmington, July 10, 1775, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 87.

⁹ Samuel Johnston to the Committee at Wilmington, July 21, 1775, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 117.



Cape Fear patriots resist the landing of stamps at Brunswick. From *Makers of North Carolina History*, by R. D. W. Connor.

Loyalists as Alex McLean, Samuel Campbell, Robert Hogg, William McTier, and perhaps John Slingsby, to say nothing of the Highlanders from the upper Cape Fear. McLean was the key figure in the intelligence system set up to co-ordinate the rising of the loyal in the back country with the arrival of the British troops which were to sail from Ireland early in December. Samuel and William Campbell and their partner, Robert Hogg, seem to have been the chief suppliers of provisions to the sloops-of-war "Cruizer" and "Scorpion" during their long vigil. After the War William McTier, also a merchant, told the Loyalist Claims Commission set up by the Crown that he had carried messages for Martin.¹⁰

Alex McLean, however, was the man Governor Martin considered his chief agent. A half-pay British officer, he had arrived in Wilmington in February, 1775, and had married a local girl.¹¹ After Governor

¹⁰ William Mactier folder, Loyalist Claims, Audit Office Papers, 1765-1790, British Public Record Office, English Records (transcripts), State Department of Archives and History, hereinafter cited as Loyalist Claims. The Highlanders' names are spelled a variety of way throughout the documents in the *Colonial Records* and in the Loyalist Claims papers.

¹¹ Nina Moore Tiffany (ed.), assisted by Susan I. Leslie, *Letters of James Murray, Loyalist* (Boston, Massachusetts: Privately printed, 1901). 240.

Martin arrived at Fort Johnston in June, having fled his palace at New Bern, McLean assisted him for a few weeks in preparing his proclamations.¹² Evidently he was not afraid to speak out for the King, for on August 25 the Wilmington Safety Committee ordered McLean to recant within 30 days or leave the province.¹³ Since other safety committees usually allowed suspected Tories less than 24 hours to recant, the Wilmington Committee's action seems remarkably lenient. Mrs. Elizabeth Catherine DeRosset, a Loyalist member of a prominent Cape Fear family, wrote to John Burgwyn in England that McLean spoke "such things as are disagreeable to the people" and that his friends wished he would leave.¹⁴ She said that McLean and his wife were going to the back country, but within a few months he was again in trouble with the Wilmington Committee.

During August, 1775, Tories such as Archibald Neilson, a provincial official who was acting as the Governor's secretary, and Alex Schaw came and went between the plantations along the coast and the "Cruizer," to which Martin had prudently retired a few days before the burning of Fort Johnston in July. Although they had to exercise caution, their success indicates that the Loyalists were receiving some aid and protection from people on shore. At least, some professed Whigs did not report their comings and goings to the Committee, and in one known instance a Whig connived at the escape of a Loyalist. Alex Schaw, who had been visiting his brother, a Cape Fear planter, came ashore to tell his sister good-bye before leaving for England to make a report to Lord Dartmouth, the Colonial Secretary, on the situation in North Carolina. The Whigs knew of Schaw's intentions and guarded the roads, but with the aid of friends, he returned safely to the "Scorpion" and sailed for England.¹⁵

Soon it was Neilson's turn. When the rebel leaders found that Governor Martin's "Fiery Proclamation" of August 8 was in Neilson's handwriting "about a dozen of the greatest brutes they had" were dispatched to Point Pleasant, one of John Rutherford's plantations, to search for the Governor's secretary.¹⁶ The "Cruizer" was so crowded with Tories that Neilson frequently sought respite at Point Pleasant

¹² A Proclamation by Governor Martin, June 16, 1775, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 19.

¹³ Proceedings of the Safety Committee of Wilmington, August 21, 1775, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 220.

¹⁴ Kemp Plummer Battle (ed.), *Letters and Documents Relating to the Early History of the Lower Cape Fear* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina [Number 4 of *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*], 1903), 22.

¹⁵ Andrews, *Journal of Janet Schaw*, 196.

¹⁶ Andrews, *Journal of Janet Schaw*, 209. John Rutherford was a member of Governor Martin's Council. Janet Schaw had accompanied his children to North Carolina from Scotland, where they had been educated. Andrews, *Journal of Janet Schaw*, 4.

from the uncomfortable living conditions aboard ship, and the Whigs evidently knew this. As the committeemen, who reportedly were drunk, were not frequent visitors to Point Pleasant, they became lost and wound up at a neighboring plantation. The owner, although a Whig, made no effort to assist them, other than to provide more drink. Soon they were unable to proceed and went home, after asking their host to locate Neilson in the morning. The messenger sent by the neighbor to Point Pleasant breakfasted with the family and appeared relieved when told that Neilson was not there. He made no attempt to search for the missing Loyalist and warned that he probably would have been killed had he been found by the committeemen, who had no doubt since come to their senses.¹⁷ Apparently the demands of friendship took precedence over those of congress and committee for many people.

The departure of Janet Schaw, the Rutherford children, and Archibald Neilson from "this land of nominal freedom and real slavery"¹⁸ provides another example of the Tories' ability to go to and from the "Cruizer" despite the orders of the Committee. Since they had escaped secretly from Point Pleasant, Neilson supplied the party's need for money by sending a message into Wilmington. Several of their friends boarded the "Cruizer" with enough gold and silver coins to fill Miss Schaw's dressing box.¹⁹

The ship which bore away the Schaw-Rutherford-Neilson party in the fall of 1775 had brought to North Carolina several hundred impoverished immigrants from the Scottish Highlands. Governor Martin administered loyalty oaths to them, and upper Cape Fear leaders such as Allan Macdonald and his son-in-law, Alex McLeod, aided them with money, hoping to keep them from incurring obligations to the Whigs.²⁰ Just as Samuel Johnston had foreseen, a formidable task faced the rebel leaders if they were to persuade these bewildered newcomers of the rightness of their cause. Once they were settled among their back-country clansmen, the Whig committees would have little influence among the immigrants. Since they had landed at Brunswick and Wilmington, the local Whigs could also have met the boats and attempted to win the loyalty of the new Americans, but there is no evidence that they did so.

Perhaps one motive for the establishment of the Provincial Council in the fall of 1775 was the need to compensate for the weakness and ineffectiveness of some of the local safety committees. As autumn

¹⁷ Andrews, *Journal of Janet Schaw*, 208-209.

¹⁸ Andrews, *Journal of Janet Schaw*, 212.

¹⁹ Andrews, *Journal of Janet Schaw*, 212-214.

²⁰ Alexander McLeod and Allen McDonald folders, Loyalist Claims.

turned into winter, the newly appointed executive body struggled manfully with almost overwhelming problems and noted grimly the lack of effective control over the Loyalists on the lower Cape Fear. On December 20 the Council observed that "the Measures concerted for the defence of American liberty have been communicated to the prejudice of the public. . . ." Therefore, it resolved to recommend to the committees of Wilmington and Brunswick that efforts be made to see that no personal communication should take place between the inhabitants of the coast and the personnel of the warships. To this end, provisions were to be delivered to the ships in such a way that no intelligence could be disclosed.²¹ The only merchants conclusively known to have supplied the warships were Hogg and Campbell. Robert Hogg had fled to England late in the summer and Samuel Campbell had demonstrated his Loyalist sympathies by refusing to join the march on Fort Johnston and by declining to serve on the Wilmington Safety Committee.²² That Samuel and William Campbell had indeed been relaying information to Governor Martin appears likely.

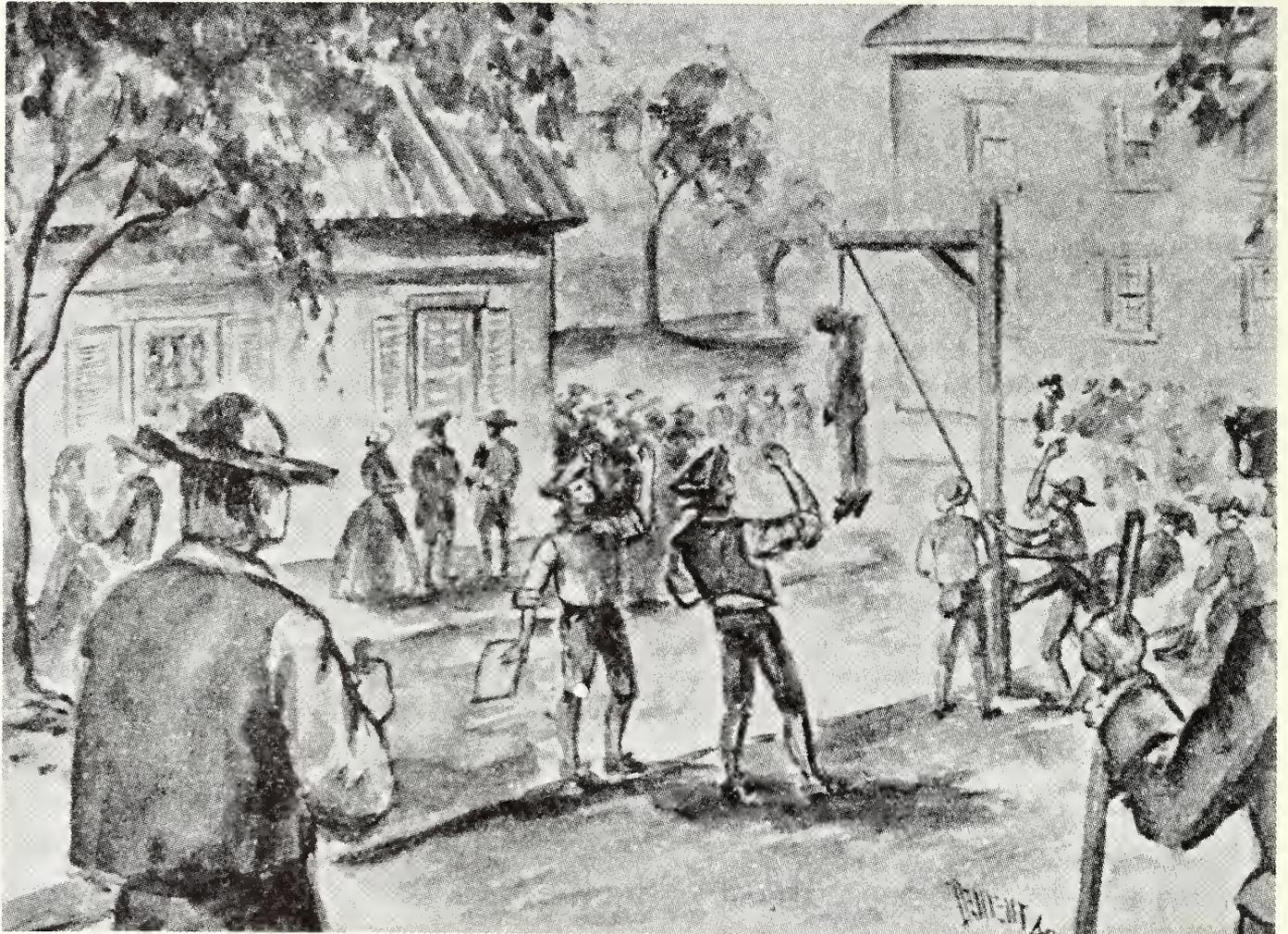
The Wilmington committeemen apparently did not realize how well-founded were their suspicions of Alex McLean. Their lenience toward him was to lead to near disaster for the American cause. Under their very eyes he was carrying Governor Martin's messages to the back country. McLean traveled with a companion who carried the papers, the Governor wrote to Lord Germain. The rebels would not possibly suspect, Martin claimed—and evidently they did not.

In December and early January McLean was in the back country, but he was gone so long that Governor Martin feared for his safety and for that of the men in Cumberland and Anson counties who had promised to rally to the royal standard. Meanwhile, the Governor had been approached by some of the people of Brunswick County, who assured him they were tired of the tyranny of the rebel committees and begged to be relieved. Panicky over McLean's prolonged absence, Martin accepted a new agent from among the men of Brunswick County. It soon appeared, he wrote to the Colonial Secretary, that the new agent had betrayed him. Fearing that the rebels knew the names of his men in the back country, he raised the standard before the royal troops arrived, Martin stated in an attempt to explain the failure of the Cross Creek rising.²³

²¹ Journal of the Proceedings of the Provincial Congress, December 20, 1775, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 350.

²² Robert Hogg and Samuel Campbell folders, Loyalist Claims.

²³ Governor Martin to Lord George Germain, March 21, 1776, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 487-488.



Drawing of angry colonists pretending that they are hanging a stamp collector. From *North Carolina: Yesterday and Today*, by Jule B. Warren.

By January 6, 1776, Alex McLean must have returned to Wilmington, for on that day Archibald Maclaine brought before the Committee a letter from Governor Martin to Captain McLean. Since, as a half-pay officer he was ordered to leave immediately for England, McLean wanted to go to the Governor to ask permission to stay longer in North Carolina. The Committee, not completely deceived by this clever ruse, ruled that McLean could not go to see Martin, but could write to him if he showed the letter to the Committee before sending it.²⁴

On January 10 Governor Martin issued a proclamation raising the royal standard and signed orders to a number of Loyalists in the back country to raise troops and repair to the standard.²⁵ This momentous event is never mentioned in the existing "Proceedings" of the Wilmington Safety Committee. If that body did not know of Martin's action, the Loyalists had succeeded in maintaining a remarkable degree of

²⁴ Proceedings of the Committee of Safety at Wilmington, January 6, 1776, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 389.

²⁵ Proclamation by Governor Martin, January 10, 1776, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 396-397.

secrecy. If the committeemen did know, then their actions, or lack thereof, are difficult to explain. On January 16 Alex McLean was brought before the Committee to explain why he had disobeyed orders and had gone to the Governor. He did not mean to offend, replied McLean, or to act against the interest of the people, but if he had not seen Governor Martin he would have had to go to England and leave his affairs in confusion. Undoubtedly McLean now had in his possession copies of Martin's proclamation and of the orders to the Loyalists. At the Committee's request, McLean, James Walker, and Archibald Maclaine put up £500 as bond for the captain's good behavior and he was permitted to go about his business.²⁶ Walker, who had resigned from the Wilmington Safety Committee in November, departed the province in April, 1776, under the label of Tory.²⁷ Archibald Maclaine has usually been considered a patriot, although he opposed the intemperate persecution of Loyalists, many of whom were his relatives and friends.

Soon after posting his bond, McLean left again for the back country carrying the Governor's orders for the Loyalists to begin gathering. Had the Wilmington committeemen been as firm as the Rowan group, they could have placed obstacles in the way of the Loyalists and perhaps even prevented the rising by incarcerating McLean and some others. The Rowan Committee had, in July, 1775, sent two Loyalists, suspected of having received letters from Governor Martin, to Charleston for safekeeping.²⁸ The example of the New Bern Committee, which disarmed Tories as early as August, 1775, might also have been a profitable one for the Wilmington Whigs to follow. The Wilmington Loyalists were not disarmed until February, 1776, after the raising of the King's standard at Cross Creek.²⁹

Who McLean's companion was is not known. Since Governor Martin claimed that the patriots would not suspect the companion, this person could have been either someone high in the councils of the Whigs or a woman. William McTier later told the Loyalist Claims Commission that he also had aided the Governor by carrying orders to the back country, although McLean claimed to have been Martin's only agent during 1775. Another of Governor Martin's agents may have been

²⁶ Papers of Wilmington Safety Committee, Committees of Safety, 1774-1776, Secretary of State Papers, State Department of Archives and History, hereinafter cited as Papers of Wilmington Safety Committee.

²⁷ William Hooper to Joseph Hewes, April 17, 1776, Hayes Collection.

²⁸ Proceedings of the Safety Committee in Rowan County, July 15, 1775, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 93; Statement of John Dunn, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 673-678.

²⁹ Proceedings of the Safety Committee at Wilmington, February 9, 1776, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 436.

William Stuart, who was taken into custody by Colonel James Moore in April, 1776.³⁰

The Safety Committee should have known that something was afoot, for the Loyalists in Wilmington became bolder in January. Dr. Joseph Fallon posted at the courthouse a paper criticizing the Committee. Although confined in jail, he defied the Safety Committee for several weeks before posting his bond. "The Public will shortly avenge itself in the injury offered to it in my person," he warned darkly.³¹ On January 27 a well-known Tory, William McTier, was brought before the Committee, having seen arrested the previous night while going to Brunswick with three others in a boat. He told the arresting officer that he had obtained the Safety Committee's permission to go to Brunswick, but refused to promise not to go beyond the tiny village, where lay the British warships. The Committee asserted that McTier had not received permission and noted that he had refused to sign the test of loyalty required of all inhabitants. Until he proved himself a friend to the American cause, it ruled, he could not go down the river at all. According to the Committee's records, McTier was then discharged from custody.³² That the rebel leaders could have been completely unaware of the activities of men such as McLean and McTier and of their importance to the royal cause seems unlikely. The Wilmington Safety Committee's lenience toward these two loyalists cannot be explained satisfactorily by ignorance alone.

Another aspect of the preparations for the Loyalist rising apparently either escaped the Committee's notice or was beyond its control. Supplies were needed for the men expected to gather at Cross Creek. One report states that after the Battle of Moores Creek the Whigs captured, among other valuable prizes, 350 guns, 1,500 rifles, and £15,000 in gold.³³ If the Highlanders were indeed so well equipped, they could only have been supplied from the pockets and stores of the Loyalist merchants of Wilmington and Cross Creek and at the expense of the

³⁰ Gen. Jas. Moore from Council of Safety, August 12, 1776, 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), XI, 342, hereinafter cited as Clark, *State Records*; From Gen. Ja. Moore to Hon. Cornelius Harnett, July 31, 1776, Clark, *State Records*, XXII, 751.

³¹ Proceedings of the Safety Committee at Wilmington, January 15, 1776, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 410; Proceedings of the Safety Committee at Wilmington, January 17, 1776, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 418; At a meeting of the Committee, January 20, 1776, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 419; Joseph Fallon to John Ancrum, February 3, 1776, Papers of Wilmington Safety Committee.

³² At a meeting of the Committee, January 28, 1776, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 426.

³³ Letter from an Unknown Source, March 10, 1776, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 485-486.

rebel forces, who were desperately short of guns and other equipment. Fifteen thousand pounds in gold is an astonishing sum of money to have been collected in North Carolina in 1776. Although this account perhaps was exaggerated,³⁴ it is clear that the Tory leaders were able to arrange with the Wilmington merchants for the delivery of supplies. William McTier told the Loyalist Claims Commission that he had furnished supplies to the Loyalists at Cross Creek, as did John and James Cruden. John and Donald Downie, having been asked to prepare supplies by "a Gentleman high in office for the Royal cause," did so. At the proper time Donald Downie set out for Cross Creek in a boat loaded with rum, sugar, coffee, and salt which, since he was captured by the rebels, never reached the Loyalists. Downie escaped to the loyal forces and was killed at Moores Creek.³⁵ The significant fact is that these preparations for the rising were carried out despite Committee surveillance in Wilmington.

That the Wilmington Safety Committee had ample warning of the likelihood of a Loyalist rising in the back country is evident. The Committee also was presented with opportunities to act so as to forestall such a perilous development, but failed to do so. Compared with the New Bern and Rowan committees, the Wilmington one appears less aggressive and bold than some North Carolina historians have considered it. After a study of the Committee's "Proceedings," one may well conclude that the Wilmington Safety Committee was actually a conservative body. Why, in the face of danger to themselves, to their cause, and to the people whose safety they professed to protect, did these men not act with greater speed and firmness against suspected Loyalists and royal agents? The answer would appear to lie in an analysis of the political sympathies of Wilmington's population during the crucial years 1774-1776.

Eighteenth-century accounts indicate that the white population of Wilmington in 1775 may have numbered about 250 persons. Probably somewhere between 60 and 100 were adult males. The fact that 83 men were listed in the Wilmington poll book for an election in 1780³⁶ provides a hint, but not a final answer, as planters living in the surrounding countryside could vote in town elections if they owned property there. Living in the small town and its environs were more than 40 merchants whose names have been recorded in various sources and

³⁴ Hugh F. Rankin, "The Moore's Creek Bridge Campaign, 1776," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXX (January, 1953), 54. Rankin states that the greatest number of firearms known to have been possessed by General Donald Macdonald's force at any one time was 650.

³⁵ John Downie folder, Loyalist Claims.

³⁶ Poll Book of Wilmington, 1780, Clark, *State Records*, XV, 237-238.

who made up a large portion of the town's population. Of 44 merchants, over half can be shown to have been unsympathetic, if not openly hostile, to the rebel leaders' attempts to enforce compliance with the edicts of the Provincial and Continental congresses and the Provincial Council. Only six of these men appear to have remained true to the American cause throughout the War. Ten appeared before the Loyalist Claims Commission, and 12 others fled to England or to the British Army. Two were killed in battle against the rebels. Eleven more cannot be proved to have been Loyalists, but their careers contain suspicious incidents. The fact that planters like Cornelius Harnett, John Ashe, Robert Howe, and James Moore were ardent Whigs should not be allowed to obscure the fact that many inhabitants of Wilmington supported royal government.

A study of the various sources used for this paper has yielded the names of approximately 60 Loyalists living in and near Wilmington. In addition to merchants, the list includes lawyers, physicians, Crown officials, planters, and some people of little property and influence. Testimony as to the size and influence of the Loyalist population on the lower Cape Fear comes from the pens of the Whig leaders themselves. In July, 1777, John Ashe wrote to Governor Richard Caswell that he had found so many of the inhabitants of Wilmington "disaffected" that he had ordered on duty such of the county militia as he thought reliable. He feared, however, that their number would not exceed 300.³⁷ William Hooper complained in 1778 that the Tories in Wilmington were making "observations . . . painful to men who love our cause."³⁸ Evidently they were endeavoring, and not without effect, to undermine the authority of the new State by claiming that its laws were so defective that they could not be executed and that the Whig leaders were afraid to execute them. It is noteworthy that when these letters were written many Tories had already fled. Despite the repeated efforts of the Safety Committee and the militia, many in Wilmington continued to refuse to take the various oaths and tests prescribed. As late as June, 1780, Captain John Walker wrote to Governor Abner Nash that there were still in Wilmington about 20 men who had never taken the oath of allegiance to the State. He named several merchants.³⁹ In his account of the Battle of Moores Creek, Alex McLean

³⁷ General John Ashe to Governor Caswell, July 28, 1777, Clark, *State Records*, XI, 546.

³⁸ Griffith John McRee (ed.), *The Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, One of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 2 volumes, 1857-1858), I, 405.

³⁹ Captain John Walker to Governor Abner Nash, June 16, 1780, Clark, *State Records*, XIV, 854.

reported that as he traveled along the Cape Fear he found "the people in general very well affected to government."⁴⁰

The presence of so many Loyalists in and near Wilmington helps to explain the Safety Committee's apparent lack of zeal and of power. Some Loyalists even served on the Wilmington Safety Committee during 1775. Robert Hogg resigned after the burning of Fort Johnston, and Samuel Marshall was dropped from the Committee in July, 1775. Both soon went to England. Even though he had been threatened with court-martial for refusing to lead his militia company to attack the fort,⁴¹ Samuel Campbell was nominated for membership on the Wilmington Safety Committee in October, 1775. Although Samuel Campbell declined to serve, as did his brother William, James Walker, and several others,⁴² John Slingsby was still a member of the Committee late in 1775. Slingsby apparently was involved in the Loyalist rising in February, 1776, and was killed in battle late in the War at the head of a company of loyal militia.⁴³

In conclusion, then, it appears that the Wilmington Committee of Safety was unable or unwilling to take the steps necessary to prevent Governor Martin from calling forth the Highlanders and Regulators in the back country. The radical Whig minority along the lower Cape Fear seems to have been rendered less effective than the rebels of other counties in dealing with the strong Loyalist opposition by the presence of Loyalists and conservatives in the Safety Committee. Nevertheless, since the efforts of the committeemen and of the militia were sufficient to force Governor Martin to raise the royal standard before the supporting troops arrived from England, the Whig victory at Moores Creek was assured. Had James Moore's troops been tied down by a British invasion of the coast, the outcome of the Loyalist rising might well have been different.

⁴⁰ A Narrative of the Proceedings of a Body of Loyalists in North Carolina, enclosed in General Howe's letter of April 25, 1776, "Volume 93" folder, Colonial Office Papers, 1682-1782, British Public Record Office, English Records (transcripts), State Department of Archives and History.

⁴¹ Samuel Campbell folder, Loyalist Claims.

⁴² Proceedings of the Safety Committee at Wilmington, October 17, November 17, 1775, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 283, 334.

⁴³ Clark, *State Records*, XXII, v.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE NORTH CAROLINA TEXTILE INDUSTRY, 1865-1885

BY RICHARD W. GRIFFIN *

The final few months of the Civil War dealt a serious blow to the North Carolina textile industry. William T. Sherman's army had wreaked havoc with the State's largest cotton manufacturing center at Fayetteville and in Cumberland County, burning eight of nine textile factories in the area. Almost simultaneously General George Stoneman's cavalry raiders, moving rapidly across western North Carolina on their way to succor the Federal prisoners at Salisbury, burned several mills in Caldwell and Iredell counties. They burned the prison at Salisbury, which until 1857 had housed the Salisbury Manufacturing Company's cotton mill. Although the greater percentage of the prewar mills survived, the mill owners were faced with a bleak outlook in 1865 because the heavy and constant production during the years of the War had worn out most of their machinery.

The cotton manufacturers had come out of the War, nevertheless, in better financial condition than most of their neighbors. They had not been as loyal as many of their critics felt they should have been, but anathemas had been heaped upon the heads of all types of producers for profiteering during the War. In defense of the manufacturers it may be said that they had been among the staunchest supporters of the Union and had done everything in their power to prevent secession. From the Potomac to the Rio Grande, the cotton manufacturing "nabobs" had been under constant public attack throughout the War. They had long before adopted the economic mores of the new industrial society and had begun laying the foundation of the New South long before the quixotic defenders of the Old had taken up arms so fruitlessly.

The managers of cotton factories had begun, by a two-price system during the War—gold or Confederate currency—to build up a cash reserve which enabled them in the creditless postwar period to repair

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old and to buy new machinery. In terms of the economic facts of life in the decade after 1865, it seems obvious that this industry otherwise would have not survived. It was upon this sound foundation of industrial recovery that Henry Grady and his disciples were able in 1880 to launch the cotton-mill campaign.

Chaos reigned in the first few months after the War, and the usual routines of life came to a standstill. The collapse of the Confederate government obliterated what lingering value its currency had retained. This loss was further accentuated by the cancellation of the war debts of the Confederacy and of the States—thus, the loss of millions of dollars represented by public bonds meant the end of savings of individuals, banks, insurance companies, and other similar institutions. There were a few citizens who possessed gold or cotton, and although some had deposits abroad, conditions were too unsettled for this capital to be made available.

Northerners were coming into the State, but they were interested only in the cultivation of cotton. The mills of the North and of England, long cut off from an adequate supply of the staple, were anxious to buy and the prices paid reached undreamed-of heights. This made it difficult to begin new factories in the South, or for old ones to find additional outside capital. The only real encouragement for the building of factories was the Cotton Tax; manufacturers were given a subsidy by the government equal to the tax to enable them to compete in the world markets. Thus, no tax had to be paid if the cotton was manufactured in the district where it was grown.¹ The Cotton Tax and its collection caused much confusion, delay, expense, and inconvenience to the planter and served as a pressure in support of establishing cotton mills.

As early as July, 1865, the *North Carolina Advertiser* listed plantations, stores, mills, and factory sites for sale.² In Raleigh, the *Daily Sentinel* announced to the public the organization of the "Southern Real Estate and Emigration Company, whose object is to introduce capital and mechanical skill into the Southern States."³ The most obvious advantage for the reconstruction of the textile industry was the large number of trained and experienced workers who were left indigent by the War. In addition to operatives, there were superintendents, overseers, and managers available for employment in old and new factories. This accounts for the fact that most of the factories

¹ *The Daily Journal* (Wilmington), December 19, 1866, hereinafter cited as *The Daily Journal*.

² *North Carolina Advertiser* (Raleigh), July 8, September 19, 1865.

³ *Daily Sentinel* (Raleigh), September 15, 1865.

built in the late 1860's, 1870's, and early 1880's were established in areas where there was already a manufacturing tradition. The postwar years opened vast opportunities for advancement from the ranks of labor into those of management, and there are many examples of workers who took over the management of new mills. The best example is that of Mark Morgan, who, in the years after the War, rapidly moved from the position of overseer to that of superintendent to become first a partner and then owner of a large mill.⁴ There were hundreds of such individuals waiting to secure new positions in the textile industry after 1865.

Contemporary letters give some idea of the problems which faced the owners of the mills which survived the War. Wilfred Turner, for example, wrote in the spring of 1866 to one of his retailers saying that "in regard to the yarn you will please dispose of it on the best terms you can. It would be difficult for me to fix a certain price as prices are so fluctuating."⁵ A representative of a Philadelphia commission house reported to E. M. Holt that "we sold all the coarse yarn and mixed bales you sent per last invoice at 50c . . . this was the best price our market affords at present & we were able to make prompt sales of it because it was *Holt-yarn*." Holt was informed that there was plenty of good yarn of Georgia manufacture available at 46 cents, but the Philadelphia manufacturers preferred the well-known products of the Alamance mill.⁶

By 1866 conditions had improved and newspapers began to renew their industrial promotion efforts. *The Western Democrat's* editor spurred his readers on by announcing that there were 72 cotton factories being built in Georgia alone. This, the editor stated, was the natural effect of the changes introduced by the War. The destruction of slavery had ended the almost exclusive investment of capital in agricultural pursuits by southerners, and the prediction was made that "Cotton and Woolen Mills will be multiplied from year to year, until the South will finally be able to work up her entire crop of cotton, and export the manufactured article instead of the raw material." This change was especially anticipated in North Carolina, whose "unlimited water power, salubrious climate and fertile soil," were suited to the building of factories. The editor of *The Democrat* took special interest in the development of the local Rock Island factory. It was held up

⁴ William I. Davis, "Mark Morgan: Industrial Pioneer of North Carolina," *The Cotton History Review*, I (April, 1960), 56-59.

⁵ Wilfred Turner to F. D. Carlton, May 30, 1866, Hamilton Brown Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

⁶ James S. Woodward Sons to E. M. Holt, July 23, 1866, Alamance Mills Collection, Southern Historical Collection.

as an example of a concern with excellent machinery, able management, and one which was turning out fine products. This mill, unfortunately, soon was bankrupt and closed its doors.⁷

Many editors, in their promotional zeal, printed fiction rather than facts when discussing cotton-mill construction. In order to stimulate the building of cotton mills, the editor of the Sandersville *Central Georgian* entered the field of statistical misrepresentation on a grand scale. This newspaper reported the operation of 12 mills in Fayetteville, described the Rock Island Manufacturing Company at Charlotte as a mill with 25,000 spindles, and claimed that Georgians were building nearly 100 mills. In no case were the editor's statements correct, but the facts were beyond the power of his readers to verify.⁸

The Wilmington *Daily Journal* published a letter of W. H. Willard, then agent of the Cane Creek and Orange factories, who attempted to awaken a greater interest in the building of cotton mills. He urged prospective manufacturers to buy their machinery from English manufacturers (one of which he represented) as it was sufficiently improved to be worth the additional 35 per cent import duty. The editor of *The Daily Journal* informed his readers that this letter was published because of "the great interest now felt in the South in the establishment of manufactories."⁹ In subsequent issues this editor pointed out the need for and advantages of manufactures in North Carolina. He appealed to the profit motive most heavily, saying that the manufacture of cotton promised unparalleled profits and using the examples of northern factories paying dividends of 45 and 90 per cent annually.¹⁰

The editors also devoted a great deal of space to giving full notice to the affairs of old and new cotton factories in the State. A story on the Beaver Creek factory near Fayetteville which miraculously had been saved from destruction at the hands of Sherman's army, included a report of its production in May, 1867. The 60 looms produced 70,000 yards of sheeting and, in addition, 9,700 pounds of varn were spun; the mill consumed 81 bales of cotton in the process. The rebuilding of Duncan Murchison's factory gave Fayetteville two cotton factories in operation that spring.¹¹ The *Fayetteville Observer* urged men of enterprise to employ again the water power which had operated seven mills in the town. Fayetteville was claimed as the most inviting place for the

⁷ *The Western Democrat* (Charlotte), October 10, 1866.

⁸ *The Daily Journal*, February 10, 1867, quoting the *Central Georgian* (Sandersville, Georgia):

⁹ *The Daily Journal*, November 22, 1866.

¹⁰ *The Daily Journal*, December 6, 1866, February 6, 9, 1867.

¹¹ *The Daily Journal*, June 8, 22, 1867, quoting the *Fayetteville Observer* and the *Fayetteville News*.

investment of capital and, being heavily populated, was an excellent market for any article manufactured there.¹²

The *Wilmington Journal* published four stories on the Rocky Mount mill, one of the oldest mills in the State. One story was devoted to a short history of the origin and the subsequent growth of this company until its destruction in 1863 by Federal raiders. The editor of the *Wilson North Carolinian* remarked that the

destruction and loss of valuable machinery and property was a trifling consideration to Mr. Battle, but by this act of vandalism, numbers of poor boys and girls with aged and infirm parents dependent upon them, were thrown out of employment, and hundreds reduced to absolute want. A similar destruction of an insignificant iron foundry in Pennsylvania by Southern troops, created a howl of cowardly indignation North, and to this day is sounded in the Halls of the National Congress, and furnished a plea for wholesale confiscation of Southern property.¹³

In this way a not-too-subtle dig was taken at Thaddeus Stevens, who was becoming to most southerners a sort of archfiend.

William S. Battle, the proprietor of the Rocky Mount Mills, reported that he would regulate his prices so that they would appeal to the people of North Carolina. As in the past, however, the merchants still went to Philadelphia and New York to buy goods made at Rocky Mount. Southern factory owners still did not have enough capital to extend to merchants the long credit terms they had to have to carry on business.

Rocky Mount Mills, which had once employed slave and free Negro hands, was held up as an example of how factories could bring succor to the poor whites, to those "who have been by the calamities of the war reduced to the necessity of finding light and honorable employment for their children." In the winter months the proprietor provided night-school instruction for the young hands.¹⁴ The mill provided employment for 60 hands, who wove 1,500 yards of cloth daily, for which they received an average wage of \$2.50 per week. In the final article William Battle was congratulated for offering remunerative employment to poor females, mostly between the ages of twelve and twenty-five, who preferred factory employment to farm work. The mill enabled "many poor girls to earn an honest livelihood, and avoid the paths of crime to which destitution so frequently drives them." The factory had

¹² *The Daily Journal*, August 14, 1867, quoting the *Fayetteville Observer*.

¹³ *The Daily Journal*, July 12, 1867, quoting the *North Carolinian* (Wilson).

¹⁴ *The Daily Journal*, August 16, 1867, January 12, 1869.

cost \$70,000 to rebuild in 1867, whereupon it burned again and had to be once more rebuilt.¹⁵

Activities at other factories were noticed by the State's editors. The Union Manufacturing Company mill of Randolph County, built in 1849, was offered for sale by its owners in 1868.¹⁶ In Surry County the construction of two new mills was reported while four others of ante-bellum origin were in operation.¹⁷ The rebuilt Richmond Manufacturing Company, refinanced by the investments of several prominent North Carolinians, was again operated by members of the Leake family who continued as principal supporters of the company as they had been since 1828. A second mill was being built nearby by a stockholder of the Richmond Company.¹⁸

Once North Carolina was readmitted to the Union, everyone began to take greater interest in a diversified economic development. Periodicals reiterated the advantages and needs of the State, pointing out the vast water-power potential, availability of raw materials, cheapness of food and shelter, and the prevailing low wages.¹⁹ It was claimed that the money which would be saved on commissions and freight in getting the cotton would serve as an important price advantage in the world markets. The two scarce items were capital and skilled labor; but both of these items had been supplied by North Carolinians in the ante-bellum period and it was suggested that the same native resources would provide for future growth.

The dividends of the southern mills began to attract attention as they continued to rise steeply and were characterized by one editor as sufficient to "clog the avaricious cravings of Shylock himself." The same editor noted for his readers the praise of one of the foremost northern textile manufacturers of a southern cotton mill. Senator William Sprague of Rhode Island had visited Augusta, Georgia, and gave as his opinion of one of the mills there that it "today will surpass in the success of its operations the best one in New England." Senator Sprague's interest in the growth of southern textile manufactures led him to invest in a mill site near Columbia, South Carolina.²⁰

North Carolinians were urged to begin manufacturing as quickly as possible and thus secure the advantage of early participation and become well established in the business before competition became

¹⁵ *The Daily Journal*, February 14, 1869.

¹⁶ *Greensboro Patriot*, May 1, 1868.

¹⁷ *Patriot and Times* (Greensboro), January 28, 1869.

¹⁸ *The Daily Journal*, February 16, 1869, quoting *The Eagle* (Fayetteville), hereinafter cited as *The Eagle*.

¹⁹ *The Land We Love*, VI (March, 1869), 430-431.

²⁰ *The Daily Journal*, April 14, 1869.

greater. The editor of the *Wilmington Daily Journal*, in a long editorial, called on all the States to do their best to develop southern resources, for the "rushing falls of Tennessee and the murmuring streams ceaselessly coursing to the ocean from the mountains of the Carolinas and Georgia, chide us with the inertness which former times may have rendered excusable, but which is a standing reproach as long as such advantages are neglected in the future."²¹

After 1869 the price of cotton began to decline in the world markets, and this downward trend continued through the 1880's. The few years of high prices had contributed materially to the recovery of North Carolina and the South in general.²² Once the price of and the demand for cotton were more competitive, marginal planters and farmers took up other activities. Those who had surplus capital and who were looking for profitable investment turned to cotton manufacture.

In 1850 the census listed 35 cotton mills in North Carolina valued at \$1,327,400. In 1860 the number of mills had grown to 39 with a capitalization of \$1,272,750.²³ By 1870 the cotton textile industry of the State had made an amazing recovery, with a reported investment of \$2,250,000 in cotton mills.²⁴ The census of 1870, however, reported the total number of cotton mills as 33, with an invested capital of \$1,030,900.²⁵ A North Carolina business directory listed a total of 46 mills in 1869 with property valued at \$2,272,000.²⁶

The economic problems born of the War and then of Reconstruction made economic change necessary, and after 1870 the State, the newspapers, and private agencies devoted themselves to the promotion of the cotton industry. The advantages in North Carolina remained much the same as they had appeared in 1828 when the legislature had looked for means to encourage industrial development. These efforts to attract outside capital met with uniform failure, for the capital and labor which soon was invested in the industry came from sources within the State.

The most important consideration for those who were interested in cotton factories was the cost of construction and of starting opera-

²¹ *The Daily Journal*, April 14, 16, 1869.

²² *Lippincott's Magazine*, III (March, 1869), 225.

²³ *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850. Abstract of the Statistics of Manufactures* (Washington: United States Bureau of Census, 1851), 43; *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860. Manufactures of the United States in 1860* (Washington: United States Bureau of Census, 1860), 420.

²⁴ F. B. Godard, *Where to Immigrate and Why* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: n.p., 1869), 379.

²⁵ *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870. The Statistics of Wealth and Industry of the United States* (Washington: United States Bureau of Census, 1872), III, 709.

²⁶ Levi Branson, *Branson's North Carolina Business Directory, 1869* (Raleigh: Levi Branson, 1869), 181, hereinafter cited as *Branson's Directory*, with year.

tions. There was no end to the various schemes that began to be proposed and tried for the building of cotton mills. Newspaper editors took only the most encouraging tone in dealing with the mill question. The *Wilmington Daily Journal* noted and applauded early in the decade the efforts of some southern States to encourage the rise of industry by extending tax exemptions for a period of years. This editor lamented that the North Carolina "constitution, which too frequently intervenes between the State and her material progress, does not allow such an exemption." The city council of Wilmington did propose to exempt cotton mills from city taxes if and when any should be built there.²⁷ The North Carolina Constitution of 1868 was very specific on this point, the article reading that "laws shall be passed taxing, by a uniform rule, all moneys, investments in bonds, stocks, joint stock companies or otherwise; and also, all real and personal property, according to its true value in money." There were many who urged that an amendment be made which would allow this extra encouragement for industrial plants. *The New York Herald* recommended this type of encouragement to all the southern states.²⁸

In the promotion of cotton factories, the editors of Charlotte and Wilmington were the most outspoken, and their columns provided busy country editors with a constant flow of ammunition for local promotion. Practically every editor had a plan of his own for raising capital, or he published the plans of others. The editors of the *Daily Charlotte Observer* and the *Wilmington Daily Journal* made every effort to stir the citizens of their respective towns to action.

The efforts in Wilmington were the most fruitful, and a cotton factory was established there relatively early in the 1870's. In 1873 *The Daily Journal* suggested an association similar to those of building and loan groups, with 3,000 shares being issued, to be paid in \$5.00 installments. A correspondent of the paper had a plan which seemed to hold even more promise of success. This gentleman recommended that the subscriptions for a cotton factory be made in materials and equipment. One person offered to subscribe a factory site which was valued at \$10,000, and it was suggested that brick, lumber, lime, and all building materials could be obtained the same way. In a like manner, the labor of mechanics, brick masons, and that of all other necessary occupations be used so the factory would be built with a minimum expenditure of cash.²⁹

The citizens of Wilmington were subjected to a veritable bombard-

²⁷ *The Daily Journal*, June 4, 1874.

²⁸ *The Daily Journal*, October 5, 1875, quoting *The New York Herald*.

²⁹ *The Daily Journal*, March 7, 19, 1873.

ment of information about cotton factories. Every new mill was given extensive publicity and, in addition, any change or improvement in existing mills was catalogued. Two articles taken from Virginia newspapers gave more detailed information regarding the cost of building and operating a cotton factory. The *Norfolk Landmark* claimed that its figures were sufficiently elastic to meet all contingencies. Its editor said that:

A cotton mill containing 10,000 spindles and 250 looms is, we shall assume, about what is contemplated to start with here. The 250 looms will consume all the yarn spun by the 10,000 spindles, and will make No. 16 yarn as a basis to make the style of goods suitable for the requirements of our trade. The 10,000 spindles will consume about 23,000 pounds of raw cotton per week, and produce about 20,000 pounds of spun yarn. The cost of the spinning machinery, with all the latest improvements and all necessary expenses for belting, bands, etc., for droving, would be \$85,000. This is, of course, exclusive of boilers, the price of which can easily be ascertained.³⁰

The cost of the looms and the necessary equipment to operate them was estimated at \$27,000. The weaving department was to employ 75 hands who were to weave 241 yards each during a 60-hour week. It was observed that the majority of the mills ran over 60 hours, but this estimate allowed for stoppages of any type. The factory building would be 130 by 75 feet and five stories high, having an auxiliary three-story building, 40 by 26 feet, for picking room, cotton storage, and boiler room. The 120-horsepower engine chosen to power the mills would consume 34 tons of coal per week, of which 84 per cent would be used for operating the machinery, and the remainder for heating the factory.³¹

The *Norfolk Virginian* made a minute estimate of the amount of labor required, and its cost, and claimed that it would cost \$150,000 to build and put into operation a cotton factory.³²

³⁰ *The Daily Journal*, February 19, 1874, quoting the *Norfolk Landmark* (Virginia), hereinafter cited as *Norfolk Landmark*.

³¹ *The Daily Journal*, February 19, 1874, quoting the *Norfolk Landmark*.

³² The following item was published in *The Daily Journal*, February 15, 1874, quoting the *Norfolk Virginian*: "One hundred and fifty thousand dollars will be enough to build a factory and furnish it with 250 looms. Such a factory would weave 300,000 yards of 4/4 sheeting monthly, at 12½ cents a yard this amounts to \$37,500.

To make 300,000 yards of sheeting would require of middling cotton 120,030 pounds, allowing that to cost 16 cents per pound, will make \$10,248.

The labor and number of operatives would cost about the following prices:

1 President and clerk	\$400.00
1 Superintendent and clerk	400.00
1 bookkeeper	100.00
2 watchmen at \$30.	60.00
3 drays and draymen	100.00
1 office and yard hand	25.00

\$1,235.00

This was the kind of information which businessmen needed to show the possibilities of raising the necessary money in Wilmington, or in any city. Local merchants and all of the city residents were urged to support the projected mills, the editor of *The Daily Journal* pointing out that the city would never achieve real importance until "we levy industrial contribution upon the products which seek a market here . . . so long as we only handle the raw materials for others to manufacture . . . so long as we lag behind."³³

In March, 1874, the organization of the Wilmington Cotton Mill was announced. Those who wanted to subscribe were told they could examine the books at the Wilmington Trust Company and Savings Bank, and in Goldsboro at the Branch Bank of New Hanover. The incorporators sought to raise \$150,000 and they asked that the sum be subscribed between March 8 and March 17. Dr. A. J. DeRossett,

Spinning Room		Dressing Room	
1 head spinner	\$ 60.00	1 head dresser	\$ 60.00
2 second spinners	80.00	1 second dresser	35.00
2 oilers and bundlers	30.00	6 warpers	90.00
50 spinners	600.00	6 dresser tenders	180.00
8 quillers	96.00	6 reeders	90.00
8 bobbin carriers	80.00	2 cloth trimmers	30.00
2 sweepers	20.00	2 measurers	50.00
	<u> </u>	1 sweeper	10.00
	\$966.00		<u> </u>
			\$545.00
Weaving Room		Card Room	
1 head weaver	\$ 75.00	1 head carder	\$ 75.00
2 second weavers	80.00	2 second carders	80.00
75 weavers	1,875.00	2 willowers/openers	30.00
2 sweepers	20.00	6 spreader tenders	120.00
	<u> </u>	6 railway tenders	72.00
	\$2,050.00	1 card grinder	30.00
		12 drawing tenders	114.00
Engine Room		12 speed tenders	114.00
1 engineer	\$ 50.00	2 roving tenders	30.00
2 firemen	60.00	2 sweepers	20.00
	<u> </u>		<u> </u>
	\$110.00		\$685.00

Making a total of 253 at a cost of \$5,867.00.

For supplies and materials for repairs, such as oils, leather bobbins, reeds, shuttles, iron, lumber, etc., say \$1,500.00.

200 cords of wood \$600.00.

Insurance 2½ per cent. \$419.67.

To keep the property up to par value, say 5 per cent. \$833.33.

Lights, taxes, &c., say \$400.00.

Freights, commissions and guarantee on year's sales \$38,000 at 7½ per cent. \$2,850.00.

Gross expense per month \$12,467.00

19,248.00 cost of material

\$31,715.00

Which deducted from the gross earnings, leaves a profit per month, of \$5,785, or a profit per annum of \$69,420 or which lacks a fraction of 28 per cent. on the investment."

³³ *The Daily Journal*, February 27, 1874.

George R. French, Donald McRae, J. W. Atkinson, and Silas N. Martin were then appointed to draw up bylaws to be presented to the first meeting of the stockholders. By March 17 only \$90,000 had been pledged and the organizers were determined to abandon the undertaking if the balance was not immediately taken.³⁴ This threat was sufficient to draw the remaining \$60,000 from the public, and the first meeting of the stockholders was held in April at the Bank of New Hanover. After the directors were elected, the stockholders retired so that the company could be activated. The directors began by calling for a five per cent installment to be paid on the shares at once.³⁵

The editor of *The Daily Journal*, understandably satisfied with his part in the promotion of a cotton factory for Wilmington, turned his attention to informing the public of the growing cotton-textile industry of the State. After the successful launching of the Wilmington Cotton Mill, *The Daily Journal* published an article by Silas N. Martin describing the progress made and reiterating the advantages it would bring to all.³⁶

An equal amount of interest was expressed in Charlotte regarding the establishment of a cotton mill there; this, however, evoked more discussion than action. The editor of the *Daily Charlotte Observer* wrote that he had hoped that "by this time, we would have at least one Cotton Factory in successful operation, as a monument to the enterprise of our citizens." Although there was unanimous agreement that such a plant was essential to the future of the city, no one seemed willing to take the initiative in achieving the desired result.

A plan very similar to that used in Wilmington was proposed for raising the capital, but it was more specific with regard to the possibilities inherent in such a program. It was suggested that the capital be set at \$1,000,000, divided into shares of \$100 each. The public was to subscribe for shares which were to be paid in weekly installments of \$1.00; October 1, 1874, was chosen as the date for the first of the weekly payments. These sums were to be placed on deposit at interest until an amount sufficient to build was accumulated, and it was estimated that there would be \$29,000 collected by the opening of the building season the following spring. The company could then build, mortgage the property to secure money for the machinery, and pledge the weekly installments for the liquidation of the debt. If this plan was adopted, it was promised that a factory would rise in Charlotte within

³⁴ *The Daily Journal*, March 8, 17, 1874.

³⁵ *The Daily Journal*, April 12, 1874.

³⁶ *The Daily Journal*, 1874-1875, *passim*; for the Martin article see the issue for November 23, 1875.

12 months. In spite of the publicity given this plan, it was not acted upon.³⁷

The editor of the paper, desperate to secure a cotton mill in Charlotte, next attempted to interest the Grange, as a group, in building a mill. He estimated that there were 20 Granges in and around the city, and that each had about 50 members. This was a total of 1,000 men who, if each paid \$5.00 a month for a year, would collect \$60,000, an amount sufficient to build a \$40,000 factory with the balance for operating expenses.

The lack of water power at Charlotte was one excuse for not building a mill, but it was pointed out that the Salem factory of the Fries brothers and John McDonald's Concord factory had successfully operated with steam for several decades. The editor concluded an appeal for public support for a cotton mill by saying "let us have a thundering big factor, and let it be in Charlotte. Let us hear the whir of spindles at Rock Island once more."³⁸

The campaign of the *Daily Charlotte Observer* suddenly seemed to bear fruit; in fact, the editor was suddenly deluged by embryo cotton-mill projects in the following months, and Charlotte was confronted with plans for four mills. The Catawba River Council of the Patrons of Husbandry discussed and considered the possibility of sponsoring a cotton factory. Then a group of Charlotte's leading citizens, "the very mention of those names is a synonym for success," considered securing a charter for such a company. The owners of the Rock Island factory property began negotiations to sell that abandoned property to still a third group of investors. Lastly, a citizen of Charlotte, J. H. Wilson—with a partner, James E. Moore, of Augusta, Georgia—planned to build a mill ten miles north of the city. This sudden boom in interest in cotton mills carried the editor of the *Observer* away on clouds of enthusiasm as he urged his fellow citizens to come to the aid of any enterprise "which is so full of promise."³⁹

With so much news of the expanding industry, it was thought that Charlotte was on the verge of becoming an important textile center. This dream collapsed when three of the mills projected for Charlotte failed to materialize. The Wilson and Moore Island Creek Mill was built, but it was in Gaston County. The editor's reaction was that "it is a pity that Charlotte has no cotton manufactories and so few of other

³⁷ *Daily Charlotte Observer*, September 5, 10, 1874.

³⁸ *Daily Charlotte Observer*, June 6, 1874.

³⁹ *Daily Charlotte Observer*, October 9, 1874.

kind.”⁴⁰ Interest in the subject limped on for the next few years, while information appeared in the paper’s columns reporting the advances of the industry in other parts of the State. Constant references were made to the huge profits being made by others in this industry.⁴¹

In 1877 a little interest was again aroused when E. C. Grier decided to build a cotton mill north of the city. It developed, however, that the plan was too small to be of real importance. Grier and his son invested \$7,000 in securing a Clement Attachment of 264 spindles,⁴² and the mill existed for about two years before going bankrupt. The Clement Attachment, improved upon by a South Carolinian, had been developed in the ante-bellum period in south Mississippi. This machine, expected in the 1870’s to revolutionize the industry, was designed to eliminate the necessity of both ginning and cleaning the cotton before manufacture was begun. The cotton in the seed was placed in the machine which ginned and cleaned it and delivered it directly to the cards. The Grier mill in Mecklenburg County and another established in 1882 by S. S. Fowler at Elizabeth City were the only factories to use it in North Carolina.

In order to renew interest in the cotton-mill campaign, the average profits of the Langly factory in South Carolina were published by the *Observer*. It had earned an average profit between 1872 and 1877 of \$59,000 annually, and was not only operating overtime but was three months behind in its orders. The editor candidly wrote that “these facts and figures are calculated to arouse general interest in the important matter of cotton manufacturing, particularly in sections like ours, where cotton is the principal staple.”⁴³

The Panic of 1873 had brought a further drop in cotton prices, and farmers were looking for any way to alleviate their distress. Under this sort of pressure, the Granges of Mecklenburg, Cabarrus, Rowan, Iredell, Catawba, Lincoln, and Gaston counties began pooling their money for a manufacturing venture. They had accumulated \$90,000, which they planned to use for building a mill on the Catawba River in Gaston County, and they reported that they had “no doubts of ultimate success in their undertaking and—no middle men need apply.”⁴⁴ As the decade approached its end, the *Observer* listed nine

⁴⁰ *Southern Home* (Charlotte), July 5, 1875; *Daily Charlotte Observer*, November 20, 1875.

⁴¹ *Daily Charlotte Observer*, July 17, 1877, quoting the *Sun and Enquirer* (Columbus, Georgia).

⁴² *Daily Charlotte Observer*, December 9, 1877.

⁴³ *Daily Charlotte Observer*, April 6, 1878.

⁴⁴ *Daily Charlotte Observer*, August 6, 1878.

cotton factories in full and successful operation within 35 miles of the city.⁴⁵

Yet, outside of the promotion in Charlotte and Wilmington, the 1870's had been a decade more of action than of words. At the end of the decade the Wilmington mill was fulfilling its promise while Charlotte still dreamed of its first cotton mill. Men of a new age, however, brought new energy to play on the subject and the Charlotte Cotton Mill was built in 1880-1881. The Atlanta International Cotton Exposition in 1881 served to bring the lesson of the South's needs home with greater impact, and when it was over, the words of Henry W. Grady and F. W. Dawson served to stir the section to greater efforts.

Many newspapers in North Carolina printed columns of information concerning the growth of the industry in the State; however, they were largely interested in local cotton mills rather than in promotional campaigns. Some editors attempted to capitalize on the growing industry by combining public service with making profits. The editor of *The Raleigh News* circularized all the cotton mills with the following proposition:

I propose making in the columns of the Daily and Weekly News, a complete exhibit of the Manufacturing power of North Carolina, taking the cotton factories first; my object being to show the world what we are doing in this line, and to give some idea of the water power of the State. To execute my design, which I believe would redound to the general interest of the State, and of all concerned, your cordial cooperation is earnestly solicited. We will insert a sketch of your factory, which you may prepare, in both issues of our paper for the small cost of 25 cents per line, and call editorial attention to the same. We will also furnish as many copies as you may desire at 3 cents per copy. We would suggest the following outline as covering the leading points of interest. 1. The year in which it was established. 2. A concise outline of its history. 3. Its location, giving distance to nearest railway or steamboat line. 4. Whether run by water or by steam. 5. Character of the water power. 6. Class of goods manufactured. 7. Number of spindles. 8. Number of operatives. 9. Annual consumption of cotton. 10. Any other facts of interest in value concerned with your enterprise. Your views on the subject of Manufacturing in N.C. would be of value and are respectfully solicited.⁴⁶

The Farmer and Mechanic of Raleigh listed, in 1878, 52 cotton mills operating in the State. The editor stated that, although the "factories are small . . . they make a good beginning in any rate. The number of

⁴⁵ *Daily Charlotte Observer*, January 15, 1879.

⁴⁶ Johnston Jones to Malloy and Morgan, May 11, 1877, Cotton Mill Correspondence and Ledgers, 1871-1916 (Laurel Hill Factory), The George Washington Flowers Collection, Duke University, Durham.

looms as far as reported, is 1,464 and spindles 90,686. The aggregate capital is estimated at above \$1,600,000 and of operatives employed 2,288." Other large mills were reported then under construction.⁴⁷

Fire and flood took their toll of the cotton mills in the postwar period, but in every case they were rebuilt or repaired. The Alamance Mills of E. M. Holt were burned, incurring a loss of \$60,000. A local editor wrote that "this loss is a public one. A large number of operatives were employed and its celebrated plaids had an extensive sale all over the country." The mill was insured for \$25,000 and, with the vast resources of the Holt family, was reopened in a short time.⁴⁸ The Big Falls Mill of the Murray brothers, also in Alamance County, was destroyed by fire with a large loss. The water power was bought by George W. Swepson who built a much larger mill at the site. The falls at that point had been used for cotton manufacture since 1832. The Great Falls Mill of the Richmond Manufacturing Company and that of James Aycock were damaged by a spring freshet, the former company sustaining a loss of \$10,000.⁴⁹

The reconstruction of the cotton-textile industry took place largely in those areas where there had been a strong ante-bellum development. The town of Fayetteville began early to recover its industrial growth; within eight years of Sherman's devastating visit, four cotton mills were once more in operation and were making profits of 12 per cent and more.⁵⁰ By 1883 the banks of the Deep River were lined with 11 cotton factories, nine of which were located in Randolph County. This County had had one of the heaviest concentrations of cotton mills before the War; although they escaped any direct attack or damage as those in Fayetteville experienced, they were badly worn by the end of the War. In many cases they stopped, if at all, after the War, only for the installment of new machinery. In the 1870's new mills arose at the side of those which had been in operation for decades. There were 11 mills, extending from Jamestown in Guilford County to Enterprise in Randolph. They had in operation 28,000 spindles and 750 looms, which gave employment to 1,200 hands and direct support to about 5,000 persons. The capital invested in these mills was over three quarters of a million dollars.⁵¹ Alamance County was not far behind Randolph, for by 1880 eight cotton mills, belonging almost exclusively to E. M.

⁴⁷ *Daily Charlotte Observer*, February 15, 1878, quoting *The Farmer and Mechanic* (Raleigh).

⁴⁸ *The Daily Journal*, April 26, 1871.

⁴⁹ *The Daily Journal*, October 3, 1874, quoting the *Observer* (Rockingham).

⁵⁰ *The Daily Journal*, September 27, 1873, quoting *The Eagle*.

⁵¹ *Fayetteville Observer*, November 15, 1883.

Holt and his sons and sons-in-law, were in operation there.⁵² In 1884 the number of mills in Alamance County had increased to 12 with three others in the process of construction; eight of these were Holt mills. Incomplete figures list them with 31,000 spindles, 930 looms, and 1,000 employees. The investment in six of these factories was \$375,000. Thomas M. Holt's Granite Falls Mill was the largest and had been in operation since 1845.⁵³ By 1884 there were 75 cotton mills operating in North Carolina; of these, 35 had been established in the ante-bellum period. The industry had made great strides in the years between 1880 and 1884, for in the former year there were only 47 mills running, 36 of which were of ante-bellum origin. The five years beginning with 1880 showed a growth rate similar to the same period beginning in 1845; in the former period 28 mills were placed in operation, while in the latter period 22 cotton factories were established. The mills in the 1880's were larger mills as the circumstances of a changed age warranted.⁵⁴

There seems no doubt that the growth of the postwar period in North Carolina was due largely to the efforts and example of those who had pioneered the industry before the War. That the business was and had been profitable could not be doubted, for in 1884, when he died, Edwin M. Holt, was accounted the wealthiest citizen of the State. These pioneers had promoted the idea of cotton mills, founded them, invested in them, managed them, and believed in them. In the annals of North Carolina history the names of such men are legion. Without the experience, the capital, the ambition, and the disciples of these pioneers, the textile industry of the State and the South would have barely begun the great expansion which, in the 30 years following 1884, saw the proud New England industry shaken to its foundations.

The editor of *The Daily Journal* was expressing the thoughts of his contemporaries when he wrote with irony that

if it shall turn out that one of the results of the war will be the transfer to the South of one of the most important industries of the North, we suspect that some of our brethern of the colder climes in America will begin to think the price paid for the preservation of the glorious Union was a trifle high. It is just possible when it shall be seen that the surrender of the cotton factories by the North is a sure consequence of the surrender of slaves by the South that the beauties of emancipation will not be so apparent. So far as we of the South are concerned, we say what we have always said, and that is we accept the situation. If the factories must come, we say let them come! ⁵⁵

⁵² *The Daily Journal*, September 4, 1874, quoting the *Charlotte Democrat*.

⁵³ *Branson's Directory, 1884, passim*.

⁵⁴ See Appendix at the end of this article for a list of mills operating from 1865 to 1884.

⁵⁵ *The Daily Journal*, June 7, 1876.

APPENDIX

NORTH CAROLINA COTTON MILLS OPERATING BETWEEN 1865 AND 1884

Company	Location	Dates	Spindles	Looms	Power	Product	Capital	Employees	Owners
Big Falls Mill (Falls of the Neuse Mfg. Co.)	Alamance	1835/ ¹	1,000 (1869) ²			Yarn	\$ 30,000 (1869)	25 (1869)	W. J. & A. J. Murray George W. Swepton
		1876	3,968 (1876) 2,240 (1884)	101 (1884)	Water	Yarn Cloth	\$ 50,000 (1884)	140 (1876) 109 (1884)	
Alamance Mills	Alamance	1837/ 1872	1,400 (1869) 1,200 (1872) 1,008 (1883)	30 (1869) 70 (1872) 92 (1883)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	\$ 50,000 (1869)	90 (1869) 60 (1872)	E. M. Holt E. M. Holt's Sons W. H. Willard
		1837	528 (1857) 1,200 (1883)	40 (1883)	Water	Yarn Cloth	\$ 25,000 (1883)		
Cane Creek Mill Clover Orchard Factory	Alamance	1844	1,400 (1879) 4,740 (1883)	20 (1879) — (1873)	Water	Yarn & Cloth Yarn	\$ 16,000 (1879)	60 (1879)	W. C. Holman John Newlin & Sons E. M. Holt, J. W. White & John L. Williamson Thomas M. Holt
Granite Falls Mills	Alamance	1845	1,104 (1869) 4,856 (1879) 8,424 (1883)	110 (1879) 220 (1883)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	\$ 50,000 (1869)	35 (1869)	E. M., J. H., & W. E. Holt
			1,728 (1869) 3,000 (1879)	54 (1879)	Steam	Yarn Cloth	\$ 60,000 (1869)	275 (1883) 50 (1869) 110 (1879)	
Carolina Cotton Mills	Alamance	1879	2,600 (1879)	125 (1879)	Steam	Cloth	\$ 140,000 (1879)	115 (1879)	Lynn B. and Lawrence S. Holt
Belmont Mills	Alamance	1880	1,008 (1883)	30 (1881)	Water	Yarn	\$ 50,000 (1880)	20 (1880)	Davidson and Gant
Altamahaw Mill	Alamance	1881			Steam	Cloth		15 (1881)	C. C. Curtis
Rock Creek Mfg. Company	Alamance	1882	3,120 (1883)	125 (1883) 186 (1884)	Steam	Cloth		150 (1882)	W. E. & J. H. Holt
Glencoe Mills	Alamance	1882	1,248 (1883)	12 (1867)	Steam	Yarn	\$ 22,000	30 (1884)	F. F. Holt & McBride
LaFayette Mill	Alamance	1883	528 (1867)		Water	Yarn & Cloth	\$ 15,000		Boyle and Jones to 1869 Alsbaugh Brothers J. L. Davis and Co.
Taylorsville Cotton Mill	Alexander	1880	600 (1883)		Water	Yarn			C. T. Harden
Sulphur Springs Mfg. Co.	Alexander	1882-1883	612 (1883)		Steam	Yarn	\$ 15,000 (1879)	45 (1882)	John McDonald and Sons J. M. Odell and Company (1876)
Harden Mfg. Co.	Bertie	1841	1,800 (1860) 2,000 (1883) 4,500 (1882) 6,000 (1884)	37 (1860) 126 (1882) 212 (1884)	Steam Steam Steam	Yarn & Cloth Yarn & Cloth Yarn & Cloth		275 (1884) 17 (1879)	John Phifer & J. R. Nicelor Nicelor & Archibald (1879) J. W. Black (1881)
Concord Steam Cotton Factory (Odell Mfg. Co., 1880)	Cabarrus	1860	812 (1879)	16 (1879)	Water	Yarn & Cloth		15 (1884) 50 (1872)	R. L. Patterson, Thomas Lenoir, R. R. Gwyn, James C. Harper & Chatham Shufford, Gwyn & Co.
Rocky River Mill	Cabarrus	1834/1867	500 (1884) 960 (1872) 1,808 (1883)	12 (1884) 18 (1872) 19 (1889)	Water Water Water	Yarn & Cloth Yarn & Cloth Yarn & Cloth		25 (1869) 35 (1879)	Powell and Shufford
Patterson Mill	Caldwell	1883	800 (1869) 1,000 (1879)	18 (1869) 24 (1879)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	\$ 15,000 (1869) \$ 20,000 (1879)		
Granite Factory	Caldwell	1882			Water	Yarn & Cloth			
Long Island Factory	Catawba				Water	Yarn & Cloth			

Company	Location	Dates	Spindles	Looms	Power	Product	Capital	Employees	Owners
Granite Shoals Factory (Beaumont Falls Mfg. Co., 1884)	Catawba	1854	650 (1869)	24 (1879)	Water	Yarn	\$ 14,000 (1869)	20 (1869)	Tate & Powell
			1,000 (1879)			Yarn & Cloth	\$ 25,000 (1879)	50 (1879)	Claywell & Powell
Newton Cotton Mill	Catawba	1881	2,040 (1881)		Water	Yarn			Turner Brothers (1884)
Maiden Mfg. Co.	Catawba	1883							W. H. Williams, Pres.
Chatham Cotton Mill	Chatham	1877	1,600 (1877)	15 (1877)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	\$ 52,000 (1877)	40 (1877)	H. T. Carpenter, Pres.
Broad Rim Mills	Cleveland	1852	1,056 (1879)		Water	Yarn	\$ 25,000 (1879)	26 (1879)	E. W. & Mathew Atwater, George W. Thompson
Cleveland Mills	Cleveland	1874	848 (1874)	20 (1874)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	\$ 25,000 (1874)	28 (1874)	J. Z. Falls & Co. (1852)
		1881	1,224 (1881)		Water	Yarn			N. A. Jackson (1860); E. A. Morgan (1881)
Morgan Falls Mfg. Co.	Cleveland	1881	2,000 (1877)		Steam	Yarn & Cloth	\$ 25,000 (1877)		H. F. Schenck & Co.
Neuse Mfg. Co.	Craven	1877	2,100 (1884)		Steam	Yarn & Cloth	\$ 40,000 (1884)		E. A. Morgan & Co.
Beaver Creek Manufacturing Co.	Cumberland	1841	1,000 (1869)	24 (1869)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	\$ 33,000 (1869)	20 (1869)	J. D. Claypoole, George Allen, Richard Berry, and T. A. Green
			2,900 (1879)	75 (1879)	Water	Yarn & Cloth		72 (1879)	John Shaw (1869)
Enterprise Mfg. Co.	Cumberland	1868-1875	3,360 (1884)	69 (1884)					Duncan Murchison
Little River Mills	Cumberland	1867-1868							E. J. Lilly
Bluff Cotton Mills	Cumberland	1873	2,800 (1873)	60 (1873)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	\$ 42,000 (1884)	72 (1873)	George Brandt (1868) J. D. Williams (1870)
Hope Mills of Rockfish Mfg. Co.	Cumberland	1873	4,000 (1873)	62 (1883)	Water	Yarn	\$150,000 (1879)	80 (1879)	Duncan Murchison
			4,500 (1884)						John Shaw
Linwood Mfg. Co.	Cumberland	1875	600 (1879)		Water	Yarn	\$ 10,000 (1879)	30 (1879)	E. J. Lilly
Manchester Mills	Cumberland	1878	700 (1888)		Water	Yarn & Cloth	\$ 50,000 (1884)		T. C. Oakman
Rocky Mount Mills	Edgecombe (Nash)	1818/ 1866/ 1871	528 (1878)	46 (1883)	Water	Yarn	\$ 50,000 (1884)	30 (1879)	A. K. McDairmid, Treas.
			1,700 (1883)						J. M. Beasley (1884)
Fries' Cotton Mill (Arista Co. 1880)	Forsyth	1840	2,500 (1884)	20 (1869)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	\$ 50,000 (1869)	30 (1869)	A. K. McDairmid, Pres.
			1,600 (1869)	64 (1879)					90 (1879)
Laurel Factory	Franklin	1875	3,084 (1879)		Steam	Yarn & Cloth			Francis and Henry Fries
Mountain Island Mill (Mt. Hecla)	Gaston	1818/1828 1848/1874	612 (1879)	40 (1879)	Water	Yarn	\$ 15,000 (1879)	12 (1879)	J. F. Jones
			650 (1884)	102 (1884)					100 (1879)
Woodlawn Mill	Gaston	1848	2,500 (1879)	75 (1879)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	\$ 50,000 (1884)	100 (1879)	George K. Tate (1879)
Stowey's Mill	Gaston	1849	5,000 (1879)	110 (1879)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	\$ 50,000 (1884)	150 (1879)	G. K. & F. A. Tate (1883)
			6,000 (1883)	150 (1883)					75 (1884)
Island Creek Mill (Gastonia Cotton Mill, 1884)	Gaston	1875	1,154 (1869)	24 (1869)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	\$ 50,000 (1869)	35 (1869)	Lineberger, Rhyne & Co. (1872)
Mount Holly Springs Mill	Gaston	1876	1,400 (1883)		Water	Sheeting	\$ 30,000 (1879)	50 (1879)	C. J. Lineberger & Sons (1879)
			3,400 (1879)						50 (1879)
			2,500 (1884)				\$ 80,000 (1879)	50 (1879)	J. & E. R. Stowe (1868)
			1,232 (1879)				\$ 50,000 (1884)	40 (1884)	Hornsley & Oats (1879)
			2,800 (1884)				\$ 36,000 (1879)	26 (1879)	T. M. Gaither (1883)
									Wilson & Moore
									J. H. Wilson, Jr.
									A. P. Rhyne & Co.

Company	Location	Dates	Spindles	Looms	Power	Product	Capital	Employees	Owners
Lawrence Warp Mills	Gaston	1878	2,240(1879) 5,000(1883)		Water	Yarn	\$ 40,000(1879) \$ 60,000(1884)	35(1879) 60(1884)	C. J. Lineberger & Co.
McAden Mills	Gaston	1883	10,000(1884)		Water	Yarn	\$200,000(1884)	100(1884)	R. Y. McAden
Logan Mfg. Co. (Oakdale Mills)	Guilford	1865	2,400(1869) 3,600(1879) 3,120(1883) 2,700(1884)	125(1883)	Water	Yarn	\$ 50,000(1869) \$ 60,000(1879)	65(1869) 60(1879)	W. L. Hill, Agt.
						Yarn & Cloth		80(1884)	C. P. Mendenhall, Pres.
Mt. Pleasant Mfg. Co.	Guilford	1880-1883	864(1883)	30(1883)	Steam	Yarn & Cloth	\$ 86,000(1884)	100(1884)	W. M. Kline, Secretary
High Point Mfg. Co. (Willow Brook)	Guilford	1880	3,000(1883)	60(1884)	Steam	Yarn & Cloth			O. J. Causey, Treas. W. D. Jones, Pres.
Tuscarora Mills	Halifax	1876	1,500(1879)		Water	Yarn	\$ 40,000(1879)	26(1879)	John T. Bellamy, James W. Mosely (1881)
Turnersburg Mill	Iredell	1849	660(1869) 650(1879) 680(1884)	10(1869) 10(1879) 10(1884)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	\$ 30,000(1869) \$ 26,000(1879) \$ 26,000(1884)	25(1869) 28(1879)	Wilfred Turner W. Turner & Son
Rock Creek Shoals Factory (Nicholson's)	Iredell	1847/1867	528(1883)		Water	Yarn			J. H. Dalton (1868); T. N. & J. Cooper
Eagle Mills	Iredell	1849/1868	2,500(1879) 600(1884)		Water	Yarn & Cloth			T. A. Nicholson & Son
Little River Mfg. Co. (Lowell Mills)	Johnston	1849	1,000(1869) 1,320(1879)	20(1869)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	\$ 25,000(1869) \$ 40,000(1879)	25(1869) 24(1879)	Gaither & Co. (1869) Morrison, Gaither & Co. (1872)
Ivey Shoals Factory	Lincoln	1848	816(1869) 1,800(1879) 2,016(1883)	26(1869) 26(1879) 75(1883)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	\$ 20,000(1869) \$ 25,000(1879)	30(1869) 50(1879)	William Edgerton G. G. & J. H. Edgerton (1884) J. F. Phifer & Allison
Lincoln Mills	Lincoln	1883							Sumner & Phifer (1884)
Rock Island Mfg. Co.	Mecklenburg	1852-1870	2,200(1869)	63(1869)	Steam	Yarn & Cloth	\$150,000(1869)	102(1869)	Young, Wilkes & Co.
Glenroy Cotton Mill	Mecklenburg	1878-1880	264(1879)		Water	Yarn	\$ 7,000(1879)	7(1879)	E. C. Grier & Son
Charlotte Cotton Mill	Mecklenburg	1880	6,056(1883) 6,240(1884)		Steam	Yarn	\$125,000(1883)	80(1884)	R. M. Oates
Yadkin Falls Mfg. Co.	Montgomery	1857	600(1883)	12(1883)	Water	Yarn & Cloth			Mauney, McAlister & Co.
Swift Island Mfg. Co.	Montgomery	1845							C. W. Wooley (1869) E. Hurley (1884)
Wilmington Cotton Mills	New Hanover	1875	5,304(1879) 5,000(1884)	156(1879)	Steam	Yarn & Cloth	\$125,000(1879) \$ 70,000(1884)	95(1879) 100(1884)	W. G. McRae, Secretary Donald McRae, Pres.
Orange Factory	Orange (Durham)	1852-1883	1,300(1879)	42(1879) 45(1883)	Water	Yarn & Cloth Plaids & Seamless Bags (1881)			W. H. Willard (1869) S. W. Holman (1883)
Fowler Cotton Mill	Pasquotank	1882	709(1883)						S. S. Fowler
Cedar Falls Mfg. Company	Randolph	1836/ 1856	1,824(1879) 2,144(1884)	58(1879) 30(1884)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	\$ 25,000(1879) \$ 48,000(1884)	90(1879) 90(1884)	George Makepeace, Agt. (1860-1876) O. R. Cox, Agt. J. M. Worth, Pres.
Island Ford Mfg. Co.	Randolph	1845-1870							Hugh Parks, Agt.
Randolph Mfg. Co.	Randolph	1839	1,200(1879) 2,000(1883) 1,800(1884)	25(1879) 50(1883) 40(1884)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	\$ 35,000(1879)	75(1879)	Hugh Parks, Agt.
Deep River Mfg. Co.	Randolph	1849-1880	1,056(1869) 1,100(1879)	20(1869) 25(1879)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	\$ 32,000(1884) \$ 20,000(1869)	60(1884) 50(1869) 50(1879)	J. D. Williams Dennis Curtis
Union Mfg. Co. (Randleman Mills)	Randolph	1849/ 1870	3,500(1879) 4,500(1884)	200(1879) 290(1883) 300(1884)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	\$100,000(1879)	200(1879) 375(1884)	J. Walker (1867) J. B. Randleman (1869) J. H. Feree (1883) O. W. Carr (1884)

Company	Location	Dates	Spindles	Looms	Power	Product	Capital	Employees	Owners
Franklinsville Mfg. Company	Randolph	1839/ 1876	1,100(1879) 960(1883) 1,280(1884)	20(1879) 20(1883) 30(1884)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	\$ 35,000(1879)	20(1879)	Hugh Parks, Agt. (1869) Benjamin Moffitt, Secretary Hugh Parks
Columbia Mfg. Co.	Randolph	1849/ 1879	2,880(1883)		Water	Yarn	\$ 60,000(1884)	50(1884)	W. H. Watkins, Agt. J. S. Spencer, Pres.
Naomi Mfg. Co.	Randolph	1879	4,608(1883) 5,500(1884)	118(1883) 150(1884)	Water 12 bag looms.	Yarn & Cloth	\$150,000(1884)		J. H. Ferree, Agt. J. S. Spencer, Pres.
Enterprise Mfg. Co.	Randolph	1880	1,100(1883) 900(1884)	26(1883) 10(1884)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	\$ 15,000(1884)	20(1884)	J. A. Cole
J. M. Worth Mfg. Co.	Randolph	1881	2,500(1883) 5,000(1884)	50(1883) 52(1884)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	\$150,000(1883)	125(1884)	J. M. Worth
Central Falls Mfg. Company	Randolph	1883	5,000(1883) 2,500(1884)	36(1884)	Water	Yarn	\$ 75,000(1884)	65(1884)	J. H. Ferree, Pres. A. M. Diffie, Treas. John Shortridge
Shortridge Mill	Richmond	1867-1868							
Laurel Hill Mill	Richmond	1867	1,900(1879) 2,408(1883) 1,200(1884)		Water	Yarn	\$ 25,000(1879)	25(1879) 35(1879)	Charles Malloy and Mark Morgan
Richmond Mfg. Co.	Richmond	1834/ 1879	4,000(1869) 3,840(1879) 4,280(1883) 4,200(1884)	50(1869) 130(1879) 130(1884)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	\$150,000(1869)	150(1869) 130(1879) 120(1884)	John W. Leake, Pres., (1872) W. L. Steele, Pres., (1879)
Pee Dee Mfg. Co.	Richmond	1874	2,016(1879) 4,000(1883) 4,032(1884)	100(1879) 136(1884)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	\$150,000(1879)	120(1879) 150(1884)	Henry Rishton, Agt. W. L. Steele, Pres.
Midway Mills	Richmond	1881	1,000(1884)		Water	Yarn		25(1884)	Leake, Wall & McRae
Roberdel Mfg. Co.	Richmond	1882	3,264(1884)	100(1884)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	\$100,000(1884)	100(1884)	
Ledbetter Mills	Richmond	1883	1,000(1884)		Water	Yarn	\$ 25,000(1884)	100(1884)	T. B. & J. S. Ledbetter
Milledgeville Mill	Stanley	1840-1881			Water	Yarn			Valentine Mauney McAlister & Co. (1881)
Elkin Mfg. Co.	Surry	1848	1,800(1869) 1,000(1879) 1,500(1883) 1,200(1884)	20(1869) 15(1879) 15(1883) 15(1884)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	\$ 75,000(1869) \$ 20,000(1879)	50(1869) 32(1879)	Foard & VanEaton (1867) N. P. Foard & Sons (1869) R. R. Gwyn, Agt.
Buck Shoals Factory (Mt. Airy Mills)	Surry	1851	600(1869) 576(1883)		Water	Yarn	\$ 28,000(1884) \$150,000(1869)	35(1884) 20(1869)	James Gwyn, Pres. Jacob M. Brower and T. M. Brower Arden Hines (1884)
Green Hills Mill (Eureka Mfg. Co.)	Surry	1869	1,000(1869)	21(1869) 25(1883)	Water	Yarn & Cloth	\$ 40,000(1869)		J. F. & W. A. Moore
Wilson Cotton Mill	Wilson	1883	5,320(1884)		Steam	Yarn	\$100,000(1884)	80(1884)	A. Branch, Pres.
Larkin Cotton Mill	Yadkin	1868-1870							Sparkes, Johnson & Co.
Cary Steam Cotton Mill	Wake	1874							F. A. Page
Marion Mills	McDowell	1881				Yarn			H. C. Bennett

¹ For references to cotton mills whose foundation antedates 1865 see the authorities listed in Richard W. Griffin and Diffie W. Standard, "The Cotton Textile Industry in Ante-Bellum North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXIV (January, 1957), 15-35; (April, 1957), 131-164.

² The following authorities were used in compiling the statistical information in this table: *Fayetteville Observer*, March 19, 1860; *Branson and Farrar's North Carolina Business Directory for 1866-1867*, passim; *Branson's North Carolina Business Directory for 1867-1868*, for 1869, for 1872, and 1884; *Handbook of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1879), passim; *Daily Charlotte Observer*, January 15, 1879; *Dockham's American Report and Directory of the Textile Manufacture and Dry Goods Trade*, (Boston, 1881), passim; *Handbook of the State of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1883), passim.

THE NORTH CAROLINA BACKGROUND OF RICHARD JORDAN GATLING

BY THOMAS C. PARRAMORE *

North Carolina has produced so few men of inventive genius that one might expect her to show special reverence for Richard Gatling. At the beginning of the present century he was undoubtedly the best-known Tarheel in the world. Yet the father of the Gatling gun and scores of other ingenious contrivances has been all but erased from the memory of his native State. The single token of North Carolina's regard is a historical highway marker near his Hertford County birthplace, itself a testament to decades of disregard. The cause is not difficult to fathom: The first use made of Gatling's revolutionary weapon was by the United States Army in the Civil War.



Richard Jordan Gatling, inventor of the Gatling gun. From *Potter's American Monthly*.

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The Gatling family tree extended its first branch across the Virginia line into North Carolina in the latter part of the eighteenth century. In what was then a frontier environment Jordan Gatling at the end of the century cleared 80 acres of land on the north bank of the Meherrin River. By studiously minding his own business and bidding his neighbors to do likewise Jordan acquired in 40 years a sprawling plantation of 1,200 acres and a number of Negro slaves. In the course of those years a twenty-by-sixteen log cabin gave way to a handsome "great house" behind which the cabin came to serve as the kitchen.¹

Jordan Gatling was by nature uncommonly independent and resourceful, valuable qualities to be sure but unrelieved by any hint of social grace. When he wanted diversion from his work he found it in the solitary pastime of whittling. His collection of walking sticks was the marvel of the Maney's Neck neighborhood. Serpents coiled menacingly up the shanks of his canes and menageries of animals filled the interstices. The prize cane bore a total of 500 words of Roman text, including brief essays, poems, and the names of famous men of history equal, thought one who saw them, "to anything possible to the deftest Japanese whittler in delicacy of execution and minute accuracy of design and finish."² Jordan's neighbors watched him from afar and were never quite able to resolve the mixture of loathing and admiration which his eccentric personality evoked. A diarist down the road, summing up Jordan's life at its conclusion, could observe that he "possessed more enterprise than any man in the county . . .," while adding in the same breath that "no one, not one of his neighbors, save his immediate family, regrets his death."³ County historian John Wheeler Moore thought years afterward that "Charles Dickens would have delighted in his acquaintance and the portrayal of his oddities. While still in vigorous old age he was cut down amid safe predictions on the part of his neighbors that they should never look upon his like again. Jordan Gatling was a man of strange conceits and stranger actions."⁴

In striking contrast to the unsocial nature of Jordan Gatling was the outgoing benevolence of his wife, Mary Barnes Gatling. Long after she had reared the youngest of her five children and sent them out to make their way in the world she was remembered riding about the Maney's Neck countryside in a top gig drawn by an old gray horse, paying visits

¹ Charles Henry Foster, "The Modern Vulcan," *Potter's American Monthly*, XII (May, 1879), 336, hereinafter cited as Foster, "The Modern Vulcan."

² Foster, "The Modern Vulcan," 332.

³ Diary of William Darden Valentine, April 24, 1848, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

⁴ John Wheeler Moore, "Historical Sketches of Hertford County, Ch. XLVII," *Albemarle Inquirer* (Murfreesboro), September 27, 1877.

to her neighbors and lending a helping hand wherever she could.⁵

Like a manorial estate the Gatling plantation was almost completely self-contained and self-sufficient. Jordan was his own blacksmith and carpenter. When he became impatient with the tortuous process of planting and thinning cotton by hand he thought the problem through and invented both a cotton planter and a cotton thinner and for years performed by machine the work his neighbors handled according to the technique of the late Middle Ages. All this was done in spite of Abolitionist injunctions that the ownership of slaves was supposed to curtail inventive genius in a society. In constructing these devices, both patented in 1835, Jordan was assisted by his sons Richard and James Henry, each of whom was destined to turn the experience to account in inventions of his own.⁶

Of the Gatling children, Thomas B., James Henry, and Mary Ann were older than Richard, while Martha and William J. were younger. William went west to mine silver in Colorado and Canada, practiced law for a time in Wisconsin, and returned to Hertford County in the latter part of the century to serve his remaining years as clerk of court. James Henry spent much of his life pondering the riddles of flight and actually constructed a hand-powered aircraft in the 1870's. An intriguing combination of triangular wings and twin blower-type propellers, the craft came to grief against an oak tree on its maiden flight. It was still grounded when James Henry was murdered at the hog pen in 1879. Despite his impractical attempts to fly he inherited no small measure of the Gatling gift for contrivance. He invented and patented an entirely level-headed machine for chopping cotton stalks and a novel method of converting common old-field pine into lightwood. After Jordan Gatling died in 1848, James Henry and neighbor Jethro Barnes were the only two patenting inventors left in the County.⁷

Richard Jordan Gatling was born on his father's Maney's Neck plantation on September 12, 1818. His brief formal education took place at nearby Buckhorn School, the tedium of which was compensated by the excellent fishing possibilities offered by the Meherrin. He and brother Henry fished with poles or, in the spring, small hand-seines handled from a dugout canoe three and a half feet wide and carved from a single tree, a type of boat that can still be found in use

⁵ Benjamin Brodie Winborne, *Colonial and State Political History of Hertford County* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Printers, 1906), 175.

⁶ *State Chronicle* (Raleigh), October 28, 1891, hereinafter cited as *State Chronicle*.

⁷ F. Roy Johnson, "James Henry Gatling, the Tinkering Inventor," *The Roanoke-Chowan Story*, XII, 133-144. Johnson, formerly a Murfreesboro newspaper editor, pieced together the story of the Gatling aeroplane largely from interviews with aged local residents, who remembered having seen the craft as children.



Birthplace of Richard J. Gatling. From *Potter's American Monthly*

on the Meherrin and Chowan rivers.⁸ Richard probably stood in the avenue leading to the great house in February, 1825, when he was six years old to watch the Marquis de Lafayette ride by in his carriage en route to Murfreesboro, his first overnight stop on the famous southern tour. Shortly before Richard's thirteenth birthday in 1831, Nat Turner, a slave on the Travis plantation a few miles north, roused the neighborhood slaves for the greatest Negro insurrection in American history. For days Maney's Neck farms lay deserted as terrified families fled for safety to Murfreesboro.

At the age of fifteen Gatling left Buckhorn School to become amanuensis in the Murfreesboro office of County Clerk Lewis Meredith Cowper. After a year of copying records Richard went back to the farm to help his father and it was in the next few months that he helped in constructing Jordan's cotton machines. During the 1837-1838 school year Richard taught at an "old field" school in the lower part of the County, an experience distinguished by the part it played in the education of a future United States senator, Jesse J. Yeates.⁹ Shortly thereafter Gatling went into business for himself, opening a country store near the rural Hertford County community of Frazier's Cross Roads.

It was during these years as a country merchant that young Richard Gatling contrived his first invention, a device more revolutionary than the machine gun he was destined to devise a quarter-century later.

⁸ Foster, "The Modern Vulcan," 334.

⁹ *State Chronicle*, October 28, 1891.

The origin of his idea, as he recalled it long years afterward, came on a business trip he made to Norfolk, Virginia, for his father. While seated in the lobby of a hotel there, young Gatling overheard a group of naval officers discussing a new kind of propeller which was to be tested at Norfolk that afternoon. The Gatling curiosity was aroused enough to send him off to the waterfront to witness the trial. To his disappointment the new design "proved to be merely two paddle wheels placed horizontally one on either side near the stern of the boat. The forward part of the revolution was covered up in a compartment built into the boat itself, the backward and propelling stroke only, taking effect in the water."¹⁰

It now seems clear that Gatling witnessed one of the first trials of William Wallace Hunter's little steamboat, the "Germ." This craft, 50 feet long, nine feet in breadth and having a draft of two feet, underwent tests at Norfolk in the spring of 1841 and from there labored up to Washington, D. C., at the end of May. Hunter, a naval officer, for a time received government support in his horizontal-wheel experiments but the idea proved, in the long run, impracticable.¹¹

Inefficient as it was, the Hunter wheels set Gatling to pondering the problems of marine propulsion as he rode back to Hertford County. In the weeks that followed he experimented on a small pond on his father's farm, at length working out a design on the windmill principle, four blades set at angles of 45 degrees about the axis of rotation, the whole propeller suspended so as to take effect in the water. The inventor saw a commercial future for his contrivance and asked his father for permission to go to Washington then and there to apply for a patent. Jordan, as the son later recalled it, "was cautious and said 'Wait awhile.'"¹² Consequently, seven months passed before Jordan consented to have his son leave for Washington. Upon exhibiting his invention at the Patent Office "he was informed that only a few days before, exactly the same thing had been patented."¹³ John Ericsson's screw propeller was destined to revolutionize ocean transport within a decade. To the end of his life Gatling took pride in reminding interviewers that the idea was initially his own, developed on a farm pond in Maney's Neck.

For four more years Richard Gatling tended the store at Frazier's Cross Roads, occasionally placing orders with his brother Henry, who

¹⁰ *State Chronicle*, December 15, 1891.

¹¹ *American Beacon* (Norfolk, Virginia), June 2, 1841. The writer is indebted to Alexander C. Brown of Newport News, Virginia, for calling his attention to Hunter's experiments with the "Germ" and similar craft.

¹² *State Chronicle*, December 15, 1891.

¹³ *State Chronicle*, December 15, 1891.

for a while kept a store in Winton, eight miles north. On July 21, 1842, he professed religion for the first time by becoming a member of the nearby Union Methodist Church. In the course of these years Gatling's mind continued active in mechanical experiments, culminating in the perfection of a machine that would earn for him his first fortune.

Patented in May, 1844, the new machine was a rice-seed planter, a refinement and adaptation of his father's cotton planter of nine years before. The rice-planter was a rectangular, horizontal frame, drawn upon a roller by horse or other source of power. Seed in a hopper above the frame dropped through a perforated leather bottom in the hopper onto channels in a roller underneath. The roller channels carried the seed around to inclined spouts. Drills forward of these spouts made furrows into which the seed were deposited. The design called for five spouts and drills in a row diagonal to the furrows though presumably more might be added. Oblique scrapers or coverers behind the spouts covered the seed in the furrows and a compacting roller behind the scrapers packed the earth tightly over the seed. It was the motion of this compacting roller as it was drawn along the furrows which, by cogs or band pulleys, turned the channeled roller under the seed hopper.¹⁴

There is more significance to this innocent seed planter than meets the eye. Suppose that instead of rice seed the operator dropped bullets into the hopper, that the motive power of the rollers was a hand crank, and that the spouts were arranged according to Samuel Colt's principle of the revolving barrel. Such a device would employ the basic features of the greatest engine of destruction developed in the nineteenth century, the machine gun.¹⁵ The Gatling gun was the child of the rice-planter and the grandchild of old Jordan Gatling's determination to see his cotton planted more efficiently.

By the summer of 1844 Jordan Gatling was in retirement and Henry had moved back to Maney's Neck to manage the plantation. Henry boasted in his account book that crops were excellent and that he "had cotton blooms 29th day of June" but storekeeping was beginning to weigh heavily on his brother's spirits.¹⁶ The Albemarle region, bright with promise as the century opened, was rapidly losing its New Eng-

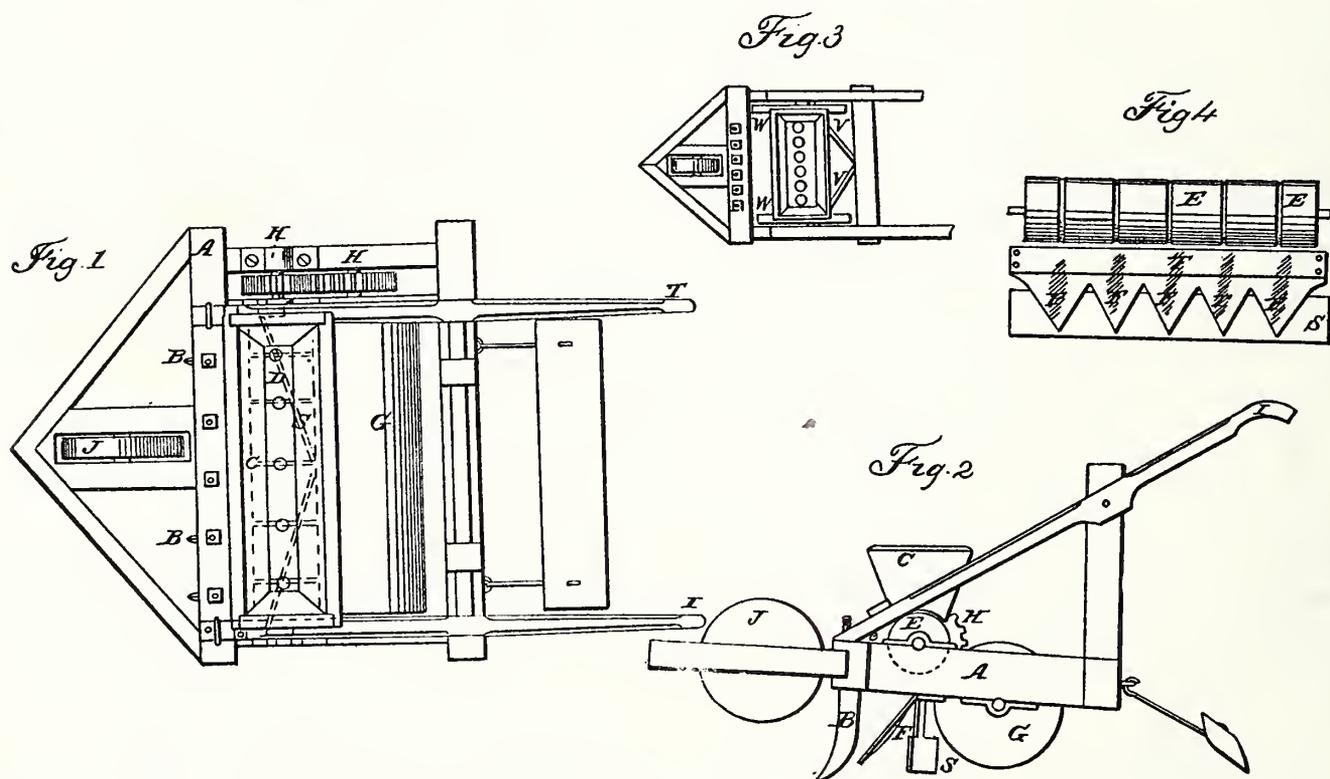
¹⁴ United States Patent Office, Letters Patent No. 3,581, dated May 10, 1844.

¹⁵ According to *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), February 24, 1963, Thomas Winborne of Raleigh at present owns a revolver which "furnished the idea for the famous gun." This six-shooter, identified as "Allen's Patent, 1837," was given to Winborne's grandfather by Richard Gatling.

¹⁶ Account book of James Henry Gatling. Typed copy in possession of F. Roy Johnson of Murfreesboro.

land and West Indian trade to more accessible waterways. As many other young men of Albemarle had already done, Richard Gatling decided to seek his fortune in the West, finally fixing upon St. Louis as the most progressive city west of the Appalachians. In the autumn of 1844 he took what money he had, settled his affairs, mounted a horse, and set out for Raleigh on his way westward.

Richard Gatling rode west to international renown. Converting his rice-planter to a wheat-planter in St. Louis, he amassed a handsome fortune on the midwestern plains. The idea for his machine gun came to him in 1862 and received its initial test in Virginia in the following year under the sponsorship of the United States government. Despite the brief and indecisive use of the gun against Confederate troops, many southerners never forgave what they regarded as Gatling's treachery. North Carolina, unstinting in memorials to petty politicians in legion, has permitted the name of Gatling to fade into obscurity. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*



Drawings for R. J. Gatling's seed-planter, patented May 10, 1844. The drawings and the specifications, reproduced on the opposite page, are from the files of the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

UNITED STATES PATENT OFFICE.

RICHD. J. GATLING, OF MURFREESBOROUGH, NORTH CAROLINA.

IMPROVEMENT IN SEED-PLANTERS.

Specification forming part of Letters Patent No. 3,581, dated May 10, 1844.

To all whom it may concern:

Be it known that I, RICHARD J. GATLING, of Murfreesborough, in the county of Hertford and State of North Carolina, have invented a new and useful Improvement in Machines for Planting Rice and other Grain and Seeds, which is described as follows, reference being had to the annexed drawings of the same, making part of this specification.

Figure 1 is a top view. Fig. 2 is a side elevation. Fig. 4 is a front view of the spouts, the coverers, and the grooved roller.

This machine consists of a rectangular horizontal frame, A, in which are placed drills B for opening or making parallel trenches or furrows to receive the rice; a hopper, C, having a perforated leather bottom, D, in which the rice to be planted is put; a revolving channeled or perforated roller, E, for receiving the rice from the hopper C and depositing the same into inclined spouts F, which conduct it to the furrows made by the drills B, and oblique scrapers or coverers S following said spouts for covering the rice; a roller, G, for rolling the earth hard down upon the rice; cog-wheels H, or band-pulleys, on the axles of said rollers, connected together, the power to turn the same being derived from the animal drawing the machine and the friction of the large roller G upon the ground; handles I to guide the machine; a wheel or wheels, J, placed in the forward part of the frame to regulate or determine the depth of entrance of the drills, and consequently the depth of the furrows. These parts are made of any suitable material and of any convenient size or proportion, and the arrangement of the gearing may be varied so as to cause the channeled roller to turn toward or from the hopper, and may be placed inside or outside the frame.

The channeled roller E is placed perpendicularly under the hopper C, and the spouts F are placed under the channeled roller with their points near the heels of the drills B, said spouts being fastened to the frame A. The coverer S is placed behind the spouts F and in front of the roller G, and said coverer is also fastened to the frame A. (Represented by dotted lines at S in Fig. 1.)

The leather or elastic bottom D of the hopper will yield when any grain falls between the edges of the leathern bottom and the outer surface of the grooved cylinder, and thus will the grain be prevented from being broken or injured.

Operation: The rice to be planted is put into the hopper C. The machine is drawn forward by animal or other power. The drills B open the furrows. The friction of roller G upon the ground turns cog-wheel H on its axle. This turns cog-wheel H' on the axle of the channeled roller E, and also roller G. The latter receives the rice in its channels from the apertures in the leather bottom of the hopper and conveys it round to the spouts F, which conduct it to the furrows and deposit it therein. The oblique scrapers S, following after them, cover the earth over the rice. The roller G rolls the earth.

What I claim as my invention, and desire to secure by Letters Patent, is—

The combination and arrangement of the perforated hopper C D, revolving channeled cylinder E, and inclined conducting-spouts F, as above described.

R. J. GATLING.

Witnesses:

WM. P. ELLIOT,
BENJ. ROOP.

REPUBLICAN FACTIONALISM IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1904-1906

BY DAVID C. ROLLER*

In 1894 and again in 1896 the Populist and the Republican parties of North Carolina co-operated (or "fused," as the Democrats said) to defeat the Democrats, and to gain control of the legislature and the governorship. When the Democrats were returned to the legislature in 1898, they were determined to consolidate their victory in such a way that the Republicans might never again repeat their successes of that time. The Democrats enacted a system of highly partisan election laws and then, despite their earlier campaign pledges, proposed a constitutional amendment disfranchising the Negro ballot.¹ Disfranchisement cost the Republicans an estimated 50,000 votes,² and throughout the next 50 years the North Carolina Republican Party was unable to elect a governor or a State officer and managed to elect only eight congressmen. Although the Republicans drew from one-third to nine-twentieths of the popular vote, they were without influence and effective representation.

Yet, this prolonged condition of political ineffectiveness was not anticipated or inevitable in the first years of the century. Indeed, there were several reasons for supposing that the Republicans might succeed in organizing a strong and successful party in North Carolina. Many Republicans, although granting that disfranchisement had cost

* Mr. Roller is a doctoral candidate and Instructor in History at Duke University.

¹ Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954), 522-525. Mississippi in 1890, South Carolina in 1895, and Louisiana in 1898 had already legally excluded the Negro ballot. Alabama, Georgia, Virginia, and Oklahoma then followed North Carolina in this action.

The George Washington Flowers Collection, Duke University, and the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, contain a great deal of material on the Republican Party during this period. There is, however, a paucity of information about Congressman E. Spencer Blackburn's effort to gain control of the Party. The Marion Butler Collection in the Southern Historical Collection is still closed for the period after 1900. The William Garrott Brown and the J. Elwood Cox collections in the George Washington Flowers Collection and the James Graham Ramsay and the Willis Grandy Briggs collections, Southern Historical Collection, provide only oblique and highly personal references relating to this subject. Thus contemporary newspaper accounts provide the major source of information about this portion of the history of the Republican Party in North Carolina.

² Hugh Talmage Lefler, *History of North Carolina* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 4 volumes, 1956), II, 702.

a large number of votes, considered the amendment to be the beginning of a new day for their party. As long as the Negro was identified with the Republicans, it was impossible to enlist the support of a majority of the white population and to build a strong State party composed solely of white voters. With the Negro effectively eliminated from State politics, Republicans could canvass as a second white man's party, and the Democrats could no longer equate Republicanism with Negro domination.

The gradual industrialization of North Carolina suggested a second reason for Republican optimism. In 1900 the State was still on the margin of the nation's industrial economy and could hardly be described as "industrialized" with only one-thirtieth of its population engaged in manufacturing. Nevertheless, a self-conscious group of entrepreneurs, most of whom were voting Republican in national politics, had arisen; and Republican leaders sought to convert these people to the Republican faith and doctrines on the State level as well.³

The conversion of "good" "white" southerners to the support, if not always to the faith, of Republicanism was made easier by the popularity of the Party's national standard-bearer, Theodore Roosevelt. His mother was from Georgia and he had Confederate uncles; this made him "half-southern" and as irresistible to Dixie as he was to the nation as a whole. Within weeks after becoming President, Roosevelt appointed a conservative and Democratic former governor of Alabama to a federal judgeship. The South was "delighted," southern newspapers predicted a "new era of good feeling," and many Republicans optimistically envisioned the section's flocking to the Roosevelt banner.⁴

Nevertheless, despite their use of the mantle of Roosevelt's popularity and their diligent efforts to develop the growing power of the business community as a political base, the Republicans of North Carolina failed to build the virile and successful party which many of them had envisioned as their future. The Republicans were aware of their party's opportunity for political growth, but they were unable to organize the sustained, unified, and concerted program needed to cultivate this promise of future success. Intraparty lawsuits, convention contests, and the running race for federal patronage provided constant distractions and frequent fissions within the ranks of the State

³ Dan Mabry Lacy, "The Beginnings of Industrialism in North Carolina: 1865-1900" (unpublished master's thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1935), 127-136.

⁴ Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., "Dinner at the White House: Theodore Roosevelt, Booker T. Washington, and the South," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, XVII (June, 1958), 112-113, 129.

Republican organization. This chronic factionalism, and not the disfranchisement amendment, was responsible for crippling the Republican Party during the early years of this century.

Illustrative of this internecine feuding was the challenge of E. Spencer Blackburn to the Republican organization from 1904 to 1906. While Roosevelt carried West Virginia and Missouri in the November elections of 1904, North Carolina Republicans reduced the Democratic gubernatorial majority of 1900 from 60,000 to 49,000, and they elected Blackburn to Congress from the Eighth Congressional District. Blackburn was the only State Republican to hold federal office by election and, although he had only a 245-vote majority, he had won this contest in the face of opposition from several ranking Republicans.⁵ Speculation began immediately after his victory as to whether Blackburn, in his unique public position, would displace State Chairman Thomas S. Rollins as dispenser of federal patronage. If Blackburn were given control of patronage, he would naturally oust such officeholders as United States District Attorney A. E. Holton, who had opposed the new congressman's nomination and election.⁶

Roosevelt announced that Virginia's lone Republican congressman, Campbell B. Slep, would control the patronage which formerly had been dispensed by the "Old Dominion's" State chairman, but the President gave no indication of following a similar policy in North Carolina. Rollins, after all, had a powerful friend and ally in Marion Butler, a former North Carolina senator and Populist Party national chairman. Butler, a new convert to progressive Republicanism and a "friend" of the President, was a major power behind Rollins and an old foe of many of Blackburn's supporters. If Blackburn was to gain control of the State organization and of federal patronage, he would have to wrest it from Butler, Rollins, and their supporters.

The initial contest between these groups arose, not over patronage, but over the establishment of a Republican daily newspaper. At a time when news coverage was slanted more often than not to the political views of a newspaper's owners, and in a State blanketed by Democratic presses, a daily newspaper was essential if the Republican view of the news was to be presented as the events occurred. There was good reason for supposing that an effort to publish such a daily newspaper in Greensboro would be successful, and the two factions of the Republican Party began a race to found such a journal.

On May 31, 1905, Congressman Blackburn chartered a corporation

⁵*The Morning Post* (Raleigh), December 4, 1904, hereinafter cited as *The Morning Post*. Blackburn had received a total of 15,566 votes to 15,321 for his opponent.

⁶*The Morning Post*, November 27, 1904.

which would publish the Greensboro Daily Tar Heel. He had been preceded in calling at the Secretary of State's office, however, by Judge Spencer B. Adams who had, less than an hour before, incorporated the *Daily Industrial News*, also in Greensboro, for a group headed by Rollins, Butler, and Holton.⁷ The two factions competed all summer for support for their respective dailies, but Butler and Rollins succeeded in publishing their paper first.

Blackburn's projected newspaper eventually appeared in Greensboro as a weekly and immediately assumed a distinctly anti-Rollins and anti-Butler posture.⁸ It dismissed the *Daily Industrial News* as the personal spokesman of Butler and proclaimed itself to be "against the arrogated powers of an office-holding oligarchy, headed and dominated by the repudiated Boss of another party."⁹ The more genteel *Daily Industrial News* ignored the remarks of its contemporary and refused even to carry a news item noting the initial publication of the weekly. Fuss and fume as the *Tar Heel* might, Blackburn had lost his first contest to the State organization.

Blackburn quickly regrouped his forces and soon issued a reform platform of 22 points. The Congressman called for the replacement of the "patronage machine" with a vigorous popular party, and he spoke against the leadership of the Republican Party by Marion Butler, the "repudiated leader of another party." The "reformer" was also opposed to reappointment of any federal officeholder who had served two terms of office.¹⁰ Since most incumbents were supporters of the Rollins-Butler combine, the policy of limiting officials to two terms of office would have struck at the core of the organization's support and opened innumerable positions to be filled by Blackburn's men. Blackburn's suggestion was probably better as a political expedient than as a plank of progressive reform.

A week after issuing his 22-point manifesto, Blackburn went to Washington at the head of a "flying squadron" of 20 North Carolina Republicans. In an hour-long interview with Roosevelt, the Blackburn group protested against the influence of Butler and against Rollins' "office brokerage."¹¹ The President agreed to look into the matter and directed Attorney General William H. Moody and Republican National Chairman and Postmaster General George B. Cortelyou to conduct an

⁷ *The Morning Post*, June 1, 2, 3, 1905.

⁸ *Weekly Tar Heel* (Greensboro), hereinafter cited as *Weekly Tar Heel*, began publication on November 9, 1905. The *Daily Industrial News* (Greensboro), hereinafter cited as *Daily Industrial News*, first appeared on October 8, 1905.

⁹ *Weekly Tar Heel*, November 16, 1905.

¹⁰ *Weekly Tar Heel*, December 7, 1905.

¹¹ *Charlotte Daily Observer*, December 15, 1905.

analytical study of North Carolina politics. The Blackburn group greeted this action as a highly favorable sign and its first significant victory.¹²

The White House visit was soon followed by Roosevelt's nomination of Blackburn's men as postmasters in Goldsboro and Greensboro. This was a new peak for Blackburn's influence, as organization-backed candidates were passed over in both instances; the Greensboro appointment especially had been tagged by Butler and Rollins for the Editor of their *Daily Industrial News*, Robert Dick Douglas. (Douglas was the grandson of the famous Stephen A. Douglas and the son of a prominent North Carolina Republican, Robert M. Douglas.) The State organization was observably jarred by these nominations, and the Washington correspondent of the Democratic *Charlotte Daily Observer* reported that:

The prediction is now being freely made that the President has concluded to deal with Mr. Blackburn in his representative capacity and that he will, before a great while, secure the scalps of others who have been known as his opponents.¹³

Chairman Rollins, National Committeeman Carl E. Duncan, and a disappointed Editor Douglas made a beeline for Washington to meet with Butler and to make an appeal to the President.¹⁴ There, although they failed to persuade Roosevelt to withdraw his appointment of Blackburn's candidates, they apparently won an even greater victory. Postmasterships were key plums for rank-and-file support; but the two district attorney positions and those of the two United States revenue collectors and the two United States district marshals of the State represented six positions which a group of major postmasterships could not equal. Three of these posts required new appointments and all three were awarded to the organization forces. The President renominated District Attorney Holton, a principal political foe of the Congressman; he passed over Blackburn's chief aide to reappoint Marshal J. M. Millikan, an organization Republican; and he awarded the other marshal's office to a candidate backed by Rollins.¹⁵

With the ambiguous Roosevelt swinging like a pendulum between the two factions, the patronage fight shifted to Congress where Blackburn used his congressional influence to tie up Holton's confirmation in the Senate Judiciary Committee.¹⁶ Blackburn told the senators that

¹² *Charlotte Daily Observer*, December 21, 1905.

¹³ *Charlotte Daily Observer*, January 25, 1906.

¹⁴ *Daily Industrial News*, January 27, 1906.

¹⁵ *Daily Industrial News*, February 6, 1906.

¹⁶ *Daily Industrial News*, February 10, 1906.

Holton placed politics above his duties as district attorney, and the Congressman secured even Democratic support for his opposition to the incumbent.¹⁷

The appointment of Holton was both a personal fight between Blackburn and Holton and a test of strength between Blackburn and the organization. The Congressman had used his position in Congress to check Holton, and the District Attorney countered by using his office against Blackburn. Holton presented a bill of indictment charging Blackburn with illegally practicing law before the Department of Justice. Blackburn yelled "politics," but the grand jury indicted him on eight counts and the seesaw battle for power continued.¹⁸

The *Charlotte Daily Observer* suggested in an editorial that Holton was acting under the direction and with the approval of the national administration in an attempt to curb the rambunctious Congressman,¹⁹ but it is impossible to substantiate this idea from Roosevelt's actions. One week before the indictment, the President had withdrawn the nominations of Blackburn's men for Goldsboro and Greensboro; then three days after the grand jury's report, he resubmitted their names and was reported pressing for their confirmation.²⁰

Publicly, Blackburn was undismayed, but his political stature was clearly shortened under the force of his indictment. Despite the Congressman's testimony, the Senate confirmed Holton's nomination; and, despite Roosevelt's urgings, Butler managed to tie up the approval of Blackburn's Greensboro and Goldsboro postmasterships.²¹

The basis of the indictment was a statute directing that:

No Senator, Representative, or Delegate, after his election and during his continuance in office . . . shall receive or agree to receive any compensation whatever, directly or indirectly, for any services rendered, or to be rendered, to any person . . . in relation to any proceeding, contract, claim, controversy, charge, accusation, arrest, or other matter or thing in which the United States is a party. . . .²²

To remove the trial from the influence of State politics, Holton was replaced as prosecutor by a federal attorney from Virginia, and a judge

¹⁷ *Charlotte Daily Observer*, February 11, 15, 1906.

¹⁸ *Charlotte Daily Observer*, February 22, 1906.

¹⁹ *Charlotte Daily Observer*, February 22, 1906.

²⁰ *Charlotte Daily Observer*, February 14, 25, 1906.

²¹ *Charlotte Daily Observer*, April 8, 1906.

²² Title XIX, Section 1782, *Revised Statutes of the United States, Passed at the First Session of the Forty-Third Congress, 1873-1874* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1878), 316. Conviction under this statute carried with it imprisonment for not more than two years, a fine of not more than \$10,000, and prohibition from holding public office.

from outside the State was brought in to preside. Blackburn's defense was based on the point that each instance on which he was charged with practicing law illegally had occurred prior to undertaking his duties as an actual member of Congress. The trial went on for three days, but the judge, at the conclusion of his directions to the jury, dismissed the case with this instruction:

If you should bring in a verdict of guilty I would promptly set it aside, so to avoid further delay in this unfortunate case I herewith direct you to write the words "not guilty" upon each of the eight indictments against the defendant.²³

Reaction to the verdict was mixed. The *Daily Industrial News* hoped editorially that the verdict would be the end of the dispute and called for unity,²⁴ but Butler labeled Blackburn a "fool" who had narrowly "escaped the penitentiary."²⁵ The Democratic *Charlotte Daily Observer*, however, considered the indictment to have been a "flimsy case" and the acquittal to have given Blackburn "supreme" power within the Eighth District.²⁶

Blackburn remained in Greensboro long enough to organize his campaign for State chairman and then he confidently returned to Washington. After the Congressman visited the White House, the *Washington Star*, a Roosevelt organ, opined that "Mr. Blackburn will put the Butler-Rollins combination out of business."²⁷ Indeed, Roosevelt's patronage appointments did appear to support Blackburn. Two Blackburn nominees for postmasters were confirmed and, to everyone's surprise, a Blackburn nominee ousted an organization incumbent as the second North Carolina collector of revenue.²⁸ The collectorship was the greatest patronage plum that Blackburn had received during his contest with the organization,²⁹ a contest which was fast approaching its climax. A new State chairman was to be elected at the Party's State convention in July, and Blackburn's lieutenants were vigorously soliciting delegates.

²³ *Daily Industrial News*, April 21, 1906.

²⁴ *Daily Industrial News*, April 21, 1906.

²⁵ *The Caucasian* (Raleigh), May 3, 1906.

²⁶ *Charlotte Daily Observer*, April 21, 1906.

²⁷ *The Star* (Washington, D. C.), quoted in the *Charlotte Daily Observer*, May 11, 1906.

²⁸ *Charlotte Daily Observer*, June 1, 19, 1906.

²⁹ Roosevelt, in his letter to the new collector, George H. Brown, explicitly forbade the use of this federal office "in any shape or way in the faction contest between Mr. Blackburn and Mr. Blackburn's opponents." Nevertheless, the ouster of the organization's incumbent in favor of Blackburn's nominee was an unquestioned laurel for the Congressman. Theodore Roosevelt to George H. Brown, June 20, 1906, Elting E. Morison (ed.), *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 8 volumes, 1951-1954), V, 308.

At the end of May, with the organization clearly on the defensive, Rollins, Holton, and Duncan went to confer with Butler in Washington. They still controlled the convention's program, but more than an agenda was needed to turn the increasing power of the warring Congressman. A strategy was agreed upon, and on the day following this Washington conference, Chairman Rollins resigned. Judge Spencer B. Adams was selected to fill out Rollins' term. Blackburn admitted that the change was a "distinct surprise," but considered the change to represent no lessening of Butler's hated influence.³⁰ Adams immediately began to marshal the machine's support.

Blackburn's strength was localized in the western counties in and surrounding his congressional district. The core of the organization's support came from the eastern counties where, except for Butler's Sampson County, Republicans were seldom elected to office, and party members had accustomed themselves to the discipline (and the patronage) of the State organization. Adams' problems was, therefore, to obtain as much support as possible from the western and central counties where large numbers of Republicans viewed Blackburn as an insurgent "mountaineer" who was corroding the strength of the Party in a factional war for his personal aggrandizement.

In addition to the questions of Blackburn's personal following opposed to the State organization and of east-west sectional differences, the hazy question of presidential politics further beclouded the contest for the State chairmanship. Although Blackburn's *Weekly Tar Heel* described itself as "Republican of the Roosevelt-type," it was fonder of recalling the glories of Hayes, Harrison, and McKinley than of lauding the reforming Roosevelt. Blackburn himself had courted the favor of several presidential hopefuls, and there were rumors that, should Blackburn gain control, the State convention would declare its support of House Speaker Joseph Cannon for President.³¹ Butler, on the other hand, was a faithful supporter of the progressive policies of Roosevelt and was hopeful that he would accept a third term. If Roosevelt declined, the ex-Populist was willing to support Roosevelt's favorite, Secretary of War William Howard Taft.

The extent to which Blackburn's un-Rooseveltian intentions affected the alignment of Republicans in the State cannot be determined, but they were a decisive influence on the President. Roosevelt had tried to maintain the support of both factions; he enjoyed the backing and the support of Butler and the organization, but he respected the

³⁰ *Weekly Tar Heel*, May 31, 1906.

³¹ *Charlotte Daily Observer*, May 27, 1906.

popular success of the maverick Congressman. When Blackburn appeared to be stepping away from the President's political camp, however, three Rooseveltian thunderbolts fell on North Carolina Republicans. Butler and Adams announced that Taft, Roosevelt's troubleshooter in international, national, and Republican Party politics, would be the keynote speaker at the State convention under the slogan "Adams and Harmony."³² Then the Party received a letter from Republican National Chairman Cortelyou. It was addressed to "My dear Mr. Adams":

I am deeply interested in the convention, and believe that if properly conducted upon broad lines of harmonious action, in the furtherance of clean politics, it will exert a powerful influence for good in the affairs of North Carolina. In a state as well as in national affairs a clear definition of party lines, based upon well-defined policies, is a vital factor in the struggle for good government. *As a necessary feature of such political alignments, there must be party organization—an organization that represents not an individual or a faction, but the fundamental principles for which the party stands.*³³

If these two actions left any room for doubt as to the attitude of the national administration, Roosevelt emphasized his support of the State organization with a convention-eve patronage nomination. Butler had bottled up the confirmation of Blackburn's Greensboro postmastership, and now Roosevelt, with a most dramatic effect, withdrew the nomination of the Congressman's candidate and replaced it with that of R. D. Douglas, editor of the organization's daily paper.

Meanwhile, the organization had been countering Blackburn's drive for delegates with a counterdrive of its own. Adams was attending as many county conventions as he was able, Butler presented the organization's case to old friends and enemies alike through the mails, and the *Daily Industrial News* increased its attack upon the challenging Congressman. The tide had apparently turned by the week before the convention when Judge W. P. Bynum, Jr., publicly endorsed Chairman Adams for re-election.³⁴ Bynum had been a steadfast supporter of Blackburn and had served as the chief attorney defending the Congressman in the trial of the preceding April; his defection represented the growing reluctance of the party members to take on the organization in an open fight.

Indeed, the theme of Secretary Taft's message in Greensboro was a

³²*Daily Industrial News*, June 23, 1906.

³³*Daily Industrial News*, July 10, 1906. Italics added by the author.

³⁴*Daily Industrial News*, July 7, 1906.

warning against such an intraparty squabble. His judgment that the existence of federal patronage hindered rather than abetted State Republicans received the greatest attention from the Democratic papers, but more central to his thought was an appeal for harmony and unity; without this condition, Taft warned, the State's "men of substance" would refuse to support the Republican cause.³⁵

The work of Adams, the campaign of the *Daily Industrial News*, President Roosevelt's quiet strength, and the resilience of the organization were together enough to check the insurgent Blackburn. During a riotous and disorderly session, 55 per cent of the delegates stood by the organization and Judge Adams was re-elected State chairman.³⁶

His long campaign to overthrow the existing organization had ended in defeat, and Blackburn, at the conclusion of the balloting, personally moved that Adams' election be made unanimous. The organization took its cue and made one of Blackburn's lieutenants, W. S. Pearson, permanent party secretary. The contest had been earnestly and bitterly fought, but a reconciliation was accomplished. The organization's *Daily Industrial News* switched from its attacks on Blackburn to call for peace.

Let us have peace. And when we say peace we mean peace that comes from mutual determination to give and take, peace that implies a mutual consideration and respect for the rights of all men within the party. . . .

Let us have peace, and secure in all that peace, let us Republicans, one and all, put our shoulders to the wheel and give to our new-elected [*sic*] state chairman a most whole-hearted and enthusiastic support and at the same time send to the next congress E. Spencer Blackburn, and if possible give him one or more associates to help him uphold the Republican banner.³⁷

In turn, Blackburn's *Tar Heel* gave the appropriate response.

The Convention is now a thing of the past and Mr. Adams will be State Chairman for the next two years. The factional fight has ceased and where strife and bitterness existed last week, friendship and harmony prevail today. . . . Mr. Adams is chairman of the party in the State. Mr. Blackburn is the only Republican Representative in Congress from the State. Upon the shoulders of these two strong, sturdy and stalwart men rests the destiny of the party—its integrity, its honor and its success.³⁸

³⁵ *Daily Industrial News*, July 10, 1906.

³⁶ Spencer B. Adams received 468 votes, E. Spencer Blackburn received 300 votes, and C. J. Harris (a dark horse, pro-Taft, antiorganization candidate) received 84 votes. *Daily Industrial News*, July 11, 1906.

³⁷ *Daily Industrial News*, July 11, 1906.

³⁸ *Weekly Tar Heel*, July 12, 1906.

If the unanimity which prevailed after Adams' election had continued, the Blackburn fight might have been a beneficial catharsis for State Republicans. It was, however, only one of the running series of factional battles which dissipated the Republican Party's energy, money, and attention. It was a single instance of the factionalism which prevented the Republican Party from capitalizing upon a genuine opportunity for political growth in a southern State.

The most frequent of these Republican cleavages originated—as they did during the period of Blackburn's challenge—over the distribution of federal patronage. Indeed, R. D. W. Connor has credited these patronage contests with checkmating the Party's chances for growth.

. . . the Republicans of North Carolina, for a mess of Federal pottage, threw away the best chance their party ever had to lay the foundation of a strong party in a southern state.³⁹

Yet, although the desire to secure a federal stipend was the motive of many individual candidacies, more than "spoils" was involved in these patronage appointments. Each appointment represented a possible element of political power. Each postmastership and each revenue collectorship was viewed as a political pawn by would-be party chieftains and by those who sought to influence the presidential nominations of the national Republican Party. Even President Roosevelt, who wanted to raise the quality of federal appointments, was acutely aware of the political potentialities of patronage awards. Concerned over the threat which Mark Hanna's organizations in the southern States might pose to his renomination in 1904, Roosevelt built his own support through an astute distribution of patronage. With it he courted, at various times and often simultaneously, "Black and Tan" Republicans, "Lily White" Republicans, and conservative Democrats. In fact, "the one constant, continuing result of his Southern patronage policies was his surer control of the Republican party."⁴⁰

Likewise, the patronage fights which divided North Carolina Republicans were often struggles for the components of party power. The most idealistic reformer and the most cynical machine boss would have found that as their control over federal appointments waxed or waned, so would their relative influence within the party organization vary. Thus, to say that the Republicans threw away a promising op-

³⁹ R. D. W. Connor, *North Carolina: Rebuilding An Ancient Commonwealth, 1584-1925* (Chicago, Illinois: The American Historical Society, Inc., 4 volumes, 1929), II, 528.

⁴⁰ John Morton Blum, *The Republican Roosevelt* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1954), 47.

portunity for a "mess of Federal pottage" is misleading in the suggestion of a self-indulgent melee for the spoils of office.

It is clear, however, that the Republicans, because of their chronic factionalism, forfeited their opportunity for growth. They competed for patronage, they fought lawsuits, and they contested State conventions. They dissipated their strength fighting one another when they should have been organizing a concentrated effort to build a vigorous second party in North Carolina.

CAROLINA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CONTEMPORARY PUBLICATIONS

BY WILLIAM S. POWELL*

Fascinating passages in the scientific reports of Thomas Hariot and the reports of explorations by Amadas, Barlow, Lane, and others associated with the Roanoke colonies between 1584 and 1590 were slow in losing their grip on the imagination of the English people. Even after the beginning of the seventeenth century several half-hearted attempts were made to locate the lost colonists whom Governor John White had failed to find in 1590. For one reason or another—to gather herbs for the London market or to follow vague Indian clues—these efforts came to naught. Books published for a number of years afterwards, however, repeated the facts first related by the literate members of the various expeditions and reprinted the map drawn by White.

Explorations southward from Jamestown during the time of Captain John Smith were made to search for Sir Walter Raleigh's colonists, but from 1622 onward, after John Pory made an expedition simply to get an idea of the lay of the land, there were other motives for exploration. Rumors or hopes of finding gold, silver, and copper were always rife. In time, the expanded population in the Jamestown area caused the more venturesome to seek good tobacco land to the south. All of these efforts were spontaneous within the Virginia colony. But some of them had commercial overtones. Expeditions were sometimes formally organized and the sponsors' expectation of a profit from them prompted the publication of their findings with the hope of encouraging settlement. Large grants of land might be expected by those who could promise that the land would be settled.

After 1663, when King Charles II granted the territory of Carolina to eight of his loyal supporters, there was increased activity in both exploration and publication. Some of the tracts and broadsides reported with a degree of accuracy the state of affairs in Carolina. Others, de-

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signed only to lure colonists who would open up the country and begin to make the vast domain of the eight Lords Proprietors a source of profit, were misleading in the extreme. But venturesome Englishmen fell for the bait, and the printing press proved a useful ally in the Proprietors' frantic activity to lure settlers to Carolina.

The term "promotional literature" has sometimes been applied to certain of the tracts issued for this specific purpose. But in effect everything not derogatory published about the American colonies in the seventeenth century was promotional, though sometimes not overtly so. Englishmen at home and Protestants on the continent were keenly interested in the American colonies. General geographical works nearly always devoted numerous pages to England's American possessions.¹

Logically one might also class as promotional literature several other categories of seventeenth-century publications—the 1670 treaty of peace between Great Britain and Spain which related to the American colonies and the various editions of the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina under which colonists might expect to live. There were also a few publications which were issued for personal reasons—those relating to Captain Henry Wilkinson, who had been appointed Governor of Carolina; a notice by a merchant about outfitting colonists for the Atlantic voyage; or the proposal of a man with a new system for clearing land.

As contemporary accounts of Carolina this varied assortment of tracts, broadsides, maps, and chapters in longer works represents an invaluable source. Some of the information contained there is obviously based on an intimate knowledge of the region, and much of it does not appear in the published *Colonial Records of North Carolina* or in other readily available sources.² These tantalizing glimpses of an earlier Carolina whet the appetite for further details. One could wish for more information, for instance, on Captain Dunbar, Clerk Ash and

¹ In this study I have intentionally omitted reference to publications which were based on information growing wholly out of the sixteenth-century explorations on and around Roanoke Island. For a fuller discussion of the role of promotional literature in the settlement of the American colonies, see Hope F. Kane, *Colonial Promotion and Promotion Literature of Carolina, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, 1660-1700* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, 1948), a 23-page abstract of her doctoral dissertation at Brown University, 1930, hereinafter cited as Kane, *Colonial Promotion*; Jarvis M. Morse, *American Beginnings, Highlights and Sidelights of the Birth of the New World* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1952), 86-88.

² Five of the entries in this bibliography (Publication Numbers, 6, 8, 9, 22, and 27) are reprinted in Alexander S. Salley, Jr., *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911). Four (Publication Numbers 4, 5, 7, and 8) are reprinted in Peter Force, *Tracts and other Papers, Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America, From the Discovery of the Country to the Year 1776* (Washington: Peter Force, 4 volumes, 1836-1846). Publication Number 14 was reprinted in 1958 by the University of Virginia Press with an introduction and notes by William P. Cumming.

the "Richmond," or for a good account of Nathan Sumers' [sic] machine, which sounds like a modern bulldozer, with which he proposed to clear land in Carolina.³

As sources for detailed information about transportation to Carolina, these pieces are unrivaled. Fares often are quoted, terms of payment are set forth, sailing schedules are given, and lists of goods recommended to accompany the departing colonists are often repeated.

An examination of the various publications, in chronological order, reveals how frequently one writer plagiarized another. Perhaps the work of John Lederer is more often quoted than any other.⁴ Some writers were honest enough to indicate that they were quoting, but sources were seldom specifically cited. A chronological study also makes it clear as to when new information became available.

There are also several cases in which printers and publishers were responsible for more than one title in this area. Thomas Harper, for example, printed both Edward Williams' *Virgo Triumphans* (1650) and Edward Bland's *The Discovery of New Brittain* (1651) for John Stephenson.⁵ The unidentified "J. C." who printed William Hilton's *A Relation of a Discovery* (1664) also printed John Lederer's *Discoverie* (1672).⁶ Dorman Newman was responsible for having a second edition (1678) printed of Richard Blome's *A Description of the Island of Jamaica* (1672) and for the initial printing of Blome's *The Present State of His Majesties Isles* (1687).⁷ Meyndert Uytweft of The Hague was the printer in 1685 and 1686 of items in French relating to Carolina.

A study of the printers also reveals that material on Carolina was issued in London, Bristol, Dublin, The Hague, Rotterdam, and perhaps in Scotland and France.⁸

³ See Publication Numbers 22, 23, 25, and 26, below.

⁴ See Publication Number 14, below.

⁵ Harper was a London printer who worked between 1641 and 1656. Several times during the Rebellion he was in trouble for printing works against Parliament. Stephenson was a London bookseller during the years 1649-1652. Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1907), 91, 172, hereinafter cited as Plomer, *A Dictionary of Booksellers, 1641 to 1667*.

⁶ The only London printer known to be operating at this time whose initials were J. C. was James Cottrell. Works from his shop appeared for more than 20 years following 1649. During the Commonwealth some pamphlets from his press offended the authorities and in 1664, the year in which Hilton's *Relation* appeared, he was arrested for illegally printing law books. Plomer, *A Dictionary of Booksellers, 1641-1667*, 54.

⁷ Newman, a bookseller, was also one of the largest publishers of his day. Between 1665 and 1694 he had four different shops in London. Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668-1725* (Oxford: University Press, 1922), 217, hereinafter cited as Plomer, *A Dictionary of Booksellers, 1668 to 1725*.

⁸ Information on many of the printers and booksellers associated with these works may be found in the two books by Plomer previously cited. The political sentiments of some of them suggest that they may have had more than a passing business interest in the promotion of the settlement of Carolina.

The following bibliography describes only the first edition but it should be noted that frequently subsequent editions were not mere reprints but in fact were revisions which presented the latest information available. Symbols used giving the location of copies are those used in the National Union Catalog of the Library of Congress. No attempt has been made to compile a census of all known copies; instead the locations recorded at the Library of Congress and in several standard bibliographies have been given.⁹ However, when five copies or

⁹ Among the more important of these bibliographies are: George Watson Cole, *A Catalogue of Books Relating to the Discovery and Early History of North and South America, Forming a Part of the Library of E. D. Church* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 5 volumes, 1907), hereinafter cited as Cole, *A Catalogue of Books Relating to the Early History of North and South America*; Joseph Sabin, *A Dictionary of Books Relating to America From Its Discovery to the Present Time* (New York: Joseph Sabin, 29 volumes, 1868-1936), hereinafter cited as Sabin, *A Dictionary of Books Relating to America*; Donald Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641-1700* (New York: Columbia University Press, 3 volumes, 1945-1951). The following location symbols have been used in accordance with the list in *Symbols Used in the National Union Catalog of the Library of Congress* (Washington: The Library of Congress, Eighth Edition, 1960).

CLU-C	University of California at Los Angeles
CSmH	Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.
CtY	Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
DFo	Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D. C.
DGU	Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.
DLC	Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
DNLM	National Library of Medicine, Washington, D. C.
DNR	Department of Navy Library, Washington, D. C.
ICN	Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.
ICU	University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
IU	University of Illinois, Urbana
MA	Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
MB	Boston Public Library, Boston, Mass.
MBA _t	Boston Athenaeum, Boston, Mass.
MdBJ	Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
MdBP	Peabody Institute, Baltimore, Md.
MH	Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
MiD	Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Mich.
MiD-B	Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit, Mich.
MiU-C	William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
MnU	University of Minnesota, Minneapolis
MWiW-C	Chapin Library, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
N	New York State Library, Albany
NcD	Duke University, Durham
NcD-L	Law Library, Duke University
NcU	University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
NHi	New-York Historical Society, New York
NjP	Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
NjPT	Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J.
NN	New York Public Library, New York
NNUT-Mc	McAlpine Collection, Union Theological Seminary, New York, N. Y.
OCl	Cleveland Public Library, Cleveland, Ohio
PBL	Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa.
PHC	Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.
PHi	Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
PPAmP	American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.
PPiU	University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
PPL	Library Company of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pa.
PPL-R	Library Company of Philadelphia, Ridgeway Branch, Philadelphia, Pa.

fewer are located it may be assumed that no more are known. It should be noted that no copies are known of No. 34 in this bibliography, but the strong evidence of the existence of one in 1842 seems to warrant the inclusion of as much information as is known about it.

1622

[1]

Copland, Patrick

Virginia's God be Thanked,/ or/ A Sermon of/ Thanksgiving/ for the happie/ success of the affayres in/ Virginia this last/ yeare./ Preached by Patrick Copland at/ Bow-Church in Cheapside, before the Honorable/ Virginia Company, on Thursday, the 18./ of April 1622. And now published by/ the Commandement of the said hono- rable/ Company./ . . . / [rule]/ London/ Printed by I. D. for William Sheffard and John Bellamie,/ and are to be sold at his shop at the two Grey-/ hounds in Corne-hill, neere the Royall/ Exchange. 1622./

13 x 17.6 cm. [6], 36, [6] p. CtY DFo ICN ICU MH NjP NN RPJCB ViU

Copland apparently was the first to record in print a reference to an exploration of the Chowan River region made in February, 1622, by John Pory. The report by Pory that he had "past through great forests of Pynes 15. or 16. myle broad and above 60. mile long, which will serve well for Masts for Shipping, and for pitch and tarre, when we shall come to extend our plantatios to those borders," together with a few other facts or observations, was for many years the best seventeenth-century eyewitness account of the region south of the Jamestown colony. The few facts provided by Pory were repeated by numerous other writers for many years.

1649

[2]

Bullock, William

Virginia/ Impartially examined, and left/ to publick view, to be considered by all Iudi-/ cious and honest men./ Under which Title is compre- hended the Degrees from 34 to 29, wherein/ lyes the rich and healthful Countries of Roanock,/ the now Plantations of Virginia/ and Mary-land./ Looke not upon this Booke, as/ those that are set out by private men, for private/ ends; for being read, you'l find, the publick/ good is the Authors only

PU	University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
RPJCB	John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I.
ScU	University of South Carolina, Columbia
Vi	Virginia State Library, Richmond
ViU	University of Virginia, Charlottesville
ViW	College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va.

aime./ For this Piece is no other then the Adventurers/ or Planters faithfull Steward, disposing the Ad-/ venture for the best advantage, advising/ people of all degrees, from the highest/ Master, to the meanest Servant, how suddenly to raise/ their fortunes./ Peruse the Table, and you shall finde the/ way plainely layd downe./ By William Bvllock, Gent./ [rule]/ 19 April, 1649. Imprimatur, Hen: Whaley./ [rule]/ London:/ Printed by John Hammond and are to be sold at his house/ over-against S. Andrews Church in Holborne. 1649./

12.5 x 17 cm. [12], 66 p. CSmH CtY DLC ICN MB MH MiU-C MWiW-C N NcD NcU NjP NN Vi ViW

This book, according to the author, was written in haste—in six days. Yet it shows signs of being the result of a great deal of thought and research. The advice to would-be settlers is marked by common sense suggestions and an understanding of the situation in Virginia. Roanoke, Virginia, and Maryland are lumped together for his purposes, and although there is a separate description of Roanoke based on Hariot, Lane, and John Smith, the body of the book contains advice applicable to the whole region. The advantages of this southern area are stressed over those of New England

The dedication is to the Earl of Arundel and Surrey and to the Lord Baltimore, the former of whom held the Heath patent of 1629 to Carolana. Information on which Bullock's book is based came from material in his own library, he reports, and from a number of men whom he named who had lived in Virginia or engaged in trade with the colony. Among these was Samuel Vassell, who had an interest in the colonization of Carolana under the Heath grant of 1629.

1649

[3]

Numb. 215./ The/ Moderate Intelligencer:/ Impartially communicating Martiall/ Affairs to the Kingdome of/ England./ [rule]/ From Thursday, April 26. to Wednesday, May 2. 1649./ [rule]/ At the intreaty of a well-willer, the following lines are inserted./ There is a Gentleman going over Governour into Carolana in America, and many/ Gentlemen of quality and their families with him./ This place is of a temperate Climate, not so hot as Barbado's nor so cold as Virginia;/ the Winter much like our March here in England. . . . /

Imprint on p. [12]: Printed for R. Leybourn in Monkswel street. Imprimatur, Theo. Jennings.

14 x 18 cm. Pages [4-5] CSmH MnU

This contemporary newspaper reference¹ is the only indication known that a governor was appointed for Carolana in 1649. Among the products of the country described here are "Tarre, Rosin, and Turpentine." Prospective emigrants are directed to "repair to Mr. Edmond Thorowgood, A Virginia Merchant, living in White-Crosse-Street" for information as to "what conditions shall be given to Adventurers, Planters, and Servants."

The complete report, with an introduction by Hugh T. Lefler, was published in *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXII (January, 1955), 102-105.

1649

[4]

A Perfect Description of/ Virginia:/ Being,/ A full and true Relation of the present State/ of the Plantation, their Health, Peace, and Plenty: the number/ of people, with their abundance of Cattell, Fowl, Fish, &c. with severall/ sorts of rich and good Commodities, which may there be had, either/ Naturally, or by Art and Labour. Which we are fain to/ procure from Spain, France, Denmark, Swedeland, Germany,/ Poland, yea, from the East-Indies. There/ having been nothing related of the/ true estate of this Planta-/ tion these 25 years./ Being sent from Virginia, at the request of a Gentleman of worthy note,/ who desired to know the true State of Virginia as it now stands./ Also,/ A Narration of the Countrey, within a few/ dayes journey of Virginia, West and by South, where people come/ to trade: being related to the Governour, Sir William Berckley,/ who is to go himselfe to discover it with 30 horse, and 50 foot,/ and other things needful for his enterprize./ With the manner how the Emperor Nichotawance/ came to Sir William Berckley, attended with five petty Kings,/ to doe Homage, and bring Tribute to King Charles. With his/ solemne Protestation, that the Sun and Moon should lose/ their Lights, before he (or his people in that Country) / should prove disloyall, but ever to keepe, Faith/ and Allegiance to King/ Charles./ [decorative device]/ London, Prin^d for Richard Wodenoth, at the Star under Peters/ Church in Cornhill, 1649./

17.6 x 13.4 cm. 19 p. CtY DLC MA MBAt MH MiU-C MWiW-C NHi NN PPL ViU

A report of the 1622 exploration of the Chowan River region by John Pory is given by way of supplying information on the part of Virginia "to the Southward of James River." The new information is given that Governor Sir George Yeardley perhaps intended to outfit a larger expedition to explore the land which Pory had visited, but that the massacre of 1622 and the withdrawal of the charter of the Vir-

ginia Company two years later prevented the completion of his plans to that end.

1650

[5]

Williams, Edward

Virgo Trivmphans:/ or,/ Virginia/ richly and truly valued; more especially the South part thereof: viz./ The fertile Carolana, and no lesse excel-
lent Isle of Roanoak, of Latitude from/ 31 to 37 Degr. relating the meanes of/
raising infinite profits to the Adventu-
rers and Planters:/ Humbly presented as the Auspice of a beginning Yeare,/ To the Parlia-
ment of England,/ And Councill of State./ [rule]/ By Edvvard Williams,
Gent./ [rule]/ [woodcut]/ [rule)/ London, Printed by Thomas Harper,
for John Stephenson,/ and are to be sold at his Shop on Ludgate-Hill, at
the Signe/ of the Sunne, 1650./

18.5 x 13.5 cm. [12], 47, [8] p. CSMH DLC ICN MH NcU NN PPL RPJCB Vi

A new edition appeared the same year with the title *Virginia: More Especially the South Part Thereof, Richly and Truly Valued*. Only the title page and alterations in the prefatory matter make this edition different from the first. A copy in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, lacks the errata which appears on [C2] verso, the eight-page table and supplement at the end, and it has a different title page, being entitled *Virgo Triumphans: or, Virginia in General*.

This work is dedicated to Parliament with a statement concerning 12 advantages to be gained by England from the settlement of "the South parts of Virginia." The reader is promised that in this book he "shall discover the beauties of a long neglected Virgin the incomparable Roanoake, and the adjacent excellencies of Carolana, a Country whom God and nature has indulged with blessings incommunicable to any other Region."

The natural products of the country are described in glowing terms, and some 14 pages are devoted to a discussion of the possibilities of raising silkworms. Ralph Lane, Thomas Hariot, John Pory, and Sir William Berkeley are cited among the sources of information. A brief "Supplement" attempts to allay some doubts which seem to have been expressed by prospective settlers of the region when they showed signs of fear of the Indians on the uncleared frontier.

1651

[6]

Bland, Edward

The/ Discovery/ of/ Nevv Brittainē./ Began August 27. Anno Dom. 1650./ By/ [bracket] Edward Bland, Merchant./ Abraham Woode, Captaine./ Sackford Brewster,/ Elias Pennant,/ [bracket] Gentlemen./ From Fort Henry, at the head of Appa-/ mattuck River in Virginia, to the Fals of Blandina, first River in New Brit-/ tainē, which runneth West; being/ 120. Mile South-west, between 35./ & 37 degrees, (a pleasant COUNTRY,)/ of temperate Ayre, and fertile Soyle./ [rule]/ London,/ Printed by Thomas Harper for John Stephenson, at the/ Sun below Ludgate. M.DC.LI./

18 x 12.5 cm. [6], 16 p. CSMH CtY DLC MiU-C NHi PBL RPJCB

New Britain, as described here, is northeastern North Carolina.¹⁰ In August, 1650, Bland and three other men explored a part of the region soon to become Albemarle County in Carolina. Upon their return to Virginia they were authorized by the Assembly on October 20, 1650, to explore and settle "to the Southward in any convenient place where they discover." Here Bland gives an appealing account of their voyage of discovery during which they assigned names to the streams, islands, and other features of the land. Aside from the report on the geography of the region, this account contains some interesting Indian lore but less detail about the products of the country than later studies. It was, however, designed to interest settlers who might make up the 100 men which Bland was required to have in his colony in order to meet the specifications of the grant from the Virginia Assembly.

1662

[7]

G[reen], R[oger]

Virginia's Cure:/ or/ An Advisive Narrative/ Concerning/ Virginia./ Discovering/ The true Ground of that Churches/ Unhappiness, and the only true Remedy./ As it was presented to the Right Reverend Father in/ God Gvilbert Lord Bishop of London,/ September 2. 1661./ [rule]/ Now publish'd to further the Welfare of that/ and the like Plantations:/ By R. G./ [rule]/ [quotations]/ [rule]/ London, Printed by W. Godbid for Henry Brome at the Signe of/ the Gun in Ivy-lane, 1662./

16.2 x 12 cm. [6], 22 p. CSMH MH NHi PPL PPL-R

¹⁰ Apparently Samuel Purchas was the first to use the term New Britain in connection with the American colonies. Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage, or Relations of the World* (London: William Stansby, 1613), 631.

The Rev. Roger Green, long ascribed as the author of this tract, received a grant of 1,000 acres of land "where it shall seem most convenient to him" in the vicinity of the Roanoke River, on the south side of the Chowan River, in 1653. Of especial Carolina interest in this publication is the description of the boundaries of Virginia. The author cites the Chowan River as being the southern limit of that colony.

1664

[8]

Hilton, William

A/ Relation/ of/ A discovery lately made on the Coast of/ Florida,/ (From Lat. 31 to 33 Deg. 45 Min. North-Lat.)/ By William Hilton Commander, and/ Commissioner with Capt. Anthony Long,/ and Peter Fabian, in the Ship Adventure, which/ set Sayl from Spikes Bay, Aug. 10, 1663. and was/ set forth by several Gentlemen and Mer-/chants of the Island of Barbadoes./ Giving an account of the nature and tempera-/ ture of the Soyl, the manners and disposition/ of the Natives, and whatsoever else is/ remarkable therein./ Together with/ Proposals made by the Commis- sioners/ of the Lords Proprietors, to all such per-/ sons as shall become the first Setler on the/ Rivers, Harbors, and Creeks there./ [rule]/ London, Printed by J. C. for Simon Miller at the Star near the/ West-end of St. Pauls, 1664./

18 x 14 cm. 34 p. CSMH CtY DLC MB MH MiU-C NcD NjP NN RPJCB

The New York Public Library copy differs in that the imprint reads: London,/ Printed by J. C. for Richard Moon, Book-seller in/ Bristol, 1664./ It was perhaps printed for distribution by other booksellers than those in London and Bristol. Mention of the home town of a prospective colonist in the imprint would surely lend authority to the claims made in the text.

Hilton, under the sponsorship of a group of citizens of Barbados, led an expedition to Carolina just five months after King Charles II had granted a charter for the region to the eight Lords Proprietors. The first exploration was of the area between the Combahee River (now in South Carolina and Port Royal, but after a little more than a month the group sailed north to "Cape Fair"—now Cape Fear. From early October until December 4 Hilton and his companions explored the rivers and sounds of the Carolina coast and the mainland in the vicinity of the Cape Fear River. Many of the names which they gave to geographical features (Stag Park and Rocky Point, for instance) are still in use. Their comments on the land, plants, and wildlife, as well as on the Indians, are reminiscent of those of the Roanoke explorers nearly a century earlier. In this account there are comments on the at-

tempt of some New Englanders to colonize the Cape Fear area in 1663.

The immediate results of Hilton's voyage and report were the announcing of generous inducements to settlers by the Lords Proprietors and the establishment on the Cape Fear of a colony from Barbados.

1666

[9]

A Brief Description/ Of/ The Province/ of/ Carolina/ On the Coasts of Floreda./ And/ More perticularly of a New-Plantation/ begun by the English at Cape-Feare,/ on that River now by them called Charles-River,/ the 29th of May. 1664./ Wherein is set forth/ The Healthfulness of the Air; the Fertility of/ the Earth, and Waters; and the great Pleasure and/ Profit will accrue to those that shall go thither to enjoy/ the same./ Also,/ Directions and advice to such as shall go thither whether/ on their own accompts, or to serve under another./ Together with/ A most accurate Map of the whole Province./ [rule]/ London, Printed for Robert Horne in the first Court of Gresham-/ Colledge near Bishopsgate street. 1666./

14 x 19.5 cm. 10 p. CSmH DLC ICN MiU-C NcU NHi NjP NN RPJCB ViU

A very brief description of the geography of Carolina is followed by a statement about the Cape Fear [Clarendon County] settlement. This colony landed, according to this pamphlet, by May 29, 1664, and had grown to about 800 persons with good houses and forts. A report on the quality of the land and the trees growing there is designed to tempt the would-be settler. Among the six "Privileges" of the colonists are "full and free Liberty of Conscience," "freedom from Custom for all *Wine, Silk, Raisins, Currance, Oyl, Olives, and Almonds,*" and the authority "to choose annually from among themselves a certain Number of Men, according to their divisions, which constitute the General Assembly. . . ." Finally there is a special invitation to "all Artificers, as *Carpenters, Wheel-rights, Joyners, Coopers, Bricklayers, Smiths,* or diligent Husbandmen and Labourers . . ." to "repair to Mr. *Matthew Wilkinson, Ironmonger,* at the Sign of the *Three Feathers* in *Bishopsgate-street,* where they may be informed when the Ships will be ready, and what they must carry with them."

"If any Maid or single Woman have a desire to go over," one reads, "they will think themselves in the Golden Age, when Men paid a Dowry for their Wives; for if they be but Civil, and under 50 years of Age, some honest Man or other, will purchase them for their Wives."

1670

[10]

The/ Fundamental/ Constitutions/ of/ Carolina./

No imprint. Consists of 120 sections. Dated March 1, 1669 [*i. e.*, 1670].
27 x 16.2 cm. 25 p. DLC MH NN

The Fundamental Constitutions, designed for the government of Carolina, were first drawn up on July 21, 1669, and contained 81 or 111 sections.¹¹ The copy described here, a revised version, was issued on March 1, 1669 [*i. e.*, 1670], and consisted of 120 sections. On January 12, 1681 [*i. e.*, 1682], a further revision, but still made up of 120 sections, appeared, and on August 17 of the same year a version consisting of 121 sections was approved. A final edition, dated April 11, 1698, was made up of only forty-one sections. Of these five editions of the Fundamental Constitutions, apparently only three were printed. Those issued March 1, 1670; January 12, 1682; and April 11, 1698, are described in this bibliography as they were printed.

1670

[11]

A/ Treaty/ for the [*bracket*]/ Composing of Differences,/ Restraining
of Depredations, and/ Establishing of Peace/ In/ America,/ Between the
Crowns of/ Great Britain/ and Spain./ [*rule*]/ Concluded at Madrid the
8th/18 Day of/ July, in the Year of Our Lord 1670./ [*rule*]/ Translated
out of Latin./ [*rule*]/ Published by His Majesties Command./ [*rule*]/
In the Savoy,/ Printed by the Assigns of John Bill and Christopher/
Barker, Printers to the Kings Most Excel-
lent Majesty, 1670./
18.5 x 13.7 cm. Copy has been trimmed. [12] p. RPJCB

A preamble and the text of a treaty drawn up by Sir William Godol-

¹¹ It lies outside the province of this study to make a comparison of the various surviving contemporary copies of the Fundamental Constitutions, but it is apparent that such a study might profitably be made. The New York Public Library's Ford Collection has a contemporary copy in John Locke's hand, dated July 21, 1669, which lacks the first eight sections and consists of only 81 sections. Cole, *A Catalogue of Books Relating to the Discovery and Early History of North and South America*, IV, 1664. A copy in the Public Record Office in London, also in Locke's hand and bearing the same date, consists of 111 sections. *The Thirty-Third Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1872), 258-269. Neither version was officially promulgated nor sent to Carolina, so it may be assumed that these were drafts of the first "official" version signed on March 1, 1669 [1670]. For a study of the Fundamental Constitutions, see Junius Davis, "Locke's Fundamental Constitutions," *The North Carolina Booklet*, VII (July, 1907), 13-49, and A. S. Salley, "The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina," *The Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association*, IV (1934), 25-31. Introductory notes and transcriptions of several versions of the Fundamental Constitutions will be found in Mattie Erma Edwards Parker (ed.), *North Carolina Charters and Constitutions, 1578-1698* (Raleigh: Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, 1963), 128-240.

phin, on behalf of King Charles II, and the Earl of Penaranda, on behalf of the Queen-Regent Maria-Anna of Spain, declares "Universal Peace, true and sincere Amity in America" to be the desire of both nations. There are 16 sections relating to the obligations and hopes of both parties on the subject of their nationals in the New World.

1671

[12]

Ogilby, John

America:/ Being the Latest, and most/ Accurate Description; of the/
Nevv World;/ Containing/ The Original of the Inhabitants, and the Re-/
markable Voyages thither./ The Conquest of the vast/ Empires/ of/
Mexico and Peru,/ and other large/ Provinces and Territories,/ with
the several European/ Plantations/ in those parts./ Also/ Their Cities,
Fortresses, Towns, Temples,/ Mountains, and Rivers./ Their Habits, Cus-
toms, Manners, and Religions./ Their Plants, Beasts, Birds, and Serpents./
An Appendix, containing, besides several other considerable/ Additions,
a brief Survey of what hath been discover'd of the/ Vnknown South-Land
and the Arctick Region./ [rule]/ Collected from most Authentick Authors,
Augmented with later Observations, and/ Adorn'd with Maps and Sculp-
tures, by John Ogilby Esq; His/ Majesty's Cosmographer, Geographick
Printer, and Master of the Revels/ in the Kingdom of Ireland./ [rule]/
London,/ Printed by the Author, and are to be had at his House in/ White
Fryers, M.DC.LXXI./

32 x 44.2 cm. [8], 674 p. CSMH CtY DLC ICN MB MH NcU NN RPJCB

"Carolina" is on pages 205 to 212, and preceding it is a double-page map of the province. The text apparently was newly composed for this purpose and bears no relation to any of the previously published works on Carolina. A few references—to the black mold and to the similarity of the pure air of Carolina to that of Bermuda, for instance—suggest that the writer may have elaborated upon some points mentioned in *A Brief Description of the Province of Carolina* printed in 1666 for Robert Horne. This is truly a promotional piece, and Carolina is described in glowing terms. Tall trees suitable for masts, woods well stocked with deer, rabbits, birds, and other game, rivers "stor'd with plenty of excellent Fish of several sorts, which are taken with great ease in abundance," and a "happy Climate" all combine to make Carolina "promising in its very Infancy." An explanation of the "Fair Terms propos'd to whomsoever shall remove thither" concludes that the

“Countrey promises to the Planter Health, Plenty and Riches at a cheap Rate.” Finally, there is a summary of the Fundamental Constitutions.¹²

1672

[13]

Blome, Richard

A/ Description/ Of the Island of/ Jamaica;/ With the other Isles and Territories/ in America, to which the/ English are Related, vix./ Barbadoes,/ St. Christophers,/ Nievis, or Me-/ vis, Antego,/ St. Vincent,/ Dominica,/ Montserrat,/ Anguilla,/ Barbada,/ Bermudes,/ Carolina,/ Virginia,/ Maryland,/ New-York,/ New-England,/ New-Found-/ Land./ Taken from the Notes of Sr. Thomas/ Linch Knight, Governour of Jamaica;/ and other Experienced Persons in the/ said Places. Illustrated with Maps./ [rule]/ Published by Richard Blome./ [rule]/ Printed by T. Milbourn, and sold by/ I. Williams Junior, in Cross-Keys-/ Court, in Little Brittain, 1672./

9.5 x 14.7 cm. [8], 192 p. CtY DGU DLC DNR ICN MB MBAt MiU-C NcD NcU NjP NHi NN PPIU RPJCB ViU

There was also a 1678 edition.

“A Description of Carolina” on pages 125 to 138 is apparently an up-to-date report on conditions in the colony. Along with the usual glowing account of the geography and a catalog of the fruits, herbs, trees, fish, and fowl, there are extensive quotations from John Lederer whose book was published the same year. Mention is made of the Lords Proprietors, their scheme of government, and the fact that there “are at present two considerable Settlements of the English, for so short a time, the one at Albemarle-River in the North, and the other about the midst of the Countrey on Ashley River. . . .”

¹² It has been suggested that John Locke was the author of this account of Carolina. William P. Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1958), 32, hereinafter cited as Cumming. *The Southeast in Early Maps*. Sabin, *A Dictionary of Books Relating to America*, XII, 305, calls this work “an impudent plagiarism” of Arnoldus Montanus’ *De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld* printed in Amsterdam the same year. Since this section on Carolina did not appear in Montanus, however, this problem is of no concern here. References to “an English version” of Montanus by Ogilby appear in Cole, *A Catalogue of Books Relating to the Discovery and Early History of North and South America*, III, 1,387. An apparently unique copy of Ogilby’s work bearing the date 1670, now at Harvard, would seem to open the question of “plagiarism” to further study.

1672

[14]

Lederer, John

The/ Discoveries/ of/ John Lederer,/ In three several Marches from/ Virginia,/ To the West of/ Carolina,/ And other parts of the Continent:/ Begun in March 1669, and ended in September 1670./ Together with/ A General Map of the whole Territory/ which he traversed./ [rule]/ Collected and Translated out of Latine from his Discourse/ and Writings,/ By Sir William Talbot Baronet./ [rule]/ [4-line quotation]/ [rule]/ London, Printed by J. C. for Samuel Heyrick, at Grays-/ Inne-gate in Holborn. 1672./

16.7 x 12.5 cm. viii, 28 p. CSmH DLC ICN MB MdBJ MH MiU-C MnU MWiW-C NHi NjP NN PHC PP PPIU PPL PU RPJCB ViU

This perhaps is less a promotional piece for Carolina than an attempt to add luster to the name of Lederer. In a note "To the Reader" Talbot observes that he thought the "Printing of these Papers was no injury to the Author, and might prove a Service to the Publick." During June and July, 1670, Lederer journeyed southward from Virginia, passed to the east of present-day Greensboro, crossed the Pee Dee River, and went as far to the southwest as the vicinity of modern Rock Hill, South Carolina. His return route was approximately through the site of Fayetteville, to the east of Rocky Mount, and northward to Petersburg. Between March and September he also traveled westward to the Appalachian Mountains.

Lederer describes the country through which he passed, comments on Indian customs, and notes the produce of the land. Three short essays are entitled "Conjectures of the Land beyond the Apalataean Mountains," "Instructions to such as shall march upon Discoveries into the North-American Continent," and "Touching Trade with Indians."¹³

1675

[15]

An Epitome/ of/ Mr. John Speed's Theatre of the Empire/ of/ Great Britain./ And of His Prospect/ Of the Most Famous Parts of the World./ [rule]/ In this New Edition are added,/ The Descriptions of His Majesties Dominions abroad, viz./ . . . Carolina, . . ./ [rule]/ London, Printed for Tho. Basset at the George in Fleet street, and Ric. Chiswel at the/ Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1676./

¹³ For a discussion of Lederer's explorations see William P. Cumming (ed.), *The Discoveries of John Lederer* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1958).

10.8 x 17 cm. 2 vols. in one. [375]; [2], 276 [*i.e.*, 278] p. Second part has separate title page: A/ Prospect/ of the Most/ Famous Parts of the World./ . . ./ [rule]/ London, Printed by W. G. 1675./¹⁴ CtY DLC ICN MH MHi MiU-C N NcU NHi NN RPJCB

“The Description of Carolina” is on pages 252 to 254 of part two. An error in paging occurs here, however, and the sketch actually is five pages in length plus a full-page map. There are also two paragraphs on Carolina on page 247 in connection with “The Description of Florida.”

The account of Carolina seems to represent an attempt to be factual rather than laudatory. Like the sketch in Speed’s larger work which appeared the following year, this one is based largely on Lederer and contains information about the form of government in the colony.

1676

[16]

Speed, John

The/ Theatre of the Empire/ of/ Great-Britain,/ Presenting an Exact Geography of the/ Kingdom of England, Scotland, Ireland,/ and the Isles adjoyning:/ As also the Shires, Hundreds, Cities and Shire-Towns within the Kingdom/ of England and Principality of Wales;/ with a/ Chronology of the Civil-wars in England, Wales and Ireland./ Together with/ A Prospect/ of the most Famous Parts of the World, Viz./ Asia, Africa, Europe, America./ . . ./ [rule]/ By John Speed/ [rule]/ In this New Edition are added;/ In the Theatre of Great-Britain,/ . . ./ The Descriptions of His Majesty’s Dominions abroad; with a Map fairly engraven to each Description,/ viz. New-England, Carolina, Virginia, Jamaica,/ New-York,/ Florida,/ Mary-Land,/ Barbadoes./ . . ./ [rule]/ London;/ Printed for Thomas Basset at the George in Fleet-street, and Richard Chiswel/ at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul’s Church-yard, MDCLXXVI./

44.5 x 30 cm. 9 p. l., 94 numb. l., [95]-98 p., 99-126 numb. l., 8 p., [127]-129 p., 121-132 numb. l., [133]-135 p., 137-146 numb. l., 1 l., 56 numb. l., [11] p. CtY MH MiD N NjP Vi

“The Description of Carolina” fills two columns of a single page, but there is some Carolina material in the report on Florida since “Carolina . . . [was] formerly accounted a part of *Florida*, though of late separated into a peculiar Province. . . .” Much of the geographical de-

¹⁴ For the full titles as well as additional bibliographical information, see Sabin, *A Dictionary of Books Relating to America*, XXII, 515-516.

scription is based on Lederer, and there is a report on the form of government to be established "according to a Plat-form and model drawn up by my Lord *Shaftsbury*." On the verso of leaves 49 and 50 there is a large map, "A New Description of Carolina." While the maps differ, the text is identical with that included in *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World* published the year before.

[1679?]

[17]

Description du Pays nommé Carolina./ [London? 1679?]

19.5 x 31.5 cm. 3 p. British Museum

Public Record Office

This little "Description of the Country named Carolina" is entirely in French and was intended to interest French Protestants in removing to the colony. In very simple language it sets forth the essential information: location, climate, system of government, natural products (both plant and animal), and offers assurance that the Indians are not to be feared. There was royal authority for granting "les Protestans Etrangers" the same rights and privileges as the king's other subjects in the province. Tarheels today will agree with the anonymous writer of this tract that "cette Province est une des plus belles Contrées de Monde."

The British Museum assigns the date [1679?] to this publication while in the Public Record Office it is filed with the Shaftesbury papers for 1671-1672.

1680

[18]

Morden, Robert

Geography/ Rectified:/ or,/ A Description/ of the/ World,/ In all its Kingdoms, Provinces, Countries,/ Islands, Cities, Towns, Seas, Rivers, Bayes, Capes,/ Ports; Their Antient and Present Names, Inhabitants,/ Situations, Histories,/ Customs, Governments, &c./ As also their Commodities, Coins, Weights, and Mea-/
sures, Compared with those at London./ Illustrated with above Sixty New Maps./ The Whole Work performed according to the more accurate discove-/
veries of Modern Authors./ [rule]/ By Robert Morden./ [rule]/ London,/ Printed for Robert Morden and Thomas Cockeril. At the/ Atlas in Cornhill, and at the three Legs in the Poultry/ over against the Stocks-Market. 1680./

15 x 19.8 cm. 6 p. l., 418 [i. e., 388] p. CLU-C CtY DLC MiU-C RPJCB ViU

Other editions appeared in 1688, 1693, and 1700.

Pages 379 to 381 are devoted to "A Description of Carolina." A great deal of information is packed into this brief report, and in addition to the usual geographical description and reports on flora and fauna, something is said of the "Liberty of conscience" permitted in Carolina. "And they have a Register of all grants and conveyances of Land to prevent suits and controversies; and in summ, their frame of Government is generally so well put together, that Juditious men that have seen it, say its the best for the people that live under it, of any they have read."

1681

[19]

The/ Information/ of/ Ca^{pt}. Hen. Wilkinson,/ of/ What hath passed betwixt him and some other/ Persons, who have attempted to prevail with him/ to Swear/ High Treason/ Against the/ Earl of Shaftsbury./ [*double rule*]/ London:/ Printed for Henry Wilkinson. 1681./

17.5 x 27.7 cm. [viii], 11 p. Pages 5-8 incorrectly numbered 9-12. CtY MdBP MH NcU PU

Captain Henry Wilkinson was appointed Governor of Carolina by the Lords Proprietors in February, 1681, but delays in sailing and some problems resulting from debts prevented his departure for Carolina. These facts are recited in this publication, but the main body is devoted to Wilkinson's account of efforts to persuade him to appear in court as a witness against the Earl of Shaftesbury who was accused of a plot to overthrow King Charles II.¹⁵

1681

[20]

[Rochefort, Charles César de]

Recit/ De/ L'Estat/ Present/ Des/ Celebres Colonies/ De la Virginia, de Marie-Land, de la Caroline, du Nouveau Duché/ d'York, de Penn-Sylvania, & de la Noubelle Angleterre, situées/ dans l'Amerique septentrionale, entre les trente deuxième/ & quarante sixième degrés de l'élevation du Pole du/ Nord, & établies sous les auspices, & l' autorité/ souveraine du Roy de la grand' Bretagne./ Tiré fidelement des memoires des habitans des mêmes Colonies,/ en faveur de ceus, qui auroyent le dessein de s'y/ transporter &

¹⁵ The facts of the case are related in "Captain Henry Wilkinson," by Charles M. Andrews in *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, XV (July, 1916), 216-222.

de s'y établir./ [*decorative device*]/ A Rotterdam,/ Chez Reinier Leers,/ [rule]/ M.DC. LXXXI./

22.8 x 17.8 cm. 43 p. DLC MB PPAmp PPL-R RPJCB

The second chapter in this little account of the English colonies in America is devoted to Virginia, Maryland, and Carolina. There are four brief paragraphs on "l'excellente colonie . . . de la Caroline" pointing out, among other things, that foreigners there have "la même liberté & franchise" as Englishmen. The flourishing state of the settlement on the Ashley and Cooper rivers is stressed to the exclusion of any reference to the remainder of Carolina.

This volume was issued as a supplement to the 1681 edition of the author's *Histoire Naturelle et Morale des Iles Antilles de l'Amerique* which first appeared in 1658.

1682

[21]

Animadversions/ on/ Capt. Wilkinson's/ Information./ Being highly conducive to the better informing and/ disabusing the Minds of Men, and tending to/ the publick Peace and Safety./ [rule]/ [*quotation*]/ [rule]/ [*printers device*]/ [rule]/ London,/ Printed for Walter Davis, 1682./

17.5 x 27.5 cm. [20] p. Pages 13 to 20 incorrectly numbered 11 to 18. CtY DLC NcU

In this attack on Henry Wilkinson's pamphlet,¹⁶ the unidentified author points out numerous inconsistent statements which suggest that the Captain did, indeed, know something of a plot "against King and Government." There are several references to Wilkinson's Carolina interests, one of which is described as his "intended or pretended Voyage to *Carolina*."

1682

[22]

A[sh], T[homas]

Carolina;/ or a/ Description/ Of the Present State of that/ Country,/ and/ The Natural Excellencies thereof, viz. The/ Healthfulness of the Air, Pleasantness of the Place,/ Advantage and Usefulness of those Rich Commo-/
dities there plentifully abounding, which much/ encrease and flourish by the Industry of the Plan-/
ters that daily enlarge that Colony./

¹⁶ See Publication Number 19, above.

[rule]/ Published by T. A. Gent./ Clerk on Board his Majesties Ship the Richmond, which was/ sent out in the year 1680. with particular Instructions to/ enquire into the State of that Country, by His Majesties/ Special Command, and Return'd this Present Year, 1682./ [rule]/ London,/ Printed for W. C. and to be Sold by Mrs. Grover in Pelican/ Court in Little Britain, 1682./

19 x 13.5 cm. 2, 40 p. CSMH CtY DLC ICN MB MH MiU-C MWiW NcD NcU NN RPJCB ViU

As noted on the title page, author T[homas] A[sh] was clerk on board the "Richmond"¹⁷ which was sent out in 1680 "with particular Instructions to enquire into the State of the Country." This is a report based on the findings of that expedition. It has an authentic tone and is certainly more interesting to a modern reader than many of the other glowing but frequently misleading reports. After a hasty review of the history of Carolina, Ash enters upon a descriptive report of the natural products of the country and of the cultivated plants, of the wild animals and the domesticated stock. His report on the 'possum and the hummingbird, neither of which was familiar to Englishmen, is delightful while his description of fireflies is particularly good. In many respects Ash's report rivals the later accounts of John Lawson for frankness and appeal.

Of Indian corn he writes, "At *Carolina* they have lately invented a way of makeing with it good sound Beer; but it's strong and heady: By *Maceration*, when duly fermented, a strong Spirit like *Brandy* may be drawn off from it, by the help of an *Alembick*."

1682

[23]

F[erguson], R[obert]

The/ Present State/ of/ Carolina/ with/ Advice to the Setlers./ [rule]/ By R. F./ [rule]/ [decorative device]/ [rule]/ London,/ Printed by John Bringhurst, at the Sign of the/ Book in Grace-Church-Street, 1682./

18 x 14 cm. 36 p. CSMH DLC MiU-C NHi NN RPJCB

¹⁷ Thomas Ash, otherwise unidentified, has long been ascribed as the author of this tract, but in the absence of substantial evidence in his favor it seems more likely that it was written by Thomas Amy, relative of Lord Proprietor Sir John Colleton. Amy, later a Proprietor in his own right, was made a Cacique late in 1682. St. Julien Ravenel Childs, *Malaria and Colonization in the Carolina Low Country* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press [*The Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science*, Series LVII, No. 1], 1940), 189.

Captain Dunbar of the "Richmond" is mentioned on page 10 of *The Present State of Carolina* (London: John Bringhurst: 1682). See Publication Number 23, below.

Ferguson, a friend of Shaftesbury and author of several religious and political tracts, writes in part from "my own observation" and in part from information "from very good hands." A reference to Captain Dunbar of the "Richmond" suggests that he may have drawn on much the same source for his information as did Thomas Ash, whose book also appeared the same year. Ferguson gives us a report on the Indians of Carolina, including some population estimates and a comment on birth control among the natives. Some notes on the weather, fish, birds, livestock, and servants complete the main body of his report. A reference to Negro slaves is perhaps the earliest mention of that class of people in Carolina. In conclusion, the prospective settler is invited to visit the Carolina Coffeehouse in Birching Lane, London, for further information. The final nine pages take the form of an open letter of "Advice to Carolina" admonishing the settlers, among other things, to act in all matters like Christian gentlemen; to realize that there is "no distinction betwixt those . . . native Subjects born in England; and those implanted and born in America"; and to work for "the good and happy issues of Prosperity to the Settlement."

Following the text is an "Advertisement" stating that Nathan Sumers [*sic*] "Engineer for Carolina," will clear ground for cultivation at a set charge per tree.¹⁸ The Lords Proprietors had entered into an agreement with Sumers [*sic*] it was reported, to give him and his heirs a 14-year monopoly in this undertaking since he would use an engine which he had invented.

1682

[24]

[*Decorative device*]/ The/ Fundamental Constitutions/ of/ Carolina./ Our Sovereign Lord the/ King having out of His Royal Grace and/ . . .
26.2 x 16 cm. 23 p. CSMH MH NN

No title page.

This version of the Fundamental Constitutions has 120 sections and is dated January 12, 1681 [*i.e.*, 1682]. See publication number 10, above.

The New York Public Library copy has manuscript notes interleaved as well as additions, deletions, and corrections on the printed pages believed to be in John Locke's hand.

¹⁸ See Publication Numbers 25 and 26, below.

1682

[25]

Somers, Nathan

Proposals/ for/ Clearing Land/ in/ Carolina, [*vertical line*] East Jersey,/ Pensilvania, [*vertical line, cont'd*] West Jersey:/Or any other Parts of/ America. . . . Nathan Somers,/ And Partners./ [*rule*]/ London, Printed and Sold by John Bringhurst, at the Book in Grace-Church-Street, August, 9. 1682./

Broadside. CSmH DFo NNUT-Mc

Somers and his partners offer "to raise Trees up by the Roots quite out of the Earth, and throw them down near the place where they grew" and to "carry the fallen Trees, and lay them in order round the intended Inclosure . . . as an indifferent Boundary for Cattle; and carry the Remainder into convenient heaps within the said Inclosure." Those supplying Somers with laborers to assist in the work could have his services at half price.

1682

[26]

A true/ Description/ of/ Carolina./ Carolina is part of the Main in America, and so much celebrated by Monsieur/ Laudonere, that he entitles it Florida, because of her florid and fragrant/ . . . / London, Printed for Joel Gascoine at the Plat near Wapping old Stairs, and R [*page trimmed*]/¹⁹ at the Rose and Crown in Budg-Row./ [1682]

18.7 x 15 cm. [4] p. Imprint on p. 4. RPJCB

No title page.

The chief value of this little work is its map. It records much detail along the coast from Cape Henry in Virginia southward to below St. Augustine and has been described as "the most accurate representation of the Carolina region yet to appear."²⁰ The interior, of course, is much less accurate, but a few Indian settlements are identified westward to the "Apalatian Mountaines."

The four pages of text accompanying the map are largely a verbatim reprint of portions of *The Present State of Carolina with Advice to*

¹⁹ There is space for only one other initial and it undoubtedly was G, as Thomas Ash, Publication Number 22, above, refers to a publication by "Joel Gascoyne, near Wapping Old Stairs, and Robert Green in Budge Row, London, 1682." Kane, *Colonial Promotion*, 2, suggests that R. F., author of *The Present State of Carolina*, Publication Number 23, above, was probably the author of this work as well. *The Present State of Carolina*, she points out, appears to be an expanded account of the subjects dealt with in *A True Description*.

²⁰ Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps*, 159.

the Settlers by R. F. It contains nothing not in that volume. In some instances the first few words in a paragraph have been changed slightly or omitted altogether, or whole sentences or more deleted. In the case of the reference to Captain Dunbar and the "Richmond," the complete paragraph is omitted.

Apparently *A True Description of Carolina* was set in type by a careless composer working directly from *The Present State of Carolina*. A comparison of the two texts reveals carelessly omitted words or sentences; a divided word in the latter appears with the wrong ending picked up by the typesetter's roving eye a line or two down. This suggests that the work was done hastily. Perhaps the map had just become available, and the work was rushed to press to supersede the information given in Samuel Wilson's *An Account of the Province of Carolina in America*.

An "Advertisement" for Nathan Sumers' [*sic*] engine, designed for clearing land, appears at the end of the text and above the imprint.

1682

[27]

[Wilson, Samuel]

An/ Account/ of the/ Province/ of/ Carolina/ in/ America./ Together with/ An Abstract of the Patent,/ and several other Necessary and Useful Par-/ ticulars, to such as have thoughts of Tran-/ sporting themselves thither./ Published for their Information./ [*rule*]/ London:/ Printed by G. Larkin for Francis Smith, at the Elephant/ and Castle in Cornhil. 1682./

20.5 x 15 cm. 27 p. CSmH CtY DLC ICN MB MH MiU-C MWiW-C NcU NHi NN PHi PPL RPJCB ScU ²¹

The dedication of this volume is to the Right Honorable William Earl of Craven "and the rest of the true and absolute Lords and Proprietors [*sic*] of the Province of Carolina." Wilson, "Secretary in your Carolina-Affairs now four years," states that he undertook to prepare this account because he had discovered that people intending to go to America knew nothing of Carolina. "I have most strictly kept to the Rules of Truth," he declared, "there not being any thing that I have written in Commendation of [the] Province, which I cannot

²¹ Two editions were published in the same year, but the National Union Catalog does not make a distinction in recording the copies held by the various libraries. The libraries listed here (with the exception of the Unversity of North Carolina at Chapel Hill which has the second edition) may have either or both editions.

prove by Letters from thence now in my possession, and by Living Witnesses now in England."

The northern settlement in Albemarle is passed over with just a few lines to point that it has all the good qualities of Virginia "only exceeding it in Health, Fertility, and Mildness of the Winter." The Ashley River colony is discussed at some length, its history reviewed, and the products of the land carefully set forth. Wilson pointed out that "an Ox is raised at almost as little expence in *Carolina*, as a Hen is in *England*." A catalog of the produce of the country was intended to tempt those who had even the slightest thought of venturing themselves to the New World.

Finally, Wilson recorded that "some of the *Lords Proprietors*, or my self, will be every Tuesday at 11 of the clock at the *Carolina-Coffee-house* in *Burching-Lane* near the Royal Exchange, to inform all people what Ships are going, or any other thing whatsoever."

The final seven pages are devoted to "An Abstract of the Patten granted by the King, the 30th of *June*, in the 17th Year of his Reign" to the eight Lords Proprietors.

The map illustrating Wilson's work is the Ogilby-Moxon "First Lords Proprietors' Map" of 1672.²² Since the second Lords Proprietors' map appeared in 1682 it is likely that Wilson's work was published quite early in 1682 before the new map became available.

1683

[28]

[Crafford, John]

A New and Most/ Exact Account/ Of the Fertiles [*sic*] and Famous Colony of/ *Carolina*/ (On the Continent of America,)/ Whose Latitude is from 36 Deg. of North Latitude, to 29 Deg./ Together with a/ Maritine [*sic*] Account of its Rivers, Barrs, Soundings and Harbours;/ also of the Natives, their Religion, Traffick and Commodities./ Likewise the Advantages accruing to all Adventurers by the Cu-/ stoms of the Countrey; Being the most Healthful and Fertile/ of His Majesties Territories on the said Continent of/ America./ As also an Account of the Islands of Bermudas, the Harbours, Situa-/ tion, People, Commodities, &c. belonging to the said Islands;/ the whole being a Compendious Account of a Voyage made (by/ an Ingenious Person) for a full discovery of the above said places./ Begun in Ocotber 82, and finished this present year, 1683./ [*rule*]/ Dublin,/ Printed for Nathan Tarrant at the Kings-Arms in Corn-Market,/ 1683.

18.8 x 14.3 cm. 7 p. NN

²² Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps*, 151-152.

Crafford's name is added in manuscript and his authorship is further borne out by comments in *Carolina Described more fully then heretofore*, publication number 29 below.

This "Compendium of a Journall from the River of Clyd in the Kingdom of Scotland, to Port-Royal in Carolina" was "Taken by John Crafford, who was Supercargo of the goodShip [*sic*] the James of Erwin burthen about 50 Tuns." The subtitle identifies the work as "a Maritime Account of its Rivers, Barrs, Soundings and Harbours" and so on. With this expressed interest it is not surprising to find that Crafford made some interesting observations on the possibilities of trade between Bermuda and Carolina. His ship visited Charles Town in Carolina, and he took advantage of the opportunity to examine and report on the products of the land and to comment on the Indians. His remarks in most instances differ very little from those previously made by other observers. He did note that Indian corn "by some is Called Turkey wheat." As to the religion of the Indians, he said, "I judge they are *Pagans*, but some judge them to be of the Captive *Isralites*, by their faces, *Colour of Hayr*, worshiping the new *Moon*, and some other Ceremonies resembling it."

1684

[29]

Carolina/ Described more fully then heretofore:/ Being an Impartial/ collection/ Made from the several Relations of that Place in/ Print, since its first planting (by the English,) and/ before, under the Denomination of Florida, From/ diverse Letters from those that have Transpor-/ ted themselves (From the Kingdom of Ireland.)/ And the Relations of those that have been in/ that Country several years together./ [*rule*]/ Whereunto is added the Charter, with the/ Fundamental Constitutions/ of that Province./ [*rule*]/ With Sundry necessary observations made thereon; use-/ full to all that have a Disposition to Transport them-/ selves to that Place; with the Account of what Ship-/ ing bound Thither from this Kingdom, this present/ Summer. 1684./ And the Charges of Transporting of Persons and Goods./ [*rule*]/ Dublin, Printed 1684./

19.6 x 14.6 cm. 56 p. CSmH MWiW-C NN

In an ingenious fashion the writer of this piece questions some of the statements made by earlier writers about Carolina. It could not possibly be the wonderful place it was claimed to be. By frankly doubting the reliability of Samuel Wilson's *An Account of the Province of Carolina in America* because the author was secretary to the Lords Proprietors, the writer must have disarmed many prospective colonists.

He cites John Crauford [*sic*] and his journal which was kept on a voyage from Scotland to Port Royal in October, 1682, reporting that a copy had come to him through a mutual friend. This journal, as well as letters from people in Carolina, bore out what Wilson had written so one is led to believe that Wilson was right after all. Pages 17 to 27, therefore, contain a careful reprint of Wilson's text, and his abstract of the patent to the Proprietors is copied even to the word "Finis" which actually is out of place here. There also is a summary of the Fundamental Constitutions for those who have not the time or inclination to peruse the whole 120 sections which are printed on pages 35 to 36. A note dated June 6, 1684, lists vessels scheduled to sail for Carolina "towards the latter end of June" from Dublin, Cork, Londonderry, Limerick, and Belfast.

1684

[30]

Gibson, Walter

Proposals./ By Walter Gibson, Merchant in Glasgow, to such/ persons as are desirous to Transport themselves to Ame-/ rica, in a Ship belonging to him, bound for the Bermu-/ das, Carolina, New-Providence, and the Caribby-/ Islands, and ready to set Sail out of the River of Clyd,/ against the 20. of February in this instant year, 1684.//

Broadside. CSmH CtY DFo IU MH NNUT-Mc NjPT

Merchant Gibson advertises that he will transport adults at £5 each, children between two and fourteen years for 50 shillings each, and children under two at no charge. Tradesmen unable to pay their own fare will be transported at Gibson's expense provided they will serve him for three years, he to "furnish them sufficiently with Meat, Cloaths, and other necessaries." He offers to advise prospective settlers on questions which they might have and announces that he has on hand in Glasgow "Patterns of some Tools which are used" in Carolina. "Those who go in this Vessel," he notes, "will have the occasion of the good company of several sober, discreet Persons, who intend to settle in *Carolina*, will dwell with them, and be ready to give good advice, and assistance to them in their choice of the Plantations; whose Society will be very helpful and comfortable, especially at their first settling there."²³

²³ On December 20, 1683, the Privy Council of Scotland received a petition (not further identified) from Walter Gibson which was sent to the Committee on Public Affairs. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Oct. 1, 1683-April 30, 1684* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1938), 160.

1685

[31]

[Crouch, Nathaniel] ²⁴

The English/ Empire/ in/ America:/ Or a Prospect of His Majesties Dominions/ in the West Indies. Namely,/ Newfoundland/ New-England/ New-York/ Pennsylvania/ New-Jersey/ Maryland/ Virginia/ Carolina/ Bermuda's/ Barbuda/ Anguilla/ Montserrat/ Dominica/ St. Vincent/ Antego/ Mevis, or/ Nevis/ S. Christophers/ Barbadoes/ Jamaica/ With an account of the Discovery, Scituation,/ Product, and other Excellencies of these Countries./ To which is prefixed a Relation of the first Discovery/ of the New World called America, by the Spaniards./ And of the Remarkable Voyages of several English-/ men to divers places therein./ [rule]/ Illustrated with Maps and Pictures./ [rule]/ By R. B. Author of Englands Monarchs, &c. Admirable/ Curiosities in England &c. Historical Remarks of Lon-/ don, &c. The Late Wars in England, &c. And, the/ History of Scotland and Ireland./ [rule]/ London, Printed for Nath. Crouch. At the Bell in/ the Poultry near Cheapside. 1685./

8.3 x 14.2 cm. [2] p. l., 209, [3] p. CLU-C CtY MiD-B NN

Other editions appeared in 1692, 1698, and in the eighteenth century.

Chapter X, "A Prospect of Carolina with the Scituation and Product thereof," on pages 137 to 153, briefly recites the facts of the 1663 charter of Carolina and hastily dismisses the Albemarle colony as "bordering upon Virginia, and only exceeding it in Health, Fertility, and Mildness of the Winter." As Albemarle is "much of the same nature with it [Virginia]," the reader is not troubled with a further description. These words, Crouch neglected to say, were Samuel Wilson's.

The Ashley River settlement is reported upon by "an Englishman, who has lived there, and was concerned in the settlement thereof." Here is perhaps the most accurate account yet given of Carolina winters with no attempt to make the region seem semi-tropical. The difference in winter temperatures in this area and those in the same latitude in Europe is commented upon. Flora and fauna, both wild and domesticated, also seem to be more correctly described than usual.

Many of the planters "have an Indian Hunter which they hire for less than twenty Shillings a year, and one Hunter will very well find a Family of thirty People with as much Vinison and Fowl, as they can well eat."

Steps by which land grants might be obtained are carefully explained, and the recommended equipment and supplies are specified.

²⁴ Nathaniel Crouch was a London bookseller from 1663 to about 1725. Under the pseudonym of Richard or Robert Burton he compiled at least 46 of the books which he sold. Plomer, *A Dictionary of Booksellers, 1668 to 1725*, 89.

The final few pages are drawn from the account of "Mr. I. L., an Englishman"—John Lederer, no doubt—who had traveled "into the western parts of Carolina" some 14 years previously.

1685

[32]

Nouvelle/ Relation/ de la/ Caroline/ par/ un Gentil-homme François arrivé,/ depuis deux mois, de ce nou-/ veau pais./ Où il parle de la route qu'il faut tenir,/ pour y aller le plus furement, &/ de l'état où il a trouve cette/ Nouvelle contrée./ [*globe*]/ A La Haye./ [*rule*]/ Chez Meyndert Uytweft/ Marchand Libraire de Meurant/ dans le Gortstraet./ [1685]

13.2 x 7.3 cm. 36 p. DLC MH MiU-C PHi RPJCB ViU ViW

Apparently designed as a guide for French Protestants who might be interested in coming to Carolina, this book contains many of the typical promotional statements on the good climate and weather, two crops in one season, and good land available at low cost. Geography, the produce of the land, animals (wild as well as domesticated), and the form of government all are described at some length. In so far as it is specific, the information relates to Charleston and vicinity.

Publication at The Hague probably was necessary because of the persecution of Protestants in France. It was in this year that the Edict of Nantes was revoked and thousands of French Huguenots fled the country.

1686

[33]

Plan pour former un Establisse-/ ment en Caroline./ A vant que d'entrer dans l' examen particulier de ce/ project, il faut faire quelques considera- tions, . . ./ A La Haye./ Chez Meindert Uytwerf, Marchand/ Librarie dans l'Acterum. l'An 1686./

19.5 x 15.5 cm. 15p. PHi RPJCB

A brief statement concerning the geography of Carolina is followed by a rather full explanation of the government as set up under the Fundamental Constitutions. With the approval of the Lords Proprietors, it was proposed to establish a "Confederation" in Carolina. A series of 12 points concerning the plans are explained. Such things as the number of persons expected to join; "les graces & privileges que l'on demandera" of the Lords Proprietors; size of the tracts of land to

be occupied; the use of Negroes for labor; the "Artisans absolument necessaires"—including metal workers, carpenters, brickmasons, a tailor, a doctor, "Une sage femme entendue aux accouchemens," butchers, bakers, and so on; produce expected—grain, grapes for wine, cattle; and finally in the list under the heading "Quelles doivent estre les conditions de la confederation & la forme que l'on y peut donner," is an "Acte de Confederation" consisting of 31 subsections setting forth the rights and obligations of the Confederation on one hand and the "Seigneurs Proprietaires" on the other. A list of 29 "Conventions de la Communauté" contains details for the conduct of routine affairs of the settlement.

Those desiring further information are directed to address "Monsieur _____" (name intended to be supplied in manuscript) in London, another in Amsterdam, and a third in Rotterdam.

[1686?]

[34]

[Remarques sur la Nouvelle Relation de la Caroline, par un Gentilhomme François.—MDCLXXXVI.]

"A thin duodecimo *brochure*." No copy known.

A translation of this pamphlet appears in the September, 1842, issue of *The Magnolia; or, Southern Apalachian* (New Series, Vol. I, No. 3, pages 226-229), published in Charleston, S.C. The contributor of the translation is not identified, but in his prefatory remarks he states that this brochure came to his attention while he was "looking over some old pamphlets and manuscripts."

According to the translation the pamphlet was an almost page-by-page attack on the *Nouvelle Relation de la Caroline par Un Gentilhomme François* published at The Hague probably the year before. Following this attack there was a section entitled "Some Remarks on the Country, People and Government of Carolina" in which the author launched out on his own in criticizing Carolina, particularly its location near Spanish settlements and its form of government. Earlier, to substantiate his own statements the author tells that he had been intimately acquainted with "a gentleman who was one of its [Carolina's] former governors." Since this thin volume was unfavorable to Carolina and would therefore tend to discourage French Huguenot migration, it may very well have been printed in France as an antidote to the volume which it attacked.

1687

[35]

[Blome, Richard]

The/ Present State/ of His Majesties/ Isles and Territories/ in America,/ Viz./ Jamaica, Barbadoes, Anguilla, Bermudas,/ S. Christophers, Nevis, Carolina, Virginia,/ Antego, S. Vincent, New-England, Tobago/ Dominica, New-Jersey, New-Found-Land,/ Pensilvania, Monserat, Mary-Land, New-York; With New Maps of every Place./ Together with/ Astronomical Tables,/ Which will serve as a constant Diary or Calendar,/ for the use of the English Inhabitants in those/ Islands; from the Year 1686, to 1700./ Also a Table by which, at any time of the Day or Night here in/ England, you may know what Hour it is in any of those parts./ And how to make Sun-Dials fitting for all those places./ [rule]/ Licens'd, July 20. 1686. Roger L'Estrange./[rule]/ London:/ Printed by H. Clark, for Dorman Newman, at the/Kings-Arms in the Poultry, 1687./

11.5 x 18.5 cm. [8], 262, [36] p. DLC ICN ICU MB MBAt MH MnU NcU OCl PHi PBL PPL ViU ViW WHi

“A Description of Carolina” is on pages 150 to 182. Illustrating the account is “A New Map of Carolina By Robt Morden.” The text for the most part is copied directly from Samuel Wilson’s *An Account of the Province of Carolina in America*. Occasionally words or phrases have been changed, the order of a few paragraphs has been altered, and a little of Wilson’s account omitted entirely. A concluding report on “Creatures” and on Indians is attributed to an unidentified “Gentleman”—actually John Lederer—who had also been credited for information previously reported. The text of the 1665 charter of Carolina to the Lords Proprietors is included in this report following the text of the “Description.”

1695

[36]

[Peachie, John]

Some/ Observations/ Made upon the Herb/ Cassiny;/ Imported from Carolina:/ Shewing/ Its Admirable Virtues in curing/ the Small Pox./ [broken rule]/ Written by a Physitian in the Countrey to/ Esq; Boyle at London./ [broken rule]/ London,/ Printed in the Year 1695./

19 x 13 cm. 8 p. CSmH DNLM

John Peachie or Pechey, to whom this and similar works has been ascribed, was a London physician and apothecary. He describes here some of his experiences with the “Famous *Carolina* Herb called Cassiny.” For his smallpox patients he prescribed “a few Drops of the

Tincture of this temperate Herb in Water-gruel, or in Panado, or Posset-drink." In one instance he treated "several young Gentlewomen" at a boarding school "who highly valued their Beauty," with Cassiny, and he knew of "a Court Lady of great Beauty" who was given the same herb. All recovered without a blemish to mar their beauty.

The Cassiny which the London physician praised so highly is *Ilex Cassine*, better known in North Carolina as yaupon.

1698

[37]

The Two/ Charters/ Granted by/ King Charles IId./ To the/ Proprietors/ of/ Carolina./ With the first and last/ Fundamfntal [*sic*] Constitutions/ of that/ Colony./ [*rule*]/ London:/ Printed, and are to be Sold by Richard Parker, at the/ Unicorn, under the Piazza of the Royal Exchange./

22 x 16.7 cm. 60 p. CSmH DLC MH MWiW-C NcD-L NcU NN NNC PPL

The final version of the Fundamental Constitutions dated April 11, 1698, appears on pages 53 to 60, and is made up of 41 sections. The March 1, 1670, version consisting of 120 sections is on pages 33 to 52. It is this latter version which was officially promulgated and sent to Carolina, hence its description as "the First . . ." on the title page.

The date 1698 is not assigned without reservation. That date is given because it is the latest date recorded in the text. Most copies have an additional eight pages, separately numbered, bound in following page 60. These pages contain "The Copy of an Act lately pass'd in Carolina, and sent over to be confirm'd here by the Lord Granville, Palatine, and the rest of the Lords Proprietors of the said Colony. . . ." The act is dated May 6, 1704, but it bears evidence of having been separately printed and merely bound in at the end of the preceding work.

The copy of this book in the North Carolina Collection at the University of North Carolina was formerly owned by Lord Craven and was acquired by the late Bruce Cotten from Combe Abbey in 1924. It bears the bookplate of William Lord Craven.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Papers of Zebulon Baird Vance, Volume I, 1843-1862. Edited by Frontis W. Johnston. (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History. 1963. Foreword, preface, illustrations, and index. Pp. lxxiv, 475. \$5.00.)

Zebulon B. Vance, born in Buncombe County, North Carolina, May 13, 1830, obtained his education at Washington College, Tennessee, and the University of North Carolina. He was admitted to the bar in 1853, establishing himself in practice in Asheville. The next year Vance was sent to the State legislature and in 1858 he was elected to the United States Congress. Up until the firing on Fort Sumter and Lincoln's call for troops he was opposed to secession but these two events caused him to reverse his position. Declining all overtures to be a candidate for the Confederate Congress, Vance raised a company of troops and marched off to war. By the end of the summer he had risen to the rank of colonel, and on March 14, 1862, commanded the 26th North Carolina Regiment in the Battle of New Bern. The climax of his military career came the following July in the bloody fighting around Richmond.

The harsh realities of war were, nevertheless, unable to take the young colonel's mind far from politics. He ran for Governor of his native State in the summer elections of 1862 and won a smashing victory over William Johnston. Vance's critics charged that the *Raleigh Standard*, under the astute editorship of W. W. Holden, had played up his role in the Battle of New Bern to make him governor. This charge cannot be substantiated. Doubtless, "he was a better war governor for having been a soldier."

As the second winter of the War approached, the condition of the North Carolina troops in the Confederate army was "little short of desperate." The Governor tried a number of temporary expedients, but he realized that a more permanent solution must be found. "It was under these circumstances that Vance turned to the most celebrated device of the war, the idea of running the blockade." Unfortunately for the reader, the story of this exciting business will have to come in a later volume, as the one under review covers only the letters written to and from Vance during the years from 1843-1862.

Dean Frontis W. Johnston of Davidson College is to be commended for his fine editorial work. His biographical sketch of Vance is excellent. The explanatory notes for the letters are more than adequate and an Index and illustrations add to the value of this large volume. If any criticism can be made of this volume it is that it was a long time in reaching the printer. Also, it covers only a short period in the long and colorful career of one of North Carolina's better known public figures.

John G. Barrett

Virginia Military Institute

Prelude to Yorktown: The Southern Campaign of Nathanael Greene, 1780-1781. By M. F. Treacy. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1963. Maps, notes, and index. Pp. vi, 261. \$6.00.)

Nathanael Greene's masterful conquest of the Carolinas has never ceased to fascinate historians. The latest study, though it deals only with the period of Greene's duel with Cornwallis in North Carolina, is no doubt the best account of those momentous three months that has been written. Surprisingly, this book was a doctoral dissertation, so well written and well researched that it needed very little revision before publication. If the result is not a typically dry, factual dissertation, it is also true that Mrs. Treacy was hardly a typical graduate student. For the past half century her life has been associated with army people; her husband is a retired army colonel. To her subject she has brought a wealth of military background and insight. The book literally bristles with sparkling observations and interpretations that are new and revealing. Since full justice cannot be done this fine volume in a brief review, it can simply be said that her work is a must for any scholar in the field of Revolutionary war history in the southern States.

No one, including Greene himself, held out high hopes for the short, stocky Rhode Islander at the time he assumed command of the shattered southern army after the Battle of Camden. No theater of the war had been such a graveyard for the reputations of American generals. There Robert Howe, Benjamin Lincoln, and Horatio Gates had met with failure. Greene, who had never previously set foot below the Potomac, found himself with only 800 men properly clothed and equipped for regular duty. Approximately three and a half months later his command had won the Battle of Cowpens, staggered Cornwallis at

Guilford Courthouse, and drawn the British general so far from his South Carolina base of supply that he wandered off to Virginia and, eventually, to a date with destiny at a place called Yorktown.

How did Greene accomplish all this? Part of the answer, at least, lies in the nature of the man. Greene was a thorough realist; Mrs. Treacy notes that he had "a tendency to view life from the gloomy side and to view the future with foreboding." Yet, once a decision was made, Greene exuded confidence and determination. "If, coupled with this inner trust in his own integrity," writes Mrs. Treacy, a soldier is "alert, intelligent and resourceful with the tools at hand," he "can be well nigh invincible." And so it was with Greene. His military talents were in no way of the romantic variety, for he lacked the personal touch of a Daniel Morgan who inspired men in combat. Indeed, the battlefield was really not Greene's forte. As the author remarks, "His genius lay rather in an infinite capacity for taking pains in advance." As a planner and organizer he was unexcelled by any British or American general in the war. Perhaps no one expressed the reasons for Greene's success better than the man himself: "I have been obliged to practice that by finesse, which I dare not attempt by force."

Don Higginbotham

Louisiana State University

The Civil War in North Carolina. By John G. Barrett. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1963. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. Pp. viii, 484. \$10.00.)

With indefatigable research (the adjective being used advisedly), Professor John G. Barrett of the Virginia Military Institute history department has brought together a splendid account of the part of the Civil War fought within the borders of North Carolina. His volume not only will stand out as one of the pinnacles of the Centennial observance in the State, but also likely will remain the standard work on this subject for long to come.

Perhaps the greatest value of the book is its comprehensive coverage of the various campaigns along the North Carolina coast, from Ben Butler's early descent on Hatteras to the disastrous loss of Fort Fisher in the closing months of the conflict. Not before, as far as this reviewer is aware, has this aspect of the War been given such careful study and intelligent treatment. The author is not offering a complete picture of

the State's War effort, the most sanguinary part of which went into the Virginia campaigns of Lee's army.

The reader is treated with a procession of stories, such as Hoke's capture of Plymouth, the destruction of the Confederate Ram "Albemarle," the desperate fighting at Fort Fisher, the warfare between neighbors in the mountains and numerous grueling but usually minor campaigns not awarded much space in the general histories.

Professor Barrett writes with strict objectivity. He does not undertake to extol the State beyond a recital of the facts. The depressing stories of North Carolina desertions and of the bushwhacker war in the western counties are related candidly. Governor Vance is credited (p. 242) with sympathizing with the deserters, though he was energetic to recover them for the army. The book gains in interest as the War progresses. Among the best chapters are those at the close dealing with Bentonville and the Bennett farmhouse surrender of Johnston to Sherman. The reader experiences the full burden of sadness when the breakup of the Confederacy occurs.

A point of interest is the understanding, even sympathetic treatment of Sherman, whose ruthless warfare is credited with defeating the South, but who was cordial and considerate to his former enemies once the fighting ceased. The author explains: "It was not a sense of cruelty and barbarism that prompted Sherman to formulate his theory of total war. This conception was the outgrowth of a search for the quickest, surest, and most efficient means to win a war" (p. 292).

This reviewer misses adequate character or personality sketches of the main soldiers brought across the stage—Hoke, D. H. Hill, Whiting, Matt Ransom, and several others. Idolizers of Zeb Vance will regret that he is not given a more dominant role in the State's war effort. His significance seems secondary throughout and even in the matter of the blockade-runner "Advance," he had to be subjected to "much persuasion" by Adjutant General James G. Martin before authorizing the purchase and outfitting of the famous ship. One does not glimpse in this volume the greatness ordinarily associated with Vance.

Purely from a structural standpoint the book suffers from an excess of punctilious documentation. One chapter contains 311 supernumerals of citations and explanations in the back, plus 61 additional footnotes beneath the text. Citation appears to have reached here a startling extreme. Another chapter has 157 citations plus footnotes, and still another 147. Professor Barrett's book suggests that unless the growing trend toward overcitation is moderated a reader's revolt might well result. He would have served the average student better by annotating

only fresh or unusual material, or what might be subject to question, and by allowing his bibliography to carry a heavier part of the load borne by his distracting dual set of notes.

This book, like most of those packed with vast detail, is not without minor error. D. H. Hill was a native of South Carolina, not North Carolina (p. 150). Burnside was a native of Indiana, not Rhode Island (p. 90). Burnside would not likely have known Colonel Reuben P. Campbell, an adversary at New Bern, at West Point, since their classes were seven years apart. But these matters do not defeat the essential excellence of the book. Professor Barrett is to be commended for the scope of his inquiries into old manuscripts, memoirs and letters, as well as the printed sources, many of them obscure. Altogether he is to be congratulated on a noble achievement of great value to all concerned with the Civil War in North Carolina.

Glenn Tucker

Flat Rock

Union List of North Carolina Newspapers, 1751-1900. Edited by H. G. Jones and Julius H. Avant. (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History. 1963. Introduction. Pp. xiii, 152. \$3.00.)

Newspapers are an invaluable source for the study of American civilization, and this is especially true in earlier history when the making and keeping of records was not nearly as extensive as today. A newspaper reflects the public and private character of a community, and it is frequently the source of specific facts unobtainable elsewhere. The speech, humor, business activities, social life, marriages, births, deaths, political contests, proceedings of organized groups, whether for social, business, educational, or religious purposes, may be seen in the press. The newspaper reflects the life and times of a society and for variety and interest it has no equal among historical records.

Other valuable bibliographies of newspapers have been compiled, on a national scale, but they are inevitably incomplete. A few States have compiled lists of their newspapers, but probably none is as complete as this list of North Carolina newspapers. It is the work of many hands over a long period of time, and was brought to completion by the State Department of Archives and History in co-operation with the North Carolina Library Association. It not only lists but it also locates

every known copy of every North Carolina newspaper from the beginning through 1900. It also includes "several hundred titles" not in any previous list, as well as titles of which no known copy exists. Further, as additional copies of North Carolina newspapers come to light supplemental lists will be issued. Serials, mostly magazines which are sometimes difficult to distinguish from newspapers, are listed but not located.

This has been a tremendous undertaking and the result should be a source of satisfaction to all who are interested in North Carolina's past. It is important to note that the State Department of Archives and History has undertaken to microfilm files of North Carolina newspapers and that it is now possible to secure positive copies on film of approximately 75 per cent of all newspapers published prior to 1900.

Robert H. Woody

Duke University

North Carolina: The History of a Southern State. By Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. [Revised edition] 1963. Appendixes, bibliography, and index. Pp. xii, 756. \$8.00.)

Professor Lefler has strengthened an already distinguished and highly useful history of North Carolina, which was first published nine years ago, by the revisions made for this edition. Some 70 pages of additional narrative have allowed him to cover the twentieth century with the same depth and balance that characterize the earlier portions of the book.

To illustrate the enhanced value of this new edition, one might note what has happened in the treatment of North Carolina's recent political history. The first edition contained two chapters, entitled "Political Trends" and "Impact of Outside Forces," that hit the highlights of the State's political history from 1900 through 1952. This edition, however, has chapters on "A New Era in North Carolina Politics, 1901-1920"; "Politics, 1920-1932: Governors Morrison, McLean, and Gardner"; "The New Deal to the Outbreak of World War II, 1933-1941"; "World War II and After: Progress and Problems, 1941-1952"; and "In the Mainstream: A Decade of Great Growth and Change." Altogether, four entirely new chapters have been added aside from the extensive reorganization of all the material, economic and social as well as political, dealing with this century.

In his treatment of contemporary developments, Professor Lefler is refreshingly candid. He notes, for example, that despite the *National Geographic's* calling North Carolina a "Dixie Dynamo" in 1962, the State still has a problem of inequitable representation in the legislature as serious as it had in the 1830's, when North Carolina was known not as a dynamo but as the "Rip Van Winkle State." And despite all the progress, illiteracy in the State remains a blight and disgrace.

The book ends with a sentence that, if it should come true, would surely justify a third edition: "There were even predictions that the Republicans might win the gubernatorial election of 1964."

Robert F. Durden

Duke University

Here Lies Virginia: An Archaeologist's View of Colonial Life and History.
By Ivor Noël Hume. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963. Illustrations
and index. Pp. xx, 317. \$7.95.)

The subtitle to the fetching title of Ivor Noël Hume's book clearly indicates its content and, as he states in the Preface, he has "tried to demonstrate that archaeology and recorded history can and must combine together to fill in the missing details." The historical records of colonial Virginia, even after persistent efforts to find, retrieve, and preserve them, are fragmentary at many points; and historians have been lethargic in recognizing and using sources available through historical archeology. In providing the first comprehensive survey of the subject Mr. Hume, chief archeologist of Colonial Williamsburg, develops it always with attention drawn to archeological principles, but equally with feeling for the entertaining incident and the unusual artifact that will hold the interest of the reader. By effective use of the specific example he also makes and reiterates the plea for preservation and investigation of valuable sites that become expendable as an expanding, irresponsible population encroaches on them.

Chapter I, "In Defense of Yesterday," deals with principles (chronology, stratigraphy) and points out that "the ability to identify and date the relics of the past is the first requirement for the archaeologist, no matter in what period of history or pre-history he specializes." Since Virginia's colonial period is one of historical archeology, Mr. Hume devotes the other nine chapters to demonstrating the peculiar contribution of this discipline to modern knowledge of the people and

their way of life. He considers his subject first by means of the geo-historical approach, looking closely at Roanoke Island and the "Lost Colony" (Chapter 2), Jamestown (Chapter 3), Williamsburg (Chapters 4-5), and selected plantations—"Rosewell," "Corotoman," "Green Spring" (Chapter 6)—where field work has been carried on. For each location a historical sketch supplies the framework in which pertinent archeological data supply evidence lacking in the written records. Thus the digging at Jamestown leads to the conclusion that the first capital was not densely settled; at Williamsburg, that Middle Plantation attracted few residents during the seventeenth century, to judge by the scarcity of artifacts of that period. A survey of the Williamsburg Restoration project in Chapter 5 serves as background for appreciating the importance of archeological work in rebuilding the Governor's Palace and restoring the Wren building.

The last four chapters are richer in archeological data. Here the author concentrates on artifacts and their survival in relation to the materials from which they were made: glass, iron, clay, silver, wood; and he demonstrates irrefutably that an expert knowledge of the history of arts and crafts is indispensable for identifying and dating the objects (often fragments) and for drawing valid conclusions from them in relation to one another in their particular location. Mr. Hume's previous research in England has proved advantageous in applying his knowledge of English artifacts and changes in style and taste to the Virginia scene.

The archeological information in Mr. Hume's book comes from some 15 sites and 20 digs (not counting individual locations in Williamsburg) since the earliest, on Roanoke Island in 1895. The first work began at Jamestown in 1901, and it is very fitting that he commends the zealous efforts of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities in preserving historic sites there and in Williamsburg, which in due time yielded invaluable data. Although Mr. Hume declares that his book does not purport to be "a history of colonial archaeology in Virginia," the incidental information he has included on this subject should not be overlooked.

In his opening chapter Mr. Hume asserts that "the discovery of an artifact . . . makes us want to know how it came to be where it was found. The object itself is of secondary importance." Or, as Sir Mortimer Wheeler puts it, "the archaeologist is digging up, not *things*, but *people*." Thus Mr. Hume recognizes the evidence that confronts him; he asks meaningful questions of it; and in readable fashion he makes possible a richer appreciation of colonial Virginians and how they

lived. His volume, an artistic specimen of bookmaking in the manner of Knopf publications, is profusely illustrated, the pictures and text conveniently co-ordinated for pleasurable reading.

Lester J. Cappon

Institute of Early American History and Culture

Messages of the Governors of Tennessee. Volume VI, 1869-1883. Edited by Robert H. White. (Nashville: The Tennessee Historical Commission. 1963. Illustrations, appendixes, topical index, and general index. Pp. vi, 799. \$4.00.)

This volume covers the 14 years during which the chief executive office of Tennessee was occupied successively by DeWitt Clinton Senter, 1869-1871; John Calvin Brown, 1871-1875; James Davis Porter, 1875-1879; Albert Smith Marks, 1879-1881; and Alvin Hawkins, 1881-1883. As in the earlier volumes of this series, the space allotted to the messages of each governor is preceded by a handy biographical sketch of the governor in question, and the messages themselves are supplemented and interspersed with useful introductory, explanatory, and extra documentary material, to such an extent in fact as to make the volume a virtual legislative history of the State during the period it covers.

This period of Tennessee history was one of recovery and readjustment following the Civil War and Reconstruction periods which had left the State burdened with a debt of more than \$32,000,000 and a large element of the white citizenry deprived of the elective franchise. These two heritages of war and reconstruction led to spirited political campaigns on the part of candidates for office and absorbed a large share of the time and activity of governors and legislatures. The elective franchise was restored to former Confederates during the Senter administration, but while none of the five governors of the period 1869-1883 recommended repudiation of the State debt, any proposed plan of settlement was met by various counterplans throughout the major portion of this period, resulting in legislative chaos and frustration.

Despite the precarious financial situation, the period was not devoid of achievement along other lines. Exercise of the recently-acquired veto power by Governor Senter disclosed the value of this prerogative. Two important State agencies which have functioned continuously

since their creation were established by the legislature at the request of Governor Porter—the State Board of Education in 1875 and the State Board of Public Health in 1877. Two exceedingly important Supreme Court decisions, *Williams v. Bougner* in 1869 and *Lynn v. Polk* in 1881, respectively, broke the power of the Radicals in Tennessee and invalidated the Funding Act of 1881 which would have made State bond coupons “receivable in payment for all taxes and debts due the state” for 99 years.

In general the editor has approached this strategic period of Tennessee history with the same care and judgment as have been evident in his preceding volumes of this series. Exceptions are noted on pages 405-406 which unnecessarily reproduce a message initially appearing on pages 393-394 and on page 515 on which is repeated a message already printed on page 513.

James W. Patton

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Ante-Bellum Thomas County, 1825-1861. By William Warren Rogers. (Tallahassee: The Florida State University [Florida State University Studies Number Thirty-Nine]. 1963. Illustrations and index. Pp. xvi, 136. \$4.50.)

Created in 1825, Thomas County lies in South Georgia along the Florida boundary, geographically and historically more akin to the latter than to the former. This brief study by Professor Rogers attempts to depict the economic, political, social, and institutional history of that County up to the Civil War, with the intention of continuing the account after 1861 in a second volume.

Thomas County, although it contained a number of cotton and sugar plantations, possessed the fluid society of the Alabama and Mississippi frontiers. Its citizens participated in the Seminole Indians Wars, founded towns, fought unsuccessfully for railroads and better roads, and established churches and schools. Most of its trade was carried on through Florida ports, and it was even a part of the Florida District of the Methodist Church. There were some homes of elegance, a good high school known as Fletcher Institute, a newspaper, and a number of professional men, although no great Georgia leaders came from Thomas County during this period.

Of particular merit are the chapters on “Indian Troubles and Citizen Soldiers,” “The Gospel Truth,” and “Education—Town and Country,”

undoubtedly because of a greater wealth of source materials. The chapter on "Town Life" suffers from a paucity of sources, as does "Politics and the Approach of War." Enough details to reconstruct these aspects of life come chiefly from newspapers, and there appears to be no satisfactory run of local papers until 1855.

Professor Rogers' research has been painstaking. His writing, however, exhibits a number of poorly organized paragraphs and sections. There are too many typographical errors, and "yeoman" and "integral" are consistently misspelled. The one inadequate map lacks clarity and the statistical tables are poorly arranged. Many questions occur to the reader which are not answered. Although not as satisfactory as Sarah Gober Temple's *Cobb County*, it is nevertheless a worthwhile study and will increase in value when Volume II is published.

Sarah McCulloh Lemmon

Meredith College

Florida During the Civil War. By John E. Johns. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1963. Maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. Pp. ix, 265. \$6.00.)

This book tells the story of the Civil War in a State that was largely on its periphery and which was never important enough to be either strongly defended by the Confederacy or consistently occupied by the Union. Not a definitive work, it has been criticized by Civil War buffs (an insatiable breed!) for lack of military detail, but those who do not dote on military history will find it a satisfactory summation of Florida's Civil War role.

Professor Johns' narrative style is engaging and the book is a pleasure to read, but it tells little that was not told by William Watson Davis (*Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, New York, 1913). Essentially, this is the story of a sparsely populated State with slim resources which, under the pressures of war, experienced political, economic, and social disintegration. It begins with secession, mobilization, and the early sparring around Pensacola Bay and virtually ends with the Battle of Olustee, the only large-scale Civil War engagement in Florida. In between, Professor Johns details governmental, economic, and social problems.

Florida unsuccessfully experimented with an "Executive Council" designed to curb the governor, was frequently hindered by an inability

of local officials to perform their functions, and avoided severe clashes with the Richmond government largely because Governor John Milton was not an ardent state rights man. Frictions arose from the extended existence of the secession convention, interfering in legislative matters, and trouble arose in the militia from animosities between officers appointed by former Governor Madison S. Perry and those named by Milton.

Economic problems centered in government finance, agriculture, industry, and transportation. The State met most of its obligations by printing money or borrowing; taxes were not raised and tax revenues actually declined during the War. Agricultural problems largely involved shifting from cotton to food production and, exhorted by public opinion and coerced by State limitations on cotton acreage, Florida farmers succeeded in making the change. By war's end Florida was a leading supplier of provisions to the Confederate armies. Industry counted for little in the State's economy but federal blockades made salt scarce, and during the war years salt-making became the State's largest industry with Florida producing more than any other southern State. Florida railroads were not extensive and were practically useless in the war effort.

Wartime social tensions centered upon disloyalty and fear of the Negroes. Interestingly, Professor Johns shows that white deserters, draft-dodgers, and unionists were a more serious threat than either slaves or free Negroes. In the latter half of the War great areas of the State, not under Federal occupation, were under effective control of anti-Confederate forces.

This admirable book warrants only a few criticisms. More space could have been given to life in federal Florida—Key West and the frequently-occupied eastern regions. This is really a Confederate view of the Civil War in Florida. A few judgments of the author—such as his view that only headstrong men thought James Buchanan's course was ridiculous (pp. 42-43), and his assertion that Florida railroads were not seriously hampered by the enemy (p. 137)—are demonstrably at odds with fact. Though this reviewer wishes more attention had been given to political machinations, he persists in judging this a good book.

Herbert J. Doherty, Jr.

University of Florida

The Confederate Constitutions. By Charles Robert Lee, Jr. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1963. Appendix and index. Pp. viii, 225. \$6.00.)

In the mythology of present-day politics which passes for political theory, centralization in government is known to be progressive, while State Rights is a highly conservative position. The protection of minorities is progressive, as is the extension of executive power, while concepts of fiscal integrity are so outmoded as to be sheer reactionary. As touchstones for evaluating government activity these concepts break down when confronted with the provisions and constitutions of the Confederate States of America. Here was an instrument, in fact two instruments, of government designed for a political body which was known to be conservative. Yet these instruments contained basic reforms which in later years were taken up by "progressives" and presented as fundamental reforms of the American governmental system. There was, for example, the executive budget; there was the item veto—both adding to the power of the presidency—there was a written-in constitutional guarantee of the rights of the minority and careful safeguards against logrolling and wasteful appropriations for internal improvements.

Dr. Lee has made a careful day by day study of the formation of the two Confederate constitutions. Within 35 days the 50 delegates to the Montgomery Convention framed two distinct constitutions. Both were based upon the Constitution of the United States, yet each contained significant improvements which had been dictated by experience. There was, for example, a six-year term for the president of the Confederacy and a provision that he should not be eligible for reelection. There were increased checks and balances, and the constitutions provided for cabinet members being permitted seats in Congress with voices if not votes. This might well have created a parliamentary system had the Confederacy lasted into the period of peace. Altogether, concludes Dr. Lee, the spoils system had its harmful effect corrected by the two constitutions and they insured the fiscal integrity of the government. They were, he said, "The ultimate constitutional expression of the states rights philosophy and the state sovereignty concept in America." They made valuable contributions to governmental reforms.

Dr. Lee has studied the activities of the Montgomery Convention with a great deal of care. He has surveyed the available literature relating to the formation of the provisional and the permanent consti-

tutions. Perhaps, indeed, a longer study might have led into a greater exposition of the basic constitutional theory upon which the Confederates acted. Yet the student of that larger phase will not need to repeat the careful work that Dr. Lee has ably done.

William B. Hesseltine

University of Wisconsin

The Stonewall Brigade. By James I. Robertson, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1963. Foreword, sources, and index. Pp. xii, 271. \$6.00.)

Much has been written about the legendary Civil War general, Stonewall Jackson, and of the men from the Valley of Virginia who formed the Brigade that lovingly used his great name. On April 27, 1861, General Robert E. Lee, commanding all the Virginia forces, ordered an unknown officer from the Virginia Military Institute to take charge of the troops stationed at Harpers Ferry. No one dreamed that this would begin an association that would develop into a four-year chronicle of courage, devotion, and achievement that would win everlasting fame for both Jackson and the Brigade.

Unlike biographies of military leaders or accounts of individual battles, this volume superbly traces the complete history of a single unit from formation to the bitter end of defeat, by analyzing its leadership, man power, strategy, and participation in every engagement throughout the Civil War. The author has made it into a very readable study by describing the camp life, the famous Jackson marches, the personal experiences; and the result is "a vivid and often moving account of courage and cowardice, triumph and heartbreak—and endurance perhaps without parallel."

The original muster of the brigade consisted of 2,611 men. Eleven months later battle casualties, illness, and resignations had depleted the ranks to 1,418, and by the end of the Second Manassas Campaign it was down to 635; yet by the end of 1862 its number was brought back up to 1,200 by re-enlistments. Replacements continued to trickle in until the end of the War, but never enough to offset the tremendous casualties incurred at Chancellorsville (barely 200 remained after this battle), Gettysburg, and Spotsylvania. So many members were captured at Spotsylvania that the Brigade was consolidated with the remnants of three other brigades and served out the War in relative obscurity. At Appomattox 210 officers and men surrendered.

The Valley Brigade was a young unit, three-fifths of its men being between eighteen and twenty-five while the most common age was nineteen. The soldiers possessed a varied occupational background. Farmers were the most numerous, followed by laborers, carpenters, students, clerks, merchants, tanners, blacksmiths also many lawyers, printers, doctors, civil engineers, and one minister. The Rockbridge Artillery became one of the most celebrated batteries in the whole Confederate Army and had on its first roll 28 college graduates, 25 theological students, and seven men who held master's degrees from the University of Virginia.

Within the ranks of the Stonewall Brigade were a number of men who distinguished themselves in both war and peace. Eight attained the rank of general. Three achieved postwar fame in the field of medicine. Many became prominent in law and State politics while two became outstanding jurists. Prominent clergymen were always conspicuous in Jackson's army and all-night prayer services were not uncommon. As one private snorted, "Our parson is not afraid of Yankee bullets, and I tell you he preaches like Hell." Noted families represented in the Brigade include Lee (Robert E. Lee, Jr., and his cousin, William Fitzhugh); Raleigh T. Colston, grandson of John Marshall; two sons of Union Admiral David D. Porter; as well as the father of the Confederacy's best-known female spy, Belle Boyd.

Seven men officially commanded the Brigade during the long War. It was Stonewall Jackson who whipped the rough fighters into shape that earned for them a reputation for invincibility accepted by North and South alike. Confederate troops seemed to grow in confidence when they knew the Brigade was charging in an assault with them. Federal soldiers came to feel that the Brigade possessed some super-human power, a quality which they attributed to the unpredictable and mysterious Jackson. Upon his promotion in October, 1861, to command the Valley District, he was followed by Richard B. Garnett; but after the trouble at Kernstown, March, 1862, Jackson relieved Garnett for failure to obey orders. The third commander was Charles Sidney Winder, who was noted for his high standards and severe discipline. He was killed during the Peninsula Campaign at Second Manassas. William Smith Hanger Baylor served as the fourth commander until his death in the Battle of Antietam. Elisha Franklin Paxton became the fifth commander and served until Chancellorsville where he and Jackson were killed. James Alexander Walker took over in May, 1863, and led the Brigade until Spotsylvania, whereupon William Terry served out the remainder of the War.

War ended at Appomattox, but not for the Stonewall Brigade. With them the final muster came in July, 1891, when an impressive statue of Jackson was dedicated over Old Jack's grave in Lexington, Virginia. A handful of grayhaired veterans gathered with 30,000 other people to pay a final tribute to the General. The Brigade members had been the center of attention and when a chill came into the air on the night before the ceremony, anxious townspeople wanted to make certain that the veterans should have warm and suitable accommodations for the night. A search in homes and hotels failed to yield a single soldier, but by midnight they were found huddled in blankets and overcoats seated around Jackson's statue in the cemetery. The local citizens urged the men to get up from the damp ground and partake of the town's hospitality, but no one stirred until one man finally arose. Speaking for the others, he said simply, "Thank ye, sirs, but we've slept around him many a night on the battlefield, and want to bivouac once more with Old Jack." And bivouac they did.

Horace W. Raper

Tennessee Polytechnic Institute

The Democratic South. By Dewey W. Grantham, Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. [Eugenia Dorothy Blount Lamar Memorial Lectures, 1962] 1963. Notes. Pp. xii, 108. \$2.50.)

Two decades of research on the part of historians and political scientists have virtually rewritten the post-Civil War political history of the South. A volume which would pull together the results of this work has been badly needed. Now Dewey Grantham, Georgia-born Professor of History at Vanderbilt and historian of southern progressivism, has provided a well-conceived and well-written story of all those complexities of southern politics which are not illuminated by such handy stereotypes as the "solid South." The groundwork for this analysis lies in the pioneer studies of C. Vann Woodward and V. O. Key. The superstructure is drawn from a number of theses, articles, and monographs, including Grantham's own, which have appeared in a steady stream since 1946. The point which most of these studies have in common becomes the thesis of this book: That beneath the illusion of solidarity created by the race question and the omnipresence of the Democratic Party, there has been and is a steady procession of social, economic, and sectional conflicts. These conflicts have been

the engine of social change and, one hopes, of social progress, in the South.

Although not much is made of it here, even the race issue has not been the subject of monolithic opinion in the South. From G. W. Cable in Reconstruction times, to W. D. Weatherford in 1912, W. W. Alexander in the thirties, and the rapidly growing group of southern supporters of civil rights today, there is a tradition of native dissent from the majority view of this matter.

Dissent on other questions, as this book makes clear, has been vigorous. From the independency movements of the eighties, the Populists and Republicans in the nineties, the Progressives in the first three decades of this century, to the southern New Dealers and present-day followers of Stevenson and Kennedy there has been a strong—though not always effective—liberal tradition. Some of the reasons for its existence are developed here, and interesting prognostications for the future, at least by implication, are offered. Since southerners are as likely as anyone else to be taken in by their own mythology. Grantham's book deserves the widest reading not only among students but also among lay politicians. In the South that includes nearly everyone.

Anne Firor Scott

Duke University

John Clayton: Pioneer of American Botany. By Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy Smith Berkeley. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1963. Appendix, notes, and index. Pp. ix, 236. \$6.00.)

The present volume is a welcome addition to the rapidly increasing collection of books pertaining to the cultural and social history of colonial America. In the field of botany, there has been a tendency for biographies of the chief figures to appear in alphabetical order. E. P. Earnest's work on the Bartrams was followed by a biography of Mark Catesby by G. F. Frick and R. P. Stearns. And now Professor Berkeley presents John Clayton.

The first four chapters of the book are devoted to background material, pertaining both to Clayton himself and to the inter-relation between American and English botanical activity during the century prior to 1750. The central chapters are concerned with Clayton's correspondence with Gronovius and Linnaeus and his development into a botanist of international stature, culminating in 1773 with his election as President of the newly-formed Virginia Philosophical Society for

the Advancement of Useful Knowledge. Professor Berkeley concludes with an assessment of Clayton's work, emphasizing the influence of his *Flora Virginia* on Linnaeus. A particularly valuable feature of the book consists in its wealth of information on prominent eighteenth-century naturalists other than Clayton.

Although rather short, the book is well organized and, for the most part, clearly (if somewhat stiffly) written. It is but seldom that the reader stumbles over such strange prose as "Bartram has made this trip in the fall of the year, that he might collect seeds. These, and plants, wrapped in paper, he packed in his two saddlebags, where the long, rough trip mixed them altogether. Eventually they arrived in England, unnamed and a perfect potpourri along with turtle eggs and insects" (page 91). Or, "His comments often include not only the character of habitat in which the plant thrives, but also the time of its flowering, other plants associated with it, methods of propagation, other than flowering, effects of weather, and relations with animals" (page 144).

The biography is very well documented. The source material is widely scattered and the authors have done an impressive job of bringing it together. He has made extensive use of the correspondence and other writings of Linnaeus, Colden, and Bartram, and has included a large number of explanatory notes (quite proper and necessary in a work containing many scientific terms).

It is to be hoped that biographies of Alexander Garden (the John Clayton of South Carolina), John Mitchell, and a new one of Cadwallader Colden will soon follow the Berkeleys' splendid account of the life work of John Clayton. If alphabetical order is to continue as the criterion, the logical successor to *John Clayton, Pioneer of American Botany* might well be "Cadwallader Colden, Naturalist." Professor Berkeley?

Robert W. Ramsey

Hollins College

Aristocrat in Uniform: General Duncan L. Clinch. By Rembert W. Patrick. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1963. Maps, illustrations, a note on sources, and index. Pp. ix, 266. \$5.50.)

This in-depth biography of Duncan L. Clinch, a man whose life was filled with frustrations and difficulties, throws the spotlight of extensive research on a man who served his nation and his adopted State of

Georgia with honor and distinction as soldier, congressman, and citizen.

Born in Edgecombe County, this native "Tar Heel" received his first appointment as a lieutenant of the Third Infantry in 1808 at the recommendation of J. Blount of "Tarborough," and continued his career in the United States Army until his resignation in 1836 as a brigadier general.

With his sharp instinct for the dramatic in a man's life, Mr. Patrick opens his account with a reminder of the most colorful assignment in Clinch's many years of service: the demolition of a Negro fort near Apalachicola Bay in Florida in 1816.

During the War of 1812, a constant source of apprehension to the United States, in general, and President James Madison, in particular, was the presence of Indians along the border. It was feared that they might join the Spanish or the British. In 1815 and 1816 Spanish Florida was infested with adventurers, fugitives, thieves, plunderers, renegades, and other criminally inclined persons. Moreover, camps of Negroes, armed and ruling themselves, made slaveowning southerners particularly sensitive about this area.

Ever present was the fear of a slave rebellion such as those heard of in San Domingo. In addition, southern editors had never given Negro troops credit for their service to the United States at the Battle of New Orleans; yet the news of their exploits became known by the grapevine, as well as the existence of a Negro militia and a self-governing community in Florida.

Earlier, in 1814, the British had selected the Apalachicola region as the most favorable point for controlling the river and for possible rendezvous. After the War they turned the fort over to the Negroes and the Choctaws on the condition that they would never allow a white man, other than an Englishman, to come in and that they would kill all white Americans who came near.

In 1816 the fort sheltered 100 Negro men and their families and about 20 Choctaw braves. After careful preparation and many council meetings, Colonel Clinch, who had been ordered to demolish this fort, gave the command for a few trial shots by the gunboats which had come up the river and anchored near his battery, just opposite the Negro fort. To the surprise of everyone, the first shot was on target. So elated was the Sailing Master that, although he had no furnace for heating balls, he got a makeshift fire going, heated the cannonball red-hot, and thrust in into the powder-wadded cannon. This lucky shot exceeded his wildest dreams. The noise was heard all the way to

Pensacola; the Negro fort seemed to burst, catapulting debris and human bodies in every direction.

In his official report Clinch noted that of the 100 men, 200 women and children, and 20 Choctaw braves, not more than one-sixth escaped instant death. On August 2 the Colonel's campaign against the Negro fort was ended, and he returned to Camp Crawford.

After this engagement, relatively peaceful years followed for Clinch in which he was absorbed in family affairs. The United States was pursuing a policy of removal of the southern Indian tribes to lands allotted to them west of the Mississippi and in 1828 the treaties with the Indians were made and broken by both sides. The Indians knew that no matter what the white man said, or signed, he would be pushed out of his native hunting grounds. On the other hand, the white man felt that the very presence of Indians was a continual threat to his own way of life.

General Clinch tried to be compassionate to the Indians, but it was very nearly impossible. In 1835 Osceola, a fierce half-breed, angered by the many indignities to his fellow tribesmen, with his own hand scalped and assassinated General Wiley Thompson, President Jackson's representative, who had been sent to speed the removal of the Indians. On the same day, December 28, Major Francis Dade and 100 men were ambushed and massacred on the way to Fort King. Only two seriously wounded men were able to drag themselves back to tell the tragic story.

Although Clinch was unaware of the disaster of the day before, he started his march toward the Withlacoochee on December 20 and there met the Seminoles in a shattering engagement. Time after time when his men were falling back in confusion, he rode his horse along the lines giving orders and shouting encouragement. When his horse went down with many wounds, Clinch on foot rallied his tired men for yet another attack.

Even before the march back to Fort Drane, a controversy began which is unresolved to this day: Should they have pursued the Seminoles across the river? But then it appeared to boil down to a simple matter of logistics; there was only one canoe, and the river was deep.

After this Clinch resigned. He wanted to spend more time with his large family and he needed to look after his estate. Actually, however, he did go into politics, serving as Georgia's representative in Congress. His military fame, as well as his personal integrity and good character, led the Georgia Whig Party to draft him as their nominee for the governorship in 1847. In a bitter gubernatorial campaign he

was defeated by a narrow margin. This left him disillusioned with politics, and once again, he withdrew to private life. He died in Macon, Georgia, November 27, 1849.

Even to a peripatetic layman, Mr. Patrick's chapters of Indian warfare in Florida are lively and informative. The biography is a scholarly and well-documented account of the colorful and useful patriot, citizen, and soldier of the Indians wars. It fills a useful niche in the adolescent period of the history of the United States.

Louise Smith

Greensboro

Sam Houston: American Giant. By M. K. Wishart. (Washington, D. C.: Robert B. Luce, Inc. 1962. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. Pp. xvi, 712. \$10.00.)

The author of this long, interestingly written book is a journalist who spent 20 years in its research and writing. None of the earlier Houston biographers, including Marquis James and Llerena Friend, has found so many details about the career of Sam Houston as his M. K. Wishart. His narrative would have been improved by more compactness.

Young Sam early gave evidence of a precocious mind. He was restless, energetic, and determined. In physical make-up he was tall, muscular, and had great endurance. Sam had little formal education although he was reading Homer in Greek at fourteen years of age. In early manhood he became an alcoholic, a condition which contributed to his extreme jealousy. This in turn caused the dissolution of his early marriage and his resignation as Governor of Tennessee. After leaving Tennessee, Houston joined some of his Cherokee friends in Arkansas, but shortly thereafter he migrated to Texas. Some biographers have maintained that Houston went to Texas as the agent of Andrew Jackson but Wishart more accurately interprets Houston's motivation as the desire to better himself economically and politically. Another inaccuracy is clarified by this book. Houston did not begin immediately upon his arrival in Texas to foment revolution against Mexico but joined a movement which others had already set in motion.

During the war between Texas and Mexico Houston was instrumental in getting the Cherokees to sign a treaty of neutrality and was disappointed when Governor Lamar later violated the agreement. Made commander of the Texas forces, Houston retreated for some time in order to drill and to discipline his meager forces. Finally at San

Jacinto he made his stand, defeating and capturing Santa Anna. President Jackson praised his old friend for sparing the Mexican General's life.

As President of Texas, Houston requested annexation to the United States. When he was refused, he established diplomatic relations with England. He declined to run for re-election as President but continued to work for the admission of Texas to the American Union. Soon after Texas became a State, Sam Houston became a United States Senator. As a member of the Senate, he opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill because he felt that its adoption would mean the destruction of the Union. When Lincoln was elected to the presidency, Houston was again serving as Governor of Texas. In this capacity, as the author correctly reveals, Houston argued against secession and sought the re-creation of the Lone Star Republic or an independent status for his adopted State.

Since Houston died in 1863, *American Giant* is his centennial biography. And what a testament to his greatness it is! This may not be the last word on Sam Houston, but no student of this unique and able American can afford to ignore the book.

George Osborn

University of Florida

Benjamin Franklin Wade: Radical Republican from Ohio. By H. L. Trefousse. (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc. 1963. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. Pp. 404. \$6.50.)

Benjamin Franklin Wade is known to history primarily for the following: As Senator from Ohio during the Civil War he was chairman of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War; he was co-author of the Wade-Davis Bill which was killed by Lincoln with a pocket veto; he was co-author of the Wade-Davis Manifesto which condemned Lincoln's plan of reconstruction and which berated Lincoln personally; he was a leading advocate of Radical reconstruction plans and the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson; and as President *pro tempore* of the Senate he would have succeeded to the presidency had Johnson been convicted by the Senate of high misdemeanors. With the exception of an adulatory volume that appeared soon after his death Wade has not been the subject of a full-length biography until the appearance of the present volume. However, since he was a key figure, the general histories of the period and the biographies of other leading

figures have dealt with Wade and have often portrayed him as a vindictive troublemaker, roughneck, bully and meddlesome radical—"a horrible caricature," according to the author. This book attempts to fulfill the need for a full-scale biography and to portray Wade in his true light. "Since he was engaged in a good cause, and since he added to this cause the zest which was needed to overcome the timidity of conservatives everywhere, he deserves to be remembered for what he was: a great fighter for human freedom" (p. 9).

In the first chapters the author traces the Puritan background and early struggles of Wade. Born near Springfield, Massachusetts, the tenth of 11 children, he experienced a poverty-stricken childhood and acquired only a meager education. When he was twenty-one the family moved to the Western Reserve District of Ohio where, after trying his hand at farming, at studying medicine, and at teaching school, Wade finally settled on the law as a profession. Practicing in Jefferson, Ashtabula County, Wade prospered. Before his election to the Senate in 1851 he served as various times in the State legislature and as district judge. As a leading Whig and later as a Republican Wade favored "progress," or as the author says, "He kept his party in the mainstream of Western thought." In concrete terms this meant during the 1850's advocating high tariffs, public improvements at federal expense, colonization for the Negro (on a voluntary basis), and free homesteads. The author quite correctly devotes the major portion of his book to the Civil War years. In general he defends Wade's methods as Chairman of the Committee on the Conduct of the War on the ground that Wade understood modern total war, that he prodded the conservatives, and on the ground that the propaganda issued by the Committee from time to time strengthened the will in the North to fight. The author makes little or no attempt to defend Wade, in his struggles with Lincoln calling the Wade-Davis Manifesto "Wade's Greatest Blunder." With regard to Reconstruction policies and the struggle over impeachment the author regards President Johnson as wrong in principle and inept in method. Unlike some of his more conservative colleagues Wade in his later years advocated suffrage for the Negroes in the North as well as in the South, women's rights, and legislation favorable to labor.

The main virtues of this biography are that it is written in a clear and vivid style, it is based on extensive research in both manuscript and printed sources, it is well proportioned, and in a sense it is objective. That is, the author makes no attempt to defend all of Wade's actions or all of his methods. Nevertheless, he sometimes paints in the

warts only to wipe them out or blur them. The main shortcoming of the volume is its simplistic frame or reference. There are good guys and bad guys, right causes and wrong causes, those in favor of progress, and those opposed to it, and so forth. If the human psyche is so uncomplicated, if great issues are really this simple there is no need of historians or philosophers. One has have only to resort to copybook maxims.

Harry L. Coles

The Ohio State University

Dawn Like Thunder: The Barbary Wars and the Birth of the U. S. Navy. By Glenn Tucker. Maps by Dorothy Thomas Tucker. (Indianapolis, Indiana, and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc. 1963. Illustrations, acknowledgments, bibliography, and index. Pp. x, 487. \$6.95.)

Temporarily, at least, Glenn Tucker has deserted the Civil War, a field in which he has been pre-eminently successful, to write the fascinating and too-little known story of the Barbary Wars and the birth of the United States Navy. *Dawn Like Thunder* will certainly rank with the best of Mr. Tucker's Civil War books.

In the late-eighteenth century, American shipping, as well as that of other nations, was the constant prey of the piratical forces of the Barbary States, and the paying of tribute, or bribes, to an assortment of rapacious beys and bashaws was the order of the day. Finally, growing demands for protection of American shipping and for cessation of payments of tribute led to the Navy Bill of 1794, which was enacted in spite of the opposition of Nathaniel Macon and the entire North Carolina delegation in Congress.

The bill led to the creation of a navy which was truly one of iron men and wooden ships. Preble, Stephen Decatur, Lawrence, MacDonough, Porter, Somers, and Wadsworth, to name only a few officers of the young navy, won undying fame for themselves and respect for their fledgling nation. The burning of the "Philadelphia" by Decatur and his intrepid band remains a great epic in naval history, and the exploits of the indomitable Lieutenant Presley N. O'Bannon on "the shores of Tripoli" live on in the words of the Marine Corps hymn.

The author finds a degree of similarity between the payment of tribute to the Barbary States and some of the United States' current foreign aid programs, and critics of some of these present-day foreign policies will find familiar reading in the unhappy ending to the heroic

efforts of Consul Eaton and Lt. O'Bannon to oust the villainous Bashaw of Tripoli and place his friendly brother on the throne, only to have another agent of the United States make peace with the Bashaw, thus leaving friendly forces stranded in the desert.

In his research, Tucker not only consulted most available sources in this country, but also visited Tripoli in search of information in order to familiarize himself with the area. This reviewer's only criticism—a minor one—is that Tucker placed too much emphasis on historical background, with the result that the reader may find it difficult to follow him as he jumps from country to country and from era to era in the early chapters of the book.

Mrs. Tucker's excellent maps are of considerable assistance in following the courses of battles and campaigns described in the book.

A. M. Patterson

State Department of Archives and History

American Slavers and the Federal Law, 1837-1862. By Warren S. Howard. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1963. Illustrations, bibliography, notes, and index. Pp. xii, 336. \$6.50.)

This study makes fascinating reading, and it has a timeless quality in its presentation of the age-long proclivity of men to seek all kinds of devices to evade the law for their private gain. It supersedes the study of DuBois' work on the subject, particularly in greatly reducing the exaggerated estimate by the Negro historian of the number of slaves smuggled during the illegal African slave trade. It also combats the allegation that Democratic administrations controlled by southerners were responsible for the lack of enforcement of the laws against the smuggling of slaves. Another of its virtues is that, though it recognizes the horror and unspeakable cruelty of the slave trade, it places emphasis on another aspect of the trade, namely the reasons for the failure of law enforcement.

The author lists a number of explanations arising predominantly out of the national character of Americans in the period of slave smuggling. Among these traits were the individualism, pride, and Anglophobia of Americans which prevented the Senate from concluding a treaty with Great Britain to allow its cruisers to search American vessels on the high seas for the purpose of detecting and arresting slavers. Not until 1862, after the American squadron had been called

home from the African Coast for military action against the Confederacy did Congress finally abandon its national pride and conclude a treaty allowing the British to police American vessels. The small American squadron, established in 1839, to arrest slavers was miserably managed, and captured only nine ships laden with slaves and about 50 others that were fitted for the slave trade. The really effective force in combatting the slave trade was the much larger and more zealous British squadron. Another important reason for the relative nonenforcement of the American laws against the slave trade was the severity of the law of 1820 making participation in the slave trade piracy a capital offense, and consequently juries were reluctant to convict. Only one American, a northern captain named Nathaniel Gordon, was ever executed—in 1862. Still another reason for the failure of enforcement of the American slave trade laws was the strict construction of these laws by federal judges.

The illegal slave trade from Africa (almost all of it after 1837 from the Congo region) centered in Brazil and Cuba. It was carried on largely in American ships that were sold or chartered to Brazilians, Cubans, and Portuguese, some of them naturalized American citizens, and operated mainly from New York and Havana. One of the most important findings of this volume is that relatively few of the thousands of slaves imported from Africa during this period were smuggled into the southern States. In Cuba public sentiment strongly supported the slave trade and the American Consul in Havana, Nicholas Trist, played a highly dubious role in the attempts of the United States to prevent its ships from being used in the trade. In Brazil, on the other hand, the United States Minister Henry A. Wise exerted himself strenuously to combat the desecration of the American flag in this illegal trade, and by 1851 importation of slaves into Brazil was vanishing. The story of the illegal African slave trade is necessarily based to a large extent on circumstantial evidence and rumors. Mr. Howard has done an excellent job of using this dubious and scanty evidence and has written his story with restraint, yet with verve.

Clement Eaton

University of Kentucky

American Military Insignia, 1800-1851. By J. Duncan Campbell and Edgar M. Howell. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution. 1963. Preface, bibliography, introduction, illustrations, and notes. Pp. xv, 124 [For sale by the Superintendent of Public Documents, U. S. Government Printing office]. \$2.00.)

This work is Bulletin 235 of the scholarly publications of the United States National Museum and is issued in quarto size. Its Preface announces that it is a catalog containing a "descriptive and interpretive listing of the insignia of the Army of the United States—other than buttons, epaulets, and horse furniture—in the National Collections that were prescribed or worn during the period 1800-1851." Its 276 exceptionally fine illustrations are accompanied by concise, clear descriptive statements which will appeal somewhat more to the collector than to most scholars.

Its authors state that the catalog, while a "developmental history of American military insignia," is in no sense a definitive treatment of the subject. The fragmentary records concerning Regular Army devices prior to 1821 make it necessary for the student to depend upon specimens recovered in excavations at sites known to have been occupied by identifiable units at specific times. The profusion of insignia in use among the numberless independent uniformed militia companies during this early period makes it doubtful that the study can ever be completed.

Despite the highly specialized nature of the subject of this work it should have some utility to the student of military history because of its bibliography. Equally useful is the four-page Introduction which presents a summary of the organization of the Regular Army and of the Militia in the first half of the nineteenth century. Here one learns how the 2d Infantry Regiment in today's Regular Army came to antedate the 1st Infantry Regiment, a point which present-day members of the latter unit find difficult to accept.

Here is described also the evolution of the national Militia from the "common" Militia of colonial times to a *corps d'elite* of amateur soldiers who derived much satisfaction from participation in military exercises and the ceremonies which were—and still are—part of the military tradition. In the twentieth century this attitude was made the basis of the popular song, "I Love a Parade."

The catalog section of the book contains numerous examples of the insignia of South Carolina militia units, but none that is unique to North Carolina. Tarheels, nevertheless, may take solace in the knowledge that they were well represented in this sphere. For among the

units mentioned by the authors as being "a spectacular, colorful, and exciting integral of the social and military life" of the period, the "Raleigh Cossacks" are listed!

John D. F. Phillips

Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission

Our Recent Past: American Civilization in the Twentieth Century. By Thomas Neville Bonner. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1963. Illustrations, notes, and index. Pp. ix, 470. \$10.00.)

Surveys of recent American history are much alike. Beginning with a sweeping view of economic, social, and intellectual changes in the latter years of the nineteenth century, they then turn to a detailed discussion of events which have shaped contemporary America, centering especially on reform movements and the country's growth as a world power. Since the southeastern States did not figure largely in these major themes, there is customarily little mention of them until post-World War II racial unrest became a matter of national concern. Since, too, these surveys are aimed at the widest possible audience, the authors stick mostly to accepted historical interpretations.

These generalizations describing the half-dozen or so surveys that are currently available also disclose the substance of the book under review. Bonner's volume differs from its competitors mainly in that it is short—about half the length of a book by Arthur Ling, for example. Its brevity presumably will attract the general reader; as a textbook, its size will permit the assignment of library materials. Thus, if a short synthesis is what one seeks, this volume ought to be satisfactory. Within the limits of his space, Bonner has treated his subject adequately; his writing is simple and clear; his illustrations contribute to the reader's interest; and his bibliography is not only well selected and annotated but also includes sound and film materials.

Burton F. Beers

North Carolina State of the University of North Carolina
at Raleigh

OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

A Guide to the Study and Reading of North Carolina History, by Hugh Talmage Lefler, will prove an invaluable guide to persons interested in delving into North Carolina's history. This second revised and enlarged edition was published by the University of North Carolina Press, as was the 1955 edition. The contents of the book include sources for the study of State and local history, books and articles relating to North Carolina, rosters of North Carolina soldiers, a select bibliography of North Carolina folklore, bibliographies to be used in conjunction with the Lefler and Newsome text on North Carolina history, and materials relating to North Carolina counties and towns. Students and writers of the history of North Carolina will find the revised edition of Dr. Lefler's *Guide* a tremendous asset for their libraries. It may be obtained from the University of North Carolina Press at Chapel Hill for \$2.40.

Superior Court Judge Allen H. Gwyn has written *Work-Earn and Save*, published by the Institutes for Civic Education, Extension Division, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Called "observations on crime and correction," Judge Gwynn discusses probation and punishment and the need for judicial analysis; changes in points of view with regard to crime and punishment; the work, earn, and save plan, including case histories of defendants operating under the system; observations on methods of preventing crime; and probation and parole, showing how these concepts in practice help in crime prevention. The book will be of especial value to persons interested in social problems and North Carolina's approach to them. Copies may be ordered from the publisher; the price is \$1.50.

Another study in the series of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, is *Shonto: A Study of the Role of the Trader in a Modern Navaho Community*, by William Y. Adams. For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., for \$2.00, the book will be significant to those interested in Indian lore and the social and economic changes occurring among this group of people. The 329-page book is illustrated.

In the same series is the eighth bulletin in the *River Basin Surveys Papers*, edited by Frank H. H. Roberts, Jr. Subtitled *Inter-Agency Archeological Salvage Program*, the 344-page book is also available

for sale from the Superintendent of Documents. The price is \$3.00. The seven reports in this volume relate to work done in four reservoir areas in the Missouri Basin.

Two additional numbers in the *Preliminary Inventories* series, published by the National Archives, have been issued. Number 155, *Records of the Office of the Chief Signal Officer*, compiled by Mabel E. Deutch, is a 26-page booklet; Number 157, *General Records of the Department of State* compiled by Daniel T. Goggin and H. Stephen Helton, contains 311 pages. Both are available without charge from The National Archives, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, Washington, D. C., 20408.

The American Revenue Association has issued a 27-page booklet, *New Discovery From British Archives on The 1765 Tax Stamps For America*, edited by Adolph Koepfel. Philatelists will be fascinated by the illustrations. History of the Stamp Act and action taken following its passage is included. The account of the actual production of the stamps themselves and the use to which surplus stamps was put is of interest to the general reader as well as the historian. Additional information may be obtained from the American Revenue Association at Boyertown, Pennsylvania.

A new church history is that by Charles Crossfield Ware, *The Church Bell: A History of The First Christian Church, Wilson, N. C.* The hardbound book contains 144 pages, an index, and illustrations. Included in the story is much information about the city of Wilson and about the group of Disciples of Christ in that area of North Carolina. The close tie with Atlantic Christian College is also shown. The permanent Disciple congregation was founded in Wilson on April 27, 1871, meaning that nearly a century of history is included in *The Church Bell*. Copies are available from Dr. Ware, Box 1164, Wilson, N. C.

Colonial Bertie County, North Carolina, Volume II, 1725-1730, contains abstracts of Deed Books B and C, 1725-1730 and a few from Deed Book E, 1739. Abstracted and indexed by Mary Best Bell, the book was published by Colonial Bertie, Box 343, Windsor, N. C. Copies are available from the publisher for \$7.73; Volume I is still available for \$5.15, including tax. Each name and place and both grantors and grantees are listed in the index.

Carter Watkins Friend has compiled a 161-page, paper-bound book entitled *The Descendants of Captain Thomas Friend, 1700-1760, Chesterfield County, Virginia*. Illustrations add interest to what is primarily a genealogical study of the Friend family, beginning in England. Copies may be ordered for \$8.00 from Carter Watkins Friend, 2416 Cameron Mills Road, Alexandria, Virginia.

The Department recently received the *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the Archivist of the Hall of Records*. This report of the work being done in Maryland covers the period July 1, 1961, through June 30, 1962. Information on the agency's publications, accessions, Civil War Centennial exhibits, and other phases of the program is given in the report.

The second edition of *North Carolina Newspapers on Microfilm*, a 31-page booklet, has been published by the State Department of Archives and History. Copies of this publication, a checklist of early newspapers from North Carolina which are now available on microfilm from the Department, are available for 50¢ from the Department.

Another departmental publication is *The Old North State Fact Book*, on sale by the Division of Publications of the Department for 25¢. The pamphlet of 82 pages is reprinted from the first section of the 1963 edition of the *North Carolina Manual*; the publication was issued to meet needs of school children who request information on the State government, the list of governors, the Halifax Resolves, the State song, the Constitution, and numerous other topics.

HISTORICAL NEWS

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

Executive Board

The Executive Board of the State Department of Archives and History met on September 19 in the Assembly Room of the Department. Present were Chairman McDaniel Lewis; Board members Miss Gertrude S. Carraway, Dr. Edward W. Phifer, Jr., and Dean D. J. Whitener; Director Christopher Crittenden; Budget Officer Mary B. Cornick; Division Heads Mr. H. G. Jones, Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Mrs. Memory F. Mitchell; General John D. F. Phillips, Executive Secretary of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission; Mr. Norman C. Larson, Executive Secretary of the Confederate Centennial Commission; and Mrs. Jane Burts, Secretary to Dr. Crittenden.

Secretary of State Thad Eure administered the oath of office to Dr. Phifer, physician and surgeon of Morganton, who was appointed to the Board on July 16 by Governor Terry Sanford. Mr. Ralph P. Hanes was reappointed on the same date. Below is a roster of present Board members:

	Appointment Date	Expiration Date
Miss Gertrude S. Carraway	June 18, 1959*	March 31, 1965
Fletcher M. Green	June 12, 1961*	March 31, 1967
Ralph P. Hanes	July 16, 1963*	March 31, 1969
Josh L. Horne	June 12, 1961*	March 31, 1967
McDaniel Lewis	June 18, 1959*	March 31, 1965
Edward W. Phifer	July 16, 1963**	March 31, 1969
Daniel J. Whitener	June 18, 1959**	March 31, 1965

Dr. Phifer received the Ramsdell Award at the Asheville meeting of the Southern Historical Association, November 7. This Award, presented on alternate years, is given for excellence in historical writing in *The Journal of Southern History*. Dr. Phifer's article on slavery in Burke County won the \$100 prize for 1961-1962.

Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission

The final major event of the year-long three-hundredth anniversary observance of the Carolina Charter was the stage presentation and subsequent television showing of "The Sojourner and Mollie Sinclair," a serio-comic music drama written on commission for the Tercentenary by Carlisle Floyd.

The premiere on Monday, December 2, was followed by performances on Tuesday and Wednesday evenings and a Wednesday matinee during

* Reappointed.

** Appointed for first term.

Culture Week. Television programming of the video-tape production, taped by WUNC-TV, is still being scheduled with five North Carolina stations committed to showing the work.

Composer-librettist Floyd, a native of Latta, South Carolina, developed a plot involving a mid-eighteenth century Scottish family whose loyalties are divided between their new home in the southeastern flatlands of North Carolina and the Highlands of Scotland.

Starring in the leading roles were Miss Patricia Neway and Mr. Norman Treigle, nationally prominent artists. Julius Rudel of the New York City Opera Company was the guest conductor. The Opera Theater of East Carolina College produced the drama. Drawing from its faculty and student body, the school provided an orchestra and supporting cast, and built the sets.

The Charter Commission participated actively in the annual meetings of three learned societies which honored the Tercentenary by meeting in North Carolina during 1963. At the joint meeting of the Society of American Archivists and the American Association for State and Local History in Raleigh during the first week of October, the Commission manned an exhibit, displaying its free literature, leaflets, historical pamphlets, and souvenirs. The Commission's Executive Secretary, General John D. F. Phillips, participated in a symposium on commemorative programs. He outlined the origin, concept, scope, and execution of the Tercentenary program. An award for outstanding contributions to the study of colonial history was presented to the Charter Commission.

At the Southern Historical Association's annual convention in Asheville, November 7-9, the Tercentenary of the granting of the Carolina Charter was celebrated at several events. Dr. Frank P. Graham, United Nations mediator and chairman of the federal North Carolina Tercentenary Celebration Commission, was introduced by the State Commission Chairman, the Hon. Francis E. Winslow, at the Tercentenary dinner. Dr. Graham's topic was "The Carolina Charter in Its British and American Context." Before the address, the audience of about 200 persons was entertained by Miss Julia Ribet and Mr. Harvey Moose, of Raleigh, with a selection of folk songs of the colonists.

At one of the 20 sessions held in Asheville, the Carolina Charter was discussed at length. Dr. Hugh T. Lefler, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, was chairman. Mr. William S. Powell, Head, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, presented a paper on "How the Charter was Obtained." Dr. Charles E. Lee, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, covered "The Implementation of the Charter in the Charles Town Colony." Discussants were Dr. Herbert R. Paschal, East Carolina College, and Dr. E. Lawrence Lee, the Citadel.

Winners in the Literary Competition staged by the Commission were Mr. Sam Ragan, Mr. Thad Stem, Jr., and Mr. Manly Wade Wellman. Mr. Ragan, Executive Editor of *The News and Observer-Raleigh Times*, and Mr. Stem of Oxford, author and poet, were scheduled to receive \$500 in the poetry division for their work entitled, "In the Beginning." An epic poem in four parts, it is based on the efforts of early settlers in the Carolina colony to win a new and improved way of life in the young coun-

try. Mr. Wellman of Chapel Hill won the \$1,000 award in the prose-fiction category for his entry, *Settlement on Shocco, Adventures in Colonial Carolina*, a historical novel for school-age readers. Mrs. John H. Hamilton, Jr., of Cary, received honorable mention in the poetry division for "A Fair and Spacious Province and Other Poems."

During October the Morehead Planetarium's program was "The Charter and the Seven Stars." Written by Mr. Harvey W. Daniel of Chapel Hill, the program opened with the sky as seen from London at the time of the granting of the Carolina Charter. Many interesting discussions were included, such as the Romans designating the region of the Big Dipper as Septentriones, the "Seven Stars," which came to mean North. The closing phase of the program was a transition from the "seven stars" of 1663 to the advanced techniques of modern celestial navigation; and from the crude equipment which guided the ancient mariners to the giant NASA electronic complex under construction at Rosman, in the mountains of North Carolina, which will guide and track modern astronauts into space.

An exhibit of Tercentenary materials was displayed at the State Fair in Raleigh. Thousands of free leaflets were distributed. Also, the Carolina Charter and its three-hundredth anniversary celebration was the subject of a spectacular fireworks display each night showing highlights of North Carolina history.

The East Carolina Marching Pirates, a 115-member band, performed in the District of Columbia Stadium in Washington during the football halftime show on October 13. Several symbols were used in paying tribute to the Indian's part in history of North Carolina. They also formed the figure "300" and played a special arrangement of Don Elliot's "North Carolina."

Colonial Residential Architecture, by Professor John Allcott of Chapel Hill, came off the press in October. This completes publication of the series of historical pamphlets. Other titles are *Upheaval in Albemarle 1675-1689: The Story of Culpeper's Rebellion*, by Hugh F. Rankin; *The Lords Proprietors*, by William S. Powell; *The Indian Wars in North Carolina, 1663-1763*, by E. Lawrence Lee; *The Royal Governors of North Carolina*, by Blackwell P. Robinson; *The Highland Scots of North Carolina*, by Duane Meyer; and *The Influence of Geography Upon Early North Carolina*, by Cordelia Camp.

The last scheduled plenary meeting of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission was held in Raleigh on October 11, preceded by an Executive Committee meeting. The Commission directed that a recommendation on behalf of the Charter Commission be submitted to the Governor and Council of State that the new Archives and History-State Library building be designated "The Carolina Charter Building."

Included in the report of the Executive Secretary, General John D. F. Phillips, was the fact that 64 of the 100 counties have staged major Tercentenary observances during 1963. Much of the business was devoted to terminating the Commission's activities and responsibilities by December 31.

North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission

Mr. Norman C. Larson, Executive Secretary of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, presented a slide program on Civil War sites and the Gettysburg Centennial at the Twenty-sixth Annual Convention of the North Carolina Division, Children of the Confederacy, August 13-15, in Asheville.

On August 24 he served as master of ceremonies at the "Hebe Skirmish Centennial and Fort Fisher Groundbreaking Ceremonies." Sponsored by the New Hanover County Board of Commissioners and Centennial Committee in conjunction with the State Department of Archives and History and the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, the program featured a concert by the U. S. Marine Drum and Bugle Corps, a speech by author Hamilton Cochran, military drills, and a fireworks display.

In late August diving expeditions to the sunken Civil War vessel U.S.S. "Peterhoff," which lies off Fort Fisher, were begun. During the course of the operations, a 32-pound cannon was recovered by U.S. Navy divers.

Mr. Larson participated in the joint convention of the American Association for State and Local History and Society of American Archivists in Raleigh, October 2-5, both as a panelist and as a tour guide. As panelist, he outlined North Carolina's Centennial program at a session of the American Association for State and Local History.

On October 9 the State Convention of the North Carolina Division, United Daughters of the Confederacy, was held in Raleigh. A slide program on the Gettysburg Centennial was presented by the Executive Secretary at the group's Historical Evening banquet.

A special program of fireworks illustrating 300 years of North Carolina history was narrated by the Executive Secretary nightly at the State Fair, October 14-19.

Mr. Larson attended the fall meeting of the Confederate States Centennial Conference in San Antonio, Texas, October 24-28. He participated as panelist in a discussion of the role of various States in the Centennial and was appointed to serve on a committee to plan and co-ordinate Centennial activities in the South during 1965.

Miss Carolyn Madden Myers, Administrative Assistant, was married to Mr. Marcus Edward Bizzell, Jr., on October 26 in Raleigh. She is continuing in her position at present.

The Executive Secretary met with members of the Historic Sites Division, State Department of Archives and History, on November 4 to formulate plans for the commemoration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the battles of Fort Fisher and Bentonville and the surrender at the Bennett Place.

A program on the salvage of blockade-runners off Fort Fisher was presented by the Executive Secretary to members of the Greensboro Civitan Club on November 8. On November 14 he addressed the Wilson chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. That evening he was in Ahoskie, where he presented a program on "Our North Carolina Heritage" to the Hertford County 4-H Club.

Representing the North Carolina Commission and the Confederate States Centennial Conference, the Executive Secretary was in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, November 16-19, to participate in ceremonies commemorating the one hundredth anniversary of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address.

Director's Office

Mr. Carter Williams, architect of Raleigh, has been selected by the Department of Administration as the architect for the Archives and History-State Library Building for which the General Assembly of 1963 appropriated \$3,000,000. He and other members of his firm are working on plans for the building. From November 19 to 22 Mrs. Joye E. Jordan; Mr. H. G. Jones; Mr. Williams; Mrs. Elizabeth Hughey, State Librarian, and others made a tour to Atlanta, Georgia; New Orleans and Baton Rouge, Louisiana; and Birmingham, Alabama, to study recently constructed or under-construction archives, library, and museum buildings to gain knowledge for plans for the North Carolina building. Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director, went with the group as far as Atlanta.

The joint summer meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association and the Western North Carolina Historical Association was held at Brevard College, July 26-27. Mr. Glenn Tucker of Flat Rock spoke at the first session on "The Barbary Wars and the Birth of the United States Navy." After the July 26 dinner Mr. Stanley A. South, Archeologist at Brunswick Town, spoke on "Brunswick Town: Past and Present." Mr. Robert C. Page III of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission then gave a progress report on the work of the Commission.

Judge Johnson J. Hayes of Wilksboro spoke at the morning meeting on July 27 on the problems of writing local history, based on his experience in writing the history of Wilkes County.

On August 28 Dr. Crittenden attended a meeting in Smithfield of the high school social studies teachers of Johnston County where he presented a brief program relating to the work of the Department. He was accompanied by Mrs. Frances Ashford, Education Curator; Mrs. Memory F. Mitchell, Editor; and Mr. N. B. Bragg, Historic Site Specialist, each of whom also spoke briefly.

The internship course given by the Department in collaboration with the Department of History at Meredith College began in September. This course, offered to juniors and seniors who are history majors, affords the students who participate the opportunity to work in the various Divisions of the Department. College credit is awarded to those who pass the course. Enrollees are Miss Clare Bolton and Miss Marge Hamilton, Division of Museums; Miss Gera-Lu Shervette and Miss Charlotte Burgess, Division of Archives and Manuscripts; and Misses Brenda Smith, Barbara Radford, Nancy Spencer, and Diane Daughtry, Division of Publications.

Dr. Crittenden presided at the Wake Forest College Birthplace Society luncheon meeting on September 27 in Wake Forest. Officers re-elected are Dr. Crittenden, President; Mr. John Wooten, Jr., Vice-President, and Mrs. A. C. Hall, Secretary. Mr. J. L. Warren was elected Treasurer. Wake Forest Mayor S. Wait Brewer was named to the Board of Directors, re-

placing the late Dr. Douglas Branch. Two changes were made in the bylaws to comply with federal government tax regulations. Mrs. R. W. Wilkinson III reported for her husband, finance chairman, on the work of local civic clubs in the restoration of the Wake Forest College Birthplace.

Dr. Crittenden also attended the meeting of the Wake County Historical Society in the Assembly Room of the Department on September 30.

The twenty-seventh annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists and the twenty-third annual meeting of the American Association for State and Local History were held jointly in Raleigh, October 2-5. These societies are among those meeting in North Carolina during 1963 to celebrate the Tercentenary of the granting of the Carolina Charter of 1663. One of the most significant events was held on October 3—the ceremonial groundbreaking for the new Archives and History-State Library Building. Governor Terry Sanford; Dr. Crittenden; Mrs. Elizabeth Hughey, State Librarian; Mr. McDaniel Lewis, Chairman of the Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History; Mr. Thad Stem, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the State Library; Mr. Francis E. Winslow, Chairman of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission; and Mr. Norman C. Larson, Executive Secretary of the Confederate Centennial Commission, participated in the event held at the new State Legislative Building.

An Award of Distinction was presented to Dr. Crittenden on October 4 by the American Association for State and Local History for his many contributions in the field of history. He was instrumental in helping develop the Association, after assisting in its organization in 1940 and serving as its first President. It was noted that he had been especially successful in persuading “governors and legislators to support a state program second to none in the country.” Dr. Ernst Posner of Washington received an Award of Distinction also. These awards were given for the first time.

Dr. Crittenden spoke briefly at the annual meeting of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in Raleigh on October 8. He attended in Chapel Hill on October 10 the meeting of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission Advisory Editorial Board and on October 11 the meeting of the Charter Commission in Raleigh. He spoke at the organizational meeting of the Hillsborough Historical Society in Hillsboro.

On October 23 Mr. Charles W. Traylen, antiquarian bookseller of Guildford, Surrey, England, spoke at the staff meeting of the Department. Mr. Traylen is the person from whom the original Carolina Charter of 1663 was purchased. The Charter is now housed in the Hall of History in a specially-designed case.

The symbolic unveiling of a historical marker for the Wake Forest College Birthplace (Calvin Jones House) was held on September 15. Dr. Crittenden presided at the ceremonies held in the Wake Forest High School Gymnasium. Among the descendants of Calvin Jones attending were two namesakes, one from Memphis and the other from Bolivar, Tennessee. Members of the families of former presidents of Wake Forest College, including Richard Lewis Brewer, a descendant of the first presi-

dent, Reverend Samuel Wait, also were present. Greetings were brought by a number of representatives of historical and patriotic groups and the Wake Forest High School Band presented a concert. Arms were presented by the Fourth 155 Howitzer Battery, United States Marine Corps, Raleigh. On October 29 Dr. Crittenden made a progress report on the restoration of the Wake Forest College Birthplace at a meeting of the Wake County Chapter of the Wake Forest College Alumni Association.

Dr. Crittenden attended on November 1 the Bertie County Tercentenary Celebration held in Windsor from October 31 through November 2. The fall meeting of the Bertie County Historical Association was held simultaneously with the celebration. Mr. John R. Jenkins of Aulander presided at the dinner on October 31. Governor Terry Sanford opened the celebration at the Francis Speight art exhibit on November 1; an antique show was held in the Windsor Community Building; a tour of historic homes of the area was arranged; and a parade of historic floats was presented. Speakers during the three-day event included Congressman Herbert Bonner and General John D. F. Phillips of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission.

Dr. Crittenden attended the November 8 and 9 sessions of the twenty-ninth annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association held in Asheville. The Association was invited to meet in the State as a part of the year-long celebration of the Tercentenary of the granting of the Carolina Charter of 1663.

Mayor Jim Reid of Raleigh has appointed the following persons to serve as members of the Raleigh Historic Sites Commission: Mr. Hal W. Trentman, Chairman; Mrs. Sam Beard, Co-Chairman; Mrs. Bruce Carter, Mr. Robert McMillan, Jr., Mr. Herbert O'Keef, Mrs. Dallas Holoman, Jr., Mr. William H. Deitrick, Mr. Henry P. Haywood, Mrs. Raymond L. Murray, Mr. F. Carter Williams, Mrs. Roy Wilder, Mr. Ben F. Williams, Mr. Banks Talley, and Mr. W. S. Tarlton, members; Miss Beth G. Crabtree, Secretary; Dr. Christopher Crittenden and Mr. A. C. Hall, Jr., advisers. The Commission met on November 5 with Mr. Trentman presiding. Mayor Reid spoke briefly to those present, reviewing the past work; City Manager W. H. Carper also spoke briefly. Dr. Crittenden made suggestions as to purposes, projects, and short- and long-range programs of the Commission. A general discussion followed concerning the financing of the work of the Commission. Another matter discussed was the preservation of the Richard B. Haywood House, located at the corner of Edenton and Blount Streets. This dwelling was erected in 1854 of bricks made by family slaves of Dr. Richard Benehan Haywood and was commandeered during Federal occupation as headquarters of Major Francis P. Blair, Jr., a classmate of Dr. Haywood at the University of North Carolina, and visited by Generals Sherman and Grant. A committee was appointed by Mr. Trentman to recommend action on the Haywood House. The committee met on November 16 and elected Mr. Deitrick chairman. The Commission met again on November 26 and heard a report from Mr. Deitrick concerning a resolution from the Commission to the City Council of Raleigh, relative to the preservation of the Haywood House. Dr. Crittenden suggested that a brief brochure be prepared describing the historic sites

in Raleigh. Mr. Trentman then appointed Mr. Ben Williams as chairman of a committee to prepare a brochure, with Dr. Crittenden and Mrs. Roy Wilder serving with him. Mr. Williams suggested that Dr. Louise Hall, Professor of Architecture at Duke University, be consulted in preparing a brief description of buildings considered worthy of preservation. Mr. Trentman set the next meeting date of the Commission on December 17.

On December 2 the City Council of Raleigh passed a resolution designating the Richard B. Haywood House as "historically one of the most significant buildings in the city of Raleigh." The resolution further requested that the Governor and Council of State consider the Haywood property in the future planning and development of the Capitol Square area.

Division of Archives and Manuscripts

In connection with the joint meeting of the Society of American Archivists and the American Association for State and Local History in Raleigh in October, the Division of Archives and Manuscripts sponsored two workshops on October 2. In the morning Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, and Rear Admiral A. M. Patterson, Assistant State Archivist for Local Records, discussed the Department's local records program. Appearing on the program also were Miss Betty June Hayes of Hillsboro, Register of Deeds of Orange County and an officer of the National Association of County Recorders and Clerks, and Mr. Allan Markham of Chapel Hill, Assistant Director of the Institute of Government. In the afternoon Mr. Jones and Mr. Thornton W. Mitchell, Assistant State Archivist for State Records, discussed the Department's State records management program. The sessions included an open house throughout the Division. More than 50 persons attended the local records session and approximately 85 attended the session at the Records Center.

Admiral Patterson served as Local Arrangements Chairman for the Society of American Archivists, and Mr. Jones presided at a joint luncheon on October 3 at which Governor Terry Sanford was the featured speaker. Mr. Jones was re-elected Treasurer of the Society.

Mr. Jones presided at a session on archives and historical societies at the Third Assembly on the Library Functions of the States in Washington, D. C., November 13-15. On September 21 he spoke to the Caswell County Chapter of Colonial Dames.

Members of the Division of Archives and Manuscripts who attended the meetings of the Southern Historical Association in Asheville, November 7-9, were Mr. Jones, Mr. C. Fred W. Coker, Admiral Patterson, and Mr. Mitchell.

Scholarly publications have carried articles by Division staff members in recent months. Mr. Jones' "State Archival-Records Management Programs in the United States" appeared in Volume XI of *Archivum*, published by the Conseil International des Archives in Paris, and his "Microfilm Applications in a State Archival-Records Management Program" was published in the *Proceedings* of the 1963 Convention of the National

Microfilm Association. His paper on "Elements of a Comprehensive State Archival-Records Management Program" was published in the *Proceedings* of the Southeastern Chapter of the American Records Management Association for May, 1963. The July issue of *The American Archivist* carried articles by Admiral Patterson and Mr. Mitchell, titled respectively, "State Archival Agencies' Services to Other State Agencies," and "Ohio—Disposition of Medical Records in State Mental Hospitals." The October issue of the same journal carried the article, "Ancient Documents as Evidence," by Mr. Cyrus B. King, formerly an Assistant State Archivist.

Additional nineteenth-century newspapers made available on microfilm include the papers not heretofore filmed for the cities of Asheville, Oxford, Plymouth, Warrenton, Williamston, and Windsor. The filming of the *Wilmington Messenger*, daily, 1887-1908, was also completed; this title occupies 61 reels.

The Microfilm Services Center processed 1,225 reels (119,390 linear feet) of microfilm during the quarter ending September 30, including 887 reels (85,990 feet) of negative film and 338 reels (33,400 feet) of positive film. The latter consisted largely of newspapers on microfilm purchased by other institutions.

The Search Room is now open from 8:30 A.M. to 1:30 P.M. on Saturdays in addition to the 8:30 to 5:30 hours Mondays through Fridays. Because only a skeleton staff will be on duty on Saturdays, it is suggested that scholars notify the State Archivist in advance indicating the subject of their research so that materials they wish to examine may easily be made available.

Progress continued in the Archives Section on the preparation of guides to research materials. One—the *Guide to Research Materials in the North Carolina State Archives*—is being published in near-print form and in installments which may be ready for sale early in 1964. Another, a guide to the private collections (the exact title of which has yet to be decided), will be issued as a regular Departmental volume in 1964. A third, a guide to Civil War materials in the Archives, is in preparation.

In the quarter ending September 30, 867 persons registered in the Search Room and 936 were given information by mail. These figures do not include visitors and letters handled in the Section without referral to the Search Room. Photocopies totaled 1,358 and certified copies 44. In addition, almost 1,200 photocopies were made for use in the Department.

In the Document Restoration Laboratory, 24,983 pages of manuscript materials were laminated of which the greater part were county records. In addition, staff members outside of office hours laminated 3,904 pages for individuals and institutions.

Miss Betsy Fleshman, a graduate of Flora Macdonald College, joined the Archives staff on October 1 as Clerk III. On December 1 she was reclassified as Archivist I.

A major accomplishment of the Local Records Section has been the completion of the repair and arrangement of a collection of colonial court records received from Chowan County. These include a few original court minutes and other dockets, civil and criminal action papers, estates

and land records, lists of taxables, and a variety of other records of the courts, dating from 1677 to 1775.

Original records recently received from counties include:

Granville County: Common schools register (1860-1861).

Jones County: Record of deeds (1822-1828); index to early deed books (undated); miscellaneous County Court dockets (1807-1868); Superior Court minutes (1807-1819); equity minutes (1826-1868); miscellaneous Superior Court dockets (1821-1868); administrators' bonds (1869-1926); guardian bonds (1869-1913); record of administrators, executors, and guardians (1792-1799); inventories and accounts of sales (1803-1854); bastardy bonds (1869-1892); indenture bonds (1870-1902); 19 wills (1811-1900); and civil action and criminal papers (1854-1899).

Martin County: Minute docket, Inferior Court (1877-1885); County Court execution and trial dockets (1844-1860); administrators' bonds (1867-1913); guardian bonds (1866-1913); record of administrators, guardians, and executors (1869-1886); records of elections (1878-1922); land entries (1866-1900); tax scrolls (1885-1915, not consecutive); estates papers (1898-1906); original wills (1866-1918); and civil action papers (1884-1903).

Surry County: County Court minutes (1779-1783, 1788-1847, 1850, 1960-1867); miscellaneous County Court dockets (1772-1868); Superior Court minutes (1807-1849); equity minutes (1855-1867); miscellaneous Superior Court dockets (1807-1867); records of account (1792-1805, 1809-1862); apprentice bonds (1879-1921); administrators' bonds (1876-1903); guardian bonds (1879-1894); land entries (1784-1795); marriage registers (1853-1940); Warden's Court minutes (1852-1877); record of processioners (1801-1887); records of election (1880-1920); appointment of road overseers (1807-1858); small group of civil and criminal action papers (1800-1900); a few deeds, commissioners' papers, etc. (1800-1900); and two merchant's ledgers (T. Crumpler, 1826-1827, and W. D. Rutledge, 1853-1854).

Tyrrell County: 36 marriage bonds (1862-1865).

The following microfilm copies of county records have been processed and placed in the Search Room:

Cumberland County: Deeds, grants, plats, and surveys (1754-1950); marriage bonds and registers (1800-1962); index to vital statistics (1913-1961); County Court minutes (1867-1942); Superior Court minutes (1755-1868); record of estates and of fiduciaries of estates (1808-1962); wills (1796-1962); record of adoptions (1934-1963); record of incorporations (1898-1923); record of elections (1906-1960); inheritance tax record (1921-1962); military discharges (1919-1962); orders and decrees and special proceedings (1869-1962); and minutes of county commissioners (1868-1924).

Halifax County: Deeds (1732-1934); marriage registers (1851-1963); index to vital statistics (1913-1961); County Court minutes (1832-1868); Superior Court minutes (1868-1940); record of estates of fiduciaries of estates (1868-1963); wills (1759-1963); record of incorporations (1887-1947); maiden names of divorced women (1938-1963); record of election (1924-1963); inheritance tax record (1920-1963); military discharges

(1923-1963); orders and decrees and special proceedings (1868-1963); minutes of board of county commissioners (1873-1921), and county board of education (1909-1951).

Hertford County: Deeds (1862-1960); marriage registers (1868-1963); index to vital statistics (1913-1962); County Court minutes (1830-1868); Superior Court minutes (1868-1950); record of estates and of fiduciaries of estates (1823-1963); wills (1830-1963); record of incorporations and partnerships (1878-1962); maiden names of divorced women (1939-1962); inheritance tax record (1920-1963); record of elections (1880-1962); orders and decrees and special proceedings (1868-1963); military discharges (1918-1961); federal tax lien index (1931-1962); record of taxes for mortgagees (1931-1934); record of land sold for taxes (1924-1936); minutes of board of county commissioners (1868-1939); and register of Confederate soldiers (1861-1865).

With the completion of work in Surry and Martin counties, the permanently valuable records of 32 counties have now been repaired as necessary and microfilmed for security. Records of Burke, Caswell, and Nash counties have been inventoried and scheduled and microfilm camera operators are now at work in these counties. With Departmental advice and assistance Guilford County has also begun microfilming the permanently valuable county records.

Mr. J. H. Hawley, Archivist II, resigned effective August 31 to accept employment in industry. On September 1 Mr. J. O. Hall, Archivist I, was promoted to Archivist II and assigned as relief for Mr. Hawley, and on the same date Mr. M. Kramer Jackson, a recent graduate of Atlantic Christian College joined the staff as Archivist I. On October 1 Mrs. Jean R. Miller was promoted to Archivist II, and on the same date Mr. Percy W. Hines, a graduate of Guilford College, joined the staff as a Clerk IV (Microfilm Camera Operator).

The activities of the State Records Section centered about the workshops, completing the records scheduling project, completing the reorganization of the holdings and finding aids of the State Records Center, and continuing the special studies and files installations already started.

The special study of fiscal records and paperwork has been completed and is being reviewed. A standard governing the disposition of fiscal records both in the central and operating agencies has been prepared and will be submitted to various officials for review and approval.

Work continued on the preparation of a standard governing the disposition of college and university records.

The records management workshops continued. The Correspondence Management and Plain Letters Workshop was given five times to 150 persons representing two agencies; the Files and Filing Workshop was given one time to 21 persons representing seven agencies.

Schedules for the State Board of Pharmacy, Real Estate Licensing Board, Tax Review Board, the Law Enforcement Officers' Benefit and Retirement Fund were approved during the quarter ending September 30, 1963. Schedules for the Board of Registration for Professional Engineers and Land Surveyors and the Laboratory of Hygiene were in the hands of

the respective agencies for review. Schedules for the Department of Insurance, Rural Electrification Authority, Division of Community Planning, and Merit System Council were in process. Schedules for the State Board of Health, Teachers' and State Employees' Retirement System, State Department of Archives and History, Board of Paroles, and Board of Education have been amended.

The high school equivalency records of the Department of Public Instruction and a subject file of the head of the Auditing and Accounting Division, Board of Education, have been reorganized. Bound records of the Secretary of State were rearranged. A plan for a central file for the Department of Mental Health has been developed and approved by the Department, and the new filing system will be installed with assistance from the Section. A files reorganization survey in the Merit System Council is being conducted simultaneously with the scheduling project in progress in that agency.

The annual report of records holdings for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, indicated that State agencies in Raleigh had a total of 91,901 cubic feet, an increase of 2,246 cubic feet over the previous year. This increase took place despite the fact that 6,231 cubic feet of records were destroyed in the agencies during the year and 6,173 cubic feet were transferred to the State Records Center. State institutions outside of Raleigh had a total of 11,629 cubic feet on June 30, and the examining and licensing boards reported 2,674 cubic feet. The total volume of State records on June 30, 1963, including the 26,745 cubic feet in the State Records Center, was 132,950 cubic feet. These figures do not include institutions of higher learning.

In the State Records Center during the quarter ending September 30, 2,424 cubic feet were accessioned and 790 cubic feet were disposed of, resulting in a net gain of 1,634 cubic feet. The total holdings of the Center on September 30 were 28,379 cubic feet. The Records Center staff performed 13,411 reference services during the quarter, and 78 visitors from 19 State agencies and the U.S. Internal Revenue Service visited the Records Center to consult records. The Records Center sold 9.2 tons of records and four tons of punched cards as wastepaper during the quarter.

Rearrangement of records holdings in the Records Center as the result of the installation of new shelving has been completed, and the index to records holdings has been completely revised.

In the Microfilm Project 101 reels of microfilm containing 239,035 images were filmed during the quarter ending September 30. In addition, 75 reels of paid checks were processed for the State Treasurer. Processing of the budget reports and appropriations file of the Budget Division for the regular biennial filming was started.

On November 4 a summary of the annual reports of records holdings submitted by State agencies was sent to Governor Sanford and to the Director of Administration. Copies were also sent to the records officers of all agencies.

Mr. Charles I. Bryan, Records Management Consultant I, resigned September 30, 1963, to accept a position in the Budget Division, Department of Administration. Mr. Claude R. Moore, Jr., was appointed Records

Management Consultant I, effective November 1, 1963. Mrs. Elizabeth C. Levings, Archivist II, resigned effective October 8. Mrs. Rebecca K. Clegg, Archivist I, was promoted to Archivist II, effective November 1, and Mrs. Judith A. Faulk was appointed Archivist I, effective the same date. Mr. John R. Van Hecke, Archivist II, was separated October 15, 1963, and Mr. E. F. Stephenson was appointed Clerk II (Microfilmer, part time), effective October 21, 1963.

Division of Historic Sites

Recently the Division has effected a reorganization of duties which has long-range possibilities for improvement and greater efficiency in the development and administration of historic site projects. As a result of reorganization, three historic site specialists have been transferred from individual projects in the field to the central office at Raleigh, where they will be engaged full time in specialized fields. They are Mr. Richard W. Sawyer, Jr., Mr. A. L. Honeycutt, Jr., and Mr. Walter Wootten.

In the field, the administration of Fort Fisher has been combined with that of Brunswick Town, located nearby, and both projects are under the supervision of Mr. Stanley A. South, Archeologist. At Town Creek Indian Mound, Mr. Bennie C. Keel, Archeologist in charge for the past two years, resigned to take a new position at the University of North Carolina as Archeologist on the highway salvage program; his successor is Mr. Roy Dickens of Atlanta, Georgia, who formerly worked with the Georgia Historical Commission. In the far western part of the State, Mr. Robert O. Conway, Historic Site Specialist in charge of the Vance Birthplace State Historic Site, has been designated as an area representative to handle historic site matters in the western part of the State. He will work with local groups on their restoration projects and will handle any new projects in which the State may be interested.

The new position of Historic Site Assistant has been established for on-site supervisors of the individual historic site projects. Recently appointed to such positions are Mrs. John A. Tankard at Historic Bath, Mr. Wayne Smith at Alamance Battleground, Mr. Egbert Ivey at Aycock Birthplace, and Mr. William Reid at Fort Fisher.

The Historic Bath Commission on August 1 turned over to the Department of Archives and History for administration the historic properties at Bath—namely, the Palmer-Marsh House, the Bonner House, Hardings Landing, and certain undeveloped properties on the waterfront and around the Palmer-Marsh House. Funds for the operation of Historic Bath as a State Historic Site were appropriated by the 1963 General Assembly. Since August 1 the necessary personnel and other arrangements have been made and Bath is now in operation as a full-fledged State Historic Site. Since August 1 visitors from 15 of the States and from England have visited Bath.

At the Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace two additional log structures—a corn crib and a meat house—have been erected, bringing to a total of seven the number of buildings there. Both of the new buildings have puncheon floors, some of the logs of which are two feet wide.

Mr. Conway has presented programs at North Carolina Education Association district meetings at Boone and Mooresville and at Daughters of the American Revolution "good citizen" district meeting and the West Asheville Community Club. At the recent meeting of the Southern Historical Association in Asheville, Mr. Conway served on the local arrangements committee and arranged for several bus tours to the Vance Birthplace. In October Mr. Conway visited several restored frontier forts in Kentucky and Tennessee in order to do research on log forts in preparation for the proposed reconstruction of Davidson's Fort built in 1776 in what is now the town of Old Fort.

At the fall meeting of the Western North Carolina Historical Association at Hendersonville, October 26, Miss Mary M. Greenlee, co-chairman of the Carson House Restoration Committee, Inc., announced that a fund drive would be staged in McDowell County in November to raise funds to furnish the large two-story frame house built about 1800 by Colonel John Carson on the banks of Buck Creek three miles west of Marion. The McDowell County Historical Society has recently acquired the Carson House for preservation. Part of the house will be converted into a museum and space to house a library and archives collection.

On September 8 a program was held at St. Philips Church in Brunswick Town commemorating the Spanish attack and capture of the town in 1748, at which groundbreaking ceremonies for the visitor center-museum were carried out.

The master of ceremonies for the program was Senator Ray Walton of Southport. Also taking part in the groundbreaking were Senator Cicero Yow, Representative Odell Williamson, and Representative Robert Calder, as well as Dr. Christopher Crittenden and others instrumental in supporting the Brunswick Town project. The main speaker for the day was Dr. E. Lawrence Lee, Jr., who spoke on the "Spanish Attack on Brunswick." Introducing Dr. Lee was Mr. J. L. Sprunt, donor of the land on which the site is located. Music for the event was furnished by Miss Julia Ribet, Administrative Assistant for the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission.

Dr. Crittenden accepted a number of special gifts for the State Department of Archives and History. Mr. R. V. Asbury, Jr., the Brunswick Town guide, prepared a number of interesting displays and a brochure on the Brunswick Town site.

At Brunswick Town the site is being cleared for the visitor center-museum, now being planned by Mr. James Milam of Raleigh, architect, and scheduled for construction next spring. Archeological work on colonial house sites in the Brunswick Town area has been continued throughout the fall.

Mr. Stanley A. South, Archeologist in charge, made the arrangements for, and attended, the fourth annual Conference on Historic Site Archeology at Macon, Georgia, on November 31. Mr. South read a paper on the analysis of buttons excavated at Brunswick Town and Fort Fisher. His paper classified and dated various types of buttons from early colonial into the mid-nineteenth century.

A conference with the Brunswick Town Nature Trail Committee of the garden clubs of North Carolina, Inc., resulted in the formulation of plans for the nature trail, for a brochure, and for a display on Brunswick Town to be exhibited at the Southeastern Flower and Garden Show to be held in Charlotte in March. Mr. South has recently spoken to the social science teachers at the NCEA district meeting in Fayetteville. He conducted a brief archeological investigation in the backyard of the Attmore-Oliver House in New Bern, finding an old cistern and the foundation of an early building located beneath the present smokehouse.

At Fort Fisher, with the purchase of additional land recently from Mrs. Bessie Sears Orrell of Wilmington, emphasis has been given to additional clearing and landscaping in the newly acquired areas. New entrances have been opened, brush and lines have been cleared from the area in which the visitor center-museum will be constructed, and fences outlining a new parking area have been built. Landscaping around the excavated lightkeeper's house site on Battle Acre has been carried out.

Mr. William Reid of Carolina Beach has been employed as Historic Site Assistant. He has supervised work crews in clearing additional land and in the over-all maintenance program.

Preliminary plans for the visitor center-museum have been drawn by the architectural firm of Ballard, McKim and Sawyer, Wilmington, and consultations have been held with various members of the Division staff concerning these plans.

On August 24 the Department of Archives and History, the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, and New Hanover County were co-sponsors of the Hebe Skirmish Centennial and Fort Fisher Visitor Center-Museum Groundbreaking Ceremony. Music for the occasion was furnished by the Second Marine Division Drum and Bugle Corps. Mr. Henry J. MacMillan and Mr. Norman C. Larson were masters of ceremonies for the four-hour program which featured military demonstrations by the North Carolina Sixth Regiment, the Washington Grays, 10th North Carolina Regiment, the Third South Carolina Volunteers, and the Cape Fear Home Guard.

Special guests for the occasion were members of the Munn family, descendants of Captain Daniel Munn, who operated the Whitworth gun presented as a loan to the Fort Fisher site by Rear-Admiral L. R. Daspit, Commandant of the Sixth Naval District. Mr. Glenn M. Tucker of Carolina Beach accepted the gun, on behalf of Governor Terry Sanford, for the State.

The barbecue supper was followed by a speech by Mr. Hamilton Cochran and the groundbreaking ceremony for the visitor center-museum. The program concluded with a fireworks display simulating the Hebe Skirmish and an engagement between Fort Fisher and the Federal blockading fleet. The program prepared for the ceremonies is on sale for 50¢ and may be ordered from Mr. South.

During the last week in July the Archeologist was in charge of co-ordinating the joint Department of Archives and History and Navy operation to recover cannon from the blockader U.S.S. "Peterhoff," which was sunk March 6, 1864, after being accidentally rammed by a fellow blockader,

the "Monticello." Six cannons were located by Lt. Commander J. L. Bull and his crew of divers, and two of these were brought ashore to the Preservation Laboratory at Fort Fisher. The wreck of the "Peterhoff" was located by Mr. Charles Foard and Mr. Hall Watters of Wilmington. Near the end of August a third cannon was brought ashore by divers from Indian Head, Maryland, through the efforts of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission.

Mr. Roy S. Dickens, Jr., Archeological Assistant in charge of Town Creek Indian Mound State Historic Site, attended the Southeastern Archeological Conference in Macon, Georgia, on October 31 and read a paper on "Excavations at Eagle Tavern, Watkinsville, Georgia." At Town Creek, Mr. Dickens reports 38,165 visitors from January 1 through October 31, 1963. Approximately 800 school children visited the site in groups and were given tours during the months of September and October.

Alamance Battleground has been the scene of several special events. On August 10 the Alamance Civitan Club held its annual picnic at the site with approximately 75 people attending. On August 22 the Alamance Chapter of the American War Mothers held its annual picnic and business session. Mrs. Fred Harding, State President, and Mrs. Mary Flemming, State Chairman of the Legislative Committee, both of Raleigh, were special guests of the Alamance Chapter. On October 5 a special tour of the project was conducted for about 40 persons attending the joint meeting in Raleigh of the American Association for State and Local History and the Society of American Archivists. The Women's Division of the Alamance County Chamber of Commerce were hostesses for the occasion and served refreshments. The tour of the site was conducted by Mr. Walter Wootten, formerly resident at Alamance and in charge of the project.

At Aycock Birthplace the original Aycock stables have been relocated to the site and are now being restored. The stable, built probably in the 1850's, is typical of the period, having a central hallway with four horse stalls on each side. In the hay loft is a plank bearing the inscription "B. Aycock, Nahunta." Evidently it was the top plank of a load of lumber delivered to Governor Aycock's father, Benjamin, to be used in the construction of the building. Mr. Egbert Ivey of Fremont, Historic Site Assistant in charge of the Aycock Birthplace restoration, is a native of Wayne County and a graduate of Seven Springs High School. Later he had three years additional training in industrial arts. He will be in charge of maintenance and operation of the project.

On October 5 Aycock Birthplace and its staff were hosts on a tour of the site for members attending the annual joint meeting of the Society of American Archivists and the American Association for State and Local History held in Raleigh. This tour was arranged as a special feature on the return trip for the convention delegates who visited Tryon Palace on the same day as guests of the Tryon Palace Commission.

At Bentonville Battleground the way is cleared with letting of contracts for the construction of a visitor center-museum. Contracts totaled \$39,151. The general contract goes to Walter G. Lassiter, Smithfield, for \$29,250. Plumbing, heating and ventilating, and electrical contracts for smaller amounts were awarded respectively to Jordan and Holt, Smith-

field; Clinton Hardware, Clinton; and Stephenson Electric Company, Garner. The architect for the new building is Ingram and Johnson, Architect-Engineer, Charlotte. Construction is expected to begin in December.

Mr. Nicholas B. Bragg, Historic Site Specialist in charge of Bentonville Battleground, Bennett Place, and the Department's co-ordination of development at Historic Halifax, has resigned to accept a position as Director of Education at Old Salem, Winston-Salem.

Mr. J. H. Craig, Curator of Arts and Crafts, has recently acquired and installed appropriate furnishings in the reconstructed kitchen at the Bonner House, Bath, and is currently seeking and acquiring appropriate northeastern North Carolina and southeastern Virginia furniture for the Dutch Colonial House at Halifax. The Halifax House will feature furnishings of the area from the early-eighteenth century to 1776, the beginning of the Revolution. Assisting Mr. Craig is a furnishings committee of the Historical Halifax Restoration Association, of which Mr. L. A. Cox of Rocky Mount, a dealer in antiques, is chairman.

Mr. Walter Wootten, Division Historian, is conducting comprehensive research on Halifax. His findings will serve as the basis for further restoration and development of historic properties in Halifax.

Mr. Richard Iobst, a graduate student at the University of North Carolina, is conducting research on the James K. Polk Birthplace near Charlotte, preparatory to the planning by the Division staff for the reconstruction of the Polk Birthplace dwelling house and outbuildings and the general development of the site. At the same time, steps are being taken by the Department of Administration to acquire the property for development.

Division of Museums

Mr. Robert B. Mayo, Exhibits Curator, attended a seminar in July at Cooperstown, New York, on "Exhibit Techniques for Small Museums" and "Administering Small Collections." While on this trip the Curator visited new museums for the purpose of meeting with the directors and discussing the use of exhibit areas for the forthcoming new building for the Department and the State Library.

One outstanding collection obtained by the Hall of History during September consisted of several pieces of furniture which once belonged to Governor Jonathan Worth. These items were a gift from the family.

The fourth annual meeting of the Underwater Archeological Society of America was held in Philadelphia in July, and the Administrative Assistant, Mr. Samuel P. Townsend, delivered a 30-minute talk there on the topic, "The Diver and Underwater Archaeology."

From July 29 until August 2 Mr. Townsend aided in co-ordinating the State-U.S. Navy diving operations on the U.S.S. "Peterhoff." Two 32-pounder cannons were recovered. Diving was done by the crew of the U.S.S. "Petrol." The second diving operation on this vessel took place the week of August 25, and another 32-pounder cannon was recovered.

Mr. Townsend worked with Mr. Norman C. Larson, Dr. Crittenden, and Attorney General Wade C. Bruton in determining what legal restraints can and should be used by the State in inhibiting unauthorized, and especially destructive, diving and salvaging of sunken historically significant wrecks off the North Carolina coast. Mr. George Rountree, attorney of Wilmington, has been appointed by Mr. Bruton to represent the State's interests in these wrecks.

The Museums Administrator, Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, and Mr. Mayo attended the Southeastern Museums Conference in Miami, Florida, October 24-26. On October 8 Mrs. Jordan spoke to the Thomasville Woman's Club.

Mrs. Mary B. Morgan, Assistant Registrar, who works part time during the school months, returned on September 5. The Museums Preparator, Mr. John Amari, resigned effective September 17, to accept a teaching position in Durham. Mr. Charles W. Loftin began work on September 9, replacing Mr. Samuel E. Erwin. Mr. Loftin is now in charge of the Mobile Museum of History. The Education Curator, Mr. Robert W. Jones, prepared the script for the fireworks at the State Fair.

Division of Publications

Despite the summer lull, the sales in the Division of Publications for the third quarter totaled \$4,500, with \$2,514 being retained by the Division and \$1,986 being turned over to the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association. Publications distributed included 79 documentary volumes; 11 letter books of governors; 223 small books; 5,526 pamphlets, charts, and maps; 16,995 leaflets and brochures; and 3,298 copies of the the list of publications available from the State Department of Archives and History. The total of 26,132 does not include 1,957 copies of the Autumn, 1963, issue of *The North Carolina Historical Review* and 1,921 copies of the July and 1,988 copies of the September issue of *Carolina Comments*. The order for copies of *The Review* was increased from 2,000 to 2,200 of the Autumn number and is being increased to 2,400 with this issue. There were 187 new subscriptions and 306 renewals to *The Review*.

The pamphlets on the Mexican War and Tarheel Authors have been reprinted; *Indians in North Carolina* and *Civil War Pictures* are scheduled to be reprinted soon. Several brochures—Bennett Place, Bentonville Alamance Battleground, Vance Birthplace, Town Creek Indian Mound, and Fort Fisher—were reprinted and a brochure on Historic Bath issued for the first time by the Department. The brochure on Andrew Johnson's Birthplace is also being reprinted.

With the permission of the Secretary of State, the publisher of the *North Carolina Manual*, the first section of the 1963 edition was issued by the Department as a separate pamphlet. Entitled *The Old North State Fact Book*, the pamphlet contains information on State government in general, the State Flag, the bird, the song, the Halifax Resolves, and numerous other items about which school children want material. It is being sold for 25 cents, postpaid.

Copy for three new pamphlets has been sent to the printer. *North Carolina's Role in World War II*, by Dr. Sarah McCulloh Lemmon; *North Carolina Signers: Brief Sketches of the Men Who Signed the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution*, by Mrs. Memory F. Mitchell; and *Higher Education in North Carolina*, by Mr. William S. Powell, should be available by early 1964. Each will be sold for 25 cents; all three will be illustrated.

Copies of Volume I of *The Papers of Zebulon Baird Vance*, edited by Dr. Frontis W. Johnston, are still available from the Division of Publications for \$5.00 each. The Ellis Papers are now in galley proof and will be completed in the spring of 1964. The subject-title-author index to *The North Carolina Historical Review* will be available early in 1964 for \$5.00. It will be the same size as *The Review* so that the index can be bound with the regular issues of the journal.

Mr. Noble J. Tolbert, who is editing the Ellis Papers and who has been on the staff of the North Carolina Collection of the Library of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill for several years, has joined the staff of the Division of Publications as Editorial Assistant I.

A meeting of the Editorial Board was held on September 25 in the offices of the Division of Publications. The entire publications program was reviewed. New members of the Board, Dr. Mattie Russell and Dr. Henry S. Stroupe, replaced Dr. Robert H. Woody and Dr. Frontis W. Johnston whose terms had expired. Other members of the Board are Dr. Sarah McCulloh Lemmon, Mr. William S. Powell, and Mr. John R. Jordan, Jr.

Mrs. Memory F. Mitchell, Editor, attended a meeting of the Advisory Editorial Board of the Colonial Records Project in Chapel Hill, October 10. She and Mrs. Elizabeth W. Wilborn, Editorial Assistant II, attended the Historical Society of North Carolina's fall meeting in Chapel Hill on November 1 and the Southern Historical Association in Asheville, November 7-9.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Dr. Loren C. MacKinney, Kenan Professor of History at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, died on October 27. Dr. MacKinney had been on the faculty of the University since 1930 and was known for his research and writing in the history of medieval medicine.

Effective July 1 Dr. William J. Block was promoted to the position of Professor in the Department of History and Political Science at North Carolina State of the University of North Carolina at Raleigh. Dr. Ralph W. Greenlaw joined the staff as Associate Professor and Mr. Lawrence E. Bennett and Mr. John H. Gilbert became Instructors on the same date. Dr. Burton F. Beers participated in the Asian Studies Program of East Carolina College, lecturing on "Problems in American-Japanese Relations" and "Red China Today" in Greenville on July 19. Dr. Abraham Holtzman recently had a book, *The Townsend Movement: A Political Study*, pub-

lished by Bookman Associates, Inc. Dr. Holtzman was named, in October, to a three-year term as a member of the Executive Council of the Southern Political Science Association. On October 31 he read a paper to that Association, "Executive Lobbying: The Legislative Liaison Agents of the Department of the National Government." Dr. Stuart Noblin was appointed Chairman of the Awards Committee, North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, in July.

Dr. J. C. Yoder, Chairman of the Department of Social Studies, Appalachian State Teachers College, announced the promotion of Mrs. Eloise Melton from Instructor to Assistant Professor, effective July 1. The 1963 edition of *Faculty Publications* was planned to celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of the establishment of State support of the College and the three hundredth anniversary of the granting of the Carolina Charter to the Lords Proprietors. Included in the publication are "Appalachian State Teachers College: A History," by Dr. D. J. Whitener; "Naturalists in Colonial North Carolina," by Mr. J. Frank Randall; and "They Came to Grow in North Carolina," by Mr. John Corey.

Dr. Albert L. Diket of East Carolina College had an article, "Slidell's Right Hand: Emil la Sere," published in the Summer, 1963, issue of *Louisiana History*. Mr. James Hugh Wease joined the faculty in September as Department Supervisor of Student Teaching (History). Dr. Joseph F. Steelman was elected to the Executive Council of the Historical Society of North Carolina at its November meeting. Members of the faculty have also recently participated in several programs. Dr. Herbert R. Paschal, Jr., spoke on the topic, "Lee's Grandest Hour," to the Tau Chapter of Phi Sigma Pi National Honorary and Professional Fraternity on October 19 at East Carolina College; he served as Discussant at the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission's session at the Southern Historical Association in Asheville on November 7. Dr. Richard C. Todd spoke to the Pitt County Historical Society, on November 21 on the topic "Nathanael Greene: Military Strategist."

Dr. Richard Bardolph, Head of the Department of History and Political Science at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, read a paper on medieval warfare to the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association in San Francisco, California, on August 27. He conducted an evening television course on WUNC-TV during the fall semester. Three members of the faculty of the Department were promoted to the rank of Assistant Professor, effective July 1: Mr. Jonathan Spurgeon, Mrs. Betty C. Clutts, and Mr. Converse D. Clowse. Miss Barbara Barksdale and Mr. Michael J. Yavenditti joined the Department on September 1 as Instructors. Beginning with the fall, 1963, semester, the Department offered a Master of Arts program; eight candidates for the M.A. in history enrolled.

Dr. Richard L. Watson, Jr., Chairman of the Department of History at Duke University, published an article, "The Defeat of Judge Parker: A Study in Pressure Groups and Politics," in the September, 1963, issue of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. Members of the Duke History Department who participated in the Southern Historical Association sessions in Asheville, November 7-9, were Dr. I. B. Holley, Jr., who served as Discussant at a session on United States Military History; Dr. Robert F. Durden, who was Commentator at a session on "Aspects of Southern Urbanism"; Dr. Robert H. Woody, who read a paper entitled "Changing Times and Topics in Southern History"; and Dr. William B. Hamilton, who served as Chairman at a session on Historical Research and Law and who also presided at a luncheon of the European History Group. Over 60 persons attended the Duke breakfast for alumni.

Dr. Sarah M. Lemmon, Chairman of the Department of History and Political Science at Meredith College, served on a panel at the State Democratic Women's Convention in Raleigh on October 19 discussing the topic, "What Men Like and Don't Like About Women in Politics." Miss Carolyn Barrington joined the faculty of the Department in September as an Instructor.

Dr. Elmer L. Puryear, Dean of the College and Professor of History at Greensboro College, spoke to the Colonial Dames of North Carolina in Greensboro on September 28, on the Huguenots.

STATE, COUNTY, AND LOCAL

The Fessenden Memorial Association was reactivated at a meeting on July 5 in Manteo. Mr. D. Victor Meekins, Secretary, contacted interested people, inviting them to join in the movement to create a memorial commemorating the achievements of the late Professor Reginald A. Fessenden, who was successful with the wireless telephone on Roanoke Island in 1902. Mr. Meekins has been informed by Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the State Department of Archives and History, that the papers of Fessenden were sent to the Department in 1944 by Fessenden's son, with the "understanding that if a Fessenden museum was ever established on Roanoke Island, adequately equipped to preserve and care for these papers, they would be transferred" to such a museum. The Association was organized in Washington, D. C., in 1941. A unit of HAM operators has recently expressed interest in the memorial and the scope of the project is yet to be determined.

The July issue of *Historical Foundation News* carried an article, "The Presbyterian Church in Colonial North Carolina," as a feature of the observance of the three hundredth anniversary of the granting of the Carolina Charter and the one hundredth and fiftieth anniversary of the Synod of North Carolina. The documented article covers the period from 1684 to 1774, the eve of the Revolution.

The North Carolina Coastal Historyland Association has completed plans for the promotion of 34 counties in the eastern section of the State. State Senator P. D. Midgett of Engelhard presided at the meeting on July 12 which was held at Fort Raleigh. Bylaws were adopted and the group agreed to work in co-operation with other development associations of the area. Inventories of historic and recreational resources are being prepared for study.

The annual watermelon cutting of the Carteret County Historical Society was held on July 20 at the Swansboro Community Center. The Onslow County Historical Society, Swansboro Historical Association, and the Beaufort Historical Association were guests of the Carteret group. Mr. John R. Gibson presided, assisted by Mr. Tucker Littleton; Mrs. J. O. Tally, Jr., of Fayetteville, was guest speaker. A display of tools and implements used in the making of turpentine and its by-products was exhibited. The November meeting of the Carteret Society was held on October 19 in the Civic Center, Morehead City. Mrs. Grayden Paul, Beaufort, read a paper on the "Hammock House" reputed to have been erected prior to the establishment of the Town of Beaufort in 1723. Officers elected to serve for 1964 are Mr. John R. Gibson, President; Mr. Grayden Paul, Vice-President; Mr. Thomas Respass, Secretary; and Mrs. E. G. Phillips, Treasurer. Retiring President John S. MacCormack presided.

The Wilkes County Historical Society held its quarterly meeting on July 29 with President T. E. Story presiding. Mr. Conrad Alexander of Purlear was the featured speaker.

The Union County Historical Association met on August 8 at Pleasant Grove Camp Ground.

The Gaston County Historical Society met August 9 at the Education Building of the First Methodist Church in Belmont.

The Catawba County Historical Association met on July 16 at which time a movie on the Civil War was presented. Members of the Barringer Clan presented a copy of the Barringer coat of arms for the Historical Museum. Members of this family were among the pioneer settlers of the Catawba County area. Acting president Thomas Warlick presided at the meeting. Mr. J. Weston Clinard spoke on the early history of Hickory at the August 10 meeting of the Association and on September 8 the group held a special observance for the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Year. Mr. Dolan McCombs of Newton recently contributed a number of items to the Museum, according to Mr. Warlick. At the October 12 meeting the following officers were elected: Mr. Warlick, President; Mr. G. Sam Rowe, First Vice-President; Mrs. Rome E. Jones, Second Vice-President; Mrs. Roy Smyre, Secretary; Mrs. Frances Snyder, Treasurer; Mrs. Marguerite May, Custodian; and Mr. Paul Wagner, Historian. Annual reports were given and the restoration of the Old Smyrna log church (1832) was

discussed. The regular meeting date of the Catawba historical group was changed at the November 9 meeting. The new date will be the first Wednesday night of each month at 7:30 P.M. Memorial gifts for the Museum have been made by Dr. and Mrs. Frank W. Jones and Mr. Warlick. Museum hours are 2:30 to 5:30 P.M. Wednesday and Sunday and 7:00 to 9:00 P.M. on Friday.

The Edenton and Chowan County Historical Commission, in co-operation with the Cupola House Association, will begin the restoration of the Cupola House as its first major project. Efforts to retrieve the original downstairs woodwork and paneling of the House, now in the Brooklyn Museum of Art, have failed, but present plans call for the copying of these items to restore the interior. A legislative appropriation of \$22,500 for the House and \$1,600 for the Barker House was made by the 1963 General Assembly. Mr. David Warren, President of the Association, gave a progress report and Dr. Robert Lee Humber, Chairman of the Commission, presided at the June 29 meeting.

New officers of the Hillsborough Historical Society elected at the annual meeting on October 11 are Mrs. Alfred G. Engstrom, President; Mrs. H. W. Moore, First Vice-President; Miss Betty June Hayes, Second Vice-President; Mrs. Clarence D. Jones, Third Vice-President; Mrs. Marion B. Roberts, Secretary; and Miss Elizabeth H. Collins, Treasurer. Mr. and Mrs. John A. Kellenberger of Greensboro, members of the Tryon Palace Commission, gave a slide-lecture on the Palace and gardens. On September 13 Dr. Elizabeth R. Daniel of Duke University gave an illustrated lecture on "Early American Furniture: Its Various Periods and Styles." The Society met again on October 12 for an orientation program on Historic Hillsborough. Mrs. Engstrom and Dr. Robert J. Murphy spoke. Mr. James A. Gray of Old Salem, Inc., was a special guest. On December 6 the Society co-sponsored, with the Orange County Tercentenary Commission, a program of chamber music.

Miss Annie Bostian announces the second edition of *Sketches of Old Rowan*, with drawings by Aubrey Atkinson and stories by George Raynor. The oversize book with its 16 pen and ink studies (removable for framing) is priced at \$3.35 per copy (including tax and mailing cost) and may be ordered from Miss Bostian, 328 East Bank St., Salisbury.

The directors of the Wachovia Historical Society were re-elected at the sixty-eighth annual meeting held recently at the Old Salem Reception Center. The Society met jointly with Old Salem, Inc. Mr. John Fries Blair, Chairman of the Wachovia Society, presided. Directors are Mr. Blair, Miss Juanita Masten, Dr. Frank Albright, Mr. James S. Brawley, Mr. Archibald Craige, Mr. Archie K. Davis, Mr. Chester S. Davis, Dr. Ralph P. Hanes, Mr. William K. Hoyt, Mr. William S. Koenig, Dr. Donald M. McCorkle, Bishop J. K. Pfohl, Mr. Ralph A. Reed, the Reverend Burton J. Rights, Mr. Charles N. Siewers, Mr. W. A. Starbuck, Mr. Charles B. Wade, Jr., and the Reverend Herbert Weber.

Mr. D. L. Corbitt spoke to the Pitt County Historical Society on October 3. He discussed the writing of county history, especially that of Pitt. Miss Elizabeth Copeland presided and urged members to support the county history project as Pitt County is two hundred and three years old. Dr. Herbert Paschal, Jr., gave a report.

The Yancey County Historical Association was organized early in October with the following officers elected to serve the first term: Mr. Z. B. Byrd, President; Mr. R. W. Wilson, First Vice-President; Mr. Ralph Proffitt, Second Vice-President; Mrs. Brook Wilson, Treasurer; Mrs. Hobart Ray, Recording Secretary; and Mrs. H. G. Bailey, Corresponding Secretary. The immediate project to be undertaken by the Association is to be a history of the county. Persons having information on the history of Yancey County are asked to contact Mr. Byrd, Box 774, Burnsville. Mr. Byrd presided at the November meeting of the Association and asked members to submit research papers for programs. December 2 was the date set for the last meeting of the year.

On October 14 Dr. I. G. Greer of Chapel Hill was re-elected President of the Southern Appalachian Historical Association, producer of "Horn in the West." Other officers are Mr. H. W. Wilcox, Vice-President; Mr. J. U. Caudill, Secretary; Mr. O. K. Richardson, Treasurer. Dr. D. J. Whitener made the financial report; Mr. W. R. Winkler discussed plans to rebuild the Daniel Boone Theater by the 1964 season. Principal speaker was Mr. Wallace Carroll, Editor-Publisher of the *Winston-Salem Journal-Sentinel*.

Dr. Blackwell P. Robinson, Professor of History at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro and President of the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians, spoke to the Person County Historical Society on October 20. Miss Annie Belle Crowder, President, who presided at the meeting held at Paine's Chapel, announced that the annual membership drive was underway. The Society plans to study the various historic sites in the County during 1964.

The Caswell County Historical Society met at the County Courthouse on October 23. Mr. Ralph Aldridge gave an illustrated lecture on "Colonial Caswell County."

On October 24 the fall meeting of the Wayne County Historical Society was held in the County Education Building. Dr. Donald Becker of Mt. Olive College spoke on "North Carolina—Reluctant Confederate State." It was announced by Mr. Conway Rose, President, that Mrs. E. Charles Powell had resumed work on her history of Wayne County.

The fall meeting of the Western North Carolina Historical Association was held in Hendersonville on October 26. Following the business session Colonel Paul A. Rockwell spoke on "A Memorial to Mr. Thomas A. Pear-

son," and Mr. Harley E. Jolley talked on "The Struggle for the Routing of the Scenic Parkway."

Dr. Hugh T. Lefler, Kenan Professor of History at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, spoke to the Chatham County Historical Society on October 30. A large audience attended the meeting held in the County Courthouse in Pittsboro. Mrs. Ed Holmes, President, presided and Mrs. Harry Horton introduced the speaker. Others participating on the program were Mr. Lemuel Johnson and Mrs. C. Herbert Jourdan.

"The John White Drawings" was the topic of a paper read by Mr. William S. Powell, Head of the North Carolina Collection at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, at the November 1 afternoon meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina. Dr. Samuel H. Hobbs, Jr., read his presidential address to members and guests following the dinner at the Carolina Inn in Chapel Hill. Dr. Marvin L. Skaggs, Professor of History and Political Science at Greensboro College, was elected President and Dr. H. H. Cunningham of Elon College was re-elected Secretary-Treasurer. Dr. Edward W. Phifer of Morganton was elected to membership in the Society.

The Lower Cape Fear Historical Society has voted to purchase the Lati-mer House at the corner of Third and Orange Streets. Mr. N. Winfield Sapp reports that \$3,455 of the \$20,000 purchase price has been raised through pledges and donations. No formal fund-raising campaign is planned; persons wishing to contribute may send their donations in care of the Society, Box 1170, Wilmington. Approximately 150 members of the historical group met on November 8 with Mr. Sapp presiding. Mr. Philip Kennedy of the Romance Language Department of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill discussed his experiences in collecting ballads and folklore. Many of the songs he presented originated in the Tidewater and coastal areas. Mr. Stanley A. South presented Mr. Kennedy; Mrs. Virginia Jennewein displayed a number of musical scores and ballads of the nineteenth century. The October issue of the *Lower Cape Fear Historical Society, Inc., Bulletin* contains the President's message, a list of new members, an article on "Historic Preservation" by Mr. John Voorhees, brief articles by Mr. Henry J. MacMillan and Mr. Douglas R. Hudson, and a reproduction of the John Burgwin portrait housed in the Hall of History, Raleigh.

The Archaeological Society of North Carolina met on November 16 at the Greensboro Historical Museum. Speakers were Mr. Robert L. Rands and Mr. Bennie C. Keel of the University of North Carolina Research Laboratory of Anthropology in Chapel Hill; and Mrs. Mae W. Bell, Director of the Rocky Mount Children's Museum; and Mr. Stanley A. South, Archeologist with the State Department of Archives and History; and Mrs. James F. McMillan, President of the Society. The Research Laboratory of Anthropology, of which Dr. Joffre Coe is Director, sponsored the meeting.

The first copies of the "Newsletter of Moravian Studies" were issued in September. News items relating to archival and historical work conducted by the Moravian Archives in Winston-Salem and Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, the Moravian Historical Society, Moravian College, and the Theological Seminary will be reported in the news bulletin twice yearly. A number of notices, including that of the forthcoming Volume IX of *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, is included in the issue. A bibliography of the "Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society" is also given.

The Mecklenburg Historical Association met on November 20 and elected the following officers: Chairman Victor King, Mr. Aaron Boggs, Mrs. Patsy Godwin, Miss Annie Batten, Mr. George Houston, and Mrs. Bonnie Petteway, Trustees; Mr. James B. Vogler, First Vice-President; Mr. Irwin Belk, Second Vice-President; and Mrs. John Staton, President. Mr. James A. Stenhouse, first President of the group, was made President Emeritus. Mr. Staton announced committee appointments and members voted to meet on the third Monday of January, March, May, and October.

The Wake County Historical Society met in the Assembly Room of the State Department of Archives and History on September 30. Mr. Thornton W. Mitchell, Program Chairman, introduced the speaker, Mrs. Mary Givens Bryan, Archivist of the State of Georgia. Mrs. J. Bourke Bilisoly, President, presided at the meeting.

The *Carteret County News-Times*, for November 22, featured a special magazine section with a play, "Blackbeard: Raider of the Carolina Seas." The drama was written by Miss Ruth Peeling, Editor of the *News-Times*. The play was prepared for the observance of the three hundredth anniversary of the granting of the Carolina Charter of 1663. Mrs. James H. McLain of Morehead City illustrated the magazine with the exception of the cover. The reproduction on the cover was taken from a painting of Blackbeard by Mr. H. Charles McBarron, which was presented by Mr. W. B. Patterson, District Manager of the American Oil Company, and accepted by Governor Terry Sanford on behalf of the State in 1962.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION

(Act of October 23, 1962; Section 4369, Title 39, United States Code)

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The following statement concerns circulation:

	Average No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months	Single Issue Nearest To Filing Date
A. Total No. Copies Printed (<i>Net Press Run</i>)	2,050	2,200
B. Paid Circulation	1,732	1,907
1. To Term Subscribers by Mail, Carrier Delivery, or by Other Means		
2. Sales through Agents, News Dealers or Otherwise	None	None
C. Free Distribution (<i>including samples</i>) by Mail, Carrier Delivery or by Other Means	65	65
D. Total No. of Copies Distributed (<i>Sum of lines B1, B2 and C</i>)	1,797	1,972

*I certify that the statements made by me
above are correct and complete.*

/s/ Memory F. Mitchell, Editor

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THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW EDITORIAL POLICY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

