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COVER—Alfred E. Smith, Democratic candidate for the Presidency of the United States, arrives at Union Station, Raleigh, October 11, 1928, for an address at Municipal Auditorium. Seen with him (*left to right*) are E. W. G. Huffman, Willis Smith, Alfred E. Smith, Brantley Aycock, Mrs. Alfred E. Smith, Rivers Johnson, Fred Parker, O. Max Gardner, Sherwood Upchurch, E. G. Flanagan, W. W. Neal, and, John Folger. For an article on the 1928 campaign, see pages 516-543.

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## TWENTY-SEVEN TICKETS

BY GEORGE H. GIBSON\*

The war that was caused by the American Revolution came to North Carolina for the second time when the British and Colonial armies crossed the Catawba River and began the retreat to the Dan. General Nathanael Greene planned to keep far enough ahead of Lord Charles Cornwallis to avoid being caught and near enough to maintain Cornwallis's expectations of a fight.

Greene crossed the Yadkin River at Trading Ford on February 2 and 3, 1781, and halted at Abbott's Creek a few miles from the Moravian settlements. He learned the course that Cornwallis would probably take and marched to Guilford Court House which he reached on February 6. Cornwallis crossed the Yadkin at Shallow Ford on February 8 and reached the Moravian settlements, twenty-five miles west of Guilford Court House, on February 9.<sup>1</sup>

English troops began to arrive at the Moravian settlement of Bethania at noontime on February 9, 1781. The officers stayed in the homes of the villagers, while the soldiers established a camp along a two and a half mile section of the road. Cornwallis ordered cattle, grain, hay, and brandy to be provided for his forces. The commissary slaughtered sixty cattle, and the soldiers captured all the sheep, geese, and chickens in sight. Cornwallis demanded twenty horses for his artillery, but only seventeen were furnished, six of which were taken secretly from British teamsters. At seven o'clock the next

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\* Mr. George H. Gibson is a Danforth Fellow and a graduate student in United States history at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

<sup>1</sup> John R. Alden (ed.), *The War of the Revolution*. By Christopher Ward (New York: The Macmillan Company, 2 volumes, 1952), II, 770-776, hereinafter cited as Alden, *War of the Revolution*.

morning the British broke camp and continued the march. A diarist estimated the loss to Bethania in livestock, grain, hay, brandy, fences, and petty thievery at £1,500.<sup>2</sup>

From eight o'clock in the morning until two o'clock in the afternoon, the British army passed through the Moravian settlement of Bethabara. The English placed safeguards at the tavern and stillhouse. Cornwallis dismounted and spoke briefly to the villagers. The commissary requisitioned eighteen of the largest oxen to supplement the brandy, meat, meal, and bread taken to Bethania by a company of dragoons the afternoon before.<sup>3</sup>

The British marched through Salem, largest of the Moravian settlements, from ten o'clock to four o'clock. Lord Cornwallis and several other officers spent over an hour in friendly discussion with merchant Traugott Bagge and other citizens. The commissary required Salem to furnish brandy and meal. Stragglers stole a clothesline full of wash, nine cows, and £40 in cash.<sup>4</sup>

The presence of the British in Bethania, Bethabara, and Salem caused anxiety and distress among the Moravians as well as heavy losses in livestock, forage, and provisions. Total losses approximated £2,000.

Acting Commissary A. Knecht and two assistants wrote twenty-seven tickets to residents who furnished the English with supplies. These tickets were to be paid by Gregory Townsend, Commissary General in Charleston. One of the tickets stated:

Salem North Carolina the 10th February 1781

This is to certify to Gregory Townsend Esqr Commissary General in Charlestown, that there is due to Mr. Samuel Stotz seventy pounds 6/4 Sterling in full for one hundred ninety five gallons whiskey at one Dollar per Gallon—Thirty three gallons of Peach Brandy at six shillings delivered this day into the Commissary General's magazine; also to the Commissarys of Captures four

<sup>2</sup> Adelaide L. Fries (ed.), *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 8 volumes [Douglas LeTell Rights (ed.), Volume VIII], 1922-1954), IV, 1,765-1,766, hereinafter cited as Fries, *Records of the Moravians*.

<sup>3</sup> Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, IV, 1,741-1,742.

<sup>4</sup> Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, IV, 1,675-1,676.

stall fed fatt Steers per their certificate at fifteen Dollars per head, the whole for the use of his Majestys Army, A. Knecht, Acting Commissary.<sup>5</sup>

Not all of the certificates were alike. Some were to be paid only "if future Behavior merits." Other certificates vaguely described the provisions furnished or failed to stipulate the amount owed.<sup>6</sup> Those tickets which stated the amount owed totaled about £500.

A compilation of the products listed on the tickets shows that the Moravians furnished the British with 2,670 pounds of meat, 48 cows, 6 hogs, and 2 sheep; 20 horses, 10,500 pounds of hay, 1,200 sheaves of grass, and 1,600 sheaves and 1,200 bushels of oats; 483½ gallons of brandy and 338 gallons of whiskey; and 2,176 pounds of flour and 177 bushels of corn.<sup>7</sup>

General Nathanael Greene retreated across the Dan River into Virginia. Because Cornwallis lacked boats and supplies, he was forced to withdraw into North Carolina. Greene followed Cornwallis and gave battle at Guilford Court House. Cornwallis won the field but weakened by losses retreated to Wilmington for reinforcement. Greene marched into South Carolina and by the fall of 1781 narrowed British control in South Carolina to Charleston and its environs.<sup>8</sup>

Traugott Bagge attended a session of the North Carolina assembly in Hillsboro from April 7 to May 20, 1782, and solicited the aid of Governor Thomas Burke in securing payment for the British tickets. He received a pass for a trip to the camp of General Greene near Charleston and a letter of recommendation to General Greene asking the officer to assist the Moravians in reaching Charleston that they might request payment of their claims.<sup>9</sup>

Consequently the Reverend Johann Jacob Ernst, Heinrich Schor, and George Hauser of Bethania set out for Charleston with the tickets held by Bethanians on June 4, 1782. For six

<sup>5</sup> A. Knecht to Samuel Stotz, February 10, 1781, English Claims Papers, Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, hereinafter cited as Claims Papers.

<sup>6</sup> Samuel Stotz to Edmund Randolph, September 22, 1795, Claims Papers.

<sup>7</sup> List of Christian Ludwig Benzien, March 20, 1782, and three other unidentified lists, Claims Papers.

<sup>8</sup> Alden, *War of the Revolution*, II, 777-845.

<sup>9</sup> Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, IV, 1,791-1,792.

days they rode past burned and abandoned farms and mills. Food for men and horses was expensive and scarce. On the sixth day they met a lieutenant of General Greene's cavalry who told them there was not a chance of their getting through Santee Swamp as it was filled with three hundred Tories who would rob them of all they had. He said that all the roads through the Swamp were infested in the same way. The travelers decided to turn back with the lieutenant and returned to the settlements on June 15.<sup>10</sup>

Traugott Bagge received a letter from Major John Armstrong on November 27, 1782, saying that the English were preparing to leave Charleston. As flags of truce constantly passed between Charleston and General Greene's camp, Armstrong suggested that the claims against the English government might be paid if presented before December 10. Samuel Stotz who held the tickets for Salem and Bethabara and George Hauser who held the tickets for Bethania prepared to make the trip but realized that they could not reach Charleston before December 10 and did not start.<sup>11</sup> The British evacuated Charleston on December 14, 1782.

In the spring of 1783 Samuel Stotz gathered together the twenty-seven British tickets from Bethania, Bethabara, and Salem and set out on March 25 for New York City.<sup>12</sup> He arrived in New York on April 28. Stotz petitioned Sir Guy Carleton, British Commander in Chief, for payment. Carleton appointed a Board of Commissioners with Gregory Townsend as President of the Board to investigate the claims. The Board examined the tickets and registered them in a book of claims. The Board validated all twenty-seven claims and set a value on those tickets for which a price was not stipulated.<sup>13</sup> The whole sum of the claims that the Board of Commissioners allowed was £743.18.7 sterling.<sup>14</sup>

Townsend stated that the claims would be paid but that he did not know when because the commissioners had neither orders from England nor money to pay them. Other commissioners from London expected before the final evacuation

<sup>10</sup> Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, IV, 1,820-1,824.

<sup>11</sup> Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, IV, 1,728.

<sup>12</sup> Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, IV, 1,838.

<sup>13</sup> Samuel Stotz to Edmund Randolph, September 22, 1795, Claims Papers.

<sup>14</sup> Memorandum of Stotz, undated, Claims Papers.

of New York would probably pay the claims. Stotz applied to the other members of the Board and received the same answers. Finding that he could do nothing further in New York, Stotz gave the tickets to the Reverend Ewald Gustav Shewkirk and employed him by power of attorney to act for the North Carolina claimants.<sup>15</sup> Stotz returned to Salem on June 28, 1783.<sup>16</sup>

Shewkirk made several applications to Townsend and to the Board of Commissioners sent from London, but the answers were always the same. The claims were valid and would probably be paid sometime in the future.<sup>17</sup>

On November 6, 1783, hardly a month before the complete evacuation of New York, Townsend sent a memorandum to Shewkirk which stated:

You will have the goodness to inform Mr. Stots that his claim is fairly and candidly registered by the Board of Claims and will appear very favorable, but as I told him and I now repeat I can give no certain information what the claimants are to expect or when they will receive any compensation. A Board of Commissioners will in all probability be appointed to examine the claims, and such as they think ought to be paid public notice will be sent to the country to which they belong and the mode of application for payment pointed out.<sup>18</sup>

Just before the British evacuated New York on December 4, 1783, Shewkirk conferred with Sir Guy Carleton regarding the claims. Carleton stated that the paymasters thought that all claims had been settled and had closed their accounts and credited the money to England. Carleton advised that the matter be taken up in London and cautioned that it might take a long time to collect the money.<sup>19</sup>

Samuel Stotz authorized Shewkirk to send the necessary papers to London. Consequently in late February, 1784, Shewkirk sent to London by a ship captain the twenty-seven tickets, Townsend's memorandum, Stotz's power of attorney to Shewkirk, and Shewkirk's power of attorney to John Gott-

<sup>15</sup> Stotz to Edmund Randolph, September 22, 1795, Claims Papers.

<sup>16</sup> Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, IV, 1,840.

<sup>17</sup> Ewald Gustav Shewkirk to Samuel Stotz, June 3, 1783, Claims Papers.

<sup>18</sup> Gregory Townsend to Shewkirk, November 6, 1783, Claims Papers.

<sup>19</sup> Shewkirk to Stotz, December 4, 1783, Claims Papers.

hold Wollin, London agent for the North Carolina Moravians.<sup>20</sup>

Wollin applied to the Office of American Claims for payment and left the original tickets with that office. He did not receive payment at this office or any of the several other offices to which he applied.<sup>21</sup> United States Minister to Great Britain John Adams in 1785 declared that it was impossible to obtain an answer to any demand, proposal, or inquiry at that time.

Wollin asked the Moravian minister, Christian Ignatius Latrobe, to press the Moravian claims. He went to the office of the Secretary of State where he had a friend. The friend thought the business would be settled but referred him to the Treasury. Latrobe had no power of attorney and the Treasury refused to talk about the tickets anyway.<sup>22</sup>

There followed a ten-year period of inactivity in London regarding the claims. There were several reasons for this inactivity. The British felt a strong anti-American bias. John Adams stated that the popular pulse beat high against America. The French Revolution began in 1789, and the French declared war on Great Britain in 1793. Communications were poor. Wollin complained that there were only two opportunities a year for English mail to travel between Charleston and Salem.<sup>23</sup> John Gotthold Wollin died in London in 1792, and the Moravian agency passed to his son John Lewis Wollin who was ill-acquainted with the claims against the British government.<sup>24</sup>

At Bethania, Heinrich Schor and George Hauser became impatient with Samuel Stotz after thirteen years of waiting and inquired about their tickets. They demanded payment of the money or return of the tickets in six months. They hinted that Stotz had collected the money and had not forwarded it to them.<sup>25</sup> Stotz resented the accusation and quoted a letter from the young Wollin saying the papers regarding the claims

<sup>20</sup> Shewkirk to Stotz, February 26, 1784, Claims Papers.

<sup>21</sup> Stotz to Randolph, September 22, 1795, Claims Papers.

<sup>22</sup> Christian Ignatius Latrobe to Stotz, February 8, 1796, Claims Papers.

<sup>23</sup> John Gotthold Wollin to Friedrich Wilhelm Marshall, December 24, 1790, Claims Papers.

<sup>24</sup> Stotz to Randolph, September 22, 1795, Claims Papers.

<sup>25</sup> Heinrich Schor and George Hauser to Stotz, March 11, 31, 1794, Claims Papers (written in German).

were in Latrobe's safe. Stotz suggested that Schor and Hauser write to London themselves and ask Latrobe for their tickets, but reminded them of the hazards to shipping in time of war. Stotz offered to write Latrobe and authorize release of the tickets after Schor and Hauser paid their proportionate share of the heavy expenses incurred by him for postage and the trip to New York.<sup>26</sup>

The Bethanians grudgingly accepted the situation as it was, but criticized Stotz for sending the tickets to London when they had authorized him to take the tickets only to New York.<sup>27</sup> In 1795 Schor again talked over the problem with the Bethanian claimants, and they agreed to allow Stotz to handle the business as he thought best.<sup>28</sup>

Joseph Winston, who served in the Third Congress of the United States from 1793 to 1795, advised his Moravian constituents in North Carolina to seek the assistance of Secretary of State Edmund Randolph in pressing their English claims. In July, 1795, Samuel Stotz wrote a long letter to Randolph describing matters concerning the twenty-seven tickets and asking for his advice.<sup>29</sup>

Randolph replied that in his capacity as Secretary of State he would assist the Moravians in pressing their claims. He wanted to know where the documents might be found and requested necessary power for the delivery of the papers to any person he might name.<sup>30</sup>

On September 22, 1795, Stotz prepared the proper papers for Randolph, advised Wollin and Latrobe of his action, and then waited.<sup>31</sup> But Randolph had resigned as Secretary of State on August 19. After not hearing from Randolph for six months, Stotz asked whether anything had been done, whether he should apply to Timothy Pickering, the new Secretary of State, or whether Randolph planned to act in his private capacity.<sup>32</sup> On July 2, 1796, Randolph replied ". . .

<sup>26</sup> Stotz to Schor and Hauser, April 2, 30, 1794, Claims Papers (written in German).

<sup>27</sup> Schor and Hauser to Stotz, May 3, 1794, Claims Papers (written in German).

<sup>28</sup> Schor to Stotz, September 13, 1795, Claims Papers (written in German).

<sup>29</sup> Stotz to Randolph, July 3, 1795, Claims Papers.

<sup>30</sup> Randolph to Stotz, August 4, 1795, Claims Papers.

<sup>31</sup> Stotz to Randolph, Stotz to John Lewis Wollin, Stotz to Christian Ignatius Latrobe, September 22, 1795, Claims Papers.

<sup>32</sup> Stotz to Randolph, April 5, 1796, Claims Papers,

after every effort, which I have made I fear that little can be affected from the British government on the claims."<sup>33</sup>

After receiving Randolph's letter, Stotz requested Godfrey Haga, a Moravian merchant and agent for the North Carolina Moravians in Philadelphia, to contact Secretary of State Pickering and seek his advice regarding the British tickets. Pickering did not believe that the mixed arbitration commissions established by Jay's Treaty in 1794 regarding the payment of the pre-Revolutionary debts, the northeast boundary, the compensation for illegal maritime seizures could properly consider the Moravian claims. Since England and the United States were trying to liquidate claims, however, he thought there was a possibility that the Moravian claims would be settled. He suggested that he be authorized to contact the British government regarding the twenty-seven tickets through Rufus King, Minister of the United States in London. Stotz composed a new document empowering whomever Pickering should choose to act concerning the tickets.<sup>34</sup>

Consequently Rufus King contacted John Lewis Wollin and obtained all the documents and information regarding the claims which Wollin and Latrobe had in their possession. King wrote Pickering that Wollin furnished him with a list of the names of the claimants and the amounts of their respective claims but that Wollin did not have the original vouchers. King thought that he would be unable to prefer the claims without the original tickets.<sup>35</sup>

In December, 1797, Stotz asked Wollin "to take all possible pains to get the originals delivered into Mr. King's hands, or to enquire of him if he has got them himself from the Office of American Claims, and to give an account thereof."<sup>36</sup>

In July, 1802, five years later, Wollin gave an account of the matter. He gave the papers to King and told him where the original tickets were lodged. Rufus King promised to do all in his power to recover the money but never exerted himself.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Randolph to Godfrey Haga, July 2, 1796, Haga to Stotz, July 7, 1796, Claims Papers (latter letter written in German).

<sup>34</sup> Stotz to Haga, August 12, 1796, Claims Papers (written in German).

<sup>35</sup> Rufus King to Timothy Pickering, February 5, 1797, extract in Pickering to Haga, March 30, 1797.

<sup>36</sup> Stotz to John Lewis Wollin, December 10, 1797, Claims Papers.

<sup>37</sup> Wollin to Stotz, July 21, 1802, Claims Papers.

Twenty years after A. Knecht signed the twenty-seven tickets, Heinrich Schor again became impatient. He demanded to know where the tickets were and why they had not been paid. He blamed Stotz for not bringing the tickets back from New York and believed that if he had the tickets in his hands something could be done.<sup>38</sup>

By the March 27, 1802, Treaty of Amiens with France, England was again at peace. Samuel Stotz hoped to take advantage of the situation and asked John Lewis Wollin to press for settlement of the Moravian claims against the British. Wollin composed a petition "To The Right Honourable The Lord's Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury" which he gave to Rufus King who in turn presented it to Nicholas Vansittant, Joint Secretary of the Treasury. In the petition dated March 14, 1803, Wollin stated that in 1784 his late father received a commission from Samuel Stotz in consequence of which he made various applications but was informed that previous to certain arrangements between the British government and the United States of America then under consideration nothing could be obtained. Understanding that the said arrangements had finally been made, Wollin requested that consideration be given to the Moravian claims.<sup>39</sup>

The Treasury asked Cornwallis to verify the claims, and he replied:

When I marched into North Carolina in the beginning of the year 1781 in the hope that the great Numbers of Loyalists who resided there, encouraged by the Success of His Majesty's Army at Camden and the reduction of a great part of South Carolina, would be enabled by the presence and support of His Majesty's Forces to re-establish the ancient Government in that Province, I passed thro' the Moravian Settlement in the three contiguous villages of Salem, Bethabara, and Bethania.

The Troups had no other means of subsistence than by the Provisions which could be obtained in the County through which we passed and the Certificates which appear to have been given by the Commissaries and public-Officers for various articles; sufficiently prove that supplies were received from the Settlement of the United Brethren.

<sup>38</sup> Heinrich Schor to Samuel Stotz, January 17, 1801, Claims Papers (written in German).

<sup>39</sup> Wollin to Treasury, March 14, 1803, Claims Papers.

Their claims appear to have been investigated at New York and I am at a loss to account for their not having been liquidated, as the Brethren were in general (and particularly in the first two mentioned villages) considered as a quiet and inoffensive people, who had taken no part in the Distractions of the Country. It is not in my power to furnish the Lord's Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury with any further information relating to this business, or to assign any reasons why demands which seem to be well authenticated have not been repeatedly renewed in the course of twenty two years.<sup>40</sup>

On April 18, Vansittant sent a copy of Cornwallis's letter to Rufus King and stated, "My Lords cannot consent to make any payment until the claims shall be further authenticated."<sup>41</sup>

In his letter of April 28 to the Commissioners of the Treasury, Wollin pointed out that the claims were verified by Cornwallis and wanted to know what further authentication was necessary. He stressed the repeated applications of Latrobe, his father, and himself and requested an end to the delay.<sup>42</sup>

Nothing was done officially, but Vansittant sent a note to Latrobe and requested further information. Latrobe called upon the Joint Secretary of the Treasury who admitted the justness of the petition but inquired why the accounts remained unsettled for so long a time. Latrobe fully explained the matter and entertained hopes that the claims would finally be settled.<sup>43</sup>

The war between England and France resumed on March 16, 1803, and the Treasury lost interest in twenty-seven twenty-two year old tickets. Occasionally inquiries were respectfully received, but when the Addington administration resigned on April 26, 1804, and Vansittant with it, proceedings regarding the Moravian claims stopped.<sup>44</sup>

In 1805, John Hamilton, English Consul in Norfolk, somehow heard of the repeated efforts to collect for the tickets and

<sup>40</sup> Lord Charles Cornwallis to John Sargent, March 29, 1803, Claims Papers.

<sup>41</sup> Nicholas Vansittant to Rufus King, April 18, 1803, Claims Papers.

<sup>42</sup> Wollin to Treasury, April 28, 1803, Claims Papers.

<sup>43</sup> Wollin to Stotz, October 1, 1803, Claims Papers.

<sup>44</sup> Christian Ignatius Latrobe to Carl Gotthold Reichel, August 25, 1804, Claims Papers.

offered his help. Hamilton was with Cornwallis at the Moravian Settlements in 1781. He planned to visit England and offered his services in authenticating and collecting payment for the claims.<sup>45</sup>

Stotz sent copies of the papers to Hamilton and requested his assistance. Hamilton replied, "[the claims are] perfectly just and correct and ought to have been paid long since, but I fear at this late hour the prospect is distant."<sup>46</sup>

Wollin and Latrobe were alerted regarding Hamilton's interest and pledged their assistance to him, but after eighteen months Hamilton had made no effort to help.<sup>47</sup>

No further attempts were made to secure payment for the twenty-seven British tickets, and they were never paid.

The efforts of the North Carolina Moravians to collect for twenty-seven British tickets are not in themselves important aspects of the history of the United States or England. They may give some insight, however, into how human problems arising from the American Revolutionary War were complicated by invasion and occupation, efforts to organize a new government, inadequacy and delay in transportation and communication, abrupt resignation of officials, changes of government, unfriendly attitudes of foreign governments, bureaucracy, and foreign wars.

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<sup>45</sup> Hamilton to Gottlieb Schober, May 11, 1805, Claims Papers.

<sup>46</sup> John Hamilton to Stotz, July 2, 1805, Claims Papers.

<sup>47</sup> Wollin to Stotz, November 2, 1806, Claims Papers.

NEWSPAPER FINANCE IN NORTH CAROLINA'S  
PIEDMONT AND MOUNTAIN SECTIONS  
DURING THE 1850's

BY JOHN C. ELLEN, JR.\*

Newspaper publication in Piedmont and Mountain North Carolina during the decade prior to the Civil War, as elsewhere, was frequently a losing proposition. Newspapering at best yielded only a marginal existence. Circulation figures of most town and village gazettes were small; subscription rates were necessarily high; competition forced down advertising rates in the scramble to secure advertising from merchants who were uneducated relative to the need and value of advertising; and the existing system of delayed payment for subscribers, advertisers, and those using job printing facilities was economically disastrous. All of these items played important roles in relegating newspaper publishers to a hand-to-mouth subsistence during the 1850's.

The most important obstacle to the growth of Carolina papers was the widespread influence and circulation of northern gazettes. The Raleigh *North Carolina Star* voiced the opinion of most Carolina editors when it ably defended southern newspapers from the assertion that northern journals were more interesting, more ably conducted, more timely with news presentation, furnished a greater variety of reading matter, and cost subscribers less than Carolina newspapers. Editor Thomas Lemay placed chief blame for many of the shortcomings of the press upon the readers themselves and declared: "the local press could furnish these things only if it boasted a sufficiency of patronage to enable it to secure those advantages which can only be obtained by ample means and extended resources." On the other hand, he lamented, "much of the matter contained in the northern newspapers is calculated for latitude and is either useless or highly offensive to the people of the South."<sup>1</sup>

\* Dr. John C. Ellen, Jr., is an Assistant Professor of History and Government, East Carolina College.

<sup>1</sup> *North Carolina Star* (Raleigh), February 20, 1850, hereinafter cited as the *North Carolina Star*.

A second challenge to the solvency of most Carolina publications was the great increase in the number of newspapers during the 1850's. The United States Census for 1860 showed the total number of North Carolina newspapers of all types was seventy. This figure proved a substantial increase over the 1850 total of forty-five. An increase in the frequency of publication was also noted during the 1850's. Whereas, the 1850 papers included no dailies, five tri-weeklies, and forty weeklies; the 1860 figures listed a sum total of eight dailies, one tri-weekly, four semi-weeklies, and fifty-seven weeklies.<sup>2</sup> As a result of this gain in the number of publications, local patronage was often divided, subscription prices were lowered, and advertising rates suffered.

In a typical editorial plea for financial support, the *Rowan Whig and Western Advocate* of Salisbury appealed to its patrons and subscribers to pay up because they were certainly misinformed if they believed "Printers and Editors walk by faith, and not by sight." Editor G. A. Miller denied that publishers wished to be "arrayed like 'Solomon in all of his glory.'" Nevertheless, Miller continued:

. . . we wish to pay off our debts, we wish to meet the Preacher and School master with a clear conscience, we wish to contribute something toward plank roads, and we wish a few dimes in the till to ward off the blows of sickness and neglect, when age and infirmity shall beat unrelentingly at our doors.<sup>3</sup>

As a result of pecuniary losses many gazettes were forced to suspend publication or change bases of operation. The *Concord Weekly Gazette* moved from Concord to Chapel Hill; the *Salisbury Herald* ceased publication; and the *Raleigh North Carolina Statesman* halted operations after printing only two or three issues. Similar fates awaited a number of other publications although it is doubtful if more drastic action was taken by any other editor and publisher than D. F. Long of the *Salisbury Weekly Jubilee* who "left his post about

<sup>2</sup> U. S. Bureau of the Census, *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (Washington, D. C.: Robert Armstrong, 1853), lxiv, hereinafter cited as *Seventh Census: 1850*; *The Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Statistics* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1866), 321-322, hereinafter cited as *Eighth Census: 1860*.

<sup>3</sup> *Rowan Whig and Western Advocate* (Salisbury), May 26, 1854, hereinafter cited as *Rowan Whig and Western Advocate*.

Christmas" in 1852 and failed to return to Salisbury. Consequently the sheriff levied judgments and attached Long's press and printing fixtures and advertised these items for public auction to settle Long's debts.<sup>4</sup>

Circulation potential of Piedmont and Mountain area Carolina newspapers was definitely limited. In many cases gazettes depended almost entirely upon the white adult population of the town and county of publication for subscribers. Prospective readers, therefore, were seldom numerous. For example, Surry County which boasted the largest white population west of the fall line of the rivers (1850) counted only 16,159 white persons. Some 3,315 of these were adult males and 1,035 of them were illiterates. Cherokee County, at the other extreme, claimed only 2,939 white people, 678 white adult males, and 190 illiterate white men.<sup>5</sup>

Leaders in the circulation "derby" among Piedmont and Mountain gazettes in 1850 were: the *Raleigh Register*, 1,700; *Raleigh North Carolina Standard*, 1,500; *Raleigh North Carolina Star*, 1,500; *Charlotte Hornet's Nest and True Southron*, 1,400; *Lincoln Republican* of Lincolnton, 1,200; and the *Wadesborough North Carolina Argus*, 1,000. Other papers counted circulations ranging from three hundred to nine hundred with an average press run of about six hundred.<sup>6</sup> In 1860 the circulation leaders were: *Raleigh North Carolina Standard*, 3,150; *Semi-Weekly Raleigh Register*, 2,100; *Greensborough Patriot*, 1,800; *Raleigh Democratic Press*, 1,500; *Charlotte Western Democrat*, 1,400; *Statesville American Advocate*, 1,200; *Winston Western Sentinel*, 1,200; and the *Lincolnton Observer*, 1,200. The other area journals

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<sup>4</sup> *Concord Weekly Gazette*, February 28, 1857; *Chapel Hill Weekly Gazette*, April 18, 1857, hereinafter cited as *Chapel Hill Weekly Gazette*; *People's Press* (Salem), February 4, 1854, hereinafter cited as *People's Press*; *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), February 16, 1858, hereinafter cited as *Carolina Watchman*.

<sup>5</sup> *Seventh Census, 1850*, 298-299, 307-310, 316.

<sup>6</sup> Joseph C. G. Kennedy, "Catalogue of the Newspapers and Periodicals Published in the United States, 1850," *John Livingston's Law Register for 1852* (New York: The Merchants Union Law Company, 1852), 76-77. These circulations do not include the few religious, temperance, literary, and humorous gazettes printed in the area studied. Similiar figures may be found in *Seventh Census, 1850: North Carolina Statistics*, a positive microfilm copy of which is housed in the Division of Archives and Manuscripts, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

claimed subscription lists ranging from two hundred and ninety to one thousand.<sup>7</sup>

Accurate circulation figures were difficult to obtain during the 1850's mainly due to the reluctance of publishers to make public their subscription lists. Most editors lamented the laxity of non-paying readers; nearly all begged for a few hundred more subscribers in order that they might be able to afford needed equipment and produce a larger publication; and some boasted about short-term gains in circulation ranging from fifty new subscribers per month to perhaps several hundred garnered over several months.

Raleigh publishers proved unusually coy in their attempts to avoid listing definite circulation figures. Perhaps strong competition accounted for hesitancy to reveal this information to their readers. The *North Carolina Star* declared in the fall of 1850 that its circulation had "more than doubled" in the past year. The same paper added: "if our circulation is not larger than that of any other paper in the State, it is more diffused and general." Also during the fall of 1850, the *Raleigh Register* listed the total circulation of its legislative daily, semi-weekly, and weekly editions at two thousand. William Holden of the *North Carolina Standard* refrained from announcing his total number of subscribers; however, he often claimed an increased number of patrons. In July, 1856, Holden was gracious enough to note that the *Weekly North Carolina Standard* boasted an increase of nine hundred subscribers since adopting the "cash system" in May.<sup>8</sup> Typical circulation figures announced by other papers were as follows: *Lincolnton Carolina Republican*, April 26, 1850, 1,000; *Lexington and Yadkin Flag* in 1856, "circulation equal to any paper published west of the city of Raleigh"; *Greensboro Patriot and Flag* (recently merged *Greensborough Patriot* and *Lexington and Yadkin Flag*) in 1857, "nearly two thousand"; *Charlotte Hornet's Nest* in 1850 called an issue of 1,750 "the largest number of papers printed west of Raleigh"; and the Charlotte

<sup>7</sup> Positive Microfilm copy, *Eighth Census, 1860: North Carolina Statistics*, Division of Archives and Manuscripts.

<sup>8</sup> *North Carolina Star*, February 20, 1850, September 25, October 16, 1850; *Weekly North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), March 6, July 23, 1856, hereinafter cited as *Standard*; *Semi-Weekly Raleigh Register*, November 23, 1850, hereinafter cited as *Raleigh Register*.

*Daily Bulletin* and its partner weekly, *The Catawba Journal*, issued "over three thousand copies per week" in 1859.<sup>9</sup>

Subscription prices were rather high, at least when compared with those of the cheap dailies of New York and other large eastern cities. Six dollars constituted the annual charge exacted for the Charlotte *Daily Bulletin*. The Raleigh *Tri-weekly Star* might be had for four dollars while the Charlotte *Tri-weekly Bulletin* was advertised at three dollars. Semi-weekly papers were few in number except in Raleigh where the *Semi-weekly Raleigh Register* and the briefly published *North Carolina Statesman* were available for four dollars and the *Semi-weekly North Carolina Standard* was offered for five dollars. Meanwhile, the neighboring Warrenton *Semi-weekly News* was content to charge its patrons only three dollars annually. Rates for weekly gazettes were frequently two dollars per year although weekly prices ranged from two dollars and one-half to the dollar publications.<sup>10</sup>

Most subscriptions were payable in advance; some publishers even demanded cash. When cash was not forthcoming, which was frequently the case, editors charged an additional twenty-five or fifty cents for three-months delayed payment. Carrying charges for delayed payments of six months to a year or more ranged from fifty cents to one dollar and a half depending upon the particular newspaper. Subscribers who failed to make any pretense at paying their overdue subscriptions were usually contacted by agents hired by publishers to collect delinquent accounts. Agents often were paid a percentage of their arrear collections.

On occasions editors were reduced to begging delinquent readers for funds to pay for paper, printers' wages, rent, store

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<sup>9</sup> *Patriot and Flag* (Greensboro), January 9, 1857, hereinafter cited as *Patriot and Flag*; *Lexington and Yadkin Flag*, August 29, 1856; *Hornet's Nest*, June 8, October 19, 1850; and the *Daily Bulletin* (Charlotte) November 2, 1859, hereinafter cited as *Daily Bulletin*.

<sup>10</sup> Other dailies listed with limited existences were the *Daily Register* (Raleigh), which was printed during the legislative session, November 19, 1850-January 29, 1851, for a subscription fee of \$1.50; and the *North Carolina Whig* (Charlotte), which ran a few daily issues in 1851, hereinafter cited as *North Carolina Whig*. Several weekly newspapers charging other than the usual two dollars per year for subscriptions were: *North Carolina Star* and *Greensborough Patriot*, \$2.50; *Hornet's Nest and True Southron* (Charlotte) and *Franklin Observer*, \$1.50; and the *Carolina Republican* (Lincolnton), *Hokeville Express*, *Randolph Herald* (Asheboro), *True American* (Greensboro), and *Jonesville Enterprise*, \$1.00.

bills, and incidental expenses. Publisher-Editor Thomas W. Atkin of the *Asheville News* in 1857 announced he had been in the publishing business in Asheville for fourteen years and the "credit system" had cost him "at least ten thousand dollars!" Atkin noted: "Some men on our books have not paid us a cent in five year." In 1854, the *Rowan Whig and Western Advocate* of Salisbury commented editorially: "Printer's accounts are said to resemble Faith, the substance of things hoped for and the evidence of things not seen." After enumerating the many and varied obligations which publishers must meet regularly, the editorial concluded by repeating a fond "hope our nearly one thousand of the best subscribers in the State, who are in arrears, will at once send us our dues."<sup>11</sup>

Another method used by editors to refresh the memories of delinquent patrons was the placing of red or black marks upon copies delivered to wayward readers.<sup>12</sup> Perhaps even more effective was the "Black List" which consisted of a list published in the gazette of all persons who were delinquent in paying their subscriptions and yet either ordered their papers stopped or refused to remove copies of the paper from their post office boxes. James F. Bell of the *Salisbury Herald* referred to the "painful necessity of devoting a small portion of a column to a BLACK LIST." The editor told his delinquent subscribers unless they showed "their white feathers, pretty soon, we shall most assuredly arrange their names and Post Offices in conspicuous style in the black list." Bell concluded: "What this list shall lack in numbers, we will make up in the size of the type."<sup>13</sup> Apparently even this threat produced only feeble results because the *Herald* was discontinued for lack of funds in February, 1858.<sup>14</sup>

Advertising rates, as well as subscription prices, varied. As competition increased during the decade of the 1850's editors often undercut their rivals to their own detriment. Advertising rates were based upon a measurement called a square. This square was supposed to represent an area one-column

<sup>11</sup> *Asheville News*, November 12, 1857; *Rowan Whig and Western Advocate*, May 26, 1854.

<sup>12</sup> *Carolina Watchman*, March 9, 1858.

<sup>13</sup> *Salisbury Herald*, January 23, 1856.

<sup>14</sup> *Carolina Watchman*, February 16, 1858.

wide and fourteen lines of newspaper body-type deep. Editors and publishers, however, were not inclined to adhere rigidly to the exact size indicated by the defined square. Prices charged per square for advertising and the number of lines of type composing a square varied from paper to paper; the latter item usually depended upon the type sizes used in composing the advertisement and in determining the size of the square. Enterprising gazettes offered decreasing rates for subsequent appearances of the same advertisement. Some papers occasionally carried advertising rate information per square for periods of time ranging up to one year. A few listed rates for display advertising, legal ads, business cards, and standing advertisements. In many cases advertising prices based upon the newspaper's circulation and frequency of publication proved a very flexible "rule of thumb" as publishers outmaneuvered each other to secure advertising income.

The more common classified advertising charges were as follows for the first insertion and subsequent ones, respectively: one dollar, fifty cents; seventy-five cents, twenty-five cents; seventy-five cents, thirty-seven and one-half cents; fifty cents, thirty-five cents; and fifty cents per insertion.<sup>15</sup> Although listing classified advertising rates was customary, few newspapers devoted space to long-term charges and even fewer editors used space and ink to list their charges for display, legal, and sundry advertising. The *Charlotte North Carolina Whig* charged one dollar per square (sixteen lines or less) for the insertion of a classified advertisement and twenty-five cents for each additional insertion. Court advertisements and sheriff sales were listed at one-fourth higher; yearly ads of all kinds were subject to a one-third reduction from the regular rates; monthly or quarterly ads cost one dollar per insertion; and semi-monthly advertisements ran seventy-five cents per issue.<sup>16</sup> The *Hokeville Express* also re-

<sup>15</sup> Several gazettes charging one dollar and twenty-five cents, respectively, were: *Hokeville Express*, *North Carolina Whig*, and *North Carolina Democrat* (Hillsboro) using sixteen-line squares; the *Western Sentinel* (Winston-Salem), *Chapel Hill Weekly Gazette*, and *Hillsborough Recorder* used fourteen-line squares. The *Jonesville Enterprise* with fourteen-line squares charged fifty cents and twenty-five cents, respectively.

<sup>16</sup> *North Carolina Whig*, January 21, 1852.

duced its charges for advertisements running quarterly and longer by one-third provided advertisers paid promptly.<sup>17</sup> Greensboro's *Patriot and Flag* granted reductions in favor of standing matter as follows for one square: three months, \$3.50; six months, \$5.50; and one year, \$8.<sup>18</sup> Advertising prices for the Charlotte *Daily Bulletin* per square ran: first insertion \$.50; one month, \$4; two months, \$7.50; three months, \$10; six months, \$16; and one year, \$30.<sup>19</sup>

Advertising rates for display and legal matter varied with the publication as much or more so than prices exacted for classified advertising. In 1855, the *Lexington and Yadkin Flag* was asking three dollars for announcing candidates for political office, one-fourth more for court orders, and ten dollars per party for divorce notices. The same paper was charging twenty dollars for half a column and thirty-five dollars for a full column per year. Two years later, the Greensboro *Patriot and Flag*, successor to the *Lexington and Yadkin Flag*, was getting twenty dollars for one-fourth column and thirty-five dollars for one-half column annually.<sup>20</sup>

Although the foregoing material paints a rather gloomy picture of the newspaper publishing business, the outlook was not without its optimistic side. Numerous improvements in the field of journalistic financing were evident in the 1850's. Some of them were: installation of the "cash system" for collecting subscription accounts; "clubbing" cash rates to increase circulation; lower postal rates instituted by the United States Postal authorities; and expansion of all levels of advertising.

The "cash system" adoption met considerable opposition until the late 1850's. The Asheboro *North Carolina Bulletin* suggested that an editorial convention be held in North Carolina for the purpose of adopting the "cash system." By way of reply, the Charlotte *North Carolina Whig* expressed the antipathy of most editors when it opposed the holding of such a convention. Editor T. J. Holton emphasized, "the custom of the country is now against it," but he added, "when the Cash System is universally adopted by every branch of busi-

<sup>17</sup> *Daily South Carolinian* (Columbia, South Carolina), May 23, 1855.

<sup>18</sup> *Patriot and Flag*, August 28, 1857.

<sup>19</sup> *Daily Bulletin*, July 13, 1859.

<sup>20</sup> *Patriot and Flag*, August 28, 1857; *Lexington and Yadkin Flag*, July 27, 1855.

ness, then may Editors adopt it." Apparently a change of heart soon came over the editor for the following March the *Whig* announced "no paper after this will be sent to any subscriber without the money in advance, or we know the individual to be responsible."<sup>21</sup> The *Asheville News*, which was complaining about the extreme negligence of its subscribers to "pay up" also opposed the cash system's adoption "for the present time" because it would "perhaps be impolitic." Editor Atkin proposed instead to "require prompt payment once a year."<sup>22</sup> Unfortunately, he had no apparent method for enforcing this suggestion except to cancel subscriptions which were long overdue.

Among those adopting the "cash system" were the Raleigh *North Carolina Standard* and the *Greensborough Patriot*. William Holden of the *Standard* adopted the cash rule for subscribers on May 1, 1856. By late July, Holden acknowledged an increase of "900 subscribers—almost 400 per month." No doubt a portion of this large increase was due to the renewal of old subscriptions previously struck from the subscriber list when the "cash system" was installed. The *Greensborough Patriot* declared: "Many of our subscribers say that it (cash system) is the very thing that they have long desired. We are determined to carry it out. As a matter of course, we shall strike many names from our list."<sup>23</sup> Meanwhile, the *Salisbury Carolina Watchman*, in announcing the approaching adoption of the "cash system," told its readers "the red X mark signifies . . . you are in arrears; or your year is nearly out." Editor Bruner emphasized: "No paper will be sent out from this office, after March 30th, inst. except to those who have paid in advance for the same."<sup>24</sup>

Other methods of building circulation included "clubbing" and offering award premiums for those soliciting the most new subscribers. For example, the Salem *People's Press* offered to mail six subscriptions to one post office for ten dollars or ten subscriptions for fifteen dollars. Persons procuring five new subscribers and remitting ten dollars were entitled to a sixth

<sup>21</sup> *North Carolina Whig*, February 24, 1857, March 9, 1858.

<sup>22</sup> *Asheville News*, November 12, 1857.

<sup>23</sup> *Standard*, March 5, July 23, 1856; *Greensborough Patriot*, August 26, 1859.

<sup>24</sup> *Carolina Watchman*, March 9, 1858.

copy gratis.<sup>25</sup> Another type of "clubbing" was a "package deal" where for a reduced fee the public could secure one or more magazines in addition to a year's subscription to the newspaper. Generally such offers included quality periodicals such as *Harper's*, *Godey's*, *Graham's*, *Knickerbocker's*, *Peterson's*, or *Arthur's*.

The United States Post Office and Justice departments granted certain rights to newspaper publishers relative to collecting delinquent subscription charges for journals delivered through the mail. Favorable changes in postal policies during the 1850's eased to some extent the burden placed upon enterprising editors and publishers. On occasion every journal published "The Law of Newspapers" in a prominent position in order that subscribers would realize the seriousness of "neglecting" to pay for their subscriptions. In brief "The Law of Newspapers" stated:

1. All subscribers who do not give express notice to the contrary, are considered as wishing to continue their subscriptions.
2. If subscribers order the discontinuance of their papers, the publishers may continue to send them until arrearages are paid.
3. If subscribers neglect or refuse taking their papers from the office to which they are sent, they are held responsible till their bills are settled, and their papers ordered to be discontinued.
4. The Courts have decided that refusing to take a newspaper or periodical from the office, or removing and leaving it uncalled for, is *prima facie* evidence of intentional fraud.<sup>26</sup>

Postage on newspapers remained relatively constant during the late 1840's. The Charlotte *Hornet's Nest* lamented in 1850 that "postage on a Weekly paper used to be about *one-eighth* of its subscription price; the postage now is about *ONE-THIRD* of the subscription price." The *Hornet's Nest* further declared "the postage has remained about the same; the papers have fallen in price; there should be at least a corresponding reduction in postage." Editor J. L. Badger suggested the need for enacting the following postal rates: "All papers within the State *free*. Within one hundred and sixty miles of

<sup>25</sup> *People's Press*, April 7, 1855.

<sup>26</sup> *Yorkville Miscellany* (South Carolina), May 29, 1852.

the Post Office, but in an adjoining [*sic*] State, half a cent each."<sup>27</sup>

The new postage law effective in 1851 allowed newspapers free mail transit within the county of publication; postal charges of five cents a quarter were to be exacted on weekly gazettes delivered outside the county but under fifty miles from the place of publication; ten cents a quarter (three months) was to be charged for journals delivered more than fifty and less than three hundred miles; fifteen cents was to be exacted for all gazettes delivered more than three hundred miles and under one thousand miles.<sup>28</sup>

Postal rates for delivery of semi-weekly, tri-weekly, and daily newspapers outside the county of publication, but within the State where published, ran six and one-half, nine and three-quarter, and nineteen and one-half cents per quarter, respectively. Mail charges were doubled for papers sent outside the State of publication. All postal fees listed above, however, pertained only to newspapers on which postage was prepaid either at the point of publication or at the office of delivery for a period of at least one quarter. Negligence relative to prepaying postal rates automatically doubled the postal charges normally exacted.<sup>29</sup>

Most of the newspaper publishers seemed pleased over the new postal rates and felt that they afforded publishing firms a definite gain over the previous postal charges. Editors were often quick to criticize the great uncertainty and irregularity of mail deliveries. Editor M. S. Sherwood of the Greensboro *Patriot and Flag* spoke for many other editors and publishers when he blamed the irregular postal service upon the "ignorance, or carelessness, or rascality of some of the Post Masters." The same publication also insisted that it was the "official duty of every Post Master, when a newspaper or periodical is not taken out of his office, to inform the publisher of the fact, give the reasons, if he knows them, why the paper is not" taken out. Sherwood reiterated that the "Post Master is himself made liable for the subscription, but

<sup>27</sup> *Hornet's Nest*, January 12, 1850.

<sup>28</sup> *North Carolina Star*, July 9, 1851.

<sup>29</sup> *Standard*, January 6, 1858.

he is generally at so great a distance from the Publisher that it would cost more than the amount due to collect the money."<sup>30</sup>

Political and public printing sometimes offered a substantial addition to the income of more fortunate gazettes. The Whiggish Statesville *Iredell Express* complained in 1859 that every Democratic paper in the State was having a "fat" time advertising mail contracts for the Federal Government and was receiving "about \$450 of the people's money" per gazette. Editor E. B. Drake deplored the policy of advertising in only the Democratic papers. He suggested the government could save money by "letting . . . advertising contracts to the lowest bidder."<sup>31</sup> When the Secretary of the Navy advertised in the Democratic Winston *Western Sentinel* for "lumber to be supplied from that region and delivered" in New York, Philadelphia, and other distant points, the Salem *People's Press* deplored the Federal Government's use of patronage.<sup>32</sup>

On the State level, the position of official State printer was usually considered a political plum. The Raleigh *North Carolina Standard* did not necessarily consider that patronage so sugar-coated in 1855. Holden announced that he was printing about 1,300 pages for the legislature; whereas, previous State printers, the *North Carolina Star* and the *Raleigh Register*, had not printed nearly as many pages for the same contract price. Editor Holden did not anticipate asking for more funds although he stated: "we are paying twenty-five per cent more for hands and materials than was paid by the public printer two years ago."<sup>33</sup> Publications chosen to publish the laws of the sessions of the General Assembly were also quite elated on occasion. One of these gazettes was the *Greensborough Patriot*, a Whig paper, which was chosen to print the laws of the 1850 session. The *Patriot* wanted it known that "an opportunity for a mouthful of 'treasury pap' was never offered to us before."<sup>34</sup>

Despite such windfalls, many papers did not prosper during the 1850's. Few editors were so jubilant as Samuel Sher-

<sup>30</sup> *Patriot and Flag*, March 6, 1857.

<sup>31</sup> *Iredell Express* (Statesville), February 4, 1859.

<sup>32</sup> *People's Press*, June 17, 1859.

<sup>33</sup> *Standard*, January 3, 1855.

<sup>34</sup> *Greensborough Patriot*, October 5, 1850.

wood of the Greensboro *Patriot and Flag* when he announced in 1857 the circulation of his journal was so extensive and his advertising columns so crowded that all goes to the old tune of "merrily danced the Quaker's wife." Accordingly Sherwood urged his advertisers to make their copy as "short as you can conveniently" because our rule is "to treat all alike" and to set all advertisements in the same kind of type. The editor concluded: ". . . the crowded state of our columns, prevent us from giving any preferences, by making a display in large type."<sup>35</sup>

Display and classified advertising obviously represented a major portion of the total revenue of newspapers. Exactly what percentage of a gazette's income could be attributed to advertising would be difficult to surmise. Revenue derived from this source varied greatly with individual newspapers and often depended upon such matters as location of the publication, frequency of printing, size of the journal's format, circulation, type of readers and advertisers available locally, and the cost of labor, material, and rent.

An attempt was undertaken to estimate the total space percentages occupied by advertising in random-selected copies of weekly, semi-weekly, tri-weekly, and daily political newspapers published in North Carolina's Piedmont and Mountain areas in the 1850's. Such a study could at best be only indicative of the general trend in newspaper advertising. Nevertheless, the results offer an insight into the importance which advertising played in the papers of the period and area surveyed. The result of this research indicates the following amounts of advertising were carried by Piedmont and Mountain North Carolina gazettes in the 1850's:

Piedmont and Mountain North Carolina Newspapers		
Four-page, five, and seven-column-papers	Average No. advertising columns per issue	Percentage of advertising per issue to total space
20-columns per issue	6.3	32
24-columns per issue	10.3	43
28-columns per issue	11.5	41

<sup>35</sup> *Patriot and Flag*, September 18, 1857.

The figures listed above are far from conclusive and invariably could and would differ with the particular issues selected for survey purposes. For instance, one might select an issue in which the annual message of the governor or President of the United States occupied one or more pages of a four-page newspaper. Issues which carried lengthy government departmental reports or the proceedings of Congress or the general assembly might be chosen. Obviously these issues could certainly not be called typical nor representative.

Newspaper advertising varied widely by type. Among the legal and governmental advertisements appearing regularly in many publications were: official advertisements inserted by sheriffs, commissioners, ordinaries, clerks, and magistrates; and county advertisements such as military notices, sales of administrators, advertisements of estrays, runaways, and lost property. Mercantile advertisements, business cards, professional ads, patent medicine, and lottery advertisements also were found in most publications.

A typical list of advertisements appearing in the *Charlotte North Carolina Whig* included the following items: personal and professional ads and services—lawyers, doctors, milliners, painters, tailors, farmers, cabinetmakers, job printing, dancing schools, colleges, hotels, and railroad schedules; merchandise offered for sale—drugs, shoes, carriages, livestock, farms, dry goods, groceries, saddles, liquors, Negro slaves, houses, and jewelry; and legal and governmental advertisements—proclamations, legal notices, comptroller reports, unclaimed letters at local post office, and rewards offered.<sup>36</sup> These advertisements varied in size from the short one-square classified type to the multi-columned display ones. Dry goods stores, patent medicine dispensers, lottery promoters, and theatrical agencies used the larger display advertisements, often to the point of being overly conspicuous.

Perhaps the most interesting advertisements appearing in the public press were those pertaining to Negro slaves. These included rewards offered for runaway slaves, notices of slave sales, advertisements of slave dealers, and notices of administrators and trustees of estates. Surveys of these advertise-

<sup>36</sup> *North Carolina Whig*, January 21, 1852, February 2, 1853.

ments reveal much information relative to miscegenation; prices paid for slaves in the market place; slave occupations, literacy, clothing, family life; provisions of masters for slaves; enforcement of slave statutes; crime and disease among slaves; and devotion of the Negro to the white man.<sup>37</sup>

Advertising styles in the 1850's were limited mainly because advertisers demanded print for their money and failed to realize the value which correctly distributed white space added to readability and attractiveness of advertisements. Even the large dry goods advertisers crowded as many items into an ad as space and type would permit. New techniques were very much in the experimental stage although some venturesome editors struggled for variety. Illustrations appearing regularly were usually wood engravings and often depicted a Negro slave with his bag of belongings thrown over his shoulder and headed for the open road, stately buildings of business establishments and hotels, patent medicine bottles, trains, and livestock. Advertisements remained dull and drab because merchants and other advertisers were unaware of the possibilities offered. Publishers, editors, and other printing personnel were also partly to blame for this dreary routine because they were too busy with other matters to devote their talents to developing new techniques.

Established policies with regard to advertising were lacking. Many editors gave free puffs to new advertisers as, for example, the one given by the *Raleigh North Carolina Standard* to a "box of 'Koh-i-noor' chewing tobacco." Editor William Holden hailed advertiser P. F. Pescud's offering "as the purest and finest article of the kine [*sic*] we have seen." A similar free boost was handed two patent medicine advertisers in an editorial of Holden's attacking the "General Newspaper Agents" from the North as "vamphyres . . . sucking the blood of the Southern press" by refusing to pay for their advertisements. The *Standard* went on to point out that "Mr. Ayer, the pill man, and . . . Perry Davis, the painkiller man" were exceptions to the general rule as they always paid promptly for their ads.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>37</sup> W. T. Laprade, "Newspapers as a Source for the History of American Slavery," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, IX (1910), 230-238.

<sup>38</sup> *Standard*, April 12, 1856; *Semi-Weekly North Carolina Standard*, September 18, 1858.

Patent medicine and lottery advertisements ran rampant in almost all newspapers. When local ads failed to fill space not given to reading material and local advertising, unsophisticated publishers unusually succumbed to patent medicine and lottery advertising. As the amount of local advertising increased, some editors began to forego patent medicine ads and even began to attack the practice as services rendered to swindlers and quacks. The *Raleigh North Carolina Standard* asserted in 1853 that it was the "only paper in the State which contains no patent medicine advertisements."<sup>39</sup> Some six months earlier, the *Charlotte North Carolina Whig* announced that "in the future . . . we shall exclude . . . all long advertisements for Patent Medicines and thus prevent sore eyes to many of our readers."<sup>40</sup> The *Whig* appeared willing to go only half-way for short patent medicine advertisements continued to appear rather regularly in subsequent issues.

In spite of the fact that patent medicine advertisers expected cheaper rates for handling their "poisonous nostrums" and past experience proved rather conclusively that many such advertisers continuously swindled gullible publishers, most gazettes were willing to print patent medicine and lottery ads as late as 1859 provided these accounts paid regular charges and in cash. One worthy exception to this general rule was the *Greensboro Patriot and Flag*. This newspaper felt its increase in circulation was due partly to its policy concerning acceptance of advertising. Editor Sherwood specified that policy in the following terms:

. . . contains no advertisement of Patent Pills and Patent Medicines, no puffs, prepared by the makers of these miserable nostrums, and inserted as editorials by contract; because it contains no puffs and advertisements [*sic*], of deceptive, swindling lottery establishments, and because it, contains no advertisements of Abolition Magazines, and other Abolition publications.

By way of concluding his editorial, Sherwood stated: ". . . if the makers of patent nostrums can't get along without the

<sup>39</sup> *Standard*, July 30, 1853.

<sup>40</sup> *North Carolina Whig*, January 21, 1853.

assistance of the *Patriot*, why they may go to the dogs, a fate to which they should have been consigned long ago."<sup>41</sup>

Job printing was also important to the small town newspaper's financial success as it is today. Invitations, circulars, cards, pamphlets, and broadsides were major items printed. Bookbinding, previously done in the northern cities, was just beginning to become important to printing establishments in the North Carolina Piedmont and Mountain sections during the 1840's and 1850's. The often inaccurate United States Census credited North Carolina with five male bookbinders in 1850 and eight similar workers in 1860.<sup>42</sup> Most of the listed personnel were congregated in Raleigh, Wilmington, and Fayetteville. Apparently a few other printing plants also did occasional bookbinding. Quite probably this work was done by printing personnel classified other than bookbinders; some of these employees were women.

Handbills, an additional source of revenue, were sometimes placed inside newspapers and mailed, duty free, to unsuspecting subscribers. Although editors occasionally complained about the smuggling of handbills through the post office as a step toward destruction of advertising patronage, the policy continued unabated as newspapers often contained these items and thereby deprived the postal authorities of the one-cent postage charge per handbill.

Mid-nineteenth century newspaper publishing presented a certain glamour which attracted many types of individuals including lawyers, preachers, teachers, politicians, doctors, and practical printers. By 1860 most of these would-be editor-publishers learned by bitter experience that newspapering was not the colorful avocation many of them previously envisioned. Neophytes found editorial writing, news collection, and their names in print were rather poor compensation for the regular routine, toil of the print shop, and small financial returns which was typical of newspaper publishing.

Most Carolina gazettes originally were founded and usually were sustained with inadequate and limited resources; therefore, only the patient, experienced, economy-minded, and

<sup>41</sup> *Patriot and Flag*, September 18, 1857.

<sup>42</sup> *Seventh Census, 1850*, 317; *Eighth Census, 1860: Population*, 362.

hardy survived long in the publishing field. These men could proudly point to the obstacles they had overcome: competition from northern publications; increase in number of local papers; limited population and circulation potential; necessarily high subscription prices and many non-paying readers; low advertising rates due to competition; limited and sometimes irregular mail deliveries; and often the added hazard of political factionalism. Nevertheless, in spite of all of these roadblocks, North Carolina Piedmont and Mountain newspapers grew steadily in number during the 1850's, improved their general appearance, and afforded Tar Heel readers a larger and more varied news and editorial coverage than previously.

THE LAND WE LOVE: A SOUTHERN POST-BELLUM  
MAGAZINE OF AGRICULTURE, LITERATURE,  
AND MILITARY HISTORY

BY RAY M. ATCHISON \*

In many respects *The Land We Love*, established in Charlotte, North Carolina, May, 1866, and "Devoted to Literature, Military History, and Agriculture,"<sup>1</sup> is one of the best of the periodicals that sprang up in the South after the Civil War.

General Daniel Harvey Hill (1821-1889), the editor, was an ex-Confederate soldier who possessed a marked degree of intelligence.<sup>2</sup> The defeat of the South, he believed, was in part caused by its false system of education and its economic dependence upon the North. He wished to lead southern people into a new type of practical education based not on the classics but on a sound study of scientific and industrial courses. In "Education," a penetrating analysis of the South's condition, General Hill put forth his ideas and opened the pages of his magazine to other writers with similar views.<sup>3</sup> In the editorial department, colleges and universities of the South that were turning to this new type of education were heartily commended.<sup>4</sup> Essays advocating scientific and prac-

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<sup>1</sup> The subtitle of the magazine varies. Volume I carried on the front covers of the individual issues these words: "A New Monthly Magazine Devoted to Literature & the Fine Arts." At the same time the title page listed "A Monthly Magazine Devoted to Literature, Military History, and Agriculture." This publication will hereinafter be cited as *Land We Love*.

<sup>2</sup> A South Carolinian, D. H. Hill graduated from West Point before the Civil War, participated in the Mexican War, and taught at Washington College (later Washington and Lee), Davidson College, and the North Carolina Military Institute of Charlotte. After serving with distinction in the Confederate Army, he edited *The Land We Love* and later, also at Charlotte, the weekly literary-newspaper, *Southern Home*. From 1877 to 1884 Hill was President of the University of Arkansas, and from 1885 until his death he served in a similar capacity at Middle Georgia Military and Agricultural College. His published works include *Elements of Algebra* (1857); four papers in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*; *A Consideration of the Sermon on the Mount*; and the *Crucifixion of Christ*. See Francis P. Gaines, "Daniel Harvey Hill," in Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 20 volumes and Index [Supplementary Volumes XXI and XXII], 1928—), IX, 27-28.

<sup>3</sup> *Land We Love*, I (May, 1866), 1-11; June, 1866, 83-91; August, 1866, 235-239).

<sup>4</sup> For example, "Our Advertisements," *Land We Love*, III (August, 1867), 362, lauds Washington College's change in system: "It has a School of

tical methods of farming were published—all of which upheld the aims and policy of the magazine.<sup>5</sup> The editor also wanted his journal to be a depository of war records and memories, for he felt keenly the burden of preserving for generations to come the southern view of the war. It was his belief that southern men who had actually fought in the war and who had preserved records were best qualified to publish material. Journalistic historians like Edward A. Pollard, author of the much-disputed *The Lost Cause*, were constantly ridiculed; they were, Hill thought, obnoxious falsifiers of history, mere “pen-and-ink warriors.”<sup>6</sup> In order to get material from soldiers of subordinate rank General Hill inaugurated in the first issue a department called “The Haversack,” which proved to be a popular feature and was widely copied by other southern magazine editors.<sup>7</sup> Last of his aims in establishing the magazine, but certainly not the least in importance, was Hill’s desire to encourage the growth of southern literature. One encouragement that he gave was paying authors, when he could, for their contributions.

The contents of the magazine included poetry, fiction, literary criticism, biographical sketches, battle reports and statistics, war reminiscences, sketches of life in hospitals and northern prisons, anecdotes of soldiers on the march and in

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Modern Languages and English, a School of Mathematics . . . a School of Natural Philosophy, a School of Chemistry, and another of Applied Chemistry, and a Department of Civil and Mining Engineering.” The large enrollment was attributed to the new curriculum which emphasized sciences and not the classics.

<sup>5</sup> Compare a similar attitude expressed by a writer in “Polytechnic Colleges,” *Southwestern Magazine* (New Orleans), I (October, 1866), 2-3.

<sup>6</sup> General Hill stated: “We were fortunate enough to preserve the most of our military papers, and it is a poor compliment to our collection to say that it contains a hundred times as many authentic facts as can be found in the combined materials of the pen-and-ink warriors, who have inflicted so-called histories upon a patient and long suffering community.” *Land We Love*, IV (February, 1868), 360. Hill defended himself vigorously against a charge made by Pollard in *The Lost Cause*. See “The Lost Dispatch,” IV (February, 1868), 270-284. For Pollard’s reply, see “The Lost Dispatch,” *Southern Opinion* (Richmond, 1867-1869), I (May 23, 1868), 1.

<sup>7</sup> On occasion General Hill experienced difficulty in getting enough material from these men. In a plea for anecdotes he repeated his philosophy of what would constitute an accurate history of the War from the southern point of view: “We have been promised for publication a large number of unpublished reports of battles from officers of rank. These, though necessary to the vindication of the truth of history, give no picture of life in the ranks. For this we must depend upon subordinate officers and privates; and to them we renew our appeal for authentic facts and anecdotes . . . we look to those of subordinate grade to furnish the facts.” *Land We Love*, II (January, 1867), 214.

camp, and essays on agriculture, education, travel, descriptive sketches of homesteads and counties, and general history. Eclecticism was slight, restricted chiefly to occasional clippings from newspapers, two poems by Edgar Allan Poe,<sup>8</sup> and an extract from William Gilmore Simms's *Eutaw*.<sup>9</sup> In addition to "The Haversack" there were three other departments in the magazine: (1) "Southern Lyrics," (2) "Book Notices," and (3) "Editorial."

There were six volumes, six issues each, published during the three-year life of *The Land We Love*. It appeared as an eighty-page two-column octavo with a subscription price of \$3.00 a year if paid in advance, \$5.00 on credit. The initial cover, printed on buff paper, was enhanced by a plantation scene of Negroes picking cotton. Later a new cover on blue paper pictured a southern mansion surrounded by portraits of General "Stonewall" Jackson and several southern statesmen. This later cover was the handiwork of the Kinnersley engravers of New York. James P. Irwin and General Hill were the publishers.<sup>10</sup> Business firms, patent medicines, books, and periodicals were advertised. Colleges, academies, and other southern educational institutions also occupied prominent space in the advertising columns.<sup>11</sup> The editor managed to publish only six illustrations: five engravings and a woodcut of two soldiers eating berries and persimmons.<sup>12</sup> Under the guidance of General Hill, whose duties were to write and edit copy, and Irwin as business manager, circulation reached 12,000.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Land We Love*, I (May, 1866), 45-46. These were "To Helen" and a lyric in *Al Aaraaf* which has no title and is generally referred to from the first line as "Ligeia."

<sup>9</sup> *Land We Love*, VI (November, 1868), 1-5.

<sup>10</sup> The title page, issue one, listed Irwin and Hill as publishers, but apparently a firm was organized later. The title page, Volume II, reads, "Published by Hill, Irwin and Co."

<sup>11</sup> Included in these were the following: University of Maryland, Davidson College, University of South Carolina, Select Boarding and Day School for Young Ladies (Hillsboro), Washington College, Charlotte Female Institute, Mecklenburg Female College (Charlotte).

<sup>12</sup> Julia Jackson, only child of "Stonewall" Jackson (November, 1867); Lily, only child of General S. B. Buckner (February, 1868); Family of Honorable Jefferson Davis (May, 1868); General Turner Ashby (August, 1868); Battle of Eutaw Springs (November, 1868); and woodcut of soldiers (March, 1869). Similar engravings appeared in *Scott's Monthly Magazine* (Atlanta, 1865-1869) and the *Home Monthly* (Nashville, 1866-1870).

<sup>13</sup> See a letter from General Hill to General Jubal A. Early, dated Davidson College, December 28, 1866, in which the former states that his magazine has reached a circulation of 12,000 in thirty-two States. According to list-

After three years of publication in Charlotte, *The Land We Love* removed to Baltimore and merged in April, 1869, with the *New Eclectic Magazine* (later *Southern Magazine*). The magazine was discontinued because of publication and distribution difficulties in Charlotte and because many subscribers could not or would not pay. General Hill made every effort to pay his contributors—a policy which inevitably reduced any profit there might have been.<sup>14</sup> It did not die of “inanition,” as Professor Dudley Miles incorrectly conjectures.<sup>15</sup>

The departments in *The Land We Love* are among its most lively features. “Southern Lyrics” as a section was a part of the first issues only, but “The Haversack” appeared in every number. It embraced anecdotes and experiences of the war written by soldiers and civilians. Most of the contributions were unsigned. Occasionally, however, initials were appended and the State in which the contributor lived was given. One characteristic of the material is its humorous quality noticeable in the subject matter and in General Hill’s comments.<sup>16</sup> “Book Notices,” conducted by the editor, is not very objective. There is too often the praising of “sweet” southern poetesses and too seldom the judging of a work on the basis of its own merit. Sectional bias leads Hill to recommend books which have little or no permanent merit.<sup>17</sup>

ings on the back cover of the journal, it had at one time as many as eighty agents in various States and three traveling agents. California, Oregon, Pennsylvania, and New York were listed, indicating some circulation in the North. A J. S. Lee wrote to Hill from Philadelphia, May 11, 1866, that his brother had obtained forty or fifty subscriptions in Pittsburgh, and that he would surely get more in Pennsylvania. Original letters in the Archives and Manuscripts Division, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

<sup>14</sup> For evidence that Hill paid his contributors, see letters of the following individuals: Ina M. Porter, Greenville, Alabama, January 11, 1866, thanking Hill for “liberal compensation for my services”; and Paul Hamilton Hayne to Hill, February 19, 1869, in which the poet acknowledges receipt of a check for \$12.50 in payment for literary criticism. Originals in the Division of Archives and Manuscripts.

<sup>15</sup> Dudley Miles, “The New South: Lanier,” in William P. Trent and Others (eds.), *The Cambridge History of American Literature* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 4 volumes, 1917-1921), II, 313.

<sup>16</sup> See, for example, *Land We Love*, IV (January, 1868), 249.

<sup>17</sup> A typical example is General Hill’s review of “Kamba Thorpe’s” (Mrs. Elizabeth W. Bellamy’s) novel *Four Oaks*: “This is a very entertaining and instructive novel, by a gifted daughter of Alabama, one of the most talented in our grievously oppressed section. The style is good, the sentiments pure and elevated, the moral of the story healthy, and the incidents simple and natural. The lovers of fiction can scarcely wish for a more attractive volume.” *Land We Love*, V (June, 1868), 191.

In no other southern magazine of the period except the *Southern Review* (Baltimore, St. Louis, Richmond, 1867-1879) can one find as many comments about the problems besetting the typical postwar editor. The "Editorial Department" is actually a direct reflection of General Hill's personality, for in it he discusses frankly, and sometimes humorously, his joys and heartaches. Like his contemporaries, he was forced to take a stand on national issues. Friendliness toward the North was his policy, as it was notably that of James D. B. De Bow, editor of the influential journal that bore his name.<sup>18</sup> However, there were certain classes of individuals whom Hill frequently referred to as enemies of the South and all mankind. General Sherman's raiders, for example, were to him "house-burners, thieves and marauders."<sup>19</sup> Despite a denial that his was a political journal, General Hill could not refrain from speaking harshly against the Radicals, Reconstruction Acts, carpetbaggers, and scalawags.<sup>20</sup> A number of northern magazines, especially the pictorials, "which prostitute art to falsify history,"<sup>21</sup> were vigorously denounced. But the *Old Guard* of New York was not of this group. "It is grateful to the Southern heart," wrote Hill, "to find a Monthly published in the same city with Harper's caricature upon Southern society, which is kindly disposed towards our ruined and impoverished people."<sup>22</sup>

The mechanical aspects of editing a magazine often annoyed General Hill. "A loyal editor," he exclaimed, "has no easy task in these sad days."<sup>23</sup> For one thing, postal employees sometimes stole money or manuscripts from the envelopes of

<sup>18</sup> "The South, then, so far from feeling the rancor and bitterness of defeat," wrote General Hill, "should feel that she stands on high moral vantage-ground and that she can afford to be generous and magnanimous, forget past differences and extend the friendly greeting to good men of every creed and every section." *Land We Love*, III (July, 1867), 269. See also *Land We Love*, I (August, 1866), 304, and II (December, 1866), 154.

<sup>19</sup> *Land We Love*, II (December, 1866), 154; I (August, 1866), 304; and VI (December, 1868), 175.

<sup>20</sup> See, *Land We Love*, III (July, 1867), 267; IV (April, 1868), 527; V (May, 1868), 91; III (May, 1867), 85-86; (August, 1867), 353, 359; and IV (November, 1867), 87.

<sup>21</sup> *Land We Love*, VI (November, 1868), 88.

<sup>22</sup> *Land We Love*, I (September, 1866) 379.

<sup>23</sup> *Land We Love*, IV (January, 1868), 260.

subscribers and contributors.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, Hill was besieged by amateurs who wanted to break into print or earn a name for themselves.<sup>25</sup> Equally bothersome were correspondents who wanted the editor to gather various types of information.<sup>26</sup> When Hill discovered that other magazines and newspapers were reprinting pieces from *The Land We Love* without due acknowledgement, he could not remain silent. A forthright charge was made that E. A. Pollard had stolen sketches and anecdotes which he had embodied in *Lee and His Lieutenants*.<sup>27</sup> The large circulation of the northern magazines was a source of jealousy and frustration. General Hill printed statistics to illustrate how small was the circulation of southern periodicals, even in the homeland.<sup>28</sup> He apologized for tardy reviews of books, a situation, explained Hill, resulting from "force of circumstances"—meaning, of course, that readers and editors alike were cut off from the current literature because of the recent war.<sup>29</sup> Other editorial comments reflect a pride in North Carolina.<sup>30</sup> Still others state the general policy of the magazine regarding the length and acceptance of essays and poetry.

General Hill printed in *The Land We Love* works written by a wide range of contributors, including some of the South's best-known authors, governors, generals, and southerners who were living in the North. The following signed contributors of poems, sketches, and articles are listed in the magazine:

<sup>24</sup> "How long will the land be polluted with your hypocrisy, your malignity, your knavery, and your stealing?" wrote General Hill. *Land We Love*, IV, (February, 1868), 359.

<sup>25</sup> See, for example, *Land We Love*, IV (January, 1868), 260.

<sup>26</sup> General Hill related his attempts to find the name and address of a Mississippi soldier's sweetheart: "We set about this interesting investigation with as much energy as Butler or Stevens on a mission from their great leader below, and we learned that the young lady had plighted heart and hand to another man." *Land We Love*, V (June, 1868), 186.

<sup>27</sup> *Land We Love*, V (July, 1868), 283.

<sup>28</sup> *Land We Love*, V (August, 1868), 370-371.

<sup>29</sup> *Land We Love*, I (August, 1866), 302.

<sup>30</sup> The editor wrote: "When we cease to love preeminently the State of our birth, and the State of our adoption, the heart, which is now true in every fibre to the two Carolinas, will have ceased to throb forever. We claim to be, in the highest and noblest sense of the word, a *loyal* Carolinian, because entirely loyal to the two Carolinas. Our idea is to love whatever is good, true and lovely, whether found North, South, East or West, but to love especially our own home and fireside, our own county, and our own State." *Land We Love*, II (March, 1867), 367.

Governor Henry Watkins Allen; Annie M. Barnwell; Victor Clay Barringer; General P. G. T. Beauregard; M. K. Belknap; Professor Walter Blair; Colonel W. H. Brand; Essie Cheesborough; Mary Bayard Clarke; General P. R. Cleburne (posthumous); Professor Robert L. Dabney; Clara Dargan; Thomas Cooper De Leon; Professor Samuel Henry Dickson (Jefferson College, Philadelphia); Charles S. Dod, Jr.; Fanny Murdaugh Downing; Honorable William Eaton; Mrs. L. Virginia French; General John B. Gordon; General Wade Hampton; Hall Harrison; Colonel William S. Hawkins; Reverend Francis L. Hawks; Paul Hamilton Hayne; Philo Henderson (posthumous); Alice A. Hill; General Daniel Harvey Hill; Rosa Vertner Jeffrey; General Joseph E. Johnston; Colonel Buehring H. Jones; C. H. Jones; Nathan C. Kouns; General Mirabeau B. Lamar; Daniel Bedinger Lucas; G. E. Manigault; Miss E. Mordecai; Honorable Frederick Nash; William N. Nelson; Governor Benjamin F. Perry; H. R. Pleasants; B. G. Polk; Ina M. Porter; W. D. Porter; Professor John T. L. Preston; Margaret J. Preston; Honorable Henry William Ravenel; Augustus Julian Requier; Samuel Selden; J. Augustine Signaigo; Dr. J. R. Sparkman; H. T. Stanton; J. Parish Stelle; Francis Orray Ticknor; John R. Thompson; Governor Zebulon B. Vance; J. W. Wall; Mrs. C. W. West; and Bennet H. Young.

Authors sometimes used pseudonyms or initials. A few of these, listed below, have been identified.

"A. B. R."; "C. L. H."; "C. W. H." (C. Woodward Hutson); "D. H. H." (General Daniel Harvey Hill); "E. F. R."; "Elise Beverly" (Eliza Spencer); "Fanny Fielding" (Mary J. S. Upshur); "Garvey"; "J. D. B." (John Dickson Bruns); "J. M. P." (Margaret J. Preston?); "Prof. J. R. B." (J. R. Blake); "Kamba Thorpe" (Mrs. Elizabeth W. Bellamy, of Alabama); "A Lady of Florida"; "A Lady of Louisiana"; "A Lady of Virginia"; "A Late 'So-Called'" (General D. H. Hill?); "Latiene" (Lizzie W. Bacchus); "Leroy" (Annie M. Barnwell); "Môina" (Reverend A. J. Ryan? Anna Peyre Dinnies?); "An Oxonian" (England); "Oxoniensis"; "Phoenix"; "Reita"; "S. A. J." (S. A. Jonas); "Sarella"; "S. B. H."; "Sigma Chi"; "Tenella" (Mary Bayard Clarke); "Vindex"; "A Virginia Matron"; "W. H. B." (W. H. Brand); and "Z. B. V." (Zebulon B. Vance).

Poetry was an important feature of the magazine. General Hill was amazed at the quantity of verse—mostly trash—submitted to his journal, "fifty times more poetry" than he could

read.<sup>31</sup> Rejecting the bulk of the verses, he printed instead poems by the South's better poets. Hayne, Ticknor, Ryan, Requier, Kouns, John R. Thompson, Mary Bayard Clarke, Ina M. Porter, Margaret J. Preston, Fanny Downing, and Mrs. L. Virginia French are all represented in the magazine. The Civil War, Reconstruction, and various phases of southern life and culture were subjects of poems. In addition, there were short didactic pieces, occasional poems, philosophical and nature poems, and love lyrics. Under the pseudonym "Tenella" Mary Bayard Clarke, popular North Carolina author, submitted "General Lee at the Battle of the Wilderness," one of the better poems of the period written about Robert E. Lee.<sup>32</sup> In the November, 1867, issue appeared F. O. Ticknor's "Little Griffen," a short ballad which quickly became one of the most popular southern war lyrics.

Fiction was not admitted into the early pages of *The Land We Love*, but finally, giving way to the demands of his readers, General Hill printed three novelettes and nine short stories.<sup>33</sup> Practically all the fiction dealt with some aspect of the war. For example, Ina M. Porter's "Only Son of His Mother" is a sentimental story illustrating the horrors of General Sherman's march from a southern point of view.<sup>34</sup> In her "John Smith, Esq." a young soldier comes home from the war disfigured, but his sweetheart marries him to prove her love.<sup>35</sup> "Model Housekeeping; or, Nelly Random's Dinner Party" by Rosa Vertner Jeffrey is a sketch of war and domestic life. The party celebrates the close of the war.<sup>36</sup> "Elise Beausoleil, A Tale of the Early Days of St. Louis" was unsigned. In this pseudo-historical tale a young girl's lover is killed in a duel. She never marries but gives her wedding gown to nuns.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>31</sup> *Land We Love*, IV (January, 1868), 260. "Loyal editors," he wrote, "have their joyous days even in Dixie, as well as their days of sadness. The glad days are those in which no poetry comes to the office." *Land We Love*, IV (March, 1868), 448-449.

<sup>32</sup> *Land We Love*, I (September, 1866), 374-375.

<sup>33</sup> General Hill doubtless preferred truth to fiction. He explained: "Though we are opposed to fiction, and especially to serial stories, we yield to the public taste in such matters, and will begin in our next issue, a story of Maryland life before the war, which will run through the volume." *Land We Love*, III (May, 1867), 90.

<sup>34</sup> *Land We Love*, V (June, 1868), 157-165.

<sup>35</sup> *Land We Love*, V (July, 1868), 249-258.

<sup>36</sup> *Land We Love*, V (May, 1868), 52-67.

<sup>37</sup> *Land We Love*, II (April, 1867), 414-423.

Literary essays in *The Land We Love* are, with some exceptions, of fair quality. The editor was able to engage the services of a few of the South's best critics, including Margaret J. Preston, Hayne, Mrs. French, John R. Thompson, Robert L. Dabney, Charles S. Dod, Jr., and Thomas Cooper De Leon. Primarily because he lavished praise upon minor Southern writers, one has a right to question Hill's abilities as a critic. It is possible to compile his evaluations; they are confined to the editorial and "Book Notices" sections.

The classics, English and current American literature, philology, book reviews of southern, northern, and especially English and continental authors engaged the attention of the critics. In "Pen-Feather" Mrs. French analyzed with a keen sense of understanding one of the chief causes for the failure of ante-bellum southern literary magazines—the principle of voluntary contributions.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, she insisted that an author had a right to sell his works to the magazine editor, northern or southern, who would pay.

In keeping with the policy of his magazine to record the history of the conflict, General Hill published battle reports written by former Confederate Generals Longstreet, Cleburne, Breckenridge, Beauregard, and others, reminiscences of life in camp, field, hospital, and home. The wounding of General "Stonewall" Jackson was related by an eye-witness who had helped bear the General from the field.<sup>39</sup> The tragic death of Jackson by his own men was often the topic of articles in southern magazines devoted to the Lost Cause. There was also much comment about Jefferson Davis. A typical essay is the "Prison Life of Jefferson Davis," a sympathetic portrayal of the former Confederate President as a prisoner in Fortress Monroe.<sup>40</sup>

Despite its weakness in fiction and the literary criticism written by General Hill and many of the women authors, *The Land We Love* is a valuable postwar magazine. Since the editor was advocating a measure of friendliness toward the North shortly after the war, there is reason to think that the

<sup>38</sup> *Land We Love*, VI (December, 1869), 143-149.

<sup>39</sup> *Land We Love*, I (July, 1866), 179-182.

<sup>40</sup> *Land We Love*, I (August, 1866), 277-282.

periodical probably helped mitigate the feelings of hostility between the two sections. General Hill was among the first of the southern leaders who advocated the abandonment of the one-crop system and the diffusion of scientific and industrial knowledge. His magazine was the first to print on a large scale battle accounts written by former Confederate generals. In this respect he led the way for *Our Living and Our Dead* (New Bern and Raleigh, 1873-1876), and the *Southern Bivouac* (Louisville, 1882-1887), and antedated by at least fifteen years the more widely circulated "Battles and Leaders Series" of the New York *Century Magazine*. Moreover, he was among the first of the southern magazine editors to advocate the preservation of war memories. Certainly, no editor of the period more conscientiously endeavored to pay contributors. Excluding the *Southern Bivouac*, it is the best southern post-bellum literary magazine edited by an ex-Confederate general. And, lastly, *The Land We Love* published some of the better war lyrics. "Little Griffen" is seldom omitted from anthologies of southern Civil War poetry.

## A POLITICAL LEADER BOLTS—F. M. SIMMONS IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1928\*

BY RICHARD L. WATSON, JR.†

In the election of 1928, the Democratic party met an unprecedented defeat nationally, and suffered serious losses in the solid South. The fact that the Democratic candidate was Roman Catholic has added zest to explanations of the phenomenon, and has obscured some of the in-fighting that went on at the local level where the election was actually decided. Indeed, the experience of 1928 shows how difficult it is to generalize about national elections and to understand the whole without understanding each one of its parts.<sup>1</sup>

In North Carolina the questions normally mentioned—religion, prohibition, and Tammany—were important, but there were subtleties about each one of these peculiar to the State. The questions of organization and leadership were perhaps as important, and the fact that in North Carolina personal rivalries were intense and the party divided in allegiance complicates the problem of determining what swayed the Democratic voter. A point of particular interest is that Furnifold M. Simmons, U. S. Senator from North Carolina between 1901 and 1931, refused to support his party's candidate.<sup>2</sup>

Probably no one who had known Simmons during his more than fifty years in politics would have prophesied that he would ever be a bolter. To North Carolinians, he personified the "regular" Democrat. He entered politics in 1875 at

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\* This article, which had been accepted long before the political conventions of 1960, is published because of its timeliness. It is presented as history. *The North Carolina Historical Review* is totally non-political and seeks to cover the history of the State and its people as objectively as possible. The Editors.

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<sup>1</sup> For studies on the election of 1928, see Edmund A. Moore, *A Catholic Runs for President* (New York, 1950); Roy V. Peel and Thomas C. Donnelly, *The 1928 Campaign: An Analysis* (New York, 1931); Richard L. Watson, Jr., (ed.), *Bishop Cannon's Own Story* (Durham, 1955), hereinafter cited as Watson, *Bishop Cannon's Own Story*; Oscar Handlin, *Al Smith and His America* (Boston, 1958).

<sup>2</sup> Two unpublished doctoral dissertations written at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, are useful narratives of the 1928 campaign in North Carolina. S. C. Deskins, "The Presidential Election of 1928 in North Carolina" (1944), hereinafter cited as Deskins, "Election of 1928," and Elmer Lee Puryear, "Democratic Party Dissension in North Carolina, 1928-1936" (1954).

the age of 21. Chairman of the State Democratic Committee for many years, a leader in the fight against Republican and Populist in the 90's and largely responsible for Negro disfranchisement in the State, he created a political organization and a reputation that placed him in the United States Senate in 1901.<sup>3</sup> By 1913, he had become chairman of the Senate Finance Committee and nationally influential. The Underwood-Simmons tariff, the war-revenue legislation, and fights over taxation and the tariff of the 1920's are among his legislative monuments.<sup>4</sup>

In 1928, his position seemed secure. He would soon be senior member of the Senate in point of service; his State had both elected him National Committeeman and had overwhelmingly re-elected him to the Senate in 1924.<sup>5</sup> In fact, however, his position was not altogether safe. He was 74 years old and not a well man. His friends were likewise growing old. Some were dead. Simmons's secretary during the 20's, Frank Hampton, did not have the touch of his predecessor, A. D. Watts, who had been a political genius. Young politicians were challenging Simmons's leadership. By the late 20's his organization was not a high-powered machine, and a jockeying for position was taking place since Simmons was to come up for election again in 1930.<sup>6</sup>

In 1924, Simmons had supported William G. McAdoo, a close friend, in the bitter battle against Alfred E. Smith. After 1924 bitterness remained, and McAdoo did little to assuage it. However, when McAdoo eliminated himself from further consideration in September, 1927, many believed that Smith

<sup>3</sup> For accounts of these campaigns, see Helen Edmunds, *The Negro and Fusion Politics in North Carolina, 1894-1901* (Chapel Hill, 1951); William A. Mabry, *The Negro in North Carolina Politics Since Reconstruction* (Durham, 1940).

<sup>4</sup> The principal published source for Simmons's career is J. Fred Rippy (ed.), *F. M. Simmons, Statesman of the New South, Memoirs and Addresses* (Durham, 1936), hereinafter cited as Rippy, *F. M. Simmons*. See also Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone and Others (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: 20 volumes and Index [Supplementary Volumes XXI and XXII], 1928—), XXII, 611-612.

<sup>5</sup> See for example, Dr. J. F. Patterson to Simmons, May 29, 1926, Furnifold M. Simmons Papers, Manuscript Department, Duke University Library, Durham, hereinafter cited as Simmons Papers.

<sup>6</sup> Interview with Wade Meadows, Simmons's son-in-law, January 30, 1956.

could not be stopped.<sup>7</sup> Even in North Carolina, the New Yorker had a substantial following among local politicians, who were willing to ignore the bothersome religious question in promoting his nomination.<sup>8</sup> As early as March, 1927, his far-sighted supporters, fearing that he would have little chance in a popular contest, had pushed through the State legislature a law repealing the presidential primary.<sup>9</sup> Smith supporters also won control of the State Executive Committee, usually the seat of Simmons's power;<sup>10</sup> the Smith following continued to grow, and in April, 1928, a huge crowd at Raleigh roared its approval of a resolution endorsing Smith for the presidency.<sup>11</sup>

Simmons, however, refused to become reconciled to Smith's nomination. He was not personally concerned about the Catholic issue, but he recognized it as a fact and was not above making use of it. Inevitably, he argued, Smith's nomination would result in a "vexatious" campaign emphasizing Prohibition and Catholicism. Since the Civil War, Simmons pointed out, the South had had many men qualified for the presidency, but they had not been considered available because of their identification with the Confederacy. The South accepted this situation, and it was now the turn of the north-

<sup>7</sup> McAdoo to Milton, September 15, 1927, Simmons Papers. The letter was released two days later, *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), September 18, 1927, hereinafter cited as *The News and Observer*. McAdoo to Simmons, September 14, 1927, Simmons Papers; McAdoo to Josephus Daniels, September 23, 1927, Josephus Daniels Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., hereinafter cited as Daniels Papers. Senator Overman issued a statement which McAdoo called "the most pusillanimous thing he had seen emanate from anybody." *The News and Observer*, September 28, 1927; Hampton to Simmons, September 28, 1927, Simmons Papers.

<sup>8</sup> D. L. Russell to Simmons, December 16, 1926, Simmons Papers; Russell to Josephus Daniels, October 4, 1927; Charles W. Tillett to Daniels, December 2, 1927, Daniels Papers. One point of view was that only the ministers were really upset by the question. D. L. Russell to Simmons, December 16, 1926, Simmons Papers. Daniels to W. B. Snow, August 2, 1927; Daniels to Tillett, December 3, 1927, Daniels Papers.

<sup>9</sup> W. C. Hammer to Hampton, October 24, 1927; Hampton to Leroy B. Martin, February 7, 1927; Turlington to Hampton, April 8, 1927; Hampton to McAdoo, April 2, 1927; all in Simmons Papers. See also *The News and Observer*, February 2, 22, 1927; *Durham Morning Herald*, March 8, 1927; Simmons to Santford Martin, February 3, 1927, and Hampton to Josephus Daniels and others, February 7, 1927, Daniels Papers.

<sup>10</sup> Simmons to Mrs. Palmer Jerman, March 3, 1928, Simmons Papers. The same letter was sent to many others. *The News and Observer* and *Greensboro Daily News*, March 7, 1928.

<sup>11</sup> *The News and Observer*, April 13, 1928.

east to accept the fact that Smith was not available because of the hostility of influential groups.<sup>12</sup>

Increasingly suspicious that Smith's followers were out to destroy him,<sup>13</sup> Simmons worked quietly until May, 1928, when he began an active campaign to secure a delegation to the national convention at Houston that would support Cordell Hull of Tennessee as its presidential candidate.<sup>14</sup> Backed by the Anti-Saloon League, woman's groups, and some Protestant church leaders, he set out to mobilize the "moral forces" of the State to control the precinct meetings, the county conventions, and finally the State convention.<sup>15</sup>

Simmons spent most of this period in Washington, attending to his responsibilities in the Senate and sending instructions to the State by letter, telephone, and telegraph. On May 23, he was drawn into making one of his most important campaign pronouncements. On the Senate floor, he accused the Smith organization of spending "vast sums of money" in North Carolina. "The people of North Carolina do not stand

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, Simmons to Robert R. Ray, September 29, 1927, and Simmons to Hampton, May 18, 1927, Simmons Papers.

<sup>13</sup> Simmons to Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Boone, April 21, 1928, Simmons Papers. Word Wood of Charlotte assured Hampton that four or five hundred dollars could be easily raised in Mecklenburg County for Simmons and that \$2,500 to \$3,000 would be a feasible goal for the State. Moreover, he added, "Since learning that there is a movement on foot against Senator Simmons, I am more than ever interested in the proposition." Hampton to Word Wood, April 21, 1928, and Wood to Hampton, April 27, 1928, Simmons Papers. Josiah W. Bailey gave credence to the accusation that Smith supporters in North Carolina were out to get Simmons. Bailey to John J. Irving, June 7, 1928, Josiah W. Bailey Papers, Duke University Library, hereinafter cited as Bailey Papers. See, however, John Dawson's testimony in which he denied Simmons's leadership was at stake and added that he feared that Simmons "himself has become more or less obsessed with the thought that he is personally being challenged in this state." Hearings before a Special Committee Investigating Campaign Expenditures, Seventieth Congress, First Session, Senate Resolution 214, Part 2, 472-479, hereinafter cited as Campaign Committee Hearings.

<sup>14</sup> Interview with Leon Fuquay, Simmons's secretary for several years, November, 1958; Hampton to Word Wood, April 26, 1928, Simmons Papers; wire, Turlington to Kenneth McKellar (c. April 30, 1928), Cordell Hull Manuscripts, XX, Series 1, Library of Congress, hereinafter cited as Hull Manuscripts; wire, Hampton to Santford Martin, April 30, 1928, Simmons Papers. At one point Simmons seems to have thought that former Governor Victor Donehey of Ohio was the strongest man that the Democrats could nominate. Simmons to Charles Webb, April 21, 1928, Simmons Papers.

<sup>15</sup> *The News and Observer*, May 11, 1928; Charlotte S. Perkinson to Hampton, May 11, 1928; Simmons to Charlotte S. Perkinson, May 2, 1928; Simmons to Bishop DuBose, May 2, 1928; wires, Ira Champion to Hampton, Hampton to Turlington, and Hampton to Hartness, May 11, 1928, Simmons Papers. See also Champion to Hull, May 15, 1928, Hull Manuscripts, XXI, Series 1.

for the things that Alfred E. Smith stands for," Simmons insisted. He stands only for "his record as Governor of the State of New York and his connection with Tammany Hall [and] . . . Wall Street." Smith's followers will not let us know how he stands on the "great national questions" of the tariff, agriculture, and immigration until we have nominated him. "All we know is that the New York World, his chief champion, says that if he is nominated the main issue will be 'wet or dry.' Upon that he will stand or fall. . . . If we attempt to discuss the scandals that grew out of the Harding administration, the prostitution of justice by Daugherty, the robbery of the poor, decrepit veterans of the World War by Forbes, the bribery of Fall . . ., the answer will be, 'Look at Tammany—Tammany! That is the answer.'" Simmons concluded: "I am conscientiously of the opinion that his nomination would mean the ruin of the Democratic Party in my State, the disruption of the Democratic Party in many states in the South. It would create a condition of chaos in the Democratic Party throughout the country from which we would not recover in 25 years. . . ." <sup>16</sup>

Both the precinct meetings of May 26 and the county conventions of June 9 brought inconclusive results.<sup>17</sup> Then on June 12 came district and State conventions, which proved to be among the most tumultuous in the State's history. The district conventions resulted in a clear-cut Hull victory, with fifteen of the twenty delegates chosen favorable to him. The four delegates-at-large chosen at the State Convention were also favorable to Hull, and the Simmons organization could rightly claim that it had reversed a trend that until May had seemed favorable to Smith.<sup>18</sup> However, the Hull victory ob-

<sup>16</sup> *Congressional Record*, Seventieth Congress, First Session, 9,544 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Wires dated May 26, 1928, in Simmons Papers, May 16-June 15, 1928. See especially wire, Hampton to Simmons. See also *The News and Observer*, May 28, June 10, 11, 1928; *Durham Morning Herald*, May 29, June 10, 11, 1928; William B. Jones "for the Committee," May 28, 1928, Daniels Papers.

<sup>18</sup> Before the State Convention could be called into session on June 12, the delegates had to assemble in the district conventions. Their principal function here was to elect the delegates from each of the ten districts. Each would have two votes at the Houston convention, but some districts nominated more than that many delegates. *The News and Observer*, June 13, 1928. The four delegates-at-large were to be chosen at the State Convention. The rather frantic district conventions met at ten o'clock in the morning. *The News and Observer*, June 13, 1928, and also the *Durham Morning Herald*, June 13, 1928. The delegate-at-large tickets were headed by Sim-

scured the closeness of the convention. Indeed Josiah W. Bailey, the Smith floor leader, who would later defeat Simmons in the primary of 1930, left the convention with an agreement that there should be "no resolutions of endorsement, no instructions, no unit rule and a free delegation."<sup>19</sup>

In spite of the fact that reports from other parts of the country indicated that Smith's nomination was inevitable, the results in North Carolina encouraged Simmons to hope that the inevitable could be prevented. His scheme was to secure enough delegates to prevent, with the two-thirds rule, Smith's nomination. Thus he worked to combine the delegates hostile to Smith with those backing a favorite son.<sup>20</sup> The core of the movement was what the newspapers called the "battalion of death," the delegates from North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. These States, partial to either Hull or Senator George of Georgia, would oppose Smith to the end. Simmons assumed that Tennessee would back Hull, and he knew that Alabama had declared itself firmly against Smith in pre-convention demonstrations of strength. Virginia was an uncertain quantity even though Simmons apparently hoped that his close friend, Senator Claude Swanson, and Representative Carter Glass would oppose Smith.<sup>21</sup> Mississippi was even more uncertain. Simmons was in touch with John Rankin, who favored blocking Smith, but Rankin decided not to go to Houston. More significantly Senator Pat Harrison was

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mons and Josephus Daniels for Hull; former Governor Cameron Morrison for Smith. The slate headed by Simmons received an average of 1,073 to one of 880 for Morrison's slate. *The News and Observer*, June 13, 1928. The *Durham Morning Herald* gives the vote as 1,092 to 845. See also J. S. Griffin to George Van Namee, June 13, 1928, Bailey Papers.

<sup>19</sup> The above conforms to Bailey's record of the convention. Bailey to George Van Namee, June 13, 1928; Bailey to James S. Griffin, June 22, 1928, Bailey Papers. The recollection of a Hull floor leader differed somewhat: "The friends of Governor Smith agreed not to ask for a test of strength between the two candidates; friends of Mr. Hull agreed not to ask the convention to endorse Mr. Hull, nor to instruct delegates for him." Homer Lyon to Bailey, June 18, 1928, and Bailey to H. L. Lyon, June 20, 1928, Bailey Papers.

<sup>20</sup> Simmons to Robert R. Ray, June 19, 1928, Simmons Papers. He apparently had hopes of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Ohio, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and possibly Kansas and West Virginia. These States had a total of 400 votes, about 30 more than the necessary one-third.

<sup>21</sup> See list dated June 16, 1928, Simmons Papers; Cannon to Morris Sheppard, June 9, 1928, Cannon Papers, Duke University Library, hereinafter cited as Cannon Papers; Watson, *Bishop Cannon's Own Story*, 400. The Virginia delegates actually went uninstructed, *The News and Observer*, June 22, 1928.

known to favor "harmony."<sup>22</sup> The same uncertainty applied to Oklahoma. Former Senator Robert Owen had complimented Simmons for his anti-Smith stand, and Simmons seems to have had some assurances of support from several Oklahoma delegates, but the majority of the delegation was expected to back Smith.<sup>23</sup> Simmons was perhaps more hopeful of Texas where the situation was exceedingly complicated and where the delegation appeared certain to support its favorite son, Jesse Jones.<sup>24</sup>

Even with a unanimous Texas bloc, however, Simmons could not expect that there would be enough delegates from the South to block Smith. Consequently he was looking elsewhere. Although McAdoo had received a major setback when Senator Tom Walsh of Montana had withdrawn from the race, McAdoo was now quietly pushing Governor Donehey of Ohio, and Simmons hoped to control the "situation" in that State. Moreover Simmons had persuaded McAdoo's closest political advisor, Daniel Roper, to attend the convention in spite of the latter's fears that the campaign against Smith was hopeless. Roper, widely known among Democratic professionals, proved to be one of the most effective workers for the anti-Smith cause.<sup>25</sup>

Simmons also looked for help from the Indiana Democratic organization controlled by elderly Tom Taggart. Taggart would first back his fellow Hoosier, Evans Woollen. Taggart knew Simmons, however, and had assured the North Carolinian that the chairman of the Indiana delegation "would be glad to cooperate."<sup>26</sup> Simmons was also in touch with his former senatorial colleague, Gilbert Hitchcock, still probably

<sup>22</sup> Rankin to Simmons, June 25, 1928, Simmons Papers; *Washington Post*, June 23, 1928.

<sup>23</sup> Owen to Simmons, April 21, 1928, *Congressional Record*, Seventieth Congress, First Session, 7,092-7,093.

<sup>24</sup> There was a fairly strong Smith faction in Texas politics and two anti-Smith factions, one controlled by Tom Love and the other by Governor Dan Moody. The latter two factions after much maneuvering finally combined to control the 40-vote Texas delegation. Frank C. Davis to McAdoo, June 1, 1928, William Gibbs McAdoo Manuscripts, Library of Congress, hereinafter cited as McAdoo Manuscripts; Simmons to Hampton, June 19, 1928, Simmons Papers.

<sup>25</sup> Walsh to Hope Fitzgerald, June 20, 1928, Thomas Walsh Manuscripts, Library of Congress; McAdoo to Roper, June 9, 1928; Roper to McAdoo, July 5, 1928, McAdoo Manuscripts.

<sup>26</sup> Taggart to Simmons, June 19, 1928, Simmons Papers.

the most powerful Democrat in Nebraska; but Hitchcock apparently hoped that the "Vice-Presidential lightning" might strike. Although he complimented Simmons on his "pluck and independence," he was willing to do nothing more than secure the Nebraska delegation for himself.<sup>27</sup>

Simmons expected the most help from Senator Jim Reed of Missouri. Reed wanted to be President,<sup>28</sup> and he had enough support to make Simmons think that by working with him sufficient additional anti-Smith votes could be picked up in traditionally Republican States to put the convention into a deadlock.<sup>29</sup> Reed's part in these maneuverings became obvious when, on the eve of the convention and in spite of his being a wet, he promised enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment, thus issuing an invitation to dries to support him.<sup>30</sup>

As the Convention opened, few believed that Smith could be stopped. Senators Hull and George both thought the situation about hopeless.<sup>31</sup> Yet Simmons refused to concede. After deciding that his health would not permit him to go to Houston, he discussed the situation with Senator George prior to the latter's departure. Questioned by George as to what his course would be should Smith be nominated, Simmons insisted that such a nomination was impossible. Finally George said: "You have not answered the question. The question is, what is going to be your position if Smith is nominated. The old man finally said, 'I've been a Democrat too long to quit the party. If the party is going to march down into the open grave, I who have been a Democrat all my life, will march down into the grave with it.'"<sup>32</sup>

The balloting at Houston proved the weakness of Simmons's plan. Only Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Texas in the South held out to the end. Oklahoma cast half her votes for Smith, and Virginia six votes out

<sup>27</sup> Wire, Hitchcock to Simmons, June 18, 1928; Simmons to Hampton, June 19, 1928, Simmons Papers.

<sup>28</sup> See articles by Raymond Clapper in *The News and Observer*, June, 1928.

<sup>29</sup> Simmons to Hampton, June 19, 1928, Simmons Papers.

<sup>30</sup> *New York Times*, June 25, 1928.

<sup>31</sup> Cordell Hull, *The Memoirs of Cordell Hull* (New York: 2 volumes, 1948), I, 130, hereinafter cited as Hull, *Memoirs*; interview with Walter George, March 31, 1955.

<sup>32</sup> Hull, *Memoirs*, I, 130; interview with Walter George, March 31, 1955.

of twenty-four. Missouri's 36 votes went to Reed; however, other doubtful States quickly shifted most of their votes to Smith at the end of the first ballot. Simmons, unhappily listening to the radio in his Washington office, sent a telegram to Hampton urging the convention, if it must show religious toleration by nominating a Roman Catholic, to turn to Senator Tom Walsh of Montana. But if Walsh ever had a chance, it was by that time much too late.<sup>33</sup>

The nomination of Smith posed problems for the various factions in North Carolina politics. Most professional politicians, knowing where their future lay, would not bolt, and yet those running for State office feared that if they were too enthusiastic for Smith, they might alienate enough anti-Smith voters to throw State offices to the Republicans.<sup>34</sup> Simmons was in an embarrassing position. Few had opposed Smith's nomination more vigorously; and, thinking that Smith could be stopped, Simmons had assumed that he would support the nominee of the party. Faced with the nomination, Simmons still told friends: "These fifty-odd years' record must be my answer to the suggestion that I have become a bolter." He insisted that his career had been "directed by conviction, not by expediency or time serving." Yet he concluded, although the nominations "are very unsatisfactory . . . we are Democrats . . . of long standing, and I guess we will have to submit."<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> The final vote showed Smith with 849  $\frac{2}{3}$  votes, Reed with 52, George with 52  $\frac{1}{2}$ , Hull with 51. North Carolina gave 4  $\frac{2}{3}$  votes and Alabama one vote to Smith. *World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1929* (New York), 851. Roper to McAdoo, July 5, 1928, Milton to McAdoo, July 9, 1928, McAdoo Manuscripts. I have not been able to find the telegram from Simmons to Hampton. My information comes from Mr. Alexander M. Walker, who had been in 1928 for several years an assistant secretary in Simmons's office. Mr. Walker told me on December 9, 1958, that he himself carried the telegram from Simmons to the telegraph office. The tension that existed within the North Carolina delegation is illustrated by the fighting which broke out during the speech of the permanent chairman, Joe Robinson. Robinson mentioned religious toleration, and a Smith parade began. W. O. Saunders, a Smith delegate from Elizabeth City attempted to join with the North Carolina standard, but R. O. Everett and others interfered. The result was an affray. *The News and Observer*, June 28, 1928.

<sup>34</sup> O. Max Gardner to Hampton, July 9, 1928, Simmons Papers; Gardner to Daniels, July 11, 1928, Daniels Papers.

<sup>35</sup> Wire, Simmons to F. Colanda, May 31, 1928; Simmons to Hampton and Simmons to Vann, June 7, 1928; wire, Brevard Nixon to Simmons and Simmons to Nixon, June 10, 1928; Santford Martin to Hampton, July 2, 1928; Simmons to W. A. Erwin, June 30, 1928; Simmons to Thomas D. Warren, June 29, 1928, Simmons Papers. Hampton at this time was con-

Simmons probably would have submitted, had it not been for the appointment of John J. Raskob as chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Simmons had been re-elected North Carolina's committeeman at Houston, but he delegated Hampton to attend the National Committee meeting on July 11 with instructions to accept the nominee's choice for chairman. When Smith decided on Raskob, the committee ratified the choice. Hampton at the time commented that Raskob was "one of the ablest organizers in the country."<sup>36</sup>

Opposition soon developed. The Drys had already been upset by Smith's dramatic message to the Convention pledging leadership in modifying the Eighteenth Amendment.<sup>37</sup> The appointment of Raskob, a Roman Catholic and a Wet, pinpointed questions which southern professionals such as Simmons wanted forgotten. Moreover the more Simmons and his friends considered Raskob's connections—he was chairman of the Finance Committee of the General Motors Corporation—the more they saw difficulties in rallying the rural areas and the anti-"big business" vote to the Democratic banner.<sup>38</sup> Clearly Smith had assumed that the South would support the ticket regardless of strategy or tactics. Then to cap the climax, it was discovered that *Who's Who* listed the new Democratic chairman as a Republican.<sup>39</sup>

Reaction in North Carolina came swiftly. Gardner was horrified, finding the people stirred "beyond expression." Jo-

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vinced that both he and the Senator would support Smith. Hampton wrote that he had "always regarded as the unpardonable political sin any refusal to support the regular Democratic ticket," even thought a candidate might be his "bitterest political and personal enemy." Hampton to J. O. W. Gravely, July 6, 1928, Simmons Papers.

<sup>36</sup> Hampton to Daniels, May 28, 1930, Daniels Papers; Hampton to Robert E. Williams, July 12, 1928, Simmons Papers.

<sup>37</sup> The standard view of the Drys was that this telegram showed not courage, but hypocrisy on the part of Smith's supporters since they had not written Smith's views into the platform in the first place. See for example Simmons's speech at New Bern on October 12, 1928.

<sup>38</sup> Franklin D. Roosevelt assured Daniels that he had warned Smith of the effect that Raskob's appointment would have upon the South, but that Smith had said that it was necessary to take a chance there in a gamble to win the industrial States. Frankly, concluded Roosevelt, "I am more and more disgusted and bored with the thought that in this great nation, the principal issues may be drawn into what we do or do not put into our stomachs." Daniels to Bailey, July 21, 1928, Roosevelt to Daniels, July 20, 1928, Daniels Papers; *The News and Observer*, July 13, 1928.

<sup>39</sup> See for example numerous articles in *The News and Observer* and the *New York Times*, July 12, 13, 1928.

sephus Daniels went through "deep waters."<sup>40</sup> Even those who had supported Smith in the pre-convention campaign found the situation increasingly uncomfortable. Josiah W. Bailey saw the only hope in soft-pedaling the position of Smith and Raskob on prohibition and emphasizing the ineffectiveness of Republican enforcement. He even considered withdrawing his support if either Smith or Raskob kept expressing themselves on the matter. Bailey repeatedly warned close associates of Smith that the electoral vote of North Carolina would be lost if Raskob's position were maintained.<sup>41</sup>

Simmons, in the meantime, was becoming resentful of attempts by Smith's followers to win his support. These attempts had begun shortly after the convention. Hampton claimed that Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York and other Smith leaders "offered to do anything, to make any sort of arrangement . . . if only Senator Simmons could be reconciled and persuaded . . . to support the ticket actively."<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Gardner to Hampton, July 16, 1928, Hampton to Santford Martin, July 17, 1928, Simmons Papers; Daniels to Bailey, July 21, 1928, Daniels Papers.

<sup>41</sup> Bailey to O. M. Mull, July 18, 1928, Bailey to O. Max Gardner, to Livingston Johnson, to Belle Moskowitz, and to Joseph M. Proskauer, July 17, 1928, and to George R. Van Namee, July 20, 1928, Bailey Papers. Daniels hoped to be able to show that Raskob never made the statement that he had accepted the chairmanship in order "to help relieve the country "of the damnable affliction of prohibition." "You told me," wrote Daniels, that you had made no such statement, and I am writing to request that you write a letter to me or somebody, refuting that statement because it is working great harm. . . ." Daniels to Raskob, Aug. 20, 1928, Daniels Papers.

<sup>42</sup> Hampton to Santford Martin, July 17, 1928, Simmons to Hampton, July 24, 1928, Simmons Papers. Various rumors were afoot as to the kind of "persuasion" that was being used. Hampton told the other secretaries in Simmons's office that thousands of dollars were to be made available to Simmons if he would either go for Smith or simply not play any prominent part in the election. Interview with Alexander A. Walker, December 9, 1958. Judge R. A. Nunn, one of Simmons's closest New Bern associates over the years, said that offers up to \$200,000 were made to Simmons. Interview with Nunn, January 30, 1956. Senator Lehman, the finance committee chairman of the Democratic National Committee, says that he does not even remember that Simmons opposed Smith. Herbert H. Lehman to R. L. Watson, Jr., February 6, 1959. Interestingly enough, the chairman of the Democratic State Committee still considered that he was working closely with Simmons and was turning to him for advice: "I feel the need of your counsel in this crisis and I am glad to have your letter of the 25th from which I am sure that I can rely upon you to the fullest in our efforts to save the Democratic party in North Carolina from the present threatened disruption." O. M. Mull to Simmons, July 28, 1928; wire, Simmons to Raskob, July 25, 1928, Simmons Papers. Hampton obviously feared for the future, if Simmons's opponents should get control of the political machinery. Hampton to Simmons, July 28, 1928. Senator Swanson wrote to Hampton that he hoped Simmons would support the ticket, that if he did not it would strengthen the Republican party in the South, and that he would

Simmons refused to be reconciled. He was convinced that Smith had no interest in the position of the South in the Democratic party, that he would "run a campaign in favor of radical changes in the prohibition law" where that kind of campaign would help him, but that he would "pussyfoot" on the issue in the South. Moreover Simmons could not see how the Democrats could "storm the trenches of privilege and pillage" when Smith had formed an alliance with big business through Raskob and Lehman. At the same time, lurking in the back of Simmons's mind was the constant fear that an urban northerner would change what he probably considered the Anglo-Saxon quality which the Democratic party had hitherto had.<sup>43</sup> On one occasion, he came into the office of Graham Barden, then a young lawyer in New Bern, and in "utter contempt" said, according to Barden's recollection, "for thirty years I have been loyal to my people; they have been good to me, and now that I am on the brink of the grave, before I would turn on them and put a ballot in the box for Al Smith, I would suffer my right hand to be severed."<sup>44</sup>

Simmons's first public move came on July 25 when he announced his resignation from the Democratic National Committee.<sup>45</sup> Then on August 20 came the statement which confirmed the worst fears of Simmons's friends who wanted to stay regular. The Senator reiterated his support for the

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like to see Simmons, whom he respected as much as any man in the Senate, before Simmons made up his mind as to what his stand would be on the national ticket. Longhand note by Swanson on letter. Simmons to Hampton, July 30, 1928, Simmons Papers.

<sup>43</sup> Simmons to O. M. Mull, July 25, 1928, Simmons Papers.

<sup>44</sup> Interview with Graham Barden, March 24, 1955.

<sup>45</sup> See for example, *The News and Observer*, July 26, 1928. "It is perfectly apparent to me that Mr. Smith and his Tammany associates and affiliations are undertaking to rebuild the Democratic Party and the issues of the campaign and to conduct a campaign of compromises and expediency without any regard to the effect of such a course upon the future of the Democratic party.

"I don't think he can successfully amalgamate the incongruous elements that he is trying to corral for the purpose of getting votes. . . .

"I should be glad, however, to have our Democrats remain steadfast in support of our State, district and county tickets, but I believe the exceptional conditions that have been created with respect to the National campaign since Mr. Smith's nomination will justify the position that each Democrat should be permitted, without Party coercion or restraint, to exercise their conviction and judgment with respect to the National ticket." Simmons to McAdoo, August 1, 1928, McAdoo Manuscripts.

State ticket; but he asserted further that "the party platform has been repudiated, the party rebuilt, the issues reframed and 'forces of privilege and license now are dominating and controlling its national machinery.'" In other words it was Smith who had bolted. Under these circumstances, announced Simmons, "I shall vote for neither presidential candidate."<sup>46</sup>

Simmons's pronouncement encouraged others, like-minded, to think that he might join the organization known as the Anti-Smith Democrats. This organization was constituted at Asheville, North Carolina, on July 18, under the leadership of Arthur J. Barton, chairman of the Board of Temperance of the Southern Baptist Convention, and Bishop James Cannon, Jr., chairman of the Board of Temperance and Social Service of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Its principal purpose was to "defeat the 'wet' Tammany bolting candidate."<sup>47</sup> Shortly after the Asheville Convention, plans were made for a North Carolina branch of this organization. Although one of the leaders, Frank McNinch of Charlotte,

<sup>46</sup> Original in *New Bern Times*, paraphrase in *The News and Observer*, August 21, 1928. The Democratic State Executive Committee met in Raleigh on August 24. There had been some talk of requesting Simmons to resign from the Senate. Simmons let it be known that he would resign if it were requested, but that "he would immediately file notice of his candidacy to succeed himself and take his case to the voters of the State." The issue was not raised at the committee meeting, and Cameron Morrison was elected "by acclamation" to succeed Simmons as national committeeman. Morrison said "There is more to the Democratic party in North Carolina than prohibition and Senator Simmons, God Bless him." *The News and Observer*, August 25, 1928.

<sup>47</sup> See for example *Charlotte Observer*, July 19, 1928. Cannon's motives for calling the convention are not entirely clear. He was, for example, unhappy about a suggestion that the Anti-Saloon League, the WCTU, the two Methodist Boards (South and North), and the two Baptist Boards should meet together in order to decide upon unified action for the campaign. He called this suggestion "illogical and absurd." He added that he could "not work satisfactorily with those groups." It does seem clear that at least so far as the Asheville meeting is concerned, he wanted the leadership kept in the hands of the Anti-Saloon League. Cannon to F. Scott McBryde and Cannon to J. J. Gray, July 12, 1928, Cannon Papers. However Cannon did not hesitate to advise his friends to support Hoover. His motives here were also apparently mixed: "I am inclined to believe that if we can sweep Virginia and North Carolina for Hoover that it will give us a pull with Ben Duke, as I am sure that he is anti-Smith and pro-Hoover. I believe it also will give a chance for me to appeal to the J. C. Penny Foundation of which my friend Dr. Dan Poling is the President but do not quote me on these two men." Cannon to George P. Adams, July 14, 1928, Cannon Papers. Adams had succeeded Cannon as President of Blackstone College. It would appear that Cannon in this letter is referring to financial support for the institution.

was politically experienced, the membership was lacking in prestige and political knowhow. Understandably, then, when Simmons announced that he would not vote for Smith, the Anti-Smith leaders asked him to serve as their advisor.<sup>48</sup>

Simmons proved receptive, and although he refused to become officially a part of the organization, he did announce that he would co-operate with the "movement to organize anti-Smith sentiment." On September 6, McNinch was named chairman of the Anti-Smith organization in North Carolina, and soon Simmons sent his secretary, Frank Hampton, to headquarters instructed to establish a precinct-by-precinct, county-by-county organization.<sup>49</sup> Simmons kept in close touch and urged newspaper publicity, particularly in rural weeklies, meetings to be led by local leaders, and a few speeches to be given by nationally known figures. Usually "not in sympathy with politics in the pulpit," he favored it in a campaign which went to the "very foundations of our social order and morality. . . . The church and the women are the forces which made prohibition possible," he concluded. "Are they to be timid now when there is an attempt to destroy this great reform which they accomplished. . . ?"<sup>50</sup>

<sup>48</sup> *Charlotte Observer*, July 22, August 11, 1928; Cannon wrote Charlotte "Drys" suggesting a meeting in Raleigh on August 7. *Charlotte Observer*, July 29, 1928. C. A. Upchurch, State Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League, made public the call for a State meeting, but insisted that the Anti-Saloon League as such had nothing to do with it. Significantly, after several weeks of discussion, Charles A. Hines, Chairman of the State Board of Elections, ruled that a voter could split his ticket between State and national candidates without being challenged. The Secretary of the Board had previously insisted that only a voter registered as an "independent" could split. *Charlotte Observer*, August 7, 1928. See W. B. Truitt to Simmons, August 21, 1928, with attached statement of principles and plan of organization of North Carolina Anti-Smith Democrats, Simmons to Truitt, and W. H. Wood to Simmons, August 22, 1928, Simmons to W. H. Wood, August 25, 1928, Simmons Papers.

<sup>49</sup> McNinch to Simmons, August 28, 1928, Wood to Simmons, September 1, 1928, Simmons to McNinch, September 1, 1928, Wood to Simmons, September 3, 7, 1928, wire, McNinch to Simmons, September 5, 1928, Simmons to Hampton, September 6, 1928, McNinch to Simmons, September 8, 1928, Simmons Papers.

<sup>50</sup> Simmons to Hampton, September 24, 1928, Simmons Papers. Simmons argued, in trying to persuade McAdoo to publish his opposition to Smith, that Smith would interpret success as a referendum on the liquor question, that he would throw his influence into a battle to elect wet congressmen, that the bitterness engendered would upset party alignments. The Democratic party would suffer most of all because they would be responsible for the conflict: ". . . its very foundations would be shaken and undermined by this bitter contest, and, this together with the new affiliations and con-

In the meantime, the Democratic State Committee was matching the Anti-Smith forces in setting up an organization.<sup>51</sup> Early in September, Gardner cautiously began to campaign, trying to support Smith and still not push Anti-Smith Democrats into the Republican camp.<sup>52</sup> Josephus Daniels, who stayed regular in spite of early opposition to Smith, Clyde R. Hoey, and Josiah W. Bailey, among others were tireless in campaigning. Bailey particularly won acclaim for his unqualified assaults upon religious bigotry. He also defended Smith's stand on prohibition with an argument that became characteristic of the Smith Drys. He insisted that Smith was much more positive in his willingness to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment than was Hoover; that Hoover talked about prohibition as an "experiment" and the appointment of an investigatory commission; that Smith, on the other hand, supported absolute prohibition if a State wanted it, and favored modification only to improve the workability of and respect for the law.<sup>53</sup>

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nection into which Smith and his Tammany Hall strategists have intrigued the Democratic Party, would constitute a mill stone around its neck . . . , if indeed it did not result in a total disintegration." Simmons to McAdoo, September 19, 1928, McAdoo Manuscripts; Simmons to McAdoo, September 18, 1928, Simmons Papers.

<sup>51</sup> *Durham Morning Herald*, September 4, 10, 1928. Mull had a list of at least 45 influential Democrats who had agreed to campaign. *The News and Observer*, September 7, 1928. He concluded that no more than five out of the 100 county chairmen would refuse to support Smith. *The News and Observer*, September 14, 1928.

<sup>52</sup> Gardner to Daniels, August 30, 1928, Daniels Papers.

<sup>53</sup> Bailey claimed that he had traveled 3,600 miles by October 17. Bailey to Herbert Lehman, October 17, 1928, Bailey Papers. Bailey prepared a statement concerning an influential Baptist minister, R. E. Peele, who had denounced religious intolerance and come out for Smith. Put this information in a letter, advised Bailey, and send it to "every minister in the State and every Sunday School superintendent, to ladies of prominence and to Women's Missionary Union Meetings." Bailey to O. Max Gardner, August 31 and September 19, 1928; to O. M. Mull, September 3, 1928; to Pat Harrison, September 19, 1928; to O. M. Mull, September 20, 1928, to L. I. Moore, September 21, 1928, Bailey Papers. Governor McLean who had now thrown himself behind Smith defended Smith on the prohibition question in much the same way. He also delivered one of the most powerful addresses on "Religious Liberty." *Durham Morning Herald*, October 11, 1928. Deskins thinks that McLean's speaking contribution was "perhaps . . . more vigorous . . . than was made by any other prominent Democratic leader in North Carolina." Deskins' "Election of 1928," 69-73. McAdoo commented upon the argument of the Smith Drys: "Your argument for the Governor as a 'law enforcer' reminds me somewhat of the round-robin that Mr. Hughes, Mr. Root, Mr. Hoover, and others signed in the 1920 campaign, urging that Mr. Harding would get us into the League of Nations, notwithstanding the fact that Harding, in his speech of acceptance, had declared himself against the League." McAdoo to Jesse Jones, September 26, 1928, McAdoo Manuscripts.

The experiences of the Smith campaigners proved that Smith had enthusiastic support among Democratic voters. Even in Simmons's home county of Craven, Bailey could speak for two hours and a half to more than 1,000 people, and come away with the conviction that the county would go for Smith. To Bailey the key to the matter was money and organization. More money was needed, according to Bailey, to send speakers and literature to the small towns to counter the effect of the "ku klux speakers" and their propaganda.<sup>54</sup>

In the nip-and-tuck campaign, it is not surprising that North Carolina regulars hoped that Smith himself would come to give a fillip to the ticket. Raskob at first opposed the idea on the grounds that "it would be a terrible confession of weakness to send" their candidate into the South, but finally gave in to the extent of permitting Smith to make brief appearances in several North Carolina cities on October 11. The tour took place, and although almost nothing went according to schedule, Smith seemed to have been a success. Enormous crowds greeted him, and Chairman Mull could say, "This thing means votes—lots of them."<sup>55</sup>

Although the Anti-Smith organization relied upon local leaders to publicize their views in their own communities, several outside speakers were called upon to highlight the campaign. Perhaps the first of importance was given at Raleigh on September 3 by the Reverend John Roach Straton, controversial minister of the Calvary Baptist Church in New York City, under the auspices of the State Anti-Saloon League. Straton, emphasizing Smith's championship of the wet issue, claimed that marching with him were the "worst forces of hell in this land" including "the gunmen, the gang-

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<sup>54</sup> Bailey to C. B. Barbee, October 22, 1928, Bailey to Joseph M. Proskauer, October 5, 1928, Bailey Papers. It perhaps should be noted that A. D. Ward, a former Simmons law partner was responsible for the Smith organization in Craven county. *The News and Observer*, September 21, 1928. Bailey to Lehman, October 17, 1928, Bailey Papers. By late October Bailey could get no money from national headquarters. Pat Harrison to Bailey, October 29, 1928; Battle to Bailey, October 29, 1928; Bailey to W. B. Jones, October 16, 1928, Bailey Papers.

<sup>55</sup> Raskob to Daniels, October 5, 1928, Daniels Papers; *The News and Observer*, October 9, 1928. Smith finally was to make seven stops of a few minutes each in North Carolina. *The News and Observer*, October 11, 12, 1928. There were some differences of opinion as to the effectiveness of Smith's personal appearances. See Deskins, "Election of 1928," 79-83.

sters and the gadabouts; . . . the gamblers, the horse racers and the touts; . . . the burglars, the pick pockets, and the strong arm men; . . . the dope fiends, the dive keepers, and the white slavers; and the sabbath breakers, the church scorners, and the God defiers.”<sup>56</sup>

Although Straton was not officially sponsored by the Anti-Smith Democrats, he represented to an extreme one of the principal motifs of the official Anti-Smith campaign in North Carolina: the emphasis on the so-called “moral issues” by leaders in the church. More representative of this aspect of the campaign was Bishop James Cannon, Jr., who spoke at the request of Simmons at the latter’s home town of New Bern on October 22. Cannon asserted unequivocally the duty of ministers to express political opinion publicly when a great moral issue was at stake, and reiterated what he had said many times that he opposed Smith because of his repudiation of the Houston platform on Prohibition, his wet record, his choice of a wet Republican as chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and his Tammany affiliations.<sup>57</sup> At Greensboro on October 30 Cannon paid particular attention to the religious issue. He denied that he was opposed to Smith because of his Catholicism, but insisted that the Smithites had themselves raised the issue by calling their opponents intolerant bigots. Since they had raised the issue, said Cannon, “we may as well discuss it.” Then he launched into a discussion of what he called Roman Catholic persecution of Protestants and charged that Catholicism led to authoritarianism.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>56</sup> *The News and Observer*, September 3, 4, 1928. The former Senator from Oklahoma, Robert L. Owen, was the first important out-of-state speaker for the Anti-Smith Democrats. He delivered two speeches, in Raleigh and High Point. *The News and Observer*, October 19, 20, 1928.

<sup>57</sup> Wires, McNinch to Cannon, September 27, October 11, 1928, Cannon Papers. Wires, Simmons to Hampton, October 4, and Hampton to Simmons, October 11, 1928, Simmons Papers; *Greensboro Daily News*, October 23, 1928; Alexander Walker to Frank Lyon, October 25, 1928, Cannon Papers; Simmons to McNinch, October 17, 1928, Simmons Papers.

<sup>58</sup> *Greensboro Daily News*, October 31, 1928. Cannon also spoke at Durham. Simmons recommended getting the Reverend M. F. Ham, pastor of the First Baptist Church in Oklahoma City, who had, in recent years, led revival services in North Carolina, to deliver a series of lectures in the State. The anti-Smith headquarters promptly made appointments for Ham “all the way from Asheville to Elizabeth City.” Simmons to W. H. Wood, October 7, 1928; wire, Hampton to Simmons, October 11, 1928, Simmons Papers; *The News and Observer*, October 22, 23, 1928. W. O. Saunders,

Simmons himself made few speeches. Occasionally he talked informally to people who visited him in New Bern.<sup>59</sup> Hesitant to schedule a date for formal addresses, Simmons finally agreed to introduce Chairman McNinch at New Bern on October 12. For this occasion, Simmons prepared a careful exposition of his Anti-Smith position: the threat that Smith's nomination and possible election posed to the Democratic party by giving control to the "boss-ridden urban communities of the North, East, and West," the deceit involved in the repudiation of the platform, the subordination of party principles as symbolized by the appointment of Raskob, and the demagoguery of a campaign which stressed Smith's opposition to prohibition in the northeast but soft-pedaled it in the South "under the smoke screen of alleged intolerance and religious prejudice." It was this last point which apparently aroused Simmons the most. Claiming personal credit for several of the initial steps in establishing prohibition in North Carolina,<sup>60</sup> he gave final credit to "the pulpit and the mothers and fathers, especially those who lived along the lonely countryside," and defied the party regulars who attempted to "drive them with the party lash . . . in the free exercise of their righteous convictions."<sup>61</sup>

Simmons's speech met a mixed reception. From one crude extreme came the word that "that doddering, senile, mentally bankrupt old man of New Bern . . . belched up some gas."<sup>62</sup> From President Few of Duke University came the appraisal that the speech "will live in our history," and the promise that

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fery supporter of Smith and Elizabeth City publisher, attacked Ham as being "a menace to peace and order." "If given his way," according to Saunders, "the schools would teach the geology of Moses, the Astronomy of Joshua, the aeronautics of Elisha, and the submarine activities of Jonah." *The News and Observer*, October 23, 1928. A preliminary session of the Western North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South heard Paul Garber, of the Duke University School of Religion support its church leaders in their participation in the fight against Smith. *Charlotte Observer*, October 24, 1928. The conference then approved a report by a large majority urging support of only those candidates who favored vigorous "enforcement of those laws, as now written on our statute books." *The News and Observer*, October 25, 1928.

<sup>59</sup> *The News and Observer*, September 14, 15, 1928.

<sup>60</sup> The Watts Bill (1903) and the Ward Bill (1905).

<sup>61</sup> *The News and Observer*, October 13, 1928.

<sup>62</sup> Editorial by C. A. W. Kinnard, *The Hertford News* (October 19, 1928); Eugene L. Crawford, General Secretary, Board of Temperance and Social Service, Methodist Episcopal Church South, to Simmons, October 18, 1928, Simmons Papers.

he would do all in his power "to defeat Governor Smith";<sup>63</sup> and from the *Raleigh News and Observer* came a carefully reasoned editorial concluding that the only alternative to Smith was Hoover, and that all Hoover could promise was "an indefinite continuance of existing wrongs."<sup>64</sup>

As a climax to the campaign, Simmons spoke again, this time at Raleigh on October 25 over a State-wide radio hook-up. "The beloved leader of the North Carolina Democracy," "our Old 'Chieftain of White Supremacy,'" spoke for three hours.<sup>65</sup> Since he considered himself an issue in the campaign, he first reviewed his own career. He mentioned his first major State fight in 1892 against the Populists and Republicans, in which "when I got through with them . . . , their backs were sore and bloody." He described the government of the Fusionists, characterized by corruption and "negroes in office"; he claimed that in 1898 he had raised the question of "black or white supremacy in North Carolina," and succeeded in carrying the State legislature for the Democrats. In 1900, Simmons continued, "Aycock . . . and I decided that the Democratic Party . . . must go forward educationally, industrially, and morally, but in order to do what we had first to make certain that the Negro can never come back into politics again."

Simmons then attacked Tammany, claiming that in order to control New York City its leaders sold out to Republicans on the State and national level. He attacked Smith as a Wet, parochial in his interest, and inexperienced in international affairs. He stated that any man regardless of religious faith could be President, and insisted that the Anti-Smith Democrats were less intolerant than the Catholic supporters of Smith. He brought his speech to a climax by challenging the

<sup>63</sup> W. P. Few to Simmons, October 15, 1928, Simmons Papers. Few and others at Duke were on occasion criticized for their political belligerency in opposition to Smith. One implication was that Few's leadership would silence other views within the University. Another was that the power interests (including the Dukes) opposed Smith because of his record in New York, and that this support explained the position of Few and others—not excluding Simmons. *Durham Morning Herald*, August 4, 1928.

<sup>64</sup> Anti-Smith speakers had not done particularly well at Raleigh. For example, Senator Owen had filled little more than one third of the auditorium on October 18. *The News and Observer*, October 19, 1928.

<sup>65</sup> Political advertisement in *The News and Observer*, October 24, 1928; Simmons to Hampton, October 18, 1928; W. L. Knight to Simmons, October 23, 1928, Simmons Papers.

Regulars to read him out of the Party, and announced that he would run again for the Senate in 1930. "Vote in behalf of morality and sobriety," he concluded. "In God's name, do not place upon the untarnished brow of the Democratic Party the brand of Liquor, Alienism, and Plutocracy."<sup>66</sup>

Although Simmons devoted his prepared speech to the popular issues of the campaign, the emphasis which he placed upon his championship of White Supremacy focussed attention upon the racial issue, one which would pay an increasingly important part in the closing weeks of the election. It is almost impossible to tell which side was responsible for raising the issue, although the question seemed to be not whether it should be raised but whether it would be profitable to raise it.<sup>67</sup> For example, Bailey, whose position on the question was relatively moderate, advised O. M. Mull, Chairman of the State Democratic Committee, in mid-July that it would not be "prudent to invoke the race issue at this time." He questioned "whether it should be made a conspicuous issue," but added that "work along this line may be done locally and from man to man."<sup>68</sup> He apparently was worried lest the Republicans in victory "should register about 250,000 Negro men and women." Under these circumstances, concluded Bailey, "All our progress would be wiped out and we would have no means whatever of recovery, and yet they tell us we should not raise the race issue."<sup>69</sup>

At the same time, Simmons was convinced that Smith's election would upset the South's satisfactory racial situation

<sup>66</sup> Rippey, *F. M. Simmons*, 175-217. By the time Simmons had finished, perhaps one third of the audience had left—in part because they could not hear him. *Charlotte Observer*, October 26, 1928. McNinch had injected a suggestion that he bring his speech to an end sooner. But McNinch told Simmons afterwards that the reason for this suggestion was not criticism but because he feared that Simmons was "seriously overtaxing your physical strength." The fact that he could speak for three hours "and quit in vigorous condition has shut the mouth of whisperers." McNinch to Simmons, October 30, 1928, Simmons Papers.

<sup>67</sup> A few would have endorsed the position that it is discouraging to note attempts to "inject into the political campaign the worn out issue of hate—'Negro domination.'" N. C. Newbold to Daniels, August 10, 1928, Daniels Papers.

<sup>68</sup> Bailey to O. M. Mull, July 18, 1928, Bailey Papers.

<sup>69</sup> Bailey to S. J. Ervin, September 21, 1928, Bailey Papers. Bailey could also write: "I call your attention to the picture of the graduating class in which Mrs. Hoover graduated, showing that the only man in the class was a Negro." Bailey to T. L. Johnson, August 30, 1928, Bailey Papers.

by encouraging legislation "with reference to the 14th Amendment that might be embarrassing." Simmons pointed out that already in the South white nuns were teaching colored children, and that the Catholic Church everywhere accorded "such equality in church relations as is not extended to them by other religious organizations."<sup>70</sup>

A widely distributed piece of Anti-Smith propaganda was a picture showing Ferdinand Q. Morton, a Negro Civil Service Commissioner in New York, dictating to his white secretary. The text stated that Morton appraised "every white man and woman Democrat in New York" who wanted "a position under the Tammany Democratic Administration," and that he was "always welcome at Headquarters on equal terms with the white leaders." "Does Party regularity mean more to you than the purity of the White Race?" questioned the poster. Simmons's office force took charge of the printing of these posters, and at least 500,000 of them were dispatched into North Carolina. They were distributed late in October "to use," as one of Simmons's secretaries put it, as "pinch-hitters."<sup>71</sup>

The "pinch-hitters" brought enraged response. O. M. Mull promptly accused the Anti-Smith Democrats of having raised the race issue. He said that Morton had been appointed by Mayor Hylan, an opponent of Smith, and that the New York State Legislature, dominated by Republicans, was responsible for Negro officials in other positions. Mull went on to quote an

<sup>70</sup> Simmons suspected the national Smith organization of organizing Negro clubs in Winston-Salem. Simmons to Santford Martin, August 14, 1928. Martin replied that he had "three good men at work trying to find out who was responsible." He thought that orders were coming from "higher up." Martin to Simmons, August 16, 1928, Simmons Papers. Simmons to J. A. Taylor, October 16, 1928, Simmons Papers. Simmons was apparently convinced that Raskob was corraling "the negroes with the lure of liquor" and with promises concerning the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Simmons to McNinch, October 18, 1928, Simmons Papers. Rippey, *F. M. Simmons*, 181-182. Simmons's statement that clubs were being formed in Forsyth County was called a "lie." There had been five negroes registered out of more than 300 who had applied, according to one correspondent. From all previous registrations only 75 negroes (doctors, lawyers, teachers) were on the books. James K. Norfleet to Simmons, October 26, 1928, Simmons Papers.

<sup>71</sup> Alexander Walker to Hampton, October 1, 5, 1928; Hampton to Walker, October 8, 1928, Simmons Papers. Simmons unquestionably endorsed the use of these posters. Simmons to McNinch, October 18, 1928, Simmons Papers. The anti-Smith Democrats printed the poster in *The News and Observer* on October 27, 1928.

article by W. E. B. DuBois, distinguished Negro leader, which charged that Smith throughout his career had "sedulously avoided recognizing Negroes in any way."<sup>72</sup> Moreover, Mull pointed out that Democratic Headquarters in Washington had asserted that Smith's administrations employed Negroes only in "such jobs as they are given in the South, to wit: porters, janitors, char-women, etc." On the other hand, argued Mull, the Republicans had been responsible for filling the registration rolls with Negro voters in the 1880's and 1890's, while the Democratic party had kept them out of power.<sup>73</sup>

On the eve of the election, the State Executive Committee made its final point on the Negro issue. A three-quarter-page advertisement in the *Raleigh News and Observer* showed a picture of "A Southern Legislature under Republican Rule with Negroes in Majority." The text of the advertisement renewed the charges that the Republicans had brought Negro domination before, and that a Republican victory in 1928 would do so again. Then on the day of the election, Daniels wrote a front-page editorial carrying the headline, "The Democratic Ticket is the White Man's Ticket," and concluded with the prayer: "God save the South when the care of White Supremacy is given into the hands of Republican politicians."<sup>74</sup>

If there was some question about which side first introduced the race issue, there was no question that the Ku Klux Klan throughout the campaign was co-operating with the Anti-Smith Democrats. As Amos Duncan, Grand Dragon of

<sup>72</sup> DuBois accused Smith of "posing as a liberal," of having been anti-Negro in "sharing the East Side's economic dislike of Negro labor competition," as well as in trying to placate the South. W. E. B. DuBois, "Is Al Smith Afraid of the South," *The Nation*, CXXVII (October 17, 1928), 392-394. DuBois also accused Hoover and his organization of being anti-Negro.

<sup>73</sup> Mull's statement, *The News and Observer*, October 27, 1928. Daniels denounced the Anti-Smith Democrats for raising the issue, defended the party for having limited the suffrage to Negroes of education, which was "necessary to preserve good government, and for having maintained segregation not because of prejudice "but upon wisdom approved by experience" and the "best men in both races." *The News and Observer*, October 28, 1928. In answer to a query, George Gordon Battle wired ". . . Ferdinand Morton . . . is a very respectable colored man, a graduate of Harvard and highly esteemed by all who know him white or black. He was appointed by former Mayor Hylan and Governor Smith had nothing whatever, directly or indirectly, to do with his appointment." *Charlotte Observer*, October 22, 1928, quoted in Deskins, "Election of 1928," 76.

<sup>74</sup> *The News and Observer*, November 6, 1928.

the North Carolina Klan, informed Simmons early in the campaign, "We started this present campaign and it is my desire and intention to end it with you." The Klan continued to endorse Simmons's "noble and fearless stand in the great crisis which confronts our entire nation." It was active particularly in the rural areas, attacking Smith's Catholicism and emphasizing his interest in modifying the immigration laws. Moreover the Klan raised funds which indirectly supported the Anti-Smith Democrats.<sup>75</sup>

The raising of money by the Klan for campaign purposes was no incidental matter, as seemingly necessary expenditures were skyrocketing. Campaign contributions had received considerable publicity in May when William F. Kenney, a New York building contractor, willingly admitted that he had already contributed \$70,000 to Smith's campaign, and that, limited only by his own ability to pay, he would contribute as much as was needed to elect Smith.<sup>76</sup> The Anti-Smith Democrats of North Carolina had no such financial angel as Kenney. But their expenses were mounting. Thousands of copies of Simmons's speeches were being printed and distributed; political advertisements, letters, telegrams, and telephone calls had to be paid for; poll watchers had to be lined up; and a relatively new and very expensive commodity, radio time, had to be purchased. The Anti-Smith Democratic Committee of North Carolina alone itemized expenses that totaled \$30,906.50.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Amos Duncan to Simmons, June 27, 1928, Simmons to Duncan, June 30, 1928; Duncan to Simmons, August 25, 1928, Simmons to Duncan, September 1, 1928, Simmons Papers. Hampton was warned that the alliance with the Klan had forced some into Smith's camp who normally would not have been there. E. B. Jeffress to Hampton, July 11, 1928, Simmons Papers. See also the controversy over whether Simmons had given immigration statistics to W. Earl Hotalen, Klan organizer from Washington, D. C., who then made use of them in speeches in North Carolina. Simmons denied that he had given Hotalen the statistics. There is no question, however, that Simmons was in communication with Hotalen. W. Earl Hotalen to Simmons, October 12, 1928, Johnston Avery to Simmons, October 16, 1928, Simmons to Hotalen, October 16, 1928, Simmons Papers.

<sup>76</sup> Campaign Committee Hearings, 310-311.

<sup>77</sup> This figure included \$16,541.09 for advertising, printing, and broadcasting; 5,740.33 for salaries; \$3,677.44 for traveling expenses, speakers, and organizers; \$1,008.01 for postage; and \$1,717.82 for telegrams and telephone. To what extent individuals spent money for the central committee that was not recorded it is impossible to determine. Summary of Expenditures, North Carolina Anti-Smith Democratic Committee in 1928 Campaign. Simmons Papers. McNinch apparently refused to release these figures even

How many people actually contributed to the Anti-Smith campaign it is impossible to say. Many, including McNinch and Simmons, worked long hours and spent money which never appeared on the record. Local committees raised money which never reached national headquarters. There were, however, substantial contributions which appear on the record. Word H. Wood, for example, succeeded in raising \$3,500 from Charlotte and J. L. Morehead \$6,000 from Durham. When the campaign reached a critical stage, Wood communicated with Bishop Cannon, and Cannon provided \$5,000 from the general Anti-Smith Democratic campaign fund, and also informed Wood that the North Carolina committee need not be unduly concerned if it should not be able to pay for the literature that Cannon's organization was supplying.<sup>78</sup>

The closing days of the campaign saw an intensification of the efforts to reach every possible voter. Literature was circulated in mysterious ways. Rural voters would awaken in the morning to discover that posters had been placed on their property during the night; urban voters would discover broadsides on their porches long before the paper boy brought the morning newspaper. A whispering campaign reached a crescendo against Smith on the one hand and Simmons on the other.<sup>79</sup> Voters were instructed how to vote. The Anti-Smith forces in particular wanted it clearly understood that the voter had the "absolute right" to put the ballot in the box by himself. They insisted that the word "Democratic" on the Smith ballot was a "misnomer" for this campaign, and that the word "Republican" was "largely a misnomer—for Herbert Hoover is greater than his party. . . ." <sup>80</sup> The Anti-Smith organization also pointed out that the voter would not be voting only for the President but also for or against Senator

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though the State attorney general ruled that the Anti-Smith Democrats, like a conventional political party, was supposed to do so. *The News and Observer*, November 17, 18, 1928.

<sup>78</sup> Other large contributors included \$1,000 each from C. Franklin Wilson of Morristown, J. M. Morehead of New York, R. L. Patterson of New York, A. J. Draper from Charlotte, and \$3,000 from Charles E. Lambeth of Charlotte. Receipts of State Anti-Smith Democratic Committee, 1928, in McNinch, October 18, 1928; wire, W. H. Wood to Cannon, October 19, 1928; Simmons Papers; W. H. Wood to Cannon, September 29, 1928; Cannon to Cannon to W. H. Wood, October 23, 1928, Cannon Papers.

<sup>79</sup> See for example, Deskins, "Election of 1928," 120, 26n.

<sup>80</sup> See political advertisement in *The News and Observer*, October 31, 1928.

Simmons. Simmons "Has Never Led the Democrats of North Carolina Wrong Yet," the voter was reminded. "And Senator Simmons Isn't Leading the Democrats of North Carolina Wrong Now." "Keep Your Ideals of Southern Democracy. Support Simmons; Back His Principles; Accept His Platform; Vote the Democratic State Ticket, the Democratic District Ticket; the Democratic County Ticket. But Vote Against Al Smith."<sup>81</sup>

Such advertisements as these infuriated the regular Democrats, and the editorializing and speech-making in the closing days contained much abuse of Senator Simmons. Of the speeches, the most important were several outspoken attacks by Simmons's former ally, Cameron Morrison. On one occasion, Morrison brought a crowd to its feet, stamping and shouting, when he challenged Simmons to run for the Senate again. "I want to live to apologize to the people of the State for once helping elect him," said Morrison. "I had thought," the former governor went on, "that there were others, [whom] had something to do with the record of the Democratic Party in North Carolina but . . . at Raleigh the other night Senator Simmons took credit for about all the great record it had wrought for North Carolina in the past thirty years."<sup>82</sup>

Both sides began to predict the outcome of the campaign. The Smith supporters tried to overlook the conclusions of the much-publicized *Literary Digest* poll, and Chairman Mull made the usual statement expected of a party chairman. Even Bailey apparently expected Smith to carry North Carolina by a "handsome majority."<sup>83</sup> The Anti-Smith leaders were equally confident, and when a group of Simmons's neighbors appeared at his home on the Sunday before the election, he prophesied a Democratic State victory but an overwhelming Smith defeat.<sup>84</sup> West of Raleigh, he thought, Smith would be

<sup>81</sup> See political advertisement in *Greensboro Daily News*, November 3, 1928. The advertisement showed a solemn and determined Simmons riding a Democratic Donkey apparently toward victory.

<sup>82</sup> *Durham Morning Herald*, November 1, 1928. The *Durham Herald* bitterly attacked Simmons for not having supported any important changes which had taken place in recent years, and in not having campaigned actively for Democratic candidates. *Durham Morning Herald*, November 4, 1928.

<sup>83</sup> *Literary Digest*, XCIX, 99 (November 3, 1928), 5-7; *The News and Observer*, November 4, 1928; Bailey to Pat Harrison, November 6, 1928, Bailey Papers.

<sup>84</sup> *Greensboro Daily News*, November 5, 1928.

snowed under by 30,000 to 40,000 votes; east of Raleigh, the voting would be close except in the Second District where Smith would poll a large majority. In the South as a whole, Simmons counted North Carolina, Virginia, Florida, Oklahoma, Missouri, Kentucky, and West Virginia as surely in the Hoover column with Alabama, Texas, Georgia, and Maryland doubtful. Even New York and Massachusetts, he thought, might go Republican. He prophesied that in North Carolina the State Democratic ticket would win by a "reduced majority."

Simmons's prophecy was in general accurate. In North Carolina, Hoover carried the State by approximately 62,000 votes out of 635,000 votes cast; west of Raleigh he had a margin of more than 80,000 votes, but Smith carried the eastern counties by more than 20,000 votes, the Second District by more than 10,000 votes and the other eastern counties by almost 10,000 votes.

In analyzing the results of the election, a few basic facts must be kept in mind. In the first place, the Republicans always polled a substantial vote in North Carolina. Since 1896, the margin of the Democratic presidential victory had varied from 22,000 in 1896 to 94,000 in 1924; but even in 1924 the Republicans polled 190,000 votes. In 1928, Hoover carried 63 counties out of 100; of these counties 19 had gone Republican in the three previous elections, five more had gone Republican in the two of the previous three, and six others in one of the previous three. A reasonable estimate showed that perhaps 70,000 normally Democratic votes out of the total of 635,000 cast were for Hoover. The Republicans, in short, had something to start with, and they as well as the Anti-Smith Democrats engaged in an unusually vigorous campaign.<sup>85</sup>

In the second place, the three factors usually given as being responsible for Smith's defeat—his Catholicism, his hostility to prohibition, and his association with Tammany—played a significant role in the North Carolina election. The Ku Klux Klan, the campaigning of the ministers, the letters to editors,

<sup>85</sup> Edgar E. Robinson, *The Presidential Vote, 1896-1932* (Stanford, 1934), 280-287; Deskins has treated the Republican campaign and provided some useful statistics as to the outcome of the election, "Election of 1928," 90-107, 134 ff.

and the personal correspondence of the leaders prove conclusively that Catholicism weighed heavily against Smith. Moreover many of the same voters were equally concerned as to the future of the 18th Amendment, and the Anti-Saloon League was a powerful ally. On the other hand it should be recognized that Smith had enthusiastic supporters, some of whom saw the campaign as a test of the American ideal of religious toleration and others who considered the religious question of no consequence. Interestingly enough the counties containing the largest cities, Charlotte, Winston-Salem, Durham, and Greensboro, gave Smith his most severe trouncing, while predominantly rural counties gave him his most significant majorities.

In the third place, economic issues undoubtedly played a part, but their significance, even more than that of religion, is difficult to assess. The eastern rural areas had been in depression throughout the twenties and might be expected to suspect Republican farm policies. The western areas, more industrialized, more Republican in any case, had economic leadership disposed to favor Republican fiscal policies and perhaps to distrust Smith's regulatory measures in New York State. Whether these men could influence their workers to vote with them is the question.

Finally, the Democratic party in North Carolina was in 1928 at a crossroads. The control exerted by Senator Simmons and his friends had never been complete, and divers individuals and groups were ready to take advantage of any opportunity to throw it off completely. Since Simmons opposed Smith, many of those who opposed Simmons naturally became enthusiastic for Smith. In some areas, the fight for Smith was as much a fight against Simmons. As for Simmons, his reasons for opposing Smith were complex. Although the prohibition question undoubtedly had something to do with it, the principal reason for Simmons's opposition would seem to have been his sensing that the Democratic party was undergoing a fundamental change in its constituent elements and its direction. Smith symbolized the growing influence of the urban northeast and midwest. Simmons talked in terms of Smith's views on prohibition and immigration and the possible effect

that Smith's triumph would have upon white supremacy. These were largely symbols to a man who had been a regular Democrat for fifty years when the South was the dominant element in the national party. It is impossible to say how much effect Simmons's influence had in the election. The efficiency of the Anti-Smith organization owed much to what Hampton and he put into it, and Hampton would not have been there had it not been for Simmons. Many of the counties in Simmons's part of the State went for Smith, but some did not, and the general increase of the Republican vote could hardly be construed as a repudiation of Simmons—Simmons had always had some bitter opposition in his own district. Undoubtedly the racial question was more of an issue in the east where negroes were more numerous, and it is possible that the regulars profited more from that issue.

Truly a national election and a decision to bolt are complex things, not to be comprehended without an intimate knowledge of local leaders and local issues.

NEW ENGLAND TUTORS IN GRANVILLE COUNTY,  
NORTH CAROLINA, 1845-1850

EDITED BY JAMES W. PATTON\*

The experiences and observations of northern tutors who came south to accept employment are recorded in various published works. Examples of these are the *Journal and Letters* of Philip Vickers Fithian of New Jersey who taught during 1773-1774 at Nomini Hall, the plantation home of Robert Carter in Westmoreland County, Virginia;<sup>1</sup> and of somewhat later date, the two anonymously published novels, *Nag's Head* and *Bertie*, by George Higby Throop, a native of New York State, which are based upon Throop's experiences as a tutor in 1849 at Scotch Hall, the home of Cullen Capehart in Bertie County, North Carolina.<sup>2</sup>

Less known but equally interesting are many hitherto unpublished letters of northern tutors which are preserved in the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina. The ten letters appearing below are taken from the Ferebee-Gregory-McPherson Papers and were written by or about tutors employed by Dr. Francis R. Gregory at Waterloo (the present Stovall), Granville County, North Carolina, during the years 1845-1850. These letters have significance in that they supplement the information that is available as to the extent of North Carolina's dependence upon New England for teachers during the Ante-Bellum Period; in that they relate to a unique situation where in the course of a little more than five years one alumnus of Brown and three graduates of the University of Vermont were attracted to a single

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<sup>1</sup> Hunter Dickinson Farish (ed.), *Journal & Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian, 1773-1774: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion* (Williamsburg, Virginia: 1943). An earlier (Princeton, 1900) edition, edited by John Rogers Williams, included Fithian's journal and letters while a student at Princeton, 1767-1773, but omitted certain sections relating to his Virginia experiences.

<sup>2</sup> See Richard Walser, "The Mysterious Case of George Higby Throop (1818-1896); or the Search for the Author of the Novels *Nag's Head*, *Bertie*, and *Lynde Weiss*," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXIII (January, 1956), 12-44, hereinafter cited as Walser, "The Case of George Higby Throop," for biographical data on Throop and for evidence that he was the author of the two novels in question.

county in North Carolina;<sup>3</sup> and in that they reveal, by inference at least, something of the status and interests of the person to whom they were addressed.<sup>4</sup>

Amos Brickett Little (1821-1862), who wrote most of the letters, was a native of Newport, New Hampshire, and attended Brown University with the class of 1844, though he did not graduate. Apparently he came to North Carolina early in 1844 and taught for Dr. Gregory during the remainder of that year. Returning to Newport early in 1845, he subsequently secured a position as clerk and later as chief examiner in the Patent Office at Washington. He was removed from this position in 1861 by the Lincoln Administration, after which he opened a patent agency in Washington. Late in September, 1862, he lost his reason, and rushing into the dining room of the National Hotel, nearly severed his head from his body with a carving knife, dying instantly.<sup>5</sup>

Charles Nelson Starbird was an alumnus of the class of 1845 at the University of Vermont. After leaving North Carolina he settled at Chester, Randolph County, Illinois, where he edited a newspaper and practiced law in partnership with Sidney Breese, a United States Senator from that State and later a prominent member of the Supreme Court of Illinois.<sup>6</sup>

Joseph Walker Marsh (1836-1915) was also a graduate of the University of Vermont where his father James Marsh was president, 1826-1833, and later professor of philosophy. After teaching for Dr. Gregory in 1849-1850, Joseph Walker Marsh taught in Canada and Wisconsin and in 1867 was appointed professor of Latin and Greek and librarian at Pacific University, Forest Grove, Oregon, which positions he held until re-

<sup>3</sup> George Higby Throop also attended the University of Vermont and wrote about Brown University in *Bertie*. Walser, "The Case of George Higby Throop," 36.

<sup>4</sup> Of similar interest are the letters of William S. Leonard (1794-1825) of Bridgewater, Massachusetts, who taught at Hertford in Perquimans County, from 1819 to 1820, and later went into business at Windsor and Edenton. William S. Leonard Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

<sup>5</sup> Edmund Wheeler, *History of Newport, New Hampshire* (Concord, 1879) 462; *New Hampshire Argus and Spectator* (Newport), October 3, 1862, hereinafter cited as *New Hampshire Argus and Spectator*.

<sup>6</sup> Information from Director of Admissions and Records, University of Vermont, August 18, 1958.

tirement in 1911. His half-brother Sidney Harper Marsh (1825-1879) was president of Pacific University from 1854 until his death in 1879.<sup>7</sup>

Warren Perry Adams, the last of Dr. Gregory's tutors mentioned in this correspondence, was likewise a graduate of the University of Vermont. He subsequently taught mathematics at Troy Conference Academy, Poultney, Vermont, and was principal of Regents Academy at Glens Falls, New York. He then moved to Michigan where he was active in county affairs, and also practiced law, in Newaygo and Battle Creek. From 1869 to his retirement in 1913 he was engaged in manufacturing and the insurance business in Philadelphia. He died in 1923.<sup>8</sup>

Dr. Francis Roger Gregory was a native of Virginia who practiced medicine first at Lombardy Grove in Mecklenburg County, Virginia, and early in the 1840's moved to Granville County, North Carolina. Dr. Gregory's letters have not been preserved, but it is evident from those which he received that he was a man of substance and education, well-read, and keenly interested in national political affairs. His interest in receiving Reports of the Commissioner of Patents, which at that time included agricultural statistics and information, would suggest that he was attempting to keep abreast of contemporary developments in farming. That he constantly engaged tutors from good New England colleges would indicate that, like many southerners of his class and station, he was desirous of securing the best teachers for his children.

The Ferebee-Gregory-McPherson Papers, numbering approximately 185 items, were placed in the Southern Historical Collection in 1958 by the family of the late W. Stamps Howard of Tarboro, North Carolina. Mr. Howard's wife, Mary McPherson Ferebee Howard, was a granddaughter of Dr. Francis R. Gregory.

<sup>7</sup> Obituary notice in *Burlington Free Press* (Vermont), February 24, 1915.

<sup>8</sup> Information from Director of Admissions and Records, University of Vermont, August 18, 1958.

Newport N. H. Jan. 22d 1845

Dear Sir:

I am somewhat later than I intended to be in complying with your request: my delay has however resulted from no want of sense of the kindness imply'd in your desire to learn of my circumstances and prospects, but rather from the multiplicity of engagements a person is necessarily under who, after an absence, returns among his friends.

After several mishaps, such as running off the track in the cars, losing my baggage &c. I arrived home in fourteen days from the time I left N. C. and found all my friends in much the same state as I left them. I remained in Washington four days and had several interviews with Mr. Burke.<sup>9</sup> He seemed pleased that I had determined, at last, to enter his office, and offered me every facility in the study of the Law, and every advantage, as far as pecuniary matters are concerned, that I could have asked. He offered me also his influence with any Department at Washington or with Mr. Woodbury,<sup>10</sup> in procuring any situation I might think preferable to the one I have accepted from him. The prospects of securing such a situation are, I think, better than they have been, tho' the applications for office are so numerous that I cannot place much confidence in the hopes of success he holds out.

I dislike much to be thought an office seeker and if any other employment which under my discouraging circumstances would afford me a competence could be devised, I should be the last to be found knocking at the doors of Government. But dependence, like necessity, knows no law, and if anyone ever knew the bitterness of that condition—if anyone ever knew a distress deeper, far deeper than mere pecuniary dependence imposes, it is he who is deprived of any of the senses after having enjoyed the blessings its possession bestows. The past, with its bright reminiscences sometimes cheers the mind and dispels the gloom of the present: but the future throws back nothing but dark & dreary prospects.

<sup>9</sup> Edmund Burke (1809-1882), Editor of the *New Hampshire Argus and Spectator*; Democratic Member of Congress, 1839-1845; Commissioner of Patents, 1846-1849, by appointment of President James K. Polk, *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office [House Document No. 607], 1950), 918, hereinafter cited as *Biographical Directory of Congress*.

<sup>10</sup> Levi Woodbury (1789-1851), United States Senator from New Hampshire, 1825-1831 and 1841-1845; Secretary of the Navy, 1831-1834; Secretary of the Treasury, 1834-1841; Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, 1845-1851. Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, and Others (eds.), *The Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: 20 volumes and Index [Supplementary volumes XXI and XXII], 1928 ———), XX, 488-489, hereinafter cited as Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography*.

Pardon me for troubling you with these few doleful laments—you must rather blame yourself than me for the infliction, since you requested me to inform you of my prospects. They are somber enough but I will not oblige you to listen to a relation of them.

There is one item of news which I think you will be glad to hear. Hon John P. Hale<sup>11</sup> is politically decapitated! When I heard that notwithstanding the resolutions which had been adopted by almost every primary meeting of the democratic party, condemnatory of Mr. Hale's course in relation to the 21st Rule,<sup>12</sup> that he had been nominated for reelection, I must confess that my faith in the consistency of N H Democracy received a severe shock.

And it appears that Mr. Hale himself, since he was not sacrificed on the first dereliction from the Democratic path, laid the flattering unction to his soul that he might take a still greater [page torn] yet preserve his equilibrium. He thought [page torn] that he could take old Democratic N. H. [page torn] and present her an oblation on the [page torn] litionism. The fate of Isaac Hill<sup>13</sup> [page torn] for reentrance to the party, but who [page torn] of probation yet to serve on account of [page torn] before he can receive the right hand of fellowship should have been a warning. It may be however that he, a mere tyro in intregue, expected to do what old Isaac with John Page<sup>14</sup> with

<sup>11</sup> John Parker Hale (1806-1873), Democratic Member of Congress, 1843-1845. Although instructed to do so by the legislature, he refused to vote for the annexation of Texas and addressed a letter to his constituents denouncing the annexation as promoting the interests of slavery. A special convention of the Democrats revoked his renomination and read him out of the party, whereupon he proceeded to organize an independent movement, and as a result the New Hampshire legislature passed under control of a combination of Whigs and independent Democrats which in June, 1846, elected Hale to the United States Senate. Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, 105-107. As will appear in later letters, Little's sanguine comments upon the "decapitation" of Hale were somewhat premature.

<sup>12</sup> One of the so-called "gag resolutions," the effects of which were that no petition or memorial for the abolition of slavery or the slave trade in the District of Columbia or in any State or territory should be received by the House or entertained in any way whatsoever. This particular rule was adopted on January 28, 1840. *Congressional Globe*, Twenty-Sixth Congress, First Session, 150-151.

<sup>13</sup> Isaac Hill (1789-1851), Editor of the *New Hampshire Patriot* (Concord), and known as the "Dictator" in New Hampshire politics; member of Jackson's "Kitchen Cabinet"; United States Senator, 1831-1836; Governor of New Hampshire, 1836-1839. The reference here is to Hill's attempt to organize a third or "Conservative" party in 1841, in which he was unsuccessful and for which he was punished by the regular Democratic organization. Roy F. Nichols, *Franklin Pierce: Young Hickory of the Granite Hills* (Philadelphia, 1931), 118-122, hereinafter cited as Nichols, *Franklin Pierce*.

<sup>14</sup> John Page (1787-1865), United States Senator, 1836-1837; Governor of New Hampshire, 1840-1842. *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: 14 volumes, 1892-1906), XI, 128, hereinafter cited as *Cyclopaedia of American Biography*.

a host of other influential characters could *not* do, viz: produce discord among the democracy and eventually throw the state into the hands of the Whigs or Abolitionists. But the result has proved that he has over estimated his power, and instead of making a sacrifice of his benefactress, N. H. has maintained the dignity of her character, by hurling from power the betrayer of her honor. The inconsistency, if any there was, in nominating Mr. Hale for reelection at the last convention, is remedied—New Hampshire “is herself again.” The Democratic State Central Committee, as soon as the people had had time to read Mr. H’s arrogant & insufferable letter, determined without a dissenting voice late as it is, to call a new convention to supply the place which the present incumbent has forfeited.

I send you an extra containing the first movements on the subjects.

Remember me affectionately to your family and tell Mrs. Gregory that Mother has a recipe for Pumpkin Pies, but it is without measure or weight. I will hunt one up and be sure & send it. Remember me also to your Brother’s family and to the Misses Gregory. I shall look with impatience for your answer and expect you will write of your family and yourself.

Truly yours

Amos B Little

[Addressed:]

Francis R. Gregory M D  
Waterloo  
Granville Co  
North Carolina

Newport, N. H. April 14th 1845

Dear Dr.

Your letter, which has been so impatiently expected, was received this morning.

I have seen Mr. Gilmore, father of the gentleman mentioned in my last, and he says that, as his son intends to teach only a year or two, he is unwilling he should go on for the salary you propose to give. The very reason too, you advanced why he should accept, viz: retirement, is urged by Mr. G. as the strongest one why he should not. His son is naturally of a retiring disposition, a feature by the way, characteristic of real merit, and he wishes him to be thrown more among, and more jostled about by, people of the world than he has hitherto been and than he would likely to be in your neighborhood. I did not present this as a reason

today why he should permit his son to go, well knowing his views on the subject; but I did urge every other inducement which I tho't might prevail—he is still inflexible and almost regrets having fixed so low a salary as \$300. I am really sorry that you and Mr. Gilmore cannot come to an agreement, for I feel fully convinced that every expectation which you or I have formed, would be more than realized. As I said before, I think it will be difficult to procure a teacher of any kind till the commencements of next Aug. and I know of none, even then, whom I can so highly recommend as Mr. Gilmore. There is a gentleman in Vermont University who graduates the present year and who intends to go South for the purpose of teaching next Sept. He is a fine fellow in every respect, barring his *damnable whiggery*. He is an excellent scholar, but with no experience in teaching that I know of, and for a Whig, holds his temper very well. This objection of whiggery which we may have against him, might however, be a great recommendation in his behalf to my amiable and worthy friend Dr. Hicks. Mr. Starbird, the gentleman mentioned above, wrote me sometime since, inquiring if I could get him a school at the south? In answer I told him I tho't I could, and mentioned the situation you offer and the salary: To this I have received no answer. I shall write to him again immediately and offer him the school in such a manner as that you can accept or refuse at your pleasure. If I obtain any other instructor than the ones already named, it must be on the recommendation of a third, and perhaps, unknown, person.

Your gossip, my dear friend, (if I am allowed to call you so) was very acceptable. I really believe I possess a woman's ear and a woman's appetite for what may be strictly called the woman's bread of Life. I only regret that there was no more of it and that it did not relate more closely to the members of your own family. I see plainly that, in order to get a faithful chronicle of your doings, I shall be obliged (an obligation I would submit to with the greatest pleasure) to address some of the Ladies of Waterloo and thus give them the opportunity to shine where only a Lady can shine: remember I don't say a Lady can shine only there. Miss Hick's bishop must have presented a ludicrous appearance. Could you not find some gentleman gallant enough to stuff the *article* into his hat or pocket before it should meet the eyes of the multitude? Tho', heaven help us! to perform such a feat one must have a hat like a caldron kettle or a pocket like a cotton bag. I am quite glad to hear that Miss Gregory's wedding passed off happily. I hope she feels no delicacy in acknowledging that she *is* married: as a lady *engaged* to be so she is certainly the best for keeping her own counsel that I have ever known.

Present my respects to Mr. & Mrs. Taylor, and wish them for me, all possible happiness.

There does not appear to be much doubt here to the ultimate decision of Texas in relation to the resolutions passed by our Congress.<sup>15</sup> The proposed annexation is so advantageous, and the rejection of the offers of our government necessarily so disastrous, (since she cannot, by any means, maintain her entire independence,) that we cannot believe she will calmly determine to throw away the boon, the acceptance of which is so clearly, so evidently for her benefit. If she should, however, commit this suicidal act, she may be *obliged*, in time, to come into the Union on less favorable terms. I do not believe that the United States will permit a weak & puny nation to exist upon her southern frontier, with which proud England or any other power may tamper, for our own overthrow. I have not yet published my article on Texas, nor indeed is it finished. I have supposed there was no necessity for it since the resolutions passed the Senate. I think I shall show it to Mr. Burke and if he thinks it worth publishing at the present time, I may do so: in which case you shall have a copy. The Democratic Review I have not read since I left the South: I will procure it, however, and read the article you mention.

We also have a mild winter, but are having a long & unpleasant spring: this tho' is favorable to our sugar makers, more having been made than in many previous years. I have much more to write, but, as you see, paper fails: this tho' I am sure will not draw a single tear. Remember me to my friends in N. C. & especially to Mrs. G.

Now let me urge you, my Dear Dr., to write soon—very soon

Yours truly

Amos B. Little

P. S. I am obliged to you for your kindness in saying that you will recommend me to a school and hope in return I shall be able to procure you a teacher

A. B. L.

[Addressed:]

Dr. Francis R. Gregory

Waterloo,

Granville Co. North Carolina

<sup>15</sup> This was a joint resolution, signed by President John Tyler on March 1, 1845, inviting Texas to become a State of the Union. Justin H. Smith, *The Annexation of Texas* (New York, 1919), 322-355.

Newport, N. H. June 3d 1845

My dear Sir:

I have delayed thus long in answering your letter, in order that I might have some satisfactory information to convey, in relation to your teacher. The day on which your letter was received I wrote to a friend of mine now in college, whom I knew was intending to teach after he graduates. The following is an extract from his letter: "I received this morning with your letter another from Western N. Y. urging me to come and teach there in an Academy, and offering 320 dollars and board included everything." On the day I received Mr. Snow's<sup>16</sup> letter, I wrote to Dr. Wayland<sup>17</sup> as you requested. I have not yet received his answer. I am sorry to say that I consider it extremely doubtful if you get a teacher from the north, for the salary you propose to give. All those who have written to me on the subject, think it quite hard that, after spending six, and some of them eight years in acquiring an education, they cannot command as much *pr annum* as a single year's instruction has cost them. A good teacher will get here, at least \$300 and board, and it would be almost folly for him to go 800 miles for the same salary. You remember that I did not save a single cent during the year I was with you, and this I am obliged to tell to those who ask me. Do not misunderstand me. I do not, by any means, regret the year I spent with you, and am almost ready to say that, if I could be of advantage to *you* (God save me from Dr. Hicks) to that amount, I should willingly go for the same salary another year. I have made every exertion to get a teacher such as might suit you, set forth all the advantages, told of the kindness you all will manifest towards him: but, my dear Dr. the almighty dollar has more influence with us than considerations of this sort. I will *still* do my best: and if there is a teacher in New England who can be procured for \$250 I will send him on to you—always provided he is capable.

Kill John P. Hale? If we do not deliver you his political corpse next Sept. confined and ready for interment, may the Democracy of N. H. ever after suffer defeat. We shall, however, have a hard fought battle. Whiggism and Abolitionism have united against us and a more vile mixture medical quack never compounded. But if the Democrats are true to themselves—if they stand firmly to the doctrines they have hitherto avowed, we are safe. I can-

<sup>16</sup> Augustin Snow (1823-1890), a graduate of Brown University in the class of 1845; subsequently a journalist in New York City. Information from Brown University Library, August 21, 1958.

<sup>17</sup> Francis Wayland (1796-1865), President of Brown University, 1827-1855.

not believe that, after the Democrats of this state have consigned to the tomb so many political traitors, and those too, who have been orthodox almost from their birth, they will, at this late day, suffer themselves to be overcome by one who, but a short time since, fled from the ranks of the enemy.

You have probably received my article on Texas. After I received your letter, urging me to publish it, I submitted it to Mr. Burke, determined, if he thought best, to do as you requested. He read it in manuscript, pronounced it one of the best pieces that had been written on the subject, and sent it himself to Concord to be published in the *Patriot*.<sup>18</sup> Mr. Hale's organ at Manchester<sup>19</sup> has taken it up, and, together with the article which appeared in the *Democratic Review* last fall<sup>20</sup> and Mr. Calhoun's letter to Mr. King,<sup>21</sup> devotes two columns and a half to the reviewal of it. It is a miserable answer to any of them, and I shall take the same *exalted* course that, probably, Mr. Calhoun and Mr. O'Sullivan will, pass it in *dignified contempt*. Pardon me for placing my name in connection with the above distinguished gentlemen. You and Mr. Burke and the democratic journals of this state have so bepraised my Texas affair, that I really begin to think *I am somebody!*

I am very grateful to you, for writing to Mr. B. in my behalf, and hope I may have an opportunity of returning the favor. It is uncertain, as yet, whether I shall go to Washington. Mr. B. gives me some encouragement to hope that he will succeed in getting me an office. If I should go I shall take the earliest opportunity of troubling you with the presence of your humble servant.

May has been quite cold with us, but June promises to make up in warmth what the former lacked. Vegetation is just putting

<sup>18</sup> The article was published in the *New Hampshire Patriot and State Gazette* (Concord), May 8, 15, 1845. This paper will hereinafter be cited as the *Patriot and State Gazette*.

<sup>19</sup> *Independent Democrat* (Manchester, New Hampshire), May 29, 1845. Little did not persevere in his intention to ignore the article; see the *Patriot and State Gazette*, June 19, 1845, for his rejoinder.

<sup>20</sup> "The Re-annexation of Texas: in its influence on the duration of Slavery," *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, XV (July, 1844), 11-16. This magazine was edited from 1836 to 1845 by John Louis O'Sullivan (1813-1895), and was the mouthpiece for the exuberant nationalism of the period, glorifying all things American and predicting the expansion of the United States until its boundaries should embrace the entire North American continent and Cuba as well. It was in an article in this magazine, XVII (July and August, 1845), 5-10, almost certainly written by O'Sullivan, that the phrase "manifest destiny" first appeared. Julius W. Pratt, "The Origin of 'Manifest Destiny'," *American Historical Review*, XXXII, (July, 1927), 795-798.

<sup>21</sup> Calhoun to William R. King, United States Minister to France, Washington, August 12, 1844, Richard K. Cralle (ed.), *Works of John C. Calhoun* (New York: 6 volumes, 1853-1855), V, 379-392.

forth. Write me soon, my dear Dr. and believe that I receive no letter with more pleasure than yours.

Present my respects to Mrs. G. your brother's family and your sisters.

Respectfully yours  
Amos B. Little

[Addressed:]  
Francis R. Gregory M. D.  
Waterloo  
Granville Co.  
North Carolina

Washington, D. C. July 15th. 1846.

Dear Sir:

Yours of the 29th ult. has been received. If the advice you speak of was contained in the first letter you wrote me after I arrived in Wash., it has been read and duly appreciated. This is all I have received: and if you have been so kind as to give me more, which has miscarried, I *insist* upon your repeating it. I insist upon it because I value it, and feel every disposition in the world to give it that attention which your age and consequent experience, and intelligence demand. I protest against your entertaining any idea of giving offence. I consider myself fortunate in having secured your friendship. For me, then, to take offence at advice which, I am sure, you intend only for my good, would betray a more captious spirit than, I flatter myself, I am actuated by. Let me beg of you to give your advice whenever you think it necessary—to correct such faults, in spirit, deed or word, as my correspondence may present to you. Your advice and corrections shall receive my grave consideration. Yes, our Gov's<sup>22</sup> message is a fine specimen of whiggery and abolitionism combined, and the election of John P. Hale to the U. S. Senate will illustrate the results attending unscrupulous means—sometimes. But you misunderstood me in the comparison I intended to draw between Wm. S. Archer of Va.<sup>23</sup> and J. P. Hale of N. H.; Twas neither between their characters nor their talents: the character of Mr.

<sup>22</sup> Anthony Colby (1795-1873), Governor of New Hampshire, 1846-1847; elected by the same combination that sent John P. Hale to the Senate; the first Whig Governor of the State since 1829. *Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VI, 129.

<sup>23</sup> William Segar Archer (1789-1855), Member of Congress, 1820-1835; United States Senator, 1841-1847; Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations at the time of the annexation of Texas. Little's analogy is obscure. Through an ardent advocate of the annexation of Texas, Archer, a former Democrat, was now a Whig and was defeated by Robert M. T. Hunter, a former Whig now turned Democrat. Henry Harrison Simms, *Life of Robert M. T. Hunter* (Richmond, 1935), 59.

Archer is as far superior to that of Mr. Hale, as Mr. Hale's talents are superior to Mr. Archer's. The similitude I wished you to observe was, simply, the defeat of the democratic party in two such staunch democratic states as Va. & N. H., the *representatives of which defeat are Messrs. Archer & Hale*. Probably, I did not express myself clearly, or you would not have been led into this error. The sense in which you understood me would have been more just had I compared Mr. Hale to Mr. Rives:<sup>24</sup> for the latter is a traitor, though the former has super-added certain other *exquisite* qualities which mar a perfect likeness. You will pardon me if I doubt the applicability of *your* simile. If John P. Hale had been like brass, inert—if he had not “rubbed” *himself* into notoriety, the democracy of New-Hampshire would have left him to a corrosion as deep and uneffaceable (am I making a word?) as though his memory had been steeped in the waters of Lethe. Mr. Hale is a man of popular manners and of great eloquence, and since he chose to trouble the muddy and offensive pool of Abolitionism, the democrats were obliged to interfere, even though they got most disgustingly beired with the filth. If a skunk invade the community he must be shot, even at the risk of the operators being pissed on. (Pardon the grossness of the simile in consideration of its applicability.) “But,” say you, “you have not killed the skunk, nor have you escaped the *odor* of the contest.” True, alas, too true. But do not deny us the praise that good intentions always elicit, and we promise you that in a second contest our deeds shall draw forth the approbation of the whole Union. I regret that your brother was defeated. I am sure the company has not selected a braver leader, or a better man than he. I, too, was a candidate for Mexico, though I did not even look so high as a Corporalship. I offered Mr. Burke to enlist as a private if he would promise me the office I now hold when I returned. He declined, and in consequence *the country is deprived of my valuable services, in a more active sphere*. I can, therefore, sympathize with your brother, which I do most heartily. I would remark at some length upon what you say in relation to the Whigs and England watching Mr. Polk, but I have already arrived at the end of my sheet. I have endeavored to get the May No. of Blackwood, but have failed. Who is Mr. Godding<sup>25</sup> of whom you speak? I wish you

<sup>24</sup> William Cabell Rives (1793-1868), originally a staunch supporter of Jackson, broke with Van Buren on the sub-treasury question. Thereafter he and his followers in Virginia called themselves “Conservatives,” usually co-operating with the Whigs until 1844 when Rives became a full-fledged Whig. Henry H. Simms, *The Rise of the Whigs in Virginia* (Richmond, 1929), 118-138.

<sup>25</sup> Undoubtedly a reference to Joshua R. Giddings (1795-1864), a Whig Congressman from Ohio and a militant abolitionist whose anti-slavery remarks were quoted in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, LIX (April, 1846), 444.

the most complete success in the elections of the Old North State. It is full time you supported the democracy of the Union, since democracy supports the South. I congratulate Herbert upon his progress in Latin. If he is not *pushed forward* he will yet make a scholar. Dr. H. must be a happy man. He seems to have the faculty of making every one who approaches him his enemy.

Please write soon, and believe me yours

sincerely

Amos B. Little

I have directed the report of the Com. of Patents to you,<sup>26</sup> it now only waits for a frank. Remember me to my friends, I am always happy to hear from them.

A. B. L.

Washington D. C. Jan'y 21 1847

My dear Sir:

I should have written by Mr. Starbird, but when he passed thro' Washington I had not finished the job of writing which I have before told you was the reason of my not writing. Mr. S. has, without doubt, arrived at your place, and entered upon the duties of his engagement. I sincerely hope he will prove an excellent teacher and give every satisfaction. One thing I am sure of: he goes to North Carolina with an anxious desire to render every service connected with his position among you that you can reasonably expect, and if he fails it will not be for want of an intention to do well.

He is a whig, as I have before intimated; but he is far from being one of those most despicable of all beings—a *whig abolitionist*. In regard to the question of slavery and every thing connected with it, he goes among you to *learn* rather than to express any preconceived opinion. I fear not for the result since he is a candid and an intelligent man. I hope your & your brother's children will like him, even tho' the grave charge of being a Yankee be applicable to him.

The topic which agitates Congress at the present time, and which takes strong hold upon the passions of both southern and northern members, is that of the introduction of slavery into any territory which may be acquired in consequence of the war with Mexico. Notwithstanding the urgent need of a prompt and

<sup>26</sup> From 1839 to 1862 agricultural statistics and other information were compiled by the Commissioner of Patents and were included in his annual reports until 1854. Seeds were also distributed by the Patent Office during this period. T. Swann Harding, *Two Blades of Grass: A History of Scientific Developments in the U. S. Department of Agriculture* (Norman, Oklahoma: 1947), 9-22.

energetic prosecution of the war, these men are disposed to waste away the session in a discussion which, to say the least, is improperly introduced at this time. Is it proper, when our army is advanced far within the enemy's country—when it absolutely demands reinforcements—when the treasury is bankrupt—in fine when the interests and honor of the country are at stake—is it proper I say, to introduce these collateral issues and urge them forward till the passions entirely annihilate the reason?

First the "Wilmot proviso"<sup>27</sup> is introduced: the counsels were bad that induced this step; but those were still worse which led Mr. Burt of So. Ca.<sup>28</sup> to declare that the question must be met now, and now settled for ever. Why met now? Is there danger in letting it rest till circumstances *demand* its consideration? Is it necessary to hunt up all the possible contingencies of the future and suffer the glory—the honor of the Country to expire while the fanaticism of the northern abolitionists, and the passions of the southern Hotspurs ride triumphant over the downfall of the Union?

Another question which has excited considerable acerbity is Mr. Walker's<sup>29</sup> proposed tax upon tea & coffee. I know not what may be your views upon this subject; but it appears to my limited conception that the proposition was a very injudicious one. Mr. W. must have known that the north never would consent to that. It taxes the poor to even a greater extent than it does the rich inasmuch as the former generally have larger families than the latter, and consequently use more of these articles. If an increased means of revenue be demanded, why not add a small percentage to the schedules of the tariff of 1846? But the northern members say, that, according to Mr. Walker's own estimate, no additional tax is required. He estimates that the revenue to be derived from importations and other sources, under the new tariff will amount to between 28 & 30 millions. If this be true, it is not easy to con-

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<sup>27</sup> A proviso to Polk's request on August 8, 1846, for \$2,000,000 with which to end the Mexican War; would have prohibited slavery in any territory to be acquired from Mexico; introduced by David Wilmot of Pennsylvania, an administration Democrat whose motives are discussed in Richard R. Stenberg, "The Motivation of the Wilmot Proviso," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVIII (March, 1932), 535-541.

<sup>28</sup> Armistead Burt (1802-1883), a Democratic Member of Congress from South Carolina, 1843-1853; Speaker pro tempore of the House for a time in 1848. *Biographical Directory of Congress*, 924.

<sup>29</sup> Robert John Walker (1801-1869), Senator from Mississippi, 1835-1845, and Secretary of the Treasury under Polk, 1845-1849. The Act of 1846 carried out the suggestions of Walker made in his much-discussed Treasury Report of 1845, and is often spoken of as an instance of the application of free-trade principles. In fact, however, it was moderately protective rather than a free-trade measure, and from Walker's point of view was mutilated by the omission of duties on coffee and tea. F. W. Taussig, *The Tariff History of the United States* (New York, 1923), 114.

ceive why an additional tax should be levied; for after the close of the war \$4000000, at least, over and above the ordinary expenses of an economical administration of the Government could be applied annually to the liquidation of the public debt.

The fact is Mr. Walker has committed one grand error. For the purpose of securing the passage of the tariff act of '46 he estimated the revenue to be derived from it at too high a sum, and thus has thrown an obstacle in our own path which it will not be easy to surmount.

Your good sense may have led you to quite a different conclusion in which case I trust you will look with many grains of allowance upon my crude speculations.

We imagine for N. H. a brighter prospect. Democrats speak confidently of victory in March next, and from present indications I think their hopes are not unfounded. The Allies<sup>30</sup> carried things with such a high hand in June last, that even the perverted sense of *Independent democrats* could not stand it, and are returning to the party from which they but lately seceded. John P. Hale must fall: and fall so low "that the hand of resurrection cannot reach him."

Remember me to your brothers, and especially to Wm—also to your family and his. I often refer to the kindness of your wife and his, and doubt if I shall ever find greater. Please write me soon: I am anxious to hear from you.

Respectfully

Amos B Little

[Addressed:]  
Francis R. Gregory M D  
Waterloo  
Granville Co  
North Carolina

Washington, D. C. April 27, 1847.

Dear Dr.

Since I last wrote you my native state has recovered her lost position. You probably know the result and will agree with me that it is a happy consummation. True, it is not what we could have done five years ago, but when we take into consideration all the circumstances attending the late election there, we must

<sup>30</sup> A term used in New Hampshire to describe those Whigs and Free Soil Democrats who had, by an unholy alliance—so the Democrats felt—combined to elect Anthony Colby as Governor and John P. Hale to the United States Senate in 1846. Nichols, *Franklin Pierce*, 137-144.

decide that the democrats have done well. We had everything to contend against. Numerous factions—the Independent democrats—the Abolitionists and all the shades and changes of political opinion that ever warped the human mind had combined with the federalists, and were determined to triumph over the downfall of democracy. In such an aspect of affairs it behooved the democratic party to be peculiarly cautious. The effects of every step was to be calculated—every opinion weighed. Even words, which had heretofore borne an acknowledged signification were to be cast aside, and such taken up in their stead as faction should dictate. The Abolition party had increased from five thousand to ten. Numbers, seceding from the party with which they had formerly acted, and assimilating in their ideas to those of the Abolitionists, had assumed the name of “Independent democrats.” These two factions were able to annihilate the majority which of late years we had commanded, and, in 1846, did do it; the consequence of which was that the notorious John P. Hale was sent to the U. S. Senate.

In view of these facts, it became a question with the democracy whether, for the purpose of regaining their ascendancy, it was not proper to change *for a time at least* their ground in relation to the question of slavery. To yield the conviction that they had nothing to do with *existing* slavery was far, very far from their thoughts. This, with them, was, and is, a cardinal principle, and could not be given up, even should defeat and disgrace be the consequences. To deny the justice, morally or legally, of their previous course in relation to the south and her institutions it was never their intention to do.

The Wilmot proviso had been introduced into the U. S. House of Representatives: legislation was proposed over territory which was not, and might never be, ours—it was at best, an abstraction, an expression of opinion in relation to which, could injure no section of the country. The Abolitionists and Independent democrats of N. H. *hoped* that our members would not vote for it, and accordingly charged boldly that they *could not* so vote, unless in the very teeth of all their previous votes. At the same time, all our leading men—Pierce,<sup>31</sup> Hubbard,<sup>32</sup> Hib-

<sup>31</sup> Franklin Pierce (1804-1869), had resigned from the United States Senate in 1842 and for the next five years was in Concord practicing law, managing most of the local Democratic campaigns, and enforcing strict discipline to keep the party united and vigorous. As above indicated, his efforts to punish John P. Hale in 1846 proved to be a boomerang. Nichols, *Franklin Pierce*, 115-144.

<sup>32</sup> Henry Hubbard (1784-1857), Democratic Member of Congress, 1829-1835; United States Senator, 1835-1841; Governor of New Hampshire, 1841-1843. *Biographical Directory of Congress*, 1,341.

bard,<sup>33</sup> Gen. Peaslee,<sup>34</sup> and others—men acquainted with public opinion around them, wrote to our members here and advised them to yield to the exigency. The[y] did so: absolute necessity demanded it. It is the opinion of the above named gentlemen that this vote saved N. H.

I have thought that your letter to me of the 10 March last censured the democrats of our state, and I have written thus much justificatory of their course. We all lament the necessity of bending to the blast, and none more than those whose duty it was to cast the vote. But when the time arrives that these insane Abolitionists would strike *directly* at the Union and call upon us to strike with them, or indirectly, where the evident tendency is to the same end, you will find us true to the last. The democratic party of the north is essentially the mediatory party between the factions of federalism and abolitionism on the one hand, and the south on the other. Let me pray you then, my dear Sir, to exercise toward us all the forbearance requisite to ensure a hearty co-operation between the democrats of the north and those of the south. Do not condemn us on first *appearance* of dereliction from our former course. We are as true in heart to the compromises of the constitution as ever, and when the occasion arrives you will so find us.

I desire to speak upon the other topics mentioned in your last [letter] but so much space is already taken up that I must defer it till another opportunity.

I fear from all I can learn that you and your brother are not well pleased with Mr. Starbird. I am sorry for this, and must attribute a want of cordiality between you to his whig principles. If it is not asking too much will you please inform me why it is that your brother has withdrawn his children.

I sent to you some time since, several articles that I had written for a northern paper.<sup>35</sup> If they have been received let me know what you think of them, the truth, remember, not flattery. Pardon me for not sooner attending to your request for a copy of the Com. report. I have this day mailed a copy to your address.

<sup>33</sup> Harry Hibbard (1816-1872), active in New Hampshire politics, 1843-1848; Democratic Member of Congress, 1849-1855. *Biographical Directory of Congress*, 1,306.

<sup>34</sup> Charles Hazen Peaslee (1804-1866), Adjutant General of New Hampshire State Militia, 1839-1847; Democratic Member of Congress, 1847-1853; an important figure in New Hampshire politics. *Biographical Directory of Congress*, 1,662.

<sup>35</sup> Edmund Wheeler, *The History of Newport, New Hampshire*, 139, states that Little "while in the Patent Office at Washington, was a frequent correspondent of the *New Hampshire Patriot* and the *Argus*, and wielded a vigorous pen."

From, and including page 117 through the report, was made up entirely by myself.<sup>36</sup>

Remember me kindly to your family and relatives, and favor me by replying soon

Respectfully  
Amos B. Little

Dr. F. R. Gregory  
N. Carolina

Washington, D. C. April 30, 1848

My dear Sir:

I regret that our correspondence has been so much interrupted for the past year, and can only satisfy myself with the reflection that it has not been intentional on my part. I read your letters with great pleasure, and could wish that you would write them without demanding from me immediate answers. As however, this is too much to ask, so it is more than I expect.

I am glad to hear that you have received the seeds I sent you, and that they afford you and your family so much gratification. The most of the varieties were procured from seedsmen in this city, and are probably no better than seeds in common use: but some—the tobacco seeds, for instance—were imported, and may afford you an opportunity of securing a better quality of that staple than you have been accustomed to grow. The flower seeds, which I hope you have received also, were sent for the especial gratification of Mrs. G. Under the circumstances I could do no less in return for her kindness to me, and most heartily wish I could do much more. I have also sent seeds, both garden & flower, to your brother William. I regret that I could not send you a copy of the Commissioner's report before this, in order that you might derive some benefit from it in the coming year's agricultural operations. Though it was sent into Congress nearly three months ago, it is not yet published, and will not be, I fear, for a month to come. I shall however, do myself the pleasure to send you as well as your brothers, early copies.

Your brother Thomas has probably told you of his calling on me in this city, and perhaps, also of his neglecting to give me such information as would enable me to return the civility. I left him in the National Gallery on his first and only visit to me, supposing that he would drop into my room before he left the building. He did not do so however, and it was the last I saw or

<sup>36</sup> This was the *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Patents for the year 1846*, *House Executive Documents, Document No. 52*, Twenty-ninth Congress, Second Session, 1846-1847.

have heard of him. I called into all the hotels hoping I might find him. At Brown's I saw "Mr. Gregory's" name on the book, but, as he had retired, left my card. I am very sorry that I did not see more of him. It would have given me much pleasure, to inquire more particularly after my friends in N. C. and to pay him all the attention in my power. But, as you know, I am no *stickler* for courtesy, and therefore bring no charge against him for its violation.

You said in one of your letters to me, that if we did not look after Mr. Ritchie<sup>37</sup> he would turn us upside down, or something to that effect. It is quite true: he is playing the very d—l with the democratic party. Not content with deprecating the existence of disputes and difficulties in the party in New York—which it appears to me is all that legitimately falls under the cognizance of the national organ—he has had the impudence to interfere in their quarrels, arraying himself with one faction to the evident effect of rendering the difficulties more irreconcilable. Foreign interference always has done this, where the intermeddler has taken service under one banner and against the other, and the present is only another proof of the truth of the principle. Another cause of complaint to us northerners is, that he is unjust to our section of the country and to our public men. The advent of Gen'l Foote<sup>38</sup> into the Senate of the U. S. was heralded by all that eulogium which only Mr. Ritchie *discriminately* bestows; his speeches were praised to the echo—he was the great man of the age, the statesman among statesmen; and if he has not emerged from this cloud of fulsome panegyric a very giant in intellect it is from no fault of his eulogizer. So it was with Mr. Soule:<sup>39</sup> in a single fortnight he issued from the venerable gentleman's crucible an intellectual monster whom the ordinary capacity of mankind has failed to this day to fathom.

Now we, not expecting this "pruriency of fame not earned," never ask for the ovation which *insures* it. But when a northern man does good service to the democratic party, in the success of whose principles the south is as much interested as the north, we *demand* that the benefit should be acknowledged in proper

<sup>37</sup> Thomas Ritchie (1778-1854), Virginia journalist and politician, best known as the Editor of the *Richmond Enquirer*, 1804-1845. During 1845-1851 he conducted the *Washington Union* (D. C.), a national administrative organ established at Polk's request. Charles H. Ambler, *Thomas Ritchie: A Study in Virginia Politics* (Richmond, 1913), 250-272.

<sup>38</sup> Henry Stuart Foote (1804-1880), Member of Congress from Mississippi, 1847-1852; Governor of Mississippi, 1852-1854. Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography*, VI, 501.

<sup>39</sup> Pierre Soulé (1801-1870), United States Senator from Louisiana, 1847-1853, strong state rights advocate. Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVII, 405-407.

terms. Mr. Atherton,<sup>40</sup> than whom no man is better entitled to the favorable consideration of the south, has lately made a speech in the senate on the finances which Mr. Allen,<sup>41</sup> of Ohio, pronounces a remarkably lucid statement. He has been highly complimented by others both in and out of the Senate, by men from the north and south, the east & west, and yet as far as the organ of the democratic party is concerned, the speech has fallen still born from the mouth of the author.

I might car[r]y still further my specifications under this charge, but the above is sufficient. I should not have said this much had I not been perfectly sure that you agree entirely with me on this subject.

These sectional discriminations express[ed] by any one do harm; but when the offender is the exponent of the principles of the whole party the mischief done is incalculable.

Once more, and I have done with Mr. R. for the present: I believe it is acknowledged that Mr. Clay is the best candidate *for us* the whigs can select; every good democrat therefore, hopes their choice will fall upon him. Such indeed was the prospect when he came out with his letter announcing himself as a candidate.<sup>42</sup> Now it appeared to all observing men here that this letter was a hard blow for the whigs to recover from and that Mr. C. had almost killed himself; Yet Mr. Ritchie not satisfied with this, not even allowing the whigs time enough to recover their propriety, pitches into Mr. C. as though it were necessary to kill him outright. Is he not giving the democrats fits rather?

You will be glad to know, my dear Dr. that the end of my sheet prevents me saying much I had intended, at its commencement.

I am Respectfully

Amos B. Little

Dr. F. R. Gregory  
Waterloo, N. C.

<sup>40</sup> Charles Gordon Atherton (1804-1853), Democratic Member of Congress, 1837-1843, and United States Senator from New Hampshire, 1843-1849. His strict constructionist view of the Constitution was well expressed in the "gag resolution" he introduced in the House on December 11, 1838. *Congressional Globe*, Twenty-fifth Congress, Third Session, 23. The speech here referred to was delivered on March 22, 1848. *Congressional Globe*, Thirtieth Congress, First Session, Appendix, 410-414.

<sup>41</sup> William Allen (1803-1879), born in Edenton, North Carolina; Democratic Member of Congress from Ohio, 1833-1835; United States Senator, 1837-1849; Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations and spokesman of Polk during the War with Mexico. Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography*, I, 210.

<sup>42</sup> Under date of April 10, 1848, Clay issued a statement which was in effect an announcement of his candidacy for President in that year. *New York Daily Tribune*, April 13, 1848.

Chester Randolph Co Ills. Aug. 3rd 49

Dear Herbert

"Days and months have elapsed—I have looked and looked and no letter came from you"—you say in your last of 15th of July.

I wrote you in June I think—but you probably did not get the letter.

I am situated still at Chester you see and am as usual reading and studying. It is the business of my life and as I grow older I am more attached to my books. I take all the foreign journals and editing a paper I see all the news of the day and receive all the magazines of the country—but few of which I read.

Prof. Marsh had two sons in college—the younger whom I hope you will get is a fine scholar. His father was a truly great man and his son stood at the head of his class. When I knew him he was modest & retiring in his manners—but it is probable he has changed somewhat since then. He has been into the first society in Vermont and although his taste would not lead him to imitate and adopt the graces & blandishments of a Chesterfield—he yet I apprehend will show much of well bred scholarship. I had no acquaintance with the younger. But with the elder I am intimately acquainted. He was a Class mate of mine during the Freshman year & left one year and entered the class below me on his return. They lost their Mother young and their Father died while the older one was in College—and his works as they are published are their only legacy. The respect & love I entertain for their departed father leads me to hope that fortune may smile upon them.

I have been looking for a letter from your Father for a long time—But I suppose he is quite busy in attending to the affairs of his plantation. On the receipt of this, if you are not otherwise engaged, just sit down, make yourself a good pen and mind & don't imitate my writing, (For you know Lawyers never write well,) and write me a good long letter—tell me whether your Mill is erected—how Father Mills and his Militia affairs progress and all about all things. And don't omit to inform me, whether you have fallen in love with any of the fair daughters of Eve yet! Give my regards to your mother & tell her, that I predict, that one of her sons will in time make an admirer & admired of the Ladies!

You say nothing of your Cousin Herbert! Where is he. I admired his disposition much. Please remember me to him if he [is] with you—otherwise in your letters. I am happy to hear that you remember me "at your house" and you may well say "certainly you have not forgotten us"! No! My dear Herbert!

My heart is made of different stuff. I shall remember your family with the warmest regards and gratitude as long as I live. I very often think of you and fond memory will long treasure up the bygone scenes through which I passed in North Carolina, as the delightful episode of my life. Your noon day sports at the school house—while I was cutting wood—and your pranks on your way home with Alexander & the little Doctor, I often call to mind. I hope you will improve your time well and prepare yourself for a useful and happy life. You have my good wishes in all your future way and you have all the adventitious circumstances required to make a talented and useful member of society.

I have lately formed a co partnership with Mr. Breese<sup>43</sup> a U. States' Senator from this State and shall practice Law in Illinois for the present.

We have about 100 deaths within a short time of the Cholera in our little village. It is now subsiding. Was in St. Louis last week & the fore part of this—was present at a large fire & Riot. Guns & pistols were discharged—"rocks" thrown and houses torn down. It was frightful. Write me soon & remember me to all not excepting any

Yours truly

Cha's N. Starbird

My regards to the Hicks!

[Addressed:]

Master Herbert Gregory  
Waterloo P. O.  
Granville Co  
N. Carolina

Washington, D. C.  
10 Feb. 1850.

My dear Sir:

Can your recollection revert so far back as to recall a letter you addressed me asking that I would endeavor to procure you a teacher? I think it was something like a year ago. Well, until yours of the 22d ult. from that period I have not heard a word from you. I replied to that: I thought it was the last letter between us: I felt *myself* aggrieved but instead of agreeing with me it appears that *you* have felt wronged. Notwithstanding what I considered your unaccountable silence, I should have written

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<sup>43</sup> Sidney Breese (1800-1878), native of New York; United States Senator from Illinois, 1843-1849; Judge of the Supreme Court of Illinois, 1857-1878; attracted national attention by his opinion in *Munn vs Illinois*, one of the landmarks in the economic history of the United States. Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography*, III, 14-16.

you long ago & often if this new administration had not imposed upon me such additional duties as to give me no time for private correspondence. However it may appear, do not believe I would yield up your friendship on trifling grounds. No, sir: it is too dear to me to be relinquished. I am proud of it, and would retain it to the last.

The slavery question does not frighten me. The country is destined to survive it. When the fanatics of both sections like the bunting ram or the Kilkenny cats, shall have destroyed themselves, the Union will emerge like a Phoenix from the fire.

Monarchies have had their crises, and they are forms of government known almost from the creation: ours is an experiment, and shall we not expect our crises too? The chemist in his laboratory works upon the brink of destruction: he *must* so labor, if he would discover the untrodden paths of science. The statesmen or people who seek to discover new methods of governing the human mind (the mind is *not* free—never was—never can be) also stands face to face with ruin: they *must* so stand if they would elevate its character. The chemist or statesman who hesitates because of the danger is a coward: much more so is he who trembles and distrusts when he is environed by quicksands. Self confidence is a Godlike quality: the present is a fitting moment to exercise it.

I am opposed to the extension of slavery: where it exists, I am in favor of protecting it. But rather than the north should suffer from disunion I don't care if the scab of slavery extends over all Mexico. I confess to this much selfishness: I am not willing to damn myself to save you, *unless you consent*. We are like children playing at see-saw. In wealth, population and energy we of the north are your superiors. Our end of the board is *down*—firmly planted upon the ground; while your end hangs dangling in mid-air. Now I shall not propose to poise the board by shifting anyone, or any part of one, of these essentials to national prosperity, to your end, *unless you are perfectly agreeable*.

Thus you see, Sir, that upon the question of slavery, there is no need that we differ; but if we do, *let us be friends who differ*.

You know with how much pleasure I hear from you: let it then be often.

Please present my respects to your family, & believe me

Sincerely yours

A. B. Little.

F. R. Gregory, Esq.  
Waterloo, N. C.

University of Vermont (Burlington) Sept. 9th /50

To Doct. F. R. Gregory

Dear Sir,

From a line rec'd from Mr. J. W. Marsh, dated Leesburg Va. Aug't 30th. I learn that his place in your family as teacher, is yet unsupplied, & that it is your request that, if possible, I would send you one. I have this day conferred with Mr. *Warren Perry Adams*, a graduate in our last senior class, & he consents to succeed Mr. Marsh. Mr. A. has had some experience in teaching, & given good satisfaction to his employers, as I understand. He is a modest & amiable young man, a good scholar, of strictly virtuous principles & habits, & to be relied on for his prudence & fidelity. Before leaving college he intended to engage in practical surveying, but has since concluded to spend some time in teaching. He will stay with you a year, & longer if he gives satisfaction & is pleased with his situation, but he wishes to engage only for a year.

As the time specified by Mr. Marsh in which you would wait to hear from me is nearly expired, I advised Mr. A. not to leave till I obtained an answer from you: As soon as he is apprised of your wishes to that end, he will set forth, & will reach your place in about ten days, as he wishes to see some friends on the way.

Very respectfully yours &c.

Worthington Smith<sup>44</sup>  
Pres't

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<sup>44</sup> Worthington Smith (1795-1856), President of the University of Vermont, 1849-1855. *Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, II, 41.

## BOOK REVIEWS

Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction. By Eric L. McKittrick. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1960. Pp. ix, 534. \$8.50.)

This is a significant book. It is in many respects a reappraisal of a generation of scholarship dealing with the Reconstruction era, and it is important both for the light it throws on the relations between the executive and the legislative branches of the government during the unprecedented problems of Reconstruction, and as a chapter in American historiography. Whether or not it will set the pattern for a re-examination of the Dunning school of historians and of more recent scholars like Howard Beale, remains to be seen. Beale and the biographers of Johnson, and all who have found Presidential reconstruction more suited to the genius of the American people than the military dictatorship which Congress imposed under the pious guise of the brotherhood of man and a "republican" form of government, will find their views controverted by a fresh and vigorous voice. Professor McKittrick writes with clarity and precision, is a master of the apt quotation, has a gift for the descriptive phrase, and no familiarity at all with the studied double-talk often found in the "judicious" and "balanced" historical study. In short, he has researched widely and deeply, knows what he believes, is willing, even eager, to lay it on the line.

What he believes is not so much that Andrew Johnson was a negative force as that he was a force in the wrong direction, that his political education had been garnered in the backwoods of Tennessee, that his character and temperament did not fit him for high public office, that he was a failure as military governor of Tennessee, that it was he who welded the Radicals together, he whose constant and unnecessary defiance forced their steady shift toward ultimate military reconstruction and the Fourteenth Amendment (which was in no sense a "plot" against the South), he who rejected opportunities for a negotiated compromise with Congressional leadership on the Freedmen's Bureau and Civil Rights legis-

lation and whose veto of these bills precipitated the reconstruction conflict, he who made no effort to influence the terms of the Fourteenth Amendment and who subsequently turned his back on it and urged the southern states to refuse to ratify it, he who turned a united Republican party against himself (when he should have been its leader) and who made a miserable failure when he tried to organize a National Union party in 1866, and he who permitted southern states to resort to quibbles and subterfuges in pretending to accept the results of the war, and who pardoned Confederate leaders in order that they might be elected to office. President Johnson gathers few bouquets at McKittrick's hands. He takes particular relish in quoting from the speeches of Johnson in the unfortunate "Swing around the Circle," and he goes so far as to count the personal pronouns in Johnson's "sensational performance" of February 22, 1866, in response to a crowd of serenaders, which "must have affected his head like a great gust of air from the East Tennessee mountains"; the number of personal pronouns in Johnson's speech constitute evidence that "he was obsessed with himself to a degree that exceeded the normal." The author rejects the notion that Johnson's plan of reconstruction was closely patterned after Lincoln's, nor does he comment on the possibility of Lincoln's success had he stood in Johnson's place. Any comparison between Lincoln and Johnson, he shows, reveals only the latter's political ineptness and personality deficiencies. Unlike Lincoln, who had no class consciousness, "the matter of class and social acceptance churned sourly in Andrew Johnson's vitals." It was out of his own "inner world of suspicious fantasy" that "he evolved an extravagant credo of plebian democracy. . . ." (Oddly enough, the Index gives more references under Lincoln than Johnson—has the printer inadvertently dropped some lines?)

Professor McKittrick's study is not so much a defense of the Radicals (that they were constantly on Lincoln's neck is scarcely mentioned; indeed, the impression is left that without Johnson's obstinate obtuseness there would have been no cohesive Radical faction) as it is an explanation of the necessity for a political solution to the stalemate forced by Johnson

and his Copperhead allies. This political necessity for a workable reconstruction, not the matter of the tariff, the ambitions of monopolists, the influence of a controlled press, or a misinterpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment, was responsible for the repudiation of the President in the Congressional elections of 1866. Included in this reappraisal are such items as a lower evaluation of the testimony of Welles, a decline in the importance of Sumner and Thad Stevens (in the case of the latter only Johnson's intransigency made it possible for Stevens to become more than what he had always been, a troublemaker), and the elevation of Senator Fessenden to a place of prime importance. More credence is given to the insights of James Ford Rhodes and to the testimony of Blaine, who was "in the thick of things," than is usually the case. This study, therefore, reverts to the older view of a "weak" President about to let the South get out of hand, or even to be an accessory before the fact, and a strong Congress responsive to the mood of a people who would not let the fruits of victory slip from their grasp to be swallowed up in the mire of southern "black codes," discriminations against both southern Unionists and Negroes, white supremacy, and the revival of Confederate leadership. That an impotent President could, in the emptiness of his power, bring order and cohesion into an opposition that was in danger of being fragmented by its very victories, as the author here suggests, is a remarkable thing, and a tribute, even in a negative sense, to the power of the Presidency.

This is a thesis full of absorbing interest (even the *obiter dicta*), and it is often brilliant (witness, for example, the discussion of the influence of the press, so different from that given by Beale, in the election of 1866), but the reviewer would like to suggest two major and two minor flaws. Most serious is the failure to explore adequately the mind and logic of Johnson (and the element of Lincolnlike leniency) in devising the program of "restoration" that he had for the South. Emphasis is placed, rather, on the arguments of the Congressional opposition and the contemporary press of the North, with the inference that the President stood more nearly alone than was the case. Constitutional issues were foremost

in the mind of Johnson, and these should be seen from the vantage point of 1866 when the Constitution and the principle of state rights were less flexible than in our own time. The President may have had a point at that time even if it is no longer valid. Secondly, there is a too ready assumption that the South did not genuinely accept defeat, and that the Provisional governments, under Presidential reconstruction, were not, in fact, entitled to have their representatives seated in the Congress. Two minor faults, we think, are the attempt to compare the "spiritual" needs of the recalcitrant South with the abjectly submissive attitude of Japan in 1945, with its "ritual proofs" and "psychic fulfilments"—all of which is alien to the American tradition; and the tendency of the author to accept at face value public statements which were contrary to private convictions, such as revealed by Fessenden in confidential letters to Cousin Lizzy. Could the differences between public and private opinion be explained by the hope that the odium of any break would be put upon the President and not the Congress?

The reviewer thinks that the case against Andrew Johnson has been reopened, that there has been a brilliant summation, but that the final verdict is not yet in.

Duke University.

Robert H. Woody.

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I Have Called You Friends. By Francis C. Anscombe. (Boston: The Christopher Publishing House. 1959. Pp. v, 407. \$5.00.)

Because Quakers have always seemed to exert an influence all out of proportion to their numbers, it is usually meaningful and sometimes disquieting to read another chapter in their history. This study of Quakerism in North Carolina makes it clear that the Friends there have been no less inspired and no less a conscience to the community than their brethren elsewhere.

The early part of Dr. Anscombe's work is given over to a sketch of the historical antecedents. There is a sympathetic review of the life of George Fox and the Quaker movement

in England. The section following is meant to set forth essential Quaker beliefs, but the theological stance is definitely conservative and, furthermore, there is such an irritating intermingling of the past and present tense that the reader is hard put to decide whether a particular belief was held in the seventeenth century or is held by all Quakers presently.

The body of the book offers a thorough coverage of the various phases and personalities involved in the establishment and expansion of Quakerism in North Carolina between 1665 and 1957. It is to the author's credit that he is able to give this expanse of history such a vigorous and satisfying treatment. The primary sources are explored and the essential history is all there.

Most readers will not respond to the almost interminable details having to do with the organization of Yearly Meetings, the history of Guilford College (everything from biographical sketches of important figures to the number of books used in a certain summer session and an assurance that the college gym has ample bleachers and dressing rooms), the various Quarterly and Monthly Meetings—Cane Creek Meeting, New Garden Meeting, and other such matters of local or at best regional interest. Nevertheless, the general reader may well respond to struggle of the Quaker conscience over the issues of Church and State, Christian participation in war, slavery, human rights, and many problems that are throbbingly real today. There is more than history for the specialist. This is a story of Christian commitment and human sensitivity honestly told. That these Quakers held this treasure in earthen vessels is shown in the author's attention to the occasional personality clashes, the petty disputes, and the restless migrations.

Dr. Anscombe, a teacher with thirty-three years in the classroom and a fine record in both academic and church circles, is a warm-hearted Quaker with conservative theological views that have a way of showing through and a bent for research and reminiscences. Fortunately, he tempers the sympathetic approach with some critical analysis.

To the uncommitted, parts of this book will seem sentimental and provincial, but to those who are closer to the scenes and heirs of this tradition the book will say more and seem better.

Cornell College.

Warren B. Martin.

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The Mexican War. By Otis A. Singletary. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960. The Chicago History of American Civilization. Pp. vii. 181. \$3.75.)

High school teachers, college professors, and librarians get out your pencil and add Singletary's *Mexican War* to the list of books recommended for students. It is brief, readable, and accurate. It is simple enough for high school students to follow, yet it seems to be based on recent research and would fit the needs of a doctoral candidate filling in gaps. There is nothing very startling or new in Singletary's work, but in spite of its brevity it should stand as the best single work on the Mexican War.

Singletary devotes chapters to the causes of the War, the invasion of Northern Mexico, the thrust to the Pacific, the Mexico City campaign, friction between politicians and generals, inner-service rivalries, and diplomacy. He emphasizes the mutual hatred between Mexicans and Southwesterners as a cause of the war. He calls Winfield Scott the "ablest American commander between the Revolution and the Civil War." He generally praises Stephen Kearney and Alexander W. Doniphan. He seems to regard Zachary Taylor as more of a popularity seeker than an able general, and John C. Fremont was not only insubordinate but a soldier who was away when most of the fighting occurred. Jonathan Worth was a capable, but oversensitive soldier. He criticizes James K. Polk, but his own selection of facts leaves the reader believing the President was more sinned against than sinning.

The book will be a worthwhile addition to any library, but a definitive history of the Mexican War is still needed.

William S. Hoffmann.

Appalachian State Teachers College.

The *Augusta Chronicle*: Indomitable Voice of Dixie, 1785-1960.  
By Earl L. Bell and Kenneth C. Crabbe. (Athens: University  
of Georgia Press. 1960. Pp. xii, 273. \$5.00.)

The *Augusta Chronicle*, the South's oldest newspaper, is celebrating one hundred and seventy-five years of continuous publication in 1960. Earl Bell and Kenneth Crabbe, *Augusta Chronicle-Herald* staffers, were assigned the task of writing a monograph about the *Chronicle* for the occasion. Their narrative is a fascinating one depicting the development of a small river-town weekly into a significant city daily, describing the transformation of James Oglethorpe's Fort Augusta of 1735 into today's metropolitan Augusta, and interweaving within this framework a seemingly endless number of names and biographical sketches of *Chronicle* publishers, editors, and lesser personnel.

Recounted in the newspaper's own words are memorable events and scenes of turmoil and tragedy. The reader is treated to the scene of Georgia ratification of the U. S. Constitution, visits of national personalities to the city, Chinese coolies laboring on the Augusta Canal construction, suffering during the 1908 flood, devastation caused by the fire of 1916, completion of the Clark Hill Dam, and the impact caused by the construction of the Savannah River H-Bomb plant.

The *Augusta Chronicle* pursued a fluid policy relative to national political party loyalty prior to the Civil War; remained staunchly National Democratic from 1866-1946; endorsed Strom Thurmond in 1948; supported Republican Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1952; and chose to remain neutral in 1956. Locally, the newspaper bitterly opposed Tom Watson of his Populist followers and prepared the way for the overthrow of Augusta and Richmond County's Cracker party organization.

Authors Bell and Crabbe have written a creditable account of the important role played by the *Augusta Chronicle* in the political, social, and economic life of Augusta and the Central Savannah River area. They present a human story dealing with personalities and occurrences as well as delving into the areas of journalistic mechanics, formats, and newspaper

policies and practices. The format of the book is well-planned; organization of the text is basically chronological; and journalistic style of presentation adds to readability. Especially useful are appendices tracing the chronology of significant events in the lives of the newspaper and the City of Augusta. Appropriate illustrations plus an adequate Index are also noted. Errors appear to be held to a minimum despite a profusion of names, places, and dates; however, students of southern history simply do not refer to Comer Vann Woodward as "C. Vance Woodward" as the authors do in both the Bibliography and in textual references.

The book abounds in generalities and is almost devoid of objective criticism of the policies and practices of the newspaper or of its editors and publishers. Complete files of the *Augusta Chronicle* since 1837 constitute the chief source material used; files of earlier *Chronicles* and other Augusta journals are classified as fragmentary. Additionally, a limited and modest number of secondary works complete the Bibliography. Footnotes are conspicuous only by their absence.

Despite these obvious shortcomings, the volume constitutes a worthwhile addition to the small, but growing shelf of southern newspaper monographs. This field only has been scratched to date; important newspapers in every southern State await monographs by young and eager research scholars and/or enterprising journalists.

John C. Ellen, Jr.

East Carolina College.

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Louisiana: The Pelican State. By Edwin Adams Davis. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1959. Pp. xi, 356. \$4.95.)

This book covers Louisiana history from primeval swamp with its Indian inhabitants through divisions devoted to French and Spanish colonization, early years of American rule, ante-bellum life, Civil War and Reconstruction, the era from 1877 to 1920, and modern Louisiana. Of the 341 pages

of text in the book, 236 cover the period before 1877; and of the years after 1877, only fourteen pages deal with politics. Huey Long, for example, receives only a brief two-page treatment. In each of the divisions of the book there are chapters which discuss the economic, cultural, and social life of the age. Many topical quotations from contemporary letters, travel accounts, poetry, and song give the work interest and color. The value of the book is further enhanced by 55 illustrations and 17 maps.

Of special significance are the pages that discuss those particular *bête noir* of earlier Louisiana historians: Governor O'Reilly and Ben Butler. Breaking with tradition, Davis praises O'Reilly and the Spanish in general. "His [O'Reilly] governmental and economic reforms paved the way for the steady growth and progress of the Louisiana colony, which prospered more under the Spanish than it had under the French. The Spanish, not the French, were the real makers of colonial Louisiana" (p. 88). Butler's "infamous" Order No. 28 is quickly passed over and there is no mention of spoon stealing. In fact, Davis extolls some aspects of Butler's rule and insists that "Butler did much for which the people of New Orleans should have thanked him" (p. 217).

The jacket cover contends that *Louisiana: The Pelican State* was written for a "wide audience," but it is obvious from the style and material that the book is primarily designed as a high school textbook. As such it has little value as a research tool and to a sophisticated reader it is too simple to be really entertaining. The best that can be concluded here—apart from its value as a high school textbook, which I am in no position to judge—is that in a field where there are so few good books, this State history deserves favorable mention.

Robert C. Reinders.

Tulane University.

*A Southern Woman's Story: Life in Confederate Richmond.* By Phoebe Yates Pember. Edited by Bell Irwin Wiley. (Jackson, Tennessee: McCowat-Mercer Press, Inc. 1959. Pp. 195. \$4.95.)

While historians of the awful Civil War have pieced together the role of women as nurses for the wounded in the North and in the South, this modest and sometimes humorous autobiographical account of a woman as administrator for a large hospital is unique and significant. The young Jewess, a widow, Phoebe Yates Pember recounted this aspect of her life and introduced sidelights on life in Confederate Richmond from 1862 to 1865. The uncensored 1879 first and only edition has now the benefit of Dr. Bell Wiley's extensive knowledge of the period and he has put the report in appropriate perspective by his spritely and illuminating nineteen pages of "Introduction," to which has been added forty-two pages of heretofore unpublished letters. The letters include a report on the author's appointment and how she selected Chimborazo Hospital "because it was divided among half a dozen ladies who would be companionable perhaps." Clothes were a problem. A missing sleeve from a "chemise russe" was replaced by a piece of shawl and went well with a homespun skirt she obtained from North Carolina.

The frankness of the account is revealing. Instead of being free to handle supplies and to oversee the preparation of food and drink, she was called upon to help in administering brandy while men suffered the pain of amputations and sometimes she had to wash the "wounds myself." By January, 1863, help was so scarce that she had trouble obtaining a real cook so that food for 700 sick men had to be cooked "under my eyes by two black imps of fourteen." At times she was even too weary to sew. Some relief came by being able to spend nights away from the hospital. She renewed her strength by the knowledge that she brought comfort and some happiness to many sick and wounded. She kept a sense of humor. When she received an odd request for a mixture of bread, milk, pepper, and salt, she wanted to know if the soldier wished to put it upon his chest or really planned to eat it. The troubles she had with attendants and doctors over the rations from the

whiskey barrel tested her administrative resourcefulness and sense of responsibility to those patients who were scheduled for medicinal dosages.

John S. Wise in *End of An Era* confirmed Phoebe's description of the Christmas season of 1864 as "unusually gay." But the hospital matron noted that thinking people considered "this recklessness was ominous," and by the end of February there was talk of the inefficiency of the commissary department and about the impending evacuation. The story is one devotion to duty, even to staying behind with the sick and then persisting in demanding supplies for her charges from the new Federal wagon.

Looking back on the days of tribulation, the author knew life would never be the same. Realizing that some women, North and South, had broken under the strains and scenes of wartime hospitals, she concluded on a philosophical note: "If the ordeal does not chasten and purify her nature, if the contemplation of suffering and endurance does not make her wiser and better, and if the daily fire through which she passes does not draw from her nature the sweet fragrance of benevolence, charity, and love,—then, indeed a hospital has been no fit place for her!"

Robert C. Cotner.

The University of Texas.

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Letters of Warren Akin: Confederate Congressman. Edited by Bell Irvin Wiley. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1959. Pp. 151. \$3.75.)

The *Letters of Warren Akin* help to illuminate one of the relatively dark corners of Confederate history: that of the Confederate Congress. Altogether, the collection comprises fifty letters, thirty-three of which came from Akin's pen while he was attending the Second Session of the Second Congress. Earlier, in 1864, Akins twice moved his family from the path of enemy raiders who burned his home and law office and destroyed much personal property belonging to the family. The fact that most of the letters were written subsequent to

Sherman's drive through Georgia makes them even more valuable since Congressional correspondence late in the war was particularly scarce.

A native of Elbert County, Georgia, Akin moved to Cass (later Bartow) County in 1836 and gained recognition as an attorney. Active in politics, Akin served as a Whig Presidential elector in 1840, represented Cass County in the 1850 convention that adopted the "Georgia Platform," ran unsuccessfully against Joseph E. Brown for the governorship in 1859, and served in the State legislature from 1861 to 1863. Election to Congress followed, and he took his seat when the First Session of the Second Congress followed, and he took his seat when the First Session of the Second Congress met in May, 1864. While by no means a leader in the Congress, Akin was respected by his colleagues and appears to have been conscientious, perceptive, and loyal to his support of the Davis administration.

Akin's life in Richmond was not a happy experience. Barely able to make ends meet financially, he sometimes found it necessary to accord sock darning priority over correspondence and was taken to task rather soundly by his wife for wearing his clothes longer than he did at home before having them washed.

The reader occasionally senses Akin's growing anxiety over the snail's pace at which Congress seemed to be moving. "We do get on very slowly," is a statement which appears at intervals in his letters. "We have so many talkers," he noted, "and so many things to talk about." Apparently there was more talk than reflection for he told his wife later in January, 1865, that "I know not how to bring the members to think." "Congress," he concluded, "seems not to realize the magnitude of the duties devolved upon it."

Seven letters written early in 1865 by Mrs. Akin to her husband portray the circumstances of refugees in an area untouched directly by invasion. A staunch rebel, Mrs. Akin's lot in many respects was more difficult than that of her husband. Of her own privations, however, she seldom complained and had little patience with those who were criticizing the govern-

ment. "So much fault finding," she wrote, "is obliged to have a demoralizing effect on the soldiers in the field."

Most of the Akin letters in this volume, itself a tribute to Professor Wiley's indefatigable search for such materials and extremely well-edited, were published in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, March, 1958-September, 1959.

H. H. Cunningham.

Elon College.

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The Fall of Richmond. By Rembert W. Patrick. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1960. Pp. vi, 144. \$4.00.)

With the rival capitals separated by scarcely more than one hundred miles, it was natural that the occupation of Richmond should become a primary objective of Union strategists. They tried in every conceivable way to capture the city—by direct overland approach, by sending an army up the Peninsula, by a surprise cavalry dash, by a separate attack from the south while Lee's army was battling Grant in the Wilderness, and finally by a prolonged siege which ended only after the Confederate lines, stretched to the breaking point, were punctured below Petersburg.

For four years the Richmond inhabitants had responded nobly to the demands of war. They had cheered the troops en route to the front, cared for the wounded that streamed in from nearby battlefields, manned the defences at the sound of alarm, and willingly done without that the troops might have food and clothing. Yet when the end came abruptly on April 2-4, 1865, the morale and discipline that had sustained the people of Richmond through four trying years broke down. Usually it is the conquering army that gets out of hand and destroys the prize after a bitter siege, but Richmond fell victim to hasty and at times senseless destruction by the Confederate authorities and to the rioting of underfed and over-excited mobs. Within a brief time the Union army was able to restore order to the extent that Lincoln could visit the fallen city in greater safety than he could attend the theater in his own capital.

*The Fall of Richmond* is a masterful treatment of a limited subject. Professor Patrick writes with vigor and clarity, and from the newspaper reports, manuscript sources, and official documents he has been able to reconstruct vividly the actions and attitudes of representative segments of Richmond society during those fateful days.

Jay Luvaas.

Allegheny College.

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Pen and Sword: The Life and Journals of Randal McGavock.  
Edited by Herschel Gower and Jack Allen. (Nashville: Tennessee Historical Commission. 1959. Pp. 695. \$6.50.)

Randal McGavock was well on the way to national prominence when he was killed on the battlefield in 1863, but in his thirty-six years he lived a full life. Of prominent Tennessee ancestry, the grandson of Felix Grundy, McGavock was educated in Nashville and at Harvard, was a lawyer and for one term the mayor of his home city, and he associated with eminent leaders of the time, including three Presidents. He was well-known in Tennessee political circles and was a delegate to the Charleston Democratic Convention in 1860. Intelligent, observant, and level-headed, McGavock was a discerning diarist, a widely traveled, suave, polished gentleman, whose varied interests including reading, drama, music, occasional gambling, social drinking, and the company of both men and women. In the Civil War he fought at Forts Henry and Donelson, was captured and imprisoned at Fort Warren for five months, exchanged in 1862, after which he rejoined his regiment, only to be killed at the Battle of Raymond.

*Pen and Sword: The Life and Journals of Randal McGavock*, edited by Herschel Gower and Jack Allen, includes an excellent sketch of McGavock's family and life, as well as his journals covering his year at Harvard, his foreign travel, the period, 1852-1860, during which he practiced law and entered politics, and his war journal for February-October, 1862. So interesting are his accounts that the reader regrets the journals that were either not kept or were lost.

Herschel Gower has written the excellent biographical sketch and has superbly edited the Harvard and travel journals, and his copious notes are both informative and complete. Jack Allen, however, has not done as thorough a job with the political and war diaries, although his identification of Tennessee figures far surpasses that of national leaders, and, as he states in his Introduction, this was his intention. Even so, it is the opinion of this reviewer that he frequently verges on insult when commenting on national military and political persons in a vague, general way. To refer to Albert Sidney Johnston simply as "soldier" (p.586), to William H. Seward as "lawyer, statesman" (p.646), to Caleb Cushing as "lawyer, diplomat" (p.565), or to others of equal prominence in a similar manner is deplorable. It reflects a lack of painstaking compilation of information on the part of the editor. The minor errors and oversights elsewhere in the volume are slight and do not detract from the work, for Randal McGavock was such a superb writer and commentator, and he moved in such interesting circles, that his journals could not help but make interesting reading.

Mary Elizabeth Massey.

Winthrop College.

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The South in American History. By William B. Hesseltine and David L. Smiley. (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc. Second Edition 1960. Pp. x, 630. \$8.00.)

In this second edition of the revised *History of the South*, Professors Hesseltine and Smiley, native southerners with northern training, have kept the same theme but have re-organized and expanded the book, especially the latter part. Much of the work was done by Professor Smiley, who teaches at Wake Forest College. As a text the book is soundly conceived and straightforwardly presented in clear and concise yet meaty chapters. The period ending in 1865 is covered in 346 pages, that since the Civil War in 259 pages. Social and cultural aspects are introduced along with the economic, political and military. Numbers of effective illustrations have

been included but it was thought unnecessary to have any bibliography, an appendage which the reviewer thinks might still be warranted.

The South's story is told sympathetically and optimistically but realistically and without sentimentality. Defining the South as a section made up of different regions and of people with different traditions, the authors place it in its proper setting as a part of the Nation, to which out of its own proud heritage it has made and will continue to make its contribution. They hold that Americans from Colonial Times developed four different socio-political traditions (namely, those of the trustees, the squires, the mechanics, the yeomen), which the Federal Government attempted to harmonize. After the Civil War there was a "New Nation"; and, in areas other than the Cotton kingdom, a "New South" was in the making, in which a compromise was slowly and painfully being forged between the conflicting ideals of Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee. Up to 1900, while Bloody Shirt Waving in the North was matched by appeals to race prejudice in the South and Southern Bourbons allied with conservative Eastern capitalists and politicians, the South was a colonial dependency. Thereafter, it was, they say, readmitted into the nation but at the expense of its "distinctives" and has ever since been falteringly returning to political, economic, and cultural independence and given promise of mastering itself to realize its proven potential for the future.

Lawrence F. Brewster.

East Carolina College.

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James Stephen Hogg: A Biography. By Robert C. Cotner. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1959. Pp. xxvi, 617. Illustrations. \$7.50.)

This stout volume is a minutely detailed account of the life and work of the man affectionately known by many contemporary and later Texans as "The People's Governor."

James Stephen Hogg was born in 1851 on the family plantation near Rusk, Cherokee County, Texas. His father,

Joseph L. Hogg, had migrated from Alabama twelve years earlier. A week after the fall of Sumter, the elder Hogg volunteered to raise a regiment for the Confederacy and was promptly appointed brigadier general. He died in camp near Corinth, Mississippi, in 1862. His wife died a year later, leaving the son a penniless orphan.

During Reconstruction young Hogg worked as printer's devil, sharecropper, and small-town editor. While editor of the *Quitman News* he made his first venture into politics, winning election as justice of the peace in Wood County on the Democratic ticket. In 1875 he was admitted to the bar, and the next year was elected county attorney. Then followed two terms as district attorney for the seventh judicial district.

While in this office Hogg gained a State-wide reputation as a fearless and just prosecutor. In 1886 this reputation and his powerful audience appeal won for him the office of attorney general of Texas. His handling of cases involving leases of State-owned land and the operations of insurance companies in Texas met with popular approval. Soon conventions of farmers, laborers, and stockraisers were demanding the enactment of laws to provide a commission for the more effective regulation of railways. In 1890 they turned to Attorney General Hogg as the man best qualified to campaign for governor on a platform endorsing the commission plan. His election meant that for the first time in their history the people of Texas had wrested control of their government from the old-line politicians.

The legislature quickly enacted a law providing for a railroad commission and Hogg took steps to assure its effectiveness by appointing the distinguished United States Senator, John H. Reagan, as chairman. Although opposed by most newspapers and city people, Hogg was re-elected in 1892 over Populist and Republican opponents. A co-operative legislature enabled him to continue the program of moderate reforms begun two years earlier. Thomas L. Nugent, the Populist candidate for governor in 1894, campaigned on a promise not to undo what had been accomplished by the Hogg administration. The laws for which Hogg had been responsible were said by this opponent of his party to be "wise

and just, and can not but conduce to the welfare, the happiness, and the prosperity of the people."

After eight years as attorney general and governor, Hogg's "\$135 bank balance" was insufficient to meet existing personal obligations. He had already resolved to return to the private practice of law to provide for the security of his family. At the time of his death in 1906, partly through this practice and partly through the discovery of oil on his lands, he was the master of a substantial fortune.

In his research, Professor Cotner made use of the Hogg family papers as well as of newspapers and public documents. There is no formal bibliography but the book is well footnoted and indexed. Admirers of Hogg will approve the sympathetic approach which is evident throughout the volume. Critics will insist, and with some justification, that only one side of the story is told.

Henry S. Stroupe.

Wake Forest College.

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American Folklore. By Richard M. Dorson. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1959. Pp. ix, 328. \$4.50.)

Trained in history and comparative folklore, and extraordinarily experienced as a field collector, the author of *American Folklore* approaches our traditions against the background of American history. His book "follows the broad sweep of American history, and its materials come from authentic collections and studies." He shows that "American Folklore resulted from the grafting of Old World beliefs onto the New World environment, and the generation of new folk fancies within old forms."

This survey comprises seven chapters. Colonial folklore sprang out of the land itself, the savages who inhabited it, and the hazards of life in the wilderness. After a century and a half the American people began to make folklore of their own out of American life and characters, and a native humor developed. During the westward expansion of the nation, certain regional groups--the Pennsylvania Germans, the Lou-

isiana French, the Southwestern Spanish, the Appalachian and Ozarks hillfolk, the Utah Mormons, and the Main Coast Yankees—became sharply defined, and each fostered and developed a reservoir of traditional lore. The flood of immigration after the Civil War brought a vast flotsam of additional lore from Europe and Asia. Living inside the white man's culture, the southern Negro, out of African, European, and American materials and out of his experience under slavery and "quasi-freedom," engendered "a rich complex of unified folklore." Various close-knit groups have spun tales and ballads about characters celebrated in their locality or calling, thus producing a gallery of folk heroes ranging from the genuinely popular (like Barney Beal) to the legendary (Davy Crockett) and the mass-culture type (Paul Bunyan). The shift from rural and agricultural to urban and industrial life has been accompanied by the production of special types of folklore—of the big city (including automobile legends), of college students, of GI's.

Each of these movements or phases is accounted for in terms of history and the best available folklore scholarship, and illustrated by satisfyingly concrete examples (the book is a little "treasury" of folklore). The survey is rounded out by "Important Dates" (in folklore), rich "Bibliographical Notes," "Table of Motifs and Tale Types," and a thorough Index.

Narrative and exposition are clear, brisk, and sure. The style is informal but always in good taste, lively and flexible. Mr. Dorson tells his story with a verve, a color, and a warmth appropriate to his theme. *American Folklore* is an authoritative and a very readable book.

Arthur Palmer Hudson.

University of North Carolina.

An Errand of Mercy: The Evangelical United Front, 1790-1837.  
By Charles I. Foster. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 320. \$6.50.)

The last years of the 18th century and the first years of the 19th were difficult and fearful for the conservative ruling class in England and in the United States. To this class in England the French Revolution and Napoleon offered not only a political challenge but an ideological one as well. The repercussions of the Industrial Revolution were not only economically significant but were threatening to the social order also. In America the radicalism inherent on a frontier and stimulated by the Revolution, the success of the Enlightenment, and the Deism of Jefferson confronted people of substance with a fear that seemed well-founded.

We know some of the political actions the conservatives took to preserve the status quo. Professor Foster's book describes in detail another and less well known device: the creation of a "united front" consisting of religious and educational societies, non-denominational in character but sponsored by the Protestant evangelical churches in both countries. The purpose of these societies, and Professor Foster's list is impressive, was an "errand of mercy," one of benevolence, of persuading the lower classes to remain subservient, of advocating the blessings of contentment. The religious leaders, clerical and lay, were sincere in all this; their spiritual objectives and the political and social objectives of the conservatives coincided. It was a happy relationship while it lasted. It is interesting to learn that to attain these objectives denominational lines were broken down although some Anglicans refused their support. These latter were seemingly more interested in liturgy than in the emotionalism which was a characteristic of the evangelicals.

Professor Foster develops his thesis directly and logically: he states the problem, the pattern of action, the means adopted in both countries, the ultimate collapse of the united front. The author's enjoyment of his subject is clearly apparent in his characterization of motive and of personalities. Readers will be grateful. The scholarly treatment of the

subject is attested not only by the thorough and complete bibliography carefully categorized but also by the skillful use of apt quotations from contemporary sources.

Newell O. Mason.

Stevens Institute of Technology.

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Benjamin Franklin and Polly Baker: The History of a Literary Deception. By Max Hall. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia. 1960. Pp. xi, 193. \$5.00.)

Among the indefatigable creatures of this globe, none surpasses the detective-historian. Give him an unsolved problem, let him scent a clue, and he is off exploring the byways of the long-forgotten.

So it was with Max Hall, former Neiman Fellow at Harvard, now Editorial Director of the New York Metropolitan Region Study. Ten years ago he happened to speculate about Polly Baker's famous speech. From that time he started searching and researching. Did Polly ever exist? How explain her great popularity? Why did Franklin's name touch on her story so often.

Hall found out that it was on April 15, 1747, that the London *General Advertiser* first printed a speech presumably by one Polly Baker of New England who had been brought to court for giving birth to a fifth illegitimate child. Rather than be fined or whipped, she said at her trial, she should have a monument erected to her. For had she not obeyed the command of Nature's God to *Encrease and Multiply*? If she had offended religion, she had indeed already been castigated by being excluded from the community of the church. She deserved, she said, no civil punishment.

Polly's utterance was so eloquent that one of the judges, it was said, married her the next day. Her argument was so pleasing to the eighteenth-century deistic mind that her words were reprinted widely in England, in America, and by

translation in Europe. Yet somehow her reasoning seemed not to be that of an ordinary, uneducated woman.

How Max Hall traced Polly's speech throughout the periodicals of the succeeding decades, how the names of Voltaire, Diderot, Jefferson, and many other became entwined in the web of supposition, and how finally a slim finger pointed toward Franklin as anonymous prankster—all of these matters constitute a whodunit. Though no reviewer may ever disclose the culprit, suffice it to say that Mr. Hall copiously documents every scrap of evidence with extreme care. Here is the detective-historian par excellence.

Richard Walser.

North Carolina State College.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

### DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

#### *General*

Mr. Norman C. Larson, Executive Secretary of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, conferred with members of the Virginia Civil War Commission in Richmond on July 7. He was elected Secretary-Treasurer of the recently organized Confederate States Centennial Conference at a July 21-22 meeting in Atlanta. In response to a call from the Georgia Commission, representatives of the following ten of the original eleven Confederate States were present: North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Virginia, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas, Alabama, Florida, and Arkansas. Mr. Larson presented to the group a proposal to build a new Confederate Museum in Richmond and to restore the White House of the Confederacy to the period of its original occupancy. Col. Hugh Dortch of Goldsboro, Chairman of the North Carolina Commission, and Mrs. Dortch also attended the meeting. Governor Luther H. Hodges has joined Col. Dortch in requesting each chairman of the one hundred North Carolina boards of county commissioners to appoint a local Civil War Centennial Committee. These committees will work closely with the State Commission in planning commemorative events on a local level. Mrs. D. S. Coltrane of Raleigh and Mrs. Henry L. Stevens, Jr., of Warsaw, have been appointed to serve on the Ladies Committee of the National Civil War Centennial Commission. This committee will select a number of women who rendered meritorious service to the Confederacy for special recognition during the centennial years. From August 9 through August 12 Mr. Larson and General John D. F. Phillips, Executive Secretary of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, toured the eastern and northeastern counties of the State to acquaint interested local groups with proposed plans for their respective commissions. Both the Charter Commission and the Confederate Commission are seeking to co-operate with individuals, civic,

and patriotic groups during the commemorations. Governor Hodges announced on September 2 the appointment of Mr. H. Galt Braxton, Editor of the *Kinston Daily Free Press*, Kinston, as a member of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Mr. Reed Sarratt of Winston-Salem, whose term would have expired September 1, 1961.

The bi-monthly meeting of the Executive Committee of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission was held in Goldsboro on September 9. Committee membership is composed of the Honorable Francis E. Winslow of Rocky Mount, Chairman; Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the State Department of Archives and History; Mr. Henry Belk, Editor of the *Goldsboro News-Argus*; Dr. H. H. Cunningham of Elon College; Mr. Lambert Davis, Director of the University of North Carolina Press; Mrs. Robert Grady Johnson of Burgaw; and Mr. David Stick of Kill Devil Hills. General Phillips, Executive Secretary of the Commission, reported to the Executive Committee on the progress made in the plans of the Commission since its plenary meeting in May. Among matters discussed were the organization of several activities committees authorized by the Commission at its last meeting, and presentations made by the Chairman to the Commission on Reorganization of State Government and the Advisory Budget Commission relative to the construction of the proposed Carolina Charter—Confederate Memorial Building. A significant step was taken at the meeting when members of the Executive Committee signed articles of incorporation of the Carolina Charter Corporation. This organization is a non-profit corporation formed to assist the Charter Commission in the development and implementation of its plans for the observance of the Tercentenary of the Charter of 1663. Among the functions of the new corporation are the receipt and disposition of donations for the undertakings of the Charter Commission. Application has been made to the United States Commissioner of Internal Revenue to permit donors to claim as deductions for income tax purposes contributions made to the Carolina Charter Corporation. Thus far more than seventy persons, in addition to members of

the Charter Commission, have signified their willingness to work on one or more of the functional committees established by General Phillips pursuant to the directive of the Commission. The committees and their respective chairmen are as follows: Arts, Mrs. J. O. Tally, Jr., Fayetteville; Commemorative Events, Mrs. Inglis Fletcher, Edenton, and Mrs. Harry McMullan, Washington (co-chairmen); Finance and Building, Mr. James G. W. MacLamroch, Greensboro; Programs in Schools, Colleges, and Universities, Dr. H. H. Cunningham, Elon College; Religious Activities, Mr. Gilbert T. Stephenson, Pendleton; and Scholarly Activities, Mr. Lambert Davis and Mr. William S. Powell, both of Chapel Hill (co-chairmen). The Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission has offices in a State-owned building at 121 Halifax Street, Raleigh.

#### *Director's Office*

Miss Corinne Caudle of Greensboro, a 1960 graduate of Meredith College with an A.B. degree in Business Education, joined the staff in the Director's office on June 8 as a Stenographer II. Mrs. Bradford Johnson of Raleigh was employed on July 6 as Administrative Assistant for the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association. Mrs. Johnson is a graduate of Peace Junior College and the Katharine Gibbs Secretarial School in Boston.

On July 20 Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director, attended a hearing of several cultural agencies of the State before a subcommittee of the Commission on Reorganization of State Government. Serving on the subcommittee are Representative Frank Snapp of Charlotte, Chairman, State Senator Claude Currie of Durham, and Dean Fred Weaver of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. The hearing was held to discuss the proposed cultural center to house the Department of Archives and History, the State Library, the State Museum of Natural History, and the State Museum of Art. Dr. Crittenden has for a number of years requested a building to house adequately and efficiently the varied activities of the Department. He made the suggestion that a com-

bined cultural-educational center be erected as a "complex of buildings."

The State Advisory Budget Commission visited the following Historic Sites: Alamance Battleground on July 13, the Charles B. Aycock Birthplace, July 26, and the Tyron Palace Restoration, July 27. Also, some of the members visited Old Brunswick Town and Town Creek Indian Mound.

#### *Division of Archives and Manuscripts*

Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, visited the Archives of the Historical Foundation at Montreat on August 11. He wrote an article, "North Carolina's County Records Program," for the June issue of *The County Officer*, publication of the National Association of County Officials. Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder, Assistant State Archivist (State Records), represented the Department at the International Congress of Archivists in Stockholm, Sweden, August 16-19. Rear Admiral A. M. Patterson, U.S.N. (Ret.), Assistant State Archivist (Local Records), attended the annual convention of the North Carolina Association of Clerks of Superior Court in New Bern on July 7-10. Mr. Connis O. Brown, a 1960 graduate of East Carolina College, has joined the Local Records Section staff as Archivist I. Mrs. Carolyn Green Hughes resigned as Archivist I in the Archives Section on August 31, and was replaced on September 15 by Mrs. Francis T. Council, formerly with the State Board of Education. Mr. John R. Woodard's summer internship terminated in the Archives Section on August 31. Mr. Jerry T. Salmon joined the staff of the Newspaper Microfilm Project on September 1, replacing Mr. Cecil I. Miller, who returned to college.

In the Archives a total of 787 persons registered for research during the quarter ending June 30, and 556 persons were given information by mail and telephone. The following quantities of photocopies were furnished: 902 photostatic copies, 78 paper prints from microfilm, 45 typed certified copies, and 171 feet of microfilm. The Laminating Unit restored a total of 19,402 pages of historical documents.

In the program of inventorying, repairing, and microfilming the permanently valuable county records in the Local Records Section, priority is now being given to the older counties of the State, following completion of work in three pilot counties—Chatham, Wake, and Wilson. Work has been completed also in the following counties: Beaufort, Camden, Chowan, Currituck, Pasquotank, and Perquimans. Work is now in progress in Craven and Hyde counties.

In the State Records Section inventories are now in progress for the State Board of Nurse Registration and Nursing Education, the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, the Department of Labor, the Board of Correction and Training, and the General Services Division of the Department of Administration. When completed, the total number of up-to-date inventories will be 46. Installation of air conditioning in the Records Center completed this project in the offices and workrooms of the Department. During the quarter ending June 30, the Records Center staff microfilmed 1,067,374 images on 156 reels for ten agencies. During this same period, 1,641 cubic feet of records were admitted to the Center, and 891 cubic feet were removed, meaning a net gain of 750 cubic feet. Records were serviced by the staff 340 times for nine agencies, and representatives from six agencies visited the Center to use records 134 times. Sale of surplus filing equipment was completed in June. The total income from this purpose in the past two years was \$11,491.

Positive microfilm copies of the following newspapers are now available in the number of reels of 35 mm. film indicated: *Raleigh Register* (weekly), 1799-1886, 11 reels; *Raleigh Register* (semi-weekly), 1823-1862, 9 reels; *Raleigh Register* (daily), 1850-1851, 1 reel; *North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh) (weekly), 1834-1870, 6 reels; *North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh) (semi- and tri-weekly), 1850-1868, 6 reels; *North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh) (daily), 1865-1870, 4 reels; and *North Carolina Star* (Raleigh) (weekly), 1808-1856, 8 reels. These reels contain a film copy of every known issue of the titles. Libraries interested in purchasing positive copies may write to the State Archivist for further information.

*Division of Historic Sites*

Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, spoke to the Alston-Williams-Boddie-Hilliard Society at Henderson on June 11 and suggested projects for this family historical society. On June 20-21 he attended the Tryon Palace Commission meeting in New Bern. He visited Edenton on June 22-23 to assist Miss Elizabeth Vann Moore in making a survey of historic buildings in Edenton. On July 20 Mr. Tarlton attended a meeting of the Charles B. Aycock Memorial Commission in Goldsboro. He made a report to the Commission on budgetary requests for operating the project during the 1961-1963 biennium. The Commission voted to emphasize the construction of a visitor center-museum building as the next major project in the over-all development of the Aycock Birthplace. This building would have work, office, and storage space; a main exhibition area with a lobby-assembly room; and restroom facilities. Displays would include mementoes of Aycock's career as Governor of North Carolina and stress his contributions to public education. Mr. Richard W. Sawyer, Jr., is Historic Site Specialist at the Aycock Birthplace. On September 2 Mr. Tarlton attended a meeting of the American Association for State and Local History held in Iowa City, Iowa. He read a paper at one of the sessions on "State Legislation in the United States Relative to Historic Sites," and was elected a member of the council.

Mr. Helmuth J. Naumer, Historic Site Specialist at the Town Creek Indian Mound State Historic Site, reports that 8,552 visitors toured the site from June 1 through August 31. He gave lectures and tours to ten out-of-town groups at the site and spoke to the following groups: Mt. Gilead Lions Club, July 18; Presbyterian Youth Group from Charlotte and Mt. Gilead, July 29; Rockingham Civitan Club, August 25; and the Stonewall Jackson Chapter (Charlotte) of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Mr. Naumer moved into the site specialist's residence on September 1. He reports that a 25-foot burial is presently being excavated and that plans are for this burial to be exhibited by November 1. A great deal of local interest in the site has been evidenced recently.

Permanent markers have been placed on Highways 731 and 73, pointing the way to Town Creek Indian Mound. Special 4' x 6' markers have been erected at the city limits of Mt. Gilead. These were designed by Mr. Naumer at the request of the city council, and the council and local merchants are organizing to assist in further development of the site. In addition, a new body, the Sandhills Area Development Association, is working to help publicize Town Creek Indian Mound on a State-wide basis. This group is composed of members from four counties. The State Highway Department and Mr. E. C. Darden, District Engineer, are responsible for the erection of approximately 20 Scotchlite road markers to be placed from Southern Pines west to Charlotte and from Biscoe south to Rockingham and Wadesboro.

Work on the erection of log walls in the Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace State Historic Site in Buncombe County began June 14. The restored house, like the original built by Vance's grandfather, Col. David Vance, is built of yellow pine logs and covered with a roof of oak "boards" (shingles) split with a froe and mallet. The main house is two stories in height; the kitchen is one story. The City of Asheville and Buncombe County each have contributed \$8,000 toward the restoration of the Vance Birthplace. The exterior work on the house, except for the front porch, was completed prior to August 15, and furnishings are expected to be installed during the winter so that the house may be opened to the public in the spring of 1961. Mr. Frank M. Parker, Asheville attorney, succeeded Mr. George W. McCoy, Asheville newspaperman, as Chairman of the Western North Carolina Historical Association's Zebulon B. Vance Memorial Committee. Mr. Robert O. Conway is Historic Site Specialist for the Vance Birthplace.

Approximately 432 visitors registered at the Harper House at the Bentonville Battleground State Historic Site from June 1 to September 1. Restoration work on the Harper House continues and the House was completely re-wired for electricity, all wiring being concealed in order to maintain the appearance of the house in 1865. Re-shingling of the roof to correspond to that of the recently reconstructed front porch

will begin soon. Mr. Nicholas B. Bragg, Site Specialist at Bentonville Battleground, attended the Seminar for Historical Administrators at Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, as a National Trust Fellow from June 13 to July 22.

Mr. Walter R. Wootten, Historic Site Specialist at the Alamance Battleground State Historic Site, spoke at the annual picnic meeting of the Alamance County Chapter of the American War Mothers. The guest speaker was Mrs. G. A. Kernodle, national Vice-President of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Approximately 60 persons attended the meeting which was held at Alamance Battleground. Plans are now being completed for the exhibit cases for the visitor center-museum and bids for their construction will soon be let. The site area is open to the public and has picnic tables and public restrooms.

The Department of Archives and History began the restoration project at Fort Fisher on July 1, 1960, using funds appropriated for the purpose by the 1959 General Assembly. Work has commenced on a 180-acre tract held by the State of North Carolina under lease from the Federal Government. Some additional land, now in private ownership, will be needed in the future to round out the project. On June 23 Mr. Norman Larson, Executive Secretary of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, spoke at a luncheon meeting to a group of SENC land residents, including county and community officials, in Wilmington, where plans were made for a commemorative program at Fort Fisher on Saturday, July 2. At the luncheon, Mr. A. L. Honeycutt, Jr., Historic Site Specialist at Fort Fisher, told the group of the plans for the development of the fort as a State Historic Site. He stressed the need for the next General Assembly to appropriate \$65,000 for a museum-visitor center for Fort Fisher. On Saturday evening, July 2, groundbreaking ceremonies, witnessed by approximately 1,000 persons, marked the start of the restoration work at Fort Fisher State Historic Site, scene of the heaviest land-sea battle of the War Between the States. Taking part in the ceremonies were representatives of the State Department of Archives and History, the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, the

National Civil War Centennial Commission, local historical groups, and southeastern civic leaders. Mr. E. C. Gass of Washington, Assistant Director of the National Civil War Centennial Commission, discussed the project and congratulated North Carolina on its undertaking. Mr. William S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent of the Department of Archives and History, explained plans for the restoration and stated that it was a long-range project. He added that the State hoped to have the initial restoration work completed by January, 1965, the centennial of the fort's fall. Mrs. E. A. Anderson of Charlotte, a State officer of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Mr. Gass, Mr. Tarlton, and Dr. B. Frank Hall of Wilmington took part in the groundbreaking. Members of the 27th North Carolina Troop, the "Guilford Greys" of Greensboro, provided an honor guard for the program and representatives of bands in the area provided music. Mr. Honeycutt, who has been assigned to the project, was formerly in charge of Alamance Battleground State Historic Site near Burlington. He will supervise the clearing of the site, will conduct a site survey to map existing fort remains, and will plan long-range development.

#### *Division of Museums*

Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museums Administrator, spoke in Elizabeth City at a June 22 dinner meeting of the Historical Council of the Albemarle and the local Chamber of Commerce. Her topic was "Organizing a New Museum." Representatives of the several counties were Mrs. Alma Roberts, Currituck; Mr. Ben Sanderlin, Camden; Mr. Jack Baum, Pasquotank; and Mr. Stephen Perry, Perquimans. Mr. George Attix represented the Chamber of Commerce. This meeting was held in conjunction with the dedication of a marker to Federal Judge George W. Brooks and a four-county exhibit of museum materials which were on display from June 21 through June 24. Mrs. Jordan attended the July 20-22 meeting of the Confederate States Centennial Conference in Atlanta, representing the Southeastern Museums Conference Council. On July 27 she attended the meeting of the Ad-

visory Budget Commission at Tryon Palace in New Bern. She met on August 22 with the Board of Governors of the Greensboro Historical Museum and the Board of the Dolley Madison Memorial Association to discuss problems of both groups concerning the disposition of the recently-purchased collection of Dolley Madison materials. She advised that this collection be temporarily housed in the Greensboro Museum until final plans are perfected for the items to be exhibited.

Mrs. Wilbur Royster of Raleigh recently gave to the Hall of History the equipment from Royster's candy kitchen—famous landmark in Raleigh. The 95-year old firm was recently discontinued and in order to preserve one of the fast-disappearing family industries Mrs. Royster made the gift for the family of Vermont C. Royster, founder. The gift consisted of the candy-making machines, trays, jars, and other items. Lack of exhibit space will necessitate storage of the gift until it can be properly housed and an exhibit arranged.

#### *Division of Publications*

Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Head of the Division of Publications, represented the Department at the annual meeting of the Roanoke Island Historical Association in Manteo on July 9. On July 22-23 he and Admiral A. M. Patterson, Assistant State Archivist, represented the Department at the joint meeting of the Western North Carolina Historical Association and the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association held at Western Carolina College, Cullowhee. Admiral Patterson introduced Mr. Corbitt, who spoke to the group. Three new pamphlets are available for distribution by the Department. *North Carolina as a Civil War Battleground* by Dr. John G. Barrett of Virginia Military Institute contains 110 pages, 55 illustrations, and a map drawn by Miss Betsy Johnson of the Division of Publications. The booklet sells for 35 cents. The map which shows the principal forts, towns, railroads, the battlesites may be purchased for 10 cents. *The Wright Brothers and Their Development of the Airplane* was written by Miss Barbara Craig, a student at St Mary's

Junior College, Raleigh. This 23-page pamphlet is illustrated with nine pictures and relates briefly the story of the Wright Brothers and their first powered flight. It sells for 15 cents. *The North Carolina Almanack . . . for 1961* is a calendar-almanac written especially for young students of North Carolina history. It features a historical happening for every day in the year and is illustrated with pen and ink drawings. It was compiled, arranged, and illustrated by Mrs. Elizabeth W. Wilborn of the Division of Publications. The *Almanack* has concealed perforations along the spine so that it may be used in three-ring notebooks. This 8½" x 11" book may be purchased for 35 cents. All orders should be addressed to Division of Publications, Box 1881, Raleigh.

#### COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

At North Carolina State College Dr. Oliver H. Orr and Dr. William J. Block of the Department of History and Political Science have had books accepted for publication. The University of North Carolina Press will publish Dr. Orr's biography of Charles B. Aycock, and the University of Illinois Press will publish Dr. Block's study of the separation of the Farm Bureau and Extension Service. Dr. Burton F. Beers has returned to the Department following a year's study at Harvard University on an East Asian Studies Fellowship. Dr. Abraham Holtzman attended the Democratic National Convention in July as an observer and as an adviser to the Convention's rules and credentials committee. Dr. Ladislav F. Reitzer was on leave the second semester of the 1959-1960 year and Dr. Luther W. Barnhardt toured Europe during the summer of 1960.

Dr. Frank W. Klingberg of the Department of History at the University of North Carolina has been granted a leave for 1960-1961 and is teaching at the San Fernando Valley State College, California. Dr. James R. Caldwell has been appointed chairman of the freshman course in Modern Civilization and Mr. W. R. Fallaw has been added to the staff for that course. Dr. Hugh T. Lefler addressed the joint meeting

of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association and the Western North Carolina Historical Association on July 23 on "New Frontiers in North Carolina History."

A new North Carolina reference book, tentatively entitled "North Carolina Lives: A Tar Heel Who's Who," is being compiled under the direction of Mr. William S. Powell, Librarian of the North Carolina Collection at the University of North Carolina. Mr. Powell will serve as Supervising Editor with the following members of the Editorial Advisory Board: Mr. A. Finley Atkisson, Burlington; Mr. Elmer T. Clark, Lake Junaluska; Mrs. John W. Crawford, Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Mr. James K. Dorsett, Jr., Dr. M. A. Huggins, Mr. A. C. Edwards, Mr. I. Harding Hughes, Mrs. Elizabeth H. Hughey, Dr. Clarence Poe, and Mr. Richard Walsler, all of Raleigh; Miss Lois Edinger, Chapel Hill; Dr. Amos N. Johnson, Garland; Mr. James G. W. MacLamroch, Greensboro; Mr. Louis T. Moore, Wilmington; Mr. J. E. Paschall, Wilson; Col. Paul A. Rockwell, Asheville; Mr. James A. Stenhouse, Charlotte; and Miss Mary C. Wiley, Winston-Salem. "North Carolina Lives" will be published by The Historical Record Association, Hopkinsville, Kentucky, a publishing firm which has recently issued similar volumes for other southern States. Mr. Powell has been appointed by the Board of Trustees to a five-year term on the Board of Governors of the University Press. The University of North Carolina Research Council approved a grant effective July 1 to Mr. Powell to enable him to have the services of a Research Assistant in the compilation of a North Carolina gazetteer. Mr. George W. Stevenson, Jr., a student at the University from Kinston, is now assisting Mr. Powell on this project.

The University of North Carolina Library is making the *Roster of North Carolina Troops in the War With Mexico* available to libraries and individuals interested in purchasing copies. A positive microfilm of the roster and supplement may be ordered from Mr. Sam Boone, Photographic Service, U. N. C. Library, Chapel Hill, for \$1.00. Positive prints bound into a paperback book may be ordered for \$4.00.

Dr. D. J. Whitener of Appalachian State Teachers College attended the joint meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association and the Western North Carolina Historical Association at Cullowhee, July 22-23. Dr. Frederic D. Ogden, Professor of Political Science at the University of Alabama, conducted a two-week workshop in International Relations, July 5-16. Outstanding consultants were brought in to discuss the Commonwealth Nations, the Far East, the Moslem Realm, and the United Nations and its functions. Since considerable interest was expressed, plans are underway to make this an annual workshop. Mr. Leo Pritchett, formerly Dean of Men and part-time Professor of History, is now giving full time to the teaching of history. Dr. Marshall K. Powers has been added to the staff as Professor of Latin American and United States history. Dr. Powers is a native of West Virginia and received his Ph.D. from the University of Florida. The Department will have five teaching fellows helping in the undergraduate program, doing research, and each pursuing his or her master's degree. They are Misses Angela Blackston and Doris Sparks, and Messrs. Clay Dotson, B. R. Himes, and J. E. Roueche.

Dr. Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., has resigned his position in the Social Studies Department at East Carolina College to become Associate Professor and Chairman of the Social Studies Division of North Carolina Wesleyan College, Rocky Mount. He is being succeeded by Dr. Alvin A. Fahrner, formerly of Coker College, Hartsville, South Carolina. Mr. Walter T. Calhoun, formerly of Concord College, Athens, West Virginia, has also joined the staff at East Carolina.

Dr. Richard L. Watson, Jr., Chairman of the Department of History at Duke University, and Dr. Arthur B. Ferguson have been promoted to Professors of History. Dr. Harold T. Parker is in Paris where he will be on leave for the academic year, 1960-1961. Dr. Robert H. Woody is on leave for that year to work on his biography of Christopher Gadsden. Dr. William B. Hamilton returned in September following a summer's research in England. Dr. John Curtiss attended the

eleventh International Congress of Historical Sciences in Stockholm, Sweden, from August 21 to August 28. Dr. Avery O. Craven taught at Duke during the first session of summer school. Dr. Donald Gillin has been promoted to Assistant Professor of History. Dr. John A. Alden has been invited to deliver the Commonwealth Lectures at the University of London in January, 1961. Mr. Owen S. Connelly, Jr., graduate student at the University of North Carolina, has been appointed Instructor of History for the academic year, 1960-1961.

Dr. Sarah M. Lemmon of Meredith College was engaged in research at the University of North Carolina during the summer of 1960.

#### STATE, COUNTY, AND LOCAL

On June 20 the Tryon Palace Commission honored 37 individuals and groups for their contribution to the success of the Tryon Palace Restoration during the past year. Mrs. John A. Kellenberger of Greensboro, Chairman of the Commission, presided at the presentation of certificates of award. Brief talks were made by Miss Gertrude S. Carraway, Director of the Palace Restoration; Miss Jo Ellen Jennette of New Bern, one of the Palace guides; and Mr. Isaac London, Rockingham newspaperman.

Awards were presented by Mrs. A. B. Stoney of Morganton, Mrs. Lawrence Sprunt of Orton Plantation, Mrs. Lyman A. Cotten of Chapel Hill, Mrs. P. P. McCain of Wilson, Mr. D. L. Ward of New Bern, and Mr. John A. Kellenberger of Greensboro. Recipients of the awards were the State Highway Commission (collectively) and its Chairman, Mr. J. Melville Broughton, Jr.; Mr. W. F. Babcock, State Highway Director; Mr. Robert A. Burch, Traffic Engineer for the Highway Commission; Attorney General T. Wade Bruton; Mr. Paul A. Johnston, Director of the State Department of Administration; and Mr. Sidney Holden, Auditor for the State Department of Conservation and Development; Mrs. Harold Oringer, Mr. Paul M. Cox, Dr. Dale T. Millns, Mr. George L.

Ballard, Mr. Lloyd T. Gillikin, Mr. Clifford Pace, Mr. Cedric Boyd, Mr. Albert W. Brinson, Mr. Willis E. Marshall, Mr. Olin A. Wright, Mr. Philip W. Steiner, Mr. Charles T. Midyette, Jr., Mr. T. M. Diggs, Mrs. A. F. Flowers, Jr., and Mr. Kenneth N. Phillips, all of New Bern; Dr. Robert Lee Humber and Mr. D "Lime" Latham of Greenville; Mr. Woodrow Price of Raleigh; Mrs. Wilma Dykeman Stokely of Newport, Tennessee, and Asheville; and Mrs. James Koerner of Norwalk, Connecticut. Those receiving awards for gifts to the Palace were Mrs. E. J. Stafford of Greensboro, Mr. J. T. Kennedy and Mrs. R. L. Daniels of New Bern, Mrs. Randolph C. Berkeley, Jr., of Cherry Point, Mr. Robert E. Trapp of Wilmington, Mr. Francis E. Winslow of Rocky Mount, Mr. and Mrs. John D. Harris of Atlanta, Georgia, and Colonial Dames Chapters of Granville-Warren and Nash counties.

Mrs. Kellenberger announced that since October, 1959, no less than 277 items have been added to the Palace furnishings which were purchased with funds left by the late Mrs. Maude Moore Latham, in addition to items contributed by individuals and groups. She also stated that work is nearing completion on the auditorium and public restrooms.

North Carolina's third oldest town, Beaufort, celebrated its 251st anniversary from July 3 to July 10. "Church Day" was observed on July 3 and special days were set aside for "Homecoming Day," "Welcoming Day"—complete with shrimp boat and street parades and the presentation of a historical drama, "Unknown Seas,"—"Boat Racing Day," and on the final day, July 10, a re-enactment of the Spanish invasion of 1747, a "Down East Clam Bake," and plantation ball. Mrs. Grayden Paul, Carteret County native, is the author of "Unknown Seas," a true story of a Beaufort girl, which covers the years 1836-1886.

The fifth annual Grandfather Mountain Highland Games and Gathering of Scottish Clans was held on MacRae Meadows near Linville on July 10 and August 7. The competitions in Highland dancing and bagpiping were held on the earlier date and on the latter all outdoor track events and

an archery exhibition were held. Mr. Donald McDonald of Charlotte was Director of the Games and Mr. Charlie Justice was honorary Chairman. Special guests for the events were General Sir Gordon Holmes Alexander MacMillan of MacMillan and Knap and his wife, Lady Marian MacMillan. They are residents of Langbank, Renfrewshire, Scotland, and were the guests of Mr. and Mrs. R. L. McMillan of Raleigh while attending the gathering of the Clan MacMillan of North America.

The annual meeting and picnic of the Littleton College Memorial Association was held on July 16 in Raleigh. Members were present from all sections of the State as well as from South Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee. The Association was organized in 1927 to keep alive the spirit of Littleton College which was operated from 1889 until 1919 when it was destroyed by fire. Mrs. George David Stephenson of Richmond, Virginia, is President, and Mrs. Charles G. Doak of Raleigh is Secretary-Treasurer. The main address was given by Dr. Ralph Hardee Rives of East Carolina College. Members of the Association voted to establish a collection of books to be placed in the library of North Carolina Wesleyan College, Rocky Mount. A collection of memorabilia of Littleton College is to be assembled and presented to the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina and to the Rocky Mount College. The group also voted to establish the Vara L. Herring Loan Fund at the new college in honor of Miss Herring who was for many years Treasurer of Littleton College. A \$3,000 scholarship honoring Miss Herring has already been established at Scarritt College, Nashville, Tennessee. Copies of a biography of James M. Rhodes, President of Littleton College, written by Mrs. Emma Thornton Nowell of Macon, were distributed to those present.

On July 23 the Carteret County Historical Society met in Morehead City with Mr. F. C. Salisbury, President, presiding. Mr. Tucker Littleton talked on the occupation of the area by Federal troops during the Civil War. Tribute was paid the late A. D. Ennett by Mr. Littleton and a vote of

appreciation was extended to Mr. and Mrs. Grayden M. Paul for their participation in the recent Beaufort celebration. Plans were made for activities and local commemorations during the coming centennial observances of the War Between the States. The group discussed proposed celebration events during the observance of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary, emphasizing the fact that Carteret County was named for one of the eight original Lords Proprietors. A nominating committee consisting of Mrs. Paul, Mrs. D. F. Merrill, and Mr. John R. Gibson was appointed to present a slate of officers to be elected in October.

The North Carolina Literary and Historical Association met jointly on July 22-23 with the Western North Carolina Historical Association at Western Carolina College, Cullowhee, Col. Paul A. Rockwell, President of the Western group, presided at the meetings. Dr. W. E. Bird, President-Emeritus of the College, gave the invocation, and President Paul A. Reid gave the welcoming address. Mr. Albert McLean, Program Chairman of the Western Historical Association, presented Dr. Bird who spoke on "Geographic and Historic Backgrounds of the Cullowhee area," and Mr. Hiram C. Wilburn of Waynesville who spoke on "The Cherokee Indians of Jackson County." At the Friday evening meeting Mr. Glenn Tucker of Flat Rock spoke on the Battle of Chickamauga and conducted a round-table discussion.

The Western North Carolina Historical Association held its business meeting following the Saturday program. President Rockwell presided, Mr. McLean reported on the progress of the restoration of the Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace, Dr. D. J. Whitener spoke informally on the feasibility of preparing a regional history, and a committee headed by Dr. Bird was named to consider organizing and sponsoring a junior historian group. The Asheville Convention Bureau has extended an invitation to the several North Carolina cultural groups to hold a 1961 meeting in Asheville. Action was delayed on final acceptance of the invitation. Miss Cordelia Camp of Asheville is Secretary-Treasurer of the Western North Carolina Historical Association.

Copies of the *Gaston County Historical Bulletin*, official organ of the Gaston County Historical Society, for June and July have been distributed. A continuation of the articles featuring old homes in Gaston is carried in both issues as well as genealogical articles on the Wells, Bradley, Fite, and Dickson families. Castanea Church near Lucia was the subject of talks by Mrs. Fred Rhyne and Mrs. Lathie Homesley at the June meeting of the Gaston County Historical Society. An open forum discussion on old churches of the county followed. Mr. Marsh Cavin of Stanley reported on the progress of the new county history being prepared by Mr. Manly Wade Wellman. Mr. J. Milton Craig of Mt. Holly, Treasurer, gave a report and stated that to date there are 103 members of the Society. Mr. Howell Stroup of Cherryville was elected Vice-President to replace Mrs. Maude Rankin Wales of Mt. Holly who was elected President.

Chapters Nine and Ten of the "Roanoke-Chowan Story" have been received by the Department. Chapter Nine deals with the role of the Rowan-Chowan area in the Civil War and has a map showing points in that section where there was activity during the war years. The story of the "Buffaloes" is related in detail. Chapter Ten written by Tom Parramore tells of Jack Fairless and the Wingfield Buffaloes and of the bitterness many local residents felt toward Union sympathizers.

The Caswell County Historical Association met on July 16 at "Rose Hill," the home of Mr. and Mrs. Williamson Brown, near Reidsville. Mrs. Banks Satterfield of Milton, President, presided. Mrs. J. E. Anderson of Yanceyville spoke on Bedford Brown, ante-bellum United States Senator from Caswell County. Mrs. Hines Hatchett was elected Secretary of the group. Approximately forty members and guests enjoyed a picnic lunch and a tour of the house which was built in 1802.

The Catawba County Historical Association held its annual July picnic at the Reuben Hoyle residence in the Startown section. Mrs. J. M. Ballard of Newton, President, pre-

sided and reported on the Bunker Hill Covered Bridge project and the dedication of the Catawba County Museum. Dr. J. E. Hodges of Maiden spoke briefly on the work of the association since its organization in 1936. The Newton-Conover and Hickory Jaycees raised approximately \$6,500 through the sale of a county history to help purchase the museum building. Others contributing greatly to its establishment were Mr. Abel Gross Whitener, Judge Wilson Warlick, Mrs. Ballard, and Mr. G. Sam Rowe, Jr. At the August 16 meeting of the Catawba Society an exhibit of family coats of arms was the highlight of the evening. Mrs. Ballard announced that a replica of Catawba College had been made by Mrs. Marguerite May and her daughter, Mrs. Gaynor May Brantley, and was being presented to the new historical museum as a memorial to their ancestors George Washington Cochran and Thomas Ewell Wright, Sr. Mrs. Ballard, Mrs. May, Mrs. Robert Deal, and Mrs. Frances Snyder reported on a visit to the Rowan County Museum in Salisbury.

Mrs. G. H. Lyday of Pisgah Forest was elected President of the Transylvania County Historical Association at a July 30 meeting in Brevard. Other officers elected were Mrs. Roy DeLong, Secretary, and Mr. Homer R. Coren, Treasurer. Speakers were Mr. Lewis P. Hamlin, Dr. Oliver H. Orr, Mrs. DeLong, Mr. Coren, Dr. Carl Hardin, and Mrs. Mary Jane McCrary. Artifacts and museum items are being housed in the Brevard Federal Savings and Loan building. Meetings will continue on the last Saturday night of each month at 8:00 P.M. in the courtroom. The advisory committee to raise funds for the 1961 centennial celebration of Transylvania County announced the sale of "Pioneer" buttons to aid in financing the event.

The Person County Historical Society met on July 7 in the Allensville Community House with Mr. Byrd I. Satterfield, President, presiding. Plans are underway for the preparation of a county history.

The Johnston County Historical Society held its quarterly meeting on July 17 at the Harper House in Bentonville Township and were led on a tour of Bentonville Battleground by Mr. C. C. Cox, native of the township. The new battlefield markers were noted and details of the three-day battle in 1865 were discussed.

On August 12 the regular business meeting of the Pender County Historical Society was held at the courthouse in Burgaw. The Vice-President, Mr. T. T. Murphy, presided. The following officers were elected: Mr. Dan Saunders, Honorary Life President; Mr. David Lucas, President; Mr. S. Warren Saunders, Vice-President; Mrs. Lois L. Clark, Secretary-Treasurer; and Judge Clifton L. Moore, Historian. The group decided to sponsor a marker to Company K, Third North Carolina Infantry, C. S. A., and hopes to dedicate it on June 10, 1961, the one-hundredth anniversary of the date on which the company left Burgaw. On November 25 a brass marker will be placed on the oil portrait of the Society's organizer and first President, Mattie Hand Bloodworth, who died in 1956. Mr. Joshua James of Wilmington will be the speaker. Reports were made on various historical research projects of the group.

Books received during the quarter for review are: Weymouth T. Jordan, *Herbs, Hoecakes, and Husbandry: The Daybook of a Planter of the Old South* (Tallahassee: Florida State University Press, *Florida State University Studies*, Number Thirty-Four, 1960); C. Vann Woodward, *The Burden of Southern History* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1960); Theodore Saloutos, *Farmer Movements in the South, 1865-1933* (Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1960); William B. Hesseltine, *Three against Lincoln: Murat Halstead Reports the Caucuses of 1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1960); Bernhard Knollenberg, *Origin of the American Revolution, 1759-1766* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960); Eric L. McKittrick, *Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction*

(Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960); Martha Norburn Allen, *Asheville and Land of the Sky* (Charlotte: Heritage House, 1960); Clara Wootton, *They Have Topped the Mountain* (Frankfort, Kentucky: Blue Grass Press, 1960); Glenn Tucker, *Hancock the Superb* (Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1960); Carl Ubbelohde, *The Vice-Admiralty Courts and the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, 1960); Coolie Verner, *The English Pilot Fourth Book* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1960); Clyde C. Walton, *An Illinois Gold Hunter in the Black Hills: The Diary of Jerry Bryan, March 13, 1876 to August 20, 1876* (Springfield: The Illinois State Historical State Historical Society, 1960); Morris Talpalar, *The Sociology of Colonial Virginia* (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1960); Harriette Simpson Arnow, *Seedtime on the Cumberland* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960); T. Harry Williams, *Americans at War: The Development of the American Military System* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1960); and Wilfred Buck Years, *The Confederate Congress* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1960).