THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME XXXII JULY, 1955 NUMBER 3

BEDFORD BROWN: STATE RIGHTS UNIONIST[1]

By HOUSTON G. JONES

Part I: The Senator

The name Bedford Brown means little to a present-day North Carolinian. Reference to his name in a historical journal would necessitate a footnote to remind the reader that Brown once represented the state in the United States Senate. An interested person could, if he wished, go to the standard biographical histories and find a brief sketch listing the various offices held by this almost forgotten man. But by none of those sources would the reader be led to realize that a century ago Bedford Brown was one of the best known leaders of the Democratic Party in the South.

In June, 1860, Martin Van Buren wrote a friend, "I at least would think the country fortunate to get such a man [as Bedford Brown] for the office of President or Vice-President."[2] This was not the only time that the former President had paid high tribute to "an old and constant friend of Genl. Jackson and my own, one on whom as much as any other man, we relied for support of our respective administrations in the Senate of the U. States." But coming as it did immediately after the abortive Charleston Convention, the compliment must have been sweet to the ears of the North Carolinian who had fought the battles of Jacksonianism against the giants of that day and who, in 1860, was fighting the

[1] This article was being prepared under the supervision of Professor Charles S. Sydnor at the time of the tragic death of that beloved gentleman. Any merit that the article may have is to be attributed to his kind, patient, and inspiring interest. I am also indebted to Professor Fletcher M. Green for his many suggestions for the final draft.

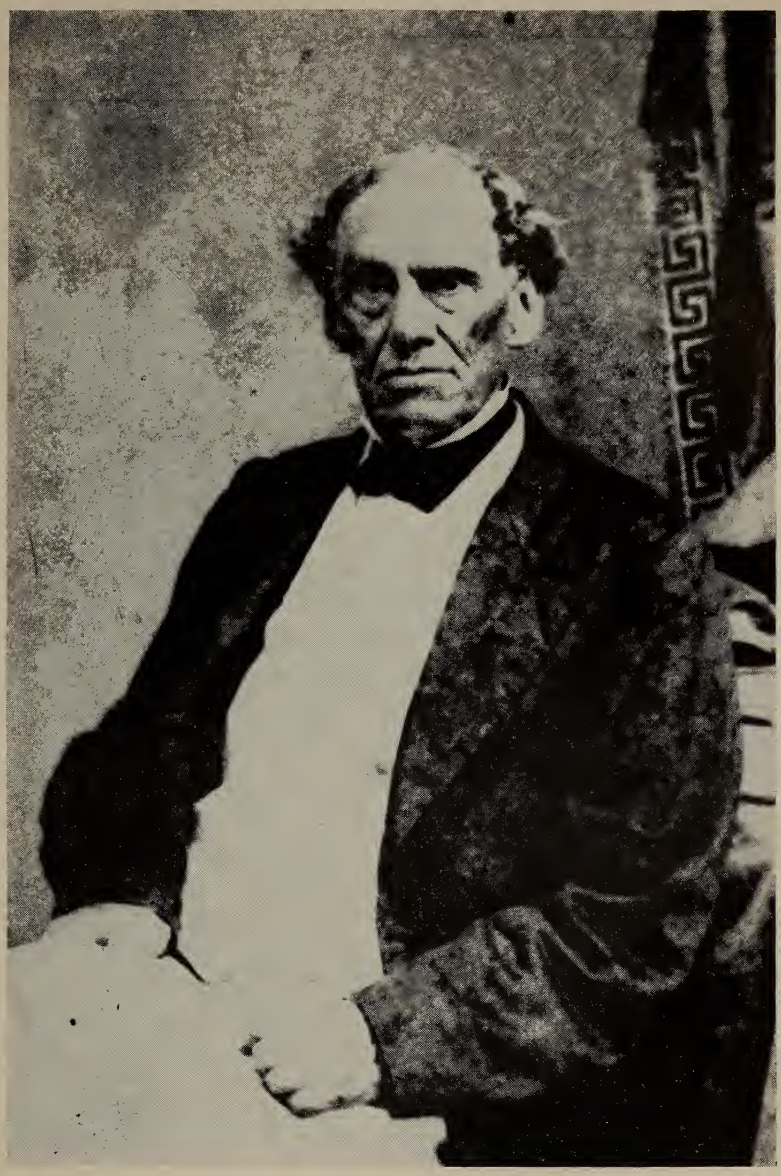
[2] Martin Van Buren to Theodore Miller, June 11, 1860. Bedford Brown Papers, Duke University.

greatest battle of his life in attempting to stem the tide of disunion.

Bedford Brown,[3] the state rights Unionist of ante-bellum days, had lived sixty-five eventful years when his intimate friend paid him the compliment quoted above. He had distinguished himself as one of the leaders of the Democratic party and as a personal friend of Andrew Jackson, Martin Van Buren, Franklin Pierce, and James Buchanan. During his career he was elected to twelve terms in the General Assembly (one year as speaker of the State Senate), was twice elected to the United States Senate, was a strong though unsuccessful candidate for Congress, was vice-president for the North Carolina delegation at three national Democratic conventions, was elected to two state constitutional conventions, and was twice commissioned to represent his state in conferences with President Johnson in the days before the ascendancy of the Radicals.

Throughout his many years of political life, Brown made no unique contribution to the field of political thought or to the formulation of governmental policy, but one characteristic stood out above all else and marked him as a political leader who neither asked nor gave quarter. That characteristic was an unflinching loyalty to what he conceived to be the principles of republicanism as laid down by the early Jeffersonians. "State rights," to Brown, was no hollow phrase

[3] The only available intimate description of Brown by a contemporary is that of David Schenck. Judge Schenck, who was a fellow delegate to the convention, described Brown as a "spare-made man about six feet tall and wore no beard; his dress was neat, his step firm and his carriage erect. . . . His dignity was so studied that it was a little pompous, and his deep, husky voice did not seem quite natural. His under jaw protruded slightly and his teeth clenching gave him a very resolute appearance, and when aroused his countenance was fierce and defiant." Brown lacked the graces which persuade or win the confidence of others, Judge Schenck continued, "but he was forcible in logic, earnest in speech and empathic [*sic*] in manner. Those who reflected, and appreciated sound reason listened to him with patience and attention and he exerted a very strong influence. . . ." Furthermore, "I have often seen him surrounded by distinguished men, and he was the politest among them all, and his manners the most courtly." He was a sincere man, self-confident, fearless and frank, and "loyal to his convictions and using no art to enforce his views and disdaining dissimulation or sophistry." Judge Schenck concluded, "There is not spot nor blemish on his political character; there was no doubt as to his loyalty and patriotism. He lived and acted as a true man and left a pleasant remembrance in the hearts of those who knew him." David Schenck, *Personal Sketches of Distinguished Delegates of the State Convention 1861-2* (Greensboro, 1885), 19-21.



Bedford Brown

1795-1870

but rather the basic ingredient in the union of states as envisioned in the Jeffersonian tradition. As a state rights advocate, the nation had no legislator more outspoken than Bedford Brown. But neither did it have a more ardent Unionist. In the United States Senate during the critical months of the nullification controversy, Brown stood up for his principle of states within the Union and at the same time rejected nullification as nothing less than disunion. It was this strange blend of two apparent opposites that gave the Senator from North Carolina the chance to play the part of a referee between the leaders of sectional controversy during the hectic days of Jackson and Van Buren.

Brown, although an ardent Unionist, attacked the nationalistic policies propounded by Webster and Clay as unconstitutional and divisive. A loyal Southerner, he nevertheless, vehemently attacked the increasingly virulent attitude of Calhoun and Tyler as threatening to break up the most "glorious republic" ever formed. The middle way is not always popular in politics, and Bedford Brown's opposition to the tariff and the bank was no more designed to make him popular in the North and West than his opposition to nullification and secession was to gain him friends in the South. But if a man's success may in a small way be measured by what the people at home thought of him, Bedford Brown must have died a contented man, for not once in his fifty-five years of political activity did the voters of his native Caswell County fail to give him a majority at the polls.

Bedford Brown was born June 6, 1795,[4] the third child in a family of eight, at the Brown homestead between the upper branches of Country Line[5] and Moon creeks in what is now Locust Hill Township, Caswell County, North Carolina. His father, Jethro Brown, had migrated to Caswell during the

[4] Brown Family Bible (published 1812), 678. Bedford Brown Papers, Rose Hill, Caswell County, N. C. There are two family Bibles, one published in 1812, the other in 1823.

I am indebted to Mr. J. W. Brown, great-grandson of Senator Bedford Brown and present owner of Rose Hill, for giving me access to the Senator's papers and library. I am also indebted to the late Miss Mary Wilson Brown, granddaughter of the Senator, who, as my fourth grade teacher, first interested me in her ancestor.

[5] Sometimes incorrectly cited on maps and highway markers as "County Line."

Revolution with his father, John Edmunds Brown. Just before the war, the Browns had moved from Virginia to the Pee Dee country of South Carolina for the purpose of growing indigo. But when John Brown and his family gave aid to General Marion during the swamp campaigns, the Tories laid waste to their property and the family moved back north, settling in Caswell, near the Virginia border, because of the adaptability of the soil to tobacco.[6]

Brown's mother, the former Lucy Williamson, was a member of a pioneer Caswell family. Both the Browns and the Williamsons were of English stock, Bedford being named for the original Brown homestead in Bedfordshire.

In 1813, young Brown was sent to the University of North Carolina where he studied for one year.[7] Two years later, only twenty years of age, he entered politics, being elected, along with Romulus M. Saunders, to the House of Commons.[8] As befitted a twenty-year-old, Bedford took no great part in the deliberations of the House and was appointed to the relatively unimportant committee on military land warrants. On December 9, 1815, however, he created a considerable furor when he introduced a resolution, "*Resolved,* that the firmness, energy and wisdom which have characterized the political conduct of the president of the United States, during the late arduous contest of our country, and his prompt acceptance and ratification of an honorable treaty, entitle him to the gratitude and thanks of this legislature."[9] The resolution provoked long debate and only after five days was it finally adopted by a 76 to 51 vote in the House,[10] indicating, to some degree, President Madison's popularity in North Carolina.

On July 13, 1816, Brown married Mary Lumpkin Glenn,[11] daughter of James Anderson Glenn, an influential merchant

[6] *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* . . . (New York, 1892-1951, 37 vols.), IX, 458. See also Bedford J. Brown [a nephew of the Senator] to Miss Mary Brown, February 7, 1912. Bedford Brown Papers, Rose Hill.

[7] Kemp P. Battle, *Sketches of the History of the University of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 1889), 100.

[8] *Journal of the House of Commons . . . 1815,* 1.

[9] *Journal of the House of Commons . . . 1815,* 38.

[10] *Journal of the House of Commons . . . 1815,* 46.

[11] Brown Family Bible (published 1823), 678. Bedford Brown Papers, Rose Hill.

of Petersburg, Virginia, who had migrated from Scotland where his father, Archibald Glenn, was lord provost of Glasgow.[12] The young couple was sent off on a wedding trip to England and Scotland by Jethro Brown who by 1816 was a moderately prosperous planter and tavern keeper. He was also a man of some learning as was attested by the fact that he maintained in his tavern the headquarters of a society "constituted for intellectual improvement."[13] Upon the couple's return to Caswell, Jethro made them a gift of his attractive home, Rose Hill, built in 1802, and a considerable tract of land. Rose Hill still stands as one of the finest examples of early Caswell architecture and retains not only the spirit of the ante-bellum planter but also his library, some of his personal papers, and his grave. Here, at Brown's Store, or Locust Hill as the community became known in the 1840's, a small amount of North Carolina history has been safeguarded for a century and half.

Brown was again elected to the House of Commons in 1816, and was re-elected for the following two terms.[14] In 1818, Caswell sent Bartlett Yancey to the State Senate and Bedford Brown and Romulus M. Saunders to the Commons, a triumvirate characterized by a contemporary as "not excelled in the legislators of any county in the state."[15] Within a twelve-year period, this trio was elected to the speakerships of the House and Senate for a total of fourteen terms.

---

[12] *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, V, 442.

[13] Bartlett Yancey, "Caswell County," *Thomas Henderson Letter Book 1810-1811* (a bound volume of manuscripts in N. C. Department of Archives and History). See also A. R. Newsome, "Twelve North Carolina Counties, 1810-1811," *North Carolina Historical Review*, V, 4 (October, 1928), 413-446.

[14] Because of the meagerness of information contained in the journals of ante-bellum assemblies, the part played by individual representatives is seldom easy to ascertain, but sometimes committee assignments give an intimation of their standing. Brown in 1816 served on the committee on propositions and grievances and in the following session was on the committee on finance and a committee which held elections for councillors of state. See *Journal of the House of Commons . . . 1816*, 3, and *Journal of the House of Commons . . . 1817*, 11, 48. His committee assignment is not listed in the *Journal* for 1818, and his colleague, Saunders, who was to be elected speaker of the House the following year, appears to have outshone Brown in the session of 1818. It is significant to note that Bartlett Yancey was elected speaker of the Senate in 1817 and held that office until his death in 1828.

[15] John H. Wheeler, *Reminiscences and Memoirs of North Carolina and Eminent North Carolinians* (Columbus, Ohio, 1884), 109.

By 1823, Bedford Brown had become a prosperous young planter and held lands in both his native community and Halifax County, Virginia,[16] the latter possibly accruing from inheritance by his wife. That year, Brown was again elected to the House of Commons where he served as chairman of the committee on rules and order and was a member of the committee on education.[17] In this General Assembly, Brown injected himself into a national political controversy by strongly opposing the adoption of the Fisher Resolutions. The resolutions, introduced by Charles Fisher, Calhoun's North Carolina leader, proposed that the United States Senators from the state be instructed and Representatives be requested to prevent a caucus nomination for President of the United States and to work for an amendment to establish a uniform system of districts in the country for choosing presidential electors.[18] Brown's speeches in opposition to the resolutions strongly defended the caucus system, and, although he claimed later that he was an "original Jackson man," included a defense of William H. Crawford who was expected to receive the caucus nomination for president.

From 1824 to 1828, Brown was content to oversee his growing plantations and, except for a stroke of fate in 1828, possibly would not again have entered public life. In that year, Bartlett Yancey, who had distinguished himself as a congressman and as speaker of the State Senate, was reelected to the latter office from Caswell. Yancey was looked upon by many persons as the sure choice of the Assembly to succeed the retiring Nathaniel Macon in the United States Senate. But his death intervened and, on November 24, Bedford Brown was elected to fill the vacancy from Caswell. Three days later, Thomas Ruffin, a rising lawyer who was destined to become chief justice of the State Supreme Court,

---

[16] Bedford Brown to Philip Howerton, September 17, 1823. Philip Howerton Correspondence, Duke University.

[17] *Journals of the Senate and House of Commons . . . 1823*, 121, 126.

[18] The debate was published in pamphlet form, *Debate on Mr. Fisher's Resolutions Against Caucuses in the House of Commons of North Carolina in Dec. 1823* (Raleigh, 1824). See also A. R. Newsome, "Debate on the Fisher Resolution," *North Carolina Historical Review*, IV, 4 (October, 1927), 428-470; V, 1 (January, 1928), 65-96; V, 2 (April, 1928), 204-223; V, 3 (July, 1928), 310-328.

suggested to Brown that he become a candidate for United States Senator. "Should you agree for your name to be brought forward," he wrote, "I cannot doubt for a moment, the issue of the contest. . . ." [19] Brown's name, however, was not pushed and Governor James Iredell was elected.

After a lack-luster first session in the State Senate, Brown was re-elected in 1829, and, on the first day of the new term, was elected speaker of that body, defeating Louis D. Wilson.[20] This victory was an encouragement to whatever ambition Brown may have had, for the appointment of United States Senator John Branch to the office of Secretary of the Navy by President Jackson provided a new vacancy. Thomas Ruffin's enthusiasm for the young man from Caswell, however, appears not to have been universally shared, for when nominations for the vacancy were received on November 20, Brown's name was not included. The names of Montford Stokes, Samuel P. Carson, Archibald D. Murphey, William B. Meares, Charles Fisher, Judge John R. Donnell, and several others were placed in nomination, but no one received a majority of votes. Although, theoretically, there was only one "party" in North Carolina at the time, the partisans of Clay, Adams, Jackson, and Calhoun carried on a determined fight for their favorite candidates; and after seven days of balloting, the contest narrowed down to William B. Meares of New Hanover County (later of Sampson), who was a strong supporter of Henry Clay, and supporters of the other national leaders. The strategy of the anti-Clay forces was simply to defeat Meares, but they could agree on no single candidate. One by one the stronger candidates dropped out — Murphey, Carson, Stokes. On the fourteenth ballot, the vote was Meares 74, Donnell 59, and Fisher 48.[21] On December 8, after almost three weeks of fruitless voting, Speaker Bedford Brown's name was entered, apparently for the purpose of holding off a Meares victory until the anti-Clay factions could come to some agreement. But, much to the sur-

[19] Thomas Ruffin to Bedford Brown, November 27, 1828. J. G. de R. Hamilton, editor, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin* (Raleigh, 1920, 2 vols.), I, 460. Hereafter cited as Hamilton, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin.*

[20] *Journals of the Senate and House of Commons . . . 1829-30*, 1.

[21] *Western Carolinian* (Salisbury, N. C.), December 15, 1829.

prise of his colleagues and probably to himself, Brown was elected on the first ballot in which his name was entered, getting 95 votes to 86 for Meares and 7 for other candidates.[22]

That Brown's name had been entered only as a stalking horse instead of as a winner may be indicated in a statement attributed to Alfred Stanley, who was said to have visited Brown following the election and "stated to him how purely accidental was his election, and . . . [that] he was bound in honor to resign. . . ."[23] Another North Carolinian, Joseph B. Skinner, expressed his dissatisfaction to Judge Ruffin, asking if Brown had "acquired intellectual merit since the days in which I knew him, so that the State is not dishonored, or has it resulted from party juggling?"[24] The *Western Carolinian,* however, noted that Brown was "a gentleman of respectable talents, and will do justice to the high and responsible station he has been called to fill."[25]

Brown took his seat in the United States Senate on December 28, 1829,[26] and was assigned to the relatively unimportant Joint Committee on Engrossed Bills.[27] He made no important speech during the session, but his votes gave indication of the direction that he would follow during the next eleven years as a United States Senator. Those eleven years were characterized by opposition to Henry Clay's "American System" and support of all but one of the major administration measures. The exception was the force bill. At the same time, however, Brown just as strongly fought nullification. He opposed most federal spending schemes, the distribution of the treasury surplus to the states, the recognition or annexation of Texas, the rechartering of the United States Bank, and

---

[22] *Journals of the Senate and House of Commons . . . 1829-30,* 9-46.

[23] R. M. Saunders, *An Address of R. M. Saunders to the People of North Carolina, February 25, 1843,* a pamphlet bound in *North Carolina Politics,* No. 1, North Carolina Room, University of North Carolina. An acceptable secondary account of the election may be found in "Bedford Brown," Samuel A. Ashe, *Biographical History of North Carolina* (Greensboro, 1905-1917, 8 vols.), I, 183.

[24] Joseph B. Skinner to Thomas Ruffin, December 29, 1829. Hamilton, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin,* I, 537.

[25] *Western Carolinian* (Salisbury, N. C.), December 15, 1829.

[26] *Biographical Directory of the American Congress 1774-1949* (Washington, 1950), 160; *Niles Weekly Register* (Baltimore, Md.), XXXVII (January 2, 1830), 291.

[27] *Senate Document* 8, Serial 192, 21st Congress, 1st Session.

he disagreed with the majority of southern members over the best way of handling abolition petitions. By the time of his resignation in 1840, Bedford Brown had marked himself as one of the most faithful friends of Jackson and Van Buren, and, along with Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri and William Rufus King of Alabama, both natives of North Carolina, had become a leading Democrat in the Senate.

Brown's faith in General Jackson was confided to Judge Ruffin a week after he took office. "The popularity of the Administration is so well established," he wrote, "and the confidence generally entertained here, as to the honesty of Genl. Jackson's principles is so great that I am inclined to think the partizans [*sic*] of Mr. Clay will be somewhat discouraged from making anything like a systematic opposition."[28] This prediction did not come true, but the faith that the North Carolinian held in the two Presidents under whom he served never wavered, even in the dark days of the late 1830's when only a vanguard of original Jackson men stood in defense of the Van Buren program.

During his first months in office, Senator Brown told Nathaniel Macon, who, with Thomas Jefferson, was his idol, of his intention to oppose the Clay-Adams forces. Brown wrote the venerable retired Senator,

> The speedy payment of the national debt . . . should be an object of increasing solicitude, with all who wish to see the government brought back to its republican course, for so long as it remains unpaid, it will form a pretext for continuing the present high rates of duties; thus annually exacting from Agricultural industry, a large sum of money, which a wise and provident government, should leave in the pockets of its Citizens. If this course is persevered in, and it should become the settled policy of Congress, which will annually bring into the Treasury a larger sum, than the ordinary expenditures of Government require [,] it cannot but be looked on with dismay and apprehension, by those who are friendly to preserving the limitations, which the framers of the constitution designed to impose on the federal government, but which have been almost entirely disregarded by a combination of selfish politicians, who have succeeded in establishing, what they falsely denominate the "Americal System"; by which

[28] Bedford Brown to Thomas Ruffin, January 6, 1830. Hamilton, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, II, 2.

extortions are to be practiced on a portion of the people of the confederacy to be expended in distant States, in which those who contribute the largest amount of money, have no immediate interest—, a system more false to the prosperity of the Southern portion of America, better calculated to annihilate the Sovereignty of the States, and destroy the peace and harmony of the Union, would not, in my opinion, have been devised. . . .[29]

In the second session of the Twenty-first Congress, Brown received assignment to two committees—agriculture and claims.[30] Except for what influence he may have exerted in those committees, his part in the session was largely restricted to his votes on the issues. In his first major speech in the Senate, Brown, in February, 1831, defended the Jackson administration against charges by Senator John Tyler of Virginia that the President had exceeded his constitutional powers in appointing a commission to draw up a commercial treaty with the Turkish government. In Brown's opinion, the course of the President had not only been honest, but "marked by an enlightened policy, deserving the approbation of the American people." Unlike the former administration, the behavior of the Jackson government had been such as to assure that the "reserved rights of the States of this confederacy [will] be respected . . . and the action of the General Government restrained within its appropriate sphere."[31]

Senator Brown was again assigned to the committees on agriculture and claims in the first session of the Twenty-second Congress in December, 1831. Brown, now thirty-six years of age, frequently entered into discussions on the floor. His first great battle began in January when the forces of Clay and Webster opened their fight against the confirmation of Martin Van Buren as minister to the United Kingdom. Vice-President John C. Calhoun presided and took delight in every defamation of the Secretary of State.

Brown characterized the New Yorker as having "accomplished more in less time than any of his predecessors. . . .

[29] Bedford Brown to Nathaniel Macon, April 29, 1830. Nathaniel Macon Papers, Duke University.

[30] *Senate Document 15*, Serial 203, 21st Congress, 2nd Session.

[31] *Register of Debates in Congress*, 21st Congress, 2nd Session, 274. Hereafter cited as *Register of Debates*.

Possessing talents of a high order and rapidly growing in the esteem of his countrymen. . . ."[32] He charged that the opposition to Van Buren stemmed from his success in negotiating a West Indian trade agreement with Great Britain, an accomplishment for which the Adams administration had worked in vain. The debates continued for many days until, late in the month, the Senate cast a 23 to 23 vote on the question of confirmation. It was up to the Vice-President to break the tie. Calhoun cast his vote against the New Yorker, but in doing so, he helped make Van Buren the choice of President Jackson for the vice-presidency. At the same time, the South Carolinian virtually ended his own chances of ever sitting in the White House.

The introduction of the Tariff bill of 1832 was a signal for another North-South battle in Congress. Brown expressed his dissatisfaction with the bill because it re-enacted some of the "most obnoxious features of the tariff of 1828." He had hoped, he said, that the new bill would remedy the worst features of the Tariff of Abominations. But that hope had not been borne out. He was hostile to the principle of protection, and while in the Senate he would contribute his humble efforts to "eradicate from our laws a principle . . . incompatible with the enlightened spirit of the age, and of free Government."[33] Nevertheless, the Senator admitted, considering the nature of the Union, he would sacrifice much for the sake of conciliation, and, in spite of his constitutional scruples, he was willing to meet on a half-way ground, "believing that our federal system of Government can only continue to exist by the exercise of that spirit of compromise and conciliation which gave it birth."[34] He said that compromise was a two-way proposition, and the proposed reductions were insufficient to warrant the support of the bill by a suffering South. The bill under debate presented, he said, the "extraordinary spectacle . . . in our country of continuing a system of unjust and oppressive taxation, not called for by the exigencies of the nation, but to benefit a few monopolists." He hoped that the

[32] *Register of Debates*, 21st Congress, 2nd Session, 1335.
[33] *Register of Debates*, 21st Congress, 2nd Session, 1218.
[34] *Register of Debates*, 21st Congress, 2nd Session, 675.

"justice, intelligence, and patriotism of the people [would] correct this evil, and save the Union from the disastrous consequences which [are] likely to result from perservering in such a system." [35]

On the issue of rechartering the United States Bank, Brown had little to say. He noted that "in proportion as the bank [is] burdened, [will] the bank burden the people," and voted for various amendments designed to restrict operations of the bank. His opposition was clearly indicated by his votes on the amendments, against final passage, and in voting to sustain the President's veto.[36]

In November, 1832, South Carolina announced her intention of treating the Tariffs of 1828 and 1832 as null and void after February 1. President Jackson replied to this threat by asking Congress for authorization to use force to execute the laws of the United States in South Carolina. The Senate thus took up what is commonly referred to as the "force bill."

Here was a test that would separate the state rights advocate from the Unionist. Bedford Brown now was faced with an important decision. Would the man who would "yield to none in a high and profound reverence for the Union of the States" forsake his President whom he had invariably defended, or his neighbors in South Carolina? On January 28, 1833, the North Carolinian gave his answer.

South Carolina, Brown told the Senate, had made a grievous error. Her course, he thought, had been "rash and uncalled for by the exigency of the times. She should have relied . . . upon a constitutional remedy; upon the returning sense of justice in the people of the Northern and Eastern states; and upon the wisdom and patriotism assembled in the legislative halls of the country." [37] He expressed complete disapprobation of her course.

Having defined his view toward South Carolina's actions, Brown then turned to the difficult course of reconciling that position with his opposition to the force bill. He would not support the President's request. He believed that, in its con-

[35] *Register of Debates*, 21st Congress, 2nd Session, 1219.
[36] *Register of Debates*, 22nd Congress, 1st Session, 1123.
[37] *Register of Debates*, 22nd Congress, 2nd Session, 333.

sequences, it would be "attended with violence, and perhaps lead to civil war." No emergency, he believed, justified the subordination of the civil authority to the military, and that would be the consequence of the passage of such an act. There was an "inherent energy in the constitution which will enable the laws to triumph without an appeal to force." The difficulties between South Carolina and the Union could be resolved if both sides would take a position of reasonable compromise.

When the Webster-Clay forces suggested that some opponents of the force bill were reluctant because they feared to put the proposed powers into the hands of the "present President," Brown countered with a glowing tribute to Jackson. He said,

> . . . the past course of the President [has] been such as to entitle him to unlimited confidence, and there [is] no individual to whom [I] would more willingly confide this power . . . But there [is] no man, however elevated his station and enobled by virtue, however pure his integrity and honest his purposes, to whom [I] would give a power which [is] unwarranted by the constitution. . . . [I] could not believe for a moment, that, if this power were given to the President, he would abuse it. But it might, in worse times than these, and in worse hands than his, be abused to the destruction of our institutions. . . . [History teaches] the fact of today becomes a precedent of tomorrow.[38]

The solution to the problem was simple, Brown said. Take away the causes of the problem, and the problem itself would disappear. And what were the causes? The North Carolinian gave his own answer:

> I take my stand . . . on the reserved rights of the States. I repudiate the doctrine of nullification. I repudiate also the high-toned doctrine of the federal party. I believe it is to that high-toned doctrine that we are to attribute nullification. I believe that doctrine produced it; is the parent of it. It is by an improper pressure of the Federal Government on the rights of the States, and by exercising doubtful powers, that the State of South Carolina has been thrown into this position.[39]

---

[38] *Register of Debates*, 22nd Congress, 2nd Session, 334.

Furthermore, Brown charged that internal improvements at federal expense and the protective tariff violated the Constitution and state rights. Those innovations were solely for the enrichment of one section at the expense of another, he said. South Carolina had a legitimate complaint, one in which the entire South shared, and only by removing the complaint would the problem be removed. The remedy then, was one of conciliation, one aspect of which would be the removal of the oppression under which the Southern people were laboring as a result of the tariff. He appealed to the national patriotism of all sections:

> Thank God, in the exercise of my legislative rights and duties here, I can look beyond the Potomac. Thank God, I have a feeling which is not confined to the geographical limits of any portion of the United States. I can look to the judge of my countrymen north as well as south of the Potomac; and I wish it to be distinctly understood, that what I now say respecting South Carolina, I deem applicable to every member of this confederacy. To no one of these States would I arrogantly say, I will not do justice, until you come on your knees before me. . . . I do hope, if I have any patriotism, it is not that narrow, contracted patriotism which is confined to geographical limits. I trust it is that patriotism which looks abroad over the Union, and embraces every portion of my fellow-citizens. And so help me God, if my constituents were this day to demand that I should perpetrate an act of injustice against any member of this confederacy . . . which I believed destructive to their constitutional rights, so help me God I would resign my seat, and retire to my home, rather than jeopardize the peace of this republic, this glorious experiment of a free Government, by taking what justly belongs to Maine, and unjustly to bestow it on North Carolina. . . .[40]

All peaceful means, Brown repeated, should be used to settle the problem. Then, if "on a failure of all these means, it shall be found necessary to use force to execute the laws, let it be used." He was not prepared to say that the emergency could not arise, but before a law of such importance should be executed, before the peace of the Union should be disturbed, "there ought to be a reference to the justice, to the

[39] *Register of Debates*, 22nd Congress, 2nd Session, 338.
[40] *Register of Debates*, 22nd Congress, 2nd Session, 342.

wisdom of Congress, to weigh, to examine the provisions of that law, and solemnly to pause and reflect upon proceeding to put it in force by military power." [41]

Senator Brown closed his long appeal with a plea that the flag which theretofore had been the "rallying point of heroism," should not "now float over the mangled corpses of our bleeding countrymen. God forbid that our country should under go this sad and disastrous revolution; for . . . whenever that should take place, not only the liberties of this country, but the best and brightest hope of the civilized world, [will] be destroyed forever." [42]

But Brown's opposition to the force bill was unavailing, and the act went into effect on March 1. Fortunately, however, South Carolina, finding little support for her action, accepted the compromise Tariff of 1833. Thus, nullification gave way to the conciliation for which North Carolina's Bedford Brown had argued.

That Bedford Brown's influence had risen to command high respect in the Senate by the time of the opening of the Twenty-third Congress in December, 1833, is indicated in his election by that body to the chairmanship of the Committee on Agriculture by a vote of 43 to 3.[43]

President Jackson's withdrawal of federal deposits from the United States Bank provided the major issue in the new session. This act was the signal for a full-scale political war between the administration and the bank forces, the latter led by Clay and Webster. In that battle, Bedford Brown openly broke with his colleague from North Carolina, Senator Willie P. Mangum, and uncompromisingly sided with the President.

Following the President's withdrawal of deposits, Congress was flooded with petitions claiming financial distress from throughout the country. Senator Brown charged that these petitions were inspired by the "Federal Party" which was attempting to arouse the public into believing that a real

[41] *Register of Debates*, 22nd Congress, 2nd Session, 343.

[42] *Register of Debates*, 22nd Congress, 2nd Session, 345.

[43] At that time, the committees were elected by the whole membership of the Senate. Brown also received eleven votes for the chairmanship of the Committee on Claims. *Register of Debates*, 23rd Congress, 1st Session, 42.

crisis had developed as a result of the President's action. This campaign to spread the belief that there was real financial distress was designed, he said, to bring pressure upon Congress to recharter the "monster" bank. Actually, conditions were good, said the North Carolinian, citing real property prices as 20 per cent higher than the previous year. Tobacco was selling well and industry was better recompensed than at any time within his knowledge, he argued.[44]

The bank, the Senator charged, had set out deliberately to produce distress and embarrassment in the country. And, while the bank put the screws down upon the people by curtailing its discounts and its accommodations, "politicians, men in high places, newspapers, the whole squadron of paid agents and organs," were spreading alarm by claiming that the country was being plunged into ruin by the removal. Brown said that he was opposed, on general principles, to the banking system in any form, because he believed it to be at variance with the spirit and character of American institutions, and he was much more opposed to a national bank which had shown itself powerful enough "to wield an almost irresistible influence over the affairs of the country, for good or evil purposes, as it might choose."[45]

Brown spoke often and long in support of the administration's actions. In general, he took the line of argument that the administration had complete authority to withdraw the deposits, and, indeed, should be commended for doing it; that the bank had set out to force its recharter by bringing about financial distress; that the friends of the bank were endeavoring to stir up a panicky mood among the people in hopes of winning them over to the bank side; that the distress was largely imaginary, the country being basically prosperous; that any institution which possessed such power as the United States Bank had enjoyed was unconstitutional; that the bank had no claim to the deposits in the first place; that the "bank party" was a direct outgrowth of the old Federalists who had opposed popular government and supported a "moneyed aristocracy"; and that the whole issue of dis-

[44] *Register of Debates*, 23rd Congress, 1st Session, 229.
[45] *Register of Debates*, 23rd Congress, 1st Session, 550.

tress was a false one promulgated by friends of the bank. The entire issue, he charged, was "whether the pretensions set up by an arrogant moneyed aristocracy, and the political party supporting it, should prevail in the conflict; or whether the cause of the country, and the Chief Executive Magistrate, who is defending the citadel of our liberties against the most dangerous assaults, should be sustained." [46]

Administration forces in the Senate were in a minority on all major issues during the session of 1833-1834, and Brown found himself on the losing side on practically every vote. Only nineteen colleagues joined him in voting against a resolution condemning Jackson's removal of the deposits as unconstitutional. When he left for North Carolina in the summer of 1834 to mend his political fences, Senator Brown must have breathed easier in a friendly atmosphere.

Bedford Brown, United States Senator by accident, was a candidate for re-election in 1834. His support of Jackson had earned him the enmity of a growing number of North Carolinians who looked to Henry Clay for leadership. At the same time, his frequent clashes with Calhoun had turned many nominal Democrats against him. But in his favor was the boomerang of the Whigs' attacks on the Caswellian as a man of "common manners, a man of the lower classes," a baseless charge.[47]

Following a smashing Democratic victory in the North Carolina legislative elections in August, Vice-President Van Buren wrote Brown,

> . . . you would not but have been gratified to have witnessed the deep interest which has been taken here in the N. Carolina elections on your account. It is with great sincerity that I say to you that the more I have reflected on your course last winter the more I have found to admire it. . . . Yourself, Forsyth, Benton and Wright have, I assure you, laid up a store of popularity which can not fail to turn to account hereafter.[48]

---

[46] *Register of Debates*, 23rd Congress, 1st Session, 1487.

[47] William E. Dodd, *The Life on Nathaniel Macon* (Raleigh, 1903), 395.

[48] Martin Van Buren to Bedford Brown, September 7, 1834. Bedford Brown Papers, Duke University. Professor W. K. Boyd incorrectly copied the date of this letter as "September 7, 1836" in his "Selections from the Correspondence of Bedford Brown—1, 1832-1856," *Trinity College Historical Papers*, VI (1906), 75.

On November 20, the General Assembly formally elected Brown for a six-year term by a margin of some thirty votes over Thomas Settle of Rockingham County.[49] Soon thereafter, the Assembly displayed its pro-Jacksonian fervor by instructing Senators Brown and Mangum to vote for expunging the resolutions adopted in the Senate condemning the President's withdrawal of deposits from the bank. Mangum, now a confirmed Whig, refused to recognize the right of a legislature to instruct senators, and, in 1836, resigned in an unsuccessful attempt to vindicate his position.[50]

Senator Brown was again elected chairman of the Agriculture Committee in December, 1835, but his margin of victory over Senator Tipton of Indiana was only 25 to 14. The North Carolinian was also elected to the committees on claims, Indian affairs, and contingent expenses of the Senate.[51]

Soon after the new session began, an issue arose which was destined to destroy the effectiveness of the Democratic Party for many years. The slave-owner of the Upper Country Line was faced with another perplexing decision when the issue of abolitionist petitions developed. But, just as he had done on the force bill, the North Carolinian took a middle ground and fought the extremes on both sides. It was against his fellow southerners, however, that he aimed his heaviest attacks.

The basic argument in the Senate centered not around support of the abolitionists, but around the procedure for handling the many petitions received from those persons advocating interference with the institution of slavery. John C. Calhoun argued that the Senate should refuse to receive the petitions. This procedure, however, could involve debate. Brown reasoned that the petitions should be received by the Senate after which a motion would be made to lay them on the table. Since parliamentary procedure prohibited debate

---

[49] *Journals of the Senate and House of Commons . . . 1834-35*, 10.

[50] Henry Thomas Shanks, ed., *The Papers of Willie Person Mangum* (Raleigh, 1950, 4 vols.), I, xxxi-xxxiii. See also Earl R. Franklin, "The Instruction of United States Senators by North Carolina," *Trinity College Historical Papers*, VII (1907), 1-15.

[51] *Register of Debates*, 24th Congress, 1st Session, 11.

on a motion to table, the whole issue could thus be thrust aside without any discussion on the part of the Senate. This course, said Brown, while indicating to the "fanatics that Congress will yield no countenance to their designs, at the same time marks them with decided reprobation by a refusal to print" their petitions. The preclusion of all debate "would thus prevent the agitation of a subject in Congress which all should deprecate as fraught with mischief to every portion of this happy and flourishing confederacy." [52]

Brown's stand was not acceptable to the southern extremists. Senators Calhoun and Preston of South Carolina and Tyler and Leigh of Virginia especially argued that a refusal to accept the petitions was the only honorable way to handle them. They complained bitterly that the abolitionists were permitted to operate legally in several northern states and warned that the strength of their organizations was increasingly dangerous.

His southern colleagues were making exaggerated representations of the danger of the abolitionists, Senator Brown charged. The "fanatics," he claimed, were countenanced by no respectable portion of the North, and, without debate in Congress, the abolitionists would have no opportunity to agitate the issue. This was no time for sectional differences; it was a time for renewed faith in the generosity of all Americans. To the extent that they were continuing the debates on the abolitionists, Brown said, the southerners were giving wide circulation to the abolitionist literature. Debates of Congress were reported by the newspapers which carried the words of the abolitionists to the people who otherwise would not hear them. Thus, when Congress debated the petitions, it was giving free publicity to the anti-slavery forces.

When Senator Preston indignantly charged that the legislatures of the northern states shall legislate against the abolitionists, Brown again interposed his caution against driving northern friends into the arms of the very group that the South

[52] *Register of Debates*, 24th Congress, 1st Session, 90. Senator Brown's part in this controversy is discussed in Thomas Hart Benton, *Thirty Years' View; or a History of the Working of the American Government for Thirty Years from 1820 to 1850* (New York, 1856, 2 vols.), 612-613. Hereafter cited as Benton, *Thirty Years' View*.

was criticizing. The North Carolinian suggested that it was the part of "wisdom as well as of generosity for us to cultivate harmonious feelings with those who [are] acting in concert with us to the North, to put the abolitionists down" by depriving them of respectability. Only by maintaining the support of the Democratic leaders of the North, he believed, could the abolitionists be silenced. He suggested that the abolitionist activity was partially due to "the designs of a more sagacious political party, for the purpose of operating on the South at an important crisis," inferring that the Whigs had showered abolitionist publications upon the South just before the past elections.[53]

Senator Brown was frankly antagonistic toward the recognition of Texas when that issue was presented to the Twenty-fourth Congress. "What [have] these Texans done to require that we should embroil ourselves in a war with a country with whom we are on terms of peace?" he asked, and warned that recognition would likely lead to hostilities with Mexico. And, when on May 23, 1836, Senator Calhoun urged both recognition and annexation, Brown objected to any course that would change "the neutral and pacific character of our Government, which [has] long been cherished as one of the wisest and best settled principles of policy. . . ." The national character of the United States, he said, was "worth infinitely more than all the territorial possessions of Mexico, her wealth, or the wealth of all other nations added together." [54]

By virtue of a one-vote Democratic majority in the General Assembly of North Carolina following the 1836 elections, Robert Strange was elected to replace Senator Willie P. Mangum who had resigned after refusing to accept legislative instructions. The two Democrats worked as loyal supporters of the administration during the next four years, and Strange generally followed Brown's lead in the Senate debates. Furthermore, the Democrats now had a clear majority in the session beginning in December, 1836, as was evidenced by

[53] *Register of Debates*, 24th Congress, 1st Session, 1118.
[54] *Register of Debates*, 24th Congress, 1st Session, 1533. See also Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, I, 667-668.

the expunging of the anti-Jackson resolution of March, 1834, by a vote of 24 to 19.[55]

Early in 1837, Senator Brown had another occasion to differ with the majority of his fellow southerners when he supported the admission of Michigan as a state. As he was increasingly prone to do, Brown maneuvered his speech supporting the bill into an attack on the Whigs, to whom he most frequently referred as the "Federal Party." That party, he said,

> . . . believed, or affected to believe, that popular liberty would degenerate into licentiousness, and prove incompatible with the existence of regular government. . . . Sir, . . . to those who are in the habit of speaking disparingly of the intelligence of the great body of the people, it is sufficient to point them to the condition of the country to disprove the change. It is to that public intelligence that we are indebted for what it is.[56]

A violent exchange between Brown and Calhoun came in debate on a proposed reduction of the tariff in February, 1837. Calhoun opposed the bill on the grounds that, although the Tariff of 1833 was "odious and unequal," he did not want to disturb the peace that the compromise had brought. This spectacle of the South Carolina Nullificationist working side by side with the "Federals" like Clay and Webster to prevent a reduction in duties was, to Senator Brown, among "the most extraordinary spectacles" that he had witnessed. He argued that to oppose a reduction was, in effect, to support the tariff. He censured Calhoun for making an "uncalled for and unwarrantable denunciation" of Jacksonian followers in the North who had come forward proposing reduction, and accused the South Carolinian of "subterfuge" and "contemptible vanity and overweening egotism" and of thinking himself a standard of political infallibility. He would not, snapped Brown, thereafter "notice the hallucinations and frantic denunciations of all the friends of the administration who

[55] *Register of Debates*, 24th Congress, 2nd Session, 504. Brown relinquished his seat as chairman of the Agriculture Committee and was made chairman of the Committee on Revolutionary Claims. He was also chosen to serve on the committees on Commerce, and Post Office and Post Roads.

[56] *Register of Debates*, 24th Congress, 2nd Session, 280.

might not happen to agree with him [Calhoun] in his opinion."[57]

The Panic of 1837 failed to shake the Senator's faith in the Jackson and Van Buren administrations. He supported the sub-treasury bill and sided with Calhoun in favor of an amendment designed gradually to require the payment of all government revenues in specie.[58] He had ample opportunities to reiterate his convictions that all banks were evil and that the founding fathers had never intended for the paper currency system to be put into effect. He again charged that the "bank party" had succeeded in bringing on national financial distress so that the country would be "scourged into submission, to compel its obedience to the mandates of the moneyed power."[59]

On February 23, 1838, Senator Brown delivered a speech which ran for more than twenty-five columns in the *Congressional Globe*. The issue was the independent sub-treasury plan which the North Carolinian supported as a means of getting the government completely divorced from the "moneyed aristocracy." Again he charged that the bank supporters were to blame for the depression:

> The present embarrassment of the Government [is] due to a great moneyed power, acting in concert with a certain political party, whose only hope to success [rests] in destroying the credit of the Government, and drying up the resources and commerce of the country. . . . It [is] one of a series of actions, put into operation for several years past, to arrest the financial operations of the Government, for the purpose of forcing the people into the measures of a banking corporation. It [was] shamelessly avowed by its organ, that it was in vain to reason with the people, and that they never would be brought to their senses until they were brought to them by severe distress. . . . the great object of that power has been, and is, to produce that distress, for the purpose of bringing the people, as they say, to their senses; or, in other words, to bring them bound hand and foot to its footstool.[60]

---

[57] *Register of Debates*, 24th Congress, 2nd Session, 916.
[58] *Register of Debates*, 25th Congress, 1st Session, 406,
[59] *Congressional Globe*, 25th Congress, 2nd Session (Appendix), 35.
[60] *Congressional Globe*, 25th Congress, 2nd Session (Appendix), 388.

The Senator's stand was applauded by the noted author, James Fenimore Cooper, who wrote Brown that the "present political struggle in this country, appears to be a contest between men and dollars, and it is a bad omen for the first that they are so easily duped by the arch enemy; to their own injury." [61]

On January 14, 1839, Senator Brown laid before the Senate a number of resolutions which the North Carolina General Assembly had passed the previous month. These resolutions, usually referred to as the Kenneth Rayner Resolutions, condemned the expunging of the anti-Jackson resolutions from the *Senate Journal,* opposed the sub-treasury plan, blamed the administration for the depression, condemned pre-emption, and resolved that the North Carolina Senators in Washington should carry out the wishes of the people in these regards. The resolutions contained no instructions.

The significance of the controversy which arose between Senators Brown and Strange on the one hand and the Whig General Assembly of North Carolina on the other, lay in the disagreement between the two parties over the right of a legislature to instruct its federal senators. The Democrats supported the right of instruction; the Whigs refused to recognize it. Senator Mangum had resigned in 1836 over the issue.

Upon presentation of the resolutions, Brown and Strange addressed the Senate, supporting the right of instruction as a basic principle of Jeffersonian Republicanism. But these resolutions, they said, did not instruct. In fact, the legislature had had before it an amendment specifically to instruct, but the Whigs voted against it unanimously, thus rejecting the Democratic doctrine that the General Assembly had the power to force either support of specific measures by its senators or the resignation of those officers.[62]

The two North Carolinians, faced with a charge of party servility, determined on a bold course. They announced that they would resign prior to the elections of 1840. Through

---

[61] James Fenimore Cooper to Bedford Brown, March 24, 1838. Bedford Brown Papers, Duke University.

[62] *Congressional Globe,* 25th Congress, 3rd Session, 117.

their choice of Assemblymen, the people would be able to signify their decision between the records of the two parties and between the conflicting attitudes toward legislative instruction of senators. The senators, however, in view of the Whig legislature's rejection of the right of instruction, would not give their opponents the pleasure of filling their seats until after the people had expressed their decision.

Henry Clay, who had long objected to the right of instruction, arose to express belief that Brown and Strange, having lost the confidence of their legislature, should nevertheless resign immediately. That was a signal for Bedford Brown to get in one of his parting shots at

> . . . a senator whose miscalled American system, until thrown off by determined resistance, [has], for a series of years, impoverished and desolated the South, oppressed her citizens, and almost ruined her commerce . . . and which [has] created and . . . established those dangerous sectional prejudices and feelings which [are] destined to endure too long for the harmony and safety of our country.[63]

Senator Brown's last recorded speech in Congress was made on May 7, 1840, when he defended his record of upholding the policies of the Jackson and Van Buren administrations. His eleven years in the Senate, he said, had been an uninterrupted battle against the "'federal" doctrines of the opposition who had attempted to set section against section. He said he had fought every important federal spending scheme and had been constantly on the lookout for extravagance. He had also stood against those extremists of his own South who had shown ill-will toward the "respectable" portion of the northern states in the abolitionist petition controversy. Now, he was ready to leave his fate up to the people of North Carolina who would commend or condemn his stand.

He was interrupted by Senator Southard who suggested that Brown's position would be rebuked by the people. Brown replied,

---

[63] *Congressional Globe*, 25th Congress, 3rd Session, 120.

Sir, should I meet with the misfortune of receiving such a rebuke, the gentleman, from practical experience, will know how to sympathize with me, for the gentleman, and the Administration of which he was a member [Adams'], [have] received such a rebuke from the popular fiat . . . in the most unequivocal manner. That the gentleman and his friends should wish to be reinstated in office, and that they should even, in defiance of probabilities, indulge in the most sanguine anticipations, [is] reasonable enough; but that the popular rebuke, such as he anticipate[s will] be bestowed on the Democratic party, [is], to say the least of it, not very probable. The gentleman, in good time, [will] find himself greatly mistaken in his predictions.[64]

It was the Senator for North Carolina, however, who was mistaken in his predictions.

[*To be concluded*]

[64] *Congressional Globe*, 26th Congress, 1st Session (Appendix), 440.

THE LEGAL STATUS OF PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR NEGROES IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1877-1894

By Frenise A. Logan

Officials who are elected by popular vote usually reflect the sentiment and thinking of the citizens whose votes placed them in office. The members of the legislative body of North Carolina during the period under survey were no exception to this rule. Therefore, with respect to public school education for the Negro children of the state, it was to be expected that these officeholders would affirm the large general views of their communities which held that education was a "big stick" in the hands of the Negroes, that it tended to spoil them and thus ruined good field hands.

Yet in 1876, immediately after the election results were official, the Democratic press of the state, along with the newly elected Democratic legislature and state party leaders, attempted to assure the apprehensive Negroes that the new regime would not be "hostile to their rights and interests." On November 8, 1876, the day following the sweeping Democratic victory, the editor of the *Greensboro Patriot,* for example, wrote:

> The negro need not be alarmed. He will not lose a single right or privilege he has enjoyed. Instead of being reduced to slavery again he will be fully emancipated. . . . The day that Democracy takes charge of this government will be the brightest the negro ever saw. He need have no fears. His old friends will be his friends again, and his future will be better and brighter.[1]

Representative McGehee, a Democrat from Person County, speaking for his party, promised the Negroes that the legislature would "seek to inspire all its citizens with an absolute confidence in its justice, nay more, in its good will."[2] The newly elected Democratic governor, Zebulon B. Vance, in his message before the General Assembly in January 1877,

[1] *Greensboro Patriot,* November 8, 1876.
[2] *Greensboro Patriot,* January 10, 1877.

urged the members to live up to their pledges and "make no discrimination in the matter of public education"; but to deal justly and equitably with all school children of the state "with a thorough North Carolina spirit." [3]

The record reveals that for the first three years following the 1876 Democratic victory, North Carolina made serious effort to equalize the schools of the two races. But by 1880 the promises and pledges of 1876-77 were cast aside. On March 29 of that year the legislature authorized the establishment of graded schools in the town of Goldsboro by an act which declared that "the taxes raised from the property and polls of white persons shall be appropriated exclusively to a graded school for white persons, and the taxes raised from the property and polls of colored persons shall be appropriated exclusively to a graded school for colored persons." [4] Charles L. Coon says that this was the first time a North Carolina law permitted the division of school taxes on a race basis.[5] However, this history-making law got no further than its passage through the General Assembly; for when the question was put to a popular vote in early May of 1880, the poor whites and "ignorant" Negroes of Goldsboro united to defeat it.[6]

Refusing to accept this setback, the "good white people" of Goldsboro were successful on March 5, 1881, in obtaining from the legislature permission to hold another election in that city on May 2, 1881, upon the same question—taxation for a graded school. The act was similar to the previous one, containing also a provision that money raised by taxes paid by whites should be devoted exclusively to the education of white children, and that money raised by taxes paid by Negroes should be devoted exclusively to the education of Negro children.[7] This time, through the strenuous efforts of

[3] *Greensboro Patriot*, January 17, 1877.

[4] *Laws and Resolutions of North Carolina, 1880*, 27, sec. 8 Act of March 29, 1880.

[5] Charles L. Coon, "The Beginnings of the North Carolina City Schools, 1867-1887," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, vol. XII (July 1913), 244. Hereafter referred to as Coon, "The Beginnings of . . . City Schools."

[6] Coon, "The Beginnings of . . . City Schools," 244.

[7] *Laws and Resolutions of North Carolina, 1881*, 189, sec. 3. Act of March 5, 1881.

Julius A. Bonitz, the editor of the *Goldsboro Messenger,* the bill passed.[8] The town of Durham, apparently heartened by the success of the whites in Goldsboro, secured permissive legislation and also established graded schools with money collected from the whites supporting white schools and money collected from the Negroes supporting Negro schools.[9]

On March 8, 1883, the legislature of North Carolina recognized the division of local school taxes and authorized, by a general statute, any school district in the state to vote local taxes on that basis. The procedure was as follows: A written petition signed by ten white voters would entitle the county commissioners to order an election to be held. Likewise, a petition signed by ten colored voters would bring about a similar effect. In either case, the taxes collected were to support separate schools, from the whites in support of white schools; from the Negroes in support of Negro schools.[10] Describing the law as a "monstrous enactment—a disgrace to the State," a Negro paper of the state, the *Salisbury Star of Zion,* predicted that it would destroy the colored schools.[11]

The passage of this general statute was due, unquestionably, to the persistent urgings of newspapers like the *Clinton Caucasian,* the *Goldsboro Messenger,* and *The News and Observer* (Raleigh). The former was one of the first publications in the state to advocate the doctrine that each race should be held responsible for the education of its children. It argued that such a system would benefit both races.

> It will unify the whites in favor of a more liberal system of public schools for their race, which they would cheerfully and willingly sustain; and, as the blacks are imitative creatures, they would be induced to do their best in the same direction. Thrown upon their own resources and seeing that they will have to depend on themselves, all of them would pay their poll tax; whereas now, many thousands of them evade payments.[12]

---

[8] Coon, "The Beginnings of . . . City Schools," 244.
[9] *Laws and Resolutions,* 231, sec. 3. Act of March 9, 1881.
[10] *The Code of North Carolina, 1883,* vol. II, sections 2593 and 2595.
[11] See the *New York Age,* March 3, 1883. Whether this forecast would have been borne out will never be known, for three years later the North Carolina Supreme Court declared the statute unconstitutional.
[12] Quoted in the *Wilmington Daily Review,* March 14, 1883.

The News and Observer, concurring in this view, commended the measure as "doing no one an injustice, but as promising to aid greatly in rendering our schools more efficient." [13] This paper, obviously, had in mind the white schools, for earlier in 1883 it had complained that of the $172,000 expended in 1882 for Negro schools, "under $70,000" was paid by that group; therefore, "the whites contribute $100,000 a year toward the colored schools besides paying for the white schools." [14] The implication, apparently, was that the money the whites "gave" to the Negro schools ought to be retained for the advancement of its own schools. As we have seen, the legislature of 1883 so authorized.

Although many local white taxpayers in the towns and cities of the state took advantage of the general statute or specific acts by the legislature authorizing the division of school taxes along race lines through a popular vote, Tarboro offers, perhaps, the most striking illustration of their utter failure to bring this about. On April 2, 1883, the legislature authorized an election upon the question of taxation for graded schools in that predominantly Negro city—one school for the Negro children and one for the white children. The law, as usual, stipulated that taxes collected from the whites would be applied to the support of white schools, and taxes collected from the Negroes would be applied to the support of Negro schools.[15] The editor of *The Southerner* (Tarboro), obviously pessimistic as to the outcome of the voting, warned the whites of the city as early as April 12, 1883, almost a month before the election, that the "combination of a few large taxpayers with the mass of the negro vote" might possibly defeat the project.[16] When we note the amount of money which would be applied to the graded schools for each race, as over against the number of Negroes and whites in the city's school population, we can understand the white editor's pessimism. There were 884 Negro school

---

[13] *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), February 2, 1883.
[14] Quoted in the *Greenville Eastern Reflector,* January 31, 1883.
[15] *Laws and Resolutions of North Carolina, 1883,* 249, sec. 3. Act of April 2, 1883.
[16] *The Southerner* (Tarboro), April 12, 1883.

children in Tarboro, but only 374 whites; yet if the election results favored the graded school, the amount of money spent on the white schools would be $5,650, but only $1,942 would be allocated to the Negro schools.[17]

When the final vote was counted, and the results—301 against and 154 for the graded school bill—were announced, the *Southerner* promptly accused the Negroes of bringing about the defeat, saying that "the whites as a general thing voted for it, and the colored people against it."[18] In a decidedly bitter and spleeny editorial, the editor said in part:

> The vote against it [the graded school] was cast, with the exception of a few property owners, by negroes who had for their reason that not enough of the money was given to them. On them rests the blame of a failure, and they have shown a degree of ingratitude that should instill disgust and contempt in the breast of those who have been paying much to their support and education. Race prejudice defeated the bill, and the color line was drawn by the black ingrate. Two-thirds of the money that is collected annually in this county for schools is expended for the benefit of the colored schools, and three-fourths of it is paid by white property owners.[19]

As a result of the decisive defeat of the Tarboro school bill by the Negro voters of that city, the white citizens of another heavily Negro populated city, New Bern, looked forward to their graded school election with grave misgivings.[20] On May 6, the day preceding the election, these doubts gave way to entreaties. The Negroes were asked to "remember that when they want to build churches . . . they call upon their white friends to help them." So now, the whites queried, "is it asking too much of our colored friends to help us adopt our school bill?"[21] At least one segment of the city's Negro population, the Negro public school teachers of New Bern and Craven County, heeded these pleas for they promised unqualified support of the bill. In a hastily

---

[17] *The Southerner* (Tarboro), April 12, 1883.
[18] *The Southerner* (Tarboro), May 10, 1883.
[19] *The Southerner* (Tarboro), May 10, 1883.
[20] *Laws and Resolutions of North Carolina, 1883*, 117. Act of February 13, 1883.
[21] *New Bern Daily Journal*, May 6, 1883.

called meeting in New Bern on May 5, they drew up the following resolutions which are interesting for the phraseology as well as the point of view expressed:

. . . That we are in favor of the bill as passed by the wise law makers of North Carolina, because it places education in reach of the poor children.

2. Politicians and enemies of colored education tell the colored voters not to vote for the Graded School Bill because it is class legislation; this is not true, the bill simply provides that each race educate their children.

3. This bill is the wisest school bill the legislature has passed in years; it teaches us one simple and useful lesson - a lesson that is worth more to us as a race than thousands of gold dollars; that lesson may be stated thus: To become a powerful race we must depend on ourselves; this is the royal road to honor, wealth and virtue.

4. We shall be greatly surprised if the colored voters of New Bern fail to vote for this bill (for education.) We feel sure that every Negro who possesses pride of race will vote for this measure.[22]

Apparently the Negro teachers of Craven County were "greatly surprised" following the May 7 election; for although the school bill was carried 376 to 296, of the ballots against it, all but "thirty or forty" were cast by Negroes.[23]

In order to meet the growing discontent of the whites living in the densely Negro populated eastern cities and towns—discontent caused by their inability, in some instances, to enact local legislation which was designed to divide the school taxes along racial lines because the Negro vote was sufficiently large enough to defeat them—the legislature on March 11, 1885, passed an act which gave to the justices of the peace and the county commissioners who, under a previous enactment in 1877 were appointed by the legislature, the right to elect the members to the county board of education. The board itself was "to consist of three residents of their county, who shall be men of good moral character, and who shall be qualified by education and experience and in-

[22] *New Bern Daily Journal*, May 6, 1883.
[23] *New Bern Daily Journal*, May 8, 1883.

terest to specially further the public educational of their county."[24]

The above procedure, in effect, eliminated many Negroes from the county board of education, for it was hardly conceivable that the Democrats who controlled the legislature would appoint an appreciable number of Negro Republican justices of the peace, or that the justices of the peace, in turn, would appoint Negro Republicans as county commissioners. Since these men elected the county school board, it is therefore safe to assume that they selected Democrats "of good moral character," sound education, and the proper experience and wisdom "to further the public educational interest" of the white children of their respective counties.

Thus, with the Democrats able to dominate the situation, the county school board was authorized to apportion two-thirds of the total school money to the school districts in proportion to the number of children, the remaining one-third to "be apportioned in such manner as to equalize school facilities to all districts of the county, as far as may be practicable and just to all concerned, without discrimination in favor of or to the prejudice of either race."[25] That the one-third invariably found its way to the white school districts in the "Negro counties," thus giving them a majority of the school monies in spite of the fact that the majority of the school population was colored, is attested to by the vigorous protest written by the Negro members of the North Carolina Senate in 1885 opposing the measure.

The passage of this law marked the high point of educational limitations imposed upon the Negroes of North Carolina between 1877 and 1894. In view of these laws, only democratic translation of them by the North Carolina Supreme Court could encourage the Negroes to look forward to the retention of some of the educational privileges and rights they enjoyed between 1868 and 1876.

Between "the glorious" Democratic victory in 1876 and the defeat of that party in 1894 by a "mongrel" Republican

---

[24] *Laws and Resolutions of North Carolina, 1885*, 174, sec. 1. Act of March 11, 1885.

[25] *Laws and Resolutions of North Carolina 1885*, 174, sec. 1. Act of March 11, 1885.

party, the Democratic dominated General Assembly enacted, as we have seen above, a series of well-defined public school statutes spelling out the legal status of the Negroes of the state. The question at this point, then, may well be: "To what extent did the members of the North Carolina Supreme Court regard themselves as the policemen of these laws?" The query is of special significance because Article IV, section 21 of the state constitution declared that the Supreme Court justices were to be elected "by the qualified voters of the State," for a term of eight years.[26] Accordingly, if the masses of the white citizens of North Carolina, as reflected in the public school laws passed by the legislators, were so far in favor of white supremacy as to demand the protection of their interests, would the judges hold opinions very different? A partial answer can be found in an examination of the various school decisions the court made which involved the rights and privileges of the Negroes of North Carolina.

However, if the decision it handed down in its first "education case" was any criterion as to its attitude with respect to the education of Negro children, that group could expect little by way of equal justice.[27] The background to the *Smallwood* case is as follows. In 1883, the legislature authorized an election to be held in New Bern for the purpose of determining whether that city would establish a graded school.[28] Section 3 of that act provided that the tax raised from the polls and property of white persons were to be devoted to "sustaining" a school for the white children, and that money raised from the polls and property of Negroes were to be used for supporting their school.[29] Following the election on May 7, 1883, J. W. Smallwood and other taxpayers of New Bern instituted proceeding against the mayor and the city council before the Superior Court of Craven County to pre-

[26] *Constitution of North Carolina as Amended by the Constitutional Convention of 1875.* For a study of the convention, see William D. Harris, "The Movement for Constitutional Change in North Carolina" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of North Carolina, 1932).

[27] *Smallwood and others* vs. *City of New Bern,* 90 N. C. 36 (1884).

[28] *Laws and Resolutions of North Carolina, 1883,* 117. Act of February 13, 1883.

[29] *Laws and Resolutions of North Carolina, 1883,* 117, sec. 3. Act of February 13, 1883.

vent them from collecting taxes for the proposed graded school on the ground that the tax had not been approved by a majority of the qualified voters of New Bern.[30] The lower court held for the city, and the plaintiffs appealed to the state supreme court. There, the court held, on a legal technicality, that even though there was some question as to whether a majority of the qualified registered voters of New Bern had voted for the establishment of a graded school system, the fact that the mayor and the city council, who had been authorized and required by the legislature to submit the question to the voters of the city,[31] "having ascertained that a majority of the qualified voters voted 'for schools,' their finding and decision in that respect . . . is final and conclusive." [32] However, the following remarks of Justice Merrimon are most significant in that they suggest that the court was not yet ready to decide the constitutionality of the laws dividing the school monies along race lines:

> It is hinted in the plaintiff's affidavit that the act is not valid, but so grave a question ought to be raised by proper pleadings, and generally with the avowed purpose. And such a question ought always to be argued by council. It is a matter of most serious moment to declare an act of the legislature unconstitutional and void.[33]

Yet, three years later, in 1886, this same court, in a series of decisions, flatly and unequivocably declared that such laws were unconstitutional and void.[34] In the first of the series, *Puitt* vs. *Commissioners of Gaston County,* the North Carolina Supreme Court decided that "a law which allows a tax on polls of one color and on property owned by persons of the same color, to be applied exclusively to the education of children of that color, is unconstitutional" in that it violated the last clause of Article IX, section 2 of the constitution of North Carolina which states that "there shall be no discrimination in

---

[30] *Laws and Resolutions of North Carolina, 1883,* 117, Sec. 3 Act of February 13, 1883.
[31] *Laws and Resolutions, 1883,* sec. 1.
[32] *Smallwood and others* vs. *City of New Bern,* 90 N. C. 36 (1884), 41.
[33] *Smallwood and others* vs. *City of New Bern,* 90 N. C. 36 (1884), 41.
[34] *Puitt* vs. *Commissioners,* 94 N. C. 709 (1886); *Riggsbee* vs. *Town of Durham,* 94 N. C. 800 (1886).

favor of or to the prejudice of either race." In the opinion, conspicuous for its spirit of liberalism, Chief Justice Smith said:

> Nor can we shut our eyes to the fact that the vast bulk of property yielding the fruits of taxation, belongs to the white people of the State, and very little is held by the emancipated race; and yet, the needs of the latter for free tuition, in proportion to its numbers, are as great, or greater than the needs of the former.[35]

As was to be expected, the Democratic newspapers of the state did not concur in the decision, but perhaps the most bitter opposition came from the *New Bern Daily Journal.* Oddly enough, the state constitution and not the State Supreme Court was denounced.

> A constitution that will not allow the white people to tax themselves for the benefit of their schools, after they have contributed liberally to negro schools, is not the constitution that the white people of North Carolina want. The schools have been made separate and distinct; the constitution and the laws direct that the public school fund shall be divided *per capita* between the races. This is all right. But after the schools have been separated each receives its proportionate share of the public school funds, these schools ought to have the right to supplement their funds with additional taxes if they see fit, and a constitution that denies them this right should be speedily abolished.[36]

In 1887 the North Carolina Supreme Court not only reaffirmed the principle as set forth in *Puitt* vs. *Commissioners,* and *Riggsbee* vs. *Durham,* but in *Duke* vs. *Brown,* it overruled the *Smallwood* doctrine. The case developed out of the passage of an act by the legislative session of 1885 which authorized, upon an approving popular vote of a majority of those who might vote, the issue of bonds in the aggregate of $15,000 to enable the school commissioners of Durham to secure a loan to be expended "in the purchase and erection of suitable grounds and buildings for the Durham graded or public school for white children." [37] The lower court held to

---

[35] *Puitt* vs. *Commissioners,* 94 N. C. 709, 715-716.
[36] *New Bern Daily Journal,* May 16, 1886.
[37] *Duke* vs. *Brown,* 96 N. C. 127 (1887); *Laws and Resolutions of North Carolina, 1885,* c. 87, sections 2 and 3. Act of March 7, 1885.

the letter of the act, and declared against Duke who had argued that the bill failed to receive a majority of the votes of the qualified voters of the city. The case was appealed to the state Supreme Court. Chief Justice Smith, in reversing the decision of the lower court, held that a majority of the qualified voters, and not merely of those voting, was necessary to enable a city or town to contract a debt. The reasoning of the Chief Justice follows:

> Indifference is not the test; *an active and expressed approval is necessary* [italics Smith's], and this is ascertained by a majority of those entitled to vote. However forcible may be the reasoning, and however numerous the rulings in other states, which construe a failure to vote as an acquiescence in what is done by those who do vote, we cannot put such an interpretation upon our organic law.[38]

As a result of these unexpected decisions by the North Carolina Supreme Court in 1886 and 1887, Wilson, Goldsboro, Kinston, and other towns and cities in the state abandoned their white graded school system rather than support schools for their Negro children. However, it did not take these local whites long to see the absurdity of denying a public school education to their children in order to deny such an education to the Negro children, and consequently they re-established their schools, making provisions for the Negro children at the same time.[39]

The whites, although complying with the letter of the law, nonetheless continued to complain about "the unjust division of the school money." Dissatisfaction was most vigorously expressed in Franklin, Lenoir, Columbus, and Currituck counties.[40] A disgruntled Sampson County farmer summed up the sentiments of many North Carolina whites when he said:

> We have two distinct races here in North Carolina - the white and the colored. I think it would be a good plan to have the free school funds divided in proportion to the tax paid by each race.

[38] *Duke* vs. *Brown*, 96 N. C. 127, 131.
[39] Coon, "The Beginnings of . . . City Schools," 246.
[40] *First Annual Report of the North Carolina Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1887*, 92, 93, 127, 130.

I am sure it would render general satisfaction throughout the South among the white race, for it is fair and just to all.[41]

It can be readily seen that the non-liberal spirit of a large number of the white citizens of North Carolina with respect to public school education for Negro children, and the apparent severe and intolerant public school laws enacted by the General Assembly of the state were frequently assuaged by the rulings handed down by the state Supreme Court. However, it cannot be said that the somewhat liberal interpretations of the state Supreme Court won the commendation of the white people throughout North Carolina, or approbation for some of its members. But, by and large, the judges who sat on the Supreme Court bench were earnest, conscientious men who rarely catered to the interest of the "white supremacy" shouters and were usually ready to grant protection to the unfortunate Negroes to the very limit of the law. Without state Supreme Court justices like Smith, Merrimon, and Clark, the status of public school education for the Negroes of North Carolina between 1876 and 1894 would have been even more precarious than it was.

[41] *Second Annual Report of the North Carolina Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1888*, 130.

THE UNPLEASANTNESS AT STECOE

By David H. Corkran

On the night of April 22, 1751, the headmen of the Lower Cherokees sat in deep debate[1] in the town house at Keowee.[2] They were nervous, worried, depressed. Bad feeling against the English was strong among them. In January one of their hunting parties from Toogaloo had had its winter haul of deer skins, some 330 of them, stolen by whites.[3] The Toogaloos had gone to Justice Francis at Ninety-Six demanding help;[4] the Justice issued a search warrant permitting the Indians to search the homes of his neighbors. The Toogaloos felt that the Justice could have been more active in their behalf—that, in fact, he had protected the suspects, John Vann and James Adair. Empty-handed the Cherokees had returned home to nurse their grudge. Such treatment was about what an Indian could expect. Had not James Glen, governor of South Carolina, in solemn treaty a year before, promised to punish whichever of the Creeks or Cherokees renewed their old feud; and when the Lower Creeks had reopened the war had not the Governor failed to keep his promise? Indeed, he had not only failed to punish the Creeks, but he had permitted the Carolina traders to sell them ammunition—in effect making war upon the Cherokees.

There was little a Cherokee could do about it except to complain, unless he was willing to go to war against the English and thus increase the number of his nation's enemies. Of course, disguised as someone else, as an Indian of another tribe, he might get a little satisfaction. That is what the Cherokees had been doing. For several years Miamis, Ottawas, and Senecas had been coming into the nation on their way to make war upon the Catawbas and the Creeks.[5]

---

[1] Indian Books of South Carolina (Historical Commission of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C.), II, 133. Hereafter cited as Indian Books of South Carolina.

[2] This village site is upon the Keowee River in Oconee County, South Carolina.

[3] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 17-20.

[4] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 17-20.

[5] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 17-20.

The visitors from across the Ohio had had a pretty strong indoctrination into the French point of view. When they heard their Cherokee hosts complain of Carolina they commiserated with them, expressed indignation, and urged action, inviting the Cherokees to come along with them to have a little fun at Carolina's expense. This some of the Lower Towns' folks had done. Mixed parties of Cherokees and Senecas posing as 100 per cent Seneca had passed near Ninety-Six to trample crops, and kill and maim cattle and hogs, threatening individual whites and behaving in such an alarming fashion that great uneasiness spread along the South Carolina frontier.[6] Talk went that an Indian war was in the making. Then the inevitable had happened; two white men had been killed "accidentally," of course.

One night Cherokees crying "Nottaways, Nottaways" to indicate they were Northwards had assaulted Clement's store at Oconees in northeast Georgia when it was occupied by two whites and some Chickasaws. The whites and one of the Chickasaws had been killed and one of the Chickasaws made prisoner. The raiders, pleased with themselves, returned to the Lower Towns alleging that they had been in pursuit of some Creeks who, they thought, had taken refuge in the trader's store.[7] In the Lower towns there was a good deal of quiet pleasure over the episode; everybody feeling that it made up to some extent for their grievances against Carolina,[8] but the headmen knew that eventually Carolina would demand satisfaction for the slain and they worried. The Chickasaws they could deal with. When the Squirrel King sent a husky delegation to Keowee with talk of war unless Keowee made immediate apologies, Keowee released the Chickasaw prisoner and sent deputies with him to apologize.[9] But the whites were different—difficult—hard to please. The Cherokees had awaited South Carolina's reaction with a good deal of fear. Then they heard the worst. A Keowee fellow

[6] South Carolina Council Journal (Historical Commission of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C.), April 16, 1751, 28-29. These records are the original manuscript journals and hereafter will be cited as South Carolina Council Journal.

[7] South Carolina Council Journal, March 22, 1751, 1.

[8] South Carolina Council Journal, June 11, 1751, 174-175.

[9] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 17-20.

came up the path from Charlestown with a story that a thousand whites were coming against the nation.[10] The headmen gathered in the Keowee townhouse to assay the news. It happened that the report was false—perhaps it was something that an angry settler had said ought to be done or would be done if the Indians didn't behave—something even discussed in the Assembly but not yet acted upon, at any rate.

Nevertheless, to the Keowees, it fitted into a pattern of fear already generated. A few weeks before, the Little Carpenter, a rising Overhill, had brought a party of Northwards down to Keowee to help against the Creeks. Saying that he had been north of the Ohio that winter, he reported that he had learned that the governors of Carolina and New York planned a joint attack upon the Cherokees with a great force of Northwards and an army of whites.[11] The new story from Carolina seemed to confirm this. To sit still in the face of such dreadful tidings was more than the headmen could tolerate; far better to act. They decided to send runners to the rest of the nation with the proposal that the Cherokees strike first by killing the Carolina traders among them.[12]

Killing the traders, that spring, had an especial attractiveness to their Cherokee customers. Two years of poor hunts had been caused by the Creek war. At the same time their demand for guns, ammunition, paint, and goods had increased and plunged the Lower Towns men into heavy debt.[13] Death was none too good for a trader who pressed for payment of debts, especially when one suspected him of being a cheat who used false weights and measures. On that April night Keowee was convinced that all Carolina was bad. So runners sped away carrying the baleful talk to the Middle Settlements[14] under the Cowee Mountains, to the Out Towns of Tuckaseigie River; [15] and far over the Twenty-Four Mountains to Chotte by the Tennessee,[16] the mother town of all.

---

[10] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 131-132.
[11] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 117-118.
[12] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 133.
[13] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 52-53.
[14] The sites of these village are in Macon County, North Carolina, near or upon the Little Tennesee River.
[15] These village sites are in Swain County, North Carolina, from Bryson City eastward.
[16] This site is in Monroe County, Tennessee.

Not all the nation shared the Keowee's bad thoughts. Keowee, after all, was the Cherokee frontier and buffer against the whites—the edge where irritations were most frequent. Keowee was alone in its war with the Creeks, and Keowee had a tendency to independence of the other towns upon which certain seats of power in the nation looked askance. Specifically these were Hiwassee,[17] Great Tellico,[18] and Chotte. Hiwassee and Great Tellico formed a coalition of ambition through which Carolina in spite of Chotte, was currently attempting to rule the Cherokees. The Great Raven of Hiwassee had been appointed by Carolina to be guardian of the minority of Ammonscossittee, the Young Emperor of Great Tellico. The Young Emperor aspired to head the nation. He was surrounded by a coterie of headmen which included the two Tacites of Tellico, Johnny and Osteneco, and Caesar of Chatuge, the only Cherokee who understood and spoke English well, by reason of his having been a slave in Carolina during the previous century. His councillors, subsidized by Carolina and dispensing Carolina favors, carried out the English will in the nation. Under the influence of Cornelius Dougherty, the Hiwassee trader, and Robert Goudy, the Tellico trader, they epitomized the benefits to the Cherokees of their English association and alliance. Principal among them in actual power and influence was the Raven of Hiwassee. While the Young Emperor's position in the Cherokee polity was illegitimate, his guardian was war captain of the Valley[19] and superior in prestige to most of the Middle Settlements headmen. His regional office combined with his English appointment made him a powerful figure indeed. The Valley, at peace with the Creeks, having no quarrel with the English and possessing confidence in Dougherty, their trader, would have nothing to do with the Keowee proposals if a Keowee runner went near them.

Nor it seems would the Middle Settlements where feeling for the English was fairly good and respect for the Raven

[17] Near present day Murphy, Cherokee County, North Carolina.
[18] Near present day Tellico Plains, Monroe County, Tennessee.
[19] The sites of the valley towns are on or near the Hiwassee Valley in Cherokee County, North Carolina.

of Hiwassee high. At Wattoga,[20] the Keowee runner heading for the Overhills was halted by headmen who took his gun and blanket from him, divesting him of his warlike aspect, and ordered him to go back to the Lower Towns and tell them to stop their nonsense.[21] Chotte, therefore, did not get the Keowee message to which it might have lent sympathetic ears.

Chotte, principal of the Overhill towns and claiming to be Mother Town of all the Cherokees, home of the Mother Council and of Old Hop, the Fire King—traditional First Man of the Nation—was out of tune with the pseudo—Emperorship and the Hiwassee—Tellico coalition. Chotte saw the coalition as an alien thing, the tool of the English who were aspirant to a dominance in the nation which rightfully belonged to Chotte; one of the disruptive, centrifugal forces which prevented the Cherokees from working as a unit under their traditional priestly, nativist, and nationalistic leadership. Chotte, however, could not destroy the Carolina-Hiwassee-Tellico lineup. The coalition had the power of guns and goods—stuff the Cherokees needed in order to survive. With presents and trade favors it possessed the rulers in many towns. Its tentacles crossed clan and blood ties in insidious ways. Chotte's only hope was by deviousness to thwart or undermine the coalition, to gather discontent to itself, and to work its own policies in quiet ways. Chotte's greatest coup had been to make a peace for all the nation with the French in the very face of English disapproval, and by that peace to free itself from the bitter French inspired assaults of the Northward Indians—Canadians, Ottawas, Miamis, Iroquois. This notable triumph had lost some of its lustre because it had brought on the Creek war. The Northwards, now at peace with the Cherokees, had come to fraternize with them and to use their towns as bases for attacks upon the Creeks. Young Cherokees, seeking war names, went with Northward parties against the Creeks and the Creeks, discovering[22] them, de-

[20] Near present day Franklin, Macon County, North Carolina.
[21] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 55-61.
[22] The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia (Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, Georgia), XXVII, 116. This volume is one of ten typescript volumes which complete *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia,* prepared by workers of the WPA.

clared war upon the Cherokees. At this turn of events the whole nation looked with disapproval upon Chotte's Northward peace.[23] After some years of conflict Hiwassee-Tellico with a major assist from Goudy and Dougherty managed to get the Creeks off their own backs. They allowed the Gun Merchant, the First Man of the Upper Creeks, to have trade privileges with their traders whose prices were considerably lower than those of the English traders among the Creeks.[24] The Upper Creek withdrawal from the war confined it to the Lower Creeks and the Lower Cherokees. Hiwassee-Tellico trusted Carolina to resolve that situation. Governor Glen, however, with only a trade embargo as a weapon was unwilling to force the Lower Creeks to make a peace; for Georgia traders and the French, of course, would not respect his embargo.[25] Hiwassee-Tellico influence at Keowee was therefore at a low ebb.

Chotte, frowned on for the bad consequences of its Northward peace, sought to ameliorate the lot of the Lower Towns by channelling Northward war parties to their aid, going so far as to send the Little Carpenter north to recruit Senecas.[26] Chotte was thus able to enjoy its peace and retain some of its prestige and influence, at least with the anti-Carolina Lower Towns. Had the Keowee runners gotten through to Old Hop, he might have found their story and mood useful to him in embarassing Tellico-Hiwassee, though it is doubtful if he would have wanted war.

It was at Stecoe in the Out Towns on Tuckaseigie River that the Keowee spark had found ready tinder. The Out Towns had been much visited by Northwards who came to them through Balsam and Soco gaps.[27] Out Towns warriors had gone with them on their excursions toward Carolina and the Catawbas. Stecoe (now on the Thomas farm near Whit-

[23] Public Records of South Carolina (Sainsbury Transcripts, Historical Commission of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina), XXIII, 12-13.

[24] South Carolina Council Journal, July 11, 1750, 174.

[25] Allen D. Candler, *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia* (Atlanta: L. I. Knight, 1904-1916, 26 volumes), VI, October 4, 1750, 341-342. See also South Carolina Council House Journal (photostats, Historical Commission of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina), July 25, 1750, 173.

[26] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 77-79, 116-118.

[27] South Carolina Council Journal, April 1, 1751, 2.

tier, Swain County, North Carolina), seems to have had a hard core of anti-English sentiment. Report there on April 26 of what the Keowee runner had said in the town house of Kittuwa,[28] the Mother town of the Out Towns, found ready listeners. One Thigh, the Slave Catcher of Connutory, a man of fiery temperament who while down-country, had shot and wounded a white man, leaped up and wanted to know why the Stecoes permitted their trader, Bernard Hughes, to live.[29] At once there was an uproar. On this a Cherokee girl, mistress to Hughes, slipped out of the town house and ran to warn the trader. While the maddened Stecoes looted his deserted store, Hughes and the other Stecoe whites fled up the path along the river to the town of Tuckasiegie where Robert Bunning traded.[30] They took shelter in Bunning's house while Bunning went to see the headman of the town. He explained the situation and reminded the headman that it was beloved men of this very town who had helped make the Treaty of Alliance of 1730 with the Great King George. Promising to protect the white men, the headman dispatched Bunning to Hiwassee sixty miles away to report the affair to the Raven.[31]

Throughout the Middle Settlements rumor spread that Bernard Hughes and three whites had been killed at Stecoe, that this was only the beginning, that all the traders were about to be killed.[32] At once the traders stampeded from the Middle and Lower Settlements to Augusta and Ninety-Six. Panic spread along the frontier. John Watts and those fleeing with him to Ninety-Six carried a story that they had barely escaped and that at near-by Coronico, Hugh Murphy, on his way up to the nation, had been shot and wounded by an Indian.[33] Inhabitants of the Ninety-Six region streamed down to the Congarees for safety. Others started to fortify their homes.[34]

---

[28] This townsite is in Swain County, North Carolina, not far from Bryson City.

[29] South Carolina Council Journal, June 8, 1751, 158.

[30] South Carolina Council Journal, June 8, 1751, 158.

[31] South Carolina Council Journal, June 8, 1751, 158.

[32] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 53. See also the South Carolina Council Journal, June 11, 1751, 174-175.

[33] South Carolina Council Journal, May 7, 1751, 63-65.

[34] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 51.

Among the Cherokees a number of level-headed people, Indian and white, set about straightening out the mess. On hearing Bunning's report, the Old Raven of Hiwassee sent his son and several warriors with Bunning to tell the Stecoes to stop their foolishness and return the stolen goods or else the awful Raven himself would visit them. The messengers found Stecoe deserted.[35] Discovering that they had acted alone in an enterprise that had miscarried, Stecoes — men, women, and children, had taken to the hills in alarm.

The Raven's son hauled down the British flag which waved over the empty townhouse, saying the people were unworthy of it, and went over to Jore to wait the return of the Stecoes to their town. He soon received an abject message from them: "their doggs and their hoggs and themselves were mad and it was all by a lying talk from Keowee that they did what they did" that they were sorry and would pay for the goods.[36]

At Keowee itself, as news of the events at Stecoe came in and the traders fled, there were second thoughts. Whatever the Keowees had proposed, and Skiagunsta later denied that harm was meant, it was unsuccessful. One town had looted its trader's store; somewhere a white man had been wounded; and a great many traders had piled out of the nation bawling the alarm as they went. In a few days, with something akin to the clatter of fiasco about their ears, the Lower Towns' headmen drew up in their dignity and gravely demanded that Stecoe return Trader Hughes's goods.[37]

Chotte mantained a firm grip on its impulses. Hot-heads, hearing of the excitement at Stecoe, set out to loot Anthony Dean's store at Toquo and settle a few scores with the trader himself, but Old Hop, First Man of the Overhills, sent word to his people that the white men must not be harmed. He took Dean into his own house for safekeeping and required those who had robbed the store to return the goods.[38] Old Hop knew as well as anyone else that a break with the English at this juncture would be a national disaster.

---

[35] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 81-82; South Carolina Council Journal, June 8, 1751, 158-160.
[36] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 81-82.
[37] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 116-118.
[38] Indian Books of South Carolina, III, Dean to Glen, April 13, 1752.

With such attitudes around them the Stecoes brought back Hughes's goods; that is, all except something over 400 lbs. weight of deerskins and £50 or £60 value of goods damaged in the looting or unaccounted for.[39]

All the headmen knew that the Stecoe affair, magnified in rumor and fear, would create a violent reaction in Charlestown. They, therefore, made an effort to mitigate the blow they feared by sending Governor Glen assurances of their friendship and accounts of the steps they had taken to make reparation for the unpleasant business.[40]

The appeals were in vain. The South Carolina Provincial Assembly demanded action. They had already gone on record as desiring an embargo on the trade to get the Cherokees to drive the Northward Indians from their midst, but Glen had refused to take the step. The Cherokees, he held, were necessary for the prosperity and security of Carolina. An embargo might throw them into the arms of the French. Furthermore, since the Cherokees had complied with the terms of the Treaty of 1749 and the Creeks had not, the governor argued: "I therefore do not think it will be consistent with natural justice and equity nor with our solemn engagements to Cherokees to give them up a prey to the Creeks to have their throats cut which must infallibly be the case if we withdraw the trade from them and leave them without either arms or ammunition to defend themselves."[41]

In the face of a mounting clamor Glen could not hold his enlightened opinion. Reports from Ninety-Six were very critical of him. The petition headed by Justice Francis's name stated that the petitioners had complained before but that the governor had paid no attention.[42] James Adair, a friend of Francis and an enemy of Glen, wrote that Glen had disregarded the traders reports and had been "very remiss."[43] The Commons House echoed the point of view of Adair and

[39] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 81-84.

[40] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 78-79, 93; South Carolina Council Journal, June 5, 1751, 147-148.

[41] South Carolina Journal of the Upper House of Assembly (Historical Commission of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina), April 27, 1751, 57. Hereafter cited as Journal of the Upper House.

[42] Journal of the Upper House, May 9, 1751, 80-81.

[43] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 58-59.

Francis and appointed a committee to draw up complaints to the crown against the governor.

Glen had reason to distrust reports from Ninety-Six. All the evidence indicated that Northward depredations in that region arose from Cherokee anger over the theft of the Toogaloos' deerskins.[44] The Cherokees thought that Justice Francis shielded friends and retainers. They suspected James Adair. Glen suspended Francis from the command of his ranger company and sent reports to the Commons house discrediting the justice. In the face of the opposition he weakened. The Assembly was confronted by a stack of petitions demanding redress and a gang of panicky traders who had fled the Cherokee country and loudly declared that the Cherokees intended war. The Commons demanded that Governor Glen place an embargo on trade with the Cherokees and keep it in force until the Indians had given full satisfaction for the Oconees murders, the attack on Murphy, and the looting of Hughes's store.[45]

On June 8, Glen prepared a letter to the Raven of Hiwassee commending him for his conduct in the crisis but telling him the bad news:

> . . . It is true the insolent behaviour of some particular persons and of two or three towns has given us grave offense and if passed over without showing a proper resentment might induce others to follow their pernicious example. . . . We are therefore determined for the good of the Cherokee nation to punish those few who have misbehaved. We were at first informed that these Lower Cherokees who killed the white men at Oconees protested that they were innocent of the offense and pretended ignorance of the matter but we have heard since that they have had the insolence to boast of it. We therefore have insisted that some of these be delivered up to us. One of our inhabitants going lately to the Cherokee nation was wounded by an Eustanally Indian who fired at him with an intent to kill him, this man we have also demanded to be delivered up to us. The three towns Kittuwa, Stecoe, Connutory have behaved themselves ill. Here our traders' store was plundered and his goods taken and publicly divided amongst the people from whom they were obliged to fly to save

[44] South Carolina Commons House Journal (Historical Commission of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina), April 16, 1751, 28-29. Hereafter cited as Commons House Journal.

[45] Commons House Journal, June 13, 1751, 585-586.

their lives . . . the headmen who ought to have been their protectors prompted others to destroy them . . . we have therefore demanded two of the headmen from each of those towns, especially as have been concerned in those wicked practices and in particular the Slave Ketcher of Connutory . . . if they do not comply with our reasonable request we will compel them to it by force. We also demand that the Little Carpenter who has for many years past declared himself the enemy of the English may be delivered up wherever he may be on delivery of this letter. I cannot conclude this letter without letting you know the difficulty of sending traders among you at present till we have obtained satisfaction that we demand. . . .[46]

Despite Old Hop's determination to keep the peace the crisis arising from the flight of the traders sharpened the conflict between Chotte and the Hiwassee-Tellico alignment. Hiwassee-Tellico seemed in its eagerness to satisfy the English, determined to break the Chotte-made peace with the French. Such a move would have also involved the Overhills in war with the Northwards, forced them to look to Hiwassee-Tellico and therefore to Carolina for aid, and enabled Carolina to end the Lower Creek-Lower Cherokee war. In June, Tellicoes took two French scalps on the Mississippi.[47] By fall Northwards were assaulting the Out Towns on Tuckaseigie.

While Hiwassee-Tellico struck at Chotte's French peace, Chotte aimed a blow at Carolina's trade monoply and embargo. With all the traders except Dougherty and Dean gone, it was clear that because of the panic and disturbances, trade would not be restored for a long time. It was also clear that no matter how unfair the embargo, the Cherokees must yield unless they could open up another source of trade. Chotte talked long of whether to go to the French or to Virginia and finally determined to try both with especial attention to Virginia.[48]

Late in June, 1751, before word of the Carolina embargo reached the nation, the Little Carpenter heading a strong delegation, including Long Jack of Tanase (at that time

[46] South Carolina Council Journal, June 8, 1751, 164-166.
[47] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 123-124.
[48] South Carolina Council Journal, November 22, 1751, 427.

Great Warrior of the Overhills), and the Smallpox conjurer of Settico, a very influential member of the Chotte Council, set out for Williamsburg. Very likely, too, at the same time someone at Chotte — Old Hop? — sent a message through the Creeks to the French at Fort Toulouse.[49]

Official news of the embargo saw the contenders for Cherokee leadership take opposite positions. Late in July Governor Glen's letter reached the Raven of Hiwassee. On July 30, the Raven, several valley headmen, the principal headmen of Great Tellico and Chatuge, in other words the Great Tellico-Hiwassee faction, met at Cornelius Dougherty's house and agreed to meet all of Carolina's demands or all they could. They would take the anti-English Slave Catcher of Connutory and the other offending Out Towns headmen to Charlestown as soon as these men came in from their summer hunts. The Little Carpenter, having gone to Virginia, they could not deliver. Eager to have the embargo lifted, they requested a meeting with Governor Glen at Saluda on August 21, and as proof of their friendship they promised to bring the scalps of the two Frenchmen killed down river in June. They sent a runner to apprize Chotte of the projected meetings with Glen, and the two Tacites of Great Tellico, Johnny and Osteneco, went to sound out the Lower Towns.[50]

Chotte, though hostile to Carolina, apparently intended at first to take part in the proposed conference at Saluda for they appointed deputies. Nevertheless, when their trader, Anthony Dean, whom Old Hop had befriended in April, attempted to steal away in response to Glen's orders for all white men to leave the nation, the Chottes forcibly detained him as a hostage, and when after August 5 or 6 an opportunity offered to disrupt the Tellico-Hiwassee program, they did not hesitate. A Shawnee runner from the Upper Creeks brought into Chotte a story that a Creek-Chickasaw-Catawba coalition had been formed with Carolina to send a thousand men against the Cherokees. The Chotte headmen held some grim meetings at which Ukanta of Chotte and Willinawaw of Toqua, men of no influence in Charlestown, but new-

[49] South Carolina Council Journal, November 19, 1751, 414.
[50] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 123-124.

ly powerful among the Overhills, talked against the English.[51] This new story seemed to confirm the story of Glen's hostility the Little Carpenter had heard in the North during the previous winter. The angry headmen called in the captive Dean and required him to write their thoughts out for the benefit of Governor Glen. They told the governor the stories they had heard and said that he must reassure them by sending the traders back into the nation. If they were kept long in doubt, they said, they would not be responsible for what happened to Dean and Dougherty. Harsh and blunt, this talk was quite different from the sycophantic tune of peace and compliance sung by the Raven of Hiwassee.[52] Chotte also sent runners through the nation with the Shawnee story of imminent attack. Great Tellico alarmed, sent to recall the two Tacites on their peace mission to the Lower Towns.[53] The Lower Towns on hearing the news went into a panic. Keowee, Estatoe, Chewee, Toxaway, Tomassee and Oconee talked of breaking up and going over the hills.[54] At Hiwassee, the Raven bent on resolving the troubles in a way satisfactory to Carolina, gave the story no credence. On hearing the Chotte talk as written by Dean, the Raven made a talk of his own for the governor stating that Chotte spoke for itself and Tanase only, that the other Overhill towns did not agree with them, and sent it along with the other.[55] Nevertheless, the Chotte-spread story of English hostility delayed the projected meeting for several months and might have prevented it altogether had not Otacite Osteneco, arriving at Keowee in time to hear the dreadful rumor, surmised the Chotte intent and decided to go himself to Charlestown and find out the truth.[56] There he learned that Governor Glen on the basis of the July 30 Hiwassee-Tellico compliance with his demands and the consent of his Assembly had already determined to lift the embargo. Beamer, the principal Lower Towns trader, and Goudy of Great Tellico were to return to

[51] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 114.
[52] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 114.
[53] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 135.
[54] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 139, 146.
[55] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 135.
[56] South Carolina Council Journal, September 1, 1751, 283.

the nation with the good news and to round up the headmen for a great meeting in Charlestown to discuss grievances and trade and make a new treaty.[57]

While these events took place in Charlestown and in the nation, the Little Carpenter was in Williamsburg, the Virginia capitol, presenting the Cherokee case. Briefly, it was that by the Treaty of 1730 made in England, the Cherokees were assured in return for their alliance with the English a trade. If Carolina could not provide the trade, Virginia would. Carolina now denied the Cherokees a trade but at the same time supplied ammunition to the Creek enemies of the Cherokees who were friends of the French. This violated the Treaty of 1730. It was now Virginia's duty to open up a trade for the Carolinas.[58] President Burrell of the Virginia Council told the Little Carpenter that the government of Virginia could not of itself enter the trade; that the best he could do would be to advise private traders to enter the Cherokee trade.[59] With this hardly satisfactory answer the Little Carpenter and his delegation set out in late August to return home.

The most valuable fruits of the Virginia mission came from South Carolina. When Glen read newspaper reports of the Virginia mission, he was alarmed and indignant. Not only had Chotte attempted to circumvent Carolina coercion, they had invited a competition into the trade. Glen composed a sharp letter to the Virginia council. With a copious serving of Cherokee history, the Carolina governor pointed out that in even suggesting that Virginians could enter the Cherokee trade, Burrell had exceeded his authority; for the treaty of 1730 had designated the Governor of Carolina agent of the Crown in Cherokee matters. The Little Carpenter, he wrote, was a person of no standing and a fugitive from Carolina justice. Carolina would have to lay the whole matter before the Crown and meanwhile unless the Virginians even ceased to think of a Cherokee trade, Carolina would seize any Virginians entering Cherokee country.[60] Impressed, Bur-

---

[57] South Carolina Council Journal, September 2, 1751, 292.
[58] *Virginia Gazette*, Williamsburg, Virginia (microfilm), August 16, 1751; South Carolina Council Journal, September 11, 1751, 297-298.
[59] South Carolina Council Journal, September 11, 1751, 297-298.
[60] South Carolina Council Journal, September 11, 1751, 302-303.

rell published a notice that the Cherokee visitors were frauds and a warning to Virginia traders to keep out of the Cherokee country.[61] Nevertheless, the threat of Virginia competition had a good deal to do with the Carolina disposition to settle its Cherokee troubles peacefully and to make readjustments in the trade.

On September 22, the return of Osteneco from Charlestown with Beamer and Goudy brought joy to Keowee. An Indian had already come up from the settlements with news that the rumored attack would not occur. This had halted the exodus of the Lower people to remote regions except for Eustanally. Some of the Eustanallys had committed fresh depredations in Carolina and upon the report of approaching chastisement the whole town fled and settled permanently a hundred miles away.[62] Beamer and Osteneco also gave the lie to the horrid story. Though sick when he came to Keowee, Osteneco attended the council called to hear Glen's peace message. He gave a great talk on behalf of Carolina, "the best talk," said Beamer, "I ever heard given by an Indian."[63] This and the prospect of the trade being reopened aroused a surge of pro-English feeling. The Lower Towns headmen made ready to go to Charlestown.

The new conference was, however, slow to materialize. As soon as he had recovered Osteneco had gone toward great Tellico through the Middle Settlements talking for the English in every town.[64] As a result the Middle Towns also prepared to go to Charlestown. But the Overhills—in particular Chotte, Tanase, and Settico—refused. They had their own views of what the nation needed. They had heard that French traders would come to them in the spring.[65] They had not yet heard from the Little Carpenter concerning a Virginia trade. If these things developed, they would not need Carolina. To Old Hop and his councillors the time may have seemed ripe for uniting the nation directly under

[61] South Carolina Council Journal, November 22, 1751, 427.
[62] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 146.
[63] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 146.
[64] Indian Books of South Carolina, III, 2.
[65] South Carolina Council Journal, November 19, 1751, 432; November 20, 1751, 414.

their authority and thus ending the decentralization which Carolina exploited. They urged the discontented Lower people to come Over-the-Hills and join them.[66] When they heard the call to come down and make peace with Carolina, they found reason for delay. The Raven of Hiwassee, the Young Emperor, and the Tellicoes finally started without them.

The Charlestown-bound headmen had been but a few days gone when the Little Carpenter, almost as if informed that the coast was clear arrived in Chotte. But he did not stay long, any longer than was needed to report the dubious success of his Virginia overture and to gather a band to go with him toward the Ohio. He said he would find a trade, possibly with Croghan's outfit, trading between the Ohio and the lakes, or else go to England to get it.[67] He knew the reality of his people's need for trade goods and dedicated himself to fulfilling it, a determination which seems to have been his fundamental policy for the next ten years. Considering Glen's attitude toward him at this time, he showed wisdom in traveling for a while in far places.

When the conference in Charlestown opened on November 13, 1751, 160 Cherokees were present. Save for Chotte, nativist and unwilling to truckle to Carolina, all regions of the nation were represented. Led by Skiagunsta of Keowee and the Good Warrior of Estatoe, the Lower Towns came in greater force than since 1745. From the Hiwassee-Tellico group came the Great Raven and his son, Moitoi of Hiwassee, and Old Caesar of Chatuge. The Young Emperor had had to turn back because of illness. The Middle and Out Towns vitally concerned in the Stecoe matter had a strong delegation led by Kittagusta, Prince of Joree.

Despite the prominence and friendliness of the visitors, Glen was disappointed. They had not brought one of the offenders he had demanded. Such a surrender in the face of the covert bitterness in the nation was more than even they could manage. Andrew White, wanted in the Oconees affair, was said to be out at war against the Creeks. The six anti-English headmen of Kittuwa, Connutory, and Stecoe followed far away

[66] South Carolina Council Journal, November 29, 1751, 421.
[67] South Carolina Council Journal, March 24, 1751, 104-105.

game trials.[68] Carolina justice would have to be patient—so patient indeed, that the offenses might be forgotten.

Under the circumstance Glen put on his boldest face and read the Cherokees a violent lecture. He charged them with treaty breaking, sundry crimes and many misdemeanors and dwelt ominously on how necessary the English trade was to the nation. Without the English he declared, they would be forced to use "bad bows and wretched arrows headed with bills of birds and knives of split cane and hatchets of stone." [69]

The abashed Cherokees replied meekly. The Raven of Hiwassee avowed he was ready to weep at the crimes committed in the nation; but that not all Cherokees were bad; his town was good; he had done everything he could in the bad time to help the English. The headmen of Stecoe and Tuckaseigie disclaimed responsibility for the trouble in the Out Towns. They had been away at the time; it would not have happened had they been at home. Skiagunsta of Keowee, under Glen's prodding recounted the fears his people had had in the spring and described how cautious his warriors had been at the Oconees and how accidental the killing of the whites had been. He admitted helplessness in preventing the Northwards coming into his towns. He had lectured them, he said, about going into the white man's country and against the Catawbas. They had promised to behave; but they did not keep their promises. It was not his fault, he said, that they came into the nation. Chotte had made the peace with the Northwards. The governor could write to the Emperor or the Chotte headmen and tell them to stop the intruders. He could even send to the headman of the Northwards now at chotte and tell him to go home. If the English would build a fort in the nation, that would certainly stop the marauders.[70]

The conference lasted for several days. The governor consulted the assembled traders, held private talks with various headmen, and learned much about the affairs of the nation. Beamer testified that a fort was needed to halt Northward incursions. Bunning told of French efforts to detach the

[68] South Carolina Council Journal, November 15, 1751, 402-403.
[69] South Carolina Council Journal, November 13, 1751, 389.
[70] South Carolina Council Journal, November 15, 1751, 403.

Cherokees from the English; of the lawlessness of the traders; of his fear that Virginia traders would come in force to the nation the next summer; and emphasised that a Carolina fort was not only desirable but also necessary.[71]

With this testimony in mind Glen sent a special message to his Assembly asking that a fort be built right away. He gave his attention to making a new treaty with the Cherokees and to a new regulation of the trade.

The treaty which the Cherokees signed on November 29, 1751, reduced to four the Carolina demands for the disorders.[72] The principal offender in the Oconees matter, Andrew White, was to be given up; Bernard Hughes's loss of 468 deerskins was to be made good; the Little Carpenter was to present himself in person at Charlestown; and the Cherokees were to prevent the Northwards from going down to the white settlements and were not to supply them with ammunition. When the Indians had reimbursed Hughes, Carolina would make good the Toogaloos loss of 330 deerskins. The traders would return to the nation immediately. Carolina would attempt to get a peace for the Cherokees with the Creeks. A new regulation of the trade was to be made, guaranteeing fairer prices, better measures, and reduced pressure in the matter of debts.[73]

The Treaty of 1751 was the last great triumph of Hiwassee-Tellico. Carolina's failure to halt the Creek war, the death of the Great Raven, the withdrawal of Goudy from the trade at Tellico, and the formal entry of Virginia into Cherokee diplomacy brought about in a short time the ascendency of Chotte—which is a story in itself.

---

[71] South Carolina Council Journal, November 19, 1751, 432.
[72] South Carolina Council Journal, November 26, 1751, 451-453.
[73] South Carolina Council Journal, December 3, 1751, 512.

NATHANIEL MACON AND THE SOUTHERN PROTEST AGAINST NATIONAL CONSOLIDATION

By Noble E. Cunningham, Jr.

The government which John Quincy Adams found when he moved into the White House in 1825 was a much bigger government than his father had left; and Nathaniel Macon, who had represented North Carolina in Congress since 1791, was far from happy with it. He regretted that everything had grown, just like the number of doorkeepers of the houses of Congress. "Formerly two men were sufficient for doorkeeper, etc. for the two houses," Macon complained, "but now there is a regiment."[1] As he recalled the time, during the presidency of John Adams, when the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions had been passed, he asked: "If there was reason to be alarmed at the growing power of the General Government [then], how much more has taken place since? Congress now stopped almost at nothing, which it deemed expedient to be done, and the Constitution was construed to give power for any grand scheme."[2] To Macon, it was a dangerous development. "Do a little now, and a little then, and, by and by, they would render this government as powerful and unlimited as the British Government was," Macon told his colleagues in the Senate in 1825;[3] and at the next session, he declared that "he did not like to go on in this way—the Government was constantly gaining power by little bits. A wagon road was made under a treaty with an Indian tribe, twenty odd years ago; and now it becomes a great national object, to be kept up by large appropriations. We thus go on by degrees, step by step, until we get almost unlimited power."[4]

It was not unusual that Macon should be protesting against the course of public affairs; he was a man not often with the

[1] *Congressional Debates*, 19th Congress, 2nd Session (February 16, 1827), 522.

[2] *Congressional Debates*, 18th Congress, 2nd Session (February 24, 1825), I, 679-680.

[3] *Congressional Debates*, 18th Congress, 2nd Session (February 24, 1825), I, 679-680.

[4] *Congressional Debates*, 19th Congress, 1st Session (February 14, 1826), 104.

trend of times. In his thirty-seven years of congressional life, he left the vivid impression that "no ten members gave so many negative votes,"[5] and one of his colleagues is reported to have said that if Macon should happen to be drowned, he should look for his body up the stream instead of floating with the current.[6] It was not strange either that Macon should protest against the increasing power of the national government. He had long been watchful of the rights of the states,[7] and had always demanded a strict construction of the Constitution. His close attachment to the soil and to the agrarian ideal of the independent life of a rural society had dictated his constant concern for simplicity and frugality in government.[8] Yet the protests that Macon made against national consolidation in the years after the end of the War of 1812 have peculiar significance, not so much because of their influence at the time but in view of the subsequent course of southern history.

Although Macon was not alone when he objected to the trend of public affairs during the politically quiet years of the "era of good feeling," there were not many men who publicly shared his sentiments. There were some, however, and like Macon they were influential men. In Virginia there were John Randolph of Roanoke, Judge Spencer Roane, and John Taylor of Caroline; there were William H. Crawford of Georgia, and Charles Tait and Bolling Hall of Alabama.[9] These men were spokesmen from southern states, and their protest was largely a southern protest; but they did not speak for the South as a whole, nor even for a party in the South.

---

[5] Charles J. Ingersoll, *Historical Sketch of the Second War Between the United States of America and Great Britain* (Philadelphia, 1845-49), I, 212. Hereafter cited as Ingersoll, *Historical Sketch.*

[6] Ingersoll, *Historical Sketch,* I, 209.

[7] See for example Macon's speech against the sedition law, July 10, 1798, *Annals of Congress,* 5th Congress, 2nd Session, 2151; also his speech on South Carolina and the slave trade, February 13, 1804, *Annals of Congress,* 8th Congress, 1st Session, 98.

[8] "I believe the less legislation the better," Macon told the House of Representatives in 1806. *Annals of Congress,* 9th Congress, 1st Session (January 23, 1806), 386. To the Secretary of the Treasury, William H. Crawford, he wrote in 1817: ". . . our strength is in proportion to the smallness of our taxes, encumber us with debt, and we are ruined." Macon to Crawford, October 13, 1817, William H. Crawford Papers, Duke University Library.

[9] See Charles S. Sydnor, *The Development of Southern Sectionalism 1819-1848, A History of the South,* volume V (Baton Rouge, 1948), 135.

They were men who were considered by younger statesmen of the day in much of the South, as elsewhere, to be old-fashioned and behind the times, and they were called "Old Republicans." In 1823 Macon himself admitted: "My opinions are become too old fashioned for the present time; they are out of fashion and called, the old school."[10] It is of this group of Old Republicans that Macon is representative.

As the course of events modified in practice the principles that Jefferson had proclaimed in assuming office in 1801, few of Jefferson's old followers were more vigorous in their protest or more firm in their refusal to accept changes than was Macon. Following the War of 1812, when the cry was raised for protection for the infant manufacturing enterprises that the embargo and the war had helped to get started, Macon stood his ground. When there was a demand for reviving the national bank, which had been allowed to die just when it was needed most, Macon opposed it; and the great clamor for internal improvements met with his bitterest dissent. He strongly opposed the schemes of such young Republican leaders as Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun; and when President Madison went so far as to sign the bill to establish the Second Bank of the United States and to advocate such measures as the building of roads and canals and a protective tariff,[11] Macon was bitterly critical of his old friend. "Who could have supposed when Mr. Jefferson went out of office that his principles and the principles which brought him into it, would so soon become unfashionable," he asked, "and that Mr. Madison, the champion against banks, should have signed an act to establish one, containing rather worse principles, than the one he opposed as unconstitutional. . . ."[12] Even after Madison had vetoed Calhoun's bonus bill for internal improvements, Macon still could not forgive Madison for approving the bank. He explained to Jefferson: "After it was known that President Madison, one of our best and most

---

[10] Macon to Bartlett Yancey, December 12, 1823, Kemp P. Battle, ed., "Letters of Nathaniel Macon," *James Sprunt Historical Monographs*, (1900), II, 68. Hereafter cited as Battle, "Letters of Nathaniel Macon."

[11] See Madison's message to Congress, December, 1815, *Annals of Congress*, 14th Congress, 1st Session, 15-17.

[12] Macon to Bartlett Yancey, March 8, 1818, Battle, "Letters of Nathaniel Macon," II, 49.

worthy men, would sign the act, to establish the expensive bank of the U. S.; all who were tired of the principles which put them into power; immediately laid them aside, and went farther into constructive and implied powers, than had been done at any time before."[13]

In 1824 Macon wrote dejectedly to Albert Gallatin who had served as Jefferson's Secretary of the Treasury while Macon was Speaker of the House: "There are not, I imagine, five members of Congress who entertain the opinions which those did who brought Mr. Jefferson into power, and they are yet mine."[14] In a letter to Jefferson, Macon explained specifically the reasons for his opposition. "The acts for the banks of the United States, the tariff and internal improvements," he wrote, "seem to have put an end to legislating on the old republican principles and to prove, that under any party name, unconstitutional measures may be adopted. . . . The acts above mentioned and such as may be expected to follow tend I fear, to make Congress rather bargainers and traders than sound and fair legislators; to look forward, cannot be pleasing, especially to those who have been opposed to constructive & implied powers in the federal government."[15] Jefferson, in the last days of his life, applauded Macon's fight against consolidation, writing to his old friend: "I am particularly happy to perceive that you retain health and spirits still manfully to maintain our good old principle of cherishing and fortifying the rights and authorities of the people in opposition to those who fear them, who wish to take all power from them, and to transfer all to Washington."[16]

It was the constitutional issue that Macon stressed in regard to national consolidation; he had always demanded a rigid respect for the Constitution. But as the trend toward increasing the power of the federal government continued, Macon revealed a very strong motive behind his concern

---

[13] Macon to Jefferson, October 20, 1821, William E. Dodd, ed., "Macon Papers," *The John P. Branch Historical Papers of Randolph-Macon College*, III (1909), 79. Hereafter cited as Dodd, "Macon Papers."

[14] Macon to Gallatin, February 13, 1824, Henry Adams, *The Life of Albert Gallatin* (Philadelphia, 1880), 596.

[15] Macon to Jefferson, May 21, 1824, Dodd, "Macon Papers," III, 83-84.

[16] Jefferson to Macon, February 21, 1826, Paul Leicester Ford, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (New York, 1892-99), X, 378.

for strict construction. This was the fear that the ever-broadening powers of Congress would eventually lead that body to legislate on the subject of slavery. As early as 1818, Macon disclosed this apprehension in a letter to a close friend, a letter cautioning, "I have written very freely to you, and it is intended for you alone." Wrote Macon: "I must ask you to examine the constitution of the U. S. . . . and then tell me if Congress can establish banks, make roads and canals, whether they cannot free all the Slaves in the U. S." It might be some time before Congress attempted such legislation, but "We have abolition-colonizing bible and peace societies, . . . and if the general government shall continue to stretch their powers, these societies will undoubtedly push them to try the question of emancipation." He believed that "under a fair and honest construction of the constitution the negro property is safe and secure," but if the doctrine of implied powers were carried too far the slave states would be in grave danger. "The states having no slaves may not feel as strongly as the states having slaves about stretching the constitution," he said, "because no such interest is to be touched by it."[17] When his friend's reply did not confirm his own opinions, Macon wrote once more urging: "Examine again, the constitution of the U. S. and you will perceive your error. If Congress can make canals they can with more propriety emancipate. . . . Let not love of improvement, or a thirst for glory blind that sober discretion and sound sense, with which the Lord has blest you . . . your error in this, will injure if not destroy our beloved mother N. Carolina and all the South country."[18]

Apparently Macon had long harbored in his mind this concern for the security of slavery. In 1825 he revealed that "A debate about thirty years past in the H. of R. compelled me to believe that there were some people, who then thought, that Congress might legislate on the condition of slaves, & no circumstance has taken place since to induce a change of that belief. The question with us, is not an original question

[17] Macon to Bartlett Yancey, March 8, 1818, Battle, "Letters of Nathaniel Macon," II, 48-49.

[18] Macon to Bartlett Yancey, April 15, 1818, Battle, "Letters of Nathaniel Macon," II, 47.

of slavery or not slavery; but what is the power of the federal Government." [19]

Macon never openly admitted on the floor of Congress his fear concerning slavery, though John Randolph did not hesitate to do so; [20] but he circulated it among his friends in the South. He warned younger Southern leaders, including Calhoun,[21] who had not yet apprehended the threat which Macon saw to Southern institutions; he helped to make familiar to a younger generation the doctrines of strict construction. Again and again he warned: "If Congress can make canals and banks it is as omnipotent as the British Parliament." [22] "I never think of these claims of power, which appear to me, not to be granted," he wrote, "but I shudder for the states, whose population is not of the same character, to be plain I mean the states where slavery exists." [23]

Macon was a slaveholder from a slaveholding state;[24] he never shared Jefferson's views on emancipation. He was not ashamed to remind the House of Representatives that "the people in the Southern States . . . are agricultural people, and if you please a slaveholding people";[25] and he was will-

[19] Macon to Bartlett Yancey, December 8, 1825, Battle, "Letters of Nathaniel Macon," II, 77-78. References to earlier debate is probably to that on a memorial of the Quakers in 1797, protesting that slaves set free in North Carolina by their society had been returned to slavery. See *Annals of Congress*, 5th Congress, 2nd Session (November 30, 1797), 661.

[20] Speaking against internal improvements in 1824, Randolph said: "If Congress possess the power to do what is proposed by this bill, they can not only enact a sedition law,—for there is precedent,—but they may emancipate every slave in the United States." See speech in House of Representatives, January 31, 1824, quoted in Henry Adams, *John Randolph* (Boston, 1898), 274-275.

[21] Macon to Bartlett Yancey, December 26, 1824, Battle, "Letters of Nathaniel Macon," II, 72.

[22] Macon to Bartlett Yancey, January 31, 1824, Nathaniel Macon Papers, University of North Carolina Library.

[23] Macon to Bartlett Yancey, December 8, 1825, Battle, "Letters of Nathaniel Macon," II, 76.

[24] In 1784, Macon as a young man of twenty-six owned seven slaves. A List of Taxable Property in Warren County for the Year 1784, North Carolina Department of Archives and History. In the census of 1790, he was listed as the owner of twenty slaves. Walter Clark, ed., *The State Records of North Carolina* (Goldsboro, 1895-1907), XXVI, 1198. When Macon died in 1837, he owned seventy-seven slaves. An Inventory of the Estate of Nathaniel Macon, deed returned by his executor W. N. Edwards, November Session, 1837, MS., Record of Wills, vol. 36, 222-233, Warren County Records, Warren County Courthouse, Warrenton, North Carolina.

[25] *Annals of Congress*, 11th Congress, 1st Session (December 22, 1809), 867.

ing to defend the institution of slavery when occasion arose. During the debate on the restriction of slavery in Missouri in 1820, when most southern congressmen refused to debate the evils of slavery as beside the point, Macon unhesitantly arose to defend, with great warmth, the system of the South.[26] He also observed that "A clause in the Declaration of Independence had been read, declaring that 'all men are created equal': follow that sentiment and does it not lead to universal emancipation? If it will justify putting an end to slavery in Missouri, will it not justify it in the old states." [27]

Macon had early been a champion of the South. In 1798 during a spirited debate in Congress on the question of its power to regulate the salaries of foreign ministers, Macon had defended the South in a speech worthy of a later generation of ardent southerners when he told the House:

> It was said that the gentleman from Virginia and those who supported the amendment wished to violate the Constitution, and overthrow the government. This charge was principally made against members of the Southern States, than in which, he would venture to say, the laws of the United States had no where been better executed; for, although their members in that House had generally been in a minority, no instance of opposition to the laws had ever occurred. . . . It was clear, if any part of the country had a right to complain, it would have been the Southern States, as many of the laws had borne hardly upon them, and none of them afforded them any advantage.[28]

The agrarian interests of the South had loomed foremost in Macon's mind, as he had opposed the tariff. Southerners, he had said, wanted "no protecting duties to encourage or aid them to make their homespun." [29] As the years passed, Macon had become convinced that the South was being mistreated, and he had called for unity among its people. In 1821 he had tried to show how "unanimity in the south" in support of one candidate for president would give great weight to

[26] *Annals of Congress*, 16th Congress, 1st Session (January 20, 1820), 219-229.
[27] *Annals of Congress*, 16th Congress, 1st Session (January 20, 1820), 225.
[28] *Annals of Congress*, 5th Congress, 2nd Session (February 28, 1798), 1111-1112.
[29] *Annals of Congress*, 11th Congress, 1st Session (December 22, 1809), 867.

that person, because no other section of the nation was yet united. He had urged the people, "especially those of the South," desirous of economy in government to examine closely the presidential candidates. "I have said especially of the South," Macon wrote, "because nearly all the federal taxes collected there are paid for the interest of the public debt, or laid out to the North of the James River. . . ." [30] But the South had not always followed Macon; regretfully he had admitted that "this manufacturing scheme was fixed on us, by the strong aid of the South." [31]

By 1824, however, most Southern spokesmen were in agreement with Macon on the subject of the tariff,[32] and his "Old Republican" ideas were becoming more attractive in the South. But if men listened now to the aging Senator, they must not have mistaken the mounting bitterness in his thoughts as he saw his beloved South losing ground. "The burthens of the Government," he said in 1826, "have and will continue to fall most heavy on the cultivators of cotton and tobacco";[33] and during the debate on the tariff of 1828 he lamented: "The Southern states must, if they are not now ruined, be shortly ruined." [34]

Before long some were recalling Macon's earlier warnings. In 1833 Bolling Hall of Alabama wrote to Macon: "The signs of the times are indeed portentous; by the events which have taken place, I am often reminded of your predictions of the encroachment of the general, on the State Governments . . . for years you have viewed the approach of the present crisis." [35] But such words were little comfort to Macon, who could only recall that his early protests against national con-

---

[30] Macon to Bartlett Yancey, December 12, 1821, Battle, "Letters of Nathaniel Macon," II, 59.

[31] Macon to Bartlett Yancey, April 19, 1820, Battle, "Letters of Nathaniel Macon," II, 54.

[32] The southern vote on the tariff of 1824 in the House of Representatives was three for the bill, sixty-four against; in the Senate there were two for the bill (both from Tennessee) and fourteen against it. See Edward Stanwood, *American Tariff Controversies in the Nineteenth Century* (Boston, 1904), I, 239.

[33] Macon to Bartlett Yancey, December 24, 1826, Battle, "Letters of Nathaniel Macon," II, 91.

[34] Macon to Weldon N. Edwards, May 20, 1828, Macon Papers, North Carolina Department of Archives and History.

[35] Bolling Hall to Macon, February 22, 1833, Macon Papers, Duke University Library.

solidation had been largely ignored. Macon's protests and those of other Old Republicans—their jealous defense of "Old Republican principles"—however, had not been without influence. They had helped to keep alive the doctrines of state rights and strict construction, and to make familiar in the South a political language that a later generation was to find well-suited to its needs.

THE MILITARY EXPERIENCES OF JAMES A. PEIFER, 1861-1865

By George D. Harmon

James A. Peifer of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, was not an educated man, but he was, nevertheless, a shrewd observer. He served in the Union Army throughout the entire period of the War between the States. Furthermore, he wrote to his sister, Mary, fairly regularly, imparting to her his observations and experiences.[1]

Almost nothing is known of James A. Peifer's early life except that he loved travel and adventure. At the age of twenty he left Bethlehem to seek his fortune in New York. He lived in that great metropolis for only six months, returning to Bethlehem because he "was not fortunate enough to secure a situation for the winter" and his mother did not want him to go South.[2] The sojourn in glamorous New York made young Peifer extremely dissatisfied with Bethlehem. He wrote his sister, Mary, in Philadelphia that he could no longer live happily "up here [Bethlehem] now. It is so very dull and dreary — no excitement of any kind."[3] He added that he would probably leave the place of his birth by Christmas for other parts.

Whether James Peifer made good his threat to visit other places is unknown, but at any rate he was in the Moravian village in early 1861. On February 21 of that year he left Bethlehem for Harrisburg with the Washington Grays, a local National Guard unit, to participate in the grand military parade to be given in the honor of President-elect Abra-

[1] Unfortunately only fifty per cent of the letters have been preserved or these are all that are known to me. The letters which I used are in the possession of Mrs. Clarence A. Conrad, 1819 Richmond Avenue, Bethlehem, Pa., to whom I am deeply indebted. According to her recollection there were two members of the family who divided the letters equally between them; therefore, Mrs. Conrad only inherited half of them. The others apparently have been destroyed.

[2] James A. Peifer to his sister Mary in Philadelphia, November 11, 1859. James Peifer is hereafter referred to as Peifer.

[3] Peifer to his sister Mary in Philadelphia, November 11, 1859. I have occasionally changed the spelling and punctuation in the quotations, but I have in no way changed the words or substance of the letters.

ham Lincoln on Washington's birthday. Between fifty and sixty companies paraded through the city of Harrisburg "and then stopped at the depot to escort Old Abe to his place of destination. . . ." The Washington Grays returned from Harrisburg on February 23 at six-thirty in the morning, and upon arriving in Bethlehem at nine o'clock in the evening they were met by the town band and many citizens who escorted them home.

Fort Sumter was fired upon on April 12. Two days later Lincoln issued a proclamation calling upon the governors of all loyal states for 75,000 volunteers to serve for three months. James A. Peifer volunteered almost immediately upon learning of Lincoln's call for troops. He left Bethlehem for Harrisburg on Friday, April 19, 1861, with a company of eighty-five volunteers chiefly from Bethlehem, but commanded by James Selfridge and Thomas Lynn of Hellertown.

Peifer's enthusiastic response to the call of his county was shared by thousands throughout the North. His brother, William C. Peifer, wrote on April 18, 1861, that "intense excitement pervades the people" of Bethlehem, who are "unanimous for the Union." Already there had been held in the town, he said, several public meetings at which much patriotic enthusiasm was displayed. A local committee announced on the third day after Lincoln's call for volunteers that the people of Bethlehem had subscribed $3,000 for the purpose of securing the needed supplies which the State had failed to furnish the volunteers and "of assisting the needy families which they left behind." [4]

It required four hours for the volunteer company from Bethlehem to reach Harrisburg. Soon after their arrival at the State Capital at one o'clock in the afternoon they were served a good dinner at the Jones House. Immediately after enjoying the last morsel, they were marched to the Fair Grounds where they were issued essential equipment, including belts, muskets, and blankets. They now pitched their tents, partook of a "scanty meal consisting of a few potatoes, a loaf of bread and about a pound of meat for four, as [they]

[4] William C. Peifer to his sister Mary in Philadelphia, April 18, 1861.

were divided in four's in a tent." The exhausted volunteers now went to bed to enjoy much needed repose, but they could not rest because they were "unaccustomed to this style of sleeping."

The next morning, Saturday, April 20, at five o'clock, James A. Peifer and the other eighty-four tired but patriotic volunteers from Bethlehem were aroused "by the beat of the drum for a half hour drill" before breakfast. At nine o'clock there was another drill of one hour. Afterwards the enlisted men cooked their own dinner, which was followed immediately by another drill. At three o'clock in the afternoon they were sworn into the service of their country by taking an oath to "stand by the Constitution and the Union." Now, duly inducted into the Army of the United States, they were placed in designated regiments. The Bethlehem boys were extremely proud of being assigned to the First Regiment. "As good luck would have it," wrote Peifer, "we are designated as Comp. A. 1rst Regiment. Think of that! A company from the little Moravian town of Bethlehem receiving the honour of being the First Company of the 1st Regiment. *Ahem. I feel so good.* It makes us feel proud. . . ."[5]

At the conclusion of these ceremonies, the inductees proceeded to their camp where they again prepared their own supper. Having had practically no sleep the previous night and thinking that they had just concluded a very busy day, they were getting ready for bed about eight o'clock when orders were received for the First, Second, and Third Regiments to start immediately for Baltimore. Upon the receipt of this startling news, they "packed up their belongings in a hurry" and proceeded at once to the depot. The train, with approximately three thousand men placed in forty-two cars, left Harrisburg about eleven o'clock Saturday night on April 20 and arrived "Sunday forenoon April 21st in the State of Maryland at a one horse place called Cockeysville, about 15 miles from Baltimore."[6] The camp was located about one half mile from the village.

---

[5] James A. Peifer to his sister Mary, May 6, 1861, from Camp Scott. Apparently his brother William accompanied him to Harrisburg.

[6] Peifer to his sister Mary, May 6, 1861, from Camp Scott.

Although tired and foodless since eight o'clock Saturday evening, the men were forced to drill during the remainder of the morning. As soon as drill was over the soldiers headed for town, composed of one store, one hotel, and one or two houses, to buy some food. The record does not reveal what they had to eat, but the little village was probably unprepared to feed adequately such a large number of hungry soldiers. Peifer does reveal, however, that the scorching heat caused them nearly to perish of thirst and that "some of the men paid as high as seventy-five cents for a pint of water which was very muddy out of a small creek where we washed ourselves at one place and drank the water out of the other."[7]

As the members of Company A of the First Regiment had had no sleep or real rest since they had left Bethlehem on April 19, they "lay down on the bare ground" and covered themselves with blankets at twilight Sunday evening, April 21. No bed had probably ever felt more comfortable, but the men had hardly lain down, certainly had not had time to get a minute's sleep, when they were "called to arms and assured that 10,000 Baltimore Secessions were upon us. We immediately posted our sentinels. . . . After being called to arms about a dozen times [during the night] we were told that we would not be attacked that night, but we did not sleep any more. . . . Many a prayer was offered that night of men that perhaps never prayed before. We heard the horsemen of the enemy and we heard the distant drums and the mob cheering Jeff. Davis very often. Had we been attacked they could have slaughtered us all as we had no ammunition."[8]

By Friday, May 3, the First Regiment was in Camp Scott, near York, Pennsylvania. The day was very cold, rainy, and snowy, which caused considerable discomfort. The weather did not improve any during the night, for the soldiers woke up on Saturday morning "wet to the skin" and everything in the camp had been flooded. As no dry straw could be secured, it was decided to leave camp in search of dryer quarters elsewhere. A kind Moravian minister by the name of Hagen

[7] Peifer to his sister Mary, May 6, 1861, from Camp Scott.
[8] Peifer to his sister Mary, May 6, 1861, from Camp Scott.

offered them quarters in his church, which they naturally accepted. They moved in with their wet clothes and equipment and "were soon snugly quartered in the house of God. . . . Brother and Sister Hagen provide us with coffee and cakes. I must say we have never met a more generous sect of people as we have here. They are willing . . . to do anything for the poor Soldiers. . . . We are still [May 6] quartered in the church and will not return to camp as long as the weather is so unfavorable, and we are all very glad of it as we have excellent quarters here."[9]

Despite these many difficulties and discouragements, Peifer proudly wrote:

> I can assure you that I am very thankful that I am able-bodied and healthy so that I can aid in so great a cause as [to] defend the stars and stripes that waves so proudly over the land of the free and the brave. And long may it wave still, as it was purchased with great price. . . . Therefore I deem it the duty of every free and true man to defend it as long as he has the power to do it, and not allow this glorious banner to be trampled upon by these vile and vicious traitors who are seeking to destroy this glorious Liberty which we have enjoyed.[10]

Before he had really engaged in gunfire, James A. Peifer's enlistment for ninety days expired in the summer of 1861. Though he did not wish to leave his regiment, he had promised his immediate family that he would not re-enlist; and reluctantly he returned to his native city. But his patriotism would not let him keep his pledge. On September 13, 1861, he again left Bethlehem for Harrisburg with some friends to re-enlist, this time not for ninety days but for the duration of the war "or for a term not exceeding three years . . . in the 46th Regiment."

Peifer thus described the generosity of Uncle Sam in issuing supplies to the inductees:

> We then proceeded [after being inducted into the service] to the commissaries and received shoes, two pair of woolen stockings, underclothes, canteen, knapsack, and the most useful article,

[9] Peifer to his sister Mary, May 6, 1861, from Camp Scott.
[10] Peifer to his sister Mary, May 6, 1861, from Camp Scott.

a blanket . . . and a blouse, but overcoats we did not receive and have none today [October 7, 1861].

On Monday, September 16, they received their marching orders, so they struck their tents and packed their knapsacks to move immediately. At four o'clock in the afternoon they bid farewell to Camp Curtin. They marched to the arsenal "where [they] received arms instead of rifles [or] . . . muskets, called *Blunder-busses,*" scornfully by the men. After Governor Curtin addressed the Regiment, they boarded a train for Washington. Upon reaching that city the next day about nine o'clock in the evening, they proceeded to a place called the Soldier's Retreat, where they "received coffee and bread and beef tongue. . . . Our Colonel Knipe waited on us like a father and did not eat until the men were all finished."[11] After all had been fully refreshed, they marched out Pennsylvania Avenue for about a mile where quarters were secured in a large four-story building. It was two o'clock in the morning before the men were able to stretch out on the floor for a good night's rest.

After eating breakfast at the Soldier's Retreat, they marched past the White House, the Treasury Building, and on through the city into the country. About four o'clock in the afternoon they pitched their tents at Kalaramo Heights where they remained for two days.

On Saturday, September 21, beginning at four o'clock in the afternoon, the Regiment marched seventeen miles, in heavy rain, stopping two hours after mid-night near Rockville. Peifer said that "John Fetter and myself laid on a table, but I could not sleep as all my bones hurt me and I was wet to the skin and felt so chilly."[12]

About ten o'clock Sunday morning the Regiment resumed its march, but after they had marched about six miles a terrible tragedy occurred: a private in Company I shot "our beloved Major Lewis of Catasauqua [Pennsylvania] from his horse. The desperado was immediately arrested. The affair

[11] Peifer to his sister Mary, October 7, 1861, from Camp Lewis. He was sworn in Saturday, September 14.

[12] Peifer to his sister Mary, October 7, 1861, from Camp Lewis.

cast a gloom over the Reg't. especially in our company as he was [our] Captain before he was promoted." [13]

Soon, however, they resumed the march, "passing hundreds of camps." In a high field, twenty-eight miles from Washington, they pitched their tents, and named their camp Lewis in honor of the deceased Major.

Peifer described the food as good and the Irish in his Regiment as being "a very hard set." The ineptness of the raw recruits exhausted Peifer's patience. He wrote:

> We are drilling about 5 times a day, but that does no good to some of our men as they are too stupid to learn. We do not expect to see fight[ing] in a hurry . . . as our Reg't is not drilled well enough yet. We hear cannonading occasionally and see rockets ascending, but we have not been called out [for battle] yet.[14]

The Regiment, however, was used to break up the smuggling of goods to the Confederates by the many Southern sympathizers in Maryland. Peifer said that picket guards were placed on "the main roads leading to the [Potomac] river in order to stop all contraband and goods enroute for the Rebels. . . . We halted every team and searched it [including] every woman and child. The first relief had an amusing incident: two would-be ladies came driving along when the guards halted them and searched [them] and found four canteens of whiskey concealed under their crinoline. They had brought it for some soldiers, which is against all military law and discipline. It was taken from them when they were allowed to pass on. . . ." [15]

They left Camp Lewis on October 21, about 8 o'clock in the evening, with Major-General Nathaniel P. Banks's whole Division. They marched briskly, "sometimes on a double quick, over very rough roads," crossed mud puddles, with heavy knapsacks on their backs, which "pulled mighty hard." When they arrived at Poolesville about 3 o'clock the next

[13] Peifer to his sister Mary, October 7, 1861, from Camp Lewis.

[14] Peifer to his sister Mary, October 7, 1861, from Camp Davis. The company was composed of Germans, Dutch, Americans and Irish. The Irish were in the majority and they could not agree very well with the Irish.

[15] Peifer to his sister Mary, October 16, 1861, from Camp Lewis.

morning, "having marched about 10 miles," they naturally "expected to put up for a day or two, but we were sadly disappointed to hear that we would march to the Potomac, a distance of 5 miles. We were completely worn out, but the officers cheered us up . . . [by saying that] it was a case of necessity . . ."

After the Division had passed about a mile beyond Poolesville, we met "ambulances, containing the wounded of the battle near Leesburg, in which Col. E. D. Baker lost his life. . . . We heard their groans, met a great many on foot, some without hats, without shoes and stockings, their clothes torn off. When they told us that two Reg'ts were completely cut up by the Rebels, Col. Baker's California Reg't and part of Massa [chusetts] 20th, [and that] they lost several hundred men . . . [that out] of a company of 120, only 19 were left to mourn their loss . . . [this] sorrowful tale . . . cheered us up again. . . . We now marched a little more briskly, tired as we were. We reached a large wood about 5 o'clock in the morning about a quarter of a mile from the [Potomac] River. Here we met troops coming from the River and the ambulances still bringing the wounded." [16]

The ambulances carrying the wounded were halted where Banks' Division had bivouacked temporarily. James A. Peifer described their horrible experiences in these words:

> It now commenced to rain very hard and we [Banks' Division] had no shelter but the trees. We were all in a perspiration, . . . our rations were nearly played out . . . [except] a little meat and crackers. . . . We were lying there beside our fires wet to the skin when Regt. after Regt. arrived and the wounded [were] still brought in ambulances. It was the most pitiful and awful sight I ever saw. It chilled my blood when I heard the groans of the poor fellows as they lay there in pain. I then got an idea of the horrors of war; and as we expected a battle that day yet, you can imagine that we felt rather strange about it. I then thought of you and home, and perhaps that night would be my fate to fall.[17]

---

[16] Peifer to his sister Mary, October 29, 1861. Written from Selfridge. He described the march since October 21 when they departed from Camp Lewis.

[17] Peifer to his sister Mary, October 29, 1861. Written from Selfridge, but completed at Camp Williams, named in honor of Brigadier General Williams.

At about six on October 23 they again fell in line and marched to the Potomac, but for some reason they were ordered to return to their original camp fires, which were still burning. On the next day, October 24, not a Federal soldier could be seen on the Virginia side of the River whereas "a few hours before there were several Regiments" in view. Peifer had even previously seen skirmishing between the Federal and Confederate troops.

Peifer believed that the withdrawal of the Federal troops was due to "some scheme of General McClellan's as he, Gen. Banks and Stone were at our camp that day spying the troops on the other side. We also ascertained that the Rebel General [Joseph E.] Johnston's force at Leesburg was very strong."[18]

On October 24 the Division marched to Camp Selfridge, sometimes called Muddy Branch, where they pitched their tents. They were in the field with the 5th Connecticut. Opposite them was "the Pennsylvania 20th, New York 29th, United States Regular Batt'y. We are all clearing a large pine wood for our winter quarters. . . . It is fun to see several hundred men, with picks, spades, and axes. . . . It is a beautiful place surrounded by beautiful pines to keep out the strong wind. We will have our winter quarters here as we have to guard the Potomac this winter."[19]

Soldiers, as a rule, are optimistic and ready to believe and to rejoice upon hearing of good news in battle. On November 14, 1861, Peifer wrote:

> Last night we received some good news from Kentucky, that our troops had gained another victory, took a General and captured 1,000 of the Rebels. Our whole camp was in commotion . . . and cheering. . . . It is cheering for us to hear when our troops gain a victory, as they have [so often] been defeated, but you cannot call it defeated exactly as we have generally to fight double the number and still we whip them. Think of the battle of Balls-Bluff near Leesburg where about 1200 men had to fight about 6000 Rebels. There were so many Philadelphians engaged there and laid down their lives to put down this Rebellion. . . .

[18] Peifer to his sister Mary, October 29, 1861. Written from Selfridge.

[19] Peifer to his sister Mary, October 29, 1861. Written from Selfridge. He asked his sister Mary in Philadelphia to send him through William Yohe of Bethelehem a pair of buckskin fleecy lined gloves with large cuffs.

We were . . . marched to the river's bank, but were not taken across, and [I am] sorry we were [not] as we were ready to fight and to die to revenge our fellow soldiers' death.[20]

Time must have been weighing heavily on James Peifer's hands when he wrote his sister on November 22, 1861, describing what he had in his knapsack:

My knapsack contains . . . four pair of stocking, five or six handkerchiefs, 1 pair of drawers and another pair I wear, one undershirt and one on my back, 1 white government shirt, merino scarf, my old three month pantaloons, blanket, and gumblanket . . . 1 Testament and two or three other little books . . . Ellins Ambrotype and a portfolio to keep my pen and paper, a memorandum, and a little bag 'which Mother made' containing thread, needles, buttons, and a pair of scissors, and now that pair of [buckskin] gloves [which you sent me], and [I expect to] receive my overcoat [soon] . . . I wear three shirts [and] drawers. I also own a haversack, which contains a Yankee tin cup, a piece of Castile soap, an old pipe, an oil rag to clean my gun, and handful of pieces of crackers. The next . . . but not least is my cartridge box, which weighs about six pounds, containing 40 cartridges, 1 bullet and three buckshot, weighing about two ounces. In another part is another oil rag . . . a screw driver, and what we call 'wormer' to draw loads. This is on a belt. On the same belt is the capbox on the right and the bayonet scabbard on the left. This belt is worn around the waist. Next is the musket, weighing about 10 pounds. After we have these things all loaded up, it makes quite a load for a long march.[21]

In the same letter he gave a vivid description of his shoes:

Our feet are covered with shoes, Uncle Sam style, with soles an inch thick, but not worth anything, and much too large [in] every way. . . . They are about six inches wide, wide enough to contain two of my feet, but in length they will do. There is no shape about them, being one width from heel to toe, and the heels — you would laugh to see them! . . . [They] are quite low and as wide as the shoe; well, they are about the size of an ordinary teacup. They remind me of the 'Mud Scows' you generally see on the canals, and I think all they want to fit them out for the purpose would be a rudder, and towline, and three stout

[20] Peifer to his sister Mary, November 14, 1861. Camp Knipe, Montgomery County, Maryland.

[21] Peifer to his sister Mary, Camp Knipe, Montgomery County, Maryland, November 22, 1861.

mules, and I think they would do to *tow* Jeff Davis to the Land of Glory, or to the Infernal Regions, just as he pleases, but I think he deserves the latter.[22]

On December 10, 1861, Peifer reported this surprising scene which took place in their camp just outside of Frederick City, Maryland:

Yesterday we had quite a time in camp. A nigger was caught in the act of bringing liquor in camp. They tied him and put him under guard awhile. At noon they brought him forth and tied him facing the tree and [gave him] 15 stripes with a horsewhip, well laid on. He *grinned* and *danced* around the tree considerably. They then sent him out with a reprimand.[23]

As Christmas day, 1861, approached, the soldiers had hopes "until the very last" that they would be invited out to a turkey dinner. After despairing of receiving such an invitation, they felt slighted. Having no other choice, they resorted to Uncle Sam's Christmas dinner. "It consisted 1rst of rice-soup boiled with salt pork, which was nearly rotten, and we flung meat and soup out of the tent, as we could not eat it. It being Christmas, I boiled some good homemade coffee for dinner and then with bread and butter we managed to make a dinner of it." [24]

In regard to the Mason and Slidell incident Peifer wrote on December 31, 1861, that "if England should pounce upon us as they threaten to do," the war would become extremely more dreadful and destructive. He hoped that the surrendering of these Confederate agents would satisfy the British; but if it did not, he believed that the Northern armies would be able to whip both the British and the Southerners.

During January and February, 1862, Peifer and his regiment marched from camp to camp along the Potomac in Maryland. On February 23, about ten o'clock in the morning, his regiment began to cross the river in an "old anscow,"

[22] Peifer to his sister Mary, Camp Knipe, November 22, 1861.

[23] Peifer to his sister, Camp Matthews, near Frederick City, Maryland, December 10, 1861.

[24] Peifer to his sister Mary, Camp Matthews, December 26, 1861. This menu is quite different from what Uncle Sam gives its soldiers on Christmas in mid-twentieth century.

which transported "half a company at a time, until 2 in the afternoon [they] were in Dixie" for the first time. They marched about six miles along the river in Virginia, then crossed back into Maryland.

On March 3, 1862, the troops again crossed the Potomac into Dixie, this time to stay for awhile. The heavy rains made marching uncomfortable. When they "reached Martinsburg about 5 o'clock, all wet and muddy to our knees and very tired, we took up quarters in a church and were soon comfortable, having dried our clothes, etc. [The] next day [Tuesday the 4th] being a cold and blustering day, . . . we went out to a field [and] pitched our tents."[25]

Soon after pitching their tents they were ordered to strike them down and to resume the march. The advance guard was soon fired upon and a minor skirmish ensued. The next day, March 5, the advance guard was again fired upon "by some Rebel Cavalry without doing any harm." While the firing was going on, Peifer's company helped themselves "to chickens, turkeys" and other desirables.

The Division left Bunker Hill, Virginia, on March 11. When they were nearing Winchester, they were "beckoned by an old Pennsylvania farmer, a good Union man, to stop . . . go[ing] so fast, as there were some of Col. *Ashby's Rebel Cavalry* . . . near us." Locating the enemy in the neighboring woods, they attacked and a running skirmish ensued. According to Peifer, the Confederates lost fifteen men, killed and wounded, whereas the Union forces suffered no casualties, except that one of the men — Edward Huber — was wounded. This was Peifer's first experience under fire.[27]

Peifer's regiment was now only four miles from Winchester. The next day about two o'clock in the afternoon they marched into the town without "another shot being fired." Peifer said:

Jackson and his so-called Stonewall Brigade had vamoosed, and were on a hasty retreat for Strasburg about 18 miles from

[25] Peifer to his sister Mary, March 8, 1862. Camp near Bunker Hill, Berkley County, Virginia.
[26] Peifer to his sister Mary, March 8, 1862, from Camp near Bunker Hill.
[27] Peifer to his sister Mary, March 19, 1862, Winchester, Virginia.

here. We entered the [town with the] bands playing. . . . The glorious Stars and Stripes flung to the breeze again, where it has not floated since the opening of this Rebellion. Numerous dwellings are deserted and the remaining inhabitants are chiefly Secesh but dare not express it; but the ladies show by their long and wry faces and the figures they cut . . . that they hate and despise the Yankees, as they call us. . . .[28]

This successful skirmish caused Peifer to become extremely optimistic in regard to an early termination of the War. In the same letter he wrote:

My opinion is that this war will be soon at an end, as we have nothing but victories on victories, and I expect to be home in July if spared, but not before we see a grand fight, for we belong to the Army of the Potomac, and Gen. McClellan says in a speech, they must settle the doom of the Rebels, Bully for that, I am ready.[29]

The women of Winchester apparently continued to show their disapproval of the Yankee invaders but Peifer said that the Northern soldiers were "just as proud as they are, with our glorious flag waving over all of them (Secesh and all); but what astonishes them most is the fine style we are dressed, as they have been accustomed (since last summer) to see nothing but poor gray homespun clothes and a disorganized army in command of Gen. Jackson, the so-called Stone Wall Brigade; but I don't understand the meaning of the expression, as they never stood firm as a stone wall, but on the advance of the Yankees they came to an about face, and off double, the same as they did here. As we entered the town [of Winchester] at one end they [went] out at the other and made good their escape, but they are soon cornered up, and they are bound to give up some bright day."[30]

Peifer added that the house of "the Traitor *Mason* [of the Mason-Slidell affair] . . . is used as Gen. Williams' Headquarters, and the Stars and Stripes [are] floating over it."[31]

---

[28] Peifer to his sister Mary, March 19, 1862, Winchester, Virginia.
[29] Peifer to his sister Mary, March 19, 1862, Winchester, Virginia.
[30] Peifer to his sister Mary, March 19, 1862, Winchester, Virginia.
[31] Peifer to his sister Mary, March 19, 1862. This is located at Winchester, Virginia.

The prices at Winchester in March 1862 are interesting:

Butter	per lb.	60 cts. and Scarce
Eggs	per doz.	25 cts. and Scarce
Salt	per. qt.	60 cts. or 25 per sack
Molasses	per. qt.	50 cts or very scarce
Sugar brown	per lb.	30 to 60 (cts.)
Tea	per lb.	$4.00 very scarce
Coffee	per lb.	$1.50 none of that
Matches small boxes		10 cts. square box 25 cts.
Candles	per lb.	25 cts.
Com. Calicoes		50 cts. (etc.)[32]

Sometime in December James A. Peifer was promoted to the rank of Corporal. He had been a conscientious soldier. Now that he was a corporal he told his sister that he would do everything in his power to please the officers.[33]

From Winchester the Regiment marched on April 1 to Strasburg, where they halted for a few hours. They could not move very fast because their artillery was shelling the enemy all along the march. Every moment they expected "to get in a fight." They saw "many Rebel clues all along the road, saw many of the Rebel shells, which did not explode. There were a great many picked up. [We] also saw an awful amount of dead horses, and the trees and fences were skinned with . . . shells and bullets. . . . We saw a large cloud of smoke ascending, caused by the burning of a railroad bridge — they having burnt all the bridges as they went along."[34]

Peifer's impression of the people in the town of Woodstock is interesting:

> The Union sentiment not appearing to be very strong, as the women that were there generally turned up their noses and sneered at us. Near the end of town, however, we were cheered to see two beautiful women, smiling and waving their handkerchiefs. This cheered us up again, as it has been a long time since we had handkerchiefs of the fair *sex* waved to us as a token of friendship, such a thing is cheering to us soldiers.[35] [It is also

[32] Peifer to his sister Mary, March 19, 1862, Winchester, Virginia.
[33] Peifer to his sister Mary, March 19, 1862, Winchester, Virginia.
[34] Peifer to his sister Mary, April 5, 1862. Camp Stoney Creek near Woodstock, Virginia.
[35] Peifer to his sister Mary, April 5, 1862, Camp Stoney Creek.

of interest to note that the women of Virginia were] "busily engaged in gardening and planting."[36]

After passing through Strasburg, the Regiment marched some distance and halted at a hotel where three of Ashby's Cavalrymen were captured. Peifer wrote:

> I . . . had a *squint* at the animals and was satisfied that they are like other men, with the exception of the clothing. They ain't [*sic*] rigged out like (Uncle Sam's) men. I can assure you that they are clothed in all *sorts*, gray homespun overcoats, pants of all colors and grades, some have straw hats and caps, and a great many [are] in citizen's clothes; in fact, they look pretty shabby.[37]

Peifer's company suffered other misfortunes than from battle: "This week two of our men drowned in the Shenandoah, . . . two men died, two are in the hospital, . . . several are getting their discharges, . . . which reduces our company considerably."[38]

On April 10, 1862, Peifer wrote his brother that General Jackson "got a good licking" in the Battle of Winchester, March 23 and 24. He, however, had not participated in the fighting but he rejoiced over the fact that Stonewall Jackson would find it difficult to recuperate from his severe losses as a result of this engagement. Peifer's Regiment now returned to Winchester, where "the inhabitants made wry faces" at him when they marched into the town.

Peifer related to his brother a few amusing incidents that happened while the Union forces were in Winchester.

> One day, several would be ladies, *Secesh to the backbone,* came down the street, and had to pass the General's headquarters where the Stars and Stripes were floating with dignity . . . out of a window [and] over the pavement. As they came nearer to it, one of them remarked to the other, Molly! Peggy, Katy, or whatever her name was, do you intend to walk by under that *dirty rag* there (pointing to it). No never! remarked the other one, and thus they struck across the street to avoid it, but they were overheard, as one of the General's Body Guard, was march-

[36] Peifer to his sister Mary, April 5, 1862, Camp Stoney Creek.
[37] Peifer to his sister Mary, April 5, 1862, Camp Stoney Creek.
[38] Peifer to his sister Mary, April 5, 1862, Camp Stoney Creek.

ing up and down the pavement as sentinel. He looked up and said, 'Misses! I think you have a dirtier rag under the skirts of your dresses.' They of course blushed and no doubt thought, 'aint [sic] that a monster', . . . but I say *Bully for the Zouave.*

A second incident was equally amusing:

One day one of the 13 Massachusetts Boys came along, with a little flag in his hand. He came by a woman standing at the door (Secesh of course; this was after the battle) and when he came up to her he walked up coolly, and poking the flag at her . . . said, How do you like that by this time? She snatched it from his hand and threw it in the street. This was a little too much for the Yankee. He walked up coolly and said to her, "If you were not a woman, I would knock your a--s over kettle, for your d--n impudence."[39]

On April 23, 1862, Peifer wrote his sister from camp near Harrisonville. On their way to the new camp they could hear the exchange of shots between the Union batteries and Ashby's Cavalry. They "passed numerous farm houses, a great many not inhabited, and the few that were . . . appeared to be [occupied by] people of the lowest class, as the women and girls stood under the doors smoking pipes, and chewing tobacco, and spit like any man."[40]

The long march continued. When they passed through the small town of Hawkins the band struck up Dixie "and then the women with pipes rushed out again to see the Yankees . . . but one thing I am positive that they did not see, namely, long ears like Jacks as we were represented by the Rebels."[41]

About four miles beyond Harrisonville they pitched their tents for the night but there was little rest for the Regiment because the "Rebels attacked our pickets . . . which resulted in the death of one and wounding . . . three . . . of our Reg't. As soon as the Rebels saw us [reinforcements] come up they beat a hasty retreat with the loss of some dozen men [and] two Parrot guns."[42]

---

[39] James A. Piefer to his brother, April 10, from camp near Woodstock.
[40] Peifer to his sister Mary, April 23, 1862, near Harrisonville, Pa.
[41] Peifer to his sister Mary, April 23, 1862, near Harrisonville, Pa.
[42] Peifer to his sister Mary, May 6, 1862, near Harrisonville, Pa.

After several days of marching they were in the Luray Valley. Here Peifer and his Regiment were sent on a reconnoitering expedition.

The first day we made about 24 miles. Next day we moved on again to about 5 miles of Luray and our Cavalry made a charge through the town and found it occupied by about 200 Rebel Cavalry, who fled on the approach of ours. We succeeded in capturing 4 prisoners, which we brought with us. We reached our camp again on Monday night [July 2] . . . very well worn out. The loss on our side was one killed and several wounded, and one man of the 10th Main was accidentally shot dead by the discharge of a gun. We are all anxious to hear the correct report of McClellan before Richmond. I hope he will succeed in taking it without a great loss. Tomorrow is the great national day — '4th of July'. . . . Perhaps at Richmond it will be celebrated with a great battle, and I hope Richmond may then fall.[43]

In this letter Peifer admits to his sister for the first time that the Confederates, somewhere along their march, had come out with the better of an encounter:

I wish you would send me your photograph again, as the other one is in Secesh, in the hands of the Rebels. We lost all but what we had on our backs. . . . We have again been provided with knapsacks, and I don't think they will get them again.[44]

Peifer was too ill to participate in the Battle of Culpeper, but he was able to record the results of that battle for his mother and sister:

Now some of the wounded came in . . . to camp and they told me of the battle, and [that] the boys of the 46th [Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers] . . . had suffered severely while charging on a battery and were repulsed with heavy loss. . . . Our boys received a terrible crossfire from the front and rear. At first it was reported that only 90 men were left of the Regt., which completely shocked me, as they went into action about 500 strong. On Monday morning I started out to find the remains of the Reg't, which I did about 5 miles beyond Culpeper, in a small wood. There were only about 100 there. I was utterly dumbfounded. They now told me all about [it]—which I cannot de-

[43] Peifer to his sister Mary, July 3, 1862, camp near Front Royal, Virginia.
[44] Peifer to his sister Mary, July 3, 1862, camp near Front Royal.

scribe. Many faces were missing which I had seen when they went out. Hundreds of ambulances were busy removing the wounded and burying the dead. In fact, our whole Brigade . . . had suffered severely, but the 46th [Pa. Regiment], 5th Connecticut, and New York's 28th suffered more — there being only squads of companies left. Yesterday, [August] 12th, ours [46th Reg't] and [New York's] 28th . . . marched into town [Culpeper]. The two Reg'ts [were] not as large as ours before the action. . . . It was a solemn spectacle in camp. Co[l] Selfridge, our only field officer who escaped unhurt, made a solemn speech. When each company dispersed, our Company was 24 men strong out of 56 who went into action.[45]

Peifer's illness grew steadily worse until he became so sick that he could not walk. For a week he was transported from place to place in an ambulance. Finally, "so many were taken ill" that the sick and wounded were sent to Alexandria, where "about 300 [of them] were ordered on the Hospital boat and transported to Washington," where they were taken to Mount Pleasant Hospital, about two miles north of the city. He wrote his brother: "The hospitals are splendid, well ventilated; and the sick and wounded are well attended to."[46]

As Peifer thought he would remain at Alexandria for a while, he wrote home from there asking for some money. When he was sent to a hospital two miles north of Washington he feared that the money might become permanently lost; therefore, "I wish you would see about that money and let me know immediately so that my mind may be at ease."[47]

While in the hospital enjoying excellent accommodations and plenty of good food such as "fresh bread, potatoes, beef, beans, rice, molasses and butter occasionally," Peifer remained extremely hopeful that the war would terminate successfully at an early date. He wrote:

I am . . . anxious to join my Reg't. I am homesick for the boys, and pity them, as . . . many a poor fellow will be laid low before this wicked Rebellion is over. The news are most cheering (if

[45] Peifer to his mother and sister of Bethlehem from near Culpeper, Virginia, dated August, 1862. He named all the killed, wounded and missing from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

[46] James A. Peifer to his brother William, September 4, 1862. Mount Pleasant Hospital, two miles north of Washington, D. C.

[47] Peifer to his brother William, September 4, 1862, Mount Pleasant Hospital.

true) and little *Mac* . . . will teach them whose soil they have invaded, and I am in hopes before many days the whole Rebel Army will be annihilated.[48]

Corporal Peifer is here referring to General Lee's invasion of Maryland and to the bloody Battle of Antietam. Peifer did not realize at the time that this proved to be one of the great battles of the world. If Lee had won this battle, Great Britain and France would have probably recognized the independence of the Confederate states, and thus would have assured Southern independence. But instead of winning a victory, Lee was forced to withdraw during the night across the Potomac into Virginia. As *Little Mac* failed to pursue General Lee, President Lincoln removed him from command by placing General A. E. Burnside in that responsible position. The Battle of Antietam, however, gave to Lincoln the needed victory to issue his Emancipation Proclamation on September 22, 1862. The war had thus been waged to preserve the Union, but henceforth it would also be a war to free the slaves in the rebellious states. Peifer now reluctantly admitted that the Union Armies in the East were exactly where they had been at the beginning of the struggle.

On September 28, 1862, Corporal Peifer wrote that he was still weak, but that he was eager to join his Regiment. He also said that there were at the time about 1500 patients in the Mount Pleasant Hospital. William Mast, who had been a prisoner of war for five weeks, arrived at the Washington hospital with five others. According to Peifer they were "mere skeletons. I was frightened when I saw him [Mast] . . . and when he told me what hardships he had to undergo, lie down on the ground, with a stone for a pillow, and the poor grub they had to eat. . . . His hips and knees are all raw, and still he felt quite lively the first day, told me all about his imprisonment and harsh treatment. I felt like crying. . . . Yesterday I went to see him, and he was very low and could hardly speak, complained with pain in head and breast, and I doubt whether he will recover. One of them died the first day."[49]

---

[48] Peifer to his sister Mary from Mount Pleasant Hospital, September 19, 1862. He had rheumatism and occasional attacks of diarrhea.

[49] Peifer to his sister Mary, September 28, 1862, Mount Pleasant Hospital.

By October 7, 1862, Peifer was able to report that "Wm. Mast is doing pretty well, and is gaining flesh and is up and around. We generally take short walks together, but still he is very weak. . . ." [50] On October 13, he again wrote that "William Mast is doing fine. . . ." [51] By November 11, he had improved so much that he was sent to the United States General Hospital in West Philadelphia, where he hoped to get a furlough and probably a discharge from the army.[52] Eventually he recovered and was discharged from the army.

To the best of his ability, Peifer followed the engagements of the 46th Regiment from his Washington hospital; but military information was very slow in arriving. He obtained some news through the papers, but it required a letter from Bethlehem to inform him that his Company had gone into a recent battle with only eight men. "It is very hard indeed," said Peifer, "to reflect that our Company left Bethlehem with 100 strong and healthy men, and in one year only 8 of them remain, the rest being either killed, wounded or prisoners, or died of exposure." [53]

Peifer's earlier contempt for the Southern soldiers and armies seems to have changed considerably. He wrote: "It appears the *Rebels* are still hovering around Pennsylvania, according to reports a battle is expected there, but I do not believe half of them, as I don't think McClellan would let them slip his lines in force, but I do believe that before the winter closes in a great battle will be fought, and I hope our arms will be successful again, as we have had so many *reverses* of late which have proved nearly fatal to our cause, and has also greatly emboldened the Rebels and will [cause them to] fight more desperately than ever. . . . I hope that God may help us, and our arms be successful in the end." [54]

Peifer, still in the hospital, continued to worry about the tremendous losses of his old Regiment.

As soon as I am able to join my Reg't. I will do so . . . [We] will remain for some time at Maryland Heights. I wish with all

[50] Peifer to sister Mary, October 7, 1862, Mount Pleasant Hospital.
[51] Peifer to sister Mary, October 13, 1862, Mount Pleasant Hospital.
[52] Peifer to sister Mary, November 12, 21, 1862, Mount Pleasant Hospital.
[53] Peifer to sister Mary, September 28, 1862, Mount Pleasant Hospital.
[54] Peifer to sister Mary, October 24, 1862, Mount Pleasant Hospital.

my heart our Reg't could be so lucky once [as] to remain settled for awhile; for the poor boys need some rest, and the Reg't ought to be recruited up, as it is at present very small in numbers, hardly 300 men, rank and file. It makes me shudder when I think of . . . a Reg't of 1000 men dwindled down to 300 in the course of a year. . . .[55]

After spending ten weeks in Mount Pleasant Hospital, Peifer and some 200 other patients were sent on November 15, 1862, to Annapolis.

They drove us like cattle into some old cars, but me and my companions worked ourselves into a passenger car. [Having left the hospital at 8 a.m.] we laid off at Washington till 3 p.m., when they started off; but first they came around . . . [to] give us our dinners, which consisted of salt-horse, as we call it, and dry bread. After stopping for hours on the road, finally at midnight . . . [we] arrived here and were divided into the different buildings. It is in the Navy-Yard, and we use the buildings formerly used as Naval Schools. . . . Our room [four occupants] contains four beds, two chairs, gas, and heated with steam. We like the place very well, but don't think it is as pleasant as the one we left. It is . . . a great deal more comfortable here than in tents, but we have not as much liberty, and . . . they don't feed us as well. Breakfast, we get a slice of bread with a small particle of butter, or applebutter, mighty poor coffee. Supper the same with poor tea. Dinner will do. Yesterday we had beefsteak rather tough, one potato, onions and a bowl of soup, pretty good.[56]

On November 21, Peifer told his sister that he had written home for a "box of good things [to eat] . . . as I am tired of dry bread and tea or coffee and think I could just enjoy . . . some of the delicacies of home sweet home." [57]

Peifer and his roommates, however, changed their diet by going down to the Chesapeake Bay to catch some fish. They caught "about four quarts of nice prime" oysters, which gave them "some good meals . . . something like home." [58]

---

[55] Peifer to sister Mary, Sunday, November 2, 1862, Mount Pleasant Hospital.

[56] Peifer to sister Mary, November 17, 1862. United States General Hospital, Annapolis Maryland.

[57] Peifer to sister Mary, November 21, 1862, United States General Hospital.

[58] Peifer to sister Mary, December 8, 1862, United States General Hospital.

Peifer was a paid a surprise visit in early December by Oliver Walter who had just been released from Libby prison. He looked so well and hearty that "prison life seemed to agree with him." He told Peifer, however, of the hardships which he had endured as a prisoner. "When they [the prisoners] got to Richmond the Rebels took all from them but what they had on their backs, even rummaged their pockets, took all the money they had, and pocket knives, and left them lie there for two or three months without even a change of clothes, and you can imagine the poor fellows were full of vermin and filth. But with all this he was quite lively." [59]

Peifer seemed to reach the depth of despair when he wrote:

> A few more weeks and Christmas will be here. How many more till this war will be settled[?] I hope not many. I am heartily sick of it. I wish [I] was out of it . . . I would not like to join my Reg't now, it is too cold, but I will . . . *hope* on, *hope* ever.[60]

Six days later he wrote:

> You need not fear I will join my Reg't too soon, at least not till they send me, but I wish I could get my discharge. I would take that immediately. . . . As some men have good luck in getting theirs, why cannot I be so lucky? [61]

Peifer was delighted when he heard that the Confederates had been driven from Fredericksburg, but he wrote more enthusiastically about the box of food which he received from his sister Mary:

> The box which I received yesterday [December 13] containing chicken, sausages, pudding, bread, pies, sugar cakes, jellies, apple-butter, molasses, butter, wine, horse-radish, apples and Christmas, and what not . . . [including] sauer-kraut. Won't that go nice[?][62]

---

[59] Peifer to sister Mary, December 8, 1862, United States General Hospital.

[60] Peifer to sister Mary, December 8, 1862, United States General Hospital.

[61] Peifer to sister Mary, December 14, 1862, United States General Hospital.

[62] Peifer to sister Mary, December 14, 1862, United States General Hospital.

It is of interest to note the contrast between the Christmas dinner of 1862 and that of 1861.

> Christmas day arrived and it reminded me of the 4th of July, as they have a peculiar mode of celebration [by] the discharging of firearms. . . . We also learned they were preparing a grand dinner for us. I soon found the place of report by the number standing around. I peeped into the windows and there was four large and long tables, loaded down with all kinds of eatables, turkey, oyster soup, bread, pies, potatoes, and apples. It was quite a treat for us. . . .[63]

Uncle Sam was frequently behind with his pay to the soldiers. Peifer wrote on January 5, 1863:

> I would so much love to make you a present, but we cannot get our pay. We were again mustered for pay, and by last accounts the paymaster was coming, and still is coming. I think they are rather negligent. I have 4 months pay due me, and would love to have it.[64]

Peifer's sister Mary informed him that she was going to send him another box of food, but he discouraged the idea by saying:

> I don't need it, and [it] would be wasting money foolishly . . . I would desire to draw your attention to something else in lieu of the box, namely, you would oblige me more if you send me ($100) [and] one dollar's worth of postage stamps, and as soon as we are paid off I will refund the money. It is reported we will get it soon.[65]

Time made a great change in Peifer's attitude toward the war. In 1861, he thought that the Southerners were such poor fighters that there was no question not only that the North would win, but that the North could defeat the South plus England. In early 1863, however, he had come to the conclusion that the North could not even conquer the South.

---

[63] Peifer to sister Mary, December 27, 1862, United States General Hospital.
[64] Peifer to sister Mary, January 5, 1863, United States General Hospital.
[65] Peifer to sister Mary, January 10, 1863, United States General Hospital.

I agree with your opinion about the war. As it appears, we cannot subdue the South and I fear we will yet have foreign intervention, and that would be dreadful for us, as they would most assuredly give us a lesson.[66]

In January, 1863, Peifer received the stamps and the money which he had requested from his Sister. By this time even Peifer's patriotism had waned momentarily.

I hope I may soon be enabled to refund the money, as I am anxious to have my pay; in fact, [I] ought to have it. I think it the duty of the government to pay off the poor soldier first, as he is the only one [who] needs it most. I noticed that you have a very clear insight about the war, and your views of it I think are very correct. All my patriotism has long left me, as it is no more fighting for the Union, but 'the Almighty Dollar'; and thus it is prolonged, and very little done, and I would say if 'right makes might' why! go ahead, what need we fear? But as long as money can be furnished . . . you can depend on it, you won't see it ended. How long will it be before the people will say, 'It is time the war is settled and we want peace? If it cannot be done by fighting, it must be done in some other [way].' I would go in for most anything honorable and fair, but again the North ought not to be the one to propose it, neither give the Rebellious States one mite more than they had to extend their slavery, but I say leave *it* where it is, and no further extension. I heartily approve 'Old Abe's 'Emancipation Proclamation' if it does anything towards bringing the war to a speedier close. I think enough blood has been shed on both sides. . . . I fear if it should ever be settled, it will leave a blot of disgrace and shame upon us. But enough about the war, as I am heartily sick of it. . . . If they would pay me what they owe and discharge [me] I would be very obliged and have no more to say.[67]

Peifer at last received some military news. He wrote:

By all accounts, the Army under Burnside has again crossed the river, and flanked the enemy, and are now fighting. Gen. Hooker is reported mortally wounded. I hope and pray we may be successful this time. . . . I have confidence that this time, we will have a victory, but no doubt also a heavy loss.[68]

---

[66] Peifer to sister Mary, January 10, 1863, United States General Hospital.
[67] Peifer to sister Mary, Sunday, January 18, 1863, United States General Hospital.
[68] Peifer to sister Mary, January 23, 1863, United States General Hospital.

In answer to his sister's inquiry as to whether he had applied for his discharge, Peifer wrote:

> I have not, and shall never. I would feel ashamed if I should succeed even in getting it, to go home as I wish and hope I may serve my country yet, and I would love to join my Reg't soon. You don't know how sorry I feel I am not there now, as they no doubt will again be thrown into the fight with their decimated ranks, and share the *glory* with them. I really feel ashamed at my situation.[69]

[*To be concluded*]

[69] Peifer to sister Mary, January 23, 1863, United States General Hospital.

JAMES KIRKE PAULDING'S LAST LETTER TO JOHN C. CALHOUN

Edited by JAY B. HUBBELL

Calhoun did not, even in the closing years of his life, lack admirers in the northern states. Among the Calhoun papers in the Clemson College Library there are four letters written by James Kirke Paulding in 1848 and 1849 which express approval of Calhoun's recent speeches in the United States Senate. Two of these were published in part in the "Correspondence Addressed to John C. Calhoun, 1837-1849," edited by Chauncey S. Boucher and Robert P. Brooks and published in the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for the year 1929. The four letters were not printed in full perhaps because in places the originals were no longer decipherable.

Paulding's last letter to Calhoun, which is not in the Clemson College Library, is dated March 19, 1850, only twelve days before Calhoun's death. It was printed in the Mobile *Register* early in the Civil War and reprinted in the *Daily Dispatch* for April 2, 1862.[1] I have been unable to find either the manuscript of the letter or a copy of the *Register* in which it first appeared, but there seems no reason to doubt that the printed letter is substantially what Paulding had written. The letter, which is reprinted below, was occasioned by Calhoun's great speech of March 4, 1850, which since he was too ill to deliver it himself, was read by his friend Senator Mason of Virginia. Little need be said of the memorable debate on Clay's resolutions which formed the basis of the Compromise of 1850. The speeches of Calhoun, Webster, and William H. Seward, whom Paulding detested, are all skilfully summarized in Avery O. Craven's recent volume, *The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861* (1953).

James Kirke Paulding (1778-1861) was one of the best known American writers of the early nineteenth century. A

[1] *Daily Dispatch* (Richmond, Virginia), April 2, 1862, in Duke University Library, Durham.

native of New York state, he grew up at Tarrytown and collaborated with Washington Irving on *Salmagundi* in 1807 and 1808. His sister Julia married Irving's brother William. Only two of his numerous books need to be mentioned here. His *Letters from the South* (2 vols., New York, 1817) is still valuable for its account of life in Virginia. His *Slavery in the United States* (New York, 1836), which is mentioned in the letter reprinted below, reveals a hostility to the antislavery leaders and a strong sympathy with the southern position. Slavery, as he said in the Introduction to that book, seemed to him not "an evil of such surpassing enormity as to demand the sacrifice of the harmony and consequent union of the states, followed by civil contention and servile war, to its removal."

Paulding was no mere man of letters. In 1815 President Madison appointed him Secretary of the newly created Board of Navy Commissioners, and in 1824 Monroe appointed him Navy Agent for New York City. He gave up this position to become in 1837 Secretary of the Navy in Van Buren's Cabinet. During the first and last of these appointments he was living in Washington, where he became a friend and admirer of Calhoun. There are two biographical studies of Paulding, which, strangely enough, do not mention Calhoun. Amos L. Herold's *James Kirke Paulding: Versatile American* (New York, 1926) is concerned only with Paulding's literary work. *The Literary Life of James K. Paulding* (New York, 1867), compiled by his son, William I. Paulding, appeared at a time when Calhoun's reputation in the northern states was perhaps at its nadir; and the son had little to say about Paulding's southern connections. The letter as reprinted below is preceded by the introductory notes of the editors of the Richmond *Daily Dispatch* and the Mobile *Register*.

AN INTERESTING LETTER

The subjoined letter, from the late J. K. Paulding, which has recently been brought to light, will be read with interest. It draws a faithful portraiture of that grand rascal, Seward, the worst man whom the Puritan race has yet produced — Benedict Arnold and Aaron Burr, their other two celebrities, not excepted. It is the race which has produced Arnold, Burr, and Seward, that is now

denouncing as traitors and rebels, and endeavoring to subjugate, the land of Washington, Jefferson, Lee, Henry, Marshall, and hosts of the brightest and best spirits of the American Revolution. Mr. Paulding describes them accurately, and, in his antipathy to Puritanism, expresses a sentiment which is quite as common in the Middle States as the South. But those States, like the West, have been harnessed by the cunning sons of the Pilgrims to their political and money schemes, and are now contributing the principal supplies of men and means to a war which, whatever be its results, can only end in the ruin of their own section, as well as New England:

A PRECIOUS RELIC

[From the Mobile *Register*]

Through the courteous attention of a friend we are enabled to lay before the readers of the Mobile *Sunday Register* a letter, which from the name of the writer and that of the recipient, as well as from its contents, will be perused with interest in every section of the country. To the best of our knowledge this letter has never been published and as we print it from the autograph, we can vouch both for its genuineness and correctness [.] What grander epitaph inscribed to the memory of the lamented Paulding than this patriotic blessing to the dying Calhoun?—What more fearful castigation could be administered to the leader of the Abolition cohorts than this portrait of him by one of the purest and most distinguished men of his own State?

The speech of the great South Carolinian which called forth this earnest response from the friend and co-laborer of Washington Irving, and one of the pioneers of American literature, was his last and greatest effort on the political stage, uttered when the tide of his glorious life was fast sinking to its ebb, and when the faltering body refused to support the weight of that great mind. Mr. Paulding's letter reached him on his death bed, only a few days before his dissolution.

HYDE PARK, DUTCHESS COUNTY,
March 19, 1850

My Dear Sir: I have received and read your speech with the deepest interest and attention. It traces the present crisis to its source, and points out the means of avoiding its consequences with perfect clearness, without declaration [declamation?] and without passion [.] It appeals to our reason and asks only justice. It will not perhaps be so much praised as some others; but hereafter when its predictions will be fulfilled, as I presume they will be ere long, unless the spirit of fanaticism is effectually checked in its career you will be quoted as one who foretold the

danger and pointed out the only means by which it could be avoided. It gives me pleasure to see that you take the same ground, with one exception, which I assumed in a pamphlet I had prepared on the same subject, but for which I could find no publisher. I was also desirous of publishing a second edition of a work of mine on slavery, now out of print, but was met by the same obstacle. The literary as well as the political press is enthralled in the North, and *audi alterem partem* becomes an obsolete maxim.

If you will permit me, I will suggest to you a doubt of the policy as well as efficacy of the guarantees you propose for the future safety of the South, which will be equally denounced with the Constitution as "violations of the law of God and the rights of nature" by the fanatics. They will be but burnt flax in their fiery furnace. I mention this, because it would seem that several of the representatives of the South are not prepared to go with you to that extent; and, as I have formerly stated, I think unanimity of the last consequence to the South [.] It astonishes me to see the distinction of parties still kept up in that quarter and that when such momentous interests are at stake, instead of embarking to a man in one bottom, each one seizes his own plank and paddles away in different directions.

I cannot express the contempt and disgust with which I have read the speech of our Senator, Seward, though it is just what I expected from him. He is one of the most dangerous insects that ever crawled about in the political atmosphere, for he is held in such utter contempt by all honest men that no notice is taken of him till his sting is felt.—He is only qualified to play the most despicable parts in the political drama, and the only possible way he can acquire distinction is by becoming the tool of greater scoundrels than himself. Some years ago, after disgracing the State of New York as Chief Magistrate, he found his level in the lowest depths of insignificance and oblivion, and was dropped by his own party [.] But the mud has been lately stirred at the very bottom of the pool, and he who went down a mutilated tadpole has come up a full-grown bull frog, more noisy and impudent than ever. This is very often the case among us here, where nothing is more common than to see a swindling rogue, after his crimes have been a little rusted by time, suddenly become an object of popular favor or executive patronage. The position taken and the principles asserted by this pettifogging rogue in his speech would disgrace any man — but himself.

I fear it will not be long before we of the North become the tools of the descendants of the old Puritans, who had not the most remote idea of the principles of civil liberty, and no conception of religious toleration, but the most unrelenting intolerance. The

despotism of parsons is taking the place of that of kings; and the gown and the petticoat have conspired to usurp the breeches. Our freedom is in great danger of being sacrificed to texts of Scripture, and fanatical dogmas; the Twelve Tables are becoming our law, and we shall be obliged to study the Pandects of Leviticus.

I fear, too, you will be tempted to trespass too much on your strength in defending yourself from your foes and friends. Let me beg of you to bear in mind that at your age and mine, nature is not often strong enough to make more than one rally, and that every successive effort is productive not of vigor, but exhaustion. Remember that, in all probability, the future will require your exertions as well as the present. I rejoice to hear the favorable opinion of your physicians. Don't trouble yourself to reply.

I am, my dear sir,
Yours, very truly,
J. K. PAULDING.

Hon. John C. Calhoun, &c., &c., Washington.

BOOK REVIEWS

Tar Heel Ghosts. By John Harden. With drawings by Lindsay McAlister. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1954. Pp. xiv, 178. $3.00.)

As in *The Devil's Tramping Ground and Other North Caro-Mystery Stories* (University of North Carolina Press, 1949), John Harden has done an excellent job in this collection of short stories. The main title is based purely on the fact that all the stories have a North Carolina locale. The ghosts themselves have no characteristics not shared by ghosts the world over.

It seems certain, however, that this book will aid materially in keeping these ghosts alive and active in North Carolina for some time to come. Each of the stories is self-sufficient; each one is a good story; and each one is well told. The typical story in the group has only two or three principal characters, depends for its action on a single dramatic incident, and weaves in the ghostly element in most authentic fashion. That is, the reader is led to suggest to himself some explanation in natural phenomena or simple psychology and then to discover his error.

The style is clear, crisp, and conversational. With the exception of the first story, "A Colonial Apparition," there is little or no plot. Hence, there is no occasion for the standard ghostly devices of horror, suspense, climax, and anticlimax. The principal incident in some of the stories early becomes the occasion for the origin of a ghost who then busies himself in aiding or frustrating the plans of friendly or unfriendly humans. In others this order is reversed; the ghostly performance is presented and then explained in terms of some incident occurring decades or generations preceding.

Quite naturally there are no young ghosts in the lot, the author declares in his Introduction that he has never found a blonde ghost, and it is doubtful that we shall ever have any city-bred ghosts. The Introduction is vaguely hopeful that ghosts will survive our gadget-ridden civilization in the assumption "that only in the far distant tomorrows will they

come in technicolor and 3-D." It seems more likely now that ghosts and lovers of ghost stories will cling to the old-fashioned themes of rural cemeteries, deserted houses, unfulfilled loves, and unavenged murders. John Harden has done his own and future generations a real literary service in selecting and telling these stories.

Paul Murray.

East Carolina College,
Greenville.

The History of Trinity Parish, Scotland Neck, [and] Edgecombe Parish, Halifax County. By Stuart Hall Smith and Claiborne T. Smith, Jr. (Scotland Neck: The Authors. 1955. Pp. x, 115. Map and illustrations. $2.25, paper; $3.50, cloth.)

Rather than being a continuous history of the Church in Halifax County, this little volume is made up of a series of essays by the two authors and others. The first section is devoted to a history of the Church of England in Edgecombe Parish, Halifax County. This parish originally was established in 1741 with the formation of Edgecombe County; when the county was divided in 1756 to create Halifax County the original parish name was assigned to the new county thus creating the anomaly of having Edgecombe Parish in Halifax County while Edgecombe County's parish was called St. Mary's. The author gives us an adequate sketch of the church from the formation of the parish until the beginning of the present century. Footnotes containing additional information about persons mentioned will delight the genealogist.

The account of Trinity Parish, Scotland Neck, is the centennial address of one of the authors delivered at the church in 1932. Following the address are full notes prepared more recently by the other author.

A description and history of the interesting old church which was burned and rebuilt, but which still stands, is "adapted from a sketch written by Lena H. Smith." A brief biographical study of Bishop Cheshire who served as rector of Trinity Church at one time is by his grandson, J. B. Cheshire, III.

A final section and two appendixes reprint the entries in the Trinity Parish register which survived the fire although the early entries were lost, a list of marriages performed by Mr. Cheshire, and some tombstone inscriptions.

The authors have given us not only a history of the Episcopal Church in their area, but have included much general local history and genealogy. Although the volume is attractive in appearance it contains numerous typographical errors.

William S. Powell.

The University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill.

Thomas Wolfe: The Weather of His Youth. By Louis D. Rubin, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1955. Pp. xiii, 183. $3.50.)

This is one of the better books on Thomas Wolfe, the Asheville-born controversial literary figure.

Though Wolfe has been dead almost 17 years, interest remains among the reading public to such an extent that all of his books are still in print and there is a rather steady outpouring of essays and books that seek to analyze and interpret him and determine his place in American literature.

Some cultists are so fond of Wolfe and his writings that they fail to discriminate. Some persons dismiss his work with a shrug.

Wolfe, though highly talented, was mortal. The sensible way is to appraise him and his works as such and steer a middle course. This Rubin has done admirably.

He finds Wolfe's books continue to be read because they possess artistic appeal. After discussing the form of autobiographical fiction, Rubin examines some of the methods and purposes of Wolfe's life and work, "so that we may seek to understand the use made of autobiographical material by one American writer, the form it took and what he could and could not achieve with it."

Rubin examines Wolfe's novels carefully. After a discussion and interpretation of his life in town (Asheville) and city (New York) and the influence of his father and mother,

Rubin concludes that Wolfe's place in American literature may well be as a one-volume novelist. He adds:

"But what a tremendous one volume *Look Homeward, Angel* is! The characters are rounded and complete. It tells a story fully and well. It is the story of a boy growing up in a North Carolina town from 1900 to 1920, and it truthfully captures a twenty-year segment of the past for us. It is alive in space and color and time, because when the author wrote it he was temporarily home again, and the weather of his youth around him."

This reviewer is not disposed to quarrel with this appraisal. There is considerable argument to support it. Its soundness, however, can be proved only with the passage of time. There is merit in all of Wolfe's novels, but *Look Homeward, Angel* is the greatest of his works.

Rubin, a native of Charleston, S. C., and an assistant professor of American Civilization at the University of Pennsylvania, makes a noteworthy contribution in this book to a proper understanding of Wolfe's place in American literature.

George W. McCoy.

Asheville, N. C.

From Mine to Market: The History of Coal Transportation on the Norfolk and Western Railway. By Joseph T. Lambie. (New York: New York University Press. 1954. Pp. xviii, 380. $6.00.)

This book, as its author states, is a history of the coal traffic of the Norfolk and Western Railway. Other aspects of the company's history are treated only as they bear directly on the development of the coal traffic. The policies adopted, the competitive, financial, and regulatory problems encountered, and the errors made are discussed in detail. Considerable attention is devoted to the subject of freight rates, and the importance of management with imagination and vision in the successful development of the company is emphasized. The period covered dates from 1881 when the then existing plant was sold at foreclosure sale to the present day. The books ends with a chapter entitled "Coal Transportation:

Yesterday and Tomorrow" in which recent developments that are affecting the use and transportation of coal are discussed.

The author has succeeded admirably in organizing a vast amount of historical and statistical detail into an objective account which holds the reader's attention. The style is lively and does not become monotonous.

The field which was chosen has been covered well. The study is documented from a variety of sources, including newspaper and magazine accounts, annual reports of the Norfolk and Western Railway and of other railroad companies, annual reports of coal mining firms, Interstate Commerce Commission sources, Congressional investigations, court decisions, and correspondence of the officials of the railway company.

This book is a valuable addition to the list of railway histories and, owing to the peculiar location of the coal field served by the Norfolk and Western Railway, it is an important contribution to the knowledge of the general economic history of the nation.

Charles E. Landon.

Duke University,
Durham.

Justice William Johnson, the First Dissenter; The Career and Constitutional Philosophy of a Jeffersonian Judge. By Donald G. Morgan. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1954. Pp. xv, 326. $6.50.)

When President Jefferson in 1804 had his first opportunity to inject a Republican into the solidly Federalist Supreme Court of Chief Justice John Marshall he chose thirty-two year old South Carolina Judge William Johnson. From the President's standpoint it did not prove to be an altogether satisfactory appointment for during nearly thirty years of tenure Johnson maintained an independence which at times placed him as much in conflict with the views of Jefferson as with the doctrines of Marshall. Indeed, his first major encounter was with the President rather than with his enemy of the bench.

But apparently Johnson's devotion and admiration for the Virginian never faltered. And Jefferson's influence on Johnson was at times substantial.

Republican Justice Johnson was least Republican in his consistently broad construction of congressional power. With the implied power doctrine of the McCulloch case he was in full agreement and in *Gibbon* vs. *Ogden* he "out Marshalled Marshall" in ascribing broad discretion to Congress. But he parted company with Marshall at many points. He was less sensitive to property rights than to the right of popularly elected legislatures, both national and state, to protect individual freedom and to promote social justice. He was inclined to interpret rather narrowly judicial as well as executive power. His concern for the right of states to retain broad control over local matters made him increasingly loath to strike down state legislation. But state rights as the term was coming to be understood in South Carolina he firmly opposed. To him division was always a greater danger than centralization.

Probably Johnson's greatest impact on the Supreme Court was in the matter of procedure. When he took his seat there was a firmly established practice under which the Associate Justices silently concurred as the Chief Justice spoke for an ostensibly united court. Against this practice Johnson campaigned from the first by asserting his own views in separate concurring or dissenting opinions. Although he became strangely quiet in the historic decisions of 1819-1822 he then resumed his campaign, largely as the result of skillful prodding by Jefferson, and in the next ten years wrote nine concurring and eighteen dissenting opinions. The evidence strongly supports the author's conclusion that Johnson was primarily responsible for the "establishment of that procedure . . . which most harmoniously reconciled authoritativeness with intellectual freedom—the single statement for the majority combined with separate utterances by independents."

In writing an interesting and thoroughly scholarly biography of William Johnson, Professor Morgan has not only rescued from undeserved obscurity an able member of the Supreme Court but has also contributed much to the better

understanding of the court in the period of its most significant development. Students of law, government and history will find this a very rewarding book.

C. E. Cauthen.

Wofford College,
Spartanburg, S. C.

The Colonial Records of South Carolina. The Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, September 14, 1742-January 27, 1744. Edited by J. H. Easterby. (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department. 1954. Pp. xi, 607. $12.50.)

The South Carolina Archives Department, formerly the Historical Commission of South Carolina, has published the fourth volume in the excellent new series entitled *The Journal of the Commons House of Assembly*. It contains the first half of the proceedings of the House which assembled September 14, 1742, and adjourned for the last time May 25, 1745.

These records reveal considerable apathy among the newly-elected representatives. Even though the province was believed in imminent danger of invasion by Spanish and French forces, only half of the forty-two seats were filled for the opening session. Lieutenant Governor William Bull promptly delivered a message designed to stimulate action, but instead of enacting legislation the House took a two months recess for the harvest. In the spring of 1743, however, after depositions of several former prisoners had revealed the enemy about to strike, measures were hurried through for the completion of fortifications in Charles Town, Port Royal, George Town, and elsewhere.

The apparent indifference of the House toward the War of Austrian Succession was matched by that of certain British sailors. The governor declared that captains of His Majesty's ships complained "that their Seamen desert from them in great Numbers, being tempted thereto by the high Wages given in the Merchant Service, and, as they alledge, inticed away by the Inhabitants of Carolina." He asked for a law to prevent "their going by Land to the Northward Colonies,

which in my Opinion would not only discourage any future Attempts of such Seamen but also of our Servants who have frequently deserted to those Parts."

A growing fear of domestic insurrections was apparent when the security laws were amended by adding the requirement that "all Persons going to Church or other Places of divine Worship, except Travellers, should be obliged to carry Guns or Horse Pistols."

These records also illuminate the vagaries of the fee system. The House allowed the governor one pound for signing a marriage license, the marshall of the admiralties the same amount for the execution of a criminal, but the sexton only four shillings for "Digging the Grave and filling it up."

Dr. Easterby demonstrated careful scholarship as well as infinite patience in preparing this imposing volume of previously unprinted materials. The index, which is more detailed than those of the earlier volumes, will prove quite useful to readers who first consult the editor's clear "Explanation of the Index."

Henry S. Stroupe.

Wake Forest College,
Wake Forest.

Glimpse of Glory, George Mason of Gunston Hall. By Marian Buckley Cox. (Richmond, Virginia: Garrett and Massie, Inc. 1954. Pp. xvii, 254. $4.00.)

Marian Buckley Cox has beautifully written in this compact volume the story of George Mason, composer of Virginia's precursor to the Bill of Rights. It is well-documented fiction which allows the reader to visualize Gunston Hall as the homestead of a bride and groom rather than the stately mansion one sees today on a "Heritage Month" tour of Virginia's historic colonial homes, towns and cities.

George Mason, spoken of by James Street as "the godfather of the Bill of Rights" and "a disciple of Jefferson," was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787. He framed the words of Virginia's Declaration of Rights which were later incorporated into those of Pennsyl-

vania and Massachusetts "almost verbatim" by Benjamin Franklin and John Adams respectively.

Serious in thought and word, an insatiable reader of the classics in his ample library, George Mason exemplified the best of the patriots who struggled to preserve human liberty and dignity in the pre-Revolutionary days of our country. He did not sanction human slavery and though he owned slaves, he sounded the prophecy of the controversy which culminated in the Civil War almost a hundred years after his death.

Mrs. Cox has brought George Mason to life: his thought and words are known to almost every school child yet the man has been buried in oblivion. Through the pages of this book, Washington as a young man; Patrick Henry as the firebrand of the Virginia Conventions; Lord Dunmore as governor of Virginia; Jefferson and Franklin as ministers to France; and others assume their places in history.

Gunston Hall stands today—lovingly cared for by the National Society of Colonial Dames of America, as a memorial to George Mason. The boxwood, undoubtedly planted upon Mason's orders, are two hundred years old and like sentinels guard over the house, gardens, and frame the historic Potomac River. One imagines George Mason as the gracious host, devoted husband and loving father as he tends his lands with care, thinking seriously of the problems which beset the colonies.

The book has an Introduction, complete footnotes, Bibliography, and an Appendix which contains Virginia's Declaration of Rights, The Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. Maps on the inside covers are a valuable aid to the reader in establishing Gunston Hall in relation to other points in the colony.

The book should appeal to the general reading public as well as students of history. The story moves rapidly in spite of the wealth of documentary material which is used. Truly as the author says, "Turn back then, if you would see Gunston Hall live again, . . . the men and women, boys and girls and little children, with their negroes, dogs, and horses; and catch if you can the sound of fiddle and hunting horn, the laughter

and the weeping, and most of all, the *glimpse of glory* in our country's future—that hope which gave courage to our forefathers."

Elizabeth W. Wilborn.

Department of Archives and History,
Raleigh.

The Tinkling Spring, Headwater of Freedom. A Study of the Church and Her People, 1732-1952. By Howard McKnight Wilson. (Richmond, Virginia: Garrett and Massie, Inc. 1954. Pp. xviii, 542, folding map. $8.00.)

This is not only the history of a church but the story of a people. The so-called Scotch-Irish are briefly traced from Ulster to the Pennsylvania area, and then down to their settlements in the Valley of Virginia. Notices of the early religious groups in this section are followed by a record of the beginnings of Tinkling Spring Church, with extended consideration of its first pastor, Rev. John Craig.

The narrative is then carried across the two succeeding centuries with balanced emphasis upon the religious, educational, cultural, and military life and activity of the people of the Congregation. Special note is taken of Hermitage Presbyterian Church, associated with Tinkling Spring, as is true of several other congregations which grew out of the latter. The author has not been unmindful of the wider mission of Tinkling Spring in giving of her sons and daughters to the ministry and missionary endeavor.

The Church has enjoyed long pastorates, having had but fifteen regularly installed ministers, or the practical equivalent thereof, since 1740, the fifteenth being the author of the volume under consideration. Three of the number, Benjamin M. Smith, Robert L. Dabney, and Givens B. Strickler, were later to become distinguished as professors at Union Theological Seminary in Virginia.

The numerous pictures are well selected and supply excellent illustrations for the printed text, though one wonders why that of the statue of the Pioneer Woman was chosen for the frontispiece, and may question the use of sepia-toned ink for their reproduction. An Appendix, such as to bring joy

to the heart of the historian, and several helpful maps lend further value to the volume.

It is a big book and a good book. Factual, readable, and obviously the result of careful and prolonged research, this work constitutes a significant addition to Virginia history as well as to that of the Presbyterian Church.

Thomas H. Spence, Jr.

Historical Foundation,
Montreat.

Rebel Private Front and Rear. By William Andrew Fletcher. Edited with a preface by Bell Irvin Wiley. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1954. Pp. xvii, 162. $3.75.)

Civil War students and enthusiasts will welcome a new edition of William Andrew Fletcher's *Rebel Private Front and Rear.* A limited first edition in 1908 and its subsequent destruction by fire had combined to make this memoir a scarce item. Although written from memory more than forty years after the war, the volume presents a fascinating picture of the life of a common soldier of the Confederacy.

The outbreak of war in 1861 found twenty-two year old William Fletcher working as a carpenter in Beaumont, Texas. He enlisted in Company F, Fifth Texas Regiment which soon became a part of Hood's famous Texas Brigade. Measles, mumps, camp lice and the Seven Day's fighting served to initiate Fletcher and his fellow Texans into army life. A hip wound received at Second Manassas almost ended Fletcher's soldiering, but weeks of suffering in a hospital and a sixty-day furlough found him back with his company in time for Fredericksburg. Voicing the opinions of the fighting men, he found no criticism for Longstreet after the battle of Gettysburg. A serious foot wound at Chickamauga ended his service in the infantry, but he transferred to "Terry's Texas Rangers" and served until captured late in the war. The exciting account of Fletcher's escape is only one of many well-told stories.

Private Fletcher's narrative bears ample witness to the resourcefulness and ingenuity of Southern soldiers. Readers

will delight in the descriptions of camp life and foraging parties as well as the detailed lesson in noiseless chicken-stealing. Valuable as an account of life in the Southern army, Fletcher's memoir is all the better because of its lively humor.

In the preface Bell Irvin Wiley, who has discovered the common soldier, supplies the reader with a history of the volume and traces the postwar career of Private Fletcher.

Richard D. Younger.

University of Houston,
Houston, Texas.

A History of the Southern Confederacy. By Clement Eaton. (New York: The MacMillan Company. 1954. Pp. ix, 351. $5.50.)

In spite of the vast number of works on the American Civil War, there have been comparatively few scholarly volumes devoted to the general history of the Confederacy. Professor Eaton has done much to remedy that situation and has rendered an invaluable service by presenting a compact and highly readable account covering a relatively neglected field. Not only has the author attempted to bring together the various economic, political, military, social, and cultural aspects of the Confederacy, but he has tried to portray something of the feelings of the Southern people and the human drama of the war itself. He has succeeded at both tasks and in the process has produced a well-balanced study that probes many neglected areas.

The volume is primarily factual and does not purport to present a lengthy and analytic discussion of causes and results. Nevertheless, the author has brought his own mature judgement to bear upon many important issues, and in some instances has posed sound solutions to problems that have frequently been resolved by cliches. This sense of balance and soundness of observation are apparent throughout the book and add immeasurably to the value of both those chapters covering often-discussed subjects and those relating to lesser known aspects of the Confederacy. In the first chapter, for

example, Professor Eaton has plunged into the highly controversial year of 1860 and emerged with a well-rounded account of secession that takes into consideration not only the political and economic factors but does ample justice to the influences of emotionalism and the reactions of the Southern mind. Similarly, in the chapter on the creation of a Southern Republic, the author has escaped the pitfalls of oversimplifiication by pointing out several possible and logical reasons for the frequent lack of statesmanship and the general mediocrity of civil administration.

This same poise is evident in the ensuing chapters that deal with diplomatic negotiations, military and naval operations, and economic disintegration. Although such subjects frequently have been treated in other works, Professor Eaton has managed to pack a considerable amount of information into a comparatively small space and at the same time add to previous accounts by the insertion of new and often refreshing material. In the sections on military campaigns the author has endeavored to give adequate treatment to western operations and has tried to balance his account of generals and their strategy with a separate chapter on the common soldier. Perhaps the most valuable section on the military aspects of the Confederacy, however, is the one relating to logistics. By a judicious use of monographs and primary sources, the author has produced an excellent account of success and failure in the fields of ordnance and supply; an account which ranges from the concrete gains brought about through the efforts of General Josiah Gorgas to the intangible aspects resulting from the low esteem accorded to the quartermaster and commissary corps.

Although the political and military aspects of the Confederacy occupy the greater portion of the volume there is an interesting chapter on society and culture during the war. This is interspersed with such items as the role of newspapers, the effect of the war on literature, and theatre, music, and education, and the activities of Confederate women. As in the sections on the military, interest is intensified by the use of citations from manuscript and printed letters, journals, and

diaries. Containing, as it does, much concerning the war's effect on the population, the chapter on society and culture blends readily into the section on war economy. In his discussion of the economic disintegration of the Confederacy and the inability of the government to mobilize its resources, the author has stressed the inevitable conflict that results when men imbued with ideas of individualism and laissez faire attempt to wage a successful war. This theme is continued in the chapter so aptly entitled "The Loss of the Will to Fight" but even here the author is careful not to overemphasize any one factor in depicting the breakdown of Southern morale.

Professor Eaton has done a creditable job in his use of sources. Unfortunately, the volume contains no bibliography, but the notes at the end show a reasonable balance between manuscripts, monographs, and secondary works of a broader nature. The introduction of much new material has not, and apparently was not intended to produce any startingly new thesis. Its inclusion, however, has added some zest to the volume and has at the same time provided an insight into the thoughts and reactions of a people living under the impact of an adverse war.

Neither in the selection of sources nor in the use of material has the author sought to prove a pet theory or rationalize a particular conclusion. He has done what he set out to do; namely, to achieve a balance between various avenues of approach to the history of the Confederacy and to depict the effects of war on the people and on the society of the Old South. Professor Eaton has admitted that circumstances and attitudes may have influenced his viewpoint and made him unduly sympathetic toward the South. Yet he has tried to be objective — and in this he has been eminently successful. Among the greatest attributes of the book, in fact, are the author's mature reflection and judicious conclusions; factors that should prove of value both to the historian and to a large segment of the reading public.

Philip M. Rice.

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh.

Brokenburn, The Journal of Kate Stone, 1861-1868. Edited by John Q. Anderson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1955. Pp. xxii, 400. $4.95.)

In editing this volume, Dr. John Q. Anderson has given us a fascinating account of the experiences of a young lady of a southern plantation home, Brokenburn, of northeast Louisiana. Kate Stone was 20 years of age when the war began, and, in common with the usual opinion in the South, thought the conflict would be soon over due to the bravery and daring "of dashing young men" of the South. Her optimism did not fade till the war moved close to Brokenburn in 1863. This *Journal* gives a vivid insight into the plantation life and atmosphere of the Old South.

By 1863, "Yankees" had overrun the plantation reducing the family to want. Kate Stone, with her mother, Mrs. Amanda Stone, and the younger children moved to Lamar County, Texas, and later to Tyler, Texas, for two years. Her father died before 1861. Her older brothers joined the Confederate Army.

This book is excellent in enabling the reader to recapture the spirit of the Confederacy. For example, Kate Stone on hearing of Lincoln's assassination wrote in her *Journal*, "All honor to J. Wilkes Booth, who has rid the world of a Tyrant and made himself famous for generations. It is a terrible tragedy, but what is war but one long tragedy? What torrents of blood Lincoln has caused to flow."

On moving to Texas, Kate's mother set fire to $20,000 worth of cotton rather than see it fall to the enemy. The family returned to the ruined plantation in the fall of 1865. Two brothers were lost in the conflict.

Kate Stone married Lieutenant Henry B. Holmes in 1869. She remained an "unreconstructed rebel" until her death in 1907. This unpublished *Journal* went to her daughter, Miss Amy J. Holmes, and from her it was secured and edited by Dr. John Q. Anderson.

C. H. Hamlin.

Atlantic Christian College,
Wilson.

Rebels and Democrats. By Elisha P. Douglass. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1955. Pp. xi, 368. $5.00.)

This book is a well organized and carefully written account of the political struggles within the states during the American Revolution. The theme, as indicated by the sub-title is, "The Struggle for Equal Political Rights and Majority Rule." Today the words "radical" and "revolutionary" are apt to be used as synonyms but Professor Douglass believes that many of the leaders of the revolt of the British colonies were conservative rather than radical. To prove this he shows that the making of state constitutions in South Carolina, Maryland, and New York resulted in the establishment of "Conservative Commonwealths." The new constitutions "secured the rights which were a primary objective of the Revolution and erected barriers against arbitrary government. But these constitutions also protected the economic interests and political privileges of the aristocracy. . . ." (p. 54) In New Jersey, Delaware, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Virginia the conservatives were also victorious.

Pre-Revolutionary conditions account for the greater strength of radicalism in North Carolina, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania. The political theories that justified a more liberal suffrage and majority rule were more generally accepted, although only in Pennsylvania did there develop by 1776 a "political party devoted to equalitarian democracy which was able to take over the administration of government." (p. 286) Two brief appendices place New Hampshire and Georgia in the group where radicalism had the greater influence.

Although Professor Douglass does not describe the making of a constitution in Virginia, he does discuss at some length Jefferson's drafts of a constitution for Virginia and his political philosophy as shown in his writings and comes to the conclusion that he was a liberal, but "more democratic by contemporary standards than by eighteenth century standards." (p. 316) The footnotes, conveniently placed at the bottom of the pages, and a "Bibliographical Note" at the end of the book on the sources available for the study of the

political struggles for institutional reform within the states are excellent.

Political theory may not be exciting to the general reader, nor does it appeal to as wide an audience as biographical and military studies, but the student of political science as well as history who is interested not only in what men have done, but in what they thought and how it affected their actions will find this a book to be read with profit.

Clara G. Roe.

University of Akron,
Akron, Ohio.

Making Democracy a Reality. Jefferson, Jackson, and Polk. By Claude G. Bowers. (Memphis, Tenn.: Memphis State College Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 170. $3.75.)

The addresses, delivered under the auspices of the J. P. Young Lectures in American History of Memphis State College are thus described by Mr. Bowers: 1. Thomas Jefferson: His Final and Decisive Struggle for American Democracy. 2. James K. Polk: Why Was He One of the Great American Presidents. 3. Andrew Jackson: His Substitution of Party Government for Personal Politics. 4. Andrew Jackson: The Homeric Battles of His Administration.

In the addresses on Jefferson and Jackson, Mr. Bowers, with his customary effectiveness, vividness, and power, restated in briefer form his findings on them as the practical founders of American democracy, as contained in his well-known and more extensive studies of them. They are a finished performance, and vary little, except in form and extent, from his previous works. They are excellently done, and are convincing in relation to the title of the series.

The inclusion of James K. Polk in the series, however, is somewhat puzzling. The contribution of the other two to making democracy a reality is entirely clear, but, even granting that Polk was "a great President," he still can scarcely be accurately said to have performed any special service, other than effectively performing his duties as legislator and President, towards making democracy a reality. James Madi-

son would seem to have been a far more important actor in the process. It must be said, however, that Mr. Bowers makes as strong a case as possible for declaring Polk a great President.

The studies are all interesting in content, and are attractive in form, and lighted by the fiery enthusiasm of the author.

J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton.

Chapel Hill.

American Heritage. Edited by Bruce Catton. Volume VI (February, 1955), Number 2. (New York: The Heritage Publishing Company, Inc. Pp. 120. Single copies $2.95. Annual subscribtion $12.00 in the United States. $13.00 elsewhere.)

Variety and human interest in subject matter, profuse and sometimes elegant illustrations (a surprising number of color plates), liveliness, and general readability characterize this number of American Heritage. This is the second number of the new bi-monthly version of this somewhat experimental and ambitious publishing venture sponsored by the American Association for State and Local History and the Society of American Historians. If these qualities are maintained this magazine, bound and free of advertising like a book, may well survive the obviously high cost of publication and reader resistance to the price.

The publishers assume the existence of a wide popular interest in the many faceted American social heritage. This issue has something in it for everybody's taste. A never before published eye-witness account of the hanging of John Brown, written by David Hunter Strother, "Porte Crayon," for *Harper's Magazine,* and rejected because the subject was controversial, is the lead article. For those who love ships and the sea an account of Salem's East Indian trade with ten color plates will be the highlight.

A chapter from the J. Russell Lynes book, *The Tastemakers,* describes how architect Richard Morris Hunt gave "The 400" the architecture it liked, costly imitations of European grandeur, and incidentally fathered the American Renaissance in architecture. The Iroquois Indians and their extraordinary

role in American history appear in "People of The Long House." "James Gordon Bennett, Beneficent Rascal" recalls a colorful chapter in journalism.

James Thomas Flexner writes critically of "The Cult of the Primitives." He concedes that it might be folk art and democracy in art, but questions that the artists should be rated above their better trained colleagues. Appropriately in the month of Lincoln's birthday Willard King writes "Riding on the Circuit with Lincoln," based on the letters of Judge David Davis. This is more the story of the Illinois frontier a century ago. Fairfax Downey describes the ingenuity and resourcefulness displayed by Yankees in the capture of Louisbourg in 1745.

How New York reacted to visiting celebrities in 1851 is revealed in an account of a visit by Lola Montez, dancer and reputedly friend of King Ludwig I of Bavaria. Particularly revealing are excerpts from Wilson Brown's book "Aide to Four Presidents." He writes at length of presidents Coolidge and Franklin D. Roosevelt, but gives only glimpses of Hoover and Truman whom he served for only a short time. "A Nosegay of Valentines" add a sentimental touch. The volume closes with brief notes and a review section.

C. W Tebeau.

University of Miami,
Miami, Florida.

Knickerbocker Birthday: A Sesqui-Centennial History of the New-York Historical Society, 1804-1954. By R. W. G. Vail. (New York: The New York Historical Society. 1954. Pp. xix, 547. Index and illustrated. $6.00.)

Founded in 1804 by a distinguished group of New Yorkers, the New-York Historical Society was the first such organization devoted to the collection of materials dealing with every aspect of American life.

Among the more important of its resources might be mentioned the Robert R. Livingston papers, the Nadelman collection of American folk art, the Naval History collection and the Albert Gallatin papers. Its newspaper file, particu-

larly of eighteenth-century papers, is one of the finest in the country, and in its art gallery are some of the most famous portraits of eminent Americans. The wealth of excellent plates in the present volume gives some idea of the pictorial resources of the Society. Of particular interest to readers of this review would be the Daniel Parish, Jr., collection of materials dealing with the Negro, the Civil War and Reconstruction, and the Meserve collection of Civil War photographs.

In association with Columbia University, the Society offers a seminar course on "Resources and Methods of an American Historical Society," a project which might profitably be emulated by other historical societies. In addition to providing scholars with research materials and facilities, the Society has pioneered in enriching the artistic and intellectual life of the community. By means of documentary films, student concerts, travelling historical exhibitions, the use of radio and more recently of television, it has extended its services and influence far beyond the confines of its building.

Since the Society has always been privately endowed, its financial ups and downs form an important part of the narrative of its development. Dr. Vail, its present director, has succeeded in tracing its growth in a comprehensive, yet entertaining manner. This sumptuous volume is a fitting tribute to a century and a half of distinguished service.

Howard Braverman.

Brooklyn College,
Brooklyn, New York.

The Territorial Papers of the United States. Volume XX. The Territory of Arkansas, 1825-1829. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. (Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1954. Pp. vi, 967. $4.25.)

This selection of material covers the wide variety of governmental activities in Arkansas during four years of its territorial history. As the second in the series pertaining to Arkansas, this volume begins with papers during the third administration of Acting Governor Robert Crittenden. The

four-year span also covers the two terms of Governor George Izard and Crittenden's fourth term.

Matters of major concern in Arkansas during this period include surveying the roads and boundaries, supervision of Indian agents and Indian affairs, postal matters, and federal justice, the chief engineering project was the selection of a route for the road from Memphis to Little Rock. Negotiations were also being conducted to reach a satisfactory boundary between the Indian and white settlements. Differing interpretations of treaty provisions and the problems of white settlements interspersing those of Indians made the location of a boundary very difficult. Food shortages made the Indians all the more anxious to have the rights guaranteed by treaties. The Postmaster General was constantly concerned with contractors who failed to maintain their mail schedules. Militia lists, census statistics, mail schedules, and lists of land tracts for sale are included in limited number.

Items in this volume are drawn almost entirely from the files of the National Archives. The carefully prepared index assists the reader in overcoming the difficulty of the chronological arrangement of the material.

The United States Government is doing the historian a great favor in making these records so accessible. This compilation of Arkansas records is welcomed not only as an addition to the published documents of this early period but also as the result of a careful sifting of the material from more than a dozen different departments of the federal government.

Paul M. McCain.

Arkansas College,
Batesville, Arkansas.

HISTORICAL NEWS

The *Western North Carolina Historical Association's History Bulletin* began publication in January, 1955. The April issue has a number of interesting items: The annual meeting of the association was held in Asheville on April 30; the centennial celebration of Polk County was held on May 8; the Spruce Pine Museum of North Carolina Minerals is expected to be opened to the public in the summer of 1955; and the town of Franklin celebrated its centennial June 16-18.

Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, managing editor of *The Forest City Courier* and a member of the Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History, was elected president of the Western North Carolina Historical Association at its annual meeting in the Pack Memorial Library in Asheville on April 30. Mr. George W. McCoy, managing editor of the *Asheville Citizen*, was presented the association's cup for the "Outstanding Historian" of 1955.

Mrs. Sadie S. Patton of Hendersonville, also a member of the Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History, was elected vice-president and Mr. Albert S. McLean of Asheville was re-elected secretary-treasurer.

The association, which has one director from each of the 23 counties represented in the organization, plus seven at large, re-elected all of the directors for another year with the following additions: Mrs. Lillian Thomasson of Swain County; Mrs. Cameron F. McRae of Yancey County; and Mr. Tom Underwood, director at large.

Dr. Julian C. Yoder, of Appalachian State Teachers College, Boone, read a paper on "The Geographic-Economic Development of the North Carolina Mountain Counties Since 1900," and Mrs. Sadie S. Patton read a paper on "Christian Harmony Singing in Western North Carolina." Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, retiring vice-president, was in charge of the program.

The Thomas Wolfe Memorial Association of Asheville will present through the Western North Carolina Historical As-

sociation of Asheville an award to be known as the Thomas Wolfe Memorial Trophy to the author of the best work selected by a committee and announced at the October meeting of the latter association, commemorating the birthmonth of Wolfe.

Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, newly elected president of the association, has announced the following as members of the awards committee: Mr. Thomas Pearson, chairman, Asheville; Miss Annie Westall, Asheville; and Dr. David R. Hodgin, Boone. Any member of the committee as well as Mr. Griffin may be contacted for rules governing this award.

The Wayne County Historical Society was organized at a meeting on April 7, in the courthouse in Goldsboro, with Mr. D. L. Corbitt of the Department of Archives and History as speaker. Mr. M. B. Andrews was elected president; Col. Hugh Dortch, vice-president; Mrs. C. E. Wilkins, second vice-president; Mrs. N. A. Edwards, secretary; and Mr. Bruce Duke, treasurer. Directors for the group were named and committees appointed to prepare a constitution and by-laws. In the second meeting, which was held on May 17, the society adopted a constitution and by-laws and the president announced the appointment of committees on the following: membership, finance, publicity, and program.

Mrs. Charles Powell was elected historian for the society and it was suggested that immediate preparations should be made to write a history of the county. Mr. D. L. Corbitt again met with the group and assisted them in perfecting their organization. Mr. Eugene L. Roberts was named as chaplain for the group. The secretary announced that the enrollment was 116 annual members and two life members and that charter membership would be available until October 6. The next meeting is to be held on October 20.

The Sampson County Historical Society was organized on April 14 in Clinton with the following elected and installed as officers: Mrs. Taft Bass, Clinton, president; Mrs. Charles Sloan, secretary; Mr. Leon Daughtry, assistant secretary;

Mrs. Bob Shields, treasurer; and Mrs. George Williams, assistant treasurer. Twelve vice-presidents were elected from various towns in the county; directors of the society were named; and a corresponding secretary is to be appointed in each township by the president.

The Pasquotank Historical Society met at a special luncheon meeting at the Virginia Dare Hotel in Elizabeth City on May 4 to hear an address by the Honorable Lindsay C. Warren. Mr. Warren was unable to attend the meeting as scheduled due to ill health but his address was delivered by tape recorder. He spoke on the significance of Sir Walter Raleigh's efforts to colonize what is now North Carolina and suggested that a great celebration should be held in Dare County in 1985 commemorating the four hundredth anniversary of the settling. He further suggested that a committee or committees be appointed now for the purpose of planning the event. After the luncheon and the address those present were invited to the Parish House near the hotel where an exhibit of interesting items connected with the history of the community and the county were displayed. Approximately 120 persons attended the luncheon, many of whom were from adjoining counties.

The Currituck County Historical Society met on April 18 with Mr. David Stick, author of *Graveyard of the Atlantic,* as speaker. Mr. Stick informed the society that the population of Currituck County is the same today that it was 200 years ago. He discussed the earliest settlers of the area and the geographical changes which have taken place since the formation of the county. The second half of the program was devoted to an open forum discussion. Mrs. Alma O. Roberts, publications chairman, reported that the newspaper of the society, *The Currituck Record,* will soon be released. Officers will be elected at the July meeting. There are at present 50 members of the society.

The Woman's Club of Murfreesboro, with Mrs. R. H. Underwood as chairman, sponsored the first pilgrimage to colonial Murfreesboro and the surrounding countryside on

April 16-17. Guided tours were arranged and many of the old homes were opened to the public as well as Chowan College where special services were held as a part of the tour.

The April issue of *The Gaston County Historical Bulletin,* official organ of the Gaston County Historical Society, included the following articles: "Lawrence Kiser, Clan Pioneer," "Dr. William McLean, Surgeon in the American Forces at King's Mountain," and "Cemetery Records of Goshen Grove Church."

Thirty-six persons attended the historical tour on May 15 in Camden County. The tour, which was arranged by Mr. J. F. Pugh, was one of those of the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians. A number of interesting historical stops were made and many old homes were opened. A picnic lunch served in the Camden High School cafeteria and refreshments at the home of Mr. and Mrs. P. P. Gregory, the site of the village of the Yawpim Indians, were enjoyed by those who attended.

The Johnston County Historical Society was organized at a meeting held in the Johnston County Library on April 2, with Mr. D. L. Corbitt of the State Department of Archives and History assisting the group. Officers were elected as follows: Mr. H. V. Rose, Smithfield, president; Miss Mildred Oliver, Pine Level, vice-president; and Mrs. W. B. Beasley, Smithfield, secretary. Thirty members joined the society and the group decided to accept charter members through May 6. Mr. Rose appointed chairmen of the following committees: museum, library, publications, church history, war history, family history, membership, and program. Every member of the society is to serve on a committee and members were asked to state a preference. A committee was also appointed to prepare a constitution and by-laws.

On May 20 the society met at the courthouse and adopted its constitution and by-laws. Miss Mildred Oliver presided in the absence of Mr. Rose, the president. Mr. H. B. Marrow

and Miss Evelyn Bishop of Smithfield were elected members of the board and Mr. James Creech of Four Oaks was elected treasurer. The members were assisted by Mr. D. L. Corbitt who made a brief talk to the society.

Restoration of Old Bunker Hill bridge in Catawba County, one of the three remaining covered bridges in the state, has been completed by the county historical society under the leadership of Judge Wilson Warlick.

On April 12 in Halifax the 180th anniversary of the Halifax Resolves was celebrated, with Governor Luther H. Hodges as the principal speaker. The occasion was featured by the dedication of the restored brick gaol in which the Tory prisoners, captured at the Battle of Moore's Creek were incarcerated.

The State Literary and Historical Association held its spring regional meeting in Rocky Mount and Halifax, May 6-7. The program Friday afternoon was held in the Ricks Hotel in Rocky Mount with papers by the following: "The History of Nash County," by Mrs. Ruth Jeffreys; "The History of Rocky Mount and the Rocky Mount Mills," by Reading Bulluck; and "Sidelights of Nash County History," by William L. Pierce. A tea and tour of the Rocky Mount Mills was followed by a dinner with speeches by the following: Mrs. W. Gray Williams, "The Tar River and its Place in North Carolina History"; Mrs. E. L. Daughtridge, Jr., "Customs in Daily Life in Colonial Edgecombe"; and Ray S. Wilkinson, "Rebirth of Historical Interest in the Coastal Plain."

The meeting in Halifax was held at the Woman's Club Building with Mrs. Sterling M. Gary presiding. Papers on the historic sites of Halifax were presented. Following a tour of the town, a luncheon meeting was held with Ray S. Wilkinson presiding. Talks on the progress of the Historical Halifax Restoration Association concluded the meeting.

The North Carolina Civil War Roundtable held its initial meeting in Greensboro on March 19, went on a tour of Ben-

tonville Battleground on April 17, and held another meeting in High Point recently.

The Historical Society of North Carolina met in Raleigh on May 7. At the afternoon session Dr. Alice Kieth read a paper on "William Blount in North Carolina Politics," and Dr. Carolyn A. Daniel read a paper on "David L. Swain; First Whig Governor of North Carolina."

Following the dinner papers were read by Mr. William M. Geer on "Businessman [O. Max Gardner] in Politics," and Dr. Samuel H. Hobbs, Jr., on "Population in North Carolina." New members elected to the society are Dr. Blackwell P. Robinson, High Point College, and Dr. Horace H. Cunningham, Elon College.

The North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians enjoyed a tour of Winston-Salem on May 22. The tour included visits to the Amos Cottage on the Graylyn Estate, the new Wake Forest campus, Tanglewood Park, where a picnic lunch was held, and a tour of Old Salem.

The recent General Assembly of North Carolina authorized the governing body of any county or municipality to appropriate nontax revenues for the support of historical associations and for other purposes. The law provides that upon the request of the president and secretary of a local society, museum, or similar organization based upon a resolution passed upon by a majority (at regular or called meeting) at which a quorum shall have been present, the governing body of any county or municipality may appropriate nontax revenues to such historical organization; that the historical organization may expend such funds for the preservation of historic sites or buildings, publishing of materials, establishment and maintenance of museums, and payment of salaries of personnel; that an annual report must be made showing how such appropriations have been spent; and that the governing bodies are authorized to allot space in local schools, libraries, courthouses, city halls, or other public buildings for the functions and activities of local historical organizations.

The Assembly also passed a bill prepared by the Commission on Reorganization of State Government revising the basic act of the Department of Archives and History. Most of the changes involved re-phrasing and clarifying the law, but one important provision is that the Department shall administer the state's historic and archeological properties. Other acts appropriated more than $16,000 each year for such properties. In addition, the Department's general appropriation is slightly less than $150,000 for each year.

Another act abolished the Zebulon B. Vance Commission. This was done with the expectation that the Department of Archives and History would take over the Commission's functions.

Other legislation authorized separate commissions to plan for the 400th anniversary of the first English colonies in America (in 1985; to celebrate this year the 250th anniversary of the Town of Bath, oldest incorporated town in North Carolina; and to assemble materials on the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence.

Dr. Christopher Crittenden spoke at Camden, April 18, to the Albemarle Schoolmasters Club on the importance of local history; at Charlotte, April 22, when a Confederate Navy Yard marker was unveiled, on blockade running to and from the Cape Fear; at Lillington, May 2, to a Junior Historian group; at Raleigh, May 13, to a Daughters of the Revolution chapter, on North Carolina's part in the winning of American independence; at Clinton, May 29, to the Sampson County Historical Society on a program for a local historical organization; and in Sampson County, the same day, to a Boykin family group, on North Carolina in the War of 1812.

Dr. Crittenden, accompanied by Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, museum administrator of the Hall of History, attended the annual meeting on June 1-3 of the American Association of Museums in Washington, D. C. This meeting which marked the Golden Jubilee of the association had its headquarters in the Smithsonian Institution. The theme for the program was "Inter-American Cultural Relations."

Dr. Crittenden also attended the meeting on June 6-7 of the Board of Trustees of the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

At Pinehurst on March 25 Mrs. Joye E. Jordan gave an illustrated lecture to a local group on historic houses in North Carolina.

Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Researcher, State Department of Archives and History, spoke on April 2 to the Alfred Moore Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Southern Pines, on procedures for restoring the Alston House, or the House in the Horseshoe, Moore County. The meeting was held at the home of Mrs. Ernest Ives, near Southern Pines.

On April 22 Mr. Tarlton inspected Person's Ordinary building, a colonial tavern located at Littleton, Halifax County, which is to be restored as a historical attraction by the Littleton Woman's Club. Purpose of the inspection was to make suggestions for the proposed restoration. On May 13 he represented the Department of Archives and History at the unveiling of a historical highway marker commemorating the first 4-H Club in North Carolina, at Ahoskie High School, Ahoskie, Hertford County; and on May 28 represented the Department at the unveiling of a historical highway marker for Wingate Junior College, Wingate, Union County. The ceremony was a part of the commencement exercises and was held in the college auditorium.

On May 16 Mr. W. Frank Burton, State Archivist, Department of Archives and History, spoke over Radio Station WPTF at the request of the Caswell-Nash Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. His subject was "The Regulator Movement and the Battle of Alamance."

Within the past two months the Department's Division of Archives and Manuscripts has obtained microfilm copies of Chowan County deeds, 1745-1748; Currituck County wills, 1792-1810; and Wake County deeds, 1785-1788. The Department has arranged with the Selective Service System to obtain the home address and record of separation of North

Carolinans who served in World War II.

Dr. Fletcher M. Green of the University of North Carolina participated as a guest scholar at the John Marshall Bicentennial Program at the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia, on May 12-13.

Dr. Harold A. Bierck, Jr., will be visiting professor of history in the summer session, University of California at Los Angeles. He has been awarded a Faculty Fellowship for the Advancement of Education by the Ford Foundation for 1955-1956. He will spend some time in Mexico City and at the University of Texas.

Mr. William M. Geer has been awarded a Danforth Teaching Study Grant for the academic year, 1955-1956.

Mr. Herbert R. Paschal, Jr., graduate student at the University of North Carolina, has been appointed as a member of the Social Studies Department at East Carolina College, to begin work in September, 1955.

Dr. Paul Murray of the East Carolina faculty spoke to the Bertie County Historical Association, April 22, and to the Pitt County Historical Society on April 28 on "The Contributions of the County Historical Societies to North Carolina History."

Dr. Allen S. Johnson of Duke University who received his Ph.D. in English history in June of last year, is doing research this summer in England on the American Revolution in British politics, under a grant from the Duke Committee on British Commonwealth Studies. He has been appointed assistant professor at Shorter College for the ensuing academic year.

Dr. F. B. M. Hollyday, who received his Ph.D. in European history in June, has been appointed a Ford Scholar at the Case Institute of Technology.

Miss Barbara Brandon, a doctoral candidate in history, has received a Fulbright Award to do research in the Archives of Hanover on the period of George I of Great Britain.

Dr. John R. Alden of the University of Nebraska has been elected professor of history at Duke University. He holds a

Guggenheim Fellowship for 1955-1956 to write the Revolutionary volume in the *History of the South.*

Dr. Alan K. Manchester is the author of "Brazil in Transition," in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* for April. He will visit Cuba and Central and South America in July and August on a cultural mission for the Department of State.

Dr. Alexander DeConde published an article, "William Vans Murray's *Political Sketches:* A Defense of the American Experiment," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* March, 1955.

Mr. James W. Harbison, Jr. of Reidsville, a junior history major at Duke University, has received an undergraduate research stipend from the Social Science Research Council to study seditious libel in the eighteenth century in England and America. He will work under the supervision of Dr. William B. Hamilton.

Duke University has received a grant of $375,000 from the Carnegie Corporation of New York to promote research in the political economy and history of the British Commonwealth.

Dr. John B. Oliver, who holds degrees from both Duke University and the University of North Carolina, has been appointed assistant professor at the University of Georgia in Atlanta.

Dr. Jay Luvaas, director of the Flowers Collection, was the speaker at the Civil War Roundtable on April 17. He spoke on the Battle of Bentonville which was the last battle between Johnston and Sherman, March 19-21, 1865.

The Flowers Collection has recently acquired several letters of General James Longstreet; papers of the Pelot family, Laurens, South Carolina, dealing with Reconstruction; papers of Charles Todd Quintard, Civil War letters, many written by Confederate generals; papers of a Union officer in the Civil War, William Y. Ripley, Rutland, Vermont; and additions have been made to the business collections of W. A. Hunt and Company, Charleston, South Carolina; and Dennis Simmons Lumber Company, Williamston, North Carolina; the W. W. Ball Papers; and the Paul Hamilton Hayne Collection.

Dr. Frontis W. Johnston, head of the department of history, Davidson College, who has been on a leave of absence for a year, will return to his duties in September. Dr. W. Magruder Drake, who relieved Dr. Johnston, will become assistant professor of history at Southwestern Louisiana Institute, Lafayette, Louisiana.

Dr. Samuel R. Spencer, professor of history and dean of students at Davidson, has published *Booker T. Washington and the Negro's Place in American Life,* the seventh volume in the Library of American Biography, edited by Oscar Handlin.

Dr. W. B. Yearns of the Wake Forest College history department has been awarded a study and research grant by Duke University for the summer term, 1955.

Dr. Robert Leroy Hilldrup, professor of history at Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia, has received a grant-in-aid from the Southern Fellowships Fund for study in England this summer. He will study at Oxford University and search county libraries for British material on eighteenth century Virginia. Dr. Hilldrup was a professor of history at East Carolina College from 1936 to 1944.

Dr. Joseph C. Robert, now president of Coker College, has accepted the presidency of Hampden-Sydney College in Virginia.

The College of William and Mary is celebrating the John Marshall Bicentennial throughout 1955 with a series of conferences and special programs and is providing funds for appropriate research projects. The Institute of Early American History and Culture has received some aid from the college for compilation of a bibliography of John Marshall.

The Newsletter from Williamsburg announces that both a state and a federal commission have been established with appropriations to prepare for the 350th anniversary celebration of Jamestown, Virginia, first permanent English settlement in the New World. The commissions have authorized

two developments; one of which authorizes the National Park Service to carry on archaeological investigations at Jamestown and on the site of Governor Sir William Berkeley's mansion, "Green Spring." The second, which is financed by federal funds, is a two-year project to search further for Virginia colonial records in British repositories and to secure microfilm copies.

Mr. A. T. Dill, native of New Bern, graduate of the University of North Carolina, and author of a number of works on his home town and county, has been appointed to an important executive position with the federal commission.

At the annual meeting of the Council of the Institute of Early American History and Culture in Williamsburg on May 7, a constitution was adopted. The following persons were elected to serve a three-year term ending in the spring of 1958: Dr. John R. Alden, Dr. Alfred A. Knopf, Dr. Samuel Eliot Morison, Dr. Richard H. Shryock, and Dr. William B. Willcox; to fill a vacancy among the members whose term expires in 1957, Dr. Julian P. Boyd. The officers of the Council are: Walter M. Whitehill, chairman (and *ex officio* chairman of the executive committee), Dr. Clifford K. Shipton, vice chairman, and Dr. Edmund S. Morgan, secretary.

The members of the Executive Committee, in addition to Dr. Whitehill, are Messrs. Boyd, Knopf, Morison, and David J. Mays, and the presidents of the two sponsoring organizations, Dr. Alvin D. Chandler of the College of William and Mary, and Mr. Kenneth Chorley of Colonial Williamsburg.

Dr. Lester J. Cappon, editor of publications of the Institute, was elected director, to succeed Lyman H. Butterfield who resigned last November to become editor of the Adams Papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

At the annual dinner of the Institute its prize of $500 for the best book in the field of early American history published in 1954 was awarded to Dr. Gerald Stourzh of the University of Chicago's Center for the Study of American Foreign Policy, for his volume on *Benjamin Franklin and American Foreign Policy*.

The American Jewish Historical Society, in order to stimulate interest and research in American Jewish History, is offering three awards of $500, $300, and $200, as first, second, and third prizes respectively, in cash or scholarships at recognized schools of higher learning for the best essays in the field of American Jewish history. Applicants, who must be college students, may obtain full details of the awards by writing the American Jewish Historical Society, 3080 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y.

Books received recently include the following: Emma Prather Gilmer, *The Memoirs of Emma Prather Gilmer, Written in Her 90th Year for Her Children, Grandchildren and Great Grandchildren* (Philadelphia, Pa: The Cherry Company, Publishers, 1955); T. Harry Williams, *P. G. T. Beauregard, Napoleon in Gray* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1955); W. F. Craven and J. L. Cate, *The Army Air Forces in World War II, Men and Planes, Volume VI* (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1955); Earl Schenck Miers, *The Web of Victory, Grant at Vicksburg* (New York, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1955) Carl Alvin Schenck, *The Biltmore Story, Recollections of the Beginnings of Forestry in the United States* (St. Paul, Minnesota: America Forest History Foundation, Minnesota Historical Society, 1955); W. C. Carter and A. P. Glossbrenner, *The History of York County, From Its Erection to the Present Time (1729-1834),* New Edition with Additions, Edited by A. Monroe Aurand, Jr. (Harrisburg, Pa: The Aurand Press, 1955);Arthur S. Link, *American Epoch, A History of the United States Since the 1890's* (New York, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1955); I. O. Schaub, *North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station: The First 60 Years, 1877-1937* (Raleigh: North Carolina State College, 1955); John Q. Anderson, *Brokenburn, The Journal of Kate Stone, 1861-1868* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1955); Orrin Sage Wightman and Margaret Davis Cate, *Early Days of Coastal Georgia* (St. Simons Island, Georgia, Fort Frederica Association, 1955); Blackwell P. Robinson, *The North Carolina Guide* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Car-

olina Press, 1955); Monroe F. Cockrell, *The Lost Account of the Battle of Corinth and The Court Martial of Gen. Van Dorn* (Jackson, Tennessee: McCowat-Mercer Press, 1955); George W. Dalzell, *Benefit of Clergy in America* (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: John F. Blair, 1955); Nettie McCormick Henley, *The Home Place* (New York, New York; Vantage Press, 1955); Robert Neal Elliot, Jr., *The Raleigh Register, 1799-1863* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carlina Press, 1955, The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science) Volume 36; Aubrey C. Land, *The Dulanys of Maryland: A Biographical Study of Daniel Dulany, The Elder (1685-1753) and Daniel Dulany, The Younger (1722-1797)* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1955, Studies in Maryland History, No. 3); and Dorothy Horton McGee, *Famous Signers of the Declaration* (New York, New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1955).

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Mr. Houston G. Jones is a university fellow in history and doctoral candidate at Duke University, Durham. He will be visiting instructor in history at Western Carolina College for the summer, 1955.

Dr. Frenise A. Logan has been visiting professor of history at North Carolina College, Durham, for the academic year 1954-1955.

Mr. David H. Corkran received his masters degree from Harvard and is at present engaged in research at the Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.

Dr. Noble E. Cunningham, Jr., is an assistant professor of history at the University of Richmond, Richmond, Virginia.

Dr. George D. Harmon is professor of American history and head of the department of history and government at Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

Dr. Jay B. Hubbell is emeritus professor of American literature at Duke University and was visiting professor of American literature at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, for the school year, 1954-1955.