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ADELAIDE LISETTA FRIES¹

BY DOUGLAS LETELL RIGHTS

Adelaide Lisetta Fries, a native of Salem, North Carolina, was born November 12, 1871, in a town rich in tradition and, since its founding in 1766, well provided with cultural advantages.

Her parents, John W. and Agnes Sophia de Schweinitz Fries, were prominent in the community and devoted members of the Moravian Church. Her family had long been among the leaders of the *Unitas Fratrum*, or Moravian Church, dating on the one side to Michael Jaeschke, a refugee who came from Bohemia to settle on the estate of Count Zinzendorf in the early eighteenth century, and on the other side to Count Nicholas von Zinzendorf himself, who has been called "Father of the Renewed Moravian Church."

Further mention should be made of the father, whose influence was strong in the development of her professional interest and in determining the main direction of her talents. John W. Fries combined the qualifications of a businessman and a scholar. He was an industrial leader, manufacturer, banker, and churchman, but he found time also for scholarly pursuits and was a trustee of the University of North Carolina, Salem College, and other institutions. His encouragement and advice were welcome to the gifted daughter and she acknowledged her debt to him in the dedication of one of her volumes to "My companion in the silent places of historical research."

As John Henry Boner, the poet, described it, the Salem of his youth was

A little town with grassy ways
And shady streets where life hums low.

¹ A paper read at the meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina, Winston-Salem, October 20, 1950.

The community retained much of this atmosphere of tranquillity in the youth of Adelaide Fries, with interests centered in church and school. She attended Salem Academy and graduated in 1888. Two years later she received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from Salem College.

Early in life she became interested in historical research. Twice she visited Europe and on these tours abroad she spent considerable time studying the collection of valuable material in the Moravian archives at the ancient center of the renewed Moravian Church in Saxony. The first visit was in 1899 and the second in 1909.

On September 26, 1911, she was appointed archivist for the Southern Province of the Moravian Church in America, and for nearly forty years she rendered excellent service in this position.

Her appointment did not bring an easy task. The ancient records, beginning in North Carolina in 1752, were remarkable for their abundance, care in preparation, and scope of review, but they were scattered here and there and subject to abuse. Like the lost books of Livy, there was a gap in the records of a congregation dating from colonial days—a loss which, according to tradition, was caused by the pastor of an early period who used the missing pages for lighting his pipe. An original letter, signed by President George Washington and addressed with complimentary message to the inhabitants of the town of Salem, she discovered by chance tucked away in a pigeonhole of the desk of the church warden. With characteristic thoroughness she assembled from offices, schools, pastors' studies, and other sources a great collection unrivalled in the state's community histories.

She established the first independent archives building and moved the collection there, and much later she superintended the preparation of another building suited for protection of material and for accommodation of students in their study, and here her final years of labor were passed.

Her office was always open to those who sought information about Salem, or any other subject of historical nature. She had a passion for accuracy which characterizes a true archivist but she combined with this a desire to help anyone who was interested in seeking information in the books and manuscripts that

abounded in her collection. In her personal diary she recorded one day: "There were four visitors at the archives today—two students engaged in research, one caller investigating a family tree, and a visitor who did not know when it was time to leave."

An added difficulty appears in the archivist's office in Salem because the early records of the community for nearly a century, comprising perhaps 15,000 pages, were written in German, and the handwriting, often cramped and diminutive, was in script of the time. Although she had little knowledge of the language through study in school, Dr. Fries mastered the situation. Pains-takingly she studied the language and became proficient in translation, as her numerous volumes and papers bear witness.

As an author she achieved national recognition. In the library catalogue of the University of North Carolina-Duke University there are twenty-three card references. The first volume published by her was the history of Forsyth County, in 1898, and interestingly enough, the last was a volume edited by her with the assistance of five coeditors, entitled *Forsyth, a County on the March*. This last was written as the centennial history of Forsyth County and was awarded the silver cup for the best county history written in 1949.

Among other publications were *The Moravians in Georgia*, *Funeral Chorales of the Unitas Fratrum*, *The Town Builders*, *Some Moravian Heroes*, and *Moravian Customs—Our Inheritance*. She edited Bishop Edward Rondthaler's *Memorabilia of Fifty Years*. In her last year she completed a booklet, *Distinctive Customs and Practices of the Moravian Church*. Numerous articles written by her were published in *The North Carolina Historical Review*, the *Wachovia Moravian*, the *University of North Carolina Magazine*, and other publications.

Her monumental works were *The Road to Salem*, published by the University of North Carolina Press, and the *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, published by the North Carolina Historical Commission and later by the State Department of Archives and History. The former is an historical novel for which she was signally honored in 1944 by being awarded the Mayflower Cup, presented annually to the North Carolinian adjudged to have written the best book during the year. The latter work, consisting of seven published volumes and an eighth

in process of completion, contains the English translation from the German records of the Moravian churches in North Carolina, beginning with the year 1752.

Her abundant labors were not confined to the seclusion of the archives. She was the recipient of many honors. From 1905 to 1934 she was president of the Salem College Alumnae Association. She helped organize and became president of the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs. She served as president of the North Carolina State Literary and Historical Association, and in 1947 she was elected president of the North Carolina Historical Society, which she helped reorganize. She was listed in *Who's Who in America* and in the *Biographical Quarterly of London*. In 1916 she was awarded the degree of Master of Arts at Salem College. Three times the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters was conferred on her: first in 1932 by Moravian College; again in May, 1945, by Wake Forest College; and the next month by the University of North Carolina, at which time she was pleased to wear the same academic gown worn by her father when he received a similar degree from the University.

In addition to these honors she was a member of the American Association for State and Local History, the North Carolina Folklore Society, the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, the National Genealogical Society, and the Institute of American Genealogy. She was a member of the board of directors of the Wachovia Historical Society, a former president of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Home Church, and an honorary member of the Winston-Salem Altrusa Club.

Though she did not aspire to the distinction, she became a public speaker of acknowledged repute and was noted for her good sense, adaptability, felicity of expression, and inspiration, combined always with the voice of authority.

It was ever a keen delight to her to engage in unraveling mysteries of an historical nature. As an example, in her last days she was engaged in solving the mystery of an old printing press. In the Wachovia Museum there is an ancient hand press with the notation that it was used to print proclamations of Lord Cornwallis in Hillsboro. Somehow Dr. Fries seized upon this statement and sensed that it was not correct. With the zeal

of a sleuth of Scotland Yard she entered upon investigation. She made contacts with the University library, the State Department of Archives and History, the Library of Congress, Franklin Institute, and many other sources of authority, including the Public Record Office in London, England, which gave her assurance that Lord Cornwallis issued his proclamations at Hillsboro in handwriting. Death came before the mystery was solved, but she laid the groundwork that resulted in the identification of the printing press as a Ramage press, one of only seventeen early American presses known to be in existence in the country today.

It was her privilege to be occupied with her accustomed duties until a few hours before her death. After a brief illness she fell peacefully asleep Tuesday morning, November 29, 1949.

The memoir prepared by her pastor, in addition to listing her accomplishments as archivist and historian, included these statements:

She loved flowers and her garden; she always had a story to tell to little children, and she possessed a sense of humor that was quite remarkable.

As the years passed she was aware of her lessened physical strength but she never grew old in her outlook upon life or in her attitude toward her friends and acquaintances. When she was compelled to spend a number of weeks in the hospital several years ago, she never murmured or complained. She was only grateful for the care which was given her. She was a gracious and generous soul.

The following publications were written or edited by Adelaide Lisetta Fries:

"Salem Female Academy," *The North Carolina University Magazine* (Chapel Hill), XIII (October, 1893), 16-24.

Forsyth County. (Winston: Stewart's Printing House, 1898. Pp. 132.)

Historical Sketch of Salem Female Academy. (Salem: Crist and Keehn, 1902. Pp. 32.)

Funeral Chorales of the Unitas Fratrum or Moravian Church. (Winston-Salem: 1905. Pp. 23.)

The Moravians in Georgia, 1735-1740. (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1905. Pp. 252.)

"Frederick William von Marshall," *Biographical History of North Carolina* (Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 1905), II, 237-239.

The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence as Mentioned in Records of Wachovia. (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1907. Reprinted from *The Wachovia Moravian* for April, 1906. Pp. 11.)

"Der North Carolina Land und Colonie Etablissement," *The North Carolina Booklet*, IX (April, 1910), 119-214.

The Town Builders. (Winston-Salem: 1915. Pp. 19.)

"An Early Fourth of July Celebration," *Journal of American History*, IX (July, 1915), 469-474.

Records of the Moravians in North Carolina. 7 volumes. (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1922-1947. Vol. I, 1752-1771 [1922], pp. 511; Vol. II, 1752-1775 [1925], pp. viii, 514-973; Vol. III, 1776-1779 [1926], pp. 975-1490; Vol. IV, 1780-1783 [1930], pp. 1491-1962; Vol. V, 1784-1792 [1941], pp. ix, 1963-2450; Vol. VI, 1793-1808 [1943], pp. x, 2451-3017; Vol. VII, 1809-1822 [Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1947], pp. x, 3021-3612.)

"The Renewal of the Unity of Brethren," *Moravian Bicentenary Pamphlets*, No. 1. (Bethlehem, Pennsylvania: Committee on Popular Moravian Literature, 1922. Pp. 1-24.)

"Autobiography and Memoirs of Adam Spach and his Wife," in *Descendants of Adam Spach*. Compiled by Henry Wesley Foltz. (Winston-Salem: Wachovia Historical Society, 1924. Pp. 202).

"The Lure of Historical Research," *North Carolina Historical Review*, I (April, 1924), 121-137.

"A History of Hope Congregation, in North Carolina," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXVI (December, 1930), 279-287.

"The Moravian Contribution to Colonial North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review*, VII (January, 1930), 1-14.

"Travel Journal of Charles A. Van Vleck, 1826," *North Carolina Historical Review*, VIII (April, 1931), 187-206.

"North Carolina Certificates of the Revolutionary War Period," *North Carolina Historical Review*, IX (July, 1932), 229-241.

"Dr. Hans Martin Kalberlahn," *Southern Medicine and Surgery*, XCVI (October, 1934), 540-543.

Moravian Customs—Our Inheritance. (Winston-Salem: 1936. Pp. 62.)

Some Moravian Heroes. (Bethlehem, Pennsylvania: Christian Education Board of the Moravian Church, 1936. Pp. 118.)

"Report of the Brethren Abraham Steiner and Friedrich Christian Von Schweinitz of Their Journey to the Cherokee Nation and in the Cumberland Settlements in the State of Tennessee, from 28th October to 28th December, 1799," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXI (October, 1944), pp. 330-375.

The Road to Salem. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1944. Pp. 317.)

Distinctive Customs and Practices of the Moravian Church. (Bethlehem, Pennsylvania: Comenius Press, 1949. Pp. 64.)

Forsyth, A County on the March. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1949. Pp. 248.)

Parallel Lines in Piedmont North Carolina Quaker and Moravian History: The Historical Lecture delivered at the Two Hundred and Fifty-Second Session of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Eighth Month, the Third, 1949. (N. p., North Carolina Friends Historical Society, n. d. Pp. 16.)

The following works were written or edited in conjunction with others:

The Moravian Church: Yesterday and Today. (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1926. Pp. xi, 154.) With J. Kenneth Pfohl.

Edward Rondthaler, *The Memorabilia of Fifty Years: 1877 to 1927.* Foreword by Adelaide L. Fries, H. A. Pfohl, Thomas E. Kapp, and Rufus A. Shore. (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1928. Pp. xii, 520.)

Edward Rondthaler, *Appendix to the Memorabilia of Fifty Years.* Foreword by Adelaide L. Fries, H. A. Pfohl, Thomas E. Kapp, and Rufus A. Shore. (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1931. Pp. 58.)

Guide to the Manuscripts in the Archives of the Moravian Church in America, Southern Province. Prepared by the North Carolina Historical Records Survey, Division of Community Service Programs, Works Progress Administration (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Records Survey, 1942. Pp. vii, 138.)

A BOOK PEDLAR'S PROGRESS IN NORTH CAROLINA

BY JAMES S. PURCELL

An interesting chapter in the *Kulturgeschichte* of early North Carolina recounts the activities of a colorful colporteur, the Reverend Mason Locke Weems, who for two decades travelled throughout the state. The journeys of this zealous bookselling parson, better known as the highly imaginative biographer of George Washington, can be traced in his letters,¹ but the story becomes considerably more enlightening with the addition of notices in contemporary newspapers and comments in letters and diaries of North Carolinians with whom he had dealings.

The Parson's interest in North Carolina as a book market first became evident in the closing years of the eighteenth century. *The Virginia & North Carolina Almanac, For the Year of Our Lord 1800 . . .* made its appearance, doubtless, in the fall of 1799.² This bipartite almanac of thirty-seven pages was printed in Fredericksburg, Virginia, "for the Rev. Mason L. Weems." It was obviously an economical bid by Weems for a part of the lucrative almanac monopoly enjoyed in the upper part of North Carolina by Abraham Hodge, editor of the *North-Carolina Journal* at Halifax. The title page was an almost exact reproduction of that of Weems's Virginia almanac; the text varied only in that the court calendar included the courts of North Carolina and Maryland as well as those of Virginia. The reading matter "designed for entertainment and instruction" was the same—unsigned excerpts from Weems's own *Hymen's Recruiting Serjeant*.³

But Weems's chief interest in North Carolina in the early years of the nineteenth century was in securing subscriptions to Chief Justice Marshall's monumental *Life of Washington* which had

¹ Emily Ellsworth Skeel, *Mason Locke Weems, His Works and Ways* (New York, 1929). This rare work was begun by Mrs. Skeel's brother, Paul Leicester Ford. There are three volumes; the letters, with copious notes, appear in the second and third volumes, of which only 300 copies were printed.

Mason Locke Weems (October 11, 1759-May 23, 1825), Episcopal clergyman, book agent, publisher, and writer, was born in Anne Arundel County, Maryland. He was admitted to the Anglican priesthood, September 12, 1784, and served parishes in Maryland and Virginia, notably Pohick Church (and thus became "Formerly Rector of Mt. Vernon Parish"). For thirty-one years, from 1794 until his death in Beaufort, South Carolina, he was a zestful bookseller, chiefly as the agent of Mathew Carey of Philadelphia, wandering up and down the eastern seaboard but maintaining his family of ten children among his wife's people in Dumfries, Virginia.

² Copy in library of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

³ *Hymen's Recruiting Serjeant*, Weems's "sweet persuasions to wedlock," was published in two parts, the first in 1799 and the second in 1800. This pamphlet, with *The Drunkard's Looking Glass* (1812) and *God's Revenge Against Adultery* (1815), appears in Mrs. Skeel's edition of *Three Discourses by Mason Locke Weems* (New York, 1929).

been announced for publication by C. P. Wayne of Philadelphia. In the early fall of 1802 Wayne had advertised in a North Carolina newspaper:

LIFE OF GENERAL WASHINGTON
The Subscriber

Having purchased for publishing it by subscription. . . . The work will be handsomely printed, with a new type, on vellum paper, hot-pressed, to be comprised in four or five octavo volumes of from 450 to 500 pages each. . . . The price to subscribers will be three Dollars each Volume in Boards; and the Price of one Volume to be paid in advance, on subscribing; this advance to be continued with each Volume, until the work is completed. . . .⁴

To this notice Wayne added a note: "The Publisher intending to visit many of the large towns of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining Subscribers, declines at present employing Agents for that purpose." Weems's persuasive powers must have worked, however, for he was soon the southern representative of Wayne and about a year later appeared in North Carolina.⁵ On January 28, 1804, he wrote to Wayne from Fayetteville, where he found himself engaged in supplementing the subscriptions already obtained by the local bookseller:

I came to this town 11 o'clock this morning,—found that a Mr. McRae (Post Master) had obtained 15 subs. This dumfounded me somewhat—but, rallying, I fell to work, and greatly to my surprise, obtain'd 22 more. Mr. Grove (Member of Congress, last session) says I may obtain a vast many more, if I can but attend at the Superior Court here 23 of April. . . .⁶

Weems prided himself on knowing what his buyers wanted—"feeling the pulse" was his phrase. He insisted that fine bindings be sent to this territory. Recognizing the turbulent political situation in North Carolina in the early 1800's, he wrote:

⁴ *Raleigh Register*, October 19, 1802.

⁵ From his letters it would be thought that Weems travelled south of Virginia for the first time in 1804. But it is likely that he was in Georgia as early as 1797. The *Augusta Chronicle*, June 13, 1797, states that the Rev. M. L. Weems married a couple in Burke County, Georgia, on May 28, 1797.

⁶ Skeel, *Weems*, II, 290. Duncan MacRae, long-time postmaster, bookseller, and general merchant of Fayetteville, advertised books for sale in the *Raleigh Minerva*, August 13, 1804, and the *Fayetteville North Carolina Intelligencer*, October 11, 1806. Records of his transactions with Mathew Carey, Philadelphia publisher and bookseller, from 1812 until 1818 can be seen in the collection of the Mathew Carey accounts at the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

Before the State Assembly of 1806 enacted a law creating a superior court in each county, Fayetteville was one of the eight towns in the state where superior court sessions were held twice a year.

William Barry Grove was the leading Federalist of the Fayetteville area; he was a member of Congress from 1791 until 1803.

“Nothing, nothing will do either Feds or Dems but Calf binding.” Again he warned Wayne from Fayetteville: “Take notice, Nobody will subscribe for the work in *boards*.” And from Halifax he was asking for “cataracts of Books—*Gilt* and all *Gilt*.”⁷

Although he was chiefly concerned with getting subscriptions to Marshall’s *Life of Washington*, Weems had other irons in the fire. From Fayetteville he reported to Wayne: “I have taken a light carriage with a driver to vend some little Books while I shd be, (for my own sake) employd in getting Subs to Washington.”⁸ Meanwhile, he was also selling books for Mathew Carey, the Philadelphia bookseller with whom he maintained an oft-strained connection for more than twenty years. After a week in Fayetteville he left for Wilmington and wrote Carey from there: “As I have your little stage with me (having parted with my own . . .) I shall be willing that Mrs. Weems’ brother, who drives me, shall try to vend some Bibles for you.”⁹ He requested that a box of assorted books be sent him “also my 4[00] or 500 Hymen recruitg Serjeant no. 2, I mean the ‘Nest of Love.’ In these warm latitudes there is a great call for both Nos but the 1st is unfortunately run out.”

Weems, with his fiddle, continued his journey south, canvassed parts of South Carolina and Georgia, and in June returned northward through piedmont North Carolina. At Salisbury he presented a letter of introduction from John Chestnut of Camden, South Carolina, to General John Steele, former Comptroller of the United States. Chestnut wrote:

The Revd Mr. Weems is on his way northward, and purposes taking Salisbury on his way, and being a Stranger in that town, I take the liberty to recommend him to your civilities & attention.

He is procuring Subscriptions for the Life of General Washington wch will soon be published—and I presume the life of that great & worthy man—Written by Judge Marshall, will be eagerly sought for by every enlightened American. . . .¹⁰

The results of the Weems-Steele association will be told later.

⁷ Weems to Wayne, Halifax, N. C., February 9, 1805, Skeel, *Weems*, II, 313.

⁸ Skeel, *Weems*, II, 291.

⁹ Skeel, *Weems*, II, 292. Carey’s Family Bible was an exceedingly popular item; it was frequently advertised in North Carolina newspapers. Weems once wrote Carey: “I could make a good living by the Bible & Washington [Weems’s . . . *Washington*] alone.” Skeel *Weems*, III, 73.

¹⁰ Chestnut to Steele, Camden, S. C., June 17, 1804, H. M. Wagstaff, ed., *The Papers of John Steele* (Raleigh, 1924), I, 435.

From Chapel Hill, Weems complained again to Wayne of a matter that he had met with at Fayetteville—that he was forced to compete with the local booksellers. Consequently he advised his employer:

. . . I beg you not to send *any books* to *any town* for my Subscribers. You wd also very seriously oblige me if you were to furnish to your Post Masters, Book venders &c &c who have taken subs, *no more copies than for their subscribers*. I.E., I shd be glad to see this business confin'd (if possible) to Mr. Ormond and myself. By chipping & frittering it away among a thousand little whippers in, you will make it uninteresting *to us*, and hence must ensue a languor dangerous to the whole enterprize.¹¹

He also told Wayne of his plans to take New Bern on his way to the South—"Reports of well-informed Persons make that place worth 80 or 100 copies"—and begged him not to send any books to the booksellers there.

The beginning of the following year, 1805, saw Weems again in North Carolina, writing to Wayne from Halifax for "cataracts of Books" and promising to remit three or four hundred dollars from Warrenton.¹² A few days later he was in Warrenton calling for more books: "I shall want a host of books this campaign."¹³ From Tarboro, ten days later, he tallied up his remittances and remarked: "Well 3000\$ in 10 weeks is not quite so bad—and hardly any books to boot!!! What might I not do, well kept in blast [ballast?]? O think of that and reform!"¹⁴

Weems was having other troubles too. The first edition of the volumes he had promised to the subscribers—volumes one and two—was exhausted and he was having to deliver the second edition, which was received with bad grace. When he was calling for books, Weems had repeatedly pleaded with Wayne, "for your *own sake*, all of edit. No. 1." From Tarboro he tried another approach: "Wou'd God you cou'd send the 2d edit. to Ormond & the Puritans of the North. 'Tis their profession to bear & forbear and to do good for evil. The people in the South are Infidels. They will run horn mad if you vex 'em in the Life of Wash."¹⁵

¹¹ Weems to Wayne, Chapel Hill, N. C., July 11, 1804, Skeel, *Weems*, II, 300. John Ormond was Weems's less colorful counterpart in the northern states.

¹² Weems to Wayne, Halifax, N. C., February 9, 1805, Skeel, *Weems*, II, 313.

¹³ Weems to Wayne, Warrenton, N. C., February 14, 1805, Skeel, *Weems*, II, 314.

¹⁴ Weems to Wayne, Tarboro, N. C., February 25, 1805, Skeel, *Weems*, II, 315.

¹⁵ Skeel, *Weems*, II, 315. According to Weems the paper of the second edition was "so thin as to make the volume but half as thick as the former."

Several weeks later, in New Bern he reiterated this theme: "The people there [in the North] are more religious than they are here, and wd not curse & swear so sadly under what they might deem ill treatment."¹⁶

On this 1805 jaunt the Parson evidently was alone in his travels. From New Bern he wrote Wayne that he was returning "some little miscellaneous books which I had planned and meant to *vend* for mutual benefit." He had nobody with him to attend to "this Tom Thumb Merchandize." He must devote all his time and efforts to the *Washington* and found that "the sale of this trumpery wd prove a most serious hindrance to the Great Work."¹⁷

The Raleigh area was evidently missed in the 1805 journey. The persons in the environs of the capital of the state who had placed their subscriptions with one of the two local booksellers had received their two volumes in November, 1804, and in March, 1805, had promise of the third.¹⁸ Joseph Gales, the editor of the *Raleigh Register*, who with his wife, Winifred, had a flourishing book business, doubtless took pleasure in inserting this item into his local news column:

A Subscriber wishes published the following
QUERY

How will those persons who subscribed with Mr. Weems for the Life of Washington, find where he is or when he means to deliver them their books, or how are they to get either the books or the money?¹⁹

This restive spirit in the vicinity of the capital did not interfere with the success of the bookselling Parson in other sections of the state. The subscription canvass of 1806 took him to the seaboard towns for a stay of almost three months, and profitable months they were. He reported to Wayne on his collections:

Since March (the beginning of) I have sent you, as follows from

¹⁶ Weems to Wayne, New Bern, N. C., March 10, 1805, Skeel, *Weems*, II, 316.

¹⁷ Skeel, *Weems*, II, 316.

¹⁸ Joseph Gales announced on November 6, 1804, that "Subscribers to the Life of Washington . . . may have their books on application." *Raleigh Register*, November 12, 1804. William Boylan, bookseller and editor of the *Minerva*, advertised that at the sitting of the legislature, November 8, 1804, he would have for dispersal the first and second volumes. *Minerva*, October 29, 1804.

¹⁹ *Raleigh Register*, October 14, 1805.

Norfolk	921	Newbern	500
Warrenton	654	Wilmington	500
Louisburg	100	Do	500
Washington [N. C.]	50	do draft on D.Ware	742.70
	<hr/>	Do	100
	1,725	Do	88
		now Charleston	400
			<hr/>
			4,555.70. ²⁰

Weems doubtless kept out his own commission, usually twenty-five per cent, which, if included, would indicate sales of more than four thousand dollars in North Carolina. This amount, while it bespeaks a literary interest in the state, also bears out Weems's modest statement about his abilities: "The world is pleased to say that I have talents at the subscription business."²¹

The fifth and final volume of Marshall's *Life of Washington*, excepting the promised atlas, was published in 1807. But Weems's work with the book in North Carolina was far from done. Many of his customers were complaining of non-delivery; Weems did "vex 'em in the Life of Wash." and they were running horn mad. In Edenton the Parson's defection was proclaimed in the newspaper.

Mr. Editor,

Can you inform us what has become of a certain Parson Weems, who passed through this State some time ago fiddling and hawking the *Life of Gen. Washington*, written by Judge Marshall, that same Judge who is now presiding on the trial of Aaron Burr, and who wanted to give judgment for half of North Carolina in favour of the Earl of Granville's heirs? Now if the said Weems does not shortly let us hear from him, and appoint time and place when and where he will deliver the balance of the work, or return the money he has pocketed from the subscribers, we shall as soon as the trial of said Burr is over, lay the matter before the Judge himself. . . .²²

Evidence of collective exhaustion of patience in Tarboro came to Wayne himself. "Sundry Inhabitants of Tarboro, N. C."—fourteen in number—signed the following letter of grievance:

²⁰ Weems to Wayne, Charleston, S. C., June 5, 1806, Skeel, *Weems*, II, 335. For some reason or other Weems, later in his letter, reported thus unflatteringly about a North Carolina town: "That Louisburg is a Devil of a place. This is the 2d time that I've been in the frights about it."

²¹ Weems to Wayne, Norfolk, Va., January 25, 1805, "A Weems Letter," *American Historical Record*, II (February, 1873), 82.

²² *Edenton Gazette*, October 15, 1807.

We the undersigned beg leave to represent to Mr. C. P. Wayne—that we became Subscribers to the “Life of Washington” & paid Mr. Weems \$12—upon receipt of the 1st and 2d volumes of the work—that in April 1806 we received from Mr. Weems the 4th volume & paid him \$8 the balance of the subscription money—since which time, altho’ we have repeatedly, through Genl. Thos. Blount made application to Mr. Weems [*sic*] for the remaining volumes—promises to deliver them are all we have been able to procure. We therefore desire to know of Mr. Wayne whether we are to rely on Mr. Weems [*sic*] for the volumes still wanting (in which case we must abandon all expectation of receiving them) or whether he Mr. Wayne will deliver them. If the latter Dr. Battle will receive & forward them to us. . . .²³

When Wayne relayed these complaints to his southern representative, Weems answered:

It grieves me that you should credit the “*distressing accounts*” as you call them, that are sent to you. . . . Certainly Mr. Wayne you must know that the communications are from some Malignant Rascals or other—So help me God, I have separated myself from a most affect wife & family for 24 months & about two thirds of that time were spent in plying between Augusta, Washington, Louisville, &c &c to distribute the books & receive monies for you! Was I not at Georgetown 8 days—at Newbern 8 days—at Wilmington 6 days—with the 1.2d.3d. & 4th vols distributed to all who wd receive—for many swore they wou’d not receive till they cou’d see the last Vols & Atlass. At Fayette[ville] I had but a few Subs, and I beggd McCrae [MacRae] to distribute to them he having tendered his services thereto. . . .²⁴

The conclusion of the whole matter of Weems and Marshall’s *Life of Washington* was heard in the notice in the columns of an Edenton newspaper, September 24, 1811, nearly four years after the publication of the final volume:

We are desired by the Rev. M. L. Weems, to inform the subscribers to the life of Washington, that their Books, elegantly finished, will be ready for delivery at our Superior Court on Monday next.²⁵

On the same day from Warrenton, Weems wrote to Mathew Carey, the Philadelphian for whom he was to work full time,

²³ Thomas Blount Hudson *et al.* to Wayne, Tarboro, N. C., May 30, 1808, Skeel, *Weems*, II, 377.

²⁴ Weems to Wayne, Dumfries, Va., June 20, 1808, Skeel, *Weems*, II, 380.

²⁵ *Edenton Gazette*, September 24, 1811.

that he had just returned from the towns in eastern North Carolina, "Whither I went on Mr. Wayne's business, which as you well know, I was bound to wind up."²⁶

Even while he was canvassing and collecting for Wayne, Weems was also peddling books for Carey. During the years 1809 and 1810 he sold \$24,000 worth of books for him in the South.²⁷ Ever zealous in his plans for Carey and himself, the Parson wrote to his new employer: "I pray you to spend no more paper, ink, nor time nor argument to persuade me to exertion and Perseverance in circulating Valuable Books, I am chockfull of Zeal burning with the Book fever and so are you."²⁸ Weems asked Carey—"10000 times begg'd" him—for permission "to go through 1000 neighbourhoods feeling the pulse of Preachers, Schoolmasters" and suiting a book assortment to the taste of the "Religion, Politics, and general reading of the people."²⁹ He told Carey what he desired of him—"supply me plenty of books and let me choose the Books & allow some reasonable seed time"—and expected to establish for the Philadelphia bookseller "from 2[00] to 300 illuminating, moralizing book stores."³⁰

In 1808 Weems was making some progress in North Carolina with his grandiose plans. He ignored the seaboard towns but recognized the possibilities of the piedmont area³¹—"the middle and western counties, villages, &c &c be my range." He wrote enthusiastically to Carey: "I shall want in toto *pro tempore presenti* . . . 1000, Peter Davis Warrenton, N. Carolina—1000, Colo. Vaughan Mercht. Williamsboro No. Carolina—2000 to Genl Steel (former Comptroller Genl U. S.) Salisbury, N. Carolina."³²

²⁶ Weems to Carey, Warrenton, N. C., September 24, 1811, Skeel, *Weems*, III, 54.

²⁷ William A. Bryan, ed., "Three Unpublished Letters of Parson Weems," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2nd. series, XXXIII (July, 1943), 275.

²⁸ Weems to Carey, Dumfries, Va., August 24, 1809, Skeel, *Weems*, II, 420.

²⁹ Weems to Carey, Columbia, S. C., December 18, 1809, Skeel, *Weems*, II, 429.

³⁰ Weems to Carey, Columbia, S. C., December 13, 1809, Skeel, *Weems*, II, 428. As early as May 22, 1806, writing to Carey from Wilmington, Weems had suggested the chain of bookstores: "Let me, or any other Person, establish 1, 2, or 300 very safe & judicious Little Book stores throughout these Southern States. These 1, 2, or 300 very safe, because well chosen, Gentlemen may be vending books & remitting monies at the same time. Under proper management, i e of Books well selected, and store keepers well chosen, I am very sure that immense Good may be done to the Country & immense profit may accrue to yourself." Skeel, *Weems*, II, 334. In the fall of 1811, Weems at least regarded the matter as a *fait accompli*: "3 weeks more & I shall enter on the cordon of your book stores established 2 years ago." Weems to Carey, Warrenton, N. C., September 24, 1811, Skeel, *Weems*, III, 54.

³¹ The Parson believed heartily in the idea of cheap books for all: "It is but rare that I want to see an Author that stands higher than a dollar." Weems to Carey, Dumfries, Va., March 25, 1809, Skeel, *Weems*, II, 398.

³² Weems to Carey, n. p., September 29, 1818, Skeel, *Weems*, II, 380.

Peter R. Davis was postmaster at Warrenton from 1805 until 1807; Colonel James Vaughan was a planter near Williamsboro, Granville County; and General John Steele, after retiring as Comptroller General in 1802, was regarded as the "most conspicuous member of the Federalist party in North Carolina."

In the case of General Steele, one of early North Carolina's favored sons, Weems's enthusiasm for bookselling seems to have exceeded the bounds of accepted decorum. The Parson had been recommended to the "civilities & attention" of the General back in the *Life of Washington* canvass days of 1804. Weems, who was no respecter of persons, evidently presumed too much as this apologetic letter from Carey to Steele explains:

Your favor of the 14th. which I read yesterday, has astonished me inexpressibly, & affords an additional proof of the extreme incorrectness of Mr. Weems's conduct, which has produced the most serious inconvenience & injury to me. He gave me clearly & explicitly to understand that you were zealously disposed, & even eager to cooperate with him & myself in the sale of Books—else, Sir, be assured I should never have troubled you with a Book, or with my correspondence. I had no idea that your agency in the business was to be merely "to request one of the Storekeepers to receive them"; I assuredly believed you were to dispose of them yourself, & conceived you were a Storekeeper, or merchant—not a planter. Should the Books arrive, I request Sir, you will have them stored somewhere till I take the necessary steps to dispose of them. By no means deliver them to any Storekeeper for sale. . . .³³

For his part Weems blamed Carey. In a later recital of his grievances to his employer he included this: "Nor would Genl. Steele of Salisbury have anything to do with *three* boxes sent to Petersburg for him, on getting your uncivil letters to him!"³⁴

Despite such rebuffs Weems maintained that his zeal was "equal to that of any Adventurer in this Great Work of circulating good books & useful knowledge."³⁵ He complained, however, that his plan for selling had "never yet had a fair trial." Carey would not let him "go forward & choose books for the places" but insisted on "pushing on *the books at random*" and consequently committed "errors equal to those of sending 'fiddles to Methodist meetinghouses.'"³⁶ But the Parson persevered; during the summer of 1811 he was in the north central part of the state. Here he had more success in his dealings with his local

³³ Carey to John Steele, Philadelphia, Pa., January 24, 1810, Steele Papers, North Carolina Historical Society, Chapel Hill, N. C. H. M. Wagstaff, ed., *The Papers of John Steele*, 620, published this letter but erroneously read "Weaver's for "Weems." The word is clearly "Weems's."

Carey need not have been quite so abject. In his youth, Steele had engaged in "practicing merchandising"; after his death in 1815 his widow kept the famous Steele's Tavern in Salisbury.

³⁴ Weems to Carey, Richmond, Va., November 21, 1811, Skeel, *Weems*, III, 56.

³⁵ Weems to Carey, Dumfries, Va., November 23, 1811, Skeel, *Weems*, III, 57.

³⁶ Weems to Carey, Lexington, Va., March 15, 1811, Skeel, *Weems*, III, 41.

agent, the prominent and wealthy Thomas Jeffreys of Red House in Caswell County, whose sales from the collection of books left with him amounted to nearly two hundred dollars. The recently built local academy was also to be furnished with books, at six cents above the Philadelphia prices.³⁷

On this journey Weems went again to Louisburg, that "Devil of a place." His letter from there suggests the literary tastes of some North Carolinians in 1811:

I was much importuned for the following books. . . . 6 *Salmagundi*—6 *Yankee in London*, and some of the *latest & best* treatises on the Military Art. And some of the newest & most popular pamphlets, & some droll, dashing pieces in the way of Biography, pictures of living manners. Wit, humor. . . .³⁸

The following year the beginning of the War of 1812 curtailed somewhat Weems's bookselling activities in the state. Carey wrote him: "The declaration of war deranges all our plans. I must not send goods to N. or South Carolina or Georgia as no insurance can be made on them."³⁹ Weems continued with his plans for a trip to North Carolina to look after the books that had already been distributed there. The "sickly season" of the summer of 1812 he spent in the "upper & healthy parts" of the state, progressing from court session to court session, selling books and collecting old debts.⁴⁰ The next spring, accompanied by his nephew, Elijah Weems, he was again hawking books at the court gatherings in the northern section. Two weeks later Elijah was left to work the court crowd at Northampton while the Parson went to Petersburg, Virginia, to replenish his stock, preparatory to assaulting Halifax.⁴¹

³⁷ Weems to Carey, Red House, N. C., August 30, 1811, Skeel, *Weems*, III, 53. These books were to be sent from a store in Petersburg, where Weems was constantly advising Carey to keep a good stock of books. "From Petersburg they can be sent at any time to almost any part of N. Carolina." Weems to Carey, Dumfries, Va., September 8, 1812, Skeel, *Weems*, III, 80.

³⁸ Weems to Carey, Louisburg, N. C., September 4, 1811, Skeel, *Weems*, III, 54. *Salmagundi; or, the Whim-Whams and Opinions of Launeelot Langstaff, Esq. and Others . . .* by Washington Irving, James Kirke Paulding, and William Irving was published in 1807; *The Yankee in London, Being the First Part of a Series of Letters Written by an American Youth, during Nine Month's Residence in the City of London*, attributed to Royall Tyler, was published in 1809.

³⁹ Carey to Weems, Philadelphia, Pa., June 12, 1812, Skeel, *Weems*, III, 70.

⁴⁰ Weems to Carey, Dumfries, Va., July 15, 1812, Skeel, *Weems*, III, 72-73.

⁴¹ Weems to Carey, Petersburg, Va., April 29, 1813, Skeel, *Weems*, III, 94. The previous fall the elder Weems had recommended Elijah highly to Carey: "I have an extraordinary young man, a Nephew, of singular activity and smartness and with a couple of thousand dollars in hand, who is very anxious to join me in the spring." Mrs. Skeel would have questioned the Parson's judgment in leaving Elijah alone at Northampton; by reading between the lines of the letters, she decided that "Elijah's habits were uncertain and his reliability not above suspicion." Skeel, *Weems*, III, 83.

Elijah Weems was for a short time a resident of North Carolina. Early in 1815 he opened

There are no extant records to indicate that Parson Weems was in North Carolina in the years between his 1813 visit and the early summer of 1821, when he was busy in the seaboard area of the state.⁴² In the winter of 1821-1822 he was in the piedmont section, appearing with his boxes of books in Halifax, Murfreesboro, Greensboro, Raleigh, Chapel Hill, and Hillsboro.⁴³ Surely he must have included some section of the state in his fateful itinerary to South Carolina, where he died on May 23, 1825. The obituary that appeared in the Warrenton *Reporter*, July 8, 1825, is one of the standard sources of information about his life.⁴⁴ In the *Raleigh Register*, July 12, 1825, Joseph Gales wrote feelingly of the deceased Parson "as the author of the *Life of Washington*, and various other popular works, which have passed through numerous editions, and have had a most extensive circulation"; he described him as "a man of very considerable attainment both as a scholar, a physician and divine"; but he dwelt most on his lifetime of bookselling:

[He] voluntarily commenced a career of incessant bodily toil, to disseminate moral and religious books in various remote and destitute portions of the country. From Pennsylvania to the frontiers of Georgia was the principal theatre of his indefatigable labors, and it is supposed on good authority, that in the course of his life he has been instrumental in circulating nearly a million copies of the scriptures and other valuable works. That in this laborious calling he was principally actuated by an expanded philanthropy, is proved by his entire neglect of the means of accumulating a large fortune and dying in comparative poverty. . . . He finally fell a martyr to his arduous exertions to do good. . . .

The influence of Parson Weems on the reading habits of North Carolinians in the early 1800's was not limited to his bookselling activities, telling as they were. Weems's own moralizing works, many of them published by Carey, were popular, some of them

a bookstore in Raleigh, making three in the town of less than two thousand inhabitants, one-third of which were slaves. Several months later he married a Raleigh girl, Miss Mary Shaw (*Raleigh Register*, November 17, 1815), but shortly was selling his stock at cost, "expecting to move to the North." *Raleigh Register*, January 26, 1816.

⁴² *Carolina Centinel* (New Bern, N. C.), June 16, 1821.

⁴³ Weems to Carey, Halifax, N. C., December 13, 1821, Skeel, *Weems*, III, 438; Weems to Carey, Murfreesboro, N. C., December 29, 1821, Skeel, *Weems*, III, 329; Weems to Carey, Raleigh, N. C., January 5, 1822, Skeel, *Weems*, III, 330.

⁴⁴ Reprinted in Skeel, *Weems*, II, 439.

exceedingly so, in the state.⁴⁵ North Carolina absorbed copy after copy, under one title or another, of Weems's perennial *Life of George Washington*.⁴⁶ Joseph Gales received 150 copies for his bookstore in 1808.⁴⁷ The next year five hundred more copies were sent to Raleigh and one hundred to Fayetteville.⁴⁸ Doubtless the books consigned to Raleigh were sold despite Carey's ineffective merchandizing, for which he was taken to task by Weems: "We shall be ruined from your inattention to my earnest & reiterated intreaties. Why were not Elegant Advertisements of this work, with letters critical & commendatory by Lee &c &c printed on colour'd paper, sent in the box?"⁴⁹ The Parson's *Washington* had already been publicized somewhat in Raleigh. In the *Minerva* of October 7, 1805, *Boylan's North Carolina Almanack* for 1806 was advertised as containing "Extracts from the Rev. M. L. Weems History of the Life of George Washington."

The Parson believed strongly in the moralizing influence of books. But he sagely advised Carey: "Let the Moral and Religious be as highly dulcified as possible."⁵⁰ To this end Weems wrote several palliatives—"my little Serio comical mello dramatical pamphlets," he called them. These he circulated in North Carolina as well as the other southern states. One hundred and fifty copies of the one he referred to as "my Mary Findley" were sent to Raleigh in the fall of 1808.⁵¹ This account of wife murder in

⁴⁵ On July 25, 1813, Weems, with evident petulance, wrote Carey from Dumfries, Virginia: "All the books that I shall ever want of yours, will be the Family Bible & Washington [Weems's]. These with some heavy subscription book & my pamphlets, will serve my turn." Skeel, *Weems*, III, 97.

⁴⁶ The title of the original work, published about 1800, was *The Life and Memorable Actions of George Washington*. Astute appraiser of humanity that he was, Weems must have noted the limited appeal of Marshall's ponderous *Washington* and pushed his own anecdotal account as being more suitable for reaching the really wide market of the masses—his aim in bookselling. See William A. Bryan, "The Genesis of Weems' 'Life of Washington,'" *Americana*, XXXVI (April, 1942), 147-167.

⁴⁷ Weems to Carey, Raleigh, N. C., September 29, 1808, Skeel, *Weems*, II, 382.

⁴⁸ Weems to Carey, Raleigh, N. C., November 27, 1809, Skeel, *Weems*, II, 424; Weems to Carey, Columbia, S. C., December 13, 1809, Skeel, *Weems*, II, 427.

⁴⁹ Major General Henry (Light-Horse Harry) Lee's commendation of *The Life of George Washington*, first printed in the *North American* (Baltimore) March 18, 1809, was used on the title page of the ninth edition (1809) and thereafter. At this time Weems's book was selling phenomenally. On January 7, 1809, Weems had written Carey about the printing of five thousand copies "of your spring edition of the Life of Washington for Petersburg, Norfolk, Halifax, Edinton—Tarboro, Washington [N. C.], Newbern, Fayette[ville], Wilmington, Geo. Town, Charleston, &c &c." Skeel, *Weems*, II, 384. Weems knew well that his book was selling. In one of their periodic fits of mutual resentment he taunted Carey: "And let me tell you, *once for all*, that if you are tired of the connexion I shall not use argument to bind you to it. Give me back my little book, or as Nathan wd say, my little ewe-lamb and take all your thousand of gigantic authors to *yourself*." Weems to Carey, Columbia, S. C., December 13, 1809, Skeel, *Weems*, II, 427.

⁵⁰ Weems to Carey, Dumfries, Va., June 18, 1797, Skeel, *Weems*, II, 44.

As a pioneer in the field of writing for the young and self-educated, Weems deserves a place in the annals of American literature.

⁵¹ Weems to Carey, Raleigh, N. C., September 29, 1808, Skeel, *Weems*, II, 382.

In the "very Handsome collection of Wax Figures as large as life" that was on display at Capt. William Scott's tavern in Raleigh, December 17-23, was "Mary Findley, who was drowned by her husband only eight weeks after marriage." *Star* (Raleigh), December 20, 1810.

South Carolina, *God's Revenge against Murder; or, the Drown'd Wife of Stephen's Creek . . .* (1807), sold for twenty-five cents. When this pamphlet was republished in 1809 with a slight change of title, it was noted to this extent in the *Raleigh Star's* column of brief book notices called "Literary Intelligence":

The Rev. Mason L. Weems, well known in the Southern States as agent for procuring subscribers for the *Life of Washington*, author of "Hymen's Recruiting Serjeant or a Matrimonial Tatoo for the Bachelors," and several other whimsical and amusing publications, has lately published "The Drown'd Wife, being a faithful history of the beautiful, but unfortunate Miss Polly Middleton, who, after bestowing herself with a fortune of four thousand dollars on a young husband, Mr. Edward Findley, was barbarously drowned by him in the eighth week after marriage."

Doctor Ramsay gives the following character of the work:

"No man can read this pamphlet without having his risible faculties often excited—no man can read it without having his horror for vice and his respect for Virtue increased. The Writer has the art of blending instruction with amusement. While he keeps his readers in high humor by the frolicsomeness of his manner, he is inculcating upon them important moral and religious truths, conducive to their present and future happiness."⁵²

Two other pamphlets in the *Revenge* series were more closely connected with North Carolina. *God's Revenge Against Adultery Awfully Exemplified in the Following Cases of American Crime . . .* (1815) included as one of its deterrents the case of "The Elegant James ONeale, Esq. (North Carolina,) who, for Seducing the Beautiful Miss Matilda Lestrangle, Was Killed by Her Brother." This twenty-three-page story in the seduction tradition was based on a tragic incident, doubtless related to Weems in his travels, that took place in the Wilmington area around 1790. Weems, and perhaps the actual circumstances, made sure that seduction was the capital crime; the avenging brother was imprisoned for manslaughter, but as womankind's hero (soon to be pardoned by Governor Alexander Martin) in a perfumed and

⁵² *Star*, February 9, 1809. Some of the North Carolina newspaper editors tried to keep their readers informed of Weems's activities. Gales's *Raleigh Register*, August 4, 1806, reported: "Mr. M. L. Weems, now at Charleston, S. C. has published in the *Times*, two columns of commendatory matter upon the character of the late venerable, and justly lamented George Wythe, Chancellor of Virginia."

beflowered cell.⁵³ The other North Carolinian that Weems used in his crime-does-not-pay series was not written up so extensively. In *God's Revenge against Gambling Exemplified in the Miserable Lives and Untimely Deaths of a Number of Persons of Both Sexes . . .* (1810), the three-page account of "T. Alston, Esq. (N. C.) who, from Gambling was shot by Capt. Johnson" was only one of six examples of gamblers. Not only did Thomas Alston of Halifax have to compete with gentlemen from Virginia and Maryland but also with such worthies as Marie Antoinette and Fanny Braddock, sister of General Braddock.

Another moralistic pamphlet of his own composition that Weems sold in North Carolina was *The Drunkard's Looking-Glass Reflecting a Faithful Likeness of the Drunkard . . .* (1812). In the fall of the year of publication the author was at his home in Dumfries, Virginia, awaiting the arrival of a shipment of his pamphlet with which he "wd set off immediately to N. Carolina."⁵⁴ Three weeks later, still waiting, he wrote exasperatedly to Carey: "But for the faint hope it may do some good to Youth I could almost wish I had never written that illfated pamphlet—tho' it outsells anything I have lately written."⁵⁵

Two of Weems's pieces written primarily for the South Carolina market circulated to a limited extent in North Carolina. In 1808, one hundred and fifty copies of his little pamphlet on Francis Marion, the genesis of his *The Life of Francis Marion* (1810), were sent to Gales's bookstore in Raleigh.⁵⁶ Several years later, the Parson's account of an occurrence in the religious life of contemporary South Carolina was advertised regularly for nearly six months in a New Bern newspaper:

Just Received and for Sale
at S. Hall's Book Store
Price 25 cents

The Devil Done Over; or the Grand Revival in Old Edgefield in 1809, wherein seven hundred souls were added to the Baptist church in nine Months.—Taken chiefly from the Minutes of the Rev'd Samuel Marsh, Robert Marsh, John Landrom and Samuel

⁵³ The copy of this pamphlet owned by the Duke University Library is inscribed thus: "Powell McRae. Presented by author, Jany. 1st 1823." Powell was Duncan MacRae's oldest son.

The companion piece to the O'Neale affair was the case of "The Accomplished Dr. Theodore Wilson, (Delaware) who for Seducing Mrs. Nancy Wiley, Had His Brains Blown out by her Husband."

⁵⁴ Weems to Carey, Dumfries, Va., September 8, 1812, Skeel, *Weems*, III, 80.

⁵⁵ Weems to Carey, Dumfries, Va., September 29, 1812, Skeel, *Weems*, III, 82.

⁵⁶ Weems to Carey, Raleigh, N. C., September 29, 1808, Skeel, *Weems*, II, 382.

Cartledge, who were the Honoured Instruments of the Glorious Work.

By M. L. Weems, Formerly Rector of General Washington's Parish.⁵⁷

In addition to writing and selling books, Weems at times published them. His most enduring venture in the publishing line was the Rev. Hugh Blair's *Sermons . . .*, "Reprinted for the Rev. M. L. Weems," by Samuel and John Adams in Baltimore, 1793. Weems's edition of Blair was offered for sale in Wilmington in 1803.⁵⁸ The Parson attested to its popularity in the South when he wrote Wayne: "I beg you to send no more Blair's to any place North of North Carolina."⁵⁹ One hundred copies of this edition of the Scottish divine were sent to Edenton early in 1812 along with "a cargo of valuable books" consigned by Carey. Weems was responsible for yet another religious book, *Sermons on Important Subject by the Late Reverend and Pious Samuel Davies . . .*, "Printed for Mason L. Weems," in Baltimore in 1816. Weems's edition was doubtless the result of an observation he once made to Carey regarding the sermons of "the Pulpit Henry of Virginia": "This is a book in great demand in all these S. States."⁶⁰

It was quite possible that at one time Weems was toying with the idea of publishing the work of a North Carolinian, General William R. Davie's "Notes on the Revolution." The copy of this manuscript in the North Carolina Historical Society in Chapel Hill has this note, dated January 7, 1810, attached:

If Genl Davie will please to have transcribed in a round legible hand the followg valuable documents, and forward them to me to care of Doct. Dalco, Charleston, he will confer a very great favor on his much oblig

M. L. Weems

NB The sooner the better; at any rate by the 15th Feb 1810.

Or perhaps the Parson intended enlivening the Notes in the

⁵⁷ *Carolina Federal Republican*, January 4, 1812, *et seq.* Mrs. Skeel maintains that this series of advertisements is the sole trace of this pamphlet. Skeel, *Weems*, I, 232.

⁵⁸ *Wilmington Gazette*, June 9, 1803. Blair's *Lectures on Rhetorick and Belles Lettres* (1777) was advertised more often in the state newspapers of the period than were the sermons.

⁵⁹ Weems to Wayne, Columbia, S. C., August 9, 1805, Skeel, *Weems*, I, 262.

⁶⁰ Weems to Carey, n. p., n. d., received July 26, 1811, Skeel, *Weems*, I, 283.

Note the publisher Carey's exasperation with Weems: "For Heaven's sake do not encourage every man who has written a Book no matter whether good or bad to apply to us. You worry us to Death. We have full as much on our hands as we can manage." Carey to Weems, Philadelphia, 1821, Skeel, *Weems*, III, 310.

same fashion that he did General Peter Horry's account of Francis Marion.

Because of his manifold activities Parson Weems had an inestimable influence upon the cultural life of North Carolina in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. His bookselling was perhaps the most telling feature. In this respect his zeal was unbounded; even his preaching was subordinate to it. As Bishop Meade observed somewhat sourly: "He preached in every pulpit to which he could gain access, and where he could recommend his books."⁶¹ His enthusiasm must have lured many a laggard to literacy and his wit persuaded many a purchaser. His appeal was to all classes—from those to whom he sold the expensive calfskin-bound Marshall's *Washington* to the half-educated rank and file at whom he aimed his own sketch of Washington. This gifted vagabond with his fiddle and ready tongue was a familiar figure to North Carolinians of the era, "an object of amusement to many, and of profit to Mr. Carey"⁶² as well as of benefit to the state as a whole.

⁶¹ Bishop [William] Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1900), II, 233. Evidently the Parson was a match for the Bishop; see Meade's own account: "I once . . . found Mr. Weems with a bookcaseful [of books] for sale, in the portico of the tavern. On looking at them I saw Paine's 'Age of Reason,' and, taking it into my hand, turned to him, and asked if it were possible that he could sell such a book. He immediately took out the Bishop of Llandaff's answer, and said, 'Behold the antidote. The bane and antidote are both before you,'" Meade, *Old Churches*, II, 235.

⁶² Meade, *Old Churches*, II, 233.

HENRY McCULLOH: PROGENITOR OF THE STAMP ACT

BY JAMES HIGH

The Stamp Act of 1765 was the starting point of the ten-year period that culminated in the American Revolution. The man who drafted the law, a forgotten clerk in a great office, believed that it could have worked had his recommendations been followed. The British ministers of state have had to bear the blame for losing the American colonies. Henry McCulloh has never been given any credit for his advice and foreknowledge of the crisis precipitated by the Stamp Act. That act caused George Grenville's ministry to fall. It was the first time an American issue had retired an English government.¹

Henry McCulloh gave the idea of an American stamp duty its first written form, which he handed, unsolicited, to the Earl of Bute, first minister in 1761.² It was examined and endorsed by Bute, Newcastle, Pelham, Halifax, and Grenville and was finally accepted by the latter as the basis for his infamous revenue measure of 1765.³ McCulloh produced the idea in 1761 and was

¹ Technically, Grenville fell on the Regency Bill, but Rockingham formed the next ministry with Pitt in order to repeal the Stamp Act. George Grenville (1712-1770), British politician, famous for prosecuting Wilkes and instituting the Stamp Act. He is often identified with the "King's Friends." One of his sons, George Nugent Temple Grenville, first Marquis of Buckingham (1753-1813), cousin of William Pitt, opposed Lord North. Another son, William Wyndham Grenville, first Baron Grenville (1759-1834), became Pitt's foreign secretary and formed the "Ministry of All the Talents" in 1806, when the slave trade was abolished. One may search almost in vain for the most trifling mention of American affairs in the published papers of George Grenville, and his official and secret correspondence while he headed the British ministry is preoccupied with European affairs to the complete exclusion of the colonies. He hardly thought of America, and when he did, it was as an appanage of the mercantile system of England. See Stowe Manuscripts (Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California), 6, for information concerning the assistance Grenville gave the Earl of Bute in getting rid of William Pitt in 1761. Lady Hester Pitt was made a baroness, and her husband was granted an annuity of £3,000, to give up the ministry and make peace. Stowe Manuscripts III, 1-2. Stowe Manuscripts, 7, cover the period of Grenville's administration, including his retirement from office without any mention of America.

² *Miscellaneous Representations relative to Our Concerns in America submitted in 1761 to the Earl of Bute, by Henry M'Culloh*, . . . edited by William A. Shaw (London, n. d., 1905), 12. John Stuart, third Earl of Bute (1713-1792), was a Scottish noble often elected as representative peer to sit in the English Parliament. He was the first Scottish nobleman to head a British ministry. He married a daughter of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, thus becoming very wealthy. He was very friendly with the young George III and his widowed mother, especially the latter. He helped the princess instill into the young prince the ideas of Bolingbroke on the nature of the duties of a prince. He was also on intimate terms with another Scottish peer who had experienced trouble with Americans, John Campbell, fourth Earl of Loudoun. Loudoun Papers (Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery), 9441-9458. In 1769 he considered himself ignorant of English affairs and went to Lisbon for his health. Bute to Loudoun, August 19, 1769, LO 9443. Bute voted in 1766, against repeal of the Stamp Act, as he said, "entirely from the private conviction . . . of its very bad and dangerous consequences both to this country and our colonys." *Caldwell Papers*, Maitland Club (1854), II, pt. ii, 82. See *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, 9th Report, Appendix iii, 22.

³ Edmund S. Morgan, "Postponement of the Stamp Act., *William and Mary Quarterly*, VII (July, 1950), 353-392, discusses the delay in putting through the act, partly to allow American discussion and partly because of indifference.

hired to write the law in 1764. Had more attention been paid to McCulloh's provisions, and had items "Exceptionable," as he put it, to the colonists not been included, American resistance to the Stamp Act would possibly have been less. It would, at least, have been on different grounds.⁴ McCulloh had been in the Plantation Office and the Colonial Office, had served as a crown officer in North and South Carolina, and had been in the naval expedition along with the Massachusetts men at the reduction of Louisbourg. He was, therefore, in a position to understand Americans as well as anyone in the British government—better than any of the ministers. His law, altered in essential detail, was enacted by Parliament in February, 1765.⁵ The changes, though seemingly slight, put a workable plan into a "dress of Horror" for Americans.⁶ They reacted against it immediately and violently.⁷

It is facile to say that George Grenville should have "known better." It is equally easy to say the same of such a man as William Knox, one of the principal advisers of the Board of Trade on colonial affairs. Knox wrote many books on America and its administration, but he had spent little time in the colonies, and he could only think of the colonists as Englishmen

⁴ Sir Francis Bernard to the Earl of Halifax, November 10, 1764, Huntington Manuscripts (Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery), 2586. Bernard was governor of Massachusetts during the Stamp Act controversy. He had never been firm in his belief that Parliament should impose taxes on the colonies. Typical of his attitude was his letter to Halifax, in which he said that ". . . the Trade of America is really the Trade of Great Britain and the opening and encouraging it is the most Effectual way for Great Britain to draw Money from America." See *Select Letters on the Trade and Government of America by Governor Bernard* (London, 1774).

Daniel Dulany, *Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes in the British Colonies, for the Purpose of Raising a Revenue by Act of Parliament* (Annapolis, 1765), gave classic form to the American resistance to Parliamentary control based on resistance to the particular act. Without the Stamp Act, it would have had to take another form.

⁵ George III, c. 12, the Stamp Act.

⁶ "General Thoughts endeavouring to demonstrate that the Legislature here, in all Cases of a Public and General Concern, have a Right to Tax the British Colonies; But that with respect to the late America Stamp Duty Bill, there are several Clauses inserted therein which are very Exceptionable, and have, as humbly Conceived, passed upon wrong Information. Most Humbly Submitted to the Consideration of the Honourable Thomas Townshend By Henry McCulloh [1765]." Huntington Manuscripts, Townshend Collection (Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California), 1480, cited hereafter as "General Thoughts. . . ."

⁷ See Lawrence Henry Gipson, *Jared Ingersoll: A Study of American Loyalism in Relation to British Colonial Government* (New Haven, 1920), for a description of how the act was received in America. Stella F. Duff, "The Case Against the King: The *Virginia Gazette* Indict George III," *William and Mary Quarterly*, VI (July, 1949), shows the mounting rancor against England that grew from the Stamp Act. Even the English magazines in 1765 were not unfriendly to the American point of view: as an example, see *Gentleman's Magazine*, XXXV (October, 1765), 473: "The Stamp Act has produced a spirit of opposition, in that remote part of the world, that was not perhaps foreseen by the advisers of that measure. The news of the late change in the ministry was received in America with bonfires, ringing of bells, and every public demonstration of joy." Effigies of Grenville were burned in all the colonies.

abroad.⁸ Many Englishmen missed the significance of the colonial use of "foreigner" to include them.⁹ Looking back, the mistakes are evident, but in 1765, only a man with real interest and experience in America could see the colonists' point of view and yet perceive Parliamentary sovereignty as the supreme force in the empire.¹⁰

Who was this man who advised and influenced ministers, but could not convince them? He suggested the idea of the Stamp Act.¹¹ He worked out the plan of taxation in detail.¹² He wrote the first draft of the law.¹³ He then pointed out the reasons for its potential failure as it finally passed Parliament.¹⁴ He discerned that Englishmen who were chiefly interested in colonial trade would oppose such a measure, but that Englishmen on both sides of the Atlantic who found their main interest in land and the unification of the empire, would agree to the principal, and yet oppose the terms of the specific act. McCulloh, furthermore, devised a currency scheme, without which no American revenue law would work.¹⁵ Who was Henry McCulloh, and why has he been forgotten?

Why he has been forgotten is simple. He was only a clerk in a great office. He soon drifted into that limbo of vague eighteenth century names, without birth or death dates—without recognition.

⁸ William Knox (1732-1810), permanent employee of the Board of Trade as an expert on American affairs wrote several books on American politics and administration, such as *The Controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies Reviewed* (London, Dublin, Boston, 1769). He thought that the Americans wanted to remove all imperial restrictions: "When they shall have carried these several points, one after another, they will probably be content, whatever the people of England may be."

⁹ William Knox, *Controversy . . .*, 108-109 (London edition), gives Benjamin Franklin's opinion that British interference in the French and Indian war was not needed. The Americans drove out the French without "foreign" help. *Gentlemen's Magazine*, XXXV (April, 1765), 189ff., reviews a book, *Objections to the Taxation of the American Colonies &c. considered*, which held that the Americans were treated ". . . as aliens and slaves," by foreign rulers. *Gentleman's Magazine*, XXXV (October, 1765), 473. *London Magazine* (January, 1766), 31, 32. Cf. Dora Mae Clark, *British Opinion and the American Revolution* (New Haven, 1930), 34. On the basis of one of Henry McCulloh's tracts, *A Miscellaneous Essay concerning the Course pursued by Great Britain in the Affairs of her Colonies* (London, 1755), this author has lumped him and William Knox and Thomas Whately into one category: they should have "known better" than attempt the Stamp Act.

¹⁰ The classic American point of view on the history of the Stamp Act was expressed early by George Bancroft, *History of the United States of America*, III (New York, 1888), 149ff., that right in the form of American sovereignty was bound to triumph. More useful interpretations are now available, such as Gipson, *Jared Ingersoll*, and Morgan, "Postponement of the Stamp Act."

¹¹ *Miscellaneous Representations relative to Our Concerns in America Submitted in 1761 to the Earl of Bute, by Henry M'Culloh. . .*, edited by William A. Shaw (London, n. d.), 12, hereafter cited as McCulloh, *Miscellaneous Representations*.

¹² British Museum, Hardwicke Papers, Additional Manuscripts, 35910:137. "Minutes and observations taken in conference with Mr. McCulloh upon considering of his scheme for an American Stamp law," October 12, 1763, British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 36226:357.

¹³ McCulloh, "General Thoughts. . .," 13.

¹⁴ McCulloh, "General Thoughts. . .," *passim*.

¹⁵ McCulloh, "General Thoughts. . .," *passim*. British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 32874:308.

McCulloh's career has been obscured by time and the glitter of great names. In English records he first appears as a minor official in the Plantation Office in 1733.¹⁶ The next notice of his existence was in 1738, when he presented two memorials to the Treasury Board concerning the improvement of quitrent collection in the Carolinas. He attempted to expose an alleged land fraud in the newly made crown colonies.¹⁷ The next year he was made "Inspector for improving quit rents in North and South Carolina."¹⁸ Apparently he failed to collect enough to pay his own salary, because the North Carolina Assembly refused his petition for back pay in 1741.¹⁹ He styled himself at that time, "Commissioner for supervising, inspecting, and controlling His Majesty's revenues and grants of lands in the province of North Carolina."²⁰ His name next appears in 1744, when the Treasury Board in England refused to appropriate his still unpaid arrears out of the "4½ p cent duty" on the West Indian trade.²¹

In financial desperation, McCulloh returned to England in 1745, to seek a commission in the navy. In his request to the Duke of Newcastle for letters of recommendation to Governor William Shirley of Massachusetts, he wrote: "I rely wholly upon your friendship for my support," and expressed intention to board the "Foulston man-of-war" for Virginia, and so to Cape Breton.²² He remained in the garrison of Fort Louisbourg until it was returned to France by treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle.²³

If McCulloh's life in England was quite prosaic, his American activities were spectacular. He entered colonial records with a grand flourish in 1737, as Henry McCulloh of Chiswick Parish, Middlesex, England, grantee of 1,200,000 acres of land in North Carolina.²⁴ The terms of this princely grant required him to

¹⁶ Public Record Office, Treasury Board Papers, CCXCVIII, Number 38.

¹⁷ Public Record Office, Colonial Office 5, Plantations General, Number 30 (old style citation, before the program of Project A was started).

¹⁸ Treasury Minute of Appointment, January 2, 1738/39 (O. S.); Royal Warrant issued May 16, 1739 (O. S.), *King's Warrant Book: Treasury*, XXXIII, 281-282, hereafter referred to as *King's Warrant Book: Treasury*.

¹⁹ His instructions appear in *King's Warrant Book: Treasury*, XXXIII, 282-291. Conflict with North Carolina first appears in *Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers . . . preserved in the Public Record Office*, edited by William A. Shaw (London, 1905-), IV, 503.

²⁰ *Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers*, IV, (introduction) viii.

²¹ *Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers*, V, 674.

²² McCulloh to Andrew Stone [1745], British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 32709, Newcastle Papers, 119.

²³ McCulloh to Newcastle, February 13, 1753, British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 32731:177.

²⁴ *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, edited by William L. Saunders (10 vols. Raleigh, 1886-1890), VI, 533, hereafter cited as *Colonial Records*.

settle on it "6,000 Protestants" within ten years.²⁵ The scheme he had to "improve his Majesty's quit rents was to sub-grant his land in great seignories, collecting annually four shillings for each one hundred acres. The promoter was to keep half of the proceeds for his trouble."²⁶ The plan was a failure, and within three years McCulloh was in sharp conflict with the colonial Assembly over the question of local sovereignty versus Parliamentary supremacy. They would neither pay his royal salary, nor would they admit that the king had any right to grant away great tracts of their colony.²⁷ This land speculator and servant of the crown was learning the mettle of the Americans, and why they spoke of Englishmen as "foreigners."

By 1745, McCulloh had almost despaired of turning his land speculation to much account, but he still held his claims in North Carolina, now in conjunction with a group of Dublin entrepreneurs including Arthur Dobbs.²⁸ Dobbs later became royal governor of the colony, and by 1761, had succeeded in wresting from his former friend the whole vast acreage.²⁹ McCulloh, however, acquired a smaller tract on the Cape Fear River in 1745. It was only 71,160 acres: a pocketful as compared to the fabulous grant of 1737. During his absence from North Carolina (for now he spoke of it as his home), he delegated a relative, Alexander McCulloh, to sell outright this land.³⁰ By that time he had less personal interest in the king's revenues.

It is not apparent that he made any profit from this venture either, because in 1753 he petitioned the Duke of Newcastle for relief.³¹ He had been out of a job for five years, since the termination of his service at Louisbourg.

²⁵ *Colonial Records*, V, xxxii, 769. Grant was made May 19, 1737.

²⁶ *Colonial Records*, V, 770-771. Governor Gabriel Johnston directed that the subdivisions be not less than 12,000 acres each. At least three such grants were made to Arthur Dobbs, Murry Crymble, and James Huey.

²⁷ *Colonial Records*, V, xxxii, 104; VI, 533.

²⁸ *Colonial Records*, V, xxxii, 104; VI, 533.

²⁹ *Colonial Records*, VI, 560. Herbert L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century* (4 vols. New York, 1924), VI, 201, 204, says that McCulloh, with his influence in the Board of Trade, obtained the position of governor of North Carolina for Dobbs.

³⁰ *Colonial Records*, VI, 574. This grant was tied up with Governor Johnston's quarrel with the Assembly over the right to issue land patents. The Assembly held that they had the sole jurisdiction over the lands of the former proprietors of the colony. The dispute was ended only by the American Revolution.

³¹ McCulloh to Newcastle, June 22, 1753, British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 32732:86. Thomas Pelham-Holles (1693-1768) was made Viscount Haughton and Earl of Clare and Suffolk upon the accession of George I and Duke of Newcastle-upon-Tyne two years later in 1715. He and his brother, Henry Pelham, figured in English politics until 1768. One or the other headed or was prominent in every ministry after 1717 until the end of the Seven Years' War.

For the next four years McCulloh besieged the duke for a position. He wanted especially the royal secretaryship of North Carolina.³² With that job he could collect a salary from the crown, and still be in a position to exploit his land grant which had been extended for ten more years in 1748.³³ He kept track of the health of the incumbent secretary, and informed Newcastle of developments: “. . . there is a further account of Mr. Rice’s death, who was given over by the physicians, when the last ship came thence, . . . with the gout in his bowels and stomach.”³⁴ Secretary Rice failed the new aspirant and lived until 1756.³⁵

In 1753 McCulloh, in hard financial straits, had to beg “. . . Mr. Pelham that he will pleased to grant me a small sum of money for a present relief untill I succeed, which is the only means of hope I now have left to preserve my little family and self from utter ruin.”³⁶ Failing to get the position in North Carolina, he applied for one in the Naval Office of the Lower District of the James River in Virginia; and subsequently for his old clerkship at the Board of Trade. He reported to his patron that the Earl of Halifax had rebuked him for his importunity, and wrote “. . . that I kept running teasing your Grace so . . . and that I asked everything, and that he supposed I wanted twenty places, and that I was one of those sort of people that could never be contented.”³⁷

Finally, in 1756, his name appears as Secretary and Clerk of the Crown of North Carolina. He retained the position until 1761, when he was reinstated in the Plantation Office.³⁸ At the same time he finally lost all claim to his great grant of land in America; but an entry in colonial records shows Henry Eustare McCulloh, son of “Henry McCulloh, late of Soracty in North Carolina,” attempting to exploit 475,000 acres in “Lord Granville’s tract.”³⁹

³² McCulloh to Newcastle, April 6, 1753, British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 32731:338.

³³ Petition of Henry McCulloh, May 16, 1739, *Colonial Records*, V, 488, 628-629.

³⁴ McCulloh to Newcastle, March 26, 1753, British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 32731:410.

³⁵ *Court and City Register*, 1756. Thomas Falkner appears as secretary in 1761.

³⁶ McCulloh to Newcastle, April 6, 1753, British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 32732:86.

³⁷ McCulloh to Newcastle, April 6, 1753, British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 32731:338.

³⁸ Henry McCulloh, *Miscellaneous Representations* . . . , introduction.

³⁹ Board of Trade to Dobbs, May 6, 1761, *Colonial Records*, VI, 559-561, indicates that they intended to direct Dobbs to seize all of the land not actually settled. *Colonial Records*, V, 621.

This was the man, then, whom one person has called “. . . responsible for the financial proposal which provoked the American War of Independence.”⁴⁰ By a little further examination it may be seen that his American experience had taught him that there were certain points upon which the colonists would not compromise. His interest, sympathy, and intelligence prompted him to translate this experience into imperial policy when he had the chance. He almost succeeded.

Just before the Stamp Act was finally drafted in 1764, the Treasury Board recorded “Minutes and observations taken in conference with Mr. M’Culloh.”⁴¹ This included a “. . . state of the several articles proposed by Mr. M’Culloh to be stamped, and the duties thereon; likewise a state of all the different articles which are now stamped in Great Britain, in order to fix upon the articles which are to be inserted in the law intended for imposing Stamp duties in America and the West Indies.”⁴² The manuscript carries the following endorsement on the back of the last sheet: “10th October 1763, was presented to Mr. Grenvill, who approved it.” Sometime during the following year the measure was expanded to include the “duties intended by the Treasury,” and McCulloh’s scheme to stabilize colonial currency was eliminated.⁴³ He was sure that this would “defeat the whole of what is proposed.”⁴⁴

Henry McCulloh, co-author of the Stamp Act, knew in advance that it was foredoomed, because, as he wrote, “. . . there are several clauses inserted therein which are very Exceptionable,

⁴⁰ Henry McCulloh, *Miscellaneous Representations . . .*, introduction.

⁴¹ Minutes and Observations taken in conference with Mr. McCulloh . . . , British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 36226:357.

⁴² British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 35910:137. Edmund S. Morgan, “Postponement of the Stamp Act,” 353ff., points out that Grenville was not decided on the matter of a stamp duty in America until 1764, and then he allowed himself to be persuaded to substitute the Sugar Act. He is supposed to have deferred action on an internal tax until the Americans had been given a chance to perfect a plan of their own choosing. The manuscript, including “duties intended by the Treasury,” and endorsed by Grenville on October 10, 1763, tends to undermine this point of view. It is further weakened by the fact that such men as Benjamin Franklin, Jared Ingersoll, Charles Garth, and the rest of the colonial agents found no fault with the Stamp Act until *after* the Stamp Act Congress held in New York in October, 1765. See Verner W. Crane, *Benjamin Franklin’s Letters to the Press, 1758 to 1775* (Chapel Hill, 1950), 35-75 (on repeal, 25, 54-57). See also Jared Ingersoll, *Ingersoll Stamp Act Correspondence* (n. p., 1776), 26.

⁴³ Benjamin Franklin’s land bank scheme for supporting a colonial currency was turned down at the same time. Parliament was dominated by men interested in trade, and steeped in the beliefs of mercantilism. It was very difficult for them to envisage America as anything but an appanage of British trade. They failed generally to perceive the sovereign aspirations of the colonists. The fact was that the mercantile system was toppling of its own cumbersome weight. The Earl of Hillsborough, Secretary of State, wrote to Governor Horatio Sharpe of Maryland, that trade was being “. . . diverted from its natural course,” which was from colony to mother country. He was bewildered, and he probably represented the majority of his contemporaries. Hillsborough to Sharpe, October 10, 1763, Maryland Historical Society Manuscripts.

⁴⁴ Henry McCulloh, *Miscellaneous Representations . . .*, 8.

and have . . . passed upon wrong Information."⁴⁵ He even proposed that ". . . the Ladies in America" had emulated the plan of Lysistrata, and "that they have formed a kind of Confederacy in all the Colonies, not to Permit any Officer concerned in the Stamp Duties to Visit them, or be Entertained at their Houses."⁴⁶

The main points of potential failure that he brought up were: (1) interference in the American ecclesiastical arrangements; (2) the threat to local courts and the constitutional right of *habeas corpus*; (3) the lack of any reform in the circulation of specie; and (4) the mistaken concept of colonial unification and the need for mutual understanding of the sovereignty of Parliament.

The manuscript which contains these "General Thoughts . . . with respect to the late America Stamp Duty Bill . . ." was presented for the "Consideration of the Honourable Thomas Townsend by Henry McCulloh" in 1765.⁴⁷ If Townsend or anyone else ever considered it, no knowledge of the matter has come down to the present. The manuscript has remained unnoticed for one hundred and eighty-five years. It is a significant illustration of the bumbling administration of the English colonies in the eighteenth century, and it shows that it was possible in 1765 for an Englishman to understand the quality of feeling in America. He must, however, have had a deep interest in the New World and long experience among its inhabitants.

McCulloh touched the core of the constitutional struggle that was to develop between America and the mother country when he wrote concerning the application of stamps to wills and other documents of "Courts Exercising Ecclesiastical jurisdiction: There is not in America any Ecclesiastical Courts, but the people Settled there, who are mostly Dissenters or Sectarys of various other Denominations, look upon [the Stamp Act] . . . as a prelude to the Establishment of such Courts; and many of them would sooner forfeit their lives than pay

⁴⁵ McCulloh, "General Thoughts . . .," Huntington Manuscripts, 1480.

⁴⁶ McCulloh, "General Thoughts . . .," 12, Huntington Manuscripts, 1480.

⁴⁷ Thomas Townshend was a member of the Board of Trade, related to the more famous and more inept Charles Townshend (1725-1767), who as Chancellor of the Exchequer tried to enforce import duties on glass, tea, lead, paint, etc., in America with as little success as Grenville had. Thomas Townshend usually voted on the Board of Trade as Soame Jenyns did. Jenyns gave classic form to the idea that no one would willingly tax himself and that therefore Parliament had the right to perform that function for all British subjects.

Obedience to such Establishment.”⁴⁸ His experience as an officer in the British navy in Massachusetts would have taught him that, when he sailed with the force under Sir William Pepperell. He continued: “Their Teachers are likewise very Active in inflaming the Minds of the People, and will, from their dislike to the above Clause, give as much Opposition to the Stamp Duty Bill as if there was a Clause in it for Establishing a Court of Inquisition amongst them.”⁴⁹ He pointed out that the Church of England had failed to transport to America its prerogative in the probate of wills and issuance of marriage licenses. The bishop failed to migrate to the New World, and as McCulloh knew, “The Governors in most of the Colonies act as Ordinary, in the probate of Wills: and in . . . Such Colonies where the Governors do not Exercise this power it is left to the County Courts.”⁵⁰

He touched the canker of resentment again when he commented on the provision of the Stamp Act that “When any Suit of prosecution shall be Commenced in the Courts of Admiralty or Vice Admiralty, the said courts are . . . Authorized and required to proceed, hear and determine the same, at the Election of the Enformer or Prosecutor.” This seemed to impinge on the ancient right of *habeas corpus*. “The Colonies insist, that by the above Clause, they are denied the Privileges they are Intitled to as free born Subjects of the Mother Country; That they, as Colonists, are Intitled to the benefits of the Common Law of England, and to the Privileges Granted by Magna Charta, and that even admitting that our Parliament has a Right to Tax them, It cannot be inferred from thence that the Parliament has a Right to Disfranchise them, and bar them from their natural Rights as Englishmen: That all power is, or ought to be, bounded by reason, by Justice, and by the Principles of the Constitution, And that if it goes further, it is Tyranny. They likewise Alledge, that if an Act was to pass here which drew Lines of Distinction between those who had Votes in Counties and Boroughs, And those who had not any Votes in Choosing Members of Parliament, that the Bulk of the Sub-

⁴⁸ McCulloh, “General Thoughts . . .,” Huntington Manuscripts, 1480.

⁴⁹ McCulloh, “General Thoughts . . .,” Huntington Manuscripts, 1480. See Clinton Rossiter, “The Life and Mind of Jonathan Mayhew,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, VII (October, 1950), which illustrates well how the dynamic religious movements in America influenced men to adopt revolutionary principles.

⁵⁰ McCulloh, “General Thoughts . . .,” Huntington Manuscripts, 1480.

jects in this Kingdom would hold themselves Excused from paying Obedience to so Arbitrary and Unconstitutional a Law."⁵¹ McCulloh could have learned this when he was special collector of His Majesty's quitrents in the Carolinas in 1738, or when he was Crown Secretary for North Carolina from 1756 to 1761.

Always one of the thorniest problems that confronted the colonists and their administrators was the shortage of medium of exchange. During the period of settlement imperial "neglect" had allowed each colony to develop its own method of furnishing money to meet the necessities of everyday life. The result was a mixture of the various notes of colonial legislatures, British coins, and foreign gold and silver. No uniformity existed, and colonial issues were invariably discounted heavily in favor of English pounds sterling. Colonial trade was often hampered, and by 1765 inflation was becoming ominous. If a regular British tax was to be levied, the need for currency reform was evident, at least to McCulloh.

He wrote that ". . . under their present Circumstances it is impossible for many of the Colonists to pay Obedience to the said Law," because of the shortage of circulating cash. He deprecated the deletion of his provision against this dilemma. Concerning the curtailment of colonial money issues, he said that ". . . it will be found that those Sudden Revolutions in Trade, and in Government, without Substituting any thing as a Medium in the Course of Payments, will have a fatal Tendency, both with respect to the public Concerns of the Colonies, and to Trade and Commerce. There is nothing can be Offered on this Subject but will be attended with some Difficulties, and be liable to Objections, but the necessity of the case is such that something must be done in Relief of the Colonies, And . . . it will be wise and Prudent to take that course which will be found liable to the fewest Inconveniences."⁵²

He followed this preface with a plan so simple and apparently feasible that it is difficult to understand now why it was not adopted. His own words are so clear that they may be quoted at length:

⁵¹ McCulloh, "General Thoughts . . .," Huntington Manuscripts, 1480. He may have been referring here to Grenville's ill-fated Cider Bill of 1764, which met rigorous opposition from the groups in Durham not represented in Parliament. See Soame Jenyns's statement on Parliamentary sovereignty, *Objections to the Taxation of our American Colonies by the Legislature of Great Britain, briefly consider'd* (London, 1765).

⁵² McCulloh, "General Thoughts . . .," Huntington Manuscripts, 1480.

I have Often Considered this Matter, and have had great Opportunities of being Acquainted with the General Concerns of America; and the only Method which seems to be practicable is, . . . by Issuing Exchequer Orders in the Payment of the Army, and all other contingent Charges in America, which will Obtain a Circulation by receiving the said Orders in payment of Customs, Stamp Duties, Quit Rents &c^a. . . , [or]else there should be a New Coinage for America, to be Transmitted there for payment of the Troops, and other Contingent Charges; And as by the 6th of Queen Anne fforeign Silver is to pass in America at the rate of 6^s 8^d p Ounce, in the new Coinage for America there should be an Alloy of 1/4th Given to each Ounce of Silver, but I would not be Understood to pass it as Sterling, but according to the Real Value.

If this Proposal is Approved of, the Stamp Duty and other Revenues arising in America will at different Periods of time, be Sufficient to Raise four or ffive Millions Sterling . . . and by this means America will be Supplied with Silver Specie so as to Answer all payments, both of a Public and of a Private Nature.

The only Objection that I have heard mentioned is, that if the Colonies are not at Liberty to Issue any further Bills of Currency, and their Silver as Coined upon the Credit of the above Fund, it will not remain in America, But be Shipped home, which I conceive to be a mistake, for if the Money is really Circulated, so much as is needed for the Course of Business there will remain.

McCulloh did not try to deny Gresham's Law, but he maintained that a proper circulation of money would tend to offset its effects:⁵³

The Principal reason why the Money Shipped from thence in the late War, for the payment of the Troops in America, speedily returned again, was Owing to the Money not being Circulated in Payment of the Troops, as the Subaltern Officers and Soldiers were paid in Provincial Bills of Currency and consequently the Commanding Officers and merchants found their Account in returning it home. Provincial Bills of Currency are like Pharoah's Lean Kine: while they remain, Silver Specie will always be exported as Merchandize, but when a Stop is put to the Circulation of Bills of Currency, Silver Specie will become the proper Medium, or Course of payment in all the Intercourses of Trade. But even admitting that a great part of the Silver returned to England, there will be a Constant and fresh Supply of Money in the payment of the Army &c^a, and it will be for the Service of this Kingdom to have frequent Coinages of Silver,

⁵³ Sir Thomas Gresham (1519 ?-1579), Elizabethan philosopher who gave his name to the principle that ". . . of two currencies . . . the lesser will drive out the better which will be hoarded or exported." This became a tenet of mercantilism.

upon the credit of an American fund, which will Strengthen the hand of the Administration in Enabling them to Settle and Improve our new Acquisitions in America.⁵⁴

It was estimated that £80,000 could be collected annually under optimum operation of the new law. McCulloh thought that by eliminating the obnoxious portions and instituting a new currency system, the total revenue would be about £4,000 less, but that the act would be a total failure otherwise. It is easy to look back and see the mistakes that other people have made, but Henry McCulloh discerned the weak points of the Whigs' Stamp Act long before it became law. His analysis came closer to the truth than even those of Daniel Dulany and James Otis in America.⁵⁵ He agreed with the official attitude of the Board of Trade insofar as admitting that no one would willingly tax himself, but at the same time he was able to devise a measure that he thought would collect a reasonable proportion of the taxes expected by the crown. He was more realistic than either Parliament or the ministry.

He had written a tract ten years earlier that leaves no doubt of his belief in the sovereignty of Parliament.⁵⁶ He thought that legislative action should be translated into systematic administration of the whole empire, ". . . by making one Part of Use in the Improvement of another."⁵⁷ He wrote in 1761 that "as the

⁵⁴ McCulloh, "General Thoughts . . .," Huntington Manuscripts, 1480.

⁵⁵ James Otis (1725-1783) was already famous in Massachusetts for his resistance to the writs of assistance issued by the General Court of his colony. He advanced the theory of the natural rights of Americans—this phrase might include anything that its user desired. Otis exploited the New Englanders' interest in trade and consequent dislike of restrictions on it, to appeal to their sense of independence. See Charles Mullett, *Some Political Writings of James Otis* (1929). Daniel Dulany (1722-1797) was the son of Daniel Dulany, the elder (1685-1753), Irish immigrant to Maryland who became very wealthy and influential in that colony. The younger Dulany gave written, logical form to Stamp Act resistance in his *Considerations . . .*, already cited. It was written however, in October, 1765, and is a legalistic, opportunistic utilization of spurious logic and unusual arithmetic. Dulany was a Loyalist in 1776. Cf. Charles Albro Barker, *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven, 1940), 165, 305-306.

⁵⁶ Henry McCulloh, *A Miscellaneous Essay concerning the Course pursued by Great Britain in the Affairs of her Colonies* (London, 1755). See Clark, *British Opinion and the American Revolution*, 34n. It is interesting to note here that in 1755 no one seriously questioned British sovereignty, on either side of the Atlantic, except the proprietary family of Maryland. When Governor Sharpe suggested a stamp duty for America to finance the French and Indian War (Sharpe to Cecilius Calvert, September 15, 1754, *Archives of Maryland*, "Correspondence of Governor Sharpe, 1753-1757," edited by William Hand Browne, Baltimore, 1888, VI, 99, ". . . it should be thought proper to bring in a Bill . . . the next Session of Parliament . . . for raising a Fund in the several Provinces . . . By a Stamp Duty . . . on Deeds & Writings. . ."), he was dissuaded from his idea by Secretary Calvert, uncle of the young Lord Baltimore. By 1765 Calvert regretted the passage of the Stamp Act and blamed it on the "whimsies" of the Maryland Assembly, which "has brought on them the Lex Parliamenti . . ." Calvert to Sharpe, February 26, 1765, Calvert Papers (Maryland Historical Society), 573. Sharpe thought in 1765 that "Parliament indeed seems to be considered throughout North America as calculated to distress the Colonies without doing the least Service to the Mother Country." Sharpe to Calvert, February 26, 1765, Maryland Archives, XIV, 196.

⁵⁷ McCulloh, *Miscellaneous Representations . . .*, 6.

want of System was the main Inlett to the present War, if we do not regulate, or establish a proper Course or Rule of Proceeding, all the Advantages we fondly hope for, will vanish into Air . . . As all lesser Systems must depend upon the System observed in the Mother Country, nothing proposed can have it's due Effect, unless the Offices abroad are so regulated as to transmit every Matter of Importance . . . in America, to the Plantation Office: And then, the Success of the whole depends upon the R^t Hon^{bl} the Lords of Trade and Plantations making a due and full Report to the Crown of all Matters that come under their Inspection. For, if the Channels of Information can be obstructed, or varied by different Modes of Application, it will leave Room for Connections which may defeat the whole of what is proposed." He then suggested a stamp duty to pay the cost, and a system of strict accounting.⁵⁸

In 1765, he reiterated his belief in the supremacy of Parliament, saying that the colonies ". . . are under the protection of the Legislature here, and in some Degree in the Character of Wards, . . . And altho' many persons in the Colonies have often insisted, that as they have no proper Representative here, they ought not to be Taxed by our Legislature, Yet this Plea may with equal Reason be Urged by many Men of Fortune in this Kingdom, whose fortunes are in Trade or in the Public Funds; and the same Plea may be Urged by nine tenths of the Common People. But as both there and here such persons Enjoy the Privilege of Subjects, and the Protection of the Laws, they are indispensably bound to Conform their Conduct to the Rules prescribed to them by the Laws and Consitutions of this Kingdom."⁵⁹ McCulloh still felt that a "Stamp Duty on Vellum parchment and Paper in North America"⁶⁰ was the only "Tax or fund from which any Considerable Duty [could] arise in relief of the Mother Country," but it must be a wise measure based on deliberation, consideration, and experience.⁶¹

Concluding his appeal for revision of the Stamp Act, McCulloh wrote: "I was desired to assist . . . in drawing the Stamp Duty Bill, but I left out the above, and several other Clauses that are now incerted therein, However that Affair was taken out of my

⁵⁸ McCulloh, *Miscellaneous Representations* . . . , 13.

⁵⁹ McCulloh, "General Thoughts . . .," Huntington Manuscripts, 1480.

⁶⁰ McCulloh, *Miscellaneous Representations* . . . , 12.

⁶¹ McCulloh, "General Thoughts . . .," Huntington Manuscripts, 1480.

Hands, and the Bill was afterwards drawn upon the plan of Business in use here which is very different from what ought to have been observed in America." He thought that the law would ". . . be another great means of introducing much Disturbance and Confusion in the . . . Colonies." To allow the colonies to unite themselves without Parliamentary authority, or enforce an obnoxious tax measure, he knew was inept. He said that ". . . there could not be a more effectual Method taken to render the said Colonies in Process of time, independent of their Mother Country."⁶² He was right.

Such an attempt as McCulloh's in 1765 was more to the point of preserving the British empire than all the extra-Parliamentary bugling about American "rights" by William Pitt, General Conway, and John Wilkes. The American colonists were not looking for "friends" in England. They looked for sound leadership from the mother country, and they were disappointed. Franklin, in 1769, could say that the Americans had not "asked" for help in expelling the French, that they had actually done it all alone;⁶³ but that was in 1769, after American affairs had been caught in "the Grand Wheel of Government."⁶⁴ In 1765, he and Thomas Pownall had a plan of their own to finance the Stamp Act excise. They could see no reason why it would not work.⁶⁵

It is useless to study historical "might have beens" unless they help to clarify understanding of our actual history. The Stamp Act has been accepted as the starting point of the American Revolution, and a sense of inevitability has grown up about that war. No war is inevitable, and a statement of Revolutionary origin in 1765 is too glib. There were persons on both sides of the Atlantic who knew what was at stake: the dissolution of mercantilism and the growth of colonial sovereignty. This little study does not change the interpretation of the Revolution, but it is hoped that it may help to bring about a brighter clarification

⁶² McCulloh, "General Thoughts . . .," Huntington Manuscripts, 1480.

⁶³ William Knox, *Controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies Reviewed* (London, 1769), 109; "Dr. Franklin thus delivers himself before the House of Commons . . . Having been asked, 'Is it not necessary to send troops to America to defend the Americans against the Indians?' The Doctor replies, 'No; by no means: *it never was necessary*. They defended themselves when they were but an handful, and the Indians much more numerous. *They continually gained ground, and have driven the Indians over the mountains without any troops sent to their assistance from this country.*'"

⁶⁴ Cecilius Calvert to Horatio Sharpe, March 1, 1763, *Archives of Maryland*, XXXI, 530.

⁶⁵ Verner W. Crane, *Benjamin Franklin's Letters to the Press*, 35-75. Thomas Pownall (1722-1805) became more alive to the need for Anglo-American cooperation as the years went by and in 1803 suggested an Atlantic pact. John A. Schutz, "Thomas Pownall's Proposed Atlantic Federation," *The Hispanic American Review*, XXVI (May, 1946), 263-268.

of the problem of colonial administration. It may help to show that American independence rested on something more than American efforts and inspiration. The destiny of the American nation was not God-given, nor is it self-perpetuating.

SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIETY IN RURAL SOUTH
CAROLINA IN 1850

BY JOSEPH DAVIS APPLEWHITE

Nearly ninety years ago a book was written which attempted to bring before the reading public, especially in the North, a picture of the complexity of southern society. Too many Americans, said the author, were "totally unconscious that her [the South's] citizens were ever divided into other than three classes—Cavaliers, Poor Whites, and Slaves."¹ Before the effect of D. R. Hundley's work could be felt the Civil War destroyed a great part of the social structure of this section. Succeeding generations of students and writers have continued to accept the old three-class picture of the South, either from romantic sentiment or for dialectic advantage.²

Thus, almost a century after the publication of Hundley's *Social Relations in Our Southern States*, it has seemed wise to consider in detail some phases of life in the rural sections of South Carolina. This state has long been considered a model of southern life, and the conditions which held true for its farm population should obtain for similar rural peoples in most of the lower South.

In analyzing this group the unpublished census for 1850 was of invaluable assistance. It furnished a wide variety of facts about the production of the farm population and gave some information about the individuals as well. While there were certain gaps in the material, as the superintendent of the census admitted, the general picture was correct, and "anyone who takes the trouble to compare results on certain points, will perceive how strikingly and truly the several enumerations harmonize," he concluded.³

¹ Daniel R. Hundley, *Social Relations in Our Southern States* (New York, 1860), 10.

² Recent studies which recognize the importance of the large class of small- and middle-sized farmers are: Frank L. and Harriet C. Owsley, "The Economic Basis of Society in the Late Antebellum South," *Journal of Southern History*, VI (1940), 41-54; Harry L. Coles, Jr., "Some Notes on Slaveownership and Landownership in Louisiana, 1850-1860," *Journal of Southern History*, IX (1943), 381-394; Blanche Henry Clark, *The Tennessee Yeomen, 1840-1860* (Vanderbilt University Press, Nashville, Tenn., 1942); Herbert Weaver, *Mississippi Farmers, 1850-1860* (Vanderbilt University Press, Nashville, Tenn., 1945).

³ *Statistical View of the United States . . . Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census* (J. D. B. De Bow, Superintendent of the United States Census, A. O. P. Nicholson, Public Printer, Washington, 1854), 10.

Since a study of the entire farm population of the state would have been impossible, it is fortunate that South Carolina can be divided into four distinct sections. In each of these areas several counties were found suitable for detailed consideration by reference to the published census for 1850 and by soil studies. Further checking determined the following counties as adequate samples: Georgetown for the tidewater area, Richland in the middle country between the fall line and the tidewater, Fairfield County in the piedmont, and Anderson County in the mountain area. While the generalizations made on such a basis may not be completely correct in every case, to paraphrase De Bow, the results are strikingly harmonious.

The results of the study can be classified most easily under three major heads: economic basis of society, the general agricultural picture, and the social life of the rural people. It must be noted that the groups dealt with almost exclusively are the farm operators with small acreage. The plantation owners have received more than adequate treatment elsewhere, often to the extent of completely overshadowing the much larger class of farmers in the mind of the general public. Indeed, one of the purposes of this study is to readjust this picture to something nearer proper perspective.

That such a readjustment is necessary is indicated by the statement of W. T. Couch in *Culture in the South* that "Little is known about the great majority of Southern white population in former times."⁴ The truth of this remark is amply demonstrated by a survey of most of the material written about the South. As late as 1900, one scholar said that "the non-slaveholders were a poor class of people, a sort of proletariat."⁵ The unpublished census records throw much light on the composition of the farm population and help to revise the careless estimate of earlier times.

In considering the population, it is important to learn of the place of origin of individuals. Almost ninety-five per cent of the rural population was born within the state or in the near-by states of Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia.⁶ This created

⁴ W. T. Couch (ed.), *Culture in the South* (Chapel Hill, 1934), ix.

⁵ William A. Schaper, "Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina." *Reports American Historical*, I (Washington, 1900), 254.

⁶ Seventh Census of the United States, Schedule I, Free Inhabitants (unpublished), for Anderson, Fairfield, Georgetown, and Richland counties.

an unusually homogeneous group with a common language, customs, and a generally Protestant religious heritage. The small percentage of the farm population born outside the continental United States was largely from English-speaking countries, chiefly Ireland and Scotland, and was thus easily assimilated. While this picture is valid only for the sample counties, excluding the cosmopolitan population of the seaport towns, it is more than probable that it was rather generally true for the whole rural area.

This homogeneity was further accentuated in 1850 by two additional factors. Almost all of the farmers followed the same pattern of agriculture. Outside the narrow belt of rice land, the farmers of the whole state were interested in the growing of short staple cotton, corn, wheat, potatoes, and livestock, particularly hogs. The soil and climate of the state made these crops possible and usually profitable. Differences in the sorts of crops raised were more apt to exist on farms of different sizes rather than between farms of the same size in different counties.⁷

The second factor making for unity was the large body of Negroes in society. The most natural question to arise in considering any study of the rural population of the Old South is the ratio of slaveholders to nonslaveholders. The information supplied by the census records, when organized and properly correlated, provides an adequate basis for generalizing on this matter. The general population of the state in 1850 was 668,507, divided between 274,563 whites, 384,984 Negroes, and 8,960 freemen.⁸ The sample counties, each of them of about twenty thousand total population, showed the following percentage of slave population: Anderson County thirty-five per cent, Fairfield County sixty-six per cent, Richland County eighty-one per cent, and Georgetown County eighty-nine per cent.⁹

The picture becomes somewhat more interesting with the addition of the percentage of the white population in each of the above counties which was slaveholding. Anderson County, in the

⁷ Seventh Census of the United States (1850), Schedule IV, Production of Farms (unpublished).

⁸ A chart showing the comparative populations, production, and acres of improved and unimproved land has been compiled from the published census of 1850 and 1860 for all of the counties of the state by Mrs. Harriet Owsley. Since this has been found more usable than references to the census reports, hereinafter references to these statistics will be cited as the Owsley Chart.

⁹ Owsley Chart.

upper part of the state, presents a more nearly balanced society where only thirty-five per cent of the population was slave and forty-two per cent of the whites owned slaves. This suggests a relatively large number of small slaveholders. The two middle counties, though lying next to one another geographically, differed in ratio of slaveowners to those without slaves. Fairfield, the piedmont area, showed a three-fourth to one-fourth ratio in favor of slaveholders, while Richland, largely below the fall line, had a two-thirds to one-third majority of non-slaveholders. Only about a quarter of the white population owned slaves in Georgetown County which was nearly ninety per cent Negro in composition, thus making it more nearly like the generally held picture of a three-class society.¹⁰

By considering the statistical information available from the census figures it becomes apparent that in 1850 the pattern of slaveholding in the whole state, as represented by the sample counties, was one of many small farmers owning less than ten slaves in all and generally with fewer than five slaves able to work in the fields. The counties differed widely from one another in this matter. In Anderson County more than seventy-five per cent of all slaveholders owned fewer than ten slaves; Fairfield, forty-five per cent, Richland, thirty-five per cent; and Georgetown twenty-eight per cent.¹¹

Only in this latter county was there a definite trend toward the concentration of many slaves in a few hands. Here twenty-two men, making up about twenty per cent of the slaveholding population, each owned between one hundred and two hundred slaves.¹² Obviously the type of land and the growing of rice and sea-island cotton, both of which required considerable investment of money and labor, prevented the small farmer from expanding in this tidewater area. Even in Georgetown County a few non-slaveholders owned a great deal of improved land and produced good crops of rice; some thirteen of such men were listed as growing more than half a million bushels of rice each in 1850.¹³

As any farmer in the state would have agreed, however, the mere number of slaves owned was scarcely an accurate guide to

¹⁰ Seventh Census, Schedules I and II (unpublished), Anderson, Fairfield, Georgetown, and Richland counties.

¹¹ Seventh Census, Schedule II (unpublished).

¹² Seventh Census, Schedule II (unpublished), Georgetown County.

¹³ Seventh Census, Schedule II, IV (unpublished), Georgetown County.

the economic status of the master. The figures for total slaveholding are deceptive since they suggest a large working force. The average proportion of working slaves in the total number, even in the sugar and rice areas where the slaves were chosen with care, was generally one-half. In the old plantations where the slaves were largely inherited, the workers would be no more than a third of the total number.¹⁴

Many of the non-slaveholding farmers preferred to hire slaves rather than to bother with the responsibility of owning them. Many a man is listed in the census as owning many acres of improved land and producing larger crops than could be explained by his own efforts. This situation leads one to suspect that such a farmer hired either slaves or white laborers or that he was a prodigious worker. Such facts are difficult to ascertain exactly and generalizations about possibilities are dangerous.

The practice of hiring slaves is amply substantiated by a variety of records, particularly wills and inventories. One of the more illuminating scraps of such information comes from a note written by a widow with three small children. "I am living to myself now and I have a little place of my one (close to a kinsman). I haired a little negro boy to work my land and help me."¹⁵

There is some evidence that the class of white laborers may have been larger than is often realized. A great many males are found on the census rolls listed as "farm worker" or "laborer." Unfortunately the average person of this class was neither a letter writer nor a diarist. In a few cases he might be a newly arrived immigrant, though Governor Paul Hamilton was complaining as early as 1805 that too few white workers were coming into the state to counteract the great increase in the number of Negroes.¹⁶

One South Carolinian, after having tried the wonders of the West, expressed a desire to return from the wilds of Ohio.

I am bound to come to South Carolina as soon as I can get my business fixt. . . . I can do very well in Ohio I can get from ten to twelve dollars per month for working on a farm and goods is low in Ohio. . . .

¹⁴ Frederick L. Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (New York, 1856), 63.

¹⁵ Note dated March 7, 1855, Fulmer-Clark Papers (South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia).

¹⁶ Quoted from the *Charleston Courier*, December 2, 1805, in Theodore D. Jervay, *The Slave Trade* (The State Company, Columbia), 54.

But I have always worked hard on a farm or driving a team and if I can get lighter employment in your state I'd be pleased to come. I'd like stage driving very well, I think. . . .¹⁷

It may be assumed from this letter that a worker in South Carolina would receive less than one in Ohio, but not much less or the writer would scarcely have considered returning to work in the state.

An authority on agriculture in the South concludes from a study of the published census records that in 1850 there was an average of one free white laborer for every 2.2 farms in the area.¹⁸ This is a factor overlooked in the general stereotype of the Old South.

Somewhere in the picture must come the overseer. There seems no reason to deny Hundley's assertion that most of the overseers came from the yeoman class. They filled a useful and important function on the larger plantations and were often not drunken brutal drivers but men "of sterling worth and incorruptable integrity" who might even display gentlemanly instincts "though but little polished in speech and manners."¹⁹

Generally the small farmer had little need for an overseer, and if his slaves grew numerous enough to require additional management he used one of his older sons or nephews for this work. If he did hire an overseer the man was generally considered a member of the family as far as social status went, ate with the family, and "in many cases it is difficult to distinguish employer from employee."²⁰

In addition to the subtle classification from planter down to white laborer, there existed a class which has received attention from a variety of sources, the poor white. Literature of the nineteenth century is full of references to such a class of whites, depressed economically, ignored socially, and, according to later writers, weakened physically by fever, hookworm, and pellagra. Still, since the enumerators failed to characterize this class separately it is difficult to separate the poor whites from the body of agricultural workers.

¹⁷ Oliver Clark to Henry B. Clark, Fulmer-Clark Papers.

¹⁸ Lewis C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the South to 1860* (Washington, 1933), I, 501.

¹⁹ Hundley, *Social Relations*, 203.

²⁰ Hundley, *Social Relations*, 85.

There exists no really satisfactory basis for deciding who was a "poor white" and who was merely a poor farmer. Slaveholding is the first point of separation, for none of the first group could have owned slaves. But there is a tremendous portion of the farming class which did not own slaves. Landowning, which would certainly be a key, is not easily discovered since there is no direct statement in the census of whether land is owned or rented. It is thus scarcely possible that the thirty-five per cent of the non-slaveholding farmers without land in Georgetown County were "poor whites."²¹ And the thought of using as a basis the lack of any farm implements and any staple crop is negated by the frequent examples of young men beginning to farm with tools, stock, and even land loaned by friends and relatives.

One clearly expressed theory of the origin of the poor whites is that they are "the wrecks left by an unfortunate industrial system." The author further asserts that with the disappearance of the dignity of labor and the lack of family connections to make good credit to buy slaves, the poor but honest white fell lower in the social scale. "The ignorance and poverty alone were sufficient to crush the laboring white. . . . add to this the lack of a useful and respectable employment, the origin and perpetuation of the poor whites becomes plain enough." In the tidewater area this situation forced these whites into less desirable land.²²

Perhaps a study of the size of the landholdings will give some further basis for better classification of the rural peoples. An intensive comparison of both the total landholdings and the total improved acreage of the farmers living in the sample counties leads to interesting generalizations. The comparisons between the slaveholding farmers and their non-slaveholding neighbors adds further detail to the picture.

In considering the holdings of improved land in the sample counties several factors appear. First of all, the differences between these basic groups was much greater for total land held than for improved land. Secondly, while in almost every classification of improved land holding (under fifty acres, fifty to one

²¹ Seventh Census, Schedule I (unpublished), Georgetown County.

²² Schaper, "Sectionalism," 306. A further note to this effect is found in the comment of the British traveler, James Sterling, *Letters From the Slave States* (London, 1857), 65-66. He suggests that whenever a whole class of people are grouped together as poor white, or the Irish and Scotch cotter, and the English "Chawbacon," their state is the result of some abuse of land owning.

hundred acres, and the like) the non-slaveholder was behind his neighbor with Negroes, the difference was generally not great. In other words, both the slaveholder and non-slaveholder with small acreages tended to have only as much land as the owner could work with his family or with his slaves. And a farmer with several sons of working age might produce more than a neighbor with several slaves and no sons.

Farmers with less than one hundred acres of improved land make up nearly three-fourths of the non-slaveholders and more than one-half of the slaveowners in the sample counties.²³ It is safe to generalize from a detailed study of the census figures and to suggest that as a rule in South Carolina the majority of the non-slaveholding farmers worked less than fifty acres of improved land while those with slaves were apt to have twice as much land. The produce of this increased acreage was often no more profitable at the end of the year when it became necessary to deduct the increased expense of labor from the total income.

There is little doubt, however, that in 1843 the majority of farmers in the state were satisfied with the system of slavery and were anxious to follow at least a part of the advice of a speaker before the Agricultural Society who felt that the first duty of a farmer was to clear himself of debt by rigid economy. When this was done, continued the speaker, "I see no surer way to profit, than through the improvement of their lands and the increase of their slaves."²⁴

While the Charleston area may have some claim to an aristocracy based on family, there is little evidence to support the theory that the rest of the state was very conscious of class differences. Even in the tidewater sections of the state, R. F. W. Allston commented on one wealthy old gentleman in the neighborhood: "He was formerly the overseer (having begun as cattle drover just as Foxworth did with me)."²⁵ And Allston, certainly a member of the aristocracy if one existed, related the story of a man who began his career as a wood sawyer with his only slave in the pit at the other end of the saw. When passers-by jeered at such exertions, the laborer answered defiantly, "Never mind, damn ye,

²³ Seventh Census, Schedule I (unpublished).

²⁴ *Proceedings of the State Agricultural Society*, November 30, 1843 (Columbia, S. C., 1844), 410.

²⁵ R. F. W. Allston Family Papers, April 24, 1858 (typed copies, South Carolina Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia).

I will own your property yet." In 1858 he held more than 40,000 acres.²⁶

But mere ownership of land even in vast quantities was not enough to change a farmer into a planter. The land must be tilled productively and with a minimum of waste. The earliest settlers of the Carolinas were filled with the expectation that the area would soon produce all manner of exotic plants, especially citrus fruits, olives, mulberry trees for silk culture, and fine grapes for wine. Some of the more conservative farmers who had never expected success in silk plantations tried tobacco. The staple grew well in the interior of the state, but that section was isolated from market by poor roads, and getting the tobacco down to Charleston "was attended by an expense of labor almost equal to its value, and a loss of time equal, at least, to a voyage to Europe."²⁷

In the latter part of the eighteenth century the only really successful crops for export were rice and laboriously produced indigo. A few settlers in the pine regions were able to gather and market naval stores, but as late as 1850 this enterprise was limited to a very small percentage of the population. That more farmers in this area did not undertake the business is surprising, for in good years the profits were generally about \$300 per hand. Even when the turpentine had to be carried some distance to market the profits were more than \$200 for each worker.²⁸

By early nineteenth century, however, a pattern for the agriculture of the state was established which continued for nearly a hundred years. Sea-island cotton flourished in the narrow strip of land adjacent to the ocean. Once-profitable indigo had disappeared with the advent of chemical dyes, and rice plantations spread over most of the swampy sections of the low country. The area above the tidewater was increasingly a cotton and corn producing country.

In the lower tier of counties in South Carolina for almost half a century the production of long-staple cotton seemed a more important part of the economy than the amount raised would justify. When properly handled, the average fibres were about

²⁶ R. F. W. Allston Family Papers, April 24, 1858.

²⁷ Message of Governor David Johnson, November 29, 1843, *Reports and Resolutions of the General Assembly of South Carolina, 1847* (Columbia, South Carolina, 1847), 159-160.

²⁸ *De Bow's Review*, VIII (January-June, 1848), 450.

two inches long and commanded a fancy price, but the planting and harvesting of the crop demanded excessive amounts of labor and the profits from it were little higher than from the more ordinary varieties grown inland.²⁹

Rice, though very laborious to grow, was a very marketable crop. The average acre of well-tilled rice land would commonly produce from thirty-five to sixty bushels of rice of about forty-five pounds each. In the rough state this rice sold for about one dollar a bushel.³⁰

The total rice production for the state in 1850 was approximately 159,930,613 pounds; that of the state of Georgia, 38,950,691 pounds, of which Chatham County produced almost one-half; and that of Louisiana, 4,425,349 pounds. With a total of 46,765,040 pounds, Georgetown County grew more rice than the states of Georgia and Louisiana combined.³¹

In the sample counties, with the exception of Georgetown, rice was a very minor consideration as the land was not suitable for this cereal. Even in Georgetown County a majority of non-slaveholders grew no rice, although those who did were in the upper bracket of producers. Of the slaveholders, 6.66 per cent, and of the non-slaveholders, 4.44 per cent, raised between 250,000 pounds and 500,000 pounds of rice.³²

Early settlers in the upcountry had secured the most fertile spots along the river bottoms and had begun to wear out the soil with intensive cultivation. A great part of the land was devoted to cotton, a practice which was meeting with increased disfavor from reformers of agriculture. William Gregg, in attempting to wean his fellow South Carolinians away from this devotion to cotton, added the following judgment:

Cotton has been to South Carolina what the mines of Mexico were to Spain—it has produced us such an abundant supply of all the luxuries and elegancies of life, with so little exertion on our part that we have become enervated . . . and unprepared to meet the state of things, which sooner or later must come about.³³

The advocates of continuing cotton culture could produce some interesting justifications for its use, however. One authority felt

²⁹ Gray, *Agriculture*, I, 56.

³⁰ Olmsted, *Seaboard Slave States*, 385-388.

³¹ Owsley Chart.

³² Seventh Census, 1850, Schedule IV (unpublished).

³³ *De Bow's Review*, VIII (January-June, 1850), 138.

that the introduction of cotton had been a blessing to the cause of temperance by lessening the production of fruit for brandy. This noxious beverage had been responsible for dotting the landscape with distilleries which had demoralized society "to a frightful degree."³⁴

Not only did this crop improve the morality of the state but it added to the dignity of labor. "Wives and daughters may conveniently and safely share with the husband and father. While he traces the furrow, they, protected by their sunbonnets, eradicate the weeds with a light hoe."³⁵

In actual practice most of the labor of tilling the soil was exceedingly primitive. A description by Olmsted of a gang of slaves readying a field for cotton is probably more typical than the "light hoe." The slaves carried manure to the field in baskets and spread it with their hands between the rows of last year's crop, while other slaves with clumsy hoes pulled the ridges down over the manure to make the new rows for planting.³⁶

Although most of the farmers refused to try out the new plows and skimmers to lighten the labor of cultivation, they did experiment with new varieties of seed. One farmer wrote his brother that the "mastodon cotton is considered a humbug & is not half so much esteemed in the southwest as it is here." From his own experience he suggested that the best farmers would use the best common seed "& don't have your rows more than 3 feet apart & have the cotton very close in the drill, say six inches" to suit the land.³⁷

Another enterprising farmer in the Pendleton district made in 1848, working three hands on twenty-five acres of land, twenty-seven thousand pounds of seed cotton and provisions for family and stock. The land was all hilly and had been purchased five years previously at four dollars an acre. He manured the land, planted the seed previously wet and rolled in ashes, two bushels to the acre. Later he thinned the stock to a stand ten inches apart on poor land, and twenty inches on the best of his soil.³⁸

³⁴ Samuel DuBose, "Address Delivered at the 17th Anniversary of the Black Oak Agricultural Society," April 27, 1858.

³⁵ DuBose, "Address."

³⁶ Olmsted, *Seaboard Slave States*, 400.

³⁷ H. H. Townes to W. A. Townes, March 29, 1847, Townes Papers (South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia).

³⁸ *De Bow's Review*, IX (July-December, 1850), 106.

The average small farmer, whether as careful or not as the one mentioned above, depended upon his cotton for most of his yearly cash. Seldom was his production more than a few bales, as many receipts of the period testify. One such bill from a small storekeeper runs: "Bought of Wm. Fulmer 10 bales of cotton . . . \$205.25." From this sum was subtracted the balance due for purchases at the store and seven dollars insurance on the cotton.³⁹ Another small farmer sold six bales of cotton averaging three hundred and fifty pounds each for a total of \$141.24.⁴⁰

With such prices for cotton it is little wonder that many of the farmers both large and small were turning to other staple crops by 1850. At least one of the Anderson County planters wrote *De Bow's Review* that the profit from a well cultivated farm in his section of the state was only three and one-half per cent on the capital invested, and that in the lower part of the state the profits were under five per cent.⁴¹

Nevertheless, most of the farmers and planters continued to grow this staple, and in spite of bad weather, boll-worms, crab grass, and low prices, believed that a successful crop would enable them to clear their debts and perhaps expand their holdings.

There was not, however, the complete devotion to cotton culture present in the state that is generally assumed. Perhaps the plea for general diversification noted on all sides by the middle of the century, or the realization of the small returns from planting cotton, or a combination of both factors led many farmers of the state away from cotton entirely. Whatever the reasons, a survey of the sample counties indicates that a considerable percentage of the farmers were not planting any cotton.

It can be seen that in Anderson County more than ninety per cent of the non-slaveholders raised less than three bales of cotton each and more than fifty-five per cent of the farmers with slaves were in the same category. Fairfield County farmers with three bales of cotton or less each showed the following percentage: thirty-eight per cent of the non-slaveholders and seventeen per cent of the slaveholders. Richland County had eighty-five per cent of the non-slaveholders raising three bales of cotton or less

³⁹ Receipt dated July 12, 1848, Fulmer-Clark Papers.

⁴⁰ Receipt dated March 5, 1849, Smith Papers.

⁴¹ Gray, *Agriculture*, II, 707.

each and forty-one per cent of the slaveholders. Georgetown County farmers raised practically no cotton.⁴²

A careful study of the comparative production of cotton and corn per acre among farmers having the same amounts of improved land indicates that the production per acre was almost identical for those with slaves and without slaves. Actually a comparison of fifteen farmers from both classes taken at random from the sample counties shows that the farmers with slaves grew less cotton and slightly more corn than their non-slaveholding neighbors.⁴³ This was probably due to the fact that the former had more hands and stock to feed.

This dependence upon corn for food was universal in the state, with the possible exception of the rice counties.⁴⁴ In the low country the prize yield of corn per acre had gone to R. F. W. Allston for 105 bushels per acre.⁴⁵

These figures do not seem very important until they are compared with the generally accepted provisions for an average farm. In the will for an Anderson County farmer, the provisions for a year for his farm of 165 acres and two slaves included only one hundred bushels of corn, twenty-five bushels of wheat, five hundred pounds of pork, and two hundred pounds of "good cotton seed."⁴⁶

Wheat, the other major grain crop, is of less importance in the economy of South Carolina. In only Anderson and Fairfield counties, of the samples studied, was any considerable amount of wheat grown, and much of it was doubtless for sale to the planters in the lower part of the state.

Occasionally the farmers found it necessary to buy flour outside South Carolina, as one wrote in 1845:

Many persons in our district . . . will feed their negroes on flour & save their little corn entirely for their horses. Tell Mother she had best do this & if she is compelled to buy, to get flour cheap from Tennessee. Bake the flour into hard biscuit or light bread, & way out the rations to the negroes.⁴⁷

⁴² Seventh Census, 1850, Schedule IV (unpublished).

⁴³ Seventh Census, 1850, Schedule IV (unpublished).

⁴⁴ *Report of the State Agricultural Society, 1844, Omniad, IX, 73.*

⁴⁵ Pendleton Farmers' Society, Records, 1826-1920, Minutes, October 12, 1860 (typed copy in South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia).

⁴⁶ Anderson County Will Book, 1854-1876, 57 (typed copy in South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia).

⁴⁷ H. H. Townes to wife, August 16, 1845, Townes Papers.

To continue further this sort of study for each of the minor crops would prove of little value. Almost every farmer in both classes grew some oats, hay, peas and beans, and potatoes, usually sweet potatoes, for the needs of his family and stock.

To a much greater extent than has been known the average farmer with small acreage was self-sufficient. It is true that he might buy meat or hay to supplement his own production, but this was generally done only when it was cheaper to buy than to raise the animals. Late in the autumn of 1848, one farmer wrote that Kentucky pork was selling at eight cents a pound and was expected to be even cheaper. "I have bought two thousand pounds & will make my own raising supply the balance of my wants."⁴⁸ Why should an intelligent farmer divert a part of his labor to a less profitable crop when it better suited his economy to purchase more cheaply a part of his supplies?

It is possible that much of the misconception about the one-crop economy of the state is derived from the emphasis which the various Agricultural Societies of South Carolina placed upon diversification. As early as 1784 there had been enough active interest in some sort of farmers' organization to bring together members to talk over their common problems, thus providing a "useful capital from which to draw benefit."⁴⁹

In spite of the literary language used in the reports, the formation of county agricultural societies had been advantageous to the state. There were at least eleven such groups by 1823. Some of them were little more than dinner clubs for the wealthier planters, for one of these was forced to put a limit on the number of dishes and wine offered by each host in turn "to put the richer and poorer contributors on the same footing."⁵⁰ And the formation of a state organization helped persuade the state legislature to authorize a soil survey by Edmund Ruffin in 1839.⁵¹

The main emphasis of this society and of all the county organizations was the improvement of the soil and the practicing of better methods of farming. To this end speeches filled the air, competitions were encouraged, and prizes were offered. One speaker urged all farmers to join their local societies whether or

⁴⁸ Note from H. H. Townes, November 29, 1848, Townes Papers.

⁴⁹ Introduction to *Proceedings of the Agricultural Convention of the State Agricultural Society of South Carolina from 1839 to 1845* (Columbia, S. C., 1846), *Omniad*, IX.

⁵⁰ David Doar, *A Sketch of the Agricultural Society of St. James, Santee*, 23.

⁵¹ Introduction, *Proceedings of Agricultural Convention*, 5.

not they felt able to write and speak well. "For he who understands a matter can make it understood by another," and many of the most valuable suggestions had come from plain farmers unpracticed at writing.⁵²

Governor George McDuffie directed all of his noted eloquence in a speech before the State Agricultural Society stressing the necessity for conserving the land. The lands of South Carolina could not compete with the fresh lands of the Southwest. Even in that favored area the planters were abusing their soil and driving their slaves in an effort to obtain more profits, an example which this state should note and avoid.⁵³

From this study of the small farmers in South Carolina it is seen that many of these warnings were unnecessary. Perhaps the examples of the larger planters who were trying to make money as rapidly as possible and the constant reiteration of this problem by speakers tended to give a picture of the farmers of the state as devoted to cotton alone. The passage of time has exaggerated the problem even more. No doubt there were many farmers who profited by Joel Poinsett's advice to cultivate only as much land as could be properly manured and tended. It should be seen, he continued, that a farmer saves more labor and expense in raising one hundred bushels of corn from five acres than he does from ten acres with less productive methods. To further this idea, the farmer should learn the real value of manure instead of merely counting the initial cost.⁵⁴

Further evidence that many of the farmers were willing to try new experiments is supplied by Daniel Lee, editor of the *Southern Cultivator*, himself a northerner. In discussing the plantations which he had seen in Georgia and South Carolina he added that nothing had impressed him so much as the well-constructed terraces and ditches. "In this matter, the planters of these states have excelled all we have witnessed elsewhere in the Union, and we have seen most of it."⁵⁵

But even skillful rebuilding of the soil and careful rotation of crops could not solve all of the problems of the farmer. One of the most serious, and at times almost unmanageable, of these was

⁵² John B. O'Neill, *Proceedings of Agricultural Convention*, 215.

⁵³ George McDuffie, *Proceedings of Agricultural Convention*, 98.

⁵⁴ Joel R. Poinsett, *Proceedings of Agricultural Convention*, 249.

⁵⁵ Quoted in Gray, *Agriculture*, 801.

the question of credit. Many farmers, hoping to improve their lot by increased landholdings or larger numbers of slaves, would borrow on the land and slaves already owned. Just enough of them were able to make sufficient profits to pay off their debts and thus encourage those less able to follow the practice. The latter either lost their land immediately or were able to stave off their creditors through a good many agonizing years, always hoping for better times and higher profits. Meanwhile, in such cases, the land was seriously worn in the attempt to turn out immediate profits, and neither the debtor nor the creditor was likely to achieve any return.

The system of signing notes often involved some friend who had agreed to support the note in a moment of mistaken generosity. In times of depression a great many otherwise thrifty farmers were severely strained to meet such an obligation. It was quite a common practice to ask a friend to become co-signer on a personal note as casually as one would ask the loan of a horse for the afternoon. And the request in both cases was generally granted.

In discussing a note for \$380 due an Augusta firm by a country merchant, the manager suggested that a twelve-month note would be acceptable "with the endorsement of Richard Harris. We have no doubt Mr. Harris will do this as he seems to have dealings with you."⁵⁶

The most frequent form of credit was that between members of a family. In one illuminating note between brothers, the debtor was asking that the addressee use his influence with still another brother to prevent his having the farm sold for money owed him. Since there were older debts than that owed brother George, any cash received from the forced sale would be absorbed by the creditors having prior claim. The other creditors, however, were willing to allow the debtor to pay a little each year, if George would just hold his temper in check and wait for his money as the others were doing.⁵⁷

Some of the farmers, despairing of ever paying their debts, took the relatively simple way of moving into another state. Others moved to seek better lands and higher profits from their

⁵⁶ Bill to H. B. Clark, May 31, 1858, Fulmer-Clark Papers.

⁵⁷ W. Smith to E. P. Smith, October 13, 1854, Smith Papers.

labor. One man wrote back from Mississippi giving glowing reports of corn and waist-high cotton, though he added that chills and fevers had determined him to seek more healthful lands in Arkansas or Texas.⁵⁸ Another wrote back to South Carolina that the land around Kosciusco, Mississippi, was fine for growing cotton, corn, and hay. In addition, a clever man could make a fortune by training dogs to run Negroes at twenty-five dollars for each runaway caught.⁵⁹

The general pattern of the migration from east to west by 1850 is indicated by the fact that nearly 200,000 Southern whites in other states gave South Carolina as their birthplace. This is brought to a more personal level by a badly spelled note from an old lady.

My children is all scatrting of from me. Elithebeth is gone to Texes last fall there went by land Tuck them 7 weeks to git there. . . . Martha is gone to Alabamer My son Nelson is gon to Alabamer and are living close together. . . . My daughter Mary and companion is living with me this year.⁶⁰

Just as this old lady and her daughter's family were trying to run a farm despite all of the disadvantages of agriculture in this state, so were many thousands of small farmers. And their life at home, neither that of poor whites nor of "aristocrats" with traditional columned mansion, deserves some attention at this point, for the yeomen farmers are generally ignored. Discounting the simple, untidy cabins which gave many travelers the impression that all the farmers were shabby folk, the majority of farm homes in the state were comfortable and reasonably well kept. One very clear description of a small place with forty-five acres of cotton comes from a letter of this period:

I have as good a double log cabin as I ever saw. It has a passage covered of 12 feet nailed boards for a roof, a good plank for floors four windows with good framed shutters with iron hinges & hooks & what is a great thing in this country both of my chimneys have brick *backs & hearths*. . . . I have besides the *Big House* two good negro cabins & a good corn crib with smoke house & the negroes have 3 *chicken pens*.⁶¹

⁵⁸ G. T. Brewton to Smith, June 23, 1848, Smith Papers.

⁵⁹ Thomas Priestly to Smith, September 2, 1848, Smith Papers.

⁶⁰ Mrs. Mary Fulmer to sister, March 7, 1855, Fulmer-Clark Papers.

⁶¹ S. A. Townes, undated, Townes Papers, 1846-1854.

This was typical of the semi-frontier life under which many of the farmers began. As they prospered, the average farmer was apt to cover the logs with boards and add a veranda. In some instances the women of the family were apt to insist on columns as a mark of respectability. The Calhoun family added this touch to "Fort Hill" long after the original structure was completed.⁶²

D. R. Hundley, in a considerate vein, explained that while many middle-class farmers were negligent in keeping up their homes and outbuildings, the average farmer was frequently "anxious to have everything look neat and comfortable."⁶³ And the home of the average farmer was undeniably pleasant and comfortable. A visitor from the low country described the "old farm house" located in the upcountry and approached by an avenue of sycamores. "The house is surrounded by shade trees of all kinds which throw a pleasant coolness even in the hottest part of the day."⁶⁴

The interior of these homes can be rather accurately described from the inventories and wills of the period. The keen eye of a neighbor appraising an estate was apt to reveal details about the condition of many of the household treasures in noting "one worn cherry bedsted," or "old walnut falling table, leaf missing."

The household effects of a free woman of color were valued in 1855 at less than fifty dollars. They included three beds, one chest, three chairs, one table, one candlestick, a cupboard, flax-wheel, and "sundry crockery, jars, and potware."⁶⁵ This was certainly a minimum household.

It is not, however, the individual cases of this sort which are valuable but the composite picture which they furnish of the surroundings of the average farmer in South Carolina. A variety of wills and inventories leave definite impressions of a typical home. One such contained an eight-day clock, a rocking chair, brass fire dogs and tools, a number of cooking utensils, all carefully noted by the appraiser, a lot of dishes generally in odd numbers, glassware usually including one decanter. The furniture might vary in quantity but this, an average home, had five beds and bedding including "1 long poplar bedstead, 1 maple camp bed

⁶² Charles M. Wiltse, *John C. Calhoun, Nullifier, 1829-1839* (Indianapolis, 1949), 157.

⁶³ Hundley, *Social Relations*, 85.

⁶⁴ Christopher Oeland to Mrs. E. P. Smith, July 30, 1848, *Smith Papers*.

⁶⁵ Appraisal of Theodosia Strawther, *Anderson Appraisals and Sales*, October 18, 1855, vol. 3 (Typed copy in South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia).

... 2 stands, white bed curtains." Five hair trunks, one chest, six windsor chairs with split bottoms, and three with wooden bottoms just about furnished the home.⁶⁶

With a constant round of tasks to be done on the farm, no matter what its size, there is little wonder that the social life of the average farmer was centered in his home. As society matured, the church and the school added to this life other simple pleasures. In spite of travelers' tales of a constant round of house-raisings, corn-shuckings, gander-pullings, and the like, the small farmer was not apt to get very far from his fields except for local political rallies, fairs, and elections. The wild excitement of Christmas holidays was apt to be reflected in accounts at the local store for brandy and cigars, or "1 bottle Ma. wine, \$1.00; 4 rockets, \$2.00."⁶⁷

One pastime which was rather general among all classes of farm society was the visiting of friends and relatives. The cordial attitude of hospitality was underscored by a lady who wrote a friend urging a visit: "You need not have the least fear of causing any trouble or fatigue to my housekeeping, for I am a miserable housekeeper and I never allow my domestic affairs to trouble me."⁶⁸ This state of affairs might have been the truth or a polite fiction to allay a friend's anxiety over causing trouble.

The average farmer's home was well supplied with food and an inexhaustible number of chickens. Beds were always available for numbers of guests amazing to modern hostesses, especially at family reunions. With only the trouble and expense of transportation to consider, this practice of visiting relations was probably the least expensive way of amusing oneself in those days. Certainly the presence of any visitor was a welcome break in the monotony of isolated country homes, large or small, and almost every letter written during this period closed with a sincere invitation for the recipient to come for a visit.

Perhaps the most important reason for visits across the state was a family wedding or funeral. To these affairs almost all of the kinfolk to the third and fourth generation were asked, and one typical account mentions that only the relatives were present,

⁶⁶ Estate of Elizabeth Sawyer, September 4, 1850, Anderson Appraisals, 111, 163-4.

⁶⁷ Bill dated December 23, 1854, Fulmer-Clark Papers.

⁶⁸ M. P. Singleton to Augusta Converse, July 3, 1851, Singleton Family Letters (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.).

"they, you know are numerous."⁶⁹ Another account explains that because of a recent death in the family only relatives were present at a wedding. Enough of them managed to arrive, however, "to fill comfortably two very large rooms," and the following day a dinner was served to "30 sitting down at one table which was almost too much for the large dining room."⁷⁰

During the time spent around the home there was a good deal of reading. It was chiefly newspapers, often agricultural journals or religious books judging from the reports gathered in appraisals of households effects. Often the identity was hidden by a careless evaluator under the heading "1 lot old books, .75," or "2 books history, .50." Fortunately there exist more explicit inventories. One farmer's library contained "1 book Life of Christ, 1 do. American Lawyer, 1 farmer's Barn Book, 1 book Information for the People, . . . 1 History of Sacred Mountains."⁷¹

The appraisal of a widow's property was apt to mention between the sheep shears and the turned bedstead, such works as "3 vol. Children of the Abbey, 15 vol. Evangelical Family Library, 1 Psalm Book, & 1 Village Hymns."⁷²

It is not possible to judge the taste of the people entirely by the contents of their bookshelves, for too many of the books had probably been inherited with the bookcases and the secretaries which housed them. When the estate contained only a few books, however, it is probable that they were read and reread. From the surveys of various libraries among the farm folk of this state it seems that the general reading was divided chiefly between religious works, some history and biography, notably Weems's *Franklin* and *Washington*, which appeared in many inventories, and a scattering of light novels.

The libraries of lawyers and doctors among the farmers naturally contained a high percentage of professional books. Scattered among these volumes were usually a considerable number of classics. Perhaps these were inherited from an earlier day when gentlemen read Horace for wit and Cicero for style, or they may have been textbooks of the owner's youth. It is doubtful

⁶⁹ H. H. Townes, May 9, 1847, Townes Papers.

⁷⁰ B. Coles to Marion Converse, March 11, 1853, Singleton Papers.

⁷¹ Estate of David Skelton, April 23, 1856, Anderson Appraisals, IV, 88-89.

⁷² Estate of Jane W. McMurry, November 29, 1852, Anderson Appraisals, III, 38.

whether their contents made much impression on the South Carolinian of 1850.

The discussion of the reading matter available for the farm population brings up the natural question as to the education available to them. From the statistics furnished by the unpublished census of 1850 almost no head of a farm family admitted being illiterate, and in none of the sample counties did the illiteracy rate amount to as much as ten per cent of the farm population.⁷³ Even considering the figures in the published census for 1850 which lists the number of white persons over twenty who could not read or write, the state stands up well for one of the "uneducated Southern states."

Certainly it was not the fine school system which was responsible for the low rate of illiteracy. Indeed there was nothing but criticism for the state schools in 1850. Three years before this time one of the legislators had remarked that "there is scarce a state in the union, in which so great an apathy exists on the subject of education of the people, as in the state of South Carolina." And another added that the free school system of the state was a failure.⁷⁴

The plan had been established in 1848 to offer to each of the counties support at the rate of \$300 for each member of the legislature from each county. This fund was to be administered by a local board of commissioners appointed by the legislature and serving without salaries. The amounts granted the counties was woefully insufficient for the numbers of children to be educated and the local commissioners were not anxious to work at the matter. The additional stigma of "charity school" so often clung to these state supported institutions that many a poor but sturdy yeoman farmer refused to send his children to them.

The education provided for the rural areas were generally of two types, the local day school which was the result of a subscription in the neighborhood, and the more impressive academy. The first type might develop sufficient reputation to draw students from the whole area and would grow into an academy, as did the "old field school" of Moses Waddell. Usually they provided

⁷³ Seventh Census, 1850 Schedule I (unpublished).

⁷⁴ Report of the Special Committee on Education, *Reports and Resolutions of the General Assembly of South Carolina, 1847* (Columbia, 1848), 206.

simple primary classes with some advance instruction for the more promising pupils. A group of farmers in the upcountry signed an agreement to contribute a total of \$600 annually to make possible an academy in the neighborhood. The building was to be "32 by 20 feet with a chimney at each end." The rates of tuition for the basic reading, writing, and arithmetic were \$15 a session, with English grammar, geography, and mathematics \$5 extra. The addition of Latin and Greek raised the total tuition to \$30 a session.⁷⁵

In addition to the local schools, there was usually one agency in most neighborhoods which attempted to educate. This was the Sunday school. The movement began with great vigor in many villages of the state and soon lost its impetus. One young lady wrote quite frankly to a friend that her group of friends had tried to conduct such schools but had given up. "There are no poor people, & those of the better class were as well qualified to teach their children at home as those who would go to the church to do it. . . ."⁷⁶

The Pendleton Sunday School Society, however, began a broad program to "have children and adults taught to read the Holy Bible and give them other instruction." A superintendent and teachers volunteered and the society began classes suitable to all stages of learning. The school was open to members of all denominations. Perhaps the most interesting part of the progress of this school was with the Negro slaves who were taught the Bible with the permission of their masters.⁷⁷

Throughout the later ante-bellum period, though there may have been little attention paid to educating the slaves to read, there was a definite concern for teaching both black and white to know the Bible. And in the twenty years previous to the Civil War there were great efforts made in South Carolina to organize the Negroes into churches. After the split of the major denominations from their northern brethren, the southern branch recruited Negro members with great vigor. In most of the smaller churches of the state there were mixed congregations segregated by seats, but at that time it was also a practice to segregate the sexes among the whites.

⁷⁵ Notice dated August 3, 1848, Smith Papers.

⁷⁶ A. W. to Harriet Simons, August 28, 1834, Simons Family Letters (South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia).

⁷⁷ Minutes and Accounts, Pendleton Sunday School Society, 1819-1934, June 24, 1820 (typed copy in South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia).

It is believed that by 1860 South Carolina had more than 85,000 Negroes as members of one of the four major denominations, or about one-fifth of the total slave population of that state.⁷⁸ Undoubtedly many of the masters encouraged participation of their slaves in church membership not only as a spiritual or moral duty, but as a method of controlling them, for the primary lessons taught them were the beauties and joys of the future world if they were cheerful and obedient in this present vale of tears.

For the white members as well as the Negroes the churches were both a restraining force and an emotional outlet. Even a brief survey of the records left by rural churches in the state reveals this fact.

Some of the white members were disciplined by their church for "excess drinking of spiritous liquors," "Rumor or report of intemperate drinking," "bastardy and fornication," "Sins of drunkenness, offering to fite, running his family from home, also for Contempt of the Church when sent for to ancer the above."⁷⁹

Perhaps not so well known among the controls which the church held over the local inhabitants was the pressure which the congregation exerted toward enforcing payment of debts. Two examples will serve to illustrate this point.

Resolved that as sister Elizabeth Telford left this State indebted to Dr. Senter and being satisfied that she could have settled the same and has not done so—that the letter of dismissal be detained until Dr. Senter be paid.

Letter refused Br. H. E. Mellichamp until he should make satisfactory settlement of his debts.⁸⁰

In a small socially knit rural area, refusal of membership in a church was a very potent factor for conformity to the accepted folkways and mores of the area. For a really important function of the rural churches was their social activity. Not only were there the weekly or bi-weekly services often followed by dinner on the ground, but also the protracted meeting and the larger

⁷⁸ Luther P. Jackson, "Religious Instruction of Negroes, 1830-1860, With Special Reference to South Carolina," *Journal of Negro History*, XV (1930), 107.

⁷⁹ Minutes, Big Creek Baptist Church, Anderson County, II, July 1, 1854 (typed copy in South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia).

⁸⁰ Minutes, Sandy Level Baptist Church, Fairfield County, 49-50, (typed copy in South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia).

camp meetings. These affairs attracted crowds from all over the counties and often from neighboring localities. The social aspect of such a gathering was important. One lady wrote to have a new bonnet made for her and sent within two weeks, "as I have none that is decent to wear to the campmeeting."⁸¹ Another visitor commented that a meeting of this nature near Newberry attracted about four thousand people and "a great many splendid carriages were gathered." The scene was the usual one so often pictured, though here the "people seemed more temperate in the expression of their religious frenzy."⁸² Perhaps the owners of the "splendid carriages" were in the majority.

The protracted meeting was usually restricted to one church with the other local church members invited to attend the services. The custom was generally to hold two meetings a day for a week or two. The preaching in the morning and evening was broken by "a social meeting and an opportunity offered for new membership at four."⁸³

Often among the rural areas the pastor was apt to be a circuit rider preaching every Sunday at a different charge, or a local farmer who was licensed to exhort. In more settled areas the preacher would be selected to reach the educational level of the congregation, and the more formal churches prided themselves on having highly cultured ministers.

It would be scarcely possible to generalize for the whole population from a sampling such as this excerpt that many of the conditions described as typical in 1850 are still recognizable at the present in the rural South. The basic picture of the farm population in the middle of the nineteenth century is one of a people working to improve their lot individually and to advance the progress of their state. They were a folk largely of southern stock, born in South Carolina, and wedded to the idea of an agricultural economy based on slavery. Perhaps they were not progressive enough to realize the balance needed by the state in industrial and commercial development. But as long as rice and cotton culture were profitable it would have been foolish to expect

⁸¹ L. Townes to sister, July 24, 1841, Townes Papers.

⁸² C. Oeland to Mrs. E. P. Smith, August 4, 1848, Smith Papers.

⁸³ Churchbook, Euhaw Baptist Church, Beaufort, 1831-1870, September 21, 1849, 84 (typed copy, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia).

the people to change from a known economy to one unknown, even with utopian potentialities.

The state was improving and the rural areas were prospering in 1850. This is attested by the records in the census for that year. Since this census material has been of such value to this study it is only fitting to add the words of the superintendent, J. D. B. De Bow, on the value of such records:

Duty to coming generations requires that documents containing so many proofs relating to the history of the present should be carefully guarded from injury and harm. . . . They comprise no insignificant portion of every man, woman, and child living; and long after all those whose names they contain have passed from the earth, will they be appealed to as proof of our having lived, our place of residence, our children, and our property.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ The Seventh Census: *Report of the Superintendent for December 1, 1852* (Robert Armstrong, Printer, Washington, 1853), 127.

THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU AND NEGRO EDUCATION IN VIRGINIA

BY WILLIAM T. ALDERSON

On March 3, 1865, little more than a month before Lee's surrender to Grant at Appomattox, President Lincoln approved an act of Congress to establish a Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands. Better known as the Freedmen's Bureau, this agency was charged with the supervision and management of abandoned lands and "the control of all subjects relating to refugees and freedmen." The President was authorized to appoint a Commissioner, who was to be responsible for the "management and control" of the Bureau, and Assistant Commissioners, who were to be assigned to the individual states to administer Bureau affairs. Major General Oliver Otis Howard was appointed Commissioner on May 12, 1865, and on his recommendation Captain Orlando Brown was appointed Assistant Commissioner for Virginia.¹

When Captain Brown opened his headquarters at Richmond on May 31, 1865, one of his first responsibilities was to assist in the establishment of a system of education for a mass of Negroes thirsting for the formal instruction which had been denied them during the years of slavery.² "The extraordinary eagerness of the freedmen for the advantages of schools"³ was reflected in the numerous letters to the Bureau requesting teachers, schools, and books. Within two weeks after the surrender of Richmond two teachers had gathered 1,075 pupils in the First African

¹ Oliver O. Howard, *Autobiography of Oliver Otis Howard, Major General United States Army* (2 vols., New York, 1907), II, 215; General Order 91, War Department, Adjutant General's Office, May 12, 1865, in Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, MSS., The National Archives, Washington, D. C. All manuscript sources hereinafter cited, unless otherwise noted, are from the Bureau records in the Archives. The abbreviation BRFAL will be used for all orders, circulars, and letters emanating from Virginia, and BRFAL, Washington, for all orders, circulars, and letters from the headquarters of the Bureau in Washington, or from the War Department.

This study is primarily based on this extensive collection of Bureau records, comprising approximately sixty-four linear feet for Virginia alone. No exhaustive survey of contemporary newspapers and similar material has been attempted.

I wish to express my appreciation to Dr. Henry L. Swint who made available to me much of his microfilm of these records, to Miss Elizabeth B. Drewry, Miss Elizabeth Bethel, and Miss Sara Dunlap of the War Records Division, National Archives, and to Miss Gladys Long of Fisk University Library, who provided assistance in locating the materials used in this study.

² Brown to Lt. Col. Fullerton, Assistant Adjutant General, June 1, 1865, BRFAL; Circular 2, May 19, 1865, BRFAL, Washington. Captain (later Colonel and Brigadier General) Brown was Assistant Commissioner for Virginia from May 31, 1865, to May 21, 1866, and from March 21, 1867, to April 30, 1869. General Alfred H. Terry was Assistant Commissioner from May to August, 1866, and was followed by General John M. Schofield who served until March 21, 1867.

³ Summary Report of Virginia, Brown to Howard, November 30 [sic], 1865, BRFAL.

Church of that city.⁴ "No children of the North look happier," the American Missionary Association reported, "and no books are dearer to a child's heart than the little green-back primer each one carries." Even adult Negroes flocked to the night schools which had been established in various cities of the state.⁵

The desire of the Negro for education was paralleled by the desire among many northerners to provide it for him. The reforming zeal of the abolitionists found a new outlet in the uplifting of the degraded, newly-freed slaves. The education of the freedmen became "the great work of the day."⁶ Lyman Abbott, an industrious worker for Negro education, perhaps typified the thought of many northerners when he wrote in 1864: "We have not only to conquer the South,—we have also to convert it. We have only to occupy it by bayonets and bullets,—but also by ideas and institutions. We have not only to destroy slavery,—we must also organize freedom."⁷ The backward South of slaves, poor whites, and haughty aristocrats must be converted, and what better method could be followed than the spreading of "New-England ideas and New-England education."⁸ Another large group of northerners seems to have been primarily motivated by religious zeal, and for this group the school became a valuable adjunct to the mission.⁹ Still others were influenced by humanitarian interests—a desire to improve the condition of the freedmen, coupled, perhaps, with a sense of moral responsibility toward the helpless Negroes whose freedom was partially due to their efforts.

The most important forces in organizing northern efforts for Negro education and collecting the necessary funds for its support were the northern benevolent organizations. These societies, many of which had been founded during the abolitionist crusade and during the Civil War, attempted to relieve the wants and protect the rights of the freedmen, and provide for their educa-

⁴ *American Freedman*, I (May, 1866), 29.

⁵ *American Missionary*, IX (June, 1865), 124; report of Reverend H. W. Gilbert, agent of the American Bible Society, *American Missionary*, IX (May, 1865), 103; letter of Miss J. W. Duncan, Richmond, June 9, 1865, *American Missionary*, IX (August, 1865), 171. When corroborative evidence is sufficient, the full names of teachers and Bureau agents and the location of their stations will be supplied if this information is lacking in the source itself.

⁶ General Samuel C. Armstrong, quoted in Francis G. Peabody, *Education for Life: the Story of Hampton Institute* (New York, 1919), 92.

⁷ Lyman Abbott, "Southern Evangelization," in *New Englander*, XXIII (October, 1864), 701.

⁸ Ednah D. Cheney to Edward Atkinson, July 7, 1865, in *Freedmen's Record*, I (August, 1865), 129.

⁹ *Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Cincinnati, 1868), 6.

tion; and it was by co-operation with them that the Bureau established its schools. Prominent among these associations in the work of freedmen's education in Virginia were the American Missionary Association, the New York National Freedmen's Relief Association, the New England Freedmen's Aid Society, the Baptist Home Mission Society, the Friends Freedmen's Relief Association, and the American Freedmen's Union Commission. The American Missionary Association claimed the distinction of being the first organization to open a freedmen's school, having established one near Fortress Monroe shortly after the outbreak of the Civil War. Other organizations had followed the Union armies into Virginia, supplying teachers and providing schools.¹⁰ Assistant Commissioner Brown reported that during the school year 1864-1865 approximately 250 teachers had been employed in the state¹¹ and although this figure seems high it at least gives some indication of the amount of activity in Negro education.

Until the establishment of the Bureau the benevolent organizations had supported their own schools and there had been little centralized supervision of the schools and teachers. Thus, for the sake of efficiency and to prevent duplicated effort, it was to the advantage of the Bureau to co-ordinate the activities of the benevolent organizations and to formulate a uniform system of Negro education. With this object in mind, Brown, on June 20, 1865, appointed Professor W. H. Woodbury as Superintendent of Schools for Freedmen.¹² Explaining that there were no Bureau funds with which to pay Woodbury's salary, the Assistant Commissioner expressed the hope that the various benevolent societies of the North would see that he was properly reimbursed for his services.¹³ Woodbury served for a short period and was then replaced by Chaplain Ralza Morse Manly of the 1st U. S. Colored Cavalry, who had been assigned to duty at Brown's headquarters on June 22, 1865.¹⁴ Manly was eminently qualified for the posi-

¹⁰ *Histories of the Benevolent Organizations, Office of the Commissioner, Educational Division, Synopsis of School Reports, BRFAL, Washington.* See also A. D. Mayo, "The Work of Certain Northern Churches in the Education of the Freedmen, 1861-1900," in *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1902* (Washington, 1903), 285-314.

For an indication of their lack of sympathy for the destitute "rebels" of the state, see E. C. Estes, Secretary, National Freedmen's Relief Association of New York, to Manly, September 20, 22, 26, 1866, BRFAL. Estes, anxious to insure that society's Richmond schools against loss due to fire, desired Manly to "get the Policy from a Richmond Company so that the loss would fall on the citizens of Virginia."

¹¹ Brown to Howard, June 27, 1865, BRFAL.

¹² Special Order 3, June 20, 1865, BRFAL.

¹³ Brown to Woodbury, June 20, 1865, BRFAL.

¹⁴ Special Order 8, June 22, 1865, BRFAL.

tion. In addition to his work with Negroes during the war, he also had served as Principal of the Troy Conference Academy of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at Poultney, Vermont, and of the New Hampshire Conference Seminary of the same church, at Northfield, New Hampshire.¹⁵ "An unusually well-balanced and sane school official,"¹⁶ Manly displayed a better than average understanding of the whites of the state, and, in line with Bureau policy,¹⁷ worked diligently for a system of free public schools in Virginia. His record as Superintendent of Education for the Bureau is a testimonial to the effectiveness of his leadership.

When the Bureau was established it had been provided that the abandoned and confiscated lands might be set apart "for the use of loyal refugees and freedmen," and Bureau superintendents were authorized to requisition such lands as might be necessary for schools and quarters for teachers.¹⁸ Under this provision ample lands and buildings would have been available for the support of schools but this design was thwarted by President Johnson's amnesty proclamation of May 29, 1865. Under the terms of this proclamation thousands of Confederates were pardoned by taking a simple oath of allegiance to the United States. Once pardoned, they were entitled to the return of lands which they had "abandoned" and, as a result, the vast acreage over which the Bureau had expected to hold jurisdiction shrank rapidly to those lands owned by men not within the provisions of the proclamation, plus those lands which had belonged to the Confederate government and were considered confiscated and not returnable.¹⁹

Deprived of the revenues from these lands, the Bureau limited its financial support of Negro education to the rental and repair of school buildings²⁰ and the benevolent organizations undertook to pay the salaries of teachers. In order to improve the distribution of effort and to avoid a conflict of interests, each organization was invited to undertake educational work in a specified

¹⁵ *Alumni Record of Wesleyan University*, fourth edition (Middletown, Conn., 1911), class of 1848, as quoted in a letter from Ida M. Moody, Secretary to Bishop John Wesley Lord, in the possession of the author.

¹⁶ Henry L. Swint, *The Northern Teacher in the South, 1862-1870* (Nashville, 1941), 131.

¹⁷ Circular 11, July 12, 1865, BRFAL, Washington.

¹⁸ General Order 91, War Department, Adjutant General's Office, May 12, 1865, BRFAL, Washington; Special Order 14, July 3, 1865, BRFAL.

¹⁹ Circular 15, September 12, 1865, BRFAL, Washington, in *House Executive Documents*, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 70 (Serial 1256), 193.

²⁰ O. O. Howard to Lyman Abbott, August 18, 1865, in *Pennsylvania Freedmen's Bulletin and American Freedman*, I (September, 1866), 82.

district of the state and to assign its own local superintendent of schools. Bureau agents sought to determine the most favorable localities for the establishment of schools, and were ordered to submit reports on the possible attendance at the schools and on facilities available for schoolhouses and quarters for teachers.²¹ Assistant Commissioner Brown addressed the freedmen on their new status and responsibilities, and urged them to take advantage of the educational facilities which would be available to them. "You will remember," he wrote, "that in your condition as *freedmen*, education is of the highest importance."²²

Although a few schools were in operation during the summer months most schools did not open until October, 1865.²³ Nearly one-half of the teachers and pupils in freedmen's schools in the state were concentrated at four leading points: Norfolk and vicinity, Fortress Monroe and vicinity, Petersburg, and Richmond. These areas contained approximately one-eighth of the Negro population in the state. Richmond, with one-twentieth of the Negro population, contained one-fifth of the total number of schools. The presence of the army in these areas, Superintendent Manly reported, rendered it easier to secure school rooms and quarters for teachers, and assured more quiet and "lawful" work. Many schools were convened in "basement vestries, in audience rooms of churches—in rough barrack buildings, or hospital wards, without suitable furniture and appliances, often with from two to six teachers and several hundred children in the same room."²⁴ Their poor material condition was somewhat recompensed by the glorified titles applied to the schools. Hampton had one school named for General Benjamin F. Butler and another for Lincoln. One of the schools at Danville was known as "The Manly Division," and another at Alexandria was called "L'Ouverture School," apparently for the "Black Napoleon." A teacher at Poplar Grove even went so far as to give names to the various classes. The A B C class was termed the "McClellan" class; those who were engaged in tablet reading with words of two or three letters belonged to the "Sheridan" class; beginners

²¹ Manly, report for the year ending October 31, 1866, BRFAL; General Order 10, August 18, 1865, BRFAL.

²² To the Freedmen of Virginia, July 1, 1865, BRFAL.

²³ State Superintendent's Monthly School Reports, 1865, BRFAL.

²⁴ Manly, report for the year ending October 31, 1866, BRFAL.

at primer reading composed the "Sherman" class; and "the best readers glory in being subject to 'Grant'."²⁵

The teachers who conducted these schools were, for the most part, natives of the Northeast, particularly Massachusetts and New York. Motivated by humanitarian and religious sentiment and abolitionist experience, they entered their work with enthusiasm and zeal, working for what would have been a "pittance in the North," and often adding night schools and Sunday schools to their regular duties.²⁶ Bringing with them a feeling of contempt for the whites and particularly for the "proud aristocratic F. F. V's,"²⁷ they sought, by their actions and by their teaching, to impress upon the minds of the freedmen the social, political, and abolitionist attitudes of the victorious North. Coming into conflict with the mores and attitudes of the white Virginians, and probably flaunting their Union victory in the faces of the defeated Confederates, they seem to have been the most important cause of white opposition to Negro schools.²⁸

The attitude of the whites toward the freedmen's schools in the school year 1865-1866 ranged from amused tolerance to violent hostility. The Charlottesville *Chronicle*, for example, boasted that Charlottesville well might claim to be the literary center of the South on the basis of the presence there of the University of Virginia, two female seminaries, half a dozen academies for boys, several other select schools, and the "whole colored population of all sexes and ages" which repeated "from morning to night a-b—ab, e-b—eb, i-b, ib; c-a-t—cat; d-o-g—dog; c-u-p—cup; etc." It facetiously announced a future evening edition "in monosyllables, to increase our circulation—perhaps a pictorial . . . like the primers."²⁹ Many whites apparently doubted

²⁵ M. F. Armstrong and Helen W. Ludlow, *Hampton and Its Students* (New York, 1875), 67; George Dixon, Danville, to Manly, May 21, 1868, BRFAL; report of Henry Fish, Alexandria, December, 1865, in *National Freedman*, I (December 15, 1865), 353; letter of Miss Carrie E. Blood, Poplar Grove, April 30, 1866, in *National Freedman*, II (May, 1866), 145.

²⁶ Swint, *The Northern Teacher in the South*, ch. III, *passim*, Appendix III, 175-200; Mayo, "Churches in the Education of the Freedmen," 290; *Freedmen's Record*, I (May, 1865), 70. One teacher reported that she and her associate were giving "concerts and exhibitions" to raise money for their school; letter of Bessie L. Canedy, Richmond, February 12, 1868, in *Freedmen's Record*, IV (March, 1868), 42-43.

²⁷ Letter of J. S. Banfield, Alexandria, March 31, 1865, in *Freedmen's Record*, I (May, 1865), 75; letter of W. S. Coan, Richmond, May 25, 1865, in *American Missionary*, IX (July, 1865), 156; S. K. Whiting, Petersburg, to Manly, December 1, 1865, BRFAL.

²⁸ Letter of Susan H. Clark, Slabtown (near Fortress Monroe), January, 1867, in *American Missionary*, XI (March, 1867), 64; Samuel Lloyd, Rappahannock County, to General John M. Schofield, July 22, 1867, BRFAL; Richmond *Republican* [May ?, 1865], quoted in *National Freedman*, I (June 1, 1865), 162; L. A. Birchett, Petersburg, to Manly, June 12, 1869, BRFAL; letter of Bessie L. Canedy, Richmond, April 3, 1868, in *Freedmen's Record*, IV (May, 1868), 79; Swint, *The Northern Teacher in the South*, ch. IV, *passim*.

²⁹ Charlottesville *Chronicle*, no date given, quoted in *American Missionary*, IX (November, 1865), 242.

the efficacy of instructing the laboring population, particularly in regard to some of the subject matter. The *Richmond Times* of January 16, 1866, indicated this sentiment:

White cravatted gentlemen from Andover, with a nasal twang, and pretty Yankee girls, with the smallest of hands and feet, have flocked to the South as missionary ground, and are communicating a healthy moral tone to the 'colored folks,' besides instructing them in chemistry, botany, and natural philosophy, teaching them to speak French, sing Italian, and walk Spanish, so that in time we are bound to have intelligent, and, probably, intellectual labor.³⁰

During the year eight schoolhouses and churches were burned and several teachers were assaulted or threatened.³¹ Available evidence seems to indicate that the school and church burnings were primarily the result of vandalism, and General Howard stated that they had not involved "the better portion of the communities."³² The seriousness of the assaults on teachers often was magnified by the multiplicity of reports thereon, and some were the result of boyish pranks rather than adult vandalism.³³ White opposition to freedmen's schools usually was expressed, not in assaults, threats, or burnings, but by obstructing the efforts of the Bureau and benevolent organizations to secure meeting places for schools and quarters and board for teachers. The teacher at Bermuda Hundred who secured board with a "galvanized rebel," as he called his landlady, was more fortunate than most, and even in such a case social pressure might force an eviction.³⁴ One teacher reported that he had been able to find accommodations in only two places in three counties, and one of those was with a Negro family.³⁵ Particularly galling to these northern teachers was the social ostracism to which they were subjected. Often, in their association with whites, they

³⁰ *Richmond Times*, January 16, 1866, quoted in William H. Brown, *The Education and Economic Development of the Negro in Virginia, Publications of the University of Virginia, Phelps-Stokes Fellowship Papers*, Number Six ([Charlottesville, 1923?]), 43; see also Manly, report for the year ending October 31, 1866, BRFAL; and Manly, report for the six months ending June 30, 1869, BRFAL.

³¹ Manly, report for the year ending October 31, 1866, BRFAL.

³² Howard, *Autobiography*, II, 375-76; *Baltimore Sun*, no date given, quoted in *National Freedman*, I (May, 1866), 149.

³³ Captain A. S. Flagg, Norfolk, to Brown, May 18, 1866, BRFAL; Major James Johnson, Fredericksburg, to Brown, February 23, 1866, BRFAL; Major G. B. Carse, Lexington, to W. Stover How, February 26, and March 20, 1866, BRFAL; W. Stover How, Winchester, to Brown, March 23, 1866, BRFAL; C. Thurston Chase, Warrenton, to Brown, April 2, 6, 1866, BRFAL.

³⁴ Willard S. Allen to Manly, November 11, 1865, BRFAL; Jenny E. Howard and Mary M. Nichols, Stanardsville, to Brown, June 13, 1866, BRFAL.

³⁵ N. Coleman to [Manly? or Brown?], October 5, 1865, BRFAL.

encountered "the averted eye and silent contempt . . . or that feminine accomplishment, peculiar to Southern gentility, of 'gathering up their skirts,' that, in passing, their dresses shall escape the hated contact."³⁶

Despite the scattered instances of open violence and a general opposition to freedmen's schools and their teachers, the school program thrived and expanded. Opening in October, 1865, with 67 schools, 136 teachers, and 8,528 pupils, by March, 1866, there were 145 schools, 225 teachers, and 17,589 pupils. A report in April reveals that the American Missionary Association was supporting 53 teachers; the New York National Freedmen's Relief Association, 36; the New England Freedmen's Aid Society, 20; the Baptist Home Mission Society, 24; the True Friends Society of Philadelphia, 49; and the Episcopal Missionary Society, 5. Twenty-nine teachers and 1,057 pupils were in self-supporting schools.³⁷

At the close of the school year General Alfred H. Terry, who had succeeded Brown as Assistant Commissioner, reported that despite a gradual enlarging of the school system there had been "a considerable number of earnest calls for teachers and books for Freedmen," which could not be met due to the "lack of means at the control of the benevolent associations. . . . No appreciable amount of sympathy or assistance from citizens is to be looked for," he continued.

Many of the better class of white citizens . . . favour the education and elevation of the negro, while all the religious conventions of the state have endorsed the same idea—But the controlling [*sic*] classes have neither the disposition nor the ability to undertake any part of the practical work, beyond a very little in Sunday Schools.³⁸

The lack of "disposition" to aid the education of Negroes was ably explained by one Bureau agent, who wrote:

On no other subject are the white citizens so sensitive as on that of educating the Freedpeople, although many of the more sagacious are ready to advocate it when conducted with propriety or, in other words, without instilling bad manners and

³⁶ *American Missionary*, X (August, 1866), 173.

³⁷ State Superintendent's Monthly School Reports, 1865-1866, BRFAL; Consolidated Report for Schools, April, 1866, BRFAL.

³⁸ Terry to Howard, July 13, 1866, BRFAL.

prejudices against their former owners into the minds of the Blacks, or encouraging in them habits of indolence or disobedience of lawful orders—³⁹

The “inconsolable” grief of the Norfolk *Virginian* over the impending departure, in July, 1866, of the Negro “school-marms” who had taken “shelter, with their brood of black-birds, under the protecting wings of that all-gobbling, and foulest of all fowls, the well known buzzard yclept Freedmen’s Bureau,” doubtless became even more inconsolable with the passage by Congress of a bill extending the life of the Bureau for an additional two years. The return of the “impudent women” whose real object, said the *Virginian*, “was to disorganize and demoralize still more our peasantry and laboring population,” was assured.⁴⁰

During the summer months of 1866 the Bureau renewed its efforts to improve the educational system. An extensive questionnaire was sent to superintendents of the various districts of the state requesting a report on the probable number of pupils for the coming year, facilities for school rooms and teachers’ lodgings, extent of local aid to be expected, amount of government lands available for school purposes, and public sentiment toward the Negro schools.⁴¹ New buildings were constructed and many repairs were made on old buildings to replace or improve the small and over-crowded school rooms of the previous year. It was expected that more than one-half of the schools for the coming session would occupy new or improved rooms.⁴²

Superintendent Manly approached the new school year with confidence. The desire of freedmen for education showed no decline and the attitude of the whites had improved to the extent that they had substituted “*toleration, for ill-disguised hostility.*” He had been very pleased by the frank acknowledgment of “prominent citizens” of the “wonderful results” that had been achieved. The success of the schools had been “unquestioned and ample,” and he believed that no children were more tractable to discipline and few more apt to learn. Looking forward toward his goal of free public education for all, and to the time when the

³⁹ J. W. Sharp to Terry, July 21, 1866, BRFAL.

⁴⁰ Norfolk *Virginian*, July 2, 1866, quoted in *American Missionary*, X (August, 1866), 174; General Order 61, War Department, Adjutant General’s Office, August 9, 1866, BRFAL, Washington.

⁴¹ Circular 23, July 18, 1866, BRFAL.

⁴² Manly, report for the year ending October 31, 1866, BRFAL.

benevolent organizations would withdraw their support, he believed that no measure was of "more present importance than the establishment of one good training school for teachers in each of the larger cities."⁴³

The schools began to reopen in September, 1866, and by December 192 schools were in operation, a new record. Although the total enrollment for the period from October, 1866, to June, 1867, was lower than during the previous year the average daily attendance was higher. The schools had shown great improvement, Manly reported. Approximately 8,000 students had learned the alphabet and passed through the primer by June, 1867. About 10,000 were now studying geography, arithmetic, reading, and writing, and some had advanced to the study of United States history, grammar, physiology, algebra, and Latin!⁴⁴ Although the Bureau now could construct as well as rent and repair schoolhouses, applications for assistance far outran the ability of the benevolent organizations to supply teachers.⁴⁵ Consequently many private schools were established in the state, particularly in rural districts. Manly considered these rural schools only better than none at all and the city schools "worse than none" because of the inadequate education of the teachers, most of whom were freedmen.⁴⁶

The importance of establishing teacher-training institutions was clearly recognized by the Bureau and the benevolent organizations.⁴⁷ The hiring of Negro teachers would permit the penetration of freedmen's schools into localities where white teachers were unable to obtain board, provide schools under qualified teachers to replace the inadequate private schools, and provide a nucleus of teachers to instruct freedmen when the Bureau and the benevolent organizations withdrew from the state. Progress in this direction was slow but by June Manly reported that he was preparing to establish high schools, each with a normal de-

⁴³ Manly, report for the year ending October 31, 1866, BRFAL.

⁴⁴ State Superintendent's Monthly School Reports, 1866-1867, BRFAL; Manly, report for the six months ending June 30, 1867, BRFAL. The average total enrollment in the school year 1865-1866 was 13,975, while during 1866-1867 it had declined to 13,005.

⁴⁵ J. W. Alvord, General Superintendent of Education of the Bureau, to Mrs. Dr. [?] Brown, March 11, 1867, BRFAL, Washington; Brown to Howard, March 25, 1867, BRFAL.

⁴⁶ Manly, report, May 22, 1867, BRFAL; Manly, report for the six months ending June 30, 1867, BRFAL. Sixty-three existed in June; Manly to Brown, June 30, 1867, BRFAL.

⁴⁷ Charles A. Raymond, Inspector of Schools, to Manly, July 20, 1866, BRFAL; Manly, report for the year ending October 31, 1866, BRFAL; Lyman Abbott, General Secretary, American Freedmen's Union Commission, to Manly, August 7, 1866, BRFAL; Hannah E. Stevenson, New England Freedmen's Aid Society, to Manly, August 18, 1866, BRFAL.

partment, in Richmond, Petersburg, Norfolk, Hampton, Alexandria, and Danville.⁴⁸

The attitude of whites of the state toward Negro education seems to have improved during the school year 1866-1867. "A better state of public feeling toward the schools, prevails," Manly reported, "and the improvement is believed to be permanent and reliable. This is conclusively indicated by the fact, that many white citizens of Virginia, both male and female, have recently sought positions as teachers of freedmen under the Bureau." It was "almost universally conceded among intelligent citizens" that it was necessary to educate the Negro in view of his new relation to the state. Some planters were building schoolhouses for them and "some ladies of refinement" were "giving them gratuitous lessons." Newspapers of the state were generally "sympathetic" toward freedmen's schools and not only treated them with a "fair measure of courtesy," but "sometimes offered words of commendation and encouragement."⁴⁹ Social ostracism of teachers and refusal to board them or rent school buildings still prevailed, but these actions seem to have reflected opposition to the teachers rather than opposition to Negro education *per se*.⁵⁰

October, 1867, ushered in one of the most significant years of Freedmen's Bureau activity in the field of education in Virginia. The number of schools, teachers, and enrolled pupils reached new highs of 269, 353, and 16,403, respectively, and the average monthly cost of freedmen's education was greatly increased. Benevolent organizations again bore the bulk of the expense of maintaining the freedmen's schools. Out of a total cost for the year of \$132,399, charity supplied \$78,766 and the Bureau \$42,844. The freedmen contributed \$10,789 and, in May, wholly sustained seventy-two schools. The teachers, many of whom were Negroes who had progressed far enough in their own education to enable them to teach other members of their race, were, said Manly, more experienced and more carefully selected. Better

⁴⁸ James M. Stradling to Manly, June 18, 1867, BRFAL; Manly to Brown, June 30, 1867, BRFAL; Manly, report for the six months ending June 30, 1867, BRFAL.

⁴⁹ Manly, report for the six months ending June 30, 1867, BRFAL; Report of Operations, April, 1867, Brown to Howard, BRFAL.

⁵⁰ Letter of Anna Gardner, Charlottesville, October 1, 1866, in *Freedmen's Record*, II (November, 1866), 201; letter of John W. Pratt, Orange Court House, January 2, 1867, in *Freedmen's Record*, III (February, 1867), 26; letter signed P. C. [Philena Carkin?], Charlottesville, February 9, 1867, in *Freedmen's Record*, III (March, 1867), 43; letter of G. H. Morse, Warrenton, January 28, 1867, in *Freedmen's Record*, III (March, 1867), 38; John W. Pratt, Orange Court House, to Manly, October 29, 1866, BRFAL; Benjamin P. Chute, Superintendent of Schools, 7th District, to Manly, November 14, 1866, BRFAL.

school buildings were available, including many new ones, although almost one-half were without desks and many, especially those owned by the freedmen, were cheap log structures. Attendance was "more uniform and classification and grading of the Schools more complete."⁵¹

The desire of freedmen to acquire an education continued unabated. The total capacity of all school buildings in April, 1868, was 15,060, and not only were they entirely filled but 10,000 primers were distributed by the Bureau in those areas where schools were not available. Manly noted many cases of "remarkable sacrifice to secure the benefit of the Schools," students often walking long distances in all but the foulest weather to reach the schoolhouse. He had been greatly impressed by the examinations he had been able to hear, and believed that not less than 50,000 freedmen had learned to read. "Christian charity and Government Aid," he wrote, had never been "more wisely or profitably expended" than in this educational work.⁵²

Although 353 teachers were in the field by April, 1868, the demand for them far outreached the supply. Manly estimated that 2,000 teachers would be required to provide sufficient educational facilities for instruction of children in rural areas, and three-fourths of these would have to be Negroes because of the difficulty of procuring board and lodgings for white teachers and because of limitations on the financial support from the Bureau and benevolent organizations. The critical need for teachers' training schools for Negroes was partially met during the school year 1867-1868 by the founding of Richmond Normal and High School and Hampton Institute. The former opened in October, 1867, with two teachers and sixty-five pupils, and was described by Manly as

well constructed, well provided with the best modern school furniture, and supplied with all necessary educational appliances—philosophical apparatus, maps, charts, globes, books of reference, [and] a new and well selected miscellaneous library, with some historical pictures and other works of art to add to the attractiveness of the rooms.

⁵¹ Educational Division Synopsis of School Reports, November, 1867, to June, 1868, BRFAL; State Superintendent's Monthly School Reports, 1866-1868, BRFAL; Reports of Operations, 1866-1868, Assistant Commissioners to Howard, BRFAL; Manly, report, April 15, 1868, BRFAL.

⁵² Manly, report, April 15, 1868, BRFAL; Educational Division Synopsis, November, 1867, to June, 1868, BRFAL.

The methods of instruction and course of study were those "common to the best Normal Schools." Manly believed that this school was extremely useful not only for "instruction and discipline" of its pupils, but also "for its effect upon the community, in elevating the aspirations of the colored youth of the city, and in conquering some prejudices among the white citizens."⁵³

The Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton went into operation on April 1, 1868, under the auspices of the American Missionary Association. Its purposes, as stated by its founder, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, a Sub-Assistant-Commissioner of the Bureau, were

to train selected Negro youths who should go out and teach and lead their people, first by example, by getting land and homes; to give them not a dollar that they could earn for themselves; to teach respect for labor, to replace stupid drudgery with skilled hands, and to those ends to build up an industrial system for the sake not only of self-support and intelligent labor, but also for the sake of character.

Under Armstrong's plan, the students studied four days per week, and worked two days for the school at a rate of eight cents per hour. The pay for their labor was credited toward their books, while the tuition of seventy dollars per year was borne by the school. By removing the pupils from "their old world of semi-heathenism" and making each a "responsible member of a well ordered Christian home," Manly felt that it would train them in better habits and more refined tastes, and would make them better citizens.⁵⁴ Rutherford B. Hayes, long active in southern education, felt that Armstrong, because of this school, stood "next to Lincoln in effective work for the negro." His work, said Hayes, "hits the nail on the head. It solves the whole negro problem."⁵⁵

In describing the attitude of Virginia's citizens toward freedmen's schools in March, 1868, Manly wrote: "To the whites the Schools are medicine, to the blacks a cordial."⁵⁶ The improvement

⁵³ Educational Division Synopsis, November, 1867, to June, 1868, BRFAL; Manly, Secretary, Richmond Educational Association, to J. W. Alvord, General Superintendent of Schools of the Bureau, July 22, 1869, BRFAL.

⁵⁴ Edith Armstrong Talbot, *Samuel Chapman Armstrong, A Biographical Study* (New York, 1904), 157, 167; Educational Division Synopsis, November, 1867, to June, 1868, BRFAL.

⁵⁵ Hayes to E. E. Hale, January 5, 1892, in Rutherford Birchard Hayes, *Diary and Letters of Rutherford Birchard Hayes*, ed. by Charles R. Williams (5 vols. Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1926), V, 46-47.

⁵⁶ State Superintendent's Monthly School Report, March, 1868, BRFAL.

in public opinion toward Negro education during the previous school year had been more than counteracted by the political campaign of the summer and autumn months of 1867 to elect delegates to a constitutional convention, in compliance with the reconstruction acts of March 2 and 23, 1867, and the meeting of the convention itself from December 3, 1867, to April 17, 1868. This convention inserted into the proposed constitution an able provision for a system of free public schools; and a vigorous but unsuccessful attempt was made to educate whites and Negroes together in the same schools. Civil equality was guaranteed to both races. Men who had taken oaths as congressmen, officers of the United States, members of any state legislature, or executive or judicial officers of any state and had engaged in the rebellion or given aid and comfort to the enemy were disfranchised, and all persons before entering upon office were required to take the "iron-clad" oath.⁵⁷

In light of the revolutionary and discriminatory provisions of the proposed constitution it is not surprising that nine-tenths of the white population were, as Manly put it, "thoroughly organized, politically, against Negro suffrage and political equality," and that this same movement tended "strongly against all attempts to improve and elevate the freedmen."⁵⁸ Opposition to freedmen's schools increased noticeably, probably because of the activities of many teachers who, while motivated by religious and humanitarian enthusiasm to educate the Negro, felt that their instruction should teach the Negro "to recognize his friends, to support with his ballot the party of his friends, and to assume his place as the social and political equal of the Southern white man."⁵⁹ Since the ballot and spelling book "must go hand in hand,"⁶⁰ retaliation was inevitable. Some whites, apparently realizing the political influence of freedmen's schools, undertook to provide education for their laborers. Others caused schools to be ejected from buildings in which they had been meeting. Retaliation of a more violent nature manifested itself in Ku Klux Klan activity and other outrages. While the Klan seems

⁵⁷ For a discussion of this campaign and convention see Hamilton J. Eckenrode, *The Political History of Virginia During the Reconstruction*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XXII, nos. 6-7-8 (Baltimore, 1904), chs. V, VI.

⁵⁸ Manly to Brown, February 20, 1868, BRFAL.

⁵⁹ Swint, *The Northern Teacher in the South*, 82-83; see also George E. Stephens, a Union League canvasser, to Manly, October 24, 1867, BRFAL.

⁶⁰ Speech of J. M. McKim, Corresponding Secretary, Northwest Branch American Freedmen's Union Commission, in *American Freedman*, I (March, 1867), 181.

primarily to have been interested in coercing the Negro with respect to suffrage, several schoolhouses were broken into and several teachers were assaulted.⁶¹

Manly saw the solution to the problem when, in April, 1868, he wrote: "With both classes [aristocracy and poor whites] movements for the education of the blacks would be received with comparent [?] complacency if Southern white teachers,—the Widows, Wives and Daughters of confederate [*sic*] soldiers, were exclusively employed." Even had Manly desired exclusively to employ native Virginians as teachers he probably could not have done so. The state was unable to supply funds for teachers' wages and was not expected to be able to do so until at least 1869.⁶² It is improbable that the Bureau, controlled as it was by the Radical Congress, would have consented to such a policy, even if it had possessed the necessary funds, since the present teachers were an invaluable force for organizing the Negro vote in favor of the party in power.⁶³ Furthermore, Manly was largely dependent upon northern benevolent organizations for financial support of his school system, and it is highly improbable that these organizations, many of which had been founded in the interests of abolition and had fought first the southern "slaveocracy" and then the southern "rebels," would have consented to furnishing financial support for southern teachers to the exclusion of the Yankee "school-marms."

One apparent solution of the problem of antipathy toward freedmen's education was a state public school system for both whites and Negroes, such as that provided for in the proposed constitution. That constitution had not yet been adopted, but the Bureau sought, by its work in individual cities, to facilitate the establishment of the proposed state system. It made an unsuccessful attempt to organize a public school system in Richmond, and in other cities it attempted to set up such a systematic or-

⁶¹ *American Missionary*, XI (November, 1867), 245; Matthew W. Jackson, Charlotte Court House, to [Manly?], October 26, 1867, BRFAL; James Johnson, Fredericksburg, to Terry, August 8, 1866, BRFAL; Sanford M. Dodge to Howard, December 10, 1867, BRFAL; Edgar Allan to Howard, December 10, 1867, BRFAL; S. P. Lee, Alexandria, to Brown, April 10, 1868, BRFAL; Charles W. McMahan, Appomattox Court House, to Captain J. F. Wilson, April 30, and May 4, 1868, BRFAL; Report of Operations, April, 1868, Brown to Howard, BRFAL; Report of Outrages, Warrenton, April, 1868, BRFAL; J. N. Murdock, Willville, to Manly, January 14, 1867, BRFAL. The latter appears to be incorrectly dated, and should read January 14, 1868.

⁶² Manly, report, April 15, 1868, BRFAL.

⁶³ See Richard L. Morton, *The Negro in Virginia Politics, 1865-1902*, *Publications of the University of Virginia, Phelps-Stokes Fellowship Papers*, Number Four (Charlottesville, 1919), 31, for an opinion on the political character of the Bureau.

ganization of schools as could, with little change, be taken over by state and municipal authorities when they became sufficiently able to assume such responsibility. This was most satisfactorily accomplished in Alexandria, Norfolk, Hampton, Petersburg, and Richmond, each of which contained primary, intermediate, and high or normal schools.⁶⁴

With a presidential election in the fall and the election on the proposed constitution tentatively scheduled for August, though subsequently postponed, the summer and autumn months of 1868 witnessed intensive campaigning.⁶⁵ A number of Negro schools and teachers of freedmen felt the wrath of the aroused tempers of the whites. Several schools were burned and a teacher at Bacon's Castle not only was beaten "unmercifully" by four whites but his house was burned.⁶⁶ It seems probable that this violence was occasioned by the political activity of teachers, many of whom were supported by various benevolent organizations which expressed their approval of and desire for the political education of the Negro.⁶⁷ Miss Anna Gardner, in Charlottesville, readily admitted the dual purpose of her teaching. James C. Southall, editor of the Charlottesville *Chronicle*, wrote her: "The idea prevails, that you instruct them [the students] in politics and sociology; that you come among us not merely as an ordinary school teacher, but as a political missionary; that you communicate to the colored people ideas of social equality with the whites." Miss Gardner replied, "I teach *in school and out*, so far as my influence extends, the fundamental principles of 'Politics' and 'sociology' viz:—'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do you even so unto them.' Yours in behalf of truth and justice."⁶⁸ The constitution with its drastic disfranchisement and "test-oath" clauses naturally was repugnant to most whites. It is not surprising, therefore, that efforts to prevent its ratification would include attempts to intimidate such people as Miss Gardner who were influencing the tractable Negroes to vote for it.

⁶⁴ Brown to Howard, June 18, 1868, BRFAL; Manly, report for the six months ending June 30, 1869, BRFAL; Educational Division Synopsis, November, 1867, to June, 1868, BRFAL.

⁶⁵ Eckenrode, *Virginia During the Reconstruction*, 106-109. The election on the adoption of the constitution was postponed until July 6, 1869; Eckenrode, *Virginia During the Reconstruction*, 125.

⁶⁶ Report of Outrages, Bacon's Castle, October, 1868, P. H. McLaughlin to Brown, BRFAL; William P. Austin, Wytheville, to Brown, July 22, 1868, BRFAL; Brown to P. H. McLaughlin, December 7, 1868, BRFAL.

⁶⁷ Swint, *The Northern Teacher in the South*, 82-85.

⁶⁸ Swint, *The Northern Teacher in the South*, 82-85; see also chapter IV, *passim*.

During the new school year the benevolent organizations extended their policy, begun during the previous year, of requiring freedmen to aid in supporting their schools. In many places they required the Negroes to contribute ten to fifty cents per month which, though not always willingly paid, tended to "eliminate the worthless material, to improve the average attendance and punctuality, to increase the interest both of pupil and parent, and to develop in them a legitimate feeling of self-respect, in place of the debasing sense of entire dependence." Full charity, in Manly's opinion, was "a false pernicious lesson, which, must some day, be most painfully unlearned."⁶⁹

Many rural schools drew all or most of their financial support from freedmen alone. By June, 1869, the freedmen owned 121 schools, an increase of fifty over the previous year; and they were contributing \$19,000 toward support of the school system. The Peabody Fund also supplied needed assistance, furnishing \$4,000 during the school year 1868-1869. This was disbursed to seventy schools not otherwise adequately provided for, to supplement what the freedmen were doing themselves. The Bureau and northern benevolent organizations, of course, continued to provide most of the support for the schools.⁷⁰

With freedmen assuming a greater share of the expense of the school system, it was possible to divert some funds of benevolent organizations into the establishment of new schools in rural areas. In December, 1868, Manly reported that at the present rate of progress schools soon would be in operation in nearly every county of the state. Much of this expansion into rural districts was due to the diffusion of Negro teachers "fresh from the schools" into these areas. Though they lacked experience, this hindrance was more than offset by the "wonderful zeal of the people and the pupils." Each school gathered "the brightest children from a territory equal to two or three New England townships," many children setting out from home without breakfast on their long journey to school.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Manly, report for the six months ending December 31, 1868, BRFAL.

⁷⁰ Manly, report for the six months ending December 31, 1868, BRFAL; Manly, report for the six months ending June 30, 1869, BRFAL. The Peabody Fund was established by a gift of \$2,000,000 made by George Peabody for the "promotion and encouragement of intellectual, moral, or industrial education among the young of the more destitute portions of the South." It was distributed among these schools by giving the teacher twenty-five cents per month for each pupil of average attendance; Manly, report for the six months ending December 31, 1868, BRFAL.

⁷¹ Manly, report for the six months ending December 31, 1868, BRFAL.

The Freedmen's Bureau, with the exception of its offices for payment of bounties and pensions, and its educational department, which was to continue in operation until the state made "suitable provision for the education of the children of freedmen," was withdrawn from the state on January 1, 1869.⁷² This action seems to have had little effect upon the educational department except for an administrative reorganization. General Brown replaced Manly as Superintendent of Education but was mustered out on April 30, 1869, and Manly resumed his position. The state was divided into Educational Sub-Districts but these too were soon discontinued. The only permanent change of any consequence was that teachers, instead of sending their reports to local agents, now sent them direct to Manly.⁷³

Despite the diminished resources of the benevolent organizations the aggregate number of schools, teachers, and pupils, and the average daily attendance in the school year 1868-1869 reached new highs. The year showed an increase of sixty schools, forty-seven teachers, and six hundred pupils. A still more gratifying fact was the increase in average attendance, which was 80 per cent of the total enrollment, as compared to 72 per cent during the previous year. Manly attributed these increases to "a true professional zeal on the part of the teachers," a "lively interest" and growing "spirit of self-help among the freedmen," and increased financial assistance from the Bureau. During the year ending June 30, 1869, benevolent organizations had supplied approximately \$60,000 as compared to \$78,766 during the previous year. The freedmen, however, had contributed \$19,000, an increase of more than \$8,000 over 1867-1868, while the Bureau appropriation had increased by nearly the same amount to \$50,000. With the addition of \$4,000 from the Peabody Fund and \$2,200 from miscellaneous sources, the total amount spent annually on freedmen's education in Virginia had increased from \$132,399 to approximately \$135,200.⁷⁴

⁷² Special Order 165, December 30, 1868, BRFAL; see also Circular 6, July 17, 1868, BRFAL, Washington; Circular 10, November 17, 1868, BRFAL, Washington; Act of July 6, 1868, in *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XV, Public Laws . . . Second Session of the Fortieth Congress, 1867-1868, 83.

⁷³ War Department to Brown, April 1, 1869, BRFAL, Washington; Manly to Howard, May 1, 1869, BRFAL; Circular 33, December 30, 1868, BRFAL; Circular 1, January 1, 1869, BRFAL; Circular 2, March 9, 1869, BRFAL; Circular 3, March 19, 1868, BRFAL. The latter is incorrectly dated and should have read March 19, 1869.

⁷⁴ Manly, report for the six months ending June 30, 1869, BRFAL; Educational Division Synopsis, November, 1867, to June, 1868, BRFAL.

Many local school systems received special praise from Manly. In Richmond the schools were of "unusual excellence," the best teachers of former years having been retained, and the less successful replaced by "those of better skill or greater devotion." As a result, these schools secured "unqualified public approval," according to Manly. "The opposition which formerly existed, and which found expression in violence to the school houses, insults to the teachers, and ribald jests in the News paper press," had, said the Superintendent, "entirely disappeared." Because of their uniformly high character the schools for loyal whites conducted by the Soldiers Memorial Society of Boston had also done much to reconcile the people of Richmond to the introduction of the public school system. The schools at Lynchburg, Hampton, Danville, Charlottesville, and Alexandria, each of which had normal schools, were also very successful, their normal schools being especially valuable as a source for future teachers.⁷⁵

Although the people of Richmond gave "unqualified public approval" to the public schools, the people of the state apparently were not as enthusiastic. Obstacles to the education of freedmen were "undoubtedly diminishing" but Manly felt that there was not another southern state in which the ruling class had such a poor opinion, "not only of public free schools as a means of education, but of education itself, for the masses." To support this opinion he quoted a "learned Virginia Judge" as saying: "You Northern people have gone as mad as 'March hares' on the subject of education. What does the laboring class want of knowledge? Give them meal and bacon to make more muscle, and, we'll direct the muscle."⁷⁶ Despite this attitude on the part of some individuals, a considerable number of native whites, "generally women in reduced circumstances, or broken down School Masters," opened schools for freedmen. Most, said Manly, were forced to humble themselves to earn the bare necessities of life and though, as teachers, they were not the best, they were better than none.⁷⁷

The constitution which had been drawn up by the state convention in 1868 was finally submitted to a vote on July 6, 1869, with a provision for a separate vote on the disfranchisement and

⁷⁵ Manly, report for the six months ending June 30, 1869, BRFAL.

⁷⁶ Manly, report for the six months ending June 30, 1869, BRFAL.

⁷⁷ Manly, report for the six months ending June 30, 1869, BRFAL.

"test-oath" clauses. These two clauses were defeated and the constitution with its provision for a system of free public schools was adopted.⁷⁸ This was a source of great personal satisfaction to Manly who long had advocated free public schools and had sought to organize the Bureau schools in such a way that they easily could become part of the system. "The new Constitution," he wrote,

with its public free school system which has been standing on the table of the sick man for fifteen months,—a nauseous but wholesome draught—has just been swallowed, not willingly, it is true, but angrily and ruefully. The patient's dislike for the medicine [*sic*] and hate for the doctor that compounded it, may retard and somewhat modify the effect of the dose, but cannot destroy it.—Ample provision is made in that instrument for the gradual introduction and permanent support of a comprehensive system of public free schools. The wealthy and aristocratic will oppose and retard the movement, but it will certainly go forward until the free school shall be as common, as excellent, and as honored, as before the war, it was scarce and contemptible.⁷⁹

Evidence was already available to indicate a future support of the public school system, particularly in the cities. Petersburg had finished its first year of trial of the system, and the city, in Manly's opinion, was "happy with the success of the experiment." Its teachers, most of whom were native Virginians, had taught an enrollment of over 2,000 children, of whom more than half were Negroes. Norfolk, which for some years had sustained public schools for white children, now made an appropriation to the American Missionary Association to assist in the support of Negro schools. Winchester had pledged itself to the support of "public schools for all." Richmond, in which an attempt to establish free schools had failed during the previous year, had just passed an ordinance providing for such a system, appropriated money for its support, and selected a Board of Education whose members, Manly believed, would "exert themselves to make it a success." This board, in co-operation with the Bureau, the charitable organizations, and the Peabody Fund, was expected to provide for 5,000 pupils during the first year, at a total expense to all parties of \$50,000 to \$60,000. "For the first time in the history of this city," wrote Manly, "the poor children as well as

⁷⁸ Eckenrode, *Virginia During the Reconstruction*, 125.

⁷⁹ Manly, report for the six months ending June 30, 1869, BRFAL.

the rich, regardless of past history or present condition, will freely enjoy the blessing of good schools." The future of education in Virginia, he wrote, "has never looked so hopeful for poor and ignorant of both races as at the present time."⁸⁰

During the summer recess of 1869 efforts were made to adjust school schedules so that rural Negroes might obtain greater benefits. The spring and autumn months being the busiest for agricultural workers, and the summer and winter months being seasons of comparative leisure, Manly decided to continue in operation a large number of rural schools during the summer, not only to provide desired educational facilities but to lessen the patronage of inadequate and "harmful" private schools. As a result the number of teachers and pupils was twice that of any corresponding period, despite diminished aid from the societies and a blight of the crops. The main contributory causes for the increase, as Manly saw them, were the "widening and deepening interest on the part of the people to have schools" and the "rigid and consistent application, both to societies and local school trustees, of the [Bureau] rule not to furnish rent . . . unless an average daily attendance of thirty pupils was secured." The latter rule not only prevented waste of public funds, but increased daily attendance and "improved the tone of the schools."⁸¹

The school building program continued at a rapid rate. During the academic year 1869-1870 thirty-two schoolhouses were constructed, at an average cost of \$409, of which the Bureau furnished \$182.50 and freedmen the rest. Two new buildings were constructed at Hampton Institute and at Richmond High and Normal School, the former at a cost of \$40,000 and the latter at \$18,000, part of which was paid by the Bureau and part by charity. Manly, who envisioned even more schools, wrote Howard suggesting that the Bureau, by pursuing a policy of "helping those who help themselves," could supply facilities for needed schools at a maximum cost to the government of \$200 each. His suggestion was not acted upon, however, because of the impending withdrawal of the Bureau from the state.⁸²

⁸⁰ Manly, report for the six months ending June 30, 1869, BRFAL; see also Manly, report for the six months ending December 31, 1868, BRFAL.

⁸¹ Manly, report for the six months ending December 31, 1869, BRFAL.

⁸² Manly, report for the six months ending December 31, 1869, BRFAL; Manly, report for the six months ending June 30, 1870, including a summary for the five years ending June 30, 1870, BRFAL.

The diminished assistance afforded the schools by charitable organizations during 1869-1870 threw a greater burden upon the people. Even in a normal year, this burden would have been difficult to shoulder, but the difficulty was even greater that year because of a drought and short crops during the previous summer, facts which Manly felt were not properly understood by societies and people at a distance. There was not enough food to eat, and nothing to sell. Manly wrote:

For a people thus situated to board their teachers and help build and repair their school houses, is to bear a vastly heavier burden than any community in a similar condition of poverty in any Northern State is required to bear. The fact that they are bearing this burden, is much to their credit and should command both admiration and pity.⁸³

The ratification of the state constitution and the impending readmission of Virginia to representation in Congress seem to have stabilized internal conditions in the state. With education no longer connected with disfranchisement, and with the conservatives victorious over the radicals, hostility to Negro education and public schools died down. Violence had almost disappeared, Manly reported, and the belief of the whites that Negroes could not learn was entirely gone. Objection to white Virginians teaching in freedmen's schools was slowly going, and he noted a gradual diminishing of prejudice against northern teachers. On one point, however, the whites remained adamant. The feeling against mixed schools, Manly wrote, was as "solid as the primitive rocks of the Alleghanies."⁸⁴

Virginia was readmitted to statehood on January 26, 1870, and on the following day General Canby "resigned the government of the State to the civil authorities."⁸⁵ Although the military withdrew from the state the educational department of the Bureau remained in operation until the end of the school year.⁸⁶ Manly sought to prevent the discontinuance of freedmen's schools by urging the "pressing necessity" of government aid and the continued co-operation of the charitable organizations, until such time as the state was financially able to assume the burden, but

⁸³ Manly, report for the six months ending December 31, 1869, BRFAL.

⁸⁴ Manly, report for the six months ending December 31, 1869, BRFAL.

⁸⁵ Eckenrode, *Virginia During the Reconstruction*, 127.

⁸⁶ J. M. Brown, Acting Assistant Adjutant General, to Manly, July 11, 1870, BRFAL, Washington, ordered the discontinuance of the Bureau on August 15, 1870.

although some aid was forthcoming it was not enough.⁸⁷ Consequently, when the Bureau withdrew many freedmen's schools were forced to close their doors. The Negroes vigorously objected to this action, charging that they were being abandoned by the government; that the government had emancipated them and given them the franchise, and was therefore obligated not to leave them ignorant. With the government "gone back on them" and the state doing nothing, they "turn away to their toil," said Manly, "feeling that they have not only been bereaved but wronged." The Superintendent sympathized with their lot, and protested to General Howard that "not less than ten thousand colored children" who had attended school during the previous year would have none the next; furthermore, an equal number who were anticipating the privilege, now were to have it denied them. Manly charged that the Negroes were suffering a "grievous wrong" for which they were not responsible. "It is evident," he wrote, "that there is not on earth another people who have such pressing need of the benefit of good schools."⁸⁸

Looking back, at the time of the withdrawal of the Bureau from Virginia, Manly was justified in viewing with pride the accomplishments under his five years of superintendency. Between the commencement of Bureau operations in Virginia, in June, 1865, and June, 1870, over two hundred schoolhouses had been erected and it was claimed that 50,000 young Negroes had been taught to read and write. The number of pupils enrolled in the freedmen's schools had risen from an average of about 10,600 per month in 1865-1866 to an average of about 11,700 per month in 1869-1870; and an average of 10,725 students had been under instruction each month over the five-year period. Average daily attendance had increased from 7,896 in 1865-1866 to 8,909 in 1869-1870. The number of teachers had increased from 225, the largest number of the first school year, to 429 in February, 1870; the report of 145 schools in operation during March, 1866, was dwarfed by the 346 functioning in February, 1870; and the high of 17,589 students enrolled in March, 1866, was surpassed by the 18,138 students in February, 1870. During the five-year

⁸⁷ Manly, report for the six months ending December 31, 1869, BRFAL; J. S. Lowell, Secretary, Committee on Teachers, New England Branch Freedmen's Union Commission, to Manly, April 26, 1870, BRFAL; A. H. Jones [Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association?], to Manly, June 20, 1870, BRFAL.

⁸⁸ Manly, report for the six months ending June 30, 1870, BRFAL.

period a total of \$725,000 had been expended for education of the freedmen, \$375,000 of which had come from charitable organizations, and \$300,000 from the Bureau. The freedmen had contributed \$50,000, not including the schoolhouses which they had constructed.⁸⁹

Enormous strides had been made in normal school education during the Bureau's operations in the state. Between 1865 and 1870 six normal schools had been established. Hampton Institute, with six teachers and seventy-five pupils, had acquired 122 acres and nine buildings, valued at \$100,000. The Richmond Normal and High School, in operation since 1867, maintained a teaching staff of four and had an enrollment of one hundred pupils. The recognized head of the Negro school system in Richmond, it had become "a decided success." The Charlottesville Normal School had four teachers and forty pupils in the normal department. Other normal schools of a "less permanent character" had been founded in Alexandria (ninety pupils and three teachers), Lynchburg (thirty pupils and one teacher), and Danville (forty pupils and one teacher).⁹⁰

During the five-year period the seed of the idea of free public schools for all had been nurtured by Manly and others until it had reached the budding stage with the new constitution. "The first provisions for a complete system of public education" in Virginia were contained in this constitution.⁹¹ Prior to the war nine counties and three cities had operated, at one time or another, a system of district free schools for rich and poor alike, but Norfolk County was the only one which had possessed such a system at the outbreak of the war.⁹² In light of these facts Manly perhaps was justified in believing that the success of the

⁸⁹ Manly, report for the six months ending June 30, 1870, BRFAL; Manly, report for the year ending October 31, 1866, BRFAL. W. H. Brown in *The Education and Economic Development of the Negro in Virginia*, 45, quotes Manly as writing in 1880: "I have always affirmed, and still believe, that during this period of five or six years not less than 20,000 [freedmen] learned to read. . . ." Whether Manly previously had overestimated, whether he had made a mistake on this report, or whether he was incorrectly quoted, is a matter of conjecture.

In computing the average daily attendance for 1865-1866 I have, because of a lack of statistics for the months of July, August, and September, 1865, assumed a 100 per cent daily attendance of the students enrolled.

⁹⁰ Manly, report for the six months ending June 30, 1870, BRFAL.

⁹¹ Tipton R. Snively, Duncan C. Hyde, and Alvin B. Biscoe, *State Grants-in-Aid in Virginia* (New York, 1933), 49.

⁹² Cornelius J. Heatwole, *A History of Education in Virginia* (New York, 1916), 120. Elizabeth City, Henry, King George, Northampton, Norfolk, Princess Anne, Washington, Albemarle and Augusta counties, and Lynchburg, Petersburg, and Norfolk cities had possessed such systems. See Heatwole, *A History of Education in Virginia*, 210-211, 215-218, for a discussion of public education in Virginia and the provisions for such education in the constitution of 1869.

Bureau schools had been influential in the establishment of a state public school system.⁹³ Freedmen who had received the benefits of the free schools provided by the Bureau and benevolent organizations certainly wanted to secure their continuance. Many whites, having seen free schools in operation, must have desired these advantages for their children.⁹⁴ The Bureau seems to have made a significant contribution to education in Virginia by beginning the instruction of freedmen, using its influence to secure a free public school system, and laying a foundation for such a system.

Had the system of education established by the Bureau been different the contributions might have been even greater. It seems probable that the exclusive employment as teachers of native white Virginians would have removed much of the odium attached to the idea of educating the Negro. Instead benevolent societies of abolitionist leanings sent Yankee teachers of similar sentiments who were motivated not only by humanitarian instincts but by a crusading zeal to establish social equality and a desire to organize the Negro race into a southern Republican party. The Norfolk *Virginian* stated:

Had they confined themselves merely to teaching the objects of their idolatry the rudiments of our English education—to read, to write, and to cypher, . . . we might have let their impudent assumptions pass with the contempt of silence; but they failed to confine themselves to these harmless objects, and at once set to work assiduously to array the colored race against their former masters and present natural protectors.⁹⁵

Violent opposition to freedmen's schools seems not to have been motivated by animosity toward the principle of Negro education as much as by opposition to the social and political activities of the teachers. There is a distinct correlation between the frequency of school burnings, assaults, and other violence and the amount of political activity in the state. From the establishment of the Bureau in 1865 to the summer of 1867, reports of violence were few and opposition to Negro education seems primarily to have been based upon the idea that it was useless to educate

⁹³ Manly, report for the six months ending June 30, 1870, BRFAL.

⁹⁴ For example, see Norfolk *Journal*, June 1, 1867, quoted in *American Missionary*, XI (July, 1867), 151-52.

⁹⁵ Norfolk *Virginian*, July 2, 1866, in *American Missionary*, X (August, 1866), 174.

laborers. During the political campaigns of late 1867, 1868, and early 1869 reports of outrages committed on teachers and schools showed a notable increase, and opposition to freedmen's schools became more pronounced. After the adoption of the state constitution violence declined and the opposition of whites toward Negro education seems to have become of relative insignificance.

Social ostracism and obstruction of Bureau and benevolent organization efforts to establish schools again appears to be due, in a large extent, to the actions of the "Yankee" teachers. Handicapped from the start because they, like the Union soldiers before them, were invaders of Virginia, they openly displayed their Union sentiments and their contempt for the "secesh." To name a school after Lincoln might be tolerated, but to name schools after Toussaint L'Ouverture and "Beast" Butler, of New Orleans fame, was hardly desirable if hostility was to be avoided. Moreover, to teach the freedmen to sing "John Brown's soul [body?]" and other Union songs, to utilize *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as a reading exercise, and to inspire freedmen students in Richmond to celebrate the fall of that city, could accomplish little but an alienation of the whites and Negroes.⁹⁶ The fact that some teachers seemed to advocate social equality, both by their teaching and by their actions,⁹⁷ obviously must have been considered dangerous by a people who only recently had belonged to a slaveholding society. This is not to imply, however, that all opposition to freedmen's schools was caused by the actions of the teachers. Ante-bellum slave insurrections undoubtedly had left a traditional fear of the educated Negro. Some opposition to the freedmen's schools was probably due to bigotry, intolerance, and social pressure. Still other opposition arose from people who felt that laborers had no need of an education. Nevertheless, it seems justifiable to attribute much of the hostility to freedmen's schools, much of the violence and ostracism, and much of the obstruction of educational efforts to the northern school teachers.

Despite such drawbacks the Freedmen's Bureau, under the able direction of Superintendent Manly, did accomplish its main

⁹⁶ Thomas A. Cushman, Bristol Goodson, to Manly, October 5, 1869, BRFAL; letter of Miss Armstrong, Norfolk, March 27, 1865, in *American Missionary*, IX (June, 1865), 124; letter of Susan H. Clark, Slabtown, January, 1867, in *American Missionary*, XI (March, 1867), 64; letter of Bessie L. Canedy, Richmond, April 3, 1868, in *Freedmen's Record*, IV (May, 1868), 79.

⁹⁷ See, for example, Fanny Pegram, Charlotte Court House, to Manly [received, April 22, 1869], BRFAL.

purpose—that of providing education for the Negroes during its operation in the state. Fifty thousand young freedmen supposedly had learned to read and write in its schools, though some of the letters of freedmen's school teachers indicate that this knowledge of reading and writing must have been extremely limited.⁹⁸ Hundreds of freedmen were reported to be in training for the teaching profession in the normal schools, and scores already had become successful teachers. Two hundred schoolhouses had been erected. Normal schools for the training of Negro teachers had been founded. The principle of industrial education had been introduced by S. C. Armstrong, a Bureau agent, at Hampton Institute. Not only had the attitude toward Negro education progressed from opposition to relative acceptance, but the constitution and laws of the state now contained provisions for free public schools for both races. Thus, though the Bureau and its schools often were idealistic rather than practical, strongly reforming in attitude, and decidedly political in tenor, they made valuable contributions to Negro education in Virginia.

⁹⁸ James H. Branden, Petersburg, to Manly, June 18, 1869, BRFAL, requested "25 spelli Books and 4 Rithmeticks," stated that he had not received any "Pay for my Servises yet," and said he "woold bee very Glad if you woold let [me] have some money at this presant time as i am in Great kneed of it And thare is a Great knead of A school in this versinity. . . ." Another teacher, jointly engaged with a friend in instructing the freedmen, told Manly: "Ralph Edmunds can't write, he only teaches the scholars to spell and to read and keeps good order in the school." Benjamin J. Medley and Ralph Edmunds, New's Ferry, to Manly, January 15, 1870, BRFAL.

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF CALVIN HENDERSON WILEY

EDITED BY MARY CALLUM WILEY

The following hitherto unpublished letters, with the exception of the first two and the last, were written by Calvin Henderson Wiley¹ (or Henderson Wiley, as he was called in the family circle of his boyhood and youth—never Calvin Wiley) during the dark years of the late 1840's and the early 1850's, when financial reverses were overshadowing the old homeplace in Guilford County and the struggling young lawyer of Oxford was seeking through his literary aspirations to bring security to his dearly beloved mother and young sisters.

The following quaintly styled letter from his boyhood friend and neighbor, young Jeremy F. Gilmer,² throws light upon the eager striving of Wiley for more and more education. His early schooling was obtained at a subscription school locally called, because of the red mud with which the walls of the log schoolhouse were daubed, the Little Red School. In his teens he attended the Caldwell Institute in Greensboro and it is of this school that the sixteen-year-old Jeremy writes to his friend Henderson, one year his junior.

Alamance³ Aug. the 6th A. D. 1834

Dear Sir

I seat myself at my desk to write you a few lines. I received a letter this evening from Brother John⁴ who informs me that if you are going to school the next session to Greensboro' you can

¹ Calvin Henderson Wiley, son of David L. and Anne Woodburn Wiley, born February 3, 1819, in Guilford County; graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1840; licensed to practice law in 1841; author of historical romances, *Alamance; or, the Great and Final Experiment*, 1874, and *Roanoke; or, Where is Utopia?* in 1849, and *The North-Carolina Reader*, 1851. Member of the Legislature in 1850 and 1852; superintendent of Common Schools of North Carolina from 1853 to 1865; ordained to the ministry in 1866; general agent of the American Bible Society of East and Middle Tennessee in 1869-1874 and of North and South Carolina in 1874-1887. Died in Winston, January 11, 1887.

² Jeremy Forbis Gilmer, born in Guilford County, February 23, 1818. Graduated from West Point in 1839, fourth in his class of thirty-three. As Chief of Engineers, he was engaged in building forts and making surveys in river and harbor improvements until the outbreak of the War between the States, when he resigned and as Chief Engineer on General Albert Sidney Johnston's staff engaged in active service. After recovery from severe wounds at the Battle of Shiloh he was made Chief of the Engineers Bureau, Richmond. In 1863 he was promoted to Major-General. "West Point Soldiers in Confederate Army," *Fayetteville Observer*, October 6, 1862; Sallie W. Stockard, *The History of Guilford County, North Carolina*, 176.

³ The members of the ancient Presbyterian church, Alamance, six miles from Greensboro, always referred to their section as Alamance, not Guilford.

⁴ John Adams Gilmer, born on his father's farm in the Alamance Church section, November 4, 1805. Entered the law office of Archibald D. Murphey, Greensboro, in 1829. State senator from Guilford in 1846-1850; in the United States House of Representatives as member from the fifth North Carolina district, 1857-1861. Offered a place in Lincoln's cabinet but declined the post to enter the Confederate Army. Died in 1868. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, 20; Gerald W. Johnson, "John Adams Gilmer," in Bettie D. Caldwell, compiler, *Founders and Builders of Greensboro, 1808-1908*, 98-102.

board⁵ with him; and you and I can both room together in the same room. I would be very glad indeed to have you for a Room Mate. He will board you for five Dollars a month. You were speaking of studying English Grammar and Geography before you commenced the study of the languages but you can study the latter to as much advantage without studying either of these and when you understand the latin tongue it is quite easy to study the English; and I have heard some say it was the best way to study the latin first; and as for Geography you can study that at night and recite a lesson every morning without interfering much with your other studies. Try and persuade your Father to send you this session and by a little hard study and industry you can join me in my class and then we will go on together and by our rooming together we would have all opportunities for improvement, when the one got stalded [stalled] perhaps the other could help him out. I wish if you could have any opportunity, you would let me know whether you will go of not.⁶

Nothing more but remain your affectionate
friend till death
Jeremy Gilmer

Henderson Wiley

As a preface to Calvin Henderson Wiley's letters of the 1840's, the following notation on the first page of one of his books, John C. Fremont's *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains*, Senate publication, 1845, may be inserted.

To C. H. Wiley, Esq.

Sir,

I send you an *American work* in acknowledgement of your interesting letter of the 1st ultimo.

Respectfully,

Thomas H. Benton⁷

March 1848

⁵ John Adams Gilmer married the daughter of the Reverend William Paisley and settled in a home on the corner of Mr. Paisley's lot, now the site of the West Market Street Methodist Church, opposite Guilford Courthouse. While he was establishing himself in law his young wife took boarders, Gerald W. Johnson, "John Adams Gilmer," in *Founders and Builders of Greensboro*, 99. John Adams Gilmer to Calvin H. Wiley, n. d.

⁶ The author has been unable to determine the exact dates of Calvin Wiley's schooling in Greensboro. In an address before the literary societies of Greensboro Female College in the 1850's (manuscript now in the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh), Wiley gives this glimpse of his school days at the Caldwell Institute: "Thou I profess to be a very young man, I can well remember the advent of the first Piano for schools in Greensboro; and the sensation which it produced. A life Giraffe promenading our streets could not be more wondered at; and when it was safely housed in the dingy little brick building immediately north of us, the boys and the men peeped in at the windows, walked cautiously around it, [the piano] handled it, and touched the keys with awful admiration.

"The Presbyterians built that admirable school, the Caldwell Institute; the Methodist, with generous rivalry of the right kind determined to erect a Female College. And sure enough, in a very short time, that old field where we boys used to hunt, then a far-off wilderness of sedge and pines, is suddenly blossoming with rosy cheeks and sparkling eyes; a beautiful structure crowns the crest of the barren hill, and a Town springs up as if by enchantment."

In an undated note to Wiley, Lyndon Swain, editor of the *Greensborough Patriot*, writes: "I think I could make a tolerably good drawing of the old Building [Caldwell Institute] from recollection. It looked something like a big old kettle turned bottom upward; its chimney flues standing for the eyes." Lyndon Swain to Calvin H. Wiley, n. d.

⁷ Thomas Hart Benton, born in 1782 on his father's plantation near Hillsboro. Removed

Above this note in another hand, perhaps that of Senator Benton's secretary, appear the words: "The following is the autograph of the Hon. T. H. Benton U. S. Senator from Mo."

Letters to His Mother

The same tender devotion which in later years Calvin Henderson Wiley lavished upon his wife⁸ and children breathes through these letters to his mother, who for years was practically an invalid, frequently suffering attacks of severe illness.

New-York, July 17th 1848

My Dear Mother:

I have not for a long time written to you because I have been pushing for six months to become independent. I made up my mind at the beginning of this year to make a certain sum of money, get rid of all my debts & business & live with you. I made up my mind also to change my course of life, to become in heart religious.⁹ I pray twice a day & never forget you & father & sisters in my prayers. Such has been my course of life for months & I trust that God at least will bless me.

I have been in debt & hardly able to live & have been trying to make something by my pen¹⁰ as well as by my profession. My health failed me in the spring & has been delicate for some time. Still I have been working & praying, doing my best & looking to Heaven for its aid.

I am now here on business connected with my books, etc. & it is my confident expectation to be able in one month to leave off my business in Granville. I hope to get money enough now to pay all my debts, to pay yours & to enable us all to move to a more healthy & better country. I want to be able to live with you & cheer & comfort you.

to Tennessee in 1800; admitted to the bar in 1811; removed to St. Louis, 1815; elected United States senator from Missouri, 1820, and held that office for thirty years. Died in 1858. He was a great champion of Jacksonian democracy. Archibald Henderson, *North Carolina: The Old North State and the New*, XI, 40-42.

⁸ Mittie Towles of Raleigh, daughter of James Moore and Mary Ann Callum Towles.

⁹ Though deeply religious, Wiley was not at this time active in that profession. It was the desire of his mother's heart that he devote his life to the ministry of the gospel.

¹⁰ While in Philadelphia in 1847 Wiley met the patron of young writers, George R. Graham, who encouraged him in his literary efforts by accepting articles for publication in *Graham's Magazine*.

In anticipation of the publication of *Alamance*, William G. Noble, formerly of Franklin County, but in 1847 a resident of New York City, sent Wiley, under the date, "New York, August 4, 1847," a list of "warm and devoted friends," all of whom intended to patronize his forthcoming book and recommend it to their friends. On this interesting paper containing the autographed list of names, Mr. Noble writes: "Mr. Wiley is well known in North Carolina as a writer. A series of political essays written by him just after quitting college were generally attributed to the Pen of Sen^t George E. Badger, the most gifted man in the State and as such were answered by the then Treasurer of the State, who addressed his answers to Mr. B. and alledging [*sic*] that *every body knew that he, and he only*, could be the author."

George Edmund Badger (1795-1866) was a lawyer, orator, and scholar. A member of the North Carolina House of Representatives from New Bern in 1816, he was elected judge of the Superior Courts in 1820 and served five years, was United States senator, 1846-1855, and was Secretary of the Navy under Harrison. He distinguished himself in courts of appeal by his powerful exposition of the law. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, "Badger, George Edmund," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, I, 485-486.

My dear Mother, you must not think that I have forgotten you for one moment or your early instructions. To your early instructions & care I owe all I am; they have followed me through all my trials & been with me sustaining me & guiding me.

Oh, how I wish that you had been able to raise & educate my sisters as I was reared & educated! You are the best teacher in the world & if God will only spare my life & give me health, I will show you that I am the most affectionate son. I know you have thought hard of me but I have been from day to day & from month to month struggling & hoping to bring you cheering news. I did not wish to see you until I was able to do something for you & every week I expected to be able to see you & live with you.

Disappointment after disappointment has followed me until now—I see light now & soon I hope to bring you good news. If my plans do not fail, I will receive this summer a considerable sum of money. . . . I will take you to a better country [at this time there seems to have been a great deal of malaria in Guilford]. In that new country I will still have to practise law but we will all live together. Then & not till then will I get married. . . .

Be sure to keep Asenath & Emily¹¹ always reading. Do not let poverty cause them to forget a proper pride & self-respect. Remember that poor people can be accomplished & well read as well as rich ones; that education is in fact more important to them than to the rich. Never let them forget that money does not make respectability, but virtue, learning, piety & a dignified self-respect. Make my sisters, as you made me, put their minds & hearts on some high position; they can learn at home; you can teach them much. Keep them reading, reading & writing. It is my intention to get some pious, plain & educated woman to live with you & teach [my] sisters.¹²

Give my hearty love to Kate¹³ & her children, to Em & Senath, to father & Mr. Rankin.¹⁴ Tell father the heart of his son yearns for him & hopes that the remainder of his days will be happy & peaceful. Let us all with an enlightened hope, with pious hearts & just actions, look for a blessed Union in Heaven. You'll hear from me soon.

Your most affectionate son,
C. H. Wiley

Mrs. Anne Wiley

P. S. I hope to get home in a month. I will try to send you some money before I see you. Remember me to all the good old Alamancers [members of Alamance Presbyterian congregation, Guilford County].

¹¹ Wiley's sisters.

¹² In 1856 Wiley employed a cultivated lady from Brooklyn, New York, Miss Isabella Oakley, as governess for his sisters, Asenath and Emily, and the children of his sister Catherine (Mrs. Sam Rankin). For three years Miss Oakley was a member of the household at Woodbourne (the old Guilford homestead which Calvin Wiley, upon becoming head of the household at the death of his father in 1860, so named in honor of his mother, Anne Woodburn). Some years after this, upon the death of Mrs. Rankin, he took into his home the two youngest Rankin children, Cyrus and Alice, and employed for them another governess, an English-born woman, Miss Matilda Middleton of Kentucky.

¹³ His sister Catherine (Mrs. Sam Rankin).

¹⁴ Sam Rankin of Guilford County, husband of Catherine.

The next letter, from which excerpts are taken, bears the date August 14, 1849, and is written from Wythe County, Virginia, where Wiley in the interest of his health had gone that, according to the custom of the day, he might drink the medicinal waters of some country spring. This was not the first visit he had made to Wythe County seeking restoration of health, for a notation on a printed funeral notice of Isaac Painter, Tazewell Court House, Virginia, June 1, 1885, bears these words: "When a boy, on my first trip from home, gone for health, boarded with Mr. P. on Cripple Creek, Wythe Co, Va. A good man and great & life long friend of mine gone. C. H. W."

My Dear Mother:

Since I wrote you my health has been improving. . . . I want to see you very much. . . .

Keep a stout heart. I hope yet to enable you to see much of the world. I may get an office¹⁵ in this country; & if I do, I will carry you with me. If I go abroad, I will give you & my sisters one half of all I make. . . . If I were to get the office I want, I could make you comfortable for life; lay up about twenty five hundred dollars a piece for [my] sisters & make myself independent.

Let us keep hoping & keep working; life was given to us to work & to hope. . . . As my health returns, I feel strong hopes of being able to do a great deal yet. I shall not, for the present, make any effort in Washington; when I do [go] on, I will go determined to act like a man & a philosopher & push hard. . . .

[After sending his love to each member of the family by name, including Heatty, the old black cook, a slave, he says he will try to catch a ground squirrel for Joe, his oldest nephew, and bring something for little Willie and Cyrus.]

Let us all believe that God is good & trust in His justice & be happy in the reflection that He will do what is right.

I remain my dearest Mother,

Your affectionate son,

C. H. Wiley

Mrs. Anne Wiley.

Having recovered his health, Wiley in the late fall of 1849 made the trip to Washington, pushing hard, as he said in his last letter, as a man and a philosopher in the interest of the government appointment he sought.

In the following, as in all his letters, he shows deep concern for his mother, writing: "My health is still good but night before last I dreamed that you were suddenly taken sick with a cramp in

¹⁵ There is no record to show what this "office" was.

your side. I have been very melancholy since & would like to know exceedingly if you are well."

No matter how engrossed he was in personal affairs, he never forgot in writing to his mother to send some message to the children of his sister Catherine. "Tell Kathy," he writes in this letter, "that I'll bring the boys a present."

Washington City
Nov. 9, 1849

My Dear Mother:

I have to write again before I know my fate. Things here work very slowly; in fact office-hunting is a very poor business. I have seen Mr. Clayton¹⁶ several times; but he seems to think nothing can be done till Congress meets. A good many North-Carolinians are pushing for office & they keep putting us off, telling us that [they] do not like to decide between us, & that they want to wait till they see our members of Congress. This is precisely the state of the case; & as there is not much to be seen here & nothing to do you may be sure my time hangs heavy on my hands. I do [go] every day to see some of the Government; & I intend to keep pushing as long as there is a chance. I have no doubt we will all have to wait till the meeting of Congress & that is three weeks from next Monday.

I keep in good spirits; I know Providence will bring all things right. If I have to leave you, I will have an office & send you money; if I can't get any office, I can stay with you all though poor. So that things are not so bad; & we have the consolation of knowing all is for the best. . . .

God bless you all!

I remain Your affectionate son,
C. H. Wiley

Mrs. Anne Wiley

In the 1840's thousands of North Carolinians were emigrating with their families to sections to the southwest and west which seemingly offered better opportunities for material advancement. Carefully studying the causes which were thus bringing ruin upon his beloved state, the young author and lawyer came to the conviction that the one thing that would remedy this deplorable condition and lead to the development of the untold resources of the state was universal education—education not only of the youth of the state but also of the adult citizenry. With youthful zeal he took upon himself the patriotic task of bringing about the reforms necessary for this universal education.

¹⁶ The author has not been able to identify Mr. Clayton.

Realizing that only as a member of the state legislature could he bring about educational reform and that in his native county he would have the best chance of election to this body, he returned to Guilford County, arriving on the very day prescribed by law for him to be there in order to become a candidate.¹⁷

As a Whig he was elected as a representative of Guilford to the legislature of 1850-1851. The following letters tell of the bill he introduced at this session of the legislature. They show also the burden he had taken upon himself in the management of the old home in Guilford, the ever present anxiety concerning the health of his beloved mother, his love for children, and his personal interest in the "little darkies" and the others at Woodbourne.

Raleigh Nov. 22, 1850

Dear Mother:

This Thursday is the fourth day of the session & we are getting on very smoothly. The democrats elected their speakers in both houses; James C. Dobbin is speaker of the House of Commons & Weldon Edwards of the Senate. Dobbin is from Fayetteville & Edwards from Warren.

The Legislature is organized but we have not yet got to doing very important business. The probability is that by the middle of next week we will be fully under way. There are not many visitors here at this time. I suppose they are waiting till we get the steam up.

I am well, but I am not pleased with my room. I think it probable that I will leave my boarding house to go to another. We are entirely too much crowded, having at least 75 boarders.

To-morrow I expect to introduce a bill for the appointment of a superintendent of the Common Schools. The governor in his message¹⁸ strongly recommends it. The probability is that one will be appointed. I do hope I'll be the man. Of course you must not talk of this; say nothing until you see what happens.

Sam in his letter says that Cyrus had been very sick with another chill. I looked for this. I tell you that child must be looked to. When I was with him, I made him wear his hat, shoes & stock-

¹⁷ R. D. W. Connor, in *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), February 2, 1902.

¹⁸ *The Fayetteville Observer* on November 26, 1850, published the speech of Governor Charles Manly, in which the governor says: "The want of information [concerning common schools] suggests the necessity of creating a new officer in the government to take the general charge of the whole business . . . to be designated the Minister of Public Instruction or the General Superintendent of Common Schools." The editor of the *Observer* in the same issue in speaking editorially of the governor's message says: "As for the operation of the System [of common schools] itself, it appears that reform is indispensably necessary. This is ab[so]lutely evident to prevent the System from degenerating into a nuisance, and from losing its hold upon the public regard, to which, if properly administered, it is pre-eminently entitled." In the proceedings of the House, printed also in this issue of the *Fayetteville Observer*, the following item appears: Nov. 25, 1850. Mr. Wiley. a bill to provide for appointing a Superintendent of Common Schools and for other purposes. Ordered to be printed."

ings & would not let him run out in the rain and eat trash. I also gave him two rhubarb pills; they are the best things for him. He took it very much to heart when we all seemed to take no notice of him. I think that this had some effect in bringing back his chills.

I am very glad to hear that Willie is still getting better. I have no doubt but that he will get well if they will be careful with him. I hope they will be especially particular in regard to his diet & going out in the rain.¹⁹ Tell him & Cyrus & Joe that I will bring them all presents. Give Cyrus the envelope that comes round this letter & tell him I sent it to him.

Did Wilson Kirkman²⁰ cut that wood? When will he want his pay? I do hope you are still improving; remember your health is more important than that of any of us. Please try to keep your spirits up; keep your feet dry & warm & do not undertake to lift too much. Keep your bowels regular with the rhubarb & the pills I sent to you; & be especially particular in your diet.

I have been treated with kind consideration by the members; & already I am acquainted with nearly all. Of course nobody ever said a word about my right to my seat;²¹ on the contrary every one congratulated me on my success.

The Governor's message was sent in & read on Tuesday; it will be printed & I will send papa a copy for him & Sam; please tell him so.

Give my duty to him & Ningy,²² my love to Senath, Em, Catherine & her little ones & my regards to Sam. Tell all the little "darkies" that I will bring them presents. . . .

I'll keep you informed of how I get on. I hope you'll all keep well, black and white. Tell Heatty²³ to keep up a brave heart. Do the best, all of you, & trust in God for the rest.

I remain your affectionate son,
C. H. Wiley

Mrs. Anne Wiley

Raleigh Dec. 6th 1850

My Dear Mother:

I do not know when I was so glad as when I received & read your last letter. You have been saying that your mind is failing; I have lately had evidence of exactly the contrary. It is said that people are in their prime, as far as the mind is concerned, at fifty; & your letters seem to be written in a better hand & more full & particular than they used to be. And that mistake in my certificate,²⁴ who would have noticed it but you?

I am sorry to hear how low Ningy is; please remember me to her. Tell her I hope we will meet again in this world; & if not,

¹⁹ The author has heard her mother, Mittie Towles Wiley, say that Wiley was so well versed in medicine that the family doctors had great respect for his views concerning common ailments and their treatment.

²⁰ A Guilford County neighbor.

²¹ This refers perhaps to his return to Guilford County just in time to run for a seat in the legislature as a member from that county.

²² Mrs. Peggy Porter Wiley, his Irish stepgrandmother to whom he was tenderly attached.

²³ A slave, long the cook at Woodbourne.

²⁴ See note 21.

that we will have a joyful meeting in Heaven. Endeavor to encourage her with hope & all of you try to smooth the evening of her life. God will remember all these things & will certainly in this world or the next pay you a thousand fold for your kindness to our desolate old relation. Tell her that I think of her & pray for her; & that I want her blessing & remembrance in her prayers. The blessings of the old & desolate will do us good. . . .

I am well but I am intolerably tired of Raleigh. I can not get milk; the butter is old & rancid & the water very bad. I do hope that we will get through soon, but I see no prospect [*sic*] of it.

My bill about Common Schools was referred to the Committee on education; & they have agreed to recommend its passage. I think it will pass the House, but then it has to go through the Senate. I am told by both parties that if the bill passes, I will be elected Superintendent. but this will be several weeks off & no one knows what will happen in that time. I have been treated with great kindness by both parties & when I rise, the bubbub cease and there is a breathless stillness. They all want me to speak,²⁵ but I have had no occasion yet to make a set speech.

A great many of my old Granville friends are here & they treat me with great kindness.

There has been a Masonic Convention here to settle the location of that College²⁶ they are to build, about two hundred Masons are in attendance. The Greensboro' & Oxford people determined that it should go to the one or the other of these places, & last night the vote was taken & Oxford got it. Greensboro' was next highest. Jacob Hiatt, Cyrus Mendenhall, Col. Millis & a Mr. Reece, a great friend of mine from Jamestown, are here attending the Masonic Lodge.²⁷ The Greensboro' wags played a rather mean joke on Hiatt; they had his arrival announced in the papers, making him very ridiculous. He was furious, but could not find out the author of it. I suspect Gilmer²⁸ or Hill²⁹ of Rockingham.

Gilmer is very kind to me; he does me the honor to consult me in every movement he makes. He has made the old politicians believe that I am very sharp & these old fellows often consult me. Yesterday a man in a speech alluded to me, saying he had got a good deal of his matter from "his learned friend from Guilford, & &."

²⁵ One must bear in mind that a young son is here writing in intimate detail to his mother. However, from what the author has heard her mother say and others write, Wiley must have been a forceful speaker and preacher. In 1902 Dr. R. D. W. Connor sent Mrs. Wiley a letter he had recently received from D. S. Richardson of California, a distinguished educator of Wilson, N. C., during the time Wiley was Superintendent of Common Schools. Speaking of Wiley, Richardson writes: "My memory of him is vivid. . . . More than any man I was acquainted with he had the genius of awakening the people in his cause. . . . Not that he was an orator, so called, or skilled in sensational devices, to which he never resorted, lay the secret of his power, It was the simple, unpretentious, but magnetic reflection of his 'interior God,' of universal brotherhood. His eye, face & gentle words sparkled with it. Nothing diet[at]orial, all suggestive, but leading."

²⁶ As a young Mason, Wiley was the authorized agent to collect funds for the establishment of St. John's College. Instead of a college, however, the North Carolina Masons established the Oxford Orphanage.

²⁷ Guilford County Masons.

²⁸ John Adams Gilmer, senator from Guilford County.

²⁹ Probably William Hill, North Carolina's secretary of state from 1811 to 1859, who was from Rockingham County.

Give my love to all my sisters—tell Senath I am glad she has got her certificate.³⁰ Be sure to tell Sam's boys about me & kiss the baby for me. Tell Catherine to be careful of herself & [her] children; & do you be so of yourself & of Senath & Emily. Give my respects to father & my love & dutiful regards to Ningy. Tell her I wish her last moments to be happy & peaceful. Remember me to Heatty & children, especially Newt.³¹

I send you five dollars. I could have sent more but I have been buying some clothes. I have got me two flannel shirts.

Be careful of yourself; you are the main stay of us all.

I remain your affectionate son,

C. H. Wiley

Mrs. Anne Wiley

Raleigh Dec. 13th 1850

My Dear Mother:

My bill to appoint a Superintendent of Common Schools comes on to-day; & as the papers say, I made a great speech. When I got through Gen. Saunders,³² the leading member of the democratic party & the most distinguished man here, rose & said that he had been astonished, instructed & delighted at the able speech of his young friend from Guilford & &; & my bill came near getting through.

On Monday it will perhaps pass the House; & then it has to take its chances in the Senate. If it passes, there is no earthly doubt but I will be elected Superintendent; that matter is already settled.

The Guilford delegation³³ get along very well with each other; we are all on excellent terms. Gilmer³⁴ has treated me like a father here; & I have been of no little advantage to him. . . .

How are you all coming on? How is Ningy? I would be glad to hear from her. I have been listening to hear of Heatty's having an heir. Why is she so slow about it? . . .

Tell Joe & Willie & Cyrus I wrote about them; & as to the fat baby, you can kiss it for me. I'd like to see all the little ones & have a frolic with them, Jane & Newt & Shiel included. Tell Newt I'll bring him a dog. . . .

Take care of yourself & may God bless and take care of you all.

I remain your affectionate son,

C. H. Wiley

Mrs. Anne Wiley

Raleigh, Dec. 19th, 1850

My Dear Mother:

You[r] letter of the 10th reached me yesterday. Poor old Ningy! May her soul rest in everlasting peace! She has long been

³⁰ To teach.

³¹ The son of Heatty (a slave), and the childhood companion and playmate of Wiley. He was his special servant during the 1850's.

³² General R. M. Saunders of Raleigh, representative of Wake County.

³³ Senate: John Adams Gilmer, Whig; House of Representatives: D. F. Caldwell, C. H. Wiley, and P. Adams, Whigs.

³⁴ John Adams Gilmer.

desolate; I do hope she has gone to a home where she will not be so lonely. Although she was too old to be company to us & a charge, yet I feel really sorry that she has gone.

I am glad the rest of you are all well; poor little Willie has got out again I see. Let his case be a warning to us all not to despair. I still believed that he would recover; we should never predict death or failure, but do the best we can & hope in God.

My school bill did not pass. The school fund is not distributed fairly between the east & west & there is a bitter feeling between these sections. While my bill was under consideration, some one moved an amendment to distribute the fund more equally; this roused up the old feeling & my bill was killed. Some members swear that they will never vote to improve the school laws till the mode of distributing the money is altered. If the bill had passed, I would have been unanimously elected.

It is admitted on all hands that I am the most popular man here;³⁵ but still I am tired of the business. Our expenses are enormous & the fare wretched. We will get through in about a month. I will hardly get off at Christmas, but I send a Christmas greeting to you all. Greet father, Catherine, Senath, Emily, Joe, Willie, Cyrus, little Katy,³⁶ Sam, Heatty, Jane, Newt & Shiel³⁷ for me. Give my love to all & tell them I wish them a merry Christmas & a happy year. If I [can not make] a flying trip [home] at Christmas, I will get a Christmas gift for Senath, Emily, & the little ones.

A great many tell me they want my book³⁸ when it is printed. Take care of yourself, my dear Mother, for I want you to live to see prosperity of your children & be happy with them.

I remain your affectionate son,

C. H. Wiley

P. S. I have written a notice of Ningy's death & sent it to the Patriot.

The last of Calvin Henderson Wiley's unpublished papers here given is of unusual interest in that it comes from the American legation at Madrid and is written in the flowing hand of the United States Minister to Spain, D. M. Barringer.³⁹

³⁵ We must bear in mind that he is writing for his mother's eye alone.

³⁶ Catherine Rankin's baby daughter, baptized Alice, not Catherine.

³⁷ Slaves.

³⁸ *The North-Carolina Reader*, published December, 1851, by Lippincott, Grambo & Co., Philadelphia, at Wiley's own expense. Until the 1870's this book, passing through a number of editions, was used in the public schools of North Carolina, "creating and fostering a new spirit among the masses of the people" according to Stephen B. Weeks in "The Beginnings of the Common School System in the South; or Calvin Henderson Wiley and the Organization of the Common Schools in North Carolina"—*The Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1896-97*, II, 1466. Upon assuming the superintendency of the schools, Wiley disposed of his copyright for the book and thus voluntarily gave up all profits from the sales.

The author has heard her mother say that Calvin Wiley wrote a large part of *The North-Carolina Reader* after the day's outside duties were done, in the living room of the old home at Woodbourne, the family circle gathered with him around the open wood fire, chatting or reading while he wrote.

³⁹ Daniel M. Barringer of Cabarrus County (1806-1876). Lawyer, congressman, diplomat. Served in the House of Commons, 1829-1835 and two more terms of two years each later on. Member of the United States House of Representatives, 1843. Appointed minister to Spain in 1849 by President Taylor. Member of the North Carolina House of Commons in 1854. As a close, though unofficial, adviser of Governor John W. Ellis and Governor Henry T.

Legation of U. S.
Madrid, Feby 20, 1853.

My dear Sir:

Absence has never for a moment diminished the deep interest I always take in the affairs of our Common and highly favoured Country—and especially in whatever concerns the welfare of our beloved North Carolina. I have endeavored to keep myself constantly informed of whatever transpires within her borders, and to form my opinions and to cherish my hopes for her bright future, as if I were actually in your midst, instead of being in a foreign land.

Among the events which have recently given me the most lively satisfaction is the law creating a General Superintendent of Common Schools in the State, and your own appointment to that responsible post.

Having been among the earliest of the friends and advocates of a well regulated system of Popular Education in our State, at a time too when we had real difficulties to encounter, I always entertained the opinion that such an officer was indispensable to its complete success. And I am truly gratified that the appointment has been allotted to one every way worthy of its honor, sensible of its duties and responsibilities—so well qualified by personal knowledge and local information and so ardently devoted to a cause, which, I am fully persuaded, lies at the foundation and is the only sure guaranty of our popular institutions.

These glorious institutions, allow me to say, foreign residence & a nearer knowledge of European government and courts have only caused me to admire and love more & more every day of my life. We are all accustomed not only in schools and colleges but before the assembled "Sovereigns" themselves to descant upon the "virtues and intelligence of the people" as absolutely necessary to a proper appreciation of the blessings of liberty and the only means of their preservation.

But I have never so fully realized the force of this just sentiment, regarded almost as an axiom with us, till I lived abroad and have seen how feeble and futile and almost worthless are the attempts at self-government and true liberty without a previous education and knowledge among the great mass of the people. Without such preparation there will be little private and less public virtue—and corruption public and private will be the order of the day. But excuse, I pray you, this digression. My chief object in this note was to offer you my warm congratulations on the appointment which you have recently received from the Legislature and to express my hopes and convictions your efforts will result in much good to the great cause we all have so much at heart.

I hope to be able, if I should have the pleasure to meet you in our part of the State, to express in person my best wishes for your success sometime during the *present* year when it has long

Clark, he played considerable part in public affairs with devotion to the Confederate cause. In 1872 as delegate to the National Democratic convention he advocated the nomination of Horace Greeley. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, "Barringer, Daniel Moreau," *Dictionary of American Biography*, I, 648.

been my desire and intention to return to the U. S. and to which I have already made known my purpose at Washington.

I have the satisfaction to know that my mission here, during a most *critical* period in our affairs with Spain, has received the entire approbation of our government & I believe, so far as they yet have been enable to judge of its results, that of the *American people*.

I am, my dear Sir, very truly & faithfully your
friend and obt. Sert.

D. M. Barringer.

LETTERS FROM NORTH CAROLINA TO
ANDREW JOHNSON

EDITED BY ELIZABETH GREGORY MCPHERSON

[Continued]

From Edward W. Hinks⁹⁰

Head Quarters Second Military District,
Provost Marshal Generals Office,
Citadel, Charleston S. C. August 10, 1867

Capt. J. C. Clous

A. A. A. G

2nd Mil Dist.

Captain:

I have the honor to submit the following report in the case of Mr. Wm. M. Johnson of Rockingham County, N. C. who deserted from the rebel army in 1863, and, being closely pressed by the Conscript Officers in North Carolina, while making his way to the Federal lines, entered the house of John W. Moore of Rockingham County, North Carolina, during the night of the 24th Jany, 1863, and without injuring, or offering violence to any person present, took therefrom three pieces of bacon, of the value of \$5.00 (five dollars), and some other small articles of food, and continued his flight to the Federal lines, which he succeeded in reaching; and subsequently joined the 10th Tenn Vols. of which he was appointed 1st Lieut, remaining in the service of the U. S. until the close of the war.

Johnson returned to his home at the conclusion of the war, and a capias for his arrest was issued by Judge R. B. Gilliam,⁹¹ in March 1866 upon which he was arrested, on the 29th April, and brought before the Court to answer to an indictment for burglary which had been found against him by the Grand Jury, in August 1863, for entering the house of Moore and taking food therefrom while on his way to the Federal lines, as herein before stated.

On the application of Johnson, the case was removed to the County of Caswell, North Carolina for trial, he being in the meantime refused bail.

At the fall term of the Court in Caswell County, in 1866, Johnson was tried on the indictment before Judge Daniel J. Fowle, and was found guilty of burglary, as charged in the bill of indictment, and was sentenced to be hung on the third Friday in December.

⁹⁰ Edward W. Hincks of Massachusetts was commissioned a second lieutenant on April 26, 1861. Four days later he became lieutenant colonel of the Eighth Massachusetts Infantry and on May 16 he was made a colonel. On November 29, 1862, he was promoted to brigadier general and he was retired on December 15, 1870. He died on February 4, 1894. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, I, 532.

⁹¹ Robert B. Gilliam was a member of the North Carolina constitutional convention of 1835 from Granville County and served several times as a member of the state legislature, becoming speaker of the House in 1865. In 1865 Governor Holden appointed him as one of the provisional judges of the Superior Court to which post he was elected in the fall of 1865. In 1870 he was elected as the successor to John T. Deweese from the fourth North Carolina Congressional district, but he died in October and never took his seat as a member of Congress, Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 121n, 145n, 280n, 405, 492n, 539. Hamilton, *Correspondence of Jonathan Worth*, II, 1003, 1083.

The defendant appealed to the Supreme Court at the Jany term 1867, which confirmed the judgment; and sentence of the Superior Court.

Under the date of April 27th. 1867, Gov. Worth of North Carolina pardoned Johnson, unconditionally, and on the 6th day of May he was discharged from custody by Judge Edward Warren of the Superior Court.⁹²

It further appears that Johnson was kept chained in an iron cage, 9 feet square and 6 feet high, without fire, and with insufficient clothing during the whole period from his conviction until his release in May 1867, and was a subject of this inhuman treatment solely because of his having served in the Union Army.

I recommend that the Post Commander of Greenboro, N. C. be instructed to bring the Sheriff and Jailor of Caswell County, to trial before a Post Court, as constituted by circular of May 15th Head Qrs 2nd Mil District, for cruel and inhuman treatment of Johnson, and that the said Court be authorized to hear and determine any suit that Wm. M. Johnson may bring before it for damages.

I am Captain
With respect
Bvt. Col U. S. A.
Provost Marshal General,
2nd Mil. Dist.

(Signed)

A true copy
L. V. Caziarc
A D C Mil D.t,
Hedqrs 2nd mily Dist
Nov. 11, 1867

From C F Sussdorff

Winston Forsythe C°. North Carolina
Aug. 26th. 1867.

To the President of the United States
Mr. President,

With feelings of humble trust in your forbearance and kind heartedness, I venture once more to hold communion with your Excellency by letter, in like manner a[s] I did 12 ms. ago. Actuated by a true love of my adopted country my soul shall speak to yours as a native hero and patriot in truth and soberness. At the time your Excellency passed Warrenton Depot on your way to Raleigh, I introduced myself to you, and asked if you could recollect having received a communication through your lady last Summer from a person of my name & you replied that you recollected something about it &c. I[t] would have given me a great

⁹² Edward J. Warren of Beaufort County was a member of the secession convention of 1861 and the constitutional convention of 1867. He was appointed by Governor Worth as a judge to hold a court of oyer and terminer in Lenoir County, and in 1868 he was a candidate for judge of the Superior Court. In 1870 he was speaker *pro tempore* of the state Senate. He was considered for the post of United States Senator to succeed Joseph C. Abbott, but Zebulon B. Vance was elected. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 121n, 145n, 280n, 536, 562; Hamilton, *Correspondence of Jonathan Worth*, II, 968, 1003, 1083, 1171.

deal of satisfaction could I have had the opportunity by having a conversation with you, but this was out of the question, and therefore permit me to address you these lines

Well Mr. President the Union which we loved with filial affections, has not been restored as we all fondly hoped, and I am afraid never will be, unless the people north come forward and acknowledge that your plan is the more efficient, speediest, just and magnanimous. This has to come to pass or this government will go down in utter destruction and anarchy. My whole being yearns for a restoration of fraternal relations between the alienated sections, but how are the Union loving people treated? I need not tell your Excellency. When one contemplates the disclosures recently developed in conspiring against your life and high office, a cold shudder creeps through one's whole system, to think that such wickedness can exist in a Congress of the U. States. Yea! I say Mr. Johnson those that dig pits for others to fall in will fall into it, themselves. I know and I feel it in my soul that you are honest and true in all you have said to Congress concerning the upholding of the Constitution and the laws, and nobody can make me think otherwise.

The late act of Congress gives the "Registrars plenary powers and they use them with a will and their option of course, creating a good deal of hard feeling among the rejected, many of whom would have contributed heartily to restoring harmony and prosperity.

Sincerely as I wish for a "Reunion," I doubt whether the present "Act," in force will do it? From late indications, I judge that the northern People will yet reject the whole plan of radical reconstruction and adopt a policy similar to yours if not the identical one. Should this seem to be carried through nevertheless, we will have then no States ruled and formed exclusively by negro votes, and there is no getting round it

I can well imagine how all this turmoil and confusion must worry you in mind and body, and it is a wonder that your health continues so well, yet Mr. Johnson I firmly believe that a Higher Power than man, sustains and upholds you, because those that put their trust in God and humble rely upon his guidance and protection He has promised He will in no ways forsake in the hour of trial. Think of King David, what powerful enemies he had to content with, but he had faith in the Lord and *He* put them all under his heels at last. Even the gates of Hell shall not prevail against those that fear and love the Lord.

Every unprejudiced man, in reading your public documents must acknowledge that you have pursued a truly constitutional course, and the masses of the North will be compelled (as you always said), to fall into ranks, and will yet praise you and bless you, for saving the Constitution. At this time down here in the South, it is almost considered treason to speak well of our President and had Mr. W. W. Holden, the power as he has the will, those opposed to him would fare but middling. He is a great

radical and Anti Administration man, he petrayed his own people and leaves no stone unturned in arraying the North against the South, because we would not have him for our Governor. Mr. President do you blame us for having rejected him, when he has proved a broken reed, to say the least, do you also! The Radicals use him as a means, but they have no confidence in him.

The true hearted Union men are greatly dejected by the course affairs are taking, in as much as they had expected better treatment from Congress, and for that reason are becoming very lukewarm in the cause— Many would become Democrats if it was not for the name, which they hate beyond believe. For my own part I believe that the country can only become prosperous and happy again under an administration that advocates Doctrines similar to the pure and unadulterated constitution loving Democrats— If the name is abnoxious, then call it something else and I will give it support.

If we scan the political Horizon, is there not every prospect, as things are managed now, to have both blacks and whites separated into two distinct and opposing parties— Negroes will be elected to office, go to Congress &c— and I can not see how it can be prevented; then will arise an animosity against the negro in the North, which will shake this country to the Centre and may prove the extermination of the poor blacks. With these sad alternatives staring us in the face it is possible that capital will settled among us or emigrants be induced to come from either abroad or from the North. Nobody would like to live under an overwhelming negro majority.

Another source of great irritation is the forcing of the negro into the Jury box. This will be the bitterest pill to swallow after all and will be the means of much ill will towards the government. The black colour of a negro may be a great stumbling block to the whites, and may be after all, only prejudice in them, but that prejudice will not be removed until the millenium comes, let the Radicals do what the[y] please they cannot make the ethiopian change his skin.

Mr. President, I trust you will excuse any bad writing, I am unused to it but I could not help speaking a kind word to you in your difficult situation. May The Lord of Host guide and protect you and keep you from all harm, is the sincere wish of your humble servant.

If it is not disagreeable to you to hear from me occassionally please signify it by a line or so

From C. F Sussdorff

Winston Forsythe Co. North Carolina
Aug. 28th. 1867.

Mrs. President Johnson

Dear Madam,

I take the liberty once more to inclose to your address a few lines to your much beloved husband, with the respectful request,

that if it pleases you and after perusing it you think it worthwhile to hand it to the President to do so, otherwise to destroy it as waste paper. I would not deprive him one moment from his recreation, or add a feather's weight to his duties, by this communication, but my wish and intend is to cheer him in my humble capacity, for he has a rough road to travel, and would gladly assist him in restoring harmony and good feeling if I could. To think that a set of villians conspired against his life and station, makes one feel horror struck, and draws every christian man and woman in the land around him in sympathy. Human sympathy is a frail support in mental or bodyly distress, still it is some little encouragement to know, that you have it.

The bitterness existing between the parties is very great and where and how it will end, who can know it?

With my prayer that the Lord will protect you and all your house, I subscribe myself

Your very humble servant.

From Ellis Malone M. D.

Louisburg N. C. August 30th 1867

Mr. President

I know you must be almost overwhelmed with business & hence I dislike to tax your time even to send a letter. I am no politician, never have been. I have always kept myself posted in relation to the affairs of the Country. I am 62 years old, have practiced medicine all my life untill some 10 years ago when I retired from the active duties of my profession. I thought I had enough of this worldly goods for me & my four children & my wife which should have been named first—

The accursed war has robed me of nearly all I had made & I am now practicing physic[ian] to help me support my family—I am a Mason—R, A, M have been master of the lodge in this place for 8 or 10 years consecutively—am now high priest of the R A chapter of this place & have been for many years—I am glad to see that you too are a Mason and as a Mason & as President of the U. S. I address you. I have no one in Washington City to refer you to for my standing in my community & hence the above statement Gen^l Howard the head of the Negro Beaureau, knowing me, was at my house and partook of my hospitality & knows my loyalty to the Constitution & the laws of the U. S.

I was as much opposed to secession & every thing that contributed to the late unhappy & wicked war as any man could be & yet having been a magistrate 38 years ago & having furnished a son a horse to join the cavalry service during the late war, to which he volunteered to save himself from conscription I am disfranchised but enough of this. There is an impending crisis hanging over us of which I am satisfied you nor any of the people North are Conversant—The negroes though they worked badly yet behaved themselves remarkably well untill some ten months

ago—Emisaries black and white, from the north and some meaner white men in our midst have been at work with them and have excited them, by inflammatory speeches & teachings with promises of confiscation of lands for their benefit joining into leagues & swearing them to support only radical leaders & to other things dangerous to the peace and harmony of the Country untill now & for some time back they have become bold defiant impudent & threatening to such an extent that all thinking men here see that a conflict of races is inevitable— Two months ago young Holden Son of W W Holden came out here and addressed a large crowd of colored people. I with several respectable gentlemen went out to hear him. His speech was a most inflammatory & incendiary one & from the beginning to the end calculated if not intended to excite the negro against the white man as necessarily to bring on a conflict between them—I am as satisfied as I can be of any thing that has not already transpired that if things go on as now existing & has been going on for some months that a bloody strife is before us, such as one as no good man can contemplate without horror. What adds to the certainty of this thing is that in every conflict now between the white & black which occurs the military & the freedmans Beaureau protect the black & fine & imprison the white man. This is obliged to embolden the negro in outrage. I could if this paper would allow of it give you cases that I know would arouse your indignation. And I assure you upon the honor of a man and a Mason—that the white people so far as I know are willing to give the negro all the rights he is entitled to under the law. Thousands of people like myself are disfranchised, who had no part in Cession or the war & unfortunately many who could register will not do it. Whats the use they say we are ruined the north intends to keep us so & they have the power & will do it. I know this aught not to be so & so do you, but but they cant be reasoned out of it & the registration now going on in this County (the board Consisting of two negroes and one white man. One of the negroes an illiterate blacksmith) shows that they (the negro) will have a majority of probably 250 to 300 majority whereas if all could register & vote the negro would be in the minority—& they are almost every one sworn to support the radical ticket & Holden for the next Governor—Should that ever happen—a worse state than that of Tennessee is ours—I fear you will think my fears are father to my thought. The Lord grant it may be so. No yankee that lives among us will believe such a thing as a war of races can happen—Every intelligent and thinking man I meet an[d] converse with think as I say to you above—we feel that we are standing upon a volcano—& most of us would get away if we could—but those who have a little left cant sell & can not get money to move away I assure you that if I could git one half the real worth of what property I had left me in cash I would not stay here any longer than was absolutely necessary to get away—Where would you go Any where to get away from a negro rule a negro insurrection the negro encouraged by the Military & Freedmans Beaureau and the north-

ern emisaries white & black who are here fanning the flame of prejudice & hate & revenge as well as some whites among us for self aggrandizement & for bitter revenge

Excuse me Mr. President I have written to you hurridly—but what I have written are the words of truth & soberness—what I know and so honestly believe—I dont know that you can do to save us and our wives & children the fate refered to above—If any thing can be done humanity requires it should be done & done quickly or it will be too late with sentimenst of sincere esteem & respect

I am sir, Your respectfully & C

Dr. Sir Will you please have this read the President Hon.^e A Johnson I take this course fearing he might not get it in the ordinary way

E. Malone

One of your subscribers—

From Jonathan Worth

Copy

State of North Carolina
Executive Department
Raleigh Sept 10th 1867.

Maj. Genl E. R. S. Canby
Mil Com at 2nd District.
Charleston S. C.
General

I respectfully submitt for your consideration a few suggestions touching the orders of Genl Sickles, several of which I think ought to be revoked or essentially modified.⁹³

I suppose his Order No— 32 was intended to prevent any discrimination against color, in the making up of our Juries. Our existing laws in this State make no such discrimination— and so long as the Civil Rights Bill is recognized as law (and it is recognized by all the authorities of this State) the negro being made a citizen has all the rights and privileges as to serving on juries which belong to the white citizens, but our laws have always required a freehold qualification in a juror.

According to our laws the Justices of the County Courts are required from time to time to review the list of free holders and cast out such freeholders as they deem unfit to serve on jurors by reason of incapacity, bad character or other cause—and out of the list of free holders thus purged, to draw and cause to be drawn names of jurors for all our Courts of Record Our juries have consequently been composed of discreet men of fair intelligence.

Under the order of Genl Sickles, the Justices are required from the list of those who shall have been assessed and who shall have

⁹³ On August 14, Governor Worth wrote Judge Gilliam that he was trying to get General Sickles to modify his orders relative to juror service so as not to admit any but "a freeholder to serve on the jury." Hamilton, *Correspondence of Jonathan Worth*, II, 1034-1035.

paid a tax this year, to draw our juries. They are not allowed to cast out any tax-payer however ignorant or debased his moral character.

To say nothing of negroes, juries drawn from the whites only under this order, would not be fit to pass on the rights of their fellowmen. In this State we collect a poll tax. It is a small tax almost any citizen can pay it. Some have maintained that the word "assessed" applies only to a property tax. The Genl told me he meant it to embrace those who had paid any tax either on the poll or on property.

When Chief Justice Chase held his Court here in June, he ordered the Marshall to summon Citizens as jurors, without discrimination as to Color, *being otherwise qualified according to the laws of the State.*

I have not been able to appreciate Genl Sickles reasoning on this subject. We have hitherto regarded trial by jury as one of the chief safe-guards of liberty. With juries constituted according to his order, few of us would hereafter have any respect for this mode of trial.

At our County Courts happening next after the 1st day of October, juries will be drawn conformably to this order, unless you shall revoke or modify it.

The order creating a Provost Court in Fayetteville composed of three Civilians, machinists by trade, neither of them ever having read the law or even so superficially, with jurisdiction over five Counties as to all Civil suits and I believe all crimes not capitally punished. I regard it as the most extraordinary tribunal ever established in this Country for the administration of justice.

I have not heard of anybody, not even the most prejudicial officers of the Freedmen's Bureau who pretended that justice has not been impartially and intelligently administered in our Superior Courts of Law. I have not heard of a solitary instance where unfairness or partiality has been imputed to them. There has doubtless been some different representation made to Genl S. by some malevolent partizan, but I have no idea any respectable person has made such imputation.

You must readily perceive what confusion must arise where the intricacies of the law are to be awarded, or records touching the rights of the citizens kept by such a Court.— I think no good—nothing but mischief can flow from this tribunal and I earnestly urge its immediate abolition.

If you be unwilling from this representation to abolish the tribunal without further investigation, then I respectfully ask to be informed upon what representation it was created, to the end that I may offer to you counter evidence showing the inexpediency of the establishment and continuance of such Court.

* * * * *

I have the honor to be
Yours very Respectfully
Governor of N. C.

Copy

Maj. Gen E. R. S. Canby.
 Mil Com at 2nd. Dist
 Charleston S. C.
 General.

State of North Carolina.
 Executive Department.
 Raleigh Sept^r 11, 1867.

I inclose to you a communication from Fred L. Roberts, and others—all gentlemen of high character for intelligence and honor for such action on your part as you may deem proper.⁹⁴

When there is no pretence by any body, so far as I have heard, that justice is not impartially administered in all of our Superior Courts of Law, I cannot conceive why so many Military arrests have been made in the State. They would be much less exceptionable, if, at the time of the arrest, the charges were made known and a preliminary trial had been incarceration.

This power of Military arrest has been most oppressively exercised, in this State. One example of it was the arrest of Duncan G. McRae, of Fayetteville, some months ago. He was seized, carried to a distant Military prison, Fort Macon, and detained a prisoner some two or three months, without notice of the accusation against him. He was not permitted to give bail,—nor to go on his parol. He was finally brought to trial before the Military Court here, in which General Avery is Judge Advocate. He was charged with murder on the affidavit of a base woman in Fayetteville. Genl Avery procured his arrest upon the affidavit of this vile woman. There was no other evidence against him. Besides her bad character, every material fact in her statement was proved to be false by the most plenary evidence. When brought to trial the evidence of this woman was so manifestly false, that the Court discharged him without examining his witnesses. He is an old and highly respectable man, I have never heard any citizen, white or black, respectable or ignoble, who entertained the slightest suspicion of his guilt, excepting Genl Avery, and the base woman on whose affidavit the arrest was made.

I think that public justice and sound policy alike forbid the trial of citizens before Military Court unless there be good ground to believe that justice will not be administered by our Courts.

In the particular case referred to in the inclosed petition, if there be any evidence against any of the parties, there would be no hesitation on the part of the Civil authorities of the State to indict and punish them.

If the Military have knowledge of such evidence, why should they not make it known to the Civil authorities, and resort to a Military trial only when the Civil authorities decline to act.

The Superior Court of Law sits in Chowan, in which County the alleged offence occurred, on 2nd Monday after the 4th Monday of this month. I hope the trial of these men will be turned over to that Court. I will guaranty that the Solicitor for that circuit will summon and examine every witness the Military may designate

⁹⁴ For further details on the subject, see General Canby's letter of September 17, p. 117. A letter from Governor Worth on the subject, dated November 30, 1867, is to be published subsequently.

and that a fair and impartial trial will be had—and that in the meantime they may be released from imprisonment, on giving bail in any amount the Post Commander may deem adequate to insure their appearance.

Immediately after the escape of Pratt, I offered a reward for his apprehension.

I have the honor to be
Yours very Respectfully,
Governor of N. C.

From Fred L. Roberts and others

Copy

[Sept 11, 1867]

To His Excellency
Jonathan Worth
Governor & C

Sir

A short time since six white men, Whitaker Myers, James Harrell, W^m. White, Sr., Isaac White, John White, and W^m White Jr. respectable and good citizens of Perquimans County was arrested and carried off by parties claiming to act under authority from Maj. Genl. Sickles. They were removed to Plymouth on the Str. Emilie, in charge of Col Hincks, Provost Marshall General of the 2nd Military District and it has been several times reported, have from that time been made to work on the Streets and other public places under a negro guard

No explanation of the arrest, so far as we can ascertain, has been made, tho it has been reported in this Community, that they were arrested on suspicion of being engaged in releasing Thomas Pratt from jail.

A brief statement may be necessary. Pratt was sometime since arrested by the Civil authorities of Chowan County on the charge of killing one James Norcom (freedman). He was promptly imprisoned by the Civil authorities before the negro died, and after remaining in jail sometime, was, as represented by the jailer, forcibly taken therefrom, giving some named night-by ten or fifteen men, whom he was unable to identify, or even recognize as black or white.

If the parties arrested are guilty of so flagrant a violation of law, we think we represent the sentiment of the community in saying that they should and on due conviction will be punished, and we are confident that a people so guilty and highly extolled for justice, obedience to law, and honor by Maj. Genl. Sickles, as the people of North Carolina are, will never fail in the discharge of any loyal or moral obligation. And we think that as the offence is said to have been committed in the State of N. C. and is one against our laws, the Civil authorities should have jurisdiction. We don't think that the Military authorities can charge any indifference or tardiness of action to the Civil authorities of Cho-

wan or Perquimans Counties, for in every instance within our knowledge they have acted promptly and impartially.

In deed in the very matter against Pratt, we understand that Lt Col Bentgoni, expressed himself highly gratified with their prompt and impartial action.

So far as it has been ascertained there is not a particle of evidence against any one of the parties arrested, who lived considerable distance from Pratt, and from Edenton, but unfortunately were either relatives or acquaintances.

Indeed in the case of Myers, his only relative arrested, it is a well ascertained fact that he was sick at home on the night of Pratt's escape, and it is confidentially asserted that on alibi can be forwarded in favor of all the others.

We, therefore citizens of Chowan and Perquimans Counties respectfully petition your Excellency to take such action in the matter, that the accused may either be turned over to the Civil authorities or have a speedy trial by Military authorities and not be punished until they are convicted.

We have the honor to be

Fred L. Roberts
Wm Bembury
Wm R. Skinner
P. F. White
W. C. Jones
L. P. Warren
J. E. Norfleet
N. S. Perkins

J. E. Leary
Aug. M. Moore
J. F. Gilbert
C. W. Norcom
W. A. B. Norcom
S. I. Skinner
David A. Halley
W. H. Hughes

From John B. Weaver⁹⁵

Collector's Office
United States Internal Revenue
Seventh District, North Carolina.
Asheville, 11th Sept 1867

I take this opportunity of certifying that I have been acquainted with several of the petitioners in this case and from my knowledge of the men I have not any doubt of the correctness of the statements— My knowledge of the plaintiff's counsel also confirms this belief. Wm Henderson the second petitioner was my hospital Steward while I was acting as Surgeon of the 2nd N.° C^a. mounted Infantry⁹⁶

Collector 7th Dist.
N.° C.^a

⁹⁵ Most of the collectors of internal revenue were carpetbaggers and defaulters. Among these was John B. Weaver of the sixth North Carolina district, who according to the newspapers was in arrears in the amount of \$59,125.47. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 417-418.

⁹⁶ The petition of Henderson and others is dated July 20, 1867. See previous installment of "Letters from North Carolina to Andrew Johnson," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXVIII (October, 1951), 504. During the Civil War General Lee was much disturbed about the desertion of soldiers to the Union army in western North Carolina. According to available evidence in the Andrew Johnson Papers, Madison County had many Union sympathizers. See W. W. Rollin's letter of September 15, 1867, p. 116, and others pertaining

From Alexander H. Jones⁹⁷

Asheville N. C. Sept. 11, 1867,

Gen. Canby

Dear Sir:

The accompanying petition has been presented to me with the request that I make such a stat[e]ment in refference to the matter as I deem just and proper. I know nothing personally as to the statements of the occurence, but know the relations of the parties, as setforth, to be true, and that the general c[h]aracter of the man Merrell to be that of a desporado, and that some of your petitioners with whom I am personally acquainted are good citizens and of good c[h]aracter. I have not the least doubt but the petitoners can readily substantiate all set forth in their petition, and in my humble opinion it would be an act of justice to quash the proceedings against the parties.

At the time of the occurrence much excitement prevailed throughout this mountain section of country, and the man Merrell belonged to a class of men whose hatred of the Union and its friends prompted much of such conduct and outrages, and I am sorry to have to add, in giving my opinion, that the predudices produced by the rebellion has so much embittered the feelings of many who have the administering of the laws, as to render it difficult for the Unionists to obtain justice in our courts, and further, that it is my opinion that this very action has been instigated by lawyers most bitter in their feelings against the United States Government and its friends. Under ordinary circumstances it is certainly imprudent to implicate the motives of the courts of justice, But when cases appear so glareing as to require the interpretation of higher power not only in acts of

to lawlessness in Madison County and the interference in behalf of the Unionists by the military authorities. Also the following letter.

Genl.

I have previously stated to you the importance of clearing the mountains & Country in your dept: of deserters, absentees etc- I hope you will now be able to accomplish it- No time should be lost in setting on foot the complete reorganization of your Command & the regulation of all matters pertaining to your Dept -

A letter has recently been referred to me by the Sec^r War, from the Honb^le C. G. Meminger, who is now residing at Flat Rock N. C. giving a lamentable account of the sufferings of the citizens in that section of Country, from the conduct of deserters, traitors &- I have previously instructed Gen^l Martin to employ all the force under his Command, Cols. Palmers & Thomas, troops in destroying these bandetté & their haunts. I have now repeated these instructions & suggest that a combined movement might be made to advantage, by the Reserves in S.C. his own troops in N.C. & a portion of yours, & directed him to communicate with you on the subject- If nothing should prevent & the plan be practicable, I request that you will cooperate with him- My resp^t

R E Lee
Gen

Gen^l J. C. Breckenridge
Comm^r

Robert E. Lee Papers, Library of Congress.

⁹⁷ Alexander Hamilton Jones (July 21, 1822-January 29, 1901) was born in Buncombe County; engaged in mercantile business prior to the Civil War; enlisted in the Union army in 1863; was captured in east Tennessee while raising a regiment of Union soldiers; was imprisoned at Asheville, Libby Prison in Richmond, and elsewhere; made his escape on November 14, 1864, and joined the Union forces in Cumberland, Maryland; returned to North Carolina after the Civil War and was a member of the convention of 1865; elected as a Republican to the Thirty-ninth Congress, but was not permitted to qualify; upon the readmission of North Carolina in the Union he was elected and served in Congress from July 6, 1868, to March 3, 1871; lived in Asheville, 1884-1890; later moved to Oklahoma and California. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, 1159.

commission but of omission of duty also, we should not shut our eyes against a remedy.

I hesitate not to give it as my opinion that four fifths of the citizens of the county in which the occurrence took place, believe the prosecution to be unjust, and that the object is to harass the parties and run them to cost and expense, I am personally well acquainted with Maj: W. W. Rollins who served in the Union Army against the rebellion in the third Regiment of North Carolina volunteers, whose certificate accompanies the petition, and who is entirely trustworthy gentleman.

Very Respectfully,
 Editor of Asheville Pioneer
 and
 Member elect to the 39th Congress

Respectfully submitted
 To Genl Canby
 Commanding
 2^d Military Dist

From W. W. Rollins⁹⁸

Marshall N. C.
 Sept 15th 1867.

Major Genl Canby
 Comdg 2nd Mily Dist.
 Genl

I have the honor to make the following Statement, that I am a resident of Madison County and have been for ten years that I was personally acquainted with Ransom P Merrill[1] late Sheriff of Madison County and am personally acquainted with J J Guder W A Henderson H A Barnard Thos J Rector Wm R McNew M. W Roberts—who have each signed a petition asking relief from a prosecution against them in the State courts of North Carolina as being accessory in the Killing of said Ransom P Merill⁹⁹ I know that Merrill[1] was a desperate man and provoked Neely Tweed to Kill him by shotting Tweeds son without cause or provocation. Merrill[1] sent his son to an election ground and his son swore that no Dam Tory or Black Republican could vote on the ground and that his father had gone to Marshall and no Dam Tory could vote there— All the Merill Family are bitter rebels yet. I was taken down from making a union speach on the day of election by Merrill's son and on a ground of desperados—

⁹⁸ Rollins joined forces with Holden and the carpetbag regime in the state. When Holden decided upon a reign of terror in 1870, he invited Rollins to enlist forty-five or fifty stout mountaineers to be placed on equal footing with regular soldiers. Rollins wisely declined and recommended George W. Kirk for the post. In 1870 Rollins was a candidate for the House of Representatives, but he was defeated by the refusal of the election officers to count the votes of the men under Kirk who were on duty in Caswell and Alamance counties at the time of the election in Madison County. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 498-499, 535; Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, 449, 462, 466-467.

⁹⁹ See petition of July 20, 1867, in "Letters from North Carolina to Andrew Johnson," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXVIII (October, 1951), 504.

I am fully and personally acquainted with the facts set forth by your petitioners and know them to be true and that I know they were all union men some of them had sons under me in the Federal army And that I do not believe men of their union record could get Justice in the State Courts as they are now organized. As a general thing the union mussey are excluded from the juror box and the Rebels put in and that I have no doubt but on Military investigation of the whole matter would relieve your petitioners from further cost or trouble and with whole matter justice—

As the matter is now prosecuted is malicious as they are well aware. But your petitioner[s] are men of property, and they the heirs of meril[l] get their suit through under the free courts—

Your obt Servant
Late major 3^d N C Mtd Inft U S

From Edward R. S. Canby¹⁰⁰

Head Quarters 2nd Military Dist.
Charleston S. C. Sept. 17th 1867.

His Excellency
Governor of North Carolina
Raleigh N. C.
Sir.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 11th- inst and its enclosures.

On the night of the 28th of July last the jail at Edenton N. C. was entered and a prisoner—Thomas Pratt—who was then confined for the murder of Jas Norcross, was taken out by an armed party of persons unknown. Detectives were put upon the trace of the guilty parties, who succeeded in ferreting them out and they were arrested and turned over to the Comdg Officer at Plymouth N. C. until the civil authorities could try them. The Commanding Officer of the Post, was authorized to take bail for them, if it should be offered.

I see no ground for complaint in the fact that persons charged with crime have been arrested by the military authorities and are held in custody until the Civil authorities are prepared to try them.

Very Respectfully, Sir,
Your Obt. Servant.
Bvt. Major General Commanding

A true copy
A. D. C. A. A. A. G.

¹⁰⁰ On August 26, 1867, President Johnson removed General Sickles from the command of troops in North Carolina and appointed General Canby in his stead.

From Rufus S. Tucker¹⁰¹

Raleigh N C
Sept 21, 1867

President Johnson
Dr Sr.

I am compiling the speeches of the Hon'l David L Swain, on the occasion of the Completion of the monument to Jacob Johnson & at the Dedication of "Tucker Hall" The work will be gotten up in a neat style, and includes Maps; charts, & other matter relative to the Early Times of Raleigh:¹⁰²

Enclosed please find the first 36 pages: Any Contribution you may feel disposed to make, will be repaid in copies of the work, I propose Completing the Book in about three weeks.

Trusting your administration may tend to the permanent Settlement of our present unhappy difficulties. I

Remain yours truly
Son of Ruffin Tucker Deed

An Early answer is respectfully requested to enable us to go on with the work

Respt
R S T

From Hiram Hulin

Troy N. C.
Sept 28th 1867

Col M Cogwell Commanding the Post of Fayetteville, N. C.¹⁰³
Sir

Permit me to address a line to you in which I ask your opinion of the course proper to be pursued in *regard* to the arrest and trial of certain persons who in the time of the war murdered my three sons Jesse, John and William Hulin and also James Atkins. These murderers arrested my sons and James Atkins who were evading the military service in the Confederate Army; after arresting them they took them before two justices of the Peace for trial. From the only information which we can get the Justices committed them to Jail. They were delivered into the hands of the murderers who were home-guard troops and while on their way to the pretended prison they deliberately shot and beat to death with guns and rocks my three sons and Atkins while tied with their hands and hand-cuffed together. One Henry Plott now residing in the County of Cabarrus was the officer in command of

¹⁰¹ Rufus Sylvester Tucker (April 25, 1829-August 4, 1894) received his A. B. degree from the University of North Carolina in 1848 and his M. A. in 1868. He was a merchant, planter, a major in the Confederate army, and a member of the military staff of North Carolina. Daniel Lindsey Grant, *Alumni History of the University of North Carolina*, 628.

¹⁰² Published in Raleigh in 1867 by Walters, Hughes & Company. President Johnson was present at the dedication of the monument to Jacob Johnson in June, 1867.

¹⁰³ Milton Cogwell of Indiana graduated at West Point on July 1, 1849, and continued in the service of the United States Army until he retired on September 5, 1871. On October 21, 1861, he was brevetted as a major for meritorious service at the battle of Ball Bluff, Virginia, and on July 30, 1864, he was made a lieutenant colonel for service at Petersburg, Virginia. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, I, 314-315.

the s[qu]ad of murderers at the time of the murder was committed. Most of the murders were strangers to the people of the County and their names are entirely unknown to us except one George W. Sigler who now resides quietly in Marshall County Mississippi. Against him a bill has been found by the Grand-jury of this County. His Post office is Byhala about 16 miles from Holly Springs Mississippi. I have informed the State Solicitor of his whereabouts and nothing is done for his arrest. Permit me to pray you in the name of my departed sons to lend the aid of the Military force of the government to arrest and bring to trial the felonious murderer. I beseech you by all the paternal feelings which a father should hold for a son to lend us aid in this matter.

We would earnestly commend that you arrest Henry Plott as so called Captain in the Confederate Army in command of the murderous squad and that he be held in custody till he reveals the names of the remainder of the murderers. Henry Plott was heard to say soon after the murder "we caught four" the question was asked "what did you do with them? Answer we put them up a Spout. Did you *kill* them"? "Yes we did" All the facts above stated can be proved by the best of testimony

You will please inform us by your earliest [*sic*] convenience what course you can take in matter and what it may be necessary for us to do in the premises. With Great respect I am sir

Your obedient servant

To Col M Gogswell

[*To be continued*]

BOOK REVIEWS

To Make My Bread: Preparing Cherokee Foods. Edited by Mary Ulmer and Samuel E. Beck. (Cherokee, N. C.: Museum of the Cherokee Indians. 1951. Pp. 72.)

This book is unique—a completely new and refreshing description of Cherokee cooklore.

For the first time, a wide collection of original recipes used by the Cherokee people is in print. These recipes are rich in folklore. They have been handed down for hundreds of years and without doubt will intrigue many readers. The unusual recipes, with history and human interest stories, are combined into an appealing story of the present-day Cherokee people and their foods customs.

Never have we heard of some of the rare dishes as described in *To Make My Bread*. As one would naturally expect, foods and recipes discussed include wild fruits, vegetables and meats such as bear, venison, bison, squirrel, racoon, wild turkey, opossum, crayfish, and groundhog, crab apples, grapes, gooseberries, watercress, creases, sochani, artichokes, mushrooms, and leather breeches. The common drinks include sumac ade, sassafras tea, spicewood tea, and hickory nut milk.

On festive occasions, especially for "The Feast," it is not uncommon for the cooks to prepare forty or more different dishes.

Another interesting feature of this book is a long list of native herbs and some of the uses made of them.

This is a fascinating book in format and in design. Reading is easy, with pictures that make for a clearer understanding of the Cherokee Indians' way of life. College and high school home economics departments, foods editors, and home demonstration agents will find *To Make My Bread* of educational value in teaching these foods customs and giving stories of the Cherokee Indians' way of life.

Ruth Current.

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh.

Unto These Hills, a Drama of the Cherokee. By Kermit Hunter. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1950. Pp. iv, 100. \$2.00.)

The literature of symphonic drama has momentarily taken its departure from the hands of its originator Paul Green; and the influence seeping out of Manteo, Williamsburg, and Washington has been carried into the western North Carolina mountains and the Abraham Lincoln country of Illinois by Kermit Hunter. Though Paul Green has not abandoned the form he created and though doubtless we shall again see symphonic dramas devised by his pen, young Mr. Hunter has temporarily grasped the torch and moved forward with it.

We are not to assume that Hunter is already another Green, with whom he cannot escape comparison. His play, *Unto These Hills*, which has played two extremely successful summers in its beautiful outdoor theatre at Cherokee, is an impressive production. This reviewer has seen it, and he was vastly pleased. It is still, however, more history than drama. Beginning with De Soto's visit to the Cherokee Nation in the sixteenth century, it moves quickly to the early nineteenth century and on into the story of the white man's treachery and lack of faith and honor during the forced Cherokee removals to Oklahoma. It is a sorry episode in American history—one for which we cannot easily forgive our forefathers. Andrew Jackson, regardless of the reasons for his actions, emerges as the villain. The dupes who are the government's agents are picturesquely presented, but we can hardly blame them for the national disgrace.

Mr. Hunter has attempted to make a theatre piece out of all this Cherokee history by focusing the action on Tsali and his celebrated and great sacrifice, but he has not quite succeeded. Tsali's role is more evident, however, in the book than on the outdoor stage, where his identity in the early scenes is hopelessly lost among the Indian leaders like Junaluska and Sequoyah.

The author is careful to inform us that certain modifications from actual historical records "have been made in the interest of dramatic unity." Very well. But this reviewer fails to understand what dramatic unity is served by holding over Chief Drowning Bear (and why not use his noble Indian name Yonaguska?) to 1841, when a historical highway marker not far from the reservation proclaims that he died in 1839.

Unto These Hills is a tremendous effort, nevertheless. It is history beautifully and interestingly presented.

Richard Walser.

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh.

Essays on North Carolina History. By Clarence W. Griffin. (Forest City, N. C.: The Forest City Courier. 1951. Pp. x, 284. \$4.50.)

The reader need not expect to find in this volume a series of carefully documented and analytical essays on significant or difficult phases of North Carolina history. Nothing so pretentious is undertaken here, for the author, who is the editor of *The Forest City Courier* as well as something of an antiquarian and expert on local history, has simply reprinted a column which he wrote for his newspaper under the title of "Dropped Stitches in Rutherford History." The title of the volume is perhaps misleading, and Mr. Griffin admits it "could have just as well been 'A Scrapbook Of North Carolina History.'" The essays follow no particular pattern of chronology or subject matter, but most of them deal with topics relating to Rutherford County.

Obviously Mr. Griffin writes about the subjects which interest him and which he hopes will interest his readers. Forest City and Spindale are towns whose history receives special attention, and extensive lists of local officeholders are included. Stories of old families, old houses, churches, civic organizations, and schools, as well as anecdotes and legends, all have a place. While this was essentially an agricultural county, some attention is given to the development of the local textile industry and to the attempts to exploit the mineral resources of the county. The story of the "Speculation Land Company," springing from the promotion efforts of Tench Coxe of Philadelphia in 1796, suggests that the charms of this area were known long before Forest City (originally "Burnt Chimney") made its appearance.

The merit of this book rests strictly upon its contribution to local history. Unfortunately, the illustrations are poorly reproduced.

Robert H. Woody.

Duke University,
Durham.

General Charles Lee: Traitor or Patriot? By John Richard Alden. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1951. Pp. ix, 369. \$4.75.)

Charles Lee is a revolutionary figure generally described uncomplimentarily by historians. Believing the animosity toward Lee springs partly from his being regarded as a sinister figure because of his controversy with Washington and from a suspicion that he was a traitor to America, Professor Alden attempts to rescue Lee from this stigma and present him, properly, he believes, as "one of the fathers of the American Republic" by relating Lee's story objectively, disclaiming any desire to create one idol or to destroy another (*i.e.*, Washington), but admitting to the normal bias a biographer develops toward his subject.

The main points in this reappraisal are a relation of Lee's activities opposing George III and supporting the American cause in the pre-independence period, and a re-examination of his actions in 1777, in proposing a plan to his British captors for American defeat, and in 1778 at the Monmouth battle, with the consequent controversy with Washington. The latter episodes have been the basis for most of the condemnation of Lee. Regarding Lee's 1777 proposal, the author absolves Lee of treason charges, maintaining Lee was attempting to aid America by misleading Howe, and contending treason could not have been involved since Lee was not an American and had not taken an oath of loyalty. However, no positive evidence is presented to lead one to disagree with Randolph G. Adams's conclusion that "it is . . . extremely difficult for the historian to deny . . . it was giving aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States." (*Dictionary of American Biography*, XI, 100.) Concerning the Monmouth affair, and Lee's subsequent court-martial, evidence is presented seriously questioning the correctness of the court's decision. Here, the reviewer feels, Professor Alden has been too favorable toward Lee and too critical of Lee's opponents, especially Washington.

The author has relied mainly on *The Lee Papers* published by the New York Historical Society. Omission of a bibliography and frequent failure to identify letters and locate manuscript collections cited in the notes impair the scholarly apparatus of

the work. Placing the notes at the back of the book is regrettable. The index appears adequate. The format, style, and editing are excellent.

L. Walter Seegers.

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh.

The History of a Brigade of South Carolinians. By J. F. J. Caldwell. (Philadelphia: King and Baird. 1866. Reprinted, Marietta, Georgia: Continental Book Company. 1951. Pp. 247.)

Most readers of Civil War accounts are presented with a sweeping panorama of grand strategy, great campaigns, battles won and lost, and famous generals. The reader of J. F. J. Caldwell's little history of a South Carolina brigade will find instead a day by day account of one unit's participation in the dramatic struggle. The brigade, known first as Gregg's and later as McGowan's, was composed of the First, Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth regiments of volunteers, and Orr's Regiment of Rifles. It was a part of Gen. A. P. Hill's famous Light Division, and as such was engaged in battle at Cold Harbor, Second Manassas, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, the Wilderness, the siege of Petersburg, and others, and was among troops surrendered by Lee at Appomattox. The author, an officer in the First Regiment and a man of considerable education, wrote his narrative from recollection, from conversation with fellow officers, and from company, regimental, and divisional reports when they were accessible. His manner was one of detachment and keenness of observation, resembling that of a modern newspaper correspondent in many respects. He displayed very little bias, and only in his account of the final surrender did he descend into sentimentality, which may perhaps be forgiven him. The descriptions are excellent without being florid, except in the eulogies of commanding officers killed in action. The accounts of the battles of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville especially must be cited for their vividness and sensitivity of observation.

Valuable as the book doubtless is for reconstructing battle scenes of the Civil War, its greatest interest lies in its portrayal of a soldier's life. The eager young men, accustomed to many

niceties of life, learned to pillage, to cook weevilly meal and rancid bacon, to endure diarrhea and dysentery, to label various lice as "confederates," "zouaves," and "tigers," to sleep in rain and mud, sometimes even to sleep marching along—in short, to endure war for four years and to become a highly trained fighting machine capable of dressing while advancing across a wheat field under fire. After the retreat from Gettysburg one can read between the lines the first note of fatality. The increased tempo and pressure of the fighting after Grant was placed in command in Virginia clearly indicated the beginning of the end. Caldwell finally acknowledged this during the winter of 1864, and in chapter XVI he has given an excellent analysis of failing civilian morale and the desperate situation of the troops.

The general reader as well as the historian will find much to interest him in this history of a South Carolina brigade.

Sarah McCulloh Lemmon.

Meredith College,
Raleigh.

The Ragged Ones. By Burke Davis. (New York: Rinehart and Company, 1951. Pp. 336. \$3.50.)

There is always room for one more, provided the addition has something to contribute. Burke Davis's realistic portrayal of the backwoods soldier of the Revolution in the Carolinas justifies this latest in a long line of novels concerned with the march of Cornwallis through North Carolina in 1780-1781. E. P. Roe was perhaps the first to work this medium with his *Hornet's Nest* of 1886. He was followed by such popular purveyors of romanticized history as Cyrus T. Brady (*When Blades Are Out and Love's Afield*, 1901) and Francis Lynde (*The Master of Appleby*, 1902). Interest revived in the 1940's and from this period we have LeGette Blythe, *Alexandriana*, 1940; Inglis Fletcher, *Toil of the Brave*, Kings Mountain Edition, 1946; Maristan Chapman, *Rogue's March*, 1949; and Florette Henri, *Kings Mountain*, 1950. None of these is entirely satisfactory to the professional historian and none, of course, was written for him.

A book should be appraised primarily on the basis of the author's purpose in writing it, or it should be ignored. With this as a criterion, *The Ragged Ones* is an outstanding success. Burke Davis has made the back-country rebellion live again, and he has done it in the literary taste of today. Descriptive passages and characterizations have frequently the ring of authenticity. There are pages which read like source material of a type often sought but rarely found. It is disillusioning, therefore, to be stopped short by errors in fact which cast doubt on the reliability of the convincing period atmosphere. There are many minor slips, but the most annoying is the author's falsification in his chapter entitled "Tarrant's Tavern." The state's historical highway marker plainly entitles the skirmish "Torrence's Tavern," and Mr. Davis lived long enough in Charlotte to be acquainted with the family of that name. His treatment of the "Widow Tarrant" exceeds the license permissible to historical novelists. Mrs. Adam Torrence was a well-known local figure in no way resembling the Widow Tarrant who usurps her prerogatives in the novel.

On the plus side, we get an unvarnished picture of a time and place which Mr. Davis correctly interprets. His antidote to D. A. R. romanticism (with no disrespect to the order intended by the reviewer) was much needed. Few of his revelations come as either a shock or a surprise to the professional historian. But in this era of McCarthy vigilance it is well to be reminded that even ancestors for hereditary society membership had their subversive moments. Many of the outstanding figures of the War for Independence could with difficulty escape an investigation today. As an honest chronicler of the ragged ones who fought the war, Mr. Davis has performed a commendable service for his readers, few of whom will be troubled by this reviewer's respect for accurate historical detail.

Chalmers G. Davidson.

Davidson College,
Davidson.

They Gave Us Freedom. Compiled and edited for Colonial Williamsburg and the College of William and Mary in Virginia under the direction of William F. Davidson of Knoedler Galleries and A. Pierce Middleton. Narrative by Parke Rouse, Jr. (New York: Gallery Press for Colonial Williamsburg and the College of William and Mary in Virginia. 1951. Pp. 66. \$2.50 cloth, \$1.50 paper-bound.)

Since the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg was undertaken by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., in 1927, at the suggestion of W. A. R. Goodwin, that early Virginia capital has become a mecca for thousands of Americans interested in the colonial and revolutionary past of their country. In 1947 Paul Green's "The Common Glory" was presented to the public for the first time, making an additional attraction for the summer visitor in that historic village.

In commemoration of the 175th anniversary of the independence of Virginia and twelve other British colonies which resulted in the birth of the United States, Colonial Williamsburg and the College of William and Mary sponsored an exhibition of the best existing visual evidence of the persons and events that made our independence possible. The exhibition was held during the early summer of 1951, closing on July 4th. This collection of art from far and near is now recorded for posterity in this thin volume, thus offering a unified story of the Revolution in pictorial form.

At least three of the artists represented in this little book took an active part in the American Revolution. The elder Peale brothers, Charles Willson and James, and John Trumbull were all officers in the American army. Charles Willson Peale alone painted thirteen of the pictures reproduced here. Washington is known to have sat for at least seven portraits by Charles Willson, and in all, Peale is credited with over sixty paintings of the Commander-in-Chief. One of the best known of these serves as a frontispiece for this collection.

It is to be regretted that only three of one-eyed John Trumbull's works are given in these pages. "The Battle of Bunker Hill," "The Surrender of Cornwallis," and "Alexander Hamilton" are but samples of his delightful work. Trumbull is often referred to as the "Painter of the Revolution," and most of the early great in America sat before his easel at least once.

All the artists represented by three or more paintings in the exhibition had started their careers in the art before the Revolution began except John Vanderlyn, the one-time protégé of Aaron Burr. However, Gilbert Stuart, John Singleton Copley and James Sharples were in England when the war began and none of them returned until after Washington became President for his first term. The works of these men were thus not directly influenced by the trying days of the young republic before the Constitution was finally adopted.

Compositions from the brushes of more than twenty artists are included among the sixty-five pictures in *They Gave Us Freedom*. Reproductions of several historic documents and photographs of busts by Giuseppe Ceracchi and Jean-Antoine Houdon complete the illustrations.

The narrative takes up about one-fourth the space and ties the pictorial story together. Here in a few words is a well-rounded and concise history of all phases of the Revolution. The reviewer has not often seen so much covered with so few words, or done so well.

Daniel M. McFarland.

Blue Mountain College,
Blue Mountain, Mississippi.

College Life at Old Oglethorpe. By Allen P. Tankersley. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1951. Pp. xvi, 184. Illustrated. \$3.00.)

“Old Oglethorpe” was located at Midway, a village in central Georgia only two miles from Milledgeville, the state capital. Rather pretentiously named Oglethorpe University by its founders, it was really a small, denominational liberal arts college. Presbyterians established the school in the late 1830’s for “the cultivation of piety and the diffusion of useful knowledge.” From the day it opened in January, 1838, to the day it expired in December, 1872, Oglethorpe, like most colleges of its kind, had to struggle for its very existence. The Civil War closed its doors only temporarily, but lack of funds forced it to cease operations entirely—at a time when the school had just moved to Atlanta, the new state capital, and appeared to be developing into a real university. In spite of all difficulties

Oglethorpe left an indelible impress. At least a thousand young men studied there; more than three hundred graduated; for twenty-four years the able Dr. Samuel K. Talmage was president of the college; the noted scientists Dr. Joseph Le Conte and Dr. James Woodrow served on the faculty; the illustrious Sidney Lanier was first a student and then a tutor.

Allen P. Tankersley has performed a valuable and useful service in telling the story of this institution. Not only has he discussed founders, presidents, benefactors, debts, fund-raising campaigns, professors, controversies, college rules, courses of study, and commencements, but he has succeeded in painting an authentic picture of student life. His chapter on the student literary societies, entitled "Thalians and Phi Deltas," is excellent. Also, he has related the history of the college to the history of the times and the region, especially as regards the coming, course, and consequences of the Civil War. Above all, he impresses upon the reader the profound and far-reaching influence of the spiritual power that Oglethorpe generated. The author brings to his task the always fortunate combination of scholarly training and literary skill. It is possible that he has been over-generous in his praise of Oglethorpe's leaders and that he has allowed his heroes, Sidney Lanier and John B. Gordon, to bulk a little too large in the narrative. On the whole, however, his judgments seem just, and his book is commendably brief and readable.

While this volume might interest Georgians primarily, there is a universality about the subject that should broaden its appeal. For fundamentally the Oglethorpe story is the story of the typical church-related, classical college of the nineteenth century. *College Life at Old Oglethorpe* includes sixteen interesting illustrations, nine useful appendices, and a full bibliography and index. The printing, binding, and jacket are attractive. Those few errors noted by this reviewer are trifling. Although Oglethorpe University was revived in 1913 and functions at the present day, Mr. Tankersley has wisely limited his study to "Old Oglethorpe."

Stuart Noblin.

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh.

Friend of the People: The Life of Dr. Peter Fayssoux of Charleston, South Carolina. By Chalmers G. Davidson. (Columbia: The Medical Association of South Carolina. 1950. Pp. vii, 151. \$2.75.)

Unlike their English and Scottish coreligionists, the French Calvinists who came to South Carolina were more than ordinarily successful in acquiring wealth and were interested in cultivating manners and amenities as soon as they were able to afford such luxuries, the result being that in less than a generation many of these émigrés had entered the ranks of the local aristocracy. This process is well illustrated in the career of Daniel Fayssoux, baker, who arrived in South Carolina about 1737 and, more particularly, in that of his son Peter (1745-1795), whose life is here described by Dr. Davidson.

With advantages derived from the estate left by his father and through a fortunate second marriage of his mother, Peter Fayssoux secured a good education in Charleston and went to Edinburgh for medical training. Here he made the acquaintance of Benjamin Rush, thus beginning a friendship which lasted for the rest of Fayssoux's life and was the occasion for the greater portion of his correspondence that has been preserved. Returning to Charleston, Fayssoux practiced his profession, participated in the city's social and cultural activities, and married, successively, into two wealthy planter families. During the Revolution he served first as "senior physician" and later as physician and surgeon-general in the South Carolina medical service; and, after the creation of the Southern Department in March, 1781, as "chief physician of the hospital."

Following the war he resumed practice in Charleston, rising by the early 1790's to what Dr. Davidson describes as "easily the most outstanding medical figure in the state." Among his interests was the promotion of a charity drugstore, a sort of eighteenth century substitute for socialized medicine, where the poor could be supplied with medicines free of charge. His activities also included rice planting and politics. Having gone through the Revolution as an "irreconcilable" patriot, he found it easy to secure election to the state legislature, to the state convention on the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and the Constitutional Convention of 1790; but his anti-Federalism ran counter to the dominant trend in South Carolina during this period and

stranded him as the advocate of a lost cause. His last days were saddened by the illness of two of his daughters, apparently a leprous affliction contracted from an African slave on one of the plantations, which all the medical skill of Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Charleston was unable to arrest.

From such sources as are available Dr. Davidson has traced the outlines of Peter Fayssoux's life. The materials relating directly to the subject appear to be too meager to facilitate the compilation of a lengthy biography, with the result that, even in this brief treatment, the author is occasionally forced to supplement his narrative with descriptions of the times. Moreover, it cannot be said that a longer account of Fayssoux's life is necessary; he dabbled in too many things to achieve an enduring reputation in any one sphere of activity. This small volume therefore presents all the information that is likely to be forthcoming, and all that is needed, with regard to the career of a fairly inconsequential South Carolinian living in an eighteenth century lowcountry environment.

James W. Patton.

The University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill.

A History of the Hemp Industry in Kentucky. By James F. Hopkins. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1951. Pp. xii, 240. Map, illustrations. \$4.00.)

So attractive to American writers has agricultural history proved to be that hardly any major product of our soil has escaped systematic study. One that somehow did was hemp, the fibrous plant used principally in making bagging and cordage. Now James F. Hopkins, associate professor of history at the University of Kentucky, fills that gap with a creditable monograph.

Because Kentucky was far and away the leading producer during the heyday of hemp—that is, from the late eighteenth century to the Civil War—Professor Hopkins concentrates his attention upon that state. In a few introductory pages he notes the several efforts made by England to encourage hemp-growing in the American colonies. Then he launches into the story of the

plant in Kentucky, carefully detailing the subjects indicated by his six chapter headings: "The Hemp Farm," "Management and Sale of the Crop," "Prices and Production to 1861," "Manufacturing to 1861," "Production of Hemp for Marine Use," and "The Decline of the Industry."

Some of Kentucky's earliest settlers raised the fiber for the home manufacture of cloth and cordage. Early in the nineteenth century, accompanying the boom in cotton that followed Eli Whitney's famous invention, hemp, fashioned into bale rope and bagging, found a generally profitable market in the Deep South. Hemp thus became the cash crop of Bluegrass farmers and inspired the building of "ropewalks" (manufacturing establishments) at Lexington, Frankfort, Louisville, and other points. Both the hemp farm and the hemp factory relied heavily upon slave labor. Kentuckians long hoped that the United States Navy would see fit to supply its cordage needs from their staple exclusively, and that Congress would enact suitable protective tariffs. The clear superiority of imported Russian hemp, however, dashed these hopes. The advent of the steamship, which required less rigging than the sailing ship; the onset of the Civil War, which ruined the southern market; the competition of Manila abacá and wire rope; the substitution of wood, metal, and especially jute in the bagging of cotton—these soon relegated the hemp industry to minor status, and today its importance is negligible.

Professor Hopkins has made excellent use of a wide variety of materials, with emphasis on manuscripts, government documents, and newspapers, as his footnotes and bibliography show. He writes soberly and precisely. Within the self-imposed limits of his study he has been painstaking and thorough. Yet this reviewer feels that the author need not have confined his investigation so rigidly to Kentucky; if not a history of the hemp industry in the United States, then at least a sampling of sources in Missouri, the second ranking state, for purposes of comparison. The volume contains a useful map of Kentucky and nine interesting photographs. The index seems adequate, though one might question the inclusion of the name entries "C. B. C.," "W. M. T." (semi-anonymous writers), George, Jack, Roy, Sullivan, Tom, and Umphry (Negro slaves; Henry,

mentioned on page 135, was apparently overlooked) and the omission of such subject entries as agricultural (or farm) organizations, rigging, and rope.

This book is a valuable piece in the mosaic of American agricultural history.

Stuart Noblin.

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh.

The History of Randolph-Macon Woman's College: From the Founding in 1891 Through the Year 1949-1950. By Roberta D. Cornelius. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1951. Pp. xviii, 428. \$6.00.)

From the attractive cover jacket to the forty pages of illustrations at the end of the volume, one is impressed with the growth, vitality, and educational leadership of The Randolph-Macon Woman's College and the scholarship and devotion to the school of its author as these are revealed in this excellent history. Written largely around the administration of its four presidents, the book is replete with details of college education and the life of young women in Lynchburg, Virginia, during the past sixty years.

In a brief foreword, President Theodore H. Jack states that this book is "primarily a project of the Alumnae Association and is essentially a contribution of the alumnae to the college." Although written by an alumna who has served the college as an instructor and professor of English since 1915, it is not a pean of praise; rather it is a careful and well documented study of a nationally accredited institution which has pioneered in the field of higher education for women in the South.

Beginning with a discussion of the Randolph-Macon Board of Trustees which has sponsored a college for men in Virginia since 1830, and after setting forth the interest and determination of the Virginia Conference of the Methodist Church to foster Christian education through a system of colleges and academies, the author presents a detailed account of the labors of the founder-president, William Waugh Smith, in establishing a quality college for women comparable with the best institutions

for men. The attainment and perpetuation of that concept constitute the main theme of succeeding chapters.

Financial problems, buildings, courses of study, and a variety of student activities are intertwined with the personalities of a strong group of administrators and teachers. Among these are Presidents William A. Webb, Dice R. Anderson, Theodore H. Jack, Acting President and Dean N. A. Pattillo, Dean C. Clement French, Dean Gille Larew, Dean Almeda Garland, Treasurer Robert Winfree, Dr. Alexander W. Terrell, and Professors Fernando W. Martin, Herbert C. Lipscomb, Louise Jordan Smith, William S. Adams, Joseph L. Armstrong, Thomas M. Campbell, Meta Glass, John H. Latané, Thomas W. Page, James F. Peake, Mary L. Sherrill, Mabel Whiteside, and others.

The relations of the college with the Methodist Church, the Carnegie Corporation, the General Education Board, the Presser Foundation, the American Association of University Women, and other agencies are carefully noted. Emphasis upon the liberal arts, the admission of the college to Phi Beta Kappa in 1916 after an existence of only twenty-three years, and the achievements of some of the more distinguished of 9,700 alumnae complete the text of this interesting and significant work.

Notes and bibliographical references are grouped under chapter headings in the back of the book and fill forty-six pages. The index of twenty-five pages, containing cross references and subentries, is most helpful. One could wish space would have permitted the author to give more emphasis to the low legal and educational status of American women when the college was founded, and to contemporary movements for the higher education of women in other states.

Professor Cornelius and the University of North Carolina Press are to be congratulated on a lasting contribution to the history of higher education in the South and the role of educated women in the world of today.

David A. Lockmiller.

The University of Chattanooga,
Chattanooga, Tennessee.

Revolt of the Rednecks: Mississippi Politics, 1876-1925. By Albert D. Kirwan. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1951. Pp. x, 328. \$4.50.)

This is a scholarly and penetrating examination of the political history of Mississippi from the close of Reconstruction to the end of the Vardaman era in 1925, the story of those long years when the central theme of Mississippi politics was the never-ending struggle between economic groups, constantly interspersed with ambitious attempts of worthy and unworthy men for political leadership and control.

The struggle for the control of Mississippi democracy began in 1876 when Radical Governor Adelbert Ames resigned while undergoing impeachment trial, a home-rule victory actually achieved when the George-Lamar revolution was brought to successful fruition. The post-Civil War agricultural depression and the seemingly prosperous condition of the state's corporate and banking interest caused constant rumblings of discontent from the small farmer class, which soon began its struggle to gain control of the Democratic party in order to effect reforms. Discounting as much as possible the discrediting of the old pre-Civil War leaders and the bitter radical antipathy which was the heritage of Radical Reconstruction, this group battled the "cheap politicians" who controlled the state's political machinery. It almost captured the constitutional convention of 1890, and finally won victory when Vardaman was elected to the governorship in 1903. Then began a two-decade control of the state during which the voices of the people, led by Vardaman and Bilbo, must be credited with awakening the Democratic party to a new sense of social responsibility.

The volume is a real achievement in the writing of state political history. It is solidly founded upon a broad foundation of unpublished and published source material, aptly explained in a "Critical Essay on Authorities" at the end of the book. The author surveys the entire period with balanced perspective and is outspoken when the occasion demands it. Of added significance, it must be emphasized that the author has that rare ability to handle masses of detailed material and to integrate a multitude of minutiae as well as important material into a

well-balanced finished product. His work has been complimented by the publishers, who have done an excellent job of bookmaking.

Edwin Adams Davis.

Louisiana State University,
Baton Rouge.

College Life in the Old South. By E. Merton Coulter. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press. 1951. Pp. xiii, 320. \$4.50.)

This book, copyrighted in 1951 by its author, is the second edition of the well-known work first published by the Macmillan Company in 1928. Since changes were made only to clarify ambiguities or correct errors, the narrative differs little in the two editions. The new edition, which appeared as a part of the Sesquicentennial Celebration of the University of Georgia, employs a larger page, includes drawings, and relegates all footnotes to the back.

College Life in the Old South is essentially a history of the University of Georgia, commonly known in ante-bellum times as Franklin College, from the date of its charter, 1785 (the first classes met in 1801), until 1870. In addition to an intimate picture of life at the Athens institution there are comparisons with activities in other universities. Student life, literary societies, student-faculty relations, commencements, and life in a college town were much the same throughout the State. Meager financial support from the legislature and rivalry among religious denominations for control of faculty positions had their parallels in other states. Forced to close its doors in 1863, the University reopened in 1866 and within five years many of its present-day characteristics had taken form. The University, now grown into six schools, saw commencements decline in significance and interest in the literary societies become dissipated into new fields of fraternities and athletics.

Professor Coulter's thorough knowledge of Georgia history is reflected in the skill with which he weaves the history of the University into the general pattern of the state's development. The remarkably complete manuscript records of Franklin College, especially the minutes of student organizations and the faculty, enable the author to present a wealth of detailed information not available elsewhere. The difficult task of organizing

this material has been handled well by combining the topical and chronological approaches. Additional light might have been thrown on relations between the University and the religious denominations by consulting periodicals published by the Georgia churches.

Free of typographical errors and attractive in format, this book is a credit to both its author and the University Press. It will be welcomed not only by Georgia alumni but by students and general readers of southern history as well.

Henry S. Stroupe.

Wake Forest College,
Wake Forest.

Economic Resources and Policies of the South. By Calvin B. Hoover and B. U. Ratchford. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1951. Pp. xxvii, 464. \$5.50.)

This book brings together in one place the facts concerning the productive resources of the South, from Virginia and Kentucky in the north to Oklahoma and Texas in the southwest. Most of these facts are presented in statistical tables, of which there are no less than ninety-six in the four hundred and odd pages. The subjects of the various tables vary from "Land Area" and "Birth Rates" to "Votes of Southern Congressmen on Tariff Bills." A large part of the text consists of discussion of the facts contained in the statistical tables. The book therefore does not make easy reading. Its excellence as an encyclopedic source is, however, very great. One should read it and then keep it at hand for reference.

There are seventeen chapters in the book. Beginning with the physical and the human resources of the South, the authors devote separate chapters to each of the major industries or agricultural crops of the region and conclude with chapters on policy with respect to labor and international trade.

The authors have done much more than collect information about the South; they have interpreted it and brought it to bear upon the problem of lifting the income of the region. This they call the central theme of the study. They find that the South is not overwhelmingly rich in resources as some enthusiasts assert, but that the South does have resources that could produce a much higher level of income. The policies that are suggested

to achieve this are sane and intelligent, reflecting the sound learning of the authors. Heavy reliance is placed upon better education and more industry as means, but neither is presented as an open sesame to great wealth. Indeed, it is one of the merits of this book that it does not reduce the economic problem of the South to simple terms.

A number of the chapters have helpful summaries at the end. There is a good index and a bibliography that covers thirteen pages.

C. K. Brown.

Davidson College,
Davidson.

Liberty and Property. By R. V. Coleman. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1951. Pp. xiii, 606. \$5.00.)

This is a scholarly, carefully balanced, well documented, and beautifully written account of the growth and expansion of the continental colonies—English, Spanish, and French—and of their political, economic, social, and cultural development from 1664 to 1765. In *The First Frontier*, published three years ago, Mr. Coleman “followed the adventures, hopes, failures and successes of the early English settlers in America.” The reviewer thinks that *Liberty and Property* is an improvement over the earlier volume and hopes that the author will eventually bring the story down to the American Revolution.

In this volume the reader is presented with a lively account of the founding of new colonies—the English consolidating their gains in the New York-New Jersey area; the expansion of population from Barbados, Virginia, and other places into Carolina; William Penn and the Quakers developing a “Holy Experiment” in Pennsylvania; Oglethorpe and other philanthropists establishing the colony of Georgia; English colonies competing with the French and Spanish for mastery of the Florida-Louisiana region. He is presented with excellent descriptions of the commercial aristocracy of the northern and middle colonies and of the planter aristocracy of the South; the troubles arising from low prices and high taxes, as illustrated in Bacon's Rebellion and other uprisings; the activities of whites and Indians along the trading paths; the wonders of the “visible

and the invisible world"; the problems arising from overlapping land patents and general confusion in land policy; the rise, spread, and suppression of piracy; the immigration of Scotch-Irish, Germans, and other non-English groups; the trade in "skins and slaves"; pen portraits of "able men" and their fine homes; the common people and their mode of life; and, finally, the story of the hitherto individualistic colonies banding together against the mother country under the watchword of "Liberty and Property."

Mr. Coleman has captured the spirit of the century about which he writes and he brings out the full flavor of this significant but somewhat neglected era of our history. He has made excellent use of a variety of sources, notably travel accounts and other contemporary writings. His accounts of William Byrd II, William Penn, Increase Mather, La Salle, and other major figures are splendid, but he has not overlooked scores of significant but less well-known men—Dr. Henry Woodward, Tonti, "Old Zach" Gilliam, Rev. William Vesey, Lewis Morris, Caleb Heathcote, and scores of others. In fact, the volume has something of a biographical tone which adds to its interest and readability.

Twenty-eight full-page maps, sixty-two fine illustrations based on original paintings and engravings, and an adequate index round out this excellent book.

Hugh T. Lefler.

The University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill.

Education in the United States. Third Revised Edition. By Edgar W. Knight. (Boston: Ginn and Company. 1951. Pp. xvi, 753, \$4.50.)

The well-known historical work on American education by Professor Knight of the University of North Carolina, originally published in 1929, appears in a third revised edition, with subject matter brought up to date and lucidly presented, and with abundant teaching aids. The distinctive feature which marked the first edition of Knight's work was the comprehensiveness of its treatment of the development of education in the South. This orientation has been preserved.

The plan of the book, which deals primarily with public education, will be familiar to users of the previous editions. After an introductory chapter epitomizing present conditions, the work traces the rise of the publicly supported and controlled elementary school and of state and local agencies of control, with emphasis upon the influence in furthering the educational awakening of reports on European conditions by Archibald D. Murphey, Cousin, Stowe, Bache, Henry Barnard, and Mann, and the endeavors of such advocates of public education as Carter, Mann, Barnard, Mills, Lewis, Galloway, Pierce, Breckinridge, Edwards, and Calvin H. Wiley, North Carolina's first superintendent of schools. The growth of secondary and higher education, including teacher-training, is also recounted. A chapter is devoted to the emergence of the South from the post-Reconstruction educational destitution to which Walter H. Page directed attention in 1897, in his address on "The Forgotten Man." Another summarizes progress following the Civil War and traces the influence of Pestalozzi, Herbart, Froebel, Hall, James, Dewey, E. L. Thorndike, and others. A discussion of the depression period and of trends and issues after 1930 is followed by the twentieth and final chapter, entitled "The Roaring Forties," which presents a wealth of material on wartime and postwar educational activities.

While, as is inevitable in a treatise of such scope, the reader will sometimes dissent from the author's judgment and perspective, it is unquestionable that Knight has produced a most valuable work for students of American educational and cultural history. Scarcely less will be its usefulness to general readers who, as parents or civic leaders, have a vital interest in the history and problems of American education.

Elbert Vaughan Wills.

Gatesville.

The United States, 1830-1850: The Nation and Its Sections. By Frederick Jackson Turner. (Reprint. New York: Peter Smith. 1950. Pp. xiv, 602. \$5.00.)

With the reprinting of this important work Peter Smith adds one more to the growing list of titles that the publisher is rescuing from that dismal epitaph, "out of print." The Smith

reprints, many of them reproduced by the highly satisfactory micro-offset process, now include scores of the most important volumes in the library of American history. A few titles will suggest the contribution that this publishing venture is making to historical scholarship; for what would a library of Americana be without Becker's *Declaration of Independence*, Jameson's *American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement*, the agricultural histories of Gray and Bidwell and Falconer, Clark's *History of Manufactures*, Hibbard's *Public Land Policies*, Riley's *American Thought*, Van Tyne's *Loyalists*, Fite's *Social and Industrial Conditions*, Pratt's *Expansionists of 1812*, Turner's *Significance of Sections*, Fleming's *Documentary History of Reconstruction*, Wissler's *American Indian*, to mention only a few?

Measured against his gifts, Frederick Jackson Turner wrote few books. Indeed, as Avery Craven pointed out in his perceptive introduction to this volume, "his eager mind was bent on exploration. . . . He disliked to find his researches halted and his ideas crystalized by publication. . . . Until all the evidence was in, the time had not come for the last word." *The United States, 1830-1850* is both the beneficiary and the victim of that quality. Fifteen painstaking years in the making, the book was never completed. The last chapter is wholly missing and much of what does appear is a first or second draft that still awaited revision or polishing, a task which the author's untimely death (March 14, 1932) prevented. The historical craft is forever in debt to Merrill H. Crissey, Max Farrand, and Avery Craven for putting the manuscript in final form for publication; unfinished though it was, the book remains a rich addition to the literature of the American record.

This is the mature Turner, grown cautious with the years, still in search of hypotheses but subjecting them to increasingly rigorous tests. Four decades had passed since the young Turner advanced his persuasive thesis that the unique American experience was to be explained in terms of a receding frontier. In this last of his books the critic looks in vain for oversimplifications. But there is the same old concern for isolating the life principles, delineating the natural history, describing and accounting for the interpenetrations of environments, politics, and social institutions.

Something over half the book is devoted to the several sections, a chapter for each: New England, the Middle Atlantic States, the South Atlantic States, the South Central States, the North Central States, Texas, and the Far West. Each of these is a sharply etched profile in itself, supported by skillfully disciplined detail drawn from the geography, ethnology, politics and economic forces, the social and intellectual life of the era and area he describes. Then follows a brilliant study, heavily documented, of the interplay of the sectional forces—at once divisive, coalescent, and reciprocal—in the national context. Perhaps the emphasis on political and economic factors occasionally crowds out an adequate treatment of social and cultural developments.

To the scholar the volume is as stimulating and delightful to read as it was when it first appeared sixteen years ago, despite the efforts of irreverent young doctors of philosophy always quick to “revise” or to take their elders to task for neglecting their own youthful specialties. And for that happy mortal, the general reader who reads American history for pleasure and instruction, it is a healthful corrective to the folklore that the decades from 1830 to 1860 were wholly given over to the Great Debate and to preparations for a romantic Civil War. For anyone who wishes to understand the sections and to perceive the relationships of the sections with each other and with the nation in the fateful and fruitful epoch of 1830-1850 (for anyone who wishes to understand American History, that is to say) this book is indispensable. It seems unlikely that it will ever be quite superseded.

There is no bibliography, though the copious footnotes, it has been pointed out, are little bibliographies in themselves. There are a number of useful maps and charts, the index is adequate, and the few typographical slips that appeared in the original edition naturally persist in this one since it was not made from new plates. The print is admirably sharp and clear.

Richard Bardolph.

The Woman's College of the
University of North Carolina,
Greensboro.

Federal Records of World War II. National Archives Publications Nos. 51-7 & 8. (Washington: United States Printing Office. 1950-51. 2 vols. Pp. I: xii, 1073. II: iii, 1061. \$2.50 each.)

In 1946 President Truman wrote to the Archivist of the United States that he "would like to see prepared and published such guides as will make the pertinent materials known and usable." *The Federal Records of World War II*, in a general way, fulfills the President's request since it is a convenient digest of the records of every agency of the United States government which played a part in the conduct of the war (1939-1945). This represents the labor and contributions of many people. Much credit is due to Dr. Philip M. Hamer for his skillful editing and over-all direction of the compilation of these volumes.

This digest or general guide may well be compared to the card catalog of a library. It leads the searcher to the materials and does not try to describe them except as to type. Volume I, "Civilian Agencies," is divided into seven parts: (1) The Legislative Branch; (2) The Judicial Branch; (3) The Executive Office of the President; (4) Emergency Agencies; (5) Executive Departments; (6) Other United States Agencies; (7) International Agencies. Volume II, "Military Agencies," contains: (1) Interallied and Interservice Military Agencies; (2) The War Department and the Army; (3) The Naval Establishment; (4) Theaters of Operation. For each agency listed under these broad headings there is a sketch of its wartime duties and activities; a description of its records as to type, location, custody, and volume (in cubic feet); and pertinent bibliographical references.

It is obvious that special care was taken in the compilation of the index. It is more detailed than those of previous "guides" prepared by the National Archives, especially in its cross references. For example, listed under "leather and hides" are twenty-two entries which cover every aspect of procurement, production, importation, prices, research, and military use of these commodities.

E. G. Roberts.

Duke University Library,
Durham.

HISTORICAL NEWS

The department of history at Duke University announces the following promotions: Irving B. Holley to assistant professor; Arthur B. Ferguson, Harold T. Parker, and Richard L. Watson, Jr., to associate professor; and John S. Curtiss to professor. Dr. Curtiss spent the past summer researching in Russian History in the Hoover Library, Stanford, California.

Dr. Alan K. Manchester, professor of history and dean of undergraduate studies at Duke University, is in Brazil on a one-year appointment as cultural attaché to the United States Embassy there.

Dr. E. Malcolm Carroll was principally responsible for the third volume of the German Foreign Office Archives: *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945, from the Archives of the German Foreign Ministry. Series D. (1937-1943) Germany and the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939*. The volume was issued by the State Department and His Majesty's Stationery Office, London.

Publications or prospective publications by other members of the Duke University history department include Joel G. Colton, *Compulsory Labor Arbitration in France, 1936-1939* (New York: King's Crown Press, Columbia University, 1951); W. T. Laprade, "Scholarship, Hysteria and Freedom," in *New Republic*, October 29, 1951; William B. Hamilton, *Fifty Years of the South Atlantic Quarterly* (to be published in January, 1952, by the Duke University Press); Robert H. Woody edited, with a biographical appraisal, *The Papers and Addresses of William Preston Few, Late President of Duke University*, which was published by the Duke University Press in December.

Dr. Richard C. Todd of East Carolina College has received the Mrs. Simon Baruch University Prize, offered biennially by the United Daughters of the Confederacy for the best unpublished manuscript in the field of southern history. Professor Todd submitted in this competition his dissertation prepared at Duke University, "A History of Confederate Finance." He also presented a paper, "Confederate Finance," at the annual meeting

of the Southern Historical Association at Montgomery, November 8-10, 1951.

Dr. Loren C. MacKinney of the University of North Carolina is a member of the American Historical Association committee on documentary reproduction and chairman of the committee on microfilming in Italy. He is the author of several articles on mediaeval medicine which have appeared or are to appear in the near future in various journals.

The fifth Harriet Elliott Social Science Forum was held at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, Greensboro, November 15, 16, and 17. The forum subject was "The Meeting of East and West in China" and Hu Shih, Derk Bodde, Harold Isaacs, and Vera Micheles Dean were guest speakers.

On September 27 a highway marker was unveiled at Rich Square for the birthplace of Colonel George V. Holloman, inventor of many significant devices for airplanes. Dr. Christopher Crittenden of the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, and Mr. J. E. Hunter of the State Board of Education delivered addresses.

Mr. William S. Powell of the Department of Archives and History attended the formal opening and dedication of the Rowan Public Library in Salisbury on October 4. The building is dedicated to the memory of Francis Burton Craige, a native of Rowan County.

Mr. W. Frank Burton and Dr. Christopher Crittenden of the Department of Archives and History attended a meeting of the North Carolina Society of Tax Supervisors at the Institute of Government in Chapel Hill on October 9. Mr. Burton made the principal address of the occasion and Dr. Crittenden also addressed the group briefly.

The Society of American Archivists held its fifteenth annual meeting in Annapolis, Maryland, October 15 and 16. North

Carolínians attending this meeting were: Dr. James W. Patton of Chapel Hill, Dr. T. H. Spence of Montreat, and Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Mr. W. Frank Burton, and Dr. Christopher Crittenden of the Department of Archives and History. Dr. Crittenden gave the "Report of the Long Range Planning Committee" and Mr. Burton spoke on "A Tar Heel Archivist and His Problems."

On October 12 at the convention of the North Carolina Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in Winston-Salem, the following new officers were elected: Mrs. E. R. McKethan of Fayetteville and Mrs. W. D. Pollock of Kinston, honorary presidents; Mrs. William Dickens of Enfield, first vice-president; Mrs. A. R. Wilson of Durham, third vice-president; and Mrs. A. W. Hoffman of Raleigh, historian. Re-elected officers were: Mrs. Henry L. Stevens, Jr., Warsaw, president; Mrs. Dan Croom, Winston-Salem, recording secretary; Mrs. Litchfield B. Huie, Warsaw, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Paul Fitzgerald, Pelham, treasurer; Miss Jeannette Biggs, Fayetteville, registrar; and Mrs. C. H. Bass, High Point, recorder of crosses.

On November 8 Mrs. Glenn Long of Newton was elected president-general of the United Daughters of the Confederacy at its fifty-eighth national convention, held in Asheville. Mrs. Long was installed in office on November 9.

The Bertie County Historical Association held its fall meeting in Windsor on October 19. A portrait of John Watson, pioneer leader of the county, was presented to the association and research papers were read as follows: "Old Homes of Woodville" by Miss Stella Phelps; "The William King House" by Mrs. John Parker; and "The Indian Gallows" by Mrs. E. S. Askew. Milton F. Perry of the staff of Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., a native of Bertie and a charter member of the association, outlined a plan for the publication of a quarterly bulletin.

The North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians, on Sunday, October 21, toured Montgomery and northwestern Richmond counties, with Colonel and Mrs. Jeffrey F. Stanback as hosts. The historians visited the Yankee Graveyard near Mount Gilead; "The Widow's Purchase," home of Col. and Mrs.

Stanback; "Carlisle," built by Colonel B. F. Little; "Powellton," built by Pleasant M. Powell about 1842; Pekin village; and the Edmund DeBerry home (now "Pheasant Farm"). Following the tour the historians attended the unveiling of a new highway marker for Edmund DeBerry, congressman from Montgomery County, 1828-1855.

The Historical Society of North Carolina held its fall meeting at Wake Forest on October 19. Dr. Fletcher M. Green of the University of North Carolina was elected president for 1952. Other officers for 1952 are: Mr. Aubrey Lee Brooks, Greensboro, vice-president; Dr. Frontis W. Johnston, Davidson College, secretary-treasurer; and Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Department of Archives and History, program chairman. As the highlight of the evening meeting, Dr. C. C. Pearson of Wake Forest College, retiring president, spoke on "Why Can't You and I Let People Go to Hell in Their Own Way: A Virginia Historical Study." Dr. Charles S. Sydnor of Duke University spoke at the dinner meeting on the subject, "The Study of American History at Oxford."

At the afternoon session Dr. Stuart Noblin of State College presented a paper, "Leonidas L. Polk, A Summary View"; Dean Cecil K. Brown of Davidson College read a paper, "The Development of Transport and Trade in North Carolina During the Last Half-Century"; and Dr. Hugh T. Lefler of the University of North Carolina presented an obituary of the late Albert Ray Newsome.

On October 25 Dr. Christopher Crittenden addressed the Trinity College Historical Society of Duke University on the subject, "Preserving Tar Heel Historical Manuscripts."

The Eastern States Archaeological Federation held its annual session in Chapel Hill, October 26 and 27. Dr. R. B. House of the University of North Carolina and Dr. Christopher Crittenden extended greetings, and Dr. Joffre L. Coe of the University and Mr. Ernest Lewis, superintendent of Town Creek State Park (Montgomery County), read papers.

The North Carolina Archaeological Society met in Chapel Hill on October 29. Dr. Joffre L. Coe of the University of North Carolina was elected president, succeeding Dr. Christopher Crittenden, and Mr. Harry T. Davis of the State Museum, Raleigh, was re-elected secretary-treasurer.

The Southern Historical Association held its seventeenth annual meeting in Montgomery, Alabama, November 8-10. North Carolinians appearing on the program included Dr. Hugh T. Lefler of the University of North Carolina; Dr. Elisha P. Douglass of Elon College; Dr. Christopher Crittenden; Dr. Harold Parker, Duke University; Dr. Paul H. Clyde, Duke University; Dr. Harold A. Bierck, Jr., University of North Carolina; Dr. Richard C. Todd, East Carolina College; and Dr. Wilfred B. Yearn, Wake Forest College. Other North Carolinians who attended were as follows: Mr. W. F. Burton and Mr. D. L. Corbitt; Dr. Fletcher M. Green, University of North Carolina; Mr. William S. Powell; and Dr. J. Carlyle Sitterson, University of North Carolina. Dr. Sitterson, who was to complete in December three years as secretary-treasurer of the association, was elected to the executive council for a three-year term beginning in January, 1952.

Civic leaders of Boone and Western North Carolina have organized the Southern Appalachian Historical Association to perpetuate the historical culture of mountain people of that section. Meeting early in November, the group elected the following officers: Dr. I. G. Greer of Chapel Hill, president; Dr. D. J. Whitener of Appalachian State Teachers College, Boone, vice-president; Mrs. B. W. Stallings of Boone, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Leo K. Pritchett of Boone, recording secretary; and Mr. James Marsh of Boone, treasurer. Plans are being made for producing a drama, possibly centering about Daniel Boone.

A week-long celebration of Jackson County's centennial was climaxed by a parade and contests held in Sylva on September 8. A capsule two feet in diameter and six feet in length, containing documents, pictures, and other information on the history of the county, was buried on the courthouse lawn.

Elizabeth City celebrated its sesquicentennial the week of November 18-24. A parade and candle-lighting ceremony were held on November 19, and Senator Willis Smith and Mr. Robert Welch of Cambridge, Massachusetts, former residents, were speakers at a banquet session on November 21.

The Rutherford County Historical Society held a meeting in Rutherfordton on December 4, and the following officers were elected for 1952: Mr. Clarence Griffin of Forest City, president; Professor J. J. Tarlton of Rutherfordton, vice-president; Mr. Orland M. York of Rutherfordton, secretary; and Mr. J. Worth Morgan of Forest City, treasurer. Those elected directors were: Mr. Herbert Crenshaw, Spindale; Mr. F. I. Barber, Forest City; Mr. S. C. Elmore, Spindale; and Mr. R. E. Price, Rutherfordton. Plans were made for the publication of a 300-page memorial volume to the dead of Rutherford County in World War II. This volume is to include a history of the county from 1937 to the present and will carry the names of almost 6,000 Rutherford county men who served in the armed forces during the war.

The Roanoke Island Historical Association held a business meeting in Raleigh on December 5. Honorable R. Bruce Etheridge of Manteo was elected temporary chairman of the association, succeeding Mr. Bill Sharpe of Raleigh.

The North Carolina State Art Society conducted its twenty-fifth annual session in Raleigh December 5-6. The first day a business meeting was held, at which reports were made on art activities throughout the state, and at a get-together luncheon Mr. Hugo Leipziger-Pearce spoke on "The United States Program of Restitution of the Looted Art Treasures of Europe." At the evening meeting awards, gifts, and recognitions were made, after which Miss Margarita Salinger, research fellow of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, made an illustrated address on "The Enjoyment of Art." After this session a reception and preview of an exhibition of "Paintings from Three Centuries," on loan from the Knoedler Galleries, were held in the State Art Gallery. At the business meeting the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: president, Mrs. Katherine Pendle-

ton Arrington of Warrenton; vice-presidents, Mrs. Jacques Busbee of Steeds, Mrs. J. H. B. Moore of Greenville, and Mr. John Allcott of Chapel Hill; treasurer, Mrs. James H. Cordon, Raleigh; and executive secretary, Miss Lucy Cherry Crisp, Raleigh. Members elected to the executive committee are as follows: Mr. Robert Lee Humber, Greenville, chairman; Mr. Jonathan Daniels of Raleigh, Dr. Clemens Sommer of Chapel Hill, Dr. Clarence Poe of Raleigh, and Mrs. Isabel B. Henderson of Raleigh.

The North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities held its eleventh annual meeting in Raleigh on November 6. At the morning meeting Mrs. Katherine Pendleton Arrington of Warrenton discussed the project for an Elizabethan garden adjacent to Fort Raleigh and reports were made on restoration and preservation projects. At the luncheon meeting Colonel Kermit Hunter of Chapel Hill spoke on our Elizabethan heritage. At the evening meeting new life members and the Charles A. Cannon awards were presented by Associate Justice Wallace Winborne of the State Supreme Court and a program centering around historic Beaufort County, sponsored by Mr. and Mrs. Harry McMullan, included the following: "History of Beaufort County," by Mrs. Ford S. Worthy, Washington; "Early History of St. Thomas Church, Bath," by Rt. Rev. Thomas H. Wright, Wilmington; "Colonial Bath," a pageant, presented by the Washington Little Theatre; and a benediction by Rev. Alex C. D. Noe, Rector, St. Thomas Church, Bath. Following the program a reception was held for members and guests. No election of officers for the ensuing year was held and the following will serve: Mrs. Charles A. Cannon of Concord, president; Mrs. Inglis Fletcher of Edenton, vice-president; Mrs. Ernest A. Branch of Raleigh, secretary-treasurer. Vice-presidents for the congressional districts are: Mr. Aycock Brown of Manteo, Mrs. Katherine P. Arrington of Warrenton; Mrs. Elias Carr of Macclesfield, Mrs. Charles Lee Smith of Raleigh, Mrs. Edward M. Anderson of West Jefferson, Mrs. John A. Kellenberger of Greensboro, Mrs. J. Lawrence Sprunt of Wilmington, Mr. George H. Maurice of Eagle Springs, Mrs. Henkel Spillman of Statesville, Mrs. E. C. Marshall of Charlotte, Mrs. J. D.

Lineberger of Shelby, and Mrs. E. Yates Webb of Shelby. The board of directors is composed of the following: Mrs. O. Max Gardner of Shelby, Miss Gertrude S. Carraway of New Bern, Mrs. James A. Gray of Winston-Salem, Mrs. Lyman A. Cotton of Chapel Hill, and Dr. Archibald Henderson of Chapel Hill.

The North Carolina Society of County Historians held its annual session in Raleigh on December 7. Reports were made on various phases of local historical activity in the state and the following officers were elected: Dr. W. P. Jacocks of Chapel Hill, president; Miss Mary Louise Medley of Wadesboro and Mr. Charles M. Heck of Raleigh, vice-presidents; and Mr. Leon McDonald of Olivia, secretary-treasurer.

The North Carolina Folklore Society held its fortieth session in Raleigh on December 7. Rev. Gilbert R. Combs of Walkertown delivered an address entitled "Ballads and Songs of the Appalachian Mountains" and Mr. Marshall Ward of Balm addressed the group on "Jack and Heifer Hide." At the business meeting the following officers were elected: Mr. Bascom Lamar Lunsford of Leicester, president; Miss Isabel B. Busbee of Raleigh, first vice-president; Dr. I. G. Greer of Chapel Hill, second vice-president; and Dr. Arthur P. Hudson of Chapel Hill, secretary-treasurer. Designated to serve on the proposed council to be set up by the various cultural societies were: Dr. W. Amos Abrams and Dr. Joseph D. Clark, both of Raleigh.

The State Literary and Historical Association held its fifty-first annual session in Raleigh on December 7. At the morning meeting Mr. E. Lawrence Lee of Chapel Hill read a paper on "Old Brunswick—the Birth and Death of a Colonial Town"; Mrs. Frances Gray Patton of Durham delivered an address on "How it Feels to be a Writer"; and Dr. Frontis W. Johnston of Davidson gave a review of North Carolina works of non-fiction of the year. At the subscription dinner Dr. Charles S. Sydnor spoke on his experiences last year at Oxford University. At the evening meeting Mr. Robert Lee Humber of Greenville delivered the presidential address, Dr. Douglas S. Freeman of Richmond, Virginia, delivered an address, "Unsolved Mysteries in the Life of George Washington," and Judge S. J. Ervin, Jr.,

governor of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in North Carolina, announced the Mayflower Society award to Jonathan Daniels for *The Man of Independence*, voted the best work of non-fiction published during the year by a resident North Carolinian. A reception to members and guests of the association followed. At a business meeting Dr. Frontis W. Johnston was elected president; Dr. Alice B. Keith of Raleigh, Mr. J. Lawrence Sprunt of Wilmington, and Mr. B. S. Colburn of Biltmore Forest were elected vice-presidents; and Dr. Christopher Crittenden of Raleigh was re-elected secretary-treasurer. Mrs. John A. Kellenberger of Greensboro and Dr. L. L. Carpenter of Raleigh were elected to the executive committee.

On December 10 Mr. William S. Powell, former researcher for the Department of Archives and History, became a member of the staff of the library of the University of North Carolina. For a few months Mr. Powell will continue to make his home in Raleigh, commuting to Chapel Hill.

Books received include: Stella Brewer Brookes, *Joel Chandler Harris—Folklorist* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1950); Richard Barksdale Harwell, *Songs of the Confederacy* (New York: Broadcast Music, Inc., 1951); Catherine Harrod Mason, *James Harrod of Kentucky* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951); John P. Dyer, *The Gallant Hood* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1950); Jane Lucas de Grummond, *Envoy to Caracas: The Story of John G. A. Williamson, Nineteenth-Century Diplomat* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951); J. H. Easterby, *The Colonial Records of South Carolina—The Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, November 10, 1736-June 7, 1739* (Columbia: The Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1951); Frank G. Speck and Leonard Bloom in collaboration with Will West Long, *Cherokee Dance and Drama* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1951); Willard M. Wallace, *Appeal to Arms: A Military History of the American Revolution* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951); Kermit Hunter, *Unto These Hills* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1951); Frederick Jackson Turner, *The United States, 1830-1850: The Nation and Its Sec-*

tions (New York: Peter Smith, 1950) ; Mary Ulmer and Samuel E. Beck, *To Make My Bread: Preparing Cherokee Foods* (Cherokee, North Carolina: Museum of the Cherokee Indian, 1951) ; *They Gave Us Freedom: The American Struggles for Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness, as Seen in Portraits, Sculptures, Historical Paintings and Documents of the Period, 1761-1789* (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg and the College of William and Mary, 1951) ; Clarence Edwin Carter, *Territorial Papers of the United States*, volume XV, *Louisiana-Missouri Territory, 1815-1821* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1951) ; Alexander A. Lawrence, *Storm over Savannah: The Story of Count d'Estaing and the Siege of the Town in 1779* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1951) ; Quentin Oliver McAllister, *The Southern Humanities Conference: Business Executives and the Humanities* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1951) ; J. O. Bailey and Sturgis E. Leavitt, *The Southern Humanities Conference and Its Constituent Societies* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1951) ; Daniel Walker Hollis, *University of South Carolina*, volume I, *South Carolina College* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1951) ; James B. McNair, *Simon Cameron's Adventure in Iron, 1837-1846* (Los Angeles: published by the author, 1950) ; George W. Williams, *St. Michael's, Charleston, 1751-1951* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1951) ; James Logan Godfrey, *Revolutionary Justice: A Study of the Organization, Personnel, and Procedure of the Paris Tribunal, 1793-1795*, The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, volume XXXIII (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1951) ; John G. Shott, *The Railroad Monopoly: An Instrument of Banker Control of the American Economy* (Washington: Public Affairs Institute, [1951]) ; Meyer H. Fishbein and Elaine C. Bennett, *Preliminary Inventories*, no. 32—*Records of the Accounting Department of the Office of Price Administration* (Washington: The National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, 1951) ; William F. Shonkwiler, *Preliminary Inventories*, no. 33—*Records of the Bureau of Ordnance* (Washington: The National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, 1951) ; Edward F. Martin, *Preliminary Inventories*, no. 34—*Records of the*

Solid Fuels Administration for War (Washington: The National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, 1951); Chalmers Gaston Davidson, *Piedmont Partisan: The Life and Times of Brigadier-General William Lee Davidson* (Davidson, North Carolina: Davidson College, 1951); Martin W. Hamilton, *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, volume X (Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1951); C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* volume IX of *A History of the South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press and the Littlefield Fund for Southern History of the University of Texas, 1951); Helen G. Edmonds, *The Negro and Fusion Politics in North Carolina, 1894-1901* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1951); Blanche Egerton Baker, *Mrs. G. I. Joe* (Goldsboro; Blanche Egerton Baker, 1951); Joel Francis Paschal, *Mr. Justice Sutherland* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1951); R. V. Coleman, *Liberty and Property* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951); Gayle Thornbrough and Dorothy Riker, *Journals of the General Assembly of Indiana Territory, 1805-1815*, Indiana Historical Collections, volume XXXII (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1950); David Duncan Wallace, *History of Wofford College 1854-1949* (Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 1951); Roberta D. Cornelius, *The History of Randolph-Macon Woman's College: From the Founding in 1891 Through the Year of 1949-1950* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1951); James F. Hopkins, *A History of the Hemp Industry in Kentucky* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1951); J. F. J. Caldwell, *The History of a Brigade of South Carolinians Known First as "Gregg's," and Subsequently as "McGowan's Brigade"* (Marietta, Georgia: Continental Book Company, 1951); William Dosite Postell, *The Health of Slaves on Southern Plantations* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951); Percy E. and Calvin Goodrich, *A Great-Grandmother and Her People* (Winchester, Indiana: Privately Printed, 1951); Douglas Southall Freeman, *George Washington: A Biography*, volume III, *Planter and Patriot*; volume IV, *Leader of the Revolution* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951); Richard K. Murdoch, *The Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1793-1796: Spanish Reac-*

tion to French Intrigue and American Designs, University of California Publications in History, volume XL (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1951); John Richard Alden, *General Charles Lee: Traitor or Patriot?* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951); *A Friendly Mission: John Candler's Letters from America, 1853-1854*, Indianapolis Historical Society Publications, volume XVI, number 1 (Indianapolis, 1951); *Federal Records of World War II*, volume I, *Civilian Agencies*; volume II, *Military Agencies* (Washington: General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service, The National Archives, 1950 and [volume II] 1951); Clarence Griffin, *Essays on North Carolina History* (Forest City, N. C.: The Forest City Courier, 1951); Edgar W. Knight, *Education in the United States* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1951); Calvin B. Hoover and B. U. Ratchford, *Economic Resources and Policies of the South* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950); W. C. Dula and A. C. Simpson, *Durham and Her People* (Durham, N. C.: The Citizens Press, 1951); E. Merton Coulter, *College Life in the Old South* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1951); Allen P. Tankersley, *College Life at Old Oglethorpe* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1951); Allen Johnston Going, *Bourbon Democracy in Alabama, 1874-1890* (University: University of Alabama Press, 1951); James H. Rodabaugh and Mary Jane Rodabaugh, *Nursing in Ohio: A History* (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State Nurses' Association, 1951).

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Dr. Douglas LeTell Rights is acting archivist of the Moravian Church, Southern Province, and a Moravian minister of Winston-Salem.

Dr. James S. Purcell is associate professor of English at Davidson College, Davidson.

Dr. James High is acting assistant professor of history in the University of Washington at Seattle.

Dr. Joseph Davis Applewhite is assistant professor of history at the University of Redlands in Redlands, California.

Mr. William T. Alderson is a graduate student and teaching fellow at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee.

Dr. Mary Callum Wiley, daughter of Calvin Henderson Wiley and former head of the department of English at R. J. Reynolds High School in Winston-Salem, is the author of a daily column, "Mostly Local," in the *Twin-City Daily Sentinel*, Winston-Salem.

Dr. Elizabeth Gregory McPherson is a reference consultant of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, Washington.



