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ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF TEXTILES IN SALEM

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On the sixth day of October, 1766, the first room was finished in the first house on the main street of Salem, North Carolina, and Gottfried Praezel moved into it and set up his loom.¹ Two weeks later the boy Johannes Flex went to him as an apprentice, to learn to weave linen.²

The site for the town of Salem, to be erected by members of the Moravian Church in North Carolina, had been selected the preceding year,³ but building did not commence until the early spring of 1766,⁴ so the story of textiles in Salem actually begins with the beginning of the town.

No claim is made that this was the first loom in piedmont Carolina. The scattered settlers were dependent on themselves for most of the necessary things of life, and here and there some enterprising farmer set up a loom in his humble, frontier home, weaving the yarn which was spun by wife or daughter into the ever necessary cloth for clothing. That this is so is proved by the fact that in the spring of 1758 one of the men living at Bethabara (the first Moravian village in North Carolina) spent a week roaming the country on horseback, searching for linen cloth, a trip from which he returned triumphantly with eighty yards.⁵

Preparations for producing their own supply had been begun in Bethabara three years earlier, for two crops of flax were raised in 1755,⁶ only a little more than a year after the first arrival of the Brethren. The men planted the flaxseed; when

* Dr. Fries died Nov. 29, 1949.

¹ Bethabara, N. C., diary, Oct. 10, 1766. Unless otherwise indicated, all items cited are in the Archives of the Moravian Church South, Winston-Salem, N. C.

² Bethabara diary, Oct. 20, 1766.

³ Bethabara diary, Feb. 14, 1765.

⁴ Bethabara diary, Jan. 6, 1766.

⁵ Bethabara diary, May 6, 1758.

⁶ Bethabara diary, June 26, September 19, 1755.

the plants were ready the women pulled them up and retted them. It is to be hoped that the men did the work of breaking the flax, for the flax-brake in the Museum of the Wachovia Historical Society is so heavy that no woman should have been allowed to handle it, even with the strength for manual labor which they then possessed. Anyone could have used the zwingpe; but one can hardly imagine the long-skirted ladies of the middle eighteenth century sitting astride the bench into which the long iron teeth of the hackle were fixed. Spinning, of course, was woman's work, but in the earlier years the Moravian men seem to have done the weaving.

The name of the first weaver in Bethabara does not appear in the diary. Among the men who arrived in Bethabara in November, 1753, there was one, John Lischer, who knew how to weave linen, but his particular job was to go backward and forward between Pennsylvania and North Carolina, carrying messages and showing the road to newcomers, and he was north on such a trip⁷ when the first loom was set up in that village on March 28, 1758, and he had not returned when weaving was begun two months later.⁸ Thread for the loom was doubtless ready, for the women had been spinning industriously; indeed it was nearly a year since they had treated themselves to a gathering, half social and half religious, which they called a spinners lovefeast.⁹

Neither Gottfried Praezel nor his apprentice had taken part in this early textile work in Bethabara, for both had come to North Carolina only a short time before the first loom was set up in Salem.¹⁰ Praezel brought his handicraft with him, which was entirely consistent with the custom in the Moravian settlement (called Wachovia), for they seldom imported *things*, preferring to bring from overseas the men who could make the things.

In 1769 Praezel was given another apprentice, Gottlieb Schober,¹¹ a lad of thirteen years, who had been at school in Nazareth, Pennsylvania, and came south to grow up with the new settlement as did other boys, and girls also.

⁷ Bethabara diary, March 28 to July 21, 1758.

⁸ Bethabara diary, May 23, 1758.

⁹ Bethabara diary, March 3, 1757.

¹⁰ Praezel reached Bethabara, Jan. 30, 1766. Flex and seven other boys arrived Oct. 11, 1766.

¹¹ Memoir of Gottlieb Shober.

The communal life of Bethabara, so well adapted to the needs of the frontier, had ceased to be necessary, and was not carried over into the new, central town of Salem. In Salem, from the start, each man had his own business, under the general supervision of church boards which functioned also as a town committee, looking after all the matters now committed to a board of aldermen and the officials appointed by them.¹²

The Brothers House was a hive of industry after it was finished and occupied in 1769. There lived the unmarried men of the town, there each carried on his own handicraft, and from there each married, set up his own home, and carried on as citizen and master craftsman. A catalog of the Single Brethren, that is the unmarried men of Salem, dated April, 1782,¹³ lists forty-nine names and shows twenty-two separate and distinct crafts carried on by the owners of those names. The number of men in each craft varied. There were four shoemakers, three tailors, two carpenters, and one saddle-maker, for example, but the linen weavers topped the list with six: Adam Koffler, James Hurst, Johannes Flex, Christoph Reich, Johann Michael Seitz, and John Lischer. Gottfried Praezel had abandoned his loom to enter the ministry, and had become the treasurer of Salem congregation. Gottlieb Schober had become a maker of buckskin breeches, a school teacher, and by 1782 was a tinsmith. (Incidentally it may be noted that in the course of a long life Gottlieb Schober tried at least twenty-three trades and professions, and did rather well with all of them!)

During the next twelve years things changed with these men, and by the time that the catalog of 1794¹⁴ was written not one of them was weaving. Change of craft, change of residence, old age, and even death¹⁵ had come into their ranks, and the only man listed as a weaver in Salem was Gottlieb Byhan, who, however, was then employed as a baker.¹⁶

But the women came to the rescue of the textile industry, and about the time that the men were giving up weaving the women developed it as a business.

When Salem was begun the Single Sisters, that is the unmarried women, had their quarters in the south part of the

¹² Minute books in Salem Moravian Archives.

¹³ Filed in Salem Moravian Archives.

¹⁴ Filed in Salem Moravian Archives.

¹⁵ James Hurst died Dec. 15, 1794.

¹⁶ Report to the Unity Vorsteher Collegium, Aug. 31, 1796.

Gemein Haus,¹⁷ a temporary measure until a Sisters House could be built. Brick and lumber were prepared for this, but in January, 1784, the Salem tavern burned, and the Sisters had to permit the use of their materials for the erection of a new tavern.¹⁸ Their turn finally came in the following year, and a good brick house was built, with the necessary out-buildings, among them a weave-shed. This was a fairly large, one-story, frame house, standing in the yard behind the Sisters House.

A set of books was opened for the Sisters House and its various activities,¹⁹ and at one time the bookkeeper was paid a salary of £10 a year.²⁰ From the ledger, and especially from the journal, information can be drawn which is entirely lacking in regard to the weaving done by the Salem men; and in the Salem catalog of 1794 the names appear of five women employed in that handicraft: Mary Ellrod, Mary Ann Peddycoard, Anna Elisabeth Hauser, Johanna Dorothea Broesing, and Catharine Elisabeth Vogler.

The books begin with April 30, 1786, and one of the first items in the journal records the purchase of four pounds of flax, at 1sh. 6d. a pound.²¹ There is nothing to indicate who raised the flax which was spun and woven in the Sisters House. In Bethabara flax did well²² in the low land along the Grosse Johanna,²³ as they called the little stream flowing between the village and the graveyard hill, but there is nothing to indicate that the meadows along the Wach (Salem Creek) were used in that way. Probably the soil did not suit flax, for the Salem meadows furnished the clay used by the potter and the brick-makers. Yet a good deal of flax must have been raised locally, for flaxseed accumulated and linseed oil was made in the neighborhood²⁴ and was sometimes exported.

In the Sisters House ledger a separate account was opened for the *Weberery* (the weaving business), and this was supplemented in the journal entries, which gave more details.

¹⁷ Marshall's report to the Unity Elders Conference, Aug. 31, 1769.

¹⁸ Salem diary, Jan. 31, 1784.

¹⁹ On file in Salem Moravian Archives.

²⁰ Journal, 309.

²¹ Journal, 2.

²² Reuter's "Remarks on Herbs and Flowers," Adelaide L. Fries, ed., *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, II (Raleigh, 1925), 573.

²³ See contemporary maps.

²⁴ Aufseher Collegium minutes, Feb. 12, 1784.

Immediately a loom already in place was cleaned and its harness repaired, the cost being 5sh. 4d. for work on both.²⁵ Brushes and harness were bought on the 1st of June,²⁶ and £1:12:6 was paid for 5 lbs. of twisted linen yarn.²⁷

In the Sisters House there were women who supported themselves in full or in part by spinning, so that craft was separate from the weaving. The *Weberery*, however, bought 10¼ lbs. of "sheep wool," paying 2sh. a pound for it,²⁸ and then paid for having it spun.²⁹

From the House kitchen 9 lbs. of flour was bought, at 1sh. 6d. per pound,³⁰ presumably for use in making sizing for the warp. There are frequent entries of the purchase from the kitchen of candles, at 1sh. per pound,³¹ so evidently the industrious women wove by candlelight.

Another item shows the receipt of £1:6:8 for the weaving of 32 yds. of linen.³²

By the end of the first fiscal year the *Weberery* had made a profit of £2:13:2,³³ no large sum, but it must be remembered that the purchasing power of money in 1786 was many times as great as it is today. In 1788 and 1789 there were deficits of a few shillings, but otherwise the balance was always on the right side even when it was small. The largest profit recorded was £14 in 1791.³⁴

In June, 1787, a loom was bought for £3:2:8,³⁵ and another was added in November of the same year.³⁶ Two years later an additional loom "and everything that went with it" was bought for £9:12:9,³⁷ and two months later shuttles, a "spool-wheel," and slays were bought,³⁸ doubtless the better to equip the other looms.

Various entries in the journal show the relative prices of materials used in the *Weberery*. Flax was bought for 1sh. 6d.

²⁵ Journal, 2.

²⁶ Journal, 3.

²⁷ Journal, 4.

²⁸ Journal, 4.

²⁹ Journal, 6.

³⁰ Journal, 5.

³¹ Journal, 8.

³² Journal, 6.

³³ Journal, 15.

³⁴ Ledger, 48.

³⁵ Journal, 17.

³⁶ Journal, 21.

³⁷ Ledger, 48.

³⁸ Ledger, 48.

per pound,³⁹ wool for 2sh.,⁴⁰ and cotton for 2sh. 6d.⁴¹ The higher cost of cotton is natural, for before the invention of the cotton gin cotton was a garden crop, raised along with the beans and cucumbers.⁴² Some cotton was brought to Salem by neighbors to be used in barter;⁴³ and in 1789, when Mrs. Christian Lewis Benzien sent two pairs of knitted gloves to friends in Pennsylvania, she said in the accompanying letter that the cotton had grown in her garden and that she herself had knitted the gloves.⁴⁴ Hand-knitted gloves are not exactly textiles and neither are stockings, but it may be noted in passing that, in 1787, 7sh. was paid in the Sisters House for the knitting of a pair of common stockings,⁴⁵ which were sold soon after for 12sh.⁴⁶

Another entry, characteristic of the period, records the spinning of candle-wick yarn.⁴⁷

The weaving done was not limited to one variety of cloth. Some of the woven linen was bleached⁴⁸ to improve its appearance. In 1787 one and a half yards of striped cloth was sold for 6sh. 9d.⁴⁹ The stripes were probably blue. In earlier years Salem sent yarn to Pennsylvania to have it dyed with indigo,⁵⁰ but this was expensive and took much time, so in 1780 Johannes Schaub, Jr., of Bethabara, went to Bethel, Pennsylvania, to learn indigo dyeing. On his return he set up a dye vat in Bethabara.⁵¹ In 1784 Schaub was asked if he could not charge less for dyeing. He replied that as he had to pay 14sh. for indigo a reduction was not possible.⁵² In 1788 Abraham Loesch, of Salem, went north to learn how to dye and full cloth;⁵³ and by 1791 he had so much work that he could not attend to it all, so the Single Brethren began to dye what they needed for their own weaving.⁵⁴ The Single Sisters seem

³⁹ Ledger, 20.

⁴⁰ Journal, 4.

⁴¹ Ledger, 32.

⁴² Bethabara diary, May 11, 1781.

⁴³ Salem Aeltesten Conferenz minutes, Jan. 6, 1789.

⁴⁴ Letter dated Salem, March 15, 1798.

⁴⁵ Journal, 24.

⁴⁶ Ledger, 32.

⁴⁷ Ledger, 20.

⁴⁸ Ledger, 32.

⁴⁹ Ledger, 20.

⁵⁰ Letter, Graff to Seidel, dated Salem, June 28, 1780.

⁵¹ Memorabilia of Wachovia, 1780.

⁵² Bethabara diary, May 24, 1784.

⁵³ Aeltesten Conferenz minutes, Jan. 9, 1788.

⁵⁴ Aufseher Collegium minutes, July 19, 1791.

to have taken that step earlier, for in December, 1787, there is record of the purchase of indigo and a dye-pot.⁵⁵

Other entries in 1787 show a charge for weaving "half-linen," and the sale of 10½ yards of half-linen for £2:10:9.⁵⁶ There is no statement as to what was used with the flax, but there may be a clue in an item of cash paid "for cotton and flax spinning and twisting."⁵⁷ In the same year bedticking was woven⁵⁸ and £1:9:6 was paid for weaving 29½ yards of diaper cloth,⁵⁹ of which 12 yds. were sold for £1:16.⁶⁰

The reference to bedticking is repeated at intervals, and there is also mention of a tablecloth for the kitchen,⁶¹ neckerchiefs,⁶² fustian,⁶³ muslin,⁶⁴ lining material,⁶⁵ and cloth with striped edges.⁶⁶ Those edges may have been indigo blue, or they may have been Turkey red, for late in 1789 the purchase of "Turkish yarn" is reported,⁶⁷ perhaps brought from Charleston, South Carolina, since madder was not raised in Wachovia.

But as with the Brethren so with the Sisters the passing years brought changes, and at the beginning of 1805⁶⁸ the minutes of the Aulseher Collegium wail that "the Single Sisters will have to give up their *Weberery* for lack of willing and skilful weavers. It is much to be wished that a way may be found to continue this industry."

In this same year of 1805 a man came to Salem asking that he be given the job of equipping one of the looms with a "flying shuttle," saying that "it would enable one person to do the work of two, and with less strain on the health."⁶⁹ The boards and the Sisters agreed, however, that the expense was too great for what they would get out of it, and so the proffered improvement was not undertaken.

One interesting custom of which glimpses appear in the expense account must not be omitted, and that is the *Nachtessen*,⁷⁰ the night lunch, for the Sisters in the weave-room. Expenditure

⁵⁵ Ledger, 20.

⁵⁶ Ledger, 20.

⁵⁷ Journal, 28.

⁵⁸ Ledger, 20.

⁵⁹ Ledger, 20.

⁶⁰ Ledger, 32.

⁶¹ Ledger, 51.

⁶² Ledger, 52.

⁶³ Ledger, 51.

⁶⁴ Ledger, 52.

⁶⁵ Ledger, 116.

⁶⁶ Ledger, 137.

⁶⁷ Ledger, 51.

⁶⁸ Jan. 22, 1805.

⁶⁹ Aeltesten Conferenz, Jan. 22, 1805; Aufseher Collegium, Sept. 3, 1805.

⁷⁰ Ledger, 65.

for this night lunch appears repeatedly during the later years of the *Weberery*, but unfortunately the viands furnished are not specified.

On April 30, 1807, the *Weberery* account was closed into the *Arbeit* (work) account;⁷¹ and that in turn was closed into the *kitchen* account, which took over two remaining looms and a small amount of material.

That the kitchen account was used for the dumping ground is not as ridiculous as it seems, for by 1807 the kitchen had become the most important business carried on in the Sisters House. In 1802 the church boards had decided to open a boarding department in connection with the girls' day school, which had been in existence in Salem for thirty years. Many requests had come from outsiders asking that their daughters be allowed to share the educational advantages of the Salem girls, and in 1802 it was decided to arrange for them. The first outside pupils arrived in 1803 and were quartered in the *Gemein Haus* until the schoolhouse was finished. When the school moved into the new house in 1804 it was brought next door to the Sisters House, and the women living there agreed to provide the meals for the boarding pupils. At first this was a relatively small matter, but the number of boarders steadily increased, requiring more teachers, generally taken from residents in the Sisters House, and also requiring more food and more service in the way of laundry, sewing, and mending.

Weaving was not dropped entirely. There are entries showing that from time to time weavers were secured, who were paid for making bedticking. That is the only type of cloth mentioned, although other varieties may be included in the repeated, laconic entry: "for weaving." There are few entries of sales, so apparently the work was done for use in the Sisters House. In 1811 another loom was bought,⁷² and until about 1820 there are occasional entries of payment for weaving, but nothing of importance or informative.

In 1812 Gottlieb Byhan at last set up his loom in the basement of a small house adjoining his cottage;⁷³ but before many years had passed he was again called to other work. In 1822 a young man, Michael Rank, came from Lititz, Pennsylvania, hoping to

⁷¹ Ledger, 135.

⁷² Journal, 292.

⁷³ Aeltesten Conferenz, Nov. 25, 1812.

be able to establish himself in Salem as a weaver of linen and damask.⁷⁴ There was no weaver in Salem under whom he could work as a journeyman, so temporary arrangements were made for him in the Brothers House;⁷⁵ but after a short time he returned to Lititz, where he became a physician after studying medicine with the father of the girl he married.⁷⁶

It was in 1792 or 1793 that Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin, but use of the new contrivance developed slowly. That it gradually brought a demand for a larger supply of cotton may be inferred from a statement in one of the Salem minute books⁷⁷ in April, 1806, which mentions that "some of our neighbors are trying to raise cotton this year," and it was suggested that if this attempt proved successful it might be well to make a cotton plantation at the new sawmill east of Salem on a small stream called the Brushy Fork. As nothing more is said about a Moravian cotton plantation the results of the trial were apparently not encouraging.

In 1808 one of the Salem boards⁷⁸ recorded the fact that "there is a report that Mr. Eberhardt is building a machine for spinning cotton," the machine to be used in his own family. Again the absence of further comment indicates failure.

The first successful effort to use machinery in connection with the textile industry came in 1815. Van Nieman Zevely was a native of South Carolina, and he had come to Salem as a boy.⁷⁹ He was a cabinet maker by training, but when he married the daughter of Gottlieb Schober he moved to the paper-mill which Schober had built just west of Salem, and there for a while he superintended the making of paper. From there he and his family moved to land he had bought north of Salem. About where the North Cherry Street Extension crosses Peters Creek he built a dam and there installed a wool-carding machine, run by water power.⁸⁰ There he continued custom carding for a number of years, his business often interrupted by absence from home, for he became interested in the neglected residents in the mountains of southern Virginia. He visited them frequently, giving them the Gospel message. At first he was spurned, and

⁷⁴ Aeltesten Conferenz, Oct. 16, 1822.

⁷⁵ Aufseher Collegium, Oct. 28, 1822.

⁷⁶ Lititz graveyard catalog.

⁷⁷ Helfer Conferenz furs Ganze, April 14, 1806.

⁷⁸ Aeltesten Conferenz, July 6, 1808.

⁷⁹ Memoir on file in Salem Moravian Archives.

⁸⁰ Salem Memorabilia, 1815.

then he was welcomed, and the account of one and another of his trips⁸¹ makes good reading—or would if the script were better! Zevely finally sold his Peters Creek property to Edward Belo, who turned the mill into a foundry.

In November, 1827, the eighteen-year-old Rudolph Christ returned to Salem from Lititz, Pennsylvania, where he had been trained as a weaver and dyer. As he was not of age and could not be recognized as a master craftsman it was arranged that he should work at his trade under the guardianship of his father,⁸² though Christ, Sr., was a master potter. In 1835, however, the young man went to Tennessee, where for a number of years he was a clerk in a store. He finally returned to Salem, and in a catalog of 1850 he is listed as a merchant.

Steam power for driving machinery came to Salem in 1837. The preceding year some of the men of Salem organized the Salem Cotton Manufacturing Company, lured thereto by the reports that other cotton mills were getting as high as twenty per cent on their investments.⁸³

At a preliminary meeting articles of association were drawn up, the amount of stock to be issued was fixed at \$50,000 with the stock at \$200 per share, and subscription books for the stock were opened.⁸⁴

The stock was quickly subscribed, thirty stockholders taking from one to fifty shares each. Dr. Frederic Schuman was the largest individual subscriber, taking fifty shares. Church officials, in charge of church funds, saw in the movement a chance for profitable investment and an opportunity to bring a new industry to the town, and they also subscribed liberally.⁸⁵

The first meeting of the stockholders was held on July 9, 1836, in the concert hall.⁸⁶ It was agreed that the site for the factory should be in the western edge of Salem, south of the New Shallowford Street;⁸⁷ and the church boards agreed to sell them the land for a reasonable sum, and also agreed to give them a fee-simple deed to the property, although all other land in that neighborhood was still held under lease.⁸⁸ It was decided to

⁸¹ On file in Salem Moravian Archives.

⁸² Aufseher Collegium, Nov. 12, 1827.

⁸³ Aufseher Collegium, July 6 and 18, 1836.

⁸⁴ Salem Cotton Manufacturing Company, general meetings, 1.

⁸⁵ General meetings, 4.

⁸⁶ General meetings, 5.

⁸⁷ Now Brookstown Avenue, at south end of Cherry Street.

⁸⁸ Aufseher Collegium, July 18, 1836.

have a building committee of five men, and John Vogler and Jacob Blum were elected and were told to choose the other three, selecting men who would know most about such matters. They chose Emanuel Schober, Henry Leinbach, and Francis Fries.

Under the supervision of this committee a substantial building was erected with a foundation of rough stone laid in lime mortar and brick walls above. Houses were built for the families to be employed, and boarding houses for the single men and women who would be needed, also two good brick houses on lots across the street, in which the agent and chief machinist were to live. A certain Danforth, "who brought the factory at Greensboro into operation," gave them helpful advice. Water was brought from the springs northwest of Salem which formerly had supplied the waterworks of the town.⁸⁹

In March, 1837, a charter was secured and was accepted by the stockholders. Directors were to be elected annually, and the members of the building committee were elected directors for the first term. Jacob Blum was elected president, and Francis Fries became agent and general superintendent.⁹⁰

In 1838 an engine was bought in Baltimore,⁹¹ and after some delay it reached Salem and was installed. It was estimated that twelve cords of wood per week would be needed to fire the engine,⁹² so a large tract of woodland north of Salem was bought from the church boards. Spindles were put into operation as fast as the workers could be taught the art of machine spinning. There was such a good market for yarn that it was some time before enough could be spared to supply the thirty-six looms. The minutes note that "the weaving room requires only grown females."⁹³

In view of the character of the stockholders it is natural that they had regard for the spiritual and moral welfare of the people who worked for them. A Sunday school was established for the children of the families on "Factory Hill," and in March, 1838, the company made a cash donation for the purchase of Sunday school books.⁹⁴

⁸⁹ S. C. M. Co., general meetings, 7, 17, 18, 22, 23; directors' meetings, March 6, April 3, June 19, 1838.

⁹⁰ General meetings, 8; directors' meeting, March 31, 1838.

⁹¹ General meetings, 17, 18, 19.

⁹² General meetings, 20.

⁹³ General meetings, 22.

⁹⁴ General meetings, 31; directors' meeting, May 8, 1838.

In 1839 an "apparent profit" of over \$7,000 was turned into a sinking fund,⁹⁵ and this action was repeated after each semi-annual report was rendered. There is only one mention of a dividend to the stockholders. In 1841 a three per cent dividend was declared, over the protest of President Schuman, but the resolution was rescinded at the next meeting of the board of directors, since the reports then were not encouraging.⁹⁶

In February, 1840, all the directors resigned, although their terms had not expired. Francis Fries also resigned and evidently sold his stock, since he no longer attended meetings, either in person or by proxy. No reason is given in the minutes for the resignations. New directors were at once elected.⁹⁷ Thomas Siddall, chief machinist, was made superintendent of the factory,⁹⁸ and a young man from Salem was employed as clerk to keep the books. He was utterly inexperienced, and lasted less than one year, leaving various problems behind him,⁹⁹ and for the first time the semiannual report showed a deficit.¹⁰⁰

This loss was not all the fault of the young clerk. So many cotton factories had been erected in North Carolina that the local market was glutted with yarn,¹⁰¹ and the Salem Company began to ship to consignees in Philadelphia.¹⁰² In 1841 the "embarrassed situation" of the first consignee caused a draft on him, in payment for new machinery, to come back protested.¹⁰³

To add to the perplexity of the directors the Bank in Salem refused additional loans.¹⁰⁴ The company had started with too small a capital, and most of the time had to borrow money to buy cotton.¹⁰⁵ This meant continually increasing liabilities and large interest charges. To meet the situation the larger stockholders guaranteed loans secured from private individuals.¹⁰⁶

Another element of loss was the barter system then in vogue. Much of the yarn and "domesticks" sold locally was by barter, not for cash. Feathers and wool and tow linen accumulated,

⁹⁵ General meetings, 32.

⁹⁶ Directors' meeting, March 30, 1841.

⁹⁷ General meetings, 36.

⁹⁸ General meetings, 33; directors', May 10, 1842.

⁹⁹ Directors' meeting, March 13, 1840; Jan. 29, Feb. 1, Oct. 20, 1841.

¹⁰⁰ Directors' meeting, Oct. 30, 1841.

¹⁰¹ General meetings, 21.

¹⁰² Directors' meeting, Nov. 2, 1838; Sept. 13, 1841.

¹⁰³ Directors' meeting, June 21, 1841.

¹⁰⁴ Directors' meeting, March 25, 1841.

¹⁰⁵ Directors' meeting, Feb. 8, May 8, Sept. 29, 1838; Jan. 21, 1839, etc.

¹⁰⁶ Directors' meeting, Dec. 1, 1840.

deteriorated when not sold promptly, and were usually disposed of at a loss. Feathers, beeswax, and tallow were considered the safest articles to be taken in barter.¹⁰⁷ A smokehouse was built at the factory to take care of bacon received in the same way.¹⁰⁸

Factory hands were constantly changing and were inexperienced and unreliable.¹⁰⁹ The men employed as supervisors or agents were changed several times and were evidently not efficient.¹¹⁰ Credit was given recklessly, and when the panic came there were losses from accounts scattered widely over Tennessee and Virginia.¹¹¹ Their best consignee in Philadelphia went down in the "money panic," causing another large loss.¹¹²

One incident of the period deserves notice. On October 26, 1841, the directors asked President Schuman to write to other cotton factories and suggest a conference, hoping to secure united action on prices of cotton and cotton products. The suggestion was accepted, and a convention was called for June 2, 1842, at Lexington.¹¹³ The company minutes do not show any definite results gained, but the attempt is interesting.

The minutes of the following years make rather dismal reading, but as a rule the accounts showed a small gain. In October, 1845, for example, the profit was divided between the interest account and the sinking fund; but \$12,000 was borrowed for the purpose of buying cotton. By September, 1846, the nominal value of the stock had fallen to \$30 per share.¹¹⁴

By April, 1847, "liabilities had been increased to an alarming extent," and Constantine L. Banner, then the agent, was sent to Philadelphia to see what he could collect from former consignees there. In the same month the directors recorded their dissatisfaction because Banner was employing four adult and three youthful slaves in the factory. They belonged to him, and he was collecting rather large sums for their work.¹¹⁵ The directors preferred white employees, and had planned "from the first that blacks were to be employed only in the picking room."¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁷ Directors' meeting, Feb. 13, 1841; April 7, 1843; Dec. 16, 1852.

¹⁰⁸ Directors' meeting, Oct. 15, 1844.

¹⁰⁹ Directors' meeting, Feb. 7, July 21, 1838; Aug. 15, 1839; Sept. 22, 1846.

¹¹⁰ Directors' meeting, Feb. 23, Sept. 13, Nov. 3, 1841; May 18, Aug. 25, 1842; Oct. 2, 1844; Jan. 31, 1849.

¹¹¹ Directors' meeting, Sept. 22, 1846; Jan. 25, June 24, 1853; Jan. 9, March 4, 1854.

¹¹² Directors' meeting, May 11, 1842; May 26, Sept. 22, 1846; April 13, 1847.

¹¹³ Directors' meeting, Oct. 26, 1841; May 11, 1842.

¹¹⁴ Directors' meeting, Sept. 22, 1846.

¹¹⁵ Directors' meeting, April 22, 1847.

¹¹⁶ Director's meeting, July 21, 1838; April 26, 1847.

The beginning of the end came in September, 1847. There was too much yarn on hand; the mill was stopped for a while; and Banner was sent out again to collect debts, in which he was not very successful.¹¹⁷

As each discouraging report came in the directors tried to explain it to themselves. On January 31, 1849, they entered in the minutes the statement: "Owing to erection of a number of cotton factories in western part of the state the trade in coarse yarn has been overstocked." By July 3, 1849, the directors had become convinced "that the establishment must be sold, and without much delay."

In April, 1850, a public sale of the land, houses, and "fixed machinery" was advertised, and the directors set the minimum price they would accept as \$20,000. Only \$19,000 was bid at the sale, and the offer was rejected.¹¹⁸

On February 3, 1852, it was entered in the minutes that sale of the property was difficult "because we are situated beyond the limits of the cotton growing country, and because our factory is propelled by steam."

By January, 1854, the situation had become so desperate¹¹⁹ that the directors decided on a second public sale, the property to be released at whatever it would bring.¹²⁰ The sale was held on March 21, and the property was bid in by John Morehead, of Greensboro, at less than half the amount that was refused at the first sale. The cloth on hand was placed with one of the Salem stores to be sold on commission. Francis Fries bought the mill supplies that were not included in the sale to Morehead.¹²¹

The position taken by the larger stockholders was most honorable.¹²² After it became known how far short the receipts would be they put in enough more money to cover all claims of non-stockholding creditors. One account extant is representative of all of them:¹²³

April, 1855. Stock investment	7,000.00
Money loaned and debts assumed ...	9,006.92
Account current	207.12 $\frac{1}{4}$
Total loss	<u>\$16,214.04$\frac{1}{4}$</u>

¹¹⁷ Directors' meeting, Sept. 22, 1846.

¹¹⁸ Directors' meeting, Dec. 8, 1849; April 2, April 23, 1850.

¹¹⁹ Directors' meeting, May 8, 1849; Aug. 15, 1850; Feb. 3, 1852.

¹²⁰ Directors' meeting, Jan. 9, 1854.

¹²¹ Directors' meeting, March 24, May 8, 1854.

¹²² Directors' meeting, Feb. 5, 1853; May 24, 1854.

¹²³ Salem Congregation Journal, April, 1855.

The story of the wool mill is quite different. Francis Fries made his plans in the fall of 1839, before he resigned from the cotton factory. Not much wool was raised locally, so he planned only a small mill, run by steam, in which he would card and spin the wool, the weaving to be done by the slaves on his father's farm near Salem. He also planned to use slaves to run the machines in the mill, and after much discussion the church board agreed that employing a Negro to run a machine was not teaching him a handicraft and that it was therefore not against the rules of the town and would not establish a precedent. The site selected was an "out-lot" at the northwest corner of New Shallowford and Salt streets, about half way between Main Street and the cotton factory. It was believed that this was sufficiently far from town to avoid annoyance from the Negroes and from the smoke of the engine.¹²⁴

As soon as he left the cotton factory, Francis Fries began work on his new project. For some years he kept a mill diary,¹²⁵ which gives a most interesting picture of what went on. Here the owner was also the superintendent, the foreman, and the best workman among them. No work was too menial or too hard. "Father's boys," that is the slave men, came and went from farm to mill and back to the farm under his direction. He helped to lay the rough stone for the foundation of the mill house, assisted by younger brother Henry, father-in-law John Vogler, another man who was a professional mason, and Al, a slave. A bit later "self and hands raise inside and outside scaffolding to save bricklayers time," the scaffolding being built with poles which had been cut in the woods.

The brick walls were built, a tile roof was placed, the engine was installed by "Mr. Vogler, Henry and self," the first machinery was made ready, and on July 21, 1840, the energetic owner "got to carding in good earnest, and toward evening carded the first custom lot." On August 31 the entry is: "Several pretty heavy lots of wool came in that are to be carded immediately. Card all night, Henry, myself, and Allis [a Negro] taking it turn about."

Spinning began on October 31, but custom carding continued to be the chief business, especially directly after sheep-shearing

¹²⁴ Aufseher Collegium minutes, Oct. 25, Nov. 1, 21, 22, 1839.

¹²⁵ On file in Salem Moravian Archives.

time. When demand for yarn was heavy the spinning wheel was used as well as the spinning frame. On January 20, 1841, the owner "gave all hands free in afternoon to take a rabbit hunt." On June 28 two white girls came in and began to spin on the hand frame. On July 6 Elic, a slave, was "spinning with ten spindles on mule."

Although the mill was now in full operation, an addition and more machinery having been added, Fries continued to work himself harder than he did his slaves. The entry of August 3 is typical: "Card all day and all night. Elic stays up till half past one; let Elic sleep till nine o'clock next morning. The Englishman, Mr. Hinchliffe, spins slub work on mule. Girls yesterday and today slubbing on small frame; brother till twelve, myself till morning."

The first mention of a loom, a hand loom, comes on August 7, 1841. During that month also much stocking yarn, mixed white and blue or black wool, was spun and twisted. One wonders how the workers survived the constant "card all day and all night," but there is never an entry for Sunday, when everybody rested; and on September 10 the entry reads: "Card till 1 P.M., then stop mill and myself and boys go to the Circus."

The entry of September 24, "Elic packing away toll wool," is significant, as it shows the usual way in which payment was made for the custom carding of wool.

One characteristic work of that period was the carding of hatter's wool—the making of hats was one of the early industries of Salem.

On October 4 there is a note: "Rather cold in the morning; turn steam through the mill," which was warmed in this modern fashion. During that month fine white cotton yarn was twisted, and coarse carpet yarn was spun.

In November "myself" spent some days weaving a carpet on the hand loom. Two power-driven looms arrived on December 13 and were at once set up. After some days of "experimenting" they "got the loom to work very well" on January 15, 1842. The spinning and weaving by hand or by power as was more convenient then became another interesting feature of the diary.

On May 2, 1842, Francis Fries announced to the "liberal public" that in his Woolen Establishment in Salem, N. C., he was

“better prepared than I was last summer to attend to the constantly increasing carding custom. In regard to the spinning (in which, from want of experience, I confess that I was deficient last season,) I flatter myself that I will be able to do ample justice to my customers hereafter; having just returned from the North, and there discovered where I erred in this as well as in some other branches of the business.” The advertisement says further that in a short time he will be prepared to “full, colour, or finish any blankets, flannels, lindseys, janes, or cloth,” which may be brought in.¹²⁶

In May, 1843, Fries issued another advertising sheet¹²⁷ in which he announced that he had “an assortment of good heavy Jeans, Lindseys, and Negro Cloths, at from 20 to 70 cents per yard; as also of Rolls, Stocking Yarn and common Yarn of superior quality.”

On March 5, 1846, another advertisement announced that Francis Fries had taken his brother Henry W. Fries into partnership and that the business would continue under the firm name of F. & H. Fries.¹²⁸

For a number of years the wool mill bought the needed cotton warps from the Salem Cotton Manufacturing Company,¹²⁹ but in the winter of 1848 the Fries firm built an addition to the wool mill and installed the machinery for carding and spinning cotton,¹³⁰ thereafter supplying the wool mill with warps of their own making and ultimately weaving some cotton cloth.

Ten years later, that is in 1858, the Fries firm built a gas plant,¹³¹ so that gas light supplanted the oil lamps hitherto used in the mill.

In 1860 the business of the wool mill had spread rather extensively. The index to the letter book of April to October, 1860, shows a few more than three hundred names, the addresses scattered from New York to various southern states.¹³² Not all the letters were on mill matters, but most of them were.

¹²⁶ Handbill, on file in Salem Moravian Archives. “Lindsey” was linsey-woolsey, a coarse wool filling on cotton warp. “Janes,” or jeans, as made in the Fries mill, was a better grade of wool filling on cotton warp.

¹²⁷ Another handbill.

¹²⁸ Another handbill.

¹²⁹ S. C. M. Co., directors' meeting, May 16, 1843.

¹³⁰ Wool mill account books.

¹³¹ Wool mill account books.

¹³² On file in Salem Moravian Archives.

The accounts at the end of the year¹³³ show a good supply of cotton on hand, much of it in the Fries warehouse at the station in High Point, that being the nearest railroad station. From there the cotton was hauled to Salem over the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road, of which a spur ran by the wool mill in Salem.¹³⁴

The mill also had a good supply of wool¹³⁵—Canada, Cordova sorts, tub, fleece, southdown, Cape, Smyrna, South Carolina, Santa Fé, East India, Spanish, and Hanoverian, among the rest. Colored wool was listed as blue, black, brown, yellow, and red.

There were thirteen varieties of woolen cloth, listed by check letters, and four types of cotton cloth—plain, twilled, and colored.

The dyestuffs on hand were soda ash, potash, alum, sumac, hypernic, blue vitriol, copperas, catch, chrome, cudbea, sugar of lead, and extract of logwood.

A new Corliss engine was bought for the mill during this prosperous year.¹³⁶

Then came the Civil War. John Fries, the eldest son of Francis Fries, a rather small, slender lad of fifteen years, postponed thoughts of college and went into the mill to do the work of a man. During the busy season the mill ran day and night, working up the wool brought in by farmers while making cloth for Confederate uniforms.

Young John worked, not eight hours but eighteen out of the twenty-four. Being the son of the elder partner he could choose his hours, so he worked from midnight to six P.M. of the next day; then after supper he returned to the mill and slept on a wool sack until midnight brought his next turn of work. The mill still did not run on Sunday, so he could and did sleep all that day to catch up!¹³⁷

Francis Fries was in poor health when the war broke out, and on August 1, 1863,¹³⁸ he died, leaving his brother Henry W. Fries to carry on the business until his three sons should be old enough to become partners.¹³⁹

When 1865 brought the end of the war, and also brought disaster to the South, the Fries mill lost heavily.¹⁴⁰ When a part of

¹³³ Mill Appendix, no. 1.

¹³⁴ Aufseher Collegium, Jan. 16, 1854.

¹³⁵ Mill Appendix, no. 1.

¹³⁶ Mill Appendix, no. 1.

¹³⁷ Personal reminiscences of John W. Fries as told to the writer.

¹³⁸ Brief memoir in Salem Moravian Archives.

¹³⁹ Will of Francis Fries.

¹⁴⁰ Mill Appendix, no. 1.

Stoneman's raiding force came to Salem, under the leadership of General Palmer, the request of the town and school officials was granted and guards were stationed at the academy and at the mill. Much food was requisitioned for the soldiers, but looting was forbidden. Some people of the town, however, broke into the wool mill and carried off a good deal. After the excitement died down many of them brought back what they had taken, excusing themselves by saying that they had merely been trying to save it from the Yankees!¹⁴¹

The close of accounts for 1866 gives some idea of the very large losses sustained by the mill. Both Confederate and state currency and bonds had become worthless paper. Much cotton had been lost when the High Point railroad station was burned, and the Fries warehouse with it. All the main accounts showed a loss. Fortunately the firm had built up a large contingent fund during the good years, and that was able to absorb a goodly share of the loss. The rest was shouldered by the partners.¹⁴²

The come-back after the war was rather remarkable. Just before Richmond was evacuated a messenger had taken a large amount of currency to Richmond to be exchanged for gold, and this gave the firm some stable cash on hand.¹⁴³ John Fries and S. E. Butner, a mill foreman, went south to salvage as much cotton as they could find, bought earlier by the firm but not delivered. The railroads had been broken in many places, so not a great deal of the cotton could be brought to Salem, but the rest was taken to the nearest seaport and shipped north, and in that way credit was re-established in the northern wool markets.¹⁴⁴ Barter could still be used locally, and neighbors brought in a large variety of things with which to pay for goods at the mill. The day book of January, 1866, mentions twenty such barter commodities.¹⁴⁵

By the end of 1867 inventories were small, but entries in the profit and loss account had returned to the right side.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴¹ Reminiscences of John W. Fries. Salem congregational diary, April 10-12, 1865. Handbill in Museum of the Wachovia Historical Society.

¹⁴² Mill Appendix, no. 1.

¹⁴³ Mill Appendix, no. 1.

¹⁴⁴ Reminiscences of John W. Fries.

¹⁴⁵ Bacon, brooms, butter, coat buttons, corn, cotton, eggs, envelops, flaxseed, flour, hauling, making horse-collars, meal, mending shoes, potatoes, shingles, tallow, wheat, wood, wood hauling.

¹⁴⁶ Mill Appendix, no. 1.

RALEIGH'S ACCOUNT OF GRENVILLE'S FIGHT
AT THE AZORES IN 1591

BY JOHN H. STIBBS

At one time or another most of us have read with mixed feelings of admiration and incredulity Tennyson's patriotic battle chant, "The Revenge," about the dramatic naval action at the Azores in which Sir Richard Grenville with one English man-of-war dared to oppose an entire fleet of fifty-three Spanish fighting ships. In stanza IX Tennyson writes,

And the sun went down, and the stars came
out far over the summer sea,
But never a moment ceased the fight of the
one and the fifty-three.
Ship after ship, the whole night long, their
high built galleons came,
Ship after ship, the whole night long, with
her battle-thunder and flame;
Ship after ship, the whole night long, drew
back with her dead and her shame.
For some were sunk and many were shatter'd,
and so could fight us no more—
God of battles, was ever a battle like this
in the world before?

In considering the question at the end of the stanza the reader becomes interested in another, a more important question. Was there ever such a battle as this in the world of fact? The answer is that this incredible event did actually happen. Tennyson's poem is based, for the most part, on an informative prose account written by Sir Walter Raleigh and published in the same year that the battle occurred, 1591. Raleigh's was the first account of the incident. His source of information, he tells us, was a Spanish captain who participated in the fight and was later taken prisoner by a small English ship and brought to London.

Since this engagement really did take place, still another question arises. Why did the captain of the *Revenge* go into action when the odds against him were so terrible? The answer lies in an understanding of Grenville's motives. But how can we discover these? The standards of history writing in the period of

the Renaissance were not those of today. So rather than the careful enumeration of tactical and strategic plans and results which one expects in a modern battle report, in Raleigh's account we find that attention is centered on the personal heroism of Grenville and the glamorous particulars about the battle. Moreover, Raleigh was writing about the bravery of his own cousin, and thus may have purposely avoided probing into details of motivation unfavorable to his hero. That is to say, Raleigh's is a thoroughly good narrative of *what* takes place in this sea engagement, but it is not entirely satisfactory for the reason that it does not fully explain *why* Grenville engaged the enemy when escape with honor was apparently possible.

In the last decades of the sixteenth century the Azores were the grand rendezvous for the Spanish fleets from the West Indies and the Portuguese fleets from the East Indies. Hence the Azores became a theater of maritime warfare which was carried on ordinarily by small raiding squadrons of English sea dogs against the Spanish and Portuguese treasure fleets. The Spanish stronghold on the island of Terceira gave protection to these fleets from the Indies as they swaggered about among the channels of the rocky isles waiting for powerful escorts which regularly came down from the Spanish seaport towns of Ferrol and Cadiz, a distance of about one thousand miles to the northeast. One may imagine the scene: blue waters, steep rocky cliffs, and dozens of giant carracks with their spider webs of rigging, straining under top-gallant canvas. Except when anchored in order to take aboard provisions, they would beat about the channels in a state of readiness, signalling each other by shortening sail, firing cannon, and, at night, showing lights. Officers, crews, and bright-armored soldiers would be tense with apprehension over small but fast and maneuverable English ships which might dash in upon them at any time.

Because of uncertainty about the strength of the cruising squadrons of the English in the Azores, Phillip II had advised his annual fleet of 1590 from the West Indies to wait until the next year. It was common knowledge that the combined *flotas* of two years were to cross the Atlantic in 1591, and there was much discussion about who should be sent to intercept the treasure

fleet and what form the force should take.¹ The first plan was to have Sir Walter Raleigh and Lord Thomas Howard lead a joint command of some twenty ships and pinnaces.² But Howard was finally appointed to the command, with Sir Richard Grenville as vice admiral. Nevertheless, Raleigh continued to participate in the expedition, for he victualled the *Revenge* and the *Crane*.³ And later in the year, after the battle in the Azores had been fought, Raleigh wrote and published his account of the battle, entitled: "A Report of the Truth of the fight about the isles of the Azores, this last Sommer Betwixt the *Revenge*, one of her Majesties Shippes, And an Armada of the King of Spaine."⁴

Besides Raleigh's account there are two other authoritative contemporary versions of the battle. The first is that of van Linschoten, a Hollander. This account was first published at Amsterdam in 1594 after the author had returned from the Azores. At the time of the battle he was on shore at Terceira.⁵ The second is a Spanish account which has only recently been made available by A. L. Rowse in his biography of Grenville. And there are three seventeenth-century accounts which scholars have valued: (1) Bacon's *Consideration Touching a Warre with Spaine*, 1629;⁶ (2) a passage in the *Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins . . .*, 1622;⁷ and (3) Monson's severe attack upon Grenville, entitled "Two Fleets at Sea . . .," published in *Megalopsychy*, 1682.⁸

Briefly, Raleigh tells the following story. The English fleet consisted of six "ships," six "victualers," the "barke Raleigh," and two or three "Pinnases," riding at anchor near Flores in the Azores.⁹ This time it was the English who were surprised. Many men were sick, and many were on shore when the Spanish fleet came in sight. Waiting to recover the men on land, Grenville was the last of the English captains to weigh anchor. Overtaken by a Spanish fleet of fifty-three warships—not vessels of the treas-

¹ A. L. Rowse, *Sir Richard Grenville . . .* (London, 1937), 292.

² M. Oppenheim, *The Naval Tracts of Sir William Monson* (London, printed for the Navy Records Society, 1902), I, 257.

³ Oppenheim, *The Naval Tracts*, I, 256.

⁴ London, 1591. Huntington Library copy of the first edition.

⁵ The text of Linschoten's account of the fight is to be found in Arber's reprint of Raleigh's account: E. Arber, ed., *The Last Fight of the Revenge . . .* (English Reprints, London, 1871).

⁶ Huntington Library copy of the first edition.

⁷ Reprinted by the Hakluyt Society, 1878, in *The Hawkins Voyages*, under the editorship of Sir Clements Markham.

⁸ Oppenheim, *The Naval Tracts*.

⁹ Sir Walter Raleigh, *A Report of the Truth of the fight about the isles of the Azores, this last Sommer Betwixt the Revenge, one of her Majesties Shippes, and an Armada of the King of Spaine* (London, 1591), 4-5.

ure fleets but an unexpected striking force sent from Spain—Grenville refused to run and attempted to pass through their two squadrons. The Spanish ships were filled with hundreds of soldiers, whereas the *Revenge* had “beside the Mariners but the servants of the commanders and some few voluntarie gentlemen.”¹⁰ Realizing the impossibility of successful participation, the body of the small English fleet stayed away. The fight began at three in the afternoon and lasted fifteen hours. Whereas the *Revenge* began the fight with only one hundred men free from sickness, the Spaniards had fifteen thousand, and they made fifteen attempted boardings of the *Revenge*. Grenville was mortally wounded an hour before midnight. When all the powder was exhausted and all the pikes broken, Grenville commanded the master gunner to sink the ship. But the other men who remained alive wished to save themselves, and the Spanish Admiral agreed that the English survivors should be sent back to England. Thus overmatched, Grenville was sent aboard the ship of the Spanish admiral, and there he died the second or third day after.

There are many descriptions of the fleet that sailed out under Howard in 1591. Linschoten tells of sixteen ships at the Azores.¹¹ Monson lists only the men-of-war and these he counts seven.¹² Using the *Pipe Office Declared Accounts*, Oppenheim, the English naval historian, has found that nine men-of-war were originally sent out, but that the *Moon* was sent home on the tenth of July, the *Nonpareil* on the twenty-third of July, and that the *Charles* was cruising in the channel in September.¹³ This would bring the total of men-of-war at the Azores to six, which is Raleigh's count.

Fortunately for Howard, a Captain Middleton aboard the *Moonshine* warned the English at the Azores of a newly assembled armada, under command of Don Alonzo de Bazan, preparing for some kind of action to divert the English from the Spanish treasure fleet.¹⁴ Middleton's information was a complete surprise to Howard. Raleigh writes that “He had no sooner delivered the news but the Fleet was in sight: manie of our shippes companies were on shore in the Iland.”¹⁵

¹⁰ Raleigh, *Report*, 8.

¹¹ Arber, *The Last Fight of the Revenge*, 90.

¹² Oppenheim, *The Naval Tracts*, I, 253.

¹³ Oppenheim, *The Naval Tracts*, I, 256.

¹⁴ Raleigh, *Report*, 5.

¹⁵ Raleigh, *Report*, 5.

There has been considerable controversy about the time of Middleton's arrival at Flores. Raleigh, as we have seen, says that he arrived just before the Spanish armada came into sight. Monson, however, tells another story; he says that Middleton "advertised my Lord Thomas thereof with all expedition the very night before they arrived at Flores, where my Lord lay."¹⁶ But there were other elements of surprise besides that of time. Raleigh writes that the "Spanish fleets . . . shrouded their approach by reason of the Iland."¹⁷ And further, it is reasonable to suppose that Howard would be surprised by the strength of the new armada. And to press the defense of Raleigh's version still further, we say that even though Monson tells that Middleton arrived the night before, the implication is perfectly clear that he arrived none too soon. With such a pestilence-ridden fleet as his seems to have been, Howard might even have been surprised on two days' advance notice.

According to the contemporary Spanish account, "there was a good deal of firing on both sides as the first two Spanish squadrons under Aramburu advanced into the channel. Bazan followed with the rest of the fleet, and the great galleons, *San Phelipe* and *San Barnabe*, now coming level with Howard tried to board the English flagship, and not being able to do so, gave her a broadside at close range. Then, passing on with the wind filling her sails, the *San Phelipe* caught up with the *Revenge*. It was now nightfall, and according to the Spaniards, the rest of the English ships took to flight."¹⁸

Raleigh tells us that Grenville stayed to recover the sick men who were on shore and that this was the reason his ship was overtaken by the Spaniards. Monson has an entirely different explanation of Grenville's tardiness; he writes:

. . . Greynvile being a stern man, and imagining this fleet to come from the Indies, and not to be with the Armada . . . would by no means be persuaded . . . to cut his cable to follow his Admiral . . . nay, so headstrong, rash, and unadvised he was that he offered violence to all those that counselled him to the contrary.¹⁹

More recently, Professor Callender has pointed out that the

¹⁶ Oppenheim, *The Naval Tracts*, I, 254.

¹⁷ Raleigh, *Report*, 6.

¹⁸ Coleccion Sanz de Barutell (Madrid), Art. 4, no. 1121, as translated and used by Rowse, *Sir Richard Grenville*, 307-308.

¹⁹ Oppenheim, *The Naval Tracts*, I, 254.

Bonaventure, with a sick list longer than that of the *Revenge* and without her speed, was able to get away in good time.²⁰

But none of these arguments is strong. If Grenville thought the approaching Spaniards to be the *flota*, he would, no doubt, have been extremely anxious to get undersail. And no matter how many sick she had aboard, the *Bonaventure* could get away faster than the *Revenge* if the latter had the responsibility of waiting for the men on shore. As Bushnell, one of Grenville's biographers, concludes, "Grenville might have instantly followed and thus obeyed that part of the order, but his duty as vice admiral was not only to bring up the rear but to round up, as it were, the fleet, and certainly included, if he judged it practicable, the bringing off of the men on shore."²¹

But Grenville's next move is not so easy to justify. Raleigh tells us that Grenville "refused to turne from the enimie" and attempted to "passe through the two Squadrons," and he suggests that "the other course had beene the better in so great an impossibilitie of prevailing."²² Nevertheless, Raleigh apologizes for Grenville's rash action in a sentence which is noteworthy more for its exciting suggestion of heroics than for its clarity of meaning: "Notwithstanding," he writes, "out of the greatnesse of his minde, he could not bee perswaded."²³

Linschoten has something to say about Grenville's rashness; he states that

. . . the Lorde Thomas Howard commaunded his Fleete not to fall upon them, nor any of them once to separate their shippes from him . . . notwithstanding the Vice Admiral Sir *Rychard Greenfield*, being in the ship called the *Revenge* went into the Spanish fleete, and shot among them.²⁴

Linschoten attempts no apology, but he does offer an explanation. Grenville was, says Linschoten

. . . of so hard a complection, that as he continued among the Spanish Captaines while they were at dinner or supper with him, he would carouse three or foure glasses of wine, and in a braverie take the glasses betweene his teeth and crash them in peeces and swallow them downe, so that often times the blood ran out of his mouth . . .²⁵

²⁰ "The Battle of Flores," *History*, IV (July, 1919), 92, 93.

²¹ C. H. Bushnell, *Sir Richard Grenville* (London, 1936), 265.

²² Raleigh, *Report*, 7.

²³ Raleigh, *Report*, 7.

²⁴ Arber, *The Last Fight of the Revenge*, 90.

²⁵ Arber, *The Last Fight of the Revenge*, 92.

Monson makes a more direct accusation:

. . . the old saying, 'That a wilful man never wanteth woe,' or is the cause of his own woe, could not be more truly verified than in him . . .²⁶

Howard, too, has had his share of adverse criticism. In a letter written in London on October 31, 1591, by Thomas Phelippes to his friend Thomas Barnes, he says:

. . . they condemn the Lord Thomas for a coward, and some say he is for the King of Spain.²⁷

Raleigh included in his "Report" a long defense of Howard; he says:

If al the rest had entred, all had been lost. For the verie hughnes of the Spanish fleet, if no other violence had been offred, would have crusht them between them into shivers Notwithstanding it is verie true, that the Lord *Thomas* would have entred betweene the squadrons, but the rest wold not condescend . . . Which also in my opinion had il sorted or answered the discretion and trust of a Generall, to commit himselfe and his charge to an assured destruction. . . .²⁸

One serious consideration which certainly does not flatter Howard, no matter how it be interpreted, is that one of his ships which at first fled with him apparently disobeyed his order and turned back to participate in the fight. This action is recorded both by Raleigh and by Sir Richard Hawkins. Raleigh tells us that,

The Foresight . . . commanded by M. Th. Vavisor, performed a verie great fight, and stayd two houres as neere the *Revenge* as the wether wold permit him. . . .²⁹

Moreover, Raleigh tells us that two of the victuallers, the *George Noble* and the *Pilgrim*, "hovered" about; the first, at one time falling to lee of the *Revenge*, "asked Syr Richard what he would command."³⁰ In view of these incidents, we are forced to conclude that there was weakness somewhere in Howard's leadership, either in the justice of his command or in the power of his enforcement.

²⁶ Oppenheim, *The Naval Tracts*, I, 254.

²⁷ Calendar of State Papers, Elizabeth, as cited by Arber, *The Last Fight of the Revenge*, 6.

²⁸ Raleigh, *Report*, 15-16.

²⁹ Raleigh, *Report*, 16.

³⁰ Raleigh, *Report*, 8, 10.

Both Raleigh and the other contemporary English commentators on the battle are vague about the approach of the *Revenge* toward the Spanish fleet and the initial contact. Raleigh merely tells us that the *Revenge* tried to pass between their two squadrons. The Spanish report, however, says that there was firing on both sides as the two Spanish squadrons advanced, that both the *San Phelipe* and the *San Barnabe* tried to board Howard's flagship and failing to do so gave her a broadside at close range, and that the *San Phelipe* then caught up with the *Revenge*.

Speculation yields a number of possible reasons why the Spanish galleons did not stand off and fire upon the smaller English ship from a distance. It may be that the Spanish could not soon enough effect a change of course so as to bring their guns to bear on the *Revenge* before she was among them. It may be that the Spanish were temporarily paralyzed with astonishment at Grenville's maneuver. It could be that the coming on of night had something to do with it. But the most acceptable reason is that the Spanish deliberately elected to employ other tactics. If possible, the Spaniards regularly chose to board.

The naval combat methods of the Spanish were quite different from those of the English.³¹ On the one hand, the Spanish sea discipline was of a military kind. The Spanish ship was organized like a fortress and manned with soldiers. There were, of course, seamen and gunners, but the soldiers were thought to be of greater importance. On the other hand, the English had developed a more modern method of fighting at sea. The ship itself, rather than the soldier in it, was the fighting unit. In accordance with this conception, a new class of combat ships came into being during the reign of Elizabeth. Such ships as the *Swiftsure*, the *Dreadnought*, and the *Revenge* were constructed for speed and maneuverability. They were smaller than the earlier English great-ships, low in the water, and could move in rapidly to windward of a high-charged ship and fire into her at point blank range without the enemy being able to return the fire. In the hands of expert English seamen these vessels could turn this way and that, pouring in broadsides at close range.

Nor was improvement confined to the form of ships. In his "Invention of Ships," Raleigh names several new devices which

³¹ The chief source of my information about the different methods of naval combat is J. S. Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, 2 vols. (London, 1898).

had recently been introduced, such as the capstan and moveable topmasts.³² Also, English ordnance was conceded even by the Spanish to be very superior. The *Revenge*, for instance, in addition to her heavy guns, was equipped with secondary batteries which were especially effective against personnel on higher-built ships attempting to board.

The *Revenge* was the crack ship of her class, the new middle-sized fighting galleon, and was regarded by Drake as the perfect warship of her time; she had been his flagship in the fight against the Armada in 1588. Tactically, therefore, it is clearly understandable why the Spaniards closed the range, or allowed the range to be closed. To be sure, they stood in danger of receiving damage from the guns of the *Revenge* as the ships approached each other and made contact at close range. But the Spaniards knew where their strength lay and planned to box her in and overwhelm her with their well-trained soldiers.

Raleigh states that the *San Phelipe* was the first of the Spanish ships to becalm and attempt to board the *Revenge*, and that four other Spanish ships followed suit. The Spanish account, according to Rowse, relates that the *San Phelipe* boarded the *Revenge*, "and at the first encounter threw nine or ten soldiers into her; but not having grappled with grappling irons, but with a rope," the ships parted when the rope broke.³³ As compared to Raleigh's four, the Spanish account names but three ships that attempted to board after the *San Phelipe*.

As for the number of hours that the fight lasted, Hawkins and Bacon agree with Raleigh that fifteen hours were consumed.³⁴ Concerning the number of Spanish ships, Raleigh says there were fifty-three. According to Labores y March, the Spanish naval historian, there were fifty galleons, four galleasses, and six galleys.³⁵ Hence, we conclude that there were certainly no less than the number Raleigh names.

None of the other accounts of the battle are in disagreement with Raleigh's "Report" about the gallantry of the English, or Grenville's resolve to sink his ship, or the agreement with the Spanish Admiral that the English prisoners should be sent back

³² "A Discourse of the Invention of Ships, Anchors, Compass . . .," etc., *Works* (Oxford University Press, 1829), VIII.

³³ Rowse, *Sir Richard Grenville*, 307.

³⁴ Hawkins, in Markham, *The Hawkins Voyages*, 102, says fourteen or sixteen hours. Bacon, *Consideration Touching a Warre with Spaine*, 33.

³⁵ *Historia de la Marina Espanola*, as cited by Oppenheim, *The Naval Tracts*, I, 261.

to England, or that Grenville was taken aboard the Spanish flagship.

Of the number of Spaniards killed, Raleigh tells of two thousand "slaine and drowned."³⁶ In republishing the "Report" in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, either Raleigh or Hakluyt changed this figure to one thousand.³⁷ It may be that this second figure, too, is merely another wild guess, for Linschoten says that four hundred were drowned; the Spanish account admits that one hundred were lost.

As for the number of Spanish ships that were sunk, Raleigh says three were sunk and one ran ashore. Linschoten says that the Spanish lost only two ships. Other accounts fail to contribute a figure on this most interesting point.

Linschoten tells us, just as Raleigh does, that Grenville was taken aboard the Spanish flagship, the *San Paule*, where his wounds were dressed. According to Linschoten, at the hour of death Grenville said,

'Here die I *Richard Greenfield*, with a joyfull and quiet mind, for that I have ended my life as a true soldier ought to do, that hath fought for his countrey, Queene, religion, and honor, whereby my soule most joyfull departeth out of this bodie, and shall alwaies leave behinde it an everlasting fame of a valiant and true soldier, that hath done his dutie, as he was bound to doe.'³⁸

Raleigh tells us that shortly after the battle a storm destroyed the *Revenge* together with twenty-nine or thirty of the Spanish ships. Linschoten confirms this observation. But instead of St. Michael's, Linschoten would have the *Revenge* wrecked upon Terceira.

In summary we may say that Raleigh is guilty of some patriotic inaccuracies—an exaggerated estimate of the number of Spaniards and Englishmen killed at the battle and an exaggeration of the number of Spanish ships that were sunk. But except for these patriotic numerical miscalculations and the report of Grenville's behavior aboard the Spanish flagship, found in Linschoten, Raleigh's observations agree fairly well with analogous observations in other accounts of the battle. Of all these accounts, Raleigh's is certainly the most complete.

³⁶ Raleigh, *Report*, 14.

³⁷ R. Hakluyt, . . . *Voyages* . . . (ed. Glasgow, 1904), VII, 47.

³⁸ Arber, *The Last Fight of the Revenge*, 91.

Nevertheless, all the details which Raleigh gives about the battle are in interest subordinate to Grenville's decision to engage in combat with the enemy and Howard's conflicting decision to flee from the enemy. We wish that Raleigh had more carefully weighed the responsibility of each man. But he dismisses the problem of Grenville's responsibility to follow Howard's orders with the mere statement that "the other course had beene the better," and he confuses the problem of Howard's responsibility by inconsistently commending both his flight and the partial participation of one of his ships. Raleigh has not clearly answered these vital questions: first, did Grenville, for the purpose of exhibiting his personal bravery at the expense of losing both his ships and his men, disobey Howard's order to follow him in flight, or did he feel that he was fighting a necessary rear-guard action and as vice admiral had the right to neglect Howard's orders in the best interest of the entire fleet? Second, should not Howard have firmly resisted the entreaties of his subordinates and gone to the rescue of Grenville, as Raleigh tells us that he desired to do? Who knows what six English men-of-war might have done to the Spanish in a situation where the *Revenge* alone did such extensive damage?

Perhaps we are asking too much of Raleigh. Other writers—for example Hawkins and Monson—are more definite about the responsibilities involved. But they fail to present anything like even the limited evidence presented by Raleigh. Perhaps there was little evidence available. After all, Grenville was dead, and Howard was hardly the man to accuse his deceased subordinate, and the men themselves would be confused about the responsibilities of their leaders. If we knew that both Grenville and Howard were aware that the *Revenge* was fighting a necessary rear-guard action, we could answer all questions. But we know absolutely nothing about any such awareness.

The question has been asked, might not Raleigh have neglected the problem of responsibility for the same reason that he exaggerated certain details about the battle—a sacrifice to patriotism whereby both Englishmen are judged in the best possible light? This may be the answer, but the evidence is insufficient to establish certainty.

Full credit must be given Raleigh for his portrayal of the personal heroism of Grenville, and this seems to have been his

main purpose in writing the "Report." There was only a gambler's chance of fighting his way through the Spanish squadrons, but Grenville took that chance without fear of the consequences. And he fought until he was mortally wounded, even then commanding that his men blow up the ship rather than surrender. In that personal courage lies the heroism of Grenville, and Raleigh makes the reader feel it intensely.

THE SALEM BOARDING SCHOOL BETWEEN 1802 and 1822

BY LUCY LEINBACH WENHOLD

This study has been undertaken in the belief that for the history of North Carolina, especially for the history of education in the state, the founding and early circumstances of an institution which has never closed its doors since first they were opened cannot be regarded as without importance. The effort to reconstruct the intimate life of the Salem boarding school—today Salem College—in the first two decades of its existence is the difficult attempt to make a mosaic out of very little pieces. For later periods, even for those not very much later, we have letters fortunately preserved, stories and reminiscences told by mothers and grandmothers to alumnae who yet live. But all who knew the life of those earliest years are long gone from earth.

Bibliography in the strict sense of the word scarcely exists, though all possible use has been made of Dr. Adelaide Fries' *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, as also of her brief *Historical Sketch of Salem Female Academy*. The only other source materials used have been Salem College's own collection of unclassified documents, filed in the college library, and the ledgers and account books in the treasurer's offices. These latter were made available through the cooperation of Miss Anna Perryman, treasurer of Salem College, without whose generous help many items of information would have been wanting for the completion of this study.

The Moravian settlement of Salem was thirty-five years old in 1801 when the official church records make first mention of the possible establishment of "a boarding-school for girls for which visitors so often ask."¹

Since the founding of the village, a generation had been born and had grown to maturity in its little, low-roofed houses. The settlement was now a core of organized living in what was still in large part a wilderness, yet the isolation the first citizens of Wachovia had expected had never been theirs as they had thought it would be. All unknowingly they had chosen the site for their dwellings on the natural line of north-south passage, where the

¹ Adelaide L. Fries, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, VI (Raleigh, 1943), 2681.

drift of migration brought a cross-section of colonial travel to their doors. In a pioneer society the transient's right to hearth-fire and bed and a share in whatever food there may be is recognized and accepted. So also it was in early Salem. All comers, be they wandering Cherokee Indians or the governor of the state and his staff, were visitors, sincerely so received, made welcome in the religious exercises of the Brethren and shown, if they cared to see, the sober industries on which the prosperity of the village depended. In the thirty-five years the character of these visitors gradually changed. From year to year there came fewer wandering, landless illiterates to whom Salem was an incomprehensible place. There came more men of property and standing, some of them professional men who had been educated in Europe. To these the sight of the village schools, especially of the school for girls, greatly appealed. Today when educational opportunities are commonplace, it is difficult to realize how at the beginning of the nineteenth century in this young, first republic of the Western World men craved for their children at least some part of the education they themselves had been given in the Old World or denied in the New. For the sons of these men there were private academies and even a few universities in this country, and for the very well-to-do the great universities of the Old World. For their daughters there were no such opportunities anywhere in the South, yet every year the need was greater. As the cultivation of rice and indigo and later of cotton brought an ever-increasing slave population to the southern plantations, the daughters of the planters, served and often companioned by slaves and exposed constantly to the imperfect speech pattern of the Negroes, were sometimes not much more literate than the slaves themselves.

As requests for the boarding school multiplied the Brethren felt increasingly that these constituted a call which they were not free to disregard. What they were asked to do was not more in kind than they were accustomed to do for their own children. Their own schools had existed ever since the settlement was founded, and the girls' school was already something in the nature of a boarding school, as some Moravian girls from outside were lodged with town families in order that they might share the advantages the girls of the village had. The Moravian Church, the Brethren's Unity, was primarily a missionary organization, and

with its zeal for missions went a corresponding zeal for the education of youth. It had its boarding-schools in Germany, in Switzerland, in England. It had them in its far-flung mission fields. It had them in Pennsylvania where its continuing activities in America had begun. It was only reasonable that there should be a boarding-school in Salem, center of Moravianism in the South. Gravely the elders of the congregation considered the matter and discussed it in conference, and on October 31 of the year 1802 they formally established the Salem Boarding School.²

As early as possible in the following year the building that was to house the boarding-school was begun. It was felt that two years should suffice for its completion, but in view of the immediate need temporary quarters were arranged in the Community House³ for ten boarding pupils and two teachers. During thirty years it had housed the village school for girls, and now, without any wrench of change, by the mere process of expansion, the school in which a generation of Moravian girls had been educated became "the boarding school for which the visitors so often asked."

The accepted plans for the new building called for a brick house with two full stories, so constructed that additions could be made when its capacity needed to be increased, though without them it was to be large enough to accommodate some sixty girls. It was to be located close beside the recently built Sisters House,⁴ today one of the dormitories of Salem College.

The financing of the building's construction is an interesting paragraph in the school's history as well as an illuminating commentary upon the changing value of the American dollar. From the funds of the Salem congregation \$5,887.50 were earmarked "for building the boarding school." Later on the school itself, doubtless out of its first income, paid \$154.00 for some interior improvements, bringing the total cost of the building, now Salem College's South Hall, to \$6,041.50.⁵

² "Protokoll der Helfer-Conferenz in der Wachau," 156, 157, unpublished German document in Salem Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, N. C.

³ Known by the German name, *Gemeinhaus*. It had met the village's need for a meeting house until the church was built.

⁴ The Sisters House was a building in which the single women of the village lived more or less communally with a house superintendent chosen from their own number. The arrangement, then usual in Moravian communities and widely misunderstood outside them, had no special religious significance and was largely a matter of convenience.

⁵ These financial details are taken from Ledger A, p. 44, the first ledger of the Boarding School, now located in the Treasurer's office of Salem College.

The advancing of the money for the construction of the school-house was regarded as a business proposition. The school paid to the congregation interest on the money at the rate of five per cent until 1815 when it began making payments on the principal, making the final payment in 1825. Meanwhile the building was depreciated at the rate of two and a half per cent beginning in 1806, and charged off the books in 1827 in an account called "Fund for answering the decrease in the value of buildings."⁶

In May of the next year (1804) came the first boarding pupils: four girls from the town of Hillsborough, followed soon after by two from Halifax County, one from Fayetteville, and one from Caswell County.⁷ There was room for two more, but the principal—known then as the inspector—the Reverend Samuel Kramsch, preferred to fill those vacancies with two carefully chosen local girls who in their association with the girls from elsewhere could help forge links of understanding between these latter and the unfamiliar aspects of Moravianism. Not two but three teachers were appointed for the care and instruction of the ten girls; a ratio of less than four pupils to one teacher when considered in our modern terms of teaching load. But these three, in rotating twenty-four hour periods, were responsible for their charges through every hour of the twenty-four. They were local young women who had received special training along lines considered then somewhat advanced in the education of women, precisely that they might teach. The inspector was a man of experience in school administration both in Europe and in America, and his wife was a trained and experienced teacher.

The school had a waiting list, had had one while yet it existed only hypothetically. As soon as the building that was to house the students should be completed there would be many more applicants than could be received. What rule should be followed in the matter of an age limit for the receiving of girls from elsewhere? In Moravian boarding schools in Europe the practice was to take no girls over ten, but that practice could scarcely apply to Salem as most of its applicants were older than ten. In the Moravian boarding school for girls in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania,⁸ pupils were being received up to the age of fourteen.

⁶ Ledger A, p. 78.

⁷ This list is found in a series of books entitled "List of Pupils in Salem Female Academy," Book I, p. 1, now located in the Treasurer's office of Salem College.

⁸ Founded 1742. See Joseph Mortimer Levering, *History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania*, (Bethlehem, 1903), 104-105.

The decision reached for Salem was in general to take no girls over twelve but to decide the question in exceptional cases on the merits of the individual case.⁹ This decision proved a recourse which soon made the rule a dead letter as requests quickly multiplied for the admission of girls over the age of twelve.

The domestic arrangements of the school were in the hands of the "sisters," the single women who lived in the Sisters House. They were to provide and serve meals for pupils and teachers, using their own dining room in the Sisters House for that purpose while the Boarding School building was still unfinished. What food they served, how they served it, and the price they set for it, were for them to decide. They considered the matter, discussed it among themselves, and finally agreed that as food costs were about the same in Salem as in Bethlehem they would try charging for meals what was charged in the latter school: six shillings sixpence a week in the case of boarding pupils from elsewhere, with a reduction of one shilling for girls of the congregation who might be living in the school. For this sum they planned to serve the following:

For breakfast, milk, butter, and bread. There would also be coffee, tea, and sugar but those were to be provided by the inspector.

For dinner, meat, vegetables, bread, water (certainly an odd inclusion, possibly an affirmative way of calling attention to the fact that there would be nothing else to drink), bread and butter, and sometimes soup.

For supper, milk, warmed-overs, pie, pancakes, mush (cornmeal), chocolate.¹⁰

The school building was completed within the two-year limit. The cornerstone was laid on October 3, 1803, and the completed building was dedicated on July 16, 1805. On both occasions there were appropriate exercises, the detailed accounts of which have come down to us in several prized documents.¹¹ Twenty girls and their three teachers moved into what must have seemed to them wonderfully spacious quarters. By the end of the year the building's occupants, exclusive of teachers, had increased to forty-one and the next year the number was fifty-five. For a decade

⁹ Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, VI, 2735.

¹⁰ Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, VI, 2779.

¹¹ Salem College Collection of Unclassified Documents in Salem College Library.

thereafter there was a steady increase until finally the one building could no longer house the many girls whose parents wished to send them to Salem. In 1814 it was necessary to refuse further registrations for almost a year until more space could be provided.¹²

For many years there were no specified dates for the admission of pupils. Distances short today were long then and travel facilities were poor. Roads were bad and sometimes unsafe. Parents brought or sent their daughters to Salem when and as they could. Many a girl came on horseback, riding for days, sometimes, on her own horse, sometimes, especially in those very early years, mounted on a pillion behind a relative or neighbor who had her in his care.¹³ Well-to-do men who traveled somewhat more aristocratically brought their daughters in their chaises with a mounted servant in attendance, if and when the state of the roads allowed a vehicle to get through. Girls entered at any time of the year and usually came with the understanding that they were to remain until their education was finished, two, three, or four years. The prevailing opinion of the times concerning the female sex was that if a girl was not through with school and ready for the serious business of marriage by the time she was sixteen, she was an example of retarded development. Some girls stayed in the school only a few months. For some, scarcely more than children as the majority were, incurable homesickness made the new, unfamiliar life in the boarding school an unbearable experience and they went home ill from weeping, but these cases were few. Girls who lived relatively near to Salem went home in the summer and returned in the fall. After the public examinations, held the latter part of May, classes were suspended for two weeks, but there was no vacation as we understand the term today.

The newly opened boarding school's most immediate need was for supplies and equipment. The earliest record in the possession of Salem College is a ledger entry for the year 1803 which mentions materials purchased for the school by the inspector, Kramsch: beds, feathers, muslins, linen, silk for students' embroidery work. Apparently he used his own funds for these pur-

¹² Adelaide L. Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, VII (Raleigh, 1947), 3226.

¹³ In the "Saddle Room" in the beautifully restored and redecorated Alumnae House of Salem College, a number of these side saddles, some of them dating back to early times, may be seen.

chases, for the amount expended is later mentioned as refunded to him. A thousand dollars in round figures was borrowed from certain individual citizens in amounts from a hundred to three hundred dollars at an interest rate of five per cent, for the purpose of furnishing the new building with the things necessary for life in it. There are ledger entries for 1804 which record the payment of bills for chairs, ink-powder, joiners' work, "sundry tools," dishes, knives and forks, tea, coffee, blankets, pewter plates, a copper tea kettle, and "sundry books." There is an entry for July, 1804, of payment of a bill for wine and cake used at the raising of the building on October 6, 1803, and another in September, 1804, for pleasure riding in the stagecoach. One of the entries for March, 1804, records payment of a bill for printing three hundred copies of the "Plan for the Boarding School" wherein information concerning ages of students accepted, expenses, and subjects taught is given. It may be presumed that those three hundred copies were distributed to patrons and possibly to the students themselves.¹⁴

The charge for board, lodging, and tuition was thirty dollars a quarter. Music and drawing were regarded as extras and shortly—though not in the earliest years—added five dollars to the quarterly rate. Teachers employed in the boarding school were paid infinitesimally small salaries. In 1804 the ledgers record a total payment of \$12.10 for four weeks' salary to three tutoresses. However, they received free of charge board, lodging, laundry, and church dues. The treasurer of the Salem congregation made certain regular payments to the school, and these were credited to salaries. A fund for pensioning "aged tutoresses" was begun some years after the establishment of the boarding school, looking toward a time when there would be superannuated teachers who needed financial help. The fund amounted to not quite fifteen hundred dollars, and interest from the account was used for the purpose designated until the year 1884 when it was charged into profit and loss.

When the school moved into its new building the girls were housed in three living rooms on the first floor, with their dormitory, known then and for long thereafter as the sleeping hall,

¹⁴The financial details in this paragraph and in the following one are from the early ledgers and treasurer's records. The bill for printing is found in Ledger A, p. 11, located in the Treasurer's office at Salem College. A copy of the "Plan for the Boarding School" for 1806 may be seen framed in the Administration Building of Salem College.

in the story above. At first the rooms on the second floor were occupied by the inspector and his family, an arrangement which soon was changed. Within a very short time it was necessary to open a fourth living room because of the rapid growth of the school. The living rooms, which served also as classrooms, were uncarpeted. Tradition has it that the floors were sanded and that is probably true, for in the school's earliest inventories there is mention of a sand sifter.¹⁵ The furniture, locally made, was very simple. Each living room had in it one walnut corner cupboard, one desk with drawers, and two long tables with drawers, all of these of walnut. At nightfall tallow candles burned on those long tables. There were in each room four poplar benches to be used with the tables, and the building had twenty-seven Windsor chairs, though how these latter were distributed in the rooms and how far they were for the use of students is not indicated. In the whole building there was only one closet with doors and drawers. Curiously enough there was, in one of the rooms, a coffee mill. Why it was there we can only surmise, but probably it had something to do with the serving of afternoon coffee, known then in the school, as in the community where it was customary, as "vesper." The building had thirty-three pairs of curtains, sixteen pairs made of white muslin, doubtless for the windows of the living rooms, the remainder made of material listed as "cotton and calico" to be used elsewhere, probably in the sleeping hall. There was one "house clock," possibly a grandfather clock.

In the sleeping hall there were in the year 1806 fifty-five bedsteads. The beds themselves were chaff-filled bags as were also the pillows, but these were for use in warm weather. For winter there were feather beds and feather pillows and a total of sixty-six blankets. Evidently the school furnished bed linen, for the inventory for that year mentions sheets and pillowcases enough to allow three sheets and two pillowcases to each bed. Five chaff beds and four chaff pillows were kept ready for emergency, and a supply of bed ticking was held in stock.

Feeding the pupils of the boarding school remained for a long time in the hands of the "Sisters" in the Sisters' House, but their

¹⁵ All items which relate to the furnishings of the house are taken from the school's early inventories, filed now with the Collection of Unclassified Documents in the Library of Salem College.

dining room soon became too small to accommodate all the students. There seems to have been no place where dining tables could be set up and remain. The inventory of dining-room furniture mentions five table leaves with stands or bucks on which to lay them and ten benches for use with these removable tables. When a fourth living room was opened, a dining room was made in the basement of the school building. Its floor was of hard-packed earth, probably sand-sprinkled, but it seems to have given satisfaction and must have relieved a most uncomfortable situation. Plates for the tables were fifty-eight in number in 1806 and were pewter, as were also the tablespoons of which there were forty-eight. There were fifty-one pairs of knives and forks. Small bowls and a few small mugs must have been used for tea and coffee, for there were enough of them to serve that purpose and no other drinking utensils are mentioned. There were five teapots and nine *large* coffee pots. Coffee was the great American drink then as now.

The school had its own "wash-house" and "ironing-room" in a structure apart from the building, and the early inventories mention all needed laundry equipment and supplies. Nevertheless laundry was one of the administration's problems. In the beginning the "Sisters" had it in their charge, either to do it or to have it done, both that of the pupils and that of the teachers, but the task soon grew too great for them. Probably their own sober and simple attire had not prepared them for the number of starched skirts, the quantities of petticoats, and all the bed linen that had to be done up. With the approval of the Elders' Conference¹⁶ a Negro woman, Betsey by name, was bought for that particular work, though she cannot have done it all. In general Moravian principle was against slavery, and the village of Salem had an ordinance against the owning of Negroes in the town, but such service could not be hired and pragmatic considerations ruled.¹⁷

One cannot read the so-called "plans," the schedules of work for the pupils of the girls' school in those very early years, without being struck by the fact that they were based on "the three

¹⁶ The highest authority for both the village and the school.

¹⁷ Fries, *Records of the Moravians* (document "Concerning Slave-holding in Salem"), VII, 3544-3548. The College records for May 31, 1811, give \$400 as the purchase price for Betsey in Ledger A, p. 159, located in the Treasurer's office at Salem College.

R's," as well as by the fact that the subjects most stressed were those most neglected nowadays: grammar and syntax, history and geography. The program for 1807¹⁸ mentions, besides the foregoing, English reading and writing,¹⁹ and arithmetic, called "cyphering." The other subjects taught were drawing and painting, embroidery, plain sewing, and music, and the afternoon hours were devoted almost entirely to these, though music was taught throughout every hour from eight to four by one of the five teachers and an hour a day by each of two others. At this time the school owned two pianos and a guitar and shortly thereafter it acquired a third piano,²⁰ and the three were kept in constant use. They would appear to have been kept in the living rooms (which were also classrooms), and music lessons must have been given while other things were being taught.

As a rule parents were satisfied to leave the matter of curriculum to the judgment of inspector and teachers, but occasionally a father specified the subjects in which he wished his daughter instructed. In these cases almost always the request was that the girl be taught plain sewing, to make and care for her own clothes, to acquire habits of industry and diligence. The request for music was very general as a branch in which most parents wished their daughters to excel. These requests may be found in the few letters from parents in the early period among the Unclassified Documents of Salem College.

There have come down to us from that period some copies of the questions and answers used at the public examinations which took the place of the more modern Commencement exercises.²¹ These were written out in question and answer form by the teachers of the various subjects, and were then studied by the pupils until, when the great day came, each girl knew the exact answer to whatever question she might be asked. The public examinations were held in the church, there being no other place large enough, and parents, friends, and relatives of the pupils came in large numbers to listen to what had apparently been so well learned. That the learning had been done parrot fashion can

¹⁸ Salem College Collection of Unclassified Documents in Salem College Library.

¹⁹ German reading and writing were also taught to Moravian girls, but there is no intimation that they were taught to girls from elsewhere.

²⁰ The purchase of the first piano is recorded in Ledger A, p. 16, date January, 1805. This ledger is in the Treasurer's office at Salem College.

²¹ Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, VII, 3347.

scarcely be doubted, but the age believed in the worth of a well-stocked memory and unquestionably something learned by rote was better than nothing learned at all. Toward the end of the first quarter of the century the inspector began to hold private examinations before the public ones, and from the results of these preliminary examinations questions and answers were prepared for the public examinations which, as occasions, aroused so much interest and were so generally and largely attended that it presently became necessary to limit attendance. Notices were posted in the village tavern and elsewhere that only parents and relatives of the pupils would be admitted.

Among the scholastic subjects which the girls of the boarding school were expected to learn, history seems to have been the most extensive, if we may judge by the examination questions.²² American history was studied only by the most advanced pupils, and one set of questions and answers deals with the circumstances and outcome of the Revolutionary War, so near in point of time to the lives of those who were learning about it. The physiographic aspect of geography was taught in a course called "globes," and it is interesting to note that questions concerning latitude and longitude were based on the location of Salisbury, N. C. There was an examination in English grammar and another in syntax which differed from that in grammar. Students were expected to be able to parse sentences and to analyze and dissect rhetorical constructions of considerable complexity. The examinations were interspersed with musical selections which were in the nature of examinations of the girls' skill in piano playing; and specimens of painting, drawing, penmanship, and the various sorts of needlework were on exhibition. These examples of manual skill and artistic taste went home with those who made them, to become treasured heirlooms in after years. The ledgers carried regular accounts for the purchase and resale to students of materials for embroidery, for silks, muslins, ribbons, for drawing pencils, colored chalks, and paints. Along with the examination questions there have been preserved copies of dialogues for Christmas or Easter, or for other, more general occasions. Few girls could go home at Christmas, and the inspector and teachers tried to make the occasion a festival for those who remained, the

²² Examination questions and dialogues are preserved in the College's Collection of Unclassified Documents in Salem College Library.

great festival of the year, as it was for Moravian children. Some of the dialogues are in German, and the names of those who spoke the lines are familiar names of Moravian girls.

From its very beginning the school had a library. Proof of that exists in the inventories of the institution's assets. According to the inventory for the year 1807 the library consisted of fifty books—not too insignificant a number considering the times. The collection included some purely Moravian material but also a good deal that was general, such books as, for instance, *Pilgrim's Progress*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *A Description of Three Hundred Animals*, *Letters From A Mother to Her Daughter*, several novels by Charlotte Smith, two bound volumes of *The Young Miss's Magazine*, and a number of books of travel and geography. The purely Moravian books were those which the Moravian Church considered essential to an understanding of what the Unity of Brethren was and believed: a copy of the *Brotherly Agreement* by which the members of the Unity were bound together, and a copy of the *Summary of Doctrine*. It may be doubted that these latter were very generally read, but many girls bought copies of the Moravian *Passion Week Manual*. There was no proselyting in the school, but there was religious instruction.

In 1809 the Salem Congregation again advanced money, a total sum of \$4,850.00²³ and in the following two years the "Inspector's House," the present Administration Building of Salem College, was built. The school was flourishing, but that prosperity meant a congestion of pupils which presently became impossible. In 1814 the information was sent out that for the time being no more boarding pupils could be received as the number in the school was already too great.²⁴ In 1818 the same measure was again necessary, and the following announcement was published in the papers of North Carolina and adjacent states:

The female Academy in Salem, Stokes County, being overcrowded to the real Detriment of the Institution, not to mention the Detriment of the Pupils of the Same, the Trustees deem it their duty hereby to give Notice that for Twelve Months at least no Attention can be paid to any Application for entering Names on the Books as Candidates for the School. Moreover the said Trustees find themselves under the Necessity of requesting those

²³ Ledger A, p. 162, in the Treasurer's office of Salem College.

²⁴ Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, VII, 3226.

Parents, Relatives, Guardians etc. of Young Ladies who, upon Former Application, have received the Promise of their Admission in the course of this Year, to defer bringing or sending them until further Notice from the Registrar of Salem Academy, there being no prospect of the Probability of their Admission in the Present Year.²⁵

The notice was signed in the name and in behalf of the trustees.

One result of the crowded condition of the school was a sharper differentiation between boarding pupils and day pupils, and a measure of separation of the two which, unconsciously, perhaps, on the part of teachers, tended to become discriminatory. Moravian day pupils had at first been received in all classes on the same basis as the boarding pupils, even in the classes of drawing and embroidery, but shortly the authorities decided that unless a girl of the village showed unusual promise as a future teacher she should be taught plain sewing and knitting instead of artistic needlework. Thereupon the teachers protested that they could not teach sewing and knitting classes for the town girls and take them to services on Sundays and in the evening in addition to their other duties, and they asked that someone be secured for those particular tasks. This was done, and space being at a premium the younger town girls' classes were removed to the Community House where the day school had been before.²⁶ Thus an unfortunate distinction began, one which unhappily lasted many years before its influence was broken. Town girls, however, were and continued to be part of all classes in academic branches.

In the first quarter of the century the settlements in Wachovia fell victims to the epidemics that afflicted more populous sections, and the boarding school suffered accordingly. There were epidemics of fever, of measles, of smallpox, of fever again summer after summer. In 1814 there were seventy-four cases of measles among the pupils. In 1817 there was an epidemic of fever, probably typhoid, which returned the next summer and took, in the two summers, the lives of two girls and one teacher. Yet the mortality in the school was very low for those early times. In

²⁵ Salem College Collection of Unclassified Documents in Salem College Library. There are several copies of this notice, evidently from different printings, and some include a request that the notice be accepted without resentment by patrons of the school.

²⁶ Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, VII, *passim*. These circumstances are referred to repeatedly in short notes scattered through the diaries and minutes of the Salem congregation.

thirteen years, between 1807 and 1820, only four girls died.²⁷

The second decade of the boarding school's existence ended on a pessimistic note. In the Congregation Record for the year 1820 we read:

Conference considered with sorrowful concern the difficult situation in the Boarding School in regard to filling the vacancies in the teaching force. All the Sisters approached have refused, either for the time or absolutely. . . . Probably still more difficulty along this line will arise, and it seems that the only remaining hope is to send an urgent request [for teachers] to Pennsylvania.²⁸

There had been a time when no Moravian "Sister" would have thought herself free to refuse a call to the service of teaching, for the Brethren's Unity held its teachers as little less divinely called than its ministers. But times had changed. The school was full, the work was hard and exacting, and salaries could scarcely be said to exist. In village and school all was as it had been, but under the calm, unruffled surface of a regimented pattern of life individualism was astir. Yet the Salem Boarding School, begun in a spirit of service, went forward in that spirit, even under the trenchant blows of inevitable change. That same spirit of service has kept the school's doors open through prosperity and adversity, which circumstance is Salem's one unbreakable link with her past.

²⁷ These epidemics which the boarding school experienced with the town are noted in the records of every year in which they occurred. The names of the four girls and the dates of their deaths are recorded in the unpublished Salem Congregation Book A, 338, 350, 355. Their gravestones may be seen in the Moravian Burial Ground in Winston-Salem.

²⁸ Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, VII, 3450.

THE PRODUCE LOANS: A MEANS OF FINANCING THE CONFEDERACY *

By RICHARD C. TODD

From its inception, the Confederate States of America was engaged in a struggle for existence. The creation of its treasury and the establishment of a revenue were a concern of vital importance. Within a short time the organization of the Treasury Department was completed and, except for slight modifications, it adopted the system devised by Alexander Hamilton.¹ On February 19, 1861, Christopher Gustavus Memminger² of South Carolina was appointed Secretary of the Treasury, and under "An Act to Establish the Treasury Department," approved February 21, 1861, various bureaus were formed to carry on the business of the department. In its extraordinary straits for money, the Confederacy "resorted to every expedient known to finance, even the most desperate."³ Federal specie located at the mints and customhouses of the South was confiscated; property of alien enemies was sequestered and military supplies were impressed; duties were placed on exports and imports; direct taxes were levied; donations and gifts were cheerfully accepted and gratefully acknowledged; and Treasury notes flooded the market while loans were floated in an attempt to stabilize the redundant currency and offer a basis for foreign exchange.

Striving to procure the funds requisite for its operation, Congress soon placed emphasis upon loans as its primary source of

* A paper presented at the fall meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina, held at Woman's College, Greensboro, November 13, 1948. The paper is based on a portion of the author's doctoral dissertation, "A History of Confederate Finance."

¹ Henry D. Capers, *The Life and Times of C. G. Memminger* (Richmond, 1893, hereafter cited as Capers, *Memminger*), 318-319.

² Christopher Gustavus Memminger was born at Nayhingen, Wurtemberg, January 9, 1803; died March 7, 1888, Charleston, South Carolina. At the age of four, following the death of his father, he migrated to America with his mother who succumbed to disease shortly after reaching Charleston, South Carolina. Placed in an orphanage till eleven years old, he was then removed by Thomas Bennett (later governor of South Carolina) who offered him all the advantages of a wealthy home. Memminger graduated from South Carolina College in 1819, and returning to Charleston, studied law, acquired a license, and began to rise in his profession. In 1836, as a member of the South Carolina state house of representatives, he began a long struggle to disassociate the state from banking corporations and to force the banks to maintain specie payments on pain of forfeiture of their charters. In these contests he won considerable reputation as a sound financier. Memminger was appointed Secretary of the Treasury, C. S. A., February 19, 1861, two days prior to the creation of the Treasury Department and retained the position until his resignation, June 15, 1864. He continued to direct the business of the Treasury Department, however, until July 15, 1864, when he was relieved by George A. Trenholm. Capers, *Memminger*, 7-370.

³ Carl Russell Fish, *The American Civil War: An Interpretation* (New York, 1937), 433.

income; later Treasury notes were emphasized; and then, perhaps too late, taxes were stressed. It is the former—loans, and more specifically the Produce Loans as a means of financing the Confederacy—to which consideration is given in the current paper.

There were three Produce Loans—each differing slightly from the other. The first, the 50-Million Dollar Loan of May 16, 1861, was aimed at being a specie loan and did *not* authorize the government to exchange its bonds for the actual produce subscribed to the loan. Instead, planters and farmers sold their crops and then paid the proceeds of the subscribed portion in specie or foreign bills of exchange, receiving 8 per cent-20-year bonds in return. The second form of the Produce Loan, the 100-Million Dollar Loan of August 19, 1861, was similar to its predecessor which it embodied, differing in only one respect. It authorized the receipt of Treasury notes as well as specie and foreign bills of exchange in payment of the proceeds of the portion of raw produce and manufactured articles subscribed to the loan. The receipt of Treasury notes in satisfying subscriptions to the loan was sanctioned in the hope of stabilizing the government's paper currency which had started to show signs of redundancy. The third and final form of the Produce Loans was the 250-Million Dollar Loan of April 21, 1862, which authorized a direct exchange of articles in kind for bonds of the government.

50-MILLION DOLLAR LOAN—THE FIRST FORM OF THE PRODUCE LOANS

As early as February 8, 1861, the Confederate Congress accepted a \$500,000 loan from the state of Alabama and on February 28, 1861, authorized the first major loan of the Confederate States of America—a 15-Million Dollar Loan—a specie loan directed at the banking and commercial interests of the South. Thus, apparently turning to loans as the chief source of revenue, Memminger was nevertheless skeptical as to the advisability of attempting to float another before the next crop was harvested providing the planters with funds.⁴ Having this in mind, he

⁴ Raphael P. Thian, compiler, *Correspondence with the Treasury Department of the Confederate States of America, 1861-65* (Appendix, Part V, Washington, 1880, hereafter cited *Corresp. with Treas. CSA.*), V, 86-88, James D. Dénégré to Memminger, May 4, 1861.

recommended to Congress the adoption of a \$50-million, 8 per cent bond issue, with the government accepting from the investors the "tender of any resources available as a means of credit." This recommendation pointed towards a produce loan.

Congress showed its early willingness to adhere rather closely to the recommendations of the Secretary and by the Act of May 16, 1861, authorized the issue of \$50,000,000 in bonds, payable at the expiration of 20 years and bearing a rate of interest not exceeding 8 per cent. The bonds (after public advertisement in three newspapers within the Confederate States for six weeks) were "*to be sold for specie, military stores, or for the proceeds of sales of raw produce or manufactured articles,*" said proceeds to be paid in specie or foreign bills of exchange. The bonds were *not* to be sold "for Treasury notes, or the notes of any bank, corporation, or individual."⁵

The new loan, like its antecedent, was aimed at acquiring specie, but whereas the 15-Million Dollar Loan had been directed at the bankers and commercial interests, the 50-Million Dollar Loan, being in part a produce loan, was brought more specifically to the attention of the planters and farmers.⁶ Memminger was well aware that most persons in the Confederacy had no available money but that they did possess cotton, tobacco, and other essential provisions and were willing to lend a portion of these for the government's support.⁷ As an aid in promoting the loan, it was considered advisable to circulate, in advance of the sale of the crops, subscription lists on which every planter could indicate the portion of his crop, the net proceeds of which he was willing to lend to the government.⁸ Measures were immediately taken to canvass the rural areas for subscriptions. Two types of lists were prepared, one for subscriptions of cotton and tobacco and

⁵ "An act to authorize a loan and the issue of Treasury Notes; and to prescribe the punishment for forging the same, and for forging Certificates of stock, and Bonds," approved May 16, 1861. *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (128 vols., Washington, 1880-1901, hereafter cited, *Off'l. Rec'ds.* The italics in quote are those of the writer), 4th S., I, 328-329; James M. Matthews, ed., *The Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America* (Richmond, 1874, hereafter cited, *Statutes at Large*), 117-118; *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-65* (7 vols., Washington, 1904-1905, hereafter cited *Jour. Confed. Cong.*), I, 227-229.

⁶ Raphael P. Thian, compiler, *Reports of the Secretary of the Treasury of the Confederate States of America, 1861-65* (Appendix, Part III, Washington, 1878, III, 59-66, March 14, 1862; Capers, Memminger, 929-437. (Hereafter cited as *Confed. Treas. Reports.*)

⁷ Raphael P. Thian, compiler, *Correspondence of the Treasury Department of the Confederate States of America, 1861-65* (Appendix, Part IV, Washington, 1879, hereafter cited *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*), IV, 89-90, Memminger to E. Starnes, March 24, 1861; Memminger to F. S. Lyon, March 24, 1861.

⁸ *Corresp. of Treas. CSA*, IV, 109, Memminger to H. K. Burgwin, June 18, 1861.

the other for subscriptions of provisions and military stores.⁹ Copies of both lists were "placed in the hands of all members of the Confederate Congress" to be circulated among their constituents.¹⁰ In addition to the Congressmen, many prominent local residents were commissioned to circulate the lists in an effort to increase the number of subscriptions to the loan.¹¹

The lists¹² were self-explanatory, the subscriber agreeing to contribute to the defense of the Confederate States a portion of his crop. The cotton was to be placed in a warehouse, or in a factor's hands, and sold by the planter on or before a fixed day. Following the sale of the cotton, the net proceeds of the amount subscribed, less all charges, were to be paid to the Treasury in specie or foreign bills of exchange in return for 20-year bonds bearing 8 per cent interest.¹³ Upon these pledged subscriptions the government hoped to realize at once funds for its immediate necessities.¹⁴

To arouse interest in the loan, rallies and assemblies were held throughout the South.¹⁵ Playing upon the patriotism of the people and the merits of the government bonds, the work of the commissioners soon brought gratifying results. Numerous reports were received at the Treasury Department of the wholehearted manner in which the planters were subscribing to the

⁹ *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 91-92, Memminger to F. S. Lyon, May 24, 1861.

¹⁰ *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 89-90, Memminger to E. Starnes, May 24, 1861.

¹¹ *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 109-113, gives a list containing the names of hundreds of commissioners appointed by Memminger to take subscriptions to the loan in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. A similar list is found in vol. 111B. Record Book of Copies of Letters of Secretary of Treasury from March 1, 1861 to October 12, 1861, Manuscript vol. in Acc. 352 Confederate Archives (Treas. Dept., National Archives, Washington, D. C., hereafter cited vol. 111B. Record of Letters of Treas.), 212-220.

¹² As soon as the commissioners had procured as many signatures as possible to any one list, it was to be forwarded to the Treasury Department. To provide against loss, each list was to be signed in duplicate and forwarded by different mails. *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 109, Memminger to H. K. Burgwin, June 18, 1861; vol. 111B. Record of Letters of Treas., 212-213, Memminger to H. K. Burgwin, June 18, 1861.

¹³ *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 95, Memminger to Geo. Trenholm, June 6, 1861. In addition to the paragraph of explanation, each list was divided into four columns, respectively headed: NAMES, QUANTITY SUBSCRIBED, PLACE OF DELIVERY, NAME OF FACTORY OR WAREHOUSE. C. S. A.—Miscellaneous 116 (MSS. Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.).

¹⁴ *Corresp. with Treas. CSA.*, V, 282-283, excerpt from the *Felician Democrat* (Clinton, La.), July 4, 1861. Upon hearing that Chas. Green was on his way to Europe, Memminger wrote him June 27, 1861, pertaining to the Produce Loan saying, "I think it likely that the proceeds of more than 1/2 a million of bales will be subscribed. I desire to ascertain upon what terms an advance of money could be procured upon these subscriptions, and to what extent—the advance to be paid from the sales of cotton either in this country or Europe, as may be found most advisable. . . ." *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 132, Memminger to Chas. Green, June 27, 1861.

¹⁵ Vice President Stephens "addressed the people of his old district in Georgia" at several rallies on the subject of the loan and each time experienced the "happiest results." In Wilkes County alone, cotton amounting to \$100,000 was subscribed at the conclusion of his speech. At another rally bringing together a large concourse from two or three counties, 2,800 bales of cotton were subscribed as a loan to the Confederate States. *Corresp. with Treas. CSA.*, V, 283-284, excerpt from the *Felician Democrat* (Clinton, La.), July 4, 1861.

loan.¹⁶ Subscriptions ranged from one-fourth¹⁷ to offers of the whole crop¹⁸ and there were instances in which subscriptions were to remain in effect yearly, during the course of the war.¹⁹ That the loan was well received throughout the South is indicated in a letter from Memminger to John A. Jordan, in which the Secretary writes:

I am pleased to learn that the prospects of the subscriptions are so favorable in your section. The Government is cheered by similar reports from every quarter and the people seem to be vying with each other in a noble rivalry of patriotic zeal and liberality. The thanks of this Department are due for the prompt efficiency with which you have organized the subscription canvass in your States.²⁰

The early success of the Produce Loan was also echoed by President Davis. In addressing the Provisional Congress, the enthusiastic President said:

In the single article of cotton, the subscriptions to the loan proposed by the Government cannot fall short of fifty millions of dollars, and will probably exceed that amount; and scarcely an article required for the consumption of the Army is provided otherwise than by subscription to the produce loan. . . .²¹

100-MILLION DOLLAR LOAN—THE SECOND FORM

On August 19, 1861, Congress extended the Produce Loan by authorizing the 100-Million Dollar Loan.²² Under this act, bonds

¹⁶ *Corresp. with Treas. CSA.*, V, 187-188, John McNab to Memminger, July 3, 1861; V, 140-141, Almazon Huston to Memminger, June 16, 1861; V, 165, John A. Jordan to Memminger, June 27, 1861; *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 173, Memminger to Thos. O. Moore, Aug. 7, 1861; IV, 159, Memminger to R. W. Price, July 18, 1861; IV, 147, Memminger to Richard Winter, July 9, 1861; IV, 147, Memminger to F. T. Leake, July 9, 1861. Memminger wrote to Judge J. G. M. Shorter, June 18, 1861, saying "The cotton loan seems to take well, and we would have no difficulty from money, if we could only hurry up England and France to enforce shipment." *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 113.

¹⁷ *Charleston Daily Courier*, Nov. 25, 1861.

¹⁸ *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 148, Memminger to Philip St. George Cocke, July 9, 1861.

¹⁹ *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 142, Memminger to Hon. James Williamson, Memphis, Tenn., July 3, 1861.

²⁰ *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 164, Memminger to John A. Jordan, Little Rock, Ark., July 23, 1861.

²¹ James D. Richardson, compiler, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy: Including the Diplomatic Correspondence, 1861-1865* (2 vols., Nashville, 1906, hereafter cited Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*), I, 123; Edward A. Pollard, *Life of Jefferson Davis, with a Secret History of the Southern Confederacy Gathered Behind the Scenes in Richmond* (Philadelphia, 1869, hereafter cited as Pollard, *Davis*), 176.

²² No. 23. "An act to authorize the issue of Treasury notes, and to provide a war tax for their redemption," approved August 19, 1861. Register of Acts, C. S. A. (MSS. Dept., Duke University); *Acts and Resolutions of the Third Sessions of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States, Held at Richmond, Va.* (Richmond, 1861), 20-30; *Jour. Confed. Cong.*, passed, 359, approved, 367. The debt of 100-million loan was arranged upon the plan of James G. Holmes, S. C., the principle of which was the distribution of the debt into installments which called for payment annually of a fixed sum for principal and interest, so adjusted as to extinguish the whole in 20 years. This was to be accomplished by making the first installments payable in 2 years and the last in 20, and distributing the payments into 36 semi-annual periods. This constant diminution of the principal annually lowered the interest and left a larger proportion of the fixed payment applicable to the remaining principal until the whole debt was discharged. *Confed. Treas. Reports*, III, 59-66, March 14, 1862.

of the type issued under the \$50-Million Loan were increased to 100 millions. This, the second form of the Produce Loan, differed only slightly from its predecessor, which it now embodied. The new act, unlike the 50-Million Dollar Loan of May 16, 1861, sanctioned the receipt of Treasury notes, as well as specie and foreign bills of exchange, in fulfilling subscriptions to the Produce Loan. The purpose of the legislation was twofold; first, to continue to establish a basis for credit at home and abroad through additional subscriptions of the net proceeds of produce; and second, due to the inflationary tendency of the currency, to act as a stabilizer—an absorber for the fast becoming redundant Treasury notes.²³ To effect the latter, the act authorized the acceptance of Treasury notes “in payment for net proceeds of sales of raw produce and manufactured articles” subscribed to the Produce Loan and also permitted holders of Treasury notes to fund them in 8 per cent, 20-year bonds.²⁴ In its attempt to stabilize the currency, however, the loan proved a failure and every succeeding attempt of Congress to provoke a favorable currency reaction met a similar fate.

Bonds of the new loan, valued at 50-million dollars, were expected to be taken up by subscription to the Produce Loan.²⁵ In this way the government hoped to continue to secure a large portion of its specie, military stores, and foreign bills of exchange without further derangement of the currency. Notices of the loan appeared in the leading newspapers soliciting subscriptions of the various crops and provisions—corn, flour, bacon, pork, and similar produce were desired by the commissary, while cotton and tobacco were sought by the Treasury. But as the year 1861 drew to a close, reports of subscriptions to the loan became fewer in number. Nevertheless, the efforts of commissioners and

²³ *Confed. Treas. Reports*, III, 91-92, October 3, 1862.

²⁴ To aid the holders of Treasury notes to fund them in 8 per cent, 20-year bonds, the Commissioners appointed to take subscriptions to the 15-Million Dollar Loan of Feb. 28, 1861, were asked to take a similar task under the 100-Million Dollar Loan. This new loan of Aug. 19, 1861, unlike any previous Confederate loan, was directed at both the banking and commercial interests as well as at the agricultural interests. It was hoped that the former would take a large amount of the bonds in exchange for Treasury notes, while the latter would continue to subscribe proceeds from a portion of their crops. The 100-Million Dollar Loan was exhausted Feb. 25, 1863. *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 234-235, Memminger to Commissioners appointed for Receiving Subscriptions to the Confederate Loan, Nov. 25, 1861; Telegraph Messages, Treasury Department: Telegrams of the Confederate Treasury Department from February 27, 1861 to July 30, 1864, in Acc. 352 Confederate Archives (Treas. Dept., National Archives, Washington, D. C., hereafter cited as Tel. Messages Treas. Dept.), 344-345, Memminger to J. S. K. Bennett, Charleston, S. C., General Agent for Loan, Feb. 25, 1863, and Memminger to James A. Farley, Feb. 25, 1863.

²⁵ *Charleston Daily Courier*, Jan. 3, 1862.

agents to raise subscriptions of produce during the first year proved reasonably successful.²⁶

J. D. B. DeBow, Chief Commissioner of the Loan, in issuing the first report of the Produce Loan Office on January 16, 1862, stated that 417,000 bales of cotton had been subscribed along with 3,500 hogsheads of sugar, 3,500 barrels of molasses, 270,000 bushels of rice, 5,000 bushels of wheat, and 1,000 hogsheads of tobacco. In addition, about a half-million dollars in Treasury notes was subscribed and about the same value in other produce.²⁷

ORIGIN OF THE PRODUCE LOAN

The origin of the Produce Loan, as an instrument to aid the Confederacy in acquiring funds for financing itself, has given rise to some controversy. Edward A. Pollard claims that President Davis originated the scheme, but at the same time admits that "Mr. Davis, with an effort at modesty, has referred to this measure as 'one happily devised by the superior wisdom of Congress.'" ²⁸ Additional evidence exists pointing to the responsibility of Congress for the idea. On May 6, 1861, Congress resolved that the Committee on Finance inquire into the advisability of adopting a system of finance based on:

... the soliciting of subscriptions of cotton, tobacco . . . and sugar by agents appointed for this purpose. . . . Said products to be sold for and on account of the Government, and the net amount to be accounted to the subscribers, respectively in Treasury notes or bonds. . . .²⁹

Before action could be taken on the resolution, however, Congress, abiding by the recommendations submitted by the Secretary of the Treasury, approved the \$50-million loan on May 16, 1861, embodying the original form for the Produce Loan. This

²⁶ That the agents for the loan were not always gentlemen in their efforts to solicit subscriptions is indicated by Memminger in a letter to Gen. Colin J. McRae. He writes, "I hope . . . that you will also cool down any irritation which any of our friends may feel against any ill-manners in my subordinates. They should not place that to the account of the Government or of myself. . . ." *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 96, June 7, 1861.

²⁷ *Confed. Treas. Reports*, III, 48, DeBow's Report, Jan. 16, 1862. John Christopher Schwab, *The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865: A Financial and Industrial History of the South During the Civil War* (New York, 1901, hereafter cited Schwab, *Confed. Sts. of Am.*), 13, cites slightly different figures, saying, "By the end of 1861 over 400,000 bales of cotton had been offered, 1,000 hogsheads of tobacco, 5,000 bushels of wheat, 270,000 bushels of rice, 1,000 hogsheads of sugar and molasses, and about \$1,000,000 worth of other produce; also \$1,000,000 in money, that is, in treasury notes or bank notes."

²⁸ Pollard, *Davis*, 175; Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, I, 123.

²⁹ The resolution was introduced by Walker Brooke, in Secret Session of the Provisional Congress, Monday, May 6, 1861. In this case Brooke would appear to be responsible for the origin of the Produce Loan, having tendered the resolution. *Jour. Confed. Cong.*, I, 186.

indicates that Memminger was the originator of the Produce Loan and is substantiated by Henry Capers, contemporary biographer of the Secretary.³⁰

Numerous other suggestions, however, were also made to the government recommending the adoption of various forms of a produce loan³¹ and it would appear that the establishment of the Produce Loan was not the idea of any one man, but rather the logical conclusion of an agricultural society.

Almost from its inception,³² until January, 1862, the Produce Loan was managed gratuitously³³ by James Dunwoody Brownson DeBow³⁴ who "matured . . . the whole plan of the Loan, the blanks, etc. . . ."³⁵ As Chief Commissioner, he maintained a separate office for the Loan in Richmond. The handsomely furnished rooms became the "rendezvous of politicians" where the "progress of the subscriptions was watched with the greatest solicitude." Newspaper reporters visited the office frequently and "published the list of subscriptions to excite the competition of particular districts."³⁶

PROBLEMS OF THE PRODUCE LOAN

While the agricultural communities were contributing to the loan, and the Confederate authorities expressed great pleasure and satisfaction over the mounting subscriptions of produce, there was another side of the story being unfolded—one perhaps less rosy but surely no less interesting. Serious problems arose early and had to be solved if the loan was to approximate the degree of success that was predicted for it. As the Federal blockade became more effective, many prospective subscribers

³⁰ Capers, *Memminger*, 342.

³¹ *Corresp. with Treas. CSA.*, V, 143-145, Wm. T. Sanford to Howell Cobb, June 19, 1861; V, 207, W. H. Jones to Memminger, July 11, 1861; V, 230, Chas. G. Johnson to Pres. Davis, July 19, 1861; V, 246-247, copy of letter to editor of *Weekly News*, Enterprise, Mississippi, July 25, 1861, from "An Old Merchant"; V, 256, James L. Jones to Memminger, July 31, 1861.

³² Immediately following its inception there was a hearty response to the loan; many sections of the country, however, remained unsolicited. To remedy this, J. D. B. DeBow was appointed Aug. 3, 1861, "to organize the entire country and develop more completely the details of the [Produce Loan] plans." *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 169-170, Memminger to DeBow, Aug. 3, 1861; vol. 111B. Record of Letters of Treas., 426, Memminger to DeBow, Aug. 3, 1861.

³³ *Confed. Treas. Reports*, III, 47, Financial Report of Jan. 20, 1862.

³⁴ James Dunwoody Brownson DeBow (July 10, 1820-Feb. 27, 1867), editor and statistician, was born in Charleston, S. C. He founded *Southern Quarterly Review*, *Commercial Review of the South and Southwest*, and the famous *DeBow's Review* which occupied in the South and Southwest a place similar to *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine* in the country at large. Following his resignation as Chief Commissioner of the Produce Loan Office, DeBow accepted appointment as a paid General Agent to take subscriptions, purchase, and sell cotton for the Confederate government. Allen and Malone, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography* (20 vols., New York, 1930), V, 180-182.

³⁵ J. D. B. DeBow Papers (MMS. Division, Duke University Library, hereafter cited DeBow Papers), DeBow to G. A. Trenholm, Aug. 5, 1864.

³⁶ Pollard, *Davis*, 176.

feared that the existing Produce Loan plan calling for payment of the subscribed portion of the crop on a fixed day was a financial trick—one by which the government could compel a forced sale at prices ruinous to the planters.³⁷ Numerous complaints were filed with the Secretary, some expressing opposition to a specific day for satisfying subscriptions to the loans,³⁸ others expressing fear of a forced or compulsory sale.³⁹

In an attempt to alleviate these fears, Memminger wrote to General W. W. Harllee:

The inquiries you made as to the appointment of a day of sale in the subscriptions have been made by several other gentlemen, and for the information of all I think it would be best to make this letter public. The whole scheme of this subscription act . . . assumes that the blockade will not be continued through the winter. The date of sale mentioned in the subscription was left optional with the subscriber. It intends merely to name the time when the crops of that region are usually sold and no one contemplated or desired a forced sale. An attempt to sell while the ports remain blockaded would injure both the Government and the owner. The subscription, being of net proceeds, would be destructive of its object to call for a sale when the market was closed. You may, therefore, assure all subscribers that they need be under no apprehensions on this score.

If the blockade be not broken, the crop will remain unsold and neither the owner nor the Government will realize any proceeds of sale until that difficulty be removed. If this difficulty should remain permanent, or if there should be reasonable ground to apprehend the continuance of the blockade, it will become proper to adopt some other scheme of finance providing for that contingency.⁴⁰

As the blockade continued and the planters became harder pressed for funds, another "scheme of finance providing for that contingency" was urged. From all sides came proposals for the government to buy the whole cotton crop and any other produce it needed, paying the average price of the last five years, and

³⁷ *Corresp. with Treas. CSA.*, V, 210-211, V. P. Reed to Memminger, July 13, 1861. *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 150, Memminger to A. M. Dantzler, July 11, 1861; IV, 182, Memminger to R. Moorman, Sept. 2, 1861.

³⁸ *Corresp. with Treas. CSA.*, V, 143-145, Wm. T. Sanford to Howell Cobb, June 19, 1861;

³⁹ *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 158, Memminger to James H. Brigham, July 17, 1861; IV, 163, Memminger to John D. Williams, July 23, 1861.

⁴⁰ *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 147-148, Memminger to Gen. W. W. Harllee, July 9, 1861; IV, 158, Memminger to James H. Brigham, July 17, 1861. Memminger wrote to John Willis, June 25, 1861, saying: "It is no part of the plan for cotton subscriptions that there should be any compulsory sale. The cotton is in the hands of the factor of each planter, and although a time is named for its sale, it is not expected that the sale will be forced. The difficulty is in a different direction. The factor having possession may invent excuses for delaying sale. . . ." *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 126.

giving its bonds and Treasury notes in exchange, thus saving the debtor planters from the throes of bankruptcy.⁴¹ To assure government aid, the planters stressed that only by government ownership of the entire crop could "King Cotton" really perform "its right function in the war"—that of "keep[ing] the nations of the continent and Great Britain in their good behavior towards us."⁴² Other proposals wanted the government "to simply make an advance to the planters, taking a lien on the crop in exchange."⁴³ At conventions of the cotton planters, resolutions were frequently passed calling upon the government to issue notes and buy at least a part of the crop.⁴⁴

To these numerous proposals⁴⁵ the Secretary of the Treasury replied, "Congress has only authorized the exchange of the proceeds of the crops for the Government paper; not the purchase of produce,"⁴⁶ and added that:

Congress has not deemed it expedient to receive IN KIND the agricultural produce of the country [in exchange for Government Bonds]. The plan adopted is simply a subscription by the planters of the proceeds of their crops, when sold, in exchange for bonds of the Government. This plan presumes a sale. If the blockade, or any other cause, should postpone the sale, the subscriptions, of course, will remain suspended. How far, in that case, it may be expedient for the Government to make an advance to the planters is a very grave question upon which there are differences of opinion.⁴⁷

Memminger was originally "inclined to favor an advance," and stated he was "endeavoring to mature a plan for lending the

⁴¹ James Hammond Papers (MSS. Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.), vol. XXIX, J. H. Hammond to Memminger, July 11, 1861; Hammond to Col. Thos. F. Drayton (Agt.), July 12, 1861; Hammond to Wm. Gregg (Agt.), July 12, 1861; Chas. W. Ramsdell, *Behind the Line in the Southern Confederacy* (Baton Rouge, La.; Louisiana State University, 1944), 86-87; *Corresp. with Treas. CSA.*, V, 359, Thos. M. Harris, Thos. F. Wells, Asa Dugan (a committee representing the people of Washington County, Ga.) to Jefferson Davis, Oct. 3, 1861. During the time of strong agitation for government ownership of the entire cotton crop, there was also some opposition to the idea. *Corresp. with Treas. CSA.*, V, 338-339, C. L. Dubuisson to Memminger, Sept. 20, 1861. Ed. DeLony to Memminger, Aug. 17, 1861, said the government will become "a great commercial machine . . . an immense cotton brokerage, with hundreds of agents like leeches, fastened upon and drawing out the substance of the Government. . . ." It would fix rates, perhaps one-third below cost and "it would be a step towards the assumption of central power that Lincoln's Congress would hardly dare to exercise. . . ." *Corresp. with Treas. CSA.*, V, 280-281.

⁴² Hammond Papers, XXIV, Herschel V. Johnson to Hammond, Aug. 29, 1861.

⁴³ *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 196, Memminger to C. L. Dubuisson, Oct. 3, 1861; Pollard, *Davis*, 178-179.

⁴⁴ *DeBow's Review*, Oct.-Nov., 1861, 462 (convention, Macon, Ga., Oct. 1861); Charleston *Daily Courier*, March 3, 1862 (Cotton and Tobacco Planters' Convention, Richmond, Va.).

⁴⁵ Memminger credits Geo. A. Trenholm (Memminger's successor as Secretary of the Treasury) as being the first to suggest that the government buy the crop with Treasury notes. *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 117-118, Memminger to Chas. T. Lowndes, June 20, 1861.

⁴⁶ *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 163, Memminger to Messrs. O'Hear, Roper, Stoney, Charleston, S. C., July 23, 1861; IV, 115, Memminger to A. Huston, June 19, 1861.

⁴⁷ *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 185, Memminger to J. G. Wright, Paris, Texas, Sept. 6, 1861; IV, 118-119, Memminger to W. C. Bibb, June 20, 1861.

credit of the Government to the planters in the shape of an advance of Treasury notes, based upon the value of cotton." This, he believed, would give to the planters "all the advantages without the evils of a bank."⁴⁸

The plan, however, failed to materialize at that time, and after further consideration of the proposals Memminger reported that government aid to the planter class would be unconstitutional. In a circular of October 15, 1861, to "The Commissioners Appointed to Receive Subscriptions to the Produce Loan," the Secretary declared the government's policy was determined by its constitution, and that under that organ "no power is granted to any Department to lend money for relief of any interest"; that the "power of Congress regarding money is limited to borrowing, and no clause can be found which would sanction so stupendous a scheme as purchasing the entire crop of cotton with a view to aid owners." The Secretary then showed such a scheme would cost from 100 to 175 millions in additional Treasury notes, and would wreck the government's finances at the beginning of what appeared to be a gigantic war. Recommending that the planters turn their attention to remedies other than government aid, he suggested that they divert a portion of their labor from raising cotton to making clothes and other supplies and to preparing winter crops to ease the grain shortage, and finally, if emergencies should demand funds, apply to the great resource of money capital in banks and private hands for individual loans.⁴⁹

Congress, abiding by the recommendations of the Secretary of the Treasury, refrained from legislating any measures insuring relief to the planters.⁵⁰ Aid to the latter, however, was

⁴⁸ *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 147-148, Memminger to Gen. W. W. Harlee, Marion, S. C., July 9, 1861. In the same correspondence, the head of the Treasury disclosed his plan to be as follows: "to issue Treasury notes at an interest of 2c per day per \$100.00, and advance 5c per pound in these notes to the planters, taking a lien on the cotton for the advance. The cotton thus borrowed on would be placed in the hands of some middle man. The notes being received as currency will enable the planter to pay his indebtedness and also any portion which he has devoted to the Government through the Produce Loan, and the cotton can remain an indefinite time, so that the foreigner will be compelled to break the blockade. In fact it might be repeated for 2 years. For all that we want abroad we probably have means enough there now to pay; but if the blockade continues we cannot get anything from abroad so that we will have nothing to pay for." *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 168, Memminger to Ed. G. Palmer, July 30, 1861.

⁴⁹ *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 213-216, Circular to "The Commissioners Appointed to Receive Subscriptions to the Produce Loan," Oct. 15, 1861; IV, 152, Memminger to W. H. Jones, July 13, 1861; IV, 200-201, Memminger to R. D. Powell, Oct. 9, 1861; Capers, *Memminger*, 352-355; Pollard, *Davis*, 179-180; *Off'l. Rec'ds.*, 4th S., I, 689-691; *Confed. Treas. Reports*, III, 49-52, Schwab, *Confed. Sts. of Am.*, 15-16.

⁵⁰ *DeBow's Review*, Dec. 1861, 558.

not to be denied, and the help refused by the Provisional Congress was soon "freely provided" by various state governments issuing their own bonds and treasury notes based on the security of cotton received in exchange for them. Expecting to redeem their bonds and treasury notes with receipts from the sale of the cotton, the several states carried on operations at home and abroad. These operations, interfering with the similar cotton speculation carried on simultaneously by the Confederacy, gave rise to conflicts between the competing state and Confederate governments.⁵¹

ORGANIZATION FOR COLLECTING SUBSCRIPTIONS TO THE PRODUCE LOANS: ITS OPERATION

As the year 1862 got under way, there were frequent reports of planters selling their crops. In order to receive the portion of net proceeds subscribed to the Produce Loan, the government hurriedly completed plans for making collections.⁵²

Adopting the arrangements made by DeBow, an organization was established to collect subscriptions. A General Agent of the loan was appointed for each state. He was to superintend the taking and collecting of all the subscriptions payable within his state. As an aid in collecting subscriptions payable at places other than his own residence, each General Agent was authorized to appoint Subordinate-Agents.⁵³

To make the organization for collecting subscriptions more effective, all agents were to receive a compensation—a brokerage upon the amount each collected. In explaining the change from volunteers to paid agents, the Secretary said the duties of volunteer agents had become so "onerous and responsible" and absorbed so much of their time that they were compelled to notify him of their inability to continue their services. Stating that since only 20 millions of the 100-million loan had been subscribed through the efforts of volunteers, the balance, he felt, required the

⁵¹ Along with Mississippi, both Texas and North Carolina issued state treasury notes and bonds to the planters for cotton and engaged in extensive cotton speculations in competition with the Confederate government. A similar scheme for relief of the planters was also considered in Louisiana but failed fruition. Schwab, *Confed. Sts. of Am.*, 25-26; *Off'l. Rec'ds.*, 1st S., XXXIV, pt. 3, 730-734.

⁵² *Confed. Treas. Reports*, III, 59-66, Treasury Report of March 14, 1862; *Charleston Daily Courier*, Jan. 25, 1862; *Off'l. Rec'ds.*, 4th S., I, 689-691, (Memminger to Produce-Loan Commissioners, Oct. 15, 1861); DeBow Papers, F. D. Conrad to DeBow, Nov. 7, 1861; Capers, *Memminger*, 352-355.

⁵³ *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 247-248, Memminger to Robert Tyler, Register of the Treasury, C. S. A., Jan. 3, 1862.

active intervention of paid agents—the said agents to be compensated by a brokerage appropriated by Congress.⁵⁴

Having completed the arrangements for collecting subscriptions, DeBow resigned the position he held gratuitously as Chief Commissioner of the Produce Loan Office⁵⁵ and two weeks later, January 17, 1862, accepted appointment as “General Agent to collect proceeds from the sale of subscriptions to the Produce Loan” for the city of New Orleans.⁵⁶ In announcing DeBow’s resignation, Memminger insisted that the “new and onerous” duties of the Produce Loan Office be placed under the management of Robert Tyler,⁵⁷ Register of the Treasury, recommending that “a chief clerk with a salary of \$1500 should have the chief charge of the business with one or two clerks under him”⁵⁸ at a salary of \$1000.⁵⁹ In assuming the superintendence of the Produce Loan, the Register of the Treasury, believing the chief clerk “should be a gentlemen of education, capacity, and integrity,” submitted the name of Archibald Roane of the First Auditor’s Office.⁶⁰ Memminger approved Tyler’s request, and on January 21, 1862, he informed Archibald Roane⁶¹ that “he was

⁵⁴ *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 276, Memminger to R. W. Barnwell, chairman, Committee on Finance, Senate, March 28, 1862. The compensation of both General Agents and Subordinate-Agents was a brokerage at the following rates: On all sums of \$100,000 and under, 1/2 of 1 per cent; on all sums over \$100,000 and less than \$500,000, 1/4 of 1 per cent additional; on all sums over \$500,000 and less than \$1,000,000, 1/8 of 1 per cent additional; and on all sums over \$1,000,000, 1/16 of 1 per cent additional; until the whole compensation of any one agent shall reach \$3,000, beyond which no charge shall be made. *Confed. Treas. Reports*, III, 53-54, “Instructions for the Agents Collecting Subscriptions to the Produce Loan, Jan. 3, 1862.”

⁵⁵ Following DeBow’s resignation Jan. 3, 1862, as head of the Produce Loan Office, a certain Norrell acted as temporary chief clerk until the appointment of Archibald Roane. *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 247-248, Memminger to Robt. Tyler, Jan. 3, 1862.

⁵⁶ DeBow Papers, Memminger to DeBow, Jan. 13, 1862.

⁵⁷ Robert Tyler, son of President John Tyler, was born in New Kent County, Va., 1818; died in Montgomery, Ala., 1877. Educated at William and Mary College. Became a member of the Philadelphia Bar, 1844. From 1853 to 1861 he was prothonotary of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. With the start of the Civil War he moved to Virginia and was appointed Register of the Treasury, C. S. A., 1861-1864. Wilson and Fiske, eds., *Appleton’s Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (6 vols., New York, 1889), VI, 199.

⁵⁸ *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 247-248, Memminger to Robt. Tyler, Jan. 3, 1862. In the same correspondence, the Secretary wrote, “As the subscriptions are in substance offers to take so much of the issue of one hundred millions of bonds authorized by the act of Aug. 19, 1861, the issue of said bonds for produce and the carrying into complete effect the subscriptions, are regular duties of your bureau, but, inasmuch as they are new and onerous, additional clerks will be furnished you for the purpose.” *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 247-248.

⁵⁹ *Confed. Treas. Reports*, III, 47, Memminger to Howell Cobb, Pres. of Congress, Jan. 20, 1862.

⁶⁰ *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 255, Robt. Tyler to Memminger, Jan. 16, 1862.

⁶¹ As the business of the Produce Loan Office expanded, Roane added two clerks to the Office. On Dec. 26, 1862, L. L. Howison was appointed to “examine and record invoices of tobacco purchases and Tithes” and also was responsible for “accounts connected with the shipment and sale of cotton and tobacco in Europe.” J. W. Burke was appointed Feb. 26, 1863, to “examine and record invoices of cotton purchases and Tithes Cotton” and also to “examine and prepare for settlement the accounts of Produce Loan Agents.” “List of Clerks in the Produce Loan Office, Treasury Department, between the Ages of 18 and 45,” Oct. 11, 1864, signed by A. Roane, Chief Clerk, Produce Loan Office, in Acc. 212, Confederate Archives (Treas. Dept., National Archives, Washington, D. C.).

transferred from the office of First Auditor to the produce loan bureau, of which he will act as chief clerk."

Desiring funds in England⁶² predicated upon the Produce Loan,⁶³ Memminger instructed the General Agents to ascertain whether any merchants in their districts could give to the Treasury Department "a credit in England, secured by the deposit of cotton in this country, . . . upon a pledge that the cotton would be shipped to the house making the advance upon the removal of the blockade."⁶⁴ If this could be effected, the Secretary proposed that the agents procure the cotton from subscribers to the loan. "In making the purchases," he said, "it would be desirable to induce the subscribers to the produce loan to let you have, at the market price, the portion of crop which they had subscribed, and thus close the subscription. . . . You will readily perceive the advantage of exchanging the credit of the government in a bond for commodities which will be available for foreign purchase. . . ." ⁶⁵

Learning of the desires of the Secretary, the editor of the Richmond *Daily Enquirer* wrote that a project favorably entertained by the highest authorities was under way, saying "It is proposed that the Government take all the cotton subscribed under the produce loan act at . . . some . . . fair price, and as much more cotton as may be subscribed on the same terms" giving government bonds in exchange. Commissioners were "to be sent to Europe with full powers to negotiate the sale of the cotton, or to make it the basis of a treaty alliance with Louis Napoleon." The editor added:

⁶² S. N. Campbell (merchant, London) wrote "At this moment we are in advance Cash payments upward of 500,000 dollars" to the Confederacy, and "We are as you may suppose most anxious for remittances. . . . We shall be glad to receive produce, say cotton, tobacco, or turpentine, it can be purchased for our account and credit given . . . for the value in liquidation, or if you elect the produce can be shipped to us to be sold upon your account, the proceeds credited less our commission." John T. Pickett Papers (MSS. Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., hereafter cited as Pickett Papers), S. N. Campbell to R. M. T. Hunter (Secretary of State), Jan. 29, 1862.

⁶³ *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 264, Memminger to DeBow, Feb. 17, 1862.

⁶⁴ *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 265, Memminger to L. W. Lawler, Gen. Agt., Feb. 17, 1862; DeBow Papers, Memminger to DeBow, March 28, 1862.

⁶⁵ *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 272-273, 282-283, Memminger to Messrs. John Fraser and Co., Gen. Agts., March 24, 1862, and April 9, 1862; DeBow Papers, Memminger to DeBow, April 5, 1862. It is evident that Memminger also expected to use the cotton thus procured for purchases at home as well as abroad. On April 1, 1862, he wrote DeBow, "The War Dept. have purchased from Messrs. Gatherin and Co. a large supply of goods, for Army use, which they desire to pay for in cotton. If this can be purchased with Confederate bonds, it will be mutually beneficial to the War and Treas. Depts." *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 277, Memminger to DeBow, April 1, 1862. The Secretary of the Treasury believed "many owners would prefer changing their cotton into Government bonds rather than face the danger threatening it in the exposed areas." *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 269, Memminger to Geo. A. Trenholm, March 7, 1862.

It is believed that if a million of bales of cotton could be offered at a fair price, to meet the demand in France, that Government would purchase it on delivery in this country. This would necessitate the Emperor to raise the blockade and take possession of the purchase. . . .⁶⁶

Motivated primarily by his desire to procure funds in Europe⁶⁷ and also hoping to induce foreign aid in raising the blockade,⁶⁸ Memminger recommended that Congress authorize the acceptance of articles in kind subscribed to the Produce Loan in exchange for bonds.⁶⁹

250-MILLION DOLLAR LOAN—CONTINUATION OF THE PRODUCE LOANS: THE FINAL FORM

Adopting the Secretary's recommendations, Congress on April 21, 1862, approved "An act to authorize the exchange of bonds for articles in kind, and the shipment, sale, or hypothecation of such articles."⁷⁰ This was the third and final form of the Produce Loan. The act empowered the Secretary "to exchange [\$250-Million in] bonds or stock of the Confederate States for any articles in kind, required by the Government." Officers of the Commissary were directed "to receive, at the place of purchase, all such articles applicable to their Department, and apply same as though purchased by themselves." Section 3 of the act authorized the Secretary:

. . . to accept for the use of the Government in exchange for . . . bonds or stock, cotton, tobacco, and other agricultural products in kind, which have been subscribed to the Produce Loan, or

⁶⁶ Richmond *Daily Enquirer*, editorial "Cotton and the Blockade," March 8, 1862. Speaking of the blockade on April 3, Memminger said, "It seems likely that the blockade will continue longer than I had supposed. England seems more set against us now than at the beginning of the war. . . ." *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 278, Memminger to James D. Dénégre, April 3, 1862. Regarding England's attitude, James H. Hammond said, "The Government should have taken over control of total cotton crop at first and Great Britain would have come to her aid for fear of Industrial suicide from loss of cotton. Instead the Gov't. refused to take over complete control and permitted speculators to take out cotton over blockade and when England got it without coming to aid of the Confederacy she refused to aid and remained aloof." James H. Hammond Papers (MSS. Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., hereafter cited as Hammond Papers), XXIX, Hammond to Col. L. M. Keitt, June 27, 1862.

⁶⁷ *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 265, Memminger to L. W. Lawler, Feb. 17, 1862.

⁶⁸ Charleston *Daily Courier*, address of Dr. C. K. Marshall, Mississippi, at meeting of Cotton Planters and Tobacco Planters in Richmond, Va., March 3, 1862; Hammond Papers, XXIX, James H. Hammond to Memminger, April, 1862.

⁶⁹ *Confed. Treas. Reports*, III, 59-66, Financial Report, March 14, 1862.

⁷⁰ Register of Acts C. S. A., Act No. 80 of the Permanent Congress of 1862, passed April 18, approved April 21, 1862; Matthews, *Public Laws of CSA.*, 47.

which may be subscribed in kind at such rates as may be adjusted between parties and the agents of the Government. *Provided*, That in no event shall he receive of cotton or tobacco, a greater value than \$35 millions. . . .⁷¹

The Secretary was further authorized to procure advances on the cotton and tobacco by hypothecation, or to ship the same abroad, or to sell the same at home or abroad; and, to assist these operations, he was permitted to issue Produce Certificates, which entitled the party to whom issued to receive the produce therein set forth, and to ship it to any neutral port.⁷²

PROCURING ARTICLES IN KIND UNDER ACT OF APRIL 21, 1862

On May 21, 1862, detailed regulations were issued to the Produce Loan agents instructing them to direct their efforts almost entirely to the purchase of cotton with bonds.⁷³

The agents were "requested to proceed with vigor to the execution of this trust, and in every part of the state where safe deposit can be had of the cotton purchased . . . proceed to make purchases."⁷⁴ With cotton "being of a character useful to the Army or susceptible of being made . . . a basis for credit and negotiation at home or abroad,"⁷⁵ no limit was set to the extent of purchases, and as late as October 8 the agents were ordered to "purchase with 8 per cent bonds . . . as much as you can get."⁷⁶ Market value of the cotton was ascertained from actual *bona fide* sales, and varied from state to state and county to county, as the

⁷¹ Matthews, *Public Laws of CSA.*, 47. In addition to the thirty-five million dollars in bonds, Congress also placed two million dollars in Treasury notes in the depositories to be drawn on by agents for the purchase of produce. *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 366, Memminger to James Sorley, Oct. 17, 1862; IV, 370-371, Memminger to President Davis, Oct. 22, 1862. "An Act making appropriations to carry into effect 'An act authorizing the exchange of bonds for articles in kind, and the shipment, sale or hypothecation of such articles,'" approved April 21, 1862, found in Matthews, *Public Laws of CSA.*, 50.

⁷² Matthews, *Public Laws of CSA.*, 47.

⁷³ For full text of regulations, see *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 297-299, "Regulations as to the Purchase of Produce under the 'Act to Authorize the Exchange of Bonds for Articles in Kind, and the Shipment, Sale, or Hypothecation of Such Articles,' Approved April 21, 1862," Memminger to all agents, May 21, 1862.

⁷⁴ *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 304, Memminger to Phinzy and Clayton, Gen. Agts., May 29, 1862; DeBow Papers, Memminger to DeBow, June 10, 1862. Any cotton purchased by the government within 12 to 20 miles from a navigable river was to be removed by the planter to a safe distance and was to receive the same care by the planter as in its original location. It was to be "well housed and protected from weather, be safe from cattle, and not near enough to the ground to be injured." DeBow Papers, "Produce Loan—Instructions to Agents," Oct. 29, 1862.

⁷⁵ DeBow Papers, "Produce Loan—Instructions," July 24, 1862. DeBow to Subordinate Agents.

⁷⁶ *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 362, Memminger to Messrs. Phinzy and Clayton, Oct. 8, 1862.

cotton was near or distant from market, or more or less exposed to the enemy.⁷⁷

As the Produce Loan agents proceeded with their purchasing operations, many planters refused to sell their cotton and other produce to the government unless part of the transaction was paid in negotiable Treasury notes rather than in non-negotiable bonds. Learning of this Memminger informed all agents, "You are instructed to make your purchases with Bonds as far as practicable and whenever parties selling refuse to receive payment entirely in Bonds you are authorized to make payment partly with cash not to exceed in any case more than one-half of the whole cost."⁷⁸

COTTON CERTIFICATES

Temporarily overcoming the difficulty retarding the purchase of cotton, the government was able to procure a considerable amount which it stored on plantations and in warehouses. Using this cotton as security, the Treasury issued 1,500 Cotton Certificates which it planned to sell in Europe, thus acquiring funds for its purchases abroad. The Cotton Certificates, adopted upon the suggestion of James M. Mason, Confederate Commissioner to Great Britain,⁷⁹ stipulated that the price of cotton be fixed at 5 pence sterling per pound. Each certificate was valued at \$1,000 and called for 20 bales of cotton.⁸⁰ "Separate certificates were issued for Gulf and Atlantic ports, in amounts that could be delivered at each." The certificates were "demandable only after peace, and within six months thereafter," as it was "impossible to deliver cotton in any great amount till then." In the event a

⁷⁷ During 1862 the government instructed its agents for purchasing cotton to adhere to the list showing valuation for different grades of cotton as issued by J. E. Valle, Cotton Broker, and Payne, Harrington and Co., Cotton Factors, New Orleans, April 17, 1862. Based on New Orleans Middling at 6, 9, and 10 cents respectively, the values were:

Ordinary	4-1/2	6-3/4	7-1/2
Good Ordinary	5	7-1/4	8
Low Middling	5-3/8	7-3/4	8-1/4
Liverpool Middling	5-3/4	8-1/2	9
Orleans Middling	6	9	10
Good Middling	6-1/2	9-1/2	10-1/2
Middling Fair	7 to 7-1/4	10	10-3/4
Fair	7-3/4	10-1/2	11-1/4
Fully Fair	8-1/4 to 8-1/2	11	12
Good, Fair, & Upwards	9-1/2	12	14-1/2 to 15

Each of these prices was permitted to range from 1 to 2-1/2 cents for the same grade according to its degree of security. DeBow Papers, "Produce Loan—Instructions," July 24, 1862. DeBow to Subordinate-Agents.

⁷⁸ DeBow Papers, Memminger to J. T. Doswell and Co., Dec. 5, 1862; *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 360-361, Memminger to J. S. K. Bennett, Oct. 4, 1862; IV, 366, Memminger to James Sorley, Oct. 17, 1862; IV, 384, Memminger to Dr. S. P. Moore, Nov. 11, 1862.

⁷⁹ *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 388-389, Memminger to James Spence, Nov. 26, 1862.

⁸⁰ A Cotton Certificate called for 20 bales of cotton, each valued at \$50 per bale (5 pence Sterling or 10 cents per pound x 500 pounds to the bale), thus its face value of \$1,000.

purchaser desired to run the blockade, the following clause was added to each certificate: "The Government further agrees to deliver cotton called for in this certificate at any time during the pending war, at any port within its possession upon the payment by the holder of the cost of the transportation."⁸¹

Believing Cotton Certificates offered the best means for raising money abroad, Memminger informed the Secretary of Navy, S. R. Mallory, of this belief, adding:

. . . The embarrassment which my agents meet with is from being obliged to purchase with bonds. This difficulty could be removed by your placing at my disposal the money which you wish to remit to Europe. With that my agents would buy cotton, and upon these purchases, Cotton Certificates could be issued and sent to Europe and their proceeds placed to the credit of your agent in Europe.⁸²

Upon Mallory's approval to place at Memminger's disposal the appropriations made to the Navy Department for naval supplies, the Secretary of the Treasury hastened to fill the Navy and War departments' needs. To effect this, Memminger appointed J. B. Gladney, a Subordinate-Agent-At-Large, to purchase cotton in Mississippi. Writing to J. D. B. DeBow, General Agent for the State of Mississippi, Robert Tyler, Register of the Treasury, said, "Mr. Gladney has made some important contracts with the Navy and War Departments and cotton to be purchased by him is to be set apart and appropriated to the payment of these contracts until they are satisfied. This appointment is somewhat irregular, but it is made to meet a special case."⁸³ Adhering to this example, Memminger appointed the firm of J. T. Doswell and Company Subordinate-Agent-At-Large in northern Mississippi, Tennessee, and part of Arkansas lying between the St. Francis and Mississippi Rivers, "to fill contracts for military supplies, made by the Quartermaster General with Messrs. Walker, Harris, and Fowlkes."⁸⁴ The management of the Subordinate-Agents-At-Large came under the jurisdiction of the General Agent in whose area they operated. Their activities were guided by the general instructions sent to all Produce Loan and Pur-

⁸¹ *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 372-374 (Cotton Certificate Instructions), Memminger to James M. Mason, Oct. 24, 1862.

⁸² *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 382, Memminger to S. R. Mallory, Secretary of the Navy, Nov. 7, 1862.

⁸³ DeBow Papers, Robt. Tyler to DeBow, Nov. 21, 1862.

⁸⁴ DeBow Papers, Memminger to DeBow, Dec. 5, 1862.

chasing Agents, with one exception; namely, due to the time limit for satisfying the War and Navy contracts for cotton, the Subordinate-Agents-At-Large were not "expected like other Sub-Agents to operate in a particular district," but were authorized to make the most advantageous purchases wherever they could within the limits described in their appointments. In order to identify cotton purchased by them, the Subordinate-Agents-At-Large were instructed to endorse their "name upon the Certificates of Transfer, and place some distinguishing mark upon the cotton itself to the end that it may as far as possible be used in payment of the contracts made by the Quartermaster General . . . for military supplies."⁸⁵

For all cotton purchased by the Special Agents, Cotton Certificates were placed in the depositories, to be drawn on in satisfying the contracts. The Cotton Certificates were "valued at the expense of purchase plus the fees of agents, plus the amount cotton had appreciated since the date of purchase."⁸⁶

As the year 1862 drew to a close, the War Department, adopting the idea fostered by the Treasury, appointed its own Subordinate-Agents-At-Large in an attempt to expedite cotton purchases and complete contracts for supplies.⁸⁷ The result, however, was not the favorable one anticipated—rather, it was a demoralizing one. The operations of the various Subordinate-Agents-At-Large competed with those carried on by the Produce Loan Agents, and both, in turn, competed with the various state and private agencies. As competition increased, prices rose, and with the rise of prices, many planters again refused to sell their commodity, hoping for a still higher price.

With the start of the new year, operations under the act of August 19, 1861, remained retarded owing to circumstances growing out of the state of war and the invasion and occupation of various portions of the Confederate States by the enemy,⁸⁸ whereas the activities of the agents appointed to purchase articles in kind with bonds under the act of April 21, 1862, went on unabated, their efforts continuing toward the procurement of cotton.

⁸⁵ DeBow Papers, Memminger to J. T. Doswell and Co., Dec. 5, 1862.

⁸⁶ DeBow Papers, Memminger to DeBow, Dec. 5, 1862.

⁸⁷ Major A. A. Burluson was appointed a Special Agent by the Quartermaster General to fill army contracts payable in cotton, one of the contracts being with Barriere and Brothers for 10,000 bales of cotton and another with Walker, Harris, and Fowlkes for cotton valued at \$1,000,000. DeBow Papers, Memminger to DeBow, Dec. 22, 1862.

⁸⁸ *Confed. Treas. Reports*, III, 115-123, Thompson Allen, Chief Clerk of War-Tax, to Memminger, Jan. 6, 1863.

To increase purchases of cotton, DeBow advocated purchasing small lots that had been previously ignored. "By not purchasing *small* lots," he said, "the Government loses some of the *best* and *best located* cotton . . . and causes dissatisfaction among the smaller subscribers to the loan who are among the most reliable citizens." DeBow added that competing buyers "prefer lots of 5-10-15 bales" believing that the "cotton is better and will be better taken care of. . . ." The General Agent, as a further means of increasing cotton purchases, again⁸⁹ suggested "buying cotton not in marketable order . . . put up in boards and under shed" saying it was "no more liable to loss than other cotton" and "if the war lasts long—cotton in rope and bagging will [also] suffer great deterioration."⁹⁰

Approving both suggestions in the hope of increasing the supply of government cotton, Memminger said he desired, however, that all purchases of cotton in lots of less than 20 bales be "aggregated as much as possible" and that all unbaled cotton should be purchased "at a considerably reduced rate."⁹¹

As the blockade continued in effect, the government's mounting supply of cotton was considered by some to be "a white elephant."⁹² The Secretary of the Treasury, however, was well aware of its merits as a basis for speculation security and in January, 1863, contracted with the French house of Emile Erlanger and Co., to float a 15-million dollar loan in Europe. This was known as the Erlanger Loan. In compliance with the requests of the Secretary,⁹³ Congress authorized bonds of the Confederate States valued at 15-million dollars to be issued, payable 20 years after date, with coupons attached for payment

⁸⁹ On the recommendations of a Judge Harris, Nov. 9, 1862, DeBow suggested "purchasing cotton put up in boards," but the Secretary of the Treasury thought it best to buy only cotton put up in bales at that time, saying "the plan may merit consideration hereafter." DeBow Papers, Tyler to DeBow, Nov. 19, 1862.

⁹⁰ DeBow Papers, DeBow to Memminger, Jan. 1, 1863.

⁹¹ DeBow Papers, Robt. Tyler to DeBow, Jan. 15, 1863. The planters, however, refused to sell unbaled cotton cheaper. They were willing to sell and pledge themselves to put it in good shipping order but wanted the same price that was paid for baled lots, saying: "Cotton now bought in baling and rope, if held till next winter will not be (in many cases) in shipping order, because of the bursting of ropes and rot of bagging. . . . If any difference is made, it should be in favor of the seller who delivers his cotton in *new* baling and rope rather than against him. Besides, the cotton being bought and paid for at *nett* weights, [we] lose the sale of this rope and bagging price too . . ." DeBow Papers, Chas. Baskerville (sub-agent) to DeBow, Feb. 11, 1863. In answer to this, instructions "To agents of the Produce Loan," March 25, 1863, stated: "In purchasing unmarketable cotton . . . the weight of the bagging and rope hereafter to be used may be added, but a discount of 3/4 to 1c per lb. must be made from market price of such cotton." DeBow Papers, Chas. Baskerville to DeBow, Feb. 11, 1863.

⁹² Schwab, *Confed. Sts. of Am.*, 16.

⁹³ Pickett Papers, II, Memminger to Davis, Jan. 9, 1863.

of interest abroad at 7 per cent per year. Certificates for delivery of cotton in exchange for the bonds were also approved.⁹⁴ To make the loan more attractive, Article 4, pertaining to the cotton procured by the Produce Loan Office, stated:

Each bond shall be, at the option of the holder convertible at its nominal amount into cotton at the rate of 6 pence sterling for each pound of cotton, i. e., 4,000 lbs. of cotton for each bond of £100 . . . Notice of the intention of converting bonds into cotton has to be given to the representatives of the Government in Paris or London, and 60 days after such notice the cotton will be delivered—if peace, in the ports of Charleston, Savannah, Mobile or New Orleans; if war, at points in the interior of the country, within 10 miles of a railroad or steam navigable to the ocean. The delivery will be made free of all charges and duties except the existing export duty of 1/8 of 1 cent per lb. The quality of the cotton to be the standard of New Orleans middling. If any cotton is of superior or inferior quality the difference in value of cotton shall be settled by two brokers, one to be appointed by the Government and the other by the bondholder. Whenever these two brokers cannot agree on the value, an umpire is to be chosen whose decision shall be final.⁹⁵

By February 11, 1865, approximately five-sixths of the loan was sold, the Confederacy realizing up to that date \$7,675,501.25, a trifle over one-half of its face value.⁹⁶

With the \$1,500,000 in Cotton Certificates and the \$15-Million Erlanger Loan all supported by cotton presumed to be on hand, it became necessary for the agents of the Produce Loan Office to increase their cotton purchases and also induce the planters to satisfy their subscriptions to the Produce Loan, if the government hoped to extend its borrowing capacity abroad. However, with prices on the increase, many planters continued to refuse to sell their crops apparently waiting for a still higher price. If the government were to procure sufficient cotton to support its securities, additional measures had to be adopted. These measures were not long in coming.

⁹⁴ Charles W. Ramsdell, *Laws of the Last Confederate Congress* (Durham, N. C., 1941, hereafter cited as Ramsdell, *Laws of Confed. Cong.*), 164-165, No. 1, Secret Laws and Resolutions (3rd Session), "An act to authorize a Foreign Loan," approved Jan. 29, 1863.

⁹⁵ Acc. 212, Confederate Archives (Treas. Dept., National Archives, Washington, D. C.), Box 90, "Articles of Emile Erlanger and Co. Agreement of January 8, 1863"; *Confed. Treas. Reports*, III, 98a-98c, "Erlanger Contract," Jan. 9, 1863.

⁹⁶ *Confed. Treas. Reports*, III, 435-436, "Report on the Erlanger Loan, Feb. 11, 1865," showing proceeds from loan as of Oct. 1, 1864.

THE-TAX-IN-KIND AND THE 250-MILLION DOLLAR COTTON
BOND LOAN

On April 24, 1863, Congress authorized the Tax-in-Kind, also known as the Tithe Tax. The provisions of the act were of vital concern to the Produce Loan Office for every farmer or planter in the Confederate States was compelled to pay, along with other produce, one-tenth of his cotton, wool, and tobacco as a tax-in-kind.⁹⁷

In its effort to further supplement the government's cotton supply and also prevent the increasing redundancy of the currency, Congress approved the 250-Million Dollar Cotton Bond Loan of April 30, 1863.⁹⁸

Aimed at curbing the redundant currency and supplementing the government's cotton supply, the act empowered the Secretary of the Treasury to sell \$250-million in 20 year-6 per cent Cotton Bonds for outstanding Treasury notes which the Secretary was then authorized to use for the purchase of agricultural products.⁹⁹ To make the bonds attractive as an investment, coupons were attached providing for the payment of interest in specie (which was, of course, scarce and desirable) or cotton which was constantly appreciating in value.

With the proceeds derived from the sale of Cotton Bonds, the Produce Loan Agents endeavored to purchase additional cotton in an attempt to alleviate the government's increasing obligations. But as prices continued to rise along with the premium on coin, the established interest rates of the Cotton Bonds were considered by the Secretary as too lucrative an investment and on December 10, 1863, the Assistant Treasurers and Pay Depositories were ordered to stop the sale of cotton interest

⁹⁷ "An Act to lay taxes for the common defense and carry on the Government of the Confederate States," passed April 20; approved April 24, 1863. James M. Matthews, ed., *Public Laws of the C. S. A. Passed at the Third Session of the First Congress, 1863* (Richmond, 1863), 115-126.

⁹⁸ The original MS. copy of the act is found in Acc. 378, Confederate States of America Archives, 1861-'65 (Manuscript Division, Duke University Library). The act is listed in Register of Acts, C. S. A., as No. IV, 70 (Secret Session), Permanent Congress, 1863, passed April 27, approved April 30, 1863, and is found *in toto* in Ramsdell, *Laws of Confed. Cong.*, 166-167.

⁹⁹ Ramsdell, *Laws of Confed. Cong.*, 166-167. The 250-Million Dollar Loan of April 30, 1863, was floated in lieu of one hundred millions of dollars in bonds, which the Secretary of the Treasury had been authorized to issue March 23, 1863, at a rate of interest of 6 per cent per year, "payable at the pleasure of the owner in the currency in which interest was paid on the other bonds of the Confederate States or in cotton of the quality of New Orleans middling, valued at eight pence sterling per pound." Ramsdell, *Laws of Confed. Cong.*, 166-167; *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 474, editorial on the act, June 25, DeBow Papers, Memminger to DeBow, May 19, 1863.

bonds.¹⁰⁰ On February 6, 1864, the act of April 30, 1863, authorizing the 250-Million Dollar Cotton Loan was repealed, the total amount of 6 per cent Cotton Bonds issued under the act being \$8,372,000.¹⁰¹

With the start of 1864, Produce Loan agents in the exposed areas were ordered to stop buying cotton and devote their "time and energies to preserving the cotton already purchased," for there was "scarcely a day that some report was not made concerning the exposed condition of Government cotton."¹⁰² Memminger was "desirous that the condition of all cotton be looked into and repairs made where needed." Special Traveling Agents were appointed in the exposed areas "to examine as far as practicable the condition of Government cotton, reporting their observations and helping General Agents with the removal of cotton." They were also ordered "to report all persons undertaking interference without authority with cotton or to traffick in any manner to the end that legal proceedings be had against them."¹⁰³

The appointment of Special Agents, however, was not the sole answer for ending the illicit traffic,¹⁰⁴ nor was it the answer for preserving and securing the cotton. Reports of cotton rotting from being unsheltered continued¹⁰⁵ and cases of fraud, stealing, and illicit trade with the enemy increased in number.¹⁰⁶ Planters in exposed areas resold cotton they had sold to the government.¹⁰⁷ In an attempt to curb some of the lawlessness, newspapers advertised liberal rewards which would "be paid for such evidence

¹⁰⁰ Tel. Messages Treas. Dept., 396, Memminger to W. Y. Leitch, Ass't. Treas., Charleston, S. C., Dec. 10, 1863; Tel. Messages Treas. Dept., 396, Memminger to all Pay Depositories.

¹⁰¹ Raphael P. Thian, compiler, *Register of Issues of Confederate States Treasury Notes, together with Tabular Exhibits of the Debt, Funded and Unfunded, of the Confederate States of America, 1861-'65* (Washington, 1880, hereafter cited *Register of the Debt, Funded and Unfunded, of the CSA.*), 187.

¹⁰² DeBow Papers, Archibald Roane to DeBow, Jan. 29, 1864.

¹⁰³ DeBow Papers, Instructions from DeBow to Henry V. McCall (Special Traveling Agt.), Feb. 4, 1864. M. E. Wholey was appointed a Special Agt. by DeBow "to remove and preserve Gov't. cotton" on the recommendation of the Mississippi delegation in Congress to A. Roane. DeBow Papers, Roane to DeBow, Feb. 15, 1864.

¹⁰⁴ Several of the agents did not escape the vice of illicit trade, H. P. Atkins, Agent at Granada, Miss., H. V. McCall, and an agent, M. S. Dougall, being arrested and "charged with complicity of selling cotton." DeBow Papers, DeBow to C. W. Wood, April 1, 1864; DeBow to H. V. McCall, June 30, 1864; DeBow to Gen. Wirt Adams, July 13, 1864.

¹⁰⁵ DeBow Papers, Roane to DeBow, March 30, 1864.

¹⁰⁶ DeBow Papers, DeBow to J. C. Bridgeforth, April 20, 1864; Dr. Jno. Ambrose (telegram) to DeBow, April 20, 1864; DeBow to Gen. Wirt Adams, April 29, 1864; DeBow to Memminger, April 30, 1864; DeBow to Gen. Polk, April 6, 1864; and others.

¹⁰⁷ In instances of this kind, the agents were to get "all gold, Sterling, or greenbacks received and turned over to the Gov't. at once or within 90 days the parties will be turned over to the authorities." DeBow Papers, DeBow to H. Allen, and E. E. Armstrong, March 26, 1864; *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 599, Memminger to Col. W. A. Broadwell, March 9, 1864.

as will lead to the conviction of any parties engaged in unlawfully appropriating the Government Cotton."¹⁰⁸

Regarding the illegal trade being carried on in the exposed area of Mississippi, T. J. Wharton wrote:

. . . As many as 23 wagons loaded with cotton . . . passed through the public streets of Jackson on the holy Sabbath, in view of the whole community. I am assured that, in the district between Raymond and Utica, women (I cannot call them *Ladies*, however respectable they may have been heretofore) mount their horses, and ride over the neighborhood, buying up cotton, to sell to the Yankees and invest the proceeds in merchandize such as coffee, clothing, and, in some instances, in every kind of luxury. Parties have been engaged in this illicit and demoralizing trade whom you know personally, and whose reputation would [shelter] them from the suspicion of even harboring a thought of engaging in such disgraceful transactions. The evil has not stopped with the sale of cotton owned by the parties, but very large amounts of Government cotton have been *stolen*. The heads with the marks removed, to prevent confiscation by the enemy and then sold at Big Block, in Vicksburg. . . .¹⁰⁹

In response to the many reports of unsheltered cotton, illicit trade, stealing, and fraud, the Confederate House of Representatives resolved that an inquiry be made into the "condition of Government cotton contiguous to the Mississippi and its tributaries." Answering the inquiry, J. D. B. DeBow, General Agent of the Produce Loan Office for that area, wrote:

From every source of information it is certain that the cotton in the exposed district is in the most deplorable condition. Large plantations are abandoned everywhere and the cotton has been left in sheds. These tumble down or are blown down. Stray cattle destroy the cotton; soldiers, particularly cavalrys strip it of the ropes and bagging, or make use of it for beds, scattering it in every direction; fires are of frequent occurrence from accident or incendiaryism; the poor of the country take away as much as they can make use of; runaway Negroes devastate; thieves, with whom the country abounds, carry off the cotton by wholesale, trading it to the Yankees or hiding it in inaccessible places. They do it at night or even in broad daylight as there is little law in the country. Even those who have sold their cotton to the Government, in their desperate fortunes, regarding them-

¹⁰⁸ DeBow Papers, unidentified Mississippi newspaper clipping, April 12, 1864.

¹⁰⁹ Jefferson Davis Papers (MS. Division, Duke University), T. J. Wharton to President Davis, April 16, 1864.

selves as beyond the protection or reach of the Confederacy, *sell it again to the Yankees*, upon the pretext that they will replace it out of the next crop, or out of cotton in other quarters! They justify the act by their necessities—there is reason to fear that soldiers are sometimes implicated in the guilt. Parties visit the section with forged powers, represent themselves as Gov't. agents and take away the cotton, using force if necessary. General demoralization prevails throughout much of the entire section, reaching to every class. *Trade with the enemy is universal*. The temptations to fraud are overwhelming. Even our own agents are often charged with complicity. I have endeavored to procure men familiar with the country and the best recommended. They report it to be impossible to prevent the deprivations. . . .¹¹⁰

Numerous representations were handed to the Secretary of the Treasury, telling of this great quantity of cotton liable to capture which "could be disposed of to the advantage of the Government."¹¹¹ In answer to these representations the Treasury Department indicated "a willingness to sell the cotton in exposed districts" with the understanding that the Confederate authorities would not burn or interfere with it so long as the Government of the United States would respect the understanding and not interfere with it.¹¹²

On November 10, 1864, the Produce Loan Bureau issued its last annual report showing the following business as having been concluded by that branch of the Treasury Department:

The original subscriptions to the Produce Loan	
under Act of May 16, 1861 amounted to	\$28,070,905
The amount collected to date	16,897,000
	<hr/>
The amount still unpaid	\$11,173,905

Further subscriptions to the loan under the act of August 19, 1861, were subsequently received and collected amounting to \$17,579,400, forming with the foregoing sum a total of \$34,476,400 collected.

¹¹⁰ DeBow Papers, "Report on the condition of Government Cotton Contiguous to the Mississippi and its Tributaries," J. D. B. DeBow to Memminger, April 9, 1864; same report found in *Confed. Treas. Reports*, III, 341-345.

¹¹¹ DeBow Papers, Roane to DeBow, April 5, 1864. It was stated that much of the cotton in the exposed areas could be sold to buyers operating for France, England, and Belgium. *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 656, R. G. Latting to Memminger, May 23, 1864; IV, 650, John Duncan to Memminger, May 7, 1864.

¹¹² *Corresp. of Treas. CSA.*, IV, 645, B. M. Bond to Memminger, May 2, 1864.

Under the act of April 12, 1862, authorizing the purchase of cotton and tobacco, the purchases of tobacco were comparatively unimportant, the total being \$1,462,558.93; of cotton, however, they were of great magnitude, the quantity of cotton purchased being 430,724 bales at a cost of \$34,525,219.40. From this must be deducted the following:

	<i>Bales</i>
Lost by capture, burnt by C.S.A. authorities, and used for military purposes	129,771
West of Miss., and subject to be used for military purposes	67,653
Sold by the Treasury Department	6,961
Shipped to Eng. in payment of the foreign debt, and for general purposes	19,683
Expended in payment of cotton coupons	607
Expended for Army supplies	15,000
	<hr/>
	239,675
Which deducted from the quantity purchased, leaves a remainder of	191,049
To which should be added for the estimate yield of the tithe	15,000
	<hr/>
Total on hand	206,049

The report stated that notwithstanding the deficiency occasioned by the large quantity lost and appropriated to military purposes, there was no pecuniary loss, the cotton on hand being sufficient, at the increased value, to reimburse the cost of the entire purchase, the value of 191,049 bales, at fifty cents per pound, being \$38,000,000.¹¹³

GOVERNMENT COTTON AND TOBACCO AND THE COLLAPSE OF THE CONFEDERACY

The question has often been asked, "What became of the Government cotton and tobacco upon the collapse of the Confederacy?" The following is offered as a partial answer.

With the surrender of the Confederate military, all cotton and tobacco owned by the Confederate States of America was to be seized by the United States government and placed under the

¹¹³ *Confed. Treas. Reports*, III, 385-388, "Annual Report of the Produce Loan Bureau," Nov. 10, 1864, Geo. A. Trenholm to R. M. T. Hunter, President pro tempore of the Senate,

supervision of Hugh McCulloch, Secretary of the United States Treasury.¹¹⁴

There is an indication, however, that *all* the cotton belonging to the Confederacy did not reach the hands of the United States government. In the correspondence of Charles Baskerville (Produce Loan Agent) to J. D. B. DeBow (Organizer and General Agent of the Produce Loan), the former implies that many of the agents for the Produce Loan enriched themselves with some of the cotton. Baskerville wrote, "It seems that all the Cotton agents have abundant fortunes—the reappings from our labor."¹¹⁵ Whether this inference bears any truth may never be known.

It is known, however, that in the very last stages of the war—just preceding the surrender—some of the Confederate authorities received tobacco, cotton, and other property, in payment of individual debts contracted in behalf of the Confederacy. John T. Pickett, Confederate envoy to Mexico, received 2,769 boxes of tobacco in this fashion, which he immediately sold to William H. Warder for sterling bills of exchange, because he knew of Warder's "connection with a mercantile house of the highest respectability in New York," and because he had evidence of Warder's "being within the Confederate lines with the knowledge and consent of President Lincoln."¹¹⁶

Be these incidents what they may, a great portion of the Confederate cotton and tobacco *was* acquired by the United States government, and with its acquisition came numerous demands from Europeans for the United States to fulfill the obligations stipulated in the various Confederate bonds which had been sold with the seized cotton as security. The United States government, however, refused to comply with any of these claims stating that according to the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution:

... Neither the United States, nor any State, shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion

¹¹⁴ Frequently the Federal agents took cotton whose ownership raised a question of doubt. In these cases private parties were compelled to contest their claim before the U. S. Treasury Department. DeBow Papers, Charles Baskerville to DeBow, Aug. 15, 1865.

¹¹⁵ DeBow Papers, Baskerville to DeBow, Oct. 12, 1866.

¹¹⁶ Pickett Papers, II, statement written and signed by Jno. T. Pickett, Sept. 11, 1865.

against the United States . . . but all such debts shall be held illegal and void. . . .¹¹⁷

CONCLUSION

With the collapse of the Confederacy, the Produce Loans came to an end. Their primary purpose, as indicated, was that of procuring means whereby funds could be raised at home and abroad to purchase the critical supplies necessary for the government's existence. The expanding duties of the Produce Loan Office encompassed both the taking and collecting of produce subscriptions under the loan acts of May 16 and August 19, 1861, and later entailed the purchase of cotton and tobacco for government use as authorized by the act of April 21, 1862. Through its various operations, the Produce Loan Office endeavored to become a stabilizing instrument in the government's financial policy. Reacting as a curb on the inflated Treasury note currency, it attempted to prevent the growing redundancy of the notes by withdrawing them from circulation, issuing long term bonds in exchange. The Produce Loan Office further attempted to restrict the inflationary tendencies of the note currency by paying for its purchases of produce with government bonds.

As the responsibilities of the Office increased with the assumption of control over the cotton, wool, and tobacco derived from the Tithe Tax, its status was raised, on May 1, 1863, to that of a Bureau. In the final stages of the war, the entire efforts of the Bureau were expended in preserving the government cotton in exposed areas, and selling that which was most likely to fall into enemy hands.

The full influence of the Produce Loans and the Produce Loan Office is impossible to relate. Monetarily speaking, it can be estimated as follows:

Total income from Original Subscriptions to the Produce Loan, Act of May 16, 1861	\$16,897,000.00
Total income from New Subscriptions to the Produce Loan, Act of August 19, 1861	17,579,400.00
	<hr/>
Total income from the Produce Loans . . .	\$34,476,400.00

¹¹⁷ A booklet by J. Barr Robertson, *The Confederate Debt and Private Southern Debts* (London: Waterlow and Sons Limited, 1884), 8, in Acc. 212. Confederate Archives (Treas. Dept., National Archives, Washington, D. C.).

Total amount of produce receive in exchange for bonds, Act of April 21, 1862	\$35,987,778.33
Estimated income from Tithe Tax, 15,000 bales @ \$75	1,125,000.00
	<hr/>
Total business of the Produce Loan Office	\$71,589,178.33

This sum, however, falls far short of indicating the true worth of the Produce Loan Office, for many of its activities are immeasurable in their intrinsic value. This is apparent by asking a few questions.

What would have been the effect on the government's paper currency had the Produce Loan Office not been able to withdraw \$34,476,400 in Treasury notes from circulation in exchange for bonds secured with cotton?

What would have been the result had the Produce Loan Office not supplied cotton as security for the Erlanger Loan, from which the government realized \$7,678,501.25 in foreign exchange at a time when its funds in Europe were totally exhausted?

Too, what would have been the result had the Produce Loan Office not supplied cotton for interest on the \$8,372,000 of Cotton Bonds issued under the act of April 30, 1863, or established security for Cotton Certificates?

The answers to these and similar questions are of course conjectural and it is not expected that definite answers be given—the questions have been raised simply to instill a deeper appreciation for the full significance of the Produce Loans and the Produce Loan Office as a means of financing the Confederate States of America.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Campus of the First State University. By Archibald Henderson. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1949. Pp. xvi, 412. \$5.00.)

This is an unhurried account of the founding of the University of North Carolina, and the halting stages by which, during a century and a half, the present campus was developed. By "campus" the author means the "University lands as well as the grounds upon which the institution is located: buildings, athletic fields, gymnasium, stadium, arboretum, forests, plants and flora, landscape gardening, architecture, and innumerable other aspects of the University's life."

Save for a few scattered flashes of sentiment and humor concerning the work of the fathers and the escapades of the students, the author adheres rather closely to the announced subject. Excerpts from reminiscences are admitted when useful in illustrating the need or purpose of certain buildings or other campus features. There is no discussion of the influence of the University on the general growth of higher education in America. Only incidental references are made to the development of the curriculum.

The author's chief interest, undoubtedly, lies in the future. He does not appear to argue a case, but throughout his narrative of the past he evaluates events in relation to their permanent results. He is less inclined to praise the present beauty than to point the way toward further improvement. This is the greatest value of the book so far as the people of North Carolina are concerned, and it is this broad, long-trend planning aspect of the book that will probably prove most attractive to college presidents throughout the land.

The book is useful also for the panorama of history which is reflected in the narration concerning the buildings and grounds. Among the founding fathers we find men of diverse political ideas such as William Richardson Davie and Willie Jones. The University felt the conflict between Federalists and Republicans during its infancy, and it throbbled to the vigorous growth of democracy during the first half of the nineteenth century. The Civil War and the period of bitterness that followed left deep scars.

The subsequent growth of industry and urban life and the increasing popularity of higher education brought to the University more students and more problems—and more buildings.

The day has long since passed when university buildings could be constructed of brick that cost “40c. per pound” (p. 14), or when students could find board for thirty dollars per year (p. 46). The General Assembly has usually been slow in appropriating funds for the University—preferring that private donors step forth. In view of the rapid multiplication of the cost of higher education and the other financial demands upon state treasuries, this condition is likely to continue. Will this mean that the University may more frequently have the occasion to say “Thanks a million” (p. 294) to the federal government? One can scarcely conceive of so fine and useful an educational center being developed save through the efforts and by the funds of those who labored with first-hand understanding, with pride, and with love.

Gilbert L. Lycan.

John B. Stetson University,
Deland, Fla.

The Woman Who Rang the Bell. The Story of Cornelia Phillips Spencer.¹
By Phillips Russell. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1949. Pp. 287. Illustrations. \$5.00.)

Now and then there appears in the history of a community or an institution an individual whose qualities of mind and character and personality seem to typify the very best in the life of its people. Such a person was Cornelia Phillips Spencer of Chapel Hill. This lady possessed a mind so capable, a pen so persuasive, a spirit so vital, a character so dominating, and a personality so compelling as to leave behind her not only enduring memories among her loved ones but also a lasting influence upon village and university as well. The story of her life is largely the story of Chapel Hill and the University of North Carolina during the last three-quarters of the nineteenth century. What is here recorded is called a biography but, in the words of the author, “really it will be a love story—Cornelia Phillips Spencer’s love for a sleepy southern village and the University it contained.”

Although Mrs. Spencer was born in New York and died in Massachusetts her heart always dwelt in North Carolina and

¹ The author of this book was presented the Mayflower Society award Dec. 2, 1949.

the village to which she came in 1826 at the age of one year, when her English-born father, Dr. James Phillips, became professor of mathematics at the University. For almost seventy years, with a few brief interruptions, she lived hard by the University and witnessed and participated in its turbulent history during both placid and critical times. During this span of time her father, both of her brothers, and her son-in-law taught as members of the faculty, but it does not appear an extravagant claim to argue that she, who was allowed only the "crumbs that fell from the University's table," was of more influence and significance in its life and growth than any one of the others. Generations of students came to know her and to admire her with an esteem that amounted almost to sacred reverence, and posterity has come to understand and appreciate her manifold services in its interest.

Of all these services the most valuable was that of her pen in the dark days of Reconstruction. After the Civil War the University fell on evil days. Under the Republican regime of the new president, the Reverend Solomon Pool, it was boycotted by the Conservative element in the state, and as a result was forced to close in 1870, for lack of students. Even before it had closed Mrs. Spencer began her campaign for its redemption. Her weapons were her friendships and her pen. She wrote a notable series of *Pen and Ink Sketches of the University* for the *Raleigh Sentinel*, as well as a weekly column for the *North Carolina Presbyterian*, through both of which mediums she constantly and ably defended the old regime and preached the necessity for reorganization and support. In addition, she wrote numerous private letters to prominent individuals of her acquaintance, urging upon them the importance of renewed energies in behalf of the stricken university. By her ceaseless vigilance and her continuous efforts she kept alive an interest in it, and inspired the plan by which it was reopened in 1875. It was on her fiftieth birthday that the news of the favorable action of the legislature was telegraphed to her from Raleigh. That same day she climbed to the belfry, seized the rope, and began to ring the college bell which had been silent for five dreary years. "She did more than ring a bell; she rang out an old world of defeat and inertia and rang in a new world of hope and belief"—a new world which her own indomitable zeal

and faith had done so much to make possible. And that bell has never ceased to ring out the same message to this day.

In a philosophic mood, good Presbyterian that she always was, Mrs. Spencer might claim to recognize in this victory the hand of God which had brought her to Chapel Hill perhaps for just such a time as this. But in a lonely mood she would also confess, at least to her journal, that the hand of God was a heavy hand. For her presence in Chapel Hill in the war years and thereafter was the result of personal tragedy. In 1855 she had married James Munroe Spencer, who had only recently graduated at Chapel Hill, and had gone with him to his home in Clinton, Alabama. But "Magnus" Spencer had died in June, 1861, after a lingering illness, and Mrs. Spencer, with her baby daughter, had returned to Chapel Hill late that year, where she found it difficult to acquiesce in what she admitted to be the will of God. But tragedy did not end then or there. The harrowing war brought new sufferings and military occupation at its tragic close added new humiliations. Only as the larger tragedy which was the South's—and the University's—was brought home to her sensitive spirit was she able to win her private battle with memories and take her place upon the stage of history. A growing deafness which first came upon her during the war years added to her personal trials, but all these she was able to sublimate in some new activity or some new crusade. Until 1894, when she went to Cambridge to live with her daughter, she spent most of her time in the village which remained her first love until her death in 1908.

Inevitably, Mr. Russell's book invites comparison with an earlier work about Mrs. Spencer, *Old Days in Chapel Hill*, by Mrs. Hope Summerell Chamberlain, published by the same press in 1926. The earlier picture of her life and influence is not materially altered by this later exposition. This is natural, since both authors have drawn largely from the same sources—the abundant correspondence and the several journals and diaries kept and preserved by Mrs. Spencer during most of her life. Mr. Russell has drawn from some material not used by Mrs. Chamberlain, especially from numerous letters of mother to daughter written in the later period of her life, but the additional material simply adds authenticity and completeness to the already estab-

lished picture, and changes it not at all. Both authors have allowed their subject to write much of their book for them, for the quotations are extensive, and well chosen. Anyone who has worked in the Spencer papers must comment on the neatness of Mrs. Spencer's writing, the perfection of her penmanship, her careful grammar, her preciseness of expression, and the frequent beauty of phrase. These features, together with the great variety of the subject matter of the collection, must have added to the delight of the research for this volume.

Mr. Russell's book is obviously important for a number of reasons. Any general reader who is charmed by the story of a great personality will be pleased with this account. Those who are especially interested in social history in the nineteenth century, or in the history of the University of North Carolina, will discover valuable information and insights on almost every page. Especially detailed and enlightening are the numerous comments and intimate revelations about the leaders in the life of the University—especially about Swain, Battle, and Winston. The student of North Carolina history will be attracted by the correspondence with the great and the near-great in the history of the State—Vance, Graham, and a host of others. But more impressive than the complete list of her correspondents and acquaintances among the great of her time is the revelation of the personality and character of a very great lady who once wrote: "If one or at most two or three hearts hold me, when dead, in faithful remembrance, it will be as much as I ask, or expect." An already extensive list of those who have not forgotten her should be greatly augmented by this fine book.

Frontis W. Johnston.

Davidson College,
Davidson, N. C.

The Devil's Tramping Ground and Other North Carolina Mystery Stories.
By John Harden, with drawings by Mary Lindsay McAlister. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1949. Pp. x, 178. \$3.00.)

This is a collection of twenty stories, all of which were presented in a series of programs, "Tales of Tarheelia," by the present author over Radio Station WPTF at Raleigh in 1946 and 1947. Mr. Harden makes no claim to originality of authorship, but in his preface frankly refers to himself as a collector

and pays tribute to "North Carolina's humble raconteurs of legend and story who have kept many of these stories alive down through the years."

Mr. Harden has made, nevertheless, a real and vital contribution to North Carolina folklore in bringing together and presenting in clearcut and attractive form these outstanding examples of mysteries that have grown from North Carolina soil. Each story presents the locale and attendant circumstances of the origin of a mystery that baffled contemporaries. Also accompanying most of the stories are possible solutions that have been offered by contemporaries and by succeeding generations. In two cases these are sufficient to account for the origin of the mystery in the style of the more usual "whodunit" yarns. The others, as in the case of "The Lost Colony," will probably remain unsolved.

A geographical and chronological summary of the stories reveals the collection as a well-balanced coverage of the state and its heritage. Eight of the stories have their origin along the coast, six are selected from middle or piedmont communities, and five are of mountain origin. The account of the disappearance of Captain Johnston Blakeley reaches the climax of its action at some uncharted point on the high seas. Three of the tales have been told and re-told since the days before the American Revolution; seven, including a Civil War story, reflect the life of the nineteenth century; six are based on incidents of the twentieth century that seem likely to remain unsolved mysteries. "The Devil's Tramping Ground," which gives the volume its title, is based on a natural phenomenon that does not fit into a chronological system.

Readers of this volume will find at least one story with which they are already familiar. Some will recall different versions, and many will be able immediately to relate reputed solutions not here included. These circumstances will lend increasing interest to these stories and to this book. So long as any mystery remains unsolved by the presentation of clear evidence of a tangible material sort one guess differs from another only in the degree to which it appeals to the universal human instinct for the bizarre, the unusual, and the unknown. The value of this work arises from the care with which the details of the various stories

have been assembled and flavored with a liberal sampling of the numerous attempts at speculative solutions that have themselves reached the status of collateral stories.

Paul Murray.

Eastern Carolina Teachers College,
Greenville, N. C.

Cloud Over Catawba.¹ By Chalmers G. Davidson. (Charlotte: The Mecklenburg Historical Society. 1949. Pp. 210. \$2.75.)

Dr. Davidson, a member of the faculty of Davidson College, is an enthusiastic collector of Catawba Valley lore; he has crammed a vast amount of it into this book. Taken on those terms, the book is a successful one and a useful contribution to the literature dealing with the valley. It is the conviction of this reviewer, however, that Dr. Davidson should have given it to us straight instead of dressing it up in the habiliments of fiction.

Anything between covers that offers itself as a novel must submit to judgment by standards beyond scholarly research; it is the function of the novelist to create a new world of his own, peopled with living, breathing creatures. Simply naming a thing is not enough to make that thing exist. The book is full of names, not flesh-and-blood people, not objects you can touch, not sensations. To write the word "fear" does not conjure up a thick, dry tongue, clammy palms, a tight chest, a pounding heart.

Yet the book is valid, though it does not come to life as a novel; when you have finished it, you have a clear impression of the harsh, granite Puritanism that characterized the people who settled the piedmont, for in North Carolina east is east and west is west and sin is a leopard that changes his spots at the fall line.

Peirson Ricks.

Winston-Salem, N. C.

Romanticism and Nationalism in the Old South. By Rollin G. Osterweis. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1949. Pp. xi, 275. \$3.75.)

This study of the romantic movement in the South is a delightful and illuminating book. It is built from scattered evidence which orthodox political historians might regard as unsubstantial. Nevertheless, it contains a very provocative thesis which seems real to this reviewer. It is written with refreshing imagina-

¹ This book is no longer available.

tion, opening with a colorful scene of a tournament at White Sulphur Springs, Virginia, on August 27, 1845. To economic-minded historians this study may seem to neglect to explore sufficiently the economic origins of romanticism in the land of Dixie.

Southern romanticism was in part imported from abroad, but it developed along peculiarly Southern lines and was unlike the Northern type of romantic thinking which looked to the future, to a Utopian world with society reformed. Southerners of the ante-bellum period were essentially conservative. Their romanticism was backward-looking, based on an aristocratic ideal somewhat like medieval chivalry, reflected in the mirror of Sir Walter Scott and Byron, who were extravagantly admired in the Old South. Among the upper class—"the chivalry"—the romantic mood was exemplified in a taste for romantic literature, in the flourishing of the *code duello*, in the myth of the cavalier, Norman origin of Southerners, in giving romantic names to plantations and localities, in the imitation of medieval tournaments, in florid Southern oratory, in the cult of women, and, finest of all, in the development of a high sense of honor. From the concept of the honor of a gentleman arose the famous "Honor System" at the University of Virginia, which was established in 1842 by a resolution introduced to the faculty by Judge Henry St. George Tucker. The most striking phases of Southern romanticism, however, emanated from the lower South, where there arose a gorgeous vision, nurtured by *De Bow's Review*, of making New Orleans the great port of America and where the dream of creating a Southern republic was nourished. Professor Osterweis has made a contribution by pointing out that the romantic nationalism which affected revolutionary movements in Europe also contributed to the growth of Southern nationalism.

Clement Eaton.

University of Wisconsin,
Madison, Wis.

The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607-1689, by Wesley Frank Craven. A History of the South, volume I. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press and the Littlefield Fund for Southern History of the University of Texas. 1949. Pp. xv, 451. \$6.00.)

The ten-volume *History of the South* launched in 1948 by the Louisiana State University Press and the Littlefield Fund of the

University of Texas is now well under way. The present volume, though not the first to be published, is the first of the series chronologically and forms a good introduction to the whole. If the authors of the other volumes of the series maintain the standards of Professor Craven's work, the South will have a history worthy of that section's importance in the nation's history.

Professor Craven presents skilfully the most recent research and contributes not a little by his own special studies into problems where spade work still needs to be done. Better than most historians of a section he has avoided that imbalance which specialized emphasis makes all but inevitable. Best of all, he has written objectively.

The peculiar problem facing the author when he started this work was to find those elements within the history of the region which contributed to making the South a distinctive section of the United States and yet to keep before his readers the fact that in the seventeenth century there was indeed no South, not even an America as a separate entity, only a group of English colonies, wherein men, primarily English, strove to continue a way of life inherited from past generations and at the same time to make a living in the new surroundings.

Unlike Professor C. M. Andrews, whose volumes cover all the colonies, and who approached his subject almost exclusively from the English viewpoint, Professor Craven gives a picture of Spain's interest in the New World, especially in that region which today holds the Southern states of the United States. This introductory chapter provides an excellent opportunity to discuss the products of the New World made known to Europe by the Spanish, especially tobacco, and also to give an account of the development of Negro slavery and the slave trade in the Spanish West Indies. Both tobacco culture and slavery, as they became part of the American scene, are important factors in shaping the sectional character of the South.

Important also are Professor Craven's discussions of the system of local government, the relationship of church and state, and the rise of the planter class, all part of the distinctive pattern of Southern life. Yet in this treatment of the seventeenth

century there is no romancing, no striving for dramatic effect. Pocahontas comes into the story but briefly; the Assembly of 1619 and accompanying reforms are "a logical culmination of policies adopted by the adventurers much earlier"; Nathaniel Bacon is something less than the "Torchbearer of the Revolution," though none-the-less a significant figure; the treatment of Maryland's "Act concerning Religion" is eminently common sense.

Though written with less verve (and with fewer prejudices), Professor Craven's volume takes a place beside the late James Truslow Adams' *Founding of New England* as a first-rate history of the beginnings of a section of the United States.

Robert E. Moody.

Boston University,
Boston, Mass.

Humanistic Scholarship in the South. A Survey of Work in Progress. Compiled by Thomas B. Stroup and others. Bulletin Number One, Southern Humanities Conference. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1948. Pp. 165. \$1.50 paper, \$2.00 cloth.)

There are two basic divisions to this survey, wherein the term *Humanities* is taken to mean languages, literature, philosophy, religion, history, art, music, and anthropology viewed historically. Part I is a list of scholars arranged alphabetically, with the titles of their studies and the institutions with which they are connected. Part II is a short-title list of studies arranged by disciplines and sub-divided as conveniently as possible, with the scholars' names appearing alphabetically within each sub-division. The survey is a quantitative study only, and is not primarily concerned with the value of the projects reported.

Yet from a mere listing of works in progress the reader may find a general pattern of what is going on, and observation may be followed by evaluation. Certainly one can conclude that many disciplines among the humanities are being neglected by Southern scholars. There is little activity reported here in the fields of musicology, the history of art, Scandinavian, Oriental, and Slavic literature, archaeology, and historical anthropology. Neither is there much activity in the classics.

On the other hand there are many fields, some of them surprising, where abundant activity is recorded. Southern history is receiving marked attention, both in basic studies and in general syntheses. The South is studying the South. Great interest is also shown in Southern folk-speech and dialect. Other fields in which impressive research is listed include American literature, English literature, religion, philosophy, and Latin-American history.

The uses of this report will be numerous. It presents a reasonably accurate account of humanistic studies actually in progress, and it enables scholars in any field represented to find out what their colleagues are doing. It will save duplication of effort and may be of great aid in an attempt to achieve a better balance over the entire field. Certainly it should encourage cooperation in all the humanities. The report itself is an impressive record of the surprising amount of work actually under way in the South, and the compilers and their sponsors deserve the gratitude of all those interested in what the South is doing in the broad field of humane learning.

Frontis W. Johnston.

Davidson College,
Davidson, N. C.

The South in Action: A Sectional Crusade Against Freight Rate Discrimination. By Robert A. Lively. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1949. Pp. viii, 98.)

The South in Action: A Sectional Crusade Against Freight Rate Discrimination is a remarkable document. It is volume XXX of the James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science. Reference to the bibliography of eight pages immediately suggests tireless effort and great energy in combing that vast quantity of material for the understandable essentials which the author has so skillfully condensed into a volume of six chapters, embracing a total of ninety interesting and highly informative pages. Yes, Dr. Robert A. Lively has treated a complicated and somewhat controversial issue in a manner which will appeal not only to the layman but to the expert as well, whether he be a native of the South or whether he discovered America in other latitudes.

There may be detected in this book a blending of object and subject combined with other aspects of method welded into a

fine style of presentation which, both adroitly and realistically, delineates the substance of that tenacious problem, sectional freight rate discrimination. While abstractions and academic discussions are singularly absent from Dr. Lively's treatment of the problem, there is a zestful fleck of romance here and there, as for example, what the governor of North Carolina said to the governor of South Carolina. Weary of expert freight rate discussion, the governor said, "I think we have all been sufficiently confused and we should get down to some kind of vote."

A general attorney for one of the western railroads in speaking of freight rate complexities once said that a simple rate structure is as impossible as hip disease in a snake. However that may be, a clear and concise description of the rate structure, readily understandable, appears in chapter I of the book.

In logical sequence chapter II under the title of "Sectional Awakening" accurately records the incipient activities responsible for bringing together in a common cause the forces which set in motion the active and relentless crusade against freight rate discrimination.

Turning to chapter III dealing with the Southern governors' case, there is revealed an excellent account of the trying circumstances under which it arose, developed, and was finally concluded with the satisfactory result of removing territorial discrimination from a number of manufactured articles, which move from the South to the North in competition with the same kind of traffic produced and transported within the North. This case, in and of itself, fell short of the hopeful results initially anticipated by those who promoted it, but it was nevertheless a precedent which has since been successfully relied upon by Southern shippers in the removal of discrimination from additional commodities by negotiation with the railroads and through adversary proceedings before the Interstate Commerce Commission. It also provided the springboard from which representatives of industry, agriculture, and government planned and coordinated their more thoroughgoing crusade against freight rate discrimination.

In so vast an undertaking encompassing a wide range of diverse interests coupled with a variety of personalities, some degree of friction and misunderstanding is inescapable. This con-

dition is faithfully reported in chapter IV under the caption "Division In The South," wherein is chronicled the deterring activities of a shipper group and the course of action as pursued by a former highly placed public official. Here one is faced with the problem of determining for himself the purity or impurity, as the case might be, of the self-ascribed motives which impelled the discordant attitudes adopted by the seceders. Even the experts are sometimes either unable or unwilling to reach a meeting of minds.

The incessant voice of the South in action, ringing loud and clear, eventually resounded to bring about the most comprehensive freight rate investigation ever undertaken by the Interstate Commerce Commission, as is recorded in chapter V, "The Class Rate Investigation," and chapter VI, "Unfinished Business." There, in clear and unmistakable language, the real issues are traced in relation to the proof which thus far has turned those issues toward a victory for the South.

A wellspring of confusion results from misunderstanding, misgivings, fragmentary publicity, and many other such attributes of an undertaking of such proportions as the class rate and rating investigation. Henceforth, however, when relatives or friends seek an explanation of the freight rate controversy, a prompt response should refer to *The South in Action: A Sectional Crusade Against Freight Rate Discrimination*. For therein lies the full and accurate story of the whole matter.

H. M. Nicholson.

North Carolina Utilities Commission,
Raleigh, N. C.

Aesculapius Comes to the Colonies: The Story of the Early Days of Medicine in the Thirteen Original Colonies. By Maurice Bear Gordon, M. D. (Ventnor, N. J.: Ventnor Publishers, Incorporated. 1949. Pp. xiv, 560. \$10.)

This is an unusual book. Its title is significant; its contents and their arrangement are unique, in that both general and medical history are combined in suitable degree and with equal understanding. The author is the first medical historian who has devoted his attention exclusively to the original physicians in the thirteen American colonies, as a group.

Aesculapius Comes to the Colonies is indeed a comprehensive work, an exhaustive and scholarly volume, giving an interesting account of the rough and tumble lives of medical practitioners in the colonial days.

The reader is reminded that "medicine in America was not born with a silver spoon in its mouth." The author believes that "Old World trickery and intrigue" were responsible for corruption and inefficiency in our early colonization, little, if any, of which "was on an entirely honest plane." The colonial doctors showed a great interest in statesmanship; five physicians signed the Declaration of Independence. But the chicanery in the medical department of the army during the Revolutionary War "remains one of the blots on the pages of American medical history."

The book as a whole is a story of the earliest days of medicine in America and represents also the affairs of the general population and in a larger sense the beginnings of the United States. The author's particular desire was to present "a more or less balanced picture of doctors and medicine in all the original colonial states"—a picture which "has never been published." Chapters for the states, as founded upon available recorded history, are included in the following order: Virginia, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Connecticut, Maryland, Rhode Island, Delaware, New Jersey, the Carolinas, Pennsylvania, and Georgia.

Of more particular interest to this reviewer and perhaps to others in this area is the chapter entitled "The Carolinas." These two colonies, treated together, are presented as a unit, although much more medical history has been written, as well as made, in South Carolina than in North Carolina. The settlements of North Carolina came in the 1580's, but they were not permanent, and no mention is made of any medical men among either the first or the second Elizabethan expeditions.

Dr. Gordon mentions the names of five physicians who flourished in the early days of North Carolina history. They were Dr. Armand John De Rosset, Dr. John Brickell, Dr. Martin Kalberlahn, Dr. Nathaniel Alexander, and Dr. Ephraim Brevard. The first two lived in the east, the next one in the piedmont section, and the last two were farther west. They were eminent men, dis-

tinguished for other achievements besides their professional talents.

In addition to these worthies, the author does not fail to give deserved credit to Dr. Hugh Williamson in the chapters relating both to the Carolinas and to Pennsylvania. No narrative of eminent men, medical or other, in these three states would be complete without including the career of "this amazing man" — clergyman, physician, scientist, statesman, historian, and military surgeon. While he resided in North Carolina his home was at Edenton.

Hubert A. Royster.

2318 Beechridge Road,
Raleigh, N. C.

Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier. By Ray Allen Billington. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. x, 873. \$6.25.)

With the collaboration of Professor James Blaine Hedges, who has contributed three chapters, Professor Billington of Northwestern University presents in his book an attempt "to follow the pattern that Frederick Jackson Turner might have used had he ever compressed his voluminous researches on the American frontier within one volume." The author states that he has followed roughly the outline of the course on the history of the frontier as given by Professor Turner at Harvard, and has attempted a synthesis of the monographs and other writings produced by the Turner school.

Approximately one-fourth of the text is devoted to the colonial frontier, another fourth to the trans-Appalachian frontier, and the remainder to the trans-Mississippi West. The section on the colonial frontier is particularly valuable, as most current histories of the westward movement dismiss that period in two or three brief chapters. The theme of the six types of frontier is held clearly all the way through, and the organization is tightly knit, making an organic whole of the entire book.

In style the author possesses an ease and clarity, spiced with humor, which should be most acceptable to students. Social and economic factors receive the great emphasis which is their due, as this book is by no means a rehash of political and diplomatic history. For instance, land policies are described in detail with

good diagrams, and the processes of community concentration and social organization are significantly interpreted. Yet there could be more attention to the folk culture produced by the frontier, and to the frontier aspects of the South since the Civil War, as lumbering and oil towns. This would, however, carry the author beyond the confines of the Turner thesis, although it is an integral part of our frontier history.

As courses in westward expansion are not as yet too common in the Southeast, most students in this region will find in Professor Billington's book a freshness of interpretation and viewpoint which will stimulate their appreciation of the South's frontier history and its similarities to and kinship with that of the rest of the nation. The critical bibliography is well done and extremely valuable as a stimulus to further reading. While the eighty-odd maps are well-placed and contain all the items described in the text, they vary so much in scale that some indication of latitude and longitude would seem advisable. There is a surprising number of typographical errors. The size of the book, although in accord with the custom today, would almost preclude its use in a one-semester course. In conclusion, Professor Billington's book is well-suited for use by advanced undergraduates who are majoring in American history, and is perhaps the best offering the reviewer has seen.

Sarah McCulloch Lemmon.

Meredith College,
Raleigh, N. C.

The Territory of Illinois, 1809-1814. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1948. Pp. 502. \$3.25.)

Volume XVI of *The Territorial Papers of the United States* is a worthy addition to this definitive set. Dr. Carter has solved the problem of transcribing for scholars all of the territorial papers in the National Archives by a carefully formulated plan of selection. To control this choice he excludes documents heretofore published unless they are a necessary part of a series reproduced in this volume. He gives priority to documents concerning territorial administration. Transcriptions of correspondence in the letter books of the Postmaster General and memorials and petitions from the settlers to Congress are reproduced with care,

and in these categories, the compiler tells us, "students may feel fairly assured there is little need to investigate further in the Washington archives."

A lighter touch has been necessary in the selection of papers relating to the sale and administration of public lands, Indian affairs, and territorial defense, but omissions have been atoned for by ample footnotes and citations.

This volume is the first of two devoted to Illinois territorial documents. It begins with the committee report recommending a division of Indiana Territory in 1808. Papers relating to the administration of Acting Governor Pope and the first two administrations of Governor Edwards are included. Thus the volume ends in 1814. A 52-page index adequately aids the researcher in finding pertinent items. This volume, like its predecessors, is a priceless tool for scholars.

J. Monaghan.

Illinois State Historical Library,
Springfield, Ill.

Captain Dauntless. By William Bell Clark. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1949. Pp. x, 317. \$4.50.)

Captain Dauntless is an account of the life of Nicholas Biddle of the Continental Navy. Biddle went to sea in 1764 at the age of fourteen and during the next ten years acquired considerable knowledge of ships and men. He served in the Royal Navy both as midshipman and as coxswain of the captain's launch during the polar expedition of Captain Constantine John Phipps. The advent of the Revolution interrupted Biddle's career in the Royal Navy. He returned to his native state, Pennsylvania, to command the *Franklin* galley. For the next four years he served in the Continental fleet. In 1778 while fighting the British Man O' War, *Yarmouth*, Biddle's vessel, the *Randolph*, exploded, killing the twenty-seven year old captain and virtually all of his crew. During his service in the Continental Navy, Biddle acquired a reputation as an able fighting man, good captain, and excellent student of human nature.

This volume was written by William Bell Clark, already well known for his writings on naval history. Research for this biog-

raphy must have been tedious and time-consuming. The footnotes are full and, as far as this reviewer could check, accurate. The index and bibliography are expertly done. The volume is attractively bound and jacketed and is another on the long list of excellent publications of the Louisiana State University Press. All in all this volume is one of the most careful and painstaking research efforts to appear in recent months. It is indeed refreshing to find research continuing in source materials when the present tendency seems to be toward synthesis and secondary materials. *Captain Dauntless* is well written and, considering the wealth of Navy terminology and detail, it is easy reading. It illuminates the efforts of the Continental Congress to build a navy. Mr. Clark is worthy of high praise for the work he has done.

Bennett H. Wall.

University of Kentucky,
Lexington, Ky.

Guns on the Western Waters. By H. Allen Gosnell. (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press. 1949. Pp. xii, 273. \$6.50.)

If there be any naval enthusiast who believes that naval warfare has been conducted only on salt water and high seas, let him but read any one of the nineteen chapters in this stimulating work dealing with numerous episodes in the over-all story of gunboats on Western waters during the Civil War; for Mr. Gosnell here presents real naval warfare—warfare which is intensely dramatic and significant—which involves many of the high seas factors plus numerous factors unique in river operations.

By no means aiming to write a complete or definitive work on gunboat warfare or even on gunboats in the Civil War, the author makes his presentation unique. Each chapter (except the first) is begun by a brief introduction of the topic, and as soon as possible the author turns over the narrative to one of the participants or eyewitnesses of the battle or expedition being described. Sometimes a gunboat commander will begin the account but will be cut short by a New York *Tribune* war correspondent who will be permitted to carry the story along to the point where the commander's words are more appropriate.

When Mr. Gosnell has been unable to locate any satisfactory contemporary account he fills in with his own words until a suitable source is available.

The author's results are unusually pleasing, for he has selected what appear to be the most accurate, colorful, objective sources and has so integrated his quotations with his own words as to produce a vivid, true-to-life picture of gunboat activities during the Civil War.

Some of the more interesting episodes related include Commodore A. H. Foote's operations against Fort Donelson, as described by the war correspondent Junius Henri Browne; the saga of the Confederate gunboat *Arkansas* to which Mr. Gosnell pays the tribute, "Her career lasted only twenty-three days, but what a career! It included so much action that there probably never was another vessel that averaged anything like as much fighting per day as did the *Arkansas*"; another is "Guns on The Bayous," the account of how Admiral David Porter, commanding his fleet of gunboats, crashed through inundated forest areas in northwestern Mississippi (Porter himself is allowed to tell much of the story); and the reader is taken along on the Red River expedition and allowed to witness the phenomenal engineering accomplishments of Colonel Bailey and his famed Red River dam.

On two occasions the scene leaves the rivers of the West, once to relate a Suwanee River event and later to describe an Atlantic coastal operation.

In order to provide the reader with a working vocabulary of gunboat terms, Mr. Gosnell has prepared an introductory chapter entitled, "The Gunboats and How They Fought," and herein lies a genuinely original contribution by the author. Later, when the action of a pivot gun is referred to, the reader has had elementary training in that type of gunnary providing, of course, he has read chapter one thoroughly.

This volume has been admirably prepared and contains a remarkable set of photographs, all printed in an unusually fine manner.

Two omitted items are greatly missed; first, an index; and second, a list of sources quoted. Had these "tools" been included in this volume, its usefulness would have been appreciably en-

hanced, but despite these omissions the work is a worthy addition to our understanding and appreciation of the role of the inland navy in the Civil War.

R. M. Langdon.

United States Naval Academy,
Annapolis, Md.

Fourteenth Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States for the Year Ending June 30, 1948. (National Archives Publication No. 49-20. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1949. Pp. vi, 65.)

Ninth Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States on the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N. Y., for the Year Ending June 30, 1948. (National Archives Publication No. 49-19. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1949. Pp. iv, 18.)

These unusually interesting reports actually cover more than one year's operations for they review the entire administrations of Dr. Solon J. Buck (1941-48), the second Archivist of the United States, and of Fred W. Shipman (1940-1948), who, as first Director of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, served under Dr. Buck and his predecessor, Dr. R. D. W. Connor. Out of the complex activities of the National Archives, three tasks emerge most impressively. The first, the custody and preservation of the records, has assumed enormous proportions—855,925 cubic feet of records were in the custody of the Archivist on June 30, 1948. These included or were supplemented by 1,500,000 still-pictures, 35 million feet of still and sound motion pictures, and 260,000 disc sound recordings. The efficient performance of this custodial task, involving many subordinate problems such as cleaning, repair, boxing, and shelving of records, gains significance from the second task of the National Archives—that of making records available for the use by government officials and private searchers. This archival mountain, the creation of the two houses of Congress, the executive departments, many independent agencies, and part of the judiciary, bears upon almost every sort of question that has concerned the government of the United States from its foundation through World War II. Yet its sheer bulk might baffle the searcher were not the custodian to provide for him finding media and expert personal assistance. With reference or service requests in 1947-48 reaching

1,000 or more a day, the National Archives found itself too busy to do the amount of record description that seemed urgently necessary; indeed, the attainment of a balance between description and service is a major problem to the agency. If description lags badly, current service ultimately suffers also. Whatever the difficulties have been, the *Report* shows that valuable tools were developed during Dr. Buck's administration, including numerous inventories, checklists, and reference information circulars, and a *Handbook of Federal World War Agencies and Their Records, 1917-21* (1943), a brief guide entitled *Your Government's Records in the National Archives* (1946), and a more elaborate *Guide to the Records in the National Archives* on December 31, 1945 (1948), a work designed to replace the earlier *Guide* published in 1940. Progress is also reported on a handbook of Federal World War II agencies and their records. These volumes, the work of trained scholars, not only provide to readers a general picture of the archives of their government but also constitute outright contributions to scholarship especially in the newly developed field of administrative history. One significant service of the National Archives involves the photographic reproduction of records—either of isolated individual documents or of continuous bodies. The scholar and the librarian both need to know of the "file-microcopy" program by which they can secure at moderate cost positive microfilm reproductions of entire volumes or even entire series of records of outstanding research value. This program, which the present reviewer helped to originate in the year before the war, has now received the support of a substantial grant from the Rockefeller Foundation.

The third task involves the development, in cooperation with other agencies, of effective records administration programs. The orderly retirement of World War II records, the development of scheduling as a more adequate procedure in authorizing the disposal of records having insufficient administrative or historical value to justify their preservation, and the recognition of the importance of records administration by the Congress, the President, and the Hoover Commission, as well as by the agencies themselves, attests the success of the National Archives in this respect.

A surrogate's decision in July, 1947, increased the holdings of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library in Roosevelt presidential papers from some 2,000 cubic feet to about 4,400 cubic feet by awarding to the library the Roosevelt papers which were in the White House on April 12, 1945. The result, in the words of the archivists, is that "for the first time . . . the papers of an American President, undiminished and unexpurgated by his heirs, have come without delay into the possession of a responsible public agency, conceived by that President and established by the Congress of the United States during his lifetime."

The library is growing around the nucleus of these papers. It acquires "by gift, loan, purchase, or exchange manuscripts, papers, books, pamphlets, newspapers, recordings, and museum objects related to and contemporary with material received from Mr. Roosevelt." In actual practice, "the Library's acquisition policy is largely confined to historical material relating to national and international aspects of American history from 1933 to the end of World War II" together with pertinent background material and all material relative to the public and private career of the late President, his family, and his progenitors. The acquisitions of 1947-1948 will illustrate this policy in action. They include, in addition to the presidential papers previously mentioned, segments of Mrs. Roosevelt's papers, some correspondence concerning Cabinet posts from the files of the Democratic National Committee, politically significant papers presented by Miss Mary W. Dewson (a former director of the Women's Division of that Committee), and working papers and other materials of the President's Committee on Administrative Management (Brownlow Committee). At the end of the year 1947-48, the library's manuscript holdings reached 5,400 cubic feet. Other acquisitions received in the same period ran the total linear footage of motion picture film to 275,000; the total number of still pictures to nearly 14,000; the number of printed volumes in the library's library to 49,000; and the number of museum pieces to more than 9,000.

Fortunate in their past leadership, the National Archives and the library confronted serious problems as their new heads assumed control. Organizing highly efficient but numerically inadequate personnel to perform the essential tasks of both agen-

cies in face of the imbalance imposed by extraordinarily rapid expansion of holdings and consequent public interest (346,000 service requests came to the National Archives during the year and 60,000 sight-seers visited its Exhibition Hall, while 400,000 passed through the library's museum at Hyde Park) is a tremendous responsibility in itself. This reviewer knows that the new Archivist of the United States, Wayne C. Grover, and the new Director at Hyde Park, Herman Kahn, are splendidly qualified for their responsibilities, and he has great faith that both agencies will grow in service to their public and in the general estimation of all who contact them.

Preston W. Edsall.

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh, N. C.

Lincoln and the Baltimore Plot. Edited by Norma B. Cuthbert. (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library. 1949. Pp. xxii, 161. \$3.00.)

This is a collection of papers on the plot in February, 1861, of Southern sympathizers to assassinate Lincoln as he passed from one railroad station to the other in Baltimore on his way to Washington for his inauguration. It includes the reports of the Pinkerton agents, who were hired to discover the plot, the statement of Lincoln's friend, Norman B. Judd, who helped arrange Lincoln's escape, and letters relating to the plot and to the Pinkerton reports.

The editor, Norma B. Cuthbert, who is chief cataloguer of manuscripts of the Huntington Library, has included an excellent introduction and copious explanatory notes. She makes no effort to prove or disprove the disputed question of whether there ever was a Baltimore plot. Instead, as she states in her introduction, she offers the papers to historians "because as source materials they belong with the literature of the Baltimore plot; because they reveal a peculiarly significant personal element behind the Lamon-Black treatment of the plot; and finally, because in these documents real detectives tell about their own 'cloak-and-dagger operations'" (p. xxii).

In the opinion of this reviewer, she has accomplished her three purposes. She has added significant material which will be of value in determining if there was a plot. The reports of the

Pinkerton agents, and especially of Allan Pinkerton himself, give evidence to prove that Southern sympathizers were actively discussing and expressing desires for a plot to kill Lincoln. Some confessed knowledge of a plot.

Much space in the notes and introduction is given to the Black-Lamon treatment of the plot. Miss Cuthbert states that Ward H. Lamon, Lincoln's law partner, had Chauncey Black write Lamon's first life of Lincoln in which the Baltimore plot was denied, and that in his second book on Lincoln Lamon accepted the Baltimore plot. The editor discloses from the Lamon papers in the Huntington Library that the Pinkerton Papers which William H. Herndon had borrowed passed into Lamon's hands and that he used them to discredit Pinkerton and to glorify himself. Apparently Miss Cuthbert does not disagree with Pinkerton's characterization of Lamon as "a brainless and egotistical fool" (p. xx).

Miss Cuthbert has presented a fascinating story which is told in vivid language by the detectives themselves. Posing as Southern sympathizers and even contributing liberally to the funds for the Southern cause, the Pinkerton agents succeeding in obtaining admissions which seemed to support the numerous rumors of a projected plot. The activities and undercover work of these agents are evidences of the effectiveness of the Pinkerton agency. The reports are also good reading.

Henry T. Shanks.

Birmingham-Southern College,
Birmingham, Ala.

Codrington Chronicle: An Experiment in Anglican Altruism on a Barbados Plantation, 1710-1834. Edited by Frank J. Klingberg. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1949. Pp. ix, 157. \$3.00.)

When Christopher Codrington, the younger, died in 1710 he bequeathed his West Indian plantations to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to found a college in Barbados for the training of prospective missionaries and also for the conversion and education of the slaves. This little volume is an examination of the Society's attempts to carry out Codrington's intentions during the first century and a quarter after his death. It is a cooperative study, the outgrowth of a war-time seminar con-

ducted by Professor Klingberg at the University of California, Los Angeles, using microfilms of the Library of Congress reproductions of the essential British manuscripts. Seven students, writing singly or in pairs, have contributed six chapters which deal with the launching of the enterprise, the protracted building operations, the running of the plantations in good times and bad, and the educational work for whites and blacks. The chapters are detailed and thorough if at times a little repetitious.

The study is "largely one of setbacks." Management, both of the plantations as economic enterprises and of the educational projects, at long range from England proved a serious handicap and the work progressed with almost incredible slowness. A grammar school for white boys—an essential preliminary to a college—was started only in 1745 and Codrington College itself was not opened until 1830. Meanwhile local society was unsympathetic, if not openly hostile, to efforts to convert and educate the slaves, and even the Society's own plantation managers showed little disposition to cooperate in what was unquestionably a radical project. Nevertheless, the Society kept this humanitarian and religious purpose alive and, in the opinion of the authors, the work ultimately played a part in the development of sentiment in Great Britain which finally led to emancipation throughout the Empire. It is probably in this connection that the story of the Codrington experiment has its chief significance.

Leonard W. Labaree.

Yale University,
New Haven, Conn.

Preliminary Inventory of the Land-Entry Papers of the General Land Office. Compiled by Harry P. Yoshpe and Philip P. Brower. (Washington: National Archives Publication No. 49-30. 1949. Pp. iii, 77.)

In order to render better service to the public, "the Archivist of the United States in February 1941 directed the establishment of a systematic program for the compilation of finding aids." As a result of that directive the National Archives has prepared a number of preliminary checklists and inventories. They are not intended to gain minute control of records but they have served to give at least top control. Since the control of records is a matter of degree, the word preliminary might well be

dropped; then one could simply consider them as finding media used as stepping stones to tighter control. Moreover, there may be records groups which require no more control than this, while others may require such finding aids as calendars and indexes. As a matter of fact, this is the ultimate objective of the National Archives.

These inventories are preceded in each case by an introduction which gives a brief history of the creating agency and any unusual factors influencing the number of such records acquired by the National Archives. Each records group is broken down into series, and the inclusive dates, the bulk (in cubic feet), and a brief description are given.

Even though the National Archives professes to be doing only a superficial job, there are many archivists and historians who prefer some type of control for all records rather than minute control of some and no control whatsoever of others.

The inventory under consideration, a typical one, is well done. The introduction, written by Herman Kahn, briefly traces the history of the disposition of the public domain and explains the conditions under which the various records were created. The records are arranged by series and two main arrangement patterns are followed. With some few exceptions, the "warrants, scrip, coal cash, mineral, lieu-selection entries, and all patented cases subsequent to 1908 are arranged" numerically. In the second part of the inventory entries are arranged alphabetically by state and thereunder by the districts in which the entries were made.

In the appendix there is a list of land laws under which most land entries have been made, an alphabetical list of land offices, and a list of the twenty-two inventories which have been prepared by the National Archives to date. The inventory is not indexed, but, even so, here is a tool of great value when placed in the hands of the research scholar. This reviewer is constrained to say that he believes that the National Archives is on the right track even though the whole process of preparing finding media is still in the experimental stage.

W. F. Burton.

State Department of Archives and History,
Raleigh, N. C.

Record of Commissions of Officers in the Tennessee Militia, 1796-1811. Volume I. Compiled by Mrs. John Trotwood Moore. (Nashville: Williams Printing Company. 1947. Pp. 165.)

This roster of officers in the Tennessee Militia, issued by the Tennessee Historical Commission as a Sesquicentennial Publication, is designed to "facilitate the preparation and publication of county histories" and to assist biographers and genealogists. It is the opinion of this reviewer that the latter group stands to profit most from this work.

This volume "undertakes to include" the officers who were commissioned during the first three gubernatorial terms of John Sevier. The names are arranged alphabetically by county, and the counties are in alphabetical order. This arrangement, together with the fact that the volume is well indexed, makes it more useful than similar rosters that have been prepared for several other states.

The first page in the book, a vari-typed insert, detracts from a volume which is otherwise attractive in binding, format, and arrangement. Up to page sixty-two commas appear after the days of the months, but after that they have been omitted. This may well be the way that the dates are written in the original lists; even so, an explanatory footnote could easily have been included. It seems reasonable to expect, however, that the genealogists will welcome the other volumes in this series.

W. F. Burton.

State Department of Archives and History,
Raleigh, N. C.

The History of Grace Church, Charleston, South Carolina: The First Hundred Years. By William Way. (Charleston: The Author. 1948. Pp. xiv, 208. Illustrations.)

Although the Episcopal Church has always been strong in South Carolina, the history of this denomination has not been adequately chronicled for the period following the appearance of Frederick Dalcho's *Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina* in 1920. For this reason, histories of individual parishes in the state, especially the more recently organized ones, are of particular significance, since these often contain information regarding the organization of congregations, erection of churches, lists of rectors, and other sta-

tistics not readily obtainable elsewhere. They are also important as sources for histories of the diocese if and when such works are compiled in the future.

Twenty-five years ago the rector of Grace Church, Charleston, having already demonstrated his interest in the history of Charleston institutions by the publication of his *History of the New England Society*, undertook to record the history of his parish. Upon his retirement in 1946, the centennial year of the church, he was commissioned by the vestry to revise, enlarge, and bring down to date the history of the parish which he had served for a longer period than any of his predecessors.

One of the temptations to which the author of a parish history often succumbs is to make his work a series of genealogies of prominent families in the parish. Mr. Way has wisely avoided this and has centered his treatment around the church itself—the organization of the congregation, erection and history of the building, significant memorials and legacies, and biographical material relating to the various rectors. In the last named category, particular attention is given to the work of the Reverend Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, "The Great Rector," whose ministry extended from 1850 to 1898.

Since Grace Church is only one of a number of Episcopal churches in Charleston, and a fairly recent one as churches in that area go, it is not to be expected that this work should essay a comprehensive history of the Episcopal Church in the city, as is often done where a church under consideration is the only one of its denomination in a given city or county. It would have been desirable, however, to include more information with regard to the relations that must have existed between Grace Church and the other Episcopal parishes in the city, and to attempt some evaluation of the part played by this parish in the religious life of the city generally. Likewise, the author's treatment of the Civil War period, when the rector moved his family to Pendleton and considered his ministrations in Charleston "as missionary tours to a deserted parish," seems unduly abbreviated.

In general the history of a parish is of interest mainly to the members of the parish, and the present work cannot be said to form an exception to this rule. Nevertheless, it is superior

to the average work of its type, and because of its reproduction of many of the parish records, its lists of wardens, vestrymen, and other officials, its accounts of the parish's financial and business activities, and the inclusion of sermons and addresses delivered at the centennial celebration in 1946, it should stand high upon the shelves of the libraries of the members of Grace Church and their descendants.

James W. Patton.

The University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Old Illinois Houses. By John Drury. (Occasional Publications of the Illinois State Historical Society, general editor, Jay Monaghan. Springfield. 1948. Pp. xiv, 220.)

The material in John Drury's *Old Illinois Houses* first appeared as a series of weekly articles in *The Chicago Daily News*. The Illinois Historical Society has done a service for the state's historical records by publishing the material between covers. Not only the history of Illinois but that of the United States as well is mirrored in the procession of houses the author set out to photograph. He has provided a brief note, giving the historical and architectural background of the various houses, many dating back to the early French and English settlers and the frontier period. Mr. Drury has excluded Chicago houses which he treated in an earlier volume.

Although much of the material is primarily of interest to students of Illinois history and local lore, the book should be appealing to students of American history in general, for the homes of Lincoln and Grant are here, as are those of such prominent Americans as William Jennings Bryan, Jane Addams, Vachel Lindsay, Lorado Taft, Carl Sandburg, and Ernest Hemingway. From log cabin to Frank Lloyd Wright, the author ably covers a large expanse with very good photographs of his subjects which he had the foresight to take before spring obscured most of them behind their sheltering trees. It would have been helpful if a composite map of Illinois had been used along with the small outline maps of each of the three sections of Illinois: northern, central, and southern.

Armin Rappaport.

University of California,
Berkeley, Cal.

Indiana Politics During the Civil War. By Kenneth M. Stampp. (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Collections, Indiana Historical Bureau, volume XXXI. 1949. Pp. xxii, 300.)

Professor Stampp treats the impact of the Civil War on Indiana on several levels. Primarily, he is concerned with the social changes which the war brought about and the "deep and bitter division between those who wanted 'the Union as it was' and those who wanted to break with the past and build a new nation functioning upon new economic principles." He does not neglect, however, other aspects of the story: the sectional and interstate rivalry, and the conflict between the federal government and Indiana in the military sphere.

Most serious from the national viewpoint was the last of these. Rather ironically, whereas the Confederacy fought as a union, the Union fought as a confederacy. The individual Northern states refused to surrender control over their troops. Thus a truly national army was never formed. Rather, a conglomeration of regiments took the field under military leaders who owed their appointments to state governors. What obtained in the case of Indiana was true for each of the other Northern states to a greater or lesser degree.

The author has drawn his material from a wide array of sources: private papers of the leading participants, official records of the state of Indiana, and many newspapers. He has brought forth an instructive and highly readable "case study of how the war affected a typical commonwealth of the Old Northwest."

Armin Rappaport.

University of California,
Berkeley, Cal.

HISTORICAL NEWS

On October 7 Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Mr. William S. Powell, and Mr. D. L. Corbitt of the State Department of Archives and History and Mrs. Crittenden attended the pageant, "Torchlight On The Pee Dee," at Wadesboro, which was an historical pageant staged by Anson County celebrating its 200th anniversary. This pageant was written by Mary Louise Medley of Wadesboro. Governor W. Kerr Scott and Dr. I. G. Greer of Chapel Hill delivered addresses during the celebration.

On September 5 Scotland County began a week's celebration of its fiftieth anniversary by staging an historical pageant entitled "Golden Milestone." More than four hundred people participated in the eighteen-scene pageant. Senator Clyde R. Hoey, Lieutenant Governor H. P. Taylor, and Agriculture Commissioner L. Y. Ballentine appeared on the program.

On September 22, 23, and 24 Duplin County celebrated its 200th anniversary by staging an historical pageant entitled "The Duplin Story," which was written by Mr. Sam Byrd of New York, a native of the county. More than 500 people participated in the drama of seventeen scenes. A choir of 100 voices rendered the music for the occasion.

On September 23 Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Mr. D. L. Corbitt, and Mr. William S. Powell of the State Department of Archives and History, Mrs. Christopher Crittenden, and Miss Lucy Cobb attended the historical pageant "The Duplin Story" at Kenansville.

During the week of September 19-24 Washington County celebrated its sesquicentennial by staging at Plymouth an historical pageant entitled "Carolina Cavalcade." Senators Clyde R. Hoey and Frank P. Graham and Representative Herbert C. Bonner appeared on the program. Dr. Sankey L. Blanton, dean at Wake Forest College, of the School of Religion delivered the sermon on Sunday night before the celebration began.

On September 16 the State Department of Archives and History purchased from Mr. Charles W. Traylen of Guilford, Surrey, England, the original Carolina charter of 1663 granted by Charles II to the eight Lords Proprietors. This purchase was made possible by twenty-three private citizens and the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities.

On September 29 North Carolina State College observed its sixtieth anniversary. Dr. David A. Lockmiller, formerly a member of the staff of the history department at State College and now president of the University of Chattanooga, delivered the principal address entitled "North Carolina State College in the Nation's Service."

Dr. Christopher Crittenden on September 19 and 20 attended the annual meeting of the Society of American Archivist which was held at Quebec, Canada. Dr. Crittenden was the retiring president of the Society.

Mr. D. L. Corbitt of the State Department of Archives and History on October 18 delivered an address, "The Publication Program of the State Department of Archives and History," before the annual meeting of Wachovia Historical Society, Winston-Salem.

Mr. D. L. Corbitt of the State Department of Archives and History on November 3 gave a talk before the Exchange Club of Knightdale on the activities of the State Department of Archives and History.

Mr. D. L. Corbitt on November 4 attended the meeting of the North Carolina Historical Society at Chapel Hill.

Phi Alpha Theta, the National Honorary History Fraternity, established its Gamma Delta chapter at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, in May 1949. Ten seniors, six juniors, and ten faculty members became charter members of the Fraternity's first chapter in the state of North Carolina. Dr. Austin L. Venable of Winthrop College presided at the installation ceremony.

The third annual Social Science Forum was held at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, on November 10-12, 1949. Two hundred and sixteen students and faculty delegates from twenty-eight colleges in seven states were in attendance. The three-day sessions attracted audiences averaging 1,500 persons each. Forum leaders were Dr. Louis Hacker, Columbia University economist and historian; Dr. Caroline Ware, American and Howard universities historian and social economist; Dr. Paul Douglas, United States Senator from Illinois; Dr. Otto Klineberg, Columbia University psychologist and United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization official; Dr. Glenn Negley, Duke University philosopher; Dr. Rupert P. Vance, University of North Carolina sociologist; and Dr. Quincy Wright, University of Chicago political scientist. Discussions centered around the lag between what is known in the social sciences and what is practiced in our society. Special attention was given to this problem in the areas of minorities, the welfare state, and nationalism.

Mr. T. L. Patrick, after a year's leave of absence doing graduate work at the University of North Carolina, has returned to Catawba College as a member of the staff of the history department. Mr. Patrick represented the department at the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association, November 10-12, 1949.

On November 16 Mrs. Charles A. Cannon of Concord was elected president of the Roanoke Island Historical Association succeeding Mr. Jonathan Daniels of Raleigh, editor of *The News and Observer*.

Dr. Lillian Parker Wallace of Meredith College has been promoted from associate professor of history to professor of history.

On November 11 the Gold Star Mothers of Cleveland County unveiled in Shelby a marker in memory of the known and unknown men of Cleveland County who made the supreme sacrifice during World War II. Senator Frank P. Graham made the principal address.

Dr. Preston W. Edsall of North Carolina State College attended on November 8, 9, and 10 the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association held in Knoxville, Tennessee.

Mr. Marvin L. Brown, Jr., formerly an instructor in history at Haverford College, has been appointed an instructor in history and political science at North Carolina State College.

Dr. William T. Laprade of Duke University recently celebrated his fortieth year as a member of the staff of the history department.

Governor W. Kerr Scott on November 18 dedicated a museum-on-wheels which contains many of the French "Thank You" gifts and which will be taken into the one hundred counties of North Carolina for inspection by school children and interested adults. At the dedication ceremonies Dr. Christopher Crittenden, director of the State Department of Archives and History, presided and Colonel Wiley Pickens, executive vice commander of the North Carolina division of the American Legion, and Mr. J. Warren Smith, director of Vocational Education for the State Department of Public Instruction, appeared on the program. This museum-on-wheels is owned and operated by the Division of Public Displays of the State Department of Archives and History. These items as well as many others, too numerous to include in the trailer museum, were presented to the state of North Carolina during the past year by the people of France in appreciation for the gifts sent by North Carolinians to the French people on the Friendship Train.

Dr. John George, who holds the doctorate from the University of Michigan and for the past several years has been head of the department of history and political science at Rutgers University, will become a member of the social science faculty at East Carolina Teachers College at the beginning of the winter quarter.

The members of the staff of the history department of East Carolina Teachers College who attended the annual meeting of the

Southern Historical Association at Williamsburg, Virginia, November 10-12, 1949, were Dr. Lawrence F. Brewster, Dr. Hubert A. Coleman, Dr. Paul Murray, and Mrs. Betty Unterberger.

The North Carolina Historical Society held its fall meeting in Chapel Hill on November 4. Dr. Douglas L. Rights of Winston-Salem read a paper, "Early Days of Salem College," and Mr. Aubrey L. Brooks of Greensboro read a paper, "David Caldwell and His Log College." At the evening session Dr. R. D. W. Connor delivered his presidential address, "The Genesis of Higher Education in North Carolina." At the business session Dr. Charles S. Sydnor of Duke University was elected president, Dr. Rosser H. Taylor of Western Carolina Teachers College was elected vice-president, and Dr. Cecil Johnson of Chapel Hill was re-elected secretary-treasurer.

The law office of William Gaston located in New Bern has been restored by the New Bern Garden Club with the assistance of interested citizens and the Garden Club of North Carolina, Inc. The building was given the Garden Club by Mr. and Mrs. Ben O. Jones in memory of their daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Jones Bass.

The Greensboro Historical Museum Society on October 27 entertained members and out-of-town guests at a preview of exhibits prior to the official reopening of the museum. Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Mr. Alton McIver, Miss Dorothy Reynolds, Miss Manora Mewborn, and Mr. William S. Powell of the staff of the State Department of Archives and History attended the preview. Dr. Crittenden made a brief talk.

The State Department of Archives and History has published the third edition of *Guide to North Carolina Historical Highway Markers* (1949), pp. 88, illustrated; *The War of the Regulation and the Battle of Alamance, May 16, 1771*, by William S. Powell, pp. 33, illustrated; and *The Hall of History*, by Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, pp. 24, illustrated. These pamphlets will be mailed to public, college, university, and school libraries of the state and to history

teachers and interested individuals who make application to the Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History.

The State Department of Archives and History has in the hands of the printer a book, "The Formation of the North Carolina Counties," by D. L. Corbitt. The Division of Publications hopes to have the book ready for distribution during the summer.

Mr. D. L. Corbitt, head of the Division of Publications of the State Department of Archives and History, has edited the *Public Letters and Addresses of Joseph Melville Broughton, Governor of North Carolina, 1741-1745*, and the material is in the hands of the printer. It should be ready for distribution during the late spring.

The Council of State of the State of North Carolina has made available to the State Department of Archives and History the sum of \$6,500 for publishing the *Public Letters and Papers of J. C. B. Ehringhaus, Governor of North Carolina, 1733-1737*. These papers were edited by Mr. D. L. Corbitt.

Dr. Adelaide Lisetta Fries, a member of the Editorial Board of *The North Carolina Historical Review*, died in Winston-Salem on November 29. Dr. Fries during the years edited and the State Department of Archives and History published *The Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, vol. I (1922), 1752-1771, pp. 512; vol. II (1925), 1752-1775, pp. 462; vol. III (1926), 1776-1779, pp. 518; vol. IV (1930), 1780-1783, pp. 472; vol. V (1941), 1784-1792, pp. 489; vol. VI (1943), 1793-1808, pp. 570; vol. VII (1947), 1809-1822, pp. 481. In addition to this series Dr. Fries contributed several articles to *The North Carolina Historical Review*, the latest of which is published in this issue (pp. 1-19).

Mr. William S. Powell of the State Department of Archives and History is now editing *History News*, a monthly publication of the American Association for State and Local History, and is contributing a regular news column to the Association's new quarterly, *American Heritage*.

To mark the 200th anniversary of the establishment of the printing press in the colony of North Carolina, which occurred last year, the State Department of Archives and History, with the cooperation of the Graphic Press, Inc., has issued in facsimile the first book printed in the colony. This book, *The Journal of the House of Burgesses, of the Province of North Carolina*, was printed at New Bern in 1749 by James Davis. An introduction for the facsimile edition of this book was prepared by William S. Powell, a member of the staff of the State Department of Archives and History. Copies of this publication are being made available to the public, school, college, and university libraries of the state and to certain of the larger libraries outside the state.

At the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association held at Williamsburg, Virginia, November 10-12, 1949, Dr. James L. Godfrey of the University of North Carolina read a paper entitled "Revolutionary and Napoleonic Period," before the session which discussed the general subject "Langer's Rise of Modern Europe Series"; and Dr. Lambert Davis of the University of North Carolina Press read a paper entitled "From the University Press Angle", before the session which was discussing the general subject "Recapturing The Lost Reader: Publishers and Historians."

Other North Carolinians attending the meeting were: Professors Harold A. Bierck, Jr., C. O. Cathey, Fletcher M. Green, Cecil Johnson, James E. King, Frank W. Klingberg, Hugh T. Lefler, A. R. Newsome, and J. Carlyle Sitterson of the University of North Carolina; Mr. Rex Beach, Mr. Charles M. Brown, Mr. Charles F. Kolb, Mr. Philip M. Rice, and Dr. Stuart Noblin of North Carolina State College; Dr. Percival Perry, Mr. C. B. Yearn, and Mr. E. L. Puryear of the history department of Wake Forest College; Dr. Lillian P. Wallace, and Dr. Alice B. Keith of Meredith College; and Mr. W. Frank Burton, head of the Division of Archives, and Mr. William S. Powell, researcher for the Highway Marker Program of State Department of Archives and History.

Dr. J. Carlyle Sitterson of the University of North Carolina was re-elected secretary-treasurer, and Dr. Rupert P. Vance of the University of North Carolina was elected to the executive committee of the Southern Historical Association.

The twenty-third annual session of the North Carolina State Art Society was held in Raleigh on November 30. At the luncheon session Mrs. Jacques Busbee of Steeds read a paper, "Jugtown Pottery," and Mr. Matthew Norwicki of Raleigh read a paper, "Design at N. C. State College." Col. J. W. Harrelson, chancellor of North Carolina State College, made a brief talk and introduced Dean Henry L. Kamphoefner and Mr. Matthew Norwicki, visiting professor of the School of Design at State College. At the evening session Mrs. Katherine Pendleton Arrington brought presidential greetings, Judge W. A. Devin presented posthumously a certificate of merit and award to former governor J. C. B. Ehringhaus, and Attorney General Harry McMullan presented posthumously a certificate of merit and award to Jacques Busbee and a certificate of merit and award to Miss Katharine Morris of Raleigh. Miss Lucy Cherry Crisp, executive secretary of the State Art Society, presented purchase awards to Mr. Duncan Stuart of Raleigh for his painting, "The Sisters Apollinox," as first prize; to Mr. Gerard F. Tempest of Olivia for his painting, "Lead Year," as second prize; and to Mrs. Lena Bullock Davis of Rocky Mount for her painting, "Kissed by the Gods," for third prize.

Mr. Norman Cordon of Chapel Hill, formerly a Metropolitan Opera singer, rendered three selections. Mr. H. W. Wijdeveld, a Dutch architect and visiting lecturer of the School of Design of North Carolina State College, gave an illustrated lecture, "How It Grew—Ideas of a Visiting Artist." After the lecture a reception was given for members, patrons, and guests in the State Art Gallery.

At the business meeting held December 1 Mrs. Katherine Pendleton Arrington of Warrenton was re-elected president, Mr. John Allcott of Chapel Hill was re-elected vice-president, and Mrs. Jacques Busbee of Jugtown and Mrs. Harry McMillan of

Wilmington were elected vice-presidents. The congressional district vice-presidents elected were: Mrs. J. H. B. Moore of Greenville; Mrs. Charles Tucker of Warrenton; Mrs. William Dunn of New Bern; Col. William T. Joyner of Raleigh; Mrs. O. O. Efird of Winston-Salem; Mr. William E. Prince of Chapel Hill; Mrs. Peter McKoy Williams of Fayetteville; Mrs. Frank L. Dunlap of Wadesboro; Mrs. Percy Grimes of Salisbury; Mrs. Harold Dwelle of Charlotte; Mrs. O. Max Gardner of Shelby; and Mr. Anthony Lord of Asheville. The following members of the board of directors were elected to the executive committee: Mr. Carter Williams, Miss Katharine Morris, Dr. Clarence Poe, and Mr. Alexander Crane, all of Raleigh; and Dr. Robert Lee Humber of Greenville. The following directors of the Society were elected: Dr. Clarence Poe, Mrs. Henry M. London, Miss Katharine Morris, Mr. Alexander Crane, Mrs. Isabelle Bowen Henderson, Mr. Carter Williams, Mrs. Howard Manning, all of Raleigh, and Mrs. Julius Cone of Greensboro.

The ninth annual session of the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities was held in Raleigh on December 1. At the noon meeting and luncheon Mr. Warren T. White of Norfolk, Virginia, delivered an address, "Your Heritage and Mine." At the evening meeting Mrs. Charles A. Cannon brought presidential greetings, and Mrs. Inglis Fletcher of Edenton presented a precis of John Locke's Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina to Dr. Christopher Crittenden who accepted it on behalf of the state. Dr. Clyde A. Milner of Guilford College presided at a session devoted to the topic, "Quakers in Piedmont Carolina," at which Mrs. Ernestine Cookson Milner of Guilford read a paper, "Dolly Madison's Family at New Garden," Miss Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert of Guilford read a paper, "Planting of Quakerism in Piedmont Carolina," Mr. Charles C. Underwood of Guilford directed a group in singing several songs, and an episode in Guilford's history, "In Faith and in Unity," directed by Miss Mildred Marlette of Guilford College, was presented. Mr. Paul Green of Chapel Hill presented the Charles A. Cannon awards to the following: Mrs. Katherine Pendleton Arrington of Warrenton; Mrs. Ernest L. Ives of Southern Pines; Mr. James Boyd, Jr., on behalf of his father, the late James Boyd of Southern Pines; Mrs. Charles

Brickell of Boston on behalf of her mother, Mrs. R. N. Duffy of New Bern; Dr. Douglas L. Rights of Winston-Salem on behalf of Mrs. James A. Gray of Winston-Salem; Mrs. Lyman A. Cotton of Chapel Hill on behalf of the late Col. Joseph Hyde Pratt of Chapel Hill; and the Reverend A. C. D. Noe of Bath. Mrs. John A. Kellenberger of Greensboro presented on behalf of her mother, Mrs. James E. Latham, 31 pieces of furniture, chiefly Chippendale originals, 3 crystal chandeliers, mirrors, silver, china, and paintings for Tryon's Palace when it has been restored. Mr. George R. Ross, director of the Department of Conservation and Development, accepted the gifts on the part of the state. The restoration of the palace will be under the direction of this Department. After the program a reception was given for patrons, members, and guests.

The forty-ninth session of the State Literary and Historical Association was held in Raleigh on December 2. At the morning session Mr. Richard H. Barry of Durham read a paper, "Fort Macon and Its History," Mr. Roger P. Marshall of Raleigh read a paper, "A Mythical Mayflower Competition: North Carolina Literature in the Half-Century Following the Revolution," Mr. William S. Powell of Raleigh read a paper, "The Bicentennial of the Printing Press in North Carolina," and Mr. William T. Polk of Greensboro read a paper, "Review of North Carolina Books of the Year." At the business meeting Dr. Charles S. Sydnor of Durham was elected president, Miss Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert of Guilford, Mr. George M. Stephens of Asheville, and Mr. Richard Walser of Raleigh were elected vice-presidents, and Dr. Christopher Crittenden was re-elected secretary-treasurer. Dr. Sylvester C. Green of Durham and Mr. Roger P. Marshall of Raleigh were elected on the executive committee. The nominating committee elected for the year consists of Mr. W. T. Bost of Raleigh, Mr. J. M. Justice of Boone, Dr. Broadus Jones of Wake Forest, Dr. Mary C. Wiley of Winston-Salem, and Dr. M. L. Skaggs of Greensboro.

At the evening meeting Mr. W. T. Bost of Raleigh delivered the presidential address and Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Byerly of Winston-Salem, governor of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in North Carolina, presented the Mayflower award to Mr. Phillips

Russell of Chapel Hill for his book, *The Woman Who Rang The Bell*. Mrs. Robert Lee Humber of Greenville, president of the North Carolina Division of the American Association of University Women, presented posthumously to Dr. Adelaide L. Fries of Winston-Salem the cup of the American Association of University Women for excellence in writing a county history, *Forsyth, A County on the March*. Dr. Thomas J. Wertenbaker of Princeton, New Jersey, then delivered an illustrated lecture, "The Restoration of Colonial Williamsburg." A reception to members and guests followed.

The North Carolina Archaeological Society held its semi-annual meeting December 3 and 4 at Cherokee. Mr. Joe Jenkins, Superintendent of the Cherokee Indian Reservation, welcomed the members and guests and Dr. Arthur Kelly, head of the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology at the University of Georgia, delivered an address, "Problems of Cherokee Origins." At the business meeting Dr. Christopher Crittenden of Raleigh was elected president, Mrs. Charles A. Cannon of Concord was elected vice-president, and Mr. Harry T. Davis of Raleigh was elected secretary-treasurer, Mr. H. M. Doerschuk of Badin, and Mr. C. D. Howell of Salisbury were elected members of the executive committee, and Dr. J. L. Coe of Chapel Hill was elected bulletin editor.

In connection with this meeting the Cherokee Indians held their second annual feast. The Indians at the feast staged the Bogerman Dance performed by a group from the Soco Day School. Mr. Samuel E. Beck of Asheville, founder of the museum of the Cherokee Indians, presented a small Sequoia tree to vice-chief Miller Ross on behalf of the United States Forest Service and the University of California. The tree was planted on the reservation.

The thirty-eighth annual session of the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society was held in Raleigh on December 2. Dr. Guy B. Johnson of Chapel Hill read a paper, "Notes on the Gullah Dialect," and Mr. Virgil L. Strugill of Asheville gave "Old Song Ballets from the Appalachians." A resolution in memory of Newman Ivey White was passed and a report on plans to publish the

Frank C. Brown Collection was made. Officers elected for the coming year are: Dr. George P. Wilson of Greensboro, president; Mr. Cratis D. Williams of Boone re-elected first vice-president; Mr. Bascom Lamar Lunsford of South Turkey Creek was elected second vice-president; and Dr. A. P. Hudson of Chapel Hill was re-elected secretary-treasurer.

The annual meeting of the North Carolina Society of County Historians was held on December 1 in Raleigh. Dr. Mary Callum Wiley of Winston-Salem talked on "How We Wrote Our County History," in lieu of Dr. Adelaide L. Fries, and Mr. Malcolm Fowler of Lillington delivered the presidential address. The following officers were elected for the coming year: Mr. Willis G. Briggs of Raleigh, president, and Mr. John A. Oates of Fayetteville, vice-president. The Society announced the publication of *Fighting over the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge. Notes on the Memorial Service Held at the National Park, February 27, 1949*, by Paul Green. Copies may be procured for fifteen cents by writing the secretary, Mr. John H. Monger, Sanford.

The Institute of Early American History and Culture announces that it is prepared to provide a limited number of Grants-in-Aid of Research to individual writers or scholars who are carrying on studies in the field of American history prior to the year 1815. These grants are made in conjunction with the publication program of the Institute and upon the condition that the recipients shall submit the completed product of their researches to the Institute for consideration for publication.

Early application for grants will be advantageous; candidates must file their applications not later than March 15, 1950. Announcements of awards will be made May 15, 1950. Requests for applications and other information should be addressed to the Director, Institute of Early American History and Culture, Goodwin Building, Williamsburg, Virginia.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Dr. Adelaide Lisetta Fries was Archivist of the Moravian Church in America, Southern Province, and an ex officio member of the Triennial Synod, the Supreme Governing body of the Southern Moravian Church.

Dr. John H. Stibbs is director of the Division of Student Life and associate professor of English, The Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans 18, Louisiana.

Dr. Lucy Lienbach Wenhold is an emeritus professor of modern foreign languages, Salem College, Winston-Salem, N. C.

Mr. Richard C. Todd is a member of the faculty of the department of social studies, High Point College, High Point, N. C.

