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SALEM IN THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES

BY DOUGLAS LETELL RIGHTS

In the decade before the War Between the States the South was riding on a high tide of prosperity. The town of Salem flourished in this time of plenty. It was still a Moravian town, a church community in which the dominant emphasis was religious. The school for girls reflected the austere atmosphere inaugurated by the founders. But the culture of the age, with its refinements and luxuries for those who could afford them, affected this religious center. The romance of the Old South is not entirely a myth, and Salem claimed its share.

Salem was an important town. As early as 1835, when the inhabitants numbered 700, the local newspaper listed the following industries and trades: one hotel, two merchants, one book store, one toy shop, two confectionaries, one candle manufacturer, two clock-makers, three hatters, four cabinet-makers, two blacksmiths, one skin-dresser, five shoemakers, three gunsmiths, one coppersmith, one tinplate-maker, one saddler, two coopers, two potters, one wheelwright, two tailors, one chair manufacturer, one portrait painter, one printing office, one apothecary, one tobacconist, one baker, and two milliners.¹

In the same journal the merchant T. Linebach advertised his "neat assortment" of "Jewelry, and Silver Ware; Plain English and Swiss WATCHES; Ever-pointed Pencils and Pencil Points; Shell and Tin Japann'd Musical Boxes; Purses and Purse Clasps; Silver & Steel Spectacles, to suit all ages; An assortment of Steel and Gilt Watch Chains, Keys and Seals; Fine Pearl Handle and Roger's best Penknives; Malacca and Wangee Canes, (with and without swords;) Pistols and Percussion Caps, with many other

¹ *The Farmers Reporter and Rural Repository* (Salem, N. C.), May 23, 1835.

articles usually found in a Silver Smith Shop. . . . Also PROFILES neatly and correctly taken. . . . The subscriber will also furnish Marble TOMBSTONES. . . . A fair price will be given for Peacock Feathers.”

Through the years there had been significant changes. Pacifist sentiment gave way to the organization of a company of militia. The church no longer controlled all trades and industries; individual ownership was allowed.² Non-Moravians were permitted to take up residence. Salem became a resort community, like Asheville in later years. Families from Wilmington, Charleston, and other cities and from plantation homes of the Southeast came here to the hill country to escape the unpleasantness and dangers of the lowlands in summer. Salem Tavern was enlarged to meet the demands of the visitors. Kinsfolk of the girls attending Salem Female Academy enjoyed sojourning in the pleasant community.

The southern states found here their largest institution for the education of their daughters. By stagecoach, in family carriage, and on horseback the girls came.³ Many are the stories of those days. For example: A girl from Louisiana was a student at Salem. (The revered former teacher, Miss Emma Lehman, gave her name, now forgotten). From the neighborhood of her plantation home came a “poor but worthy” young man to claim her for his bride. The principal of the Moravian school, as would be expected, refused to accede to the young man’s pleas. Letters were hastily written to the parents. In due time there came to Salem a trusted Negro servant bringing the necessary credentials with the permission of the girl’s father. The young couple appeared before the principal of the Academy and were married. They departed by stage on their honeymoon, guarded by their faithful Negro attendant.

The flourishing school for girls sorely needed more ample building accommodations. In 1854 the old Gemeinhaus, or meeting house, was removed, and the cornerstone of what is known as Main Hall was laid. On March 24, 1856, the school moved into its new home.⁴

² Levin T. Reichel, *The Moravians in North Carolina* (Philadelphia, 1857), 161.

³ J. H. Clewell, *History of Wachovia* (New York, 1902), 220-221.

⁴ Reichel, *The Moravians in North Carolina*, 125.

In the years immediately preceding the War between the States, the town newspaper revealed the prosperity of the times.⁵

Hall and Hall advertised "Confectionaries: Crystalized Fruits & Candies, Ornamental Candies, Oranges, Figs, Dates, Citrons, Pine Apples, Prunes, Raisins, Currants, Cheese, Preserved Fruits, Grape Drops, Cocoa and other Nuts, CRACKERS, (Soda and Cream,) Sardines, Salad Oil, Pickles, Jujube Paste, &c., &c. . . . Fresh Oysters constantly on hand during the season." (The oysters came from Norfolk.)

Boots and shoes were made and repaired in the basement of the Zevely Hotel, one of the three hostelries in town.

Boner and Crist advertised "Spring and Summer Goods, Dry Goods, Ladies' Dress Goods, Gentlemen's Wear, Ready-made Clothing, Hats & Caps, Bonnets, Boots & Shoes, Hardware, Cutlery & Queensware, Groceries, Drugs, Paints & Dyestuffs, Patent Medicines, &c., &c.," with the slogan "A nimble sixpence is better than a slow shilling."

Daguerreotypes were made by A. E. Welfare or the "Photographic Artist" J. S. Wear.

A certain Mrs. Turner, under the advertising headline "Mantua Making," would "respectfully inform the citizens of this place, Winston, and surrounding country, that she is prepared, in her room in Zevely's Hotel, to receive orders in her line of business, which she flatters herself to be able to execute to the satisfaction of all who may favor her with a call. . . . Dresses made, and all kinds of needle work done, with neatness and dispatch, at short notice. . . ."

These give but a partial review of the tradesmen's appeals.

As for diversion, Robinson's circus and numerous other entertainments found their way to Salem. The following excerpts are from a note sent by a young man to a teacher in the school, inviting her and her colleagues to a musical event:

It's a fact, dearest ladies, you very well know it,
I make no pretensions to being a poet,
But, as I happily am, in an excellent vein,
Of very good spirits, I send you a strain,
And although I may prove for the better, or worse,
Instead of dull prose, I have written bad verse.

⁵ *The People's Press* (Salem, N. C.), January 4, 1861.

'Tis done in the midst of great "fussification,"
The "gents" all around me discussing location
Of Courthouse and jail, whether these shall be
Near Salem, or nearer to Liberty.

You have heard no doubt, long before today,
That tomorrow night the Aeolians play,
And sing their rich songs, which have made great noise
In both cities & towns & drew down the applause
Of musical critics who always can know
Whether notes are played too fast or too slow.

I assure you, 'twould prove a joy untold,
Greater than that to be bought with gold,
To enjoy with ladies so charming and sweet,
As your own fair selves, this musical treat.⁶

The new courthouse town of Winston was established in 1849, and already its voice was heard. The local newspaper in 1861 called attention to a "Prospectus of the Trinity College Monthly Magazine . . . the first number of this new Literary Number for popular favor." Merchants Barrow & Flynt advertised a wide range of general store goods including "Ladies' Dress Goods in great variety. Shawls, Cloaks, Prints, Flannels, Linsies, &c.," and P. A. Wilson & Company's "Clothing Emporium" announced, "We have on hand every article that is necessary for a GENTLEMAN'S OUTFIT, consisting of the latest styles of Coats, Vests, Pants, Shirts, Collars, Cravats, Gloves . . . an elegant assortment of Cloths, Cassimeres, Tweeds, Vestings, &c., from which we are prepared to make any garment desired, in the neatest and best style. . . . A lot of Fries' celebrated Salem Jeans constantly on hand."⁷

Many indeed were the innovations in community life, while the Moravian Church kept in the forefront, with its regular services of worship and its added features of beautiful observance of Christmas, Easter, and other seasons of the church year.

In the prosperous year 1858, when town clerk C. L. Rights reported after all expenditures a balance of \$29 in the town treasury, the Salem newspaper in its issue of May 28 reported the "Annual Examination" of the pupils of the Female Academy:

⁶ About 1850, C. L. Rights to Miss Elizabeth Hanes, whom he later married. Note is on file in Salem College library in unclassified documents.

⁷ *Western Sentinel* (Winston, N. C.), June 7, 1861.

“There are a great many persons in attendance, from a distance and from the neighborhood. . . . The present session has been very full, numbering some 370 . . . full to the utmost capacity. . . . From North Carolina, 89. South Carolina, 45. Alabama, 42. Georgia, 32. Mississippi, 30. Tennessee, 20. Virginia, 19. Texas, 11. Louisiana, 8. Arkansas, 2. California, 2. Indian Territory, 1. Kentucky, 1. Salem, N. C., 68.”⁸

The “Examination” far outshone later college commencements. The program for three sessions included a hymn, a prayer, and an address; public examinations in grammar, geography of Europe, church history, astronomy, a French dialogue, and reading of compositions; three choruses and a variety of recitations and musical selections, vocal and instrumental, numbering ninety-eight. The fourth session presented a cantata, “The Flower Queen, or the Coronation of the Rose,” which was “performed by eighty-six scholars.”

The local newspaper of January 4, 1861, along with the notice of a lecture on “Hebrew Poetry” to be given by R. D. Dick, Esq., of Greensboro, carried the alarming news, “Great Excitement in Charleston—Major Anderson abandons Fort Moultrie, and Removes all His troops to Fort Sumpter.”⁹ In another column there was a summons to a mass meeting to be held in Winston with the declaration, “Secession has no place in Forsyth.”¹⁰

But secession and war came, and Salem was soon rallying to the support of the Confederacy.

The *Press* of June 21 reported that “on Monday morning last, the 1st and 2nd Companies of Forsyth Volunteers—the ‘Riflemen’ and ‘Grays’—took their departure from this place for Danville, Va.” Forty wagons were provided for the troops. The volunteers, headed by the brass band, marched to Salem Square and halted in front of the Female Academy, where, in the presence of a large concourse of people “of all ages, sexes, and conditions,” the Rt. Rev. George F. Bahnson delivered a “brief but pertinent” address and the Rev. Michael Doub of the Methodist Church added his blessing.¹¹

⁸ *The People's Press*, May 6, 1858.

⁹ *The People's Press*, January 4, 1861.

¹⁰ Forsyth County.

¹¹ *The People's Press*, June 21, 1861.

These soldiers camped for a while at the fairgrounds in Richmond, and then moved forward to battle. In November the Salem Museum advertised, "New Curiosities—Consisting of NATIVE BIRDS prepared and mounted in a most lifelike manner by several members of the society; also a BOMB, said to have been shot at and passed over the Forsyth Volunteers at the Battle of Manassas, and to have been thrown a distance of three miles."¹²

After the departure of the first contingent of troops, there came appeals for aid, appeals that grew more urgent as the battle years passed. The Young Ladies Relief Association and other groups gathered large quantities of supplies much needed by the Confederate soldiers and their families. Dr. Clewell, former president of Salem College, wrote: "A pleasing feature of these years of hardship appears in the earnest and self-sacrificing manner in which the church and community laboured to ameliorate the suffering of the soldiers, especially in the latter portion of the struggle. The residents of Salem, in 1863 and 1864, will recall the long lines of cloth tacked to the fences, in the avenue, or around the private lots in the town. These long strips were being painted and made into 'oilcloth,' to protect the soldiers from the weather and to serve them in other ways. . . . Even the little folks picked quantities of lint for the wounded, while their elders wound numberless rolls of bandages for the surgeons' use."¹³

As North Carolina sent its manpower into the conflict, leading the entire South, Salem and the surrounding country responded loyally with volunteers. The Twenty-first and the Twenty-sixth North Carolina regiments were largely recruited here and for them two military bands were furnished. The band of the Twenty-sixth, numbering among its players Julius Leinbach, Samuel T. Mickey, Daniel Crouse, Gus Reich, the magician, and other well known Salem residents, had the honor of serenading General Lee. At the battle of Gettysburg the bandboys served

¹² *The People's Press*, November 1, 1861. This bomb and several other missiles fired in the battle of Bull Run are among the exhibits of the Hall of History in the Wachovia Museum of the Wachovia Historical Society, Winston-Salem, N. C.

¹³ Clewell, *History of Wachovia*, 254.

as stretcher-bearers.¹⁴ One of the bandbooks, which was pierced by a bullet, is now in the museum. Ladies of the community made and presented two embroidered silk flags to departing companies. One of the flags was captured in battle and later returned to find a resting place in the Hall of History.

The pinch of war was felt in lack of school supplies at Salem Female Academy. An advertisement of the principal of the Academy in August, 1862, reads: "OLD SCHOOL BOOKS WANTED—The Subscriber will pay a liberal price for any of the following second hand books: Robbins' Outlines of History, Smith's Grammar, Mitchell's Geography and Atlas, Ollendorf's French Grammar, Davies' Arithmetic, Davenport's U. S. History, Gray's Astronomy, Murray's Exercises, &c. Even if the books are somewhat injured, bring them to the office of Robert De Schweinitz."¹⁵

By the end of the year 1862 lengthy casualty lists had appeared in the papers and the community was counting its sad cost of the dead or wounded. The Twenty-first Regiment had been engaged in the battle of Fredericksburg. Many familiar names appear on its list: "Romulus Tesh, wounded in shoulder; John Wimmer, broken left arm and left leg . . .," etc.¹⁶ The latter was in after years well known in the community as the white-bearded veteran with one arm and one leg, who for many years hauled the mail in his wagon from the railway station to the Salem College post office.

Glimpses of the sorrow and loss are found in the notes of the Salem diary:

"Today at one o'clock was the funeral of our brother Armenius Lash, whose death took place at Petersburg, and his remains were brought here by his brother." December 22, 1862.

"The funeral of Lieutenant Jacob Sheppard took place. He was killed in the battle of Fredericksburg." December 22, 1862.

"Henry C. Banner died at Petersburg, December 21, from a wound received at Fredericksburg, and was buried here today." December 24, 1862.

¹⁴ Julius A. Leinbach, "The Salem Band at the Battle of Gettysburg," an unpublished paper in the library of the Wachovia Historical Society, Winston-Salem, N. C.

¹⁵ *The People's Press*, August 22, 1862.

¹⁶ *The People's Press*, December 19, 1862.

"Today we received the news of the death of Charles J. Clauder, who had fallen on the battle-field near Fredericksburg. He was found dead, by the litter bearers, with his Bible open on his breast." May 13, 1863.¹⁷

On these notes Dr. Clewell has commented: "This same sad record could be increased, for many a mournful procession passed beneath the rows of cedars, bearing the remains of loved ones, brave boys like Henry Belo and [Major] William Pfohl, who died in the conflict. Or we could tell of those who fell, and whose friends did not even have the comfort of placing their remains in the home graveyard, as was the case of Wiley Gray, and many another."¹⁸

In the year 1863 Salem Academy was still going strong in spite of the war. Its 310 pupils participated in the "Examination" in May, although the program was noticeably shortened.¹⁹

There was a personal interest in the death of General Stonewall Jackson, for Mrs. Jackson had been a student at Salem.²⁰

In the week following the battle of Gettysburg the Winston newspaper printed the following war news: "From Pennsylvania we have the most cheering of news, provided it is reliable. Our forces since they entered the State have had things pretty much in their own way, and no doubt have made partial amends for the treatment which we of the South have received at the hands of the Yankees. A series of battles have been fought near Gettysburg, Pa., . . . which so far as we are able to judge from the meager reports received, both through the enemy's channels of information and our own, have resulted in a most glorious success and decided victory to our army under Lee."²¹ The Salem newspaper also gave a glowing first account of the battle, but conservatively added reports from Baltimore expressing doubt about the results of the conflict.²² Gradually the citizens of Salem and the pupils of the Academy learned that the southern army had suffered a great defeat. When the casualty lists had been tabulated, it was found that losses to home regiments were as follows:

¹⁷ Diary in the archives of the Moravian Church, Winston-Salem, N. C.

¹⁸ Clewell, *History of Wachovia*, 241.

¹⁹ *The People's Press*, May 29, 1863.

²⁰ Mrs. Jackson later received an honorary degree from Salem College.

²¹ *Western Sentinel*, July 10, 1863.

²² *The People's Press*, July 10, 1863.

	Killed	Wounded	Missing
21st Regiment	11	63	38
26th Regiment	88	483	87 ²³

As the war continued, strain and suffering in the South increased with mounting losses in life and property. After every great battle in 1864, the casualty lists bore names of Salem's volunteers. "Battles Around Richmond: Lt. Col. A. H. Belo,²⁴ wounded in arm," etc.²⁵ Supplies of every kind were running low. Confederate money was steadily depreciating. Would the Salem Female Academy be able to weather the storm? The answer is found in the news of June, 1864:

"The Session of this venerable Institution closed on the 25th ultimo. The number of scholars was very large, and the continued depreciation of the currency rendered it frequently almost impossible to provide for the future; but the energetic Principal surmounted all difficulties, and we are glad to state that the Board of Trustees have determined to open the new session in August next.—Registration North Carolina, 125; Tennessee, 29, Virginia, 26; Mississippi, 23; Georgia, 21; Alabama, 18; South Carolina, 15; Florida, 10; Texas, 3; Louisiana, 1; Arkansas, 1; Salem, N. C., 48.—320.

"The Musical Entertainment, on the evening of the 26th ult., displayed the usual good taste in arrangement. The music was excellent, and the recitations and dialogues both amusing and instructive, keeping a large audience in good humored attention for over two hours. The chapel was charmingly decorated with flowers."²⁶

Thus Salem kept the faith in the dark days of the war.

The local newspaper noted the contrast between Salem Academy and the University of North Carolina at this time. At the University in 1860 there were 70 to 80 graduates and 500 matriculates. In 1864 there were 8 graduates and 50 to 60 matriculates.²⁷

²³ *The People's Press*, August 20, 1863.

²⁴ The late Dr. Adelaide L. Fries of Winston-Salem furnished this information: Lt. Col. Belo spent some time in Salem recovering from the effect of his wound. He did not return to Virginia to be paroled after General Lee's surrender. Dr. Fries's uncle, H. W. Fries, gave Belo a horse on which he rode to join General Johnston's army, which was still engaged. General Johnston surrendered before Belo reached him. Then Belo, determined not to surrender, rode horseback to Texas. There he sold the horse and with the proceeds of the sale began his business. He became a millionaire newspaper publisher with two papers, the *Galveston News* and the *Dallas News*.

²⁵ *The People's Press*, November 3, 1864, and following issues.

²⁶ *The People's Press*, June 9, 1864.

²⁷ *The People's Press*, June 9, 1864.

Salem had a tremendous task in caring for the students of the Academy in the latter years of the war. There was a scarcity of clothing of all sorts. Children clattered about wearing shoes made with wooden soles. There was a serious shortage of food supplies. Salt was rationed by E. A. Vogler, salt commissioner. In 1863 it was selling at \$10 a bushel, or \$25 on the black market. Later there was hardly any obtainable at any price. When the supply of sugar at the Academy was exhausted, Governor Zebulon B. Vance sent two barrels to the institution. Sheriff Augustus Fogle, sometimes accompanied by Principal de Schweinitz, made many trips in his wagon scouring the surrounding country for food, bringing in vegetables, meat, and other provisions from a wide area.²⁸ Governor Vance gave written permission for Sheriff Fogle and the principal to pass through Confederate lines on their search for food, and paid a high tribute to the Academy for taking care of so many students, including large numbers of refugees from other states.²⁹

The payment of the students for their expenses was in Confederate money. The result was an accumulation of thousands of dollars in worthless currency. In the Salem College office today there is an iron safe that was used for deposit in the days of the War between the States, and within it are large bundles of the Confederate money, mute evidence of the loss sustained by the institution in war.

In the early months of 1865 severe fighting continued, but peace rumors became frequent.

On April 6 there was a report that Stoneman's cavalry was approaching from the west, one detachment coming down the Yadkin River by way of Jonesville, another coming across the mountains near Hillsville, Virginia.³⁰

In Salem the inhabitants excitedly prepared for the invasion. Widespread destruction in the South by northern troops was well known and a rush was made to conceal valuables. Under a stone in the cellar of the principal's house, later the college office, the money and jewelry of the students and other objects of value were buried. The two fine black horses owned by the Academy were hidden in the cellar under Main Hall.³¹

²⁸ Clewell, *History of Wachovia*, 252-255.

²⁹ Letter on file in the Salem College treasurer's office.

³⁰ *The People's Press*, March 30, 1865.

³¹ Clewell, *History of Wachovia*, 250.

Principal de Schweinitz of the Academy, Mayor Joshua Boner, and a few other citizens rode out to meet the invading troops and parleyed with the advance guard a short distance north of the town of Winston. They were given the assurance that the community would be protected and that no pillaging would be allowed.³²

Of the invasion the *Press* reported:

"On the evening, April the 10th, Col. Palmer's Brigade entered the village, and occupied it for twenty-four hours, strictly respecting persons and property. Government stores, and citizens' horses³³ and mules, were of course appropriated, in town and surrounding country. Contrary to Col. Palmer's orders, Mr. Fries's Cotton Factory was entered by a few soldiers and others, and pillaged to some extent, but as soon as the affair became known to the colonel, he promptly put a stop to it."³⁴

Headquarters for the Union force were in the Kuschke house, then the residence of Mayor Joshua Boner, across the street from the Blum home and printing office.³⁵

An incident that might have resulted in serious consequences has been included in local traditions. When the Yankee soldiers approached the Salem Female Academy, a hot-headed student from Alabama waved a Confederate flag from a third-story window of Main Hall and gave the Rebel yell. Tradition also claims that at the same time Principal de Schweinitz and the commander of the Union troops recognized each other as former schoolmates of the Moravian school for boys in Pennsylvania, and that the commander gave reassurance that the school would be protected in spite of this demonstration.

Colonel Palmer's troops were succeeded by the Tenth Ohio Cavalry of the army of occupation. Headquarters were in the home later occupied by Dr. J. W. Hunter.³⁶

The *Press* of May 20, 1865, along with the news of the assassination of President Lincoln gave a report of the raising of the Stars and Stripes above the Forsyth County courthouse in

³² Clewell, *History of Wachovia*, 250-51.

³³ Mrs. Sarah K. Stevenson of Winston-Salem told of a humorous incident: The seven-year-old son of C. L. Rights was watching the Yankee cavalymen troop down Main Street, when, stirred with excitement, he cried, "You can't get our horses; we got 'em hid in the cellar." The good natured troopers did not get the horses.

³⁴ *The People's Press*, May 27, 1865.

³⁵ Clewell, *History of Wachovia*, 251.

³⁶ Clewell, *History of Wachovia*, 251.

Winston, in which Salem's daughters participated. Thirteen little girls, between the ages of five and eleven years, representing the original states, dressed in white, festooned with flowers and evergreens, and sashes of red, white, and blue, wearing wreaths of roses and evergreens, and carrying small white flags with the coat of arms of the United States on the one side and a minute likeness of President Washington on the other, with the words "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable," led the parade to the courthouse. "The little galaxy of beauty was composed of Misses Mary A. Fontaine, Dora Starbuck, Ella Starbuck, Alice Steiner, Rosa Lash, Sophie Shultz, Adelia Mickey, Rosa Mickey, Gertrude Hall, Flaucy [Flossie] Hall, Josie Wilson, Sarah Earp, and Pattie Fountain." The little boys, Willie Fountain and Willie Spach, presented the flag to the officials while the Salem Band, led by a veteran of the Confederacy, a certain Captain Carmichael, played martial music. The flag was raised as the band played "The Star Spangled Banner," and salutes were fired from a six-inch cannon. "As the flag reached the top and spread its ample folds to the breeze, a shout went up that made the welkin ring."³⁷

The war was over. The Stars and Stripes waved again. Salem had weathered another war and the school for girls had kept its honorable record for continuous service.

³⁷ *The People's Press*, May 20, 1865.

AN ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF THE RATIFICA-
TION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION IN
NORTH CAROLINA

PART II

THE HILLSBORO CONVENTION—
ECONOMIC INTERESTS OF THE ANTI-FEDERALISTS

BY WILLIAM C. POOL

The Anti-Federalists, or the group opposed to ratification of the Federal Constitution, had an overwhelming majority from the first day of the Hillsboro convention of 1788 until the last session. When the vote was taken on Saturday, August 2, 1788, no less than 184 of the delegates voted to reject the Constitution. This large number of those opposed to ratification creates a splendid situation for an economic study. Did the opposition in North Carolina come from the non-slaveholding farmers and debtor classes? Or, on the other hand can it be shown that between the men who supported and those who opposed the Constitution there was no line of property division at all; that men owning substantially the same amounts and kinds of property were equally divided on the matter of adoption or rejection?

In the following pages the amounts and kinds of property held by each one of the 184 persons opposing ratification will be considered. As in the case of the Federalist bloc, the Anti-Federalists will be presented not according to their rank or their importance in the debates but according to the county they represented. The counties are arranged alphabetically. Once again it should be noted that the statistics which follow are incomplete in that they represent amounts and kinds of property held by each delegate within the borders of his own home county unless otherwise indicated. The statistics, therefore, represent the minimum holdings.

ANSON COUNTY

Daniel Gould is listed in the census as the owner of four slaves in 1790; no other information is available.¹

¹ *Census of 1790.* .

Lewis Lanier held only 50 acres of land according to the land records of Anson County. It is evident that he held more land as he represented Anson County in the house of commons, 1788-1789. Lanier owned 13 slaves.²

Samuel Spencer, lawyer, graduate of Princeton (College of New Jersey), and the leading debater in opposition, owned 11 slaves and 2,080 acres of land. Spencer was a member of the first three provincial congresses of North Carolina and one of the judges of the state court after 1777. In 1784 the degree of doctor of laws was conferred upon him by the College of New Jersey.³

Thomas Wade, Anson County's member to the state senate, 1782-1784, possessed 2,822 acres of land and 17 slaves.⁴

BEAUFORT COUNTY

James Bonner was an extensive property holder. Prior to the convention he held 51 slaves, 3,621 acres of land, and additional small grants in Tennessee with the Blounts. Bonner represented Beaufort County in the state senate, 1786-1788.⁵

BLADEN COUNTY

Thomas Brown is listed in the records along with many other Browns. Thomas was issued 2,634 acres prior to 1791 in the Cape Fear region. He also received a grant of 2,640 acres in Tennessee in 1788 and other small grants earlier. The tax lists indicate that Brown's total acreage in Bladen County was 1,871 with 1,920 acres "over the mountains." Thomas Brown possessed 30 slaves and was state senator in 1785, 1786, and 1788.⁶

Samuel Cain, member of the house of commons in 1783, 1784, 1787, and 1788, is recorded in the tax lists as the owner of 640 acres of land in Bladen County although 1,440 acres appear in the land grant records under the name Samuel Cain. The *Census of 1790* lists two Samuel Cains—one with 13 slaves, the other with none.⁷

² Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 25; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

³ Trenholme, *Ratification in North Carolina*, 25, 148, 154n; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

⁴ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 25; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

⁵ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 29; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; Legislative Papers (hereafter cited as L. P.), Tax Lists, 1786-1790, Beaufort County, 1789; L. P., Beaufort County Records, Land Grants, 1758-1760.

⁶ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 44; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Tax Lists, 1786-1790, Bladen County.

⁷ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 44; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Tax Lists, 1786-1790, Bladen County.

Joseph Gaitier is not listed in any of the records examined. Perhaps there is an error in the spelling as Jos. R. Gautier is listed as state senator, 1791, from Bladen County. This information would indicate that Gautier held at least 300 acres of land.⁸

BRUNSWICK COUNTY

John Cains held 997 acres of land in Brunswick County prior to 1790; additional grants of 500 acres in partnership with Christopher Cains and 300 acres with Charles Cains are listed. He held 9 slaves and represented his county in the house of commons in 1788.⁹

Lewis Dupree possessed 873 acres of land and 34 slaves. He was a member of the house of commons in 1778 and 1787 and state senate in 1788 and 1791.¹⁰

Alexious M. Forster, member of the state senate in 1787, owned 2,876 acres of land. No slave information is available.¹¹

Jacob Leonard, member of the house of commons, 1784-1788, held grants for 300 acres and "part of a lott" in Brunswick County. His will reveals that all his legal debts were to be paid and debts due him were to be collected. Leonard also provided for a liberal education for his children.¹²

BURKE COUNTY

James Greenlee was an extensive property holder with 5,827 acres of land and other miscellaneous grants in Burke County.¹³

Joseph M'Dowell, Revolutionary soldier and member of the house of commons from 1780 to 1788 and of the state senate from 1791 to 1795, held 2,918 acres prior to the convention in private ownership. It is difficult to distinguish between Joseph M'Dowall and Joseph M'Dowall, Jr. The elder M'Dowall held 10 slaves.¹⁴

Joseph M'Dowall, Jr., member of the house of commons from 1786 to 1792, held 9 slaves. The remainder of his property is confused with that of Joseph M'Dowall. The family, however, held considerable property.¹⁵

⁸ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 44.

⁹ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 49; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Tax Lists, 1780-1782, Brunswick County, 1782.

¹⁰ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 49; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

¹¹ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 49; Land Grant Index.

¹² Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 49; Land Grant Index; L. P., Tax Lists, 1780-1782, Brunswick County, 1782.

¹³ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 62; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

¹⁴ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 62; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

¹⁵ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 62; *Census of 1790*.

Robert Miller is listed with 2 slaves in 1790; no other information concerning his property interest was available from the records examined.¹⁶

CASWELL COUNTY

James Boswell is listed as the owner of 385 acres with an evaluation of £228 in 1784.¹⁷

Robert Dickens was granted 12,078 acres of land between 1778 and 1790 and 3,939 acres with Wm. Waite; he had 16,077 acres plus an evaluation of £6,369 in the tax lists of 1785. Dickens was a member of the house of commons in 1782, 1785, and 1786 and of the state senate in 1791.¹⁸

John Graves held 2,473 acres, granted between 1772 and 1790. A John Graves, Jr., is listed with 1,500 acres, granted from 1782 to 1790. The tax records also list two John Graves—one with 2,000 acres, the other with 1,690 acres and a £1,966 evaluation. John Graves is listed as a member of the house of commons from 1788 to 1793.¹⁹

George Roberts is not listed in any of the Caswell County records available.

John Womack owned 1,860 acres of land with an evaluation of £1,320.²⁰

CHATHAM COUNTY

James Anderson, member of the house of commons from 1786 to 1792, was granted 185 acres of land in 1787 and 1788 in Chatham County and 500 acres in Tennessee. He owned 15 slaves. His will mentions £25 of "Virginia money," 2 horses, and lands in Chatham County and Mecklenburg County, Virginia.²¹

Ambrose Ramsey, member of the senate, 1777-1788, was an extensive property holder. He was granted 640 acres of land in 1779 and held 11 slaves in 1790. In addition his will lists \$5,500 and additional security, mills, 400 acres, a ferry, and a fishery.²²

¹⁶ *Census of 1790.*

¹⁷ L. P., Tax Lists, 1783-1785, Caswell County, 1785.

¹⁸ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 80-81; Land Grant Index; L. P., Tax Lists, 1783-1785; Caswell County, 1785.

¹⁹ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 81; Land Grant Index; L. P., Tax Lists, 1783-1785, Caswell County, 1785.

²⁰ Land Grant Index; L. P., Tax Lists, 1783-1785, Caswell County, 1784.

²¹ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 86; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Chatham County Records, Wills, Inventories, Sales of Estates, and Deeds, 1790-1799.

²² Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 86; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Chatham County Records. Will Book B, 1798-1833.

Joseph Stewart, member of the house of commons from 1786 to 1789 and of the state senate from 1790 to 1796, owned 1,135 acres of land.²³

William Vestal owned no slaves in 1790 and 205 acres of land plus "the remainder of estate."²⁴

CRAVEN COUNTY

Richard Nixon, member of the house of commons from 1787 to 1789, owned 19 slaves and had grants for 565 acres of land prior to 1788. Other small grants were held in partnership; still other grants were received after ratification.²⁵

Benjamin Williams, a member of the state senate in 1788, held 1,689 acres of land, all granted between 1762 and 1789. He held no slaves in 1790.²⁶

CUMBERLAND COUNTY

Thomas Armstrong, state senator from 1784 to 1787, held 18 slaves and land grants for 2,900 acres received between 1757 and 1790. He was granted 384 acres in Tennessee. The tax records of 1787 list Armstrong's acreage as 3,200. His will lists "a plantation" and various other tracts of land; his western land grants totaled more than 9,000 acres by 1789.²⁷

Alexander McAllaster, an extensive property holder, owned 40 slaves and had received grants for 2,599 acres of land prior to the convention. He was a member of the state senate from 1787 to 1790 and prior to that had been very active in the formation of the revolutionary government, representing Cumberland County at Hillsboro in August, 1776.²⁸

DAVIDSON COUNTY (TENNESSEE)

William Dobbin possessed grants totaling 1,500 acres of land in North Carolina and 3,140 acres in Tennessee.²⁹

William Donaldson was granted 1,530 acres of land between 1786 and 1790.³⁰

²³ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 86; Land Grant Index.

²⁴ *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Chatham County Records, Will Book A, 1798-1819, I, 24.

²⁵ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 122; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

²⁶ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 122; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

²⁷ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 131; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Cumberland County Records, List of Taxables, 1777-1787; L. P., Cumberland County Records, Wills, 1757-1869, I, 14-15.

²⁸ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 131, 125; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Cumberland County Records, List of Taxables, 1777-1787; L. P., Cumberland County Records, Wills, 1757-1869, IV, 22.

²⁹ Land Grant Index; Land Records, North Carolina Grants in Tennessee, 1778-1791, microfilm.

³⁰ Land Grant Index.

Thomas Evans owned 3,940 acres of land in North Carolina prior to the convention and 640 acres in Tennessee.³¹

Thomas Hardiman was granted 100 acres of land in 1784 and 3,840 acres in 1787. His property in Tennessee included 640 acres of land.³²

Robert Weakley had been granted 5 sections (3,200 acres) of land with associates prior to ratification. Later grants in Tennessee totaled 5,220 acres.³³

DUPLIN COUNTY

William Dickson received grants totaling 1,320 acres before 1790 plus 640 acres with Federalist Robert Dickson. William Dickson held 31 slaves in 1790.³⁴

James Gillespie owned 30 slaves and received grants for 2,100 acres of land before 1790; additional grants were received later. He represented Duplin County in the house of commons from 1779 to 1783 and in the state senate from 1784 to 1786.³⁵

James Kenan, member of the state senate from Duplin County from 1777 to 1783 and from 1787 to 1791, was an extensive property holder with land grants for 2,790 acres before 1787 and for 1,000 acres in 1790. Kenan owned 37 slaves.³⁶

Francis Oliver owned only 3 slaves and had 125 acres of land entered in 1780 and granted in 1791.³⁷

Charles Ward, member of the house of commons from 1787 to 1789, owned 12 slaves and received grants for 1,000 acres of land between 1785 and 1788. The tax records for Duplin County show Ward's total acreage as 1,600 acres.³⁸

EDGECOMBE COUNTY

Elisha Battle, one of the outstanding leaders among the Anti-Federalists in 1788, was born in Virginia in 1723 and moved to the Tar River area in 1743. He was a member of the convention which met at Halifax in November, 1776, and drew up the state

³¹ Land Grant Index; Land Records, North Carolina Grants in Tennessee, 1778-1791, microfilm.

³² Land Grant Index; Land Records, North Carolina Grants in Tennessee, 1778-1791, microfilm.

³³ Land Grant Index; Land Records, North Carolina Grants in Tennessee, 1778-1791, microfilm.

³⁴ *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Duplin County Records, Tax Lists, 1783-1817, 15.

³⁵ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 139; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

³⁶ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 139; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

³⁷ *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Duplin County Records, Tax Lists, 1783-1817, 19.

³⁸ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 139; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Duplin County Records, Tax Lists, 1783-1817, 21.

constitution; he represented Edgecombe County in the state senate from 1777 to 1787 except for the terms of 1782 and 1784. Battle received separate land grants between 1754 and 1762 for 3,001 acres. He owned 22 slaves. Battle died in 1799 and his will mentions Negroes, plantation, \$225, and 170 silver dollars.³⁹

Blythel Bell possessed 14 slaves and the "land and plantation whereon I now live." His political career began with the Hillsboro convention.⁴⁰

Robert Diggs, member of the House of Commons, 1781-1787, owned 300 acres of land, referred to in his will as a "plantation." No information is available concerning the number of slaves Diggs held; "negroes" are mentioned in his will.⁴¹

William Fort, whose political activity was not extensive prior to 1788, owned 6 slaves and held land grants totaling 879 acres.⁴²

Etheldred Gray was an extensive property owner with holdings which included 714 acres "on south side of Tar River," also 580 acres "more or less," 875 acres on "Walnut Creek," 200 additional acres on the "south side of Tar," and 250 acres in Pitt County—a total of 2,619 acres. He had 29 slaves. He was a member of the house of commons in 1780 and state senator in 1788 and 1789.⁴³

FRANKLIN COUNTY

Durham Hall, member of the house of commons from 1784 to 1786 and in 1789, owned 7 slaves and 165 acres "on the waters of Tarr River."⁴⁴

Henry Hill, state senator for Franklin County from 1780 to 1783, 1784 to 1787, and 1789 to 1791, received grants for 640 acres of land on "Sycamore and Cedar Creeks" in 1779 and an additional 272 acres in 1780. The Franklin tax records for 1779 reveal that Hill's taxables included 779 acres of land. He owned 28 slaves.⁴⁵

³⁹ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 146; *Census of 1790*; L. P., Edgecombe County Records, Wills, 1758-1830, I, 64; Land Grant Index.

⁴⁰ *Census of 1790*; L. P., Edgecombe County Records, Wills, 1758-1830, I, 73; Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 146.

⁴¹ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 146; Land Grant Index; L. P., Edgecombe County Records, Wills, 1758-1830, III, 85.

⁴² *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

⁴³ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 146; L. P., Edgecombe County Records, Wills, 1758-1830, V, 15.

⁴⁴ *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 149.

⁴⁵ *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Franklin County Tax Records, 1785-1834, List of Taxables, 1799; Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 149.

William Lancaster held 5 slaves in 1790 and had been granted 500 acres of land as early as 1779.⁴⁶

John Norwood owned 24 slaves and had been granted 1,957 acres of land prior to the convention.⁴⁷

Thomas Sherrod, representative for Franklin County in the house of commons, 1784-1785, again in 1787, and again from 1789 to 1791, held land grants totaling 1,161 acres by 1799. It is impossible to list his specific holdings in 1788. He owned 9 slaves.⁴⁸

GRANVILLE COUNTY

Howell Lewis, Jr., state senator, 1785-1787, received grants in 1788 and 1789 for 1,087 acres of land. In 1782 his property evaluation was fixed at £2,066 and in 1785 he is listed as possessing 900 acres of land.⁴⁹

Elijah Mitchell owned 640 acres of land in 1785; he represented Granville County in the house of commons in 1788 and four times afterwards.⁵⁰

Thomas Person, born in 1733, was a staunch defender of the rights of North Carolina through the last years of the colonial period and early years of statehood. He was a man of the people and, besides serving in the revolutionary assemblies held at New Bern, Hillsboro, and Halifax between 1774 and 1777, represented his county in the house of commons without interruption from 1777 to 1784, was a member of the senate in 1787, and returned to the house of commons in 1788. Despite his public activities, Person managed to build up a large estate which consisted of 89,660 acres of land and 62 slaves by 1785. This land baron denounced both the proposed constitution and the men who framed it. He was uncompromising and loudly advocated rejection of the Constitution through all of the contest over ratification.⁵¹

Joseph Taylor, state senator in 1781, held 2,836 acres of land.⁵²

⁴⁶ *Census of 1790*; L. P., Franklin County Tax Records, 1785-1834, List of Taxables, 1799.

⁴⁷ *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

⁴⁸ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 149; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Franklin County Tax Records, 1785-1834, List of Taxables, 1799.

⁴⁹ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 165-166, makes no distinction between Howell Lewis and Howell Lewis, Jr.; Land Grant Index; L. P., Tax Lists, 1780-1782, Granville County, 1782; L. P., Tax Lists, 1783-1785, Granville County, 1785.

⁵⁰ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 166; L. P., Tax Lists, 1783-1785, Granville County, 1785.

⁵¹ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 162, 165-166; Land Grant Index; L. P., Tax Lists, 1783-1785, Granville County, 1785.

⁵² Land Grant Index; L. P., Tax Lists, 1783-1785, Granville County, 1785; Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 165.

Thornton Yancey, six times member of the house of commons, held 542 acres of land in 1785.⁵³

GREENE COUNTY (TENNESSEE)

Asabel Rawlings had obtained about 3,000 acres of land by 1800; no information is available concerning his slave holdings.⁵⁴

James Roddy possessed 1,400 acres of land prior to the convention; available records do not list Tennessee counties' slaves.⁵⁵

James Wilson held 640 acres of land prior to the convention.⁵⁶

GUILFORD COUNTY

John Anderson, who held no slaves, received grants for 550 acres of land.⁵⁷

David Caldwell, one of the more radical Anti-Federalists, was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, March 22, 1725. He went to North Carolina as a Presbyterian missionary after graduation from Princeton. Caldwell set up a classical and theological school at Guilford. He later studied medicine and combined the two professions. Caldwell was not interested in politics and was a member of only two revolutionary conventions—the convention at Halifax in November, 1776, and the Hillsboro convention of 1788. Besides the school at Guilford, Caldwell owned 8 slaves and 791 acres of land.⁵⁸

Daniel Gillespie, member of the house of commons, 1779, and state senator, 1790-1795, owned 6 slaves and had received a land grant for 500 acres in 1783. Gillespie also obtained 2,000 acres in joint ownership.⁵⁹

William Goudy received grants for 1,220 acres of land; he did not own any slaves. Goudy was a member of the house of commons from 1780 to 1782, state senator during 1786, and returned to the lower house in 1787 and 1788.⁶⁰

John Hamilton, member of the house of commons from 1784 to 1786 and from 1788 to 1789, held 1,280 acres of land, another 1,280 acres with Thomas Henderson, and other small grants. He owned 6 slaves.⁶¹

⁵³ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 166; L. P., Tax Lists, 1783-1785, Granville County, 1785.

⁵⁴ Land Grant Index.

⁵⁵ Land Grant Index.

⁵⁶ Land Grant Index.

⁵⁷ *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

⁵⁸ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 181; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; *Records of the Convention, 1789*, indicate that Caldwell also represented Guilford County at the Fayetteville Convention.

⁵⁹ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 183; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

⁶⁰ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 183; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

⁶¹ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 183; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

HALIFAX COUNTY

John Branch, member of the house of commons from 1781 to 1782 and again from 1787 to 1788, was a man of "true revolutionary stock . . . a terror, in his day, to the Tories." Branch owned 28 slaves and 2,000 acres of land in 1790. His will shows that his estate included 10,000 acres of land in Tennessee "on the waters of duck river."⁶²

Egbert Haywood, member of the house of commons in 1778, owned 17 slaves and 1,500 acres of land in 1790. During 1788 he served as a commissioner for purchasing tobacco.⁶³

John Jones received grants for 1,173 acres of land between 1780 and 1790. The tax records of Halifax County for the year 1790 list only 250 acres under his name. Jones was a member of the house of commons in 1788.⁶⁴

Willie Jones, one of the most powerful political figures of the age, was born May 25, 1741, in Surry County, Virginia. His father, a lawyer, brought his family to North Carolina some time between 1750 and 1753. As agent for Lord Granville and attorney for the crown, the elder Jones acquired immense tracts of land by grants, negotiations, and dealings with the Indians; he was "probably the largest landed proprietor on Roanoke River." Willie Jones was educated at Eton in England and returned to North Carolina to inherit his father's old home, "the castle." Jones soon moved to the town of Halifax where he resided in one of the "outstanding homes" in colonial North Carolina. A man of aristocracy and wealth, Willie Jones owned "one of the finest stables in the South," 9,942½ acres of land in District Nine of Halifax County and 120 slaves. He was also involved in the Transylvania Company (speculators in western land) of Richard Henderson, and in 1795 he was among "a number of gentlemen desirous of promoting the navigation of the Roanoke River," a charter member of the Roanoke Navigation Company in 1797, and president of the subscribers. In 1796 he managed the Halifax Factory lottery "for the purpose of raising 5,000

⁶² Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 201; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Halifax List of Taxables, Inventories of Estates, Miscellaneous Papers, 1769-1839; L. P., Halifax County Records, Wills, 1772-1854, I, 76.

⁶³ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 203; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Halifax List of Taxables, Inventories of Estates, Miscellaneous Papers, 1769-1839; Samuel Johnston Letterbook, 1788-1789, 23.

⁶⁴ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 203; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Halifax List of Taxables, Inventories of Estates, Miscellaneous Papers, 1769-1839.

dollars . . . to establish an extensive FACTORY; for the purpose of carding, spinning and weaving."

The political career of Willie Jones began in the colonial general assembly of 1767; he was a member of the lower house. In 1771 he again represented Halifax in the lower house, supported Governor Tyron in the Regulator disturbances, and was appointed by the crown to the "Council of the Province of North Carolina." Jones was outstanding in the provincial congresses, 1774-1775, and became marked as a political radical believing strongly in independence and democracy. In November, 1776, Jones was an outstanding member of the Halifax congress which framed the state constitution. He represented Halifax County in the house of commons of the state assembly, 1779-1787, and in the senate in 1788. A leader of the democratic element in North Carolina, the aristocratic Willie Jones led the opposition to ratification of the Federal Constitution and completely dominated the proceedings of the Hillsboro convention because of his jealousy for any force which tended to abridge the newly won independence.⁶⁵

William Wootten owned 14 slaves and 1,000 acres of land in 1790.⁶⁶

HAWKINS COUNTY (TENNESSEE)

Stokely Donelson received land grants for 64,885 acres prior to the convention and an additional 14,380 acres with associates. Donelson afterwards received grants for around 500,000 acres of western land. Some of these individual grants were as large as 60,400 acres. He had a wide interest in Tennessee land warrants and was probably the most active of all the promoters of speculation schemes in North Carolina.⁶⁷

Thomas King obtained grants for 17,164 acres of land between 1780 and 1795. He received grants for additional large tracts with associates.⁶⁸

William Marshall entered grants for about 1,000 acres before 1788. These tracts were later granted to him.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Blackwell Pierce Robinson, "Willie Jones of Halifax," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XVIII (1941), 1 ff., 133 ff.; *Census of 1790: Land Grant Index*.

⁶⁶ *Census of 1790: Land Grant Index*; L. P., Halifax List of Taxables, Inventories of Estates, Miscellaneous Papers, 1769-1839.

⁶⁷ Land Grant Index; Stockley Donaldson to Will Tyrill, Raleigh, February 24, 1796, Miscellaneous Papers, Series One, II, 23.

⁶⁸ Land Grant Index.

⁶⁹ Land Grant Index.

HERTFORD COUNTY

Lemuel Burkitt listed 100 acres of land, 7 cattle, 3 Negroes, £84/12/1, 1 horse, and a total evaluation of £2,351 in the tax records of 1779. Additional information concerning his property was not revealed by the records examined.⁷⁰

William Little was a common name in North Carolina and no specific information is available for the one representing Hertford County.

JOHNSTON COUNTY

Joseph Boon owned 10 slaves and 380 acres of land. He was a member of the house of commons in 1781 and 1784 and a member of the senate in 1787.⁷¹

John Bryan, member of the house of commons in 1778 and again in 1788 and 1789, owned either 2 or 22 slaves in 1790 and 613 acres of land in 1784.⁷²

William Farmer received grants for 228 acres of land in North Carolina and 1,786 acres in Tennessee. He owned 10 slaves.⁷³

Everet Pearce, member of the house of commons in 1787, received grants for 1,320 acres of land prior to the convention and owned 11 slaves. Other property listed for Pearce includes "mill and apparatus" and a "plantation," evidently the same tract listed above.⁷⁴

JONES COUNTY

John Hill Bryan, member of the house of commons, 1788, owned 14 slaves in 1790.⁷⁵

Nathan Bryan, member of the house of commons in 1787 and from 1791 to 1794, owned 15 slaves in 1790; no other information is available from the records examined.⁷⁶

Frederick Hargett, member of the house of commons in 1783 and state senator, 1786-1793, received a grant for 1,508 acres of land in Tennessee in 1786 and additional grants after 1790. He

⁷⁰ L. P., Tax Lists, 1779, Hertford County.

⁷¹ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 219-220; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Tax Lists, 1783-1786, Johnston County, 1784.

⁷² Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 219-220 lists the representative as John Bryan, Jr.; two John Bryans are listed in the *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Tax Lists 1783-1786, Johnston County, 1784.

⁷³ *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

⁷⁴ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 220; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Tax Lists, 1783-1786, Johnston County, 1784; L. P., Johnston County Records, Wills, 1760-1830, III, 40.

⁷⁵ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 221; *Census of 1790*.

⁷⁶ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 221; *Census of 1790*.

owned at least 600 acres in North Carolina prior to the convention and 16 slaves.⁷⁷

William Randall, member of the house of commons in 1783 and again from 1787 to 1789, possessed 19 slaves, 2 lots in New Bern, 5,000 acres of land "lying on the western waters" in partnership with "Fredrick Harget," one lot in Fayetteville, and an unspecified amount of "lands and plantation."⁷⁸

Edward Whitty received grants for 310 acres of land between 1785 and 1789 plus "lands . . . purchased from Thomas Eubanks," and 160 acres "whereon Esther Ramsey now lives."⁷⁹

LINCOLN COUNTY

Robert Alexander, member of the house of commons, 1781-1782 and of the senate, 1783-1787, owned 14 slaves in 1790; other information is inadequate for specific conclusions.⁸⁰

James Johnston, member of the state senate, 1780-1783, owned 8 slaves in 1790. Only 50 acres of land had been granted Johnston prior to the convention; he undoubtedly owned a larger acreage.⁸¹

MARTIN COUNTY

Thomas Hunter owned 44 slaves in 1790. The land records list only 189 acres for Hunter.⁸²

MECKLENBURG COUNTY

Joseph Douglass is listed in the land records as the owner of 150 acres in 1790; he represented his county in the house of commons in 1788.⁸³

Joseph Graham owned 8 slaves, one mare, and some land. Graham, born in Pennsylvania in 1759, moved to Mecklenburg County in 1769. He served in the Revolutionary army.⁸⁴

Caleb Phifer, member of the house of commons without interruption from 1778 until 1789, owned 19 slaves and received grants for 446 acres of land in North Carolina and 640 acres in Tennessee. Phifer was an active participant in the Revolutionary

⁷⁷ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 221; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

⁷⁸ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 221; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Jones County Records, Wills, 1760-1842, III, 19.

⁷⁹ *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Jones County Records, Wills, 1760-1842, III, 19.

⁸⁰ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 247; *Census of 1790*.

⁸¹ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 247; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

⁸² *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

⁸³ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 263; Land Grant Index.

⁸⁴ Tompkins, *History of Mecklenburg County*, II, 72; *Census of 1790*; L. P., Mecklenburg County Records, Wills, 1749-1869, VII, 38.

assemblies and rose to the rank of colonel in the Revolutionary army.⁸⁵

Zachias Wilson was born in Pennsylvania in 1735 and moved to Mecklenburg County in 1750. He was a member of the Halifax congress in November, 1776. No slaves are listed for Wilson in 1790; he was granted 100 acres of land in 1786.⁸⁶

MONTGOMERY COUNTY

Thomas Butler owned 200 acres of land prior to the Hillsboro Convention; he held no slaves in 1790.⁸⁷

William Kindall, member of the house of commons for the years 1784 and 1787, was granted 100 acres of land in 1783 and 150 acres in 1790. He owned 5 slaves.⁸⁸

William Loftin listed 920 acres of land in the tax records of 1782 and was granted 498 acres between 1783 and 1792. Loftin owned 10 slaves.⁸⁹

Thomas Ussory owned 4 slaves in 1790 and had been granted 940 acres of land in 1782. He represented Montgomery County in the house of commons in 1788.⁹⁰

MOORE COUNTY

John Carrel represented Moore County in the house of commons in 1785. It is difficult to determine his property interests because of similar names in the records examined.⁹¹

John Cox, member of the house of commons from 1785 to 1788, received grants to 450 acres of land between 1783 and 1789 plus small amounts in Tennessee.⁹²

Cornelius Doud owned 3 slaves in 1790; no other specific information is available except that he was a member of the house of commons in 1791.⁹³

William Martin represented Moore County in the house of commons, 1788-1791, and was elected to the state senate in 1793. He owned no slaves in 1791 and the land records examined are

⁸⁵ Tompkins, *History of Mecklenburg County*, II, 79; Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 268; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; Land Records, North Carolina Grants in Tennessee, 1778-1791, microfilm.

⁸⁶ Tompkins, *History of Mecklenburg County*, II, 83; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

⁸⁷ *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

⁸⁸ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 271; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

⁸⁹ *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Tax Lists, 1780-1782, Montgomery County, 1782.

⁹⁰ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 271; *Census of 1790*; L. P., Tax Lists, 1780-1782, Montgomery County, 1782.

⁹¹ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 273.

⁹² Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 273; Land Grant Index.

⁹³ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 273; *Census of 1790*.

not specific concerning the property he held prior to the convention.⁹⁴

Thomas Tyson, member of the state senate in 1791, owned no slaves in 1790; no additional information is available.⁹⁵

NASH COUNTY

John Bonds, member of the house of commons from 1785 to 1790, owned 13 slaves in 1790 and had been granted 950 acres of land in 1782.⁹⁶

Redman Bunn owned 4 slaves in 1790; his will shows that he possessed "lands and plantation," 18 Negroes, 7 horses, "2 yoke of work steers," and \$50. Bunn was a member of the senate in 1788.⁹⁷

Howell Ellin owned 4 slaves in 1790 and had been granted 360 acres of land in 1782.⁹⁸

William S. Marnes possessed 100 acres of land in 1782 and owned 14 slaves in 1790.⁹⁹

David Pridgen owned 5 slaves in 1790. His will lists "land and plantation" which totaled 1,740 acres, \$1,050, and 6 Negroes.¹⁰⁰

NEW HANOVER COUNTY

James Bloodworth, who lists 200 acres of land with Timothy Bloodworth, had received grants for 1,356 acres before the convention. Other property included "1 bay mare, cattle and hogs, 200 spanish dollars," real estate, and personal property. Bloodworth represented New Hanover County in the house of commons from 1782 to 1786.¹⁰¹

Timothy Bloodworth, prominent citizen of the lower Cape Fear region, served many terms in the house of commons between 1779 and 1794. He represented New Hanover County in the state senate in 1788 and 1789 and was a member of the first Congress of the United States. Bloodworth, a man of no formal education, was described "as one of the most remarkable men of the era." A child of poverty, Bloodworth's diligence and ambition more

⁹⁴ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 273; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

⁹⁵ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 273; *Census of 1790*.

⁹⁶ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 275; *Census of 1790*; L. P., Tax Lists, 1780-1782, Nash County, 1782; Land Grant Index.

⁹⁷ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 275; *Census of 1790*; L. P., Nash County Records, Wills, 1778-1859, II, 26-27.

⁹⁸ *Census of 1790*; L. P., Tax Lists, 1780-1782, Nash County, 1782.

⁹⁹ *Census of 1790*; L. P., Tax Lists, 1780-1782, Nash County, 1782.

¹⁰⁰ *Census of 1790*; L. P., Nash County Records; Wills, 1778-1859, V, 23-24.

¹⁰¹ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 294; Land Grant Index; L. P., New Hanover County Records, Wills, 1732-1864, I, 44.

than make up for his lack of education. Preacher, farmer, blacksmith, doctor, watchmaker, wheelwright, and politician are listed as his professions. Bloodworth owned 9 slaves and received grants for 4,266 acres of land. He was "almost radical in his democracy" and opposed ratification of the Constitution in both conventions.¹⁰²

John A. Campbell, senator from New Hanover County from 1783 to 1787 and member of the house of commons in 1789, owned 300 acres of land in his home county and 2,560 acres in Tennessee.¹⁰³

Thomas Devane, whose name is confused with that of Thomas Devane, Jr., received grants for 2,056 acres of land between 1735 and 1769. Both Thomas Devane and Thomas Devane, Jr. served intermittently in the house of commons from 1787 to 1792.¹⁰⁴

John Pugh Williams owned 39 slaves in 1790. The land grant records list 220 acres for John Pugh Williams and 4,270 acres for a John Williams. In 1785, 1786, 1788, and 1789, Williams was a member of the house of commons.¹⁰⁵

NORTHAMPTON COUNTY

John M. Benford, who owned 19 slaves in 1790, lists the "plantation whereon I now live" and £20 of Virginia money in his will; the acreage is not specified. Benford became a member of the state senate in 1788 and served without interruption until 1802.¹⁰⁶

Robert Peebles, member of the house of commons, 1787-1788, possessed at least 100 acres of land and 8 slaves.¹⁰⁷

James Vaughan owned 16 slaves in 1790. He served in the house of commons from 1783 to 1785 and again in 1786.¹⁰⁸

James Vinson lists in his will the "tract of land whereon I now live," three other plantations, £160 of Virginia currency, and 10 shillings of North Carolina money. Two James Vinsons are listed in the *Census of 1790*, one with 9 slaves, the other with 3.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰² McRee, *Life of Iredell*, II, 233; Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 294; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; Personal Collection, Miscellaneous.

¹⁰³ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 294; Land Grant Index.

¹⁰⁴ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 294; Land Grant Index.

¹⁰⁵ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 294; Land Grant Index; *Census of 1790*.

¹⁰⁶ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 296-297; *Census of 1790*; L. P., Northampton County Records, Wills, 1770-1880, I, 8.

¹⁰⁷ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 296; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

¹⁰⁸ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 296; *Census of 1790*.

¹⁰⁹ *Census of 1790*; L. P., Northampton County Records, Wills, 1770-1808, III, 65.

ONslow COUNTY

Thomas Johnston, state senator in 1784 and 1788, owned 9 slaves in 1790 and listed 580 acres of land in 1787.¹¹⁰

John Spicer, member of the house of commons in 1789 and 1792 and member of the senate in 1783 and again from 1794 to 1800, owned 22 slaves in 1790 and received grants for 2,108 acres of land. His will lists, besides his land, £200 of "current money."¹¹¹

Daniel Yates, member of the house of commons from 1786 to 1789, possessed 27 slaves, a plantation of 850 acres or more, and notes and stocks of all kinds.¹¹²

ORANGE COUNTY

Jonathan Lindley owned property "in the town of Orange," farm tools, a plantation of 2,657 acres plus other lands, and numerous town lots. Lindley served in the house of commons from 1787 to 1790.¹¹³

William M'Cauley, member of the senate from 1784 to 1788, owned 822 acres "on the waters of Newhope and south side of Haw R.," 9 Negroes, 31 houses and lots in Hillsboro, a tavern, a still, and 80 shillings in money.¹¹⁴

Alexander Mebane, with the exception of 1785 and 1786, was a member of the house of commons from 1783 to 1792. He had an evaluation of £10,478 in 1779; he owned 1,181 acres of land in Orange County, 6,400 acres in Davidson County, Tennessee, horses, "mear and colt," sheep, 4 cows, 7 Negroes, a small amount of specie, books, and several stills.¹¹⁵

William Mebane owned 12 Negroes, 500 acres of land in Orange County, and 7,200 acres in Davidson County, Tennessee. Other personalty listed in his will included 1 mare, books, horses, cattle, sheep, and hogs. William Mebane was a member of the state senate in 1782.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁰ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 299; *Census of 1790*; L. P., Onslow Tax Lists, 1774-1790, List of Taxables, 1787.

¹¹¹ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 299; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Onslow County Records, Wills, 1746-1863, IV, 20-21.

¹¹² Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 299; *Census of 1790*; L. P., Onslow County Records, Wills, 1746-1863, IV, 83.

¹¹³ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 337; L. P., Orange County Records, List of Taxables, 1787; L. P., Orange County Records, Wills, 1785-1865, VIII, 17-18; Land Grant Index.

¹¹⁴ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 337; L. P., Orange County Records, List of Taxable Property, 1788; L. P., Orange County Records, Wills, 1785-1865, VIII, 53.

¹¹⁵ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 337; Land Grant Index; L. P., Orange County Records, List of Taxable Property, 1788; L. P., Orange County Records, Wills, 1753-1819, III, 21.

¹¹⁶ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 337; Land Grant Index; L. P., Orange County Records, List of Taxable Property, 1788; L. P., Orange County Records, Wills, 1785-1865, IX, 36.

William Shepard received grants for 584 acres of land between 1785 and 1790; other realty included 2 lots in Hillsboro.¹¹⁷

Absalom Tatom, representative from the town of Hillsboro, owned 500 acres of land in Tennessee. Tatom was a surveyor and contractor and had served as a tobacco agent. He represented Hillsboro in the house of commons in 1788 and again from 1797 until 1802.¹¹⁸

PITT COUNTY

Sterling Dupree owned 8 slaves and had received grants for 516 acres of land by 1782.¹¹⁹

Arthur Forbes possessed 18 slaves and received grants for 200 acres of land in 1782; another 100 acres was granted in 1793.¹²⁰

Richard Moye, member of the house of commons from 1783 to 1786 and again in 1788 and 1790, owned 760 acres of land and 3 slaves.¹²¹

Robert Williams, who represented Pitt County in the senate from 1782 to 1787 and from 1794 to 1796, owned 6 slaves in 1790; information on his landholdings is not available.¹²²

RANDOLPH COUNTY

Thomas Dougan, member of the senate from Randolph County in 1783, 1784, and 1788, owned 7 slaves and 555 acres of land.¹²³

Edmund Waddill represented his county in the house of commons in 1787 and in the senate from 1793 to 1798. He owned 22 slaves and his political career suggests ownership of at least 300 acres of land.¹²⁴

Zebedee Wood, member of the house of commons in 1786, 1788, and 1789 and of the state senate in 1791 and 1792, is listed as holding 110 acres of land and no slaves.¹²⁵

RICHMOND COUNTY

Benjamin Covington owned 550 acres of land and 5 slaves in 1790. He represented Richmond County in the house of commons from 1785 to 1787.¹²⁶

¹¹⁷ Land Grant Index; L. P., Orange County Records, List of Taxables, 1788.

¹¹⁸ Trenholme, *Ratification in North Carolina*, 165; Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 337; Land Grant Index.

¹¹⁹ *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

¹²⁰ *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

¹²¹ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 347; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

¹²² Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 347; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

¹²³ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 349; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

¹²⁴ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 349; *Census of 1790*.

¹²⁵ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 349; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

¹²⁶ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 351; *Census of 1790*; L. P., Tax Lists, 1786-1790, Richmond County, 1790.

John M'Callaster held no slaves in 1790. A John McAllister served in the house of commons in 1791. Because of the various spellings of this name, no clear picture of this delegate's property is available.¹²⁷

Charles Robertson represented Richmond County in the house of commons in 1784. Because the land records list Robertsons, Robesons, and Robinsons all together in this county, property interests for the delegate are inaccurate.¹²⁸

Edward Williams received land grants for 200 acres in Richmond County, 100 acres "over the mountains," 350 acres in Anson County, and 750 acres in Jones County. He owned 7 slaves. He represented Richmond County in the house of commons during the sessions of 1781 and 1788.¹²⁹

ROBESON COUNTY

John Regan, later member of the house of commons, 1797-1799, possessed 13 slaves and 258 acres of land in 1790.¹³⁰

ROCKINGHAM COUNTY

William Bethell owned 5 slaves and was granted 80 acres of land in 1789. The remainder of his landed estate cannot be gleaned from the records. Bethell represented Rockingham County in the house of commons from 1786 until 1789 and in the senate in 1790.¹³¹

Charles Galloway, who represented Rockingham County in the state senate during the session of 1791, owned 14 slaves and received grants in Tennessee for 5,000 acres.¹³²

James Gallaway owned 12 slaves and 5,000 acres of land in Tennessee. He represented his county in the state senate from 1786 to 1790, a fact which indicates some acreage in North Carolina.¹³³

John May is listed as the owner of 8 slaves in 1790. No other information is available from the sources examined.¹³⁴

Abram Phillips, member of the house of commons in 1788, 1789, and 1790, possessed 450 acres of land and 3 slaves.¹³⁵

¹²⁷ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 351; *Census of 1790*.

¹²⁸ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 351.

¹²⁹ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 351; Land Grant Index; *Census of 1790*; L. P., Tax Lists, 1786-1790, Richmond County, 1790.

¹³⁰ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 353, Land Grant Index; *Census of 1790*.

¹³¹ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 355; Land Grant Index; *Census of 1790*.

¹³² Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 355; Land Grant Index; *Census of 1790*.

¹³³ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 355; Land Grant Index; *Census of 1790*.

¹³⁴ *Census of 1790*.

¹³⁵ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 355; Land Grant Index; *Census of 1790*.

ROWAN COUNTY

James Brannon owned 9 slaves and the land records list a "Brandon" with 1,284 acres.¹³⁶

George H. Berringer is not listed in any of the records examined.

Thomas Carson, member of the house of commons from 1786 to 1789, possessed 11 slaves in 1790 and had received grants for 8,984 acres of land prior to the convention. His will includes the listing of a storehouse, a country house, a lot in the town of Lexington, and 400 acres in Montgomery County.¹³⁷

Matthew Locke, brigadier general of North Carolina troops during the Revolution, was an active participant in the Regulator troubles of 1769-1771. In 1775 he became a member of the third provincial congress of North Carolina and was also a member of the fourth and fifth. In 1776 Locke assisted in framing the state constitution. From 1777 to 1781 he was a member of the house of commons and sat in the senate in 1781 and 1782; he returned to the house of commons six times between 1783 and 1791. Later he represented his district of North Carolina in the Congress of the United States from 1793 until 1799. During this interval he was classified as a "warm Republican." Locke owned a fertile tract of land on the east side of Grants Creek about 5 miles from Salisbury, 5,000 acres in Tennessee, some with associates, and 2,797 acres not specifically located.¹³⁸

Griffith Rutherford, member of the state senate from 1777 to 1780 and again from 1783 to 1786, general in the Revolutionary Army and famous Indian fighter, owned 8 slaves in 1790 and had received grants for 2,499 acres of land as well as additional tracts in partnership with James McCulloch.¹³⁹

RUTHERFORD COUNTY

George Ledbetter owned 14 slaves, and 350 acres of land were granted to a George "Leadbetter." Ledbetter was a Revolutionary war veteran and served as justice of the peace in Rutherford County for a number of years.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

¹³⁷ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 398; Land Grant Index; *Census of 1790*; L. P., Rowan County Records, Wills, 1743-1868, III, 56 f.

¹³⁸ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 398; Land Grant Index.

¹³⁹ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 384; Land Grant Index; *Census of 1790*.

¹⁴⁰ Clarence W. Griffin, *History of Old Tryon and Rutherford Counties, North Carolina, 1730-1936*, 117; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

George Moore represented his county in the house of commons in 1781 and again in 1785. He also held the office of justice of the peace numerous times. Moore owned no slaves and 700 acres of land.¹⁴¹

William Porter represented Rutherford County in the state senate from 1780 until 1782 and served intermittent terms in the house of commons. He was not a slaveowner and the land records list only 50 acres plus other small grants.¹⁴²

Richard Singleton was born in Brunswick County, Virginia, and settled in Rutherford County before the Revolutionary War. He was a soldier in the Revolutionary forces and served in the state senate from 1788 until 1794 and in the house of commons from 1783 to 1787. He owned 850 acres of land and 1 slave.¹⁴³

James Whiteside was born in Virginia and moved to North Carolina before the Revolutionary War. His parents took land grants on Beaver Dam Creek and First Broad River. Whiteside was an agriculturist and doctor of medicine. During the Revolution he served in the army and fought at Kings Mountain. He represented his county in the state senate in 1786. His landed estate comprised at least 350 acres and £100.¹⁴⁴

SAMPSON COUNTY

Richard Clinton, member of the North Carolina Senate with the exception of one term from 1785 to 1795, owned 37 slaves and had received grants for 1,747 acres of land by 1784.¹⁴⁵

David Dodd, member of the house of commons from 1785 to 1787, was granted 830 acres of land before 1790; he owned 6 slaves.¹⁴⁶

Hardy Holmes owned 14 slaves, 1,941 acres of land in Sampson County, and 2,560 acres of land in Tennessee. He represented Sampson County in the state senate in 1788.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴¹ Griffin, *History of Old Tryon and Rutherford Counties*, 82 ff; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

¹⁴² Griffin, *History of Old Tryon and Rutherford Counties*, 73; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

¹⁴³ Griffin, *History of Old Tryon and Rutherford Counties*, 88; Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 400; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

¹⁴⁴ Griffin, *History of Old Tryon and Rutherford Counties*, 116; Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 400.

¹⁴⁵ Wheeler *Historical Sketches*, II, 402; L. P., Tax Lists, 1783-1785, Sampson County, 1784; *Census of 1790*.

¹⁴⁶ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 402; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Tax Lists, 1783-1785, Sampson County, 1784.

¹⁴⁷ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 402; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

Lewis Holmes, member of the house of commons from 1786 to 1789, owned 7 slaves in 1790 and received grants for 300 acres of land prior to the convention.¹⁴⁸

Curtis Ivey received grants for 2,560 acres of land in Tennessee in 1786 and an additional 978 acres with Griffith McRee "on the west side of Six Runs." He possessed 5 slaves in 1790.¹⁴⁹

SULLIVAN COUNTY (TENNESSEE)

John Dunkin owned 808 acres of land; no further information is available from the records examined.¹⁵⁰

David Looney received grants for 4,152 acres of land between 1780 and 1793.¹⁵¹

John Scott was granted 1,500 acres of land from 1783 to 1794. Another source lists 1,700 acres for him.¹⁵²

John Sharpe entered and received grants for 2,856 acres of land between the years 1779 and 1797. The Tennessee land records list his holdings as 1,645 acres.¹⁵³

SURRY COUNTY

Absalom Bostick, member of the house of commons in 1789, owned 20 cattle, 9 slaves, 5 horses, 570 acres, and a taxable evaluation of £688/15.¹⁵⁴

Matthew Brooks is not listed in any of the records examined. He represented Surry County in the house of commons in 1778.¹⁵⁵

James Gains possessed 250 acres and 3 slaves in 1789 and 1790. In 1787 Gains represented Surry County in the house of Commons.¹⁵⁶

Charles M'Annelly owned 5 slaves in 1790; no other information is available from the records examined.¹⁵⁷

Joseph Winston, member of the state senate in 1787 and again from 1789 to 1790, held land grants totaling 980 acres as early as 1782 plus 15 slaves and a total evaluation of £1058/10. The

¹⁴⁸ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 402; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

¹⁴⁹ *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

¹⁵⁰ Land Grant Index.

¹⁵¹ Land Grant Index.

¹⁵² Land Grant Index; Land Records, North Carolina Grants in Tennessee, 1778-1791, microfilm.

¹⁵³ Land Grant Index; Land Records, North Carolina Grants in Tennessee, 1778-1791, microfilm.

¹⁵⁴ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 410; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Surry County Records, List of Taxables, 1782.

¹⁵⁵ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 410.

¹⁵⁶ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 410; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

¹⁵⁷ *Census of 1790*.

land records list his total acreage as 1,362. He owned 18 slaves in 1790.¹⁵⁸

WAKE COUNTY

James Hinton, several times member of the house of commons for Wake County between 1781 and 1788, owned 36 slaves and received grants for 3,169 acres of land.¹⁵⁹

Joel Lane, state senator without interruption from 1782 to 1792, was granted 3,615 acres of land and owned 27 slaves.¹⁶⁰

Brittain Sanders, member of the house of commons from 1787 until 1792, was granted 400 acres of land prior to 1790. He owned 16 slaves in 1790.¹⁶¹

WARREN COUNTY

Thomas Christmas possessed 943 acres of land in 1784 and owned 23 slaves in 1790.¹⁶²

Wyatt Hawkins owned 829 acres of land in 1784 and 5 slaves in 1790. He represented Warren County in the house of commons from 1785 to 1787 and again from 1788 to 1793.¹⁶³

John Macon received grants for 1,059 acres of land prior to 1784 and owned 36 slaves in 1790. Macon served in the house of commons without interruption from 1786 until 1795.¹⁶⁴

Henry Montfort owned 9,680 acres of land by 1783 and possessed 16 slaves in 1790.¹⁶⁵

James Payne, member of the house of commons in 1784, owned 1,576 acres of land and 26 slaves.¹⁶⁶

WASHINGTON COUNTY (TENNESSEE)

Robert Allison owned 450 acres of land; no other information is available from the records examined.¹⁶⁷

John Blair was granted 3,390 acres of land prior to 1790 and 2,040 acres after that year.¹⁶⁸

¹⁵⁸ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 410; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Surry County Records, List of Taxables, 1782.

¹⁵⁹ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 422; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

¹⁶⁰ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 422; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

¹⁶¹ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 422; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

¹⁶² *Census of 1790*; L. P., Tax Lists, 1783-1785, Warren County, 1784.

¹⁶³ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 441; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Tax Lists, 1783-1785, Warren County, 1784.

¹⁶⁴ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 441; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Tax Lists, 1783-1785, Warren County, 1784.

¹⁶⁵ *Census of 1790*; L. P., Tax Lists, 1783-1785, Warren County, 1784.

¹⁶⁶ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 441; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Tax Lists, 1783-1785, Warren County, 1784.

¹⁶⁷ Land Grant Index.

¹⁶⁸ Land Grant Index.

James Stuart received grants for 1,532½ acres of land between 1782 and 1786; no other information is available from the records examined.¹⁶⁹

John Tipton was one of the leaders in the establishment of the revolutionary state of Franklin in 1784. He was among the first to resume allegiance to North Carolina and became a political opponent of John Sevier. Tipton was granted 750 acres of land before the convention and 1,000 acres afterward. His total acreage entered upon the records was 2,750.¹⁷⁰

Joseph Tipton, who entered claim for 857 acres with no record of grant, received grants for 400 acres before 1788 and 600 acres after the convention.¹⁷¹

WAYNE COUNTY

Andrew Bass owned a "plantation on the Thorough Fare Swamp," 27 slaves, 24 cattle, 5 ewes and lambs, "1 cwt. of seed cotton," a mill, and an unspecified number of town lots. Land records list his acreage at 432 before 1790.¹⁷²

James Hanley, a member of the house of commons from 1784 to 1786, possessed 1,140 acres of land by 1782. He owned 8 slaves.¹⁷³

Richard M'Kinnie, who represented Wayne County in the state senate from 1788 until 1799, was granted 500 acres of land between 1779 and 1790. He owned 16 slaves.¹⁷⁴

Burwell Mooring, member of the house of commons from 1780 until 1783 and of the senate from 1783 to 1787 and again in 1791, is not listed in any of the records examined. His political career, however, indicates that he owned considerable property.¹⁷⁵

William Taylor is listed in the *Census of 1790* as the owner of 2 slaves. Taylor represented Wayne County in the house of commons from 1785 until 1789.¹⁷⁶

WILKES COUNTY

Richard Allen received grants between 1779 and 1790 for 869 acres of land on "Buggabo and Potato creeks," plus other small

¹⁶⁹ Land Grant Index.

¹⁷⁰ Wagstaff, *Steele Papers*, I, 30n; Land Grant Index; Land Records, North Carolina Grants in Tennessee, 1778-1791, microfilm.

¹⁷¹ Land Grant Index.

¹⁷² Land Grant Index; L. P., Wayne County Records, Wills, 1776-1805, I, 6.

¹⁷³ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 460; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

¹⁷⁴ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 460; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

¹⁷⁵ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 460.

¹⁷⁶ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 460; *Census of 1790*.

grants. The tax records of 1784 show that Allen owned a total of 1,220 acres.¹⁷⁷

John Brown, a member of the house of commons from 1786 until 1789, owned 22 slaves and 400 acres of land before 1788. In 1788 he was granted 6,000 acres in Tennessee.¹⁷⁸

James Fletcher owned either 2 or no slaves in 1790. In 1784 the tax records show that he owned 4,700 acres of land.¹⁷⁹

Joseph Herndon had received grants for 1,614 acres of land prior to the convention of 1788. The tax records reveal his total acreage in 1784 to be 3,136. He owned 9 slaves and represented Wilkes County in the house of commons in 1781 and 1788.¹⁸⁰

William Lenoir received grants for 4,439 acres of land between 1778 and 1787. An additional 4,431 acres was granted after 1790. In 1784 Lenoir's landed property totaled 14,749 acres. Lenoir was a veteran of the Revolution and leader at the Battle of Kings Mountain in 1780. He represented Wilkes County in the house of commons from 1781 to 1784 and in the state senate from 1787 until 1796. He owned 12 slaves in 1790.¹⁸¹

[To be concluded]

¹⁷⁷ *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Tax Lists, 1783-1785, Wilkes County, 1784.

¹⁷⁸ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 465; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

¹⁷⁹ *Census of 1790*; Tax Lists, 1783-1785, Wilkes County, 1784.

¹⁸⁰ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 465; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Tax Lists, 1783-1785, Wilkes County, 1784.

¹⁸¹ Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 465; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Tax Lists, 1783-1785, Wilkes County, 1784.

VIRGINIA ANTE-BELLUM RAILROAD DISPUTES AND PROBLEMS

BY CHARLES W. TURNER

Rivers, canals, and roads were insufficient to meet the needs of the Tidewater or hinterland peoples for means of transportation of produce and livestock in exchange for manufactured products from Europe and the north in the late 1820's. Land in the Tidewater and lower Piedmont sections of Virginia was fast becoming exhausted and the farmers of these sections were buying new land westward. The coastal cities envied the expanding trade of the northern cities and desired to share in it. The citizens of eastern Virginia felt that the railroads would solve the problem of overland transportation and were the first to give attention to railroad building. The same people influenced the state legislature to charter and purchase shares to the amount of two-fifths in the early railroad projects. The state worked through the Board of Public Works, the agency set up in 1816 to support internal improvements in Virginia with representatives from each geographic area making up the membership.

All of the railroad companies were organized by groups meeting at county courthouses or city halls. Surveys would be ordered and stockbooks opened. The first company to be organized was the Chesterfield Coalfield Railroad, chartered in 1828, to haul coal from the Chesterfield coal pits to Richmond. Meanwhile, the representatives of the Baltimore and Ohio had appeared before the General Assembly and requested the right to lay a track from Harpers Ferry to the Ohio River. This right would be granted tardily, for the state feared the intrusion of an out-of-state or "foreign" line. Besides these first efforts, there were fifteen independent companies, of a total of more than sixty chartered by the General Assembly, that were in operation by 1860.¹ The Petersburg and Roanoke Railroad Company, chartered in 1830, was desirous of securing the trade of the Roanoke Valley and of diverting trade from the Dismal Swamp Canal.²

¹ *Niles' Weekly Register*, IX (February 24, 1816), 451.

² *Acts of the General Assembly, 1829-1830*, 59.

To serve the same corner of North Carolina the Portsmouth and Roanoke Company built a line from Portsmouth to the state line.³ The first "home grown" rail line to succeed in northeastern Virginia was the Winchester and Potomac to connect Harpers Ferry with Winchester.⁴ A columnist urged this line saying that the state abounds in the necessary raw materials and the cost of transportation of produce can be cut from twenty-five to fifteen cents a bushel and the James River and Kanawha Canal will have realized its destiny.⁵ Two other companies, which received their charters in the 1830's and were destined to form with the Petersburg and Roanoke a north-south chain through the entire state, were the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac and the Richmond and Petersburg. Both had an original capitalization of less than \$500,000, were completed rapidly, and suffered fewer financial reverses than the other lines in the state.⁶

Rail lines located for east-west trade were chartered more slowly. The reasons for this delay are not hard to find, namely: the fact that the lines would have greater engineering difficulties in the piedmont and mountain areas, the lines would have to run greater distances to connect either with other modes of transportation or link one trade center with another, and finally the rivalry of sections for the rights of way would lessen the amount of capital available. The first of these lines to succeed was the Louisa Railroad, chartered in 1836, to be built from Taylorsville to the base of the northwest mountains.⁷ This road became the well-known Virginia Central by 1860 and the original path of the Chesapeake and Ohio System of today. Following this venture, there was the incorporation of three short lines in the Tidewater: the Richmond and Yorktown, the City Point (from City Point to Richmond), and the Clover Hill (from Osborne's on the James River to Richmond).⁸

Southwest Virginia was anxious for railroads. Pressure groups were before the General Assembly advocating varied routes in

³ *The Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Annual Report of the Board of Public Works to the General Assembly of Virginia* (Richmond, Virginia, W. F. Ritchie, printer), 1833-1835, 420-474 (hereafter cited as *Seventeenth Annual Report*).

⁴ *Acts of the General Assembly, 1830-1831*, 187.

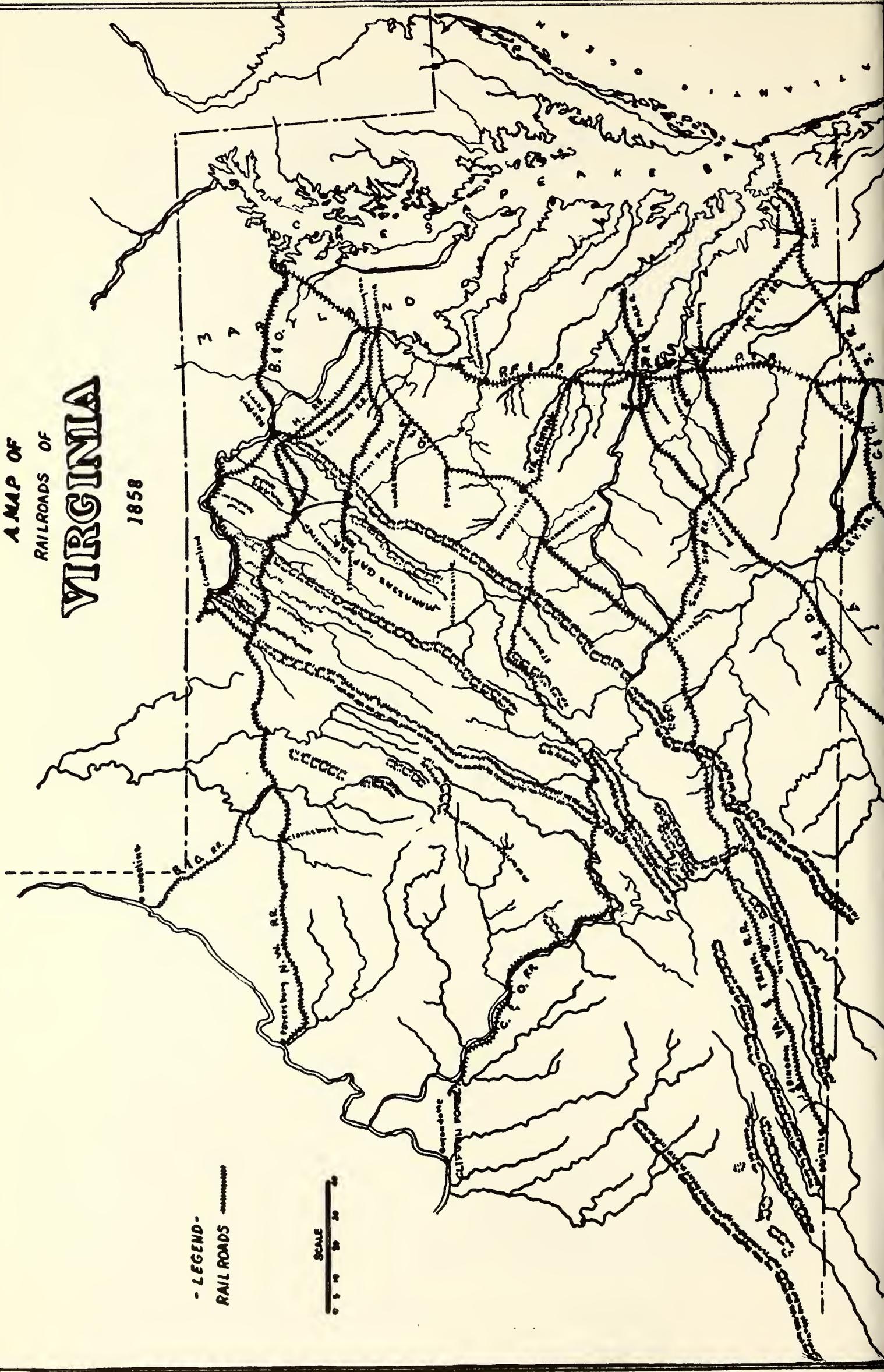
⁵ *Richmond Enquirer*, November 23, 1831.

⁶ *Twentieth Annual Report*, 1836, 127, 132.

⁷ Charles W. Turner, "The Louisa Railroad, 1836-1850," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXIV (1947), 37.

⁸ *Acts of the General Assembly, 1836*, 41; *1837*, 123.

A MAP OF
RAILROADS OF
VIRGINIA
1858



- LEGEND -
RAILROADS

SCALE
0 10 20 30

the 1840's. The three lines chartered were the Southside, the Richmond and Danville, and the Virginia and Tennessee.⁹ All of these lines eventually were connected with the Roanoke and Petersburg and the Seaboard and Roanoke. A strong supporter stated that these lines would bring large dividends, develop the interior, and enhance the value of Richmond, Petersburg and the coastal parts as trade centers; that the Springs would be more accessible; that foreign capital would flow into the state in increasing amounts; and that the lines would connect with western out-of-state lines headed toward the Pacific.¹⁰

East-west lines in northern Virginia were receiving their charters in the last pre-war decade. The Orange and Alexandria Railroad Company was the first to open between the two Virginia towns, Orange and Alexandria. Two other lines connected with the above line, the Manassas Gap and the Alexandria, Loudoun and Hampshire. The companies found the job of raising capital an easy one, since the organization came in a period of rising prices and the area tapped was rich farm land and thickly settled. One disadvantage for railroad expansion in this area, lamented by Virginians of the Tidewater, was the drain of produce to the north and especially to Baltimore—"That dastardly city on a miserable creek which, as a leech, seemed to suck the lifeblood of the surrounding areas, growing larger and larger with the profits," as one expressed it.¹¹

Besides a few other lines which had hardly started operation by 1860, such as the Roanoke Valley, the Norfolk and Petersburg, and the Richmond and York River,¹² the people were concerned with extension and consolidation of lines already established. The latter came slowly in the east for several reasons: the lack of broad vision, the absence of sufficient capital to invest in such slow-paying projects, the fear that one railroad might receive undue profit, and the fact that coastwise and canal transportation in a measure met the needs. Delay in westward railway extension resulted from the fear that any extension movement might help the Baltimore and Ohio, a conviction that

⁹ *Acts of the General Assembly, 1845-1846*, 92; *847-1848*, 184.

¹⁰ *Richmond Daily Compiler*, May 18, 1846.

¹¹ *Richmond Enquirer*, May 2, 1848.

¹² *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, December 27, 1831

federal aid was unconstitutional, and the long-standing animosity which existed between eastern and western Virginia.¹³

Countless difficulties arose to plague the lines, all of which could be reproduced in any section during the period of early railroad development. Typical examples will be given of the difficulties of construction, the problem of state interest and regulation, rivalry among the companies as indicated in the battle for the trade of a particular section, through ticket differences, gauge wars, and service complaints. Though the solution of each taxed the patience of each road, the companies met them as they developed without too much loss of vitality and tempo.

Land damage claims caused little difficulty for, as in the case of the Petersburg lines, declining land values spurred landowners to give or to offer land and materials cheaply. This was one of the reasons why the Virginia and Tennessee selected the route followed between Lynchburg and Salem.¹⁴ In contrast the Winchester and Potomac reported high land damages for which the company blamed the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal companies, both of which were purchasers of land in the section.¹⁵ The amount of damages varied according to the need for railroad transportation in the section, the number of transportation agencies already established, and the land values prevailing.

When the question of securing building materials arose, eastern Virginia was found to lack a sufficient supply. Civil engineer Charles Shaw stated this in a report to the Board of Public Works in 1834. The year following, Shaw reported the Petersburg railroads were using soft wood found in Tidewater swamps which would have to be replaced quickly and recommended that the state go slow in granting charters to new railroads in the area.¹⁶ The Petersburg and Richmond and the Roanoke lines were taxed heavily to replace their superstructure with good timber shortly after opening.¹⁷ Though the northern and western

¹³ Charles W. Turner, "The Early Railroad Movement in Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, LV (October, 1947), 359.

¹⁴ *Virginia House Journal, 1831-1832*, document 15, Richmond, Virginia, Division of Purchase and Printing, 1833.

¹⁵ *Seventeenth Annual Report*, 501.

¹⁶ *Seventeenth Annual Report*, 426; *Twentieth Annual Report*, 105.

¹⁷ *Twenty-sixth Annual Report*, 123.

lines found materials readily available, the needs were greater, with deep fills, steep grades, and tunnels to be built. The difficulty of burning green wood, the freezing of engines, and the puckering up of the rails were difficulties to be surmounted in operation. The rainy season brought soft spots which the Winchester and Potomac and other lines complained of.¹⁸

The high cost of equipment from the north and from abroad encouraged the companies to manufacture their own in their shops. Independent companies were organized to meet the needs for engines and cars, such as the Smith and Perkins Locomotive and Car Works at Alexandria, covering 51,000 square feet of ground, for which the Orange and Alexandria Railroad built a turnout. A second iron foundry was the Tredegar Iron Works of Richmond, operated by the Anderson family. Joseph Anderson, the founder, was an outstanding civil engineer of the state. A railroad was proud to say its engines were made at Tredegar. One writing in a newspaper expressed southern nationalism when he declared that "one who must free themselves (from dependence on the northern manufacturer) must strike the first blow."¹⁹

After securing the iron for laying on the roadbed, the company must decide the proper gauge to use. The question of gauge caused a battle royal. Most of the Tidewater lines, the Richmond and Danville, and the Virginia Central used the four feet, eight and a half inch gauge, while the Virginia and Tennessee employed the five foot gauge. Car transfer from one gauge to another was out of the question and rapid transfer of goods from one section to another lessened the chance for consolidation. When the state was contemplating the Covington and Ohio extension, the matter of gauge was debated in the General Assembly. A member, Charles F. M. Garnett, favored the five-foot gauge, stating that trans-shipment was not too difficult for the labor cost amounted to eighty cents a 'day per car, and a car could be loaded by four men in fifteen minutes.²⁰ Others favored

¹⁸ *Thirty and Thirty-first Annual Report*, 142.

¹⁹ *Forty-first Annual Report*, 49; *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, June 26, 1853.

²⁰ *Richmond Whig*, January 30, 1852.

the five-foot gauge because it would cut down the competition which existed between northern markets and the Virginia trade centers.²¹ The narrower gauge was favored by the editor of the *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, for it was less expensive, better suited to general traffic, and safer.²² To substantiate these claims, a study which was made by the British Parliament was given.²³

1. That as regards safety . . . the decided preference is due neither gauge . . .
2. That in respect of speed we consider the advantages are with the broad gauge, but we think the public safety would be endangered . . .
3. That in the commercial case the trans-shipment of goods we believe the narrow gauge to possess the greater convenience . . .
4. That the broader gauge involves the greater outlay. . .
5. That the most successful roads in the country are built on 4'8½" gauge.

Failure to come to agreement as to gauge delayed the legislative appropriation for the Virginia Central so that the war caught the vital middle Virginia railroad incomplete. The gauge question caused other delays in completion prior to 1860.

When the rails had been laid and operation had begun, competition between rival modes of transportation soon arose, as, for example, that which developed between the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac and the Bay Steamship Lines. Both companies, in order to secure as much of the trade of the area as possible, slashed fares and distributed handbills condemning the rival company.²⁴ Next the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac purchased the steamship called "Mount Vernon" to be used on the James by its passengers. The General Assembly received complaints against both companies, stating that both parties had exceeded their powers. Though a committee of the General Assembly studied the problem, their recommendations were not enforced and the fare war continued.²⁵

Rivalry for the trade of an area involved two of the Virginia railways in one of the bitterest controversies in American railroad history. The Portsmouth and Roanoke and Petersburg and

²¹ *Richmond Whig*, January 19, 1854; February 14, 1854.

²² *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, December 9, 1852.

²³ *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, June 6, 1853.

²⁴ *Twenty-third Annual Report*, 121.

²⁵ *Virginia House Journal, 1846-1847*, document 22, Richmond, Virginia, Division of Purchase and Printing.

Roanoke companies, two of the oldest lines of the state, were the companies involved. Both railways met at Weldon on the Roanoke River and the first bridge was built by the Portsmouth and Roanoke. The other company might have used the same by paying a reasonable fee, but this was declared to be too high. The Petersburg and Roanoke built its own bridge and began to wage a fare war to secure the trade of the area. Sufficient revenues were not available to keep both lines running profitably, and the Board of Public Works recognized this fact in a report to the General Assembly in 1843.²⁶ The Portsmouth and Roanoke had never been without a mortgage, and in order to continue operation, the line was permitted by the General Assembly to sell a section between Gary's and the bridge at Weldon.²⁷ The Petersburg and Roanoke was offered this section at one-half the original cost. The latter road refused to deal with the representatives of the company or continue to pick up the road's passengers. The Portsmouth Company, suffering from further declines in revenue, appealed to the General Assembly for help. The Board of Public Works was called in to act as mediator.²⁸ An offer of \$12,000 for the section was made by the Petersburg and Roanoke but the other line held out for \$15,000. Meanwhile, the claim of Francis E. Rives developed.

Colonel Clement Rochelle had built the Weldon Bridge. The Portsmouth Company was not able to pay him and he in turn became obligated to a second company. Rochelle transferred his claim to Francis E. Rives, interested in the rival road, and by an oversight, the mortgage was not recorded in North Carolina court records. He agreed to allow the Portsmouth and Roanoke to function if it would pay \$1.00 for each passenger carried over that section. The company refused to do this, whereupon, because of the technical error, Rives took over the bridge and seventeen miles of the line lying in North Carolina and began to bargain with the Petersburg and Roanoke to loan him an engine and some cars. In broad daylight he started to Margaretsville to take up two miles of track so as to cut connections between his line and the Portsmouth and Roanoke. President

²⁶ Howard D. Dozier, *A History of the Atlantic Coastline Railroad* (New York, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920), 96-97.

²⁷ *Virginia House Journal, 1840-1841* (Richmond, Virginia: Division of Purchase and Printing), 236.

²⁸ *Twenty-fifth Annual Report*, 371-372; *Twenty-sixth Annual Report*, 140.

Gwynn of the Portsmouth and Roanoke went down and restored the two miles and overturned his trains, with help of course, and ran their cars over the whole line in the winter of 1843.²⁹ Rives was arrested by the Portsmouth and Roanoke Railroad and placed under heavy bond. His trial came up in the superior court of Northampton County, North Carolina, as part of the line ran into North Carolina. The opinion of the judges was that the Portsmouth and Roanoke had a right-of-way over the soil covered, that the soil would revert to the original owner when the section ceased being used for its purpose, that the right-of-way could not be transferred, and that the purchaser did acquire title to the iron and the timber by purchase, but not the use of the right-of-way. Rives was fined \$2,500.

There were many explanations written by Rives for his actions. All the while he was contracting with the Petersburg and Roanoke which would pay \$60,000 for the bridge and seventeen miles of the road in installments every three months. However, if the Portsmouth and Roanoke used the line, the payments would stop. This contract was signed by President H. D. Bird and Francis E. Rives.³⁰ The Portsmouth and Roanoke ceased to run in 1845, for the road's stock had declined, it had discontinued service, and its rolling stock lay dilapidated. The Board of Public Works held a mortgage on the Portsmouth and Roanoke and the Board sold the company at public auction in front of the courthouse at Portsmouth.³¹ The same Board bought it in for \$60,000 and leased it to the city of Portsmouth under the title, the Seaboard and Roanoke Company. Many people were provoked at Rives and dared him to be at the auction.³² The Rives-Bird contract was a sad commentary on state power and showed how strong the Petersburg and Roanoke interests were in the Assembly. In the final analysis, the Petersburg and Roanoke gained a seventeen-mile line leading into North Carolina.

Rivalry among the lines was shown in the through-ticket squabbles. Lines were complaining constantly that they were not securing a fair share of their through ticket arrangements. As early as 1838 the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac,

²⁹ *Richmond Enquirer*, January 13, February 1, 1844.

³⁰ *Thirtieth and Thirty-first Annual Report*, 74, 76.

³¹ *Acts of the General Assembly, 1845-1846*, bill 168.

³² *Norfolk and Portsmouth Herald*, March 8, 1847.

the Richmond and Petersburg, and the Petersburg and Roanoke had agreed to a ticket costing \$7.75 divided as follows:³³

R. F. and P. (61 miles from Aquia Creek to Richmond)	\$3.721½
R. and P. (22½ miles from Richmond to Petersburg)	1.25
P. and R. (59 miles from Petersburg to Roanoke)	3.111½
	\$7.75

The Baltimore and Ohio refused to reduce fares on the Washington Branch and was left out of the arrangement. A clearing house of the same lines was formed, and later a through ticket was decided upon in a meeting held on December 13, 1842, to be divided as indicated in the following table.³⁴

Potomac Boat Line (from Alexandria to Aquia Creek)	\$2.00
R. F. and P.	4.00
R. and P.	1.371½
P. and R.	3.121½
	\$10.50

The Petersburg and Roanoke failed to agree to its share and refused to issue through tickets after August 15, 1844, unless the rate per mile was the same on all lines, the Potomac steamboat rate be reduced to half the existing rate, and the expense of advertising be borne in proportion to need for it. Many fiery statements were published showing the ill will existing among the lines. The Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac accused the Petersburg and Roanoke of causing the failure of the Portsmouth line, the Portsmouth and Roanoke condemned the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac for charging the highest rates in the country, being blind to the value of the through ticket, and failing to allow passengers certain conveniences in its coaches.³⁵ The Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac replied by increasing the through ticket by fifty cents, the amount to be divided between the steamboat company and itself. With the failure of the Portsmouth line, the Petersburg and Roanoke worked out a second through-ticket arrangement with the City

³³ *Thirtieth and Thirty-first Annual Report*, 349.

³⁴ A clearing house was formed in 1840 to settle matters among the various lines, consisting of one director from each road plus a representative from the Board of Public Works. Dozier, *A History of the Atlantic Coastline Railroad*, 99.

³⁵ *Thirtieth and Thirty-first Annual Report*, 201-208.

Point Railroad and Bay Steamship lines in order to draw off the trade from the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac.³⁶

As late as 1858 the through ticket had not been agreed upon. Finally a big meeting was held of all companies between New York and Charleston, and four months of conferences resulted in a through ticket which gave the lines above the James River a lower rate due to greater travel and trade than those south of the James River.

Through tickets between the Virginia Central and the Orange and Alexandria were made to allow traffic to pass without a break in the journey from Alexandria to Staunton on the Virginia Central. The latter of these arrangements Richmond merchants complained of, for it might drain trade from their doors and they had subscribed heavily to the stock of the Virginia Central. Why were they discriminated against was the question. President Emund Fontaine declared this claim false. Next the Orange and Alexandria declared that the Virginia Central charged too much for transporting freight on a short haul. The Virginia Central replied that the reason was mountain grades and suggested that the Orange and Alexandria experiment with its own cars and find out for itself.³⁷ Some writers thought the through ticket question ought to be settled and worked out more quickly by various roads, for much business was being lost as a result of that factor alone.³⁸

In these and other disputes the Board of Public Works failed to take a firm stand. Though the state owned from two-fifths to three-fifths of the stock in various companies, the Board seldom opposed the railroads' actions. There was the case where the state failed to own quite three-fourths of the stock in the Richmond and Petersburg, yet it asked that a third director representing the state be appointed. The company refused to seat a certain N. M. Martin and the Board agreed to drop the matter after protest.³⁹ One reason for the lack of conflict between the Board and the companies was the fact that the Board members were generally stockholders of different lines.

³⁶ *Annual Report to the Stockholders of the Richmond and Petersburg Railroad Company, 1846-1847* (Petersburg, Virginia: Ellerson and Company, 1866).

³⁷ *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, March 29, 1855.

³⁸ *Richmond Enquirer*, October 5, 1858.

³⁹ Dozier, *A History of the Atlantic Coastline Railroad*, 45-46.

The intense rivalry between vested interests within and outside of the General Assembly was an ever-present factor in railroad progress, sometimes restraining and at other times propelling the movement. The earliest and one of the bitterest pressure groups was the one which desired to further the canals of the state rather than the railroads. The editor of the *Richmond Whig* opposed the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac project in 1833, declaring that every effort should be made to finish the James River and Kanawha Canal in order to provide the "Grand Atlantic Chain" to the Ohio.⁴⁰ Several years later he was requesting a railroad himself from Richmond to Lynchburg, for the canal was being built too slowly and the stock was being purchased too gradually.⁴¹ Newspapers such as the one mentioned above recommended by 1845 that the canal be extended no further than Lynchburg.⁴² Even they had begun to read the handwriting on the wall. Some of the early railroads, such as the Winchester and Potomac, complained that the canals took some of their trade.⁴³

A debate was held in 1845 at the Exchange Hotel in Richmond on the relative merits of canals and railroads. Lieutenant Governor William H. McFarland supported the cause of the railroads and James C. Cabell, president of the Kanawha Canal, supported the canal side. The former declared that for half the year water transportation was blocked with ice, that there was constant danger of washouts, that freight rates were higher on canals, and that the Erie Canal could not be compared to those in Virginia. Cabell used the latter as his perfect example with its lower costs. He challenged McFarland on the question of length of time when ice blocked the canal and concluded with the statement that the state had invested too heavily to let the canal project down.⁴⁴ Cabell continued to fight railroads through 1851, and in reply to President Gwynn of the Portsmouth and Roanoke, stated that some of the mileage of the railroads had cost \$65,000 a mile, while even the Erie Canal was constructed more cheaply and its rates were falling all the time. He failed to compare his own canal, on

⁴⁰ *American Railroad Journal* (New York, New York: 1833-1866), September, 1833.

⁴¹ *Richmond Whig*, January 9, 1836.

⁴² *Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh Annual Report*, 333.

⁴³ *Richmond Whig*, October 24, 1845.

⁴⁴ *Notes Relative to the Route, Cost and Bearings of a Railway from Covington to the Head of Steamboat Navigation on the Kanawha River, addressed to Walter Gwynn* (Richmond, Virginia: privately printed), 1851.

which \$7,500,000 had been expended.⁴⁵ Cabell was supporting a dying cause, and to save his interests he was pulling out every stop to win his point. Virginia had actually been building railroads more cheaply than any other state in the Union; canals had drained its pocketbook early and its citizens only gradually stopped the hole. Others supported the cause of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and felt that the Baltimore and Ohio ought to stop fighting its continuance to Cumberland.⁴⁶

A second fight in the General Assembly developed over the "foreign" railroad, the Baltimore and Ohio, which was invading Virginia. The *Richmond Enquirer* in 1827 urged the General Assembly not to allow the Baltimore and Ohio to enter Virginia, for it would be giving up a "sovereign right." *Niles' Register* of Baltimore took the opposite view and argued that if Virginia forbade the Baltimore and Ohio the state would be blocking progress and it would be purely a case of jealousy of Baltimore. The magazine called upon Virginia to advance from fifth place in the Union in internal improvements and added that unless she developed her resources, the Pennsylvania farmers would laugh at Virginia's primitive ways.⁴⁷ Virginia did allow the Baltimore and Ohio as far as Harper's Ferry and later as far as Cumberland. To Wheeling and to Parkersburg were the next demands, but interests in the Tidewater felt that northwestern Virginia should free itself from isolation and that besides the state commerce would only be drawn more and more to Baltimore. Colonel Crozet, on the other hand, wrote in the *Richmond Whig* that the extension would not interfere with Virginia improvements. "Don't oppose," he declared, "for one must heed the call of the times." Another writer in the same paper felt the extension would spell ruin for seven counties, for already \$4,000,000 capital was requested for the road. This would be for Baltimore at the expense of Virginia.⁴⁸ Some of the members of the House of Delegates favored the Wheeling terminus, while others argued for Parkersburg.⁴⁹

The act permitting the Wheeling extension was passed with such obnoxious features at (1) a through ticket of four cents

⁴⁵ *Richmond Whig*, February 13, 1845.

⁴⁶ *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXXIII (December 29, 1827), 273.

⁴⁷ *Richmond Whig*, August 29, 1845.

⁴⁸ *Richmond Daily Compiler*, June 16, 1845.

⁴⁹ *Virginia House Journal, 1845-1846*, document 1, 55.

per mile when the Virginia average rate was six cents, (2) permission for other roads to connect with it, (3) taxation of its property by the state, (4) the purchase of the Winchester and Potomac, (5) construction of depots and switches below Harper's Ferry, and (6) provision for opening the road in ten years. Under these conditions, the Baltimore and Ohio refused to proceed with construction. The Baltimore and Ohio would be subject to the changeable will of the General Assembly, to rival improvements, to burdensome taxes, and to the need for placing an extra depot at Harper's Ferry. Finally, the route was far from being the shortest to the Ohio River.⁵⁰ Some eastern Virginians were glad. The act had served to delay northwestern improvement. It was an apt example of legislative effort to hamstring a project which was neither "home grown" nor truly welcome. Appeals were immediately made for modification of the act by northern and western Virginians and the act was modified and accepted by the B. and O.⁵¹ In 1860 the B. and O. petitioned the Congress to allow a junction of the Washington branch with the Virginia extension at Alexandria on the District side. Individuals were still anxious that this be not granted, for opposition to this line was still prevalent.⁵²

To show sectional bickering within the Assembly let us take the case of the Covington and Ohio extension. One member of the Assembly preferred the spending of \$12,000,000 for building a road through Appomattox by the Roanoke River to the west. Another Assemblyman printed an article favoring the same route and giving the following reasons why he supported it: (1) trade and travel would converge on Richmond; (2) grades would be too steep over the central route; (3) a direct line would be had to Louisville, St. Louis, and even Europe; and (4) two lines were already anxious to connect with the proposed line using the above route.⁵³ Other Assemblymen urged that the Virginia Central be extended from Covington to the Ohio. The *Daily Dispatch* lamented the combinations and systems in the General Assembly which were pushing and restraining the progress of that rail-

⁵⁰ *Documents of the House of Delegates, 1850-1851*, document 18 (Richmond, Virginia: Division of Purchase and Printing), 385.

⁵¹ *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, June 8, 1860.

⁵² *Richmond Compiler*, January 6, 1846.

⁵³ *Address to the Citizens of Richmond on the Construction of a Continuous Railroad Communication from the City to the Waters of the Ohio* (Richmond, Virginia: Colin and Nowlin), 1852.

road scheme as late as March, 1858.⁵⁴ Finally, after meetings in the northwestern part of the state and countless memorials to the Assembly, the later body got around to chartering the Covington and Ohio in 1860.⁵⁵

Opposition was registered for practically every extension attempted. Several examples are cited here to emphasize the point. When the Danville Road wished to extend in order to connect with the V. and T. line at Lynchburg, certain citizens of Pittsylvania, Charlotte and Campbell counties declared river transportation was sufficient. If nature has made us a natural highway, why is it necessary to supplement it, they concluded. Certain newspapers favored it; others opposed it. The Richmond and Petersburg tried to discourage it, fearing competition.⁵⁶

Opposition was registered again in the case of the Southside Railroad which desired a state loan for further extension. Joseph Segar of Elizabeth City County spoke in its favor. He said that Virginia was building internal improvements too slowly, that joint stock subscriptions would not work, that the James River and Kanawha Canal had been a failure, that trade and commerce had to develop before returns could come in, and that the call was urgent for state loans. Money lay idle in the hands of the Board of Public Works, while the credit of the state was the highest ever. Why were the railroads receiving such small returns, only seven per cent on the average (1852), he inquired. Of course, one could point to the failures of the Portsmouth and Roanoke, but it had not extended far enough to reap profits. Finally, trade and travel would increase and a new day would dawn through loans for public improvements.⁵⁷ Thomas Wallace was moved to make some remarks in favor of the loan in the House of Delegates. After calling attention to the failure of the bill of 1852 allowing the Southside Railroad to sell bonds, he described the flow of money from western Virginia mines and the incoming of immigrants. He felt the actual wealth of Virginia would soon reach \$800,000,000. The opening of Virginia was necessary, for Norfolk and the Chesapeake Bay had been

⁵⁴ *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, March 15, 1858.

⁵⁵ *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, February 17, 1858.

⁵⁶ *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, April 8, 1852.

⁵⁷ *Speech of Mr. Segar of Elizabeth City County on a Bill Authorizing a Loan of State Bonds to the Southside Company* (Richmond, Virginia: Ellerson and Company, 1853), 3-21.

forgotten. Their business had been sapped by Baltimore. In conclusion, he asserted that the three railroads of the southwest had improved land values twenty-nine per cent and had caused immigration to increase and the slave population to jump from 448,000 to 473,000 between 1840 and 1850. Furthermore, all Virginia railroads were paying for themselves and carrying freight for as little as four and a half cents a ton-mile.⁵⁸ In opposition, another man felt that the link with the Virginia and Tennessee and through the latter with the Orange and Alexandria would make Lynchburg a barrel with both ends out funneling commerce to Baltimore.⁵⁹ This loan was made for extension of the Southside westward and congratulations were extended the road by Richmond editors.⁶⁰

Other extensions were fought over, such as the extension of the Virginia and Tennessee to Lynchburg.⁶¹ The Orange and Alexandria was heading for the same place, to the dismay of those who feared the Baltimore drainage.⁶² The editor of the *Daily Dispatch* feared that Baltimore would benefit, but at the same time he felt that Virginia's internal improvement lag was helping not only Baltimore but also New York to reap increased revenues.⁶³

There were legislators who were against the state's engaging in internal improvement schemes and lamented the tax increase. One published the total railroad debt of the state as \$6,620,800 as of 1852⁶⁴ and feared state monopoly. The state, he said, lavished money on too many local projects and forgot the main lines.⁶⁵ Another spoke of the sectional and local jealousies which had caused a lack of coordination and interstate unity in railroad planning. His criticism was in part justified, for as late as 1857-1858 the Board of Public Works refused to help the Orange and Alexandria Railroad connect with the Virginia and Tennessee; instead it favored a new line, the Manassas Gap Road, with appropriations. One of the "diehards" who opposed state spending for internal improvements was Charles Bruce of the Senate

⁵⁸ *Speech of Thomas Wallace of Petersburg on a Bill Authorizing a Loan to the Southside Company* (Richmond, Virginia: Ellerson and Company), 1853, 2-18.

⁵⁹ *Daily Republican* (Lynchburg), January 5, 1853.

⁶⁰ *Richmond Daily Times*, January 26, 1853.

⁶¹ *Daily Republican*, February 2, 1853.

⁶² *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, June 13, 1853.

⁶³ *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, February 4, 1853.

⁶⁴ *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, May 10, 1852.

⁶⁵ *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, December 26, 1853.

in 1858. He argued that the Assembly ought to think before sinking money in any more railroad projects. The Danville Railroad would not pay for years to come; the Southside and Virginia and Tennessee had debts, and the Piedmont Valley Railroad was going bankrupt. "How profitable were these roads? What villages had they built up? Decreased cost of transportation had come only with increased taxation." Inflated currency had caused the auditor's report to show a \$98,000 increase in valuation. Figures proved that the value of the counties with railroads had increased only five per cent over those without them. The state had to pay out \$1,200,000 for her indebtedness and received only \$400,000 in dividends. The population was decreasing and Negroes were being drawn away due, in part, to the railroad lease system. His argument concluded with questions asking whether railroads had increased production and whether water transportation was not cheaper.⁶⁶ This argument was an example of "card stacking" of facts and figures, which if compared with those used by internal improvement advocates, would not have tallied, as we have shown. It had the effect of delaying certain appropriations until too late, such as those for the Washington and Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac connection and the Virginia Central extension to the Ohio. These petty jealousies among individuals in and out of the Assembly and between cities, sections, and rival modes of transportation accounted for the lack of a unified railroad system in Virginia before the Civil War.

After securing the lines and effecting operation, there were complaints by patrons of various railroads of receiving faulty service. The Winchester and Potomac was so poorly built that complaints were made of rough travel and delays, and the company was forced to improve its tracks.⁶⁷ The Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac gave poor service. In December, 1836, ten people complained that when riding from Fredericksburg to Richmond, a distance of sixty miles, they started so as to arrive the same evening and reached Taylorsville at four in the morning. The passengers were then required to wait in the cold cars

⁶⁶ *Speech of Charles Bruce in the Senate of Virginia on the Internal Improvement Policy of the State* (Richmond, Virginia: Ellerson and Company, 1858).

⁶⁷ *Thirtieth and Thirty-first Annual Report*, 149.

while the train force slept in warm houses nearby. The group finally reached Richmond at noon after having been on the track for twenty hours. The same company was criticized by the Richmond and Petersburg for having too small a lunch counter at Richmond. The Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac replied that the other company should improve its dirty cars, increase the number of its engines, and remedy its constant delays and loss of baggage.⁶⁸ The president of the Petersburg Company answered the charge of delays by declaring that he had inquired of engineers and they had stated that only twenty-six passengers had ever been delayed on the road and this was blamed on the weather.⁶⁹

Breakage and loss of produce were common, and the railroads gradually introduced safety measures. One case involving the loss of seven bales of cotton stored by the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac reached the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia. Justices Lyons and Marson concurred in the opinion that since a man by the name of Jones had requested that the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac delay shipment until prices went up on cotton, the company was not responsible as a common carrier. Jones received no damages.⁷⁰ Shipping agents began to take advantage of the right of storage and charged special fees in addition to their regular fee for handling. The General Assembly, by an act, stopped that abuse.⁷¹ Fires burned shops and wooden bridges frequently, while engines were thrown from the tracks by ice or obstructions. To lessen the latter, the Chesterfield Railroad secured an act as early as 1832 providing that if anyone maliciously sought to destroy railroad property, such a person would be imprisoned. If he were a slave, thirty-nine stripes would be reasonable punishment and the company would be able to secure damages equal to three times the actual value of the property destroyed.⁷² A second act of the forties had guaranteed fifty to five hundred dollars to anyone who would apprehend a person wilfully destroying railroad property.⁷³

⁶⁸ *Thirtieth and Thirty-first Annual Report*, 329-330.

⁶⁹ *Thirty-second and Thirty-third Annual Report*, 443.

⁷⁰ *Richmond Whig*, March 13, 1850.

⁷¹ *Virginia House Journal, 1839-1860*, 54.

⁷² *Acts of the General Assembly, 1832*, 74.

⁷³ *Acts of the General Assembly, 1843*, 119.

The weather often caused delays and accidents, as a case cited from a local newspaper reveals. The Virginia Central Railroad was blocked by deep snow in January, 1857, and for two days one train was marooned six miles from Richmond and food could not reach it.⁷⁴ But human carelessness was a cause for others. The disregard of signals on the same line at Melton's, where trains customarily passed each other, caused a collision three quarters of a mile from the station on December 25, 1856. The conductors were blamed for it, and John H. Timberlake, superintendent of transportation, resigned because of the misunderstanding over the problem with President Fontaine.⁷⁵ A third difficulty occurring on the Virginia Central gave rise to the Sanger *vs.* Virginia Central Railroad case. Jacob Sanger was injured when a car was derailed by a huge stone left on the tracks. Sanger sued for damages and the circuit court's decision was confirmed by the Supreme Court of Appeals that \$6,000 should be awarded Sanger. Judge Thompson of the latter court held that the company was liable for any carelessness of its employees, and it had been proved that the stone had been left there by one of the Virginia Central employees. This was an important case, for it was the first in Virginia to settle the extent of liability of railroads as passenger carriers.⁷⁶

Other roads had accidents too, which showed that much needed to be done for the sake of safety. Articles were written and laws passed against carelessness. One stated that horrible accidents were happening to persons of both sexes. "Better we tear up the railroads than let them wreck the havoc they are doing."⁷⁷ Another law required that a watchman be placed at every street crossing, because a fuse was not enough.⁷⁸ One paper came to the defense of the railroads and declared that with all the denunciations heaped on the railroads, the number of deaths in proportion to the number of passengers carried was much smaller than by transportation by stage or carriage.⁷⁹ Railroads received little mercy at the hands of juries and paid for cows, fractures, and detentions. They were considered soulless corporations and were

⁷⁴ *Richmond Whig*, January 24, 1857.

⁷⁵ *Richmond Examiner*, January 30, 1857; *Richmond Whig*, January 2, 1857.

⁷⁶ *American Railroad Journal*, September 17, 1859.

⁷⁷ *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, September 13, 1855.

⁷⁸ *Richmond Whig*, January 5, 1855.

⁷⁹ *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, July 9, 1853.

treated as such.⁸⁰ Accidents could be expected in the beginning years to be lessened as time went on.

Difficulties developed in relations with the federal government. Mail contracts were awarded railroad companies in the thirties and differences resulted over both the rate of pay received for service performed and also over the time required for delivery. Congress decided to make every railroad a mail route in 1837,⁸¹ and Amos Kendall, as Postmaster General, in 1835 required that all mail cars be locked. The first two railroads to carry the mail were the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac at \$200 per mile annually and the Petersburg and Roanoke at \$300 a mile.⁸² In 1839 the contracts were not renewed, for the department wished to reduce the rate paid and the railroads refused, declaring that they could not do the job for less and that it would involve delays. Failure to agree caused the Post Office Department to have the mails carried on horseback a few months.⁸³

Contracts were revised until the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac stopped carrying the mail in 1847.⁸⁴ The road refused to reduce the rate below \$300, which it had been receiving for several years. The mail was then carried by water over the Bay lines, and as the Richmond and Petersburg refused to take the through mail for \$100 a mile, it was carried over the turnpikes until December, 1849. At that time the companies had the right returned to them on the \$237 basis. The Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac lost it for only two years, once in 1855, when the Orange and Alexandria and Virginia Central underbid the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac⁸⁵

Other railroads were anxious for mail contracts. The Portsmouth and Roanoke put in a bid offering what it called greater economy and regularity than any other road.⁸⁶ The City Point Railroad agreed to haul the mail for \$500 per annum over its short line⁸⁷ and the Virginia and Tennessee agreed to handle it

⁸⁰ *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, May 16, 1855.

⁸¹ J. Cooley, editor, *The American Railroad* (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1897), 314-315.

⁸² *Virginia House Journal*, 1838, document 10, 4.

⁸³ *Virginia House Journal*, 1838, document 36, 77-97.

⁸⁴ Dozier, *A History of the Atlantic Coastline Railroad*, 45.

⁸⁵ Dozier, *A History of the Atlantic Coastline Railroad*, 41, 45; *Thirty-second Annual Report*, 396-399; John B. Mordecai, *A Brief History of the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad*, Richmond, Virginia, privately printed, 1940.

⁸⁶ *Thirty-second and Thirty-third Annual Report*, 567-575, 584-585.

⁸⁷ *Twenty-eighth Annual Report*, 90.

for \$41,000 annually.⁸⁸ Returns from mail carriage were considerable sums, and each line desired this special privilege. The letters were paid for by weight on receipt, and the depot agent would send a bill for total monthly mail received to individuals for payment. Mail to be sent was gathered in bags by the agents and sent out daily.

The cases in which federal courts had a hand were few. The Supreme Court had to handle a case when interests along the Rappahannock River complained that a bridge of the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac was too narrow and low and threatened navigation. Associate Justice McLean had declared in a similar case that railroads must construct safe bridges and ones which did not obstruct navigation. This precedent was followed here.⁸⁹ The federal district court, sitting at Staunton, heard another case in which the War Department was required to allow the Winchester and Potomac Company the right to run its engines through public property in Alexandria, in spite of the danger of fire. The Congress heard complaints of the Virginia railroads, for on one occasion the Richmond and Roanoke petitioned Congress for relief from the through ticket discrimination. This petition was rejected.⁹⁰ The Orange and Alexandria transferred some federal claims of 1790 for collection, from which the Board of Public Works felt the railroad might secure some funds to the amount of \$120,000. The bill was still before Congress in 1857.⁹¹

In conclusion, the difficulties facing the railroads were many and may be summarized. (1) Sectional rivalries inside and outside the General Assembly were sufficient to restrain progress. Virginia spent much time, energy, and money on canals. The chartering of so many rival roads in the Tidewater made for bitter competition between the different lines, causing the actual failure of one. These roads were in a comparatively poor agricultural section of the state and often were too poorly constructed to give long service without constant renewal. (2) The intense jealousy felt toward Baltimore and the Baltimore and Ohio by Virginia was real and caused delays in railroad expansion in

⁸⁸ *Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh Annual Report*, 100.

⁸⁹ *Virginia House Journal, 1839-1840*, 148-149; *Richmond Daily Times*, May 16, 1853.

⁹⁰ *Thirtieth and Thirty-first Annual Report*, 467.

⁹¹ *Niles' Weekly Register*, LX, July 31, August 7, 1841, 349.

northern Virginia. (3) As to lack of service, one feels, looking over the whole picture, that it was but normal to expect the delays, Post Office quarrels, and lack of suitable accommodations in this beginning period. (4) The matters of gauge and through ticket were further signs of sectional differences. (5) Financial problems were fairly normal with the exception of the Portsmouth and Roanoke and were always slight considering the number of business slumps surmounted. (6) The accident record was generally good and already they were beginning to seek remedies to lessen the mishaps. Blunders, to be sure, were many but not fatal, and the service rendered to Virginia and the South prior to the war was great.

LETTERS FROM NORTH CAROLINA TO ANDREW JOHNSON

Edited by

ELIZABETH GREGORY MCPHERSON

The papers of Andrew Johnson in the Library of Congress comprise more than 30,000 pieces, extending from 1829 to 1930, and including correspondence of his family. On the basis of material relating to North Carolina during Reconstruction his papers would rank as outstanding for local history. They are also of tremendous interest not only because they are papers of one of the Presidents of the United States born in North Carolina, but also because they cover an important span of local and national history that portrays many valuable contributions made by President Johnson in several fields of endeavor.

To a man of President Johnson's inheritance, social position, and temperament, the problems of Reconstruction were peculiarly difficult. His progressive and colorful career from a tailor's bench to the President's chair was a climb up the social and political ladder that was not easy. His political career began as an alderman of Greeneville, Tennessee, to which place he had migrated in 1826 from Raleigh, North Carolina. In his political climb he went ahead with the support of the working men whose cause he always championed. In business President Johnson was successful, and from the emoluments of his tailor shop at Greeneville he accumulated a modest estate. The earliest item in his papers is an account book of his tailor shop begun in 1829, but the main body of his papers is for the period that he served as Senator from Tennessee and as President of the United States. His manuscripts include records of applications for office, pardon and amnesty papers, proclamations, messages to Congress, telegrams, letter books, notes of William G. Moore, his private secretary, and many letters. Among his correspondents were cabinet members, military leaders, jurists, diplomats, and other men and women of eminence as well as those from North Carolina whose letters are printed herewith.

From David F. Caldwell¹

Greensboro N. C. Oct¹⁵ [18]59

Hon Andrew Johnston

Dear & much respected Sir; Your note of the 12 instant has been received, and I hasten to respond to the sam[e]; When I wrote to the PM at Greenville[e] I had received no answer to my letter, which had been written som[e] four or five weeks. I could not account for your silence, but in two reasons, 1st that you were absent, or, 2^d that you did not care, or never desirous to have nothing more to do with me, in the way of corresponding. And I desired to know which of these motives, if influenced your action For though I rank myself above no honest man I am for from wishing to intrude myself upon the notice of any one As you have delt frankly I have thus given you my motives for making the inquiry I did for your Post Master I did not desire the *miserable manuscript I sent you* I wrote it in such great haste that on regaining it I am heartily ashamed of it—but friendship, I did not know how to get on with out, hence my anxiety for to recover it I received your last letter & the communication, I mean the letter before the one received today some four or five days since and I feel greatful to you for your kindness in returning them to me.

I am sorry that you cannot see this matter in the light I do I feel confident that I am right and if your next Legislature will but adopt & strictly adhere to the system I proposed you will have no more *Bogus Banks* in Ten— The state & your improvements will prosper and your people soon relieved from debt & heavy taxation I feel confident of this fact Or I would not urge it upon you I feel the more concerned about the matter, as I am seriously contemplating removing to Gibson County of your State, there to engage in the cultivation of cotton, & the practice of *the Law* I dislike to sunder all the ties that bind me to my native state, but I have many relatives and friends in Gibson who are doing well & press me strongly to emigrate and setel near them— assuring me that I can greatly benefit myself by so doing Under these circumstances I hope you will excuse me for troubling you so much as I have done— I am so sure that I am right—that I cannot fail to to be zealously efected when I look at the *crisis* that will soon be upon your Legislature If it were any thing else than chartering a Bank, it would not matter so much as if it did not suit the views of the Legislature they could repeal the act when they convened again— but this is not the case by no means— what your Legislature does next winter will last through this generation & will tell for good or evil with great power Wod to *Heaven* all your people understood the great importance

¹ Prior to the Civil War David F. Caldwell of Guilford County was a Whig; served in the house of commons; and was a candidate on the Republican ticket for a seat in Congress from the Fifth North Carolina District, but was defeated. In 1848 he presided over a convention held in Salisbury for the purpose of asking the legislature to build a railroad from Danville, Virginia, to Charlotte, North Carolina. He continued to advocate the building of railroads to unite the eastern part of the state with the western part. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina* (1914), 281n; Burton Alva Konkle, *John Motley Morehead and the Development of North Carolina, 1796-1866* (1922), 294-298.

that attaches to the action of these servants, touching this matter I know they would ponder long before they would *submit* to having another batch of monopoly bogus banks chartered in your state They are and will prove forever an unmitigated curse to any state And I aver from my experience that the stockholders in them where the Banks are chartered as yours & ours are, can control all the financial affairs of the state through them that, they can not only accumulate great fortunes, but will certainly acquire influence enough to dictate to the Legislature— & if they do not ultimately *break down* your Roads to purches them up like they did in Pennsylvania— it will be because they do not deserve to exercise their power and capital in that way But you are for a state slutreasury [*Sic.*] I am sorry very sorry my friend that you are anxious to place the Party in Tennessee on this platform. Pardon me for saying to you in all candor, that I honestly think it will prove most disasterous to the party And I do hope you will ponder long before you take that, as I think, fatal step Of course I cannot undertake to assign the reason, to you at the present time, that induces me to speak so confident on this point But I am prepared to say that sub Treasury system would prove more disasterous than to continue the present monopoly Bogus system of Banking

If you see Gov Harriss I hope you will prevale upon him to ponder long over the suggestions I have made— My observations my experience & the time I have given to the investigation of this subject, I say it in all modesty, should induce him to give my suggestion some consideration — 1 A specie *Basis*— 2 State stocks, in R.R. compleated & in successful opperation, to be deposited with the P Treasury to double the amount of the capital of the Bank— 3 then the liability clause— binding the individual property to double the amount of the capital of the bank 4 The public Treasurer to register & counter sign all the notes of the Banks. Then limiting the dividends of the Bank & Road to 7 per cent interest per Annum untill they the Road & Bank had each on hand a surplus fund of \$100,000— This would give such confidence in the solvency of the Banks & Roads as to throw up the stock in both for shares par—& thus gradually but certainly advance the credit & prosperity of your native state— while at the same time, it would give you, a *sound convertable uniform currency* that would command a premium over the circulation of all the others in your state— as the R.R. Banks in Georgia during the past panic Why is this I will try to explain 1st Then the bank is required to do as it would be done by That is Besides the principal all banks require that a security to sign all notes discounted and the rule is that the principle shall be solvent— the capital— and that each security shall be worth double the amount loaned—The liability clause & the R R Stock—The Banks consequently— in fact never when they adhere to the rule loose a debt— see my report as to the safety of Banking So if the Legislature will require the capital to be paid in to the vault of the Bank in specie then require the stock

in incorporated roads to be deposited & the liability clause thus engrafted in the charter the public will see that the security is such that there is no chance for any creditor of the bank to loose a cent by it— And as Banks do not create public credit but live & thrive on it— it is all important to keep their credit up above par if we wish them to prosper and benefit the public The Banks chartered thus would have the credit— to drive into the vaults all the money as *deposits* This taken with the revenue of the roads would enable the Banks to discount to producers who brought in freight to the roads freely This would enable the Banks to draw upon the produce sent to the market especially cotton & C and as their interest lay in this way— the Banks would benefit the country by encouraging the Planters Miners Manufacturers & Mechanics with all others who produced or brought forward freight to the road or roads— These positions cannot be successfully refuted— though all interested in the old Bogus corporation will cry out that the stocks in such bank cant or wont be taken Thus have none— But it will be taken— but I most reluctantly close If any member of your Legislature desires any aid I can give him if he will let me know I will try & accomodate him if he will let me know it

From David F. Caldwell

Greensboro N C Oct 1859

Hon A Johnson

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 14th is just to hand and I hasten to respond to the same I am truly *sorry* to find that a letter that I wrote to you in the *kindest spirit* — and particularly as an apology to you, for writing the letter of enquiry I did to your Post Master, should now call for an apology from me— I voluntary for the reasons stated in my last wrote you several letters In one of those I enclosed you a printed communication which I requested to return to me when you had red it— stating at the time that I had no copy of it, and would soon have a demand for it I waited for it for some time it did not come into hand I then wrote you a polite note requesting you to return the same I received no reply to that note I then thinking you might like many other leading men, be from home on a visit to a distant state I ventured to write to the P M to ascertain whither you were absent as I supposed [*sic.*] — I received no answer to my note to the PM I then thinking my letters might have miscarried I concluded to write to you again which note you answered & made every necessary explanation, and the other day all the manuscript, with the printed slips came safely to hand I certainly have no causes to *complain* of you or your conduct And I hope you will sensure me for nothing I have said or done as I certainly have not intended at any time to cast any blame on you I thought at one time before I received your letter before the last, that there was so much trichery abroad in this land and *Nise & Darling* correspondents that you might be a little julus of my position nature & honer and

that such motives had caused you to pass by letter & request in silence That is the honest thought I ever entertained touching the matter – And had you entertained such motives I could not under all the circumstances have blamed you If the above is not sufficiently *explicit* and poligetic [*sic*] be kind enough to inform me in what point it is deficient I will strive to amend it untill you shall in every particular be *satisfied* I will conclude if I can at any time an in any way be of any service to you as yours I shall be pleased to serve you– And till then I beg to
 remain truly yours

H^o A Johnson
 Greenvl Ten

From J. W. Anderson

Mars Hill N.Ca
 Decr 15th 1860

Hon. A. Johnson

Mars Hill College This Institution through me.respectfully asks you to make to their Institution the History of your state, so that they may record your name as one of the donors, to the Institution,

Respectfully
 Yours
 Secretary

From David F. Caldwell

Greensboro N.C. Feb 28 [18]61

Hon A Johnston:
 Dear Sir:

I rejoice greatly to find you so strong a *Union man* and can from the heart bid you God speed in all your efforts in so holy a cause My object in writing to you is 'to request you to send me a copy of your & Mr Douglass speaches I regret to see so few of the Democrats *standing with you* nearly all in this state are the most *ultera disunionists*

Respectfully yours

Hon A. Johnston
 Washin[ing]ton D.C.

From John A. Gilmer²

[Feb. ? 1861?]

Honl Andrew Johnson
 Dear Sir.–

This will be handed to you by my friend Wm. H. Baum, who is a good & honest man– He worked hard for us last winter night

² John A. Gilmer was a member of Congress from Greensboro, North Carolina, and a close friend of William H. Seward. President Lincoln offered Gilmer a position in his cabinet, but being unable to persuade the President to withdraw troops from the South he declined the post. As a member of the secession convention he voted with the conservatives. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 20.

after night in backing your speech & the speech of others to N.C. Va. & all without pay— He is a devoted friend to the Union— He is industrious & competent— He is needy— Please have something done for him before you leave Washington.

Respectfully
Yours

Private

From R. J. Powell³

Washington, D.C.
2nd May 1865.

Dear Sir:

As a personal friend, for I claim to have been such from our first acquaintance, nearly twenty years ago permit me very respectfully to suggest as follows:

In some parts of the North you may not have been fully understood— would it not have an influence for good— if you should show yourself to our soldiers and at least shake hands with the officers, when on their way to their Northern homes—?

If you think it best so to do— the matter can be arranged and carried out in a quiet way— and not known to the public until it is accomplished.

With high respect
Very truly yours

To the President
Andrew Johnson

From John M. Schofield⁴

Office U.S. Military Telegraph
War Department.

The following Telegram received at Washington, 12 10 P.M. May 13, 1865.

From Raleigh NC May 13, 1865.

President of the U.S

Ex Gov. D. L. Swayne Mr D. F. Moore and Mr Wm Eaton of North Carolina desire permission to visit you on business Con-

³ Dr. Powell was a native of North Carolina holding a position in the Patent Office. In order to have close communication with the President, Governor Holden appointed Powell agent of the state. In and through him President Johnson was informed concerning the governor's wishes. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 107n, 113-114.

⁴ John M. Schofield was in command of a division of General William T. Sherman's Army in North Carolina and was present when General Joseph E. Johnston surrendered to General Sherman at Durham, North Carolina, and was authorized to execute the details of the event. He continued in command of North Carolina until the formation of the provisional state government. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVI, 452-454; Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 100, 102-104, 148-149, 158, 293.

nected with the future of the state⁵—They are men of unquestionable loyalty and of great influence. I suppose they represent some shade of political opinion different from that of Mr Holden and his friends who are going to Washington but I understand they all agree on the main question of Union and Freedom.

J. M. Schofield
Maj Gen Comdg

77 col

From Joseph A. Cooper⁶

Headquarters 2^d Div. 23^d A.C.
Salisbury N.C. May 13^h 1865

His Excellency Andrew Johnson
President of the United States.

I have been looking around in this old State of your birth place, for men with whom you and myself, in common with other Union men, can act for the good of our country, and for a man whom I can recommend as a suitable person for Military Governor of North Carolina

I find in the person of the Hon. Nathaniel Boyden, the very person the very purest and soundest sentiments for the old flag.—and I have no doubts whatever of his sterling principles and fixed purposes for the restoration of this State to the Federal Union⁷

I feel sure the appointment of Mr. Boyden would meet the approbation of all good and true men

He is a man with whom you have served in Congress.

Please pardon me for making this suggestion, I feel it to be my duty as an American citizen.

Believe me your Excellency

Your old friend as ever.

Brig Gen vol's.

⁵ These men were summoned to Washington by President Johnson for a conference concerning the establishment of a provisional government in North Carolina. Upon their arrival the President showed them his proposed plan for the reconstruction of North Carolina. Bartholomew F. Moore objected on constitutional grounds, but the President did not yield. Upon invitation they went to the White House the following day. When they arrived, they found that William W. Holden and his party were there. The proposed proclamation of the President was submitted for discussion, but Moore, Eaton, and Swain declined to take any part in the conference and left the room with the President. Upon his return to the room, he found that Holden's name had been inserted on the proclamation as provisional governor of North Carolina. Apparently the President was pleased, but Swain advised Holden not to accept the appointment. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 106-107.

⁶ Joseph A. Cooper of Kentucky was commissioned colonel of the First Tennessee Infantry, August 8, 1861; colonel of the Sixth Tennessee Infantry, May 18, 1862; brigadier general of volunteers, July 30, 1864, and brevet major general, March 13, 1865, for gallantry and meritorious services in the battle at Nashville; was mustered out, January, 1866. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, I (1903), 326.

⁷ Nathaniel Boyden (1796-1873), a representative in Congress from North Carolina, was born in Massachusetts; served in the War of 1812; moved to Stokes County, North Carolina; taught school for several years; studied law and was admitted to the bar; was a member of the state house of commons in 1838 and 1840; moved to Salisbury in 1842 and continued to practice law; was elected as a Whig to the Thirtieth Congress (Mar. 4, 1847-Mar. 3, 1849); was a member of the state constitutional convention of 1865; was elected as a Republican to the Fortieth Congress, and served from July 13, 1868, to March 3, 1869; was elected as an associate justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina in 1872; and served until his death November 20, 1873. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress 1774-1927* (1928), 725.

From William W. Holden⁸

Office U.S. Military Telegraph.
War Department.

The following Telegram received at Washington, 12 05 P M.
May 14 1865.

From Raliegh NC May 13 1865.

His Excy

President Johnson

I have been unavoidably detained but will reach Washington by Thursday evening next—The condition of affairs in this state is cheering, A large majority of the people are delighted on immediate emancipation and are ready for civil, Government as soon as it can be conveniently established. Gen Schofield the Dept Commander is acting with wisdom and firmness and giving satisfaction to the true men. With High respect
56 col

Office U.S. Military Telegraph,
War Department.

The following Telegram received at Washington, 9 25 P M. May 15, 1865.

From Raleigh NC. May 15 1865.

The President U S.

Messrs Moore, Swaine & Eaton will start for Washn on Wednesday – Mr Holden started this morning –

J M Schofield
Maj Gen Comdg.

16 Collect

From Robert P. Dick and others⁹

Washington City.
May 26th. 1865.

His Excellency

Andrew Johnson,

President of the United States.

We the undersigned citizens of North Carolina, most cordially approving of your Excellency's plan for establishing civil authority in our State, and restoring her to her proper relations with

⁸ William W. Holden (1818-1892), political journalist and governor of North Carolina, was born in Orange County. He became a printer's devil at the age of ten, worked on the *Star*, the leading Whig newspaper in Raleigh, was in 1843 offered the *North Carolina Standard*, the leading Democratic paper, on condition that he become a Democrat, and during his editorship the editorials contained the most advance secession doctrine. He was a delegate to the Charleston and Baltimore conventions in 1860, refused to withdraw from the latter, and supported Breckinridge for President. At the secession convention of the state he voted for secession, supported Vance for governor in 1862, but broke with him and was a candidate for governor in 1864. After his appointment as the provisional governor of the state in May, 1865, he again swerved his political allegiance from the President to the radicals and supported the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment. In 1866-1867 he spent much time in Washington advising the radicals and working for the overthrow of the state government. With the support of the carpetbaggers he was elected governor in 1868 and his administration was one of corruption and incompetence, which resulted in his impeachment. His last public office was that of postmaster of Raleigh, 1873-1881. *Dictionary of American Biography*, IX, 138-140.

⁹ Robert P. Dick, J. P. H. Russ, W. R. Richardson, R. J. Powell, E. W. Jones, and W. S. Mason went to Washington with Holden and were present for his interview with the President on May 18, 1865. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 107n.

the government of the United States, would most respectfully recommend our fellow citizen William W. Holden Esq.^r as a Suitable person for the office of Provisional Governor, as we have the highest confidence in his firmness, integrity, and ability, and his devoted loyalty to the constitution and Union of the States; and we feel assured that he will be very acceptable to our people.

Robt. P. Dick
I.P.H. Russ
W.R. Richardson
W.S. Mason
Jno. G. Williams
R.J. Powell
E.W. Jones

From William W. Holden

Washington City, May 26, 1865

To His Excellency the President of the United States.

Sir: I would respectfully recommend William S. Mason, Esq. as a suitable person to be appointed District Attorney for the State of North Carolina. Mr. Mason is thoroughly loyal to the Constitution and the Union, and is well qualified for the office. His appointment would give general satisfaction in the State.

Very Respectfully

From William W. Holden

Washington City, May 26, 1865.

To His Excellency the President of the United States.

Sir: I would most respectfully recommend Robert P. Dick, Esq. for the office of Judge of District Court of the United States for North Carolina.¹⁰ Mr. Dick is thoroughly loyal to the Constitution and the Union, and is well qualified for the office; and I believe his appointment would be acceptable to the people of the State.

Very Respectfully,

From William W. Holden

Washington City, May 26, 1865.

To His Excellency the President of the United States.

Sir: I would most respectfully recommend W.R. Richardson,¹¹ Esq. for the office of Marshal for the District of North Carolina. Mr. Richardson is thoroughly loyal, and is well qualified for the office, and I believe his appointment would be acceptable to our people.

Very Respectfully

¹⁰ Robert P. Dick was one of the few Democrats selected to hold important offices in North Carolina under the provisional government, but he could not take the oath of office. The law which debarred him from taking office was not repealed, so after two months of waiting he resigned and became a provisional appointee. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 116.

¹¹ W. R. Richardson had been a candidate for a seat in the house of commons during the Civil War and he could not take the oath for officeholding required by law. See his letter of March 17, 1866, to President Johnson.

From William W. Holden

The following Telegram received at Washington, 12:45 M
June 14th 1865 from Raleigh June 13, 1865

His Excellency

A Johnson

Col D Heaton treasury agent is about removing a lot of Cotton belonging to this state at Graham Depot N C.¹² This cotton was not Captured prior to the surrender of Genl Johnston, Genl Schofield favors its restoration to the state but does not feel empowered so to order. I earnestly hope that none of the property owned by the state will be Claimed as forfeited to the United States. Enough of Payments can be collected to pay the Expenses of the provisional Government including the Convention & first meeting of the General Assembly. In view of the destitute condition of our people I beg you not to enforce confiscation of state property

Very Respy
Prov Govr.

From Zebulon B. Vance¹³

To his Excellency

Andrew Johnson

Pres't U.S. A.

Sir,

Some two weeks since I had the honour to address you a letter soliciting a personal interview with your excellency, which, as I have received no answer thereto, I concluded is disapproved.

I have now most respectfully to request that you will order my release from confinement, on my parole of honour to appear whenever & wherever required, to answer any charges which may be preferred against me.

I am, very respt'y
Yr Excellency
Obt Svt.

Carrol Prison

June 16th '65

¹² David Heaton (1823-1870) was born in Hamilton, Ohio; studied law and was admitted to the bar; was elected to the Ohio state senate in 1855; moved to Minnesota in 1857; was a member of the state senate of Minnesota from 1858 to 1863; was appointed special agent of the Treasury Department and the United States Depository in New Bern, North Carolina, in 1863, served in the House of Representatives in Congress from North Carolina from July 15, 1868, until his death on June 25, 1870. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, 1082.

¹³ Zebulon B. Vance (1830-1894), governor and senator, is best known for the part that he played in the Civil War. As governor he attempted to negotiate with General William T. Sherman when he approached Raleigh, but failed because he understood that he would be arrested. As a result he fled from Raleigh on April 12, 1865, to consult with President Jefferson Davis in Charlotte. The conference was unsatisfactory, and as a result he surrendered to General Schofield at Greensboro on May 2 and was directed to join his family in Statesville. By the order of President Johnson he was arrested on May 13, was sent to Washington, D. C., and was imprisoned in the Old Capitol Prison where he was held a prisoner until he was paroled on July 6. There seems to have been no official reason for his arrest or parole. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIX, 158-161.

From Harvey M. Watterson¹⁴

"Copy of Dispatch No 2"

Newbern N.C.
June 20th 1865

His Excellency
Andrew Johnson
President of the U.S.

Sir:

The complet in regard to the death of the Irishman's pig, might be appropriately employed in describing the downfall of Jeff Davis' Confederacy:

"When it live, it lived in clover;
When it died, it dies all over"

I find the same feeling here that universally prevailed in Virginia. No people were ever more thoroughly conquered and subdued. Point out to them the way that leads to amicable relations with the Government of the United States, and they will be certain to take it. Those persons to whom you have granted amnesty and pardon, are exceedingly thankful, and the few that I have seen of the excepted classes are quite hopeful. All disunion feeling, and every wish to establish a separate Southern Confederacy, have been pulverized by the War. If there be any thing like it in history, it has escaped my observation.

Not a great many of the old citizens, I am sorry to be obliged to say, are here; and turn which way you will a majority of the persons you see are negroes. It is estimated that there are of such persons, within a circle of twenty miles round Newberne, from forty to fifty thousand, and even higher. These have assembled, since the occupation of this region by the Federal forces, from various portions of the State. Many of them are without labor, and there is no demand sufficient to furnish them with employment. Some thousands of these negroes have heretofore been *rationed* by the Government, and it is apprehended that when this support is withdrawn plunder and robbery will ensue. So here is work, and plenty of it for the Superintendent of the Freedman's Bureau.

I feel that it is beyond the line of my duty to go into an argument on any subject. What you want are facts. Well - I give it to you as a fact that Newberne is now garrisoned by at least three thousand colored troops under the command of Gen. Payne - a militia man from Boston at the beginning of the war. I also give it to you as a fact that the citizens of this town are deeply impressed with the belief that they deserve no such punishment as Gen. Payne and his negro troops. That it is wholly unnecessary and very bad policy, there can be no question. Boston, today, is not more loyal than Newberne.

¹⁴ Harvey M. Watterson (1811-1891), editor and congressman from Tennessee, and other statesmen were appointed by President Johnson to visit the southern states and to report at length to him upon the conditions they found here. Watterson travelled from June to November, 1865, and made a series of reports of historical value today.

This Gen Payne superseded Gen J.N. Palmer, on the 6th of the present month.

The "Daily North Carolina Times," the only paper published here, and loyal to the core, in speaking of Gen Palmer, on the 16th inst said:

'The numerous friends of this worthy officer will be please to learn that he has been promoted to the rank of Major General. We trust that he may long live to enjoy the honor and dignity of the position thus conferred

'The General has been long and favorably known in this department as a man of kindness and moderation, and the former citizens of this community, those who have remained here as well as those who have recently returned to their homes, all so far as we have been able to learn, and we have mixed freely among them, speak of the highest praise of his sterling qualities and universally manifest a desire that he shall be permitted to remain with us until our troubles are over and civil law fully established.'

Whether General Palmer desires to remain here I do not know, but the Times has expressed the wishes of the pople, not only here, but of the whole State; and should be placed in command of the Department of North Carolina, there is no officer who would be more acceptable to her citizens, or who would more faithfully carry out the views of the Government. He is an old army officer, and an honor to his profession. Like yourself, too, he is for a white man's government, and in favor of free white citizens controlling this country.

I need not tell you that the Treasury agents who have lived and flourished, during the past two years, are not saints. It would be strange if some of them are not good men, but really it does seem that such are exceptions to the rule. If the history of their operations in the Southern States were correctly written out at length, surely they would never again have the impudence to hold up their head among honest men. I had my eye on a pretty bad case in this town (one Peter Lawson, of Lowell) which I intended to report to you, with specifications, but since I received your proclamation of the 13th inst, I deem it unnecessary. Peter's 'occupation' is now gone, and every honest man in this community is glad of it.

Last, though not least: when Newberne was captured by the Federal forces under Gen Burnside, in March, 1862, a large part of the population left their homes and went to the interior. The military, on its entry, and afterward the Treasury department, took possession of the abandoned property; and all the dwellings, plantations, and houses of business belonging to those who became refugees, are now either held by the Military, or are under the control of the Treasury agents. Most of the latter (that is what the Treasury controls) have been rented by the year; and the business houses, mills, wharfs, docks &c. are in

the possession of temporary tenants and inaccessible to the owners.

A large number of the old residents, since the termination of the War, have applied for the restoration of their property. The following letter from Gen Palmer will show [what has] been done about it:

Newberne, N.C.
June 20th 1865

Hon. H.M. Watterson
Newberne
My dear Sir.

In reply to your request to be informed what action has been taken by me while in command of this District to enable persons to avail themselves of the benefits of the President's amnesty proclamation I will state:

That whenever person made a respectful application for the restoration of property, I required them to show that they belonged to neither of the excluded classes, and if they had taken upon themselves all the obligations required, an order was at once issued which would secure to them the title to their property, and the possession of it as soon as it was no longer needed for any public purpose.

All the case were examined with great care, and nearly all the applicants were persons who had taken no active part in the Rebellion, but who had been dragged away from this place at the time of the capture, or who had been frightened away by the order of Gen Branch who ordered the place to be burned as soon as he saw that it must be captured.

Some seventy of these applications were examined and the order for the restoration in the greater part of these was made on the 3^d inst. On the 6th inst, however, I was released from the command of this District by Gen Payne, who brings with him such a large force that he may have found it necessary to retain all the buildings I had proposed to give up immediately.

Newberne in my opinion needs no large force. A few companies *near* the town would I think answer every purpose, but I have no desire to question the propriety of the acts of my superior officers. Were the matter left to me, however, I should consider it sound policy to clear the town of troops and let the people come back and get about their usual avocations.

I have understood that but few persons have been able as yet to obtain possession of their property. A good deal of it is in the possession of the Treasury agent, and what action is taken by his Department to comply with the Presidents order I cannot say.

I am, Sir very respectfully
Your Obt. Servant
J.N. Palmer
Br't Maj Gen Vols

I will simply add that, in my humble opinion, the sooner the views of Gen Palmer in regard to Newberne matters are carried

out, the better for this people, the better for the United States, and the better for the Administration.

I shall go up to Raleigh tomorrow, where I learn that Gov. Holden is getting long finely.

Your friend & Obt. Servant

From Harvey M. Watterson
Raleigh, N.C.
June 27th 1865

Mr President.

Learning that Gen Cox, in the morning, will set out for Washington, I avail myself of the opportunity to send you a line of friendship.

At Richmond, at Newberne, and at Raleigh, I have reason to know that I have done some service to the Administration by my representation of its *head*. I have often said in the right quarter that from two positions the Chases and Sumners would never drive the President: First, that the Southern States are in the Union, and have never been out: Second, that the suffrage question belongs to the States alone.

I will send you my report to-morrow, and the next day will leave for Wilmington

All is politically right in North Carolina
"Your friend

From William W. Holden
State of North Carolina,
Executive Department,
Raleigh, N.C., June 27th, 1865.

His Excellency
President of the United States—
Sir.

Allow me most respectfully to ask your favorable consideration of the accompanying petition.¹⁵ This Religious Sect in North

¹⁵ The petition of the Quakers is as follows:

"Petition"

"To Andrew Johnson, President of the United States"

"From the Meeting for Sufferings of North Carolina yearly meeting of Friends, held 19th of 6 mo 1865"

"We respectfully petition that members of the religious society of Friends be excused from taking the oath or affirmation prescribed for all citizens of those states which have been in rebellion against the United States Government."

"Our reasons are, first, that we believe said obligation, as to us, to be unnecessary, from the fact that our religion prevents us from ever placing ourselves in rebellion against the government under which we live, or from ever offering violent opposition to the execution of its laws. And accordingly, we do not know a single instance among the members of our Society, of any who were in favor of a rupture of the U. S. Government, or who were in favor of the war which was waged against it. On the contrary, we were much opposed thereto, and many of use suffered both in property and person rather than give any aid therein. Some were imprisoned for months, some were whipped on the bare back, suspended for hours by the thumbs and suffered other personal indignities and abuse; Some were kept for days (in two instance for five days and nights) without a particle of food or a drop of water—for refusing to take up arms. Their firmness and constancy, in this respect, were and are heartily approved by the whole body of the Society.—Hence for us, we believe said obligation to be unnecessary."

"Secondly, we have felt a scrupulous tenderness as to taking affirmations 'to defend' any government lest it may be construed that we could bear arms in its behalf—a practice in direct violation of one of our primary principles, and a principle which has characterized us for our Society from its very origin, now more than 200 years ago."

"If it should not meet the approbation of the President to release us entirely from said affirmation we ask that it may be so modified as not to violate our conscientious scruples."

"Signed by direction and on behalf of the meeting aforesaid."

Nereus Mendenhall, Clk.

Carolina, have been true and faithful union men during the rebellion.

The oath of Amnesty is "faithfully to support, protect and defend" the Constitution. They fear this may mean to defend by arms, therefore, they desire,

First to be excused from having to take this Oath. Second; if any oath of allegiance be required of them that it may be the one prescribed by North Carolina Statutes, namely, " I do solemnly and sincerely declare and affirm, that I will truly and faithfully demean myself as a peaceful citizen of North Carolina: that I will be subject to the powers and authorities, that are or may be established for the good government thereof, not inconsistent with the constitution of the said State and the constitution of the United States, either by yielding an active or passive obedience thereto, and that I will not abet or Join the enemies of this State, by any means, in any conspiracy whatever, against the said State; that I will disclose and make known to the legislature, executive or judicial powers of the said State, all treasonable conspiracies, which I shall know to be made or intended against the said State."

Third: If neither of these requests can be granted that it may be stated by authority in the Newspapers that when Quakers take the Oath of Amnesty it is not expected that they bind themselves to defend the Government with arms.

I am most Respectfully
Your Obedient Servant.

From William W. Holden

State of North Carolina,
Executive Department,
Raleigh , N.C., June 29 , 1865.

To His Excellency the President.

Sir: You will find herewith a letter from Judge Dick in relation to the oath he is requested to take to qualify him for his office. Allow me to invite your careful attention to his letter . Mr. Mason, the District Attorney, is in a similar situation. If it be at all possible I would be greatly gratified to see it so arranged that these gentlemen could fill these places. The oath required is, it is true, the law of the land, but it seems to have been framed for a state of war, and not of peace. This State is now at *peace* with the federal union and with the world. If such men are to be deprived of the right to hold office, it will be difficult to fill the federal offices in this state with any but strangers.

I need not add more. Judge Dick and Mr. Mason are warmly attached to the administration and to you personally, and they are anxious to occupy positions in which they can most effectively serve the administration and the country.

Very respectfully,

From Robert P. Dick

Raleigh N C
June 29th 1865

His Excellency, Andrew Johnson.
President of the United States.
Sir.

Gov Holden has just informed me that the difficulty in relation to my qualifying as Judge of the U.S. District, Court, – has not, – and in the opinion of the cabinet, cannot be removed.– I greatly desired the position, as it would be an endorsement by you of my fidelity to the Government of the United States.– If the appointment in any way embarrasses you in the discharge of your official duties, let it be withdrawn as I am willing to make any sacrifice for the public good

I deeply regret the difficulty as my removal from office will seriously injure me in public opinion, as it will be regarded as a disapproval of my past political course by your administration.– My appointment is generally known throughout the state and universally approved of by loyal men.– I have been opposed to secession all of my life.– I took an active and prominent position against the rebellion. I have never for a moment either expected or desired the success of the Confederate Government.– I held office under the state government, but not for the purpose of aiding the rebellion, but to try and assist in– extricating my state from the impending ruin of treason. I have always loved the Union, and ever desired to see it restored, and I have constantly labored (indirectly) to that end. I could not throw myself in *direct* opposition to the overwhelming torrent of rebellion without losing my life. For four years I have endured proscription and persecution, in church, society, and state, and I have ever fought as good a fight against treason as was possible for any one to do *and live*. If I cannot hold office in North Carolina no one else can, who remained at home in the midst of the storm. – Those who left may have shown *loyalty*, but they exhibited little true courage.– If I cannot hold office, then every federal appointment must be made from the Northern States Nine tenths of our people are earnestly desirous of returning to the Union with their whole soul,–but foreign tax gatherers and northern judicial officers will necessarily greatly try their patience and retard the restoration of genuine fraternal feeling

There is no northern man.–who has not entered the army,– who has endured more for the union than I have– or who has *loved* it with a deeper and prouder affection

My *loyal people* know this and they were rejoiced when they heard that I had received the endorsement and approval of the President of the United States.–

There are many difficulties yet a head. I have given up a hundred slaves– my *whole estate*.– cheerfully and cordially because the peace and quietude of the country demanded it.– I have entered the field for immediate and complete emancipation.–

I shall sustain with my whole strength your policy for I am satisfied that it is the wisest and best course that can be adopted.— I want to elevate the negro as rapidly as possible by education and christian influences, and I want to see him kindly and generously treated.— I fully approve of your position on the question of negro suffrage.—

As Judge of this district I could exert a wholesome influence upon our people, which cannot be done by a foreigner.—

I do sincerely trust that some way can be derived by which genuine North Carolina men can hold the federal offices in this state.— Suspicion and rebellion have destroyed nearly all of the property of a people who, at least, have ever been loyal to the union of their fathers, — and I do hope that a great and unanimous government will not *long make* them feel the humiliation of subjugation in seeing foreign *tax gatherers* “sitting at the receipt of customs”.— and strange judges administering *law and equity*. —

But let this matter end as it may, be assured that I am the firm and steadfast friend of your administration, as I sincerely believe that you will do all you can for our *loved* and common country

Your kindness to me while in Washington will ever be remembered as one of the most pleasant recollections of my life.— With the best wishes for you and yours— I am with high regard

Your true friend & servant

From Lewis P. Olds¹⁶

Raleigh N. Carolina June 29 1865

Hon^d Sir,

Having in mind the construction of a Poem arising mainly out of the present state of affairs, in reference to the more general tide of Progress in all Humanizing Institutions and effort; and the framework necessarily including your connection therewith I find it impossible to proceed without such allusion as would at once be taken as referring to the great and interesting part you are, in the order of Providence, most surely conducting in the eventful drama.

I need not promise that my allusions to your connexion with the History of the Times would be of the most adulatory character; for upon the theory whereon the Poem rests: viz The Progress of the Idea of Republican Institution, or technically. “The Star of Empire—” necessarily implies ; your very material aid to the Cause of Freedom.

The Poem will be long and varied running through Past ages, and *prospectively* the Future also, the Idea elaborated being that Involuntary servitude every where must give place to Liberty,

¹⁶ Lewis P. Olds was the son-in-law of William W. Holden. The governor made efforts to place Olds in a position of trust. He was unsuccessful in having him nominated for the office of attorney general of North Carolina, but he was able to have the presidency of the University of North Carolina tendered him. Olds was unfit for the position and declined to accept. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 493-494, 529-530n, 537, 624.

and hence *our* country. The Spanish Colonies; Africa itself, every spot must be purified from the noxious influence, and further, (and here lies the chief thought) ,— That Civil Liberty as begin[n]ing to be perfected here, will overturn and overturn till all else will succumb and Kingdoms, autocracies and the like, be done away, and in all this Progress, the part we as Americans take is not necessarily *coercive*, but that time prepares, and the Great Idea now exhibited in the U. States — shall be restive under all Illiberal restraints.

I am afraid these lines trespass upon your valued time, but you will doubtless discover my drift, and your more lofty and true conception will quickly enable you to see my desire to allude to your administration when discoursing on such absorbing topic.

I ask your permission to make such allusions as the piece dictates (should my health allow its completion

Very Respectfully

From Harvey M. Watterson

Dispatch No 3

Raleigh, N. C.
June 29th 1865

His Excellency
Andrew Johnson
President of the U.S.
Sir.

I had myself but an imperfect idea, when I left Washington, of the extent to which the Southern people were subjugated. I feared that a rebellious spirit animated the hearts of thousands. Be assured that my visit to Virginia and North Carolina has dispelled all my apprehension on that point. I have talked with quite a number of gentlemen of every shade of politics, since my advent into this state and city, and they all concur in the sentiment— that the Rebellion has been ground into impalpable powder. None can be found so insane as to think of further resistance to the authority of the United States.

North Carolina, like Tennessee, was literally dragged into the Rebellion, and I feel a lively sympathy for the great body of her citizens. The old secession leaders see that they are politically ruined, and all I have to say to that is— God be praised. Never again, even if inclined, will they be able to mislead their neighbors.

Gov Holden is progressing with the great work before him about as rapidly and as satisfactorily as any mortal man could well do. He is a calm, clear headed, systematic, laborious gentleman; and I can bear testimony to the kindness and courtesy he displays in his official intercourse with every body. The admirable traits in his character are fast removing any prejudices that may have been engendered against him by the terrible conflict through which we have just passed. The general idea prevailing here is— and in that idea I fully concur— that you could not have

made a better selection for provisional governor of North Carolina. I doubt, all things considered, whether you could have made as good. I think he is the very man for the business. In the work of reconstruction, he has already appointed Magistrates in about 55 counties out of 85. These Magistrates, I need not inform you, will organize the counties and re-establish civil law. Out of these he is choosing special Boards, of the best men, to administer the amnesty oath to the people. These Boards he says, will sift the wheat from the chaff. None but loyal men will be allowed to vote or hold office.

Gov Holden says that on account of the immense area of territory, in the western part of the State, and the want of mails, the work of re-organization cannot proceed as rapidly as he desires. He hopes, however, that by the beginning of next year, he will have all the machinery of state government in complete operation.

I take it for granted that the Post Master General will, as soon as he can, give mail facilities to North Carolina. She is greatly in need of them. A mail should be at once established, if possible, to every county town, at least.

Gov Holden says that there are many persons in the western part of the State who ought to be pardoned, but without mails, it will require much time to send their petitions and get answers.

There is much complaint that property belonging to persons who have been restored to their rights by the amnesty proclamation, is still held by Treasury agents. Gov Holden thinks, and so do I, that an order to place such persons in possession would be hailed with gratitude, and would add at once to the prosperity of Newberne, Wilmington, and other towns.

Gov Holden is confident that, within the next four or six weeks, the county police or militia will be organized. He thinks, after that organization is perfected, and I fully concur with him, it will not be necessary to keep many troops in the State.

The appointment of Magistrates or Justices in the counties, about 3,500 in all, and of Mayor and Commissioners of towns, will go far to promote order and obedience to law. This work is nearly accomplished.

You can scarcely have an idea of the present poverty of these people. I mean, specially, their want of ability to raise money. As a humane man I must be permitted to say that, if it be at all possible, let the collection of the Federal tax be suspended for a time. The people *generally* are *not* able to pay it. When they are, I am well assured, they will do it cheerfully.

Hon Kenneth Rayner, with whom we both served in Congress, has just left my room.¹⁷ He read me his petition to you for a

¹⁷ Kenneth Rayner (c.1810-1884) served in the North Carolina legislature and in Congress from 1839 to 1845, and in 1848 he came near receiving the nomination for vice-president instead of Fillmore. Rayner broke with the North Carolina Whigs in 1860, but he eventually favored secession. In 1863, however, he secretly joined the peace movement led by Holden, and in 1865 he espoused the reconstruction policy of President Johnson. The next year he wrote anonymously the *Life and Times of Andrew Johnson*. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XV, 416-17.

special pardon. Notwithstanding its length I trust that you will find time to read it. It is so true, so sincere, and so manly, that I regard it as a model paper.

I shall set out in the morning for Wilmington, highly pleased with my first visit to Raleigh.

Your friend & Obt Svt
H. M. Watterson

From Kenneth Rayner

Raleigh No. Carolina—
July 8— 1865.—

His Excellency,

Andrew Johnson,
President U.States

Dear Sir,

My application for relief, under the Amnesty proclamation, was filed in Gov. Holden's office, a few days ago. I am aware, that owing to the very great number of these petitions, it is impossible for your Excellency to read any more than a small portion of them. As suggested to me by Hon. H.M. Wat[t]erson and also by Gov. Holden, you will probably read those only, from persons who may have been prominent in the politics of their States heretofore; or who may be personally, or by character, known to your Excellency. Having had the honor of serving with you in the Congress of the U. States 1843-'45— I hope your Excellency will pardon the liberty I take, in requesting that you will read over my application when it reaches Washington. It is longer than I could have wished it to be; but on reading it over to Mr. Wat[t]erson, he advised me to forward it Just as it was; and he was kind enough to speak of it as an interesting paper, which did credit to me &c &c.—

Having so long been such an enthusiastic, ardent, and uncompromising union-man having so long and so laboriously fought the battles of the union, against secessionists and agitators — having been denounced and oppressed (as in the case) for my strong unionism, in times past — I really feel that it is a duty I owe myself, to try and have my position thoroughly understood by your Excellency. I claim to have been, not only not opposed to the union— but I claim to have been for 20 years, an active, vigilant, and devoted advocate of the Union. I have paid the penalty of my devotion to the Union. So strong and unquieting was I, in my Union sentiments, that my loyalty to the South was suspected; and I have many times heard of my being publicly denounced in the Southern States by fire-eating secessionists *as an Abolitionist*.

I have taken the liberty to forward to your Excellency — for **which I hope you will pardon me**— copies of a couple of addresses delivered by me; one before the graduating class at West Point; the other before the N.C. State Agricultural Society, at their annual fair. These will show what have been my long-cherished

sentiments in the past.— I also forward to you, some copies of the "Standard," with leading Editorials, written by myself. These will show what are my views and feelings at present.

The most perfect quiet order and calmness prevail throughout this State at the present time. There is not the least possible chance of any further outbreak or disturbance. The collapse is as thorough, overwhelming, and complete — as was the tornado feeling that swept over the South in 1861, dethroning reason, and upsetting the old land marks of public opinion.

Your Excellency can have no conception of the utter and absolute poverty of the people of the Southern States. There is no money here, literally none. I have conversed with a great many federal officers of the army, who are very difficult to be convinced, that there are no large quantities of gold here, in the South, hoarded by individuals. There never was a greater mistake. There is scarcely any gold in the South. The wealthiest men— the most sagacious business men, strange to say — were left at the close of the war without a Dollar. The many fectitious demands for specie, during the war have carried all the gold out of the country and thus all the monied wealth of the South was represented by by hundreds of millions of worthless "Confederate" papers.— Nor do I see how we are to get any money in the State. The amount of Cotton, tobacco, naval-stores &c now on hand (the articles that heretofore brought money in the State) is a mere trifle. None of those articles have been made during the war; and the stock on hand at the beginning of the war has been continually decreasing, till it has dwindled down to a very small affair. No cotton tobacco or rice is being grown this year; so that our future financially and pecuniarily, is dark enough.—

In regard to the land-tax of 1861, I assure you, I am sustained in my opinion universally (not having conversed with one who differs with me) — that our people cannot pay it. The money is not in the State to pay it with. There are no Banks to lend, and if there were no one could borrow, with any hope or prospect of paying the instalments as they become due. I assure your Excellency, you would confer a great boom on our people by extending the time for the collection of this tax. If the collection of the tax is enforced now, a very large portion — I believe the larger portion — of the land in the State must be sold to raise the money. If they are thus sold, they will sell for almost nothing; for almost every body is anxious to sell, & no one wishes to buy.

I assure your Excellency, I am not exaggerating, when I speak of the utter poverty of the Southern people. I think history presents no parallel to it, among civilized men.— I am resolved that I will be hopeful as to the future — relying as I do and the energy and enterprise, and adaptability of our people; but for the present, during our transition state, we have difficulties of no ordinary magnitude, to encounter. To meet these difficulties in the right way, and with the proper spirit, will require the most

patient forbearance and christian fortitude of our people, and the most calm and sagacious consideration of our statesmen.

Gov. Holden is progressing successfully in the reorganization of the State Government. In the discharge of his duties, he is giving general satisfaction; and I think the common sentiment of our people is, that all loyal and conservative men should rally around and sustain him in his laborious duties, towards the restoration of law and order.

And as to your Excellency, I beg to be allowed to say – that the feelings of our people towards you, are those of confidence and hope. The calm and the considerate are your warmest and earnest friends. They fully appreciate the difficulties of your position, in adjusting and harmonizing those conflicting interests and jarring discords, necessarily resulting from four long years of bloody strife. Firmness of purpose and devotion to principle, are awarded to your Excellency by public opinion, generally. Your friends feel every confidence, that if the people – the whole people North and South – will do justice to your motives, and duly appreciate the many conflicting circumstances that must in the nature of things, regulate your actions – you will very soon rally around you a party (no, I will not say party, but a brotherhood) of honest and patriotic men that will defy all the carpings of the factions, and all the intriguers of vicious political aspirants. Judging from my own feelings in regard to the matter, and from what I observe in reflecting men generally. I entertain the confident hope we shall [have] no such thing as political parties, for eight years, at least. Our government and country may be regarded as having just entered on a new state of existence. As it was, during the eight years of Washington's administration – when the country was in its infancy – so, for the next years to come, there should be no organized parties. There should be but the one party of patriotism, of freedom, of the development and progress of our free institutions. We have heard a great deal of "second Washington" &c. – This has generally been the language of fulsome flattery; or of honest attachment for admired Statesmen. But in fact and in truth, he who may safely and successfully navigate the ship of state for the next-eight years, will go down to history as having some claim to the title of second Washington indeed. If, in the providence of God, one should be the chosen instrument to accomplish this great end – thus as I have said elsewhere, "your name will be historic, as the founder and re-invigorator of your republican institutions."

Again I must beg pardon for annoying your Excellency with this long letter. I have written freely, but honestly and sincerely. I think it the duty of all men in the South, who have been prominent in political life – who are observant men – and who wish well to your administration – to give to your Excellency their views and impressions, as to the present condition and future prospects of the Southern people.

The people of the Southern States look up to, and appeal to your Excellency, for leniency and forbearance, in their present depressed and unhappy condition. No sensible Southern man expects you to ignore or disregard the feelings and sentiments of the Northern people resentful as they may be towards the South. All we can expect or hope for is, that time and reflections may soften and allay the acerbity of Northern feeling; and that a correct understanding of the condition of the Southern people, may bring the Northern mind to the opinion expressed to me a short time since by a General office of the U.S. army viz: that "The South had been punished enough."

With profound respect,
Your obedt. Servt.-

From Harvey M. Watterson

"Copy of Dispatch No 4"

Wilmington, N.C.
July 8 1865

"His Excellency
Andrew Johnson
President of the U.S.
Sir,

It is hardly necessary for me to say to you that, in the estimation of these people, the Rebellion has been utterly annihilated. Many are glad of it. Those who are not, submit about as gracefully as badly whipped men can well do. They say- and I believe them to be sincere- that they have had enough of war to last them the remainder of their days; and if another rebellion takes place - so far as they are concerned - it will have to come from the North

This town, like Newberne, is garrisoned by a brigade of negro troops. This may be for the best, but I do not believe it. I deem it unnecessary to add another word on this subject - having no doubt that you are well informed in regard to all such matters.

The Postmaster, Collector of the Port &c, recently appointed for Wilmington, are all good men. There is some question, however, whether they can take the oath required. Nobody doubts that they are and have been all the while good union men; but like nearly everybody in North Carolina, from 17 to 55 years of age, they may have, in some form or other, been mixed up with the Rebellion

I stayed in Raleigh a week longer than I intended at the date of my dispatch from that city. It being the capital of the State, I had an opportunity of making the acquaintance and talking with gentlemen from nearly every part of the State. I feel that I have pretty thoroughly canvassed North Carolina; and I can say to you with confidence that her future loyalty is as certain as that of any State in the Union. The original secessionists are surely all dead, or have fled to parts unknown; for I am yet to

find the first man who is willing to admit that he belonged to that class of politicians!

Hailing from the President's own State, many have sought my acquaintance. In every instance you formed a large share of the conversation. Of course I was at home on that subject, and rest assured that I have done it ample justice. You know, and I know, what you have done for the Southern people since your inauguration, and I never fail to detail all that – act by act. In the single item of cotton – I mean your abolishment of the enormous tax upon it– you have generously surrendered to the South at least fifty million of dollars. I say to these people, suppose Chase, or Sumner, or even Hannibal Hamlin were President, think you that the last farthing of this iniquitous tax would not be collected? All assent to this interrogation proposition, and they at once begin to realize the pleasing fact that they have a friend instead of an enemy in the Presidential chair

When I meet a gentleman disposed to complain, because the President dont do this, or does do that, I say to him– Sir, if the President were at once to do all you desire, it would be a sad day's work for the South. And why? Because it would array against him an overwhelming majority in both branches of Congress, and thus render him utterly powerless to help the South. No, no, my friend, you had better let the President go on in his own way. He understands perfectly what he is doing, and all will be right in the end. This view of the subject generally satisfies the party He has never thought of it before.

Permit me to assure you that your Administration is growing daily in the confidence of the people of North Carolina. The position that you are now understood to occupy in regard to negro suffrage, is more than any thing else doing the work. I have been sometimes asked if I thought the President would stand firm on this question. Stand firm, I would reply, when was Andrew Johnson ever known to be driven from a political position deliberately taken. I would then give the person a mess of Tennessee politics.

It is clear to my mind that you are to have a war with the friends of Chase, who is evidently a candidate for the next Presidency, and expects to be elected on the issue of negro suffrage. Let it come –the sooner the better for your Administration and the better for the country. You will whip them to death. I will here repeat what I said to you in Washington. These agitation constitute one wing of the concern that brought on the late terrible war. The Southern wing has already been crushed, and the victory will never be complete till the Northern wing is put *hors de combat*. Then and not till then will the country have repose

I am very anxious to get out of this place, for it is very sickly. There is a fever raging here and it is said to have become an epidemic. If I can not get a government transport for Savannah within the next two days, I will be forced to go back to Fortress

Monroe for one. In that event I think I will run up to Washington you may wish to change my programme

Your friend & obt. svt

From William H. Holden

(Copy)

State of North Carolina,
Executive Dept.
Raleigh, N.C, July 15, 1865.

To the Mayor & Commr's of the Town of Wilmington.

Gentlemen,

Your communication of the 12th inst., concerning the conduct of colored people of your Town, and your apprehension of an insurrection, has been received, and forwarded to Maj. Gen.¹ Ruger commanding the Department of North Carolina, with an Earnest appeal to him to take the matter immediately into his consideration, and with a request that he would at once arm the "Police Guard of New Hanover County and also furnish you with arms and ammunition, for such town Guard as you might think proper to organize.¹⁸

You have acted right in not appointing any of the colored people to office. The right to hold office depends upon the right of suffrage, and that is to be settled hereafter by the state Government, as provided for by the Proclamation of the President.

If the colored people shall attempt by armed force, to obtain control of public affairs, or to avenge any supposed wrongs or grievances at the hands of the whites, they will be visited with swift and condign punishment.

The colored people are now free, and will be protected and respected as long as they are obedient to the laws, but if they

¹⁸ The memorandum is in the same handwriting as the letter in which it was sent to President Johnson.
(Copy)

Ordered by the Commissioners of the Town of Wilmington, that, whereas on the 2nd day of their administration, Paul Mc Greal, Esq., the Chief of Police of this town, while in the discharge of his official duties was arrested by colored troops and taken before the Provost Marshal, for no offence, but that he had a pistol attached to his person, which weapon, he has constantly carried by the consent of the commanding officers, hitherto stationed at this Post, and, whereas, the commissioners consider such arrest an indignity, not only to said chief of Police, but to the civil government of this town, and an act which unless publicly rebuked, will (will) greatly tend to lessen the influence and authority of the Commissioners & their officers even the colored population of this town and be productive of much trouble, Therefore, His honor, the Mayor is requested and instructed to communicate to Bvt. Brig. Genl. Duncan, Commanding, the circumstances of said arrest in all its minutiae, and request him to cause such punishment as the case demands to be administered to the offenders; and further that he will issue such orders as will effectually prohibit any further interference with the civil authorities of this town, when in the discharge of their legitimate functions.

Ordered, further, that the Mayor communicate to Lt. Col. J. W. Donnellan, that Gen. Order no 12, issued by him July 24, 1865, or so much, thereof, in the words following viz: "In Order to secure and preserve good feeling and harmony between the civil & military authorities, all officers in the command of detachments, as well as Regional commanders will exercise the utmost care to keep their men within the bounds of their proper camps and quarters. Especially will those officers whose detachments are within th city limits exert themselves to prevent their lounging and idling about the streets, a practice totally unfitting and unbecoming a soldier, is in a great measure disregarded; that soldiers not on duty are constantly in the streets, and particularly are they in practice of lounging about the market place, and that the Mayor represent the positive necessity of a strict compliance with the order refered to, and insist upon the Enforcement of its requirements."

resist the laws and shed blood, they must abide by the consequences.

Very Respectfully,
Your obedt. servt.

From William W. Holden

Office U.S. Military Telegraph,
War Department.

The following Telegram received at Washington, 9 00 P M. July 17 1865.

From Raleigh July 17 1865.

Prest of the U S

Sir

I have appointed about three thousand Magistrate[s] & Mayors & Commissioners for all the towns county courts have been organized & I am now prepared to issue a proclamation for a convention I will write you at length by a special messenger in the course of a few days I desire your approval of a plan for administering the amnesty oath to the people of the state & also your approval of my proclamation before it is issued I will send them with my letter I think a convention could be assembled on the tenth day of October it could be called sooner but in so important a matter I think I ought to proceed deliberately & carefully Please ans so that I may know this has been received

From William W. Holden

State of North-Carolina
Executive Department.
Raleigh, N.C., July 24, 1865.

To the President

Sir: I send herewith a proof-sheet of the Proclamation I propose to issue for a Correction. I could have prepared it ten days ago, but for indisposition, which continues, and which has somewhat unavoidably retarded public business. Please examine the proof-sheet, make such corrections as you may deem necessary, and hand on to Mr. Mason or Dr. Powell, to be returned to me. I had thought of several plans for administering the amnesty oath to the people, and the plan adopted in the Proclamation seem to be the best. It would not be safe to confide this power to all the Justices, though I believe they are all loyal, yet there are weak men among them, and persons would be qualified to vote who ought not to be.

If the Convention should assemble on the 2^d of October the Constitution could be altered and submitted to the people by the 20th November;¹⁹ and then, in anticipation of the ratification of the Constitution by the people, the Convention could provide

¹⁹ In accordance with the plans of Holden and President Johnson the convention met in Raleigh on October 2 and Judge Edwin G. Reade was unanimously elected president. In this body there were few men who had favored secession. With these there were many who had favored the peace movement during the war. They were unanimous in their desire to restore the state to the Union. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 120-121.

for the election of Governor and members on the 15th or 20th December, so that the new or regular government could be inaugurated on the 1st January 1866.²⁰

I have thought it best to begin at the foundation and build upwards. We now have 3,500 Magistrates, Mayors and Commissioners in the towns, with police, with Sheriffs and Constables in the Counties. The civil power is now felt in every neighborhood in the State; and the result is, as a general rule, that the people are submissive and quiet, and looking anxiously to the time when the State will be restored to her relations with the government. In addition to this heavy labor, (for the antecedents at present disposition of every man appointed had to be ascertained,) I have had to see the reorganization of the Banks and the Railroads. This latter work is well nigh accomplished, and these corporations will pass from the hands of traitors into the hands of loyal men.

Many of the oligarches are still unsubdued I think it is a good plan to hold their pardon in suspense, and, whether their estates are to be confiscated or not, they ought not to be allowed to vote for twelve months to come. But I find, what is a little singular, that the ultra original secessionists who profess to have repented, appear to be really more penitent than the ulter partizans of Vance who were once Union men. By the way, it would not be a good policy to extend a pardon to Vance for sometime to come. Your administration is very popular in North Carolina, but there are indications on the part of some of the oligarchs and the old Whig leaders to concoct opposition. A firm discreet use of the pardoning power and the patronage of the government will contribute greatly to keep them down, and thus preserve tranquility and order in the State.

The amount, \$7,000 broght by Mr. Treasurer North, will probably be enough to defray the expenses of my office until the regular government is established. We shall be able I think, to realize several hundred thousand dollars from the cotton and rosin you were kind enough to allow us.

My health is very feeble, and I have written this while suffering pain.

I am rejoiced to learn that your health has been restored. May your valuable life long be spared to your friends and your country.

With high respect,

²⁰ In a letter written on October 14, 1865, and signed by fifty-three members of the convention, Governor Holden was requested to be a candidate for governor in the approaching election held on November 9. The outcome was most disappointing to Holden and his friends because Jonathan Worth received a majority of 5,937 out of a total vote of approximately 60,000. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 133-139.

From Jane Johnson

Raleigh N.C.
Aug. 2. 1865.

To

Andrew Johnson

President of the United States

The undersigned is the widow of Jesse Johnson, your uncle, who has been dead seven years. I have three children, a girl 14 years old, a boy 10 years old, and a girl 8 years old: they are all rather feeble and incapable of assisting me. I am very poor, have no home of my own and no means of support. Dr. Fabius Haywood of this city, has been very kind to me and my children, and has done us much service; he gave me permission to use his house at an old tan-yard as long as I chose; but even this has been seized and by the military authority turned over to Messrs Heim, Kline & Grausman. I am now ordered to leave the premises, I cannot procure another house, and I see no way but to go into the Street. Your friends here thought if the case was presented to you, that you would assist me in some way. I hope you can in Some way aid me and my children, so that at least we can have a home

I am yours very respectfully

[To be continued]

BOOK REVIEWS

A North Carolina Naturalist, H. H. Brimley: Selections from his Writings. Edited by Eugene P. Odum. (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press. 1949. Pp. xvi, 205. \$3.50.)

This volume provides informative and refreshing reading for either the layman or the professional naturalist. Each of the selections is complete within itself, whether it tells a tale of deer hunting or gives an account of assembling a whale skeleton. H. H. Brimley was able to paint very vivid word pictures of his experiences both in poetry and prose. Sometimes with the penetrating inquisitiveness of the scientist, sometimes with the light touch of the humorist, he was able to convey his deep interest in the study and the conservation of our game and fish resources.

The selections are grouped into six parts, each part treating one phase of the many activities of this highly respected naturalist. Each of the six parts undoubtedly could have been lengthened into an individual book that would have made interesting reading. The varied subjects, however, become a complete unit within the covers of a single volume bound together by the editorial comments which preface each section in the book. The editor's notes lend additional insight into the man, Brimley, as well as provide a certain amount of chronology lending continuity to the manuscript.

In addition editor Odum, as a preface to the entire volume, gives a well written, brief, and accurate account of the life of Brimley. As curator of the North Carolina State Museum for many years, Brimley was responsible, perhaps more than any other man in North Carolina, for instilling the true concepts of conservation into many a budding naturalist. His influence was felt not only in North Carolina but throughout the South and even over the entire United States.

It is certainly fitting, therefore, that choice selections of the writings of H. H. Brimley be assembled within one volume, and as such it has definite value, both historical and scientific. The job of editing has been well done. Anyone with an interest in the out-of-doors should find this book well worth reading.

John D. Findlay.

State Game and Fish Commission,
Nashville, Tennessee.

Nationalism and Sectionalism in South Carolina, 1852-1860: A Study of the Movement for Southern Independence. By Harold S. Schultz. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1950. Pp. x, 259. Illustrations and index. \$4.50.)

Why did South Carolina take the lead in the secession movement of 1860? In an admirable study of political leadership and party alignments in South Carolina, 1852-1860, Mr. Schultz traces the steadily mounting forces leading to the ultimate triumph of the extremists in the state. First, however, he describes the political situation in 1852, seeking in the heritage of the nullification conflict and of the secession movement of 1850 an explanation of South Carolina's advanced position among the southern states. To the politicians of the 1850's "state rights" and "resistance" to federal encroachments had long been familiar slogans. Calhoun's domination of the state for twenty years had left South Carolina broken into political factions, with no leader powerful enough to unify public opinion. After failure to achieve disunion in 1850 through lack of coöperation from other southern states, South Carolina extremists bided their time, knowing that the moderates of South Carolina and the other cotton states would join them the moment they considered slavery direfully threatened by the federal government.

Monographic studies by Boucher, Hamer, White, and others have described in detail the political upheavals of 1832 and 1850-1852 and have briefly outlined certain developments of the ensuing decade, such as the rise of the National Democrats. Biographies have traced the role played by leading South Carolina secessionists and unionists from nullification through the Civil War. But it has been left for Mr. Schultz to write an analytical account of the secession movement *per se*. Taking up the threads of the abortive movement of 1850-1852 and weaving them into a connected narrative, he has covered year by year the reaction of South Carolina factions to national political issues. From reluctant "acquiescence" in the compromise in 1852 the pendulum swings toward nationalism when South Carolina joins the National Democrat party in 1856, only to swing back gradually to sectionalism in 1857; thereafter events and realignments play into the hands of the extremists. The final chapter, "In-

surgency, 1860," shows the culmination of the plan tenaciously striven for by the extremists after 1852.

The central theme in South Carolina politics in the decade of the 1850's, according to the author, is the slavery issue. Certainly so far as issues may be adjudged by avowed expression, fear of the antislavery movement was the paramount cause of South Carolina's secession. Mr. Schultz's interpretation is bolstered by innumerable quotations from source materials. He has spared no labor in delving into South Carolina legislative journals, Congressional records, personal correspondence, and contemporary newspapers to ascertain the views of public men. His findings are presented in a series of maps, tables, and graphs, which, in the opinion of this reviewer, are the most original and valuable contribution of the book. The thirty districts of South Carolina are divided into three groups according to the proportion of slaves to population. Then, by a careful analysis of votes of representatives from these groups on pertinent resolutions in the legislature from 1855 to 1860, the author shows that disunion sentiment was strongest in the districts having the highest proportion of slaves.

Mr. Schultz's findings as a whole corroborate those of previous writers on South Carolina political history. But it is in his unifying of the whole South Carolina secession movement, his marshaling of facts, and his judicious conclusions that he has contributed an important chapter to the history of the South. Certain opinions of former writers he has modified in the light of additional research. For instance, he considers the National Democrats weaker than previously estimated, and Orr a party politician rather than a leader of the state. On the other hand, he depicts the irreconcilables, or separate secessionists, as more influential in the party realignments after 1856, finally converting the wavering to their long-held beliefs that the anti-slavery party was destined to dominate the federal government. Secession after Republican victory in 1860 was the result.

Lillian A. Kibler.

Converse College,
Spartanburg, S. C.

The Direct Primary in Georgia. Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, volume XXX, no. 4. By L. M. Holland. (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press. 1949. Pp. 125.)

This work describes the origin of the direct primary as a device for escaping the Bourbon control of the Democratic party organization during the 'seventies. Major features of its subsequent development have been the formulating of devices for handling the Negro vote and the constant factionalism growing out of the numerous personal machines of outstanding leaders. First used at the county level, the primary has tended to state-wide proportions under the joint and sometimes conflicting sponsorship of the Democratic party and the General Assembly.

Professor Holland has examined considerable materials on his subject in newspapers, official publications, and edited collections. To the brief train of events already laid down in general treatments his work adds useful summaries of party rules and outlines of state laws. Although seventeen weekly newspapers are included in the bibliography, local and personal materials are overshadowed by references to "them lying newspapers" at Atlanta and Macon.

The work is entirely too restricted to include sufficient interpretation and analysis. Clashes of personalities are reduced to objective statements of fact, except for the "unprecedented action" taken at intervals by individuals or groups to keep themselves in control of the party machinery. Arguments for and against the various changes made by party conventions and the General Assembly are virtually ignored. Likewise, evaluations of the rules and regulations in terms of effect on the political life of the state are negligible, though there is a fairly constant attitude of condemnation for demagoguery on the one hand and close ring control on the other. The author would have turned out a better book if he had occasionally laid aside his mantle of objectivity and presented a vigorous picture of things as they are against a background of his conception of things as they should be. Rather than exercise this prerogative of the political scientist, he has evidently attempted the impossible task of fitting Georgia politics into the standard framework built by such writers as Merriam and Overacker. Hence his contribution to

historical perspective for the period or to a better understanding of state politics is of doubtful value.

As a literary production the work adds little to the reputation of the Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences. Footnotes are so numerous and poorly digested that they become a hindrance rather than an aid to careful reading. Too frequent lapses into vague and incoherent style indicate either overeagerness of the author to rush into print or unpardonable negligence on the part of his dissertation adviser. Fifteen spelling faults spotted in a single reading leave much to be desired in proof reading. There is no index.

Paul Murray.

East Carolina Teachers College,
Greenville, N. C.

The Jefferson Papers of the University of Virginia, A Calendar Compiled by Constance E. Thurlow and Francis L. Berkeley, Jr., with an appended essay on the papers of Thomas Jefferson by Helen D. Bullock, University of Virginia Bibliographical Series, Number Eight. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Library, with assistance from the research council of the Richmond Area University Center. 1950. Pp. xii, 343.)

This calendar gives the bibliographical data and a brief summary of the 2,341 Jefferson papers of the University of Virginia. This is followed by a thirteen-page essay by Helen Duprey Bullock concerning the collecting and the present location of Jefferson's writings, most of which are now in the Library of Congress, the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the National Archives.

The calendar gives the names of all persons mentioned in each paper and all these names are in the elaborate index. This reviewer was unable to find any name or subject in the main body of the work that was not in the index.

The papers are mostly letters written by or to Jefferson. There are also records of court proceedings and land sales and plans and minutes of meetings in connection with the founding of the University of Virginia. The entire period of Jefferson's life is touched, but there are only eight entries for the year 1794 and ten for 1795. There are more on the beginning of the University than on any other subject.

Jefferson's versatility as a statesman, lawyer, scientist, scholar, educator, farmer, and useful citizen is illustrated by the

variety of subjects of his correspondence listed in the calendar. The index of the publication should be pursued by any scholar writing on subjects directly relating to Jefferson or even on such topics as the colonial history of Virginia, Virginia during the Revolutionary War and later, George Roger Clark's Illinois expedition, the early settlements in the Ohio basin, especially in Kentucky, Indian relations, farming and gardening during the eighteenth century, fish ponds, canal building, the medical profession, the influence of newspapers, or quite a number of other political, social, and economic questions. Hundreds of writers in the future will find that their labor has been lightened by the careful work of the compilers of this calendar.

Gilbert L. Lycan.

The John B. Stetson University,
De Land, Florida.

The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865. By E. Merton Coulter. A History of the South, edited by Wendell H. Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter, vol. VII. (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press. 1950. Pp. x, 644. \$7.00.)

In this volume Professor Coulter has made a valuable contribution to our knowledge of southern society under the stress of war. Indeed, a new day has dawned in writing the history of the Confederate States when in a volume of 568 pages of text only 40 pages are concerned with military history. Professor Coulter writes with candor of the mistakes and failings of the Confederacy. "With Shakespeare's epigram reversed," he observes, "the good that they did lived after them, the evil was interred with the Confederacy." This volume is based on an immense amount of research among the sources, and it has a refreshing independence of point of view, an honest reading of the documents. One can be thankful that it is free from heroics, from the rodomontade of neo-Confederate oratory. Professor Coulter's judgments are good, such as, for example, his belief that the Confederate government made a mistake in imposing national conscription and his conclusion that South Carolina was not guilty of precipitancy in leading the secession movement. He takes a moderate and tentative view in regard to Lincoln's

policy that preceded the firing on Fort Sumter. His judgment of Davis, also, is eminently fair, a recognition of his weaknesses and strength and a conclusion that he was a better man for president than Toombs or other aspirants.

The central theme in Professor Coulter's story is how the morale of the southern people broke down in the course of the Civil War. This theme is not original, for Professor Edward Channing years ago wrote of the "loss of the will to fight" in the Confederacy, but Professor Coulter has done a splendid job of carefully describing this sad phenomenon. The first dip in morale occurred in the spring of 1862 after the fall of Fort Donelson and the surrender of New Orleans. The double disaster of Gettysburg and Vicksburg sent the morale of the people to a low depth. Yet there were many factors other than military defeats which broke the morale of the Confederacy: the bitter attacks of newspapers on Davis. Davis's inability to arouse devotion to the cause, national conscription, the impressment act, speculation, failure of Confederate diplomacy, fatal financial policies. One of the important contributions of this volume is a study of the weakness of Congress, previously an obscure chapter in Confederate history. So timid was Congress that it failed to pass a realistic tax law until the war was half over, and Professor Coulter notes that the Confederacy derived only one per cent of its income from taxation.

This new history of the Confederacy is a rich mine of facts as well as wise judgments of Confederate mistakes—the result of the hind-sight of the scholar. The Confederate government did have some virtues which were lacking in the conquering government—it preserved a remarkable freedom of the press, and Professor Coulter maintains that there were few dishonesties practiced in war contracts, unlike the situation in the North. This study includes informative chapters on the fine arts and the press, literature, education, and religion in the Confederacy, and a particularly interesting account of the peace movement in the latter days of the war. The volume, moreover, is accurate in most details; however, Longstreet did not arrive too late for effective service at Chickamauga, French public opinion, as Lynn Case's study shows, was sympathetic to the South rather than

to the North, the date of the completion of the Mobile and Atlantic Railroad to Columbus, Kentucky, was 1860, not 1851, James Louis Petigru's name was not spelled Pettigru, A. Dudley Mann was a Virginian, not a Georgian, and the number of armed Confederates surrendered at Appomattox was much higher than 8,000. Professor Coulter seems to be devoted to the Trinity in selecting chapter headings, one third of them listing three topics, such as "Money, Bonds and Taxes" and "Prices, Profits, and Labor." His volume is equipped with a splendid critical bibliography.

Clement Eaton.

The University of Kentucky,
Lexington, Ky.

Essays in Southern History, Presented to Joseph Gregoire de Roulhac Hamilton. The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science. Volume 31. Edited by Fletcher Melvin Green. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1949. Pp. vii, 156. Cloth, \$2.50, paper \$1.25.)

Professor Hamilton is the dean of the historical guild in the South. Everywhere he is honored and respected for his many years of productive scholarship as a teacher, writer, editor, compiler, collector, and administrator. He is an inspiration to his fellow craftsmen. Eight of his former students and associates have now prepared and presented *Essays in Southern History* to him. Each contributor has previously conducted research on other aspects of the subject on which he now writes. The *Essays* therefore represent a scholarly and mature contribution; the entire symposium shows minute attention to details of research and printing. Emphasized are politics and the Negro. The *Essays* demonstrate again that many southern interests and attitudes before and after the year 1861 are the same.

James Harold Wolfe, presenting "The Roots of Jeffersonian Democracy: With Special Emphasis on South Carolina," discusses southern support of the Jefferson party. The essay also helps explain the enigma of politics in ante-bellum South Carolina. "Lewis Thompson, A Carolinian and His Louisiana Plantation, 1848-1888: A Study in Absentee Ownership," adds information about Deep South sugar plantation economics. It also enhances Joseph Carlyle Sitterson's reputation as the leading au-

thority in his field of historical interest. The third essay having an early setting is Henry Thomas Shenks, "Conservative Constitutional Tendencies of the Virginia Secession Convention." Therein is discussed the wilful and abortive revision of Virginia's 1850-1851 constitution by reactionary, propertied, "rump" delegates to the state's secession convention in 1861. The proposed constitution was not ratified; democratic principles were perhaps not entirely abandoned.

Samuel Denny Smith writes on "The Negro in the United States Senate" and discusses the ineffectual terms of two Mississippi Senators, Hiram Rhoades Revels (1870-1871) and Blanche K. Bruce (1875-1881). Both men were hampered by fellow Senators, were tolerated rather than accepted as party members, and were political curiosities. In his "Public Education in North Carolina during Reconstruction, 1865-1876," Daniel Jay White-ner stresses school finances and maintenance of separate white and Negro schools. His essay is also a partial reply to certain revisionist and/or publicist interpretations of southern educational developments during Reconstruction. James Welch Patton, in an intriguing discussion of "The Republican Party in South Carolina, 1876-1895," presents the story of a patronage-hungry, factionalized Republican organization and the means by which it was strangled by Democratic machinations.

Fletcher Melvin Green, in "Some Aspects of the Convict Lease System in the Southern States," surveys the evils of the convict lease system and mentions late nineteenth century efforts toward reform. Regional lack of sympathy (after 1865) for the Negro is pointed out as a basic reason that the South permitted barbaric treatment of its convicts. The most lengthy essay, "The Ideology of White Supremacy, 1876-1910," by Guion Griffis Johnson, completes the *Essays*. Presented are extensive materials on Old and New South attitudes toward the Negro. It supplements admirably earlier interpretations on the "central theme" of southern history and the "mind of the South."

Weymouth T. Jordan.

The University of Florida,
Tallahassee, Florida.

Plain Folk of the Old South. By Frank Lawrence Owsley. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1949. Pp. xxi, 235. Maps, appendix. \$3.50.)

In an abbreviated form, the first four chapters of this book were delivered in 1948 at Louisiana State University as the "Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History." Together with the fifth and last chapter, which is concerned with a statistical analysis of landownership and slaveholding, they purport to rescue the "plain folk" of the Old South from the obscurity or oblivion to which they have been relegated by some who write our history.

In the first place, Professor Owsley points out the need for a reinterpretation of ante-bellum southern society. The traditional view of that society, springing from the writings of such men as Frederick Law Olmstead, George M. Weston, and J. E. Cairnes, divides the white population into two categories: the planters who lived in white-columned mansions and were attended by squads of Negro slaves, and the poor whites—who were generally landless, illiterate, shiftless, irresponsible, unhealthy, and frequently vicious. Actually, the structure of ante-bellum southern society was far more complex. An analysis of the available records reveals as the true picture of the Old South one in which "the core of the social structure was a massive body of plain folk who were neither rich nor very poor." This fact is adequately substantiated by the inclusion of over ninety statistical tables compiled from the sources. The idea that in the Old South the non-slaveholder was pushed off by the planter into the pine barrens, sand hills, and mountains is soundly contradicted. "The truth of the matter is that the plain farmers settled where they chose and stayed as long as it suited them."

Folk customs are discussed in chapter III. Here the plain folk are seen in the rural environment—attending house-raisings, corn shuckings, singing schools, weddings, camp meetings, market places, and the many other activities that made up their way of life. The role of the plain folk in southern life is discussed in chapter IV. They played their part not as supernumeraries but as a vital element in the social and economic structure of that section.

The chief criticisms of this book are that the author almost completely ignores the plain folk of the Upper South, and, since the book is limited in size, several quotations appear to be excessively long—particularly one on pp. 126-131. Several misspelled words were noted such as Rowan and Bedouin. The book is attractively bound, and although by no means an exhaustive study it is a very worth-while contribution towards correcting the false picture of society in the Old South.

Cornelius O. Cathey.

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

A *Treasury of Southern Folklore*. Edited with an introduction by B. A. Botkin. Foreword by Douglas Southall Freeman. (New York: Crown Publishers. 1949. Pp. xxiv, 776. \$4.00.)

A Treasury of Southern Folklore is, as the title indicates, full of legends, traditions, and beliefs of the people of the South. The volume covers a wide variety of subjects. As Douglas Southall Freeman says in his foreword, this is an "à la carte book." To read straight through such a volume as this one is a tedious process; to pick up such a book, reading here and there the myths, tales, and ballads of the southern people, is a delightful experience. It is impossible to give an idea of all that *A Treasury of Southern Folklore* contains; one needs to examine the volume to realize its scope. Southern foods and recipes, legends about famous and infamous southerners, religious practices in the South, tales about pirates and buccaneers, tall tales, witchcraft and conjuring practices, and stories and sayings illustrating local pride are only a few of the numerous subjects of the book. Origins of commonly heard expressions and quotations, such as "Dixie" and the well-known comment of the governor of North Carolina to the governor of South Carolina, are given. The editor is careful to include variations in tales where the differences are significant.

The last section, entitled "The Singing South," has a particular appeal to a person interested in folk music, for not only are the words set forth but the music to approximately fifty folk songs is included. The variety in the volume is amazing; the editor has

done an excellent job of selecting materials of such variety that few persons will be unable to find selections of particular interest. The introductions to the several parts of the book, written by the editor, are enlightening and entertaining.

Mr. Botkin is well qualified for the task of editing this volume on southern folklore, having previously edited *A Treasury of American Folklore* and *A Treasury of New England Folklore*. He was chief of the Archive of American Folksong in the Library of Congress from 1942 to 1945 and was elected president of the American Folklore Society in 1944. Not only did he collect printed materials but he traveled widely in the southern states gathering materials and making recordings of songs and sayings of the South.

Tales from all classes of people and stories of all types are found in this book. The detailed table of contents and an excellent index will be of value to a person desiring to know the origin of some particular saying or looking for some table to use for illustrative purposes.

Fannie Memory Farmer.

Meredith College,
Raleigh, N. C.

The Territorial Papers of the United States. Vol. XIV, The Territory of Louisiana-Missouri, 1806-1814. Edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1949. Pp. 915. Symbols, index. \$2.75.)

Dr. Clarence E. Carter and his staff have achieved pre-war momentum in the publication of *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, for volume XIV, *The Territory of Louisiana-Missouri, 1806-1814*, has appeared within the year following the publication of volume XIII.

This is the second volume containing selections of important documents pertaining to the Territory of Louisiana-Missouri from 1803 to 1821. It contains papers relating to the administrations of Governors or Acting Governors Browne (1806-1807, 115 pp.), Bates (1807-1808, 54 pp.), Lewis (1808-1809, 152 pp.), Bates (1809-1810, 80 pp.), Howard (1810-1812, 276 pp.), and Clark (1813-1814, 136 pp.).

The scope of the documents in this volume is as broad and as varied as in the preceding one, for the problems of the territory were similar or the same. Land still remained perhaps the most important subject for written records, although the inhabitants of the area were concerned with Indians, Indian trade and trading factories, the establishment of local government, military posts, internal improvements, British agents and traders, adjacent territories, the acquisition and survey of land, lead mines, and the militia, and were constantly petitioning or memorializing the national government on all manner of subjects. Familiar and unfamiliar names continually appear: Daniel Bissell, Maurice Blondeau, Nicholas Boilvin, William C. Carr, the Chouteaus, Rufus Easton, Edward Hempstead, General Benjamin Howard, Judge John Lucas, Jared Mansfield, John Mason, William Rector, William Russell, George Sibley, and Edward Tiffin. Included also are minor characters with such interesting names as Marie Pierre Le Duc and Hyacinthe St. Syr. The documents present an irregular but well-rounded and complete history of the territory during the period.

This volume maintains the high editorial standards of the earlier volumes of this important and significant series.

Edwin Adams Davis.

Louisiana State University,
Baton Rouge, La.

Benjamin Franklin and Catharine Ray Greene: Their Correspondence 1755-1790. Edited and annotated by William Green Roelker. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. 1950. Pp. iv, 147. \$3.00.)

Four years after Franklin passed away died the woman with whom he had carried on a correspondence of more than 30 years. Wife of Rhode Island's governor, William Greene, the former "Caty" Ray of Block Island was praised in a *Newport Mercury* obituary notice for excellence of character and amiableness of manners. And indeed these virtues are reflected in her many letters to Franklin, along with much gayety and not a little humor. The correspondence does much credit to both, revealing in Catharine not only a fine spirit but a determination to better herself, and in Franklin a kindly and paternal attitude. The

underlying chronicle deals chiefly with family matters and social life. The war going on seems remote and muffled, though we catch an occasional flash of something more serious such as poor old Jane Mecom's flight from Philadelphia when General Howe approached, the depredations of British troops to Rhode Island, and the sewing of shirts and other garments for the Continental soldiers.

There is only an occasional reference to political activities as in Franklin's letter from Paris dated Feb. 28, 1778: "For tho' the Wickedness of the English Court, & its Malice against us is as great as ever, its Horns are shortened; its Strength diminishes daily; and we have formed an Alliance here, & shall form others, that will help keep the Bull quiet, and make him orderly. . . . I live here in great respect, and dine every day with great Folks; but I still long for home & repose; and should be happy to eat Indian Pudding in your Company & and Under your hospitable roof."

Of particular interest is the 18th century spelling both of Mrs. Greene and of Jane Mecom, Franklin's adoring sister, revealing as it does their dependence on the sound of words, since educational facilities for females were scant. For instance, "Caty" spelled Germantown as "Jarmen town," which teaches us how it was pronounced in the eighteenth century, and Mrs. Mecom puts down "Suckses" as her nearest approach to success. The notes by Mr. Roelker, director of the Rhode Island Historical Society, will be of salient help to the lay reader.

Phillips Russell.

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

The Southern Country Store, 1800-1860. By Lewis E. Atherton. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1949. Pp. xii, 227. \$3.50.)

Of the approximately 6,000,000 white southerners of the 1850's, fewer than 350,000 owned slaves; not quite 100,000 held as many as ten slaves; under 10,000 possessed more than fifty slaves—and only these, says Professor Atherton, "could be called planters in the full sense of the term." Like the planters, the "poor whites" also constituted a minority group. Obviously, then, southern

society was made up chiefly of small, non-slaveholding farmers. The planter, with his wealth and power, dominated the South, and the "poor white" attracted much attention. Yet the yeoman farmer was more truly typical of the whole region than either.

As the great planter employed the plantation as his basic unit of production and the factor as his economic agent, so the small farmers used the farm and the country or village store. This book is a thoroughgoing analysis of the southern store and the various economic functions it performed.

The author first appraises the factorage system that centered in the coastal cities. Then he turns to the interior store, which supplied the rural population with a wide variety of merchandise, collected and marketed cotton and other farm products, and furnished the necessary credit and exchange. From business records, letters, and newspapers found in southern historical collections he has drawn many interesting examples of stores and storekeepers in practically every state of the South. The book demonstrates conclusively the economic and social importance of the small farmer and the country store in ante-bellum times. Political historians, says the author, "have made too much out of the democratizing of the Civil War on southern class structure and the consequent rise of the crossroads store"; they "have tended to trace all modifications within the South to the effects of war, and even to mistake these for a seemingly complete new system of merchandising to meet the needs of an entirely new southern middle- and lower-class society" (p. 176).

Professor Atherton, who is chairman of the department of history at the University of Missouri, deserves praise for this significant work. His research has been enormous, his organization of material skillful, and his presentation clear and concise. His careful study of what he has called "the essentially petty capitalistic nature of southern civilization" will surely result in a recasting of some of the traditional views concerning the Old South.

The well-printed volume contains a bibliography, an index, and copious footnotes. In reading it this reviewer experienced only two minor irritations: the absence of any type of illustrative

material, and the author's overdependence upon the word "nonetheless." Nonetheless, *The Southern Country Store, 1800-1860*, is a first-rate job.

Stuart Noblin.

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh, N. C.

The Army Air Forces in World War II, Volume II, Europe—Torch to Pointbank, August 1942 to December 1943. Edited by W. F. Craven and J. L. Cate. (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press. 1949. Pp. xxi, 897. \$6.00.)

In 1942 General Arnold, commanding the AAF, directed that appropriate steps be taken to insure within a reasonably short time after war's end the writing and publication of a history of air warfare in World War II. To that end every unit of the AAF down through squadrons was charged with the responsibility of collecting and collating the data required for this project. To every Air Force was assigned a professional historian.

The volume here being reviewed is the second of seven to be published. When the series is completed it will be the most current work of its kind ever published, assuming present publication schedules are met. Judged by the first two volumes it is being written not as a memorial to the AAF, but to serve as a guide to military planners who may again be confronted with the problems of military warfare.

This is a volume to be scanned by the reader interested only in a comprehensive survey of the military operations and decisions of the American (and British) air effort in Europe and Africa between August, 1942, and December, 1943. It is to be studied by the reader interested in the details of the strategy, tactics, and theory of modern aerial warfare and of that most involved of all modern military problems, the administration of air forces and commands and of combined ground, sea, and air commands.

The several historians whose work has gone into the preparation of this volume have edited and compiled with meticulous attention to detail the story of the AAF during this critical period when it may be said that air power came of age. Portrayed, in addition to the matter suggested above, are the basic conflicts between the services indicating conflicting conceptions

of warfare (conflicts not yet resolved); also the thoughtful research that went into plans for the actual strategic bombing effort.

In places the volume is exceedingly dry and replete with compilations of alphabetically described units, commands, and campaigns. In other places the tenseness and drama of spectacularly successful or spectacularly disastrous operations are unspectacularly yet interestingly portrayed. One such account deals with the low level B-24 attack on the Ploesti oil refineries. In that operation 177 airplanes, manned by 1,725 airmen, attacked with fair success a critically important segment of the Axis's oil supply. Unfortunately, through a series of unpredictable mishaps surprise was lost and 54 airplanes and 532 airmen did not return.

Air warfare's major requirement for careful and professional research into practically every phase of human activity can readily be seen as our air effort turned from the tactical to the strategic during 1943. The lack of such research is apparent at times; at other times it is obvious that it was done.

This volume and the others of the series will provide an enormous amount of basic data for the military historian and for the military student.

James F. Pinkney.

Davidson College,
Davidson, N. C.

Disposition of Federal Records: How to Develop an Effective Program for the Preservation and Disposal of Federal Records. National Archives Publication No. 50-3. (Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1949. Pp. v, 40.)

Why should records be preserved? Which records? Which temporarily? Which permanently? Which destroyed? This manual was designed to answer these questions for the various agencies of the federal government that are required by law to develop programs for the disposal of their records. In outline form it clearly states the disposition problems faced by every agency and offers assistance on evaluation and analysis, methods of retirement and preservation, reduction of bulk and insurance of permanency by use of microphotography, and the ultimate

disposal of records. In preparing this pamphlet the compiler of this manual, Theodore F. Shellenberg, program director of the National Archives, has drawn widely from the experience in records management gained by the staff of the National Archives during the past two decades. It is objectively written and intended for use by the non-professional as well as the professional archivist. Sample illustrations and forms mark the specific steps which must be taken to dispose of records legally. Appendices include a select bibliography and the texts of the various laws and regulations governing disposal and preservation of federal records.

E. G. Roberts.

Duke University Library,
Durham, N. C.

HISTORICAL NEWS

Dr. Charles S. Sydnor of Duke University will hold the Harold Vyvyan Harmsworth professorship of American History at Oxford University during the academic year 1950-51. Dr. Sydnor has also been appointed to the Advisory Committee of the Historical Office, Department of the Army, Washington, D. C.

Dr. William B. Hamilton of Duke University has been awarded a Faculty Study Fellowship by the American Council of Learned Societies to enable him to study law part time at Duke University during the coming year.

Dr. Harry Stevens of Duke University will teach during the second term of summer school at the University of Cincinnati. Dr. Stevens has published an article, "Melville's Music," in *Musicology*, vol. II (July, 1949).

Dr. Paul H. Clyde of Duke University has been appointed director of the summer school at Duke University. Dr. Clyde has published "Jackson's March to Empire: Some Biographical Evaluations," *The Journal of Modern History*, XXI (December, 1949).

Dr. Wendell H. Stephenson of Tulane University was awarded an honorary degree by Duke University at the past commencement.

Dr. Arthur B. Ferguson of Duke University wrote a considerable part of volume II of *Army Air Forces in World War II*. This is the latest volume in this series.

Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945, has been published by the State Department. These two volumes are the first of the series for which Dr. E. M. Carroll of Duke University was for three years the Chief American Deputy in Europe.

Mr. Howard Braverman, a candidate for the doctorate at Duke University, will become a member of the history department at Long Island University in September.

Dr. J. A. McGeachy, Jr., of Davidson College has been promoted to professor of history. During the summer school he will teach at the North Carolina College in Durham.

Dr. Richard C. Todd, who has been teaching at High Point College, will become an assistant professor of history at East Carolina Teachers College this fall.

Mr. Paul McCain, a graduate student at Duke University, will next fall become a professor of history at Brenau College, Gainesville, Georgia.

Dr. George D. Harmon, a native of Chatham County, N. C., and head of the department of history at Lehigh University, at the last commencement was given an engraved desk set in recognition of his twenty-five years service at that institution.

The de Graffenried Name In Literature, by Thomas P. de Graffenried (New York: The William-Frederick Press, 1950, pp. 32.) has been received by the State Department of Archives and History.

The Public Letters and Papers of Joseph Melville Broughton, edited by D. L. Corbitt, has been published by the North Carolina Council of State. The book contains 718 pages and is illustrated. It can be procured by addressing a request to Mr. D. L. Corbitt, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, N. C.

"The Early Campaigns in North Carolina as Seen Through The Eyes of a New Jersey Soldier (Private Edmund J. Cleveland, Co. K. Ninth New Jersey Volunteers) Part I, August 24, 1862-December 31, 1862," edited by Edmund J. Cleveland, Jr., appeared in *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*:

A Magazine of History, Biography, and Notes on Family, volume LXVIII, no. 2 (April, 1950), pp 119-160.

Mr. Willis G. Briggs, president of the North Carolina Society of County Historians, on May 5 delivered an address before the Bertie County Historical Association on "David Stone and His Career." Prior to the address Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Tyler entertained a group of twenty-five people with a supper on their lawn at Roxobel.

The History teachers of the colleges and universities held their semi-annual dinner on May 5 at the Carolina Country Club in Raleigh with Wake Forest College the host. The institutions represented were Davidson College, Duke University, Meredith College, North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, North Carolina State College, Peace Junior College, Salem College, the University of North Carolina, Wake Forest College, and the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina.

On May 28 the North Carolina County Historians made a tour of Vance County, visiting "Burnside," which tradition says was the home of Memucan Hunt, first state treasurer, and named "Burnside" about 1824; St. John's Episcopal Church, built about 1757 and first known as "Nutchbush," and moved in 1772 to its present site; Sneed's Tavern, built on one of the original lots of Williamsboro and a favorite of lawyers and judges prior to the Civil War; "Bishop Ravenscroft's Home"; "Cedar Walk," built about 1750 by Hutchins Burton for a boarding school and called "Blooming Hope"; and the home of Chief Justice Leonard Henderson. Those who made the tour were from Chapel Hill, Henderson, Lexington, Lillington, Louisburg, Raleigh, and Wadesboro. After completing the tour, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel T. Peace served luncheon on the lawn of their home in Henderson. Mr. Peace and Miss Claudia W. Hunter made brief talks about most of the places visited.

The spring meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina was held at Davidson College on Saturday, April 15. Papers were read by Dr. E. W. Knight of the University of North Carolina on

"Southern Opposition to Northern Educational Influences Before 1860" and by Dr. Chalmers Davidson of Davidson College on "Catawba Springs, Carolina's Spa." Mr. D. L. Corbitt of the State Department of Archives and History then reviewed the publication program of that organization.

Mr. William S. Powell of the State Department of Archives and History has received a grant in aid from the Institute of Early American History and Culture in Williamsburg to work on a biography and to collect the letters of John Pory (1573-1635) and also to collect ballads for a revised edition of Sir Charles Firth's *An American Garland*. He plans to spend September and October in England at the British Museum, the Public Record Office, Oxford and Cambridge, and several county archives.

Professor Elisha P. Douglass of Elon College has received a grant in aid from the Institute of Early American History and Culture to work on a study of "Democracy in the American Revolution."

Dr. James Kimborough Owen of the Louisiana Law Institute, Baton Rouge, has received a grant in aid from the Institute of Early American History and Culture for the completion of his study of the "Southern Parish System in the Eighteenth Century."

The United Daughters of the Confederacy in Statesville have undertaken to raise funds to move the "Vance House" from West Broad Street to Grace Park and to establish a museum therein. This house, occupied by Governor Vance towards the end of the Civil War, must be moved to make way for a new business building. If sufficient funds are not obtained it is expected that the house will be torn down.

A special exhibit of eighteenth-century Wedgwood pottery is being shown in the Hall of History during July and August as a part of the recognition given the Wedgwood industries in connection with the unveiling of a marker in Macon County near the site of a clay pit from which Thomas Griffiths, a South Caro-

lina planter, took clay in 1767 for the potteries in England. Mr. Hensleigh Wedgwood of New York is expected to be present in mid-August when the marker is unveiled.

The Department of Archives and History has ordered a Barrow laminating machine and a fumigating vault to be installed in the Division of Archives and Manuscripts.

The Division of Archives and Manuscripts of the Department of Archives and History recently added eighty-seven items to its Calvin H. Wiley Collection, a gift from Wiley's daughter, Miss Mary Callum Wiley of Winston-Salem. These items consist of speeches, parts of speeches, letters, and articles for the press of North Carolina's first Superintendent of Common Schools.

On March 10 Governor W. Kerr Scott appointed Benjamin Franklin Brown of Raleigh, retired dean of the Basic Division of North Carolina State College, a member of the Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History to fill the unexpired term created by the death of Robert Digges Wimberly Connor, who died on February 25.

The Asheboro Presbyterian Church celebrated its centennial, May 3-7, with religious services led by various prominent ministers.

On April 5 the United States Army Band gave in Washington, D. C., a concert in honor of the state of North Carolina as one of a series for the thirteen original states. The state was officially represented by Lieutenant Governor H. P. Taylor of Wadesboro and Dr. Christopher Crittenden, director of the State Department of Archives and History.

On May 18 a tablet was unveiled in Halifax marking the site of the first courthouse of Halifax County and of the meeting of the Fourth Provincial Congress. Dr. Crittenden delivered an address, "Seventeen Seventy-six: the Critical Year."

Dr. Crittenden has delivered addresses as follows: "The State Department of Archives and History and its Program," Kiwanis

Club, Durham, March 23, and also Civitan Club, Greensboro, April 14; "The Charter of Carolina, 1663," Wake County Committee, Colonial Dames of America, March 30; "Historic Sites in North Carolina," Woman's Club, Jacksonville, April 13.

On March 29 Dr. Crittenden met in Hillsboro with a group of citizens of that town to discuss ways and means of preserving historic buildings and sites in the community.

On April 15 a tablet in memory of Calvin Graves, who cast the deciding vote in favor of construction of the North Carolina Railroad, now a part of the Southern Railway system, was unveiled at the new Southern passenger station in Raleigh. Governor Scott delivered a brief address and members of Graves's family participated in the ceremony.

In March, April, and May Dr. Crittenden and Mr. William S. Powell of the staff of the State Department of Archives and History taught classes on the geography and history of North Carolina as a part of in-service training courses for Raleigh policemen.

On March 1 Dr. Crittenden lectured on the administration of historic sites as part of a short-term course given to state parks administrators of the South by North Carolina State College and the State Department of Conservation and Development.

On April 27 Dr. Crittenden and Mrs. Joye E. Jordan attended a meeting of the Moore County Historical Association at the home of Mrs. Ernest L. Ives, near Southern Pines.

Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, head of the Division of Museums of the Department of Archives and History, will be a member of the teaching staff of a class on the problems of the small museums during the first week of the Seminars on American Culture offered by the New York State Historical Association, Coopers-town, July 2-15. Other members of the faculty for this course are Dr. Carl E. Guthe, director of the New York State Museum of Arts and Sciences; Mr. Bertram K. Little, director of the

Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities; Mr. Loring McMillen, director of the museum of the Staten Island Historical Society; and Mr. Frank O. Spinney, curator of the Old Sturbridge (Mass.) Village Museum and Crafts Center.

The North Carolina Society, Descendants of the Palatines, held its spring meeting May 24 at Trent Pines Club in New Bern. Mrs. M. B. Koonce of Raleigh, Miss Delia Hyatt of Kinston, Mrs. W. D. Pollock of Kinston, Miss Sara Louise Stewart of New Bern, and Miss Lucy Cobb of Raleigh appeared on the program. After the program the following officers were elected: R. A. Nunn, president; Miss Verdie Noble, first vice-president; Mrs. R. L. Duval, second vice-president; Mrs. W. B. Harr, third vice-president; Miss Sara Louise Stewart, secretary-treasurer; Miss Junie Whitfield, chaplain; Miss Sybil Hyatt, registrar; Mrs. M. B. Koonce, corresponding secretary; J. Parson Brown, historian; and Mrs. S. D. Broadhurst and Miss Delia Hyatt, collectors of relics.

Mr. Albert N. Sanders, a candidate for the Ph.D. at the University of North Carolina, will be a member of the staff of the history and political science department at John B. Stetson University for the 1950-1951 term.

A literary map of North Carolina, four-color lithography on 100 per cent rag paper, 33" x 22", is now available. This map carries the names of North Carolina writers and is illustrated by Primrose, a nationally known artist of Raleigh. There are 127 names of authors on the map which was published and prepared by The North Carolina English Teachers Association. It is suitable for framing and can be used in the office, library, or classroom. Please address order to The North Carolina English Teachers Association, Box 1050, Chapel Hill, N. C. Price \$1.50.

The American Association for State and Local History has announced that at its annual meeting in Portland, Oregon, in August Awards of Merit will be given for outstanding work in the field of local history by state historical societies, local histori-

cal societies, and local newspapers, radio stations, private business organizations, and others. The member of the Committee on Awards for the South Atlantic States (Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida) is William S. Powell of the North Carolina State Department of Archives and History. Recommendations for Awards of Merit should be sent to him not later than August 15.

Books received include John Leonard Fulmer, *Agricultural Progress in The Cotton Belt since 1920* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1950); William H. Dillistin, *Bank Note Reporters and Counterfeit Detectors, 1826-1866, With a Discourse on Wildcat Banks and Wildcat Bank Notes* (New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1949); Arthur Eugene Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias: The Sectarian And Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism In America, 1663-1829* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. London, Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1950); Richard B. Harwell, *Confederate Music* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1950); Carl Bridenbaugh, *The Colonial Craftsman* (New York: New York University Press, 1950); *Fifteenth Annual Report of The Archivist of the United States For The Year Ending June 30, 1949* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1950); *General Services Administration, The National Archives Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the United States Senate, Preliminary Inventory No. 23* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1950); Mary Alves Long, *High Time To Tell It* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1950); Clement Eaton, *A History of The Old South* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949); Joseph Howard Parks, *John Bell of Tennessee* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950); Adriene Koch, *Jefferson and Madison: The Great Collaboration* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950); Margaret L. Coit, *John C. Calhoun American Portrait* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1950); Harold E. Dickson, *John Wesley Jarvis, American Painter, 1780-1840* (New York: The New York Historical Society, 1949); Stuart Noblin, *Leonidas Lafayette Polk, Agrarian Crusader* (Chapel Hill: The Uni-

versity of North Carolina Press, 1949) ; Raymond Maxwell, *Life and Works of Allen Jay Maxwell* (not for sale but will be placed in public libraries, 1949) ; Barnes F. Lathrop, *Migration Into East Texas, 1835-1860* (Austin: The Texas State Historical Association, 1949) ; Aubrey L. Brooks and Hugh Talmage Lefler, *The Papers of Walter Clark*, vol. II, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1950) ; Julian P. Boyd, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, volume I, 1760-1776 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950) ; George Alfred Townsend, *Rustics in Rebellion: A Yankee Reporter On The Road To Richmond, 1861-65* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1950) ; Blake McKelvey, *Rochester The Flower City, 1855-1890* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949) ; James Benson Sellers, *Slavery in Alabama* (University: University of Alabama Press, 1950) ; V. O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics In State and Nation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949) ; *South Dakota Historical Collections and Report* (compiled by the State Historical Society, vol. XXIV, 1949) ; Nora Campbell Chaffin, *Trinity College, 1839-1892: The Beginnings of Duke University* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1950) ; Marvin Wilson Schlegel, *Virginia on Guard, Civilian Defense and the State Militia in the Second World War* (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1949) ; Francis Howard Heller, *Virginia's State Government During the Second World War: Its Constitutional, Legislative, and Administrative Adaptations, 1942-45* (prepared under the Supervision of the World War II History Division, Virginia State Library, 1949) ; LeGette Blythe, *William Henry Belk, Merchant of the South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1950) ; Constance E. Thurlow and Francis L. Berkeley, *The Jefferson Papers of the University of Virginia* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Library, 1950) ; Fletcher Melvin Green, editor, *Essays in Southern History, Presented to Joseph Gregoire de Roulhac Hamilton* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1949) ; W. F. Craven and J. L. Cate, *The Army Air Forces In World War II*, volume II, *Europe—Torch to Pointblank* (Washington, D. C.: Air Historical Group, United States Air Force, 1949) ; Frank L. Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949) ; William Greene Roelker, *Benjamin Franklin and Cath-*

arine Ray Greene: Their Correspondence, 1855-90 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1949); Eugene P. Odum, *A North Carolina Naturalist, H. H. Brimley* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1949); L. M. Holland, *The Direct Primary in Georgia* (Urbana; University of Illinois Press, 1949); Harold S. Schultz, *Nationalism and Sectionalism in South Carolina, 1853-1860* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1950); Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter, *A History of the Old South*, volume VII, *The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950); Lewis E. Atherton, *The Southern Country Store, 1800-1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949); *Disposition of Federal Records* (Washington, D. C.; National Archives Publications no. 50-3, United States Government Printing Office, 1949); B. A. Botkin, *A Treasury of Southern Folklore* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1949); Clarence Edwin Carter, editor, *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, vol. XIV, *The Territory of Louisiana-Missouri, 1806-1814* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1949); Adelaide L. Fries, *Customs and Practices of the Moravian Church* (Winston-Salem: Commenius Press, 1949); Spencer B. King, *Selective Service in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1949); James Truslow Adams, *Album of American History*, volume V, Index (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949); James Marshall, *Elbridge A. Stuart, Founder of Carnation Company* (Los Angeles: Carnation Company, 1949); Manly Wade Wellman, *Wade Hampton, Giant in Gray* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949); James W. Silver, *Edmund Pendleton Gaines, Frontier General* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949); Charles Grayson Summersell, *Mobile: History of A Seaport Town* (University: University of Alabama Press, 1949); Lawrence Kocher and Howard Dearstyne, *Colonial Williamsburg, Its Buildings and Gardens* (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, 1949); David Stick, *Fabulous Dare: the Story of Dare County Past and Present* (Kitty Hawk, N. C.: The Dare Press, 1949); E. Merton Coulter, *A List of Early Settlers of Georgia* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1949).

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THIS ISSUE

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