

# THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

---

VOLUME XXVII

OCTOBER, 1950

NUMBER 4

---

## THE FOUNDING OF THE PETTIGREW PLANTATIONS

BY BENNETT H. WALL

During the post-Revolutionary War period the Reverend Charles Pettigrew, famous Edenton, North Carolina, religious leader, found it difficult to support his family on the income from his parish.<sup>1</sup> As a result he was forced to turn to planting as a means of support. Since he had only a limited knowledge of agricultural methods he learned by trial and error. Just when he first became a landowner is not recorded nor is it known when he came into possession of his first farm. There is reasonable doubt that he owned any land prior to his marriage to Mary Blount on October 29, 1778. By this marriage he acquired slave property, some land in Tennessee, and some land near Edenton. After his marriage he moved to a plantation near his wife's ancestral home, Mulberry Hill, and settled "on the north side of the road leading down the Albemarle Sound and just across what was then Blount's Mill."<sup>2</sup> In 1779 he purchased lands in Tyrrell County, near Lake Phelps.

Three of Charles Pettigrew's parishioners, all leading citizens of Edenton, Josiah Collins, Dr. Luther Dickinson, and Major Nathaniel Allen, were land speculators and in order to develop one of their ventures in the region southeast of Edenton they organized the Lake Company. The Lake Company's lands were along the shores of Lake Phelps, which is in the peninsula, about sixty miles long and forty miles wide, formed by Albemarle and Pamlico sounds in North Carolina. Four-fifths of the region was an immense swamp.<sup>3</sup> The remainder was composed of narrow

---

<sup>1</sup> A portion of the research on this study was made possible by a grant from the University of Kentucky Research Fund Committee.

<sup>2</sup> "Ebenezer Pettigrew Relates His Early Life," August 4, 1842, Pettigrew Manuscripts, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Hereinafter cited as Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>3</sup> See William Battle Cobb and William Anderson Davis, *Soil Survey of Tyrrell County* (United States Government, 1924), 839-858. (A map is attached.) Hereinafter cited as Cobb and Davis, *Soil Survey*.

knolls of firm soil,<sup>4</sup> commonly known as "Chestnut Oak Islands."<sup>5</sup> The principal characteristic of the soil around Lake Phelps was its great fertility. The soil was a black loam or muck,<sup>6</sup> and when under proper tillage "the drained swamp land is easy to plough, and to manage and get in good order in all respects."<sup>7</sup>

Lake Phelps was discovered by Benjamin Tarkington, Josiah Phelps, and others in 1775. While hunting they became interested in learning why deer "when pursued usually ran off in a particular direction, from which the dogs soon returned as if baffled in their pursuit." After a search of two days they located the lake. Phelps publicized and has generally received credit for the discovery.

It was about twenty-five years later that Collins, Dickinson, and Allen formed the Lake Company. "They took up nearly all the surrounding swamp land, by laying their own patents,"<sup>8</sup> and they purchased a total of nearly 100,000 acres. They fitted out the slave ship, *Guineaman*, in Boston and sent it to Africa for Negroes. When the slaver arrived the Negroes were set to work digging a canal from Lake Phelps to the Scuppernong River, a project of two years duration. Lake Phelps had an elevation of eighteen feet above the Scuppernong River, and by the use of water wheels, the declivity was utilized for power for saw, grist, and other mills.<sup>9</sup> The Lake Company began preparation of rice fields around the lake by draining the fields into the ditch or "Somerset Canal." By the use of flood gates on the ditches leading to the canal, and with the successive parallel slopes, ditches, and embankments formed by the leading ditches, "they were afforded great facilities for flooding the lands, and drawing off the water when desired, for rice culture." Flat boats capable of carrying fifty or sixty tierces of rice could come up the canal to the plantation and small vessels of seventy-five tons or less received and discharged cargoes at the mouth of the canal. The

<sup>4</sup> Edmund Ruffin, "Jottings Down in the Swamps," in Edmund Ruffin, editor, *The Farmer's Register* (10 volumes, 1833-1842), VII, 688-703. Hereinafter cited as Ruffin, "Jottings Down."

<sup>5</sup> George C. Collins, "Discovering Lake Scuppernong (Phelps), North Carolina," *Southern History Association Publications* (11 volumes, Washington 1897-1907), VI, 21-27. Hereinafter cited as Collins, "Discovering Lake Scuppernong."

<sup>6</sup> Cobb and Davis, *Soil Survey*, 839-858.

<sup>7</sup> Ruffin, "Jottings Down," VII, 688.

<sup>8</sup> The information about the discovery and early exploitation of Lake Phelps was obtained from the Ruffin and Collins sketches.

<sup>9</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Henry Pattillo, January 9, 1789; Charles Pettigrew to the Lake Company, March 27, 1796, Pettigrew MSS.

canal was six miles long, twenty feet wide, and six feet deep.<sup>10</sup> In 1788 Charles Pettigrew moved to Lake Phelps to develop his property adjoining that of the Lake Company and to found a plantation regime of seventy-seven years duration.

Before he moved to his Lake Phelps property, Pettigrew moved to Harvey's Neck in Perquimans County. His wife died shortly thereafter leaving him an unrecorded amount of property including several slaves. In 1788 he moved again. Ebenezer Pettigrew wrote a description of the new plantation:

I lived at Hervey's neck until the fall of 1788 when my father took his effects in two small vessels & went over to the mouth of Scuppernong river, where his things were taken out the vessels & put in the court house which was on the plantation of Benjamin Spruill who then kept the tavern for the court house . . . on the sunday evening after we had arrived I suppose on the latter part of the week, my father with his sons & the old lady who kept house for him, together with a few servants with his effects in carts set out for a place which he had rented from William Littlejohn of Edenton & about five miles from the mouth of the River to take up our abode, but when we arrived, the house was without a window shutter (glass it never had) and a thunder squall rising he thought best to turn back to a house for Shelter we had passed nearest when we were coming.

The house of refuge was:

an old high roofed house without even a window shutter, in the midst of an old field without a fence around it, with a number of cattle feeding in it (for there was great range nearby) with their *bells* ringing together with the thunder at intervals and my anxiety from fear of the Squall, produced in me a feeling that no time can obliterate.<sup>11</sup>

This plantation was subsequently expanded to become part of one of the key Pettigrew plantations, Bonarva. Charles Pettigrew proposed to build a home at Lake Phelps where in 1782 and in 1787 he added two small farms to the property purchased in 1779. By 1789 he owned several hundred acres of land, had built a home, and was ready to move to the lake. He wrote his one-time teacher, Reverend Henry Pattillo:

<sup>10</sup> Collins, "Discovering Lake Scuppernong," VI, 23; Ruffin, "Jottings Down," VII, 726-729.

<sup>11</sup> "Ebenezer Pettigrew Relates His Early Life," August 4, 1842, Pettigrew MSS.

I am just about to settle some of my land on Lake Phelps in Tyrrell. I can have no idea of more fertile soil. Since the year '79 I have been a proprietor there, which has confined me to this part of the state. The circumjacent Lands are possessed by three able Gentm in Co. namely Messrs *Collins*, Dickinson & Allen. They have now completed a canal near 6 miles being a communication between it & Scuppernong River, which promises infinite advantages. They are erecting mills on it. It is 20 feet wide, & runs parallel with one tract of my Land within about 150 yards. They have generously given by *Deed of Gift*, every privilege I could wish, *to me, my heirs & assigns forever*. This renders my Lands of much greater value, although I have not expended a farthing, & they perhaps thirty M pounds. An overseer whom they got from South Carolina, says that it is equal in every respect, to the best plantations there. . . . I think of moving over the ensuing Summer or fall, to live at the Canal, as I Shall not only be more convenient to my Lands in cultivation, but that side of the Sound is found more healthy than this.<sup>12</sup>

The move was made in 1789. Since most of his labor force was busy draining and clearing land, he was unable to plant a large crop of corn and rice. The work of reclamation proceeded with difficulty and in June he wrote to his friend John Leigh complaining that his health was endangered by the demands made upon him for supervision. He wrote descriptions of the lake and the surrounding country to his friends Leigh, Nathaniel Blount, and Charles L. Johnson. To Leigh he wrote:

I write you from *Bonarva*—a name I have given my situation on the Lake. I sit under the shade of three beautiful Holleys. The surrounding Scene is truly romantic. On the one side, the prospect toward the water is very beautiful & extensive, while the gentle breezes play over the surface of the crystal fluid, and render the air grateful for respiration, and when the Sun sheds his warmest influence upon the earth—it being the meridian hour. On three angles of the improvement, ye woods are luxuriantly tall, & dressed in a foliage of the deepest verdure, while the cultivated field exhibits the utmost power of vegetative nature, and arrests my eye from every other object.<sup>13</sup>

All, however, was not right with his world. He complained that:

. . . fertilizer renders it [the soil] equally productive of viscious weeds, to obstruct the growth of what is planted & to extract the

<sup>12</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Henry Pattillo, January 9, 1789, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>13</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Dr. John Leigh, June 16, 1790, Pettigrew Papers, North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. Hereinafter cited as Pettigrew Papers.

Sweet which drops from the brow of Labor while he endeavours to erradicate them. . . . The Lake is not without its counterpart of inconveniences & although the soil is fertile though the Lake affords a beautiful prospect & is an unfailing source to overflow our rice lands, their being a declivity of several feet, perhaps not less than six in the distance of 90 poles back from the water, yet when warmed by the genial heat of the Sun in Summer it is rendered so prolific of flies and insects of every species, that it becomes intolerable to horses & horned cattle, the latter however, have the advantage, from a more copious sweep of tail for their defense.<sup>14</sup>

Pettigrew's holdings continued to grow in size as well as in improved cultivated land. In May, 1789, Pettigrew purchased an additional 110 acres of land.<sup>15</sup> He paid a tax of six pounds on his property in Tyrrell County in 1789.<sup>16</sup>

From 1789 until June, 1791, Charles Pettigrew followed a live-at-home farm program and exerted every effort toward preparing his lands for rice, corn, and wheat crops. Corn and wheat grew easily on any of the well drained land but the preparation and cultivation of rice fields was a tremendous undertaking. This work,

. . . primitive and laborious, was accomplished by the task system. Ditches divided the field into "tasks" of a quarter of an acre. In March, hands prepared the fields with the hoe and dug trenches for the seeds. From that time until the harvest in September, they were busy alternately flooding the growing rice and clearing the fields of grass. In addition, there were ditches to be dug, trunks to be mended, flood gates to be kept in repair, a routine which kept the slaves for long hours in wet fields. . . .<sup>17</sup>

In 1791 Pettigrew returned to Edenton. He explained his move to his friend, the Reverend Henry Pattillo, as follows:

I am returned from my farm at the Lake, a resident in Edenton. They [the parishioners] have contributed an annual provision for my Life or During my stay among them. I would prefer the farmer's life but when on the farm, I found my attentions wholly

<sup>14</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Dr. John Leigh, June 20, 1790, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>15</sup> Land Patent, May 18, 1789; Receipt & Patent for Land bought by B. Tarkington, May 13, 1789, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>16</sup> Tax Receipt, 1789, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>17</sup> Guion Griffis Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937), 488-489. See also Duncan Clinch Heyward, *Seed From Madagascar* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937), 1-80; Lewis Cecil Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, (2 vols., The Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1933) I, 277-290; John and Ebenezer Pettigrew to Charles Pettigrew, April 12, 1796, Pettigrew MSS.

engross'd,—So that it became necessary that I quit should either the farm or the Pulpit; For I found it impracticable to Serve both God & Mamon.<sup>18</sup>

He did, however, not give up his farming activities.

Pettigrew's move to Edenton shortened the distance to Mary Lockhart, daughter of James Lockhart, and heir to considerable land and slaves, including the beautiful estate "Scotch Hall."<sup>19</sup> He was so interested in paying court to her that he confused the date of a state Episcopal convention.<sup>20</sup> On his return from the convention [?] he attempted to purchase some land worth 800 pounds for his fiancée but could not complete the negotiations.<sup>21</sup> Repeated accounts of his poor health were apparently unfounded, for in addition to preaching "two Sundays out of three"<sup>22</sup> at St. Paul's in Edenton, he carried on other ministerial duties,<sup>23</sup> paid calls at Scotch Hall,<sup>24</sup> and frequently visited his lake plantation. On one of visits to Bonarva he wrote his friend and neighbor, Major Nathaniel Allen: "I have been hitherto so closely confined to the overseeing Business . . . I thought to have seen town before this time, but I find it very disagreeable to leave everything to the management of careless negroes."<sup>25</sup>

Charles Pettigrew's friends noted as early as 1792 that he was planning to enter what he termed the "Social State"—that is, to marry again. But it was not until June 12, 1795, that Pettigrew married Mary Lockhart. Immediately after the marriage Pettigrew moved his family to Scotch Hall, the home of his wife. Because of the distance from Scotch Hall to Bonarva plantation he was forced to hire a part-time overseer. This overseer was probably a neighboring farmer engaged to visit the plantation and see after the Negroes and direct their works. In the absence of both the overseer and the planter, two Negroes, Charles and Pompey, directed the other slaves.<sup>26</sup>

In the early fall of 1795 a storm destroyed one-half of the corn in Bertie County and two-thirds of Charles Pettigrew's crop;

<sup>18</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Henry Pattillo, May 12, 1792, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>19</sup> "Genealogical." See also the wills of James Lockhart, 1753, and Elizabeth Lockhart, 1791, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>20</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Miss Mary Lockhart, October 3, 1793, and Solomon Halling to Charles Pettigrew, December 16, 1793, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>21</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Miss Mary Lockhart, October 3, 1793, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>22</sup> Salary Subscription List, 1791, Pettigrew Mss.

<sup>23</sup> Sermons: Charles Pettigrew to Miss Mary Lockhart, October 3, 1793, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>24</sup> Sermons: Charles Pettigrew to Miss Mary Lockhart, October 3, 1793, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>25</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Major Nathaniel Allen, May 19, 1792, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>26</sup> Thomas B. Littlejohn to Charles Pettigrew, December 18, 1794; Charles Pettigrew to Mrs. Mary Pettigrew, October, 1795, Pettigrew MSS.

but he reported to his sons at the University of North Carolina that "we shall, I hope have enough, as at my Lake plantation my corn was more forward, & out of the way to much injury."<sup>27</sup> He had every right to be concerned because he had sold the last of the 1794 corn crop in August just before the storm. Later in September, 1795, he visited Bonarva to check his corn crop and to purchase some land. At Bonarva:

. . . the Negroes had been cutting Rice almost all the week . . . & there is a good deal down which I must see put up in stacks before I leave them, which I expect we can have done by Saturday evening. Indeed if I could I would have the corn got into the crib before I Quit—But I purpose to leave the Lake on Sunday morning & to get up to Mr. Mackeys on Sunday evening so that you need not send over again before Monday, as I purpose to take ride with Mr. Lee over his land. I mean the Land that Mr. Pollock sold him some time ago. I flatter myself that I shall make a purchase, if he will sell what I shall think good and reasonable.

He found that the Negroes needed supervision since they:

had done just nothing from the time I had left them last. The fodder hangs all dead on the stalks except about a couple of cartloads of Blades. And they can offer very little excuse.

He expressed the opinion that the indolence of his Negroes was partially due to visits of some of the Lake Company's slaves. His Negroes had visited those on the adjoining plantation frequently enough to wear a trail to the lake.<sup>28</sup>

Throughout the year 1795 Pettigrew constantly worried about the title to the first land he purchased at the lake and which he later sold to the Lake Company.<sup>29</sup> He considered it so serious that he applied for the benefit of an act of assembly to rectify the error.<sup>30</sup> Finally in the spring of 1796 the situation became critical. The Lake Company brought matters to a head by denying to Pettigrew "the privilege of draining into the canal, after . . . shutting up haul creek, while but little water" was "vented thro the canal" whereby the lake was rendered so full to as to overflow, with its banks damaging Pettigrew's land and flooding his

<sup>27</sup> Charles Pettigrew to John and Ebenezer Pettigrew, September 19, 1795, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>28</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Mrs. Mary Pettigrew, October 1, 1795, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>29</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Lake Company, March 27, 1796, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>30</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Mrs. Mary Pettigrew, April 8, 1795. See Charles Pettigrew to the Lake Company, March 27, 1796, Pettigrew MSS.

plantation. Then they ordered him to attend the public "processioning" of the disputed lands. Pettigrew admitted that he had sold them lands without clear title and that as a result he had lost one-half the acreage. His letter pleading his innocence of intent to defraud<sup>31</sup> must have convinced his ex-parishioners for he continued to plant his Lake plantation and to purchase lands adjoining it. It may be assumed that an amicable settlement was made. Later he was allowed to use the Somerset Canal to flood and drain his rice fields.

Charles Pettigrew managed his lake property from Scotch Hall until January, 1797. At that time he moved to a farm that he purchased from James Dillon. "The tract consisted of sixty acres, forty cleared, for which he paid six hundred and forty dollars." He named this plantation Belgrade. His grandson wrote:

My grandfather first came to Scuppernong on Sunday evening [1797]. He landed at the place now belonging to Gen. Bateman. At that time the corn house. The house he came to was situated in the back part of what is at present and old field grown up in pines . . . not a vestage of the house remains. . . . In the January of 1797, my grand Father moved into a house, formerly occupied by one of the old Settlers of the country named Alexander, situated on the Eastern ten foot ditch.<sup>32</sup>

There was great activity at Pettigrew's Bonarva plantation in the spring and summer of 1797. In addition to planting and caring for the crops of rice, corn, and wheat, the energies of all the inhabitants were directed toward the construction of a dwelling house for the Belgrade plantation.<sup>33</sup> The frame was assembled in sections at Bonarva and moved by flat to Belgrade where the house was completed.<sup>34</sup> His grandson noted that this house was more pretentious and more comfortable than any in which his father had previously lived.

In March, 1799, Pettigrew and his family moved into this new dwelling and there he lived until his death.<sup>35</sup> Prior to moving to

<sup>31</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Mrs. Mary Pettigrew, April 8, 1795. See Charles Pettigrew to the Lake Company, March 27, 1796, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>32</sup> "Genealogy," MSS. of \_\_\_\_\_? [either Charles Lockhart Pettigrew or William Shepard Pettigrew], 1838, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>33</sup> "Genealogy," MSS. of \_\_\_\_\_? [either Charles Lockhart Pettigrew or William Shepard Pettigrew], 1838, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>34</sup> "Genealogy," MSS. of \_\_\_\_\_? [either Charles Lockhart Pettigrew or William Shepard Pettigrew], 1838, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>35</sup> Note in John Pettigrew's Copy of the Laws and Regulations of the University of North Carolina, Pettigrew MSS.

Belgrade he had erected four two-room slave houses.<sup>36</sup> In the following year he paid Joseph Alexander 100 pounds for fifty acres of land containing a dwelling house and outhouses located on the northwest side of the Scuppernong River.<sup>37</sup> This rounded out Belgrade plantation for several years.

Pettigrew's plantation demanded his close attention in 1799 and he could not leave to sell his crop. "having no overseer at Home, I am constrained to give the more close attention, & particularly at this Season of the Year,"<sup>38</sup> he wrote. His failure to market his crop left him with insufficient money for operating expenses.<sup>39</sup> His cash resources were further drained by expenditures on a farm house at Bonarva<sup>40</sup> and his expenditures in improvements at Belgrade. In spite of the economic pressure he remained optimistic. Conditions did improve. He wrote to Dr. Andrew Knox as follows:

I have a fine crop in the ground & some time ago, Shipped for Lizbon 41 tierces of Rice & sold as many more on credit until nov'r. . . . I flatter myself, we will be able to shew you crops, equal to the best you can boast on the rich lands of Pasquot'k.<sup>41</sup>

By 1799, however, the work in the swampy region began to take toll of the Negroes at Bonarva. Malaria and respiratory diseases impaired the efficiency of his labor force and changed his outlook again.

In 1800 he received the grant and deed to his lands on the Tennessee River. These lands represented a portion of the property he inherited on the death of his wife. His lawyer, Major H. O. Tatum, stated that these lands were located within the Indian boundary and added that the grant could be moved. He advised against taking such action, however, since better lands were scarce.<sup>42</sup> Taxes were low on this land but there were many difficulties involved in getting the money to the tax collector.

On several occasions Pettigrew sent money for the payment of taxes to both Tatum and Major George Weatherspoon. The money was sent by hand and was seldom delivered. On one such

<sup>36</sup> Memorandum for Ebenezer Pettigrew, 1798, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>37</sup> Deed and Bill of Sale of Lands Bought of Joseph Alexander, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>38</sup> Charles Pettigrew to John Pettigrew, May 18, 1799, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>39</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Dr. Andrew Knox, August 20, 1799, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>40</sup> Charles Pettigrew to John Pettigrew, May 18, 1799, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>41</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Dr. Andrew Knox, August 20, 1799, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>42</sup> Major Howell Tatum to Charles Pettigrew, September 11, 1800, Pettigrew MSS.

occasion Pettigrew wrote Major Tatum that any action that he took against the offenders would meet his approval and he included in the letter the deposition of his son, Ebenezer, to the effect that he had sent a sum of money by a man named Smith.<sup>43</sup>

During these experimental years Pettigrew followed the example of the successful Lake Company proprietors and planted rice extensively, with corn and wheat the second ranking crops. He made an effort to increase his income by increasing his production and spending as little as possible. He experimented with hemp, cotton, and other staple crops as possible income producers. The development of a timber products industry utilizing timber from the land he was clearing was the major success he enjoyed. This also served to provide off-season work for the slaves. His approach to the problem of how to make his plantation pay was always realistic. He was incessantly checking on other planters, changing, building, and seeking ways to render his plantations efficient. Shortly before his death he and his son Ebenezer arrived at the conclusion that the difficulties in growing and marketing rice, coupled with the fluctuating price, and the ill effects of the rice field work on the slaves outweighed the value of the crop. Large scale rice cultivation was soon abandoned, despite the heavy investment in ditches, gates, and machinery.

The problem of marketing crops and supplying the plantation was of major consequence to the success or failure of any plantation. In his efforts to market his crops Charles Pettigrew was much harassed by his inability to get boats to stop at "Port Scuppernong." Many times his crops were flatted to Edenton where they were transshipped to northern ports or to foreign countries. In getting needed supplies delivered the pattern was reversed. Ship captains refused cargoes, dictated freight rates, and in general irritated the peaceful planter. This phase of the operation of the plantation was a constant trial.

Charles Pettigrew utilized the service of a number of factors during his career as a planter. There were several prominent Edenton merchants and factors who were long established friends. Several of these were eager to assist the "old Parson," as he was called, establish himself as a planter. Among these was

---

<sup>43</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Major Howell Tatum, September 12, 1803, Pettigrew MSS.

John Little, who stated, "as to my services in this business I can assure you they are at yr. command, without any expectation of remuneration."<sup>44</sup>

Other Edenton factors with whom he dealt were John Cannon, Samuel Dickinson, Littlejohn and Bond, and the important vertical commission house of Josiah Collins. He also established connections with Kelly and Mollan, Tredwell and Thorne, Ballard and Diskin of New York, and Samuel Patrick of Baltimore.

Most of these factors charged standard commissions of two and one-half per cent plus small service charges. They performed all types of services for the planter. They advised Pettigrew when and where to ship, procured boats for him, and arranged transshipment of cargoes. They filled his orders for supplies, superintended packaging, and secured transportation for the supplies to the plantation. This relationship of factor and planter was the key to the plantation system. It was only natural that Pettigrew was highly indignant when one of these factors dealt unfairly with him. In June, 1796, Thomas Trotter, agent for Pettigrew, sold eighteen casks of rice weighing 10,191 pounds to Samuel Dickinson. On the back of his invoice Pettigrew noted: "The Rice which Dr. Dickinson cheated us out of by cunning getting it for 3½\$ when it was 7\$ at N-York (Note) 18 Tierces of Rice I was cheated out of by Dr. S. D.—n. a #11119 *nett*."<sup>45</sup> Another of the Edenton factors, John Cannon, had a chief clerk, Miller, whom Pettigrew thought too clever. On the back of a bill of sale for rice in 1802, he noted: "\$66.87 the Sales but by deductions reduced to \$47.41 cts. 4\$ freight for 1 pr . . . [?] as allowed by Mr. Miller was too much. Therefore we want no more of Millers calculation in favor of his friends among whom I am afraid I am not considered one."<sup>46</sup> In 1802 he complained bitterly of being tricked by an unidentified Jewish factor who sold him 500 pounds of inferior iron at a price of two dollars per hundred more than the best quality was bringing.<sup>47</sup> In 1806 Charles Pettigrew began a long fight against the middle men and harbor authorities that was to be continued by his son, Ebenezer—a battle that was to last for over

<sup>44</sup> John Little to Charles Pettigrew, March 12, 1799, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>45</sup> Invoice of rice sale, June 26, 1795, Pettigrew Papers.

<sup>46</sup> John Cannon to Charles Pettigrew, January 9, 1802, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>47</sup> Charles Pettigrew to \_\_\_\_\_, 1806, Pettigrew Papers.

fifty years. The planter felt that harbor masters discriminated against small planters, thus subjecting their cargoes to unnecessarily risk spoilage. Furthermore, cargoes seldom measured either by weight or volume as much as in Edenton or on the plantation.<sup>48</sup> Such variations were the source of much irritation to all planters and especially to Charles Pettigrew who was careful to be exact in his measurements, whether of staves or grain. The only recourse available to a planter, however, was to change factors. Despite these problems he enjoyed good business relationships with most of his factors.

In 1793 Charles Pettigrew shipped his first rice crop, thirteen tierces, to St. Bartholomews for which he received three dollars per tierce.<sup>49</sup> The only sale recorded between that year and 1799 was that previously mentioned to Dr. Dickinson. In 1799 he marketed seventy-two tierces of rice for an undisclosed price. The crop of 1801 was small and was sold to Watt Bell.<sup>50</sup> The 1802 crop averaged \$22.30 per tierce and the crop of 1803 averaged \$29.84 per tierce, the highest recorded price for rice. The crop of 1805 was marketed through Littlejohn and Bond for five cents per pound.<sup>51</sup> His last rice crop was the least profitable one he raised. Captain Samuel Bateman took the rice crop to Baltimore but it was so damaged in shipment that the factor reported:

I am sorry to informe you that the Rice is so much damaged from being Shiped or reshiped so offen that I have never been able to effect the Sale of it. . . . I shall have the Rice started and indevor to sepperate the good from bad as soon as posible.<sup>52</sup>

Pettigrew wrote his son that "the Damp wheat which had stuck to the Tierces had moulded the Rice, which the man discovered by boring in a gimblet."<sup>53</sup> On his return Bateman reported that he had sold the rice for \$3.50 per hundred pounds.<sup>54</sup>

Other crops sold for cash were wheat and corn. Wheat and corn did not figure prominently as cash crops before 1802. Apparently the plantation produced these two staples for consumption and for exchange with neighbors. Records show that some laborers in

<sup>48</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Ebenezer Pettigrew, November, 1806, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>49</sup> Invoice of Rice, 1793, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>50</sup> Watt Bell to Charles Pettigrew, June 30, 1801, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>51</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Ebenezer Pettigrew, June 9, 1805, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>52</sup> Samuel E. Patrick to Messrs. Charles Pettigrew & Son, December 2, 1806, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>53</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Ebenezer Pettigrew, November, 1806, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>54</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Ebenezer Pettigrew, November, 1806, Pettigrew MSS.

the Pettigrew ditching project of 1805 took payment in kind, principally rice, wheat, and corn.<sup>55</sup> In 1802 Charles Pettigrew mentioned to Ebenezer that he had attempted to bargain with a ship captain to take his lumber, staves, and corn to the West Indies.<sup>56</sup> By 1803 the wheat and corn crops planted were more extensive than ever before. One reason given was "should it be War in Europe, rice and wheat will bear a good price."<sup>57</sup> The wheat crop of 1806, 7,026 bushels, was shipped to New York but was damaged in a storm. In 1807 Ebenezer Pettigrew noted in his account book that the sales of wheat, corn, and rice netted \$1,100.76.<sup>58</sup> Since the records are scattered for these years it is difficult to estimate total crop production. The only other crops marketed through factors were flaxseed, oats, clover, and peas.<sup>59</sup> Only small quantities of these were reported and it is evident that many of these were traded for other products at the Pettigrew commissary. For example, in 1805 Ebenezer Pettigrew advertised wheat in exchange for beeswax.<sup>60</sup>

Factors engaged vessels to haul the steady supply of forest products turned out from the Pettigrew plantations. Lake Phelps was surrounded by excellent stands of popular, pine, gum, and cyprus trees. The canals and ditches provided an avenue for floating logs and the sawmill was busy constantly. Eventually the riving of shingles and barrel staves by slaves and white farmers became a large-scale operation. The year 1807 seems to have been the peak production year for forest products. In that year Charles Pettigrew sold 32,500 twenty-two inch shingles,<sup>61</sup> 1,130 hogshead headings, 2,030 barrel staves, and 1,330 "Read" oak hogshead staves.<sup>62</sup> This forest products business was a burden to some of the factors who found it difficult to dispose of shipments.<sup>63</sup> Proportionately the freight on such products, plus the charges for inspection and grading, were much higher than for other products. Ship captains did not like to haul such cargoes unless they could fit them piece-meal in with other cargoes. They found the

<sup>55</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Ebenezer Pettigrew, October 3, 1804, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>56</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Ebenezer Pettigrew, December 21, 1802, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>57</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Ebenezer Pettigrew, May 22, 1803, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>58</sup> Ebenezer Pettigrew Account Book, 1807-15; Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>59</sup> As an indication of the volume of some of these items, Ebenezer Pettigrew sold from Bonarva Plantation in 1806, ten and one-half bushels of flaxseed. John Popelston's Receipt, November 7, 1806, Pettigrew Papers.

<sup>60</sup> Ebenezer Pettigrew Notice, June 10, 1805; Charles Pettigrew to Ebenezer Pettigrew, June 9, 1805, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>61</sup> John Popelston, to Ebenezer Pettigrew, April 30, 1807, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>62</sup> Invoice Captain Barnaby Etheridge, 1807, Pettigrew Papers.

<sup>63</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Ebenezer Pettigrew, November, 1806; Samuel Patrick to Messrs. Charles Pettigrew & Son, December 2, 1806, Pettigrew MSS.

charges for loading and unloading and transshipping too high. But Charles Pettigrew believed such income necessary and the sale of timber products became an integral part of plantation production.

Pettigrew's factors also bought and shipped to his plantation all kinds of supplies. Just how much profit was made on such orders is not certain for the purchase of the items for a detailed order entailed much patience, footwork, and packaging. It is difficult to determine just what portion of the supplies sent to Bonarva and Belgrade were for the Pettigrew family and slaves. Most of the white labor employed by the Pettigrews and many yeoman farmers of the region exchanged labor for such items as salt, leather, cloth, cooking utensils, dishes, nails, spikes, and similar articles. Thus it is not clear just who received such an order as that from Kelly and Mollan in 1805. This order was for "Linnen, Kersmuth, Blue Cloath, Buttons, silk velvet vest shape, 66 yds. Linnen, calico, green plaid, Fine India muslin, Blue Brd cloath, London cloath, paper pins 2 silk umbrellas, . . . 25 spools thread, 14 $\frac{3}{4}$  lb. lump sugar."<sup>64</sup> Regardless of the eventual purchaser of such items, little difficulty was experienced in that phase of his factor relations.

Slave labor was not the only labor used on the Pettigrew plantations. Charles Pettigrew operated after 1798 on a pattern similiar to that of a manor lord but on a much smaller scale. (It is possible that this more nearly approximates the average in southern plantations than is generally pictured.) The Lake Company superintendent, Thomas Trotter, seldom employed local workmen for Josiah Collins' vertical commission house had skilled carpenters, shipwrights, brick masons, and other artisans for hire. These men, when needed, could work directly on the Lake Company property which by 1800 seems to have become in its entirety the property of Josiah Collins. Thus most of the local artisans and laborers turned for employment to Charles Pettigrew and he came, after the fashion of a feudal lord, to feel responsible for their employment. Occasionally skilled artisans such as John Colston of Edenton were brought over to build machinehouses and install machines. But most of the work of skilled or semi-skilled nature was done by local artisans. Josiah

---

<sup>64</sup> Kelly and Mollan Receipt, August 20, 1805, Pettigrew MSS.

Phelps, Cleophus Wiley, Jeremiah Frazier, Dempsey Spruill, and other craftsmen and farmer-craftsmen assisted Colston and other engineer-artisans. In addition they sawed lumber, erected out-buildings, and in general assisted on the plantation. Such individuals were necessary to the smooth operation of the two plantations and the policy of using hired local semi-skilled laborers was so successful that it was continued by his sons and grandsons until the Civil War interrupted all plantation activities.

Negro slaves were the principal labor force on Charles Pettigrew's Bonarva and Belgrade plantations. It is difficult to determine exactly how many slaves Pettigrew owned at any given interval. In 1791 he noted on the back of an envelope that he had thirteen taxable Negroes.<sup>65</sup> In his will drawn in 1806 he left his wife fourteen slaves and the remainder to Ebenezer. The best available figure indicates that the remaining slaves numbered twenty-five.<sup>66</sup>

In his relations with his slaves Pettigrew was practical and at the same time sympathetic. He paid them bonuses for superior or extra work, rewarded them for good conduct with gifts, allowed them free time to hunt, fish, relax, and work on their own projects, and generally sought to be a good master. He was entirely aware of the weaknesses of the system of slave labor and sought to warn his sons:

To manage *negroes* without the exercise of too much passion, is next to an impossibility, after our strongest endeavors to the contrary; I have found it so. . . . Let this consideration plead in their favor, and at all time mitigate your resentments. They are slaves for life. They are not stimulated to care and industry as white people are, who labor for themselves. They do not feel themselves *interested* in what they do, for arbitrary masters and mistresses; and their education is not such as can be expected to inspire them with sentiments of honor and gratitude. . . .<sup>67</sup>

Later he summed up his philosophy regarding slavery as follows: "It is a pity that agreeably to the nature of things, Slavery & tyranny must go together—and that there is no such thing as

<sup>65</sup> Charles Pettigrew to \_\_\_\_\_, March 2, 1791, Pettigrew Papers.

<sup>66</sup> Will of Charles Pettigrew, 1806, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>67</sup> "Last Advice of the Reverend Charles Pettigrew to His Sons" (printed), 1797, Pettigrew MSS.

having an obedient & useful Slave, without the painful exercise of undue & tyrannical authority. I sincerely wish there was not a Slave in the world."<sup>68</sup>

Most of his slaves responded to his direction and care. Yet he was never able to trust completely even his slave drivers. He cautioned Ebenezer regarding the Negro driver, Fortune:

In regard to your wheat, I am affraid it is too much exposed to the thievishness of the negroes. It is a very ready article of trade & *fortune* has his mercantile correspondents, who are ready at all times to receive him kindly. I observed the window at the back of the machine is not safe—nor did I see any way to confine down the Hatch, at either of the ends. Pray my Son be careful, & put no dependence in their honesty, for be assured their condition scarce admits of honesty, & they will improve opportunities of getting for themselves.<sup>69</sup>

After Ebenezer Pettigrew assumed the active management of Bonarva Plantation, his father frequently sent him jugs of wine, brandy, and rum by Negro slaves. That he feared the contents of the jugs would be sampled is established by the following note. "We have filled your jugg & tied a rag with 3 hard nots upon a Rag over the cork that the negroes may not take it."<sup>70</sup>

Several of Charles Pettigrew's slaves ran away and invariably they were the more important Negroes. Pettigrew wrote his wife to have the first of the run-aways mentioned "put in the Stocks & kept securely."<sup>71</sup> The next run-away mentioned was Pompey, a much trusted and valuable slave driver, who was given great freedom of movement. Charles Pettigrew described Pompey's escape in a letter to Ebenezer:

Last Monday morning Pompey ran away, while the others came to their Breakfasts, and we have not heard of him since. I am affraid he has gone for Edenton, & perhaps intends trying to get to a Brother whom Cambridge boasts of having a white wife somewhere northwards. I wish you therefore, to have secret inquiry made, as it is probable he may meet with sucour a few

<sup>68</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Ebenezer Pettigrew, May 19, 1802, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>69</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Ebenezer Pettigrew, October 25, 1804, Pettigrew MSS. Fortune was a driver and one of the slaves most frequently mentioned.

<sup>70</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Ebenezer Pettigrew (undated), Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>71</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Mary Pettigrew, 1795, Pettigrew MSS.

Days from his father, if in Town. I am sorry, I had occasion to take him to Town lately, as he had opportunity to hear of So many getting off so easily from there.<sup>72</sup>

Pompey's return was described in the same terse fashion:

Mr Pomp came in on Sunday afternoon, expecting I suppose that it was Sunday, he would escape with impunity, & So he did, until Monday morning, when I made George [another driver] give him a civil check for his impudence, & the loss of Just a week's work. The great affront was, I had made him wait upon us on Sunday to church; . . . Cambridge had not come in from his going to feed the Hoggs in the morning—on Monday, I began to chide him for his behavior, on that Occasion, & he could not bear reproof without giving me so much impudence as made me threaten him, on which he put off. I have sent him to the Lake, & intend he Shall Stay there with fortune.<sup>73</sup>

The escape of other slaves occasioned little comment. If the Pettigrews grew excited about such events, they unemotionally concealed their excitement. For example, in 1806 Ebenezer noted in his memorandum book, "Sept. 19 Charles [a negro driver] ran away about 12 o'clock" and on "October 6 Charles came in after being out 17 days."<sup>74</sup> On occasion Charles Pettigrew sought to forestall potential escapes by drastic action such as clapping slaves in irons or having the slave drivers whip them. The problem of runaways, however, seldom complicated the operation of his plantations.

Perhaps Charles Pettigrew's attitude toward his slaves may have been colored by the fear of slave insurrection that was widespread in certain sections of the South. Rumors of slave uprisings often disturbed the well ordered routine of a plantation and caused planters sleepless nights. Negro insurrections in Haiti and Santo Domingo "thoroughly alarmed the whites, not only of North Carolina, but of all the seaboard slave-holding states."<sup>75</sup> In 1802 the rumors of local insurrection became fact. Two Negroes were hanged for conspiracy in Camden County on May 15 and a week later two were hanged in Currituck County. The rumor reached Hertford County by June 1 and then

<sup>72</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Ebenezer Pettigrew, May 19, 1802, Pettigrew Papers.

<sup>73</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Ebenezer Pettigrew, May 22, 1803, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>74</sup> Memorandum Book, 1805, Pettigrew Papers.

<sup>75</sup> Rosser Howard Taylor, "Slave Conspiracies in North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review*, V (1928), 21-26; Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, 510-521.

spread to Bertie and Martin counties.<sup>76</sup> The ensuing contagion of fear spread into all the surrounding counties. In May, 1802, Charles Pettigrew wrote: "We had heard of the *negro plot*. I wish it may be properly Quelled—Linity will not do it—it will make them worse."<sup>77</sup> A month later he reported:

We have had a rumpus in the upper end of this county with the negroes—whether there are any of the conspirators among us I know not—no Discovery had been made nor anyone implicated that we hear of. I wish that when the [y] enter upon the Tryal of the Edenton boys, The examiners would be very particular in regard to the negroes at the Lake whether any of them have joined for it is extraordinary if every other place abounds so with conspirators & there should be none among us.

P. S. Mr. W. Trotter rec'd a Letter yesterday from Mr. Cator at Washington informing him of fifteen being found guilty there & 6 or 7 shot on the way to Williamston—I *Suppose for running*.<sup>78</sup>

After this date there is no mention of slave conspiracies or insurrections in his correspondence nor is there any evidence that the threat of either or both ceased to worry him.

The work of the Pettigrew slaves was difficult and their tasks were varied. Most of the Negroes worked in gangs under the supervision of George, Charles, or Pompey. These gangs cleared new ground, rolled logs into heaps, planted crops, hoed and ploughed them, and harvested, threshed, and loaded the crops on vessels. This labor of crop production was varied by such tasks as clearing vines and underbrush along the lake shore and canals, repairing ditches, building dikes, staking and filling in the lake shore to prevent flooding of the plantations, riving staves and shingles, and sawing trees. Such labor was monotonous but bearable. The worst task from the standpoint of slave health was that of cleaning the creek and canal. Pettigrew's Bonarva Canal and all his ditches constantly filled with refuse from his mills as well as from erosion. After the water level was lowered by use of sluice gates, slaves entered the canal with shovels and hoes and loaded the accumulated debris on flats. This constant, wearisome, and unhealthy task made both

<sup>76</sup> Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, 510-521.

<sup>77</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Ebenezer Pettigrew, May 19, 1802, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>78</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Ebenezer Pettigrew, June 21, 1802 (*italics mine*), Pettigrew MSS.

Charles and Ebenezer Pettigrew doubt the value of their agricultural system.

Besides routine labor slaves were used on scores of other tasks, all of them important in the effective operation of the plantation. Glasgow was coachman<sup>79</sup> and houseman; Philis was cook;<sup>80</sup> George, Pompey, and Anthony were "drivers" or foremen, and directed the work at Bonarva when neither master nor overseer was present;<sup>81</sup> Cambridge was the herdsman for the hogs and cattle;<sup>82</sup> Frank was the assistant blacksmith;<sup>83</sup> Lester and Pompey were errand boys or messengers.<sup>84</sup> Women field hands hoed rice and corn with the men during the routine of planting and housing crops. Cloth was issued to them which they made into clothes during the winter months.<sup>85</sup> Some of the women worked in the house spinning flax into linen thread and cotton into yarn. Several of the Negro women were excellent nurses and on one occasion Charles Pettigrew risked the life of one of the female slaves by sending her to nurse neighbors "ill of a dreadfully putrid fever; So that those who either visited or attended them generally took it, until I was obliged to Send a negro wench to nurse them."<sup>86</sup> All slaves both young and old, male and female, had the task of keeping the hordes of tiny "ricebirds" and pigeons from the rice fields. On one occasion Charles Pettigrew wrote Ebenezer that "The Birds are as bad at the Lake as ever. I have almost all our force there at present, to assist in replanting, keeping out the Birds & going over the Corn with the Hoe . . . . Anthony being out in the field keeping the Birds off the rice."<sup>87</sup> The Pettigrews, both father and son, demanded that slaves work efficiently and both supervised in person as many of the tasks as they could.

Yet there were opportunities for the slaves to relax and to perform labor more directly related to their own comfort. Records reveal that the slaves hunted for 'possum and coon, sought bee trees, fished along the canal and on the lake shore, had their

<sup>79</sup> John and Ebenezer Pettigrew to Charles Pettigrew, April 12, 1796; John and Ebenezer Pettigrew to Charles Pettigrew, February 23, 1797; Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>80</sup> John and Ebenezer Pettigrew to Charles Pettigrew, October 3, 1795, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>81</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Mrs. Mary Pettigrew, October 1, 1795; Charles Pettigrew to Mrs. Rebecca Tunstall, June 22, 1803, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>82</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Ebenezer Pettigrew, May 22, 1803, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>83</sup> Charles and Ebenezer Pettigrew Manuscript Book [no date], Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>84</sup> Correspondence, *passim*, 1796-1807, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>85</sup> Charles and Ebenezer Pettigrew Manuscript Book [no date], Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>86</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Major Howell Tatum, September 12, 1803, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>87</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Ebenezer Pettigrew, May 22, 1803, Pettigrew MSS.

individual garden plots, and were permitted to make shingles and staves in the swamp on their own time. They sold or traded to the plantation commissary beeswax, coon skins, rice, corn, flax, wheat, shingles, staves, and fence rails. Undoubtedly Charles Pettigrew engaged in these transactions for purposes of morale rather than gain, for the policy of paying top Edenton prices for such items was standard. The Negroes who had relatives in Edenton were allowed to visit their kinsmen occasionally, although as a policy this practice was gradually discontinued. If there was any widespread grumbling or discontent among the slaves, neither father nor son recorded it.

On the Pettigrew plantation adequate food and shelter was provided for slaves. Fish, meats, rice, meal, and flour produced on the plantations were slave staples. There were plenty of grapes and nuts in the fall.<sup>88</sup> Illustrative of the most important item in slave diet is this note from Charles Pettigrew to Ebenezer: "I shall send you three Barrels now of packed Herrings—one whole fish, & the other two cut—and for present use, some, perhaps 300 of smoke dried . . . as it might be injurious to open one of the Barrels so soon after packing."<sup>89</sup> Slave cabins may not have been comfortable but they were repaired along with the rest of the plantations buildings. Every effort was made to insure the health of the slaves. The distance from physicians forced Charles Pettigrew to become a "Quack" as he termed it and frequently he exhausted himself fighting epidemics among his slaves. Several of his slaves died from either pneumonia or tuberculosis and others were victims of what he called "fever." The worst fever year was 1799. He wrote Dr. Andrew Knox at Nixonton, near what is now Elizabeth City:

We have had on this side the most mortal fever, ever known Since the Settlement of the place (many fatalities) . . . . It Seems however to spread, for one of our negroes has it. It is the slow nervous fever, & in the advanced stage. . . . I expended almost all my Little Stock of physic on them, & did everything I could as a Quack. . . . Cyder & Water, I think has as good an effect to raise the pulse as either *wine* or *french Brandy*. . . . It is happy for the poor who can cheaply command it.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Dr. Andrew Knox, August 20, 1799, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>89</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Ebenezer Pettigrew [no date], Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>90</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Dr. Andrew Knox, August 20, 1799, Pettigrew MSS.

All of his Negroes recovered from that epidemic but his son, John, who caught the fever while on a visit to his home, died.

Like many southern planters Charles Pettigrew considered the necessity of employing an overseer one of the worst features of the plantation system. In his "Last advice to his Sons" he expressed his opinion of overseers:

It will be necessary that you keep an *overseer*: and this will be attended with so much *expense* that it will require you to be very cautious . . . . This will make it necessary that you keep exact accounts of *profit* and *loss*; also that you pay a close attention to the man into whose hands you entrust the management of your plantation affairs. Overseers are too generally very unfaithful in the discharge of the trust reposed in them. . . .<sup>91</sup>

All of his references to overseers indicate that this was a considered opinion. In 1790 he wrote: "Two heavy crosses I have, are a poor crazy constitution and a miserable clump of an overseer, whom I have to oversee."<sup>92</sup> He expressed the following opinion of the Collins' overseer: "Allen & Dickinson have a Quarter of negroes below them on the Lake & an overseer, which seems to be as much of a negro in principle as e'ra one of them."<sup>93</sup> In 1800 he wrote his friend Nathaniel Blount that he had taken to riding to a plantation which:

. . . I have on a Lake about 9 miles off once & sometimes twice a week, which I find greatly conducive to health. This I am under the necessity of doing, from the fullest conviction that overseers require little less oversight than their employers *fidelity*, there is not so much *Difference* between *white* & *black* as our natural partiality for the former would persuade us.<sup>94</sup>

By 1803 he was completely convinced of the inadequacy of overseers and expressed this opinion: "We have no Overseer, choosing rather to oversee the negroes, than an Overseer & them to, without which Employers generally go to leeward. The negroes at the Lake plantation have commonly done better by themselves with a little direction than with such Overseers, as we have had."<sup>95</sup>

<sup>91</sup> "Last Advice of the Reverend Charles Pettigrew to His Sons," 1797 (printed), Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>92</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Nathaniel Blount, June 16, 1790, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>93</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Mrs. Mary Pettigrew, October 1, 1795, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>94</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Nathaniel Blount, May, 1802, Pettigrew Papers.

<sup>95</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Mrs. Rebecca Tunstall, June 22, 1803, Pettigrew MSS.

In his effort to become self-sufficient, Charles Pettigrew placed all kinds of livestock on his plantations. Horses were unable to give effective work in the hot, damp climate and Ebenezer was cautioned not to "distress" them.<sup>96</sup> It was necessary, however, that horses be kept for riding and for travel by chair. Virtually all of the heavy hauling was done by ox teams. Care had to be exercised with oxen. Charles warned Ebenezer:

... as you intend to plough the Oxen, be very cautious in respect of the heat of the Day, as they are easily killed, & now the sun shines intensely hot—you had better have them ploughed only Early in the morning & late in the afternoon, as you are Sensible how careless the negroes are.<sup>97</sup>

Sheep were kept for wool and for food. Hogs in great numbers ranged the woods until fall when they were penned and fattened. Charles Pettigrew warned Ebenezer that if a change should take place with regard to slavery, it would be better to "have fewer hogs, that much corn may not be necessary."<sup>98</sup> The plantation was well supplied with all kinds of domestic fowl as well as game and fish. In the winter season at least one of the slaves hunted to provide game for the table.

The Pettigrews planted a variety of vegetables and fruits. Lake Phelps originally was known as "Scuppernong" and "grape time"<sup>99</sup> at "Lake Scuppernong" was famous throughout the Edenton region. Minor crops such as flax, oats, barley, rye, and peas also played a role on the plantation. Salt, spices, and condiments were purchased but most of the other foodstuffs were produced on the plantation. From the mills wheat flour was obtained, rice was plentiful, wine from the indigenous scuppernong was renowned, and cider was made at the press. Certainly there was no shortage of food or drink for either the Pettigrews or their slaves.

On the third of November, 1803, Ebenezer Pettigrew returned from the Edenton Academy and assumed direction of Bonarva Plantation.<sup>100</sup> Charles Pettigrew retired to what he termed the "manner" plantation, Belgrade. From Belgrade he instructed

<sup>96</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Ebenezer Pettigrew, October 25, 1804, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>97</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Ebenezer Pettigrew, August 7, 1804 (1801?); Charles Pettigrew to Ebenezer Pettigrew [no date], Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>98</sup> "Last Advice of the Reverend Charles Pettigrew to His Sons" (printed), 1797, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>99</sup> Charles Pettigrew to Dr. Andrew Knox, August 20, 1799, Pettigrew MSS.

<sup>100</sup> Manuscript of William Shepard Pettigrew, Pettigrew MSS.

Ebenezer to the details of plantation management by the use of notes carried by messenger. Both plantations were so well integrated that the labor force was interchangeable. Hence, while the bulk of the machinery was located at Bonarva, the Belgrade products were "flatted" to the machinery and processed. An important feature of the plantation system of Charles Pettigrew was the fact that he sought to use machinery wherever possible. By 1807 he had at his Bonarva Plantation a sawmill, grist mill, rice-threshing machine, rice-husking machine, grain separator, wheat-threshing machine, and hydraulic ram. These rendered his plantations more efficient and allowed greater mobility of his labor supply.

When Charles Pettigrew died on April 8, 1807, he left his lands to his wife, Mary Lockhart Pettigrew, and to his son, Ebenezer Pettigrew. To his wife he left "the full possession of my house and mannor plantation [Belgrade] together with every other house & convenience thereto belonging or in any wise appertaining." She was to have the continued and uninterrupted use of this plantation throughout her life. He also left her the stored meat and grain as well as all his stock of cattle, two-thirds of his hogs, one-half his sheep, three horses, Fox, Peacock, and Fancy and a horse cart, a riding chair, and a yoke of oxen. He left her fourteen Negroes, "Namely: Thelma, Philis, Edith, Jack, Pompey, Charles, Cambridge, Cloe, Airy, Claressa, Judith, Gillsy, Lewis & Lucy." To Ebenezer he left "the plantation & Houses which he is now in possession of, on the Lake, Known by the name of Bonarva, all my land in Mall Creek, the Land & plantation which I bought of Joseph Alexander, the mannor plantation & the the lands, thereto belonging . . . also my lands in the State of Tennessee," and all the remaining property not left to his wife. In his will Charles Pettigrew made provision for arbitrating any difficulty between his wife and his son.<sup>101</sup>

By hard work and careful management Charles Pettigrew founded an efficient plantation system. He was possessed of a tremendous land hunger and he constantly added all the adjoining lands that he could purchase. He also acquired lands by both his marriages. Thirty years after the death of Charles Pettigrew, Edmund Ruffin, the famous agricultural reformer, visited the

---

<sup>101</sup> Will of Charles Pettigrew, 1806, Pettigrew MSS.

two plantations, Belgrade and Bonarva, then under the direction of Ebenezer Pettigrew. His judgement of the life work of Charles Pettigrew is the appraisal of a careful observer. "Mr. Pettigrew, the elder commenced his labors . . . under all the disadvantages of his neighboring proprietor, and with the great additional ones of very limited capital and a small and weak laboring force. Under such circumstances, the extent and value of his drainage, clearing and cultivated land and other improvements, are wonderful."<sup>102</sup> The plantation system Charles Pettigrew established was to survive successive economic disasters until the Civil War destroyed the labor supply.

---

<sup>102</sup> Ruffin, "Jottings Down," VII, 729.

ACADEMIC REQUIREMENTS OF SALEM COLLEGE,  
1854-1909\*

BY IVY MAY HIXSON

By the middle of the nineteenth century the population surrounding the Salem Female Academy no longer made widespread use of the German language, and business transactions as well as social intercourse with neighboring peoples began to be wholly in English. In the year 1854 the church and town of Salem formally adopted the English language, and all records were thenceforth written in English.<sup>1</sup> In the summer of the same year, Blum and Son, printers of Salem, published a twelve-page pamphlet, the first formal catalogue of Salem Female Academy, though not the first publication of the institution.<sup>2</sup>

The young lady who wished to register in the Salem Female Academy was required to make application and to pay an entrance fee of five dollars, but no academic qualifications determined her admission. As a member of the student group she was known as a scholar, and scholars were admitted whenever vacancies occurred, with the vacancy held only long enough to allow time for the trip to Salem. The first catalogue (1854) contained a register of 329 scholars, representing 11 states and including 52 day scholars, a faculty of 29, three trustees, a secretary, and the principal, Robert de Schweinitz, who served from 1853 to 1865.

The academic regulations both for the resident scholar and for the day scholar seemed to remain stable throughout the years in which deSchweinitz and his successor, M. E. Grunert (1865-1877), served as principals. Each scholar was placed in a study according to the proficiency which she could demonstrate, and in each study separately she advanced as fast as her own efforts

---

\* It is the purpose of this paper to show the changes in the academic requirements of Salem College within the period 1854-1909. The formal college catalogues, which began in the year 1854, have provided factual accounts of academic practices and also regulations devised and then revised in the interest of improving the academic standards of the college. For the years after 1878 the issues of *The Academy*, a monthly publication of the student body, have provided amplification and clarification of the factual statements of the catalogues. Additional source material has included the historical accounts of the Moravians, of Wachovia, and of the Salem Female Academy as recounted by Adelaide L. Fries, J. H. Clewell, L. T. Reichel, and others.

<sup>1</sup> L. T. Reichel, *The Moravians in North Carolina* (Salem, N. C., 1857), 112.

<sup>2</sup> In the years 1806 and 1840, and even in other years, various circulars in English were printed and distributed in answer to letters requesting information concerning the institution.

would allow. Such an academic policy offered individual possibilities for work that might have been classified as either preparatory work or college work. Only in elementary English was the scholar held to continual training, regardless of any proficiency she might demonstrate. In addition to the regular studies covered by the charge for tuition, each young lady generally added language, music, or ornamental needlework. The variety of subjects was designed, as stated in the catalogue, "to fit the scholar, by the best training, for the sober duties and the solid realities of life." In each of the years of the administration of de Shweinitz and of Grunert, the faculty was constantly increased as the number of scholars increased, and as early as 1859 a second "gentleman member" had been added to the teaching staff.

The day scholars, though carefully distinguished in the early catalogues, were not so distinctly marked in reality. Before the building of Main Hall<sup>3</sup> they were not regularly included in the student body. They had their own rooms in charge of special teachers, and while joining with the resident scholars in most of their studies, they were instructed separately in writing and in sewing.<sup>4</sup> The resident scholars were likewise under the care of special teachers, and although the principal and his wife were regarded as the parents of the entire group of girls, resident tutoresses supervised the studies and the morals of the resident scholars who were divided into "room companies" numbering twenty or twenty-two girls of approximately the same age.

In spite of war and postwar problems, the legislature of North Carolina gave careful consideration to the rights and privileges of the well-known and seemingly prosperous educational institution of Salem. On February 3, 1866, the Salem Female Academy was incorporated as a college. The charter stated that "the faculty of said school, that is to say, the President and Professors and Teachers, by and with the consent of the Trustees, shall have the power of conferring all such degrees or marks of literary distinction, or diplomas, as are usually conferred in colleges and seminaries of learning."<sup>5</sup> It was not until 1878 that the catalogue indicated that the institution had received the charter of 1866.

<sup>3</sup> Main Hall, first occupied in 1856, contained classrooms, dormitory rooms, an infirmary, and storage rooms.

<sup>4</sup> Adelaide L. Fries, *Historical Sketch of Salem Female Academy* (Salem N. C., 1902), 20.

<sup>5</sup> *Catalogue of the Salem Female Academy, 1878-1879*, 20.

Twenty years later the catalogue was printed as the Catalogue of Salem Academy and College, but it was January 15, 1907, before the General Assembly of North Carolina changed the name of the Salem Female Academy to that of the Salem Academy and College.

The academic practices of the school continued until 1878 to follow the principles stated in the early catalogues. The three principles of discipline continued to be described as system, regularity, and punctuality. In 1871 the catalogue had listed, for the first time, the textbooks used, and had indicated the general curriculum. The textbook list was as follows:

History—Quackenbos—Primary United States  
Geography—Mitchell—Primary Geography; and Atlas  
Astronomy—Smith and Kiddle—Astronomy  
Mathematics—Davies—Course in Mathematics  
Latin—Bingham—Latin Grammar; Caesar; Vergil; Horace  
French—Pujol and Van Norman Class Book; *Le Conscrit de 1813*; *Trois Mois sous la Neige*  
German—Worman  
Botany—Gray  
Philosophy—Comstock; Steele; Watt's *On the Mind*  
Geology—Steele  
Mythology—Dwight  
Criticism—Kames *Elements*

In the year 1877, J. T. Zorn became the new principal, and the first year of his seven-year period of service saw sweeping changes, evidently designed to raise the academic standards of the institution. In all probability such changes were planned in a previous year but no earlier catalogue gave any evidence of such revision. Apparently, the school had been criticised as to its aim, or for its social aspects, for the catalogue of 1877-1878 stated that "the reputation and character of a fashionable or finishing school are designedly avoided." The catalogue restated its aim "as an institution of Christian usefulness, with its government, domestic arrangements, and routine life resembling those of the family, and designed in fact to compensate the pupils for their loss of home."

In order to carry out these new or re-stated aims, definite plans were formulated to separate the preparatory work and the

college work, and to raise the standards of each. The college curriculum was given in *The Advanced Course*, and the preparatory work was arranged for lower classes and for higher classes. The lower classes were required to study reading, writing, arithmetic, dictation, spelling, history, and geography. For the higher classes, there were the added courses of algebra, geometry, astronomy, physiology, botany, elementary Latin and elementary French. Candidates for the *Advanced Course*, instituted in 1877-1878, were selected by the faculty and the course was designed "to meet the rudiments, at least, of a classical or collegiate education," with the aim of preparing students in the most thorough manner for the higher college courses. The nine students selected were given the course of study prescribed in the "Preliminary Examinations for Women" held annually by Harvard University, under the auspices of the "Woman's Education Association." This course of study included the following: English (composition, history of the English language, literature, and critical study of the English classics); elementary botany or physics; algebra; geometry; history; and German, Latin, or Greek. A special eight-page circular was issued by Principal Zorn to describe the new scholastic system or curriculum, and to list the new textbooks.

The method of instruction for the revised courses of study was carefully and pointedly described:

The method is patient and laborious, and hence likely to be thorough. When practicable, no textbooks are used, the teacher lecturing and the scholars taking notes of their own. Intelligent recitations are insisted on, and scholars are required to look up information for themselves and to present it in writing.<sup>6</sup>

In order to carry out this method, classes were limited to fifteen scholars; and printed reports were issued indicating attainment not only in studies but in conduct and habits. What reaction the student body showed to the new academic requirements is not indicated in the catalogue, but perhaps the members of the *Advanced Course* were somewhat compensated by the separate room assigned to them—"a room with rug and rocking chairs, making them the envy of those who had to be content with stained floors and straight-back chairs."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Catalogue of the Salem Female Academy, 1878-1879*, 13.

<sup>7</sup> *The Academy*, vol. 1, no. 5 (September, 1878), 20.

At the close of the year 1877-1878, certificates of graduation were presented on June 20 to six students who had passed the required examinations of the Advanced Course. In succeeding years, high standards were apparently maintained in the expanding curriculum of what may be most accurately described as a junior college program.<sup>8</sup> Certainly we are safe in assuming that the standard of work prior to the clear-cut separation of preparatory and college curricula was superior to the standards of the existing preparatory schools, and therefore deserving of recognition on the college level. The incorporation of the school in 1866 as a college provided legal recognition that college standards had been achieved. And since the academic policy prior to 1866 was to advance each scholar as fast as her own efforts would allow, it is difficult to prove the existence or non-existence of work on the college level in the early years of the Salem Female Academy. The quality of the student body and its individual scholars as well as the teaching abilities of the individual faculty members were the real determinants of the academic standards and of any valid distinction between preparatory and college curricula.

After its first year the Advanced Course was open only to those students who fulfilled such standards of achievement as were prescribed by the faculty. The catalogue of 1878-1879 indicates that admission was granted to those who could read English prose "fluently and intelligently, with articulation and emphasis; who were versed in Arithmetic, including vulgar and decimal fractions, denominate numbers and interest; and who had completed Geography, History of the United States and of England, Algebra through simple equations, and plane geometry." The catalogue further stated that the standards were high and that no one would be advanced to a higher grade if for any reason she was incapable of maintaining the standards or of doing meritorious work. Until 1885 the students enrolled in the Advanced Course were classified as juniors<sup>9</sup> and as seniors, while the Preparatory School classified its students as the second class, third class, fourth class, and fifth class.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The North Carolina State Department of Public Instruction evaluates graduation from Salem College prior to 1910 as equivalent to two years of college work or sixty semester hours.

<sup>9</sup> The juniors were also described as members of the first class.

<sup>10</sup> The fourth class and the fifth class represented the lower classes while the second class and the third class were the higher classes of the Preparatory School.

In the year 1879-1880 the Music Department, which had been gradually evolving, was formally established, and a course of "Systematic Musical Study in Pianoforte Playing and Vocal Culture" took its place beside the Advanced Course. The program of work for the new course was arranged to cover two or three years, depending upon the proficiency of the student. On June 16, 1881, diplomas were awarded to five graduates of the Music Department: two in piano playing, and three in cultivation of the voice. In the following year there was further expansion of the general curriculum as the Drawing and Needlework Department effected a reorganization and offered work in painting, drawing, and decorative needlework. To the college curriculum were added courses in bookkeeping, and in elementary political and social economy; and Latin, French, and German began to be included as optional subjects among the courses covered by the general tuition charge, though this privilege was granted only to members of the junior and senior classes.

By 1884 the Salem Female Academy seemed well established as an institution of high academic standing. Its graduates of the Advanced Course numbered seventeen, and to those who wished to "extend the studies" of the Advanced Course, a Post Graduate Course was made available in "Mathematical, Linguistic and Natural Scientific" branches. Study parlors were set up for the young scholars, and the catalogue described the school as thoroughly progressive, yet without superficiality and pretense. Religious instruction, scrupulously unsectarian, continued to be provided; domestic arrangements were directed by the wife of the principal, and the pattern of home life continued to be the pattern for school life. The Salem Female Academy in 1880 advertised itself in the following way: "A notably pleasant and safe home and high class school for girls and young women. Government and discipline kindly but firm. Painstaking instruction. No social distractions. Six resident lady teachers constantly in charge. Fourteen instructors. Number of studies carefully limited. Systematic Physical culture. Exceptional advantages in music." In the year 1884, the last year of his administration, Zorn added to the advertisement the single line: "Great care is taken that scholars may not be overworked."

The administration of President Edward Rondthaler, from 1884 to 1888, was responsible for the expansion of the curriculum and the provision for training in specialized fields. In 1885 the Commercial Department was established, with courses offered in phonography, telegraphy, and bookkeeping. Typewriting was added in 1886, and in 1888 five girls were actively engaged in commercial work. In the Art Department special training was offered in brass respoussé, and to the Music Department guitar was added in 1886 and violin in 1887. In 1884 the Modern Language Department began the second year of its existence with seventeen private scholars in French and six in German, and in 1887 the Linguistic Department came into existence, with Latin and Greek as additional offerings.

The Advanced Course of Salem Academy and College was renamed the Academic Course, and in 1885 its work was expanded to include three years, the junior class, the middle class, and the senior class. Students were allowed to enter the junior and middle classes but the senior class could not be entered unless the previous year had been spent at the Academy. Parents were earnestly requested not to ask deviations from the regular course, and they were told that in nine-tenths of such cases the deviation worked to the detriment of the pupil. The Post Graduate Course was "placed at as high a standard as the educational condition of the South would admit," but the details of the course were not given in the catalogue and no time was specified for its completion. In 1886-1887 the Academic Course was again expanded and the new four-year program included senior, senior middle, junior middle, and junior students. Further evidence of the emphasis placed on academic details was found in the new list of textbooks adopted in 1887-1888, which included Gildersleeve's New Latin Primer; Wentworth's Algebra, Geometry and Trigonometry; Maury's Physical Geography; and Thalheimer's General History. Not only the textbooks but also other details of the academic and social life of the institution were developing a twentieth-century flavor. In June, 1886, the Alumnae Association was established, and in the course of the year 1887-1888 two literary societies, the Euterpian and the Hesperian, were organized by the students.

In June, 1890, Dr. John H. Clewell<sup>11</sup> awarded, for the first time in the history of the institution, the bachelor of arts degree. This degree was conferred on seven students who had completed the Post Graduate course in natural science, in literature, or in the combination of these two fields of study. Since 1878 certificates of graduation had been awarded to students who completed the courses prescribed for the Advanced or Academic Course, but after 1890 the catalogue stated that satisfactory post graduate work was necessary for the bachelor of arts degree. This regulation remained in the catalogue until 1901 but after 1890 only fifteen students were listed as post graduate students, and usually only one or two were so enrolled in any one year. In 1901 the regulation appeared to change; and to the student who completed successfully thirty semester hours of post graduate work, the master of arts degree was offered. After 1907 there was no further mention of this degree, and the catalogues list no actual recipients of an earned M.A. degree.<sup>12</sup> But there are other points of confusion in the story of degrees that could be earned. In 1901 the catalogue listed uniform requirements for the freshman and sophomore years as follows: Latin, mathematics, literature, and science, with lectures and chorus singing as additional activities. In the junior and senior years the student was required to direct her course of study toward the B.A., the B.L., or the B.S. degree. The B.A. required advanced work in mathematics, science, language, and literature; the B.L. required advanced work in mathematics, language, and literature; and the B.S. required advanced work in science, language or mathematics, and literature.

In the following year the requirements for the B.L. and the B.S. became identical, with courses required in mathematics, science, and literature. The catalogue in 1903 stated that a thesis or essay from 1,000 to 2,000 words in length was required for the B.A., and that a thesis or essay from 3,000 to 4,000 words in length was required for the B.L. Since no mention was made of the B.S. it may be safely assumed that it disappeared after

<sup>11</sup> Dr. Clewell became president in 1888 and served until 1909. The 21 years of his administration witnessed the development of what may be described as the modern academic and social program of the standard, accredited college. The trend of enrollment in Salem Academy and College foreshadowed the separation of the Academy or Preparatory School and the College. At the same time precedent was established for special students, particularly in music, who would study without working for college credit.

<sup>12</sup> In the year 1916 honorary M.A. degrees were awarded to two alumnae.

a two-year existence until it was restored in 1918. In time those who received certificates of graduation upon the completion of the Academic Course came to think of such awards as equivalent to degrees—and perhaps rightly so since they were based on four years of college work, representing the equivalent of the college degree program of similar institutions. No permanent records, i.e. certified academic records, exist prior to the academic year 1903-1904, and consequently there is no record of the recipients of B.L. or B.S. degrees as distinguished from the B.A. degree. Fortunately, the lack of optional subjects in those earlier years has made it relatively easy for a course of study to be determined for the majority of individuals whose names appear in the catalogue.

Except for the confusion resulting from the post graduate plans and from the various proposals for degrees, the academic changes of Dr. Clewell's administration were, on the whole, representative of a sound expansion designed, seemingly, to meet the desires if not the needs of a growing student body. The Industrial Department was organized in 1889-1890 and offered courses in educational sewing,<sup>13</sup> cooking, and later woodcarving and home nursing. In 1892-1893 the Elocution Department came into existence, and ten years later this department incorporated Physical Culture and Mental Technique and Reading. In 1897-1898 the curriculum of the music department was expanded by the addition of mandolin and banjo playing, harmony, and the history of music.<sup>14</sup> In 1902-1903 the Natural Science Department was created.

General academic practices, described under the heading of the school plan, give the picture of the growth and development of the institution under President Clewell. In 1890 the schedule, made in a novel way, preserved the record of faculty teaching loads. Names of the instructors and also the names of the studies were printed on strips of paper, and these in turn were pasted on blocks of wood. "In case of a needed change the block was not easily misplaced and hence the mortification of losing studies and teacher's names was not so easily experienced."<sup>15</sup> In the year 1890-1891 the school adopted a policy of purchasing textbooks

<sup>13</sup> Educational sewing included plain and fancy stitches, embroidery, and dressmaking.

<sup>14</sup> From the diploma in music was evolved the B.M. degree, which was first awarded in June, 1926.

<sup>15</sup> *The Academy*, vol. XII, no. 108 (September, 1890), 531.

from students at the end of the year—provided the books were not greatly damaged. In this same year the alumnae began its Scholarship Fund in order to aid students who had financial difficulties. In 1900-1901 the school advertised the use of the Berlitz or natural method of teaching French, and it also boasted a French table for its boarding students. In 1902-1903 the new “quiz plan” was adopted with the result that each month an hour quiz was given in each subject. From time to time a series of teachers’ conferences was held, including two or three meetings weekly, with the study of educational theories as the general program topic. There is also evidence that much time was devoted to such student problems as absences, for *The Academy*<sup>16</sup> stated that “requests for excuses from studies promise to bring the most pernicious results.” Again there was the problem of required physical culture, for in 1899-1900 the following statement was given in the catalogue: “Experience has abundantly shown that those who are most averse to physical exercise are precisely those who need it most. It is obviously out of the question that mere caprice should dictate in a matter so very important and yet so little understood.”

In a constant effort to maintain or improve academic standards, the faculty of Salem Academy and College was urged to devise new procedures or to investigate and keep in touch with the academic practices of other institutions. A number of faculty members were taken in 1901 to the New York Chatauqua where a careful study was made of the best methods to be used in various departments; other faculty members were sent to summer schools or awarded scholarships to be used for leaves of absence. In the year 1906 the month of July was devoted to a conference of faculty members who remained on the campus in order to study and revise the school plan. A more careful plan of examinations was devised, the textbooks were changed, and a plan for speed work was instituted so that the student might attain a higher rate of accomplishment as she translated her Latin, solved her algebraic problems, read her history, or wrote her shorthand. In 1901 the students of the junior and senior classes inaugurated a movement for the establishment of two professional chairs—the Lehman Chair of Literature and the

<sup>16</sup> *The Academy*, vol. XII, no. 108 (September, 1890), 532.

Shaffner Chair of Mathematics. Thus the constant need for academic improvement and growth was recognized by students, faculty, and the administration.

The span of fifty-five years from 1854 to 1909 had witnessed remarkable changes in the development of the Salem Female Academy into an institution of higher learning. The great surge of student activities which moved swiftly to a plan of tradition, the expansion of the institution's life into the life of the community, and the realization of a needed expansion of the physical plant gave expression as early as 1907-1908 to the hope that Salem Academy or Preparatory School might constitute a separate and distinct institution<sup>17</sup> with separate buildings and separate regulations. In 1908-1909, the census report of the United States Government selected that strip of country fifty miles wide which showed the best health record and the lowest death rate in the United States. Since Salem Academy and College was included in this territory, the institution was apparently equipped through both natural environment and man-made developments for many more years of progress and achievement. The catalogue of 1908-1909, which closed the administration of Dr. Clewell, bore the notation: "After July 10, 1909, address all correspondence to Reverend Howard E. Rondthaler, President."

---

<sup>17</sup> In 1913, just five years later, this hope was a reality, although it was 1930 before the complete separation of buildings and campus was effected.

NEW PLANS AGAINST AN OLD BACKGROUND,  
SALEM COLLEGE, 1866-1884

BY HOWARD E. RONDTHALER

The double decade 1866-1884 was a difficult period for Salem College, as it was for all schools in the troubled South. These years immediately following the War Between the States cover three presidencies of Salem Academy and College, namely those of Maximilian Grunert and Theophilus Zorn, four years for the former and seven years for the latter, and lead up to the four-year presidency of Edward Rondthaler beginning in 1884. It is absolutely essential to consider this period against the extremely troubled background of Reconstruction.

Reconstruction financial meant the slow recovery from the enormous economic losses consequent upon the war. These losses included the destroyed state of North Carolina money with bundles of Confederate paper money remaining in the school safe and ultimately becoming absolutely valueless.

Reconstruction industrial must reckon with labor transitions and plant deteriorations and erosion.

Reconstruction social must include the general school systems wrecked throughout the state with government chaotic and almost prostrate.

Reconstruction in rural life must reckon with high demoralization everywhere and with free labor resources gone.

Reconstruction political meant the two great parties topsyturvy, mutually suspicious and inevitably hostile one to the other.

Most boarding schools, colleges, and universities closed but were not always locked, as was the sad case of the buildings at the University of North Carolina whose empty dormitories and classrooms were frequently raided and abused and whose halls and rooms were occupied by marauding Negro tenants who even destroyed the doors of the buildings for fuel, and many of the doors had not been replaced by 1895.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Word of mouth accepted tradition during the student days of the author, H. E. Rondthaler, who was a resident of South Hall building, 1889-1893. President Kemp P. Battle related this "Door Tradition" to the writer. See also Hope S. Chamberlain, *Old Days in Chapel Hill*, 222ff.

The question arises—What bearing had all this upon Salem Academy and College? Indeed much. It would have been far easier to have closed Salem's doors at the first sound of war and to have held them closed, as some southern schools and colleges did, until well after the surrender and far into the perplexities of reconstruction days. But not so with Salem! "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do—do it with thy might," a truth so deeply imbedded in the hearts and minds of the Salem group that not one school day was lost through all the years of warring tumult. We can never fully know how much this sincere devotion to duty ultimately cost our beloved institution.

Having continued operations every school day during the years of chaos meant that when the war was over and peace was slowly trying to find the answer, Salem was of necessity using the same prewar, well-worn equipment—more than well-worn—outworn, outmoded, and much of it painfully obsolete. The result was that these tokens of fidelity and devotion—tokens indeed of loyalty and sturdy endurance—were long to remain actual fetters. Bonds and chains they were, over against and in competition with institutions which had subsided during war and had not resumed operations until in the new day of further reconstruction, repairs, installations, and modernization could replace some of the destruction of the days gone by.

Take one particular item in the set-up of Salem Academy and College. Steam heat was not introduced until 1913 which means that stove wood was carried in hods upon the shoulders of yardmen just as had been done for a century before. Up and up the long flights of stairs from cellar to the fourth floor, and on every floor between, to fuel the wood-burning stoves everywhere. A well known clumsy, thudding sound told again and again that a yard-man had dumped from his tired shoulders another hod load of stove wood for that particular room.<sup>2</sup>

When the steam plant was completed in the year 1913, the American Radiator Company asked permission to photograph the pyramid of wood burning stoves which they had gathered and replaced. There were eighty-four such stoves, bearing a mute and iron-clad testimony to a heating system which was old be-

---

<sup>2</sup> My boyhood memory, 1887 and thereafter. H.E.R.

fore the Civil War began.<sup>3</sup> Antiques can be ornamental tokens of an interesting historic past, but if they are super-abundant, they can be chains and fetters misrepresenting to the public mind an institution hard at work in a new day.

Along with the wood stoves consider the handicap of antique lighting equipment, of pre-historic plumbing and laboratory fittings and anti-diluvian kitchen ranges, stone-age laundry set-up, not to mention Noachic bathtubs.

Into the old background at Salem, which I have described above, came with new plans Edward Rondthaler. He assumed the presidency of Salem College and Academy in 1884. Already chairman of the board of trustees and also pastor of Salem congregation, with no reduction in his pastoral duties and with no increase of salary, he accepted the added responsibility in becoming president. He served as president from June 30, 1884, to April 30, 1888. I quote from his personal diary on June 30, 1884:

The Academy and college interest has been the exciting one to-day. The northern Conference telegraphed their willingness to have Brother John Clewell come to us as assistant in the school. I become head and may the Lord give His blessing, for without Him, I can do nothing.<sup>4</sup>

He wrote in the diary on Monday, August 11, 1884, the following words: "From this day I propose to reckon my full entrance into Salem Academy and College duties, taking for my future the teachings and the comforts of the Daily Text for this day—'As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you.'"<sup>5</sup>

The new president's very next step, however, was unique and characteristic. Remembering that at that date there was not a paved road in North Carolina and of course no automobiles, he began by visiting in central and eastern North and South Carolina, especially the plantations and the small towns. Thus without introductions he soon become acquainted with families who had

<sup>3</sup> This event took place shortly after H.E.R. became president, and he saw the photograph, now in Unclassified Documents in Salem College Library.

<sup>4</sup> *Diary of Edward Rondthaler*, 90. This unpublished diary is in the possession of the author of this article, Howard E. Rondthaler, son of Edward Rondthaler. The diary extends from 1869 to 1931 and is written in his annual copy of *The Moravian Textbook*. It was and is to this day customary for Moravian ministers to keep a diary in *The Moravian Textbook*, which is a daily devotional book issued annually and interleaved with blank pages for this purpose.

<sup>5</sup> *Diary*, 115. The Bible verse is from John 20:21.

known Salem in earlier days and was a welcome guest with his news of the new plans and new purposes for the renewed Salem Academy and College.

His diary indicates cheerfully the cordial manner in which he was entertained, introduced and often conveyed by private carriage from plantation to plantation with the assurance that each Sunday he would be in Salem to fulfill his pastoral and congregational responsibilities. Early Monday morning he would be off again, all summer long, and thus would succeed in renewing family fellowship and old Salem traditions all over the east Carolinas.

This difficult program he followed with the profound conviction that Salem from prewar years had a strong and lasting hold upon many southern homes and that these memories once refreshed could by actual house-to-house visitation become again a resource of the new Salem which he was projecting.

It should be remembered that Dr. Rondthaler had no previous established residence in Salem, having come from pastorates in Brooklyn and Philadelphia to the southern field, and it is interesting to see a city-reared son of the North so thoroughly identify himself with southern country and village life.

His program in this respect was thoroughly tested for several years with patience and friendliness and all the time without the modern travel facilities which a later generation takes entirely for granted. Thus the Salem picture was spread far and wide and the results slow at first, soon substantially built up an encouraging clientele with corresponding relief from the grave debt anxieties immediately following the war.

He himself had and imparted to others the strong conviction that changes must ensue in curricula and in the physical plant just as soon as possible for Salem to reconstruct itself within and without. This home development program was soon interwoven by Dr. Rondthaler with an extended curriculum study as well as plant investigation carried on by visits to the great colleges for women for the most part in the middle and northern states, Wellesley, Vassar, and Mount Holyoke.

A new era was shaping across the horizon. However, the problems had to be taken one by one and a great problem which confronted him was the modernization in the plant of the dormitory

“sleeping hall” rooms. Ever since the beginning, Salem students had been housed in the European fashion, not in private bedrooms but in large dormitories containing row after row of dormitory beds side by side, filling the second, third, and fourth floors of the two dormitory buildings, South and Main halls. This day obviously was passing, and Dr. Rondthaler projected a new dormitory arrangement which would consist of “alcoves” giving at the same time adequate overhead ventilation and reasonable privacy under sanitary conditions. These “alcoves” were cubicles designed with wooden partitions three feet high, above which were sliding white domestic curtains to a height of six feet, trimmed with a single four-inch red stripe below and above. Each cubicle housed a bed, a small bureau, a chair, and additional space for the usual trunk with convenient hooks here and there according to the comfort and ingenuity of the occupant. This structural dormitory plan realized that the family idea had always been fundamentally the Salem idea, but that rigid European sleeping halls were not genuinely home-like to the American girl’s mind.

This was not all that he had in mind, however, for the whole home group idea of Salem was now to center in the so-called “room-company” study room plan whereby to each large room were assigned about a dozen or fifteen girls of approximately the same age who used their study room as a sitting room or study combination room would be used at home. Each study room was adjoined by a cloak room with ample space for the daytime articles needed, and two teachers were assigned to each room-company. The new president yearned to see the room-company room just as homelike and comfortable as the sitting room at home—bright carpets, lace curtains, wall pictures, and a color scheme to each room-company room, with easy chairs and a general sense of coziness as over against academic dormitory severities and rigidities. Classrooms were arranged elsewhere, and no study room was ever used for double purposes.

The Salem plan of "room-companies" was in part appropriated by some contemporaneous institutions, but the alcove structure remained for many years the well recognized unit of Salem school life.<sup>6</sup>

Busy as President Rondthaler was with pastoral duties, study of curriculum, and home development program for Salem, he continued to travel for the school. Again we quote from the President's faithful and unornamented daily diary of June, 1885, a few pages as follows:

Left Jamestown, [N. C.] 4 A. M. by train for Concord arriving 5:30 A.M. and visited all day. Rode thence by stage to Shoe-Heel arriving 3 A.M. and remained in the waiting room until dawn and later was entertained at breakfast by Mr. and Mrs. Blank. Paid four other visits in the village and caught a lumber train which, without passenger facilities, delivered me at the foot of a very long hill into Wadesboro at 4:30 A.M. Walked into this town at daybreak and found the tavern. Mr. and Mrs. Davis, host and hostess, were very kind to me and during the morning and afternoon I visited various homes at their suggestion and left late that evening for South Carolina, being a mixed train, arriving at dawn in my first cotton fields. . . .

During part of this week I visited Bennettsville, S. C., which was very kind to me and was later driven to Cheraw, seeing several families and so finally reached Salem at 12:30 midnight, Sunday morning, happy to be home again for Sunday with a busy summer Sunday in anticipation [including Sunday school and morning and evening preaching].<sup>7</sup>

This record of cheerful and appreciative entries continues through midsummer August weather, throughout North and South Carolina from the Piedmont to the coast.

Edward Rondthaler retired from the presidency of Salem in 1888, to devote his time to pastoral duties. We find at the close of his term the following excerpt from the diary of April 30, 1888:

---

<sup>6</sup> Alcoves in sleeping quarters existed in many Moravian schools both in America and abroad. Bishop Rondthaler introduced the system of alcove bedrooms for the benefit of all the room-companies of Salem in 1884. Information about alcoves and room companies was gathered by the author during his youth on the campus. The system of room companies and alcoves was discontinued at Salem College in the fall of 1922 when the new Alice Clewell dormitory was ready for occupancy. The Academy continued to use the alcove system until the new buildings for Salem Academy were occupied in the fall of 1930. H.E.R.

<sup>7</sup> *Diary*, 85-88.

This has been one of the notable days in my life. In agreement with the Church Board, I announced my retirement from the Academy and College and handed over the office to my assistant, Br. John H. Clewell. The announcement created surprise, altho most people knew that it would only be a question of when the change would take place; the understanding being from the outset that my office would last only until Br. Clewell was old and experienced enough to succeed me.<sup>8</sup>

On May 1, the day after the event, he comments affectionately upon his terminated work:

Looking back on the way in which I came to be president of the school, I find that I was interested in the students from the very first day of our coming to Salem. I saw them in the church gallery on my first preaching in Salem Home Church. I had been a boarding school boy myself in the years of my young orphaned life and I have always a tender and interested heart towards boys and girls away from home. In all my preaching I thought of them and sought to win them for good and Jesus Christ.<sup>9</sup>

Edward Rondthaler was consecrated bishop of the Moravian Church on April 12, 1891. Throughout his entire life time which ended on January 30, 1931, Bishop Rondthaler maintained his deep and abiding interest in Salem Academy and Salem College. He taught Biblical literature courses until the year 1930. Living in closest proximity to the school after he closed his presidency, Bishop Rondthaler kept an affectionate advisory interest in all the school life, especially as pastor of the congregation, and later as bishop of the Province and president of the board of trustees of Salem Academy and College.

---

<sup>8</sup> *Diary*, 57.

<sup>9</sup> *Diary*, 58.

AN ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF THE  
RATIFICATION OF THE FEDERAL  
CONSTITUTION IN NORTH CAROLINA

PART III

THE FAYETTEVILLE CONVENTION, 1789

BY WILLIAM C. POOL

The second state convention was in session from November 16 to November 23, 1789, at Fayetteville,<sup>1</sup> a trading center at the head of navigation on the Cape Fear River. Governor Samuel Johnston was unanimously chosen as president,<sup>2</sup> although the Anti-Federalists advocated Samuel Spencer<sup>3</sup> for the position. On the second day of the convention an ordinance was introduced "to enable the freemen of the town of Fayetteville to elect a member" to represent them at the convention. The motion was "ordered to lie on the table" and no action was taken on the matter until after ratification. On Saturday, November 21, 1789, the convention took up the report of the committee of the whole convention and resolved, "that this Convention, in behalf of the freemen, citizens, and inhabitants of the state of North Carolina, do adopt and ratify the said Constitution and form of government."<sup>4</sup> On the roll call which followed, 194 voted in favor of ratification and 77 opposed ratification.<sup>5</sup> The dominant Anti-Federalist party in 1788 had shrunk to an insignificant minority within fifteen months and ratification was finally accomplished.

A comparison of the personnel of the two conventions reveals a number of interesting facts. Of the 271 voting delegates at Fayetteville, 102 were voting delegates at Hillsboro in 1788. Of the 102 who voted at both conventions, 39 who voted Federalist at Hillsboro also voted Federalist at Fayetteville,<sup>6</sup> 20 who voted

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Convention of the State of North Carolina, at a Convention begun and held at Fayetteville, on the Third Monday of November, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty-Nine* (hereafter cited as *Journal of the Convention, 1789*).

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the Convention, 1789*, 3.

<sup>3</sup> McRee, *Life of Iredell*, II, 270; *State Records*, XXII, 39.

<sup>4</sup> *Journal of the Convention, 1789*, 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Journal of the Convention, 1789*, 13.

<sup>6</sup> These delegates, whose property interests appear in Part I (*The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXVII (1950), 119-141); were John G. Blount, Wm. J. Dawson, John Johnston, David Turner, Thomas Owen, Benjamin Smith, Charles McDowell, Joseph Leech, Wm. B. Grove, Henry Abbot, Peter Dauge, Charles Grandy, Isaac Gregory, Enoch Sawyer, Wallace Styron, Edmund Blount, Stephen Cabarrus, Charles Johnston, William Ferebee, Joseph Reddick, Thomas Wynns, William R. Davie, John Eborn, James Jasper, William Maclaine, John Moore, Nathan Mayo, Devotion Davis, Edward Everegain, Samuel Johnston, John Skinner, Elias Barnes, Neil Brown, John Cade, John Willis, John Steele, Simeon Spruill, Thomas Stewart, and Thomas Hines.

Anti-Federalist at Hillsboro changed their position and voted Federalist at Fayetteville,<sup>7</sup> and 43 who voted Anti-Federalist at Hillsboro also voted Anti-Federalist at Fayetteville.<sup>8</sup> Not a single Federalist later voted against ratification. A tabulation of the property holdings—land and slaves—of these groups of men is presented in the following tables:

Acres Land	Not Known		Under 100		100- 499		500- 999		1000- 4999		Over 5000	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
39 F.	3	8	1	2	8	21	6	15	15	39	6	15
20A-F	3	15	0	0	4	20	4	20	8	40	1	5
43A-F	2	5	0	0	10	23	7	16	16	37	8	18

Slaves	Not Known		None		1-9		10-19		20-49		Over 50	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
39 F.	6	15	1	2	8	21	12	31	8	21	4	10
20A-F	3	15	1	5	6	30	7	35	3	15	0	0
43A-F	11	26	4	9	12	28	8	18	7	16	1	2

A tabulation of the land holdings and slaveholdings of the entire membership of the Fayetteville Convention are summarized in the tables below, under the following classifications: (1) the 77 Anti-Federalists at the Fayetteville Convention, (2) the 194 Federalists, (3) the 34 Anti-Federalists voting for the first time in 1789, and (4) the 135 Federalists voting for the first time.

<sup>7</sup> These delegates, whose economic holdings are listed in Part II (*The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXVII (1950), 289-313, were Joseph M'Dowell, Jr., William Dobbin, William Fort, Thomas Sherrod, John Hill Bryan, Frederick Hargett, Edward Whitty, Thomas Hunter, Joseph Graham, John Bonds, William S. Marnes, John M. Benford, John Spicer, Edward Williams, William Porter, Joseph Winston, Joel Lane, John Blair, James Henley, and Richard M'Kinnie.

<sup>8</sup> These Anti-Federalists, whose property interests are listed in Part II (*The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXVII (1950), 289-313, were Samuel Spencer, Thomas Brown, Joseph Gaitier, Joseph M'Dowall, Robert Dickens, John Graves, John Womack, James Gillespie, James Kenan, Henry Hill, Elijah Mitchell, Thomas Person, Thornton Yancey, David Caldwell, Daniel Gillespie, William Goudy, John Hamilton, Robert Alexander, Joseph Douglass, Caleb Phifer, Zachias Wilson, Cornelius Doud, William Martin, Timothy Bloodworth, John A. Campbell, Robert Peebles, Alexander Mebane, Zebedee Wood, William Bethell, James Gallaway, Abram Phillips, Matthew Locke, Richard Clinton, Hardy Holmes, John Scott, Absolom Bostick, Brittain Sanders, Thomas Christmas, Wyatt Hawkins, Burwell Mooring, John Brown, Joseph Herndon, and William Lenoir.

Acres Land	Not Known		Under 100		100- 499		500 999		1000- 4999		Over 5000	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
77A-F	8	10	0	0	24	32	13	17	21	27	11	14
194 F	43	22	1	12	37	19	35	18	55	28	23	12
34A-F	6	18	0	0	14	40	6	18	5	15	3	9
135 F	37	28	0	0	25	19	25	19	32	24	16	12

  

Slaves	Not Known		None		1-9		10-19		20-49		Over 50	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
77A-F	23	30	6	7	22	29	13	17	11	14	2	3
194 F	56	29	3	2	38	19	55	28	32	16	10	5
34A-F	12	35	2	6	10	29	5	15	4	12	1	3
135 F	47	35	1	1	24	18	36	27	21	15	6	4

In 1789 thirty-one counties<sup>9</sup> of the sixty counties represented were unanimously in favor of ratification and only six counties were unanimous in their opposition.<sup>10</sup> Twenty-two counties were divided with a Federalist majority in fourteen<sup>11</sup> and an Anti-Federalist majority in seven.<sup>12</sup> Two counties were equally divided.<sup>13</sup> The towns were all Federalist with the delegates from the six towns possessing the same kinds and approximately the same amounts of property as the county representatives. In some instances the total acreage of land was the only element below the average.

The areas which remained under Anti-Federalist control were the centers of influence of the most prominent Anti-Federalists. The southeast section, where Bladen, Sampson, Duplin, and New

<sup>9</sup> The Federalist counties were Beaufort, Bertie, Camden, Carteret, Chowan, Currituck, Davidson, Dobbs, Edgecombe, Gates, Greene, Halifax, Hawkins, Hertford, Hyde, Iredell, Johnston, Jones, Martin, Montgomery, Nash, Onslow, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Pitt, Robeson, Rutherford, Sumner, Tennessee, Tyrell, and Washington.

<sup>10</sup> The Anti-Federalist counties were Duplin, Guilford, Moore, New Hanover, Rockingham, and Wilkes.

<sup>11</sup> The divided counties with a Federalist majority were Brunswick, Burke, Chatham, Craven, Cumberland, Franklin, Lincoln, Northampton, Randolph, Rowan, Surry, Wake, Warren, and Wayne.

<sup>12</sup> The divided counties with an Anti-Federalist majority were Bladen, Caswell, Granville, Mecklenburg, Orange, Richmond, and Sampson.

<sup>13</sup> Anson and Sullivan counties.

Hanover counties remained opposed to ratification, was largely influenced by Timothy Bloodworth. Samuel Spencer, a leading Anti-Federalist debater, represented Anson County in both conventions. His influence was probably the most important element in the Anti-Federalist control of the south central area comprising Moore, Richmond, Anson, and Mecklenburg counties. William Lenoir was able to maintain a solid anti-federal bloc in Wilkes County and the north central part of the state felt the influence of such men as Thomas Person, James Galloway, and David Caldwell. By November, 1789, the issue of ratification had been settled in North Carolina.

Despite the fact that the contest was over, it will be necessary to study the economic interests of 169 delegates of the Fayetteville Convention who did not attend the first convention. Of these men who voted on the question of ratification for the first time, 135 were Federalists and 34 were Anti-Federalists. Their property, as was the case in 1788, consisted mostly of land and slaves.

## ECONOMIC INTERESTS OF THE FEDERALISTS

### ANSON COUNTY

Jesse Gilbert owned 6 slaves and 301 acres "on the banks of the Pee Dee River" and Rocke River.<sup>14</sup>

David Jameson owned 6 slaves in 1790; no other information is available from the records examined.<sup>15</sup>

### BEAUFORT COUNTY

Silas W. Arnett owned one slave in 1790; no other information is available from the records examined.<sup>16</sup>

Alderson Ellison possessed 150 acres of land with John Harvey and 500 acres in Beaufort County.<sup>17</sup>

Richard Grist received grants for 1,910 acres of land prior to 1789.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

<sup>15</sup> *Census of 1790*.

<sup>16</sup> *Census of 1790*.

<sup>17</sup> Land Grant Index; L. P., Tax Lists, 1786-1790, Beaufort County, 1789.

<sup>18</sup> Land Grant Index; L. P., Tax Lists, 1786-1790, Beaufort County, 1789.

## BERTIE COUNTY

Francis Pugh, member of the house of commons from 1788 until 1790 and the senate from 1790 to 1791, owned 30 slaves and listed 1,694 acres of land in the county tax records of 1789.<sup>19</sup>

David Stone received a grant for 80 acres of land in 1791; no other property information is available from the records examined. Stone served in the house of commons from 1790 to 1794.<sup>20</sup>

## BLADEN COUNTY

John Cowan owned no slaves in 1790. The land grant information concerning him is too indefinite to warrant a specific statement.<sup>21</sup>

## BRUNSWICK COUNTY

William Gause possessed 37 slaves in 1790. His will mentions his plantation and debts. He was a member of the house of commons in 1778.<sup>22</sup>

John Hall owned 43 slaves in 1790 and his will lists the plantation "Mt. Blening," household furniture, and plantation tools. Hall also instructed that his debts were "to be discharged, speedily paid, and creditors satisfied."<sup>23</sup>

Dennis Hawkins, member of the house of commons during the sessions of 1782 and 1783, owned 46 slaves in 1790.<sup>24</sup>

## BURKE COUNTY

John Carson owned 12 slaves and received grants for 730 acres of land between 1783 and 1790.<sup>25</sup>

William E. Ervin possessed 11 slaves in 1790; no additional information is available from the sources examined.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 33; *Census of 1790*; L. P., Bertie County, List of Taxables, 1757-1791, 1789.

<sup>20</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 33; Land Grant Index.

<sup>21</sup> *Census of 1790*.

<sup>22</sup> *Census of 1790*; Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 49; L. P., Tax Lists, 1780-1782, Brunswick County, 1782.

<sup>23</sup> *Census of 1790*; L. P., Brunswick County Records, Wills, 1781-1782, 11-12.

<sup>24</sup> *Census of 1790*; Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 49.

<sup>25</sup> *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

<sup>26</sup> *Census of 1790*.

## CARTERET COUNTY

Malichi Bell, member of the state senate in 1791, owned 18 slaves and had been granted 900 acres of land and town property evaluated at £20.<sup>27</sup>

John Easton, state senator for Carteret County from 1778 until 1788, owned 21 slaves in 1790. He received grants of land for 827 acres and his town property was valued at £200 by 1784. His will mentions his plantation on Core Creek and "debts."<sup>28</sup>

John Fulford, member of the house of commons from 1786 to 1791, received grants for 243 acres of land prior to 1784 plus 100 acres with James Fulford. The tax records of 1784 list a "Captain Fulford" with 717 acres of land. Fulford owned 7 slaves in 1790.<sup>29</sup>

John Wallace owned 3 slaves and 800 acres of land in 1784. He is also listed as a partner of John G. Blount with thousands of acres in Carteret County.<sup>30</sup>

## CASWELL COUNTY

Robert Bowman is not listed in the records examined.

Robert Payne had accumulated an estate of 1,899 acres and a £1,433 cash evaluation by 1784. He was a member of the state senate in 1788.<sup>31</sup>

## CHATHAM COUNTY

John Ramsey held 11 slaves with Ambrose Ramsey in 1790. His landed estate included 1,440 acres prior to 1789, and this property was to remain in the hands of Ambrose Ramsey until his son "became of age."<sup>32</sup>

John Thompson possessed 5 slaves in 1790 and received grants of land for 1,042 acres between 1779 and 1789. After ratification of the Constitution, Thompson was granted other small tracts.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>27</sup> L. P., Carteret County Records, Wills, Inventories, Sales and Settlements of Estates, 1741-1887, II, 106; L. P., Carteret County Records, Miscellaneous Papers, 1717-1844, List of Taxable Property, 1784; Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 76; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

<sup>28</sup> L. P., Carteret County Records, Miscellaneous Papers, 1717-1844, List of Taxable Property, 1784; L. P., Carteret County Records, Wills, Inventories, Sales and Settlements of Estates, 1741-1887, IV, 62-63; Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 76; Land Grant Index; *Census of 1790*.

<sup>29</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 76; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Carteret County Records, Miscellaneous Papers, 1717-1844, List of Taxables, 1784.

<sup>30</sup> L. P., Carteret County Records, Miscellaneous Papers, 1717-1844, List of Taxables, 1784; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

<sup>31</sup> L. P., Tax Lists, 1783-1785, Caswell County, 1784; Land Grant Index; Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 81.

<sup>32</sup> L. P., Chatham County Records, Will Book B, 1798-1833, 1-2; L. P., Chatham County Records, Wills, Inventories, and Sales, 1790-1799, 13; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

<sup>33</sup> *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

## CHOWAN COUNTY

Lemuel Creecy, who represented Chowan County in the house of commons from 1786 to 1790 and in the state senate from 1793 to 1798, owned 29 slaves in 1790 and received grants in Chowan County for 240 acres of land.<sup>34</sup>

William Righton was granted 300 acres of land in Chowan County before 1785 and owned 20 slaves in 1790.<sup>35</sup>

## CRAVEN COUNTY

John Allen, member for Craven County in the house of commons in 1788, owned 27 slaves in 1790 and received a grant of 200 acres of land in 1782 plus 500 acres in Tennessee in 1787.<sup>36</sup>

## CUMBERLAND COUNTY

Robert Adam owned 6 slaves in 1790. No record of land-holdings was found.<sup>37</sup>

John Hay owned 10 slaves in 1790 and was a member of the house of commons in 1786.<sup>38</sup>

John Ingram owned 10 slaves in 1790. His will provides 280 silver dollars, a house, and an "estate divided."<sup>39</sup>

## CURRITUCK COUNTY

Andrew Duke held property valued at £2,315 in 1779. By 1795 he had received grants totaling 400 acres of land within Currituck County. He owned 7 slaves.<sup>40</sup>

Samuel Ferebee owned 10 slaves in 1790 and received a grant for 2,500 acres of land in 1786. In 1799 Ferebee was granted an additional 1,000 acres.<sup>41</sup>

Spence Hall possessed property with an evaluation of £5,323 as early as 1779. In 1790 he owned 8 slaves. Hall represented Currituck County in the house of commons in 1791 and 1792 and in the state senate from 1792 to 1795.<sup>42</sup>

Thomas P. Williams owned 12 slaves in 1790. As early as 1779 his personal estate was valued at £6,884. Williams was

<sup>34</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 96; *Census of 1790*; L. P., Tax Lists, 1783-1785, Chowan County, 1785.

<sup>35</sup> L. P., Tax Lists, 1783-1785, Chowan County, 1785; *Census of 1790*.

<sup>36</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 122; Land Grant Index; *Census of 1790*.

<sup>37</sup> *Census of 1790*.

<sup>38</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 131; *Census of 1790*.

<sup>39</sup> *Census of 1790*; L. P., Cumberland County Records, Wills, 1757-1869, IV, 18.

<sup>40</sup> L. P., Tax Lists 1779, Currituck County; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

<sup>41</sup> *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

<sup>42</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 134; Land Grant Index; *Census of 1790*; L. P., Tax Lists, 1779, Currituck County.

a member of the house of commons in 1788 and 1789. He was also a member of the revolutionary Halifax Congress in November, 1776.<sup>43</sup>

#### DAVIDSON COUNTY (TENNESSEE)

Robert Ewing is listed as the receiver of 150 acres of land in 1789; no other information is available from the records examined.<sup>44</sup>

Charles Gerrard received grants for 2,560 acres of land before the Fayetteville convention; other small tracts were granted to Gerrard after 1790.<sup>45</sup>

James Cole Mountfloreance, a soldier of the Revolution under General W. R. Davie, lived in the trans-mountain country for a time after the Revolution. He received grants of land with associates totaling 210,148 acres and 4,840 acres under his own name. Mountfloreance was educated at the University of Paris and taught school at New Bern in 1778.<sup>46</sup>

Joel Rice is not listed in any of the records examined.

#### DOBBS COUNTY

Simeon Bright received grants with associates for 1,000 acres of land in Tennessee.<sup>47</sup>

Nathan Lassiter owned 14 slaves in 1790 and his property had an evaluation of £400 in 1780.<sup>48</sup>

Benjamin Sheppard received grants for 1,279 acres of land before the convention, owned property which was evaluated at £12,371 in 1780, and owned 71 slaves in 1790.<sup>49</sup>

#### EDGECOMBE COUNTY

Thomas Blount, brother of John G. and William Blount, was the son of Jacob Blount and was born May 10, 1759. Blount enlisted in the Revolution as an ensign, was captured and carried to England. After the war he entered into a mercantile and commercial partnership with John G. Blount at Washington, North

<sup>43</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 134; *Census of 1790*; L. P., Tax Lists, 1779, Currituck County.

<sup>44</sup> Land Grant Index.

<sup>45</sup> Land Grant Index.

<sup>46</sup> Alice B. Keith, (ed.), "Letters from Major James Cole Mountfloreance to Members of the Blount Family (William, John Gray, and Thomas) from on Shipboard, Spain, France, Switzerland, England, and America, January 22, 1792-July 21, 1796," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XIV (1937), 253; Wagstaff, *Steele Papers*, 181n; Land Grant Index.

<sup>47</sup> Land Grant Index.

<sup>48</sup> *Census of 1790*; L. P., Tax Lists, 1780-1782, Dobbs County, 1780.

<sup>49</sup> *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Tax Lists, 1780-1782, Dobbs County, 1780.

Carolina, and ran a branch store at Tarboro. The brothers conducted an extensive business. Thomas Blount's landed estate consisted of thousands of acres; he owned 27 slaves in 1790. Blount was a member of the United States Congress from 1793 to 1799, 1805 to 1809, and 1811 to 1812, dying in office during the Twelfth Congress.<sup>50</sup>

Jeremiah Hilliard, member of the house of commons in 1793 and 1794, owned 19 slaves in 1790 and inherited a plantation plus 5 sows, 23 pigs, and 8 cows and calves through the will of Jacob Hilliard. In 1785 he was granted 400 acres of land.<sup>51</sup>

Ethelred Phillips, who represented Edgecombe County in the house of commons during the sessions of 1785 and 1786, owned 11 slaves in 1790 and served as a commissioner for purchasing tobacco in 1788 and 1789.<sup>52</sup>

#### FRANKLIN COUNTY

William Christmas, member of the state senate for Franklin County in 1792 and 1793, owned 11 slaves. His political office indicates more than 300 acres of land.<sup>53</sup>

#### GATES COUNTY

John Baker, member of the house of commons in 1787, owned 650 acres of land and 32 slaves in 1790.<sup>54</sup>

David Rice owned 706 acres of land in Gates County in 1789. He was a member of the house of commons in 1783, 1785, and from 1788 to 1790.<sup>55</sup>

#### GRANVILLE COUNTY

Edmund Taylor, Jr., is listed as the owner of 1,400 acres of land in the tax records of 1785.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>50</sup> John G. Blount Papers; Jno. L. Bridgers, Jr., *The History of Edgecombe County, North Carolina*, 106ff; Wagstaff, *Steele Papers*, 94n; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

<sup>51</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 146; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Edgecombe County Records, Wills, 1758-1830, II, 60.

<sup>52</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 146; *Census of 1790*; Samuel Johnston Letterbook, 1788-1789, 23.

<sup>53</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 160; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

<sup>54</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 160; *Census of 1790*; L. P., Tax Lists, 1786-1790, Gates County, 1789.

<sup>55</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 160; L. P., Tax Lists, 1786-1790, Gates County, 1789.

<sup>56</sup> L. P., Tax Lists, 1783-1785, Granville County, 1785; Land Grant Index.

## GREENE COUNTY (TENNESSEE)

John Allison received land grants for 1,431 acres in Washington County, Tennessee, between 1778 and 1791. Other sources indicate that he held 1,696 acres.<sup>57</sup>

Alexander Outlaw owned 7,960 acres of land prior to the convention plus associate interest in 5,000 acres.<sup>58</sup>

John Sevier presided over the irregular convention in 1784 which created the state of Franklin and became its first governor. He led the secession party until its failure and became a political enemy of John Tipton. In recognition of his military service at Kings Mountain, political amnesty was granted to Sevier in 1789 and he became a member of the First Congress after North Carolina entered the Union. Sevier received grants for 5,055 acres of land before 1789 and later received an additional 68,000 acres.<sup>59</sup>

## HALIFAX COUNTY

John B. Ashe, member of the house of commons from 1784 to 1787, was the owner of 63 slaves and 1,200 acres of land in Halifax County.<sup>60</sup>

Lunsford Long received grants for 5,000 acres of Tennessee lands in 1791. The tax records show that he owned 468 acres in Halifax County in 1790 plus a town lot and one slave.<sup>61</sup>

Peter Qualls was granted 939 acres of land in 1789 and owned either 18 or 24 slaves in 1790. Other property owned by Qualls included a mill. A Peter "Quails" represented Halifax County in the state senate from 1790 to 1794; this may have been the delegate to the Fayetteville convention.<sup>62</sup>

John Whitaker, member of the house of commons in 1785, owned 28 slaves in 1790. No definite information concerning Whitaker's real property was available from the records examined.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Land Records, North Carolina Grants in Tennessee, 1778-1791, microfilm; Land Grant Index.

<sup>58</sup> Land Records, North Carolina Grants in Tennessee, 1778-1791, microfilm; Land Grant Index.

<sup>59</sup> Trenholme, *Ratification in North Carolina*, 194-195; Wagstaff, Steele Papers, 30n, 52n; Land Grant Index.

<sup>60</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 203; *Census of 1790*; L. P., Halifax County Records, List of Taxables, Inventories of Estates, Miscellaneous Papers, 1769-1839.

<sup>61</sup> L. P., Halifax County Records, List of Taxables, Inventories of Estates, Miscellaneous Papers, 1769-1839; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

<sup>62</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 202; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Halifax County Records, Wills, 1772-1854, IV, 48.

<sup>63</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 203; *Census of 1790*.

## HAWKINS COUNTY (TENNESSEE)

Elijah Chessen is not listed in any of the records examined; however, an Elijah "Chrisham" is listed with 470 acres of land.<sup>64</sup>

Nathaniel Henderson had entered claim for 2,670 acres before the convention; he was later granted this land.<sup>65</sup>

John Hunt was granted 840 acres of land. There is no record of his slaveholdings.<sup>66</sup>

James White was granted 2,732 acres of land prior to the Fayetteville convention and some other later.<sup>67</sup>

## HERTFORD COUNTY

Henry Baker, member of the house of commons in 1788, owned 193 acres of land.<sup>68</sup>

Henry Hill, six times member of the house of commons from 1788 to 1795, owned 23 slaves.<sup>69</sup>

Robert Montgomery had 17 slaves in 1790. He was a member of the house of commons in 1785, 1787, and for seven terms after 1790. He was state senator from Hertford County in 1788 and from 1801 to 1807.<sup>70</sup>

Hardy Murfree held 300 acres of land, 1/2 acre in the town of Winton, and 45 slaves.<sup>71</sup>

## HYDE COUNTY

John Alderson had 799 acres of land and 10 slaves in 1790. He was later granted an additional 350 acres.<sup>72</sup>

Michael Peters, representative from Hyde County in the house of commons from 1789 to 1791, owned 11 slaves.<sup>73</sup>

James Watson served six terms in the house of commons after the Fayetteville convention. His property was acquired after 1790.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Land Grant Index.

<sup>65</sup> Land Grant Index.

<sup>66</sup> Land Grant Index.

<sup>67</sup> Land Grant Index.

<sup>68</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 211; Land Grant Index.

<sup>69</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 211; *Census of 1790*.

<sup>70</sup> *Census of 1790*; Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 211.

<sup>71</sup> *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

<sup>72</sup> *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

<sup>73</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 213; *Census of 1790*.

<sup>74</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 213; Land Grant Index.

## IREDELL COUNTY

Adam Brevard, member of the house of commons in 1789, owned 5 slaves and 3,840 acres of land in Tennessee.<sup>75</sup>

David Caldwell, not to be confused with David Caldwell of Guilford County, owned 14 slaves in 1790, served 4 terms as state senator after 1790, and was granted 19,044 acres of land in 1795.<sup>76</sup>

Musentine Matthews served 11 terms in the house of commons beginning in 1789. He held 6 slaves and 350 acres of land.<sup>77</sup>

John Nesbitt, state senator in 1789 and 1790, is listed as the owner of 6 slaves in 1790. Available records are inadequate for determining his landholdings.<sup>78</sup>

Adlai Osborn was educated at Princeton College, graduating in 1768. He was clerk of the court for Rowan County under the royal rule and continued in that position until 1809. He was one of the first trustees of the University of North Carolina. He owned 19 slaves in 1790.<sup>79</sup>

## JOHNSTON COUNTY

Hardy Bryan, state senator in 1782 and 1783, member of the house of commons in 1781 and 1785, and member of both houses after 1790, had 1,835 acres of land in 1784. The land records indicate that Bryan was granted 962 acres by 1788 and hundreds more later. He had 14 slaves in 1790.<sup>80</sup>

Matthias Handy represented Johnston County in the house of commons in 1790, 1796, and 1797. The only indication of his property was found in his will which listed 2 horses and 2 Negroes and provided that real and personal property be sold and debts paid.<sup>81</sup>

Samuel Smith, active in the early stages of Johnston County political growth, held 1,904 acres of land in 1784. He had 53 slaves in 1790.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 217; *Census of 1790*; Land Records, North Carolina Grants in Tennessee, 1778-1791, microfilm.

<sup>76</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 217; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

<sup>77</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 217; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

<sup>78</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 217; *Census of 1790*.

<sup>79</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 216; *Census of 1790*.

<sup>80</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 219-220; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Tax Lists, 1783-1785, Johnston County, 1784.

<sup>81</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 220; L. P., Johnston County Records, Wills, 1760-1830, II, 11.

<sup>82</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 219; *Census of 1790*; L. P., Tax Lists, 1783-1785, Johnston County, 1784.

## JONES COUNTY

Jacob Johnston held 13 slaves in 1790. He is listed in the land records as receiving 2,116 acres after 1799; this information indicates that Johnston's property was secured after his attendance of the Fayetteville convention.<sup>83</sup>

## LINCOLN COUNTY

John Caruth is not listed in the land records before 1790. After this date he received hundreds of acres.<sup>84</sup>

Joseph Dickson, state senator from 1788 until 1795, had 5,640 acres of land in Tennessee, 693 acres in Lincoln County, and 14 slaves.<sup>85</sup>

## MARTIN COUNTY

John Stewart was granted 1,000 acres of land in 1788 and owned 33 slaves in 1790.<sup>86</sup>

William Williams, active in early politics of Martin County, state senator in 1777, and member of the house of commons in 1788 and 1789, held 94 slaves in 1790. Land records indicate that he was granted 444 acres in Martin County in the 1780's.<sup>87</sup>

## MONTGOMERY COUNTY

James Crump held 12 slaves and 1,215 acres of land by 1790.<sup>88</sup>

William Johnston, owner of 16 slaves and 800 acres of land, was a member of the house of commons in 1789.<sup>89</sup>

David Nesbitt was not listed in any of the records examined. He was a member of the senate in 1788, which indicates that he held at least 300 acres of land.<sup>90</sup>

James Tindall, member of the house of commons in 1788, 1789, and 1791, held 900 acres of land in 1782 and 24 slaves in 1790.<sup>91</sup>

James Turner held 25 slaves in 1790. He is not listed in the land records until after 1790, and he served in the senate in 1791, 1792, and 1793.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>83</sup> *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

<sup>84</sup> Land Grant Index.

<sup>85</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 247; Land Grant Index; *Census of 1790*.

<sup>86</sup> *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

<sup>87</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 251-252; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

<sup>88</sup> *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

<sup>89</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 271; Land Grant Index; *Census of 1790*.

<sup>90</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 271.

<sup>91</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 271; L. P., Tax Lists, 1780-1782, Montgomery County, 1782.

<sup>92</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 271; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

## NASH COUNTY

Hardy Griffin, state senator from 1778 to 1787 and from 1789 to 1795, held 396 acres of land in 1782 and 8 slaves in 1790.<sup>93</sup>

Wilson Vick, member of the house of commons in 1788 and 1799, owned 300 acres of land in 1782 and one slave in 1790.<sup>94</sup>

## NORTHAMPTON COUNTY

Samuel Peete, member of the house of commons in 1789, held 13 slaves in 1790.<sup>95</sup>

Samuel Tarver, member of the house of commons in 1791, held 5 slaves in 1790. His will lists 686 acres of land and the "plantation whereon I now live."<sup>96</sup>

## ONslow COUNTY

Robert W. Sneed, member of the house of commons in 1789 and state senator in 1790 and 1791, held 11 slaves in 1790. He is listed in the tax records of 1787 as having no taxables and one vote.<sup>97</sup>

## ORANGE COUNTY

James Christmas is not listed in any of the records examined for the period before the Fayetteville convention; however, he was granted 500 acres of land with William Kirk in 1801.<sup>98</sup>

## PASQUOTANK COUNTY

Thomas Banks, member of the state senate from 1796 to 1799, owned 18 slaves in 1790, 479 acres in Tennessee in 1788, and 150 acres in Pasquotank County in 1789.<sup>99</sup>

John Swan owned 60 slaves in 1790 and 700 acres of land in Pasquotank County. His will mentions two plantations and his debts. Swan was a member of the state senate in 1792.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>93</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 275; *Census of 1790*; L. P., Tax Lists, 1780-1782, Nash County, 1782.

<sup>94</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 275; *Census of 1790*; L. P., Tax Lists, 1780-1782, Nash County, 1782.

<sup>95</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 296; *Census of 1790*.

<sup>96</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 296; *Census of 1790*; L. P., Northampton County Records, Will Book A, 1762-1791, II, 16.

<sup>97</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 299; *Census of 1790*; L. P., Onslow Tax Lists, 1774-1790, List of Taxables, 1787.

<sup>98</sup> Land Grant Index.

<sup>99</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 340; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Tax Lists, 1786-1790, Pasquotank County, 1789.

<sup>100</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 340; *Census of 1790*; L. P., Tax Lists, 1786-1790, Pasquotank County, 1789; L. P., Pasquotank County Records, Wills, 1720-1804, VI, 21.

## PERQUIMANS COUNTY

Benjamin Perry received grants for 1,049 acres of land and his will lists 2 cows and calves, a horse, and various tracts of land. He owned 15 slaves in 1790.<sup>101</sup>

Ashbury Sutton, member of the house of commons in 1790, possessed 644 acres of land and 25 slaves.<sup>102</sup>

## PITT COUNTY

Shadrick Allen, representative from Pitt County in the house of commons from 1788 until 1790, owned 15 slaves in 1790. The records indicate that Allen had accumulated a landed estate of 605 acres by the time of the convention.<sup>103</sup>

James Armstrong received grants for 208 acres of land in Pitt County and 7,200 acres in Tennessee. He owned 10 slaves in 1790 and was a member of the house of commons in 1789.<sup>104</sup>

Benjamin Bell owned 16 slaves in 1790; no other economic information is available from the records examined.<sup>105</sup>

William Blount, brother to John Gray and Thomas Blount, resided in Craven and Pitt counties. He represented Craven County in the house of commons in 1780 and from 1783 to 1785 and Pitt County in 1788 and 1789. He was a member of the Continental Congress from 1782 to 1783 and from 1786 to 1788. He represented North Carolina at the Philadelphia Convention in 1787. After the cession of the trans-mountain territory by North Carolina and Virginia, Blount was named governor of the Southwestern Territory when Kentucky became a state in 1792. Blount continued as governor of Tennessee until its admission in 1796. He served in the United States Senate from 1796 to 1797 and was expelled in 1797 for inciting the Creek and Cherokee Indians to attack Spanish territory. He lost none of his popularity in Tennessee as a result of the expulsion. Blount owned 30 slaves and received land grants in Tennessee for 5,000 acres.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>101</sup> *Census of 1790*; L. P., Tax Lists, 1786-1790, Perquimans County; L. P., Perquimans County Records, Wills, 1711-1800, IV, 41.

<sup>102</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 342; *Census of 1790*; L. P., Tax Lists, 1786-1790, Perquimans County.

<sup>103</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 346; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

<sup>104</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 347; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

<sup>105</sup> *Census of 1790*.

<sup>106</sup> Wagstaff, *Steele Papers*, 27n; *Census of 1790*; Land Records, North Carolina Grants in Tennessee, 1788-1791, microfilm.

Samuel Simpson owned 10 slaves and 440 acres of land in Pitt County.<sup>107</sup>

#### RANDOLPH COUNTY

William Bailey, who represented Randolph County in the house of commons from 1795 to 1800, owned 843½ acres of land and 1 slave in 1790.<sup>108</sup>

Nathan Stedman is listed with 10 slaves in 1790; no other property information is available from the records examined.<sup>109</sup>

Rueben Wood is listed as the owner of 2 slaves in 1790; no other economic information is available. Wood was a member of the house of commons in 1791; a fact which indicates he owned 100 acres or more of land.<sup>110</sup>

#### ROBESON COUNTY

Sion Alford possessed a total of 1,369 acres of land and an unspecified number of slaves.<sup>111</sup>

#### ROWAN COUNTY

Maxwell Chambers, neighbor to John Steele, resided on a plantation called Spring Hill. Chambers was an active patriot in the Revolution and served as treasurer of the committee of public safety for Rowan County. He owned 35 slaves and had received grants for 1,115 acres of land by 1790. His will lists 43 slaves, hogs, cows, sheep, and other stock, and 10 lots in the town of Salisbury.<sup>112</sup>

Bazel Gaither is listed as the owner of 500 acres of land in 1784. He represented Rutherford County in the house of commons from 1790 to 1795 and in the state senate from 1796 to 1802.<sup>113</sup>

John Stokes, lawyer and United States district judge, had been a colonel in the Revolutionary Army. He received grants for 275½ acres of land prior to 1789.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>107</sup> *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

<sup>108</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 349; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

<sup>109</sup> *Census of 1790*.

<sup>110</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 349; *Census of 1790*.

<sup>111</sup> L. P., Robeson County Records, Wills, 1783-1851, I, 3-4.

<sup>112</sup> Wagstaff, *Steele Papers*, I, 149, 208n; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Rowan County Records, Wills, 1743-1858, IV, 9-12.

<sup>113</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 398; Land Grant Index.

<sup>114</sup> Rumble, *History of Rowan County*, 333 f; Land Grant Index.

## RUTHERFORD COUNTY

James Holland was a large landowner and followed agricultural pursuits. He received grants for 5,340 acres of land before 1789 plus 5,000 acres in Tennessee. Holland, an army officer during the Revolution, served in the state senate in 1793 and 1797, in the house of commons from 1786 to 1789, on the first board of trustees for the University of North Carolina, and as United States Congressman from 1795 to 1797 and 1801 to 1811. Holland later moved to his lands in Tennessee where he held treasury and service grants on Duck River.<sup>115</sup>

William Johnson owned 7 slaves and at least 100 acres of land in 1787.<sup>116</sup>

Richard Lewis received grants for 200 acres plus other small grants between 1779 and 1796. He owned 9 slaves.<sup>117</sup>

## SAMPSON COUNTY

James Spiller received grants for 1,370 acres of land between 1780 and 1790 and listed 526 acres in the Sampson County tax records for 1784. He owned 32 slaves.<sup>118</sup>

## SULLIVAN COUNTY (TENNESSEE)

Joseph Martin was granted 2,680 acres of land between 1779 and 1793 plus a few grants with associates.<sup>119</sup>

John Rhea was granted 5,575 acres of land before the convention.<sup>120</sup>

## SUMNER COUNTY (TENNESSEE)

Edward Douglass owned 2,300 acres of land by 1783. Other grants were made to Douglass and associates.<sup>121</sup>

John Overton is entered in the land records for 274 acres prior to 1789; additional grants were received by Overton and associates after the year 1790.<sup>122</sup>

Daniel Smith received grants for 1,550 acres of land before 1789; these grants were held with associates.<sup>123</sup>

<sup>115</sup> Griffin, *History of Old Tryon and Rutherford Counties*, 117 f; Land Grant Index.

<sup>116</sup> Land Grant Index; *Census of 1790*.

<sup>117</sup> Land Grant Index; *Census of 1790*.

<sup>118</sup> L. P., Tax Lists, 1783-1785, Sampson County, 1784; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

<sup>119</sup> Land Grant Index.

<sup>120</sup> Land Grant Index.

<sup>121</sup> Land Grant Index.

<sup>122</sup> Land Grant Index.

<sup>123</sup> Land Grant Index.

David Wilson possessed 6,736 acres of land prior to the convention; more land was granted to Wilson and associates after 1790.<sup>124</sup>

#### SURRY COUNTY

George Hauser, member of the house of commons in 1788, was granted 5,000 acres of land in Tennessee plus an unspecified amount in Surry County.<sup>125</sup>

Edward Lovell was granted 200 acres of land prior to the convention and 1,100 acres after 1790. He owned 4 slaves.<sup>126</sup>

#### TENNESSEE COUNTY (TENNESSEE)

John Drew received land grants for 7,320 acres. This acreage was held with associates.<sup>127</sup>

Thomas Johnston owned 697 acres of land and many additional small grants with several associates.<sup>128</sup>

Benjamin Menees probably owned 640 acres of land. The name appears as "Minees" in the land grant records.<sup>129</sup>

John Montgomery and Martin Armstrong received land grants for 640 acres before 1787.<sup>130</sup>

#### TYRRELL COUNTY

Samuel Chesson, member of the house of commons from 1788 to 1790, received grants for 1,397 acres of land plus 640 acres with John Leary and held 8 slaves in 1790.<sup>131</sup>

Jeremiah Frazier served in the state senate without interruption from 1778 to 1784. He owned 320 acres of land in 1784 and 6 slaves in 1790.<sup>132</sup>

Hugh Williamson, one of the most important Federalists in North Carolina, was born in Pennsylvania in 1735 of Scotch-Irish parentage. He was educated at the College of Philadelphia, taught mathematics there and later studied medicine at Edinburgh and Leyden. In 1777 Williamson was a merchant at Edenton and during the late years of the war served as surgeon for

<sup>124</sup> Land Grant Index.

<sup>125</sup> Land Grant Index.

<sup>126</sup> Land Grant Index; *Census of 1790*.

<sup>127</sup> Land Grant Index.

<sup>128</sup> Land Grant Index.

<sup>129</sup> Land Grant Index.

<sup>130</sup> Land Grant Index.

<sup>131</sup> Land Grant Index; *Census of 1790*.

<sup>132</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 412; *Census of 1790*; L. P., Tax Lists 1783-1785, Tyrrell County, 1784.

the North Carolina troops. He represented Edenton in the house of commons in 1782, served in the Continental Congress from 1782 to 1785, attended the Annapolis Convention, and was a delegate to the Philadelphia Convention in 1787. His extensive political career also included attendance in the Congress of 1787 and 1788, and he represented North Carolina in the House of Representatives from 1790 to 1793. He was a man of means and was interested in western land.<sup>133</sup>

#### WAKE COUNTY

William Hayes had no land listed in the records prior to 1789 but obtained grants for 806 acres later. Since he served in the house of commons from 1784 to 1786, he possessed the necessary 100 acres or more. Hayes owned 19 slaves.<sup>134</sup>

Henry Lane owned 14 slaves and 289 acres of land in Wake County.<sup>135</sup>

#### WARREN COUNTY

Solomon Green, member of the house of commons in 1786 and again in 1791, owned 12 slaves in 1790 and an unspecified amount of realty.<sup>136</sup>

Benjamin Hawkins, veteran of the Revolution, was born in Bute County in 1754. He was educated at Princeton College. Hawkins represented North Carolina in the Continental Congress in 1782 and 1783, served as an Indian commissioner in 1785, and again represented North Carolina in Congress in 1786. In 1789 he was chosen United States Senator and in 1796 became an Indian agent in the Southwestern Territory. Hawkins owned 19 slaves and 2,770 acres of land plus 1,290 acres inherited from Joseph Hawkins.<sup>137</sup>

Philemon Hawkins owned 62 slaves in 1790 and had 8,380 acres of land in North Carolina and 4,000 acres in Tennessee.<sup>138</sup>

<sup>133</sup> Trenholme, *Ratification in North Carolina*, 74-75.

<sup>134</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 422; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

<sup>135</sup> *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

<sup>136</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 441; *Census of 1790*.

<sup>137</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 426; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Tax Lists, 1783-1785, Warren County, 1784; L. P., Warren County Records, Wills, 1780-1825, II, 92.

<sup>138</sup> *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Tax Lists, 1783-1785, Warren County, 1784.

## WASHINGTON COUNTY (TENNESSEE)

Landon Carter possessed 9,230 acres of land prior to the convention.<sup>139</sup>

Andrew Green received grants for 1,264 acres of land before 1789.<sup>140</sup>

Robert Love was granted 300 acres of land in 1786; he also received a few small grants after 1790.<sup>141</sup>

## WAYNE COUNTY

Josiah Jernigan is not listed in any of the sources examined.

## NEW BERN (TOWN)

Isaac Guion, a doctor of medicine, represented New Bern in the house of commons in 1789, 1790, 1793 and 1795. In 1786 Guion purchased, at a sale of the estate of the deceased father of David Ward, a schooner called the *Tiger* for the sum of £948/10/4; no other information is available from the sources examined.<sup>142</sup>

## EDENTON (TOWN)

John Mare owned 22 slaves in 1790 and by 1785 had received grants for 625 acres of land. His other property included a town lot and £200 in cash.<sup>143</sup>

## HILLSBORO (TOWN)

Samuel Benton, a native of Oragne County, was a member of the house of commons in 1792, 1795, 1796, 1797, and 1799. He owned 300 acres of land within the county.<sup>144</sup>

## WILMINGTON (TOWN)

William N. Hill is not listed in any of the records examined.

<sup>139</sup> Land Grant Index.

<sup>140</sup> Land Records, North Carolina Grants in Tennessee, 1778-1791, microfilm.

<sup>141</sup> Land Grant Index.

<sup>142</sup> *The North Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Nov. 5, 1791.

<sup>143</sup> L. P., Tax Lists, 1783-1785, Chowan County, 1785; *Census of 1790*.

<sup>144</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 337; L. P., Orange County Records, List of Taxable Property, 1788-1793, IV, 14.

## ECONOMIC INTERESTS OF THE ANTI-FEDERALISTS

## ANSON COUNTY

Pleasant May, member of the house of commons from 1787 to 1790, is entered in the land records for 640 acres which was granted in 1792.<sup>145</sup>

## BLADEN COUNTY

Duncan Stewart was granted 361 acres of land in 1791 and owned 30 slaves in 1790. He represented Bladen County in the state senate from 1792 to 1796.<sup>146</sup>

## BRUNSWICK COUNTY

William E. Lord, member of the house of commons in 1777 and from 1791 to 1793, owned 15 slaves and received grants for 840 acres of land between 1769 and 1782.<sup>147</sup>

## CHATHAM COUNTY

Robert Edwards possessed 3 slaves and 260 acres of land in 1789.<sup>148</sup>

## CRAVEN COUNTY

Thomas Williams owned 28 slaves in 1790 but is listed with only 210 acres of land in Craven County.<sup>149</sup>

## CUMBERLAND COUNTY

James Moore possessed 15 slaves in 1790; no other property information is available from the records examined.<sup>150</sup>

## DUPLIN COUNTY

Robert Dickson represented Duplin County in the house of commons from 1784 until 1789. He received grants for 3,420 acres of land between 1775 and 1791 plus 640 acres with William Dickson.<sup>151</sup>

<sup>145</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 25; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

<sup>146</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 44; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

<sup>147</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 49; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

<sup>148</sup> *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

<sup>149</sup> *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

<sup>150</sup> *Census of 1790*.

<sup>151</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 139; Land Grant Index.

James Pearsall was granted 2,544 acres of land and other small tracts after the convention. He owned 15 slaves in 1790.<sup>152</sup>

Lavan Watkins held 1,360 acres of land in 1798 with 450 acres being granted in the 1780's; he owned 9 slaves.<sup>153</sup>

#### GRANVILLE COUNTY

Peter Bennett is listed in the tax records as the owner of 368 acres of land in 1785.<sup>154</sup>

#### GUILFORD COUNTY

John Gillespie held 2,000 acres of land in joint ownership prior to the convention; individually he owned 100 acres in Guilford County and 450 acres in Tennessee.<sup>155</sup>

#### MECKLENBURG COUNTY

James Porter had 4 slaves in 1790 and his will mentions \$2,100 in "real property" and the "tract of land whereon I now live."<sup>156</sup>

#### MOORE COUNTY

Donald M'Intosh represented Moore County in the house of commons in 1793 and in the state senate from 1794 to 1796.<sup>157</sup>

Neil M'Leod is not listed in any of the land records prior to the convention but received about 8,000 acres after 1790.<sup>158</sup>

#### NEW HANOVER COUNTY

John Huske owned 7 slaves in 1790; no other economic information is available. Huske, it was reported, walked out of the Fayetteville convention after ratification at the head of a discontented minority.<sup>159</sup>

John G. Scull possessed 350 acres of land as early as 1780 on "the West side of Black River." He owned 8 slaves in 1790. Scull represented New Hanover County in the house of commons in 1791.<sup>160</sup>

<sup>152</sup> *Census of 1790*; L. P., Duplin County Records, Tax Lists, 1783-1817, 1798.

<sup>153</sup> *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index; L. P., Duplin County Records, Tax Lists, 1783-1817, 1798.

<sup>154</sup> L. P., Tax Lists 1783-1785, Granville County, 1785; Land Grant Index.

<sup>155</sup> Land Grant Index.

<sup>156</sup> *Census of 1790*; L. P., Mecklenburg County Records, Wills, XIV, 70-71.

<sup>157</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 273.

<sup>158</sup> Land Grant Index.

<sup>159</sup> *Census of 1790*; Trenholme, *Ratification in North Carolina*, 240n.

<sup>160</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 294; Land Grant Index; *Census of 1790*.

## NORTHAMPTON COUNTY

Halcott B. Pride, member of the house of commons in 1789, owned 54 slaves in 1790 plus a plantation in Northampton County known as "Montecaillous," an island known by the name "Long Island," hogs, sheep, cattle, land in Halifax County, and land near Petersburg, Virginia.<sup>161</sup>

## ORANGE COUNTY

Joseph Hodge listed 600 acres of land in the tax records of 1788. He represented Orange County in the state senate in 1791.<sup>162</sup>

Thomas H. Perkins was granted 1,642 acres of land between 1779 and 1789.<sup>163</sup>

William F. Strudwick is not listed in any of the records examined.

## RICHMOND COUNTY

Darby Harragan received grants for 350 acres of land before the convention and 330 acres after 1790. He owned 12 slaves in 1790.<sup>164</sup>

Duncan M'Farland represented Richmond County in the house of commons in 1792 and in the state senate in 1793. He held 1,265 acres of land in 1790 and received grants for an additional 4,440 acres between 1790 and 1810. He held no slaves.<sup>165</sup>

William Robinson owned 6 slaves and 800 acres of land in 1790. In 1789 and 1790 a Wm. Robeson represented Richmond County in the house of commons.<sup>166</sup>

Alexander Watson owned no slaves in 1790 but received grants for 350 acres of land.<sup>167</sup>

## ROCKINGHAM COUNTY

Isaac Clarke is not listed in any of the records examined.

<sup>161</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 296; Land Grant Index; L. P., Northampton County Records, Wills, 1770-1808, III, 17-18.

<sup>162</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 337; L. P., Orange County Records, List of Taxable Property, IV, 1788-1793, 1788.

<sup>163</sup> Land Grant Index.

<sup>164</sup> L. P., Tax Lists, 1786-1790, Richmond County, 1790; Land Grant Index; *Census of 1790*.

<sup>165</sup> L. P., Tax Lists, 1786-1790, Richmond County, 1790; Land Grant Index; *Census of 1790*; Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 351.

<sup>166</sup> L. P., Tax Lists, 1786-1790, Richmond County, 1790; *Census of 1790*; Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 351.

<sup>167</sup> L. P., Tax Lists, 1786-1790, Richmond County, 1790; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

John Dabney owned 9 slaves in 1790; no other information is available concerning Dabney's property interests.<sup>168</sup>

#### ROWAN COUNTY

George H. Berger, member of the Rowan Committee of Safety during the Revolutionary War, represented his county in the state senate in 1787 and from 1789 to 1793 and in the house of commons in 1780, 1783, and 1785. Berger owned no slaves in 1790 and his landholdings are indefinite.<sup>169</sup>

#### SAMPSON COUNTY

William King, who represented Sampson County in the house of commons in 1792, owned 31 slaves in 1790 and an indefinite number of acres of land, some of which was in Tennessee.<sup>170</sup>

James Thompson possessed 401 acres of land in Sampson county and 950 acres in Duplin County. He is listed as the owner of 5 slaves in 1790. Thompson was a member of the house of commons from 1789 to 1792.<sup>171</sup>

#### SULLIVAN COUNTY (TENNESSEE)

William Nash received grants for 4,073 acres of land between 1779 and 1791. He held 1,920 acres with associates prior to the convention.<sup>172</sup>

#### SURRY COUNTY

Gideon Edwards, member of the house of commons in 1789 and state senator from 1791 to 1803, owned 19 slaves and received grants for 870 acres of land after the convention.<sup>173</sup>

#### WAYNE COUNTY

David Cogdell owned 21 slaves and 200 acres of land in 1790.<sup>174</sup>

<sup>168</sup> *Census of 1790.*

<sup>169</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 398; *Census of 1790.*

<sup>170</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 402; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

<sup>171</sup> Wheeler, *Historical Sketches*, II, 402; *Census of 1790*; L. P., Tax Lists, 1783-1785, Sampson County, 1784.

<sup>172</sup> Land Records, North Carolina Grants in Tennessee, 1778-1791, microfilm; Land Grant Index.

<sup>173</sup> Fries, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, 1784-1792*, V, 2269; *Census of 1790*; Land Grant Index.

<sup>174</sup> Land Grant Index; *Census of 1790.*

## WILKES COUNTY

Benjamin Jones was granted 320 acres of land in Tennessee in 1787 and 200 acres in Wilkes County after the convention. He owned 5 slaves in 1790.<sup>175</sup>

William Nall received land grants totaling 500 acres between 1779 and 1788; he possessed 5 slaves in 1790.<sup>176</sup>

[*Concluded*]

---

<sup>175</sup> Land Grant Index; *Census of 1790*.

<sup>176</sup> Land Grant Index; *Census of 1790*.

LETTERS FROM NORTH CAROLINA TO ANDREW JOHNSON

Edited by

ELIZABETH GREGORY MCPHERSON

[*Continued*]

From the Citizens of Chowan County<sup>21</sup>

Edenton N.C. August 7<sup>h</sup> 1865

To His Excellency  
Andrew Johnson  
President of the United States.  
Dear Sir.

We the undersigned Citizens of the Town of Edenton and County of Chowan & State of North Carolina would respectfully represent to your Excellency, and to the Hon.<sup>ble</sup> Secretary of War; that we have been allowed to remain at home a peaceable & quiet people during the unfortunate struggle through which we have had to pass; and having been respected by the Army and Navy of the United States, for our peaceable disposition; And now that the War is over, and Civil law once more is being restored and established among us, and every effort is being made to bring about good feeling among the people of our State, and in accordance with instructions of Govr. Holden the Justices of the Peace as appointed by him, have appointed and organized a Police guard of fifty good men to aid them in restoring order and punishing offenders against the law: and in the face of all this, we have had and now have a company of Soldiers stationed among us and for what purpose we are unable to ascertain, they insult our Citizens, and disturb the peace and quiet of our Community; And we do most earnestly request you to have removed from among us the aforesaid Troops, We also state that we see no disposition on the part of our people to violate the law, or any orders as issued from any department that we are aware of to bring such a calamity upon us and if the situation of the Freedmen requires looking after beyond the jurisdiction of the Justices of the Peace and the County police. Any officer or Citizen appointed by the Commanding Gen.<sup>l</sup> of these people can and will be aided by the police and magistrates who are sworn citizens of the Government of the U.S. to discharge their duties faithfully, and as we believe are ready to do so when called on.

All of which is respectfully submitted

Saml. T. Bond J.P.  
Alexander H Bond J.P.  
Miles C. Brinkley J P

F. J. Blan J P  
John A Bunch J P  
H. A. Bond J P

<sup>21</sup> This letter was enclosed in that of Samuel T. Bond to President Johnson, August 10, 1865.

John Roberts J P  
D V Etheridge J P  
Frederick Bunch J P  
D. McDowell J P  
William I Halley J P  
Jas. I. Cannon J P  
Wm. E. Bond J. P  
Cleveland Granger  
John Thompson  
Joseph Marcey  
Ephraim Churchill  
Seth B Parker  
Seaton T. Lery  
Henry C. Stokes  
John W. Nowell  
Thos. C Spruill  
Jas. C. Johnston  
John Coffield  
E.J. Burke  
John S Leary  
Miles W. Elliott  
Isaac Smith  
Benj. L. Evans  
Edw. Wood  
G.J. Cherry  
James Bonner  
J.D. Williams  
O.W. Skinner  
Chas. G. Manning  
R.C. Dennis  
T.W. Hudgins  
Robt Johnson  
Robert S. Piatt  
J. A. Douglas  
Joseph Evans  
James Smith  
Charles Woodley  
B B Phelps  
George T. Peel  
Henry Mitchell  
Michael Newman  
T.J. Smith  
William Coffield  
Henry P. Ritter M.D.  
C. E. Robinson  
Sam J Skinner  
S T Bond Jr.  
D T Jordan  
Wiley W Rea  
J.T. Stacey  
R Clayton

JD Skinner  
W.R. Perkins  
F. Wayland Bond Sheriff  
Watson White  
T L Johnston  
I N Floyd  
J.C. Pearce  
John G Small  
James McCoy  
Jas I Floyd  
T. G. Britt  
Joe C Floyd  
Wm H Barnes  
Geo W. Cornish  
Jno. M. Jones  
S E Spruill  
Isaac Cole  
Jos. E. Norfleet  
E. Stokes  
N.S. Perkins  
Wm R. Skinner C C C  
Jesse Parker  
Thos. Smith  
Ethel W. Benton  
John S. Rea  
Benj. F. Weston  
J.H. Bratten  
W.R.Capehart M.D.  
Th: S. Summerell  
W. A. Moore  
H. A. Gilliam  
John S. Bratten  
H.A. Bond  
J.R.B. Hathaway  
Thos. Thompson  
Jos. H. Amiss  
Geo. H. Cole  
H Hoskins  
Thos. Gregory  
E Wright  
John Bond  
Mathew I Rogerson  
Geo. Bond  
Will Morris  
Jos McCoy  
Jesse Smith  
J.W. Rogerson  
Richard Whitman  
Wm. Davenport  
J. L. Perry  
John S Bass

N.A. Simpson  
 John H. Hall  
 Elijah Smith  
 Timothy Ward  
 Will H. Weston  
 Reubin Miller  
 W. Badham  
 W A. B. Norcom  
 Jno L Burton  
 R.B. Perkins  
 W.H. Leary  
 Willie Evans  
 Will Saunders  
 Wm. S. Hedrick  
 James R. Skinner

R T Halsey  
 Sam<sup>l</sup>. Eshon  
 J. A. Harrell  
 W. H. Jones  
 G W Whedbee  
 L.C. Benbury  
 Wm. White  
 W.D. Rea  
 I. A. Woodard  
 R H Small  
 Jas O. Cheshire  
 Leml Sawyer  
 Geo W Smith  
 C.M. Munden

From William W. Holden

State of North Carolina  
 Executive Department  
 Raleigh, August 8. 1865

Brevet Major General  
 T.H. Ruger

Sir:—

Your letter of the 1<sup>st</sup> instant acknowledging the receipt of mine of 27<sup>th</sup> ult. which requested that three citizens of the County of Person in this State now held for trial before a military commission under charge of an assault made by them upon the person of a freedman named "Crime" "be remanded to the County of Person for trial by the civil tribunals of the State" has been received.—In the outset you announce your conclusion that "After full consideration of the matter it appears to me inexpedient to comply with your request"

You proceed then to mention the reasons which influenced you to decline the request; promising that without considering the question as to whether the civil law is so far operative as to give civil courts jurisdiction of the case in question, it seems clear to me, that without doubt, military tribunals have jurisdiction in all that relates to the preservation of order including the trial and punishment of those guilty of acts of violence"— It is not just a reference, from this paragraph of your letter that you deny the existence of any civil law in the State; or if there be, you insist that its execution rests solely in the military:— For, I cannot suppose that it was your purpose to maintain, that if the civil courts have jurisdiction, the military courts may take cognizance also.— So much confusion and conflict would of course arise from such concurrent jurisdiction, that the remedies for violence, would probably as much among the public as the toleration of them. If such be the character of the civil and military jurisdiction what shall prevent tribunals of each from taking its turn in punishing

an offender, especially when the second tribunal shall be of opinion, that the first has acted partially and without a proper regard to an upright sense of justice? This would not be improbable certainly with the military Court, if (as you suggest there is) there should be a palpable want of impartiality in the civil authorities where cases of freedmen are concerned—Again, the modes of trial are unlike: the manner and the measure of punishment after conviction, so different: the denial by one court and its allowance by the other of bail, to the party arrested and last and not least the trial of the accused by one court, at any place where it may happen to sit, however distant from the venue of crime: and by the other in the County wherein the offence is alleged to be done.

The jurisdiction of the military courts, you insist, extends to all cases involving “the trial and punishment of those guilty of acts of violence”.—If its extent is truly so unlimited, there can be little room left for the exercise of any criminal jurisdiction by the civil courts; and the creation of civil peace officers and courts, through the President, is a superfluity. In the proclamation of the provisional governor of the State dated 12<sup>th</sup> of June last, which was fully approved by the President before it was published, it is declared that “Inasmuch as there are no civil magistrates in this State nor State officers of any kind, the Provisional Governor, by virtue of authority in him visited by the President of the United States, will proceed; 1<sup>st</sup> To appoint Justices of Peace for the various counties, loyal men, by whom the above oath will be administered, and who will also conduct the elections, through subordinates, for members of a convention, in accordance with instructions from this office, and agreeably to the laws of this State in force provisionally to the 20<sup>th</sup> day of May, 1861— 2<sup>d</sup> Superior Courts of Oyer & Terminer will be held, when necessary, by Judges especially appointed and commissioned to dispose of criminal cases.— 3<sup>d</sup>. The Justices of the Peace, appointed as aforesaid will be authorized to hold courts for the transaction of all such business as may not be of the class of cases triable by a jury. The Justices by a majority of their whole members, will also be authorized to appoint their Sheriff, and their clerks for the time being, and such other officers as many be indispensable to a proper transaction of business.— And they will also be vigilant and will exert themselves to maintain the laws and preserve the peace of society in their respective counties; and especially to arrest and commit for trial, when the courts may be held all offenders against any law in the State, in force previous to the 20<sup>th</sup> day of May, 1861; and to allow bail where the case is bailable, according to the usage of the State.”— I deemed myself to have been but the organ of the President, when I put forth the proclamation containing these clauses. And I submit, that it was but a reasonable inference on my part that he intended to aid the anticipated restoration of the civil law, when by his proclamation of May 29<sup>th</sup> preceding, he directed.—“First.— That the military commander of the Department and all officers and persons in the military and

naval service, aid and assist the said provisional governor in carrying into effect this proclamation : And they are enjoined to abstain from in any way, hindering, impending or discouraging the loyal people from the organization of a State government as herein authorized" Now I most respectfully inquire to what end and what object is the Governor clothed with the power to appoint Judges, unless it be, in the language of his proclamation "to dispense of criminal cases"? Likewise for what object are the Justices of the Peace instructed to be vigilant, and to exert themselves to maintain the laws and to maintain the peace of society in their respective counties, and to arrest and commit for trial when the court may be held, all offenders against any law of the state in force previous to the the 20<sup>th</sup> day of May 1861; and to allow bail where the case isailable according to the usages of the State

At the time of issuing this proclamation, it was held that there was no civil officer of the State; and the obvious intent was to create State officers. It was the manifest purpose of this proclamation to restore to life so much of the civil law which affected and concerned the peace and security of society, as might be consistent with the military occupation of the State; that occupation was for the sole purpose of subduing the rebellion and preventing insurrectionary and seditious movements. To the accomplishment of these objects, the military law, it seems to me, was designed to extend and no further. The trust of correcting all disturbances of the peace among the citizens not treasonable or seditious was committed by the President to such Courts and officers as might be appointed by the Governor. I can well see the high necessity of a military law taking cognizance of all such matters as might affect the interests of the United States; but I do not feel the force of the arguments which maintaining, that, if two citizens freedmen or freemen, upon hot words make an ffray, the military interests of the United States are so concerned as to require that the trial of such an act of violence should be transferred from the civil courts to courts-martial. Recurring to Gen. Ofer No. 100 of the Department of War dated April 24, 1863 entitled "Instructions for the govenment of armies of the United States in the field" I see nothing which impugns my views herein expressed. In that order, it is declared that the presence of hostile army proclaims its martial law Section one, Prov. 1. Martial law does not cease during the occupation except by a special proclamation ordered by the commander -in -chief Sec. 1 Prov. 2. And again "the commander of the forces may proclaim that the administration of all civil and penal laws, shall continue either wholly or in part, as in time of peace unless otherwise ordered by the military authority Sec. 1 Prov. 3. In what light can I regard the proclamation of the 12th of June submitted to and approved by the President but as virtually his own proclamation? In this light I have regarded it.

In vindication of the jurisdiction assumed by you over the three citizens of Person County, you inform me that at the time

of "the arrest no civil court had taken cognizance" The proclamation of the 12<sup>th</sup> of June contemplates several means to preserve the peace and vindicate its violation. First For its preservation, many justices are appointed for each county, who are instructed as well by their oaths as by the proclamation to arrest and commit for trial, when the courts may be held all offenders against the laws of the State in force prior to the 20<sup>th</sup> of May, 1861 and to allow bail &c These justices are not empowered to hold any courts of criminal jurisdiction, but only to arrest and hold for trial, when the courts shall be held. The trial court is not called into actual organization until the crime is committed: and if it is of a grave character, the court will be convened to try the case so soon as the Governor shall be notified of it: if the cases are trifling, or not requiring speedy trial, the offenders will be confined in jail or put under suitable recognizance for the appearance when the due administration of justice shall in the Governor's opinion require it. He is himself the great conservator of the peace of the State.— Now, inasmuch as by the custom of the State which I believe to be universal among the people, the trial of offenses must take place in the county or districts, in which they were committed, it is impossible without great expense to keep a court always in session in every locality, where a crime may be probably committed. Before a grand jury can sit or a bill of indictment be found, a judge must be commissioned to hold the court. This delay in bringing offenders to trial you seem to regard as highly objectionable. The answer is, that such delays are incident to the mode of trial by the civil law, and have been tolerated for ages notwithstanding; and the trial by the court of Oyer and Terminer may be, and generally is, speedier than the regular course of a fixed judicial system as practiced in the State before the rebellion. It has been my fixed purpose to call a Court of Oyer & Terminer whenever cases should occur requiring them. My determination has been to have justice administered, as nearly as practicable, after the ancient, long tried and long approved mode used in the State. Our Superior Courts which have exclusive jurisdiction of high crimes sit but twice in the year; yet we have not found that this delay was any source of demoralization among the people of the State

It is true that I have called but one court — In the case of Mr. Nicholson I should have called one but you and I both concluded that the case was a proper one for the civil court. I have heard of no case of homicide, either of a freedman or freeman where I was not prepared to issue a commission to try it if the military had forborne to anticipate me. I have now appointed several judges to hold such courts when needed, if they may be allowed to do so. — I deeply regretted to read that portion of your letter in which you say, "from my own observation and information obtained from the commissioner of Freedmen, I am of opinion that acts of unlawful violence toward the freedmen are becoming more frequent. The first effect on the minds of the people of the dispersion of the rebel forces and the occupation of the country

by our troops, is, in a measure weaning off, and the apparent apathy and stupor resulting from the changed condition of things is replaced in the minds of those who give up slavery with reluctance by feelings of hostility to the Freedmen.— Under all the circumstances, I think that the restraining influence of prompt trial and punishment of offenders, particularly those guilty of homicide, by military commission is the only adequate remedy for the existing evil.—The action of Grand Juries would not I fear under the condition of things now existing in the State correct the evil”

The State previous to the rebellion, had within its limit many free citizens of color, who have ever been entitled as the freedmen now are, to the same mode of trial by Jury as were the Whites; and Whites have frequently suffered death for outrages, not only upon them but upon slaves.—The State in my judgment has no cause to blush for its administration of the law, heretofore, where the free persons of color was concerned. I am a sincere lover of its reputation and would deeply lament to see its sworn tribunals of justice oppress in administering the laws, the weaker race of its inhabitants. I cannot therefore sympathize with you in your alarm for the security of the Freedman, when placed under the protection of the civil laws and courts of the State. I should do injustice to as honest a people as exist any where, if, after my long observation of their disposition to administer justice fairly to persons of every color. I should by silence even, seem to concur with you in your opinion, that trial by Military commission is the only adequate remedy for restraining wrong to the Freedmen, or should appear to share in your estimate of those great civil paladiums of the liberties of freemen — the grand and petit juries of the county.

It is very natural for men of generous feelings to listen with interest and favor to the recital of wrongs by one whom they regard as oppressed; and I hope that it is not ill-timed in this communication to suggest that as in all probability the commissioner of Freedmen hears only the complaining party, he may and doubtless does, hear and trust what is greatly exaggerated. It is a general vice of all prosecutors to exaggerate and experience alone can correct its effects on even the best of men. The case of the freeman “Crime” forcibly illustrates this. He had scarcely arrived in this place and told his tale, before he was apprehended under a warrant for an assault on one of more of the very persons of whom he complained. In my proclamation of June, I specially addressed the Freedmen and proclaimed to them that they were now free; that they were free in common with all the people; that they had the same rights, regulated by law, which others had to enter upon the pursuit of prosperity and happiness; and that they were protected in their persons and property

I shall, so far as lies in my power, guarantee to the race all the rights and privilege and benefits; and I have confidence that they will be protected by the laws of the land and the Courts of Justice.

In conclusion, Sir, allow me to hope that your views as expressed in your letter to which this is a reply, may be so modified as that you may see with me, the propriety and necessity of allowing the civil tribunals to exercise jurisdiction in all cases affecting the peace of society, without regard to color or the condition of the offenders. I am very solicitous as I feel you are that the civil and military powers in this State may go forward together in friendly sprit, neither interfering with or encroaching upon the proper functions of the other; that no collision may occur between them; but that acting together for the common good, they may succeed at an early day in securing to our people, the benefits and blessings, which flow from a permanent government and a united country<sup>22</sup>

I deem it my duty to lay before the President our disagreement; and shall forward to him a copy of this letter, and as your request, a copy of yours, with my previous note of the 27<sup>th</sup> of July<sup>23</sup>

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Very Respectfully, your obedient servant

<sup>22</sup> Governor Holden and General Thomas H. Ruger, then in command of the Freedman's Bureau in North Carolina, had agreed that cases concerning whites only should be tried in the civil courts, and all cases in which Negroes were concerned should be under the jurisdiction of the military courts. The civil courts, however, had authority to arrest Negroes and to bind them for trial. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 309.

<sup>23</sup> In reply to Governor Holden's letter General Ruger wrote:

Headquarters Department of North Carolina  
Army of the Ohio,  
Raleigh, N. C., August 11th, 1865.

His Excellency Gen W.W.Holden  
Governor of North Carolina

Sir;

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8 inst. in reply to mine of the 1<sup>st</sup>. touching the subject of the jurisdiction of military tribunals in this State. As you express your intention to lay the matter before his Excellency the President, it would seem that in view of the probable, speedy, and authoritative disposition of the question further discussion by me would have no material influence on the result.

But in your communication some things are said from which I infer that references were drawn by yourself of my opinion on some matters not intended by me. In relation to such matters I wish to state my views. In the first portion of your letter after quoting from mine of the 1<sup>st</sup>. you say. "It is but a just inference from this paragraph of your letter that you deny the existence of any civil law in the State or if there be its execution rests solely with the military" This inference you support by the supposition that owing to the confusion and conflict that might grow out of concurrent jurisdiction of military and civil courts, it cannot be supposed that it was my purpose to maintain "that if the civil courts have jurisdiction the Military courts may take cognizance also." I did not intend to maintain either that or the contrary, nor did I intend to either affirm or deny the existence of civil law in the State, but only to maintain that the military tribunal had jurisdiction of the entire subject of order. It was intended as in reply to that part of your letter of June 27 expressive of your conviction that the civil courts had sole and exclusive jurisdiction of the case in question.

In the surrender of the rebel forces and occupancy of the country by the forces of the United States there unfoubtedly was by the condition of things martial law and none other in the State of North Carolina. Such law, as it appears to me, now exists except in so far as modified or restrained by the proclamation of His Excellency the President of the United States of date June 13 1865. Said Proclamation does not, it appears to me, in any manner take away the power previously held by the military authority to try citizens for acts of violence amounting to a breach of the peace. I of course did not know that your proclamation of June 12 last was previously to its publication submitted to the President. But on the supposition that it is expressive of the President's will, I do not know that it is a necessary inference that because it provides for the holding of civil courts of criminal jurisdiction that military courts cease by that fact, to have jurisdiction of any matters that might be brought before the civil courts. If this were so it would be impossible for the military authorities to execute and punish the violation of some orders issued by the Department Commander which have not been countermanded by superior authority, and also orders issued by the War Dept. and superintendent of Freedman and approved by the President himself. You say, "I deeply regreted to read that portion of your letter in which you say \_" from my own observation and information obtained from the commissioners of Freedmen &c." It was not intended by me thereby to express any doubt as to the virtue of the people of North Carolina nor any want of confidence in the juries composed of the citizens of the State. I know nothing to cause distrust of the well known reputation of the people as law abiding and honest, and of the courts of law as impartial in the administration of justice. The thought which caused me to write that portion of my letter quoted by you and which is still my opinion to that in the condition of thing at present existing is a result of war,

From Samuel T. Bond

Edenton N.C. Aug 10<sup>h</sup> 1865

To His Excellency Andrew Johnson  
President of the United States.

Dear Sir

You will pardon me for the liberty I take in addressing you a few lines respecting the enclosed Petition the Citizens of my Town communicated with Gov<sup>r</sup>. Holden not long since upon the subject embraced in this petition, and he advised us, that he was unable to do anything for us, but was willing to do all in his power to give us relief, we have been as was admitted by the rebel authorities within the Federal lines for nearly, or quite three years, and now Sir: when the union element is trying to produce in the minds of the people the necessity of respecting the union, and the union of the States, and to love the flag of our fathers as they once loved it, (I am induced to say that when we would do good evil is present with us,) so it is with respect to our present Condition, the Troops we have among us insult our Citizens, tear down our houses, and we fear will produce insurrection among our people, we as Justices of the Peace aided by the Police are doing all we can to keep the peace, but the military shows every disposition to override us in the discharge of our duties, we have organized quite a respectable police guard, and they are ready to aid us in all things, and Sir I do hope for the sake of our people, you will lay this matter before the Secretary of War, with such advice as you may feel disposed to give in the premises, and in doing so you will receive the grateful thanks of an oppressed people, the Military are tearing down our houses and are distressing us in many ways, and in doing so it has a tendency to cool the ardor of our people for the love of our dear Country.

I am dear Sir

Yours very

Respectfully

and obt Svt

One of the Justices of the Peace  
for Chowan County

and not of the free action of the people that the action of the civil courts and of grand juries however honest would not prevent the frequent recurrence of acts of violence particularly towards Freedmen during the time intervening before the complete restoration of civil law. Military laws is I think a necessity in the transition state in which the States lately hostile to the Government now are. I think you are in error in the opinion to be inferred by that portion of your letter in which you say "that as in all probability the commissioner of Freedmen hears only the complaining party &c"

Such action by the officers of the Freedmens bureau would be in violation of their instructions. I have myself cautioned the Asst. Commissioner as to the necessity of getting at the truth in all cases. There has been no complaint made of the action of Officers of that Dept. and I think that their conduct has been discreet.

Permit me in conclusion to say that I think there can be no real conflict between civil and military authorities in the State. This question of difference between us has come up whilst I have been temporarily in command of the Dept. and my action in the matter is founded on what I conceive to be the rights of the case.

I have none but feelings of kindness towards the civil officers and people of the State of North Carolina.

Your Obdt. Servt,  
I am Sir  
Very Respy  
Thos. H. Ruger  
Bvt Maj. Genl. Comdg.

P.S.

As we have no mail from this place to Norfolk I am compelled to send this to the Norfolk P.O to have it mailed, we shall be pleased to have mail facilities and would have been pleased to have heard something from you respecting the application I made to you to give my Son the appointment of P.M at this place, he forwarded a Certificate Signed by the Justices of my County as to his character and standing

S.T.Bond

From William W. Holden

State of North Carolina,  
Executive Department,

Raleigh, N. C., August 10<sup>th</sup> , 1865.

His Excellency The President of the United States.

Sir.

I most respectfully forward for your consideration, the Petition of the Mayor and other citizens of the town of Wilmington.<sup>24</sup>

I am well acquainted with the signers, and know them to be reliable and influential men, and among the best citizens of the state. I know that any statment made by them can be fully relied on and from abundant information derived from other sources, I am sure that their troubles are not too strongly stated.

I am glad to be able to add, that the citizens of Wilmington, once furious secessionists, are now quiet and orderly, and I believe they are truly loyal to the National Government, and may confidentially be relied on as such.

I know no difference between National Troops, whether white or black, but existing facts compel me to state that the presence of Colored troops in Wilmington and other places has greatly increased the jealousy and unkind feeling, between the whites and the colored citizens.

If these troops could be removed to the forts, or kept entirely away from the towns, it would greatly add to the quiet and content of both the white and the black inhabitants.

I most respectfully desire your Excellency's kind consideration of this matter, and sincerely desire that such relief may be given to the Petitioners as your judgment approves.

I am most Respectfully  
Your Obedient Servant.

From R. J. Powell

[August 21, 1865]

Permit me to call the President's attention to the annexed, and

<sup>24</sup> The petition from Wilmington has not been located in the Andrew Johnson Papers.

to say to him that nothing could be more gratifying to the people of his native state, than a visit from him.<sup>25</sup>

If it will be possible for him to do so, it will afford me the greatest pleasure to communicate the fact to Gov. Holden, and through him to the people of the state.

May I add the earnest hope that the invitation will not be declined, if it is possible to accept it.

With the highest respect

From William H. Harrison

Mayor's Office

Raleigh, N.C., August 25, 1865

To His Excellency Andrew Johnson,  
Sir:

At a meeting of the Board of Commissioners of this City, held to-day, the following preamble and resolution were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas, We have heard that Andrew Johnson, President of the United States intends shortly to visit Richmond, Va."

"Resolved, That we tender him in behalf of our fellow-citizens a cordial invitation to extend his visit to this City"

It affords me great pleasure, Sir, to communicate to you the foregoing resolution, and to unite with the people generally of this place in the wish that you will accept this invitation. To see you here in this your native City – the spot where you were born and the home of your childhood, would, I assure you, be a great gratification to us all, and would, I trust, be not without satisfaction to you.

I am, Sir,  
Very Respectfully,  
Your Obedient. Servant.  
Mayor.

From J. W. McDavies

Mayor's Office

New Bern, N.C. Aug 25, 1865.

Hon. W. W. Holden  
Provisional Governor State of N.C.  
Dear Sir,

I have the honor to inform you that a petition, to the Secretary of War, is being secretly circulated here among the secessionists and those disunionists from the North who oppose the reconstruction of the state and the restoration of civil government stating

<sup>25</sup> Dr. Powell enclosed a clipping from the editorial page of the daily *Standard* (Raleigh), August 21, 1865, concerning a rumor about the proposed visit of President Johnson to Richmond in order to learn the true conditions of affairs, and the suggestion that he might also visit North Carolina.

that the Provisional government here is a failure and asking that Martial law be once more established here and the provisional government abolished.

I deem it my duty to inform you of this fact as it forms a part of the deliberate plot of these disunionists to prevent the People of the state of North Carolina from assisting you to bring about the speedy restoration of civil government in the state and her representation in the Congress of the United States.

Very Resp.  
Your obedt Servt  
Acting Mayor Town of New Bern

[Endorsement of William W. Holden]

Raleigh North Carolina  
August 28, 1865.  
Executive Office

Respectfully forwarded to the President of the United States for his information

Much of this sort of management is going on in Newbern and in Beaufort. A brother of B. S. Hedrick a clerk in the Patent Office Building is Collector [a]t Beaufort—<sup>26</sup>

From William W. Holden

Office U.S. Military Telegraph

The following Telegram received at Washington,

3 P M . Aug 26 1865.

“ 26 1865.

From Raleigh  
The President  
Sir

It is stated in the Papers that you contemplate soon making a visit to Richmond I would be pleased if you could extend your visit to Raleigh our people would be very glad to see you Please answer

Yours truly

<sup>26</sup> Benjamin Sherwood Hedrick (1827-1886) was educated at the Rev. Jesse Rankin's Academy, Lexington, North Carolina, the University of North Carolina, and Harvard College. Upon the recommendation of President Swain of the University of North Carolina he was appointed a clerk in the office of the *Nautical Almanac* by the Secretary of the Navy. Having been reared in a Quaker community in North Carolina and having lived in an anti-slavery atmosphere in the North he was confirmed in opposition to slavery. In August, 1856, he voted the Democratic ticket, but upon being asked whether he would support Fremont at the coming election, he answered that he would if North Carolina had a Republican ticket. For this Professor Hedrick was assailed and was forced to leave the University of North Carolina where he was teaching. Holden's newspaper was foremost in forcing his resignation. At a teacher's educational convention at Salisbury, on October 21, 1856, an attempt was made to tar and feather Hedrick, but he eluded the mob. He reached his home in safety, but a few days later he left for the North. He was employed in the office of the mayor of New York, and in 1861 he became the chief examiner in the United States Patent Office, in which position he remained until his death. In 1865 he began to work for the restoration of North Carolina to the Union; and under President Johnson he worked for the establishment of the provisional government of the state. He tried to persuade the moderate secessionists to see the expediency of acceding, gracefully and spontaneously, to the enfranchisement of the Negroes. Naturally he and Governor Holden did not have any love for each other. He secured the appointment of his brother John A. Hedrick as collector of the port at Beaufort. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, IX, 127-128; J.G.de Roulhac Hamilton, ed., *Correspondence of Jonathan Worth*, I, 639; Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 136n.

From William W. Holden

Office U.S. Military Telegraph  
War Department.

The following Telegram received at Washington

3,10 PM Aug 26 1865.

From Raleigh

Aug 26, 1865.

The President

Sir

In reply to your dispatch of the 22<sup>d</sup> August I have the honor to state in No instance in making appointment to office or in recommending for appointment have I shown any preference for persons who have participated in the Rebellion. On the contrary I have been very careful to prefer and to appoint persons who were originally union men & persons who were in favor of restoring the authority of the Federal Govt. Doubtless in many appointments (some four thousand) some have been appointed who ought not bo have been & in some cases even friends have misled to some slight extent by their recommendations but upon the whole, only loyal union men have been appointed & recommended at Washington It is my purpose & wish to encourage & strengthen those who have never at least faltered in their allegiance to the federal Govt I have proceeded deliberately and carefully in the work of reorganizing & thus far I am sure there are no grounds for apprehending that North Carolina will not present an acceptable Constitution. The great body of her people are loyal & submissive to National authority. I know there are malcontents. radicals & not good men who are engaged in misrepresenting facts & fermenting strife for certain purposes, but none of those things move me in the performance of duty. Thanking you heartily for the Confidence you have heretofore reposed in me & for the honor you have done me in making me Provl Govr of this Noble state. I am sir &c

Prov Gov

From Robert M. Brown

New Hill Wake County N.C.

Sept 1<sup>st</sup> 1865,

To His Excellency Andrew Johnson,

President of the United States,

Very Dear Sir,

I hope you will not think a miss of me for dropping you these lines, as I know I do so on the most friendly terms, both privetly [*sic*] and politically I know you will be somewhat Supprised [*sic*] when you find out who it is addressing you, as it has been near forty years since we were acquainted, and boys together, though you may have entirely forgotten me, though if you have, I have not forgotten you, and shall never forget our boyhood days,

<sup>27</sup> In this communication he forwarded the letter of J. W. McDavies, dated at New Bern, August 25, 1865.

that we so cheerfully spent together, when you lived with uncle Selby, in the City of Raleigh, you are some older than I am, though not many years, I am in my 52<sup>nd</sup> year, I have had many trials, and troubles [*sic*] to encounter with Since we were boys together in the City of Raleigh, though the troubles and Sufferings of the last four years, was much greater than all the years of my life before, I thank God that I was with you in Sentiment, politically, and against this Cruel and uncalled for war, you deserve as much credit and Honour, as any one man liveing [*sic*], and perticuler [*sic*] so for the great stand takeing [*sic*] by you against this unholy war, in trying to put it down, and prevent the South from ever geting [*sic*] in to it, though unheeded she plunged her Self in to it, over the prays [*sic*] and beseechings of her many friends, Dreadful,, Dreadful,, day,, it was, when the South commenced this uncalled for war, with the North, what has the South made by the opperation. She has made thousands of widows, and orphans, and made her Self one of the poorest Sett [*sic*] of people, ever under the Sun, all by her own outrageious [*sic*] Conduct, and the worst of all is, that the inocent [*sic*] has to Suffer with the guilty, I thank my God, that that I was against it from first to last, and don[e], and acted, all in my power to prevent it, from the Commencement to the end, so far as I dar[e] to do, and was threatened to be hung, for my sentiments and acts, against the war, I was acting as Postmaster at Hew Hill P.O. Wake County N.C. when the war commenced, and had been for the last 10 years, and I continued to act as Postmaster after it Commenced, in order to Keep my Self out of the army, as I never intended to take up arms against the United States, if I could avoid it and I thank God, that I never have, I Keep my oldest son out for 12 months after the war begun, though they finally got him, he was about 22 years old when they got him, and not quit[e] 12 months before the war closed I had another son that arrived to the age of 17 years, they got after him though I managed to Keep him out, though if it had not of ended as soon as it did they soon would of had him in, so you can assitain [*sic*] from what I have wrote, some of the troubles [*sic*] that I have had to encounter with dureing this dredful [*sic*] conflict, and on the 15<sup>th</sup> of april last, a potion of the Northern army past my house, and tooke [*sic*] from me every thing that I had to eat, or nearly so, and distroyed [*sic*] and, tooke from me may other things, too tedious to mention, yet after they broke me nearly up, I thank God, that they did Come, as nothing but their presence, appeared, Could stop this unholy war, and I was willing for me and my family to suffer, and that greatly for the sake of restoring peace and union wonce [*sic*] more to our distacted Country I am a man in quit[e] limited circumstances, I own 108 acres of poor land, on which I farm, my other property, is but little, I never was the owner of a slave, and I am glad that I never was, I have a wife and twelve children, two of which are married, the

others are with me, it is true I have had a hard time, to live though this desperate war, with my large family of children, and the most of which are Daughters, and also a hard time since the Northern troops past though, as the left me little of nothing to eat, and I had no money to buy with, only the so called Confederate Script which was no money at all, though we have made out thus far to live in some way, and I feel sure that God will provi'ed some way to sustain my life, & family in the future, the pleasure that I entertain of liveing in peace, and union, in the future bears me up, otherwise I should sink in dispair, may the great God of heaven forever bless our United States of America, and forever unite us more firmly together as a band of brothers, in peace and union, than ever heretofore, and may he bless, bless you for great good in your laudable undertakeing, and may your days yet be many on earth for the good that you have alredey [*sic*] don[e] and accomplished, and for the good that you are yet so very competent of accomplishing for the well fare and good of our blessed country, I thank God, that your are the right man, and in the right place, Respectfully your obdt Servant,  
R.M. Brown

My name is Robert M. Brown, though more commonly called when I and you were boys together in Raleigh (Bob Brown) I am the son of Joel Brown, the old chair maker that lived in Raleigh, at the time you lived there with Uncle Selby, I am Brother to Henry J. Brown who now lives in Raleigh, you and my Brother Henry, Stayed at Uncle Selbys together for Sometime, I have no dou[b]t but what you will recolect [*sic*] me very well, I beli[e]ve I should recognize you, if I had the peasure of seeing you now, I live 22 miles west of Raleigh, in Wake County, as there is no Postoffice, Keep up at my place now, if you should see cause to Communicate a few lines to me in the way of old acquaintance, you will please address me at Raleigh, N.C. it would be a great pleasure to me to receive a line from one of my boyhood associates and from one that has stood the war storm as you have and have come out more than conqueror

Beli[e]ve me to be your friend privetly [*sic*], and publickly, and politically,

I refer you to his Excellency W. W. Holden Governor of the State of N.C) in refference [*sic*] to any thing that you should wish to know of me, as he is well acquainted with me in every sence of the word. privetly and politically, and I am willing to admit to any thing that he will say of me,

I am your obedient Servant,  
with much Respect and Esteem,

From Christopher G. Memminger<sup>28</sup>

Flat Rock, Sep. 4, 1865.

To

His Excellency Andrew Johnson  
President of the United States.

Every Southern man is so deeply interested in the great questions of public policy which are now under your consideration, that it will scarcely be deemed officious in one of them to offer you some suggestions, if made solely with a view to the public good. Although I am not personally known to your Excellency, and at present am under the Ban of the Government, yet I feel assured that your judgment can easily discern the ring of truth, and will justly appreciate any effort to relieve the immense responsibilities which are now pressing upon you.

I take it for granted that the whole Southern Country accepts emancipation from Slavery as the condition of the African race; but neither the North nor the South have yet defined what is included in that emancipation. The boundaries are widely apart which mark on the one side, political equality with the white race, and on the other, a simple recognition of personal liberty. With our own race, ages have intervened between the advance from one of these boundaries to the other. No other people have been able to make equal progress, and many have not yet lost sight of the original point of starting. Great Britain has made the nearest approach; Russia has just started; and the other nations of Europe, after ages of struggle, are yet on the way from the one point to the other, none of them having yet advanced even to the position attained by England. The question now pending is, as to the station in this wide interval which shall be assigned to the African race. Does that race possess qualities, or does it exhibit any peculiar fitness which will dispense with the training which our own race has undergone, and authorize us at once to advance them to equal rights? It seems to me that this point has been decided already by the Laws of the free States. None of them have yet permitted equality, and the greater part assert this unfitness of the African by denying him any participation in political power.

The Country then seems prepared to assign to this race an inferior condition; but the precise nature of that condition is yet to be defined, and also the Government which shall regulate it. I observe that you have already decided (and I think wisely) that the adjustment of the right of suffrage belongs to the State Governments, and should be left there. But this, as well as most of the other questions on this subject, rest upon the decision which shall be made upon the mode of organizing the labor of the African race. The Northern people seem generally to suppose

<sup>28</sup> Christopher Gustavus Memminger (1803-1888), South Carolina legislator and Secretary of the Treasury of the Confederate States of America, resigned his treasury post and returned to his home at Flat Rock, North Carolina, where he remained from June, 1864, until he was pardoned by the President in 1867. Then he returned to Charleston and began the practice of law. In the postwar years his chief service was his fight for public schools in behalf of both races. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XII, 527-528.

that the simple emancipation from slavery will elevate the African to the condition of the white laboring classes; and that contracts and competitions will secure the proper distribution of labor. They see, on the one hand, the owner of land wanting laborers, and on the other, a multitude of landless laborers without employment; and they naturally conclude that the law of demand and supply will adjust the exchange in the same manner as it would do at the North. But they are not aware of the attending circumstances which will disappoint these calculations.

The laborer in the Southern States, with his whole family, occupies the houses of his employer, built upon plantations widely separate. The employment of a laborer involves the employment and support of his whole family. Should the employer be discontent with any laborers and desire to substitute others in their place, before he can effect that object, he must proceed to turn out the first with their entire families into the woods, so as to have houses for their successors. Then he must encounter the uncertainty and delay in procuring other laborers; and also the hostility of the laborers on his plantation, which would probably exhibit in sympathy with the ejected families and combinations against himself. Should this occur at any critical period of the crop, its entire loss would ensue. Nor would his prospect of relief from others plantations be hopeful. On them arrangements will have been made for the year, and the abstraction of laborers from them would result in new disorganization. The employer would thus be wholly at the mercy of the laborer.

It may be asked why the laborer is more likely to fail in the performance of his contract than his employee. The reasons are obvious. The employer by the possession of his property affords a guarantee by which the law can compel his performance. The laborer can offer no such guarantee, and nothing is left to control him but a sense of the obligation of the contract.

The force of this remedy depends upon the degree of conscientiousness and intelligence attained by the bulk of a people. It is well known that one of the latest and most important fruits of civilization is a perception of the obligation of contract. Even in cultivated nations, the Law must be sharpened at all points to meet the efforts to escape from a contract which has become onerous; and nothing short of a high sense of commercial honor and integrity will secure its strict performance. It would be vain, under any circumstances, to count upon such performance from an ignorant and uneducated population. But where that population is from constitution or habit peculiarly subject to the vices of an inferior race, nothing short of years of education and training can bring about that state of moral rectitude and habitual self constraint which would secure the regular performance of contracts. In the present case, to these general causes must be added the natural indolence of the African race, and the belief now universal among them that they are released from any obligation to labor. Under these circumstances the employer would have so little inducement to risk his capital in the hands of

the laborer, or to advance money for food and working animals in cultivating a crop which, when reaped, would be at the mercy of laborers, that he will certainly endeavor to make other arrangements. The effect will be the abandonment of the negro to his indolent habits, and the probable relapse of large portions of the Country into its original forest condition. The two races, instead of exchanging mutual good offices, will inflict mutual evil on each other; and the final result must be the destruction or removal of the inferior race.

The appropriate remedy for these evils evidently points to the necessity of training the inferior race; and we are naturally led to look to the means which would be employed by our own race for the same purpose. The African is virtually in the condition of the youth, whose experience and want of skill unfit him for the privileges of manhood. He is subjected to the guidance and control of one better informed. He is bound as an apprentice to be trained and directed; and is under restraint until he is capable of discharging the duties of manhood.

Such, it seems to me, is the proper instrumentality which should now be applied to the African race. The vast body are substantially in a state of minority. They have been all their lives subject to the control and direction of another; and at present are wholly incapable of self-government. Alongside of them are their former masters, fully capable of guiding and instructing them needing their labor, and not yet alienated from them in feeling. The great point to be attained is the generous application by the one of his superior skill and resources, and their kindly reception by the other. This can be effected only by some relation of acknowledged dependence. Let the untrained and incapable African be placed under indentures of apprenticeship to his former master, under such regulations as will secure both parties from wrong; and whenever the apprentice shall have the duties of citizen, let him then be advanced from youth to manhood and be placed in the exercise of a citizen's rights, and the enjoyment of the privileges attending such a change.

I have no means of procuring here a copy of the Laws passed by the British Parliament on this subject, for the West India Colonies. They are founded upon this idea of apprenticeship. Such an adjustment of the relations of the two races would overcome many difficulties, and enable the emancipation experiment to be made under the most favorable circumstances. The experience of the British colonies would afford valuable means for improving the original plans; and no doubt the practical common sense of our people can, by amending their errors, devise the best possible solution of the problems, and afford the largest amount of good to the African race.

The only question which would remain would be as to the Government which should enact and administer these Laws. Un-

questionably the jurisdiction under the Constitution of the United States belongs to the States. This fact will most probably incline the Congress to an early recognition of the Southern States upon their original footing under the Constitution, from the apprehension of harsh measures towards the former slaves. The difficulty would be obviated, if a satisfactory adjustment could be previously made of the footing upon which the two races are to stand. If by general agreement an apprentice system could be adopted in some form which would be satisfactory as well as obligatory, it seems to me that most of the evils now existing, or soon arise, would be remedied; and that a fair start would be made in the proper direction. The details of the plan would be adjusted from the experience of the British Colonies; and if it should result in proving the capacity of the African race to stand upon the same platform with the white man, I doubt not but that the South will receive that conclusion with satisfaction fully equal to that of any other section.

I have the honor to be with most respect  
Your ob<sup>t</sup> Servt

From Rosa Buchanan Lunday

Wadesboro' N.C.  
Sept. 15<sup>th</sup>/65

To His Excellency Andrew Johnston,  
Sir—

Your Excellency is of course aware of the unhappy condition, to which the issue of the late Rebellion had seduced the people of these Southern States, but it has occurred to me that perhaps those in authority over us,—whose clemency we have already experienced, may not fully understand and appreciate—the deplorable I may truly say the appalling— situation of one class of our population; I refer to those of us whose entire property consisted in negroes—, and without the usual accompaniment of lands— Providence has cast my lot among this unfortunate class— Having derived my entire income from the *hire* of negroes— I am today in a more helpless situation than were any of the slaves, under the old order of things— for they were, and are, free from the terrible anxieties about the ways & means of living, to which our minds are a prey—The habits of hard labor to which most of *them* have been accustomed render them comparatively independent—Since producers & others are compelled to have their labor and give them its price It will be said, that the same field is open to all; but the *real* sufferers from the emancipation of slaves have not & even the cheering prospect of well paid labor before them— Since they are not fitted—by nature or habit, for any kind of hard work— A superior education—is no security against want— for

there is among our people a great reluctance to giving employment to teachers—: the learning of books seems to be considered a superfluity that can easily be dispensed with— One of the saddest results of this feeling of poverty, is the intense selfishness of one toward another, in this land— This feature is becoming more & more perceptible—The repairing of ruined fortunes is becoming a general mania—To contend with such a state of feeling is most hopeless—

My own case is particularly deplorable— I am the widow of a young physician— and have an invalid mother, (who was brought up in affluent circumstances) and a little daughter, both quite dependent on my exertions— From ease and comfort we are suddenly reduced to extreme poverty, and without any prospects of mitigating its evils—,which are more keenly felt by those who have never been familiar with our privations— If suffering only fell upon those who aided or encouraged the rebellion, it might be looked upon as a just retribution, but rather the contrary is the case—

Having been destitute of male relatives since the year '59 I cannot charge the war with having brought to us any heavier troubles, than have already been mentioned— but we did sustain a very severe loss, at the hands of Gen. Kilpatrick's raiders, in last March—They entered my private chamber, and robbed me of a large amount of valuables, which to me possessed from association a far higher value than their mere equivalent in money, being mostly old family relics etc. Members of the order of Free Masons were in many cases respected & left unmolested— but these robbers choose to ignore the fact of which they had proofs in the course of their plundering— My husband belonged to the order— I do not know that there is, or ever will be any society in the whole United States for the relief of sufferers from the war, neither do I know that any public measures will be adopted, with the same object— but I have ventured to give the facts of the case, out of a multitude of similar ones—; though it is true that in the circle of my acquaintance, I know of no other one, that is so utterly desolate—.

Let the anxieties and the fears— so natural to our situation and my inexperience in this sort writing— be my apology— for the poor performance of the task— and I sincerely hope that you will undertake the greater one of reading it— I did not intend trespassing so long upon your valuable time— having so far exceeded the limits I had at first proposed to myself— Should you see proper to notice this sheet, Mr. E.F. Waddill of *Cheraw S.C.* receives during the suspension of mails whatever is consigned to his care, for the people of this part of the country—

Very Respectfully

To the President United States

Care Jas. Threadgill  
Wadesboro N.C.

From William W. Holden

The following Telegram received at Washington, 1 30 P M.

Sept 21 1865.

Raleigh Sept 21

The Prest  
Sir

I have decided that as persons who belong to the excluded class cannot vote so they cannot sit in the convention unless they exhibit their pardons. Ex Govr. Graham of Orange in a letter published in the newspaper holds that unpardoned persons can Sit in the convention.<sup>29</sup> He declines being a candidate but argues this view— am I right or wrong? The letters addressed to Ex Govr Graham to which he replies taking this view does not show a good spirit. The Election here is progressing quietly—

A large vote will be polled in the State I will telegraph you as the returns Come in

Very Respy

From William W. Holden

The following Telegram received at Washington,

8 20 P M. Sept 23<sup>d</sup> 1865.

Raleigh N.C. Sept 23 rd 65

His Excellency The President.

One half of the State has been heard from— result very gratifying. Such men as Pearson— Reade— Moore— Warren—Donnell— Dockry— Caldwell— Dick— Brown— Phillips— Poole — Binum — Settle—Boyden— Thompson— Buxton— Lash— Starbuck— Gilliam — Grisson— Wright— Smith of Johnston Logan & Morris are elected also Satterthwaite.

Please have pardons forwarded for the following members elect.—

John Pool McGehee— Danl L. Russell Sr— M.T. Manly, A. B. Baine D.G. McRae not D.D.K. Jno B O'Dum C Perkins—Alfred Dockry— C Harris. C.J. Cowls— all sound and all but one or two ultra union men.<sup>30</sup> I look for a short and harmonious session of the convention. The ultra union or strictest sect sentiment will control in everything

Very Respectfully

<sup>29</sup> Governor Holden included Governor William A. Graham and Josiah Turner among those whom he advised the President not to pardon. They were among those whose petitions were suspended that had opposed secession until hostilities were begun. The chief reason was his personal prejudice; however, Governor Holden, in his *Memoirs*, written many years later, states that he did it to protect the President from pardoning too many rebels and because he thought that Graham and Turner were not in sympathy with him. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 112-113.

<sup>30</sup> In accordance with Governor Holden's recommendation, all of those received their pardons in time to take their seats in the convention. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 120.

Telegram

William W. Holden

Raleigh Sept 23, 1865

To R. J. Powell  
Washington [D.C.]

Sir. One half of the state heard from result very gratifying such men are elected as Pearson Reade Moore Warren Downell Dockery Caldwell Dick Brown Pool Phillips Bynum Settle Boyden Thompson Brexter Lash Starbuck Gilliam Grisson Wright Smith of Johnston Logan Harris & Satherthwaite I have telegraphed the President to have pardons forwarded at once for the following members elect. Jno. Pool M. McGehee Danl L Russell Senior M. E. Manly A B Bains D G McRae (not D K) Jno B Odem C Perkins Alfred Dockery C L. Harris C J Cowles. Please see that they are sent at once

From R. J. Powell

Washington, D.C.  
24th Sept. 1865 -

Dear Sir:

I enclose herewith , a very gratifying Telegram received by me from Gov. Holden, late last night-

All the pardons named have been forwarded save those of

M.E. Manly  
A. B Bains &  
D. G. McRae -

And all heretofore written for by him have been forwarded save those of

John H. Bullock  
R.E. Bullock  
P.H. Hardin  
Henry C Edwards  
Edmund Wilkins

I also enclose the petitions of Alexander Watson, of Robeson, and John Rutherford, of Burke- both recommended by the Governor for immediate action- The former as you will see, the Governor says will be a member of the Convention.

The latter ,John Rutherford is a connexion of mine- and as this is the first time I have asked anything whatever for any relative of mine, I trust the President will pardon me for asking that the Governor's recommendation may be carried out in that case.

I also enclose a letter to the President handed me yesterday by a gentleman passing through the City.

If the pardons above named can be got ready by Tuesday- Mr. Wright, of New Hanover - a member elect of the Convention , now here, will take them direct to the Governor.

Our Convention meets tomorrow week - and I am directed by Gov. Holden to say to the President , that he will be most happy

to receive from him any expression of his wishes as to the next course to be pursued – not only as to what should be done, but as to the manner of doing it–

If the President desires to communicate with Gov. Holden through me, I will wait upon him – at any hour he may designate.

Will the President have the kindness to cause the Telegram to be returned to me.

With high respect

Very truly Yours

State Agent from North Carolina

To the  
President

From William W. Holden

The following Telegram received at Washington,

6 P M Sept 25 1865

From Raleigh Sept 25 1865

Hon A Johnson

Sir

Please include in the list of Pardons of Members elect to the Convention A A McKay of Sampson His application is filed Marked suspended but he is now thoroughly sound I am sorry to state that Judge R M Pearson has been defeated The returns generally are very satisfactory Quite a large vote has been polled you would greatly oblige me by having all the pardons for this state made out & forwarded

Very Respy

From William W. Holden

The following Telegram received at Washington,

10 00 P M. Sept 29 1865.

From Raleigh N C.

Sept 29 1865.

The President of the U.S.

Sir,

I have received the pardons of all delegates elected to the Convention except the following M. E. Manly of Craven Co D. G. McRae of Cumberland Co. A. B. Barnes of Nash Co A. A. McKay of Sampson Co.

Please telegraph at once that these persons are pardoned so that I can admit them to their seats on the assembling of the Convention

Very Respy

From William W. Holden

The following Telegram received at Washington

12 40 P.M. Sept. 30 1865.

From Raleigh  
The President  
U.S.

“ 30th 1865.

Sir.

I have now received pardons for all the members elected to the convention except M.E. Manly of Craven County—<sup>31</sup> Please telegraph me that he has been pardoned so that he can take his seat in the convention.

Very respectfully

From William W. Holden

The following Telegram received at Washington,

5.35 P.M. Oct 2<sup>d</sup> 1865.

From Raleigh N.C. 2d 1865.

The President of the U. S.

Sir,

The convention has just organized by the election of Hon Edwin G. Reade of Person as President the attendance is quite full the best feeling prevails.<sup>32</sup>

Very Resp'y

From William W. Holden

The following Telegram received at Washington,

9 35 P M. Oct 5 1865.

From Raleigh Oct 5 1865.

The President U S

Sir

Josiah Turner Jr ought not to be pardoned at this time I have written to Dr Powell on this & other matters & he will show you the letter a General amnesty at this time would operate in-

<sup>31</sup> Matthias Evans Manly (1801-1881), a distinguished jurist, graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1824, and after graduation was employed as a tutor in mathematics and then studied law. He located in New Bern and married Hannah Gaston, daughter of Judge William Gaston; served as judge of the state superior court and the supreme court; was an ardent supporter of the Confederate government; but after the war manifested full submission to its consequences and played an important part in the constitutional convention. Samuel A. Ashe, editor, *Biographical History of North Carolina*, II, 357-365.

<sup>32</sup> Judge Edwin G. Reade was an eminent lawyer; served one term in Congress and was the only member of Congress from the South who voted to censure Laurence M. Keitt of South Carolina for the part he took in the assault on Charles Sumner; refused to be a candidate for the North Carolina constitutional convention held on May 20, 1861; was opposed to secession but served as a Senator in the Confederate Congress; was elected judge of the state supreme court in 1863; and was associate justice of the supreme court of North Carolina, 1868-1879. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, p. 121-122; *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, 1448.

juriously in the State<sup>33</sup> Hope to be able to telegraph some definite action by the Convention tomorrow all right

Very Respy

From William W. Holden

State of North Carolina  
Executive Department,  
Raleigh Oct. 5th 1865.

My dear Sir:

Your long and very interesting letter, in which you furnish an account of your conversation with members of the Cabinet, has been received. Also, your last letter by the hands of Mr. Wooten.

I wish the President to see this letter, or to hear it read. Please say to him that the exercise of the pardoning power has been of material benefit in encouraging this State. I trust that no general amnesty will be proclaimed until all the popular election shall have been held in this state. Next to the real union men the most submissive among us are the well whipped original secessionists; and the most rebellious among us are the Vance Destructives The reason is, the former commenced early and are thoroughly imbedded; whereas the latter, the Vance war men, had not quite fought it out. To pardon such men as Vance, Graham and Turner, now, and those who agree with them, would be to open in this state bitter discipline and would strengthen the faction now being secretly organized against the administration. There is no harm in Gilmer, and none in Arrington. The latter was active in securing the election of Mr. Baines, the Union delegate from Nash and before I would promise to endorse him for pardon to the President I required him to pledge himself that he would make Nash a unit as far as he could for the administration. He has redeemed his pledge.

There are some six or seven hundred endorsed for pardon from this State. Nearly all of these are friends of ours. I wish the President could find time to sign their pardon. We may need their vote and influence in the coming elections. So far as those who are suspended are concerned, I have done my duty, and I do not fear their opposition hereafter. Mr. Turner, I learn, has been in Washington denouncing me. His unionism consists in hatred of the old Democratic party. He supported Worth for Governor because he had been a Whig, though Vance was and is as bad as Davis, and is at heart at this time as rebellious as Davis is. Mr. Turner

<sup>33</sup> Josiah Turner, Jr. (1821-1901) was born in Orange County, just as was Governor Holden, but represented ideas antagonistic to those of Holden. Turner was educated at the University of North Carolina; was admitted to the bar in 1845; adhered to the tenets of the Whig party and became an ardent opponent of the Democratic party; and was elected to the Senate in 1860 as a strong union man and opposed the measures of the Democratic party. When North Carolina voted to join the Confederacy, he yielded and became active in raising troops. At the conclusion of the war he favored the restoration of the state to the Union. Holden recommended the suspension of Turner's pardon because he thought his petition was a bill of indictment against the Democratic party. Ashe, *Biographical History of North Carolina*, III, 415-426; Hamilton, *Correspondence of Jonathan Worth*, II, 661-662.

waited on me and demanded to know, before he went to Washington, how I had endorsed his petition. I declined to tell him. But I told him the so-called Union leaders of Orange County had held two meetings, in both of which they had declined to endorse President Johnson, because he had not pardoned Graham and that the clemency of the President would "measure by the confidence reposed in him in his efforts to restore the union."

I have conclusive proof that Mr. Hedrick is constantly engaged in the various departments interfering with North Carolina appointments. A friend has shown me a letter from Hedrick in which he makes insulting allusions to me in connection with the Internal Revenue Districts. He falsely charges among other things, that the person recommended by me for some of the Districts are secessionists. He has poisoned the mind of Mr. Starbuck, the new District Attorney, against me on the subject of the state debt; and he is writing all over the State stirring up discord. It would be a great relief to me if the President would direct the federal appointments for our State to be made through some other channel than myself I am willing to serve him in every way I can, and I feel the deepest solicitude for him personally and officially; but I cannot do Justice to him or to myself when thus thwarted and embarrassed.

Ordinances have been reported in the convention abolishing slavery and declaring the federal Constitution as always of binding force, of right, in the State, and therefore the so-called Ordinance of secession null and void. I feel sure the Convention will do what is right and that is expected. Though there are some of the malcontents in the body. The great bulk of the members, however, are ultra Union in their views. I have shown your letter to our leading reliable friends, and I find that your views are generally approved.

Very truly yours,

[This letter was addressed to Dr. R.J. Powell]

From William W. Holden

The following Telegram received at Washington,  
6 15 PM. Oct 6th 1865.

From Raleigh Oct 1865.

The President of the U States

Sir,

The convention has just passed the following by an unanimous vote. That the ordinance of the convention of the state of North Carolina ratified on the twenty first day of November seventeen eighty nine which adopted & ratified the constitution of the united states & also all acts & parts of acts of the general assembly ratifying & adopting amendments to the said constitution are now & at all times since the adoption and ratification thereof have been in full force & effect notwithstanding the supposed ordinance of the twentieth of may eighteen sixty one declaring the same

to be repealed rescinded & abrogated & the said supposed ordinance is now & at all times hath been null & void.<sup>34</sup>

The convention will dispose of the slavery question tomorrow

The State elections will be fixed on the first thursday of november  
Very Respectfully

From William W. Holden

The following Telegram received at Washington

8 P.M. Oct. 7, 1865.

From Raleigh N C

" 7 1865.

The President of the U.S.

Sir

The Convention has just passed unanimously the following ordinance.<sup>35</sup> That Slavery & involuntary servitude other wise than from crime thereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall & is hereby forever prohibited within the state the convention will in all probability ignore the rebel state debt.

Very Respy.

From William W. Holden

The following Telegram received at Washington,

8.00 P.M. Oct 7 1865.

From Raleigh

" 7 1865.

Prest of the U.S.

Sir

The Convention has passed an ordinance providing for the election of Governor Members of the legislature & seven Members of congress on the ninth (9) of November the legislature to meet on the 19th November.

Very Respy

From Richard P Dick

The following Telegram received at Washington,

11 40 A M. Oct 24 1865.

From Greensboro

Oct. 23 1865

His Excy A Johnson

Govr Vances wife is here with a friend very dangerously ill with consumption I think she will die Please allow Gov Vance

<sup>34</sup> Although the convention was a unit with respect to the abrogation of the secession ordinance, there was a decided difference as to the means that should be used. Dennis D. Ferebee of Camden County offered a substitute to that proposed by the committee. The opposition to the committee's draft was led by Judge George Howard of Edgecombe County, but the substitute was rejected. Several delegates refused to vote. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 122-125.

<sup>35</sup> The ordinance prohibiting slavery was introduced on October 5 by Thomas Settle. It passed unanimously. The convention then voted to submit the ordinance to the people. This was done for political reasons. Judge Howard opposed the amendment and attacked those who had never spoken for the Union until the Confederacy fell. This was applicable to members of the convention as well as others who had been secessionists such as Governor Holden. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 126.

to attend his wife during her illness wherever it may be necessary for her to go in the state I know He will do nothing wrong Please answer

From William W. Holden

The following Telegram received at Washington,  
11 20 P. M. Oct. 30 1865  
From Raleigh [North Carolina] Oct 30 1865.  
The President of the U.S.

Sir:

I am having the constitution with amendments & the ordinance copied to be sent authenticated to you The messenger will reach Washington on friday or saturday

Very Respy

From William W. Holden

The following Telegram received at Washington,  
11 20 P M. Oct 30 1865.  
From Raleigh [North Carolina] " 30 1865.  
The President of the U.S.

Sir:

Please request the Sec. of War to telegraph Maj Gen Ruger not to send W A Marcum to Fort Pulaski until you can hear from me by letter on Saturday next

Marcum was convicted by a military court for shooting a Freedman—I think it clearly a case for executive clemency—I hope he will be detained here until you can act on the memorial I will send you

Very respectfully

From William W. Holden

The following Telegram received at Washington,  
12 20 P M. Nov 5 1865.  
From Raleigh N.C. " 4th 1865.  
The Pres't of the United States

Sir,

Dr. Powell telegraphs me you were kind enough to authorize him to frame a telegram from you in relation to the election in this state if such a telegram should be published. I prefer it directly from you— I am morally certain of my election but I cannot tell what will happen all the rebel debt interest of the state is against me.<sup>36</sup> The money power is making a last desperate effort to commit the state to the treason of assumming the state

<sup>36</sup> The campaign was bitter. Jonathan Worth appealed to his friends in Washington to find means to efface the impression that President Johnson preferred Holden. It is of interest to note that until almost the end of the convention Holden had held the same views as Worth did with respect to the repudiation of the Confederate debt, yet in the campaign he assailed Worth's stand on the war debt. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 136.

rebel debt after the state gets back a powerful effort in making to rally the old whig party against me and this is succeeding to some extent. Traitors & malcontents have grown bold & insolent because the hand of power has not been placed upon them— If I am beaten a powerful party will at once exist against your administration and what is also to be deplored confiscations arrests & imprisonments would necessarily follow— Vance & Davis & Graham would be the big men of those in power here— few lines from you would place it beyond all doubt but dont send them if you think it in any respect improper— I would as soon the triumph should be considered Andrew Johnson's as my own if Mr Badger has arrived He has a letter from me to you giving a detailed account of affairs in this state.

Very Respy

From William W. Holden

The following Telegram received at Washington

2 40 P M. Nov. 6 1865.

From Raleigh N C Nov 6 1865.

The President U S

Sir

Your despatch received. You are right. Friends were alarmed & I yielded to their importunities but reserved to myself the determination to publish or not I am more than ever convinced of my election by a large Majority— Will write you at length after election. Have you seen Mr Badger He can give you valuable information

Very Respy

*(To be continued)*

## BOOK REVIEWS

The Papers of Walter Clark. Edited by Aubrey Lee Brooks and Hugh Talmage Lefler. Volume II, 1902-1924. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1950. Pp. vii, 607. Illustrations and index. \$6.00.)

Any student of political liberalism during the first quarter of the twentieth century will find in this second volume of Walter Clark's letters a valuable source of information for the pursuit of his theme. There can be no doubt but that the material presented here enlightens the history of the progressive era, not only in North Carolina and the South, but in the entire nation as well.

Walter Clark was Chief Justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court from 1902 until his death in 1924, but there was about his public life little of that judicial aloofness toward political questions often identified with those who wear the ermine. Throughout his career, and particularly after the turn of the century, Clark fought the most powerful vested interests in North Carolina, especially the railroads and the American Tobacco Company. This meant, as well, a bitter fight against the Democratic political machine in North Carolina, dominated by the powerful conservative United States Senator, Furnifold M. Simmons. These conflicts were highlighted upon two principal occasions: in 1902 when Clark was successful in his campaign for Chief Justice of North Carolina, and in 1912 when he was soundly defeated by Simmons in the famous race of four prominent leaders for the Democratic nomination to the United States Senate. In the first of these Clark had the powerful support of Josephus Daniels and the *Raleigh News and Observer*; in the second Daniels gave him no support. But these contests were simply two instances of major intensity, wherein what was in reality a continuous struggle between two philosophies of society became dramatized by personal battle. The fight with the pen went on all of the time, as these letters plainly show.

The editors have grouped the letters into half a dozen convenient divisions, and by means of a brief but penetrating introduction to each, have increased the utility of the collection. In addition to the two political contests in which Clark was personally involved, the sections are grouped around some central theme which illustrates a particular phase of Clark's continuous

fight for a "Socialized Democracy." The volume closes with a section which presents selected speeches and articles which illuminate the period. In all of these we see clearly and vigorously presented the philosophy of law and government which made Clark bold to contend for a new social and economic order. As early as 1903 he made an address which, according to the editors, ". . . embodies an astonishing graph of the best that has found expression in the New Deal." Throughout the book there is revealed a man of deep learning and of passionate devotion to the progressive cause, whose platform proved much too liberal for many, but for the advancement of which an honorable man labored intensely throughout a long and fruitful career.

But this volume does more than reveal Clark's philosophy of society and law. It reveals, though less completely, the trend of mind of many, many prominent men of the time. There are letters from a glittering array of personalities, important not only for the names of the writers but for the content of the letters. Here one may find letters from most of the governors of North Carolina from Daniel L. Russell to O. Max Gardner, and correspondence from other prominent North Carolinians, such as Josephus Daniels, Furnifold M. Simmons, Lee S. Overman, Henry G. Connor, Claude Kitchin, Josiah W. Bailey, and Clarence Poe, to mention only a few. The most significant letters from leaders outside North Carolina are from William Jennings Bryan, Robert M. LaFollette, Woodrow Wilson, and William E. Dodd, though letters from other political liberals abound. A curious absentee is Walter Hines Page.

Anyone who has seen the first volume of the Clark *Papers* will need no comment on the quality of the book, either in make-up or in editorial work. The identifying footnotes are brief but satisfying, the index includes subjects as well as names, and the attractiveness of the volume is greatly enhanced by the inclusion of twenty portraits, all but that of LaFollette being North Carolina leaders. Editors and publishers have combined to produce a beautiful book. From such works as this will the history of the first quarter of the twentieth century be written.

Frontis W. Johnston.

Davidson College,  
Davidson, N. C.

High Time To Tell It. By Mary Alves Long. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1950. Pp. 314. \$3.50.)

Only a writer with an extraordinary memory could write a book like this. But surely those members of the older generation with sharp senses of recall should write more of them. Often we hear someone say, "Aunt Sallie (or Uncle John) knew *everything* about *everybody*. What a shame she (or he) died without writing it down! Now we will never know." Well, after reading this book, we know all about the Long family. There is plenty to tell; not much is omitted; for Mary Alves Long has the gift of recall, and her memory with its amazing ability for detail has made it possible for her to set down everything as plainly as if it had happened yesterday.

The book is not properly an autobiography or a history; it is a book of reminiscences. True, the stream of life and how it was lived is seen through Miss Long's eyes, but the story is as much that of her family, her many relatives—prominent North Carolina families, too; the Webbs, the Bingham, the Huskes, the Mendenhalls, and others—and her neighbors, as it is her own.

The William J. Long plantation was in that section of Randolph County, North Carolina, where it meets Guilford, Alamance, and Chatham. The household, generally about eighteen, was composed of the immediate family, the cousins, and those who had nowhere else to go. The period of the 1870's and early 1880's, with which the book principally deals, is set down in full. There was much to eat, much to keep one busy, but very, very little money. In those Reconstruction days the annual land tax of \$40 presented a major problem indeed. But there were plenty of fruit, plenty of meat, plenty of vegetables, and plenty of good cheer. Throughout the year the family rose early, went berry picking in the summer or butchered hogs in the winter, walked for the mail, had picnics or went to church, and then read Shakespeare and Burns by the fireside at night. And there were always visitors, and always the dinner table agonized with munificence. Excursions to kinfolk in Hillsborough were a matter of months—Hillsborough, where there were *The People* and *The Other People*, and "where manners were considered next to godliness."

Miss Long's four years at Peace Institute in Raleigh are related with a nostalgia that makes the reader wish for the golden

years again. The concluding chapters of her exodus to Minneapolis and Chicago, where she became a public school teacher, and to St. Louis and Montana and finally to Europe and back to South Carolina, fill out briefly the pages of a long life.

This is social history, first-hand and at its best, told by one for whom the dim years have become tinted with rose.

Richard Walser.

North Carolina State College,  
Raleigh, N. C.

---

Tar Heel Women. By Lou Rogers. (Raleigh: Warren Publishing Company. [1949]. Pp. xiv, 284. Illustrated. \$3.50.)

This book is obviously a labor of love, and a critic should approach it in the spirit in which it was written. The author, who is an elementary-school teacher in Cumberland County, has been assembling her materials over many a long year and in her preface offers the finished result as "perhaps a 'beginning' for those who would like to go further in the field of research on North Carolina Women. . . ." This is a modest offer, and one that the volume entirely fulfills. Studies of thirty-nine "unusual" women are presented: eleven from the colonial, eleven from the ante-bellum, and seventeen from the modern periods. The range in time is impressive, since the lead-off lady was the mother of Virginia Dare and the subject of the final sketch is still living.

In any such *omnium gatherum* one may quibble endlessly over selections. While the present writer has no intention of doing so, he suggests that the inclusion of chapters on Dolly Madison or on Andrew Jackson's mother or on the spy, Rose O'Neal Greenhow, is justifiable only on chamber of commerce grounds. Corollary-wise, he would like to know just how Miss Rogers defines "unusual." Is Margaret Baird Vance "unusual" because she happened to give birth to a future governor? Is there anything really unusual about the "D. A. R. leader" or the "Leader in Order of Eastern Star" or the "P. T. A. organizer and leader" whose biographies take up so many pages? Again, one wishes that Miss Rogers had not been so soaringly generous in her estimates. While it may well be true that Frances Fisher Tiernan is "North Carolina's most famous woman author," it is being entirely too Christian toward "Christian Reid" to designate her as a "great"

writer or to state flatly that of her forty-odd romances, "all of them are well written." It is wildly inaccurate to describe the Catholic magazine, *Ave Maria*, as at one time "the best literary periodical in the English language." Certain careless errors of fact could easily have been avoided: those rocky formations off the southwest coast of England are the Scilly, not the "Schilly," Isles, the best man at the wedding of the future general, Stonewall Jackson, was not C. D. "Fishborn" but Clement D. Fishburne. Lastly, one wishes that the index, which Miss Rogers advises me she included in her original manuscript to the publisher, had been retained by him, since its presence would have added materially to the usefulness of the book.

These strictures aside, *Tar Heel Women* remains a helpful compilation. If questionably "unusual" personalities have been dredged up to light, authentically valuable reputations have, conversely, also been revised, such as those of the colonial heroine. Susan Twitty, or the poetess, Mary B. D. Clarke. And this reviewer will be excused for believing that Miss Rogers has performed a worthy salvage operation in publishing, for the first time, a brief biography of his paternal ancestress, the Revolutionary patriot of Fayetteville, Mary Walker Gee. It is probably the third section of *Tar Heel Women*—dealing with individuals of the modern era—that will prove the most valuable section, since here the author was enabled to interview friends or relatives of her subjects, and thereby preserve many biographical data not otherwise readily obtainable. Certainly the most valuable single feature of the book is the group of individual bibliographies after each sketch; but if a second edition is ever called for, the entries within these bibliographies should be much more precisely cited than they now are.

"There are," says Miss Rogers in the opening sentence of her sketch of Donie R. Patton, "a number of Tar Heel women who have spent their lives in service in the welfare of North Carolina, yet, have neither been publicly acclaimed nor have their unselfish lives been maintained upon the printed page." Such lives are now handsomely acclaimed in the pages of *Tar Heel Women*.

Curtis Carroll Davis.

Baltimore, Md.

Leonidas Lafayette Polk, *Agrarian Crusader*. By Stuart Noblin. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. Pp. ix, 325. \$5.00.)

Leonidas Lafayette Polk is best known to history as president of the National Farmer's Alliance back in Populist days. His life, however, spanned an important period in the history of his state and section, and his part in events and his reactions to them give added significance to his story. Polk was born in 1837 and grew to manhood as the Civil War approached. He came from thrifty Presbyterian parents and inherited acres and slaves in sufficient quantity to give him better than an average start. He spent a year at Davidson College and distinguished himself somewhat as an orator. Back home he married and settled down to farming.

The sweep of events, however, soon drew him into politics. He became a staunch Whig and an ardent Union man. In time he was elected to the lower house of the legislature where he stood solidly with those who would check secession and hold North Carolina in the Union. Not until Lincoln made his decision for him did he accept the inevitable and return home to organize his county militia.

Although holding the rank of colonel in the militia he entered the Confederate service as a private. His war record was good but not outstanding. Twice he faced charges and once he was arrested for "misbehavior before the enemy." He was cleared in both cases but his political career, in later years, suffered from the incidents. Elected again to the legislature he left the army in 1864 and played the part of a Conservative in Reconstruction days. He would forget the past, catch stride with the new economic forces at work in the nation, and restore southern agriculture to its earlier prosperity.

Military reconstruction soon made his efforts futile and he returned to his farm disillusioned but still hoping for the best. News that a railroad would cross his lands again stirred him to activity. He laid out a town, promoted business enterprises, edited a paper, and was soon back in politics with agricultural reform as his purpose. Early he joined the Grange as it developed in the South. In and out of season he urged the establishment of a State Department of Agriculture and, when it was created, became its first commissioner. There he helped lower the price

of fertilizers, encouraged the raising of sheep, encouraged immigration to the state, and scattered information on improved methods by his speaking and writing.

Politics, however, soon entered and Polk lost his job. He then turned to newspaper work and after a time established *The Progressive Farmer* and made it a force in the life of his state and section. Through its pages he preached a new diversified agriculture and was a leader in the campaign which led to the establishment of a state agricultural and mechanical college, under federal grant, at Raleigh. His efforts also helped in the founding of a "Baptist Female University,"—the forerunner of the present Meredith College.

Such efforts soon led into the greater farmer movements that climaxed in the formation of the "Southern Alliance" in its battle to right the balance in national life and restore agriculture to prosperity and influence. From local office Polk rose to national influence in the movement and at length to its presidency. It was a rough road. The movement could not be kept out of politics and all the bitterness of the earlier years was now added to that which the Populist movement engendered. Polk, however, held his own and only death checked his nomination for national office.

Stuart Noblin has told this story well. He has seen Polk's faults as well as his virtues. He has not attempted a defense nor has he given more than a fair amount of praise. Too much of quotation from Polk's Kansas speech clogs the first chapter and the balance is a bit too heavy on earlier years, but these are minor faults in a good and needed biography.

Avery Craven.

The University of Chicago,  
Chicago, Ill.

---

A Catalogue of the Library of Charles Lee Smith. Edited by Edgar Estes Folk. (Wake Forest, N. C.: The Wake Forest College Press. 1950. Pp. xxx, 654.)

Like Francis Bacon and John Milton, the builder of the Charles Lee Smith Library took all knowledge to be his province. In contrast to the highly specialized interests of the typical private collector today, there is virtually no major area of learning neg-

lected by the scholar who assembled the remarkable library described in this catalog. Though obviously leaning heavily toward literature, history, and biography, the catholicity of Dr. Smith's taste led him to range over the social sciences in general, philosophy, travel, religion, science, art, music, and a variety of other fields. Imprint dates are of similar scope, from the beginning of printing to productions of current publishers.

Representing practically the lifetime efforts of a distinguished North Carolina educator and publisher, now eighty-five years of age, the Smith Library was presented to Wake Forest College in 1941. There it is to be maintained in perpetuity as a separate library.

Because of the diversity of subjects embraced by the Smith Library, no brief characterization of it is feasible. As the editor points out, the titles recorded are "books that belong in a well-rounded library of a scholar who is both a reader and a bibliophile—books that interested him because of their beauty, their contents, their authorship or their edition." The classics, English and American literature, North Caroliniana, and United States history are noteworthy sections, but at least a dozen other divisions of almost equal value could be named. In the Smith Library, Wake Forest College has a collection of enduring worth for its students and faculty, a resource that should do much to enrich the educational program there.

The catalog itself is an excellent piece of book making, with generous margins, clear, readable type, well-reproduced title pages and bindings, and a full author index.

R. B. Downs.

The University of Illinois Library,  
Urbana, Illinois.

---

Virginia on Guard: Civilian Defense and the State Militia in the Second World War. By Marvin Wilson Schlegel. (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1949. Pp. xix, 286.)

Virginia has been the leader, among other states, in keeping a record of her citizens' military and civilian activities during both world wars. In January, 1919, the governor appointed a War History Commission to coordinate and publish in narrative volumes the war-history activities that had been carried on by

various institutions, groups, and individuals. A similar commission was created for World War II in 1944. Their function was to investigate "every phase of the cooperation of Virginians in the war activities of both the home front and the battlefronts." *Virginia on Guard* is the first published account of their investigation.

In 252 pages the author has logically recorded the many things the people did under the Virginia Defense Council and the Civilian Defense Council in prosecuting an all-out war on the home front while the soldiers were on the battlefields around the world. The civilians were called upon to assist in rationing scarce commodities, controlling prices, collecting waste and scrap materials that were needed in critical industries, and taking precautionary measures against attack by the enemy via air, sea, and land. These "fighters" on the homefront did not hesitate in contributing their talent, labor, and resources when they were asked to do so by the State Council or local agency. The author points out that by 1942 over 300,000 citizens had been mobilized for action and when the request came from the national government to salvage aluminum, "Virginia," reports Dr. Schlegel, "had out-collected every other Southern State." The success of the whole defense program was no doubt due to the zealous patriotism of the people. However, the state and local councils also played a part in the successful operation of the plans.

The writer has produced a scholarly work of merit. He was judicious in the selection of his footnotes and illustrations, and both enhance the reader's interest to pursue the contributions of the people's activities further. Moreover, the writing is lucid, that is, he interprets the war-history activities of the Civilian Defense and State Militia in simple terms that can be understood by all classes of individuals.

The book will serve not only as a portrait of the citizens cooperating democratically against a common enemy, but also as a draft for future occasions when the state is called upon to organize for a universal purpose. On the other hand, anyone interested in knowing what the "average citizen" did during World War II should read *Virginia on Guard*.

Tinsley L. Spraggins.

Virginia Union University,  
Richmond, Va.

Virginia's State Government during the Second World War: Its Constitutional, Legislative, and Administrative Adaptations, 1942-1945. By Francis Howard Heller. (Richmond: Virginia State Library. 1949. Pp. xvii, 203. \$2.00.)

By long established and now universally accepted provision of the United States Constitution, the conduct of war is most particularly a function of the national government. But the state governments do not cease their operations in time of hostilities. They are expected, even more than the national government, to carry on the services which are properly their province, often with the means and opportunities for this not readily available; and at the same time the impact of military and industrial activities upon a state's social and economic life may call for changes and adjustments. Temporary in nature though these measures may be, they reflect the response of state government to the problems which beset a nation at war.

As one of several topical studies designed to portray Virginia and Virginians in World War II, Dr. Heller's work appraises the responses to wartime pressures and needs which were evolved in the government of Virginia during the embattled years which found the Stars and Stripes arrayed against the Swastika and the Rising Sun. These responses took the form of a constitutional amendment, found to be necessary in order to permit service men to vote without paying the poll tax; numerous legislative enactments; and a variety of alterations in administrative agencies and services.

Chief among the wartime problems confronting the legislature were those of mobilizing resources and facilities for the physical tasks of defense; attending to the needs and safeguarding the interests of the thousands of citizens who had laid aside civilian pursuits and left homes to serve in the armed forces; alleviating the impact of war upon the internal economy and the social pattern of the community; and, especially in the later years of the conflict, making provision for certain effects of the war and taking measures to commemorate efforts and sacrifices. Except for the "Military Code," the statutes of Virginia in 1940 contained relatively few provisions of initial usefulness in defense and war undertaking. Consequently, the legislatures of 1942 and 1944 spent much time and effort in remedying this situation, and

in addition there were three special sessions held, in 1942, 1944, and 1945, to cope with urgent problems incident to the war. At these five sessions 128 bills were introduced and 83 acts were passed pertaining to defense and war-caused conditions.

With personnel constantly depleted by the draft and other war-time demands, the state's administrative agencies were at the same time called upon to assume additional functions. Among these were attention to the problems of housing, health, and traffic control in congested areas; the construction of roads and highways giving access to military and defense installations, including the four-million-dollar Norfolk by-pass; and the rationing of various commodities, not excepting alcoholic beverages.

Dr. Heller's work is apparently the first of its kind to be published for any state of the Union. Written by a political scientist, it is an analytical treatment rather than a chronological or narrative account such as a historian would more likely have produced. Emphasis is placed upon institutional changes under war-time pressures, with persons appearing in general only in the roles assigned by their respective governmental functions. Comment upon the Virginia Office of Civilian Defense and the military affairs directed by the Adjutant General of the state is specifically omitted, since these topics have been investigated concurrently by Dr. Marvin W. Schlegel in his recently published *Virginia on Guard: Civilian Defense and the State Militia during the Second World War*.<sup>1</sup>

As a political scientist, Dr. Heller is also interested in drawing conclusions from his investigation. These are: that although the governmental structure of Virginia was able to adjust itself to the demands of World War II, it is nevertheless too inflexible to meet successfully the challenge of total war; and that "if we assume . . . that Virginians desire to retain a democratic government, then it needs to be fashioned into an instrument of such vitality and resilience that it can withstand the stresses of war."

James W. Patton.

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

<sup>1</sup> Reviewed on Pp. 498-499, above.

Confederate Music. By Richard B. Harwell. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1950. Pp. viii, 184. \$3.50.)

The Confederate soldier may have hadhardtack in his knapsack and the cold ground for his bed, but there was a song in his heart and Richard B. Harwell in his *Confederate Music* lists some of the sources for such inspiration.

The author's chief consideration in this volume is for sheet music published in the South during the period of the War of Secession. Although paper was scarce, song sheets were inexpensive to produce and easy to distribute, so that small established firms, aware of the advantage of independence from the northern source of supply, flourished. Others sprang up and the publication of sheet music became, for a time at least, big business. While in New Orleans, Nashville, Mobile, Macon, and elsewhere sheet music poured from the presses, only one piece is known to have been issued in North Carolina—T. S. Whitaker's "Rifle Guard Quickstep," dedicated to the Rifle Guards of Wilmington.

If it is true that "Music is the Soul of Mars," it is not surprising that words and music printed in the Confederacy should deal largely with the flag, war heroes, success in battle, defiance, love, and death. Among the favorite musical forms of the day were the scottish, polka, quickstep, waltz, ballad, and march.

Early Confederate songs were patterned after those of pre-secession days for there were Southerners who considered that American national tradition belonged exclusively to the South. Others believed in breaking musical as well as political ties and made an effort to produce a national hymn for the Confederacy. Music knows no boundary lines and the passage of songs from the North to the South could not be stopped by the sentry. Neither side recognized the copyrights of the other, so that sheet music originally published in New York or Chicago was appropriated by publishers in Richmond and Columbia.

The author does not attempt detailed descriptions of personalities, except in the case of John Hill Hewitt, the "bard of the Confederacy" and "father of the American ballad." This colorful individual was a New Yorker, West Point graduate, dramatist, poet, editor, teacher, and journalist who lived for many years in the South. When he was sixty-two he made his second marriage

to an eighteen-year-old Savannah girl and, by the end of the war, they had the first of four children. Hewitt died at the age of eighty-nine, but some of his works live on.

The chapter headings of Mr. Harwell's book are eye-catching and intriguing. Among them "Richmond Is a Hard Road to Travel," "Bard of the Stars and Bars," and "God Save the South: Dixie and Its Rivals," in which the author gives an account of how Ohio-born Daniel Decatur Emmett came to write one of the best love songs of the South and discusses numerous versions of this familiar ballad.

The book is divided into two parts. In Part I Harwell gives a description of sheet music published in the South, quoting a number of songs in full. Part II lists hundreds of titles with dedication, composer, publisher, date, and place of publication. This is probably as complete a compilation as can be found. The publishers, with the number of publications accredited to each, are listed again in the appendix and a separate geographical distribution of items is set up. Dealers, other than publishers, are also listed.

The author's interest in the period is quite understandable. Born in Washington, Georgia, the site of Jefferson Davis's last cabinet meeting, as a child he heard stories of the times from his great-grandmother. After graduating from Emory University, he worked with the George Washington Flowers Memorial Collection of Southern Americana at Duke University, and it was there that his interest turned definitely to Southern history and bibliography. He served with the Navy in the Pacific during World War II and is at present assistant librarian at Emory University.

While at Emory Harwell had opportunity to consult the Hewitt manuscripts, a collection of clippings, personal correspondence, and scrapbooks covering the period 1801 to 1890. He also made use of the volumes of programs, sheet music, and other material of the firm of Philip Werlin Ltd., of New Orleans. Besides manuscript material as a source of information, the author lists an impressive number of magazine and newspaper articles and books. The index, indispensable to the usefulness of this volume, appears to be adequate. There are a few illustrations, showing title pages of such popular songs as "All Quiet Along the Potomac

To-night," and "Shortrations," a novelty song of the period. The volume is well documented and gives evidence of a considerable amount of research.

The author has made a definite contribution to cultural history and persons interested in the South of the 'sixties would do well to consult this musical inventory of Confederate publishers and the products of their presses. Those who are more concerned with the country as a whole should find something of value for, although the author intends to (and does) limit his subject to a definite period of time and geographical area, in actuality the scope is broader. As is pointed out, all Confederate music did not perish with the "Cause," but certain compositions have remained to become a part of the heritage of America.

Nell Hines Harris.

Gardner-Webb College,  
Boiling Springs, N. C.

---

A History of the Old South. By Clement Eaton (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. ix, 636. Illustrations, citations, and bibliography. \$5.00.)

Since it cannot be safely assumed either that students have retained any knowledge previously gained in general courses or will be willing to supplement their special courses by any considerable amount of intelligent reading, the author of a regional text is perhaps justified in making his book full enough to compensate for their deficiencies and disinclinations. *The Old South* becomes almost a history of the United States in such topics as the outbreak of the Revolution, the adoption of the Constitution, the causes of the War of 1812, the Jackson regime, and the Compromise of 1850; even on topics purely southern it includes a host of details commonly left for class lectures or for parallel reading. It must be said, however, that the story is interestingly, even if redundantly, told. This interest is achieved neither by bias nor by flights of the imagination for the author is eminently objective, and the text, even if the bibliography were lacking, reveals that he had mastered his subject before attempting to expound it. His writing here has a positiveness and authority much more pronounced than in anything he has done before; he weighs the evidence but he also announces a verdict.

In the orthodox political framework of his chronological story the author has interspersed chapters dealing with southern "life and labor." These comprise in bulk some 200 pages of the book and, in the opinion of the reviewer, constitute the most valuable, as they do the most relevant, portion of it. The accounts of agriculture, slavery, commerce, manufacturing, education, literature, and religion are full, comprehensive, and interesting and show evidences of exhaustive study. The reviewer doubts, however, if education, religion, and literature had much to do with "molding the southern mind"; rather they were molded by it.

The reviewer must make the most of the few inconsequential errors he thinks he has detected. Dr. Walker did not give the present Cumberland Gap that name in 1750 (p. 114). The Chickasaw did not live in Tennessee but in Mississippi (p. 183). The Northwest did not vote solid for the Tallmadge Amendment (p. 215). The reviewer doubts if there is any spot "between North and South Carolina" big enough for the birthplace of Andrew Jackson (p. 281) and he has never heard of the misconception that the Creoles had Negro blood (p. 180). He cannot understand how Kentucky could ever have expected to "expand at the expense of Canada" (p. 202), and he has been led by Abernethy and Jensen to believe that Maryland's refusal to sign the Articles of Confederation was the result rather of an interest in land-speculation than of chagrin over her narrow limits (p. 138).

R. S. Cotterill.

Florida State University,  
Tallahassee, Florida.

---

Southern Politics in State and Nation. By V. O. Key, Jr., with the assistance of Alexander Heard. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949. Pp. xxvi, 675. \$6.00.)

"Politics," says V. O. Key, "is the South's number one problem." If this is true, *Southern Politics* deserves the attention of all who wish to understand the region. The book, a product of Southern scholarship of a singularly independent variety, has been widely recognized as an outstanding achievement; indeed it recently won the Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award for the best volume on government and democracy published during

1949.<sup>1</sup> The author, formerly professor of political science at The Johns Hopkins University and now Cowles professor and head of the political science department at Yale, is no dull or pedestrian scholar; instead he is an experienced and lively writer whose previous works had already won him distinction.

And what is the South of which Key writes? He offers no single clear-cut definition, but reading reveals that it consists of eleven commonwealths of the late Confederacy in which the Democratic party has been almost unchallenged ever since life passed out of Populism. Oklahoma and the borderland are thus excluded. In Key's South shifting factionalism produces political complexity, and politics, "in the grand outlines . . . revolves around the position of the Negro." Each of the states has a "hard [political] core . . . made up of those counties and sections . . . in which Negroes constitute a substantial proportion of the population [40 per cent or more]."

These so-called "black belts" vary considerably from state to state; they occupy only a small part of the South, yet they have in a large measure "succeeded in imposing their will on the states." Hence on the national scene the South presents a solid front whenever proposed legislation appears to interfere with the Southern *mores*. Several very enlightening chapters well along in the book discuss and analyze the degree of solidarity of Southern members in the Senate and in the House in spite of the diversity of the states and districts from which they come. Hoovercrat and Dixiecrat movements present interesting contrasts in the black belt counties, which usually backed Smith in 1928 but which, except in North Carolina, gave substantial support to Thurmond in 1948. All-in-all, the Southern unity as a distinctive thing has been almost wholly on racial issues.

Probably the more interesting part of *Southern Politics* from the standpoint of the general reader is its state-by-state survey beginning with a chapter on Virginia as a "political museum piece," and ending with one on Texas and its "politics of economics." North Carolina is classified as a "progressive plutocracy," passing through a "modern renaissance," and being,

---

<sup>1</sup> *Southern Politics* is the result of a survey carried on under the auspices of the University of Alabama Bureau of Public Administration of which Dr. Roscoe C. Martin was then head. Funds were provided by the Rockefeller Foundation and Dr. Key, who directed the survey, was aided by Messrs. Heard, Donald S. Strong, Merrill R. Goodhall, and many others. Much of the field work consisted of personal interviews with politicians and other politically wise persons.

along with Tennessee, the most nearly two-party state in the South. These chapters sparkle with interesting characterizations of the South's leading political figures and produce quantities of useful knowledge about varying groups and local influences in the politics of the region.

Following his state-by-state description of politics, Key presents a penetrating analysis of the nature and consequences of one-party factionalism, and those who think one party preferable to two would do well to study this analysis prayerfully. It is interesting that this phase of the author's discussion concludes with the assertion that the days of fluid factionalism are numbered and that in "Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee the odds are against the survival of the one party arrangement."

The last 290 pages of *Southern Politics* deal with the mechanisms and procedures of the one-party system, and with voting and the restrictions on voting. How does the Southern primary system work, how much does it take to win a nomination and where can the money be got, how about poll tax requirements and the white primary? Here is down-to-earth material and a suggestion concerning a new suffrage crisis.

Key has based his book but little upon the writings of previous scholars. Not only is there no bibliography, but a large portion of the footnotes merely amplify the text. Such works as Myrdal's *American Dilemma* and the writings of Odum, Vance, and other authorities on Southern society are unmentioned, but these authors would have little reason to quarrel with Key's conclusions. Throughout the work are scattered a number of unusual photographs, sixty-eight tables, and seventy-five figures and maps. These visual aids are skillfully used and demonstrate the finest techniques in presenting complicated information in an easily comprehensible fashion.

In his preface the author states certain predispositions: A belief in the democratic process, a belief that "Southerners possess as great a capacity for self-government as do citizens elsewhere," and a conviction "that the best government results from free and vigorous competition at the ballot box in contests in which genuine issues are defined and candidates take a stand." At the close of *Southern Politics*, after analyzing fundamental changes in progress in the region as industrialization and urban-

ization increase, Key writes: "The way is hard and progress is slow. . . . The race issue broadly defined thus must be considered as the number one problem on the southern agenda. Lacking a solution for it, all else fails." This conclusion, recorded long before the 1950 primary campaigns (especially that in North Carolina), will be widely accepted. It is perhaps true, as Key says earlier, "that those who love the South are left with the cold, hard fact that the South as a whole has developed no system of political organization and leadership adequate to cope with its problems." Perhaps he will return one day to help his fellow Southerners in their great dilemma. I recommend this fascinating book to all who have not read it.

Preston W. Edsall.

North Carolina State College,  
Raleigh, N. C.

---

Jefferson and Madison, *The Great Collaboration*. By Adrienne Koch. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1950. Pp. xiv, 294. \$4.00.)

This study of the fifty-year personal friendship and political partnership of the two Virginia statesmen is written by an associate professor of philosophy of New York University. It is not a totally new field for the author since Miss Koch had previously made an extensive study of Jefferson. Her work, *The Philosophy of Thomas Jefferson*, was in 1943 awarded the Woodbridge Prize in Philosophy. She now attempts, after an exhaustive research limited almost entirely to manuscript materials, to appraise the work of Madison in helping to formulate, influence, or restrain the political philosophy of the third President of the United States. In such a work two temptations might beset a writer: a tendency to concentrate on abstruse political speculation or an inclination to treat the two subjects as if they were living in a vacuum. Fortunately Miss Koch has resisted the former entirely and the second with only a few exceptions.

In the preface the author states that the correspondence of the two eminent Virginians has been studied for "the interplay of ideas between the two greatest statesmen of the American Enlightenment." She is, however, careful to point out later that their working partnership was "not a heaven-sent unanimity based on guileless democratic faith," but rather "a powerful

amalgam of two distinct minds striving to approximate the political good." Jefferson emerges as the "more speculative and more daring in putting forth dynamic generalizations" whereas Madison appears as "the more astute politician." This contrast appears and reappears as their correspondence is examined over a period of more than four decades.

The opening chapter treats the rather brief contacts which the two men had during the Revolutionary period. The first letter cited is dated January 15, 1782. No attempt is made to estimate what phases of Jefferson's political philosophy may have evolved prior to this time. His mind could, politically speaking, hardly have remained a *tabula rasa* before contact with his fellow Virginian. The next three chapters cover the period when Jefferson was in France. In addition to the "interplay of ideas" there is a frequent and sometimes bizarre exchange of gifts. It is significant that Jefferson dispatched to Madison at home numerous books on a variety of topics but it might be questioned whether "Jefferson's thoughtful provision of books for Madison" made him "the most cosmopolitan statesman never to have quit American shores." The interchange of ideas (not always in harmony) on the new federal constitution is brought out along with Madison's delay in reporting his part in the composition of the *Federalist*. The author detects a "temporary breach in the political unity" of the two friends during the winter and spring of 1787-1788. The fourth chapter entitled "The Earth Belongs to the Living" is largely a commentary on Jefferson's letter from Paris of September 6, 1789, in which he argues, among other points, for a frequent revision of constitutions and against a long-term debt. Madison agreed up to a point but contended that it would be a long time before "'Truths . . . seen through the medium of Philosophy, become visible to the naked eye of the politician.'" "

Over a third of the book (three chapters) is devoted to the decade of the 1790's. This proportion will strike some readers as strange inasmuch as the sixteen years when the two men were in the White House are accorded (without adequate explanation for such abridgement) only one chapter of forty-seven pages. In connection with the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions the author has found some previously inaccessible or badly mutilated

letters which she believes makes it possible to "give a fresh account and a reappraisal of these Resolutions." Again Madison with his "realistic political intelligence" is portrayed as a restraining influence on Jefferson. Had such not been the case the author contends "there would have been substantial truth in the contention that the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions contained in embryo the later doctrines of nullification and secession." Not satisfied with this, the author states at the end of this chapter, "All who appeal in the contemporary world to 'states' rights' in a narrow and reactionary sense, as Jeffersonian or Madisonian followers, are in fact not so."

"The Republican Ascendancy" is the title of the eighth chapter which in covering the presidential administrations of the two Virginians aims to explore the "character of Republican objectives and intentions." This is done only in the most cursory manner. The final chapter deals almost entirely with "the nine-year cycle of preparatory work to create the University of Virginia." Madison was duly consulted on the site, the architecture, the future faculty, and books for the library.

While the author tends to make rather broad generalizations throughout the book, errors of fact are relatively few. Genêt in 1793 was, of course, bound for Philadelphia rather than Washington. Doctor Thomas Cooper did not found a Republican newspaper in Pennsylvania but served for a very brief time as editor of the *Sunbury and Northumberland Gazette*. This last serves to indicate in general the author's lack of familiarity with the partisan press of the time. This is a feature that could hardly be neglected in a study of the two Republican leaders. It is odd to find William Duane of the *Aurora* mentioned only once and then somewhat paraenthetically.

The conventional bibliography is missing from this book. At the front are listed two published collections of the writings of each of the men. The footnotes reveal a prodigious amount of research in manuscript material and also provide some helpful information about deletions and inaccuracies in published collected writings. About fifty published works are cited in footnotes throughout the book. It would have added to the volume's utility as a guide for further study if these had been collected in one place.

In the *Saturday Review of Literature* for April 15, 1950, under "Current Books Worth Reading" three out of twenty-eight newspaper book-reviewers included Miss Koch's book. Interestingly enough all three are from the South. The book is of such interest and of such value that its appeal should transcend sectional limits.

D. H. Gilpatrick.

Furman University,  
Greenville, S. C.

---

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, vol. I, 1760-1776. Julian P. Boyd, editor; Lyman H. Butterfield and Mina R. Bryan, associate editors. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1950. Pp. lviii, 679. \$10.00.)

Students of American history have reason to rejoice at the appearance of this initial product of an editorial undertaking that will, apparently, produce the definitive edition of the Jefferson papers. The plans call for fifty-two volumes to be completed in about twelve years. In addition to Jefferson's own writings there will be included the full text or a summary of more than 25,000 letters written to him.

The editorial method adopted presents Jefferson's words accurately and in a form that is easy to read. There is a minimal use of brackets. Many of the contractions have been expanded silently. Each document is followed by its pedigree and adequate explanations and footnotes.

Fortunately the editors plan to produce one volume before the end of the series to identify minor characters and to describe the relationships between Jefferson and his well-known contemporaries. The identifications should add clarity and avoid footnote duplications, and the fuller sketches should contribute immensely to an understanding of Jefferson and his ideas. It has long been clear to history teachers that the best way for a student to grasp the essential concept of "implied powers" is by contrasting the arguments of Jefferson and Madison on the one hand with those of Hamilton on the other. This method of contrast or comparison can be applied usefully to many of Jefferson's principles. In order to see certain aspects of his foreign policy, for instance,

it is necessary to study Washington's feeling of distrust for Jefferson growing out of the Jay treaty controversy and our diplomacy with France.

In the future there may appear reasons to regret the editors' decision not to print in full some "letters that substantially duplicate one another, such as letters of introduction, and letters of a merely routine or trivial nature." True, such letters might appear useless to a general reader; but, unfortunately, this twelve-foot shelf of books will be used almost exclusively by research scholars—for whom the slightest alteration of a phrase from one "routine" letter to another may carry precious significance. Upon completion of the vast project, however, the curiosity of scholars concerning all the Jefferson papers can be slaked in the reservoir of complete photoduplicates that will, so appropriately, be deposited with the Library of Congress.

The genius of Jefferson probably shines clearest during these early years through 1776. His concept of the nature of law and society, his sensibility of the need of reforms, his courage to stand up for the right, and his ability to express his thoughts and to stimulate others to action made him a memorable example of the patriot who, in time of a crisis, can serve his country well.

Gilbert L. Lycan.

John B. Stetson University,  
De Land, Florida.

---

Bank Note Reporters and Counterfeit Detectors, 1826-1866. With a Discourse on Wildcat Banks and Wildcat Bank Notes. By William H. Dillistin. Numismatic Notes and Monographs, no. 114. (New York: The American Numismatic Society. 1949. Pp. vi, 175. Illustrated.)

Today we scarcely look at a dollar bill or five-dollar bill or any kind of "folding money" to see whether or not it is counterfeit, but in the early days of banking in the United States the forgery and counterfeiting of bank notes was of such common practice that it became necessary for the protection of the public to issue weekly or at least at periodic intervals a list and description of bad money and how to tell it from "good money." These lists were published by various print shops, publishers, brokers, and others throughout the nation and were sold on the newsstands or through the mails just as today current magazines are distrib-

uted. These publications were generally known as "bank note reporters and counterfeit detectors" and, to the serious student of banking, a perusal of these publications constitutes a running story on the background of the modern Federal Reserve note or Treasury note.

The American Numismatic Society, which was founded for the collection and preservation of coins and metals and for the investigation of their history and similar subjects, publishes from time to time notes and monographs and other literature on this subject. The author, William H. Dillistin, has apparently examined many hundreds of these early "reporters" and his compilation is a lurid story of crime rings, forgeries, counterfeiting, and shop practices that prove the years 1826-1866 certainly had their share of crooks.

Before the surrender of Cornwallis there was no chartered bank in the United States, but within ten years after that historic event more than sixty banks began operations, at least one in each state along the eastern seaboard from Maine to South Carolina. In the early days deposits were a minor item in banking operations, for the banks were banks of issue and the circulating notes which most banks issued were their chief earning medium. Mr. Dillistin describes in most interesting fashion how these notes were issued and circulated.

The farther away from home a dollar bill got, the less it was worth. By way of illustration, a dollar issued by a Raleigh bank was worth a dollar in Raleigh, ninety-five cents in Durham, ninety cents in Greensboro, eighty-five cents in Asheville and so on down the line—and in addition, the farther away from home it got the more susceptible it was to alteration.

Prior to the publication of bank note reporters and counterfeit detectors, in periodical form, the dissemination of news of counterfeit notes was mainly through the newspapers. A Boston newspaper decided to issue a "sheet" containing a description of counterfeit bills. This was probably the earliest "counterfeit detector," and, according to the publishers, "the public was highly pleased therewith, and doubtless reaped much benefit."

The purpose of Mr. Dillistin's book is to furnish us as complete a record of the subject as he could find from the source material

available and to shed some sight on the circulating media of an important period in the nation's financial development.

George P. Geoghegan, Jr.

Raleigh, N. C.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

Dr. Paul Murray of East Carolina Teachers College was visiting professor of history for the second term of the summer school at Western Carolina Teachers College.

Mr. Joseph B. Kyle has joined the staff of the department of history at Duke University for 1950-51, as a part time instructor.

Mr. Edward F. Burrows, an assistant professor of history at Guilford College, has been granted a year's leave of absence to complete the work on his doctorate at the University of Wisconsin.

Mr. Elvin Strowd, a graduate of Guilford College and a graduate student at the University of North Carolina, has been appointed assistant professor of history at Guilford College for the year 1950-51.

*Parallel Lines in Piedmont North Carolina Quaker and Moravian History*, by Adelaide L. Fries, an historical lecture given at the North Carolina Yearly Meeting in 1949, has been printed. Copies may be procured for 25c per copy from Miss Annie B. Benbow, R.F.D. 7, Greensboro. *The Church in the Wilderness: North Carolina Quakerism as Seen By Visitors*, by Henry J. Cadbury, is also available by applying to the same person.

The Guilford College Library has recently completed a vault for housing the manuscript records of the Society of Friends and also a rare book room in which research may be done.

On August 9 at the annual meeting of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, Miss Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert of Guilford College discussed the manuscript collection of more than 300 volumes and the recently discovered section of the Perquimans Monthly Meeting book, the oldest records of Friends in North Carolina, 1729-1736. Guilford College procured this material through the generosity of the Duke University Library.

On August 9 Dr. C. D. Johns, chairman of the department of history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, died in Baltimore. Dr. Johns had been connected with the college for a number of years and had been chairman of the department since the retirement of Dr. B. B. Kendrick.

Dr. Harold A. Bierck, Jr., an assistant professor of Latin American history at the University of North Carolina, has been granted a fellowship award by the Rockefeller Foundation for a year's research and study in South America. He plans to spend most of his time in Columbia, Venezuela, and Ecuador and will be absent from the University until September, 1951.

Dr. Cornelius O. Cathey, an assistant professor of history at the University of North Carolina, has been appointed an instructor on the Contemporary Civilization staff of the program conducted by Columbia University during the academic year 1950-1951.

Dr. Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., of North Texas State College, Denton, Texas, was a visiting professor at the University of North Carolina during the second session of summer school.

Dr. E. Merton Coulter of the University of Georgia was a visiting professor at the University of North Carolina during the first session of summer school.

Dr. Fletcher M. Green, professor of history at the University of North Carolina, was a visiting professor of history at Columbia University during the summer session.

Dr. Richard K. Murdoch of the department of history, Carnegie Institute of Technology, has replaced Dr. Harold A. Bierck, Jr., at the University of North Carolina during the academic year 1950-1951.

The following graduate students, candidates for the doctor's degree in history at the University of North Carolina, have accepted positions for the present year as indicated: Alvin Laroy

Duckett, Winthrop College, Rock Hill, S. C.; Albert N. Saunders, John B. Stetson University, DeLand, Florida; Jack B. Scroggs, East Texas State Teachers College, Denton, Texas; George B. Tindall, East Kentucky State Teachers College, Richmond, Kentucky; William Y. Thompson, Presbyterian College, Greenville, S. C.

On July 2 the North Carolina Society of County Historians made a tour of western Harnett County. The group visited Clark's Bridge, Aircastle, Barbecue Church, Ben Haven School, Cameron Hill, Indian Grave, and Cypress Church. Among those making the tour were persons from Anson, Cumberland, Guilford, Harnett, Lee, Richmond, Wake, and Wayne counties.

On July 19 a group of interested citizens of Hertford County assembled in the auditorium of Chowan College in Murfreesboro and organized the Hertford County Historical Association. Mr. T. E. Browne was elected president, Mrs. Roger Holloman, vice-president, Mrs. W. D. Boone, secretary-treasurer, and Mrs. Herman Babb, historian. Mr. D. L. Corbitt, head of the Division of Publications of the State Department of Archives and History, made the address.

*The Formation of the North Carolina Counties, 1663-1943*, by D. L. Corbitt, head of the Division of Publications, has been published by the State Department of Archives and History. The work gives detailed information on the formation of each of the counties, date of formation, derivation of name, location within the state, the counties that bound it, area, population, and the location of the courthouse. There is a series of twelve maps indicating the counties at different dates and a chart showing the origin of each of the counties. This volume may be had by sending a wrapping and mailing fee of fifty cents, limited to one copy per person, to the Division of Publications, Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

Mr. Thomas P. de Graffenried of New York, a descendant of Baron Christopher de Graffenried, the Swiss founder of New Bern in 1710, has sent \$100 to the City of New Bern to assure the continuation of the Baron de Graffenried Medal for ten years in

the city. Previously he had given a check for the medal to be given annually to the New Bern high school student writing the best essay on local historical subjects. Mr. de Graffenried is himself engaged in writing the history of the de Graffenried family in which he gives much attention to the founding of New Bern.

Dr. John O. Eidson of the University of Georgia has been named editor of the *Georgia Review*. He succeeds Dr. John B. Wade who has retired from the editorship.

Dr. Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., has been appointed an assistant professor of history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina.

Mr. Lawrence L. Graves has been appointed an instructor in history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina.

Miss Allayne C. Turner has been appointed an instructor in history at Saint Augustine College.

Dr. W. C. Jackson, the former chancellor of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, in September joined the staff of the history department at the college.

Miss Sarah Lemmon who has been on leave of absence to do graduate work at the University of North Carolina returned to Meredith College in September.

On July 7 Mr. W. Frank Burton, head of the Division of Archives and Manuscripts of the State Department of Archives and History, and Dr. Christopher Crittenden addressed the annual conference of the North Carolina Association of Clerks of Superior Court in Winston-Salem. They spoke on the services of the Department in the preservation or disposal of county records.

The Executive Board of the State Department of Archives and History met in the office of the director of the Department on August 22. Dean B. F. Brown of Raleigh, who had been appointed

by Governor Scott on March 10 to fill the unexpired term of Dr. R. D. W. Connor, who died on February 25, was elected chairman of the Board. Other business transacted included the approval of the budgetary estimates for 1951-53, prepared by the director, and the authorization of the establishment of a committee of historians to advise regarding the preservation or disposal of public records.

On August 11 the State Department of Archives and History conducted ceremonies on North Carolina Route 28 in Macon County, a few miles north of Franklin, at the unveiling of a historical marker bearing the following inscription: "POTTERY CLAY—The Wedgwood potteries of England used several tons of clay taken in 1767 from a nearby pit by Thomas Griffiths, a South Carolina planter." Participating in the ceremonies were Dr. Christopher Crittenden; the Reverend A. Rufus Morgan and the Reverend Hoyt Evans, both of Franklin; Mr. William S. Powell of Raleigh, researcher for the Department of Archives and History; Mrs. Sadie S. Patton, of Hendersonville, a member of the Department's Executive Board; Mr. Carroll P. Rogers of Tryon; and Mr. Hensleigh C. Wedgwood of New York, a descendant of Josiah Wedgwood, founder of the Wedgwood potteries.

During the summer increasing interest was shown by the public in outdoor historical dramas. The oldest of these, "The Lost Colony," by Paul Green, was produced at Fort Raleigh for the tenth season by the Roanoke Island Historical Association. "The Common Glory," also by Paul Green, was produced for the fourth season at Williamsburg, Va. At the Mountainside Theatre, on the Cherokee Indian Reservation in Western Carolina, there was staged for the first time "Unto These Hills," by Kermit Hunter, produced by the Cherokee Historical Association. A new drama by Paul Green, "Faith of Our Fathers," opened in July in Rock Creek Park in Washington, D. C., a production of the National Capital Sesquicentennial Commission. At the performance of this drama on August 18, the birthday of Virginia Dare, North Carolina day was celebrated and Governor Scott accepted a scroll on behalf of the state.

Books received include Clarence Edwin Carter, *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, volume XVII; *The Territory of Illinois, 1814-1818*, (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, The National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, 1950) ; David B. Quinn, *Raleigh and the British Empire* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949) ; W. F. Craven and J. L. Cate, *The Army Air Force in World War II*, volume IV, *The Pacific: Guadalcanal to Saipan, August 1942 to July 1944* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1950) ; Chalmers Davidson, *Friend of the People: The Life of Dr. Peter Fayssoux of Charleston, S. C.* (Columbia, S. C.: The Medical Association of South Carolina, 1950) ; Horace Montgomery, *Cracker Parties* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950) ; Adelaide L. Fries, *Parallel Lines in Piedmont North Carolina Quaker and Moravian History* (North Carolina Friends Historical Society, 1950) ; Henry J. Cadbury, *The Church in the Wilderness: North Carolina Quakerism as Seen by Visitors* (North Carolina Friends Historical Society, 1950) ; Carl Bridenbaugh, *Seat of Empire: The Political Role of Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg* (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg, 1950).

The Roanoke Island Historical Association held its regular annual meeting at the Waterside Theatre, Fort Raleigh, on Virginia Dare's birthday, August 18. Honorable Capus M. Waynick, United States ambassador to Nicaragua, presided at the ceremonies and Earl Jellicoe, first secretary of the British Embassy in Washington, delivered the principal address.

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Dr. Bennett H. Wall is an assistant professor of history at the University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

Miss Ivy May Hixson is the academic dean of Salem College, Winston-Salem, N. C.

Dr. Howard E. Rondthaler is a former president of Salem College and is now bishop of the Moravian Church, Southern Province, Winston-Salem.

Dr. William C. Pool is an associate professor of history in the division of social sciences, Southwest Texas State Teachers College, San Marcos, Texas.

Dr. Elizabeth Gregory McPherson is a reference consultant of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS VOLUME

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

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

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

Dr. Richard C. Todd is an assistant professor of history at Eastern Carolina Teachers College, Greenville, N. C.

Dr. William C. Pool is an associate professor of history in the division of social sciences, Southwest Texas State Teachers College, San Marcos, Texas.

Miss Marian H. Blair is a former assistant professor of English at Greensboro College, Greensboro, N. C.

Dr. Christopher Crittenden is director of the State Department of Archives and History and secretary of the State Literary and Historical Association, Raleigh, N. C.

Mr. Richard Schriver Barry is a graduate student in history at Duke University, Durham, N. C.

Mr. Roger Powell Marshall is a professor of English at North Carolina State College, Raleigh, N. C.

Mr. William S. Powell is researcher for the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, N. C.

Mr. William T. Polk is an associate editor of the *Greensboro Daily News*, Greensboro, N. C.

Mr. William Thomas Bost is a reporter and columnist for the *Greensboro Daily News*, Greensboro, N. C. Mr. Bost resides in Raleigh, N. C.

Dr. Thomas Jefferson Wertebaker is Edwards Professor of American History Emeritus, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey.

Miss Mary Lindsay Thornton is librarian, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dr. Douglas LeTell Rights is acting archivist of the Moravian Church, Southern Province, and a Moravian Minister, Winston-Salem, N. C.

Dr. Charles W. Turner is an assistant professor of history at Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia.

Dr. Elizabeth Gregory McPherson is a reference consultant of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Bennett H. Wall is an assistant professor of history at the University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

Miss Ivy May Hixson is the academic dean of Salem College, Winston-Salem, N. C.

Dr. Howard Edward Rondthaler is a former president of Salem College and is now Bishop of the Moravian Church, Southern Province, Winston-Salem, N. C.